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PURPOSE

The primary purpose of this exhibition is to rebuild the American morale--recreate confidence in our country and our democracy, and to show, on broad lines, what we are, what we have been, and what we

YES TO DEMOCRACY

For people risen in time to the historic occasion.

From the first, the exhibition should breathe pride and confidence:

it should utilize to the full our slogan humor and restore the belief in ourselves that Mark Twain's Jukes had at the Court of King

YES TO DEMOCRACY

NO TO FASCISM

Arthur: "Difficulties, handicaps, ugly facts about our national life or our present situation should be unflinchingly faced: but always in connection with other facts that show we have the power to surmount these difficulties."

YES TO AMERICA

We present a bugbear: **NO TO HISTER HITLER**

that any work done in connection with making people buy toothpaste for blessing gum or a hair tonic to prevent baldness, but it is policy if we wish to create a united national will, capable of action, ready for sacrifice.

This is an attempt to denigrate our present, our past, and our future; and in every part of the exhibition they must be shown to be organically one. None of these elements in our life must be treated as static or fixed; we cannot live in the spirit of the past without departing from the past; we cannot meet the present intelligently unless we are prepared to make bold departures in the future. No class or group or region can remain alive and remain the same; the lesson of the whole exhibition must be that of a creative renewal, a national regeneration.

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PURPOSE

Necessarily this exhibition is not directed to the patrons or frequenters of the Modern Museum as such, nor to the intellectuals as such. On the contrary, it will not serve its purpose unless morale---restore confidence in our country and our democracy, and to find a common denominator between every class and group in the show, on broad lines, what we are, what we have been, and what we may yet theoretically be provided our people rises in time to the historic occasion.

and provides, and provide as much in common between the intellectual and the ignorant, the progressive and the conservative, as there is. From the first, the exhibition should breathe pride and confidence: it should utilize to the full our slangy humor and restore the belief in ourselves that Mark Twain's Yankee had at the Court of King Arthur. Difficulties, handicaps, ugly facts about our national life or our present situation should be manfully faced: but always in connection with other facts that show we have the power to surmount these difficulties. There should be no attempt to play up fear or to present a bugaboo: that may work when it comes to making people buy toothpaste for bleeding gums or a hairtonic to prevent baldness, but it is poison if we wish to create a united national will, capable of action, ready for sacrifice.

This is an attempt to dramatize our present, our past, and our future; and in every part of the exhibition they must be shown to be organically one. None of these elements in our life must be treated as static or fixed; we cannot live in the spirit of the past without departing from the past; we cannot meet the present intelligently unless we are prepared to make bold departures in the future. No class or group or region can remain alive and remain the same: the lesson of the whole exhibition must be that of a creative renewal, a national regeneration.

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Necessarily this exhibition is not directed to the patrons or frequenters of the Modern Museum as such, nor to the intellectuals as such. On the contrary, it will not serve its purpose unless it finds a common denominator between every class and group in the community. Its thinking should be basically rigorous, elevated, and aristocratic, demanding the best; but its feeling should be genial and generous, and provide as much in common between the intellectual and the ignorant, the progressive and the conservative, as there is between a business executive and his office boy during the final game of a world series.

The title Yes to America may or may not be a good one for the exhibition; but I think it indicates what such a show should stand for. The whole exhibition should be conceived positively, affirmatively, challengingly; even boastfully. We have had ducking and deprecating and debunking enough. Now is the time to say: Here stand we, stripped by blood and terror and death of all our pomps, vanities, privileges; asking ourselves solemnly what goods we must throw overboard from the ship to save it from being a complete wreck. If we try to save our cargo or to save even our own individual bare skins we are lost.

The mood we evoke will not last beyond the present crisis; every generation has to recover it and re-invoke it. But while it is on, we must make the most of it, lift it to higher pitch, use it to dissolve prejudices, habits, automatisms, indifferences that would otherwise be fatal to our lives and our civilization. Hence the exhibition must be conceived in a spirit of clean candor, which will respect nothing except the truth, and promise nothing except that which comes through patience, devotion, discipline, and unsparing effort.

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METHOD

For quick arrangement and presentation the exhibition is, I am
This exhibition, as here conceived, would be a series of photomurals
on standard panels broken with special dramatic or graphic presentations
by means of the other arts. These interludes will break the visual
monotony of a single medium; but I have not attempted, except by im-
plication, to conceive them.
The photomural panels have a three-fold purpose. They enable a con-
tinuous story to be told. They provide a balance between subject
matter and "text". Above all they lend themselves to reproduction
in other mediums. Thus Life carried a feature story on the film,
The City, utilizing both the photographs and the narration. In that
form an exhibition like this can reach more than a million readers.
Finally, the panels can be reproduced in smaller scale for travelling
exhibitions that could be shown in every city in the country, indeed
in every school.

Some of the possibilities of the photomural have still to be ex-
plored. One of them is the use of a change in scale in the visual
image itself, building up graphically to climaxes in which a single
face or a single object might cover a whole wall. Another possibility
is the use of negative prints.

