

United States Senate

MEMORANDUM

Copies of Bakers speech mailed
Wednesday night, March 31, '48
to

William Quinlan, Bakers Washington
office 2 copies — *100-Ktra*

Miss Gertrude Schurr, Bakers Chicago
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Jack Jarrell and Fred Carey

Free Enterprise And Our Foreign Policy

For Press and Radio

For Release on Delivery
Expected 12:00 noon
April 5, 1948

By Kenneth S. Wherry, U.S. Senator, Nebraska
Before the Associated Retail Bakers of America
April 5, 1948, Hotel Sherman, Chicago, Ill.

It is a high honor to be asked to address the Associated Retail Bakers of America, assembled in this convention.

You are gathered here to talk things over -- to exchange ideas with your friends -- your competitors -- and your officials -- and especially those who represent you in Washington.

Your membership is apprehensive of the future. Business and industry generally are jittery over domestic uncertainties. And the din of war alarms has been sounded by the Administration with a violence never before heard in peacetime.

The passage of the European Recovery Program and other foreign aid totaling more than 9 billion dollars -- and the unexpected rearmament program of 4 billion dollars proposed by the Administration, bring clouds on the horizon -- shadows of new controls -- more taxes -- shortages of men and materials -- and allocations.

It is the familiar old straight jacket of war-time controls. And all of this -- just as the pipelines of distribution were gradually filling, order backlogs were melting away, and competition was coming back into play. Buyers again were becoming choosy and prices had begun to level off.

But now again the cry is raised for emergency, crisis, tax, spend, and control.

America has grown as a country of big business, big labor, and big government. In all history the last 15 years have seen the greatest centralization of industry. The fact is that in some fields it has become a monopoly. During the war small business firms, the backbone of our free enterprise system were bowled down like tenpins.

Now, true America needs big business. We need strong businesses, but we do not need and do not want monopolies, because our American free enterprise system will not long endure if monopolies are allowed to flourish.

Under our American way of life not only did we achieve all of the wonderful advantages and comforts of life in peace, the greatest degree of personal, religious, and political liberty, the highest wages, the best

working conditions, the finest educational system, the finest railroads, the most magnificent system of highways, the greatest airways, and the greatest array of luxuries ever achieved by any people in any time; but we have proved our American system to be the most productive system in war in all history.

For 40 years the war lords of Japan drove their people to get ready for war. For 20 years Mussolini drove Italy, boot and spur, to get ready for war. For 20 years, Stalin forced the Russian people to intense sacrifices and efforts to get ready for war. For 12 years, Hitler and the Nazi thugs drove the enslaved and terrorized German people, night and day, to get ready for war.

And what of America? In just three short years, under our free government, with our free industry, our free labor, our free agriculture, our free people of every religious faith, every political creed, every race and color, united, cooperated and overcame that 40-year Japanese, that 20-year Italian, that 20-year Russian and that 12-year German lead.

We gave Russia more than 9 billions of war supplies, civilian foodstuffs and clothing. We gave Britain more than 25 billions of similar supplies. In addition, into China and other countries, we poured additional billions of dollars' worth of war munitions and foodstuffs.

Not only did we achieve that miracle of production in war, but now that the war is over, we are asked to carry more than 50 percent of world-wide assistance and relief.

On top of all of this Britain, France, Russia, Poland, China, every country, wants to borrow money from us. That, my friends, is the complete answer to any communistic propaganda, or the arguments of those people within our gates who want a planned Washington-regimented economy in these United States.

The concentration of industry which has been built up did not end with the war. It has extended itself into our peacetime economy.

For example, let us take the oil industry.

The American farmer today faces a shortage of gasoline, kerosine, and tractor fuels in much the same manner as the fuel oil shortage confronted the householder last winter. In its trail this motor fuel shortage crisis carries with it the same dislocation as in fuel oil; independent distributors who were spot buyers, and many who bought from independent refiners face loss of business or extinction.

The reason is found in this pattern. The small independent refineries depend upon crude production from its source, but most of the pipeline transportation is engaged by major oil companies. Most of the major oil companies control the gathering lines. In fact, they control the production of crude oil from its source, until now they control it through their refineries, down into the filling station and into the retail outlets.

The same is true in steel.

The Senate Small Business Committee of which I am Chairman, found that in the steel business small erectors are practically driven out because it is impossible for the small erectors to bid on contracts today and furnish the steel. Although for the past 75 years, small erectors have had a place in the construction of our great buildings throughout the country, today they are dependent entirely upon big steel firms to furnish the steel, and in the event they do not furnish the steel, the big corporations are now bidding on the contracts throughout the United States because they control the production of steel.

This is making inroads upon our small business men throughout the country. It has become so general that it threatens their very existence.

We need big business for the economies inherent in mass production, but we must protect and preserve the rights of small businesses and always keep ours a land of opportunity for the little fellow and for the youth of the nation. Therein lies the genius of our American way of life that has made ours the greatest country on earth.

We have taken quick glances at big and little business, and big government. What about big labor?

We have seen the pendulum swing from oppressive employer tactics against labor. We have seen it swing to the other extreme of the government actually fostering unfair tactics upon the part of labor racketeers. Now we see the pendulum swing to a decent, sensible relationship through provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act.

When labor bosses were riding high, wide, and handsome, with the blessing of Administrations at Washington, they entrenched big labor along with big business and big government.

Today there are about 15 million members of labor unions and it is estimated that their dues and other assessments amount to more than 300 million dollars a year. We all want to see every working man get a square deal, a decent wage, and a share in the good things of life.

But what is good for the laboring man must also be good for all our people. The rank and file of working men know that is true and they are not going to be led up any blind alleys by self-seeking labor bosses.

Now, let's take a look at big government. There is the guilty culprit; there is the cause of much of our troubles. Let me give you some idea of how the cost of our Federal government has grown. In 1939, our national taxable income was about 98.5 billion dollars and Federal expenditures totaled about 9 billion dollars. That was the highest national income and highest expenditures for any year up to that time.

In 1947, the national taxable income amounted to \$198 billion or about twice as much as in 1939. And yet the budget for the fiscal year 1947-48, totaled about \$40 billion. Thus, while the national income doubled the cost of the Federal Government quadrupled.

The present 80th Congress took over control in January, 1947, and from the moment we began freeing our people of the shackles of government regimentation, deficit-spending by the Government ended.

We cut the President's budget last year by several billion dollars and twice we were prevented by presidential vetoes from giving the people tax relief last year. Federal tax collections for calendar year 1947 are running about nine times what they were in 1939, when they totaled \$4 billion 741 million dollars. The Federal Treasury last week reported a surplus of revenue over outgo of 7 billion 483 million, 589 thousand dollars.

Again we have passed a tax-reduction bill and this time it will stick. I voted for all of these tax-relief bills.

Tax relief is the best medicine I know to keep our free enterprise American system strong. Of course, if we are now going to mobilize all major industries; our national economy, and our manpower, there is certainly going to be a great impact upon the lives of all of our people. You business men must shudder when you contemplate possible return of the more than 76,000 orders, rules, regulations, and directives from Washington. We can work out the complications of Bigness in America. They are our problems and we shall solve them in time.

But on foreign affairs we are being swept along as though by a tornado. It is high time that we stop, look, and listen, listen to sound voices for guidance. The stakes are high. They affect every home in the land.

Foreign affairs, the international situation, dominate our American life today. Commitments made abroad have a terrific impact upon our domestic economy. These commitments have been made without the ratification or the knowledge of the Congress, because of powers that have been assumed by the President of the United States during the war and since the war.

Our foreign policy has been largely a one-man affair. Eighty percent of our entire Federal expenditures now go toward National defense, prevention of war, and liquidation of the cost of wars. The proportion of our Federal Budget attributable to the international situation is steadily rising. There are some prophets who tell us that before long it will reach 5/6ths of our entire cost of operating the Federal Government.

Therefore, since the cost of aiding, backing, bolstering, and supporting other countries against the Red tide from Russia is coming out of

the pockets of the American people, in taxes and indirectly through higher prices that they must pay for necessities, it behooves us to see that the fumbling and bungling in foreign relations is stopped.

Our foreign policy has been a dreadful failure, and because of our bankruptcy in diplomacy, the American people have been saddled with billions upon billions of unnecessary expenditures.

The United States has poured more than \$20 billion dollars in cash and goods into Europe since V-E Day. Is there anyone here who can say that we have succeeded in holding back the tide of Communism?

All of the tremendous expenditures that we have been called upon to make in aid to foreign countries; that is, all except the contributions for relief supplies to meet the inevitable dislocations and breakdowns caused by the war, are directly due to our failure to have a well grounded, sound, sensible American approach.

Ours is a Republican form of Government. The Federal Constitution lodges in the President the power to negotiate treaties and agreements with foreign countries. He is not supposed to make final decisions or commitments binding the United States. They are supposed to be subject to ratification by the United States Senate. And when it comes to giving away our taxpayers' money, the House of Representatives must be a full-time partner.

Our Constitution does not provide for a dictator over foreign policy. And, yet, that is what we have been having in connection with our foreign relations.

At the various international conferences, during and after the war, the spokesmen for Russia, Great Britain, and France were armed with power to make final agreements and our representatives acted as though they had the power to commit the Congress and the people of the United States.

Commitments were made by our Presidents at Quebec, Yalta, Teheran, and Potsdam, which are plaguing the world today, and forcing the American people to dig down in their pockets and pay. In fact, secret commitments were made that have come to light since the war and which have had the effect of sowing the seeds for the present confusion, since those commitments are now being carried out.

Let us examine our record in Germany, that part of Germany occupied by the United States and the British Zone over which we have had a measure of cooperative control. The principal cause for the long delay in the recovery of Europe and the growth and arrogance of communism is the years of stupid adherence to the revengeful and shortsighted so-called Morgenthau Plan for postwar Germany.

This plan, you know, was agreed upon at the Quebec Conference and called for a postwar Germany reduced virtually to an agricultural state. Every competent observer knows that Germany, especially the Ruhr Valley, always has been the industrial heart of Europe. Dismantling of industrial plants of Germany and shipment of a large proportion of them to Soviet Russia, some of these plants readily convertible to war purposes, have had the disastrous effect of blocking the restoration of commerce in Germany, the industrialization so urgently needed to help in the recovery of France and all of Europe.

Of course, with the failure of industry in Europe to revive, the pleas for help from the United States multiplied and we began to shovel out our billions as though we had a bottomless gold mine.

The Congress, reflecting the will of the people, realized that there was something radically wrong with the basic approach of our Administration to recovery in Europe. So we sent special committees to Europe to gather firsthand information.

The consensus of these Congressional investigators was that fundamental changes in our foreign policy were imperative. Our Administration's policy of appeasing Russia was simply resulting in conditions of poverty and despair that made it possible for the Moscow-directed communists to foment strikes and riots and turmoil and confusion and chaos, in preparation for establishment of communistic dictatorships in countries that wanted freedom and liberty.

Yes, the chickens are coming home to roost. Yes, we hear the cry of crisis, emergency, emergency. Our foreign policy-makers stumble from one crisis to another.

Our record in Italy is the same tragic story. Its guiding motive was to appease Russia. The smoke of bloody battle had hardly cleared when our government, through occupation administrators in Italy welcomed back to Italy the very communists who are now leading in the effort to overthrow the present government in Italy and to establish a Red dictatorship. Communists who had been in exile were welcomed back. They were granted permission to take to the radio and press to propagate what they had been taught in Moscow by the head men of the Kremlin.

Our soldiers, the flower of our land, did not fight and die on the hills of Sicily and the valleys of Italy to pave the way for a horde of Reds to clamp a dictatorship upon the good people of Italy.

Fellow Americans, the United States, as the chief liberator of Italy held in its hand for a brief moment Italy's destiny in the transition period, but we failed. What a costly blunder!

I do not want to appear in the role of one who states "I told you so", and yet I recall a long afternoon on the Floor of the United States Senate in which I debated with the Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee in an effort to defeat the ratification of the Italian Peace Treaty.

