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- COOPERATIVES -

- FREE ENTERPRISE -

AND

- THE FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION -

Remarks of

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COOPERATIVES--FREE ENTERPRISE--AND THE FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION

Some years ago, I listened to a speech made by your friend and your cooperative leader, Mr. Harry Fowler. He expressed the desire that every intelligent man of good will in Canada, and in the United States, must have -- the desire to develop complete understanding and the utmost of freedom in trade relations between the people of our two great countries. I recall his striking statement that he and his cooperative friends in Canada were anxious to "wipe out the 54th parallel." That statement, when contrasted with another historical statement or phrase -- "54-40 or fight" -- emphasizes the change in relationships between our two great countries and their peoples.

It was many years ago, more than a century ago in fact, that we had to listen for a few moments to the mean and little demagogic suggestion of war which was expressed by the phrase -- "54-40 or fight." Since then, the demagogues and war have been outlawed in so far as our relationships are concerned. There are no fences or forts standing between us. We would destroy, in righteous anger, an Iron Curtain or a Maginot Line. We are neighbors, peaceful neighbors and understanding neighbors. We have wiped out the 54th parallel in fact, at least in large degree, and natural causes will dim it even more in the years ahead.

What a tremendous accomplishment this has been and what contributions we could make to the peoples of the old world if we could tell this story effectively to the people behind the Iron Curtain. There, it seems to me, your cooperative organizations could make a most effective contribution to world peace. You have your international associations of people who are pledged to serve the cause of a free economy. You have opportunities which develop into a responsibility to tell the story in every corner of the world. In the United States, I have been irritated now and then by the inferiority complex of cooperatives. They insist on discounting their power to serve. I hope that is not true of Canada. If it is, I hope you will shake it off so that you can make the contribution to the world that you can and should make.

I am out here to talk with you -- and please note, I say "with you" and not "to you" -- about the Federal Trade Commission, an agency of the United States Government. The topic proposed for our discussion was "Cooperatives -- Free Enterprise -- and The Federal Trade Commission." The topic might well be changed to "The Quest for Freedom" because "free enterprise" means "freedom" -- cooperatives can only exist in a free world -- and the cause to which the Federal Trade Commission is dedicated is the protection and preservation of our economic freedom, and hence the protection and preservation of our political freedom.

If we, through association and discussion here tonight, could be inspired to go back home and make this pursuit of freedom a cause to which we would dedicate our every effort, I would believe that the days and nights and weeks and months of labor had been justified. We cannot escape from our obligations. We know that this present disorder in the world can only be relieved as we, individually, labor and sacrifice to relieve it. We know the disorder is not localized, not compartmentalized by national

boundaries, that it is a war of ideas which knows no boundaries. Therefore, it becomes the responsibility of each of us. We know that freedom is priceless. It cannot be bought with money. It cannot be imposed. We must first choose to be free and then freedom must be achieved through labor and sacrifice. It is easy to sink into dependency on others, and into some degree of slavery. But we cannot sink into independence, or freedom.

I am proud to be associated with the Federal Trade Commission because I believe it serves the cause of freedom. I am proud of all the free and independent businessmen, particularly the small businessmen who are contributing to the struggle against monopoly in my country. I am proud of the cooperative organizations which can only survive when we have bona fide free enterprise, and which are the freest of free enterprise, if there can be any gradations of the word "free." We are all a part of a great cause which is on trial now in this world, Gentlemen, and we must decide to be with freedom or against freedom. And we have a responsibility now from which we cannot escape, even if we would. We are called on to assume world leadership. We must decide to either accept the call, or to invite the tyrants to command us. We have a rendezvous with destiny.

Glance hastily at our history, the history of the people of Canada and the United States, and discover, if you wish, justification for the poetic declaration that "we have a rendezvous with destiny." So many incidents, and maybe accidents, were associated with our birth as nations, with our early and later years, that it is not difficult to believe we were chosen and developed to play the part we now are playing.

We began as a pioneering people. We were a people desperate for escape from the tyrannies of an old world. We were adventurers who were willing to brave the perils of the seas and then the perils of a wilderness. We came to these lands which were blessed by nature with wealth such as no people had ever experienced theretofore. We were sheltered and cradled in our infancy by the great oceans. We opened our doors widely and within five generations, the population of one of the partners -- the United States -- increased more than thirtyfold -- a movement of people such as the world had never witnessed elsewhere or in any other time.

