

September 26, 1943

Good Morning, Friends:

Our relation^s with other nations, both now and after the war, has been the central theme of not only the talk but action in Washington during recent days. What are some of these developments? For one thing, the House of Representatives, as its first order of major business after returning from a recess and contact with the people, passed the Fulbright Resolution by an overwhelming majority. Then, there was the announcement by both the President and the British Primeminister that a conference would soon be held between the representatives of ^{the} United States, Great Britain and ^{Russia} China. Admiral Stanley, our Ambassador to Russia, has arrived in Washington, presumably to discuss this coming conference and other problems arising out of our relationship with Russia. The Mediterranean Commission, to be equally participated in by ^{the} United States, Great Britain, and Russia, has been announced. And furthermore, one of the most important developments is that the United States, Great Britain, Russia and China have reached an agreement upon a program for the ^{administration of} relief and rehabilitation ~~of~~ the war-torn countries. ~~One sour note comes from the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman, Senator Tom Connally, who has announced that the Senate Foreign Relations Committee will not, at this time, report out any resolution concerning post-war policy.~~

All of these events only indicate the high importance ~~in~~ which the leaders of the United States and other nations attach to the necessity of the United Nations holding together in peace as well as in war.

Indeed, this united effort to build a structure ^{for} ~~of~~ peace now is an important part of the political and psychological offensives being waged by the United Nations in an effort not only to raise ~~the~~ hopes ~~of~~ and ⁱⁿ ~~still~~ unrest among the oppressed peoples, but to penetrate the intellect of the German people as did President Wilson's famous 14 points in the other war, which are now universally acknowledged to have been a very material factor in hastening the collapse of Germany.

Not having sufficient time this morning to discuss each of these developments, I would like, first, to discuss the passage of the Fulbright resolution and what it means. During the debate, it was charged, on the one hand, that the resolution went too far, but, on the other hand, it was criticized as being meaningless and expressing nothing more than a pious hope.

~~To begin with,~~ what is the Fulbright resolution? It is a one-sentence resolution which places the House of Representative on record as favoring two things: (1) the creation of appropriate international machinery with power to keep peace between nations in the future, and (2) United States' participation in it. The resolution was not a grant of power to the President, as some opponents alleged. As a matter of fact, it is unnecessary for Congress to give authority to the President to formulate the nation's foreign policy. That authority, he already possesses under the Constitution. But despite these far-reaching powers of the President

under the Constitution to formulate our policy, he can not, for very long, lead where the people and the Congress will not follow. If any foreign policy is to be permanent and virile, it must be rooted in popular will.

It must be supported by public opinion. For instance, our great Secretary of State never favored the Neutrality Legislation of the last decade.

But he says in his introduction to the official record of our Foreign Policy in the Ten Years Before Pearl Harbor that "Our foreign policy during the decade necessarily had to move within the framework of a gradual evolution of public opinion away from the idea of isolation expressed in neutral legislation and toward realization that the Axis design was a plan of world conquest."

Passage of the Fulbright Resolution by a vote of _____

over 12 to 1
~~to 29~~

leaves no room for speculation that the American people have at last turned from isolation to an overwhelming ~~support and~~ opinion that our security in the future can best be vouchsafed by cooperation with other nations who ^{also} desire peace. > Now to say that the Fulbright Resolution means nothing is to say either that the House of Representatives does not represent the will of the people or that the will of the people does not amount to anything. The real significance of this overwhelming passage of the Fulbright Resolution divides itself into two parts:

For one, it gives to the President and the Secretary of State a concrete expression of public opinion. They can now know that they will be acting with the approval of the people and the House of Representatives when they take steps toward the erection of a peace structure based upon cooperation by all nations. This will be an invaluable guide to them. They will no longer have to depend upon someone's opinion about how the American people stand or upon some pole of public opinion, for the truest barometer of public opinion and, indeed, the official barometer of public opinion in our Government is the Congress of the United States. *And in after years it cannot be charged that our leaders acted contrary to the people's wishes.*

The second part of the resolution's significance is its meaning to other nations, not ^{alone to} ~~only~~ our friends and allies, ^{which is important} but to the neutrals and oppressed peoples as well.

(insert from Record)

A week ago, a determined effort was being made by some of the isolationists to arouse prejudice and resentment against the British over the transfer of General Marshall into active command of Allied troops. On last Monday, ^{in instant} Representative Sumner of Illinois went so far as to charge on the floor of ^{Congress} the House that the British were trying to force ^{him} Marshall out of the job as Chief of Staff and ~~would~~ have him kicked upstairs because he had opposed certain British wishes. I believe it was this ^{ill-famed} speech and the attendant publicity given to it which caused a semi-official announcement to be made that General Marshall was slated to be the supreme and unified commander of all of the Allied forces throughout the world. The indications here are that this announcement was not calculated to be made until some later date and, indeed, no such official announcement has yet been made. What appears to have happened was, that to stop this ^{groundless} furor, a very highly placed official in our government called in a responsible reporter and told him ^{what} ~~that this~~ was scheduled to happen and ^{that} he could write it accordingly without quoting any official. This has stopped the ^{ambitious} ~~furor~~ ^{success and program of prejudice}. Let me ask you.: Who was our Chief of Staff during World War I? You don't remember. Neither do I. All of us remember General Pershing, though. We know the part he played in victory. Instead of being a kick ^{and} upstairs, General Marshall's appointment as supreme Commander of the Allied Forces will be a great recognition of a great soldier. It will be an acknowledgment that, throughout the joint conferences

of our British and American military leaders, General Marshall has made the outstanding contribution. General Marshall is not only a great soldier. I have seen him in action before my committee. I have had personal contact with him. He is a gentleman of the highest order, a scholar, ~~and student~~, a cultured and capable leader of men.