

CONFIDENTIAL
Press and Radio Conference #926
Executive Office of the President
November 9, 1943 -- 4.10 P.M., E.W.T.

THE PRESIDENT: (to Mr. Godwin) What's that?

MR. GODWIN: I can't read Arabic.

THE PRESIDENT: That's the Reader's Digest.

(printed in Arabic)

MR. GODWIN: I know it.

THE PRESIDENT: Haven't you ever seen one before?

MR. GODWIN: I have read about it, but never saw one.

THE PRESIDENT: I'll tell you an interesting thing. It isn't allowed in Tunis. I don't know whether that's true about Algiers or not. I only know about Tunis. Arabs are not allowed to have it in Tunis.

MR. GODWIN: Is that really so? Is that a gag?

THE PRESIDENT: Not a gag at all. (Hooker A.) Doolittle (Consul General for Tunisia) told me that this morning. Check on it -- a good story out of it. Might educate the Moors. (laughter)

MR. GODWIN: I see.

MR. DONALDSON: All in.

THE PRESIDENT: I have got a number of rather small things this morning.

There is a -- on Thursday morning we will get over here, about six o'clock in the morning, a British white paper to be released at that time. And I am sending to Congress,

at Noon that same day, not an identical but a Message on a similar subject which is Lend-Lease, especially in regard to raw materials and reverse Lend-Lease. I think the facts in both my Message and the white paper will check, but they are independently written.

Then, I am going out to Arlington on Thursday morning (Armistice Day) as usual, at 11 o'clock.

I want to say a word in regard to today's meeting in the -- in the East Room, for those of you who were not there. (the signing of an agreement by the forty-four United Nations and their associates, creating the United Nations' Relief and Rehabilitation Administration)

I think it was a thing which can't be too much exaggerated. I think it was of very, very great importance, because it is the first -- what? -- a plenary meeting that all the United Nations and associated nations participated in, the Food Conference last autumn having been in a sense a preliminary meeting. But this was set up as a permanent organization on relief and rehabilitation.

Of course, the principal emphasis will be on relief, and the only problem is how far -- what the scope of the word rehabilitation means, if it means sending seeds over there for growing crops next year or the year after, or if it means sending agricultural implements to nations that haven't got any left. It means sending cows over to start a new -- start new herds. That is what I think of as rehabilitation. I don't think the word rehabilitation includes all kinds of

things that would bring the -- those nations back to immediate full economic -- to a full economic level. Of course they are all, we believe, working very hard to bring themselves back to that basis. In other words, the word rehabilitation should probably be treated in the narrower sense, and the word relief in the wider sense. It is very hard to define rehabilitation.

These -- this -- this group will meet tomorrow afternoon, and I think the first emphasis should be placed on the fact that relief should not -- would not come from any one country, that it should come from every one of the United and associated nations in accordance with their ability to provide relief. That is the spirit in which it is opening.

Of course, these delegates in almost all cases haven't got a definite right to bind their own countries. In practically every nation that has a legislative form of government they would have to go to the legislatures, as I would have to go to Congress to get the authority to carry out the recommendations made by this particular group. In other words, as I -- as I remarked the other day, I think the Constitution still lives. However, it is an awfully good start.

I felt like saying in the speech this morning that I had -- when I -- when I said the way for nations to work together is by practicing working together, "the way to resume is to resume," taking a former example of our own history. So they have got off to a good start.

And somebody remarked, "I don't believe there ever

has been an international gathering where forty-four nations have come together in time of war any -- anything like that number of nations in time of war, to assure the kind of peace where there will be less suffering in the world, and a greater desire to remove the causes of war. In other words, working toward a -- putting it an understatement -- a longer period of world peace than the world has ever yet enjoyed.

This I will have to tell you off the record until seven-thirty tonight. The joint Anglo-American statement in regard to submarines and anti-submarine operations in October will be released at seven-thirty tonight. It was drawn up here in the Bureau of Public Relations of the Navy Department. And the principal result for October was that it was very close to the lowest month on losses that we have had. August was slightly less but only very, very little. During August and September and October we definitely got about 60 U-boats.

Q. 60?

THE PRESIDENT: About 60, in those three months. Those are certain kills. There are a large number of others that were damaged, or where there was a probability of their being sunk. That brings to more than 150 (the number of) submarines that have been destroyed in the last six months. These past three months have been particularly gratifying because there were fewer U-boats operating, presenting fewer targets for the air and sea forces. And during these three months, August, September and October, there were more U-boats destroyed than Allied merchant ships sunk by submarines.

The ratio of U-boat to the merchant ship attrition is -- especially in October, was more satisfactory than any previous month. The tonnage losses on our side from all causes in October were the second lowest of any month of the war.

They make the point, (reading): "The Germans have introduced new U-boat weapons and tactics, and thus far we have been able to cope successfully with the changing situation." And the general situation is getting along pretty well.

The only other thing I have, I asked Jimmy Byrnes to let me have a memorandum of what happened this morning when he had that meeting with Mr. Baruch and his committee.

He says the Baruch unit in the Office of War Mobilization, to deal with -- with war and post-war adjustment problems, held its first meeting this morning in Justice Byrnes's conference room. At the meeting this morning there was general agreement to proceed immediately with a definite unified policy for the orderly termination of war contracts made necessary by the adjustment of procurement programs to the changing conditions of war. This morning the discussion was confined to those agencies which have contracts, and to questions of procedure that they have been following. This unit of the Office of War Mobilization will explore the problem to -- thoroughly with industry, labor, and Government agencies, to take advantage of the work of Congressional committees, and that will leave the administration of policies,

including the termination of contracts, to the various agencies concerned. Of course that's all I have got on it.

MR. P. BRANDT: Mr. President, could you tell us who make up that unit, besides Mr. Baruch and Mr. Byrnes?

THE PRESIDENT: That I couldn't tell you, Pete.

MR. P. BRANDT: Do you know how large a group it is?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know.

MR. GODWIN: Mr. President, may I ask you ---

MR. EARLY: (interjecting) It is just being organized.

THE PRESIDENT: What? Just being organized today.

MR. P. BRANDT: That's what I have been wondering.

MR. GODWIN: In -- with relation to your speech to the group here today, you have forty-four nations. Each nation has a variegated stock of supplies and drygoods, and seeds and things. I presume there will be an organization -- a clearing house so that they can allocate what ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) That's what the committee is. It's a clearing house, Yes.

MR. GODWIN: That's what the committee is for. Is that established now?

THE PRESIDENT: They start tomorrow.

MR. GODWIN: They start tomorrow.

