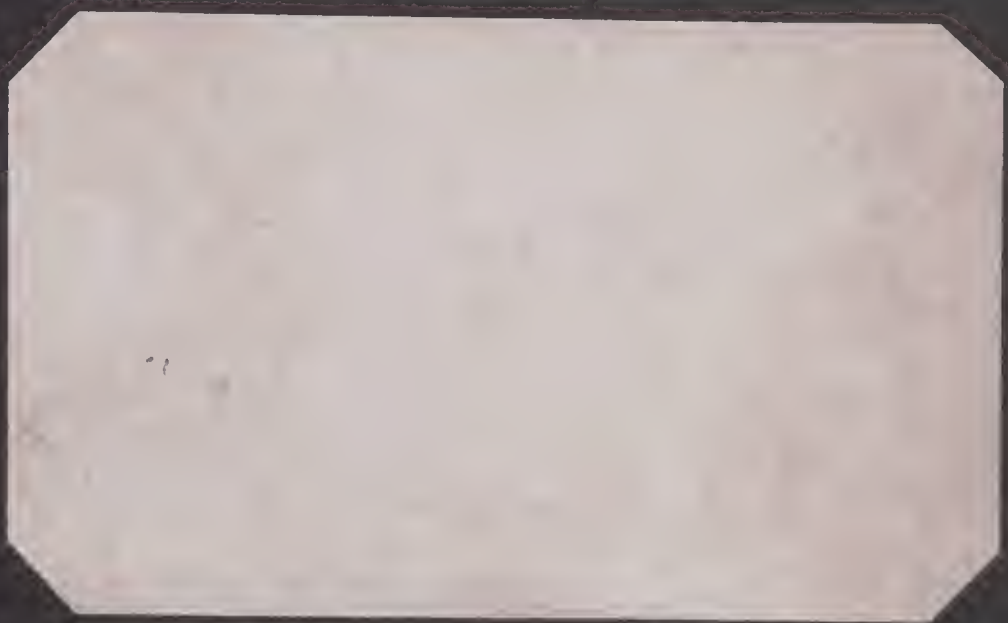


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STATEMENTS OF UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT SPOKESMEN
ON WAR AIMS AND THE POST-WAR WORLD

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
FEB 22 1943
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The extracts included were taken from materials at hand. Within each section of the outline President Roosevelt's statements appear first with others following alphabetically by author. An index of all authors represented is appended.

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1. AGREEMENTS

e. THE ATLANTIC CHARTER

"Joint declaration of the President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill representing his Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom being met together deem it right to make known certain common principles in the national policies of their respective countries on which they base their hopes for a better future for the world.

"First, their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other;

"Second, they desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned;

"Third, they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them;

"Fourth, they will endeavor, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all states, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity;

"Fifth, they desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing, for all, improved labor standards, economic advancement, and social security;

"Sixth, after the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny, they hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want;

"Seventh, such a peace should enable all men to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance;

"Eighth, they believe that all of the nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reasons, must come to the abandonment of the use of force. Since no future peace can be maintained if land, sea or air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten, or may threaten, aggression outside of their frontiers, they believe, pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security, that the disarmament of such nations is essential. They will likewise aid and encourage all other practicable measures which will lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armaments." (August 14, 1941, in the North Atlantic)

b. UNITED NATIONS DECLARATION

A joint declaration by the United States of America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, China, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, India, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Poland, South Africa, Yugoslavia,

The governments signatory hereto, having subscribed to a common program of purposes and principles embodied in the joint declaration of the President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland dated August 14, 1941, known as the Atlantic Charter, being convinced that the complete victory over their enemies is essential to defend life, liberty, independence and religious freedom, and to preserve human rights and justice in their own lands as well as in other lands, and that they are now engaged in a

common struggle against savage and brutal forces seeking to subjugate the world, declare:

1. Each government pledges itself to employ its full resources, military or economic, against those members of the Tripartite Pact and its adherents with which such government is at war.
2. Each government pledges itself to cooperate with the governments signatory hereto and not to make a separate armistice or peace with the enemies.

The foregoing declaration may be adhered to by other nations which are, or which may be rendering material assistance and contributions in the struggle for victory over Hitlerism. (January 1, 1942, Washington, D.C.)
(There follow signatures of the representatives of the 26 nations.)

c. INTER-ALLIED CONFERENCE

d. LEND-LEASE AGREEMENTS

Lend-Lease Act, March 11, 1941

Sec. 3. (b) "The terms and conditions upon which any such foreign government receives any aid authorized under subsection (a) shall be those which the President deems satisfactory, and the benefit to the United States may be payment or repayment in kind or property, or any other direct or indirect benefit which the President deems satisfactory."

Agreement Between the Governments of the United States of America and of the United Kingdom on the Principles Applying to Mutual Aid in the Prosecution of the War Against Aggression, Authorized and Provided For by the Act of March 11, 1941.

Art. VII. "In the final determination of the benefits to be provided to the United States of America by the Government of the United Kingdom in return for aid furnished under the Act of Congress of March 11, 1941, the terms and conditions thereof shall be such as not to burden commerce between the two countries, but to promote mutually advantageous economic relations between them and the betterment of world-wide economic relations. To that end, they shall include provision for agreed action by the United States of America and the United Kingdom, open to participation by all other countries of like mind, directed to the expansion, by appropriate international and domestic measures, of production, employment, and the exchange and consumption of goods, which are the material foundations of the liberty and welfare of all peoples; to the elimination of all forms of discriminatory treatment in international commerce, and to the reduction of tariffs and other trade barriers; and in general, to the attainment of all the economic objectives set forth in the Joint Declaration made on August 12, 1941, by the President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom.

"At an early convenient date, conversations shall be begun between the two governments with a view to determining, in the light of governing economic conditions, the best means of attaining the above-stated objectives by their own agreed action and of seeking the agreed action of other like-minded governments. (February 23, 1942, Washington, D.C.)

Reciprocal Aid Agreements

"Agreements specifying the principles and procedures applicable to the provision of aid to the United States and its armed forces by the Governments of the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand were concluded today by exchanges of notes... A similar agreement concerning the provision of aid by Fighting France was concluded in London today...

"These agreements formalize the principles and procedures applicable to the provision of aid to the armed forces of the United States by the other parties on the same terms as those under which the United States supplies aid to them in accordance with the provisions of the Lend-Lease Act. Each of them, without awaiting conclusion of a formal agreement, has been providing such aid on these terms as occasion required since the passage of the Lend-Lease Act. This aid is rapidly increasing in importance as the intensity of the American war effort increases in the various theaters of operations concerned." (U. S. State Department, Release September 2, 1942)

e. ANGLO-RUSSIAN ALLIANCE

f. OTHER AGREEMENTS

Final Act of the Third Meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American Republics Conclusion XXV

POST-WAR PROBLEMS

"WHEREAS:

1. World peace must be based on the principles of respect for law, of justice and of cooperation which inspire the Nations of America and which have been expressed at Inter-American Meetings held from 1889 to date;

2. A new order of peace must be supported by economic principles which will insure equitable and lasting international trade with equal opportunities for all Nations;

3. Collective security must be founded not only on political institutions but also on just, effective, and liberal economic systems;

4. It is indispensable to undertake the immediate study of the bases for this new economic and political order;

and

5. It is an imperative necessity for the countries of America to increase their productive capacity; to secure, from their international trade, returns which will permit them adequately to remunerate labor and improve the standard of living of workers; to protect and preserve the health of their peoples and develop their civilization and culture.

The Third Meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American Republics

RESOLVES:

1. To request the Governing Board of the Pan American Union to convoke an Inter-American Technical Economic Conference charged with the study of present and post-war economic problems.

2. To entrust the Inter-American Juridical Committee with the formulation of specific recommendations relative to the international organization in the juridical and political fields, and in the field of international security.

3. To entrust the Inter-American Financial and Economic Advisory Committee with a similar function in the economic field, to make the necessary preparations for the Inter-American Technical Economic Conference, referred to in the first paragraph of this Resolution.

4. To request the Pan American Union to appoint an Executive Committee to receive such projects as the American nations may present, and to submit said projects, respectively to the Inter-American Juridical Committee and to the Inter-American Financial and Economic Advisory Committee.

5. To request the Pan American Union to direct this Executive Committee to submit the recommendations of the Inter-American Juridical Committee to the Governments of the American Republics so that the conclusions reached may be adopted at a subsequent Meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs.

6. To request the Pan American Union to determine, in agreement with the Governments of the American Republics, the date and place of meeting of the Inter-American Technical Economic Conference, referred to in the first paragraph of the Resolution." (January 28, 1942, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil)

Final Act of the Third Meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American Republics
Conclusion XXXV

SUPPORT AND ADHERENCE TO THE PRINCIPLES OF THE
"ATLANTIC CHARTER"

"The Third Meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American Republics

RESOLVES:

To take note of the contents of the 'Atlantic Charter' and to express to the President of the United States of America its satisfaction with the inclusion of that document of principles which constitute a part of the juridical heritage of America in accordance with the Convention on Rights and Duties of States approved at the Seventh International Conference of American States, held at Montevideo in 1933." (January 28, 1942, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil)

Regime of Memorandum of Agreement regarding International Trade in Wheat, Washington, D. C., April 22, 1942.

"1. The Wheat Meeting recently held in Washington has resulted in the approval by the Governments of Argentina, Australia, Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States of a Memorandum of Agreement as a first step towards the conclusion as soon as circumstances permit of a comprehensive international wheat agreement....

3. The Memorandum of Agreement now concluded provides for the convening by the United States when the time is deemed propitious of a conference of all the nations having substantial interest in wheat, whether as consumers or producers; and there is attached to it for consideration at that conference a Draft Convention prepared by the Washington Wheat Meeting. In the meantime the Memorandum of Agreement requires the adoption and maintenance on the part of the four exporting countries of positive measures to control production with the object of minimizing the accumulation of excessive stocks during the war.

4. The Memorandum of Agreement provides also for the immediate establishment of a pool of wheat for intergovernmental relief in war-stricken and other necessitous areas so soon as the international situation permits. It brings into operation the arrangements in the Draft Convention for contributions to a pool as they may be required of 100,000,000 bushels and additional quantities to be determined as the extent of the

need becomes known.

5. In order to prevent disorganization and confusion immediately after the war and pending the conclusion of a comprehensive international wheat agreement, the present Memorandum provides for bringing into operation for a limited period the provisions of the Draft Convention relating to the control by the four exporting countries of production, stocks and exports and for cooperation by all five countries in stabilizing prices." (State Department Release, July 1, 1942)

2. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE WAR

a. GENERAL STATEMENTS OF AIMS AND WAR SIGNIFICANCE

Franklin D. Roosevelt, President

"... we are now fighting to maintain our right to live among our world neighbors in freedom and in common decency, without fear of assault." (December 9, 1941, Radio Address)

Franklin D. Roosevelt, President

"We are fighting today for security and progress and for peace, not only for ourselves but for all men, not only for one generation but for all generations." (January 6, 1942, to Congress)

Franklin D. Roosevelt, President

"We of the United Nations are agreed on certain broad principles in the kind of peace we seek. The Atlantic Charter applies not only to the parts of the world that border the Atlantic but to the whole world; disarmament of aggressors, self-determination of nations and people, and the four freedoms-- freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want and freedom from fear." (February 23, 1942, Speech)

Franklin D. Roosevelt, President

"We reaffirm our principles (of the Atlantic Charter). They will bring us to a happier world." (August 14, 1942, to Churchill)

Franklin D. Roosevelt, President

"... you (young Americans) are fighting in the defense of your own homes, your own free schools, your own churches, your own ideals.

"In the concept of the Four Freedoms, in the basic principles of the Atlantic Charter, we have set for ourselves high goals, unlimited objectives." (September 3, 1942, to the International Student Assembly)

Franklin D. Roosevelt, President

"Today America is making, and will continue to make every possible effort to win through to victory, and the establishment and maintenance of a just, righteous and permanent peace to the end that the principles of democracy may be preserved..." (September 27, 1942, Message to Gold Star Mothers)

Franklin D. Roosevelt, President

"It is useless to win a war unless it stays won.

"We, therefore, fight for the restoration and perpetuation of faith and hope throughout the world.

"The objective of today is clear and realistic. It is to destroy completely the military power of Germany, Italy and Japan to such good purpose that their threat against us and all the other United Nations cannot be revived a generation hence.

"We are united in seeking the kind of victory that will guarantee that our grandchildren can grow and, under God, may live their lives, free from the constant threat of invasion, destruction, slavery and violent death." (October 12, 1942, Radio Address)

Franklin D. Roosevelt, President (quoting the New York Times)

"Another correspondent noted that Mr. Willkie had reflected in his speech last night (October 26, 1942) the feeling of some of the countries visited that the Roosevelt-Churchill statement of war aims was limited to the Atlantic area because it was based on the Atlantic Charter, and were asking for a 'Pacific Charter' or a 'World Charter'."

"The President replied that this was a peculiar question because it concerned a matter of record. He recalled that both Secretary Hull and he had said on several occasions that 'the Atlantic Charter applies to all humanity.' He allowed reporters to quote him directly on this point, although he emphasized that he did not regard it as news because it was a reiteration of previous statements." (October 27, 1942, Press Conference)

Ralph A. Bard, Assistant Secretary of the Navy

"Our enemies fight to subjugate and enslave all the peoples of the earth. We fight to preserve freedom for all the peoples of the earth. Our enemies proclaim the virtues of so-called superior races with a mystical right to oppress all other peoples. We fight for a world where every race and every nation will have an equal chance to grow and prosper. They proclaim war as the ultimate destiny of man. We see war only as an inescapable necessity-- and peace as man's destiny. I bid you recall also that every halting step man has made along that path toward a more perfect life has been paid for by sacrifice. Willingness to sacrifice lies at the root of every great human advance-- and sacrifice is the constant price man must pay to preserve that which is good and to move forward apace to that which is better.

"In such a war there can only be one outcome. For the will to be free-- the will to speak one's mind and to worship one's God in safety-- are the fundamental driving forces of the human race. They have brought men out of barbarism-- and the forward surge to a better - brighter world shall not be blocked now by any man or any nation. With men like you rising to the challenge everywhere-- the shadow of another dark age shall not again spread across the earth!" (September 8, 1942, Annapolis, Md.)

Ralph A. Bard, Assistant Secretary of the Navy

"What have we in America to fight for? Our freedom, our rights as individuals, our religious beliefs. The blessings we have had so long we can't visualize being without them. And our tremendous material possessions, which we perhaps are too inclined to place first on the inventory list, the possessions which when compared with those of other nations of the world, make our snug world seem like a Garden of Eden." (September 29, 1942, Toronto, Canada)

Wynne Chatfield-Paylor, Under-Secretary of Commerce

"It is only when we look beyond the mere matter of existence that we find the differentiations which have caused this struggle. It is only beyond the level of staying alive that we find the objectives which have divided the world into armed camps. It is only as our objectives come to mean more to us than our enemies' objectives mean to them, that we will develop the flaming zeal which will fire us on to victory." (August 26, 1942, Minneapolis, Minn.)

Joseph C. Grew, Former Ambassador to Japan

"Our United Nations leaders have enunciated the aims of this war in terms of the Atlantic Charter, the United Nations declaration, and other public statements for democracy

and against aggression. These are not mere rhetoric. Belief in and determination to preserve spiritual values are our sword and our shield, nay, more, our secret as well as-- to those who can see-- our visible weapon. We fight for freedom. We fight for the future. We fight as free men, by voluntary sacrifice." (October 8, 1942, Toronto, Canada)

Joseph C. Grew, Former Ambassador to Japan

"We, and the nations in that area that are resisting militarism and aggression, are fighting not only for freedom but for world peace, world democracy and world prosperity. Beyond the general aims of our war for survival there are positive high objectives in the Pacific and Far East to which we can and shall attain." (October 10, 1942, New York, New York)

"In the Pacific war we are, therefore, not only fighting for progress, for democracy, for the four freedoms of the Atlantic Charter. We are fighting to free the richest cultural heritage of East Asia, and in this fight we are proud of our indispensable ally, China, and of her leader, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek..." (Oct. 10, 1942, New York)

Leon Henderson, Price Administrator

"We are fighting for a land-- and a world-- which tomorrow must offer every man honest work at fair pay just as long as he is able and willing to produce.

"We are fighting for a land-- and a world-- in which a man's honest productive efforts will assure him and his family adequate food, clothing, shelter, medical care, education and recreation.

"We are fighting for a land-- and a world-- which tomorrow must offer freedom of enterprise, with labor free of compulsion, business and industry free of unregulated monopoly.

"We are fighting for a land-- and a world-- of freedom for the human spirit and the human will.

"These are our goals. They are the goals to which free men aspire. They are things which we can achieve." (September 8, 1942, to Research Institute of America and Sales Executive Club of New York)

Cordell Hull, Secretary of State

"Those nations that are making resistance are primarily seeking to save themselves, their homes, and their liberties. Great Britain and the United States... are acting primarily for their own safety." (April 24, 1942, American Society of International Law)

Robert H. Jackson, Associate Justice, Supreme Court

"When the times cry for action rather than words, an international discussion meeting such as this can be justified only by the assumption that the deeds of men are the products of their thoughts... The failure of our strongholds may be the outward and visible sign of a failure in our thinking.

"Foremost among the paralyzing influences upon the intellect is a fatalistic attitude, fostered, if not created, by the manner in which the United Nations got into the war. Not one willed the war....

The Nazi and the Jap have not labored under any such handicap-- so far. They took the initiative with a national policy which presupposes that by their collective will and strength they could make a fate to their liking. ...

"A second paralyzing force is a mental conflict involving moral values, before which we Americans stand a bit baffled. We have long been taught, and still believe, that might does not make right. And yet we see that all we hold to be morally right is in jeopardy

wherever it does not also possess physical might. ...

"The Nazi and the Jap suffer no such conflict. Their policy is dominated by the doctrine that might is all that makes right and they apply themselves to exerting brute force with brutal singleness of mind.

"A third retarding influence is an unrealistic emphasis on preservation of the status quo. Its preservation is to some extent a necessary implication of a war of defense. But our pleas to 'preserve our way of life' too often do not get much beyond pleas to save the status quo. Such an appeal has obvious limitations. The proportion of any population that is wholly content with its lot is small. Native populations are in sullen opposition to the existing order in areas important to our military success. Youth is likely to regard the current order as an obstacle against which he must make headway, or as a tight caste he must break into. Hence the response of the people to the battle cry of the status quo is cooled by many reservations and indifferences. To make matters worse those whose lot or temperament makes them content with the existing order are by that very fact also made disinclined to risk their positions and possessions by bold and aggressive moves. And the war in all of the non-axis nations has been much in the hands of such as these.

"In contrast, the Axis stirs the imagination of masses with promises of a New Order which will give windfalls to 'have nots' among individuals and peoples. ...

"Beyond the maintenance of the status quo our announced aim to establish everywhere the four freedoms is an ideal to which I heartily subscribe. And while these aims seem idealistic and remote to the masses of hard-pressed men, you who are students know their value and their promise.

"The Axis on the contrary states its aims in the all too seductive terms of greed and pride and of revenge and self-vindication. Their aims are low, but comprehensible to low men." (September 2, 1942, Washington, D. C.)

"Make no mistake about it, this war will not be over on the day an order is given to cease fire. If we are to make good the promise of an international society in which force will be under law, which will insure broadened rights of access to the world's raw materials and markets and sources of wealth, if we really try to stop or even to minimize the exploitation of people thru the practices of the old imperialisms and extraterritoriality, there will be struggle aplenty, though battles are over." (Sept. 2, Washington, D. C.)

Frank Knox, Secretary of the Navy

"Our greatest assets are not in material things. They are to be found in what we are fighting for-- and what we are fighting against." (December 19, 1942, Naval Academy Graduation Address)

Frank Knox, Secretary of the Navy, and Robert P. Patterson, Under-Secretary of War

"This fight for freedom is the greatest test democracy has faced. It will decide whether free learning has armed men's minds to solve the problems of man's grimmest crisis. It will decide whether free religion has given man the faith to fight on against a ruthless enemy. It will decide whether he values free enterprise and free government enough to preserve them." (September 7, 1942, joint Labor Day statement)

Donald M. Nelson, Chairman, War Production Board

"But it is on the battleline that freedom is being defended-- where your right to free enterprise; your right to collective bargaining; your right to criticize; your right to worship as you please-- it is on the battleline that those things you hold more precious than all else are being defended." (March 2, 1942, Washington, D. C.)

Donald M. Nelson, Chairman, War Production Board

"... we must have... a deep, terrible and unrelenting hatred of everything our enemies are and stand for, and a clear and steadfast vision of the eternal values we are fighting for..."

"We are not merely fighting a defensive war; we are not waging this struggle just so that we can go back to 1939, or 1935, or some other quiet year in the far-away past. Life doesn't work that way; whether we like it or not, tremendous changes that will affect every person on the globe are going to be born of this war. Above everything else, we are fighting for the right to make sure that those changes will fit into our deepest hopes and our highest ideals.

"That is the vision we can see across the horror of this war. We will follow that vision-- we will hate, now and forever, all who stand between that vision and ourselves-- and we will go forward, a determined and united people, to follow the road that leads through victory to peace." (September 21, 1942, Kansas City, Mo.)

John L. Sullivan, Treasury Department

"Here's what we propose to do:
"We propose to preserve for ourselves and our children the freedom and the opportunity which we Americans have created in this nation.