One of the main arguments that I advanced was that under the Treaty we would simply appease Russia if Trieste were set apart. I contended that it would be a bone of contention for years to come if Trieste were torn away from the Italian people. Now, confronted by the iniquity of the treaty with Italy, the Administration virtually asked that it be torn up and that we start all over again.

Thus, the Italian policy is another failure that has come home to roost, and it is costing our taxpayers a lot of money. The result of the Italian elections, if it becomes a victory for the communists, will have been caused by the failures of the United States to recognize in time, years ago that the men of Moscow were plotting world-wide communism.

We could turn to the other side of the world, to China, and find that there our government too has a checkered record of bowing to Russia. For years the Administration at Washington has been appeasing the communists in Russia. At Yalta the rights of China were tossed across the table in surrender to demands of Stalin.

While the Administration was declaiming against communism in Europe, it was striving to appease communists in China. Fresh in our memories is the visit that Secretary of State Marshall made to China. He came back with a recommendation that the national government of China should include communists. If the Administration had had a forthright American anti-communism policy in China the Reds could have been stopped long ago and at comparatively less expense to the American taxpayers. But the appeasement of Russia in that part of the world is now costing us 10 times, possibly many times more, than what it would have cost us if the sympathizers of Russia had not had a hand in the State Department.

We could go on describing how small countries of Europe were sold down the river to Soviet Russia, how Poland was made a pawn for these planners around a conference table without an opportunity for the overwhelming non-communist Polish people or American people to express their will. With nonchalance and reckless abandon the pencil was scribbled over the map of Europe and millions of people were shifted across boundary lines. Today the American people who were not consulted in these deals are paying very dearly.

Japan is the only bright spot in our postwar foreign effort. That is due to the fact that we have not had a pro-appeasement policy in Japan, and because some of us in the United States Senate were able to see to it that General MacArthur's policies were not hamstrung by the "give Russia everything crew" of radicals then influencing State Department affairs.

All varieties of schemes were offered by the radical New Dealers to fence in General MacArthur but they did not succeed.

Some of you may recall the battle we had on the Floor of the United States Senate, when I demanded that the then Under Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, not be approved. Acheson's name was up for confirmation by the Senate and former Senator Happy Chandler of Kentucky who is now baseball commissioner joined me in exposing Acheson's subservience to the appease-Russia forces in the United States. Mr. Acheson speaks now very vigorously in favor of stopping communism but in the State Department, he played a hidden hand to do the bidding of so-called intellectuals during the days after the war, when the pro-Russia forces were riding high in the Administration at Washington.

The Senate confirmed Acheson over my objections, but you will note that soon afterward he was eased out of the State Department. I was the only Senator who voted against his confirmation. Events, I believe, have vindicated my action.

You all remember how we were told for years that all we needed to do was supply relief and economic aid for Europe and China and a lot of other countries, and that communism thereupon would no longer be a threat. We were told that poverty and despair were the fertile soil for communism. And so we poured out the money and goods. We saw our cost of living going up because of the exportation of commodities from our short supplies.

For a long time the Administration tried to make the American people believe that these shipments had no bearing upon the cost of living in the United States. Now, everybody knows that the heavy purchases of commodities from our short supplies for shipment abroad have been a major cause of our high prices at home.

It has been graphically illustrated in the price of grain, and fats, and oils. No one knows this any better than you bakers. You must have felt many times that you were caught in a squirrel cage, running around in circles, in trying to keep up with government's operations in the grain markets. It was difficult enough to try to keep informed on what the government demands were and what the supply situation was, but when you had to contend with gamblers who got inside information on when the government was going to buy and when it was going to sell, your difficulty was magnified.

What has been happening in the bakery business, has been happening in every other major industry, oil, building materials, steel, farm machinery, and countless others.

Of course, we do not begrudge what we have done for the relief of Europe and other parts of the world from hunger and cold and lack of clothing and medicinal supplies. That was the decent and human thing to do. But, we have gone much further in shoveling American taxpayers' dollars into the aid of Europe. They have not brought about the results that were promised.

The fall of Czechoslovakia definitely proved that economic aid, dollars alone, is not enough to stem the Red tide. Czechoslovakia had made great progress toward recovery from the war, and a large majority of her people are anti-communist. Yet, the aggressive men of the Kremlin were able to lower their iron curtain over liberty-loving Czechoslovakia.

The fact is that the countries of Eastern Europe now behind the "iron curtain" are there only because of the Red Army. The pattern is plain, infiltration into key positions of the government exactly as they have attempted in our own government at Washington, spread confusion, cause strikes and riots, and then move the Red Army menacingly to the border. Eastern Europe is overwhelmingly anti-communist; western Europe ~~more~~ so because of greater distance from the threat of the Red Army. Western Europe will go communist only if forced to do so by the Red Army, guided by native traitors.

Now, I come to a part of my remarks in which I have great difficulty in restraining my indignation, the indignation that is sweeping across the country. Think of it! While you are being taxed and taxed and billions upon billions of dollars are being shoveled out for economic aid to other countries, planners in Washington have permitted huge quantities of war materials, planes, airplane engines, machine tools and a lot of other things to go to Russia.

Let us hope that the indignation of the American people, as voiced in the Congress will plug that leak in the thinking of the policy-makers. They have had the power all along to stop it.

We have cited some of the failures that have brought us to our present uneasy state of mind. At long last we are in reality at the crossroads. There must be no fumbling from here forward. So where do we go from here?

The so-called European Recovery Bill, the Marshall Plan, is not the answer, because all our experience has shown that scattering dollars abroad, your dollars, will not buy off the communist threat. Of course, we should give whatever relief against hunger and cold that is necessary, and we should provide the tools for friendly, war-stricken countries to get into production.

However, the Marshall Plan goes much further and provides for construction of ultra-modern factories, hydro-electric plants to cost hundreds of millions of dollars, vast quantities of machinery, steel, farm implements and countless other items. Remember all of this comes out of American taxpayers money and resources.

Plainly, all that the dictators of Moscow understand is force. They are Godless, purely materialistic and lack the ethics of democratically-minded people. We have had nothing but failure in our foreign policy so far. It is time for a new approach.

The Marshall Plan already has been approved by the Congress and there is no retrieving of the billions of dollars it provides. But let us now see to it that our national defenses are strengthened, especially in air power. Our national defense has been sadly neglected by the Administration. Though Congress provided 11 billion dollars for the present fiscal year, the armed services have yet to agree upon a unified plan of action. Let Marshal Stalin know that we mean to defend our liberty and freedom against any attack.

Our national defense must be considered as a whole. It is rash to say that universal military training is the complete answer and it is equally rash to say that revival of selective service will cause Russia to back down from her expansionist ambitions. Your Congress is thoroughly studying the matter and will shortly evolve a broadened defense program.

It is my prediction that we will again be asked to accept price control and rationing as we mobilize for defense, and that new inroads will be made by those who desire an ever-growing authority for the national government. However, let us do first things first. To the majority of the American people OPA and all other forms of peacetime government regimentation were repugnant things. It is my view that we should guard our freedom from regimentation jealously and yield it only in the last ditch and as a last resort.

And while we are sacrificing so much again for our national security, let us pray, literally, that our government will cease zig-zagging in its foreign policies, and will stand for the right without giving offence. That is the method Abraham Lincoln would pursue, if he were here today. He would act with malice toward none and firmness in the right. He would tell us that the brotherhood of all peoples cannot be accomplished by mere dollars. Peace and friendship cannot be bought as commodities in trade.

So let us renew our determination to hold fast to the principles of our United States Constitution. Let them be our guide in all our dealings, both domestic and foreign.

Only if our physical strength is matched by our spiritual strength and capacity will we be able to earn the respect of the rest of the world, secure our position of leadership, guarantee once again the safety of the democratic way of life, and finally bring the world to enduring peace.

United States Senate

MEMORANDUM

*File with
speech*

reasons and he urged bakers to try to build their business for tomorrow on a sounder foundation so



Arthur Fritzsche,
Fritzsche Bakery, Chicago

that their customers will buy because they like the bakery and its products.

Robert M. (Bob) Woods,



Gertrude J. Schurr,
Assistant Secretary

Woods' Bon Ton, Evanston, and Paul Zickgraff, Bake Rite Bakery, Peoria, combined their efforts to tell the group some of the ways in which to effectively take advantage of BIPP promotional materials. Bob pointed out that while it is impossible to buy insurance against failure in business, the BIPP program is actually in the nature of an insurance policy on the future of the baking industry. He showed how other food indus-

tries have upped their sales volume through effective promotion and felt that BIPP will do the same for the baking industry. He discussed the many-sided program which, in addition to providing over 100



R. J. Christopher,
Acting Secretary

million pages of consumer advertising in 1948, will also reach the medical profession, the retail grocery field and other opinion forming groups. "All this material won't do the job alone, however", he



Robert M. Woods,
Woods' Bon Ton Bakery, Evanston, Ill.

stated. Bakers must tie in with it at point of sale." One effective way in which he is taking advantage of the BIPP material is by utilizing the initial four-color poster to prepare bus cards placed in all buses in his community.

Paul Zickgraff pointed out that the consumer advertising of BIPP, as signed by The Bakers of America, represents the personal signature of every baker. It is a further clarification of the purposes of the BIPP program. He stated that "the program is yours



John Kleczewski,
Treasurer

—take advantage of it—and merchandise it as you've never merchandised anything before."

A stirring address by Senator Kenneth S. Wherry of Nebraska, Chairman of the Senate Small Business Committee, on the subject



Paul W. Zickgraff,
Bake Rite Bakery, Peoria, Ill.

"U. S. A. and the World" highlighted the entire convention and brought the entire audience to its feet with ringing applause. Follow-

Continued on page 46



arias including the "Jewel Song" from "Faust" and another from "Carmen" were sung for the delight of the guests by Lucienne Singer, coloratura soprano. Mrs. Lucille Brengle, President, Chicago Master Baker Women's Association, was in charge of this most successful occasion.

* * *

The 30th Anniversary Banquet was held in the Grand Ballroom of the Hotel Sherman Tuesday night and highlighted the social activities of the convention. Dancing was enjoyed throughout the evening to the music by "Cee" Davidson orchestra and vocalists.

* * *

Arrangements were made for guests of the convention to visit Chicago bakeries on Wednesday afternoon. The congenial crowd had an opportunity to rub elbows with each other in crowded transportation. The tour visited Dinkel's Bakery, Mother and Son Quality Bakery where beer and sandwiches were served, and Heinemann's Bakery. Harry W. Larsen, Habel, Armbruster & Larsen Company, was in charge of the arrangements, and George E. Korinek, Frank Korinek & Company, conducted the tour through its three hours of friendly visiting.

* * *

The Bakers Courtesy Club assisted at the convention by offering their services as in the past. J. D. Faulds, Faulds Oven & Equipment Company, chairman of ushers, had eight men scheduled for each session. J. Kanieki, Durkee Famous Foods, chairman of information desk, was assisted by three men at the desk for each day. Harry W. Larsen, Habel, Armbruster & Larsen Company, served as chairman on the Bakery Tour Committee.

* * *

The Allied Trades of the Baking Industry again cooperated in connection with the convention and it was largely through this co-

operation that the group was privileged to hear Senator Wherry. Past President F. J. Bergenthal, Brolite Company, handled the details of arrangements for the Senator's appearance.

Retailers Plan Means of Increasing Sales

Continued from page 36

ing an introduction by the president of the allied trades of the baking industry, J. U. Lemmon, Jr.,



Jack U. Lemmon, Jr.
Doughnut Corporation of America

Doughnut Corporation of America, Senator Wherry pointed to the critical world situation with par-



Senator Kenneth S. Wherry, Neb.,
Chairman, Senate Small Business Committee

ticular emphasis on its present and future effect upon small business. He stated that America has grown as a country of big business, big labor, and big government, and gave a factual picture of each of these three important factors in our American way of life. "Big government is the cause of much of our troubles", he asserted. The cost of our government has quadrupled from 1939 to 1947, he said while our national income merely doubled. He referred to tax reduction bill, stating "tax relief is the best tonic I can system strong."