THE PRESIDENT: Atlantic City. And the first thing they do tomorrow is to elect a Director, and then I suppose various committees, such as the committee on acquisition

of relief supplies, and another one is distribution, and so forth and so on.

Q. Mr. President, can you tell us anything about your meeting with Marshal Stalin? Is it any nearer?

THE PRESIDENT: No. Haven't heard a word.

Q. Mr. President, ---

Q. (interposing) By that, Mr. President, we mean the meeting is not any nearer?

THE PRESIDENT: Now -- it just means I mean the information is no nearer because I haven't heard.

Q. Mr. President, do you think that any change should be made in the Little Steel formula?

THE PRESIDENT: In what?

Q. In the Little Steel formula for controlling wages?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, you know, the first thing that we are trying to do, obviously, is to find out to greater satisfaction of people what the -- what the cost of living, including the cost of food, really is. And that is why this committee has started in the War Labor Board -- just appointed this week -- and other agencies will be helping on that to establish what it is. -

We all have different ideas, depending somewhat on our wives, our stomachs, and our places of abode. Those are very important factors in making up one's opinion: wives, stomachs, and places of abode. (laughter)

MAY CRAIG: The wives first.

THE PRESIDENT: And as May said, wives first. (more laughter)

Q. Mr. President, does that mean that if this W.L.B. committee comes to the conclusion that the cost of living has increased to a greater extent than the ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) It's an "iffy" question. (laughter)

MR. GODWIN: Well, the War Labor Board definitely bases the Little Steel formula on the cost of living, isn't that ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) On the Lubin report. We have been using the Lubin report.

MR. GODWIN: The Lubin report. Then the committee is going to -- going to inquire into the -- into that report as well as the ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interjecting) Yes.

MR. GODWIN: (continuing) --- the facts, isn't that it?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, yes.

Q. Thank you, Mr. President.

(much laughter)

CONFIDENTIAL

Press and Radio Conference #927

Executive Office of the President

(Friday) December 17, 1943 -- 4.17 P.M., E.W.T.

(this is the first press conference held by the President upon his return from the Cairo and Teheran conferences with Prime Minister Churchill, Marshal Josef Stalin and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. He returned to the White House this morning at 9.25 a.m.)

MR. GODWIN: Welcome!

THE PRESIDENT: Well, how's the boy?

MR. GODWIN: Glad to see you.

(a long pause here, as newspapermen continued to come in. The President read material before him)

MR. DONALDSON: All in.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I have been collecting a number of things this morning for you -- nothing very important.

And before that, I want to say in connection with the trip that I think it was in every way a success, not only from the point of view of the conduct of the war, but also for the discussions that I hope will have definite and very beneficial effects for the post-war period, based on the general thought that we -- when we win the war we don't want to have

another one as long as this generation is alive.

The only sad note was the news I got, on the way home, of Mac's (Marvin H. McIntyre) death, because I think all you older people realize what that means to me, as he and I were -- had been together practically since my -- the earliest days in the Navy Department, back as far as 1913.

I think we will all miss him very much.

I know I will.

As soon as I got here this morning, I talked with the legislative leaders in regard to possibly going up to tell the Congress about the trip, but there's quite an accumulation of things, and I -- I don't want to make carefully prepared addresses in too large numbers.

I am speaking on Christmas Eve in the afternoon, primarily, I think, to the officers and men of the armed forces all over the world -- Steve has been working on the schedule -- which is to be heard at reasonable hours in most of the places where we have troops, or ships. And he has got a schedule which he will have mimeographed for you afterwards.

I thought I would speak from Hyde Park at 3.00 p.m., and that works out pretty well. It means 2.00 p.m. in the Canal Zone -- No, wait a minute. Steve, this is wrong. How can it be 9.00 a.m. in Alaska?

MR. EARLY: What time, sir?

THE PRESIDENT: 9.00 a.m. This isn't right.

MR. EARLY: Did you read here -- the top line?

THE PRESIDENT: What? No. They have been reading

the chart backwards. (laughter) I will have to have it corrected. It does mean, though, that in the Southwest Pacific and China it will come Christmas morning, because the afternoon of the 23rd is Christmas morning out there.

Q. The 24th.

Q. The 24th.

MR. GODWIN: Wouldn't it be the 24th?

THE PRESIDENT: That comes first -- the day starts out there.

MR. GODWIN: The afternoon of the 23rd would be Christmas morning in China?

THE PRESIDENT: Wouldn't it? Yes.

MR. EARLY: That's what it says there.

MR. GODWIN: 24th.

THE PRESIDENT: I mean the 24th -- Christmas morning.

MR. GODWIN: Yes.

(much laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: And it gets to Cairo at nine o'clock in the evening, and gets to -- it won't here -- Persia -- Iran at 10.30 in the evening. And then the broadcasting companies are going to rebroadcast it at 10.00 o'clock on the evening of the 24th, so that it reaches other places that are not taken in by the first.

(then to Mr. Early) You work it out. I am sure the Aleutian Islands are wrong.

MR. EARLY: Prepared by the Navy, sir! (laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: I can't help it! (more laughter)

Anyhow, I will be up at Hyde Park for Christmas. Here is a thing that Steve has mimeographed for you.

(reading): "It is with particular pride and pleasure that I have today signed the bill repealing the Chinese Exclusion Laws. The Chinese people, I am sure, will take pleasure in knowing that this represents a manifestation on the part of the American people of their affection and regard.

"An unfortunate barrier between Allies has been removed, and the war effort in the Far East can now be carried on with a greater vigor and a larger understanding of our common purpose."

Then I wrote, and okayed, a memorandum that Bill McReynolds (Administrative Assistant) wanted to send out, in regard to the observance of holidays -- festival days.

Last March -- last May, in order to get greater production, we made it the Government policy to have all Government agencies keep on going every day in the year, except Christmas. Last November, Thanksgiving Day, there were -- I suppose because I was -- had my back turned, overseas -- a number of Government agencies let people off that they thought they could spare. Well, of course, if that should spread, it would be a very bad thing. This is merely a reminder to the Government agencies that the only day in the year is Christmas Day, and where their services can be spared, two hours shopping the day before, and that's all. It's just a gentle reminder to live up to the rule.

I signed today a bill that commemorates the 40th anniversary of the first airplane flight by Wilbur and Orville Wright. Actually, it happens tonight, but I did get under the wire. They are having a banquet tonight for -- to honor Mr. Orville Wright. I had hoped to go, but -- expected to be here last week -- but I got home so late that I can't make the banquet. It's a very excellent anniversary.