I have used the following letterpress to suggest the mood and the
theme; but I have purposely kept away from suggesting images that
would tend to stereotype the associations of the designer of the
exhibition. Should any of this material be useable, however, I can
supply suggestions as to sources, statistics, and photographs.

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For quick arrangement and presentation the Exhibition is, I am sure, the most satisfactory technique. This should not exclude the possibility of arranging at a later stage for a documentary picture. In this connection I feel that there is a new field for exploration in the use of the Disney technique in a purely documentary film. It would give a freedom of exposition that photography at its subtlest cannot hope to rival.

Strong faces, men and women, in the foreground; scores of faces in the background. Photomontage with upstanding figures of heroic proportions. The whole done - conceived and carried out in heroic scale: nothing petty, nothing that has to be watched closely. The people should seem with life, upstanding and confident, with the effect of people rallying together. Landscapes and most - least one form the setting places.

Excellent faces should be identifiable in every picture; people look twice if it's someone they know or should know.

This first series should portray the underlying background of land and sea and history, taken together.

The text and the pictures should usually be in complementary relation and never merely repeat the story produced by the other medium. When the text is historical the pictures should usually be contemporary.

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2

WE ARE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

WHO ARE WE
WHO ARE WE?

WE ARE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

*WE ARE THE YANKEES WHO CARRIED THE ICE
to Rio and Calcutta and brought back
the from Canton*

Strong faces, men and women, in the foreground; acres of
the South Seas
faces in the background. Photomontage with upstanding figures of
We sailed the slipper under full sail
heroic proportions. The whole show conceived and carried out in
heroic scale: nothing petty, nothing that has to be examined minu-
te by the end
tely. The panels should swarm with life, upstanding and confident,
We fish for halibut under the leeboards of
with the effect of people rallying together. Landscapes and mach-
ines can form the resting places. *SOS on the ocean we*

Prominent faces should be identifiable in every panel;
people look twice if it's someone they know or should know.
SURVIVED? NO; WE'VE JUST BEGUN TO FIGHT

We sailed with Lawrence and didn't give up
This first series should portray the
through the submarine blockade in 1918
underlying background of land and work and
history, taken together.

*The box hasn't turned us and dirty
weather doesn't scare us*

The text and the pictures should usually be
DO YOU THINK YOU'LL SURVIVE THIS TIME?
in contrapuntal relation and never merely re-
peat the story presented in the other medium.
When the text is historical the pictures should
usually be contemporary.

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3

WE ARE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

WE ARE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

WE ARE THE MEN AND WOMEN OF THE SEABOARD

WE ARE THE MEN OF THE TALL WOODS

WE ARE THE YANKEES WHO CARRIED THE ICE
to Rio and Calcutta and brought back
tea from Canton ^{and we left it}
a land of farms, pastures, and orchards
We followed the whale from Greenland to
the South Seas ^{beaver, the caribou, and}
the fox

We sailed the clipper under full sail
faster than steam ^{feet gratefully and could}
whip our weight in wildcats

We go out to the Grand Banks and bring
back the cod ^{and leatherstocking men}
^{Benjamin and Abe Lincoln are our ancestors}

We fish for halibut under the icebergs of
Alaska ^{by an axe from the fir woods of}
^{Paine to the pine woods of Georgia, and}

When there's an SOS on the ocean we
stand by and bear a hand---waves or no
waves, danger or no danger ^{we}
^{log you in a spring torrent, and bring a}

We worked the guns with John Paul Jones
SURRENDER? NO: WE'VE JUST BEGUN TO FIGHT

We sailed with Lawrence and didn't give up
the ship ^{you might peel an apple}
^{and we can turn a forest into paper boards}

We moved two million American soldiers
through the submarine blockade in 1918
and didn't lose a transport ^{Mr. Hitler}
^{YOU HATE LIVER BUT A BIRD HAS LIVER}

The sea hasn't tamed us and dirty
weather doesn't scare us

DO YOU THINK YOU'RE STRONGER THAN THE SEA
MR HITLER?

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4

WE ARE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

~~WE ARE THE MEN OF THE TALL WOODS~~

WE ARE THE MEN OF THE TALL WOODS

We head the corn with a gun along over
our shoulders at the edge of the
We tackled a wilderness and we left it
a land of farms, pastures, and orchards
We dropped our plow and rushed to join
We trapped the beaver, the martin, and
the fox

We learned the Indian's ways and brought
We killed the six foot grizzly and could
whip our weight in wildcats

Daniel Boone and Leatherstocking Paul and
Bunyan and Abe Lincoln are our ancestors

We swing an axe from the fir woods of
Maine to the pine woods of Georgia, and
across to Michigan and the Pacific

We can level a forest, dance across a
log jam in a spring torrent, and swing a
pulley from the top of the highest
Douglas fir on the Cascades

In our sawmills we peel a fifteen foot
butt like you might peel an apple
And we can turn a forest into paper boards
or shingles almost overnight

Watch out for Paul Bunyan, Mr. Hitler
YOU AINT EVER MET A BIG MAN YET

This is the country, Mr. Hitler where
the people don't have to choose between
bread and peace. There's plenty of both
or whatever you like for our stomachs and
the peace for years

We throw our hearts around some pretty
strong arguments. You and your buddies,
Mr. Hitler, had better keep off our wings.