Discusses Foreign Affairs

He pointed out that on foreign affairs we are being swept along as though by a tornado, stating that the stakes are high and affect every home in the land. He frankly stated that our foreign policy has been a dreadful failure and that "because of our bankruptcy in diplomacy, the American people have been saddled with billions upon billions of unnecessary expenditures". He dealt with our failures in Germany, Italy, and China, and how the small countries of Europe were sold down the river to Soviet Russia, stating that "today the American people who were not consulted in these deals are paying very dearly". He felt that it is time the American public be taken into complete confidence on the serious situation with which we are faced today and which he flatly stated cannot be solved with dollars alone. He closed with a powerful appeal for a renewal of our determination "to hold fast to the principles of our constitution", asserting that "only if our physical strength is matched by our spiritual strength and capacity will we be able to earn the respect of the world, secure our position of leadership, guarantee once again the safety of the democratic way of life, and finally bring the world to enduring peace."



Speech File -
April 5
Bakers
Zte
Speech

INTERSTATE BAKERIES CORPORATION



40 EAST GARFIELD BLVD.
CHICAGO 15
ILLINOIS

March 15, 1948

Senator Kenneth S. Wherry
United States Senate
Washington, D. C.

Dear Kenneth:

This will acknowledge your letter of March 11, and I am not at all surprised that you will not be able to spare a little time and can realize that your schedule is very full.

Unless something unexpected happens that day, I will at least have an opportunity to say "hello" to you before or after the luncheon.

If I can render any assistance at all while you are in Chicago, please don't hesitate to yell.

Sincerely,

Chuck

Charles J. Regan:bm

Gen - Invitations

COPY

March 11, 1948.

Mr. Charles J. Regan,
Interstate Bakeries Corporation,
40 East Garfield Blvd.,
Chicago 15, Illinois.

Dear Chuck:

Thank you for your letter of March 5, relative to my coming out to Chicago to address the Retail Bakers. It is certainly swell of you, Chuck, to want to entertain me with a little informal party following the meeting, and I can think of nothing I would enjoy more. But, honestly, I just don't believe my stay in Chicago will be long enough to allow me this pleasure. I will be arriving there about 8:30 A. M., and am scheduled to speak at the noon luncheon, and will be leaving for Washington on the afternoon train. I am sure you can understand how pressed for time I will be, but I want you to know that I do appreciate your thoughtfulness.

Looking forward to seeing you, I am

Cordially yours,

KENNETH S. WHERRY

KSW:ER*

Kenneth

Wonder if I
ever showed
you a picture
of this plant?
It is the 3rd
largest bakery in
the country

Chuck

Chas. J. Regan

TEL. KENWOOD 7700



INTERSTATE BAKERIES CORP.
OPERATING
SCHULZE BAKING CO.

40 E. GARFIELD BLVD.
CHICAGO 15

INTERSTATE BAKERIES CORPORATION



40 EAST GARFIELD BLVD.
CHICAGO 15
ILLINOIS

March 5, 1948

Senator Kenneth S. Wherry
United States Senate
Washington, D. C.

Dear Kenneth:

I noticed an announcement in a recent trades paper that you are slated to be one of the main speakers at the coming Retail Bakers' Convention in April.

It would be a real pleasure if I could extend some extra courtesies to you while here, such as having an informal cocktail party that afternoon following the meeting, to which I would like to invite a small group of the Chicago bakers and allied trades friends so that they might have an opportunity to meet you; these men would be the large operators and not Chicago retail bakers. Incidentally, I, as you know, am in the wholesale end of the business.

I realize that you always have a fast time schedule to live up to when on a trip like this, so you need not apologize if such a suggestion is not practical. However, if you could possibly spare time to attend a cocktail party, I would be very happy to make plans accordingly.

Furthermore, while I will ask these business friends of mine, I would be equally as happy to include in the invitation, anyone you might care to have me ask.

I hope my idea meets with your approval and with your program of the day.

Sincerely,

Charles J. Regan:bm

COPY

June 15, 1948.

Mr. J. U. Lemmon, Jr.,
Doughnut Corporation of America,
393 Seventh Avenue,
New York 1, New York.

Dear Mr. Lemmon:

May 8, 1948

I deeply appreciate your interest in my behalf and the part you played in making the transcriptions of my Chicago address possible so that they are available at the various bakers' state meetings.

I certainly regret that there has been a delay in completing the transcriptions, because this is of real value to me. I would preferred to have complied at once, but the rush of work here in the closing days of the session has made it difficult to snatch even minutes for extra activities, such as this.

The additional transcription runs exactly ten minutes, has applause dubbed in at what seemed appropriate places.

It was cut Tuesday afternoon and is being air mailed to your New York address first thing Wednesday morning.

Cordially yours,

KENNETH S. WHERRY

KSW:ER-1

Associated

RETAIL BAKERS OF AMERICA

FRANK G. JUNGEWAELTER
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
THOMAS H. FLOOD
FIELD SECRETARY

1135 FULLERTON AVENUE
CHICAGO 14, ILLINOIS

TELEPHONE
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- GEO. CHUSSLER JR.
DIRECTOR

WILLIAM A. QUINLAN, GENERAL COUNSEL
1317 F STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON 4, D. C.
EXECUTIVE 2658

May 10, 1948

Mr. Lorne Kennedy
Office of the Honorable Kenneth S. Wherry
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Kennedy:

Attached are two copies of a letter from Mr. Jack Lemmon which will be self-explanatory, concerning the transcription of Senator Wherry's Chicago address as discussed with you.

I'd appreciate having an appointment as soon as possible, and will bring over the records, for the purpose of having the Senator round off his remarks at the end, inserting these closing remarks just before the final applause and closing radio announcement.

I would then like to have six of the revised record #5, -- one for Mr. Jungewaelter, one for myself, and four for Mr. Lemmon and his distribution sets for state conventions. -- In addition, one or more complete sets of all 5 records for the Senator if he would like to have them.

The record should be the same size and speed as the ones I'll bring over.

As I understand it, there is a regular recording studio for Senate use, and you have in mind doing this there. Of course we will take care of the cost.

Would you please telephone me as soon as possible? *

Many thanks.

Sincerely,

W.A. Quinlan
General Counsel

WAQ:mew

**Will call you tomorrow.*

DOUGHNUT CORPORATION OF AMERICA

393 Seventh Avenue, New York 1, New York

May 8, 1948

Mr. William A. Quinlan
1317 F Street, N. W.
Washington 4, D. C.

Dear Bill:

I received the record from Christopher on May 2nd, made arrangements to carry on as we talked in Chicago and went to the recording studio yesterday afternoon to do the necessary and following is the set-up:

I am sending you under separate cover three records marked 1-2-3-4 and 5 sides. You will note on the side marked #1, I had dubbed in the chairman's introduction, so as to bring out clearly that this transcription was being made available by ARBA and Allied Trades. Following that introduction is the reproduction of my introduction of Senator Wherry. -- On side 2 starts the broadcast and continues on to 3 and 4. Side 5 is just the wind-up of the broadcast, along with the announcer's announcement and I suggest, Bill, that you carry on with side 5 by having an entire record made, cutting in what else the Senator would like to say and then the ending could be dubbed in of the applause and the announcer.

You will note, Bill, that I had this made for playing on ordinary home phonograph machines, or that is what they term the 78 revolutions per minute, in place of I believe 33 used by the radio stations. I received from Christopher the one large master record at 33 but had it made up so that we could use it on large machines at the meetings and not have to get a special lot of sound equipment.

Bill, would appreciate your having the fifth side made as quickly as possible and would like five for ourselves, you keep the sixth along with the records which I have sent you. I am getting in touch with Claude Bascom, our secretary, advising this has been done and to get in touch with the various State associations, offering this twenty-minute program from ARBA and Allied Trades.

I hope the above is clear, Bill, and would appreciate hearing from you as soon as possible.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely,

/s/ Jack

J. U. Lemmon, Jr.

C O P Y

DOUGHNUT CORPORATION OF AMERICA

393 Seventh Avenue, New York 1, New York

May 8, 1948

Mr. William A. Quinlan
1317 F Street, N. W.
Washington 4, D. C.

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With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely,

/s/ Jack

J. U. Lemmon, Jr.

COPY

COPY

April 5 - Speech
78
Chi-Bakers

April 12, 1958

Mr. William A. Quinlan
General Counsel
1317 F Street, N. W.
Washington 4, D. C.

Dear Mr. Quinlan:

April 12, 1946

The letter which you delivered to my office today was handed to me by my Secretary as I prepare to depart this evening for Nebraska. This is deeply appreciated.

Copies of the Resolution adopted by the Associated Retail Bakers of America will be valued by me, both because of the generous expression which they contain and the spirit in which they were prepared.

As I wrote your President last week, I believe that my speaking appearance before your organization in Chicago on April 5th was one of the most stimulating and satisfying engagements which I have had the pleasure to keep since my entry into the Senate more than five years ago.

Please extend my sincere thanks and appreciation to Mr. Jungewelter and to Mr. Benkert for their hospitality and for their kindness in helping prepare and make available to me the Resolution which you enclosed with your letter.

With good personal wishes, I am

Cordially yours

KENNETH S. WHERRY

KSW:f-1

CC Mr. Frank G. Jungewelter
Mr. John M. Benkert

STYLES BRIDGES, N. H., CHAIRMAN

CHAN GURNEY, S. DAK.

C. WAYLAND BROOKS, ILL.

CLYDE M. REED, KANS.

JOSEPH H. BALL, MINN.

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JOSEPH C. O'MAHONEY, WYO.

THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN, R. I.

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS

April 12, 1958

EVERARD H. SMITH, CLERK

CECIL H. TOLBERT, ASST. CLERK

Mr. William A. Quinlan
General Counsel
1317 F Street, N. W.
Washington 4, D. C.

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With good personal wishes, I am

Cordially yours

KENNETH S. WHERRY

KSW:f-1

CC Mr. Frank G. Jungewalter
Mr. John M. Benkert

FRANK G. JUNGWAEALTER
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

THOMAS H. FLOOD
FIELD SECRETARY

Associated RETAIL BAKERS OF AMERICA

1135 FULLERTON AVENUE
CHICAGO 14, ILLINOIS

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PUBLICITY AND PROMOTION

GEO. CHUSSLER JR.
DIRECTOR

WILLIAM A. QUINLAN, GENERAL COUNSEL
1317 F STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON 4, D. C.
EXECUTIVE 2658

April 12, 1948

The Honorable Kenneth S. Wherry
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator Wherry:

The officers and directors of the Associated Retail Bakers of America have instructed me to deliver to you the attached copies of a resolution which was unanimously adopted on the final day of our annual convention in Chicago.

Like yourself, I have heard many speeches, but never in my experience before have I been privileged to hear such an inspiring and informative presentation as you gave us of domestic and world problems today and of the basic principles by which we must be guided if we are to have a civilized, peaceful, and decent society.

All others with whom I talked before leaving Chicago expressed similar reaction to your remarks.

Without a doubt your address was the high point not only of the entire convention but of events in our industry for a long time. We are determined to remember and be guided by the philosophy which you so ably expressed.

We are deeply grateful to you for taking time from your many pressing affairs to make this great contribution to our meeting, and to the thinking of your radio listeners.

Respectfully,


General Counsel

WAQ:mew

cc: Mr. John M. Benkert
Mr. R. J. Christopher

COPY

March 16, 1948

9
the nurse
planned
for
our
own
growth

Mr. William A. Quinlan
Associated Retail Bakers of America
1317 F Street, N. W.
Washington 4, D. C.

March 11, 1948

Dear Mr. Quinlan:

It is my expectation that Senator Wherry will have a manuscript for his address before the Retail Bakers at Chicago on April 5th.

Preparation of the speech will depend upon other legislative duties, and it has sometimes been the case that texts are not complete until a few hours before his departure. I hope in your case this will not occur, but I regret that I can give no more definite assurances. If the manuscript is late in final preparation, we shall try to arrange for mimeographing a reasonable number of copies in our office, which the Senator will carry with him.

As to the press conference during the Senator's visit in Chicago, this will be quite agreeable but, as in the case of the radio broadcast, the Senator will leave this entirely to your local wishes. He will not solicit a press conference but will be glad to meet the press under any arrangements your organization cares to make.