Then, the Congress also passed a bill designating the week of December 12 to 18 as Bill of Rights Week. They asked me to issue a Proclamation, but the Congress didn't get it down even to the White House until the 15th -- (laughter) -- so it has been duly signed, but it's rather late -- this week -- for a Proclamation. However, the spirit is there, even though the signature is not. (laughter)

I don't think there's anything else of particular interest.

Anything happen here while I was away?

(loud laughter)

Q. That was the trouble.

THE PRESIDENT: What? (more laughter)

Q. (aside) Did anything happen here while he was away!

Q. Sir, could you tell us any of your personal impressions of (Marshal Josef) Stalin?

THE PRESIDENT: Except that -- that the actual fact of meeting him lived up to my highest expectations. We had many excellent talks. And I was also extremely glad to meet

the Generalissimo (Chiang Kai-shek). And on the whole, the mere fact of getting to know those two world leaders, I think it is going to make for excellent relations in the future.

MR. GODWIN: Mr. President, would you care to tell us how those talks were conducted? Was it an easy matter?

THE PRESIDENT: Through an interpreter, which of course is not as easy as if I spoke Russian and Chinese and they spoke English, but still we got on all right.

MR. GODWIN: Facile at all?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh Yes.

MR. GODWIN: Back and forth?

THE PRESIDENT: O my, Yes. Yes, yes.

MR. GODWIN: Was it stodgy, or anything of that sort?

THE PRESIDENT: Not stodgy at all, except the answer sometimes came before the translation was finished. (laughter)

MR. GODWIN: Did you find him -- all we know about him is that picture with a handle-bar moustache, which evidently is out of date.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, that is rather out of date.

MR. GODWIN: What type would you call it? Was -- is he -- is he dour?

THE PRESIDENT: I would call him something like me -- he is a realist.

MR. GODWIN: Yes, he seems to be.

THE PRESIDENT: (laughing) Yes.

MAY CRAIG: Tell us about it. (much laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: May, I don't write no social column.

MAY CRAIG: Tell us about it.

THE PRESIDENT: No. We had an awfully good time -- very successful -- both in Cairo and Teheran.

Q. Sir, does he share your view that there is hope of preventing another war in this generation?

THE PRESIDENT: Very definitely, if the people who want that objective will back it up.

Rather interesting, up at Teheran with Mr. Stalin the Prime Minister and I -- the Chinese of course didn't go to Teheran -- (I saw them) in Cairo -- they figured out that the governments and associated nations that were on our side represented between two-thirds and three-quarters of the entire population of the world, which I thought was rather a significant fact. In other words, world opinion if it ever does count, will count in circumstances like that.

Q. Mr. President, is there any message you would like to give the American people at your first press conference upon your return home?

THE PRESIDENT: No.

I want to say something to you off the record -- that is not for the American people, it is just for the press -- and that is that I am extremely sorry for several occurrences, which are not the fault of the Americans, where releases -- advance information subject to a release date -- were violated. And, of course, it does present an awfully difficult problem. I hope it can be made easier. I hope in the future that there won't be violations, as there have been in the past. We all

know it; no particular mystery about it. And the more -- the more I saw it happen, and it happened several times, the more I thought that advance stories for a future release date -- we have got to the point now where -- where they are not -- they are not kept.

And therefore, my thought is that in the future, in order to avoid these -- let's use a polite word: leak -- that we won't do it that way any more, and that, for example, where for some reason or other -- security reason is nearly the only one -- so far as I can make it so, that I would try out a new system, and that is to give them out as spot stories.

If, for example, we agree at Teheran on a statement in regard to the conference, and they start telegraphing it all over the world, it gets picked up by organizations that don't live up to the rule, and it gets picked up by the Axis -- Axis press on the air, and they spread it around -- another method. And I think it would be much more satisfactory if, where there is to be a lapse of time before it can be published, that we would not put it on the wire anywhere, but make it a spot story on the release day. Then the fellow that can get to the telegraph office or radio office, which is like running to the telephone here, you get your stories in a few minutes ahead of the other fellow. It seems to be the fairest way of doing it. So I am sorry to say that the method of trust has not worked, and it isn't -- it isn't our fault, as you all know.

MR. P. BRANDT: Mr. President, can you tell us whether there is prospect of future meetings similar to

Teheran?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, on call.

MR. P. BRANDT: On call.

Q. Mr. President, ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) That would mean anything and nothing, Pete. (laughter)

Q. Mr. President, what did you call Mr. Stalin?

THE PRESIDENT: What?

MR. GODWIN: What did you call Mr. Stalin?

THE PRESIDENT: I told him it was a beautiful day.

Q. What?

THE PRESIDENT: I told him it was a beautiful day.

MR. GODWIN: What did you call him? How did you address him?

THE PRESIDENT: What?

MR. GODWIN: How did you address him?

THE PRESIDENT: Marshal.

MR. GODWIN: Marshal.

Q. I see.

Q. Mr. President, since you got back, have you heard anything about Mr. Churchill's condition?

THE PRESIDENT: I got one word through the British embassy this morning, that he had a pretty good night and was a little better this morning. Of course, I was very much worried and still am by it, because it is the second time this year that he has had pneumonia.

Q. Mr. President, ---

Q. (interposing) Mr. President, is there anything you can say at this point about the possibility of General (George C.) Marshall's going to Europe?

THE PRESIDENT: No. There isn't any news one way or the other.

Q. Mr. President, in order to carry out your plan for releasing important communiques as spot news, wouldn't it be necessary for you to be accompanied in the future by representatives of the press associations? (laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: Depends on the size of the planes. I didn't have any room this time.

MR. GODWIN: Was there more than one plane?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, there were three planes. I had three planes.

MR. GODWIN: Well, you know these young men that you have dealt with have never violated a release.

THE PRESIDENT: That's right too. That is why I was very careful to say what I did.

MR. GODWIN: That's in the record.

Q. Mr. President, doesn't the matter of who owns the communication systems enter in?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know enough about who owns them. We have got pretty good radio facilities now. I think our North African news, for instance, comes -- radio stuff -- comes through all right -- doesn't have to come through some other place.

Q. Well, what we are getting at, Mr. President,

is there anything you can tell us about the method of your travels?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I think I can put it this way, mostly that when I -- well, I couldn't put it that way because it might disclose something else. (laughter) I went to Teheran in a plane. You can't go there by water. (more laughter)

Q. Did you go anywhere by water, sir?

THE PRESIDENT: What?

Q. Did you go anywhere by water?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, now -- now you are asking questions. That's different.