"We propose to help the nations allied with us to defend their threatened independence.
"And we propose to restore the liberty which has been trampled and defiled and stolen from the lands of our ancestors--to bring freedom again to the people of Holland and Belgium -- Poland and Norway and Denmark -- to China and France and Czechoslovakia -- to Greece, and the Ukraine -- to Albania and Yugoslavia -- to all the beaten and broken but unconquered countries." (June 14, 1942, Chicago, Ill.)

Frank C. Walker, Postmaster General

"We must make clear to ourselves, and to the world, that our war aims are identically the same as our peace terms. This fact is not yet well enough known; or, if known, not yet thoroughly accepted.

"We do not intend to fight the war and have someone else make the peace. We do not intend to sacrifice our noble youth and give over their victory to any group of ambitious schemers. We must be vigilant lest we wage a War for Human Rights and then abandon these, when won, to the power-politics of any group." (August 18, 1942, Memphis, Tenn.)

Henry A. Wallace, Vice-President

"And when the victory on the battlefield is won our new world ideals will be needed all the more, as we confront the job of building a wise and enduring peace for the entire world.

"That fight for the right kind of peace will not be won in a day. That fight will go on down the years.

"It will be fought over the entire world, wherever men and women and children live and love and make their homes.

"It is a fight that never will be completely won, but it will always be the fight most worth the winning. This is the fight that we in the new world have pledged ourselves to make. We shall not forsake that pledge." (September 16, 1942, Los Angeles, anniversary of Mexican independence)

National Resources Planning Board

"One thing is sure: We are not going back to where we were. One of the few certainties in the world is inevitable change. We could not stop the march of progress if we wanted to. We are going forward with restored confidence in the democracy and liberty which underlie our civilization. But we can do something about the direction of the changes that will follow victory. For that reason, we propose to plan ahead." (September, 1942, Pamphlet, Post-War Planning)

2. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE WAR

b. THE PEOPLE'S WAR

Franklin D. Roosevelt, President

"I firmly believe that Americans will welcome this opportunity to share in the fight of civilized mankind to preserve decency and dignity in modern life. For this is fundamentally a people's war -- and it must be followed by a people's peace." (April 27, 1942, to Congress)

Adolf A. Berle, Assistant Secretary of State

"The War of the United Nations is a people's war." (March 7, 1942, Broadcast)

Adolf A. Berle, Assistant Secretary of State

"We are fighting a war of peoples. We are building an army of peoples. We are throwing into the cause of human liberty the efforts of peoples the world over." (October 12, 1942, New York, New York)

Francis Biddle, Attorney General

"Our war today is a war of peoples, allied throughout the world to reconquer or to defend their status as free men." (March 23, 1942, Washington, D. C.)

Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of the Interior

"We are entering the century of the common man. The free nations of the earth will determine that it must be controlled by the common man. I do not care whether the head of the state be called a President, an Emperor, a King or a Commissar. I have never myself yearned to be governed by a man who did not earn his own trousers but inherited them. The important thing will be whether the fate and governance of the free nations of the earth-- and we intend to make them all free-- shall be in the hands of the people themselves, regardless of the name by which they shall call their leader." (June 21, 1942, Pittsburgh, Pa.)

Donald M. Nelson, Chairman, War Production Board

"In the deepest and truest sense, this is a people's war. By that I mean that the only real gains which can come out of this struggle are gains for the people as a whole. We are fighting so that the richness of this modern world can more and more come to mean richness for ordinary folk, and so that ordinary folk may be free to do the best they can with lives which are not cramped and blighted by want." (September 7, 1942, Cleveland, Ohio)

Henry A. Wallace, Vice-President

"Some have spoken of the 'American Century.' I say that the century on which we are entering -- the century which will come out of this war -- can be and must be the century of the common man." (May 8, 1942, New York, New York)

Henry A. Wallace, Vice-President

"The four duties of the people's revolution, as I see them today, are these:

1. The duty to produce to the limit.
2. The duty to transport as rapidly as possible to the field of battle.
3. The duty to fight with all that is in us.
4. The duty to build a peace -- just, charitable and enduring.

The fourth duty is that which inspires the other three." (May 8, 1942, New York, New York)

Sumner Welles, Under-Secretary of State

"This is in very truth a people's war. It is a war which cannot be regarded as won until the fundamental rights of the peoples of the earth are secured. In no other manner can a peace be achieved." (May 30, 1942, Memorial Day Speech)

Sumner Welles, Under-Secretary of State

"For since this is in truth a people's war, it must be followed by a people's peace." (October 8, 1942, Boston, Mass.)

c. NECESSITY OF VICTORY

Franklin D. Roosevelt, President

"Only total victory can reward us." (January 6, 1942, to Congress)

Franklin D. Roosevelt, President

"....the only thing that matters now for every one of us in the United Nations --- winning the war." (March 9, 1942, Farm program Anniversary)

Franklin D. Roosevelt, President

"I do think that the idea is being understood more than ever before what would happen if any part of any of the Hemisphere were dominated by a successful Germany. We wouldn't live the same kind of lives -- ..." (April 14, 1942, Washington, D. C.)

Franklin D. Roosevelt, President

"We are fighting to free the people of this earth from the most powerful, the most ruthless, the most savage enemy the world has ever seen." (May 10, 1942, Flag Day Statement)

Franklin D. Roosevelt, President

"You (young Americans) are doing first things first -- fighting to win this war. For you know that should this war be lost all our plans for the peace to follow would be meaningless... Victory is essential; but victory is not enough for you -- or for us." (September 3, 1942, to the International Student Assembly)

Adolf A. Berle, Assistant Secretary of State

"We are resolved there shall be no compromise in this struggle." (March 25, 1942, New York, New York)

Joseph C. Gray, Former Ambassador to Japan

"The Japanese military machine can and will be discredited in the eyes of the Japanese people -- and we, the United States of America, will bring that about.

"Two questions. First, why? Answer: because until it is so discredited, permanent peace never can and never will be restored in the Pacific area. Second, how? Answer: by utter and complete defeat by the armed forces of the United States of America and of the other United Nations." (September 18, 1942, Syracuse, N. Y.)

Brig. Gen. Frank T. Hines, Administrator of Veteran Affairs

"Ever since the Japs made their infernal attack, all right-thinking Americans have realized that one great task alone confronts all of us-- the absolute and complete military defeat of the enemies of freedom and democracy who are attempting to subjugate the world." (September 1, 1942, Cincinnati, Ohio)

HeraldICKES, Secretary of Interior

"We do not want, we will not have, a peace without victory--and I do not mean a tinkered victory, a 'milque-toast' triumph. Nor will we tolerate a stalemate. We know that a peace without victory would be only an intermission during which the enemy would arm himself feverishly for a renewal of the attack, during which we, of necessity, would have to be doing the same thing.

"We know that we cannot be safe nor can there be any peace in the world short of a victory imposed by the might of the United Nations upon those who would despoil and defoul this world. Such a victory we must have, and such a victory we will win, regardless of the time it will take, or the cost of it, or the sacrifices required to bring it about." (March 12, 1942, Radio Address)

Robert Jackson, Associate Justice, Supreme Court

"The nation is confronted by a grim and fateful choice -- the choice between victory and ruin." (February 23, 1942, University of Buffalo, N.Y., Commencement)

Frank Knox, Secretary of the Navy

"Hard and long though the road may be, we will seek steadfastly the ultimate goal where peace awaits us - a peace of justice and righteousness - a peace with victory." (January 12, 1942, Conference of Mayors)

Robert D. Patterson, Under-Secretary of War

"This has got to be an all-out war because the alternative, at the end of it, will be all-out victory or all-out defeat. No compromise is possible. The other side will not offer any compromise, except to get time to strike again. We will not accept any such compromise. You can't compromise with a pair of rattlesnakes." (September 18, 1942, Camp Hood, Texas)

Robert P. Patterson, Under-Secretary of War

"All our resources, in men and in materials, all our energies, must be bent toward that single aim -- winning the war." (September 19, 1942, Kansas City, Missouri)

Henry A. Wallace, Vice-President

"No compromise with Satan is possible. We shall not rest until all the victims under the Nazi yoke are freed. We shall fight for a complete peace as well as a complete victory." (May 8, 1942, New York)

Sumner Welles, Under-Secretary of State

"... I am not one of those few who believe that 'we are losing this war.' I not only believe that we are going to win this war, but I know that however long the struggle may be, however mountainous the obstacles that must yet be overcome, the American people will never lay down their arms until the final and complete victory is won by the United Nations." (October 8, 1942, Boston, Mass.)

d. WAR OF SURVIVAL

Franklin D. Roosevelt, President

"... I think that survival is what our problem is, survival of what we have all lived for for a great many generations." (April 14, 1942, Pan American Governing Board)

Franklin D. Roosevelt, President

"For they (the American people) know that the enemy is determined to destroy us, our homes and our institutions -- that in this war it is kill or be killed." (September 7, 1942, to the Nation)

William O. Douglas, Associate Justice, Supreme Court

"We are fighting for our very lives, our homes, our land, and our free institutions This is indeed a war for survival..." (September 5, 1942, Walla Walla, Washington)

James V. Forrestal, Under-Secretary of the Navy

Coming from the Southwest Pacific: "I was leaving an atmosphere of a war of annihilation... a war in which there are no rules except the ultimate rule of the jungle, survival or death.

"There is no appeasement, no negotiation with the ravaging forces that have been loosed upon the world." (September 6, 1942, Pearl Harbor, T.H.)

Joseph C. Grew, former Ambassador to Japan

".... while we are fighting against the forces of evil, lawlessness, and disorder in the world, we are primarily fighting to prevent the enslavement which actually threatens to be imposed upon us if we fail." (August 30, 1942, Radio Address)

Cordell Hull, Secretary of State

"We, Americans, are fighting today because we have been attacked. We are fighting, as I have said, to preserve our very existence." (July 23, 1942, Radio Address)

Ben Moreell, Chief of Bureau of Yards and Docks

"This is a war of extermination. Either we survive or we don't. No American wants to live as a slave. I tell you with all the earnestness I can command that those are the only two choices we have. I have no reason to deceive you -- I have no personal ambitions. I don't want a promotion. I don't want any power. All I want is to win this war! I am telling you the truth - we are playing for keeps! The stakes are high. They are men's lives and, more sacred still, men's liberties." (September 30, 1942, Toronto, Canada)

Donald M. Nelson, Chairman, War Production Board

"The United States is fighting for its life...." (February 18, 1942, Washington, D.C.)

Robert P. Patterson, Under-Secretary of War

"Our republic is fighting for its existence and its future life." (December 14, 1941, New York)

e. DEFEAT OF MILITARISM AND NAZISMFranklin D. Roosevelt, President

"Sources of international brutality wherever they exist must be absolutely and finally broken." (December 9, 1941, Radio Address)

Franklin D. Roosevelt, President

"Our own objectives are clear; ... the objective of smashing the militarism imposed by War Lords upon their enslaved peoples; ..." (January 6, 1942, to Congress)

Franklin D. Roosevelt, President

"We and the other United Nations are committed to the destruction of the militarism of Japan and Germany." (February 23, 1942, Radio Address)

Franklin D. Roosevelt, President

"If the forces of conquest are not successfully resisted and defeated there will be no freedom and no independence and no opportunity for freedom for any nation.

"It is, therefore, to the single and supreme objective of defeating the Axis forces of aggression that the United Nations have pledged all their resources and efforts." (August 14, 1942, to Churchill)

Joseph C. Grew, Former Ambassador to Japan

"That Japanese military machine and military caste and military system must be utterly crushed, their credit and predominance must be utterly broken, for the future safety and welfare of the United States and of the United Nations and for the future safety and welfare of civilization and humanity." (August 30, 1942, Radio Address)

Cordell Hull, Secretary of State

"We are united in our determination to destroy the world-wide force of ruthless conquest and brutal enslavement." (July 23, 1942, Radio Address)

General George C. Marshall, Chief of Staff

"No compromise is possible, and the victory of the democracies can only be complete with the utter defeat of the war machines of Germany and Japan." (May 29, 1942, West Point, N.Y.)

Leo Pasvolsky, State Department

"Our country and all nations associated with us in the present conflict are resolved that the brutal forces of conquest and domination will be utterly destroyed." (March 4, 1942, Delaware, Ohio)

Henry A. Wallace, Vice-President

"We (Mexico, United States, and United Nations) are fighting against the monsters of tyranny and savage force, wherever on the earth they must be fought." (September 16, 1942, Los Angeles, Calif., anniversary of Mexican independence)

Sumner Welles, Under-Secretary of State

"... the German and the Italian people, like the peoples of the United Nations, know that no such world can rise into being until Hitlerism and the gangsters who compose it are finally crushed and defeated." (March 16, 1942, Press Conference)

Sumner Welles, Under-Secretary of State

"We must utterly and finally crush the evil men, and the iniquitous systems which they have devised, that are today menacing our existence, and that of the free men and women throughout the earth. There can be no compromise." (May 30, 1942, Arlington, Va.)

f. FOUR FREEDOMS

Franklin D. Roosevelt, President

"In the future days, which we seek to make secure, we look forward to a world founded upon four essential human freedoms.

"The first is freedom of speech and expression-- everywhere in the world.

"The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way-- everywhere in the world.

"The third is freedom from want-- which, translated into world terms, means economic understandings which will secure to every nation a healthy peacetime life for its inhabitants-- everywhere in the world.

"The fourth is freedom from fear-- which, translated into world terms, means a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor-- anywhere in the world." (January 6, 1941, to Congress)

Franklin D. Roosevelt, President

"Our own objectives are clear; ... the objective of establishing and securing freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want, and freedom from fear everywhere in the world." (January 6, 1942, to Congress)

Franklin D. Roosevelt, President

"To guarantee those blessings to all the world this country has become an arsenal of democracy which we hope under God will guarantee to all mankind not only freedom of speech, freedom to worship God each in his own way, but freedom from want and freedom from fear as well.

"That is the kind of world we are fighting to attain." (March 26, 1942, New Haven, Conn.)

Franklin D. Roosevelt, President

"The four freedoms of common humanity are as much elements of man's needs as air and sunlight, bread and salt. Deprive him of all these freedoms and he dies-- deprive him of a part of them and a part of him withers. Give them to him in full and abundant measure and he will cross the threshold of a new age, the greatest age of man.

"These freedoms are the rights of men of every creed and every race, wherever they live." (June 14, 1942, Flag Day Address)

Franklin D. Roosevelt, President

"Every one of you has an individual mission in this war-- this greatest and most decisive of all wars. You are not only fighting for your country and your people-- you are, in the large sense, delegates of freedom." (June 14, 1942, Message in Yank)

Franklin D. Roosevelt, President

"On this grim anniversary its (Independence Day) meaning has spread over the entire globe-- focusing the attention of the world upon the modern freedoms for which all the United Nations are now engaged in deadly war." (July 4, 1942, Independence Day Address)

Franklin D. Roosevelt, President

"I express the confident hope that the Atlantic Charter and the just world order to be made possible by the triumph of the United Nations will bring the Jews and oppressed people in all lands four freedoms which Christian and Jewish teachings have largely inspired." (July 17, 1942, Jewish Rally)

Franklin D. Roosevelt, President

"Our cause is not only liberty for ourselves but liberation for others. An American victory will be a United Nations victory and a victory for oppressed and enslaved people everywhere." (October 12, 1942, Columbus Day Statement)

Adolf A. Berle, Assistant Secretary of State

"Our ancestors in the New World challenged the mightiest empires and made themselves free. To deserve that freedom, as to make ourselves safe, we must now make freedom universal." (September 1, 1942, Radio Address)

Francis Biddle, Attorney General

"Since freedom is both our cause and our assurance, we must preserve and extend it while we are fighting." (March 23, 1942, Washington, D.C.)

Joseph C. Grew, Former Ambassador to Japan

"We are fighting this war for the preservation of righteousness, law, and order, but above all for the preservation of the freedoms which have been conferred upon us by the glorious heritage of our American citizenship and for these same freedoms in other countries of the United Nations;..." (August 30, 1942, Radio Address)

Cordell Hull, Secretary of State

"In this vast struggle, we, Americans, stand united with those who, like ourselves, are fighting for the preservation of their freedom; with those who are fighting to regain the freedom of which they have been brutally deprived; with those who are fighting for the opportunity to achieve freedom." (July 23, 1942, Radio Address)

Donald M. Nelson, Chairman, War Production Board

"We have in America the one great common aim which all free men must have--- to perfect our freedom, to guard it fiercely because we know its worth, and to make it mean real freedom for all of us in all ways." (July 10, 1942, Detroit, Mich.)

Henry A. Wallace, Vice-President

"This is a freedom war and no one in the United States is going to compel anyone else to believe in any particular philosophy." (April 18, 1942, Aberdeen, Md.)

Henry A. Wallace, Vice-President

"The people, in their millennial and revolutionary march toward manifesting (here on earth) the dignity that is in every human soul, hold as their creed the Four Freedoms..."

"And now, as we move forward toward realizing the Four Freedoms of this people's revolution..." (May 8, 1942, Free World Association)

Henry A. Wallace, Vice-President

"The Mexican people have a profound belief in the Four Freedoms as enunciated by President Roosevelt-- freedom of speech and religion, freedom from want and fear. But if I understand their history and feelings correctly, they would add three more freedoms-- first, the freedom to buy land at a reasonable price; second, the freedom to borrow money at a reasonable rate of interest; and third, the freedom to establish schools which teach the realities of life." (September 16, 1942, Los Angeles, Calif., anniversary of Mexican independence.)

Sumner Welles, Under-Secretary of State

"The kind of world for which the American people and their government stand is a world of international decency and of justice in which men and women will be free to worship, free to think and speak, and in which they will be free from fear." (March 16, 1942, Press Conference)

National Resources Planning Board

"We look forward to securing, through planning and cooperative action, a greater freedom for the American people. Great changes have come in our century with the industrial revolution, the rapid settlement of the continent, the development of technology, the acceleration of transportation and communication, the growth of modern capitalism, and rise of the national state with its economic programs. Too few corresponding adjustments have been made in our provisions for human freedom. In spite of all these changes, that great manifesto, the Bill of Rights, has stood unshaken 150 years. And now to the old freedoms we must add new freedoms and restate our objectives in modern terms:

"FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND EXPRESSION, FREEDOM TO WORSHIP, FREEDOM FROM WANT, and FREEDOM FROM FEAR, these are the universals of human life.

"The translation of freedom into modern terms applicable to the people of the United States includes, as the National Resources Planning Board sees it, the following declaration of rights:

- "1. THE RIGHT TO WORK, usefully and creatively through the productive years;
- "2. THE RIGHT TO FAIR PAY, adequate to command the necessities and amenities of life in exchange for work, ideas, thrift, and other socially valuable service;
- "3. THE RIGHT TO ADEQUATE FOOD, CLOTHING, SHELTER, and MEDICAL CARE;
- "4. THE RIGHT TO SECURITY, with freedom from fear of old age, want, dependency, sickness, unemployment, and accident;
- "5. THE RIGHT TO LIVE IN A SYSTEM OF FREE ENTERPRISE, free from compulsory labor, irresponsible private power, arbitrary public authority, and unregulated monopolies;
- "6. THE RIGHT TO COME AND GO, TO SPEAK OR TO BE SILENT, free from the spyings of secret political police;
- "7. THE RIGHT TO EQUALITY BEFORE THE LAW, with equal access to justice in fact;
- "8. THE RIGHT TO EDUCATION, for work, for citizenship, and for personal growth and happiness; and
- "9. THE RIGHT TO REST, recreation, and adventure; the opportunity to enjoy life and take part in an advancing civilization." (September 1942, Pamphlet, Post-war Planning)

g. DEMOCRACY AND WAY OF LIFE

Franklin D. Roosevelt, President

"We are now in the midst of a war not for conquest, not for vengeance, but for a world in which this nation, and all that this nation represents, will be safe for our children." (December 9, 1941, Broadcast)

Franklin D. Roosevelt, President

"We are fighting, as our fathers have fought, to uphold the doctrine that all men are equal in the sight of God." (January 6, 1942, to Congress)

Franklin D. Roosevelt, President

"... I have full faith and confidence that we shall be victorious in our struggle to maintain the democratic way of life." (March 31, 1942, Virgin Islands transfer anniversary)

Franklin D. Roosevelt, President

"Today, the sons of the new world are fighting in lands far distant from their own America. They are fighting to save for all mankind, including ourselves, the principles which have flourished in this new world of freedom." (October 12, 1942, Radio Address)

Francis Biddle, Attorney General

"We are engaged in fighting a war for democracy." (May 26, 1942, Philadelphia, Pa.)

Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of Interior

"We are desperately engaged in a titanic purpose to save our democratic institutions and to scourge from the earth a malignant evil." (May 26, 1942, Boston, Mass.)

Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of Interior

"If common men are fighting this war to establish that liberty, without which a people's century could never come into being, they must see to it, and they are going to see to it, that the guiding principles of our political, economic and social life shall be those underlying the Sermon on the Mount and the Declaration of Independence. That, above all else, is our war goal. That is why men are dying -- so that men may live." (June 21, 1942, Pittsburgh, Pa.)

Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of Interior

"For millennia man has been struggling toward the day when there would be established a society in which those who constitute it are truly brothers, regardless of the color of their skins. For centuries men of vision have been striving to establish a society based upon equal opportunity under the law, a society which recognizes that all men are endowed with certain inalienable rights, and within which it is a point of honor not to be the beneficiary of a special privilege but rather to accept only the fruits which one has grown for himself." (July 14, 1942, New York)

Robert H. Jackson, Associate Justice, Supreme Court (quoting OGR Information Digest)

"He said the nation must battle for a new order and a peace that 'can only be founded on democracy -- a virile and militant democracy'." (February 23, 1942, University of Buffalo, N.Y., Commencement)

Robert H. Jackson, Associate Justice, Supreme Court

"We of the United States can offer no more significant contribution in support of wisdom and fortitude than the history of our experiment in adapting older democratic thought to the needs of our time and country. The sum of the wisdom to be learned from study of the genesis and struggles of self government in this country is to confirm the wisdom taught by the great cultures that antedate us -- that it is not only liberal governments but wise self restraints that make men free. We must hold these lessons high to become a light unto them that sit in the darkness of conquest." (September 2, 1942, Washington, D. C.)