Sincerely yours,

LORNE KENNEDY
Secretary to Senator Wherry

LK:elk

Associated RETAIL BAKERS OF AMERICA

1135 FULLERTON AVENUE
CHICAGO 14, ILLINOIS

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- GEO. CHUSSLER JR.
DIRECTOR

WILLIAM A. QUINLAN, GENERAL COUNSEL
1317 F STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON 4, D. C.
EXECUTIVE 2658

March 11, 1948

Mr. Lorne Kennedy
Office of the Honorable Kenneth S. Wherry
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Kennedy:

I realize you've been kind enough to say that we should do just as we think best about the radio coverage of the Senator's speech. And I hope we can avoid your being bothered by any further direct calls such as the one from NBC.

However, our prime purpose is to make these arrangements in a manner exactly pleasing to the Senator, and I hope you'll forgive me if I check with you for further guidance. After you have had a chance to read the attached memorandum from Mr. Christopher of ARBA headquarters in Chicago, it will be much appreciated if you will give me a ring.

For example, if it appears that the Senator will have no manuscript available before delivery of his address, our knowing that will be helpful in settling any further arrangements. -- Likewise, if it appears that it would be available in advance and we knew approximately when.

Secondly, if the Senator would like to have a press conference following his address, we could go ahead with arrangements for that.

Many thanks!

Sincerely,

William A. Quinlan
General Counsel

WAQ:mew

File - handled by phone

FRANK G. JUNGWAEELTER
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

THOMAS H. FLOOD
FIELD SECRETARY

Associated RETAIL BAKERS OF AMERICA

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PUBLICITY AND PROMOTION

GEO. CHUSSLER JR.
DIRECTOR

February 11, 1948

EX = 1543

Mr. Lorne Kennedy
Office of the Honorable Kenneth S. Wherry
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Kennedy:

Thanks very much for your letter of February 10 and enclosures.

The additional biographical data came in good time and has been worked into our press release as you will see from the attached revised draft.

I take it more gloss prints of the Senator's picture will be available, and I will let you know if we need them.

Negotiations have been started for radio broadcast of the speech. In that connection and in connection with other Convention literature and publicity, I'll appreciate it if you will let me know as soon as convenient the title which the Senator would like to have listed for his address.

Naturally, we are emphasizing this as the outstanding feature of the National Convention, and I am sure the Senator will have a large and appreciative audience of retail bakers and representatives of allied industries.

Sincerely,

Wm. A. Quinlan
General Counsel

WAQ:mew

Enclosure

speech file
Retail Bakers
Assn - Chi

COPY

February 25, 1948.

Mr. William A. Quinlan,
Associated Retail Bakers of America,
1317 F Street, N. W.,
Washington 4, D. C.

February 16, 1948

Dear Mr. Quinlan:

Thank you for the confirmation from the Hotel Sherman as to Senator Wherry's reservation during his appearance to speak at the Retail Bakers Convention in Chicago April 5. Also, we are in receipt of the trade press statement with reference to the Senator's appearance and we are glad to have this for the file and know that Senator Wherry will approve.

This office also has forwarded seventeen small glossy photographic prints of Senator Wherry for newspaper and trade paper use.

Sincerely yours,

LORNE KENNEDY, Secretary

LK:ER

Associated

8

RETAIL BAKERS OF AMERICA

FRANK G. JUNGEWAELTER
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

THOMAS H. FLOOD
FIELD SECRETARY

1135 FULLERTON AVENUE
CHICAGO 14, ILLINOIS

TELEPHONE
LINCOLN 4022

✓
WILLIAM A. QUINLAN, GENERAL COUNSEL
1317 F STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON 4, D. C.
EXECUTIVE 2658

February 16, 1948

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PUBLICITY
AND PROMOTION

GEO. CHUSSLER JR.
DIRECTOR

Mr. Lorne Kennedy
Office of the Honorable Kenneth S. Wherry
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Kennedy:

Attached is a copy of a letter from Earl Benedict of the
Hotel Sherman which will confirm hotel arrangements for the
Senator.

Sincerely,



General Counsel

WAQ:mew

Enclosure

SENATOR WHERRY TO ADDRESS ARBA CONVENTION

Senator Kenneth S. Wherry of Nebraska, majority "whip" of the Senate and chairman of the Committee on Small Business, will be a principal speaker at the annual convention of the Associated Retail Bakers of America in Chicago, April 5-7, ARBA has announced.

"We are indeed pleased to be able to announce that Senator Wherry has definitely accepted the invitation to address the national convention of retail bakers," President John M. Benkert of New York and Program Chairman B. E. Godde of Battle Creek said in their announcement. "He is a vigorous and distinguished champion of American free enterprise and small business."

Senator Wherry is a key figure in both domestic and world affairs, including the European relief proposals which would vitally affect the American economy and the baking industry's sources of supply and consumer markets. Even before taking the chairmanship of the Senate "Special Committee to Study Problems of American Small Business" he was one of the most active of the committee members and participated in investigations which resulted in more adequate wartime allotments of fats and sugar for bakers.

He has been in public life since 1927 when he became a member of the Pawnee City, Neb., City Council, later serving as Mayor and State senator before his election to the United States Senate. Although serving his first term, which expires January 3, 1949, he has gained outstanding prominence among members of Congress.

In addition to his chairmanship of the small business committee Senator Wherry is a member of the Senate's Committee on Appropriations, and chairman of the Sub-committee on the Interior Department, and a member of the Committee on Rules and Administration.

The majority "whip" is responsible for maintaining voting discipline among the members of his party, securing their attendance and keeping them informed. In addition Senator Wherry is a member of the highly-important Republican Steering Committee, likewise an unusual distinction for a first-term Senator. This is the first time in Senate history that a first-termer has held the post of "whip."

Apart from his public office he is a lawyer and businessman of 40 years' experience in his home community, and talks the businessman's language. The Wherry family enterprises, in which he is a partner, include the Wherry Brothers Furniture Store, largest establishment in Pawnee City, the Wherry Ford Agency, and the Wherry Funeral Parlor.

A super-salesman in business as well as Congress, he has sold furniture, automobiles, pianos, farms, and farm implements, in addition to raising livestock, practicing law, and operating an auctioneering firm. He has been President of the Pawnee County Agricultural Society since 1927, and as chairman of the County Fair and Horse Show took the Fair out of chronic red ink.

His vigor in business and agriculture has been carried into the Senate, and Wherry is one of the most frequent, direct and aggressive speakers on the floors of Congress as well as one of the hardest workers.

As a member of the Senate, Wherry has made two personal inspections of conditions in Europe since the war, one with a bipartisan group of 12 Congressmen at General Eisenhower's invitation, and another at his own expense, to study the problems of displaced persons and distribution of food relief.

He is a graduate of the University of Nebraska and studied business administration at Harvard, and a veteran of World War I.

Capitol Hill secretaries, polled on their favorite congressmen, voted Wherry "the jolliest Senator."

Associated

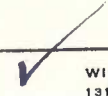
RETAIL BAKERS OF AMERICA

FRANK G. JUNGWAEALTER
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
THOMAS H. FLOOD
FIELD SECRETARY

1135 FULLERTON AVENUE
CHICAGO 14, ILLINOIS

TELEPHONE
LINCOLN 4022

Ⓢ



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1317 F STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON 4, D. C.
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PUBLICITY AND PROMOTION

- GEO. CHUSSLER JR.
DIRECTOR

February 17, 1948

Mr. Lorne Kennedy
Office of the Honorable Kenneth S. Wherry
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Kennedy:

Attached is a mimeographed copy of the trade press release
as issued which you might like to have for your file.

No acknowledgement is necessary.

Sincerely,

William A. Quinlan
General Counsel

WAQ:mew

Enclosure

Draft

For immediate release

SENATOR WHERRY TO ADDRESS ARBA CONVENTION

Senator Kenneth S. Wherry of Nebraska, majority "whip" of the Senate and chairman of the Committee on Small Business, will be a principal speaker at the annual convention of the Associated Retail Bakers of America in Chicago, April 5-7, ARBA has announced.

"We are indeed pleased to be able to announce that Senator Wherry has definitely accepted the invitation to address the national convention of retail bakers," President John M. Bankert of New York and Program Chairman B. E. Godde of Battle Creek said in their announcement. "He is a vigorous and distinguished champion of American free enterprise and small business."

Senator Wherry is a key figure in both domestic and world affairs, including the European relief proposals which would vitally affect the American economy and the baking industry's sources of supply and consumer markets. Even before taking the chairmanship of the Senate "Special Committee to Study Problems of American Small Business" he was one of the most active of the committee members and participated in investigations which resulted in more adequate wartime allotments of fats and sugar for bakers.

He has been in public life since 1927 when he became a member of the Pawnee, Neb., City Council, later serving as Mayor and State senator before his election to the United States Senate. Although serving his first term, which expires January 3, 1949, he has gained outstanding prominence among members of Congress.

In addition to his chairmanship of the small business committee Senator Wherry is a member of the Senate's Committee on Appropriations and Committee on Rules and Administration.

COPY

February 13, 1948

AIR MAIL

Miss Gertrude Schurr
Associated Retail Bakers of America
1135 Fullerton Avenue
Chicago 14, Illinois

Dear Miss Schurr:

Enclosed are seventeen glossy prints of
Senator Wherry, requested by Mr. John Quinlan's
office today.

With all good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

LORNE KENNEDY, Secretary
to Senator Wherry

LK:elk*

COPY

February 14, 1948

Mr. Lorne Kennedy
Hotel Paxton
Omaha, Nebraska

Hi There!

How are all the natives out in Omaha?

Before we forget it--be sure and send us a wire on the results of the convention, particularly whether or not OUR HERO has opposition--which we're satisfied he will not have.

Attached is a letter we got today from Quinlan. Will you just jot down on the bottom of Quinlan's letter the title of the Senator's address and mail it in the enclosed envelope? We sent the Chicago office 17 glossy prints today, as per their request.

Hope all is going well out there because it is here. The Senator had a very good meeting in West Virginia, and he leaves here tonight so you'll probably be seeing him before you even get this letter.

Best, and Good Luck!

HHG:elk (Hi!)

P. S. What was your thinking on the Pick-Sloan Plan Report? We have a letter back from Roberts saying that they will address the envelopes for the 3,000 Chamber membership. We are ready to send the envelopes to Roberts as soon as we know what this report is and something about its size.

H.H.G.

Speech File

Retail Bakers

COPY

February 10, 1948.

Mr. William A. Quinlan,
Associated Retail Bakers of America,
1317 F Street, N. W.,
Washington 4, D. C.

Dear Mr. Quinlan:

Enclosed are two glossy prints of Senator Wherry, which you requested for use in trade papers. I thought you might also be interested in a couple of biographical sketches.

With all good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

LORNE KENNEDY, Secretary
to Senator Wherry

LK:ER
Encl.

United States Senate

MEMORANDUM

January 29, 1948 -- Mr. Kennedy talked with Mr. Quinlan, Executive 1543, and definitely accepted the speaking date for Senator Wherry.

Associated

RETAIL BAKERS OF AMERICA

FRANK G. JUNGEWAELTER
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

THOMAS H. FLOOD
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AL. G. STEGMEIER

PUBLICITY AND PROMOTION

GEO. CHUSSLER JR.
DIRECTOR

Please address any reply to:

WILLIAM A. QUINLAN, GENERAL COUNSEL
1317 F STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON 4, D. C.
EXECUTIVE ROOM 1543

January 12, 1948

The Honorable Kenneth S. Wherry
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator Wherry:

The officers and program committee have instructed me to extend to you a cordial invitation to address the annual Convention of the Associated Retail Bakers of America at the Hotel Sherman in Chicago on Monday, April 5, 1948, on such subject matter and for such time as you may prefer.

There are about 24,000 neighborhood retail bakers in America, and they represent a key industry of small enterprise, close to the consuming public, employing large numbers of employees and utilizing very large quantities of many farm products. A large attendance is expected at this Convention in view of the especially critical problems confronting American business as well as the whole economy and the world.