Q. That's what I get paid for. (laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: Well, one thing that irks me just as much as anyone else, on places and voyages. The Secret Service and the Army and the Navy, they are on my neck all the time for what they call security reasons; and -- and the reason is, when you leave a place and issue a statement, it is obvious you are going away. Well, I would give the thing out right away, if I had my choice, but some places it isn't considered in the best interests of security, because then they would know that you were leaving, and you are always, the whole distance -- you are under -- practically under the range of German planes. And it's like -- like shooting a duck sitting on the water for a -- for a German pursuit plane to go after a transport plane without any guns on it.

Well, for instance -- I don't set much stock in

this, but when we got to Teheran I went to the American legation, which is about a mile from the Russian -- they have an embassy there -- compound -- a high wall. And next door to them is the British embassy.

And that night, late, I got word from Marshal Stalin that they had got word of a German plot.

Well, no use going into details. Everybody was more or less upset -- Secret Service, and so forth. And he pleaded with me to go down to the Russian embassy -- they have two or three different buildings in the compound -- and he offered to turn over one of them to me, and that would avoid either he, or Mr. Churchill, or myself from having to take trips through the -- through the streets, in order to see each other.

So the next morning I moved out, down to the Russian compound. I was extremely comfortable there, and it was just another wall from the -- from the British place, so that neither one of the three of us had to go out on the streets, for example.

But of course, the whole place -- in a place like Teheran there are hundreds of German spies, probably, around the place, and I suppose it would make a pretty good haul if they could get all three of us going through the streets -- (laughter) -- that sort of thing. And of course, if it is known -- if your future plans are known, or if they can guess the time because of departure from one place, they can get German pursuit planes over the transport plane very easily.

Q. Mr. President, among the developments while

you were away was the call of a railroad strike against the decisions which Mr. (Fred) Vinson (Economic Stabilization Director) turned down. Did you talk to him about that today?

THE PRESIDENT: No.

Q. Have you gone into it?

THE PRESIDENT: No. I am coming to it later on.

Q. Mr. President, could you tell us whether there was a feeling in Teheran that it might be possible to bring about the military defeat of Germany next year?

THE PRESIDENT: Not setting any dates. We are all working extremely well together, all three of us, toward the defeat of Germany as fast as we can.

Q. Mr. President, there was a report, while you were away, that you had seen the Spanish leader, Franco. Would you say anything about that?

THE PRESIDENT: No, I didn't see him.

Q. Mr. President, there also was a story broadcast today over the Dakar radio saying that you had stopped there and conferred with French officials?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, I did.

Q. Can you tell us whom you saw there, sir?

THE PRESIDENT: What?

MR. GODWIN: Whom did you see?

Q. Can you tell us whom you saw there, sir?

THE PRESIDENT: The Governor of Dakar, and the Acting Commandant of the Navy Yard, and the Captain of one of the ships. I think that was about all. The Governor is a

civilian.

Q. Mr. President, ---

Q. (interposing) Mr. President, the -- that same broadcast, as heard by the O.W.I. listening station here, also said you boarded a surface ship there?

THE PRESIDENT: I couldn't tell you. I couldn't tell you about that. I did pass through Dakar. (laughter)

MR. GODWIN: Mr. President, you signed the bill relating to Selective Service -- in the selection of fathers in this country. And in this city it was -- seemed to be that you did what they call "Slapped Mr. McNutt in the face," that is a phrase which they use.

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) I am going to send -- probably going to send a Message on it.

MR. GODWIN: (continuing) Could you say something about that?

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) I will send a Message to Congress on it, in regard to various provisions in the bill, because if you read the bill section after section, and page after page, here is what it says essentially, putting it into plain English and not legislative language.

It says that in the draft of fathers, they should go to the bottom of the list, unless the President thinks they ought to be drafted anyway. Now what kind of a piece of legislation is that? That is practically what it says. There is always the provision, "unless the President decrees otherwise," which is a pious thought, but that is about all. It's an

expression of the hope on the part of the Congress that fathers will remain at the bottom of the list, and that's all -- an expression of a pious hope.

Well, that part of the bill is no reason I shouldn't sign, but the -- there is one part of the bill which was very -- made -- made for a very poor administration. We had the Director of the Selective Service office and Manpower office side by side, you might almost say they were sitting at the same desk, and the system was going awfully well. And in the draft you have to consider not only the -- the military services but you have to consider all those people who, for various reasons, ought to be put under the -- the Manpower end of things for use in special services, plants, and so forth, positions to which -- where they could be of more use than if they went into the Army or the Navy. And the thing has been going awfully well. It was a consolidation of agencies of the Government that had been successfully effected. It was good administration, because it was two branches sitting side by side at the same desk.

Now, the Congress in its wisdom -- always put that in -- decided that they shouldn't meet any more, that they should be separated from each other, which made it an administrative problem, and not in the right way, because it was going much better under the consolidation of sitting together on it than entirely separated.

Well, what I am working on now -- just talked about it today in Cabinet -- was trying to work out, through

Executive Order, some method by which they would remain separate agencies and follow out the law which says that they are to be entirely separated, but try to work out some liaison between them that will retain as far as we can this excellent working relationship between the two. Well, that -- that is the way -- gist of it.

MR. P. BRANDT: Mr. President, will this speech on Christmas Eve be your full report on your trip, or will you make a later report to Congress?

THE PRESIDENT: I will put as much into the first one, Pete, as I can; and anything that is left over I will put into the Annual Message.

Q. Annual Message.

THE PRESIDENT: What is that, the fourth of January?

MR. EARLY: Yes, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: Something like that.

Q. Mr. President, ---

Q. (interposing) Mr. President, is there anything you can tell us about General Patton?

THE PRESIDENT: No. I saw him in Sicily. I saw him, and General Clark and General Eisenhower went over with me.

Q. (interposing) Mr. President, ---

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) I think probably that you may, although you needn't attribute it to me -- if you want to write a piece, stick in there the story of a former President who had a good deal of trouble in finding a successful commander for the armies of the United States.

And one of them turned up one day, and he was very successful.

And some very good citizens went to the President.
"You can't keep him. He drinks."

"It must be a good brand of liquor."

MR. GODWIN: Speaking of drinking, did you attend one of those dinners where they had forty-five toasts? (loud laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I can tell you this, off the record -- (more laughter) -- I can't, because that is a subject that -- liquor -- you don't talk about out loud, you know that.

We had one banquet where we had dinner in the Russian style. Very good dinner, too. Russian style means a number of toasts, and I counted up to three hundred and sixty-five toasts. (laughter) And we all went away sober. It's a remarkable thing what you can do, if you try. (more laughter)

Q. How, Mr. President? (more laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: What?

MR. GODWIN: How?

