

Good Morning, Friends:

The Nation's Capital has been tense with a week of dramatic and historic events. Three outstanding developments have transpired: 1. President Roosevelt took a determined stand against governmental action to force a closed shop for labor unions; 2. The Neutrality Act was repealed relegating to the historic past our ill-starred policy of isolationism; and 3. A Japanese spokesman extraordinary arrived in the Capital soon after President Roosevelt had ordered American marines out of China.

For months and months, Congress has been anxious to pass legislation to curb National defense strikes. Each time an effort has been made, it has been discouraged by the Administration. It is very difficult to enact legislation which the President opposes. In the first place, when a bill is introduced and referred to a committee, it then becomes subject to committee action. The administration exercises a great deal of influence with all committees, and particularly so with the chairmen of the various committees. If the bill is finally reported from the committee over Administration opposition, it then must gain a place on the House calendar for action, which is most difficult without the cooperation of the Majority Leader and the Speaker, both of whom are Administration ~~lieutenants~~ ^{leaders}. If, however, all these obstacles can be overcome and the House passes a bill, it then goes to the Senate where again it must run a similar gauntlet. It is a rare circumstance when a bill, opposed by the Administration, passes either House, and it is ~~indeed~~ more rare for such a bill to pass both houses. If this unusual feat is accomplished by the legislative branch and the bill is vetoed, it must then pass both houses by a two-thirds majority. Thus

it is plain to see why Congress has been stymied in its apparent desire to pass anti-strike legislation.

On the other side of the picture, we find that the Administration is stymied in its desire for the enactment of ^{a bill} ~~certain laws~~ unless Congress is willing to enact ^{it} ~~them~~. When the Administration presents a proposal, it is referred to a committee. Unless that committee reports the legislation, it is well nigh impossible to bring the bill on the floor of either House for action. Even if the Administration can secure passage of a bill in which it is interested in one House by an overwhelming majority, it still does not become law until passed by both Houses ^{the other}. These checks and restraints upon each other by the Executive and Legislative branches of the Government often force compromises between the two. This power is sometimes used by one Branch as a lever to force action by the other.

The Administration ~~has~~ earnestly desired the repeal of the Neutrality Act. The Senate had passed the bill and it came to the House for action on Thursday. Quite a number of Congressmen, who along with others have become exasperated and infuriated at the damaging stoppages of defense production because of strikes, seized upon this opportunity to try to force the Administration to take some definite and determined action to put an end to strikes in National Defense plants. House Administration chieftains estimated that the bill would pass by 75, 100, or 125 majority. But they were thrown into a state of near consternation on Wednesday afternoon when they discovered that a majority were opposed to the passage of the bill. This opposition, which on Wednesday, was definitely in the

majority, was composed of three elements: 1. The Republicans who have consistently opposed the President's foreign policy; 2. the Isolationists in both parties who are opposed to the Administration's foreign policy; and 3. a considerable group, largely Southerners, ^{who,} though they had heretofore been consistently ~~by~~ supporters of the Administration's foreign policy, were ~~now~~ opposed to the passage of this bill because nothing really effective had been done regarding National defense strikes. This situation precipitated an intense battle in the Capital throughout Wednesday night and Thursday. The bill was finally passed by a narrow majority of 18, but not until the President had sent a letter to Congress pledging that the Government would see the thing through on the threatened coal strike and an open promise to the House by the Speaker ^{of the House} that he was ready to follow ~~and~~ ^{or} to lead a fight for legislation or other sane methods to guarantee continued National defense production. There was much sympathy throughout the country with the position taken by this Southern group, though in principle they were undoubtedly wrong. No matter how intensely they resented the Administration's labor policy, or lack of labor policy, they were threatening to wreck the Nation's foreign policy. And even with the most effective teamwork, it only passed by the narrow margin of 18 votes. Suppose it had been defeated - and the least slip of the foot might have brought about its defeat - what would have been the result? It would have shaken the confidence of all nations in the sincerity and determination of this Nation to aid the victims of aggression. This would have ~~greatly~~ ⁸ emboldened the totalitarian ~~dictatorship~~ dictators and strengthened the morale of their people. It would have had a bad effect upon the morale of Great Britain, Russia, China, Turkey,

and ^{of} all Nations who have looked to the United States as the arsenal and torch bearer for freedom.