There are many reasons why your participation is particularly appropriate and desirable, including your keen awareness of domestic and world affairs and your well-known championship of American free enterprise.

Assuming they meet your approval, special arrangements will be made for reporting and publicizing your address.

Of course the Association will expect to reimburse you fully for your expenses in connection with the Convention, and provide an honorarium.

I'll telephone you later this week, and strongly hope that we may have your acceptance.

With warm good wishes,

Sincerely,


General Counsel

WAQ:mew

Retail Baker's Speech

COPY

April 27, 1948.

Mr. Arthur T. Joyce,
Bakers Weekly,
45 West 45th Street,
New York 19, New York.

Dear Mr. Joyce:

It was certainly thoughtful of you to take the time to write me as you did on April 20. I thoroughly enjoyed the meeting in Chicago and am pleased that the reports reaching you were favorable.

I hope that sometime when you are in Washington, I may have the pleasure of a visit with you.

With all good wishes, I am

Cordially yours,

KENNETH S. WHERRY

KSW:ER*

BAKERS WEEKLY

Issued every Monday by American Trade Publishing Co.

45 WEST 45TH STREET

NEW YORK 19, N.Y.

FRANK S. BAMFORD
PRESIDENT
ARTHUR J. BAMFORD
VICE PRESIDENT

MEMBER
AUDIT BUREAU OF CIRCULATIONS
ASSOCIATED BUSINESS PAPERS, INC.



The Business Magazine of the Baking Industry

April 20, 1948

Senator Kenneth S. Wherry
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator:

Although I did not get out to the National Convention of the Retail Bakers in Chicago, "reports which I deem reliable" indicate that you were no less than the hit of the meeting. I do know that it takes an outstanding performance to bring our typical neighborhood bakers to their feet, cheering.

Under separate cover, I am sending you for your files marked copies of the last two issues with the reports of the Convention. I was delighted to learn from Bill Quinlan that he will be able to make a couple of campaign speeches for you in Nebraska. He may be an outsider, but you can be sure he will do a bang-up job on the platform. Bill is a damn good salesman himself, and he certainly is sold on a man named Wherry.

I get to Washington these days on a frequent but irregular schedule; and I'll be looking in on you shortly to give you my own best wishes for an overwhelming victory.

Yours very truly,

BAKERS WEEKLY

Arthur T. Joyce
Arthur T. Joyce

ATJ:LG
cc. Mr. Bill Quinlan

Trade Press Release
March 4, 1948

From: Associated Retail Bakers of America
1135 Fullerton Ave., Chicago 14, Ill.

*April 5
Bakers
Speech*

ARBA Releases
30th Anniversary
Convention Program

Retail bakers will discover a wealth of interesting and informative subjects offered by ARBA during its convention April 5, 6, and 7 at the Hotel Sherman, Chicago. Every feature is so vital and timely that the entire convention is a "must".

The entire program is condensed into 2½ days to take a minimum amount of time for the busy baker. The program speaks for itself:

Sunday, April 4

P.M.

- 3:00 Registration - Opposite Louis XVI Room
- 8:00 Get-Acquainted Party - Louix XVI Room
Dutch Treat Refreshments - Music - Dancing

Monday, April 5

A.M.

- 9:00 Baking and Promoting Sales Wimers George Neuman, Chicago
Presented by courtesy of
Chicago North Side Progressive Twelve
- 9:45 Convention Called to Order Al. Steffensen, Gen. Chairman
National Convention Committee
- Solo Ben Summers, Chicago
- 10:00 Greetings Arthur Fritzsche, President
Associated Retail Bakers of
Greater Chicago
- 10:10 Tomorrow is Today in ARBA John Benkert, President, ARBA
- 10:25 Research Frank G. Jungewaelter
Executive Secretary ARBA
- 11:00 Promotion R. J. Christopher
Acting Secretary ARBA
- 11:20 BIPP Paul W. Zickgraff, Peoria
Robert M. Woods, Evanston
- 11:45 U.S.A. and the World Senator Kenneth Wherry, Nebr.
Chairman, Senate Small Business
Committee
Introduction by J.U.Lemmon, Jr.
- 12:25 Committee Appointments
- 12:30 Adjournment for lunch
- 12:30 Ladies Luncheon - Wedgewood Room, Marshall Field & Company

(continued on next page)

(Monday, April 5, continued)

P.M. Al. Wiehn, First Vice President ARBA, Session Chairman

2:00 Call to Order

2:05 "Sell Your Sales Personnel"--Panel Discussion .. Dorothy Thomas
Including Movie - "Tina Smiles" Standard Brands, Inc., Chairman
Courtesy Van de Kamp's, Los Angeles

Minnette Crouch, Egekivist Bakeries, Minneapolis, Minn.
Mary Jackson, Ideal Pastry Shop, Marshalltown, Iowa
Lucile J. Klein, Kullmann's Bakery, Milwaukee, Wisc.

3:45 How the ARBA Program is Geared to Help ARBA Allied Advisory Committee

Ralph Gaylord, General Mills, Inc., Chairman
J. M. Eagen, The Procter & Gamble Co., Co-Chairman
H. M. Anthony, Lever Brothers
Paul Cadwell, J. W. Allen Company
Herman Englander, Merck Company
E. J. Lauterbur, Hobart Manufacturing Company
H. J. Patterson, Pillsbury Mills
Dorothy Thomas, Standard Brands, Inc.

4:45 Summary Charles W. Koch
Chairman of the Board, ARBA

5:00 Adjournment

Evening - Go as You Please - Check at ARBA Booth for Current Chicago Attractions.

Tuesday - April 6

A.M. Louis Dudd, Third Vice President ARBA, Session Chairman

9:00 Baking and Promoting Sales Winners Charles Riley, Chicago
Presented by courtesy of
Chicago South Side Progressive Twelve

9:45 Call to Order

"America's Biggest Business" - Film by courtesy Standard Brands, Inc.

10:10 Address Philip Talbott, Chief
Bakery Section, Grain Branch
U. S. Dept. of Agriculture

10:25 Washington William A. Quinlan
General Counsel ARBA

11:00 Open Discussion of "What's Ahead"

11:30 How Management Must be Geared to Fit the Needs.. Speaker to be announced

12:00 Adjournment for lunch

P.M. Al. Steffensen, Second Vice President ARBA, Session Chairman

2:00 Call to Order

2:05 Planning to Interest the Consumer - Panel Discussion

Mrs. Lucille Brengle, President, Chicago Master Baker Women's
Association, Chairman

Buying Habits Mrs. Gladys Blair, WBBM,
J. Walter Thompson Company

The Views of the Homemaker Laura Hughes Lunde
Park Ridge, Ill.

Food Page Editor's Point of View Ethel Somers
American Family Magazine

(Tuesday, P.M., April 6, continued)

P.M.

3:20 The Story of our Shopping Survey E. J. Sperry
Sperry Industrial Publications

Panel Participants:

- Floyd Armistead, Chicago, Ill.
- Paul Baker, McKees Rocks, Penna.
- William Thie, Cincinnati, Ohio
- Joseph Vann, Milwaukee, Wisc.
- Ludwig Zehe, Erie, Penna.

4:45 Summary

5:00 Adjournment

7:00 30th Anniversary Banquet - Grand Ball Room
Music by "Cee" Davidson Orchestra

Wednesday, April 7

A.M. Cecil Fellows, Director, ARBA, Session Chairman

9:00 Baking and Promoting Sales Winners Charles Koppel
Presented by courtesy of Standard Milling Company
Associated Retail Bakers of Greater Chicago

10:00 Call to Order

10:05 This is What We Get Out of a Convention - Panel Session

- George Chussler, Bakers Weekly, Chairman
- B. E. Godde, Battle Creek, Mich.
- Otto Berchtold, Westwood, N. J.
- John Clark, Indianapolis, Ind.
- Fred Ecker, Chicago, Ill.
- William Ellerbrock, St. Louis, Mo.
- Al. Kruse, Tulsa, Okla.
- George Lauck, Fresno, Calif.

11:15 Costing or Coasting T. A. Hunter, Jr.
George S. May Company

12:00 Reports of Committees John Benkert presiding,
President ARBA

Resolutions - Nominations

P.M.

12:30 Recommendations of Directors

12:40 Election and Installation of Officers

1:00 Adjournment

Visits to Chicago bakeries or other points of interest - check with
ARBA booth for details.

COPY

Bakers Speech
April 5

April 16, 1948

Mr. Charles J. Regan
40 East Garfield Blvd
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Chuck:

My speaking engagement before the Bakers in Chicago was one of the most stimulating and enjoyable in my experience in public life. My only regret is that I did not have an opportunity to see you, but I certainly appreciate your fine letter of April 12 and your thoughtfulness in sending me the report from the Northwestern Miller.

It was a very close connection for I caught an afternoon train and following my talk I had to get my own luncheon before arranging to depart.

It will be a real pleasure to see you any time you have an opportunity to be in Washington.

Cordially yours

KENNETH S. WHERRY

KSW:f-1

INTERSTATE BAKERIES CORPORATION



40 EAST GARFIELD BLVD.
CHICAGO 15
ILLINOIS

April 12, 1948

Senator Kenneth S. Wherry
United States Senate
Washington, D. C.

Dear Kenneth:

The April 6 issue of The Northwestern Miller contained an article about your talk before the retail bakers at Hotel Sherman, Chicago. Am enclosing the article with the thought that you may be interested in seeing it. No doubt there will be similar articles in the Bakers' Weekly and Bakers' Helper publications and I will pass them on to you as I see them.

I was extremely sorry that I did not have an opportunity to say "hello" to you but I did hear your talk and it was excellent. However, you came in just before the scheduled time and disappeared through the side door immediately after your talk so that I was unable to get near you. I do hope I will have better luck the next time.

Sincerely,

Charles J. Regan:bm
Attach.

P. S. Again -- I wish to tell you what an excellent speech you made; the comments certainly were favorable.

CJR

BAKERS WARNED OF RENEWED PRICE CONTROL AND RATIONING

Sen. Wherry Gives Retailers His Views as to the Implications of Current World Developments—Need for Research Emphasized at Chicago Convention

By WILFRED E. LINGREN

Bakery Editor of
The Northwestern Miller

CHICAGO—Forecast of a renewed mobilization of U.S. industry was made during the opening convention session of the Associated Retail Bakers of America by Sen. Kenneth S. Wherry (R., Neb.). This was the warning that the senator brought to the nation's retail bakers as they gathered here for ARBA's 30th anniversary convention at the Hotel Sherman, April 5-7.

Sen. Wherry was the featured speaker on the opening day's program. Outlining the current status of the U.S. in world affairs, he came up with this unwilling conclusion:

"It is my prediction that we will again be asked to accept price control and rationing as we mobilize for defense, and that new inroads will be made by those who desire an ever-growing authority for the national government."

Citing the recent passage of the European Recovery Program and other foreign aid, as well as the "unexpected rearmament program" proposed by the administration, Sen. Wherry pointed out that this foreshadows new controls, more taxes, shortages of men and materials, and allocation.

The senator struck a blow for free enterprise and the small businesses of America.

"We need big business for the economics inherent in mass production," he said, "but we must protect and preserve the rights of small businesses and always keep ours a land of opportunity for the little fellow and for the youth of the nation."

He decried "big government" as he pointed out the increased spending of the federal government during the past few years.

"Tax relief is the best medicine I know to keep our free enterprise American system strong," he said.

100% Organization Needed

Meanwhile, the retail bakers settled down to discussions of current affairs specifically affecting the retail baking industry. John Benkert, Benkert Bakeries, Inc., Long Island City, N. Y., ARBA president, recommended greater cooperation between the national association and the state and local groups of the baking industry. He cited the mutual benefits that would arise from such cooperation.

"We need 100% organization in our industry," he said as he urged a drive for increased membership in ARBA.

Aggressive merchandising, Mr. Benkert said, can be the tool with which the retail baker can hold the line in business volume during 1948 in the face of declining sales. He assured ARBA members that the association will continue to provide merchandising materials for the use of individual bakeries in this effort.