Q. How? (more laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: When you go up to those places like Teheran, you learn! (more laughter)

Q. We would like the opportunity.

Q. Thank you, Mr. President.

Q. Thank you, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT: (to Mr. Godwin) I made one glass of vodka that big -- (indicating a two-inch width with his

fingers) -- last for about twenty toasts -- just about.

(laughter)

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CONFIDENTIAL

Press and Radio Conference #928

Executive Office of the President

(Tuesday) December 21, 1943 -- 11.10 A.M., E.W.T.

MR. DONALDSON: All in.

THE PRESIDENT: I am late because I have been trying to find news. I have had Steve (Early) working at it, and he can't find anything. I have been through the Army and Navy news, and there isn't anything.

And this is our last conference before Christmas, and I hope you will all have a very happy Christmas.

I am going to Hyde Park, as you know, but I will be back early next week; and we will have one more press conference in 1943, so this is not the last one of the year.

I literally haven't got any news. I have been working, as you know, with the -- on the railway wage problem. I think the executive committees are all here at the hotel, and I suppose I will see them again this afternoon, as I am free from two o'clock on, so if there is any news that can be given out -- any agreement, or any lack of agreement for that matter -- I hope that we will get it by tonight.

I hope that I will get -- the whole country will get a Christmas present, that there isn't going to be any railroad strike.

I told them all, day before yesterday, that of course a stoppage of transportation in this country would be probably the most serious blow that could be directed against the progress of the war, not only in our manufacturing of the

supplies and getting them to the seaboard to ships, remembering on the other side of it that every man that we have got outside of the United States, and there are a very great many of them, has to be supplied from here -- railroads and trucks -- and then put on board ship and taken to them.

And that is why the whole country will be -- will have the best Christmas present they could get, to know that transportation all over the country is going -- going ahead without stoppage.

I have been -- I think all the bills are signed, or vetoed; and the -- about fifty percent of the accumulation of mail during the past four or five weeks has been handled, and I think -- I hope before I leave here for Christmas that I will be able to clean up the other fifty percent.

Outside of that, I can't think of anything.

Q. Mr. President, are you satisfied that there will not be a strike? -

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know. I am waiting. That is what I hope to get -- find out about this afternoon.

Q. Mr. President, ---

Q. (interposing) Mr. President, is there anything you can tell us about specific proposals of agreement that you have made to the railroad people?

THE PRESIDENT: I think -- Oh, not in detail, because after all this isn't a question of detail as much as it is a question of carrying out the law, at the same time trying to -- to do justice as far as we can.

We have been talking about bringing the railroad wages up above the awards in the two cases -- the operating brotherhoods and the non-operating brotherhoods -- because there was a feeling that relatively these awards did not grant them increases to take care of the increase in the cost of living as much as had been awarded in other occupations.

And I found out last spring, I hadn't known it up to that time, that the bulk of the railroad employees in this country have never had time-and-a-half for their work. Nearly all other labor -- in the factories, for instance, as a matter of national policy, or law, or both -- has been getting time-and-a-half for overtime, but the railroad men have not; and under an old I.C.C. -- not I.C.C., a mediation law, one of the first ones in the case of the railroads, there seems to be a definite exception made in the law.

There are two ways, of course, of handling it. One is by legislation, which would be legal. The other would be handled by agreement between the employees and the carriers. That also would be legal. And I see no particular reason for discrimination, giving it to industrial workers and not giving it to railroad men, many of whom, of course -- I am thinking about the non-operating people and a portion of the operating people who are paid just like anybody else -- why they shouldn't get it as well as the industrial workers. There are -- there is a group, somewhere around a hundred and fifty to two hundred thousand operating people, who have always, since earliest railroad history, been paid on a mileage basis, but

it would seem to be possible for them to work out some plans where they would get the equivalent of time-and-a-half. And that is what we are all working on at the present time.

Oh, coming down to dollars and cents, that would make a difference between an increase of four cents an hour and eight cents an hour. And what I am hoping is that when arrangements can be worked out by which -- always within the -- within the stabilization law -- some method like time-and-a-half for overtime not only corrects an inequity but would be probably a fair thing.

And, therefore, I hope that we can work out some method that won't be held up for what I call picayune reasons. The substance of it is there, and it is -- a method of that kind is within the stabilization law. If it hadn't been for the stabilization law, they probably would have got it from these mediation boards in the first instance. But on a straight time basis, if they had got the extra four cents, it would have violated the stabilization law, and I think at the same time would have been inequitable in comparison with -- with other trades. So I hope that they -- the larger view of the picture will prevail ---

Q. (interposing) Mr. President, ---

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) --- this afternoon.

Q. Mr. President, you said that the time-and-a-half thing might differ from the other idea to the extent of four cents to eight cents. Can you amplify that a little bit? You mean that the time-and-a-half would amount to about

four cents an hour?

THE PRESIDENT: About four cents an hour.

Q. That would be on top of the four cents which they have already been awarded?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. That would be within the intent of the stabilization act.

Q. Mr. President, could you tell us whether you share Mr. Morgenthau's (Secretary of the Treasury) estimate of the tax bill?

THE PRESIDENT: I have no idea what it is, so I can't tell you.

Q. It's a very low estimate. (laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: (softly) Says you!

MR. P. BRANDT: Mr. President, General Somervell testified yesterday that in June 1942 you approved the Canol project in Alaska. Did you know at that time how much it was going to cost?

THE PRESIDENT: I -- I couldn't tell you, Pete. I think I did, but I would have to -- I would have to check it up. It was one of those projects to furnish, especially at that time, since the -- since there was likelihood of a great deal of action in -- in Alaska and the Aleutian Islands, I approved anything to get a new source of oil up there. It was a war measure distinctly.

Q. Mr. President, I wonder if you could comment on this, sir? Last week, the House put a floor under the price of crude oil of 35 cents, on the basis of eighty percent of

parity. In your judgment, does that break down the hold-the-line policy of the Government, or could you comment on it?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know.

Q. Mr. President, there were some stories from London this morning that British and American censorship were preparing plans to ban speculation on the second front, both in this country and in Great Britain in the future. Is that hooked up in any way with your new spot release plan?

THE PRESIDENT: Must have been -- No -- must have been just a London story.

Q. Mr. President, if we could go back to the railway labor, do you think of having legislation to give them the time-and-a-half later?

THE PRESIDENT: No. I told you that you would get it either one way or the other, either legislation or by agreement between the brotherhoods and employers -- the executives.

Q. Well, if you do it by agreement now, do you still want law later?

THE PRESIDENT: It wouldn't be necessary, if you had agreement now. What would be the point? Merely clutters up the statute books some more.

MR. P. BRANDT: Mr. President, isn't that one of the issues involved in the discussions, that the railroad brotherhoods want the legislation?

