

Larkin & Gentlemen

*Radio WLOL
Aug -*

SAT 6 P.M. [1943]

We have just passed through a week of victory, a week of good news, a week of triumph. Our armed forces and those of our allies have delivered powerful blows to the Axis. The sweep of our armies in Sicily is nothing short of a military miracle; the capture of Munda by our men in the Southwest Pacific brings us ever closer to the hour when we shall crush the Japanese; the victories of our Russian Allies at Orel and Belgorad are momentous in military significance -- yes, we can, we will, and we must win this war. The combined strength of the United Nations will prove to be an irresistible force. We have proved to the world that a democracy can and will fight even more effectively than a dictatorship.

Our ever growing military strength is nothing short of a modern miracle. Yes, we can be justly proud of the part America is playing in this war. We can honestly say that never in our history have we done so well. Never in our history have we produced so much, equipped an army so adequately, or performed such brilliant military strategy. Our Commander-in-Chief has mobilized a nation for war, and even his sternest critic must say, well done, Mr. President.

As a nation, we are not war-weary. Our morale is high; our determination for total victory grows by the hour. America is vigorous and dynamic in its war program. The great question that haunts the minds of millions of our people is, will America be as vigorous and as dynamic in securing and prosecuting a peace program? Will we meet the challenge of peacetime production as we have the demands of war time production? Will we be as solicitous of the welfare of our youth in the years following this war as we have been during the war? Every mother and father, every work-

ingman, every business man silently wonders, what of the future? Where do we go from here? To be sure, we have not won the war -- we have dark days ahead, but let there be no doubt about it, we will win! Workers must not permit recent victories to slow down production -- now is the time to step up production -- we have the enemy on the defensive, let's see to it that our armed forces and our allies receive the war material for a knockout blow! American labor has a promise to keep -- American business has an obligation to fulfill -- the promise and obligation of making America the arsenal of Democracy.

but We were caught napping at Pearl Harbor. Those were dark and tragic days following December 7, 1941. Not only were we inadequately prepared for war in men and materials, but even more we were psychologically, mentally unprepared. Let there be no mistake about it, although we were not ready for war on December 7, 1941, our government had been making plans for our defense, and as you well remember, the defense program had been started. Aircraft factories were being constructed, tanks were being built, the army was enlarged, the navy expanded. Yes, ~~the production~~ the production program of today, the victorious march of our armies, the victories of our navy and airforce are due in no small part, to the forward looking plans of our government and especially our president, in the days before Pearl Harbor. In spite of the glib and general criticisms of arm-chair strategists, we were more prepared for war on December 7, 1941 than we are prepared for peace today. Wars start suddenly -- we know that by cruel experience. Peace -- or a cessation of hostilities comes just as suddenly. We cannot afford to be asleep for either event.

but

here ~~But~~ People today are anxious about the future -- the closer we come

to victory, the more concerned we are of the peace. Even if we win the war -- and that must be done first -- there is no assurance that we will win the peace. We remember the failure of last time -- and we know that this war has dislocated our economy much more than in 1917 and 1918. Wartime annual budgets of over 100 billion dollars, 14 million men in uniform, 25 million war workers, and approximately 10 millions new workers called by industry are staggering statistics -- reminding us of the magnitude of our job of reconversion to a peace-time economy. Then too, before World War I, we had not experienced a depression that lasted for almost 10 years. We had no memories of a year like 1929 with its stock market crash; we never knew of 15 million unemployed persons. Our immediate past -- the years before this war, were years of economic crisis, broken homes, unemployment, all adorned by the gruesome spectacle of a world being pushed around by dictators. The 20 years preceding Pearl Harbor, were 20 years of speculation, frustration, and in some areas of the world, political and economic stagnation. We are worried about the future, because we can ~~not~~ ^{and do} remember the past. We know that the failure of the allied nations to establish a successful peace last time produced the war this time. We know that a major depression in the post-war period can bring the end of democracy here and abroad. With these things in mind, Americans not only want to fight against fascism and all that it means, but Americans on the battle front, and on the home front want to fight for democracy and all that it means. Americans today want a better world, but even more they want a better America. Yes, the common man feels a sense of shame about things as they were, and at the same time a sense of spiritual rebirth about the new world he envisions. All of this sacrifice cannot be in vain! The people will be heard; the new ideas, the new goals

for democracy must be interpreted into understandable proposals.