We became a melting pot which boiled and developed a people of tremendous energy and power. We developed our economy until we had the highest degree of material -- and I emphasize material -- well-being than has been had in the history of the world. We developed our technology until space and distance disappeared and until time almost stood still. We grew strong, so strong that when tyranny again threatened us as well as our neighbors in Europe, we were ready. We were ready for the Hitlers just as we shall be ready for the Stalins. We have been partners in war and partners in peace. In an humble mood, I believe we are justified in believing that we do have a rendezvous with destiny.

When I say "we," I mean the peoples of North America of course, because we, the peoples of Canada and the United States, are married and inseparable until death do us part. I hesitate to talk about my country, the United States, because I might be charged with boasting. But I must pay tribute to some of the leaders of my country, some of whom were personal friends.

Through their leadership we proclaimed to the world that we refused to engage in a war of conquest, and therefore we despised the ill-gotten gains of war. On the contrary, we have not only renounced any claim to reparations but we have also poured out our material wealth to help our former enemies and our less fortunate neighbors. We have bound up the wounds of war.

If I boast, I boast of the intelligence of some of the leaders in our countries. I boast of their understanding of natural law. Consciously, or unconsciously, they envisioned the philosophy of peace which intelligent men everywhere are now expressing.

Some 2000 years ago, in Bethlehem, the angels sang -- "Peace on earth to men of good will." I repeat -- "peace to men of good will" -- peace to them and to them only was the promise and the warning. We in Canada and the United States know that charity, love of neighbor, and peace, are inseparable. We know that the cold wars and hot wars of this world period will not end until we become men of good will.

And now, I suspect my Chairman may tell me to get to the topic of my talk with you tonight. I have talked of peace, of world peace, because it is the greatest cause we can serve and the cause which is immediately before us. I have talked of it because world peace is fused with true freedom, and by true freedom I mean the freedom which expresses our responsibilities to our neighbors as well as our rights. The ignorant may still insist on believing that they can serve freedom and attain peace through their "love of self and exploitation of neighbor," but you know, and every other intelligent man knows, that that road of exploitation leads to conflict and war and death.

But you and I must realize also that as we wiped out the 54th Parallel, as we wiped out the barriers, we mutualized our liabilities as well as our assets. We imposed our burdens on you, burdens such as those created by monopoly in industry, for example. As you marry us you must take our burdens as well as our blessings, and to appraise the partner you have taken, it is necessary to review, hastily, our industrial history.

I think it may be possible to divide our industrial history into two periods of, roughly, about sixty years each. The first period would be from 1840 to 1900. That would be the period when monopoly -- industrial and financial monopoly -- was conceived in the United States. The second period would interlap somewhat with the first period. It would begin about 1890, and would become particularly impressive by 1900 when monopoly power developed until rebellion against monopoly was launched in my country. It would continue until today. But again, beginning about 1940, and becoming unmistakably clear today, is a third period -- a period which I think will be proven to be a period of years of world reconstruction during which bona fide free enterprise must be made secure if we would have peace. Now these are very rough divisions of time. I only use them to get before you a general picture.

In our early pioneer days, in fact until our great Civil War, we were a nation of rugged individualists. We had had our exploiting organizations of capital, of course, such as our plantation companies and our

financial institutions. But with free land, untold free land, beckoning to us from the West, our forefathers rebelled against any corporate power. They were independent settlers and traders, and they assumed authority. As one historian said -- "it was a harsh, tough school of pioneer days," and it fashioned an American who, he said, was "vigorous, aggressive, blustering, ambitious, materialistic, hating privilege and favoritism, but greedy also for power."

Look at my country of those days. We were suspicious of the thing we called a corporation. We began by only permitting corporations to exist to perform a public service, such as to provide protection against fire. Then we relented a bit. But again we decided that no corporation could have more than a million dollars of capital, as I recall. In 1830, -- and that is only 120 years ago -- only the days of your grandfathers or great grandfathers -- until 1830 we had in the United States only two corporations with a million dollars of capital.

Why until 1859, our steel industry was made up of many little bloomer-ies and local blacksmith shops and little local foundries. I can recall the local foundries, in fact. Many of them continued until the turn of the century and were esteemed small businesses in my early days.