THE PRESIDENT: That has never come up, Pete. No. Not an issue.

Q. Mr. President, while you were away the

Senate passed the so-called soldiers' voting bill. The house has -- now has it under discussion. Can you give us any comment on that?

THE PRESIDENT: I have no idea -- I haven't read any of the legislation. I have read certain summaries of it.

I have a perfectly simple policy on it -- I think everybody knows -- and that is that every soldier should be given the opportunity to vote, unless the actual circumstances of combat in the combat field prevent his voting. That would be a very small percentage of the total soldier -- soldier vote. That's all.

Q. -- But ---

Q. (interposing) Do you think the Senate bill would give them that opportunity?

THE PRESIDENT: I haven't the faintest idea. I have got a policy.

Q. Mr. President, ---

Q. (interposing) Mr. President, can you tell us anything about ---

Q. (interposing) Mr. President, do you think Federal machinery is needed to implement that policy?

THE PRESIDENT: What?

Q. Do you think Federal machinery is needed to implement that policy?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, I am sure it is.

Q. Mr. President, can you tell us anything about your discussion yesterday with (Major) General (Lewis B.)

Hershey (Director, Selective Service)?

THE PRESIDENT: General who?

Q. General Hershey?

THE PRESIDENT: No. We were working -- working out together a proposed Executive Order to make the last bill workable from an administrative point of view, that's all.

Q. Can we expect that Order before the first of the year?

THE PRESIDENT: I think so.

Q. (aside) Let's go?

Q. Thank you, Mr. President.

Q. Thank you, Mr. President.

MR. EARLY: Good conference.

THE PRESIDENT: What?

MR. EARLY: Good conference.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

(May Craig showed the President a Kodacolor print of her five-months old grandchild)

THE PRESIDENT: What's that? Where do you get them in color?

MAY CRAIG: Just buy the little films.

THE PRESIDENT: Really? Awfully nice.

MAY CRAIG: Taken in the backyard.

THE PRESIDENT: Fine. Grand.

CONFIDENTIAL

Press and Radio Conference #929

Executive Office of the President

December 28, 1943 -- 4.07 P.M., E.W.T.

MR. DONALDSON: All in.

THE PRESIDENT: I have got a few things that I think are of interest.

Some more command announcements. Lieutenant General (Jacob) Devers will be the commander of the American forces in the Mediterranean theatre, and also deputy supreme commander to General (Sir Henry Maitland) Wilson in the same theatre.

Lieutenant General (Ira C.) Eaker, who is now in England and has been for some time, will become the allied air commander in the Mediterranean theatre.

General -- Major General (James H.) Doolittle will be assigned to command the Eighth Air Force that operates out of England.

And Major General (Nathan F.) Twining will command the Fifteenth Air Force.

Q. What was that last name, sir?

THE PRESIDENT: Twining.

Q. T-W-I-N-I-N-G?

THE PRESIDENT: T-W-I-N-I-N-G.

Q. Where does the Fifteenth operate from? (the Mediterranean theatre)

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I asked -- I asked Major General Watson. He didn't know. (laughter)

Q. Do you have the -- excuse me.

THE PRESIDENT: What?

Q. Do you have Twining's first name? I am not familiar with it.

THE PRESIDENT: No, I haven't even got that either.

Pa? Where is he? He isn't? He ran out on me.
(laughter) We'll find out later.

Then, on the railroad strike, I think some of you probably were at the Secretary of War's conference. I wish I could show you the whole book that I got on Monday -- No -- wait -- not Monday -- Friday last from the War Department, with every plan drawn for Federal operation of railroads. It is a remarkable document. All the telegrams that had been drawn beforehand, all the individual people that had been assigned to their respective areas, and actual troop units also been assigned, so that when the thing went into operation, in my Order last night, in practically every area, the thing was in effect by this morning. It is a very excellent illustration of how planning should be done, and why planning pays. The whole thing has been done -- it is -- Oh, I think the Secretary of War told you all about it, probably. I don't know who was there.

Then, on the -- on the railroad strike, there has been no more -- no further news from the three operating unions. I don't know what they are going to do.

Q. Mr. President, in your statement from the White House, it was in line that the Government expected every railroad man to stay on the job?

THE PRESIDENT: They are all employees of the

Government now.

Q. What was that?

THE PRESIDENT: They are all of them employees of the Government now.

Q. Yes.

THE PRESIDENT: In other words, anybody walking out is striking against the Government.

Q. I was going to ask you, sir, have you any reaction or any affirmation on that particular point from the railroad workers?

THE PRESIDENT: No. No.

Q. (interposing) Mr. President, ---

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) Too early since last night.

Q. (continuing) --- is it the plan to keep this for the -- those railroads for the emergency?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, for the emergency ---

Q. (interjecting) For the emergency.

Q. (interposing) Mr. President, ---

Q. (interposing) Mr. President, ---

Q. (interposing) Mr. President, ---

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) --- give them back as soon as we can.

Q. (continuing) --- that question, sir, is really ambiguous. Is it for the strike emergency, or for the war?

THE PRESIDENT: No, for the emergency. In other words, I want to turn them back as soon as I can, and if

all the -- all the railroad workers stay at work -- go back to work, I don't know that there will be any necessity of keeping them under the control of the Government. However, your question comes awfully close to verging on an "if" question.

(laughter)

Q. What is -- what keeps -- what keeps the Government employee working if he doesn't want to work? I mean, that's a mild way of asking the question. Some of these fellows may have said, "We 'ain't' going to work." Is there anything -- does that constitute a problem?

THE PRESIDENT: No. Hasn't yet. I hope it won't,

Q. Mr. President, the F.E.P.C. (Fair Employment Practices Committee) certified the defiance by some Southern railroads and railroad unions to you yesterday. Do you plan to take any action on that while the railroads are in your hands?

THE PRESIDENT: I hadn't heard about it. It would be up to the Secretary of War.

Q. Mr. President, does your answer to the question on the Government's relinquishing the roads mean that as soon as the three operating brotherhoods agree to accept the award they have made ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) No. Now you are getting too "iffy." Wait until something happens.

Q. Mr. President, I think that what is in the minds of the public is, why will railroad men work under Government control when you yourself made the proposal that

they continue to work under private control? Where is the difference? Where is the distinction in the mind of the man who would be striking?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't believe that you, Jim -- I don't believe you belong to any union?

Q. I belong to the Typographers' Union.

THE PRESIDENT: That's all right.