Wendell Lund, War Production Board

"Labor's aims in the peace are not merely the aims of the men and women now working under the enlightened and improved conditions secured by the unions in which they hold membership cards. Labor's aims are to safeguard and interpret the Bill of Rights, and to make them as effective in industry as in government. Our workers draw their strength from the realization that while the Axis has only bombs, we have bombs and the Bill of Rights and the challenge and the chance to build a better world." (June 6, 1942, Berkeley, Calif.)

Archibald MacLeish, Office of War Information

"We are waging this war in order that America may remain a democratic country -- in order that America may achieve a greater, not a narrower, democracy-- ..." (April 20, 1942, Associated Press Annual Luncheon)

Robert P. Patterson, Under-Secretary of War

"I have faith that we will gain a complete victory over those who would destroy us. I have confidence at the conclusion of this war our fundamental rights will be undiminished and that because of our sacrifices in this present struggle, our posterity shall continue to enjoy the precious liberties of our Bill of Rights." (December 14, 1941, New York)

Major General Eugene Reybold, Chief of Engineers, War Department

"Now, at last, there can be no one so blind as not to see that this is truly a war for the world. It is a war for our world-- the world as we know it-- the world as we propose to leave it for our children." (March 26, 1942, Philadelphia, Pa.)

Henry A. Wallace, Vice-President

"When that day of victory comes the New World will have a chance to make a greater contribution than ever before to the welfare of all humanity. We can help other peoples to acquire those blessings of democracy for which we ourselves have struggled so hard and so long. We can give the benefit of our own experience in the practice of democracy. We can encourage other peoples who will be striving for equality of opportunity, for universal education, for modern methods of production, for wide participation in government. We can hold forth the New World ideal of international peace based on real friendship and understanding.

"This is not to say that we in the New World have actually reached any such perfect democracy. Though we aspire to these ideals we still have far to go in attaining them." (Article, New York Times, October 11, 1942)

Thomas M. Woodward, Vice-Chairman, Maritime Commission

"We are fighting to maintain Democracy. We interpret that word as the right of a free people to determine its own mode of life; the right of an individual to express himself freely without limitation of state action, in short, freedom of speech, which implies freedom of the press; the right to worship according to the dictates of conscience; the right of free assembly and petition; and the right to govern ourselves through our freely chosen representatives and not to be ruled by the arbitrary edicts of self-appointed persons by whatever name - dictator or leader." (March 6, 1942, Haverford, Pa.)

National Resources Planning Board

"We must fight the despotisms and all their forces, not only with greater force but with ideas and faith. We must develop and hold out to the enslaved people now under the heel of the dictators a better way of life than we or they have had." (September, 1942, Pamphlet, Post-war Planning)

h. NECESSITY FOR POST-WAR PLANNING NOW

Wayne Chatfield-Taylor, Under-Secretary of Commerce

"The burden that will be thrown on a lean and hungry distributing system by the coming of peace and the reconversion of industry, may prove a strain that will shake the system from top-to-bottom. Consideration of the rehabilitation of the distributing system should be a part of your (distributors) method of approach to your present problem.

"Naturally you cannot plan the details of your operations in the first years of peace. We cannot know enough about the conditions under which we will be struggling then. But you can be questioning every policy and practice of the past, not only as to necessary emergency changes but also as to long-range efficiency.

"Your long-range planning must go farther than the probable booming days which should attend victory. We should end this war with a greater productive plant than man has dreamed about. As that plant is converted to civilian production, we will be face-to-face with what might be termed the post-post-war period.

"Then will arrive the greatest challenge ever made to the distributing brains of the nation. Then as never before, will emphasis in business be upon distributing." (October 5, 1942, Boston, Mass.)

Wayne Chatfield-Taylor, Under-Secretary of Commerce

"On the foundations of victory the United Nations will build. Plans must be ready for this new structure; we cannot afford to be without them. When the break comes it will appear suddenly. After years of bitter war the world need not be exposed to further years of anarchy, merely because plans to meet the problems of reconstruction are difficult to make.

"I can assure you that there will be plans to meet whatever immediate necessities of the situation may require - not only plans but materials, supplies and organizations to put them into quick effect." (October 7, 1942, Boston, Mass.)

Brig. Gen. Philip B. Fleming, Administrator, Federal Works Agency

"My primary concern, the primary concern of all of us, is to win the war. And we will win it. Of only slightly less importance in my opinion, is the situation we are likely to face after the war is won...

"I hope we have learned from our mistakes. This time it will be inexcusable if we fail to prepare the blueprints and the specifications well in advance, so that we can pull them out of the cupboard in our time of need and put the contractor and his construction people to work.

"We have the opportunity here to rehouse all of our people in decency and comfort, to rebuild our cities closer to the yeart's desire, to produce a happier and fuller life for all of us and our children, and in the process to assure a job to every man willing and able to work." (September 30, 1942, Toronto, Ontario)

Brig. Gen. Philip B. Fleming, Administrator, Federal Works Agency

"... I prefer to be counted as belonging to the... school which holds that the period following the war will most probably be one of uncertainty, and that we will be extremely unwise if we fail to make some plans for it now. Some of those plans should provide jobs that may not be available in private industry. Perhaps the best way for government to provide jobs is through a comprehensive program of necessary public works. Other plans, fiscal and economic, also must be made. Indeed, it may turn out that public works construction will be only a minor part in the overall post-war program, but that is the only

part of the program with which we are concerned at the moment." (October 21, 1942, Chicago, Ill.)

"The kind of planning we need for the post-war adjustment, in my opinion, will get most of the preliminaries out of the way now, before the end of the war. We will have the blueprints drawn and the specifications written. We will have the sites acquired. We will have had our councilmanic approval and our bond issues voted, if necessary; and, where Federal assistance is necessary, advance arrangements will be made for it. And then, when our present war plants shut down and start to re-tool, and our boys come back from overseas, we can pull our blueprints out of the cupboard, hand them to the contractor, conduct him to the site, and say, 'You start digging here tomorrow morning.' The fates that rule over us may not give us a year or two years this time to make up our minds to begin to get ready to start." (October 21, 1942, Chicago, Ill.)

Cordell Hull, Secretary of State

"Without impediment to the fullest prosecution of the war-- indeed, for its most effective prosecution-- the United Nations should from time to time, as they did in adopting the Atlantic Charter, formulate and proclaim their common views regarding fundamental policies which will chart for mankind a wise course based on enduring spiritual values." (July 23, 1942, Radio Address)

William M. Jeffers, Rubber Administrator, (quoting New York Times)

"When Senator Bankhead of Alabama expressed fear that rayon producing plants might control the tire manufacturing business after the war, Mr. Jeffers said:

"Our job now is to win the war. Let's quit talking about what's going to happen after the war." (October 12, 1942, before Senate Agricultural Committee)

Frank Knox, Secretary of the Navy

"The hope of a permanent peace must be deferred for the present. We must prepare for a long war. Our nations must prepare to fight for their own freedom for that is tied up in that of mankind in general. This requires collaboration in the real sense of the word. It demands loyal cooperation and sacrifice. We must be prepared to give reciprocal aid." (March 30, 1942, Inter-American Defense Board)

Rear Admiral Howard L. Vickery, U.S.N., Vice-Chairman, U. S. Maritime Commission

"... it would be foolish not to look ahead now at some of the ills to which the maritime industry is likely to be exposed when the war is over. We are fighting to establish a secure peace. Intelligent planning for the merchant marine of the future is essential, therefore, and must be considered along with our present efforts.

"To be sure, the merchant marine of tomorrow holds forth far more promise than did the one which was being built twenty-five years ago. From this war we will emerge with much better ships, with a more efficient seagoing personnel and with the wise provision of the Merchant Marine Act of 1936 to guide us." (October 16, 1942, New York, N. Y.)

Sumner Welles, Under-Secretary of State

"The final terms of the peace should wait until the immediate tasks of the transition period after the defeat of the Axis powers have been completed by the United Nations, and until the final judgements can be coolly and rationally rendered.

"But the organization through which the United Nations are to carry on their cooperation should surely be formed so far as practicable before the fires of war which are welding them together have cooled. Everything which can be done to this end before the war is over must be done." (June 17, 1942, Baltimore, Md.)

Carroll L. Wilson, Department of Commerce

"It is too early to plan the peace... But it is not too early (in the war) for you... and you... and you... every one of you here and everyone whom you represent, to be thinking daringly, courageously, even fantastically of how to create enough customers to keep our production plant filled with orders when the war is over." (February 28, 1942, Chicago, Ill.)

"Nowadays a great deal of valuable time is being wasted in loose talk of post-war planning." (February 28, 1942, Chicago, Ill.)

Carroll L. Wilson, Department of Commerce

"... it is not too early for you to be devoting a little of your thinking to the part which you can play in making the United States strong for the peace." (March 25, 1942, Chicago, Ill.)

National Resources Planning Board

"Post-war demands to put men and materials to work to rebuild cities cannot find us seeking postponement because comprehensive plans are not ready; on the other hand, it would be tragic to plunge into a series of unplanned public and private works. We must be in a position to bring to bear at the earliest possible date the available facts and the judgments of those who know their communities-- officials, civic and social agencies, citizens-- to produce at least rough sketches of the directions and forms which community development should take; then, as time and facilities warrant, we can progressively fill in gaps in our knowledge and refine our plans. The National Resources Planning Board is now arranging with several cities to launch experiments in this type of progressive planning." (May 18, 1942, Article, Better Cities)

"Despite the demands of the war effort on the time and energy of all of us, it is none too soon for groups in every city to organize in cooperation with their own officials for community self-analysis, for the thought and study needed to guide post-war rebuilding." (May 18, 1942, Article, Better Cities)

National Resources Planning Board

"To win the peace, we must prepare now-- even while we are concentrating on winning the war. In a very real sense, the clarification of the objectives in the onward march of freedom-loving people is an essential part of our war effort." (September, 1942, Pamphlet, Post-war Planning)

"There are those who contend that we should not plan now, but should wait until the end of the war and then begin to plan. To wait until the war is over will be to wait until it is too late. When the war ends, some 70 billion dollars of war expenditure must be diverted into peace channels; when the war ends, 30 million war workers must be brought back again to tasks of peace. Great industries must be reorganized and reconverted. Many communities with war industries must be reorganized. Vast dislocations of men, materials, capital, must be relocated." (September, 1942, Pamphlet, Post-war Planning)

3. IMMEDIATE POST-WAR PROBLEMS

a. GENERAL STATEMENTS; ARMISTICE PERIOD

Franklin D. Roosevelt, President

"The challenge of the new day for American colleges is very great. All our energies at the present must be devoted to winning the war. Yet winning the war will be futile if we do not throughout the period of its winning keep our people prepared to make a lasting and worthy peace. This time the peace must be global, the same as the war has become global.

"Around the peace table the voice of the United States will have great weight. It is of tremendous importance that that voice shall represent the aspirations of a people determined that mankind everywhere shall go forward to its destiny. The soul of that destiny is maximum freedom of the human spirit." (September 24, 1942, letter to E. N. Case, president of Colgate University)

Adolf A. Berle, Assistant Secretary of State

"The technique of that period of transition must be planned and thought out soon -- for this time we cannot risk the breaking of all ranks which took place in 1918 when Germany collapsed.

"In that transition period, it will be necessary by a combined effort to make arrangements, -- and make them quickly -- so that nations generally can use their resources and their manpower to satisfy their peoples' needs." (October 15, 1942, Birmingham, Alabama)

Henry A. Wallace, Vice President

"Those who write the peace must think of the whole world. There can be no privileged peoples. We ourselves in the United States are no more a master race than the Nazis. And we can not perpetuate economic warfare without planting the seeds of military warfare. We must use our power at the peace table to build an economic peace that is just, charitable and enduring.

"If we really believe that we are fighting for a people's peace, all the rest becomes easy." (May 8, 1942, New York City)

Carroll L. Wilson, Department of Commerce

"It is not doubtful that we must produce substitutes now for many of these items in order to make sure that we shall dictate the terms of peace." (March 25, 1942, Chicago, Ill.)

National Resources Planning Board

"Plans for demobilization must take precedence over longer range objectives because the ability to meet the immediate post-war situation wisely will determine whether we shall have the opportunity to pursue an orderly progress toward our long-range goal." (September 1942, pamphlet, Post-war Planning)

b. DISARMAMENT OF AGGRESSORS (cf. Sections 4c, 4e)

Sumner Welles, Under-Secretary of State

"I believe they (the American people) will require that the victorious nations, joined with the United States, undertake forthwith during the period of the armistice the disarmament of all nations, as set forth in the Atlantic Charter, which 'may threaten aggression outside of their frontiers.'" (May 30, 1942, Arlington, Va.)

c. OCCUPATION OF ENEMY TERRITORY

d. REESTABLISHING GOVERNMENT IN ENEMY OCCUPIED TERRITORY (cf. Section 7b)

Franklin D. Roosevelt, President

"Our own objectives are clear; ... the objective of liberating the subjugated nations (January 6, 1942, to Congress)

Franklin D. Roosevelt, President

"The people of the United States join with me in this greeting to the people of Yugoslavia. We are sure of their victory in the valiant struggle for the restoration of their freedom." (March 27, 1942, Washington, D. C.)

Franklin D. Roosevelt, President

"...our victory means the restoration of a free and independent France -- and the saving of France from the slavery which would be imposed upon her by her external enemies and her internal traitors." (April 28, 1942, Radio Address)

Adolf A. Berle, Assistant Secretary of State

"...we will redeem the pledge of the Atlantic Charter that the nations submerged by Nazi cruelty shall be restored in freedom and strength." (March 25, 1942, New York)

Cordell Hull, Secretary of State (quoting the New York Times)

"There has been taken up fully and freely, he said, the question of the deep concern of this government for the French people in their distress and in their conquered situation and the great desire of the United States to see the restoration of all of French popular institutions -- that is, he explained, all of those rights and benefits and blessings that the great French Republic once enjoyed." (May 31, 1942, press conference statement)

Cordell Hull, Secretary of State (quoting the New York Times)

"This government, he emphasized, has in mind at all times the sovereignty of France and her people and what he described as its sacred preservation." (May 31, press conference)

Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of the Interior

"...the United Nations will restore freedom to France and to all of the other lands that are under the lash of the Axis." (July 14, 1942, New York)

Admiral William D. Leahy, Chief of Staff to the Commander-in-Chief

"All over the world -- a world of absolute misery -- conquered people are waiting. If we Americans fail, the French, the Dutch, the Czechs, the Poles, the Greeks, the Norwegians, go down with us. Russia, China, Denmark, Holland, and Belgium are waiting and fighting with us. We dare not be reckless with the fate of our own country -- we dare not throw away the fate of the world." (August 9, 1942, on the Army-Navy Production Award broadcast)

Sumner Welles, Under-Secretary of State

"The French people may rest assured that the Government and people of the United States will continue to maintain unimpaired their full respect for the sovereign rights of the people of France. They may continue to be confident that by the victory of the United Nations those rights will be restored intact to them." (April 13, 1942, Washington, D. C.)

Sumner Welles, Under-Secretary of State

"Of one thing I am sure -- when our common victory has been won, ...Greece will regain her territorial integrity, and the achievement of her legitimate aspirations for security in the world of the future." (October 28, Washington, D. C.)

Department of State

The United States and Great Britain are in accord that Madagascar will, of course, be restored to France after the war or at any time the occupation of Madagascar is no longer essential to the common cause of the United Nations. (May 4, 1942, Madagascar Occupation)

e. RELIEF AND RECONSTRUCTION

Adolf A. Berle, Assistant Secretary of State

"We are already pledged to supply initial relief and eventual reconstruction when arms are finally laid down and submerged nations are liberated." (February 20, 1942, Des Moines, Iowa)

Cordell Hull, Secretary of State

"With victory achieved, our first concern must be for those whose sufferings have been almost beyond human endurance...."

"During this period of transition, the United Nations must continue to act in the spirit of cooperation which now underlies their war effort - to supplement and make more effective the action of countries individually in re-establishing public order, in providing swift relief, in meeting the manifold problems of readjustment." (July 23, 1942, radio address)

Wendell Lund, Director, Labor Production Division

"...we are going to produce, and produce, and produce, until we win.

"Then we will face a job that may be greater yet -- feeding and reconstructing a starved and wrecked world.

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We will have to work hard to safeguard the rights and liberties embodied in the Four Freedoms.

"But we know it will be worthwhile, if we can build a world order that will safeguard us against the rise of another Hitler, another Axis." (August 6, 1942, Springfield, Mass.)

Dr. Thomas Parran, Surgeon General

"Even after the fight ceases, emergency health problems will remain. Starvation and epidemics will be widespread in many lands. Then the health forces of America will face their great test.

"A strong helping hand must bring aid promptly to the exhausted peoples freed from enemy control. A life must be built on the scorched earth. In its reconstruction process we, the doctors and nurses, will have a major role in laying a firm foundation of good health, of a just and lasting peace." (May 18, 1942, Chicago, Ill.)

Sumner Welles, Under-Secretary of State

"During the difficult transition period between the end of the war and the final conclusion of peace, there will be vital need for such an organization. Millions of the world's peoples will be homeless; in Europe and in Asia transportation systems will be ruined, production facilities destroyed, farms laid waste, cities devastated; we shall all of us be confronted with the gigantic task of converting to peacetime uses whole industries now producing munitions of war." (June 17, 1942, Baltimore, Md.)

Sumner Welles, Under-Secretary of State

"The setting-up, now, of efficient machinery to deal with such problems as relief and rehabilitation, for example, which will accompany victory, cannot fail to strengthen the resolve of all liberty-loving peoples, including those in areas now occupied by the enemy to bring the conflict to the speediest possible conclusion; it cannot fail to make them realize that the sort of world for which we are striving is worth the sacrifices of war; is worth the cost of victory." (October 8, 1942, Boston, Mass.)

Claude Wickard, Secretary of Agriculture

"But 1942 is only the starting point for demands on our food supply. These demands will not slack off when the war ends. The nearer we move toward victory the surer we must be that our facilities for producing and processing and distributing food are running at capacity. If we fail to feed hungry people in Europe and other parts of the world, we will create chaos after the war. We can't build the kind of world we are fighting for on the groundwork of starvation." (September 24, 1942, National Association of Food Chains)

f. TREATMENT OF THE ENEMY

Dean Acheson, Assistant Secretary of State

"The President of the United States has made it clear that the liberation of the Italian and other peoples from the military cliques which hold them in their clutches is one of the war aims of the United Nations...for the Italian people the Atlantic Charter furnishes the pledge which is essential to their restoration to a free and full life: the enjoyment with all states, great or small, victors or vanquished, of access on equal terms to the trade and raw materials of the world." (June 2, 1942, Italian-American Rally Address)

Adolf A. Berle, Assistant Secretary of State

"The Atlantic Charter made it plain that none desires to enslave, annihilate or destroy the German people." (May 10, 1942, New York)

"....It will be impossible in the post-war period to protect Germans who are in countries which they have savagely and brutally oppressed. The Germans who now sit in Holland, in Belgium and in Luxembourg are merely awaiting their own destruction. Safety for them must lie in flight, back to their own country. In the coming day of victory, it may not be easy for them to go back." (May 10, 1942, New York)

Adolf A. Berle, Assistant Secretary of State

"Two years ago Mussolini and his contemptible associates handed over the Government of Italy to the Nazi police and the Nazi troops, and made themselves a puppet government of German quislings. This was a crime against Italy and against history.

"I am convinced that the Italian people, now as always, do not support this terrible treason which has made them slaves. They await only the opportunity to settle accounts with the traitors who have sold them back into foreign slavery." (October 12, 1942, New York)

Francis Biddle, Attorney General

"...to those citizens of Italy across the sea in whom the love of freedom has not died, I offer a brief message from America on this Columbus Day. The words are not mine; they are Italy's -- the words of Giuseppe Mazzina in an address to the young men of his country, delivered at Milan in memory of the martyrs of Cosenza, July 25, 1848. I quote:

"' Beyond the Alps, beyond the sea, are other peoples not fighting or preparing to fight the holy fight of independence, of nationality, of liberty; other peoples striving by different routes to reach the same goal -- improvement, association, and the foundation of an authority which shall put an end to moral anarchy, an authority which mankind may love and obey without remorse or shame. Unite with them; they will unite with you.'" (October 12, 1942, New York)

Joseph C. Grew, Former Ambassador to Japan

"...we can hold out the hope of a liberated Japan. A population as great as that of the German Reich waits to be freed not only from its militarist masters, but from itself. The Japanese have great cultural assets with which they could continue to contribute to the happiness and civilization of mankind. But they have -- particularly in recent years -- been led along a road of militarism and overweening extremist ambition which have directed Japanese civilization into a blind alley of potential ruin. We and our allies of the United Nations can free those people of Japan who yearn in secret merely to be allowed to pursue their normal beauty-loving lives, in peace, in their own homes, and in their own cultural surroundings. But we must realize that the captivity in which they are held is no mere temporary phenomenon of an occupying force or of a police control suddenly grown tyrannical: it is the despotism of tradition through the centuries -- grown corrupt, savage, and untrue even to its own followers." (October 10, 1942, New York City)

Harold Ickes, Secretary of the Interior

"We are fighting for civilization, not only for ourselves, but also for the tragically misled German people." (July 14, 1942, New York)

3. - 6

Frank Knox, Secretary of the Navy

"But it will not be enough merely to maintain our armaments after the war. We must see to it that we write a peace in which the things for which Hitler and Hitler's Germany and the things for which the military caste in Japan stand, are utterly vanquished. There can be no compromise. What they stand for is utterly evil and it must be destroyed."