P Our peace aims can be war weapons which in the end may determine the outcome of the military struggle in which we are now engaged. We who profess democracy must prove to the world by our vision and our planning what kind of a world we wish to live in. We must state now that we look to and plan for (fi~~x~~st) the fullest possible development of the human personality, in relation to the common good, ~~in~~^{all} ^{within} a framework of freedoms and rights, of justice, of liberty, ^{of} equality, and the consent of the governed. In order to protect and secure the principles of our democracy, we ^{must} pledge (seco~~x~~dly) the fullest possible development of our productive capacity, with full employment, and equal access to a minimum of security and living standards. We believe that political freedom and economic security are not incompatible, but are inseparable. Finally, recognizing the necessity for peace and world order, and in fulfillment of our belief in the brotherhood of man, we ^{must} pledge our unqualified support and leadership in establishing an effective system of world organization outlawing violence and imperialism in international relations. Here we see three factors -- democracy, a dynamic economy, and peace -- united in a political system. This is our challenge for the future -- it is the agenda for American Democracy.

^{to be} Tonight I wish to speak of the second point -- the dynamic economy -- or in other words, a program directed toward a full use of our resources, both human and material. ^{Can we} Can we make an orderly transition to peace without serious unemployment and inflation? May we feel reasonably sure that never again will any large portion of our adult population be unable to find opportunity to work and gain a decent livelihood? Can we cope with problems that are sure to arise in connection with public debt, expenditures, and taxation?

And finally, can we so manage our affairs^{so} that not only these ends shall be accomplished but also the essentials of our democratic institutions, freedom of the individual and freedom of enterprise, shall be preserved and strengthened? All of ~~the~~^{these} questions must be answered if we are to remove ~~the~~^{our} doubts and anxiety ~~present~~ and thus permit the kind of enthusiastic war effort that will speed the victory. We cannot trust the future to guess-work and luck. We must base our expectations on careful planning and understanding.

"Planning" is a term or word that has received a bad reputation in America. We think of planning as a kind of regimentation -- as unamerican. Yet, our history reveals a noble heritage of plans and planning. In the days of Washington, ^{Hamilton} Jefferson, Adams and later in the time of Henry Clay with his program of internal improvements, plans were made and carried out in a manner that stirred men's souls. Today, we can and must recapture that early american enthusiasm. We must make the promise of American life a reality for all of us -- not just a part of us. But ~~our~~ planning must be "our planning" -- it must be such that we all have a share in it. Business, labor, farmer, educator, and government must work as a team. Not only must plans be made, but they must be discussed and analyzed, until our program represents the finished product of all groups and interests. We must all know that plans are being made, and that they are the kind of plans we want.

Today, American business is planning for the time when the guns stop firing -- labor is planning, but its voice is far too weak. The millions of workers in America have everything at stake in this task of attaining full employment and security. Government is planning -- but our Congress has seen fit to stop the work. Something is wrong in the picture -- planning is going on, but apparently government and

labor are being left out in the cold. Planning for the post-war period cannot be looked upon as the special privilege of any one group. If it has taken the combined and united ~~in~~ effort of government, business, labor and farmer to mobilize America for war, will it require less of a unified team, less of an effort to organize America for a prosperous and stable economy in peace time? ^{How} Surely business should and must give of its time and study to formulating plans for production in the peace time economy, but labor must do likewise. Labor must prepare its program; labor must make known its demands, its ideas for the future. Labor must obtain the best of technical assistance in order to clearly present its case, and then proceed immediately to inform its membership of the plans. But how about government? Has our government ignored the job of post-war planning? Not at all. On March 10, 1943, President Roosevelt submitted to Congress for its consideration a report of the National Resources Planning Board. That report embodied a plan for post-war America -- a plan ~~gradually coming to be~~ known as the "American Charter". Although the report embodied the recommendations and ~~findings~~ findings of some of our foremost economists and social scientists, the Congress and the press have practically ignored its very existence. The report was not spun out of thin air, or thought out overnight by one man or a group of men. It is the product of ^{our 5 years} ~~considerable history of~~ ^{of} economic thinking, research, and investigation. The basic idea ~~of that thinking is the idea of~~ ^{is} the maximum use and development of the resources of the nation in order to achieve the social goals that the whole community regards as desirable. The National Resources Planning Board report is not just glorified social security, it outlines a constructive program for the expansion of private enterprise, calling upon government to fill in the gaps and