Well, it's the same idea that a great many people have in their heads. You take -- if you go back and take the coal situation, now the first thing those coal miners in this country would say is, "I am patriotic, but my union tells me to walk out. Everything that I have got for the last twenty years has been through the union. Comparing my conditions today with what they were twenty years ago, I am afraid I am going to lose these much better working conditions if I don't stick by the union. I got these better conditions by belonging to the union and sustaining it, doing what they recommend, and I can't see my way to throwing away twenty years' work for better conditions in the coal mines and better pay at anybody's plea. I am going to stick by the union."

Now, that is what most people, who belong to the unions, feel; and yet they claim to be a hundred percent patriotic. It might be called an anomaly.

Q. (interposing) Well, Mr. President, ---

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) It's a very difficult -- a frame of mind for the average worker to deal with.

Q. Is it not a fact that under the Smith-Connally

Act, after the Government has taken it over, you cannot organize or plan a strike?

THE PRESIDENT: I think that is true.

Q. Does the Smith-Connally Act apply to the seizure also?

THE PRESIDENT: To what?

Q. Does the Smith-Connally Act apply to this seizure?

THE PRESIDENT: Sure.

Q. The seizure and the relinquishment by the Government?

THE PRESIDENT: What?

Q. And the relinquishment by the Government? It says sixty days after they have attained efficiency, and so forth.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, but -- depends on how you interpret that "after."

Q. Efficient operation.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. That's a question of fact.

Q. Mr. President, there have been -- coming back to the military assignments you announced a moment ago -- there have been reports that Lieutenant General ("Blood and Guts") Patton might go up to the new invasion command in an important post. Is there any basis for that?

THE PRESIDENT: Not on this list. I don't know. I wouldn't -- I wouldn't do much guessing about that. That is old-womanish.

Q. Mr. President, the Prime Minister of South Africa, Mr. (Jan Christian) Smuts, spoke to the American people by radio this afternoon, saying he thought that the United States and other nations could form a good peace after the war by using the United Nations as a foundation, and bringing in the neutrals gradually, or eventually enemy nations when they have been converted.

THE PRESIDENT: I haven't read the thing. It's awfully difficult to comment on something I haven't read. But, of course, it is perfectly obvious that we are building the future around the -- what might be called the corporate status of the United Nations, certain columnists that I have read in the papers to the contrary notwithstanding.

Q. (interposing) Mr. President, ---

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) Don't use their bean. The trouble ---

Q. (continuing) --- excuse me, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: Go ahead.

Q. There seems to be some question about what is before you to arbitrate in the case of the non-operating unions. Would you care to say what you consider to be before you in that respect?

THE PRESIDENT: I haven't got anything specific before me, because I am trying to get the non-operating unions and the -- and the carriers to agree on the various things that we talked about in arbitration. But so far I haven't got a list of them.

Q. Mr. President, after you get that list, can we expect a decision from the non-operating committees while the Government is still in control of the railroads?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know. That is a constitutional question. I will have to ask Mr. Justice Byrnes.

(to Justice Byrnes) What about that?

JUSTICE BYRNES: The question is as to whether or not these organizations and the Commander-in-Chief or the Secretary of War can fix wages, while he is in control, for the Government. That is not constitutional; but that is a very good question.

Q. Mr. President, ---

(a press release on the foregoing -- edited -- was given to the press after this press conference. What follows here, of course, is not edited)

MR. DOUGLAS CORNELL (Associated Press): (interposing) Mr. President, after our last meeting with you, it appears that someone (Dilworth Lupton, Cleveland Press) stayed behind and received word that you no longer liked the term "New Deal." Would you care to express any opinion to the rest of us?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, I supposed somebody would ask that. In the future -- I will have to be terribly careful in the future how I talk to people after these press

conferences. However, what he reported was accurate reporting, and -- well, I hesitated for a bit as to whether I would say anything. It all comes down, really, to a rather puerile and political side of things. I think that the two go very well together -- puerile and political.

However, of course some people have to be told how to spell "cat" -- lots of people have to be told how to spell "cat," even people with a normally good education. And so I -- I got thinking the thing over, and I jotted down some things that -- Oh -- a lot of people who can't spell "cat" had forgotten entirely.

And of course, the net of it is that -- how did the New Deal come into existence? It was because there was an awfully sick patient called the United States of America, and it was suffering from a grave internal disorder -- awfully sick -- all kinds of things that happened to this patient, all internal things. And they sent for the doctor. And it was a long, long process -- took several years before those ills, in that particular illness of ten years ago, were remedied. But after a while they got remedied. And on all those ills of 1933, things had to be done to cure the patient internally. And it was done -- took a number of years.

And there were certain specific remedies that the old doctor gave the patient, and I jotted down a few of those remedies. The people who are peddling all this talk about "New Deal" today, they are not telling about why the patient had to have remedies. I am inclined to think that the

country ought to have it brought back to their memories, and I think the country ought to be asked too, as to whether all these rather inexpensive critics shouldn't be asked directly just which of the remedies should be taken away from the patient, if you should come down with a similar illness in the future. It's all right now -- it's all right internally now -- if they just leave him alone.

But since then, two years ago, he had a very bad accident -- not an internal trouble. Two years ago, on the seventh of December, he was in a pretty bad smashup -- broke his hip, broke his leg in two or three places, broke a wrist and an arm, and some ribs; and they didn't think he would live, for a while. And then he began to "come to"; and he has been in charge of a partner of the old doctor. Old Doctor New Deal didn't know "nothing" about legs and arms. He knew a great deal about internal medicine, but nothing about surgery. So he got his partner, who was an orthopedic surgeon, Dr. Win-The-War, to take care of this fellow who had been in this bad accident. And the result is that the patient is back on his feet. He has given up his crutches. He isn't wholly well yet, and he won't be until he wins the war.

And I think that is almost as simple, that little allegory, as learning again how to spell "cat."

The things -- the remedies that the old Doctor New Deal used were for internal troubles. He saved the banks of the United States and set up a sound banking system. We don't need to change the law now, although obviously there

are some people who don't like saving the banks who would like to change the whole system, so that banks would have the great privilege under American freedom of going "bust" any time they wanted to again.

Well, at the same time, one of the old remedies was Federal Deposit Insurance, to guarantee bank deposits; and yet I suppose there must be some people, because they make so much smoke, who would like to go back to the old system and let any bank, at will, go and lose all their depositors' money with no redress.