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WE ARE THE PEOPLE OF THE FARMLANDS---CORNLAND
WHEATLAND COWLAND VINELAND COTTONGRAND

We hood the corn with a gun slung over
our shoulders at the edge of the
wilderness

We dropped our plow and rushed to join
the Minute Men at Lexington

We learned the Indian's ways and brought
potatoes, corn and tobacco into every
home.

We invented the reaper and the binder and
the gangplow and the caterpillar tractor
and gave one man the strength and the
speed of twenty

The Northern Spy, the Concord grape, the
stringless bean, the navel orange, and green
silage for the winter feed are some of the
tricks we had up our sleeve

We put state colleges and agricultural
schools in every state so that the farmer
could hold his own with any city fellow
when it came to books. No one can call
us hicks or rubes or boobies and get away
with it

Our farms and orchards haven't yet begun to
feed half the Americans with all they
need to make them sound and healthy.
But we know how

This is one country, Mr. Hitler where
the people don't have to choose between
butter and guns. There's plenty of both
to spare---the butter for our stomachs and
the guns for yours

We throw our lariats around some pretty
crazy critters. You and your buddies,
Mr. Hitler, had better keep off our range.

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WE ARE THE PEOPLE OF THE OFFICES THE LOFTS AND THE SHOPS

WE ARE THE PEOPLE OF THE MINES AND FACTORIES

We can run anything from a corner grocery
or a hamburger palace to a chain of

We found the black rock in the Alleghenies
that would burn in engines and stoves and
furnaces

We invented the adding machine and the
We struck oil in Pennsylvania just about the
time that they found the gold in California

We kept on moving and prospecting and
digging and building---one eye on wealth
and the other on adventure. And don't you
think that wealth always came first.

We tunnel deep and sometimes we get trapped
below the earth till someone risks his
neck to haul us out. Maybe one of us
was the Sergeant who yelled to the boys in
Belleau Wood "Come on you sons of bitches,
do you want to live forever?"

We are the heirs of Eli Whitney who
invented the cotton gin and the standardized
pre-fabricated masket

We invented the telegraph and the telephone
and spread them far and wide. When we
invented the assembly line we made motor
cars multiply faster than the fleas on a
dog's back

The Wright Brothers watched the seagulls
and gave us wings. And we had caterpillar
tractors in production before the Germans
even knew the tread had been invented

There's nothing that machines and tools
can do that we can't do as good as any
other people and three times as fast

We'd rather build bridges than battleships
and caissons than cannon. BUT IF YOU
THINK THAT PEACE HAS SOFTENED US, MR HITLER,
COME AROUND AND MEET THE BOYS

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7

I

WE ARE THE PEOPLE OF THE OFFICES THE LOFTS AND THE SHOPS

WE ARE THE PEOPLE WHOSE LIVES HAVE BEEN AMERICA'S LIFE

We can run anything from a corner grocery or a hamburger palace to a chain of hotels. And when we count the change at night it comes out right.

We invented the adding machine and the cash register and the typewriter

We invented the mail order catalog and brought the Public Library Catalog to perfection. But if you can't find what you want for yourself just ask us

We invented the skyscraper to be a filing case for other filing cases

We can make an organization chart that's more complicated than a Scotchman's family tree and can find our way around it as easy as a news photographer in a riot

We are the secretaries and stenographers who could keep the business running if the Boss forgot to come back

We are the telephone operators who stick to their posts in a fire or a flood until the wire is cut

We are the garment workers who turned the mournful Song of the Shirt into the confident mocking laughter of Pins and Needles

We are the people who keep the whole works running smoothly and punctually hour by hour, day by day, year by year

DON'T TRY TO UPSET OUR SCHEDULE, MR HITLER WE'VE GOT A DATE TONIGHT AND IF YOU GET US MAD YOU'LL FIND WE CAN PUNCH SOMETHING ELSE BESIDES A TIME CLOCK

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11

WHERE DO WE COME FROM?