But then we had our Civil War, and our first big dose of that thing which our propagandists now use as a scare word -- that thing called "socialism." The Government stepped in to blow-up industry. The war contractors took over with the blessing of Government. Steel production was reorganized and the processes of integration began. In 1859, a steel corporation was organized with capital of a million dollars and then, how that industry swelled! Stimulated by war needs and war profits, and helped directly and indirectly by Government -- or socialism -- within forty-two years a new steel corporation was born, the United States Steel Corporation, with capital not of a million dollars, but of a thousand million dollars, and more -- or one and four-tenths billions of dollars.

This phrase -- "industrial revolution" has many connotations, many facets. But I think we are justified in believing that our industrial revolution -- which has affected you in Canada and will continue to affect you -- began about that period, and came to first full flower in about 1900.

In the twenty years, from 1860 to 1880, the value of our manufactured products increased by 184 percent. And the number of our wage earners increased by 108 percent. Again, from 1880 to 1900, the value of our manufactured product increased by 142 percent, and the number of our wage earners increased by 94 percent.

The steel industry, which was a nice little business, producing goods worth some twenty-one million dollars in 1860, jumped to two hundred ninety-six and one-half million dollars in 1880, or almost fifteen hundred percent of increase in production.

Let me point to one other important fact about that period. In 1850, about 80 percent of our people lived on farms. In 1900, only 50 percent of our people lived on farms. In 50 years, the complexion of the United States had changed. Today, as I recall, less than 25 percent of our people live on farms.

It is difficult to appreciate the story behind those facts. I think you and I would gasp if the artists could put the story into pictures and unreel them for us tonight. You and I would begin to understand then how we, in this period of one hundred years of development, touched nerves and caused reactions which became a part of the first violent eruption we knew as "World War I." We would have no difficulty in appreciating the intimate association of the nerves in our industrial development and "World War II." And I think we would understand that a third earthquake has begun to shake us from Korea, and then to appreciate, better, that we are peoples who have a rendezvous with destiny and that we are going to assume leadership in having a world of peace.

Perhaps I am justified in continuing to unreel the film. You have seen the first hundred feet, and the story of a pioneering, swashbuckling people, who moved westward and ever westward in pursuit of freedom and free enterprise. You have seen the story of the Civil War and how Government nursed and fed our industrialists with war profits, and how they assumed such command in New York and Wall Street, that is -- command over our Government -- that the farmers and wage earners organized one program of rebellion after another. You have seen how a nation of independent farmers, of the purest of free enterprisers, became a nation of wage earners.

But to get to my story of the Federal Trade Commission, I must turn back the film to 1850, and fill in with some other pictures.

I am not an "economic determinist" but I do believe that because we surrendered ourselves to materialism, that economics have determined our course. Let us unreel the film. Industry was sprouting in 1860, and the instrument for amassing capital, the instrument called the "corporation" had been accepted as something we must encourage, at last, so as to provide for war production -- that is, Civil War production. The "security speculator" then appeared on the scene, just as he did in every comparable period. He appeared with the same medicine bag and the same medicine. He reasoned, very effectively, that his financial security, and his associates' financial security could be bettered, and perhaps made secure, through wiping out the numerous market places where consumers had an opportunity to bargain, and through substituting one market place which the producer and seller would own. I think in that period that the basic and primary rights of the consumer disappeared. The evil thing we call monopoly and monopolists has existed in some little degree and in some minds throughout our industrial history. But it developed and became strong in the years of 1850 to 1900 and it then shaped, in large degree, the United States we have today. In fact, we had, then at least, one financial leader who boldly denounced "competition" as a "destructive thing."

In 1879, we got our first big monopoly or trust. It was called the Standard Oil Company, or "the oil trust." I shall not halt to tell you that story of unconscionable conspiracy to rob the consumers. When those conspirators were not imprisoned, but were on the contrary encouraged, we got the sugar trust, the whiskey trust, and other trusts of record. The trusts, the Wall Street speculators, and their fellow conspirators, became the powerful influence in my country, and the wage earner then lost much of his freedom. I know how true that was, my friends. I can still recall the night of fear and anguish in my home -- I was a child, but old enough

to understand -- when my father came from work to whisper to us that he had a notice in his pay envelope, a notice to vote in the national election as his employer told him to vote or to not return to work. That is true. I recall well that night of humiliation. We knew later that similar notices had been put into pay envelopes throughout the country. And if you ask me why I think the fight for free enterprise is a great cause, to which I am dedicated, I shall take you back to the story of that pay envelope, and that night.