"This does not mean, of course, that the war must go on until every German and every Japanese is killed or captured. But it does mean that the struggle must go on until every person responsible for the introduction and perpetuation of these principles is destroyed and the system they established and represent has been smashed beyond repair..."

"And after we have done this, see to it that our nation never again is left without weapons in a world where he who would be free must be strong."

"But we haven't won that peace yet. In order to win this war, men must bring to the achievement of that victory everything they have, and everything they are. Defeat is unthinkable." (September 19, 1942, Kansas City, Mo.)

Wallace McClure, State Department

"In World War II the United Nations, fighting for democracy, fight against inequality and propose to accord to their present enemies as well as to their friends some means for economic rehabilitation." (May 15, 1942, Chapel Hill, N. C.)

John L. Sullivan, Treasury Department

"We will crush them (the enemies) so completely that they will never again dare to lift their hands against the free American people." (June 14, 1942, Chicago, Ill.)

Sumner Welles, Under-Secretary of State

"And I believe that (the American people) will demand that justice be done, inexorably and swiftly to those individuals, groups or peoples, as the case may be, that can truly be held accountable for the stupendous catastrophe into which they have plunged the human race. But I believe they will likewise wish to make certain that no element in any nation shall be forced to atone vicariously for crimes for which it is not responsible, and that no people shall be forced to look forward to endless years of want and of starvation." (May 30, 1942, Memorial Day)

Carroll L. Wilson, Department of Commerce

"Their (the Fascist) philosophy has to be exterminated by annihilating its believers." (February 23, 1942, Chicago, Ill.)

g. PUNISHMENT OF THOSE GUILTY OF ATROCITIES

Franklin D. Roosevelt, President

"The practice of executing scores of innocent hostages in reprisal for isolated attacks on Germans in countries temporarily under the Nazi heel revolts a world already inured to suffering and brutality...."

"These are the acts of desperate men who know in their hearts that they cannot win. Frightfulness can never bring peace to Europe. It only sows the seeds of hatred which will one day bring fearful retribution." (October 25, 1941, Washington, D. C.)

Franklin D. Roosevelt, President

"The American people not only sympathize with all victims of Nazi crimes, but will hold the perpetrators of these crimes to strict accountability in a day of reckoning which will surely come." (July 17, 1942, letter to American Jewish Congress)

Franklin D. Roosevelt, President

"The Secretary of State recently forwarded to me a communication signed by the Ambassador of the Netherlands and the Ministers of Yugoslavia and Luxembourg on behalf of the governments of Belgium, Greece, Luxembourg, Norway, Netherlands, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and the French National Committee in London, calling attention to the barbaric crimes against civilian populations which are being committed in occupied countries particularly on the continent of Europe.

"The United Nations are going to win this war. When victory has been achieved, it is the purpose of the Government of the United States, as I know it is the purpose of each of the United Nations, to make appropriate use of the information and evidence in respect to these barbaric crimes of the invaders, in Europe and in Asia. It seems only fair that they should have this warning that the time will come when they shall have to stand in courts of law in the very countries which they are now oppressing and answer to their acts." (August 21, 1942, Washington, D. C.)

Franklin D. Roosevelt, President

"On August twenty-first I said that this Government was constantly receiving information concerning the barbaric crimes being committed by the enemy against civilian populations in occupied countries, particularly on the continent of Europe. I said it was the purpose of this Government, as I knew it to be the purpose of the other United Nations, to see that when victory is won the perpetrators of these crimes shall answer for them before courts of law.

"The commission of these crimes continues.

"I now declare it to be the intention of this Government that the successful close of the war shall include provision for the surrender to the United Nations of war criminals.

"With a view to establishing responsibility of the guilty individuals through the collection and assessment of all available evidence, this Government is prepared to cooperate with the British and other Governments in establishing a United Nations Commission for the Investigation of War Crimes.

"The number of persons eventually found guilty will undoubtedly be extremely small compared to the total enemy populations. It is not the intention of this Government or of the Governments associated with us to resort to mass reprisals. It is our intention that just and sure punishment shall be meted out to the ringleaders responsible for the organized murder of thousands of innocent persons and the commission of atrocities which have violated every tenet of the Christian faith." (October 7, 1942, Washington, D. C.)

Franklin D. Roosevelt, President

"The United Nations have decided to establish the identity of those Nazi leaders who are responsible for the innumerable acts of savagery. As each of these criminal deeds is committed, it is being carefully investigated; and the evidence is being relentlessly piled up for the future purposes of justice.

"We have made it entirely clear that the United Nations seek no mass reprisals against the populations of Germany or Italy or Japan. But the ring leaders and their brutal henchmen must be named, and apprehended, and tried in accordance with the judicial processes of criminal law." (October 12, 1942, Radio Address)

Adolf A. Berle, Assistant Secretary of State

"Let it be determined that the men who are responsible for these horrors (in Greece) shall meet at long last the justice and the judgment they have deserved at the hands of the free peoples." (March 25, 1942, New York)

h. PROBLEM OF REPARATIONS

PREVENTION OF FUTURE AGGRESSION

a. GENERAL STATEMENTS

Franklin D. Roosevelt, President

"We will not only defend ourselves to the uttermost but make it very certain that this form of treachery shall never again endanger us." (December 8, 1941, Declaration of War on Japan)

b. ROLE AND USE OF FORCE IN INTERNATIONAL LIFE

Adolf A. Berle, Assistant Secretary of State

"No student of aviation fails to point out that we are only beginning to learn what air power can do. On the drafting boards of the aviation designers there are already plans which make present air warfare and air transport look as obsolete as a sailing ship looks alongside an ocean liner.

"Both in this war and after it, our foreign policy must take account of that fact. It changes our whole point of view. In the last war, and in the present war, the German explosion of conquest was met by barriers-- the British and French land armies, and the sea, held by the British and American Navies. These barriers borrowed time for us -- time to produce munitions, to organize armies and air force, and to meet our better prepared enemies on even terms. But the future does not offer to lend us time. It puts us in a permanent front-line." (October 15, 1942, Birmingham, Ala.)

Cordell Hull, Secretary of State

"It is... clear that, in the process of re-establishing international order, the United Nations must exercise surveillance over aggressor nations until such time as the latter demonstrate their willingness and ability to live at peace with other nations. How long such surveillance will need to continue must depend upon the rapidity with which the peoples of Germany, Japan, Italy and their satellites give convincing proof that they have repudiated and abandoned the monstrous philosophy of superior race and conquest by force, and have embraced loyally the basic principles of peaceful processes. During the formative period of the world organization, interruption by these aggressors must be rendered impossible." (July 8, 1942, Radio Address)

Sumner Welles, Under-Secretary of State

"I believe they (the American people) will insist that the United Nations undertake the maintenance of an international police power in the years after the war to insure freedom from fear to peace-loving peoples until there is established that permanent system of general security promised by the Atlantic Charter." (May 30, 1942, Arlington, Va.)

c. CONTROL OF ARMAMENTS (cf. Sections 3b, 4e)

James V. Forrestal, Under-Secretary of the Navy

"While I question the wisdom of present discussions dealing with world reconstruction after the war because it seems to me they are based upon unwarranted assumptions, I should like to charge you with the task of seeing to it that never again shall this Nation be

permitted to discard its arms and to rely upon protocols of good faith and general statements of good will." (September 20, 1942, Princeton University)

Cordell Hull, Secretary of State

"There must be international cooperative action to set up the mechanisms which can thus insure peace. This must include eventual adjustment of national armaments in such a manner that the rule of law cannot be successfully challenged and that the burden of armaments may be reduced to a minimum." (July 23, 1942, Radio Address)

Frank Knox, Secretary of the Navy

"... our problems will not be over when a united nation has won her victory. Then will come the real test -- the test of using that victory to build a more stable and more peaceful world..."

"In all of your (the American Legion's) years of support of an adequate military preparedness, you have ever been against war itself, clearly recognizing that an adequate preparedness for war is the best possible guarantee against war..."

"But it will not be enough merely to maintain our armaments after the war. We must see to it that we write a peace in which the things for which Hitler and Hitler's Germany, and the things for which the military caste in Japan stand, are utterly vanquished." (September 19, 1942, Kansas City, Missouri)

Frank Knox, Secretary of the Navy

"And with victory, in God's good time, what of the Navy? The lessons of history and the facts of tomorrow are unmistakable..."

"With victory the United Nations will control all the oceans and most of the seas of the world, as well as the greater part of the world's strategic materials. This control should enable us to give effective support to the efforts of European nations to preserve transoceanic peace. We could not, however, continue to exercise such control without continuing to maintain predominant navies." (October 27, 1942, New York)

d. CONTROL OF STRATEGIC ARMAS

e. THE FUTURE OF AGGRESSOR STATES (cf. Sections 3b, 4c)

James V. Forrestal, Under-Secretary of the Navy

"I pray that you, the makers of the future, will see to it that in the future at all times we have the means, whenever the hand of aggression is raised against us, to sever that hand before it has a chance to strike." (September 20, 1942, Princeton University)

Robert H. Jackson, Associate Justice, Supreme Court

"We must show that we are bold enough to conceive and execute practical plans for dealing with future international lawless aggressions. The history of the evolution of legal institutions gives us no warrant for the timidity which has heretofore arrested our efforts to place international conduct under legal restraints." (September 2, 1942, Washington, D.C.)

Ernest J. King, Commander in Chief, U. S. Fleet

"But victory will bring not only the preservation of our own freedom and the restoration of the lost liberties of uncounted millions, but also the firm confidence that when we have won this war, we Americans, under the leadership of the President, will take steps to see to it that the ability of any person or of any people to enslave others, physically or mentally or spiritually, shall be forever destroyed." (June 19, 1942, Annapolis, Md.)

Sumner Welles, Under-Secretary of State

"The materials of war must be denied to any future Hitler.

"The access to raw materials of which the Charter speaks is access for the purposes of peace. For that purpose it matters little in whose territory particular resources are found. Access means the right to buy in peaceful trade, and it exists whenever that right is effective and secure." (October 8, 1942, Boston, Mass.)

5. ASSURANCE OF PROSPERITY

e. GENERAL STATEMENTS ON ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIPS (cf. Sections 5e, 5f)

Adolf A. Berle, Assistant Secretary of State

"Open trade and life-giving commerce cannot exist unless you have a financial system so arranged that the goods can move, and do; and so handled that business can be done, and is...

"I do not see that the task is impossible. We have the resources. If it is desired to use gold as a financial base, as many people do, we have at our command by far the greatest share of the world's gold. What is more important, we have the production and the goods available to back up our finance. We shall be in a position to make and deliver almost anything which is required to give to our neighbor countries a new start in international economic life. At the very time this is most needed, we shall want to keep our plants busy, our people employed, and to provide jobs for the returning soldiers. With ordinary intelligence, we should be able to assist the general situation, to everyone's advantage." (October 15, 1942, Birmingham, Ala.)

"... a good many observers, both practical bankers and students, have been advancing the idea that we could profitably extend some of the principles of reserve banking to the international field. Certainly, experience suggests that this is a logical line of development." (October 15, 1942, Birmingham, Ala.)

"I have stressed the possibility of creating a system of international finance, because that is likely to be the first problem which arises. It is not the only problem; and not at all the most dramatic and most appealing. It is one step which we can consider seriously, because we already know the technique. If we solve that question, we shall have a tool in our hands with which we may be able to attack other and still greater problems." (October 15, 1942, Birmingham, Ala.)

Wayne Chatfield-Taylor, Under-Secretary of Commerce

"Our past economic nationalism has blinded us to the stake we have always had in distant regions. The American people not improbably may emerge from this war resolved to make the world safe for America in a realistic way for a long time to come. To be realistic, we shall fully accept our responsibilities as a world power. As such, we must follow the lines of international policy set forth in the Atlantic Charter to achieve a broad and generous basis for extending the benefits of our scientific and industrial progress to all peoples." (April 24, 1942, Lexington, Va.)

Wayne Chatfield-Taylor, Under-Secretary of Commerce

"The broad controls which will implement basic policies will be administered by governments in agreement with the governments of other friendly and similar minded nations. This does not mean regimentation, it does not mean that individual initiative and the profit motive will be discouraged, but it does mean that the avenues for these activities will be more clearly defined. It does mean that inventions, especially those which promote health, will be available to all people instead of to select groups. It does mean that no private group of international industrialists or financiers, no matter how strong, will be able to take action which is fundamentally opposed to the national interest of any one country or any group of nations which have established common interests and common principles." (May 18, 1942, New York)

Wayne Chaffield-Taylor, Under-Secretary of Commerce

"Commerce... must look ahead to meet the problems of reconstruction, it must plan to supply the released peoples, it must prepare to go on with the development of our own land, it must think out the relationship of our industries and our resources to those of other friendly nations. It must plan how to fill the needs of all peoples which have been held back by the demands of war. It must plan to convert quickly to peacetime production when the planes and tanks have fulfilled their missions. It must determine in advance which products to stimulate, which to retard, and above all it must plan to give full employment to the millions of men who are serving in our armed forces." (June 18, 1942, Dallas, Tex.)

Joseph C. Grew, Former Ambassador to Japan

"Our Chinese allies, who have held tenaciously to their own humane culture, are going to have to depend on us for technical and industrial assistance in various fields which they have not yet developed." (October 10, 1942, New York, N.Y.)

Harry C. Hawkins, State Department

"The economic peace aims are, broadly stated, to bring about the reduction of trade barriers and the removal of discriminations, and the adoption of other suitable measures for bringing about expanding production, expanding trade, expanding consumption and full employment, throughout the world; in brief, to create an expanding world economy." (October 9, 1942, Boston, Mass.)

"We must think of Britain less as a competitor and keep an eye on Britain as a customer and bear always in mind that a prosperous Britain, able to import from the rest of the world, is a maker of other customers for us. Britain must regard us in the same way and each of us must look at all other countries in this light. We must recognize the fact that where purchasing power exists trade will thrive, as shown by the trade between highly-developed industrial countries; a trade which is possible because of the relatively high buying power of industrial areas and the fact that the tremendous range of types, styles, and qualities of industrial products permits an interchange of products without the direct head-on kind of competition which characterizes that between virtually interchangeable staple products of different origin. We should always bear in mind the fact that if we can get a big enough world market, and purchasing power is the key to this, neither we nor Britain nor anyone else will have much to worry about." (October 9, 1942, Boston, Mass.)

Cordell Hull, Secretary of State

Hull pointed out that "The United Nations have already resolved that once victory is achieved the economic relations among nations will be based on the principles and objectives which have been tirelessly advocated by our Government on all appropriate occasions in recent years"—principles and objectives which "have been affirmed and incorporated in the declaration of August 14, 1941, known as the Atlantic Charter." (May 17-23, 1942, statement in connection with the celebration of National Foreign Trade Week)

Cordell Hull, Secretary of State

"Building for the future in the economic sphere thus means that each nation must give substance and reality to programs of social and economic progress by augmenting production and using the greater output for the increase of general welfare; but not permitting it to be diverted or checked by special interests, private or public." (July 23, 1942, Radio Address)

Cordell Hull, Secretary of State

"Equally plain is the need for making national currencies once more freely exchangeable for each other at stable rates of exchange; for a system of financial relations so devised that materials can be produced and ways may be found of moving them where there are markets created by human need; for machinery through which capital may-- for the development of the world's resources and for the stabilization of economic activity-- move on equitable terms from financially stronger to financially weaker countries. There may be need for some special trade arrangement and for international agreements to handle difficult surplus problems and to meet situations in special areas." (July 23, 1942, Radio Address)

Robert H. Jackson, Associate Justice, Supreme Court

"Constructive thought in all influential and official levels of the United Nations must be built on the basic reality that the question is no longer whether the world will witness a 'new order', but whose 'new order' it will be. Shattered economic systems, unsettled relationships between nations and between groups, and obsolete forms, cannot be put together again to make the same old humpty-dumpty. And this wise men will accept, not in the spirit of disaster but as an opportunity for reconstruction on more just and rational lines." (September 2, 1942, Washington, D.C.)

Warren Lee Pierson, President, Export-Import Bank of Washington

"I believe that this war will be followed by an unprecedented effort to open the routes of commerce and bring to every nation the benefits of trade. Sick of poverty and blood, the peoples of the world will everywhere demand it. Will we spurn this demand and let the tremendous plant expansion of these war years go to rust? I for one do not believe it. Just how we will do it, no one can yet say but I am confident that some method, some way will be found to bring together these great elements of demand and supply.

"Like all of us, you are busy now with the problems of the war. ... But through it all, it is my hope that you will find a way to keep your organizations together, to preserve that body of knowledge and those relations overseas which only you men have and without which we would be pitifully handicapped in the great days to come." (October 7, 1942, Boston, Mass.)

"The Export-Import Bank considers it a privilege to help you in this problem of maintaining the essentials of our foreign trade. As you know, our rule here as elsewhere is never to supplant but only to supplement the work of private enterprise-- to assume the unusual risk or smooth the way, if we can, through the multitudinous regulations of our war-time economy.

"Upon numerous occasions in the past we have undertaken financing which has been designed to permit the exporters of the United States to meet the cut-throat competition of the totalitarian states. Many of you can testify that we have had some success.

"... we are seeking to assist you to keep alive your organizations and your contacts with the exporters and the importers of other lands, so that you will be better equipped, when peace has come, to carry out your part in building a better world for all of us." (October 7, 1942, Boston, Mass.)

Henry A. Wallace, Vice-President

"The foundations of democracy can be rendered safe only when people everywhere have an opportunity to work and buy and sell with a reasonable assurance that they will be able to enjoy the fruits of their work." (January, 1942, Article in the Atlantic Monthly)

Henry A. Wallace, Vice-President

"We know now that the modern world must be recognized for what it is-- an economic unit-- and that wise arrangements must be made so that trade will be encouraged." (January, 1942, article in the Atlantic Monthly)

"If we get the right kind of peace, we are sure to see the whole world within a few years operating on a much higher level of production than ever before and this would of course mean a greater world market for raw materials." (January, 1942, Article in the Atlantic Monthly)

"Probably the English-speaking peoples of the world will have to take the lead in underwriting world prosperity for a generation to come. They must begin now to prove by their actions that they are as interested in winning the peace as they are in winning the war." (January, 1942, Article in the Atlantic Monthly)

Henry A. Wallace, Vice-President

"And modern science must be released from German slavery. International cartels that serve American greed and the German will to power must go. Cartels in the peace to come must be subjected to international control for the common man, as well as being under adequate control by the respective home governments. In this way, we can prevent the Germans from again building a war machine while we sleep. With international monopoly pools under control, it will be possible for inventions to serve all the people instead of only the few." (May 8, 1942, New York, N.Y.)

Henry A. Wallace, Vice-President

"To give us rubber security in the future, it will not be necessary, year in and year out, to produce all of our supply synthetically. For future national rubber security it will be sufficient if we have plant facilities and technical knowledge for the production of synthetic rubber which we can quickly mobilize in case of sudden need, meanwhile pushing ahead with research that will keep improving the quality and reducing the cost.

"But security also depends on having friendly neighbors. Our present peril, for example, would be increased many fold if Canada or Mexico were not allies but enemies.

"In that event we should face the imminent prospect of a German or Japanese army invading us from the north or south. How much better it is to have Mexico and the countries of Central and South America as good friends--not only for our own security but theirs as well.

"These countries produce natural rubber and are going ahead with plans which within a few years will place them on an efficient rubber production basis. Regardless of whether our old Far Eastern source of rubber becomes available again, we can look to a good supply of cheap natural rubber near at hand. A tariff wall to protect an "infant" synthetic rubber industry in this country would not only force our consumers to pay higher costs but would be a severe blow to these countries and their faith in friendship." (Letter to Dr. E. N. Bressman, of the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, at the invitation of the New York Daily News and printed in that paper, October 7, 1942, p. 39)

Henry A. Wallace, Vice-President

"I believe it to be the privilege and duty of the people of the United States to help the people to the South of us and the people to the West of us across the Pacific to improve their soil; therefore to increase their food supply and the quality of human living. During the war, this kind of help will be needed to increase food production and thereby add to the endurance of our fighting forces. When the war comes to an end I believe this

help on the part of the United States can be furnished at a very small cost, as compared to the returns in human happiness to all concerned. ...

"I believe we in the United States can, during the next ten years, if Congress and the people fully understand the opportunity, do twice as much in the way of soil building as we have during the past ten years. ... I trust that all that we have learned and all that we will learn will be made fully and freely available to our neighbors to the South and to our neighbors across the Pacific." (October 17, 1942, Louisville, Kentucky)

Sumner Welles, Under-Secretary of State

"The problem which will confront us when the years of the post-war period are reached is not primarily one of production. For the world can readily produce what mankind requires. The problem is rather one of distribution and purchasing power; of providing the mechanism whereby what the world produces may be fairly distributed among the nations of the world; and of providing the means whereby the people of the world may obtain the world's goods and services. Your Government has already taken steps to obtain the support and active co-operation of others of the United Nations in this great task; a task which in every sense of the term is a new frontier -- a frontier of limitless expanse -- the frontier of human welfare." (May 30, 1942, Arlington, Va.)