In those days, another remedy was saving homes from foreclosure, through the H.O.L.C. (Home Owners' Loan Corporation); saving farms from foreclosure by the Farm Credit Administration. I suppose some people today would like to repeal all that and go back to the conditions of 1932, when the people out West mobbed a Federal judge because he was trying to carry out the existing law of the land and foreclosing a farm; rescuing agriculture from disaster -- which it was pretty close to -- by the Triple A (Agricultural Adjustment Administration) and Soil Conservation; establishing truth in the sale of securities and protecting stock investors through the S.E.C. (Securities and Exchange Commission). And yet I happen to know -- I think I mentioned this several weeks ago -- that there is an under-cover drive going on in this country today to repeal the S.E.C., and "let's sell blue-sky securities to the widows and orphans and everybody else in this country." A lot of people would like to do that, take off all the rules and

let old Mr. Skin skin the public again.

Well, we have got slum clearance -- decent housing; and there hasn't been enough done on slum clearance. I don't think that people who go into slums in this country would advocate stopping that, or curtailing the program, although of course a few -- a small percentage of real estate men would like to have slums back again, because they pay money.

Reduction of farm tenancy.

Well, your old doctor, in the old days, old Doctor New Deal, he put in Old Age Insurance, he put in Unemployment Insurance. I don't think the country would want to give up Old Age Insurance or Unemployment Insurance, although there are a lot of people in the country who would like to keep us from having it.

We have -- we are taking care of a great many crippled and blind people, giving a great deal of maternity help, through the Federal aid system. Well, some people want to abolish it all.

And the public works program, to provide work, to build thousands of permanent improvements -- incidentally, giving work to the unemployed, both the P.W.A. (Public Works Administration) and W.P.A. (Work Projects Administration).

Federal funds, through F.E.R.A. (Federal Emergency Relief Administration), to starving people.

The principle of a minimum wage and maximum hours.

Civilian Conservation Corps.

Reforestation.

The N.Y.A. (National Youth Administration), for thousands of literally under-privileged young people.

Abolishing child labor. It was not thought to be constitutional in the old days, but it turned out to be.

Reciprocal trade agreements, which of course do have a tremendous effect on internal diseases.

Stimulation of private home building through the F.H.A. (Federal Housing Administration).

The protection of consumers from extortionate rates by utilities. The breaking up of utility monopolies, through Sam Rayburn's law.

The resettlement of farmers from marginal lands that ought not to be cultivated; regional physical developments, such as T.V.A. (Tennessee Valley Authority); getting electricity out to the farmers through the R.E.A. (Rural Electrification Administration); flood control; and water conservation; drought control -- Lord, remember the years we went through that! -- and drought relief; crop insurance, and the ever normal granary; and assistance to farm cooperatives. Well, -- conservation of natural resources.

Well, my list just totaled up to thirty, and I probably left out half of them. But at the present time, obviously, the -- the principal emphasis, the overwhelming first emphasis should be on winning the war. In other words, we are suffering from that bad accident, not from an internal disease.

And when victory comes, the program of the past,

of course, has got to be carried on, in my judgment, with what is going on in other countries -- post-war program -- because it will pay, if we don't go into an economic isolationism, any more than it would pay to go into a military isolationism.

This is not just a question of dollars and cents, although some people think it is. It is a question of the -- of the long range, which ties in human beings with dollars, to the benefit of the dollars and the benefit of the human beings as a part of this post-war program, which of course hasn't been settled on at all, except in generalities.

But, as I said about the meeting in Teheran and the meeting in Cairo, we are still in the generality stage, not in the detail stage, because we are talking about principles. Later on we will come down to the detail stage, and we can take up anything at all and discuss it then. We don't want to confuse people by talking about it now.

But it seems pretty clear that we must plan for, and help to bring about an expanded economy which will result in more security, in more employment, in more recreation, in more education, in more health, in better housing for all of our citizens, so that the conditions of 1932 and the beginning of 1933 won't come back again.

Now, have those words been sufficiently simple and understood for you to write a story about?

MR. BERT ANDREWS (New York Herald Tribune): Does that all add up to a fourth term declaration? (laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: Oh now -- we are not talking about things like that now. You are getting picayune. That's a grand word to use -- another word beginning with a P -- picayune. I know you won't mind my saying that, but I have to say something like that.

(from here on was not released to the press)

Q. Mr. President, to get back, if you don't mind, did you say that you were not aware that the railroad discrimination case had been certified to the White House; that is, the F.E.P.C.?

THE PRESIDENT: It came in. Jonathan Daniels brought it in today, and I can't tell you anything definite about it; but -- but I think, probably, that I will appoint some kind of commission -- committee, not a commission, it isn't as formal as that, that would get labor, and both myself -- in the North and all kinds -- and the carriers and the brotherhoods together, to see if they can't go about this whole problem on the -- with the object of making some steady progress.

I don't think, quite frankly, that we can bring about the millennium at this time. But as you know, on the race problem, we have made very distinct advances in the past ten years, and I want to continue making advances, although I don't think for a minute that -- but hope we can go all the way.

Q. Will that committee that you suggest have anything that would be contrary to, in any way, to the railway mediation panel, which has, I think ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interjecting) No.

Q. (continuing) --- a commission in there somewhere?

THE PRESIDENT: Have they?

Q. They have a mediation board in there, I think.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, this won't be a mediation process. We are going to try to get them to make agreements.

Q. Mr. President, is there anything you can tell us about your plans for New Year?

THE PRESIDENT: I think I will be still right here, probably writing another Message ---

MAY CRAIG: (interposing) Well, Mr. President, ---

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) --- to Congress.

MAY CRAIG: (continuing) --- I don't mean to be picayune, but I am not clear about this parable either. The New Deal, I thought, was dynamic, and I don't know whether you mean that you had to leave off to win the war and then will take up again the social program, or whether you think the patient is cured?

THE PRESIDENT: I will explain it this way. I will ask you a question, May.

Suppose -- in eighteen hundred and sixty-five, after the Civil War, there was a definite program arranged for and carried through under the leadership of the Congressman

from Pennsylvania (Thaddeus Stevens), who was the leader of the Republican party at that time. That was the policy. It lasted for nearly ten years -- a policy of repression and punishment of the whole of the South. That was the Government policy of the United States. Well, they didn't like it at all -- the country didn't. And finally, after ten years, they threw it out.

Now, do you think that twenty-five years later, in 1890, that we should have gone back to the same old policy? I don't. The country didn't go back to it.

You have a program to meet the needs of the country. The 1933 program that started to go into effect that year, it took a great many years. If you remember what I said, it was a program to meet the problems of 1933. Now, in time, there will have to be a new program, whoever runs the Government. We are not talking in terms of 1933's program. We have done nearly all of that, but that doesn't -- doesn't avoid or make impossible or unneedful another program, when the time comes. When the time comes.

MAY CRAIG: That's the answer.

THE PRESIDENT: When the time comes.

Q. Thank you, Mr. President.

Q. Thank you, Mr. President.