

Mr. Goldenweiser ✓

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OUR WAR EFFORT

ADDRESS

by

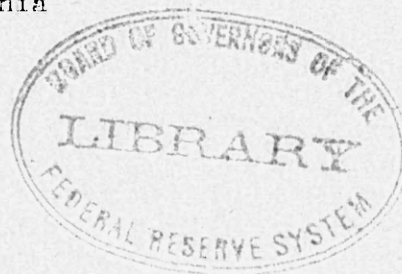
M. S. SZYMCAK

Member, Board of Governors  
Federal Reserve System  
Washington, D. C.

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Patriotic Flag Day Rally  
Central Council of Polish-American Organizations  
of  
Pittsburgh

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Flagstaff Hill, Schenley Park  
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

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OUR WAR EFFORT

It is often said that we are a nation of individualists; our enemies interpret this to mean that we think only of ourselves. While it is true that nowhere else in the world are there so many individuals who are free to live their lives in their own way as under the flag of the United States, yet that flag is the symbol of our unity. Those red and white stripes represent the banding together of the thirteen original colonies; those stars on the field of blue, the union of forty-eight States - the United States - founded on the principle that all men are created equal in the sight of God, free to think as they please, to worship as they please and to act as they please so long as their actions do not harm others.

Each of us has the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, a right that attains full meaning only under a democratic form of government. But if a democracy is to function and survive, each and every citizen must undertake certain duties and responsibilities. In the words of John Stuart Mill, the noted political economist, "The worth of a state, in the long run, is the worth of the individuals composing it."

Man is a social being. He cannot live alone. The day of his birth he enters the smallest unit of society, which we know as the family. He is entirely dependent on his father and mother, and yet they recognize that he has certain rights--the right to food, the right to clothing, the right to care, and yes, even the right to.....cry. His first wavering steps bring him an exhilarating sense of freedom, a freedom, however, which he soon learns is not without responsibilities--responsibilities imposed for his own good.

As he grows, his responsibilities to his family grow. In time he finds playmates outside the family circle and assumes responsibilities in the community in which he lives. His responsibilities multiply as he establishes contact with other parts of his community and with the state of which all families and communities are integral parts. (I use the term "state" in its broader meaning of a body politic.) Upon reaching manhood, he assumes the full duties and responsibilities as well as the rights and privileges of citizenship and takes his proper place in the state that represents society as a whole. He begins to make a living for himself, to produce for his family, his community, and his state in order that all may attain the end for which they live and exist--the welfare of individuals.

Making a living is only one way in which the individual responds to the successive influences of the home, the community, the state, and the ever-widening horizons of his world. His whole conception of the art of living reflects all of these cultural influences. He is the product of all these influences and of his own innate capacity. They determine his response to the successes and failures that constitute his life.

The American culture into which we have been born or welcomed by adoption is cosmopolitan, and yet it is truly American. It respects the culture and tradition of all races and brings them together in the spirit of tolerance and freedom. It looks to the future rather than to the past and is something to which you and I are contributing. Our culture, like our flag, represents the ideals of the state. You and I determine those ideals by the manner in which we live our lives. To the extent that each individual exerts a sensitive and forceful personality in behalf of society, he becomes a contributor to society rather than a mere recipient of its benefits. By his own life he enriches the life of others and raises the ideals of the state.

The state has but one purpose--the complete welfare of the people: physical, mental and moral welfare. The means by which this end is attained is government. But governments are various: monarchial, aristocratic, democratic, or a combination of any of these three. Ours is democratic. It is a government "of the people, by the people, for the people". Mark well the principle that democratic government is the servant of the people, not people the servants of government. In contradistinction is totalitarian government where the people are only instruments of the state. There dictators rule by edict. The people comply or else--the concentration camp or the firing squad. This is the kind of tyranny that threatens the existence of democracies in this year of 1942. How does it compare with our conception of government? Is what we have under our democracy worth fighting for?

In ordinary times we are so intent on exercising the rights of American citizens that we do not pause to consider their source. Perhaps the privilege we exercise most consciously is the privilege of criticizing our Government. We seldom stop to think that the functioning of our national Government is largely responsible for the security of our daily lives. We do not associate the security of our homes, our local communities, and even our individual States with the security of the nation as a whole.

In a sense this represents the perfect functioning of democracy. The large tasks of promoting the physical, mental and moral welfare of the people are being carried out according to plan, with perhaps no conscious effort on the part of the citizenry. Each one of us can concentrate on discharging his personal responsibilities to his job, his family, and his local community. The danger is that we may come to think we have no responsibilities to the nation, or that we may forget how to meet them when the need arises.