Frank G. Jungewalter, executive secretary of the association, discussed the need for research in the industry and for study of the operations and selling methods of retail bak-

eries. He cited the need for continuing studies of costs of various baked products, and revealed that ARBA plans to prepare cost studies on sweet yeast-raised products, cake, cookies and pies.

Pointing out the need for research on selling methods, Mr. Jungewalter discussed some projects which ARBA headquarters has been working on and promised that benefits would be available to members in the future. He suggested that the ARBA research department develop and patent improved equipment for sales and merchandising, using the income from these patent rights to further the research program of the association.

Promotional Work Reviewed

Robert J. Christopher, acting secretary of the organization, reviewed the promotional materials prepared by the headquarters of ARBA during the past year. He reported that approximately 60 specially-prepared advertisements were made available to members during 1947.

Mr. Christopher revealed tentative plans for future material on cakes, puff pastry and store planning. He urged the building of the retail baker's business on a positive approach plan.

The baking industry promotional program was explained by two retail bakers who are members of the committee which developed the BIPP plans—Robert M. Woods, Woods Bon Ton Bakeries, Evanston, Ill., and Paul W. Zickgraff, Bake Rite Bakery, Peoria, Ill.



E. O. Anderson

SALES MANAGER—E. O. Anderson has been appointed sales manager of the Haaky Mfg. Co., St. Paul, succeeding Ralph M. Rowe, who resigned. Mr. Anderson has been connected with the company since 1942 as superintendent of manufacture and has had much to do with designing the Haaky line of grain cleaning equipment, including scourers, separators, aspirators and scalpels.

Mr. Woods pointed out that BIPP was designed to benefit every branch of the baking industry, saying that the retail baker has a better chance than many segments to cash in on the program because of his daily personal contact with the consumer. Citing the efforts of other food industries to increase the consumption of their products, he outlined these three phases of BIPP.

(1) The advertising program to consumers, doctors and grocers.

(2) The public relations phase designed to tell the industry's story to opinion-forming groups, and

(3) The consumer education program.

Mr. Woods urged increased use of tie-in materials by retail bakers to cash in on the value of the national BIP ads.

Mr. Zickgraff pointed out that the BIPP ads carry the signature of "the bakers of America." The possibilities of receiving benefit under the program are "unlimited," he said, as he urged the retailers to take advantage of the program.

Selling Sales Personnel

A panel discussion on "selling your sales personnel" was a feature of the afternoon session of the opening day. Miss Dorothy Thomas, Standard Brands, Inc., New York, served as chairman of the following panel: Miss Minnette Crouch, Egekvist Bakeries, Minneapolis; Mrs. Lucile J. Klein, Kullmann's Bakery, Milwaukee, and Mrs. Mary Jackson, Ideal Pastry Shop, Marshalltown, Iowa.

Miss Thomas described the ARBA portfolio titled "Selling Your Sales Girl," which was distributed during the past year to association members.

Miss Crouch reported on the system used by the Egekvist company in selecting and training its sales personnel. She told of the sales meetings which were designed around a "build-up" approach and which served to continue the training of sales girls working in the firm's retail outlets.

Mrs. Klein cited the sales techniques which should be stressed to sales girls in an effort to help them capitalize on modern merchandising and selling methods.

Mrs. Jackson stressed the importance of follow-up training. She reported on the success of a series of 12 sales girl training meetings sponsored recently by the Iowa Bakers Assn. in various cities of that state.

A colored sound slide film entitled "Tina Smiles," which is used by Van de Kamp's Bakeries, Los Angeles, in its training program, was shown.

Bakeshop Aids Dramatized

A dramatized presentation of how the ARBA program is geared to help the individual retail baker in his operations was presented by a group of professional actors. The presentation was arranged by the Allied Advisory Committee of ARBA, of which Ralph Gaylord, General Mills, Inc., Minneapolis, is chairman. The skit was recorded for future use in promoting the ARBA program.

Tentative plans for the 1948 program of the association were revealed in the skit, and it was stressed that the retail baker member of the ARBA can find invaluable help in the association's program.

Reports from the nation's capital were heard during the second day's sessions. Philip Talbott, bakery section, Grain Branch, U. S. Department of Agriculture, and William A. Quinlan, Washington counsel of the As-

sociated Retail Bakers of America, presented the addresses during the morning sessions April 6. Discussions of ways to increase sales featured the afternoon session April 6.

The convention was scheduled to adjourn after the morning session of April 7, following election of officers and adoption of resolutions.

—BREAD IS THE STAFF OF LIFE—

Kansas, Missouri Bakers' Meeting Planned April 11-13

KANSAS CITY—A record attendance of bakers and allied trade representatives is expected at the annual joint convention of the Missouri and Kansas bakers associations at the Hotel President, Kansas City, April 11-13. Of special interest is a retail bakers' forum to be conducted April 13 by a panel of experienced midwestern retail bakers. Production, selling and management problems will be discussed at the session, a new feature which has been added to the program this year.

Guest speakers for April 12 meeting include Evan Wright, Topeka, director of the Kansas State Board of Health; E. J. Sperry, Chicago, E. J. Sperry Industrial Publications; Roland J. Clark, W. E. Long Co., Chicago, and John C. Summers, director, bakers' school, Okmulgee branch of Oklahoma A. & M. College.

Dr. C. N. Kimball, C. J. Patterson Co., Kansas City; Sherman T. Ramey, American Bakers Assn., Chicago, and Harold Vagtborg, Midwest Research Institute, Kansas City, will speak during the morning session April 13.

Appearing on the retail forum April 13 will be George Chussler, Bakers Weekly, chairman; Charles Koch, Koch Bakery, St. Louis; R. D. Hunzeker, Hunzeker's Bakery, Kansas City; Cecil Fellows, Cecil & Sally's Bakery, Shreveport, Iowa; Richard Dillon, Dillon's Pastry Shop, Sedalia, Mo., and Walter Jesse, Jesse's Bakery, Kansas City.

Registration will commence at the hotel the afternoon of April 11. A golf party will be staged that afternoon at the Old Mission Golf Club. Sunday evening an informal reception will be held in the Midwest Bakers Allied Club suite honoring the Kansas association president, J. H. Shellhaas, Junction City, and the Missouri head, H. C. Balsiger, Kansas City.

A radio comedian, whose name is being kept a secret until the time of his appearance, will entertain at the association luncheon April 12. "A Night in Rio," featuring Latin American music and entertainment, will be the party the night of April 12 in the hotel's main ballroom. The Midwest Bakers Allied Club will sponsor a luncheon April 13.

—BREAD IS THE STAFF OF LIFE—

COTTON GOODS INDEX 16.22

Bemis Bro. Bag Co.'s cotton goods index, a composite figure reflecting wholesale prices of principal cotton cloth used in bag making expressed in cents per yard of cloth, is 16.22, as compared with 17.52 a year ago. The Bemis composite figure reflecting duty paid for early shipment from Calcutta of lightweight and heavyweight burlap expressed in cents per pound of cloth is 27.81, as compared with 29.73 a year ago.

CHICAGO

VOLUME 13—No. 4
April, 1948

File

Retail Baker

Official Publication of the Associated Retail Bakers of Greater Chicago

April Meeting to Follow Immediately After Convention

Hotel Sherman, April 7, 1:30 P.M.

The regular monthly meeting of the Association will follow immediately after the convention in the same room. In order to save time for those attending the convention, it is scheduled to start promptly at 1:30 P.M.

UNION CONTRACT

Our association has been requested by the Chicago Bakers' Joint Executive Board to call a joint meeting of representatives of shop owners under the jurisdiction of Locals 2, 13, 49, 62, 237 and 285 for the purpose of negotiating a uniform contract for said locals. Because of what is involved in the proposed uniform agreement, it is very important that all interested parties attend this meeting and act in unison.

Annual Convention April 5-6-7

Since we are to be the hosts to the nation's retail bakers during the convention, we should make every effort to attend every session. Chicago bakery owners are urged to get their work done as early as possible in order to be present at the convention. There will be special demonstrations every morning at 9 A.M.

Senator Wherry To Speak

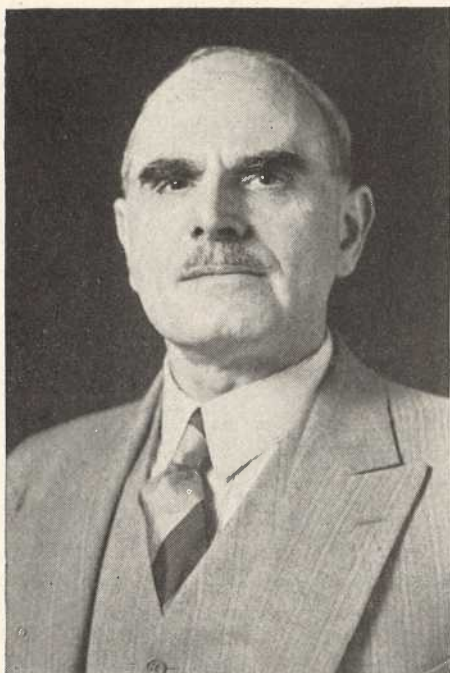
Senator Wherry, Chairman of the Small Business Committee and a special friend of the bakers, will address the convention at 11:45 A.M. Monday. He will have a vital message for you and one you cannot afford to miss.

Cake Display

All Chicago bakers are urged to send or bring cakes and other baked goods for display at the convention. Send them Sunday night or as early Monday morning as possible, also Tuesday and Wednesday.



Senator Wherry



ARBA CONVENTION: The convention of the Associated Retail Bakers of America, Hotel Sherman, April 5, 6 and 7th, promises to be an outstanding event, something that no retail baker can afford to pass up. This is well explained in the words of Al Steffensen, General Convention Chairman, who says, "Many bakers have told me that just one good idea gained from a Convention often pays many times over the cost and time involved." I am sure you'll gain many valuable ideas this year from the wealth of facts and information presented by the speakers, panels and discussions the program will provide. In general, you'll take home much more from the Convention than the effort of attending will require.

Some of the Convention highlights are:

MODERN STORE fully equipped and stocked. The latest development for good bakery merchandising.

12 SCALE MODEL RETAIL STORES which have won wide acclaim every time it's been shown. Never seen in Chicago before.

LATEST REFRIGERATED wall type display case. A brand new development shown for the first time in Chicago.

BAKERY PRODUCTS EXHIBIT: breads, cakes, pastries, etc., tempting sales stimulating products.

A talk about baking and promoting the special exhibited sales

Spotlighting the News

By Henry Topp

w i n n e r s including formulas, methods, and the merchandising and selling efforts used to promote them. This exhibit starts at 9 o'clock each morning.

WASHINGTON AND THE BAKER: ARBA General Counsel Bill Quinlan, will present important facts straight from Washington and Phil Talbott of the Agricultural Dept. will speak on what is ahead—both to appear on Tuesday morning's program.

SENATOR KENNETH S. WHERRY of Nebraska, Chairman of the the Senate Small Business Committee, a lawyer and businessman, will be a principal speaker at the convention, slated to speak Monday morning, April 5. Mr. Wherry has distinguished himself as a champion of American free-enterprise and during the war was instrumental in securing adequate allotments of fat and sugar for the bakers.

Besides the above mentioned exhibits, an array of other attractive features of current interest will be added to the program. The whole thing is geared up to make every minute and hour of interest and benefit to the attendant bakers.

John Kleczewski, Chairman of the Committee for baked products display, is preparing an exhibit of an amazing array of finished bakery products, and is doing an excellent job of collecting sales winners and high class merchandise to stock up the display cases. John urges bakers who have something to offer to bring in samples of quality merchandise or some product for which your shop is particularly noted, also formulas so that copies can be made available to bakers interested. The exhibit is to include everything from rolls to wedding cakes.

Items to be exhibited should be in the exhibition hall Sunday, April 4 or before 9 o'clock Monday morning. Arrange with some allied man to make delivery for you, if unable to do so yourself.

Don't miss this, the celebration of ARBA's 30th anniversary convention. Bring your wife. She'll find plenty of excitement! Mrs. Eugene Brengle, President of the Chicago Baker Women's Association, will be in charge of the ladies program. There will be a delightful time in store for all!