We are in the midst of momentous discussions with Japan, whose messenger has just arrived in our Capitol. Japan is teetering on the brink of war moves against the interest of the United States. The situation is tense. We are not in a position to appease Japan by giving in to her demands, and yet she is poised ready to strike. The failure of the Congress to uphold the foreign policy of President Roosevelt and Secretary Hull might have been the show of weakness, division, and indecision which would have urged Japan to move immediately. Russia is in a critical plight. Her people pin much hope upon the aid of the United States. A rejection of the President's foreign policy might have had a disastrous effect upon the morale of the hard-pressed Russians. Secretary Hull is trying earnestly to wrest Finland from German domination and thereby prevent Finland from moving to close the Northern supply route to Russia from Archangel to Moscow. When so much of the world is engulfed in the consuming flames of war, it is certainly no time to destroy a forthright foreign policy in order to vent the spleen ~~of hatred because of~~ bitterness over an internal situation, bad though ~~that~~ situation might be.

This move had its effect. The President took the most determined stand against monopolistic labor policy in the 9 years of his incumbency when, on Friday, he said that the United States would, ^{not} by government decree, force a ^{union} closed shop upon workers. It is such a pity that the President did not take

this stand long ago. It will be recalled by everybody that throughout the country men have been forced to pay initiation fees for the privilege of working for ~~for~~ their country in building cantonments and other defense projects. The United Mine Workers are said to have 95% of the mine workers in the captive mines already enlisted in their membership. They are threatening a strike, not for higher wages, not for shorter hours, not for better working conditions, but to make the other 5 per cent of the miners join the union. The President said the Government would not make this 5 per cent join the union, although he ~~would~~ did indicate that the Government would have no objection if the company agreed to do this.

> This controversy seems to have wrecked the National Defense Mediation Board.

It never was worth a cuss. It has never had any authority to force compliance with its decisions. It has merely served as a sounding board through which the contending parties could amplify their voice to the people. We are supposed to have a government by law, and if we are going to have a mediation board, it should be set up by law and have the force of law behind its decisions. Any time a government, whatever the form of that government, allows an organization to grow up within the government to such proportions that it is beyond regulation, then that government is doomed to failure because, eventually, it will become subservient to the organization which has become too big for government regulation. *If that should happen here* ~~Then it would be that we would~~ *then* ~~have a government - perhaps still in name,~~ *but* ~~but not in fact -~~ of the people, by the people, and for the people; but ~~in~~ *in* ~~actuality, that government would become a government~~ by the organization, of the

organization, and for the organization which had become too big to be controlled by ~~a~~ ^{the} government of the people.

It may be well that we are approaching a climax to this situation. It would be difficult to focus a climax in normal times. In a period of National emergency, the people become sufficiently aroused to assert their rights. Let us hope that they can now sufficiently impress their will upon their government so as to save it as a government of the people, rather than ~~as~~ ^{to let it become} a government of minority groups.

But to get back to the Neutrality Act. It is now apparent that by enacting the Neutrality Law the United States voluntarily and deliberately surrendered, or at least waived, some of its most precious rights, rights for which our forefathers fought upon more than one occasion. Apparently the people at that time were convinced that by the surrender of rights we would be safer. We now know the error of our way.

But we did more than abandon precious rights of our own. We did civilization a dis-service by withdrawing our support for international law, for no matter how frequently we hear international law made fun of, no matter how frequently we hear the assertion that it is scrapped, to every thoughtful person it must occur that if international law is not to be sustained by the decent peoples of this earth, civilization is on the downward grade.

If we, the greatest nation in the world and perhaps the most peaceably inclined, desert the ideal of order under law, there can be no hope for lesser

nations. Force and more force, cruelty and ruthless cruelty, will sweep the world if we, the leading power, abandon our ideals.