Leslie A. Wheeler, Department of Agriculture

"To resume exporting after the war, we must also resume importing... Otherwise foreign markets would not be able to secure sufficient dollar exchange with which to purchase our surpluses. The foreign goods which must be imported may include "European manufactures, complementary agricultural products from Latin America, raw materials, and exotic products of all sorts." ...

To ease the shock to American farmers from the post-war reconstruction of world agriculture, the objective is to "help European agriculture to produce more of the things it can produce to better advantage, and that the people of central Europe need, and to resume imports of wheat, feed grain, and other staple products from the exporting countries." ...

"There will be a severe food shortage in Europe when the war is over, and plans are being formulated to prevent large scale starvation through the established agencies for speedy distribution of food. Special attention is being devoted to securing orderly post-war marketing of accumulated surpluses of wheat, cotton, coffee, tobacco, and other products by means of international agreements aimed at equitable distribution of the world market among the various exporting nations." (February 4, 1942, Report to the Secretary of Agriculture)

Claude R. Wickard, Secretary of Agriculture

"Hungry people all over the world will look to us for help when the war is over. The more food reserves we have on hand, the greater voice we will have in writing a just peace." (May 21, 1942, New York, N.Y.)

Claude R. Wickard, Secretary of Agriculture

"American farmers should receive parity for whatever is sold in ordinary commercial channels in this country. I think all of you are in agreement on this. But we cannot escape the fact that whatever is sold in the world market must be sold at world prices. Therefore, if we produce more than can be consumed in the domestic market and we wish to place this surplus on the world market, we are likely to get less for it than we get for our goods sold at home. This situation has prevailed now for a good many years and even if world trade revives to enormous proportions after the war, is likely to be true for

some years to come. Consequently, producers either will receive less for their output on the world market or the difference must be made up to them by payments out of the Treasury.

"It may be possible to lessen the difference between the domestic prices and the world price by international agreements affecting the great export commodities.

"Nations should realize that the struggle to give away goods is ruinous in the long run to all concerned. At this time few of us have more than a faint conception of the world trade situation after the war." (July 8, 1942, College Station, Texas)

Claude P. Wickard, Secretary of Agriculture

"The Conference of Foreign Ministers at Rio de Janeiro recognized the problem, and established several guiding principles. They agreed: 'That, in so far as possible, the increase of production be assured by bi-lateral or multi-lateral agreements or contracts which provide for purchases during long periods at prices which are equitable for the consumer, remunerative to the producer and which provide a fair standard of wages for the workers of the Americas, in which producers are protected against competition from products originating in areas wherein real wages are unduly low; and which make provision for the period of transition after the war, and the readjustments which will follow in a manner guaranteeing the continuance of adequate production and permitting the existence of trade under conditions equitable to producers'." (July 6, 1942, Mexico, D.F.)

"In most cases acreage adjustment cannot be effective if it is unilateral. The agreements made in the past among producers of coffee, sugar and other commodities suggest that international agreements can be negotiated whereby producers and consumers together may stabilize trade, regulating prices and adjusting production to consumption." (July 6, 1942, Mexico, D.F.)

"There is no serious contradiction between intensive war production and our desire to establish a sound post-war economy. Indeed, there would be little point to winning the war if we did not have positive plans and ambitions for the future. We are not so content about our pre-war way of life as to look forward only to its restoration. Few people of our nations would wish to fight for a return to unemployment, poverty and hunger." (July 6, 1942, Mexico, D.F.)

"Beyond that there may be need for international agreements. I do not believe that the United Nations will conclude a peace which permits in world trade unregulated competition, wildly fluctuating prices and periodic collapses. Rather, we may look forward to equitable sharing of markets, price stabilization and regulation of supplies." (July 6, 1942, Mexico, D.F.)

"Objectives such as these assume the existence of effective governmental controls. In negotiating international agreements, one problem is that the participating governments operate under different constitutions and grants of authority. Some may have direct control of internal prices, others limited control, others none at all. There is no uniformity in the degree to which governments may regulate production and marketing, or undertake to provide economic assistance to groups of producers.

"This problem is one which we can discuss profitably. There is need for fuller exchange of information on the economic functions of our governments. Uniformity can probably not be achieved, since each government has a different internal situation. But ways can be found to make such changes as are necessary for effective international cooperation. We in the United States recognize that there must be a larger degree of economic collaboration between nations after this war. We also realize that some of our ideas and programs will have to be revised to permit our participation in constructive international measures." (July 6, 1942, Mexico, D.F.)

John G. Winant, Ambassador in London

"The unity of purpose of our peoples in the common war effort will be carried over to help us in the common social effort that must follow this war. You who suffered so deeply in the long depression years know that we must move on a great social offensive if we are to win the war completely. Anti-Fascism is not a short term military job. It was bred in poverty and unemployment. To crush Fascism at its roots we must crush depression. We must solemnly resolve that in the future we will not tolerate the economic evils which breed poverty and war." (June 6, 1942, Durham, England)

"When war is done, the drive for tanks must become a drive for houses. The drive for food to prevent the enemy from starving us, must become a drive for food to satisfy the needs of all people in all countries. The drive for physical fitness in the forces must become a drive for bringing death and sickness rates in the whole population down to the lowest possible level. The drive for manpower in war must become a drive for employment to make freedom from want a living reality. The drive for an all-out war effort by the United Nations must become a drive for an all-out peace effort based on the same cooperation and willingness to sacrifice." (June 6, 1942, Durham, England)

Alvin H. Hansen, National Resources Planning Board

Conclusions with respect to International Policy:

"International collaboration to pursue internal policies designed to promote active employment; to explore developmental projects in backward countries; and to implement ways and means to open outlets for foreign investment, promote world trade and the effective world-wide use of productive resources." (January, 1942, Pamphlet)

b. EQUAL ACCESS TO MATERIALS; REMOVAL OF TRADE BARRIERS

Adolf A. Berle, Assistant Secretary of State

"Since no country wants to be on either the giving or receiving end of an international breadline, this means economic arrangements which permit nations to get into production as rapidly as possible and put their resources to work. They literally must increase their resources by trade and commerce -- for no other peaceful way has yet been devised.

"For that reason, the trade routes and markets of the world have to be reopened. The endless barriers, restrictions and hurdles by which trade has been slowly strangled in the last twenty years will have to be removed. This rule goes for everyone, - including America. No country can expect to cut itself off from general commerce without harming its neighbors a great deal and itself most of all." (October 15, 1942, Birmingham, Ala.)

Wayne Chatfield-Taylor, Under-Secretary of Commerce

"Concessions which turn over to private groups the exploitation of natural resources or the exclusive development of vital national functions such as transportation and communication, either will not be granted at all or will be so administered that the public interest is fully protected at all times.

"If such concessions are granted to foreign groups, further safeguards will be imposed which will insure that most of the profits of such enterprises will be available for further development of the economic life of the nation which grants the concession." (May 18, 1942, New York, N.Y.)

"A national economy or an international economy must be based on full production, full employment, and maximum national income. This is another way of saying that restrictive concepts of finance or trade which stand in the way of full development will be brushed aside." (May 18, 1942, New York, N.Y.)

Wayne Chatfield-Taylor, Under-Secretary of Commerce

"One crop countries, or one industry countries are a thing of the past. Certain localities, of course, have certain natural advantages, certain populations have certain specialized skills, but the people of all countries are entitled to the benefits of education, science, and invention. Modern transportation, especially air transportation, and modern communication, especially radio communication have removed the last barriers to rapid exchange of individual or collective ideas." (May 18, 1942, New York, N.Y.)

Harry C. Dawkins, State Department

"The development of resources through the creation of a new industry which can only survive within the shelter of a towering tariff wall may only create a national and an international liability, not alone because the barriers erected for its protection shut out the particular kind of goods produced by such industry, but because consumers are compelled to use inferior or high-cost goods, thus reducing their purchasing power for other goods. In general, the aim should be to create industries in undeveloped areas which are well-suited to those areas and can stand on their own feet." (October 9, 1942, Boston, Mass.)

Cordell Hull, Secretary of State

"... excessive trade barriers of the many different kinds must be reduced, and practices which impose injuries on others and divert trade from its natural economic course must be avoided." (July 23, 1942, Radio Address)

Wallace McClure, State Department

"The people of this country no less than the peoples of other countries must absorb into their very souls the realization that we cannot pursue narrow economic nationalism, as we did when we enacted the tariffs that followed World War I, and at the same time lay the foundations of peace. 'America must choose!' So must the United Nations." (May 15, 1942, Chapel Hill, N. C.)

Leo Pasvolsky, State Department

"Nor can any group of nations... hope to attain in isolation nearly as high a level of well-being as it can when the economic interdependence of nations is translated into a world-wide system of peaceful and mutually beneficial exchange of goods and services, through which alone each nation can have as satisfactory an access as may be practicable to the resources of the entire world." (March 4, 1942, Delaware, Ohio)

"Both theory and experience lead to the conclusion that international trade increases in its economic usefulness in proportion as the policies and arrangements under which it functions are such as to enable each nation, as nearly as may be practicable, to sell its surplus production and to obtain the surplus products of other nations wherever this can be done most advantageously. This does not and need not mean completely free trade, in the sense of a total absence of trade regulation." (March 4, 1942, Delaware, Ohio)

Henry A. Wallace, Vice-President

"The people of all Europe should feel that there are available, in the United States, in Latin America, and in the British Dominions, tremendous quantities of raw materials which can be used for food, clothing, and shelter within a short time after the war comes to an end." (January, 1942, Article in the Atlantic Monthly)

Thomas A. Woodward, Vice-Chairman, U. S. Maritime Commission

"There has been an unequal world distribution of natural resources, as well as domestic property. We hope that a just peace will temper this situation and remove one of the great causes of war in the future." (March 6, 1942, Haverford, Pa.)

c. LEND-LEASE SYSTEM (RE POST-WAR)

Dean Acheson, Assistant Secretary of State

"They (Lend-Lease Agreements) provide first that the steps to be agreed upon between us and our allies shall be opened to participation by all other countries of like mind. There are to be no exclusive arrangements, no excluded peoples among those who wish to work with us to the common goal. This is the principle of the Atlantic Charter embodied in the agreements: that there shall be equal access to the trade of the world and to its raw materials for all nations large and small, victors or vanquished. At the base of the whole settlement is to be fairness and equality, the rejection of special privileges and vindictive exclusions.

"The second principle calls for united action by all nations, correlating for this purpose international and domestic measures to expand production, employment, and the exchange and consumption of goods. ...

"The third principle is the elimination of discriminatory treatment in international commerce and the reduction of tariffs and other trade barriers." (July 7, 1942, Charlottesville, Va.)

Harry C. Hawkins, State Department

"If we proceed on the idea that, in general, it is not in our interest to regard lend-lease transactions as ordinary commercial transactions to be settled for as such, the mutual-aid agreement becomes one whose purpose can be described in simple terms: it is intended to serve the dual purpose of bringing about the greatest possible cooperation in the prosecution of the war and in the laying of the foundations for an enduring peace. Such cooperation would constitute the most important benefit the American people could obtain in return for lend-lease aid." (October 9, 1942, Boston, Mass.)

Sumner Welles, Under-Secretary of State

"Relief cannot go on forever, and the day must come as soon as possible when the devastated areas again are self-supporting. That will require enormous shipments from abroad, both of capital goods and of the raw materials of industry. For these early reconstruction shipments no immediate means of payment will be visible. That means large financing, most of it long-term. The United Nations must arrange that too. But finally comes payment, both of whatever interest burden the loans carry, and for the current purchases of raw materials and other imports. I need not tell this audience that international payments, on that scale, can be made only in goods and services. There is no other way. Access to raw materials comes in the end to access to the great buying markets of the world. Those who expect to export must take the world's goods and services in payment." (October 8, 1942, Boston, Mass.)

g. FREEDOM OF THE SEAS

Franklin D. Roosevelt, President

"It is the Nazi design to abolish the freedom of the seas and to acquire absolute control and domination of those seas for themselves..."

"... Generation after generation America has battled for the general policy of the freedom of the seas. And that policy is a very simple one-- but a basic, a fundamental one. It means that no nation has the right to make the broad oceans of the world at great distances from the actual theatre of land war unsafe for the commerce of others. That has been our policy, proved time and time again, in all our history. Our policy has applied from the earliest days of the republic and still applies, not merely to the Atlantic but to the Pacific and to all other oceans as well." (September 11, 1941, Broadcast)

Frank Knox, Secretary of the Navy

"Our safety and our prosperity in the world of the future lies in a stern insistence upon the principle of the freedom of the seas, the assurance of equal opportunity for world trade; and the proviso that sea power shall not be made the instrument of selfish aggression.

"It is by no means sufficient that we take those steps necessary to clear the sea lanes of the bandits which now infect them. We must do more than that. We must do our full share, and more, to guarantee that they shall be kept clear of pirates in the future. Our responsibility in this respect is very great. It must be proportionate to our enormous powers and resources, our geographical position, our ideals and our aspirations. If we are to be able to help re-establish a world ruled by laws, and not by men, we must provide both the major power and the dominant leadership.

"You may raise your eyebrows in askance over that last statement. You may say, 'What business is it of ours to police the Seven Seas? Why should we provide both the leadership and the major force to insure against another world war?' My answer is history-made. Twice we have learned from bitter experience that no matter how great our reluctance to participate, the world has now grown so small, so interrelated, so interdependent, that, try as we will, we cannot escape." (October 1, 1941, Indianapolis, Ind.)

Frank Knox, Secretary of the Navy

"With victory the United Nations will control all the oceans and most of the seas of the world, as well as the greater part of the world's strategic materials. This control should enable us to give effective support to the efforts of European nations to preserve transoceanic peace. We could not, however, continue to exercise such control without continuing to maintain predominant navies." (October 27, 1942, New York, N. Y.)

John G. Winant, Ambassador in London

"The United Nations will fulfill their pledge to establish a peace which among other things will, in the words of the Atlantic Charter, 'enable all men to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance.' Then the high seas and oceans will no longer be the perilous routes they are now, with lurking enemies seeking to spread death and destruction, but will become avenues of trade and travel along which the benefits from the accumulated knowledge, skill and social heritage of every community will be spread over the world on a scale greater than we have ever known in the past." (July 17, 1942, Address)

e. STANDARDS OF LIVING (cf. Sections 5a, 5f)

Thurman Arnold, Assistant Attorney General

"... The war is going to operate like a purge. Expanding production is going to go in in all basic materials at once, and also in transportation. Surpluses will force their way into consumers' hands. The red blood of price competition-- the very life of capitalism-- is going to flow freely again after the war. Remember that the period of greatest economic growth in America was the period of falling prices from the Civil War to 1900. Remember that Japan got its strength and its industrial production by cutting prices in every market in the world, and thus producing to its fullest capacity. With these things in mind, let us envisage a new industrial growth and millions of new jobs after the war through a capitalistic economy. And the liberals can cease from troubling about academic Socialism, and the conservatives can be at rest about a managerial revolution just over the horizon." (May 30, 1942, Article, Sat. Eve. Post)

Thurman Arnold, Assistant Attorney General (quoting the New York Times)

"'I see cheaper electricity, cheaper transportation, cheaper housing and cheaper living after the war,' he said. 'We will make our capitalistic system so efficient that all of us will get more of the good things of life.

"'In making the capitalistic system sufficiently successful to win the war, this country will make it a system where the consumer dollar is worth more and where a farmer can get more for his products,' he added. 'There will be a new age of light metals and plastics. The Fat will be boiled off. Patent bottlenecks will be broken. The capitalistic system is the only system which can adequately distribute these goods.'" (June 5, 1942, New York, N.Y.)

David Ginsburg, General Counsel, Office of Price Administration

"What will be the place of retailing after this war?

"Nothing is certain enough to count on very confidently, but I like to think that some of the things we are learning so painfully are going to have some enduring value.

"What I have in mind is that a lot of luxury gadgets and non-essential nonsense will have been squeezed out of our system of distribution, and that we may decide that some part of this was excess baggage which we'll be better off without. A great deal of it will come back-- that goes without saying. The American people wants luxury gadgets and it wants a certain amount of non-essential nonsense, and it will get them when it can. But it seems likely that there will be a shift in the center of gravity of the market -- that incomes over \$4,000 will be doing less of the spending and incomes under \$4,000 will be doing more. Competing for the massed dollars in the moderate-income scales will be many new products, using new materials which the war has brought into unprecedented quantity production -- aluminum, magnesium, plastics. My hope is that common sense models and streamlined, low-cost distribution may serve to bring these products within reach of the moderate-income groups." (October 26, 1942, Wheeling, W. Va.)

Pierrepoint Moffat, American Minister to Canada

"... when victory has been won, the function of foreign trade will be to liberate the constructive forces in the world, to enable the standards of living to rise, and to give new interests, new hope and new confidence to those who are discouraged." (July 16, 1942, Edmonton, Alberta)

Donald M. Nelson, Chairman, War Production Board

"There will come a day when this stupendous production of military goods is no longer necessary...

"What happens then?"

"The answer to that question is up to us..."

"You can conjure up a nightmare for yourself if you choose, of course... You can grow despondent thinking about the terrible slump that will bring our economy down about our ears after the war.

"But I do not for a minute believe that anything of the kind will happen..."

"We are not fighting a purely defensive war. We are fighting for something. For a generation we have been living on the edge of a new world; we are only now beginning to realize it.

"For the first time in the history of the human race there can be enough of everything to go around. Poverty is not inevitable any more. The sum total of the world's greatest possible output of goods, divided by the sum total of the world's inhabitants, no longer means a little less than enough for everybody. It means more than enough. The possibilities in that simple statement are beyond calculation-- and what we are fighting for is the right to turn some of those possibilities into realities." (June 9, 1942, Columbia, Missouri)

Milo Perkins, Board of Economic Warfare

"Full blast production for a gradually rising standard of living will be as necessary to win the peace as all-out production now is to win the war. It will be physically possible. Our number one postwar job will be to make it fiscally possible. If we can do that, private enterprise will enter upon an era of unparalleled activity." (May 25, 1942, Swarthmore, Pa.)

Sumner Welles, Under-Secretary of State

"There is no limit, then, to the material prosperity which is within the reach of the United States, and of mankind. The great thing that has happened in our time is that mankind at long last has taught itself enough of the means and technique of production, of transport, and of scientific agriculture so that it is technically possible to produce and to distribute on this planet the basic physical necessities of health and decent living for all of the world's people. What remains, and it is a great and formidable task, is so to remake our relations with each other, in loyal and cooperative effort, that the great productive forces which are within our sight may function freely for the benefit of all." (October 8, 1942, Boston, Mass.)

Claude R. Wickard, Secretary of Agriculture

"Starting right now, we must make up our minds that from here on nothing will keep us from making certain that both young and old get enough of the right food. This philosophy of plenty is part of the new world we are fighting to build." (May 21, 1942, New York, N.Y.)

Claude R. Wickard, Secretary of Agriculture

"We must keep our wartime economy strong and stable, because we have got to have it ready to function full tilt in the years after the war producing more things than were ever produced before for civilians to eat, wear and enjoy. That is what this war of the common people is about-- a better chance to live decently for the rank and file of all the earth. That is our war aim; to help it become a reality we must strengthen, not weaken our own economy in the war years." (June 17, 1942, Washington, D.C.)

Claude R. Wickard, Secretary of Agriculture

"The war now compels us to produce more of the very things our people most need. After the war our task will be, not to adjust production downward, but to find ways of distributing our maximum production to our people. Well-planned introduction of new crops to our hemisphere will give us more purchasing power, higher living standards and a better basis for reciprocal trade." (July 6, 1942, Mexico, D.F.)

f. DOMESTIC ECONOMIC PROGRAMS; FREE ENTERPRISE; LABOR; HOUSING
(cf. Sections 5a, 5e)

Franklin D. Roosevelt, President

"The rights of freedom of ownership would mean nothing without freedom of speech. And the rights of free labor as we know them today could not survive without the rights of free enterprise-- and we know that a free labor system is the very foundation of a functioning democracy. We know that one of the first acts of the Axis dictatorships has been to wipe out all the principles and standards which labor has been able to establish for its own preservation and advancement. Trade unionism is a forbidden philosophy under these rule-or-run dictators. For trade unionism demands full freedom of expression and peaceful assembly. Trade unionism has helped to give to everyone who toils the position of dignity which is his due." (September 1, 1941, Labor Day Speech)

Franklin D. Roosevelt, President

"A system of free enterprise is more effective than an 'order' of concentration camps ... The vitality, strength, and adaptability of a social order built on freedom and individual responsibility will again triumph. ...

"Paying 2.5 billion dollars out of an extremely low national income would impose an excessive burden on taxpayers while the same payment out of a 100-billion-dollar national income, after reduction of armament expenditures, may still permit substantial tax reductions in the post-war period. ...

"Our capacity to carry a large debt in a post-war period without undue hardship depends mainly on our ability to maintain a high level of employment and income.

"I am confident that by prompt action we shall control the price development now and that we shall prevent the recurrence of a deep depression in the post-war period." (January 7, 1942, Budget Message)

Franklin D. Roosevelt, President

"We do not intend after this war to present the same disastrous situation -- bad years after the last war, when Americans were losing their homes and their farms and their savings and were looking in vain for jobs -- to those brave men who today are fighting our battles in all parts of the world." (April 27, 1942, Message to Congress)

Thurman Arnold, Assistant Attorney General

"If the patent bottlenecks are broken and knowledge and skill are disseminated, new organizations will arise and be in a position to compete with each other after the war... That competition will come into being if the American people are convinced it is desirable and do not again tolerate combinations, either by private groups or governments, to shut our new production down in order to stabilize the market after the war." (April 17, 1942, Washington, D.C.)