The convention will adjourn at 1:30 P.M. Wednesday, April 7th. Immediately upon adjournment, the Greater Chicago Association will take over to conduct its monthly meeting in the Convention hall. It will be a short session confined mainly to committee reports and discussion on the Union Contract proposals.

UNION CONTRACT: In regard to contract negotiations, we have received the following letter dated March 11th from Steve Glut, of Local 2:

"Mr. Henry Topp:

As a matter of record, we wish to inform you that Local 2 has designated the Chicago Bakers Joint Executive Board as it bargaining agent in all negotiations for terms and conditions of a new working agreement.

You will be officially notified by the Chicago Bakers Joint Executive Board of its readiness to begin negotiations for a new contract and we advise that you make all arrangements for a conference to discuss the new contract with the Chicago Baker's Joint Executive Board, Mr. Gilbert Maun, President, 8 No. Ogden ave., Chicago 7, Ill. Phone Haymarket 6070.

Appreciating your cooperation in the matter, we are

Very truly yours,

Signed: Steve Glut

Corresp. Secy."

Acting upon above information we contacted Mr. Gilbert Maun who, by the way, is secretary of Local No. 100, and were told that a letter would be in the mail directly which would confirm the communication of Local No. 2 and would request that we call a joint meeting of representatives of shop owners under the jurisdiction of Locals 2, 13, 49, 62 and 237 and 285, for the purpose of negotiating a uniform working agreement for said Locals, with the Chicago Bakers Joint Executive Board.

The setup mentioned by the Union for future contract negotiations is something new for the Chicago retail baking industry and it will be somewhat interesting to see how thing thing is going to turn out. However, regardless of the outcome it will for the time being, give the Chicago bakers something to think about.

ASSOCIATED RETAIL BAKERS OF AMERICA
INTER-ASSOCIATION CORRESPONDENCE

TO: Wm. A. Quinlan

February 23, 1948

FROM: R. J. Christopher

CC/

SUBJECT: Broadcast of Senator Wherry Speech

Dear Bill:

I am pleased to call your attention to the attached letter written to Mr. Gunn of WGN. We hope the Senator will be pleased with this arrangement.

However, it is not an ironclad commitment by the station as they point out that occasionally some unexpected developments might not make it possible to follow through. They mention that if they run into any complications they perhaps might handle 15 minutes rather than a full half hour and in that case it might be necessary for the Senator to go to the broadcasting studio and record parts of his speech.

Will you please check this matter so that we will know for sure if the Senator is willing to cooperate?

I think we ought to attempt to get as much publicity in the newspapers with pictures and even news reels if it is a possibility and I am wondering if the Senator would be willing to hold a press conference and whether this would have to be in the afternoon following his speech or if he might arrive on Sunday for that.

Sincerely,

/s/ Bob

RJC:GS

C O P Y

ASSOCIATED RETAIL BAKERS OF AMERICA
INTER-ASSOCIATION CORRESPONDENCE

File

TO: Mr. Christopher
FROM: Mr. Quinlan
CC/ Mr. Lorne Kennedy ✓
SUBJECT: Convention

March 1, 1948

Dear Bob:

Many thanks for your interesting memorandum of February 23, and I'm very glad to know about these arrangements with WGN.

I trust that you are also trying to make arrangements with other stations or networks if possible.

I'll call this to the attention of Mr. Kennedy and Senator Wherry, and no doubt the arrangements can be worked out so they will be mutually convenient.

Sincerely,

W. A. Q.

WAQ:mew

SENATOR KENNETH S. WHERRY
USS from Nebraska

Associated Retail Bakers of
America
Chicago, Illinois, Hotel Sherman
April 5, 1948, 11:45 A.M.

Y P

FREE ENTERPRISE AND OUR FOREIGN POLICY

I. ACKNOWLEDGE INTRODUCTION

A. Story

Harvard

B. It is a high honor to be asked to address the Associated
Retail Bakers of America.

You are gathered here to consider grave problems, -- to
talk things over, -- to exchange ideas with your friends, --
your competitors, -- and your officials, -- and especially
those who represent you in Washington.

You are apprehensive of the future. Business and
industry generally are jittery over domestic uncertainties.
And the din of war alarms has been sounded by the Administration

with a violence never before heard in peacetime. You are wondering, each of you, if they are justified.

The passage of the European Recovery Program and other foreign aid totaling nearly 8 billion dollars, -- and the suddenly heralded and unexpected rearmament program of 4 billion dollars proposed by the Administration, bring shadows of new controls, -- of more taxes, -- of shortages of men and materials, -- and of new allocation powers -- in short -- a new Industrial Mobilization Plan of 1948, with the straight-jackets of a rigid wartime economy.

And all of this hurled at us -- just as the pipelines of distribution were gradually filling, -- as order backlogs were melting away, -- and as competition was coming back into play. Buyers again were becoming independent and prices had begun to level off.

But now again the cry is raised of emergency, -- crisis, -- tax, -- spend, -- and control.

II. THE NEW CYCLE

Y P O C

A. America has become a country of big business, -- big labor, -- and big government.

The last 15 years have seen the greatest centralization of industry in all history. In some fields it has become a monopoly. During the war small business firms, the backbone of our free enterprise system were bowled down like tenpins.

America needs free big business. America needs free small business. We need strong business. We do not want monopolies.

In just three short years after we went into the war, under our free government, with our free industry, -- our free labor, -- our free agriculture, -- our free united people were on the road to victory.

Not only did we achieve that miracle of production in war, but now that the war is over, we are asked to carry more

than 50 percent of world-wide assistance and relief.

But the concentration of industry which has been built up did not end with the war. It has extended itself into our peacetime economy.

B. Take the oil industry.

The American farmer today faces a general shortage of gasoline, -- kerosine, -- and tractor fuels. This motor fuel shortage carries with it the same disruptions as beset the householder last winter. Independent refiners, distributors and retailers face loss of business or extinction.

The reason is found in a pattern. The small independent refineries depend upon crude production at its source; but most of the pipeline transportation is engaged by major oil companies. Most of the major oil companies control the gathering lines. They control the production of crude oil from its source, down to the filling station and the retail outlets.

C. The same is true in steel.

Small erectors are practically driven out because it is impossible for them to bid on contracts today and furnish the steel. For the past 75 years, small erectors have had an important place in the construction of our building industry. Today they are dependent entirely upon big steel firms to furnish the steel. But, instead, the big corporations are continuing in peacetime to bid on erection contracts throughout the United States because they control the production of steel.

Such practice is making inroads upon small business men in many lines. It has become so general as to threaten their very existence.

Of course, we need big business for the economy and efficiency inherent in mass production. But we must protect and preserve small business. We must always keep America a land of opportunity for the little fellow and for the youth of the nation. Therein lies the genius of our American way of

life that has made ours the greatest country on earth.

D. Big Labor

We have taken quick glances at big business and little business. What about big labor?

We have seen the pendulum swing from what labor leaders insisted were oppressive employer tactics against labor to the other extreme. The government actually fostered unfair tactics by labor racketeers. Now we see the pendulum swing back to a decent, sensible relationship through provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act. We have put control of the unions back in the hands of the members. ~~It~~ Americanism in labor organizations has been restored. *shall*

When labor bosses were riding high, -- wide, -- and handsome, with the blessing of the Administration at Washington, they entrenched big labor in bitter opposition with big business.

Today there are about 15 million members of labor unions. It is estimated their dues and other assessments amount to more than 300 million dollars a year.

We are determined to see every working man get a square deal, -- a decent wage, -- and a share in the good things of life. The labor Act is the workers' Bill of Rights.

But what is good for the laboring man is also good for all our people. The best interests of capital, -- labor, -- agriculture, -- the whole nation are mutual. The rank and file of working men know that is true. They are not going to be led up any blind alleys by self-seeking labor bosses. Any policy which hurts America hurts labor first and most.

E. Big Government

Now, let's take a look at big government. There is the guilty culprit; there is the cause of much of our troubles.

Let me give you some idea of how the cost of our Federal government has grown. In 1939, our national taxable income was about 98.5 billion dollars. Federal expenditures totaled about 9 billion dollars. That was the highest national income, and the highest governmental expenditures for any year up to that time.

In 1947, the national taxable income amounted to \$198 billion, or about twice as much as in 1939. And yet the budget for that fiscal year totaled \$40 billion. Thus, while the national income doubled, the cost of the Federal Government quadrupled. †

The present 80th Congress took over control in January, 1947. From that moment we began freeing our people of the shackles of government. Regimentation and deficit-spending by the Government ended. We had a balanced budget for the first time in 16 years.

COPY

Twice we were prevented by presidential vetoes from giving the people tax relief last year.

Again we have passed a tax-reduction bill and ~~this time~~ it stuck. *this time by a resounding 77-210 in Senate - 3-3-33 in the House*

I voted for all of these tax-relief bills. *because*

The present law exempts seven million four hundred thousand people from paying any taxes.

More than 71 percent of the benefits of the law go to those of lower incomes.

Because
Tax relief is the best tonic I know to keep our free enterprise American system strong.

Because
Venture capital now has, of course, the encouragement to engage in production. This is a boon to small business, and a victory in the fight we have made in behalf of small business.

Labor - Gulben
If we are now going to mobilize all ^{our} major industries, -- our national economy, -- and our manpower, -- ^{then} that will certainly

exert a great impact upon the lives of all our people. You
business men may well shudder when you contemplate the possible
reinstatement of the more than 76,000 orders, -- rules, --
regulations, -- and directives from Washington, which were in
force by the end of the fighting in the last war. But our
domestic problems are overshadowed, -- threatened, -- and
rendered uncertain by the Administration's shifting, --
contradictory foreign policy.

III FOREIGN POLICY AFFECTS DOMESTIC POLICY

On foreign affairs we are being swept along as though by
a tornado. The stakes are high. They affect every home in the
land.

The international situation actually dominates our
American life today. Commitments made abroad have a terrific
impact upon our domestic economy.

Commitments were made without the ratification or knowledge of the Congress, because of powers assumed by the President of the United States during the war and since the war.

Eighty percent of our entire Federal expenditures now go toward National Defense, -- prevention of war, -- and liquidation of the cost of wars. The proportion of our Federal Budget attributable to the international situation is steadily rising. There are some prophets who tell us that before long it will reach five-sixths of our entire cost of operating the Federal Government.

Therefore, since the cost of aiding, -- backing, -- bolstering, -- and supporting other countries against the Red tide from Russia is coming out of the pockets of the American people, in taxes, and indirectly through higher prices they must pay for groceries, -- clothing, -- and services, it behooves us to see that the fumbling and bungling in foreign relations is stopped.

IV. OUR FOREIGN POLICY HAS BEEN A FAILURE

Our foreign policy has been a dreadful failure. Because of our bankruptcy in diplomacy, the American people have been saddled with billions upon billions of unnecessary expenditures.

The United States has poured more than \$20 billion dollars in cash and goods into Europe since V-E Day. Is there anyone here who can say that we have succeeded in holding back the tide of Communism, or of re-establishing any national economy in Europe?

All of the tremendous expenditures that we have been called upon to make in aid to foreign countries; that is, all except the contributions for relief supplies, to meet the inevitable dislocations and breakdowns caused by the war, -- are directly due, to our failure to have a well-grounded, -- sound, -- sensible American approach.

~~COPY~~

Until recently we had had ~~our foreign policy has been a failure because it has been~~

Russian a policy of appeasement. Possibly this is so because the United States sponsored, and was the foremost nation in setting up the United Nations Organization. And it was the hope of all of us that the United Nations Organization would provide the peace that all peoples want throughout the world. But it has been revealed that outside of the United Nations Organization, secret commitments were made between this country and Russia -- at Teheran, -- Yalta, -- Potsdam, the secret provisions of which operated completely to destroy industrially the German people. This has created a vacuum in Europe and has been an enemy to peace.

fact Two grave mistakes have been made. One *which I have already mentioned* was the de-

industrialization of Germany, including almost the total dismantling of their industry. The other, the reliance upon the promise that when Russia consolidated the countries up to

the Curzon line, communistic expansion would stop.

