

Mark dreaded the approaching presidential election in ~~November~~ between Mr. Roosevelt and Wendell Willkie. They were squaring away, he felt, for ~~another~~ political fight that would send off sparks of rhetoric, but no truths about the tragic plight of the world. Mr. Roosevelt, ~~was~~ a politician, ~~and he~~ wouldn't want to say anything that might lose him votes and Mr. Willkie was beginning to look like a politician too. Judging by the national party conventions the country had just ^{witnessed} ~~passed through~~, Mark feared we faced a pussyfooting campaign in which the public would get little hard-boiled discussion of our peril.

The situation struck him as imminently alarming, because whatever else Hitler might be, he was not stupid in his timing. He certainly knew that in a campaign year the United States reached its lowest depth ~~in~~ political morality and its greatest incapacity to galvanize ~~it~~ itself into any sort of action.

So, ~~beginning~~ with a speech to an audience composed largely of newspaper executives in Minneapolis on July 19, 1940, and continuing through the next eighteen months, Mark did what he refers ^{ed} to as his "damndest" to warn appeasers, isolationists,

42007 ?
see letter 1940
C

?

✓

A

See ?
p. 219

careless talkers, and the public in general of the cataclysmic consequences to the United States of a Hitler victory.

9?
 incident
 of
 kind?

"...the isolationists are not doing the country any service," he declared. "The logical end of isolation is appeasement or embracing ~~Fascism~~ ourselves. How far do the isolationists want to go in being isolated? Do they think we can go on living within these borders under an economic and political system different from the rest of the world? And you may be sure the rest of the world will have a different system if democracy is overthrown everywhere except here. Naturally, if and when that comes to pass, we shall have to become a Fascist state, thanks to the isolationists and the appeasers."

le?

Mark argued ^{that} it wouldn't take physical invasion by Hitler for the United States to lose its democracy. To say we believe in one form of government and do nothing to protect it is like a man ^{with} taking a shotgun ^{and} sitting on ^{the} his porch to see that the man next door, ^{who has} ~~with~~ smallpox, doesn't come into ^{our} ~~his~~ house. The man next door doesn't have to; the germ comes anyway.

his
 Compulsion
 on?

"...Nine people out of ten," he ^{declared} ~~said~~, "who say

to

they do not favor a declaration of war ^{and} I do not ^{will} go on to say, 'But I favor all help to England short of war.'

Mark ~~said he~~ believed these people thought they meant what they said, but they had not made their beliefs felt and they had not followed through with actions. The President and Mr. Willkie and the members of Congress ^H Democrats and Republicans alike ^H didn't understand ^{that} they felt this way. They were trailing behind public sentiment.

"'Help, short of war,' should mean exactly what it says," Mark insisted. "We would not declare war on Germany and we would not, to use another badly worked phrase, 'send our boys over there,' although God knows why they shouldn't go voluntarily if they believe strongly enough that Hitler has got to be destroyed before this world is worth living in.

"The plain, ^{said} truth is that our own laws, enacted in the years of recoil from the failure of Europe to pay her ^{World War I} war debts, and our own congressional policies, prevent us from giving any real help.

"It is obvious that England needs desperately at the moment ^H and could beat off any invasion if she had them ^H planes, pilots, and small naval vessels to patrol her coast while the bigger vessels

~~page~~

worked or overworked?

? more was

7

1.2. WWI debts

provide convoys for ships that are hauling her food. Yet, even though we would prolong the war and thereby give ourselves time to gear^u up for our own protection if we sent planes to England, we have turned over a puny little number of fighters.

an:
Pks. ch 11
here

The Army and Navy can't release planes or ships unless they certify that they are not needed for defence.

Willy Snow
Ethridge
Papers

"No politician in this country, except Senator Pepper, has yet had the courage to say that our best defense is to keep England going so that we can have advantage of her navy and so that time can work against Germany's economics, which may be Hitler's downfall.

? the

"Nor has anybody told us the plain truth that, whether we like it or not, the British Navy is our Atlantic Navy and we won't have a two-ocean navy until 1946 at the earliest.

"We haven't realized, ~~he went on~~ that, if England collapses, Hitler will be free as he is not free so long as England fights him and blocks him and keeps him from the seas with naval or merchant vessels to organize the economy of Europe and of South and Central America.

what year is this speech given by Hitler, 1940

"It is, then, nothing short of dishonest to

go on saying we propose to give England all help 'short of war' if we intend to do nothing about amending the neutrality act.

"It may be that we as a people do not want to give any more help to England than we are giving her. If that is true, it would be a whole lot more honest for us to say so."

Mark then asked ^{whether} ~~the question~~ if our all-out help would get us into the war, and he ^{declared} ~~answered~~ emphatically that only Hitler could answer that: "He calls the tunes of death in this world," ~~he said~~ "No nation that is at war, except his own, wanted war. Mr. Hitler will tell us in his own good time whether he wants war with us or not and nothing we can do in the meantime, short of being craven cowards by which he could secure his kind of peace, will make any difference."

Conscious that many in that Minneapolis audience disagreed with what he was saying, one Senator got up and walked out. Mark closed with these words:

"Whether you agree with anything I have said or not, you will certainly agree that no person, no nation, can be secure if he practices self-deception. We never needed the cold, hard truth

See p. 215
1/19/40
what?

yes

Senator
OK?
and
largely
news papers
executives
see p. 215

x
?
J?

(P)
(?)

more than we need it now. We never needed it more for the preservation of all our liberties... including the freedom of the press.

"The press of America has an opportunity to renounce cheap partisanship for patriotism, to give its devotion not to party hacks, but to the liberties and ultimate freedom of the people."