5 - 11

Thurman Arnold, Assistant Attorney General

"Success in war today among nations of approximately equal strength depends upon morale. Morale in turn depends upon a burning faith in the institution for which we are fighting. We must fight for our own system, not simply against Germany and Japan. In order to fight for it, we must believe in it. We must believe that a free capitalistic economy not only insures freedom of thought and action but also is the most efficient way of producing and distributing the wealth of the nations for the good of all." (May 30, 1942, Article, Sat. Eve. Post)

"The competitive system will not die because of the war. It will be reborn, provided that during the war we believe in it enough to prevent private groups from again seizing the power to shut down the new production that the war is creating. The full production of the war will destroy monopoly control and set up undreamed-of opportunities for independent initiative. It will sweep aside the restrictions which have been stifling our energy and initiative for the past twenty years, ending with an unused industrial plant, an unbalanced exchange between agricultural products and the products of industry, and an irreducible minimum of 9,000,000 unemployed. After the war, that unrestricted production of new wealth will create opportunities for new enterprise, large and small, undreamed-of in the years of our depression." (May 30, 1942, Article, Sat. Eve. Post)

"We need not worry about the social reforms which may or may not be necessary in the postwar period. We need not worry about Government planning. We can safely wait until that period comes to determine what reforms are required. We need only concern ourselves with preserving the tradition of the free enterprise which is the essence of the industrial democracy we are fighting for. If we regain our faith in that industrial democracy we can fight the war positively for our system, instead of negatively against our enemies." (May 30, 1942, Article, Sat. Eve. Post)

Thurman Arnold, Assistant Attorney General

"There is too much economic pessimism left in our land today... Everywhere you hear talk of the depression that is supposed to be coming because of the vast increase of productive capacity which the war is bringing about... The trouble with this sort of talk is twofold. In the first place it destroys that fundamental confidence in our way of life -- in our basic institutions... In the second place the fear of a depression caused by our vast increase of productive capacity is dividing group against group today, because each group feels that it must seize enough economic power to protect itself against the depression that is to come... What we need is a new vision which removes this psychological handicap to the morale necessary for full production..."

"Today the unlimited possibilities of the light metals and chemicals age lie before us."

"... winning the war is going to make the capitalistic system work, because it will revive it with the new blood of full production. There is only one danger -- that the new light metals will again fall into the hands of cartels with power to restrict their supply and make them high cost specialties..."

"I believe in the capitalistic system-- not only as a guarantee of individual freedom, but as the most efficient way of production. It is the system we are fighting for against the totalitarian ideals of our enemies." Our people must be convinced "that the institutions of competitive capitalism for which we are fighting are fundamentally sound, that they need not fear for the future, that they are fighting a war which will not only liberate America from attack but will liberate our people from want and insecurity, by compelling us to abandon the restrictions on production that have created want in the midst of plenty during the days of our depression." (June 3, 1942, Chicago, Ill.)

Thurman Arnold, Assistant Attorney General

"We can neither get full production during the war nor full production after the war unless we strike now at the paralyzing restrictions imposed by monopoly power.."

"Our purpose is only to strike and strike hard, not against the patent law, but against those who pervert the patent privilege to control and restrict the production of the things that are essential to full production in peace or in war." (July 28, 1942, New York, N.Y.)

William L. Batt, War Production Board

"We have got to have in mind that we can't simply go back to where we were before the war. Much will be changed. Government will occupy a far larger place in our economic life, both as director and also as owner of vast quantities of economic resources. An increasing number of you will find your greatest opportunities for service in government rather than in private business. And there will be other changes which it's hard to predict." (May 2, 1942, Hoboken, N.J.)

Francis Biddle, Attorney General (quoting the Washington Star)

"We are now, he said, in 'a non-competitive war economy', which is becoming a 'completely integrated, Government-controlled economy' and which cannot be abandoned instantly when peace comes." (April 25, 1942, Washington, D. C.)

Wayne Chatfield-Taylor, Under-Secretary of Commerce

"We seek the maintenance of the greatest industry of all in the United States -- the industry of private capital formation. For it is this industry which provides the tools and machines which make possible the high productivity of American labor which, in turn, is the source of our high standard of life.

"We want to make certain that we shall have in this country (after the war) an expanding business economy based on private enterprise." (April 24, 1942, Lexington, Va.)

"In the Department of Commerce our activities looking toward the immediate post-war years concern a program whereby private business will feed into the total income stream an amount of money to offset war expenditures that are then to be cut off, allowing for the fact that millions of wartime employees will wish to withdraw from the labor market." (April 24, 1942, Lexington, Va.)

Wayne Chatfield-Taylor, Under-Secretary of Commerce

"The end of the war should see a bigger production plant than we have ever dreamed of having, manned by the largest army of skilled workers in our history, managed by men who have proved their ability under heavy production schedules. We can expect this great workshop to re-convert itself to civilian production with all of the efficiency which it has acquired in its busiest periods." (August 26, 1942, Minneapolis, Minn.)

"Thus the probable pattern for the years immediately following the war begins to be seen. Huge production possibilities. Trained workers. Vast hungry markets. High buying power. Distributive facilities trimmed down to the bare necessities of civilian supply. In the field of distribution alone, the opportunities will be amazing." (August 26, 1942, Minneapolis, Minn.)

"We do not need to wait for the end of the war to begin to make use of what we have learned or are learning. The outline of our post-war world of business is shaping itself in the foundries, forges, machine shops and assembly lines of our tremendous war production." (August 26, 1942, Minneapolis, Minn.)

"It is obvious that during the reconstruction period certain war-time controls must be maintained, other new controls must be designed and skillfully operated. At the expense of immediate profits and immediate satisfaction of all desires, we must temper our individual ambitions more to the common good. We must make sure that, either through private agreements openly arrived at, or through the actions of our government, we steer the course of business in the post-war period with a maximum of individual freedom plus a minimum of danger to our national well-being." (August 26, 1942, Minneapolis, Minn.)

"The new frontiers of American achievement lie beyond the smoke of battle in the post-war land. There opportunities await American business such as it has not visioned before. Not the kind of opportunities which it has known in the past, but new ones which the taming of machine production and modern transportation and communication will afford. We must fix firmly in our minds that changes are inevitable. To aid us, we must look back and see how we have met changes in our lifetimes, how the nation has survived great change after change in its brief history." (August 26, 1942, Minneapolis, Minn.)

Walter L. Colean, Director of the Housing Survey for the 20th Century Fund

"The post-war program thus becomes a blending of present necessities with future objectives.

"Possibilities for immediate action lie in the following measures:

- "1. Government aid in removing restraints within the housebuilding industry through modification of Federal anti-trust and racketeering laws, and strengthening the means for law enforcement. This is, of course, only a first step and must be supplemented by more positive measures.
- "2. Preparation by the Federal Government of model building codes based on ample engineering service and providing to localities facilities for consultation and testing.
- "3. Review of existing methods of corporate taxation with a view of providing, if possible, incentives to capital investment and expansion in new enterprises such as housebuilding.
- "4. Support of the housing market as may be needed by the continued purchase by local housing authorities, under a coordinated Federal program, of dwellings for the low-income groups.
- "5. Continuance of existing aids to mortgage investment supplemented with measures designed to encourage equity investment by financial institutions in rental housing.
- "6. Improvement for facilities for financing housing in rural areas through greater allowances for home values in Farm Credit loans, and through the greater development of cooperative credit institutions for farm house construction and repairs along lines initiated by the Rural Electrification Administration. The financial program would require supplementation by an educational program carried out by the Agricultural Extension Service demonstrating the value of home repairs, showing the type of repairs most needed, and providing training in skill needed to make repairs.

"The longer range parts of the program might include:

- "1. Reform of methods of real estate taxation to remove the special hazards to the ad valorem levy. Such reform might be aided by institution taxation studies in the appropriate Federal agency and providing the means for consultation with localities on tax problems.
- "2. Simplification of methods of land transfer through the establishment by the States of simple and compulsory methods of land-title registrations. This move might be stimulated by the Federal Government by aid in establishing indemnity funds.
- "3. Development by the States of better methods of land-use control, slum and blighted land assembly carried on under the auspices of the Federal Government using not only governmental facilities but the facilities of universities and other competent private research centers.

"4. Study of new financial patterns more consistent with the fact and the risk of long-term purchase than existing methods of mortgage finance.

"5. A continued program of research in materials and techniques.

"6. A continued program of market research and analysis conducted by the Federal Government to provide housebuilders with information concerning the extent and characteristics of housing markets.

"The short- and long-term parts of the program must be developed as a whole." (July, 1942, pamphlet for the National Resources Planning Board)

Wendell Lund, War Production Board

"It is in this context that the workers and the common people are prepared to draw up a charter for freedom-- for today and for tomorrow.

"Labor's charter for a post-war world, in my opinion, should include these basic points:

"1. The assurance of useful and creative work throughout the production years of a worker's life.

"2. A just level of pay in return for labor, ideas or other services useful to society.

"3. The guarantee of proper food, clothing, shelter and medical care.

"4. Security for the aged and sick.

"5. Safeguards against industrial injury, together with just recompense and security for those injured.

"6. The right to live and work under a system of free enterprise without interference from private power above the law, discriminatory public authority, and unbridled monopoly.

"7. Freedom of movement, of speech, of conscience, without fear of secret political or private police.

"8. An end to discrimination against any person or group, because of race, creed, color, religion, or national origin.

"9. Equality before the law, with economic justice part of that law.

"10. The opportunity for self-improvement through free education.

"11. The right to leisure and recreation."

(June 6, 1942, Berkeley, Calif.)

Wendell Lund, War Production Board

"I feel very strongly that labor and government through this (Labor Production Division, WPB) and other agencies have set up a partnership of historic importance.

"It is a win-the-war partnership.

"It will also be a win-the-peace partnership." (August 6, 1942, Springfield, Mass.)

Wallace McClure, State Department

"However vital it will be to keep peace production at the wartime level, there is even more compelling need that no man be involuntarily without a job." (May 15, 1942, Chapel Hill, N.C.)

Robert Nathan, War Production Board

"The postwar world should be dedicated to an era of high production and high consumption. We know how to produce and now we must learn how to distribute the results of production so that there is an ever-sustained and ever-increasing demand for what we can produce. We have never had over-production and there is no danger for a long period to come that we are likely to over-produce relative to our real wants. When the time comes that we can produce more than is needed then we can work less, but that day is far distant. As long as there are millions of our families living in inadequate houses, millions of families without adequate clothing and food and millions of families without those luxuries which the more fortunate of us have been able to enjoy, we can never be smug and complacent about over-production." (June 18, 1942, Dallas, Texas)

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Ronald W. Wilson, Chairman, War Production Board

"... after peace returns—our peace, in which the spectre of dictatorship and slavery has been dispelled forever—we Americans are going to have the noblest opportunity our people in all history ever had. We are going to have the chance to build an era of plenty in a land of plenty.

"I can't tell you how we are going to do this. It may take us a long time to find the right way. But I know we are going to have the chance; and I know that the unity and the energy which will win this war for us will be fully able to solve that problem. We are fighting for many rights today. The greatest one of all is the right to find our own way to the solution of that problem. We are going to win that right and we are going to find that solution." (September 7, 1942, Cleveland, Ohio)

Ailo Perkins, Board of Economic Warfare

"We are engaged in a struggle that transcends the present war. This is a long, long fight to make a mass-production economy work. The battle started when machines became important in the lives of men. It should be over within the generation following this conflict. The battle will be won when we have built up mass-consumption to a point where markets can absorb the output of our mass-production industries running at top speed. Then, so far as our physical needs are concerned, life can become a journey to be enjoyed rather than a battle to be fought." (May 25, 1942, Swarthmore, Pa.)

"Better than half of our industrial output at the end of this war will be going to one customer - our own government. The business will exceed 70 billion dollars a year. Any attempt to stop that purchasing power abruptly would result in complete bankruptcy. There must be a gradual and sensible unwinding. Government must encourage business to regain its peace-time markets as fast as it can and business must encourage government to taper off its activities slowly enough to keep production going full blast." (May 25, 1942, Swarthmore, Pa.)

"Capital investment in heavy goods for reconstruction must replace capital investment in armaments (in the post-war period) at a rate adequate to maintain full employment." (May 25, 1942, Swarthmore, Pa.)

"We can and we should have open discussion about the various methods of using our resources to the utmost. But that is quite different from questioning the absolute necessity of their full utilization. Failure to use those resources to the utmost would be the one sure way to lose the way of life for which our sons are now willing and ready to die." (May 25, 1942, Swarthmore, Pa.)

"The plain people of this earth know what they want in the post-war period. Above all else they want to be wanted; they want a chance to work and be useful. They want an income which will give them enough food and clothing and shelter and medical care to drive the fear of want from the family fireside. And they want these simple things within a society that guarantees their civil liberties." (May 25, 1942, Swarthmore, Pa.)

"The job of the future will be to build up a mass consumption great enough to use this mass production. That will require a bold and daring use of long-term credits by every enlightened government of the world. Governments must enter fields where private finance cannot enter without assuming risks that are too great to take with other people's money. By that very act, however, the area of private investment will be broader and safer than it was in the last two decades. A world at work at decent wages is a world of economic stability. Idleness is the greatest of all threats to confidence." (May 25, 1942, Swarthmore, Pa.)

Clletcher H. Rawls, Department of Commerce

"It is estimated that the war program will eliminate unemployment. Thus, it is easy to see why all of the federal agencies, which have been thinking about the post-war situation, agree that the first objective is to maintain the employment level reached during the war." (June 19, 1942, Edgewater Park, Miss.)

"There are several favorable factors which will work toward building a high enough rate of consumption after the present war to maintain employment and income. First of all the state of reduced consumption resulting from restricted use of materials and conversion -- which stage we are now entering -- will build up a tremendous backlog of deferred demand, especially in the field of durable goods which is the key area.

"The reservoir of funds now being built up through the purchase of war bonds and probably later through some system of forced savings will provide the means for satisfying the pent-up demands of consumers. Further, the consumer credit situation will be eased and the decks cleared for action in that direction." (June 19, 1942, Edgewater Park, Miss.)

S. D. Schell, U. S. Maritime Commission

"A golden opportunity is unfolding for the future of our Merchant Marine when this present Whole World War is terminated and we shall again enter upon our peaceful pursuits. We will recapture our foreign trade with our high speed modern cargo vessels and assume our rightful place with the Merchant Marine of the world. But for the present we have a different serious business ahead." (May 22, 1942, Wilmington, N.C.)

Harold D. Smith, Director, Bureau of the Budget (quoting New York Times)

"... When the war ends... we will be faced with problems of taxation, debt adjustment and fiscal policy, or regional development and balance. The need of cooperation in the task of planning for the future is manifest, both to share the labor of an undertaking too vast for any single agency and to develop common objectives and a unified program."

"When the time comes for reconversion to peacetime production, private enterprise must be prepared to absorb war workers who will be temporarily unemployed. But he expressed the opinion that he did not believe private industry could take in all those who would be unemployed and that government, local, State and Federal, would have 'to step in some way.'

"He pointed out that when the war effort reaches its peak, about 25,000,000 persons will be working in production lines and about 5,000,000 will be in the armed services. Turning from war production to peace-time will therefore involve the transfer of nearly 30,000,000 persons." (June 9, 1942, Syracuse, N.Y.)

Rear Admiral Howard L. Vickery, U.S.N., Vice-Chairman, U. S. Maritime Commission

"Moreover, I am firmly convinced that the post-war story of our maritime industry this time will not be a repetition of the grievous mistakes we made in the aftermath of the first World War. Then we assembled a great ship production machine throughout our nation, erected vast shipyards and employed hundreds of thousands of men. When the war was over the production equipment was disassembled or abandoned. Factories were idle and the workers unemployed. After this war it must be different. The Maritime Commission program calls for the reestablishment of the Merchant Marine on a competitive parity with that of other nations. It is our plan to restore America to a dominant place in world commerce, a position attainable, I am confident, through the cooperation and support of the American People." (May 22, 1942, Philadelphia, Pa.)

Rear Admiral Howard L. Vickery, U.S.N., Vice-Chairman, U. S. Maritime Commission

"What is the destiny of the Liberty ships? This is one post-war problem which will result from the very success of today's shipbuilding program. The end of the war, whenever it may be, will find us with a tremendous fleet of Liberty ships, for by the close of 1943 that fleet will probably comprise a fifth or more of the world's tonnage. It appears likely now that Liberty ships will have many uses during the early years of peace, but we should be under no delusion that they will be able to hold their own in the highly competitive conditions which are sure to return. The American shipping industry will do well to give thought to their ultimate disposition. Do you want to see them sold foreign? Do you want to see them in the hands of speculative operators? Or would you prefer that your Government maintain them in reserve against possible future emergencies?" (October 16, 1942, New York, N.Y.)

"In the past it has been the practice to build specialized ships -- hand tailored so to speak -- to meet the requirements of particular trades. The long range ships we are building now are necessarily standardized, and undoubtedly they will be employed after the war in services for which custom built designs were heretofore considered essential. Since this standardization has not been at the expense of speed, efficiency, or quality, shippers will find the vessels quite adequate and there would appear to be little reason to revert to pre-war building conceptions. The benefits to operators of continued standardization upon a few types of ships would be considerable. Not only would ship construction costs be lower, but in addition, expenses of maintenance would be reduced. The shipper would likewise benefit by reason of resultant lower tariffs. Are you not agreeable to paying less for your ships in the future? Why then, should the shipping industry refuse to recognize the principle of standardization which other industries have had to adopt in order to survive?" (October 16, 1942, New York, N.Y.)

"I have long been of the conviction that one of the necessary adjuncts of a successful American merchant marine is a strong and independent American insurance market. A quarter century ago, our ship owners were forced to depend principally upon foreign underwriters for marine coverage, and even in cases where insurance was placed in this country, the terms were largely influenced from abroad. While in more recent years a substantial domestic hull insurance market was built up, nevertheless, too large a share of American marine insurance, in my opinion, has been allowed to go to foreign underwriters. Should not the necessary steps be taken, therefore, so that when peacetime conditions return, domestic underwriters and ship owners, with or without the intervention of the government, will see to it that American ships are insured where they should be -- in the United States?" (October 16, 1942, New York, N.Y.)

Carroll L. Wilson, Department of Commerce

"The post-war period will present to private business not only another challenger... but an opportunity to prove that our competitive system works, that the democratic method of leaving as much initiative as possible in the hands of individual proprietors or managers is sound and that reasonable profits to owners are the result of filling a need of the people for more and more goods at lower and lower prices." (June 4, 1942, Address)

Thomas W. Woodward, Vice-Chairman, U. S. Maritime Commission

"We will find ourselves then, at the conclusion of hostilities in this war, with the three essential elements without which no nation may hope to maintain a position as a maritime power; first, the ships; second, the maritime personnel; third, sound and efficient operating companies. These are not mentioned necessarily in the order of importance, for they are co-equal. This dominant position in the world of merchant shipping will be but

one manifestation of the place which the United States is destined to hold in the post-war world. To use a homely phrase, we are in the war up to our necks and we will be in the peace up to our necks." (May 21, 1942, Chicago, Ill.)

Alvin H. Hansen, National Resources Planning Board

"Conclusions with respect to domestic policy were:

A. War Period

1. High corporate-income and excess-profits taxes.
2. Sharply progressive estate taxes.
3. Broadening of individual income-tax base together with steeply graduated surtax rates.
4. Sharp increase in excise taxes on commodities competing with the war program.
5. Part payment of wages and salaries in defense bonds.
6. Qualitative shift in the components of consumption.

B. Post-War Period

1. Retention of progressive (graduated) tax structure and broadened tax base, with major emphasis on the individual income tax and less reliance on the corporate income tax.
2. Sharp reduction in defense consumption taxes.
3. Adequate plans by private enterprise for private-investment projects in manufacturing plant and equipment, in railroads, public utilities, and housing.
4. Adequate program of public-improvement projects including national resources, express highway, urban redevelopment (involving among other things outlays in terminal facilities and reorganization of urban transportation), and a reorganized public housing program (including the setting up of a Housing Research Laboratory designed to reduce construction costs and thus enlarge the scope of private housing construction).
5. Expansion of public-welfare expenditures--Federal aid to education, public health, old-age pensions and family allowances. This involves partly an expanded program, and partly a means of reducing State and local property and consumption taxes, thereby stimulating private consumption expenditures." (January, 1942, Pamphlet)

National Resources Planning Board

"We shall emerge from war with more skilled workers than ever before, with more power, more steel and aluminum, with new plastics-- with the greatest industrial plant in our history. We must keep it at work, because only by full employment can we be assured of that freedom from want and fear which provides the basis for the other freedoms for which we are fighting." (May 18, 1942, Article, Better Cities)

"If we are to make our post-war cities true temples of the four freedoms, there is one central idea which, today as never before, has the acceptance of social scientists, groups of property owners and investors, and of public officials. The replanning and rebuilding of cities must be on a large scale; an isolated, uncoordinated attack, the replacement of a group of structures here and there, will not do. Our replanning must be bold, fresh, and imaginative. In the desire to make work, we must not rush in with projects that merely repeat or perpetuate bad patterns of the past -- either physical or institutional." (May 18, 1942, Article, Better Cities)

"... We must plan our rebuilding, not by the square block, but by the square mile. If this conception be accepted, we must clearly have an idea to guide us that will give us more than rows of sanitary barracks to replace rows of unsanitary hutches." (May 18, 1942, Article, Better Cities)

National Resources Planning Board

"It is essential that the various governments serving the people of a city recognize their common constituency. Just as highways built with public money and residences built with private funds must compose one finished community, so the objectives of each level of government and of the various departments in each level must be brought together and considered as a composite plan for the area." (May 18, 1942, Article, Better Cities)

"Thirty years of experience have shown us that for large-scale imaginative recreation of our cities, we need sharper and more powerful tools for local planning. The prevailing pattern of the appointed planning board of unpaid citizens was established in a day when there was less integration of local government..." (May 18, 1942, Article, Better Cities)

National Resources Planning Board

"In specific terms, the central objectives of our post-war planning may be summarized as follows:

1. We must plan for full employment, for maintaining the national income at 100 billion dollars a year, at least, rather than to let it slip back to 80 or 70 or 60 billion dollars again. In other words, we shall plan to balance our national production-consumption budget at a high level with full employment, not at a low level with mass unemployment.