to assure a minimum of security and living standard. This report should receive the attention of every man and woman. It may not be adequate; it may be too far reaching; but to ignore the findings and recommendations is not only unfortunate but also unwise. We will never be ready for peace, by closing our eyes and avoiding intelligent observation and discussion. We can not successfully plan for the post-war period by having each group going its own way and avoiding contact or discussion with the other. The Congress must act and act now. If the National Resources Planning Board is to be eliminated, and it has been, then let Congress establish a new commission and direct it to coordinate its efforts with representatives of business, labor and farmer. We cannot afford to play politics with the future of America. We cannot afford the luxury of indulging in wishful thinking about either a "post war depression" or a "post war boom" -- both will leave America prostrate and seriously weakened. Nor can we just desire a return to normalcy -- it is the normalcy of the past twenty years that produced the blood, sweat and tears of today! We must remember that it required the power of government to transform our peace time economy into a war time machine. It will require the help of government to demobilize the war production machine into the peace production program.

Wartime controls may be necessary during the months of reconversion. Surely price control, rationing, and priority ratings will be needed until production of peace time goods can meet the demand created by the back-log of purchasing power. Once that business enterprise reestablishes itself for normal production, the task of achieving full employment cannot be ignored. The accumulated capital of former war industries must be invested into plant expansion in order to insure new jobs. Capitalism cannot survive by saving its money.

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Capitalism can live only by investing the profits and producing new goods and services. The minimum national income necessary for an approximately full employment program after the war will be not less than \$120 billion at 1942 price levels. By 1950 with a continuous increase in our productivity we should have an income of around \$150 billions at 1942 price levels. Yes, the productivity of our industrial system is so great that we must be able to produce an enormous quantity of goods if we are to achieve full employment. *P* A large order, you say? Yes, indeed, but one that must be filled. The people of America know that full employment is possible. They have seen it in wartime. They know that a national debt of \$250 to \$300 billion cannot be handled by a 1929 economy. They are convinced that depressions are avoidable. It is the task of business, ^{labor} and government to meet the challenge or face the disastrous consequences of a broken society and an enraged and disillusioned people. Business and labor must work together, but on a basis of equality. The war time idea of labor-management committees should be continued into the post-war period. Government must enforce the anti-trust laws with renewed firmness and vigor. Monopoly control in business must not be permitted to crowd out new enterprise. Small business should be encouraged by government through low interest loans and reasonable taxation. American business must get over its "gentlemen club" atmosphere and expand with the same courage and daring that typified the early american enterprise *as*. Then government must be ready to stabilize the economy by a well planned, long range program of public investment or public works. *at* There is much to be done -- ~~farxexampke~~: We need urban and city re-planning which will necessitate considerable city rebuilding. Only through public works and public investment can a program of such magnituded be undertaken. City re-planning will

call for long range projects carefully spaced in their prosecution by the need for public employment. America needs ten million new homes, and after the war there will be considerable home repairing and refurnishing. While the home-building program will give a great opportunity for private investment; slum clearance and low-cost housing ~~xx~~ must become a public responsibility. ⁽²⁾ America needs river valley and regional development. The Tennessee Valley Authority has demonstrated the soundness and constructive purposes of such public programs. River valley and regional development not only adds to our national wealth but also provides many new opportunities for private business. ⁽³⁾ America has long needed a general reorganization and coordination of our transportation facilities. Such a huge endeavor can only be accomplished by the planned use of public funds in cooperation with the long range programs of private capital.