WE ARE THE PEOPLE WHOSE LIVES HAVE BEEN AMERICA'S LIFE

WE CAME FROM THE FIRST SHIPLOAD OF IMMIGRANTS

We are the people who landed on Plymouth Rock or came over in the last shipload of immigrants

We are the pioneers who conquered a continent for freedom

A map became alive
people into America

We are the soldiers and statesmen who wove the American dream into a solid fabric

continuously in the
begin with a little

We are the men and the women who translated America's deeds into words, so that out of those words might spring greater deeds

take in one by one
Chinese in California

We are the thinkers who made science at home in America, and the inventors and technicians who translated pure thought into a thousand cunning machines and utilities

moving into Cape Cod

We are the physicians who stood watch against pain and death. We are the teachers who gave ourselves to youth

We are the artists who showed America her image. We are the architects who gave America a form

We are the people who listened to the voice of America and gave it voice again

We are Rip van Winkle and Leatherstocking, Captain Ahab, Tom Sawyer, the Connecticut Yankee, I, Walt Whitman, Uncle Remus, Paul Bunyan

We are the unmeasured thoughts and feelings and emotions, the forms and the images and the ideas, through which America will find its life everlasting

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13
9

II

WHERE DO WE COME FROM? AMERICA

WE CAME FROM FEUDAL DESPOTIC EUROPE TO FREE AMERICA

English

We are the thrifty Magyars, the adventurous Swedes, the sturdy and passionate Dutchman

A map becomes alive. Every part of the world pours its people into America. This tide of migration might move continuously in the form of lights. It might be arranged to begin with a little trickle from the north of Europe, and then take in one by one the other lands. One must not forget the Chinese in California, the Japanese in Hawaii, the Portuguese moving into Cape Cod.

We said Give us Liberty or give us Death
The movement should be a movement from darkness into light.

We fled from the poverty of Europe with the Irish of the famine years

We fled from the brutal autocracy of Germany with the Go with of '18 and the Czechs of the old Austrian States

We are the Polish and Lithuanian and Belorussian, we are the Jews of all nationalities who fled from the tyranny of the Czar and the fear of pogroms

We are the French, the Spaniards and those whose soil could not support us any more

desires placed a status of liberty in our hearts

We have in America these truths are self-evident: that all men are born free and equal and that every man is entitled to the same and a demand

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11

right better

WE CAME FROM FEUDAL EUROPE TO FREE AMERICA

"NO MAN IS GOOD ENOUGH TO BE ANOTHER MAN'S MASTER. DID YOU EVER HEAR OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN, MR. HISSLER? HEAVEN COULD MAKE TEN OF YOU OUT OF OLD ANN'S LEAVINGS."

We are the Puritans who matched our own granite souls with the granite of New England

We are the thrifty Huguenots, the adventurous Swedes, the sturdy and passionate Dutchmen

We are the Cavaliers who gave laughter and grace and courage to Tidewater Virginia and the Old South

We are the people driven out of Europe by religious bigotry and political oppression

We are the peasants who refused to stay serfs and won't ever be driven back into fascist serfdom

We are the men with stiff backbones that refused to bow to Feudal privileges with stiff knees that refused to bend to tyrants

We said Give me Liberty or give me Death a thousand times before Patrick Henry spoke up

We fled from the poverty of Europe with the Irish of the Famine years

We fled from the brutal autocracy of Germany with the Germans of '48 and the Czechs of the old Austrian Empire

We are the Poles and Litwaks and Ruthenians, we are the Jews of all regions, who fled from the tyranny of the Czars and the fear of pogroms

We are the Scandinavians and Finns whose soil could not support so many mouths

America placed a statue of liberty in our hearts

We know in America these truths are self-evident: that all men are born free and equal and that every man is as good as the next man and a damned

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12

sight better

WE CAME TO AMERICA TO GET A FRESH START

"NO MAN IS GOOD ENOUGH TO BE ANOTHER MAN'S MASTER." DID YOU EVER HEAR OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN, MR HITLER? NATURE COULD MAKE TEN OF YOU OUT OF OLD ABE'S LEAVINGS.

...a time even the Indian was an
emigrant passing across the land-bridge
of Bering Straits---just a makhai as
old timers say in Hawaii

The land of America was fresh to the plow
when we settled here and the forests had
never heard the song of the ax

We didn't know where we were going but we
knew mighty well what we wanted to get away
from

Always the horizon beckoned us, and we kept
moving toward the horizon

The first horizon was the horizon of
religious liberty. It meant that each
man must answer to God with his own conscience
and our beliefs could not be imposed by
prince, king or pope

The second horizon was the horizon of
political liberty. Each man should have a
share in his country's government, and we
should have just as much government as
willed, not for ourselves, but the health,
safety and general welfare of the
people.

The third horizon was the horizon of economic
opportunity. Land for all who would work it
and security for life and property under the
law.

The fourth horizon is now opening before us
the horizon of social justice. We are moving
toward a time when the abundance of the earth
and the abundance of the machine will be
shared among all citizens as education is now
shared---up to the limit of their personal
capacity to use effectively the wealth that we
command as a people.