2. We must plan to do this without requiring work from youth who should be in school, the aged who should be relieved if they wish it, and women who choose to make their contribution in the home, and without asking anyone to work regularly in mines, factories, transportation, or offices more than 40 hours a week or 50 weeks a year, or to sacrifice the wage standards which have been set.

3. We must plan to decentralize post-emergency activities as far as possible; to use to the utmost our system of modified free enterprise with its voluntary employment, its special reward for effort, imagination, and improvement, its elasticity and competition; and to advance cooperatively under national and governmental leadership.

4. We must plan to enable every human being within our boundaries to realize progressively the promise of American life in food, shelter, clothing, medical care, education, work, rest, home life, opportunity to advance, adventure, and the basic freedoms.

5. We must plan to make Building America the keynote of the post-war program, including both development of our national resources to add to the national estate, and service activities, which will increase the vitality, health, skill, productivity, knowledge and happiness of the American people, and thus together end unemployment and add to our wealth and well-being." (September, 1942, Pamphlet, Post-war Planning)

"To withhold a certain number of service men from the labor market (after war) for a period of training might help prevent the glutting of that market, in addition to providing them with skills and training needed for industrial occupations." (September 1942, Pamphlet, Post-war Planning)

"The men and machines who are making tanks and jeeps and bombs are going to be almost as 'out of a job' as the soldiers and sailors, when victory comes. They will present many of the same problems, and their sudden dismissal, in its effect on the labor market and on the volume of consumer-purchasing power, would aggravate the dangers to our national economy. Indeed, it is arguable that it would be less wasteful to continue some war production beyond absolute military necessity rather than to

halt it all precipitately at the same time. Not alone would the immediate worker in war industries thrown out of work be affected by hasty industrial demobilization but transportation workers and the suppliers of raw materials for war production would also be affected. It is possible that some whole industries created to meet the Nation's need will appropriately be the Nation's charge as they retool and convert for peace-time pursuits. (September 1942, Pamphlet, Post-war Planning)

"A dismissal wage (in the demobilization period), possibly to be paid in installments over a period of time, may seem a wise national safeguard. Nation-wide extension and liberalization of our unemployment compensation system might accomplish the purpose without the introduction of new machinery. Use of the projects for public works, which are described later in the pamphlet, to fill in any gaps in employment opportunity and to make wider and more efficient use of national resources, may be appropriate in the period of adjustment." (September 1942, Pamphlet, Post-war Planning)

6. SOCIAL PROBLEMS

- a. GENERAL STATEMENTS
- b. MIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT
- c. NATIONALITY AND MINORITIES
- d. EDUCATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

Cordell Hull, Secretary of State

"... An informed public opinion must be developed. This is a task of intensive study, hard thinking, broad vision, and leadership -- not for governments alone, but for parents, and teachers, and clergymen, and all those, within each nation, who provide spiritual, moral, and intellectual guidance." (July 23, 1942, Radio Address)

Henry A. Wallace, Vice-President

"America will not have made her contribution until nine out of ten of the adults of the world can read and write, until all the children of the world can have at least a point of milk a day, until education brings with it such a sense of responsibility that all of the people of the world can be trusted to take part in democratic government." (June 8, 1942, New York)

7. STRUCTURE AND CONTROL OF PARTICULAR TERRITORIES

a. SELF-DETERMINATION; BOUNDARIES

Franklin D. Roosevelt, President

"We do not covet one square inch of the territory of any other nation." (September 1, 1941, New York)

William L. Batt, War Production Board

"We want no territory; we want to enslave no people; we want to grab no wealth that belongs to another; we do want a free, peaceful, righteous world in which fairness and justice are available to every people." (May 17, 1942, Gary, Indiana)

Spruille Braden, Ambassador to Cuba

"We shall have to proceed so that all men, freely and without fear, may elect the governments they desire and so live in dignity and confidence. (In the post-war world)" (April 9, 1942, Cuban Chamber of Commerce in U. S.)

Cordell Hull, Secretary of State

"We have always believed -- and we believe today -- that all people, without distinction of race, color or religion, who are prepared and willing to accept the responsibilities of liberty, are entitled to its enjoyment. We have always sought -- and we seek today -- to encourage and aid all who aspire to freedom to establish their rights to it by preparing themselves to assume its obligations. We have striven to meet squarely our own responsibility in this respect -- in Cuba, in the Philippines, and wherever else it has devolved upon us. It has been our purpose in the past -- and will remain our purpose in the future -- to use the full measure of our influence to support attainment of freedom by all peoples who, by their acts, show themselves worthy of it and ready for it." (July 23, 1942, Radio Address)

Frank Knox, Secretary of the Navy

"...(victory will be) followed by a peace which all are agreed must guarantee equal opportunity for all peoples, great or small." (January 2, 1942, New Year's Greeting to Navy)

Frank C. Walker, Postmaster General

"We are not striving for colonial possessions, for new territory, for the enslavement of others or for the economic overlordship of the world." (August 18, 1942, Memphis, Tenn.)

Sumner Welles, Under-Secretary of State

"If this war is in fact a war for the liberation of peoples it must assure the sovereign equality of peoples throughout the world, as well as in the world of the Americas. Our victory must bring in its train the liberation of all peoples. Discrimination between peoples because of their race, creed or color must be abolished. The age of imperialism is ended. The right of a people to their freedom must be recognized, as the civilized world long since recognized the right of an individual to his personal freedom. The principles of the Atlantic Charter must be guaranteed to the world as a whole -- in all oceans and in all continents." (May 30, 1942, Arlington, Va.)

Sumner Welles, Under-Secretary of State

"...our victory must surely...bring as its consequence a world order in which every nation, small or great, weak or powerful, can live in safety and in peace, and without fear." (October 28, 1942, Washington, D. C.)

Thomas W. Woodward, Vice Chairman, Maritime Commission

"Imperialism so-called, whether economic, military or political, is as dead as the dodo." (May 21, 1942, Chicago, Ill.)

b. DECLARATIONS OF VARIOUS GOVERNMENTS REGARDING PARTICULAR TERRITORIES (cf. Section 3d)

Cordell Hull, Secretary of State

"...the United States, in continuation of steps already taken toward meeting China's aspirations for readjustment of anomalies in its international relations, expects when conditions of peace again prevail, to move rapidly, by processes of orderly negotiation and agreement with the Chinese Government, toward relinquishment of the last of certain rights of a special character which this country, together with other countries, has long possessed in China by virtue of agreements providing for extra-territorial jurisdiction and related practices." (May 31, 1942, Washington, D. C.)

Owen Lattimore, Political Adviser to Chiang Kai Shek

Chungking reports (October 23, 11:10 a.m. EWT) in English to North America. He said: "America will not become imperialistic nor will she return to isolationism. She wants freedom and equality. For this we need your cooperation, just as you need our cooperation in your reconstruction. All the peoples of Asia look to you as an example. The people of this half of the world look to General Chiang Kai-shek as the symbol of their hope of progress and self-government. For this reason, Chinese responsibilities will not be lost. Some American say that the next 100 years will be the American century. I believe that the next 100 years will be the Chinese century...."

"The world needs more than a stable China. We need a progressive China. No nation in Asia can progress unless China progresses. No nation in Asia can hope for democracy unless democracy in China is successful. I feel confident of the future. China's victory will serve Asia and it will serve democracy." (Official Chinese Broadcast)

c. LEAGUE OF NATIONS MANDATES

d. INTERNATIONAL TRUSTEESHIP AND OTHER DEPENDENT AREAS

8. INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

a. GENERAL STATEMENTS; GENERAL POST-WAR POLICY; ISOLATION OR COLLABORATION

Franklin D. Roosevelt, President

"There are a few people in this country who, when the collapse of the Axis begins, will tell our people that we are safe once more; that we can tell the rest of the world to 'stew in its own juice'; that never again will we help to pull 'the other fellow's chestnuts from the fire'; that the future of civilization can jolly well take care of itself insofar as we are concerned.

"But it is useless to win battles if the cause for which we fought these battles is lost." (October 12, 1942, Radio Address)

Paul H. Appelby, Under-Secretary of Agriculture

"It is of supreme importance that the American people understand how completely, how sublimely, the British people are giving of themselves to this war. For without the British Commonwealth this war could not be won. Those who for lack of philosophy, for lack of insight and understanding, say and do things which reduce the unity of the British and American peoples reduce the effectiveness of all our efforts.

"It is of equal importance that there be in this country deep understanding of the absolute necessity for the closest collaboration with Britain in post-war years. For unless we can build a larger international unity then, this war will have been fought in vain. And unless we can build in conjunction with Britain, we can not build at all. The need is for the largest possible unity. Collaboration with Britain in this effort is simply a minimum beginning, the most feasible and essential beginning." (July 10, 1942, Charlottesville, Va.)

Adolf A. Berle, Assistant Secretary of State

"The United States is productive, strong and independent; and proposes to stay so. She has found that the best means of remaining productive, strong and independent is to maintain disinterested friendship with all other nations; and that this policy works best when all other nations are themselves productive, independent and as strong as their circumstances permit. We have no wish to acquire the territory or dominate the affairs of other nations; and no peace-loving nation need fear us. Equally, we propose to handle our affairs so that we need fear nobody." (October 15, 1942, Birmingham, Alabama)

Francis Biddle, Attorney General (quoting the Washington Star)

"Pointing out that one of the main problems after the war will be what to do with the war machinery, Mr. Biddle said he is convinced the United States will never return to isolationism, that it will be a matter of creating the type of intelligence and the type of mind to meet an integrated world." (April 25, 1942, Washington, D. C.)

Wayne Chatfield-Taylor, Under-Secretary of Commerce

"...after this war our nation will not run away from its responsibilities. It will not need to hide inexperience and ineptitude behind the smug cloak of isolation. It will not need to do so, and it will not wish to do so." (June 18, 1942, Dallas, Texas)

8. - 2

Wayne Chatfield-Taylor, Under-Secretary of Commerce

"While they (U. S. soldiers) share with you patriotism and the burning urge to perpetuate our way of life, they share with each other a special feeling. They may not always tell us so, but deep in their hearts they know that the older generations of men and women who have been managing matters, have bungled tragically and completely. I can assure you that they will neither be guided by precedents of history nor by precepts from elders who failed to avert the present catastrophe. But, I can also assure you that they will bring to bear a freshness of approach, a belief that truly great things are possible which only victors acquire." (October 7, 1942, Boston, Mass.)

Wayne Chatfield-Taylor, Under-Secretary of Commerce

"I believe that the time is near when there will be no economic or philosophical neutrals in this hemisphere; almost all of us are now solidly bound together.

"We have also, I believe, already built the framework, from the Good Neighbor blueprint, of a potentially world-wide economic structure; the principles and the results developed from our Pan American credos and action can be applied to the establishment of a workable world economic system and commercial policy. Though the policy has been truly successful in the laboratory of this hemisphere, we do not want to spawn a new type of isolationist, the 'Pan American Isolationist.'

"We know the current fruits of the Good Neighbor policy in our own hemisphere. We must now begin to look still farther into the future: expand our proven hemisphere policy into a world policy." (October 21, 1942, New York City)

Elmer Davis, Director, Office of War Information

"What is the basic and primary interest of every American citizen in the settlement of world affairs that will follow upon victory? Obviously our primary interest is national security; and I use that word not as meaning a safe idleness and indifference and stagnation. I mean a condition of world affairs in which the American people can go about their business, solving their own problems, trying to live up to the principles which this country gave to the world in 1776, and which we can best advertise to the world by setting a good example -- a condition in which we can devote ourselves to these objectives without having to drop everything, every twenty-five years or so, and devote all our energy and resources to repelling attacks from without.

"Now, some people think that can best be done by relying on our own strength; others by some kind of international organization. It is an issue not so sharp as it may be made to seem, for it is evident that for years to come we shall have to rely on a mixture of both. On the ultimate decision, patriotic citizens may honestly differ; and we seem more likely to reach a satisfactory solution if we may to keep our heads and make our decision not on theories and doctrine, but on the ground of national interest as clearly as it can be ascertained." (October 3, 1942, New York City)

A reason why it may be to U. S. interest to enter a collective security system, i.e. continued unity of the United Nations:

"...the United States is likely to come out of this war with very great military strength; and nobody in this country wants to scrap our armaments this time, as we did in large degree twenty years ago, until we are absolutely sure that we have a far better substitute guarantee of our security than that for which we sacrificed them in the Washington treaties of 1922." (October 3, 1942, New York City)

Elmer Davis, Director, Office of War Information

A reason why it may be to U.S. interest to enter a collective security system, i.e. continued unity of the United Nations:

"While we might be at least as strong as any other single nation in the world (after the war) we are not going to be stronger than all of them; nor do most Americans want, if they can help it, to spend a lot of energy and ingenuity hereafter in devising and maintaining a system of alliances to maintain a balance of power." (October 3, 1942, New York, N.Y.)

A reason why it may be to U.S. interest to enter a collective security system, i.e. continued unity of the United Nations:

"... while smaller nations with smaller armed forces are generally at a disadvantage under modern war conditions, one of these conditions--the speed of air war--gives a greater opportunity, to a nation determined on attack, to use the one tactic that most effectually neutralizes superior numbers-- surprise." (October 3, 1942, New York, N.Y.)

A reason why it may be to U.S. interest to enter a collective security system, i.e. continued unity of the United Nations:

"We come nearer being self-sufficient than any other nation in the world, but even we are a long way from it--a point that need not be labored in view of the current rubber situation. No doubt we shall preserve and continue to operate our synthetic rubber industry, after the war, as a measure of military defense; but unless the processes are greatly cheapened it will be an uneconomic measure necessitated by security; and there will be other measures, equally uneconomic or even socially unhealthy, that we shall have to adopt unless some other safeguard of security can be found." (October 3, 1942, New York, N.Y.)

R. M. Evans, Vice-Chairman, Federal Reserve

"... post-war unity of the democracies will be as important then as our war unity is now. I have hope that in this war we shall learn and apply some lessons for cooperation in peace." (January 29, 1942, Ottawa, Canada)

Charles Fahy, Solicitor General

"When we have achieved victory, therefore, and have required complete removal of armed power from the hands of those nations which have so terribly proved their misuse of it, I believe that we will not relapse, after this war, into a defeatism with respect to the peace. This war proves that the present organization of the world permits aggressors to make war on a world-wide scale. This demonstrates beyond further doubt that peace must be attainable on the same scale." (June 6, 1942, Washington, D.C.)

James V. Forrestal, Under-Secretary of the Navy

"The Nation is going to a hard school--the school of war. It is learning, somewhat belatedly, the truth of what a great President of Princeton and a great President of the United States, just before his death in 1924, said to Philip Kerr, later Lord Lothian:

"The great tragedy of the last six years is the fact that American failure to accept world responsibility means that the job will have to be done over again within twenty years and at ten times the cost."

Joseph C. Graw, Former Ambassador to Japan

"... once Japan is destroyed as an aggressive force, we know of no other challenging power that can appear in the Pacific. The nations now members of the Pacific Council in

Washington are quite simply fighting primarily for freedom-- to live their own national and individual lives, and to let live. No one of these powers has serious strategic claims or designs upon the independence or territory of another. There are no frontiers stained with centuries of the bloodshed of international war. The Pacific nations have clear geographical limits, sufficient natural resources, and a proved disposition to cooperate. Once militant Japan is out of the picture, there should remain no threat of further war in the Pacific area.

"I say this advisedly. Japan is the one enemy, and the only enemy, of the peaceful peoples whose shores overlook the Pacific Ocean." (October 10, 1942, New York, N.Y.)

"... the winning of the war will bring its own rewards in uniting the Pacific peoples. Friendships and opportunities for mutual education and enrichment, both material and spiritual, possess limitless possibilities for good. The share of the Chinese in the new Pacific is bound to be a great one. Our collaboration with China will be made the easier by the sympathy which United China Relief and its related organizations have shown the Chinese people." (October 10, 1942, New York, N. Y.)

Stanley K. Hornbeck, Adviser on Political Relations, State Department

"In a letter to the Vice President of the United States, on January 8, 1938, the Secretary of State, Mr. Hull, gave expression to an adequate concept of national interest in words to which attention cannot too often be directed.

"I venture to repeat the substance of that statement with a little amplification:

"The interest of the United States in situations abroad is measured in more than terms of the number of American citizens residing in a given place or region at a given moment, is more than the amount of investment of American citizens in a particular locality, is more than the volume of our trade--past, present, or potential. These are, of course, important interests, but, over and above them, this country has interests that are and always will be broader and more fundamental. These more important although less obvious interests arise out of and rest upon the fact that only by respect on the part of the nations of the world for orderly processes in international relationships is there any chance for peace, and only in a world where there is peace--based on law and order and justice--to live in peace and to enjoy security, that the world be safe for the people of the United States--and for other law-abiding and peace-desiring people and nations.--these are national and nation-wide interests. These are primary concerns of the United States and of all of its people. These are fundamental and vital. These go beyond and transcend in importance the various material interests and concerns of persons (individuals), of property, of profits, of privilege, or even of prestige." (May 21, 1942, Chapel Hill, N.C.)

Stanley K. Hornbeck, State Department

"... The responsibility to the world which will be that of the United Nations (is) to see to it that in the years to come reliance is not again placed by peace loving nations upon treaties and laws and good will and processes of appeal to reason alone." (June 1, 1942, Logan, Utah)

"The peace settlement concluded when this war's victory has been won must contain provisions which will give security and make possible justice among nations. It must contain provisions which will discourage aggression and restrain would-be aggressors. It must provide reasonable scope for the normal legitimate aspirations of peacefully inclined and industrious peoples everywhere. In these and other respects the peace which we envisage and toward which we are fighting must be more generously conceived and more firmly supported than any that has been achieved in the past. The peace which we now seek cannot be founded merely on faith or on hope or on charity--or on all of these. The peace that we make must be a peace maintainable and maintained by common effort and constant cooperative vigilance." (June 1, 1942, Logan, Utah)

Pre-War Statement of American Foreign Policy -- Cordell Hull, Secretary of State

"This country constantly and consistently advocates maintenance of peace. We advocate national and international self-restraint. We advocate abstinence by all nations from use of force in pursuit of policy and from interference in the internal affairs of other nations. We advocate adjustment of problems in international relations by processes of peaceful negotiation and agreement. We advocate faithful observance of international agreements. Upholding the principle of the sanctity of treaties, we believe in modification of provisions of treaties, when need therefor arises, by orderly processes carried out in spirit of mutual helpfulness and accommodation. We believe in respect by all nations for the rights of others and performance by all nations of established obligations. We stand for revitalizing and strengthening of international law. We advocate steps toward promotion of economic security and stability the world over. We advocate lowering or removing of excessive barriers in international trade. We seek effective equality of commercial opportunity and we urge upon all nations application of the principle of equality of treatment. We believe in limitation and reduction of armament. Realizing the necessity for maintaining armed forces adequate for national security, we are prepared to reduce or to increase our own armed forces in proportion to reductions or increases made by other countries. We avoid entering into alliances or entangling commitments but we believe in cooperative effort by peaceful and practicable means in support of the principles hereinbefore stated." (July 16, 1937, Statement)

Robert H. Jackson, Associate Justice, Supreme Court

"At the end of this war we must either throw the full weight of American influence to the support of an international order based on law, or we must outstrip the world in naval and air, and perhaps in military, force. No reservation to a treaty can let us have our cake and eat it too.

"We, as lawyers, hold fast to the ideal of an international order existing under law and equipped with instrumentalities able and willing to maintain its supremacy, and we renew our dedication to the task of pushing back the frontiers of anarchy and of maintaining justice under the law among men and nations." (October 2, 1941, Indianapolis, Ind.)

Robert H. Jackson, Associate Justice, Supreme Court

"Will, unity, determination and organization, are all that is needed--and they are imperatively needed--if we are to make the opportunity to shape the inevitable new order ours instead of the enemies'." (September 2, 1942, Washington, D.C.)

"Our conviction is that right is the only ingredient that can make might lasting, that power without right is but a prod which arouses forces that ultimately bring about its own destruction. That conviction must be manifest in our policy and conduct towards each other, towards minorities and disadvantaged men or people-- yes, even towards our enemies. Only thus can the sceptical world be assured that we would use an opportunity to write the peace of the world in terms of justice and fair dealing." (September 2, 1942, Washington, D.C.)

"It is not probable that the useful elements of the doctrine of sovereignty would be lost by a general limitation to protect the peace of the world against destruction, at least until adjustment procedures under law were invoked. The dignity of no well-meaning state would be harmfully impaired even by a requirement that it submit justifiable grievances to the World Court and others to arbitration. Treaties have already pledged renunciation of war as an instrument of policy." (September 2, 1942, Washington, D.C.)