⁽⁴⁾ America needs an improved and strengthened functioning of agriculture. Millions of acres of once fertile and productive land are now idle and unproductive because of soil erosion. There is a great opportunity for reforestation, for rural electrification, for rural housing, for the expansion of rural school and health facilities. Public investment of this nature is not an expenditure in order to make work but rather is a sound and constructive program adding to our national ~~resources.~~ ^{resources.}

⁽⁵⁾ ~~well.~~ Finally, America needs an expanded social security program. A dynamic economy cannot afford to sentence large sections of its population to ~~xxx~~ a fear of old age, unemployment and inadequate health ~~and welfare~~ protection. And a dynamic economy cannot long remain vigorous and sound without expanded educational opportunities for the youth of the nation.]

Yes, let us remember victory is more than the military defeat of the enemy. Victory is the building of a new and better world.

The hope of total victory lies in the willingness of the people of democratic faith to dream new visions, to chart new plans of social organization, to dare to try new ideas and make the so-called impossible a living practical reality.

From:

Mayor Hubert H. Humphrey

Speech -
make folder -
"National Planning"

We have just passed through a week of victory,
a week of good news, a week of triumph.
Our ~~armies~~ armed forces & those of our
allies have ~~smashed~~ ^{delivered} powerful
blows to the Axis. The sweep of
our armies in Sicily is nothing
short of a military miracle; the
capture of Munda by our men
in the Southwest Pacific brings
us ever closer to the ~~heart of~~
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the Japanese; the victories of
our Russian allies at Orel &
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we can, we will, & we must
win this war. The combined
strength of the United Nations will prove

to be an irresistible force. ~~I need~~ we
have proved to the world that a
democracy can & will fight even more
effectively than a dictatorship. Our
ever growing military strength is
nothing short of a modern miracle. Yes,
we can be justly proud of the
~~American War program - it has~~
part America is playing in this war.
We can honestly say that never in
our history have we done so well.
never in our history have we produced
so much, equipped an Army so
adequately, or performed such
brilliant military strategy. Our
Commander & Chief has mobilized
a nation for war, and even
his sternest critic must say,
well done, Mr President.

As a nation, we are not war-weary.
~~we are not~~ our morale is high; our

determination for total victory grows
by the hour. America is ~~a~~ vigorous
and dynamic ~~force~~ in its war program.
The great question that haunts the
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is, will America be as vigorous
and as dynamic in ~~the~~ securing
and prosecuting a peace program?
~~As it has been in the war effort?~~
Will we meet the challenge of
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labor has a promise to keep -
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The Arsenal of Democracy.

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in no small part, to the forward looking plans of our government & especially our president, in the days before Pearl Harbor. In spite of the glib & general criticisms of arm chair strategists, we were more ~~read~~ prepared for war on Dec 7, 1941, than we are prepared for peace ~~in~~ today. Wars start suddenly - we know that by cruel experience. Peace - or a cessation of hostilities comes just as suddenly. We cannot afford to be asleep for either event.

People today are anxious about the future - the closer we come to victory, the more concerned we are of the peace. Even if we win the war - and that must be done first - there is no assurance that we will win the peace.

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(2) the fullest possible development of our productive capacity, with full employment, and equal access to a minimum of security and living standards. We believe

that political freedom and economic security are not incompatible, but are inseparable. Finally, recognizing the necessity for peace & world order, and in fulfillment of our belief in the brotherhood of man, we pledge our unqualified support and leadership in establishing an effective system of world organization outlawing violence and imperialism, ~~old or~~ in international relations.

Here we see three factors ~~united~~ ~~into a broad program~~ - democracy, a dynamic economy, and peace - ^{These} united in a political system. ~~It~~ ^{our} challenge for the future - it is the ~~number one item on the program~~ ^{agenda for} for American democracy.

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dynamic economy. ~~It is~~ or in other words, ~~a~~ program directed toward a full use of our resources, both human and material. Can we make an orderly transition to peace without serious unemployment and inflation? May we feel reasonably sure that never again will any large portion of our adult population be unable to find opportunity to work and gain a decent livelihood? Can we cope with problems that are sure to arise in connection with public debt, expenditures, and taxation? And finally, can we so manage our affairs that not only these ends shall be accomplished but ~~that~~ also the essentials of our democratic institutions, freedom of the individual and freedom of enterprise, shall be preserved and strengthened? All of the questions must be answered if we are to remove the doubts and anxiety present and thus permit

the kind of enthusiastic war effort that will speed the victory. We cannot trust the future to guess-work and luck. We must base our expectations on ~~for~~ careful planning and understanding.