America is a land of wide horizons and the
horizons---still---before us and still
beckon toward us

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THE WORLD IS OUR LIVING SPACE AND ALL DIVERSE
GOVERNING MEN ARE OUR NEIGHBORS. THIS
LEAVES YOU AND YOUR SAND OUT, MR HITLER
WE CAME TO AMERICA TO GET A FRESH START

Once upon a time even the Indian was an
immigrant passing across the land-bridge
of Behring Straits---just a malahini as
old timers say in Hawaii

The land of America was fresh to the plow
when we settled here and the forests had
never heard the song of the ax

We didn't know where we were going but we
knew mighty well what we wanted to get away
from

Always the horizon beckoned us, and we kept
moving toward the horizon

The first horizon was the horizon of
religious liberty. It meant that each
man must answer to God with his own conscience
and our beliefs could not be imposed by
prince, king or pope

The second horizon was the horizon of
political liberty. Each man should have a
share in his country's government, and we
should have just as much government as
suited, not the governors, but the health,
safety and general welfare of the
people.

The third horizon was the horizon of economic
opportunity. Land for all who would work it
and security for life and property under the
law.

The fourth horizon is now opening before us:
the horizon of social justice. We are moving
toward a time when the abundance of the earth
and the abundance of the machine will be
shared among all citizens as education is now
shared---up to the limit of their personal
capacity to use effectively the wealth that we
command as a people.

America is a land of wide horizons and the
horizons still open before us and still
beckon toward us

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THE WORLD IS OUR LIVING SPACE AND ALL DECENT
GODFEARING MEN ARE OUR NEIGHBORS. THIS
LEAVES YOU AND YOUR GANG OUT, MR HITLER

WHAT DO WE MEAN BY THIS?

The content of the next section, we should for free Government,

is more difficult to visualize and quantify than those

presented hitherto; and this will also be true for some of

the later sections. The question is how to make these become

concrete and real, whilst sticking mainly to visual images.

The problem is, I believe, worth wrestling with.

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III

III

WE STAND FOR FREE GOVERNMENT

WHAT DO WE STAND FOR? we knoched together
a Constitution for a free people. It is now
the oldest written constitution in the World

Who governs us? We govern ourselves. Our
forefathers learned the job in the Town Meeting
and the Provincial Legislature. When we wake

The content of the next section, We Stand for Free Government,

is more difficult to visualize and dramatize than those

presented hitherto; and this will also be true for some of

the later sections. The question is how to make ideas become

concrete and real, whilst sticking mainly to visual images.

The problem is, I believe, worth wrestling with.

We have the bones of a constitution in the words
of the people, the words of the framers of our
country, the words of the people and the words of the

We have the bones of a constitution in the words
of the people, the words of the framers of our
country, the words of the people and the words of the

We have the bones of a constitution in the words
of the people, the words of the framers of our
country, the words of the people and the words of the

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of the people, the words of the framers of our
country, the words of the people and the words of the

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of the people, the words of the framers of our
country, the words of the people and the words of the

We have the bones of a constitution in the words
of the people, the words of the framers of our
country, the words of the people and the words of the

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III

III

WE STAND FOR HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

WE STAND FOR FREE GOVERNMENT

In dark and divided days we knoeked together
a Constitution for a free people. It is now
the oldest written constitution in the World

Who governs us? We govern ourselves. Our
foregathers learned the job in the Town Meeting
and the Provincial Legislature. When we make
a mess of it we rub the score out at election
time and start all over again

We hold that good government never was a sub-
stitute for self government

When the land was wild and men were wilder we
joined the sheriff's posse when it was time to
come to terms with the murderer, the cattle-
thief, or the desperado

We learn the lesson of cooperation in the school,
the grange, the trade union, the Chamber of Com-
merce, the cooperative society, and the local clubs

We cast our ballot without having a storm trooper
watch us to see that we vote Yes

We have the protection of the Constitution and
the law even in Jersey City, and we have no fear
of getting into a concentration camp when we
give the local boss the razzberry. When justice
miscarries with a Sacc-Vanzetti or a Mooney &
thousands rise up in open protest

If there is a flood or an earthquake or a fire we
don't wait for orders from headquarters. We get into
action by laying hold of the first dozen other free
Americans within reach

We're used to the job of pioneering. We built this
country overnight. In 1917 we built an army over-
night. Today we're strong enough to build an army
and rebuild a country while Mr. Hitler is waiting for
the astrologers to get the latest dope from the stars

YOUR GREAT GENERAL LUDENDORFF NEVER STOPPED RUNNING,
MR HITLER ONCE HE FOUND OUR ARMY WASN'T JUST A
YANKEE BULFF. HOW FAST CAN YOU AND YOUR GOOSESTEP-
PERS RUN?

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III
III

WE STAND FOR HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

We Americans left the Europe of the stunted men, the people who had been stunted by serfdom, stunted by poverty, stunted by ignorance, stunted by tyranny

America stands for human development and growth

We care for our children as they have never been cared for on earth before---in homes, camps, hospitals, health centers

We watch over expectant mothers and give them the benefit of silence and common knowledge so that they may produce and care for better children

Every child has a place in our public schools and we have more children in high school per thousand people than any other country

Scholarships and municipal colleges and state universities give the fullest chances of education for even the poorest

Our hospitals provide the same skill and attention for the poor who are ill as for those who can afford to pay

We feed the mind and the spirit no less than the body, with public libraries, forums, orchestras, dramas, galleries, museums, murals.