Times of emergency make us acutely aware of our national unity and our national Government. In the lean years of depression, we found that we as individuals were powerless to cope with the immensity of our



economic problems. The difficulties were not of local origin. They had their roots in world-wide maladjustments that were disrupting our whole national economy. Local communities were unable to protect their residents against the loss of their jobs, their homes, and their savings. Only through strong positive action of our national Government were our difficulties, serious as they were, kept from becoming far more disastrous.

We were not clear of our economic troubles before war clouds broke in Europe and Asia. We tried to tell ourselves that these wars had nothing to do with our lives and that we would have no part in the slaughter and destruction. We are a peace-loving people and we are slow to recognize a lust for war and conquest in others. Even after many friendly nations had been decimated and enslaved by their conquerors, we were reluctant to see the threat to our own nation. We condoned the action of our President and Congress when they initiated the defense program, but we continued to hope the skies would clear before we were actually involved in war. Then we in turn were treacherously attacked.

How many of us acknowledged that we had been slow in facing realities? How many of us wondered whether we had been alert to the welfare of the nation, and questioned whether we had impeded rather than aided our national Government in exercising its powers to defend the nation--to defend our liberties? Did our responsibilities as citizens take clearer form and galvanize us into action?

Today, as perhaps never before, we in America need to take to heart the message typed mechanically by the young school girl: "Now is the time for all good men to come to the aid of their country." No country has better served her citizens in protecting their rights and liberties than has ours. Now we must face the fundamental fact that individual rights and privileges can have real meaning only when they are accompanied by duties and responsibilities to preserve what generations of Americans have worked for - fought for - and died for! Our nation in times of stress can be no stronger than its individual citizens, for it is a basic postulate of democracy that the citizens of a democratic state, in a sense, are the state. Unless we as individuals are willing to undertake to the fullest our duties and responsibilities, our national defense must be weak; our offense laggard.

In addition to our regular work there are many things we can do--depending on our conditions and circumstances.

With humor and common sense Arnold Bennett pointed out, during the last war of 1914-1918, an axiom again highly pertinent:

"When citizens hear that volunteers for war work are badly

wanted; and then look out their windows and see no work at all rolling up to their front doors, they are apt to feel rather hurt and say: 'I am ready to do my share, but if no one gives me anything to do I can't do anything.'

"Yet patriots cannot expect the organizers of war work to run up and down streets knocking at doors and crying: 'Come! You are the very person I need!' However much urgent war work is waiting to be done, nine-tenths of the volunteers will have to put themselves to a certain amount of trouble to discover the work. They may even have almost to beg for the privilege of doing it. They are rather hurt, for they are not asking a favor. 'I went and offered my services,' a woman will say, 'and he looked at me as if I were a doubtful character, and you never heard such a cross-examination as I had to go through. It was most humiliating.'

"Axiom: The trouble and annoyance incidental to getting the work are themselves an inevitable part of war work, just as much as bandaging the brows of heroes."

Each must now do his share--the individual, the family, the community--to protect and to fight for the preservation of democracy. Else, we - you and I - will be haunted to distraction by the knowledge that we gave "too little and too late".

Have you met individuals in areas affected by the recent gasoline rationing order who boast of knowing where they can get gasoline without a rationing card? Do you admire their smartness or do you consider them slackers? People who do a thing like this are impeding our war effort. They are hurting you and me, and in the long run, themselves. People who refuse to change their way of living to meet the needs of the war are obstructing the sincere effort of others. By refusing to cooperate, they are hampering us in our struggle to preserve their freedom and our own. They are endangering the welfare of our people and of all the people in the world who love freedom.

This is not a war that is fought alone by soldiers on the battlefield--away from home. This is a war that is fought right in every city, right in every town, right in every home. This war is total!

True, we Americans have done much--our armies are now abroad; our production lines are turning off planes, tanks, guns and ammunition at an increasing rate. "...we are today in the position of men who realize that they are actually doing the impossible", said Donald Nelson, Chairman of the War Production Board, in his speech on June 9th.