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the press have practically ignored its very existence. The report was not spun out of thin air, or thought out overnight by one man or a group of men. It is the product of a considerable history of economic thinking, research, and investigation. The basic idea of that thinking is the idea of the maximum use and development of the resources of the nation in order to achieve ^{the} social goals that the whole community regards as desirable. The National Resources Planning Board's report is not just glorified Social Security, it ~~relies~~ outlines a ~~new~~ construction program for the expansion of private enterprise, ~~pre~~ calling upon government to fill in the gaps and to assume ~~of~~ a minimum of security and living standard.

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This report should receive the attention of every man and woman. It may not be adequate; it may be too far reaching; but to ignore the findings & recommendations ~~of~~ is not only unfortunate but also ~~so~~ unwise. We will never be ready for peace, by closing our eyes ~~to~~ and avoiding intelligent observation and discussion. We can not ^{successfully} plan for the postwar, ~~but~~ period by having each group going its own way and avoiding contact or discussion with the other.] The Congress must act and act now. If the National Resources Planning Board is to be eliminated, and it has been, then let Congress establish a new commission and direct it to coordinate its efforts with representatives of business, labor, and farmer.

We cannot afford ^{to play politics} ~~to play politics~~ with the future of America. We cannot afford the luxury of indulging in wishful thinking about either a "postwar depression" or a "postwar boom" - both will leave America prostrate and seriously weakened. Nor can we just desire a return to normalcy. It is the normalcy of the past 20 years that produced the blood, sweat and tears of today! We must remember that it required the power of government to transform our ^{population} economy into a war time machine. ~~It has required the effect of wartime controls & cannot but help but~~ It will require the help of government to demobilize the war production machine into the peace production program.

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~~you may say that~~

A large order, you say? Yes indeed but one that must be filled. The people of America know that full employment is possible. They

have seen it in wartime. They know that a national debt of \$250 to \$300 Billion cannot be handled by a 1929 economy. They are convinced that depressions are avoidable. It is the task of business and government to meet the challenge or face the disastrous consequences of a broken society and an enraged and disillusioned people. ~~Certain suggestions can be given~~ ~~for~~ Business and Labor must work together, but on a basis of equality. The wartime idea of labor-management committees should be continued into the ~~peace~~ postwar period. Government must enforce the anti-trust laws with renewed firmness & vigor. Monopoly control in business must not be permitted to crowd out new enterprise. Small business should be encouraged by

government through low interest loans & ~~after~~ reasonable taxation.

American Business must get over its "gentlemen club atmosphere" and expand with the same courage and daring that typified the early American entrepreneur.

Then government must be ready to stabilize the economy by a well planned, long range program of public investment or public works - ~~the need~~ There is much to be done - for example: - Urban ~~res~~ or city replanning and rebuilding. America needs 10 million new homes, many of which public investment must provide.

- (2) River valley and regional development.
The Tennessee valley Authority has demonstrated the advantage to be gained; not only is this sound public investment, but many new opportunities for ^{private} business are made possible by the systematic harnessing of our water resources.

(3) ~~Following the A~~ There is a great need for general reorganization and coordination of transportation facilities. Such an endeavor requires the use of public funds.

(4) Soil conservation, reforestation, rural electrification, rural housing, and removal of farmers from submarginal land afford avenues of public work and investment. Our economy will be strengthened by an improved functioning of agriculture.

(5) yes, we must expand our Social Security program. Care of the Aged, better universal education, child welfare, public health, nutrition will constitute a sound investment for America's future —

Things to be done: Public Works

1. Homes - 1,000,000 new homes needed each year for 10 years.

Both Private + Public

2. Reorganization of Transportation facilities
highways, waterways, airways, pipelines etc

3. River Valley + regional development
such as T.V.A.

4. Improved Agriculture -
Soil Conservation, reforestation,
rural housing, Rural Electrification

5. Expanded Social Security

Schools = 1 million of children not
in school

Hospitals -

Pensions, ~~sick~~ Health insurance etc

6. City Replanning + Development

1. Overhaul Tax Structure (analyze on basis of
effect on economy)

These are Long Range - Continuing

So must be planned now.

an ambitious plan — yes — But this
or something even more generous
must be made a reality —

Jobs must be found!