Germany is now in such a weakened condition economically, she cannot withstand the infiltration of communism without our help. In fact her industries must be completely rebuilt. If we mean to stop communism in Europe, we must face the reality that the German people will play a decisive part in that program.

A. Germany

Let us examine our record in Germany, that part of Germany occupied by the United States and the British Zone, over which we have had a measure of cooperative control.

The principal cause for the long delay in the recovery of Europe and the growth and arrogance of communism is the years of stupid adherence to the revengeful and shortsighted so-called Morgenthau Plan for postwar Germany.

This plan, you know was agreed upon at the Quebec Conference. It called for a postwar Germany to be reduced

virtually to an agricultural state. Every competent observer knows Germany, especially the Ruhr Valley, always has been the industrial heart of Europe. Dismantling of industrial plants of Germany, and shipment of a large proportion of them to Soviet Russia -- some of these plants readily convertible to war purposes -- have had the disastrous effect of blocking the restoration of commerce in Germany. The industrialization so urgently needed to help in the recovery of France and all the rest of Europe has thus been estopped.

Of course, with the failure of industry in Europe to revive, the pleas for help from the United States multiplied and we began to shovel out our billions as though we had a bottomless gold mine.

The Congress, and the people, realized that there was ^{OK} something radically wrong with the basic approach of our Administration to recovery in ^{Germany as well as all} Europe. So special committees were sent to Europe to gather firsthand information.

COPY

The consensus of these Congressional investigators was that fundamental changes in our foreign policy were imperative. Our Administration's policy of appeasing Russia was simply resulting in conditions of poverty and despair which made it possible for the Moscow-directed communists to foment strikes and riots, -- turmoil, -- confusion, -- and chaos, in preparation for establishment of communistic dictatorships in countries that wanted freedom and liberty. That was the basis of the now well-known Russian Protocol M, the written Kremlin Plan and directions for the disruption and prevention of European Recovery.

Our foreign policy-makers stumble from one crisis to another.

B. Italy

Our policy ^{they found} in Italy is the same tragic story. Its guiding motive was to appease Russia.

Y P O C
The smoke of bloody battle had hardly cleared when our government, through occupation administrators, welcomed back to Italy the very communists who are now leading the effort to overthrow the present government and to establish a Red dictatorship in Italy.

Our soldiers, the flower of our land, did not fight and die on the hills of Sicily and the valleys of Italy to pave the way for a dictatorship of communism.

Fellow Americans, the United States, as the chief liberator, held in its hand for a brief moment Italy's destiny in the transition period. But we failed. What a costly blunder that was.

How well I recall a long afternoon on the Floor of the United States Senate during which I debated ~~with the Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee~~ the ratification of the Italian Peace Treaty.

One of the main arguments I advanced was that under the Treaty we would simply appease Russia if Trieste were set apart. I contended it would be a bone of contention for years to come if Trieste were torn away from the Italian people. Now, confronted by the iniquity of the Treaty with Italy, -- the Administration virtually asks that it be torn up and that we start all over again.

Thus, the Italian policy is another failure that has come home to roost. It is costing our taxpayers a lot of money. The result of the Italian election, if it becomes a victory for the communists, will have been caused by the failures of the United States to recognize in time, -- years ago, that the men of Moscow were plotting world-wide communism.

C. China

Let us turn to the other side of the world, to China. We find that there our government, too, has a checkered record of bowing to Russia. At Yalta the rights of China were tossed

across the table in surrender to demands of Stalin.

While the Administration was declaiming against communism in Europe, it was striving to appease communists in China. Fresh in our memories is the mission of Secretary of State Marshall to China. He came back with a recommendation that the national government of China should include communists. If the Administration had had a forthright American anti-communism policy in China the Reds could have been stopped long ago, and at much less cost to the American taxpayers. But the appeasement of Russia in that part of the world is now costing us 10 times what it would have cost us if the sympathizers of Russia had not had a hand in the State Department.

D. Small Countries of Europe

We can recall only too well how small countries of Europe were sold down the river to Soviet Russia. Poland was made a pawn for these planners around a conference table, without an opportunity for the Polish people, or the American people to

express their will. With nonchalance and reckless abandon the pencil was scribbled over the map of Europe and millions of people were shifted across boundary lines. Today the American people who were not consulted in these deals are paying very dearly.

E. Japan

Japan is the only bright spot in our postwar foreign effort. We have not had a pro-appeasement policy in Japan. Some of us in the United States Senate were able to see to it that General MacArthur's policies were not hamstrung by the "give Russia everything crew" of radicals then influencing State Department affairs.

All varieties of schemes were offered by the radical NewDealers to fence in General MacArthur but they did not succeed.

Some of you may recall the battle we had on the Floor of

the Senate, when I demanded that the then Under-Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, not be confirmed. Acheson's name was up for confirmation by the Senate, and former Senator "Happy" Chandler of Kentucky joined me in exposing Acheson's subservience to the appease-Russia forces in the United States. Mr. Acheson speaks now very vigorously in favor of stopping Communism, but in the State Department, he played a hidden hand to do the bidding of so-called intellectuals during the days after the war, when the pro-Russia forces were riding high in the Administration at Washington.

The Senate confirmed Acheson over my lone, strenuous objections. But you will note that soon afterward he was eased out of the State Department. And the Morgenthau Plan has been thrown out the window. Events have vindicated my stand.

V. THE MARSHALL PLAN A FAILURE

YPOC

You all remember how we were told for years that all we needed to do was supply relief and economic aid for Europe and China, and a lot of other countries, and that communism thereupon would no longer be a threat. ^{You remember} ~~We were told that poverty and despair were the fertile soil for communism.~~ ^{our experience with UNRRA} And so we poured out ^{our} the money and ~~the~~ ^{our} goods. Our cost of living went up because of the exportation of commodities from our short supplies.

For a long time the Administration tried to make the American people believe these shipments had no bearing upon the cost of living in the United States. Now, everybody knows that the heavy purchases of commodities for shipment abroad have been a major cause of our high prices at home.

~~It has been graphically illustrated in the price of grain, and fats, -- and oils. No one knows this any better than you bakers do.~~

You must have felt many times that you were caught in a squirrel cage—running around in circles — trying to keep up with government's operations in the grain markets. It was difficult enough to try to keep informed on what the government's demands were and what the supply situation was, but when you had to contend with gamblers who got inside information on when the government was going to buy and when it was going to sell, your difficulties were magnified.

What has been happening in the bakery business, has been happening in every other major industry -- oil, -- building materials, -- steel, -- farm machinery, -- and others.

Of course, we do not begrudge what we have done for the relief of Europe and other parts of the world from hunger and cold, and lack of clothing and medicinal supplies. That was the decent and humane thing to do. But, we have gone much further in shoveling American taxpayers' dollars into the aid of Europe, ^{and} they have not brought about the results that were promised.

The fall of Czechoslovakia definitely proved that economic aid, -- dollars alone -- will not stem the Red tide. Czechoslovakia had made great progress toward recovery from the war, and a large majority of her people are anti-communist. Yet, the aggressive men of the Kremlin were able to lower their iron curtain over liberty-loving Czechoslovakia.

The countries of Eastern Europe now behind the "iron curtain" are there only because of the Red Army. The pattern is plain -- infiltration into key positions of the government, -- exactly as they have attempted in our own government at Washington -- to spread confusion, -- to cause strikes, -- and riots, -- and then move the Red Army menacingly to the border.

Eastern Europe is overwhelmingly anti-communist; western Europe is ^{more} so because of greater distance from the threat of the Red Army. Western Europe will go communist only if forced to do so by the Red Army, guided by native traitors.

Now, I come to a part of my remarks in which I have great difficulty in restraining my indignation -- the indignation that is sweeping across the country.

Think of it! While you are being taxed and taxed, and billions upon billions of dollars are being shoveled out for economic aid to other countries, planners in Washington have permitted huge quantities of war materials -- planes, -- airplane engines, machine tools and a lot of other things to continue to go to Russia.

Let us hope that the indignation of the American people, as voiced in the Congress will plug that lead. The Administration has had the power all along to stop it.

VI. CONCLUSION

It was my feeling during the debate on ERP we should not continue to waste our substance on a bankrupt foreign policy that had failed, but we should put our own house in order and be prepared to back up any ultimatum that might be issued to the

Russian government as the last hope for peace in the world.

out

The first grave mistake we have made in ERP was the elimination of Spain from the participating countries. Of course, the excuse has been given that Spain was not one of the petitioning countries, but the underlying fact is true that the fundamental reason why Spain was not admitted was because the Communists of France, — Italy, — and Great Britain didn't want Spain in as a participating country. And, yet, if we are to fight communism abroad, the one country that has stood out as a beacon light, whether you believe in their government or not, has been Spain. And, if, in our attempt to hold fast to peace in this world, we are going to spend our billions on ERP to fight communism, there is not one earthly reason why Spain should not be incorporated as one of the participating countries.

From a military standpoint, I have been told by one high in authority that it is doubtful if we can hold the Mediterranean

unless we can hold Gibraltar. So, why should we spend our money in Turkey, -- in Greece, -- and in Italy, from a military and security point of view, unless Spain is a friendly and participating country.

Communism should be stopped at home as well as abroad.

has been passed;

ERP will impose a terrific burden upon the American people. The measure will require all of us to tighten our belts and accept whatever regulation, -- and whatever economy is forced upon us. But what is more important we need to stop the infiltration of communism right here at home. We need to stop it in big business and in little business.

You belong to management. You should check up on your own ideology and those with whom you are associated. Let's not let communism make inroads into the management of business in this country.

And what is true of management is true of labor. The rank and file of labor, I am satisfied, is just as much American

as any segment of our people. Certainly a laboring man wants freedom. He doesn't want slave labor. Management must help labor to see that communism does not infiltrate into the ranks of labor throughout this country.

Last but not least the same thing is true with big government. If we are to stop communism we must be sure that those in key positions in government believe in the fundamental principles of our American representative constitutional government. There is no place in government for a communist. And yet it is generally known that there are literally thousands who might not say they are communists but who are fellow-travelers, and are being used for the very purposes for which communism exists.

I introduced a bill on March 30th, S. 2412 to outlaw the Communist Party in the United States.

One place in which we should be doubly protected against communism is in the military forces. The evidence is all to the

effect that the army, although not entirely free from communism or communistic influence, is the one branch in which we feel secure. That is one reason I introduced S. 2388 on March 25th to transfer back to the Army the Atomic Energy Commission during this emergency.

If we are to maintain peace, and it is to be done by preserving the military security of this country, the secrets, -- the know-how, -- and the use of the atomic bomb should be entrusted only to the military officials who can with the greatest degree of intelligence, -- knowledge of conditions, -- and facility, utilize it for achieving the peace of the world.

Let's tell the American people the truth that the only language the dictators of Moscow understand is force.

Let us now see to it that our national defenses are strengthened especially in air power.

Let Marshal Stalin know that we mean to defend liberty and freedom against any attack.

Our national defense must be considered as a whole. It is rash to say that universal military training is the complete answer, and it is equally rash to say that revival of selective service will cause Russia to back down from her expansionist ambitions.

Your Congress is thoroughly studying the matter and will shortly evolve a broadened defense program.

It is my prediction that we will again be asked to accept price control and rationing as we mobilize for defense, and that new inroads will be made by those who desire an ever-growing authority for the national government.

However, let us do first things first. To the majority of the American people OPA and all other forms of peacetime government regimentation were repugnant. It is my view that we should guard our freedom from regimentation jealously and yield it only in the last ditch and as a last resort.

And while we are sacrificing so much again for our national security, let us pray - literally - that our government will cease zig-zagging in its foreign policies, and stand for the right without giving offense.

That is the method Abraham Lincoln would pursue, if he were here today. He would act with malice toward none and firmness for the right. He would tell us that the brotherhood of all peoples cannot be accomplished by mere dollars. Peace and friendship cannot be bought as commodities in trade.

So let us renew our determination to hold fast to the principles of our Constitution. Let them be our guide in all our dealings, at home and abroad.

Only if our physical strength is matched by our spiritual strength and capacity will ^{we} be able to retain the respect of the rest of the world. It is the only guarantee of our American way of life, and the peace of the world.