During the last generation our municipal budgets for health and education have been steadily rising

We believe every American has a right to the fullest possible development as a personality

AMERICA IS NO PLACE FOR THE STUNTED MEN, THE FACELESS MEN OR THE SUBMEN OF FASCISM

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III WE STAND FOR DEMOCRACY

WE STAND FOR A COMMON SHARE IN OUR COMMON HERITAGE

We own our lakes and rivers from the Hudson to the Sewanee, from the Columbia to the Mississippi

We own our city parks, our state parks, our national parks, our great forest reservations; and every year more of our primeval background comes back once more to the people who originally possessed it.

We own our highways and our parkways, our tunnels and our bridges, the connecting ties that make America one

We own our public monuments from the Indian caves of ancient days to the tombs of our honored dead

We own so many thousand playgrounds; we own swimming pools and beaches and wild life reservations

We own Boulder Dam and Bonneville and Grand Coulee. We own the hydro electric plants and nitrate plants of the Tennessee Valley

We own our arsenals and naval shipyards

We own our schools and libraries, and museums; so many thousands of them.

We own the new communities that have cleared out and replaced the slums

We own the Panama Canal

Every citizen has a stake in every part of the country, and the most prosperous among us would be poor is they did not have an equal part in that which we all possess

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16 WHAT'S WRONG WITH AMERICA

BEHIND THAT WE CAN'T COME

III WE STAND FOR DEMOCRACY

We were so bent on conquering a continent that we dropped the privileges and the titles of the old world as soon as our country was founded. Plain Mr. is good enough for the President of the United States

We hate uniforms and artificial distinctions. You can tell an American means business when he is in his shirtsleeves (army officer at work) but he is only on a tear when he struts a uniform (Elks or Shriners parade)

Democracy means that opportunity should go with ability---not with family or property or title

Democracy means equality of responsibility---no democracy can survive the indifference or neglect of its members

Democracy means that men and women are scared and that institutions must be altered as the needs of the people for life, liberty and happiness demand this alteration

Democracy means that men are brothers and comrades; that no man has the right to rule except for a limited time, by the free consent and election of those who are governed

Democracy means perpetual struggle and conflict because it is founded on a belief in improvement and perfectibility

Fascism promises to do away with struggle and to make the common man free from political responsibility: that is the "liberty" of slaves

Fascism promises peace: fascist peace which is death

Democracy promises perpetual struggle and war: war against disease and death, a war against the brute in man, a war against the forces of violence, despotism, and disorder.

In short, Democracy promises life; and life is never perfect and never finished: "It is provided in the essence of things that from any fruition, no matter what, shall proceed that which will make a greater effort necessary."

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17

IV WHAT'S WRONG WITH AMERICA

NOTHING THAT WE CAN'T CORRECT

We were so bent on conquering a continent that we raped the land instead of treating her like our wife and lifelong partner

---Now we are repairing a century of soil erosion and timber mining. The CCC and the shelter belt and the reservoir systems

We were in such a hurry to get settled that we treated the Indian the same way that the fascists have treated the Abyssinians the Spaniards the Czechs the Danes the Norwegians the Dutch and the French

---Now at last we are understanding the Indians and making good all the damage our ancestors did to them and us

We were so greedy to turn Whitney's cotton gin to profit that we robbed Africa of thousands of colored people to serve as slaves in the fields and then fought a bloody battle brother against brother to keep slavery from spreading

--But in two generations the ignorant slave was being turned into a responsible citizen. He has a place in our schools and colleges his songs are on our lips. One by one the fetters have been removed

We were so sure that every American could get rich quick that we overlooked the fact that opportunity died out in the nineties when the last good free land was occupied. With our eyes on the riches of the few we overlooked the poverty of the many

---Now we know that more than one third of a nation is not well housed well fed or well provided with the other goods of civilization but in the worst economic crisis on all time we gave work and food to all the needy. Kept up their self respect. Introduced hope into lives that would have been crushed. Created out of their labor fresh wealth

We built cities for speculative gain and made urban living expensive tedious and wasteful

NOW WE ARE CLEARING OUT OUR SLUMS AND BEGINNING ALL OVER AGAIN.