Paul V. McNutt, Chairman, War Relocation Commission

"We are remaking America today. We are tearing out the old canvas props which advertised America as a one-ring sideshow -- self-sufficient -- a pitchman's stand on a boundless prairie of waters.

"America today is under the main tent." (June 13, 1942, Philadelphia, Pa.)

Leo Pasvolsky, State Department

(The post-war problems are two): "First, to create a system of international political relationships which would offer a reasonable hope for the preservation of a just peace among nations with the least practicable diversion of economic effort to the maintenance of armed forces; and

"Second, to create, domestically and internationally, economic conditions which would make possible a progressive movement toward an efficient utilization of the human and material resources of the world on a scale adequate to ensure the greatest practicable measure of full and stable employment accompanied by rising standards of living everywhere (March 4, 1942, Delaware, Ohio)

"We must be equally determined that, once the earth is freed from the menace of these sinister forces, international relations must and will be so organized as to be an open and unobstructed highway of human progress toward an enduring peace among nations, based on justice and on order under law, and toward an increasing measure of economic and social welfare for the individual everywhere." (March 4, 1942, Delaware, Ohio)

Francis B. Sayre, U. S. High Commissioner in the Philippines

"True, we must produce armament and munitions and war supplies as no other nation has ever yet produced them. But that alone will never win the war--and still less will it build a world that humanity can tolerate following the military victory. There is only one way to win the war, only one way to win the peace which follows the war. We must build upon moral foundations." (April 9, 1942, New York, N.Y.)

Henry A. Wallace, Vice-President

"None of us can be entirely sure at this time what will be the nature of the peace which will follow this war when the determined fight of the United Nations has brought victory. But we do know that our own problem of national security will be directly affected by the degree of completeness of the peace.

"Real national security in the broad sense cannot be obtained by attempting to be self-sufficient in everything, as the Nazis during the last 10 years tried to do. This was the direction in which our Government was going under the Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act of 1930. Adoption by the United States of a new isolationism on the Nazi order, after this war is over, would force the rest of the world to do likewise and, as I have already pointed out, would lead within a few years to World War No. 3.

"National security, in this broad sense, must be based on united organization that will protect every country against aggression. Such united protection against aggression could not exist without international intercourse and trade, and it would be tragic if the United States made such protection impossible by following Nazi-like policies toward rubber and other commodities." (Letter to Dr. E. N. Bressman, of the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, at the invitation of the New York Daily News and printed in that paper, October 7, 1942, p. 39)

Sumner Welles, Under-Secretary of State

"For twelve tragic years after the close of the last World War the United States withdrew from almost every form of constructive cooperation with the other nations of the earth.

"We are reaping the bitter cost of that isolation.

"For I am persuaded that after the victory is won, so long as the power and influence of the United States are felt in the councils of the world, so long as our cooperation is effectively offered, so long can one hope that peace can and will be maintained."
(October 8, 1942, Boston, Mass.)

John G. Winant, American Ambassador in London

"(The post-war world) calls for a political philosophy which... reaches beyond selfish nationalism to a plan of political and economic collaboration in order that we may join together to create a prosperous and peaceful world..." (March 9, 1942, speech)

"The great mass of common men... want a friendly, civilized world of free peoples in which Christian virtues and moral values are not spurned as decadent and outmoded, a world where honest work is recognized and a man can own himself." (March 9, 1942, speech)

White House

Further were discussed the fundamental problems of cooperation of the Soviet Union and the United States in safeguarding peace and security to the freedom-loving peoples after the war. Both sides state with satisfaction the unity of their views on all these questions. (June 11, 1942, Conversations in re visit of V. M. Molotov)

b. PRINCIPLES OF ORGANIZATION

(1) UNIVERSAL V. SELECTIVE V. REGIONAL

Nelson A. Rockefeller, Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs

"But cooperation throughout the hemisphere has by no means been limited to the economic field. Since the signing of the Rio Charter by the 21 American republics the people of the Americas have made increasing sacrifices and taken one step after another to insure ultimate victory.

"The adherence of the Americas to the united cause we have at heart is a practical as well as a moral pledge that in the cooperation of the American nations to preserve the freedom of the peoples of these continents, there shall be no isolationism.

"It points the way toward the directions in which the American countries are going in peace as well as in war." (August 23, 1942, on the CBS Summer Symphony Program)

"We cannot, after all, lastingly maintain peace and physical security for the inhabitants of the American continents alone. We cannot establish freedom from want and fear, apply the principles of the Atlantic Charter exclusively in a single hemisphere.

"We cannot establish-- and securely maintain-- the liberties for which we are fighting today, in the isolation of even half a world.

"For the physical safety of civilization in the future, the call today is for a new world pace of progress and new world goals.

"That pace can be set, and those goals established, only through an expansion of cooperation between peoples to embrace other continents. Cooperation not simply in framing the terms of peace, but in solving the deeper and more complex problems on which the permanence of peace depends." (August 23, 1942, on the CBS Summer Symphony Program)

Henry A. Wallace, Vice-President

"... on October 12, the people of Mexico, like the other Spanish-speaking peoples of the Western Hemisphere, will celebrate what they call 'the day of the race', meaning the Spanish-speaking race. We in the North call it 'Columbus Day.' I hope the time will come when we shall refer to it as 'New World Day', and shall make it stand for liberty and true democracy throughout the hemisphere." (September 16, 1942, Los Angeles, Calif., anniversary of Mexican independence)

"We (of the New World) do not turn our backs on the Old World. We know that freedom cannot be safe in the New World unless it is secure in the entire world. We know that our devotion to New World ideals and our utter willingness to sacrifice our all in the defense give the millions in the old world the courage to fight on." (September 16, 1942, Los Angeles, Calif., anniversary of Mexican independence)

"... Thus there has come into being here in the New World something which is neither English nor Spanish nor Portuguese, but has an identity of its own, an identity that is uniquely American.

"It is to preserve this New World identity, this New World love of liberty, this New World love of peace, this New World love of education and the dignity of the common man, that Mexico and the United States and other New World countries have joined in the great struggle of the United Nations." (September 16, Los Angeles, Calif., anniversary of Mexican independence)

Thomas W. Woodward, Vice-Chairman, U. S. Maritime Commission

"Some world machinery of government must be set up ... (after the war)... "
(March 6, 1942, Haverford, Pa.)

(2) SANCTIONIST V. CONSULTATIVE

(3) BASIS OF REPRESENTATION AND VOTING

c. PRE-WAR AGENCIES: LEAGUE, COURT, LABOR ORGANIZATION

Cordell Hull, Secretary of State

"Settlement of disputes by peaceful means, and indeed all processes of international cooperation, presuppose respect for law and obligations. It is plain that one of the institutions which must be established and given vitality is an international court of justice." (July 23, 1942, Radio Address)

d. UNITED NATIONS

Franklin D. Roosevelt, President

"The concepts of the United Nations will not perish on the battlefields of this terrible war. It will live to lay the basis of the enduring world understanding on which mankind depends to preserve its peace and its freedom." (June 15, 1942, Lend-Lease Report to Congress)

Adolf A. Berle, Assistant Secretary of State

"The frame of victory we propose to win is already made by the great association of peoples comprehended within the United Nations. Victory, when it comes, will be a people's victory. The fruits of the victory will be available to every free people throughout the world." (February 20, 1942, National Farm Institute)

Adolf A. Berle, Assistant Secretary of State

"When victory comes--as come it will--this vast machinery (of the United Nations) will be the way by which the civilian population of most of the world gets its supplies. The organization will be there, and standing; it will have under its direct charge the resources of most of the world." (October 15, 1942, Birmingham, Ala.)

Elmer Davis, Director, Office of War Information

"Most of the United Nations are democracies, but not all of them, and their types of democracy are quite divergent. A very mixed assortment indeed, but their bond of unity is simple enough. They are the nations which have been attacked, successfully or unsuccessfully; the nations which wanted peace, and were attacked, and are still, in one way or another, fighting the aggressor.

"To some this bond of unity may seem somewhat inadequate as the foundation for so spacious an ideal as the United Nations, which might develop into an organized world; but really it is the strongest possible ground for unity, for it is a matter not of preference but of necessity. And if recent history is any guide to the future, that necessity will not disappear with allied victory in this war. The nations which are united, belatedly, to defend themselves against an attack that would never have been made if they had stood together earlier--those nations are likely to have to continue to stand together, as safeguard against future attack." (October 3, 1942, New York, N.Y.)

Sumner Welles, Under-Secretary of State

"... I believe they (the American people) will demand that the United Nations become the nucleus of a world organization of the future to determine the final terms of a just, an honest, and a durable peace to be entered into after the passing of the period of social and economic chaos which will come inevitably upon the termination of the present war, and after the completion of the initial and gigantic task of relief, of reconstruction and of rehabilitation which will confront the United Nations at the time of the Armistice." (May 30, 1942, Arlington, Va.)

"When the war ends with the resultant exhaustion which will then beset so many of the nations who are joined with us, only the United States will have the strength and the resources to lead the world out of the slough in which it has struggled so long; to lead the way toward a world order in which there can be freedom from want." (May 30, 1942, Arlington, Va.)

Sumner Welles, Under-Secretary of State

"It is now evident that in the cooperation and unity of the United Nations lies our ultimate victory. I believe that it is equally true that in the continuance and timeliness of that cooperation also lies our hope for an honest, a workable, and a lasting peace.

"The unity which the free peoples have achieved to win their war must continue on to win their peace. For since this is in truth a people's war, it must be followed by a people's peace. The translation into terms of reality of the promise of the great freedoms for all people everywhere is the final objective. We must be beforehand in charting

the course toward that objective. The clearer we can make the outlines of the peace, the firmer will be our determination to attain it, the stronger our will to win the war.

"One hears it said that no thought should be given to the problems of the peace, nor to the problems of the transitional period between war and established peace, until after the war has been won.

"The shallowness of such thinking, whether sincere or sinister, is apparent...

"Such efforts in my judgment contribute directly to the drive towards victory."
(October 8, 1942, Boston, Mass.)

"... the United Nations must maintain their unity beyond the immediate task of prosecuting the people's war in order to prepare for and insure to the people their peace."
(October 8, 1942, Boston, Mass.)

"During the war as fully as we can, and more fully after we have destroyed the madmen who seek to rule the world by force and terror, we of the United Nations will go forward in a loyal partnership to carry out the pledges we have made to each other and the world."
(October 8, 1942, Boston, Mass.)

e. OTHER INTERNATIONAL AGENCIES AND BOARDS

Wayne Chatfield-Taylor, Under-Secretary of Commerce

"How can all the countries be assured after the war, of their share in transportation facilities? How can new and adequate facilities be acquired? Can this be done without the creation of some impartial international authority designed to administer and reorganize existing systems for the benefit of all the countries, and, as soon as possible, plan the reconstruction of the Danube, the Rhine, the Don, the Yangtze and other regions in relation to each other?

"Although many services can be facilitated through the use of airplanes, the everyday existence of the rural population and their trade with industrial centers must be by means of roads, railways and waterways.

"The matter of ocean transportation is also important. When the period of stress is over, how shall shipping be regulated in order that the various countries shall have the means of transporting their products and of importing needed goods? Must the foreign trade of a small country suffer because the ships owned by a more powerful neighbor are used exclusively for the trade of the owning country, without stopping to call at the ports of weaker states? Must every state try to build ships to carry its own commerce? Does the Seventh Declaration of the Atlantic Charter, that the 'peace should enable all men to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance', mean only freedom from hindrance by submarines and sea-raiders? Could an International Authority administer the shipping lanes 'to promote mutually advantageous economic relations between them for the betterment of world-wide economic relations'?" (October 7, 1942, Boston, Mass.)

Leo Pasvolsky, State Department

"There is no mystery as to the nature of the economic problems which will confront us after the war. ... some of the more important ones will be as follows:

1. To rebuild the machinery of sound international commercial relations, by dealing with such problems as import restrictions, non-discriminatory treatment, access to raw materials, commodity agreements, export subsidies, indirect protectionism, shipping, etc.

2. To create appropriate arrangements for the stabilization of foreign exchange rates and for encouraging freedom of foreign exchange rates and for encouraging freedom of foreign exchange transactions, including such problems as the role of gold and the use of other monetary techniques.

3. To create effective machinery of international credit and investment, designed to promote the functioning of international trade, the establishment and maintenance of monetary stability, the development of the world's resources, and the assurance of a timely and adequate flow of funds from financially stronger to financially weaker countries for the purpose of assisting them in reducing the amplitude of economic fluctuations, and thereby contributing to general economic stability; and to bring about, where necessary, adjustment of existing international obligations.

4. To set up other necessary mechanisms for implementing the various phases of economic collaboration among nations, as regards both international policies and measures and appropriate international coordination of domestic policies and measures." (March 4, 1942, Delaware, Ohio)

Navy Department -- Joint Army and Navy War Review

"With respect to collaboration among the United Nations, tremendous progress has been made as compared to the World War. Three weeks after the beginning of the present war, in conjunction with a visit of the Prime Minister of England and the leading members of the British Army, Navy, and Air Forces in Washington, machinery was established that will insure complete unity of purpose on the part of the nations concentrating their efforts on the defeat of the Axis powers. The existing machinery also permits collaboration with the members of the British Commonwealth and other powers which have dedicated their efforts towards achieving this purpose." (May 17, 1942, Washington, D. C.)

f. REGIONAL INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Franklin D. Roosevelt, President

"... when it comes to cleaning up the mess at the end of this war, after the Axis is defeated, we will have again an hemispheric council around here to see what we are going to do all over the world, because we will have a very great voice in preventing, in the future, an attack on our American civilization." (April 14, 1942, Washington, D.C.)

Wayne Chatfield-Taylor, Under-Secretary of Commerce

"No matter how terrifying events in other parts of the world may seem, or how much bad news may come to us, temporarily, from across the Atlantic or the Pacific, or how many immediate sacrifices each of us here must make in order to win through a now world-blockading war, there is still something for which we can be thankful. We have a blueprint before us for building something good in this hemisphere." (February, 1942, Article, Foreign Commerce Weekly)

E R R A T A

The following changes should be made in the outline
column of the index:

| | | |
|--------------------|---|---------|
| For 2b throughout, | | Read 2c |
| " 2c | " | " 2d |
| " 2d | " | " 2e |
| " 2e | " | " 2f |
| " 2f | " | " 2g |
| " 2g | " | " 2h |

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| | | |
|---------------------------|---------|---------|
| Berle, March 7, 1942 | For 5a. | Read 2b |
| Berle, October 12, 1942 | " " | " " |
| Biddle, March 23, 1942 | " " | " " |
| Ickes, June 21, 1942 | " " | " " |
| Nelson, Sept. 7, 1942 | " " | " " |
| Roosevelt, April 27, 1942 | " " | " " |

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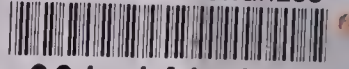
| <u>NAME</u> | <u>DATE</u> | <u>OUTLINE SECTION</u> |
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| Philip B. Fleming, Administrator of FWA | Sept. 30, 1942 | 2g |
| ----- | Oct. 21, 1942 | 2g |
| James V. Forrestal, Under-Sec'ty of the Navy | Sept. 6, 1942 | 2c |
| ----- | Sept. 20, 1942 | 4c, 8a, 4e |
| David Ginsburg, General Counsel, OPA | Oct. 26, 1942 | 5e |

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| Joseph C. Grew, Former Ambassador to Japan | Aug. 30, 1942 | 2e, 2d, 2c |
| ----- | Sept. 18, 1942 | 2b |
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| ----- | Oct. 10, 1942 | 8a, 5a, 2a, 3f |
| Harry C. Hawkins, State Department | Oct. 9, 1942 | 5c, 5a, 5b |
| Leon Handerson, Price Administrator | Sept. 8, 1942 | 2a |
| Brig. Gen. Frank T. Hines, Administrator of Veterans Affairs | Sept. 1, 1942 | 2b |
| Stanley K. Hornbeck, Adviser on Political Relations, State Department | May 21, 1942 | 8a |
| ----- | June 1, 1942 | 8a |
| Cordell Hall, Secretary of State (Statement) | July 16, 1937 | 8a |
| ----- | April 24, 1942 | 2a |
| ----- (Statement) | May 17-23, 1942 | 5a |
| ----- | May 31, 1942 | 7b |
| ----- (Press Conference) | May 31, 1942 | 3d |
| ----- | July 23, 1942 | 7a, 2g, 3e, 4c, 5a, 5b, 4b, 8c, 5a, 2e, 2c, 2d, 6d |
| Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of the Interior | March 12, 1942 | 2b |
| ----- | May 26, 1942 | 2f |
| ----- | June 21, 1942 | 5a, 2f |
| ----- | July 14, 1942 | 2f, 3f, 3d |
| Robert H. Jackson, Associate Justice, Supreme Court | Oct. 2, 1941 | 8a |
| ----- | Feb. 23, 1942 | 2f, 2b |
| ----- | Sept. 2, 1942 | 2a, 5a, 8a, 4a, 2f |
| William M. Jeffers, Rubber Administrator (before Senate Committee) | Oct. 12, 1942 | 2g |
| Ernest J. King, Commander-in-Chief, U. S. Fleet | June 19, 1942 | 4e |
| Frank Knox, Secretary of the Navy | Oct. 1, 1941 | 5d |
| ----- | Dec. 19, 1941 | 2a |
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| ----- | Sept. 19, 1942 | 4c, 3f |
| ----- | Oct. 27, 1942 | 4c, 5d |
| Frank Knox, Secretary of the Navy and Robert F. Patterson, Under-Sec ^t y of War (Joint Statement) | Sept. 7, 1942 | 2a |
| Owen Lattimore, Political Adviser to Gen. Chian Kai-Shek (Broadcast) | Oct. 23, 1942 | 7b |
| Admiral William D. Leahy, Chief of Staff (to the Commander-in-Chief) | Aug. 9, 1942 | 3d |
| Wendell Lund, WPB | June 6, 1942 | 5f, 2f |
| ----- | Aug. 6, 1942 | 5f, 3e |
| Archibald MacLeish, OWI | April 30, 1942 | 2f |
| Gen. George C. Marshall, Chief of Staff | May 29, 1942 | 2d |
| Wallace McClure, State Department | May 15, 1942 | 3f, 5f, 5b |

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| Paul V. McNutt, Chairman, War Manpower Commission | June 13, 1942 | 8a |
| Pierrepoint Moffat, Minister to Canada | July 16, 1942 | 5e |
| Ben Moreell, Chief, Bureau of Yards & Docks | Sept. 30, 1942 | 2c |
| Robert Nathan, WPB | June 18, 1942 | 5f |
| Donald M. Nelson, Chairman, WPB | Feb. 18, 1942 | 2c |
| ----- | March 2, 1942 | 2a |
| ----- | June 9, 1942 | 5e |
| ----- | July 10, 1942 | 2e |
| ----- | Sept. 7, 1942 | 5e, 5f |
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| Dr. Thomas Parran, Surgeon General (Statement) | May 18, 1942 | 3e |
| Leo Pasvolksy, State Department | March 4, 1942 | 2d, 8e, 8a, 5b |
| Robert P. Patterson, Under-Sec'y of War | Dec. 14, 1941 | 2c, 2f |
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| ----- | May 25, 1942 | 5f, 5e |
| Wilo Perkins, Board of Economic Warfare | | |
| Warren Lee Pierson, President, Export-Import Bank | Oct. 7, 1942 | 5a |
| Fletcher H. Rawls, Department of Commerce | June 19, 1942 | 5f |
| Major Gen. Eugene Reybold, Chief of Engineers, War Department | March 26, 1942 | 2f |
| Nelson A. Rockefeller, Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs | Aug. 23, 1942 | 8b |
| Franklin D. Roosevelt, President (to Congress) | Jan. 6, 1941 | 2e |
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| Francis B. Sayre, U. S. High Commissioner in the Philippines | April 9, 1942 3a |
| W. D. Schell, U. S. Maritime Commission | May 22, 1942 5f |
| Harold D. Smith, Director, Bureau of the Budget | June 9, 1942 5f |
| John L. Sullivan, Treasury Department | June 14, 1942 3f, 2a |
| Rear Admiral Howard L. Vickery, U.S.N., Vice Chairman, U. S. Maritime Commission | May 22, 1942 5f |
| ----- | Oct. 16, 1942 2g, 5f |
| Frank C. Walker, Postmaster General | Aug. 18, 1942 2a, 7a |
| Henry A. Wallace, Vice-President (Article) | January 1942 5a, 5b |
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| Sumner Welles, Under-Secretary of State (Press Conference) | March 16, 1942 2d, 2e |
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| Leslie A. Wheeler, Dep't of Agriculture (Report) | Feb. 4, 1942 5a |
| Wanda R. Wickard, Sec'ty of Agriculture | April 23, 1942 5a |
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| Carroll D. Wilson, Department of Commerce | Feb. 28, 1942 2g, 3f |
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| John G. Winant, Ambassador in London | March 9, 1942 8a |
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| Thomas W. Woodward, Vice-Chairman, U. S. Maritime Commission (Remarks) | March 6, 1942 2f, 5b, 8b |
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| Alvin H. Hansen, M.R.P.B. (Pamphlet) | January 1942 5f, 5a |
| National Resources Planning Board (Pamphlet) | May 18, 1942 5f, 2g |
| ----- (Pamphlet) | September, 1942 2g, 2f, 2e, 5f, 7a |
| Navy Department -- Joint Army & Navy War Review | May 17, 1942 8e |
| White House (Conversations) | June 11, 1942 8a |
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