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World Conditions

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Address by Hon. James A. Farley

Chairman of the Board

The Coca-Cola Export Corporation

at the

Executives' Club of Chicago Luncheon

Sherman Hotel—Chicago, Ill.

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REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH
OF NEW YORK

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address by Hon. James A. Farley at the luncheon of the Executives' Club of Chicago, Sherman Hotel, Chicago, Ill., on May 7, 1948:

WORLD CONDITIONS

Mr. FARLEY:

It is reassuring to know that in this Year of Our Lord, 1948, men like you in every corner of these United States have become thoroughly realistic in the knowledge that we cannot isolate ourselves from the other people of this world. We are at long last acutely aware that their economic and political problems today may become our calamities tomorrow. We know that without a return to political stability and sound economic intercourse on a world basis peace will be impossible.

Three fears grip the world at the present time: War, communism, and the atom bomb. And, of all the peoples of the world, we Americans are the most firmly held in the grip of these three fears. What they have done to our national outlook is extremely disturbing.

Just turn your memories back to the years of 1939-40 and recall that according to the polls 85 percent of the American people were determined that we should not enter the war. Recall, if you can, how shocked most people were at the demands of a few extremists for American entrance into the conflict at any time before Pearl Harbor. Today, these same polls show that a majority fear a war is inevitable within 10 years. And, I doubt if there is a person in this room who has not heard, as I have, the belief or the feeling expressed by some people that "we

might as well have the war now and get it over with before Russia gets the atom bomb."

To me, it is abhorrent to suggest that we get the war over before Russia gets the bomb. Just ponder it a moment. It seems that we must blast and kill 97 Russians to kill 3 Communists, as that is the proportion of party members, and that we continue to bomb civilians as national policy. It contemplates our launching a Pearl Harbor attack on Russia. To me, this is wholly immoral and un-Christian.

In the past 2 years I have circled this earth; have talked with heads of governments, members of legislative bodies, militarists, and just plain people. I have been on every continent and in virtually every nation of importance. I have toured the Americas—North and South. I have crisscrossed this country a half dozen times. The unvarnished truth is that fear of war, and a sense of insecurity grip everyone; apprehension as to what could and might happen prevails.

The reason for this almost universal attitude is not hard to uncover. It is the dread force of communism.

In communism we are dealing with a political instrument that is difficult for civilized comprehension. I used the word "civilized" deliberately. The progress of civilization has walked hand in hand with the progress of morals. Moral standards have become so fixed in our minds that we, of the civilized world, cannot do without them. When a man gives his word you expect him to keep it, when he signs a contract you expect him to honor it, when he extends the hand of friendship you do not look to see if it conceals a stiletto. It is our way of life—the very foundation of our civilization.

Because we hold these moral standards to be self-evident, it is small wonder that communism is almost beyond our capacity to understand. The ghastly fact is that com-

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munism is totally a moral. As a force without morals, it has only one objective—the seizure of power. How it attains that power, how many treaties it dishonors, how many contracts it violates, or how many democratic processes it rapes, it cares not.

To achieve its aims in nations that under peaceful conditions would never embrace communism, it has perfected the device of penetration, and by infiltration. If, as in Czechoslovakia, it becomes evident that it cannot win at the ballot box then it employs the device of infiltration to seize power by force. If the ballot box still threatens that seizure, as it did in Czechoslovakia, then it orders the single ballot with only one list of candidates, and purges all who stand in its way. Those who refuse to fall in step are either put to slave labor or liquidated. A police state terror is set up that reaches so deeply into the community life that a man is even afraid to talk confidentially to his wife much less to his neighbor. And, mind you, this is all accomplished by a terroristic minority wholly without morals—a political force which calls itself communism.

Almost one-fifth of the earth is now under the thumb of communism—12 nations in all. In not a single case, Russia included, has a victory at the ballot box put the Communists in power. In other words, in every case the will of a highly organized minority has been imposed on a majority by tactics that even barbarians would have considered dishonorable.

The question naturally follows: What makes communism run? Why has it been able to achieve these successes? Who supports it? Who is behind it? What is its strategy? What are we dealing with?

Communism is the refuge of the frustrated, the malcontent, and the maladjusted; a fringe force, composed of people motivated by bitterness and failure in the civilized world. And it can also well be the refuge of the victims of an intolerable economic

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situation. People sorely in need of food—of the bare necessities of human existence, are easy prey to communistic pressure and promises. I think that it is agreed by all of us that people do not starve peacefully. Innocent but hungry people, swayed by their own misery, or threats, if you will, are indeed vulnerable to the so-called benefits of communism.

Communists are united and bound like steel by their capacity to hate—and wait. Time means nothing; communism is willing to wait years. It is the intellectual gangsterism of the Hitler type. It attaches itself to good to accomplish evil. It waves the flag highest that it intends to destroy. It sets up front organizations with objectives that would match those of any decent civilized person. It infiltrates labor unions and proclaims goals that are beyond reproach. It attempts to penetrate our institutions, our schools, and even our churches. But it repudiates all its high-sounding objectives the minute that power is attained.

Communism itself has set up terms that describe communism's methods better than any words I can command, in the phrases "Trojan horse," "boring from within," "transmission belts," front organizations, "cells," "fractions," and so on, right through the entire Communist terminology. The phrases and words themselves betray the whole strategy of deceit, subversion, use of force, and by minority rule by which communism would achieve its ends.