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LV WHAT'S WRONG WITH AMERICA

IV WHAT'S WRONG WITH AMERICA
DEMOCRACY HAS BEEN ASLEEP

A REAL DEMOCRACY WOULD BRING AND BRING WITHOUT RESPONSIBILITY, RISK, OR SACRIFICE

WE HAVE GIVEN CITIZENSHIP TO PEOPLE WHO DO NOT UNDERSTAND WHAT AMERICA IS AND DO NOT SHARE OUR HOPES FOR WHAT IT MAY BECOME - THE BUND ITALIAN FASCISTS COUGHLINITES PARTY COMMUNISTS

WE HAVE GIVEN AMERICAN FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND ASSEMBLAGE TO PEOPLE VOWED TO EXTERMINATE THE BILL OF RIGHTS AND ALL IT STANDS FOR

WE HAVE PREACHED PEACE TO OURSELVES SO STEADILY THAT WE ARE PREPARED TO RENOUNCE JUSTICE OR FREEDOM OR EVEN NATIONAL SECURITY IN ORDER TO PRESERVE PEACE

AMERICAN DEMOCRACY HAS PLAYED WITH THE ILLUSION WE HATE WAR SO MUCH THAT WE OVERLOOK THE FACT THAT FASCISM WOULD MAKE WAR PERPETUAL AND SLAVERY UNIVERSAL

WE HAVE LET OUR YOUTH GROW TO MANHOOD WITHOUT PRACTICE IN DEMOCRACY AND WITHOUT THE COURAGE TO FACE DEATH AND DISASTER WE HAVE FORGOTTEN THAT UNLESS WE ARE READY TO DIE FOR JUSTICE AND FREEDOM AS THE FATHERS OF OUR COUNTRY WERE WE SHALL KEEP OUR SKINS ONLY BY SUBMITTING TO BLACKMAIL INJUSTICE AND SLAVERY

WE HAVE DEBUNKED OURSELVES OF OUR GREAT PAST AND THE GREAT MEN THAT HAVE SERVED US OUR LEADING PRIVATE FASCIST ONCE SAID THAT HISTORY IS BUNK WHICH IS ANOTHER WAY OF SAYING THAT HUMAN LIFE IS MEANINGLESS

WE HAVE GIVEN OUR CITIES OVER TO GANGSTERS AND DESPOTIC LAWBREAKING POLITICAL BOSSES BECAUSE OUR RESPECTABLE CITIZENS LET THEMSELVES BE INTIMIDATED AND HAD NOT THE GUTS TO FIGHT IT OUT WITH THEM

WE PASS THE BUCK TO THE POLITICIANS AND THE POLITICIANS READ THE GALLUP POLLS AND PASS THE BUCK BACK TO US THE CHEAP POLITICIAN IS BRAID TO STICK OUT HIS NECK THE CHEAP CITIZEN SAYS LET GEORGE DO IT

WE TALK TO THE WORLD LIES A GREAT POWER AND ACT FASCISM IS EUROPE'S ANSWER TO THE PARALYSIS AND SLEEPING SICKNESS OF DEMOCRACY

AMERICA MUST WAKE UP IN TIME TO FRAME AN ANSWER IN TERMS OF AN AROUSED PUBLIC SPIRITED AND DYNAMIC DEMOCRACY

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IV WHAT'S WRONG WITH AMERICA?

A WEAK DEMOCRACY WANTS PEACE AND PLENTY WITHOUT RESPONSIBILITY, RISK, OR SACRIFICE

DEMOCRACY HAS FED ITSELF WITH ILLUSIONS. WE HAVE SUBSTITUTED A WISHBONE FOR A BACKBONE

THE U.S. TOOK THE INITIATIVE IN REDUCING ARMAMENTS AND IT SPREAD A SENSE OF FALSE SECURITY THROUGH THE KELLOGG PACTS BY WHICH EVERY NATION VERBALLY RENOUNCED WAR

RESULT: ARMAMENT IS IN THE HANDS OF INTERNATIONAL GANGSTERS AND THE JAPANESE HAVE BEEN EXTERMINATING MILLIONS OF CHINESE WITHOUT DECLARING WAR

AMERICAN DEMOCRACY HAS PLAYED WITH THE ILLUSION OF CREATING A POLITICAL UNITY IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE WHEREAS THE HEMISPHERE WHOSE POLITICAL FATE MOST CONCERNS US IS THE NORTHERN HEMISPHERE

WE HAVE PREACHED THE GOSPEL OF PEACE WITHOUT COOPERATING TO ESTABLISH PEACE WE SENT "OBSERVERS" TO THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND THEN SNEERED BECAUSE THE LEAGUE PROVED SO POWERLESS

WE ARGUED FOR LAW BETWEEN THE NATIONS WITHOUT HELPING TO CREATE THE LAW COURTS AND THE ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS THAT COULD LAY DOWN THE LAW OR THE INTERNATIONAL AUTHORITY AND POLICE FORCE THAT COULD EXECUTE IT

WE HAVE LET FASCISM SPREAD INTO DEMOCRATIC COUNTRIES WITHOUT DEMANDING AN EQUAL RIGHT FOR OUR DEMOCRACY TO SPREAD INTO FASCIST COUNTRIES

WE IMAGINE WE CAN REMAIN FREE AND INDEPENDENT IN A WORLD IN WHICH THE FASCISTS CONTROLLED THE ESSENTIAL RAW MATERIALS WE NEED FOR OUR ARMAMENTS

WE HAVE FAILED TO TAKE THE LEAD IN PROMOTING INTERNATIONAL UNION AND COOPERATION BETWEEN DEMOCRATIC PEOPLES AND SO HAVE LOST ALL THE DEMOCRATIC ALLIES WHO MIGHT UNDER OUR LEADERSHIP HAVE MADE A STAND AGAINST FASCISM

WE TALK TO THE WORLD LIKE A GREAT POWER AND ACT LIKE A TIMID LITTLE POWER

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WHO THREATENS AMERICA TODAY?