American Leadership must be imaginative

Democracy must prove its right to live

It is a philosophy of dynamic energy
courage needed.

{ You expect miracles of the Army —
The men expect miracles of industry, of Govt
of labor. }

As Lincoln said —

{ " We shall either nobly save or meanly
lose the last best hope on Earth " }

The American people — And the people of the world —
hunger for imaginative leadership,
for men who can fulfill the vision that
lies before us.

Schemewise - There can be no return to normalcy
in this war - It's a changed world -

For example - \$25 Billions Added to our Industrial Plant

(a) 50 to 60% of Nat Income & Production
mobilized for war purposes

These have altered an economy { Rationing, Price fixing, Production
expansion, Debt,

(b) Britain in 1939 - \$5 Billion Investments
now \$900 million

\$13 Billion Plant Expansion She used income of this to buy in U.S.
Britain before war imported 62% of food
since war has doubled her agric.
production

Britain Streamlined industry

(c) Canada - Industrial Expansion -
vehicles, Planes etc

\$2 Billion Plant Expansion

Lend Lease

(d) Australia - aircraft, Railroad, Vehicles, etc

(e) India - Industrial Expansion

(f) China - Industry, Agriculture { Big Powers

(g) Russia - a mighty nation. }

For example - Change -

(X) In 1940 we were producing 66% more goods than in 1920 with same number of workers -

March 1941 - produced 25% more than in 1929 with 7 million unemployed of which 35% men under 30 yrs.

This war has produced miracles of production

Aviation has bound the world together
world is industrialized or ready for it.

Tasks before us:

Phenomenal Production

{ 150,000 airplanes
20,000,000 tons ships
tanks etc

1. win the war
2. make the idea of the United Nations a continuing organization -
3. Plan - and work the plan
(a) Plan now - because the success of our planning will be dependent on the Place + How world organized

"Normalcy" was ^{not} even normal for U.S.

1920-22 - Deflation

1926-29 - Speculation

Born of increased earnings + lack of
new investment - so Speculate

1929 - Stock Crash - Hitler's Rise

1930-33 - 15,000,000 unemployed

1933 to 1940 - Attempt to recoup
former losses.

Then internationally

Shanghai 1928

Manchuria 1931

China 1937

} Japs on to Pearl
Harbor

Ethiopia

Rise of Hitler

Austria - Rhineland

War - today - United Nations -

Japan + the Pacific

3,000,000 Sq miles

300,000,000 People

} Empire

#

Business must get away from Monopoly + Cartel
These are threats to the economy. TNEC Repts

Court must encourage Competition.

(1) enforce Trust Laws - Equitable Taxation

add to this Public Planning on levels of

(1) Federal, State, + Local Govt -

not 'emergency' spending of Temporary nature,
but a fiscal Policy of durable + permanent
nature -

Weakness of our Past Experience:

(1) Started too late - Situation out of hand
by 1932 - R.F.C.

(2) no Plans - Federal, State, Local

(3) no real Fiscal Policy -

#

6 to 18 months for
Transition
unemp. insurance this time.

Business Can be good:

(1) Bonds, Savings, Cash, Credit

(2) New Goods, - Big demand

(3) Rehabilitation here + abroad

(4) Army Program \$5 to \$7 Billion
a year

(5) Veteran Programs

(6) Industrial Expansion

After war - Crisis of Problems is how to maintain
high level of employment

Unemployment = Social, Political, + Economic
Chaos.

after world war I - 4,250,000 in armed forces
7,150,000 ^{men} in war industry
18,600,000 in non-war
2,250,000 women in war ind.

This war:

men + women in armed forces =	10,800,000
men in war work =	14,000,000
women in war work =	6,000,000
men in non-war work =	10,000,000
women in non war	10,000,000
farmer workers	9,000,000

approximately 60 million

31 million war workers + armed forces to find jobs

#

{ This task necessitates planning by more
than industry - yet Congress refuses to make
exception on Soldier Payments

#

America must maintain income of \$120 Billions Per yr.
(Debt will be \$200 Bill - Interest \$6 Billion)

Profits be \$10 Billion Per year - This must find outlet



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