The history of the period of our country, from 1890 on for roughly some sixty years, is a history of financial speculation and the influence of investment bankers. How they flourished! You may recall that until 1830, we had only two corporations in our country with capitalization of a million dollars. Between 1890 and 1904, or within sixty years after 1830, we had a period in which there were 237 consolidations or mergers of corporations, and each corporation merged involved more than a million dollars of capital. There were 78 such mergers in one year, in fact, in the year 1899.

The outcry of the independent farmer and small businessman against "the trusts" was so great that a most conservative United States Senator, named Sherman, offered and had adopted in our Congress a law which became known as the Sherman Anti-Trust law. It declared that conspiracies in restraint of trade were unlawful. For a time it seemed it might restrain the conspirators. And then a United States Supreme Court largely nullified it by injecting into it the famous "rule of reason" through which we began to decide that there were "good trusts" and "bad trusts." As one historian said, our Court decided that monopolies were not bad, or illegal, until they began to abuse their power.

As I read our history of that period -- and I think this may suggest much of interest to you and your people -- the most inspiring fact, the most thrilling reflections, relate to the farmers and their independent struggle for freedom from domination by the monopolies or trusts. I look back and yearn for a renewal of that faith, that faith expressed by the independent freemen in the years 1840 to 1870 and even until 1900.

My friends, those were glorious years in my United States. Those were years when most of our people were still closely associated with the farm and with little business -- they were, in other words, "free-men," and of course the men who were most free and who were envied most were the farmers who owned their own farms. With what little resources I have, I want to do everything I can to help the farmer to own his farm, to help the little businessman to own his own business, to help the wage earner to become an owner of business, because without wide distribution of ownership of productive property, our people cannot be free and our democracy cannot survive.

But I must return to my story of fact.

When the Sherman Act did not halt the monopolists, our President of those days, Theodore Roosevelt, or "Teddy-the-trust-buster," assumed leadership. He prescribed a treatment remarkably similar to what you now have in your Combines Act. He got our United States Congress to create a Bureau of Corporations and gave to it power to find any and every fact about the

activities of our corporations -- that is, activities which were harmful to the public interest or might be -- and to make them public. He adopted what another and later President, Mr. Woodrow Wilson, described as the medicine of pitiless publicity.

Before I continue to unreel this film -- I must pause to pay tribute to your Combines Commission. I have seen some of its reports. I think it has performed a wonderful service in providing you with the tools of information. Whether you have cooperated to make use of that information, I do not know, but frankly, I am fearful you have not because monopoly is growing here in Canada as it has in the United States. At least, I am convinced that the most important service that we can give to the public through our Federal Trade Commission is the service of fact-finding, and pitiless publicity of fact. That, in my humble opinion, is far more important than is the work of litigation, or the application of the judicial processes which we have in our Commission, and which your Commission does not have. Others will differ with me, of course.

The free-men of my country, the farmers and wage earners and small businessmen of the United States, had rebelled so effectively by 1912 that every political leader in my country was declaring his will to fight and destroy monopoly, or "the trusts." Because men were free-men, "the trusts" or economic dictatorship became the issue and each of the three candidates for the Presidency declared that economic freedom was the paramount issue. Woodrow Wilson won and immediately published his appeal for the "New Freedom."

It was then that the Federal Trade Commission was created. The Sherman Act had failed, in large degree, to protect the consumer against monopoly, or "the trusts." The Federal Trade Commission was established to halt monopoly in its "incipiency," to prevent the use of the bullets of monopoly, or that thing called "price" to destroy competitors. The Commission was created to enforce a law which stated that "unfair and deceptive practices" were unlawful, and to enforce a law which made unlawful any discrimination in price which would hurt, substantially hurt, competition. There is no legislation, no act of the United States Government, which is more impressive in the fight for freedom than is the act establishing the Federal Trade Commission. In fact, in every fact, it was a declaration of the rights of the consumer -- the first step by our Government to recover what was lost some 30 to 40 years earlier when "the trusts" were enthroned. It was a declaration of "freedom." Lamps, or torches of freedom, of free enterprise, were lighted then and despite all the efforts to smother them, they continue to beckon us in this day.