We have played some part in slowing the advance of the enemy, directly on the Far Eastern front and indirectly through the provision

of arms for our British and Russian allies in Europe. Yet, what we have done is a mere fragment of what we have to do--and do quickly. The great bulk of Europe lies under the Nazi heel. Even in Russia, the superb efforts of our allies have managed to retake only a small fraction of the territory lost to the Germans last summer, and now Hitler has begun another push. In the Far East thus far the success of the enemy has been great--our strongest efforts have done little more than slow the Japanese advance. In recent weeks we have had good news, especially from our fleet in the Pacific and from the British air force over Europe. Yet let us not be carried away to optimistic heights. We are still on the defensive, and wars are not won that way.

So let us work! Work hard! Work harder! Time is vital--every day, every hour, every minute counts in this fateful summer ahead. A bomber in China or Europe now may be worth ten next year. Let us synchronize our thoughts and actions with the rhythm and the tempo of the tramp, tramp, tramp of our soldiers, the hum and whirl of our war production machines; the zoom of the planes off the assembly line; the rumble of the tanks; the splash of the ships. More, more, more--faster, faster, faster--ever accelerating toward crescendos that will break into deafening roars on the battlefronts--on land, in the air, on the sea! Our flag leads on, proudly, invincibly. Let us follow the flag!

The newspapers tell us that some lines of production are "ahead of schedule", others "nearly up to schedule". Good--then let's revise the schedules upward and aim at a higher mark. Some complain about overtime work, squabble for higher pay, protest loudly about loss of privileges and question the necessity for even such minor discomforts as we have thus far faced. How small and selfish such actions seem in the light of the valiant unquestioning heroism of those fighting men on Corregidor, in the jungle of Burma, in Russia, in the deserts of North Africa. How infinitesimal are our sacrifices compared with those of the battered but freedom-loving civilians of the battleground nations--Poland, Czechoslovakia, Russia, England, France, Belgium, Yugoslavia, Greece, Holland, Denmark, China....

Did you read this the other day, told by Drew Middleton, an Associated Press staff writer:

"With the R.A.F. Bomber Command, June 1. - This is the story of a little Polish pilot hero and his British plane (Wimpy) or what's left of it.

"The Pole, with four other members of his crew wounded and unconscious, brought back his shattered Wellington 'Wimpy' from the 4-figure Cologne raid.

"The plane is in the repair shop and they're trying to figure out how it got home without a landing gear and with



bomb doors still open.

"'Wimpy' squatted in the hangar in battered glory. Her interior was caked with blood, great tufts of grass clung to her scarred belly from her pancake landing and there was a hole in her fuselage the size of home plate. But she's there.

"In the rear gun-turret there was a hole you could put your foot through. A cannon shell from a Nazi night fighter had taken off the rear gunner's foot. But he managed to keep alive and, with tracer bullets streaming at him, he managed to return the fire.

"There were 17 bullet holes in the front turret, six separate cannon shell holes, in the underside of the fuselage (of the plane).

"The Polish pilot grinned when I asked him about it.

"'I don't speak much English,' he said. 'But these men are so good. When they are hit they keep still. When I tell them I will get them back one of them says, "Hear, hear", just like they do at public speakings.

"'We get home all right but I cannot get my wheels down to land. I got over the airfield once, twice; and I hear them groaning back there (in the plane).

"'Then I say, "Okay Butch," and I bring her in. God He is at our right hand, I know.'"

That's the sort of thing that is going on over there--day after day. What are you and I doing in war work, in conservation, in civilian defense, in buying more war bonds, to compare?

Customary living, customary work? To me it seems a mark of honor to lead in giving these up, in saying: "I will lead in working harder, in turning out more pieces per day, in saving and pinching that my tires and gas and food and clothing will go further, in buying more war bonds, in placing war production and the national welfare far above personal ambitions and comforts." The man or woman who fails to take this attitude--and to act accordingly-- is to me as much a slacker as the draft dodger. To wait for the Government or the employer or the foreman to drive you to faster work, to wait until a law forces you to buy less and forces you to conserve scarce articles, to wait until everyone else buys more war bonds--these are the ways of a slacker, not of a true American.

These are strong statements--but I believe the time is long past for bickering and selfish ambitions. Modern war is unbelievably

violent and horrible. Loss of this war would be unspeakably catastrophic. We can win and we must win. Whether we win and how soon depends on what you and I do as individuals.

Democratic action is based on free cooperation of individuals. If we do not work harder, conserve our scarce possessions, buy more war bonds voluntarily, we force our Government to make us do so in the public interest.