I tell the members of this audience nothing new when I say communism has sunk its roots into every nation of any importance on the face of this earth. No country, not even little Colombia, to the south of us has proven itself to be immune. We are dealing with a world movement—a syndicate of political criminals who have only one objective—the seizure of power.

What can we do about it?

There are those who would "fight fire with fire." Just as Stalin conducted the great purges of 1935 and 1936, when thousands upon thousands of persons were lined up and shot, and hundreds of thousands were sent to slave labor camps. These advocates of fighting fire with fire would line up the Communists here and elsewhere and shoot them. They would put down the whole cancerous movement by applying the same violence to communism that the Communists themselves employ. In dealing with Communist-controlled nations they would use the double-cross and the worthless contract just as those nations have applied them. Violence would be met with violence; deceit with deceit; gangsterism with gangsterism.

I do not believe any thinking civilized person can subscribe to such methods for ridding ourselves of communism. The Communists themselves have already made enough inroads on our morals; should we adopt their tactics our whole moral system might be weakened to the point of collapse. We witnessed that happen in Germany when the Hitler gangsters, deliberately capitalizing on the overwhelming public desire to rid Germany of communism, reduced that nation to a State without morals.

Now, let's take the other extreme—the man who says he would sit down and "make a deal" with Russia—"make a deal" with the Communists. Rumania tried it; Poland tried it; Czechoslovakia tried it. We know what has happened to every nation that has tried to make a "deal" with the Communists. The reason that the Soviet Union and the Communists cannot be dealt with is self-evident. The contract or "deal" is valid only so long as it is useful to them. It is a one-way street. It is like a businessman buying protection from a gang. You cannot win. The gang eventually "muscles in" and takes you over. The gang has no moral standards—you have. You lose.

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What is left to do? If we cannot "fight fire with fire" and we cannot make a "deal" what can we do?

Democracy is fighting for its very existence, make no mistake about it. But its only course is to take a middle road. First, the democracies must make the contract, more than ever, the bond it is supposed to be, both between individuals and nations. Second, the inroads on our moral standards must be arrested and those standards guarded as jealously as a man guards his family. Third, there must be economic and social justice such as we have never seen before—a willingness by the peoples to trade on a world-wide basis to their mutual advantage. Finally, there must be created a democratic will to make democracy work.

Communism festers on political and economic unrest. The greatest enemy of communism is peace and prosperity. We, in America, have the capacity to bring both to the world. We must provide the leadership, and leadership is a big word. It means that men like you and me in the business world must do our part. It means that men in the political world must examine every move they undertake to make sure that they are acting not from expediency but for the ultimate welfare of everybody. We have the wealth; we have the capacity to produce and we have that most precious of all things—a free people. Only by asserting a great moral force in the world can we achieve what we all want—peace at home and abroad. America must realize that it has risen to the maturity of world leadership. We are the one force in existence today that can stop the sweep of communism.

This world leadership that we have attained was not sought by us. We have never practiced imperialistic exploitation such as the Roman, Spanish, and British Empires have employed. In fact, our policy at this moment might be called "imperialism in

reverse." Instead of exploiting those countries with which we come in contact we are offering help. This is a wise policy, and is selfish only to the extent that we believe America thrives best when there is peace in the world.

How well this policy has worked in its early stages can best be judged by the outcome of the Italian elections. Now that they are over and the Communists have apparently publicly accepted defeat, we may tend to forget the crisis we faced. That would be a tragic error. We must always remember that in the recent Italian elections the Communists controlled about one-third of the vote—a good-sized bloc—and we should recognize it as a danger signal. I shudder to think what would have happened if Italy had gone Communist. There, thrust into the Mediterranean like the nose of a machine gun, would have been the Soviet-dominated Italian boot. The iron curtain would have dropped over the cultural splendor that is Italy, moving west to the Alps. Christianity throughout the world would have been outraged. The fear of the possibility of war would certainly have been more real than imagined.

The American handling of the Italian crisis was due largely to adroit diplomacy by our State Department. The decision to appeal for the return of Trieste to Italy was not just a masterful stroke, well-timed, but demonstrated our understanding of the Italian heart and pride. That is the type of diplomacy and influence we must exercise and bring to fruition if we are to carry the leadership which devolves on us toward worthy ends.

We all know that our diplomatic moves in the past have not always been so skillful,

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and it is incumbent on thinking Americans that they support a program to bring about the wisest and best-trained diplomatic service possible. We should encourage young people to enter the diplomatic service in the same spirit that Britain has done. The time is past when we can look upon the Foreign Service of the United States as a minor part of government. We need training of the most intensive sort in our universities and in our Government to help maintain this mantle of leadership which has fallen upon us.

I have had some experience in the field of exports and in my travels I have met hundreds of foreign businessmen and Government officials. I have seen how American enterprises are respected abroad and I have come to realize with more and more intensity how important it is to develop the best brains possible in matters concerning foreign relations—both in business and in government. The greatest export that this country can provide is an export of brains.

The free enterprise system is an integral part of the role we are assuming. Free enterprise is simple, straightforward and honorable. It derives its rights from a natural human impulse. It is based on human initiative and the right to create, share, and enjoy and spend the wealth amassed by individual and collective efforts. As Democrats and Republicans, and above all as Americans, we will not surrender free enterprise to national socialism, communism, or to any dictatorship. If we are to exert our leadership for peace, free enterprise can be the backbone of our effort to restore order in the world, to continue our prosperity and bring peace and happiness to our people at home, and other nations throughout the world.