Mr. Chairman, I am always tempted to become a poet, or an orator, when I think about the influences which resulted in the creation of the Federal Trade Commission, when I think of the cause which it expresses. It is, and it must continue to be, the tribune of free enterprise and freedom. It is a great cause. And I cannot be patient with anyone around me who does not think that it expresses a great cause and that those who work for it, or as part of it, are dedicated to a great cause. But I must hurry on, because the Commission had hardly been born when the First World War erupted, and when the terrible headaches of the morning after, or of the post-war period, had to be suffered.

From 1920 to 1929, in our country, in the post-war period, we had wild speculation and uncontrolled inflation which finally resulted in the last, and famous, and fatal bust of 1929. You know of that experience, of course. It was heard 'round the world. I lived through much of it, intimately, because one of the first big shocks passed over my desk in the United States Senate building. I lived then through almost three years of indecision and doubt and mounting rebellion -- through days and nights when thousands of people marched in protest, throughout the days and nights, around our Capitol Building in Washington.

The interesting fact about that period was that the powerful corporations weathered that storm -- with the help of Government, of course -- but small business went through bankruptcy. The profits of the 200 largest non-financial corporations in our country went from \$5,293,000,000 in 1929 to \$533,000,000 in 1933. But as the profits of all non-financial corporations went from \$9,323,000,000 in 1929 to \$140,000,000 in 1933, it is obvious that the small corporations, the little business of our country, operated in the red. They were weak, famished, ready to be swallowed. Our problems of industrial concentration, or of incipient monopoly, increased -- that was the net result. The records show that in 1940, one corporation was either the sole seller, or controlled the entire supply, of virgin aluminum, of shoe machinery, of bottle machinery, of optical glass, of nickel, of magnesium, of molybdenum. At least that is what the record shows and I am unable to contradict the record.

I must hurry to unreele this film and show you some of the facts about the period from 1940 on to this day. The records show that from 1940 to 1947, some 2450 small independent manufacturing and mining companies in my country went down the big greedy maw of the big corporations. They were swallowed by the incipient monopolies. The asset value of these companies amounted to five and one-half percent of the value of all manufacturing corporations in my country. In earlier years, the independent and small and free businessman in oil, and steel, and heavy goods, disappeared down the maw of monopoly. In this period from 1940 on, the small businessman, who was operating in distribution of foods and beverages, and in textiles and wearing apparels, and in chemicals, met his master, the big corporation, who wanted him and took him.

From 1919 to 1929 -- in my country -- more than 7,000 little businessmen perished, not because of lack of intelligence or integrity, but because the mastodons of business just ran over them and stamped them out. By 1947, the total destruction of small and independent business had mounted until 11,500 had disappeared.

Why, in 1937, we created in our country a Commission which became known as TNEC, the Temporary National Economic Commission. It provided us with more factual data about business and about monopoly than has been provided by any agency in our history. That Commission reported that if the consumer chose to buy any product manufactured in the United States, the chances would be three to one that four -- just four -- producers controlled more than one-half of the nation's production of that product. The chances were then even -- or one to one -- that the big four producers controlled more than 75 percent of the product. Concentration, monopoly, bigness, and incipient collectivism was on the loose, was prowling to destroy our freedom.

And by 1947, we had reached a point where there were 50,000 manufacturing corporations in the United States with capital assets of less than \$1,000,000. In numbers, these small businessmen constituted 90 percent of all the manufacturing corporations in our country. Their total capital assets -- I want you to listen to this statement of fact -- their total capital assets amounted to slightly less than ten billions of dollars. In that same year, 78 giant corporations in the United States had more than ten billions of dollars of net working capital -- a large part of it absolutely liquid. In other words, they had the free capital to buy out the entire assets of the small businessmen of our country.

Mr. Chairman and Ladies and Gentlemen, I beg you to please take note of these facts. You in Canada are married to us until death do us part. There is no more possibility of reestablishing the 54th Parallel as a barrier than there is of walling off the oceans. These developments in my country are affecting you, and will affect you, and your future economic freedom just as much as they will affect the freedom of our people in the United States.