In his speech of June 4th, Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau reminded us that: "Five weeks have gone by since President Roosevelt outlined a national economic policy for fighting the war on the home front. He called for heavier taxation, for fixing prices and rents, for rationing scarce commodities, for stabilizing wages and farm prices, for checking instalment buying, and finally, for rigid self-denial and saving and the investment of billions more in war bonds." And following the President, Secretary Morgenthau emphasized strongly that each one of these points is dependent on the other if the whole program is to work. If we default on any one, the whole program may crumble.

Billions of dollars are needed for the success of our war effort. It is estimated--and this is only an estimate based on tentative assumptions--that the total Government expenditures in the fiscal year 1943 will be 73 billion dollars. This 73 billion dollars includes 67 billions for war expenditures alone. It is further estimated, based on pending legislation, that tax receipts will be about 24 billion dollars. This leaves a balance of about 49 billion dollars to be borrowed by the Government in one fashion or another. It is hoped that the sales of war savings bonds and stamps will increase with each day, each week and each month. Buy war bonds and stamps and make this hope a reality.

Through the purchase of war savings bonds you are not only lending your money to the Government to wage a successful war; you are helping yourself by investing your money in the soundest security on earth. The money will be returned to you in full--with interest--almost 3% if held to maturity. I speak now of series "E" bonds. By investing your money in these war bonds, you help in our fight against inflation, for money that you would otherwise spend to purchase scarce consumer goods, you loan to your Government to build tanks, airplanes, ships, guns. Finally by purchasing war bonds, you offset the possibility of deflation after the war because you will have purchasing power after the war and by your purchases you will make possible increased production; in other words, you will help peace-time production of goods and materials for which there will be need, and thus you will give work to many thousands at a time when war production will cease.

Yes, billions of dollars are needed to win this war, but what are billions compared to the freedom we're fighting for--our freedom and



the freedom of those millions throughout the world who are hungry and beg for food, who are thirsty and reach out feebly for a glass of water, who are wounded and seek balm, who are depressed and plead for a word of encouragement, who scarcely breathe under the barbaric heel of the oppressor. Their enemy is our enemy.

President Roosevelt in his Flag Day proclamation said: "We as a nation are not fighting alone. In this planetary war, we are a part of a great whole; we are fighting shoulder to shoulder with the valiant peoples of the United Nations, the massed, angered forces of common humanity. Unless we triumph, all will fail.

"For these reasons it is fitting that on our traditional Flag Day we honor not only our own colors but also the flags of those who have, with us, signed the Declaration by United Nations, paying homage to those nations awaiting liberation from tyranny we all oppose, to those whose lands have escaped the scars of battle, to those who have long been heroically fighting in the blaze and havoc of war...."

It is important--very important--that the United Nations be actively united and that we therefore beware of all rumors and all gossip, innocent or otherwise, that tend to separate the United Nations and thus to weaken our united efforts. The enemy is well known for his use of the insidious weapon which divides opposition and leaves each part open to separate attack at his will. This is not new--this is old strategy.

The United Nations idea must be more than just an idea. It must be a coherent fighting force. That is the only way we can win this war and win lasting peace. No country can do it alone--no individual or group of individuals can do it alone.

We must plan now not only to win the war and to win it soon, but to win a lasting peace. We must try to insure economic, social, and political stability for our country and for other countries of the world.

"....and when the time of peace comes," says Vice President Wallace, "the citizen will again have a duty, the supreme duty of sacrificing the lesser interest for the greater interest of the general welfare. Those who write the peace must think of the whole world. There can be no privileged peoples. We ourselves in the United States are no more a master race than the Nazis. And we cannot perpetuate economic warfare without planting the seeds of military warfare. We must use our power at the peace table to build an economic peace that is just, charitable, and enduring."

As informed citizens, let us apply to our daily lives the sublime wisdom of Abraham Lincoln's tribute to the heroes of Gettysburg:

"The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here." Our actions, not our words and good intentions, will bring us honor or dishonor, freedom or slavery, victory or a defeat more insufferable than death.

As I salute the flag today, it seems to plead with me by murmuring: "I am not the flag; not at all. I am but its shadow. I am whatever you make me, nothing more. I am your belief in yourself, your dream of what a People may become....I am the day's work of the weakest man, and the largest dream of the most daring....I am the clutch of an idea, and the reasoned purpose of resolution. I am no more than you believe me to be and I am all that you believe I can be. I am whatever you make me, nothing more."

How true! Our flag and the flags of all our brave allies are only what we make them. Shall we keep them flying high in glorious freedom or lower them in tribute to a master? There can be only one answer.