What about the future? It is historic in my country that excess profits are always associated with mergeritis. The big corporations with tremendous surplus funds from unconscionable profits, must reach out to control new fields. That is a record of fact. They cannot survive if capital is idle. They must use these profits. From 1941 to 1944, in my country, the profits -- profits of manufacturing corporations after taxes, mind you -- averaged about ten billions of dollars, or about double the rate of 1939. In 1946, this ten billion had increased to \$12,500,000,000. And by 1947, this twelve and one-half billion had increased to \$17,000,000,000. And now, in recent months and years, the profits continue to run higher and higher and higher, until they have become a tidal wave of inflation which would engulf all of us.

I must apologize for piling fact on fact in my endeavor to make you understand, appreciate that you -- in Canada -- are married now to an economy which is being concentrated into fewer hands each year -- and into an economy where the interlocking boards of directors for these great corporations provide us with a situation where the directors of big business could meet in this room -- yes, in the ante-rooms -- almost meet around a poker table, if you know the phrases of card games and card rooms. I might sum up the conclusion from which we cannot escape and which the Federal Trade Commission uttered in 1947, and I quote:

"The Commission believes that the economic forces, on which it has been basing its warnings, require that a definite choice be made. Either this country is going down the road to collectivism, or it must stand and fight for competition as the protector of all that is embodied in free enterprise."

The fact is, Mr. Chairman, that our economic life in the United States -- to which you are married -- and which is the dominant factor throughout the world today -- is a life of concentration of credit power, of productive power, of distribution power. The fact is that the Federal Trade Commission must be applauded when it warns you and me that we must choose today -- if we would choose at all -- between collectivism which is the inevitable end of this concentration of economic power -- or freedom which means the reassertion of the rights of the consumer to bargain.

But I beg you not to despair in this fight for freedom. The hour for those men and women who believe in economic freedom has come. The night of monopolies and Iron Curtains has passed. It is our obligation -- the obligation of those of us who believe in economic freedom and a free world -- to hold fast. The third period of our history is at hand, the period when all the dreams of our forefathers will flower.

It should be significant to us, I think, that throughout the last four and more decades there have been almost unending efforts to devise and arrange and organize the machinery of peace. I am not a historian, not even a student, in fact I am little more than a casual reader and observer. But I am sure there has not been a comparable period in world history, that is, a period where there has been a comparable effort to induce the nations of the world to reach understanding and agreement and then to establish the processes of peaceful living so that peace might be made secure. Of course, there have been in certain periods very great accomplishments in behalf of peace -- some of which endure in some form unto this day. But the emphasis of this day is different. Today, our will power for peace equals our wish power for peace. We are going to struggle on until we attain peace.

The time for world peace has come. It has come because we have become neighbors in the flesh as well as in the spirit. The peoples of the world five thousands of miles distant from us tonight are rubbing elbows with us. They are resentful of war. They will demand that the world must outlaw war and warriors because they will not submit to a world of cave-dwelling and bomb-shelters. Science, through technological developments, has decreed that the labor to attain peace must go on -- and all opposition to this effort to find peace will be swept aside.

And now I want to labor to make my contribution to you. I wish that your cooperative organizations in Canada and the cooperative organizations in the United States would join in one common effort to develop discussion groups in every nook and hamlet, on a regional level, and then on a national level, and in which you would enlist the services of all professional educators and writers and lawyers and doctors. The end objective would be to expose the causes of war and the means of peace.

The benefactors of our world who established what we know as the Nobel prizes have done much for the world. Let us encourage them. Let us applaud them. But you can do something more than Nobel has done. I urge you to take this cause of peace out of the realm of philosophical discussion and bring it down to the realm of action -- economic action, if you will. You and I must choose to march either the high-road of freedom and free enterprise, or the low-road of monopoly and collectivism and serfdom. The high-road is the hard road -- the road of suffering and hardship -- but it is "the glory road."

Mr. Chairman and Ladies and Gentlemen, the lights or torches of peace began with a Star over Bethlehem. That Star moved westward until it stood over us in this hemisphere, I sincerely believe, and then we relighted it in the arches of triumph, and the altars of victory, and at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Washington. We enlisted to swear allegiance to freedom, to serve freedom and protect freedom, when the tyranny of Naziism and Fascism, or of monopoly and cartels, were in the crescendo of all

tyrrany of all time. And now we are ready to begin the long march to freedom. Come, let us close the door on the clawing and hateful and little miserable past of materialistic selfishness and greed. Come, let us walk together -- towards a world of plenty, and brotherhood, and freedom.

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