WE DO WE CLING TO OUR ILLUSIONS
WE DO---WE HAVE LOST OUR IDEALS

WE ARE THE RIP VAN WINKLES WHO DO NOT KNOW THAT
A THOUSAND YEARS SEPARATES 1930 FROM 1940
WE HAD THE MACHINES AND NOW WE ARE LIVING THE
IN NINETEEN THIRTY IT WAS UNIMAGINABLE THAT TORTURE
AND TERRORISM SHOULD BECOME THE CONSTANT INSTRUMENTS
OF FASCIST GOVERNMENT CAN PROTECT FREEDOM
EXCEPT THE DESIRE TO BE FREE
IN NINETEEN FORTY THE GESTAPO HAS DELIBERATELY
EXTERMINATED THE POLITICAL AND INTELLECTUAL
LEADERS OF GERMANY AUSTRIA POLAND AND EVERY
OTHER COUNTRY THEY CONTROL BEHIND THE
POLES AND WURLES ON THE LATEST SWING BAND OVER
IN NINETEEN THIRTY ONLY A FEW LOVELY AVIATORS
HAD COVERED THE ROUTE FROM AMERICA TO EUROPE
WE DON'T HAVE THE POWER TO CONTROL THE EVENTS THAT
TODAY THERE IS A REGULAR SERVICE AND INSTEAD OF
OF EUROPE'S BEING FOUR AND A HALF DAYS AWAY FROM
AMERICA IT IS CLOSER THAN BOSTON WAS FROM NEW BRITAIN
YORK WHEN THE THIRTEEN COLONIES UNITED

IN NINETEEN THIRTY GERMANY HAD ONLY A SKELETON
ARMY AND THE PEACEFUL DEMOCRATIC NATIONS RULED
EUROPE AND SAFEGUARDED THE WESTERN WORLD FROM
POSSIBLE EUROPEAN AGGRESSION WE DON'T UNDERSTAND
WHY ANYONE SHOULD DUBIT IN SUPPORT OF ENEMIES

IN NINETEEN FORTY THE FASCIST POWERS OCCUPY
THE GREATER PART OF THE WORLD AND THE UNITED STATES
FACES THE OPEN ENMITY OF GERMANY ITALY AND
JAPAN WITH NO ALLIES EXCEPT THE WEAK THE PROSTRATED
AND THE DEFENCELESS IF ONCE THE OTHER ENGLISH
SPEAKING PEOPLES GIVE UP LIFE OF SACRIFICE FOR
THE SAKE OF GREATER POWER TO COME WE DON'T

WE RIP VAN WINKLES ARE WORTH ALL THE PROPAGANDISTS
YOU CAN HIRE, MR HITLER WE THINK ONE MUST
KEEP AN OPEN MIND ABOUT FASCISM AND APPEASE
OUR ENEMIES JUST THE WAY THAT MR CHAMBERLAIN TRIED
TO WE ARE STILL WAITING FOR YOU TO DECLARE WAR
ON THE U.S. BEFORE WE WILL LIFT A FINGER AGAINST
YOU WE HAVEN'T LEARNED YET THAT FASCISM NEVER
DECLARES A WAR UNTIL IT HAS WON IT

WE ARE THE ONLY ONE WHO THREATEN US TODAY
WE ARE THE ONLY ONE WHO THREATEN US TODAY

WE ARE THE ONLY ONE WHO THREATEN US TODAY
WE ARE THE ONLY ONE WHO THREATEN US TODAY

WE ARE THE ONLY ONE WHO THREATEN US TODAY
WE ARE THE ONLY ONE WHO THREATEN US TODAY

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WHO THREATENS AMERICA TODAY?

WHO THREATENS AMERICA TODAY?

WE DO---WE HAVE LOST OUR IDEALS

WE MADE THE MACHINES AND NOW WE ARE LETTING THE MACHINES MAKE US WE THINK THAT A FEW BILLION DOLLARS WORTH OF GUNS AND PLANES WILL KEEP US FREE WE FORGET THAT NOTHING CAN PROTECT FREEDOM EXCEPT THE DESIRE TO BE FREE

WE DONT DARE FACE THE CRUEL AND UGLY WORLD WE LIVE IN SO WE TAKE OUR MINDS OFF IT BY WATCHING THE BASEBALL SCORES BETTING ON THE PONIES AND TURNING ON THE LATEST SWING BAND OVER THE RADIO

WE DONT HAVE THE COURAGE TO CONTROL THE EVENTS THAT ARE INVOLVING US IN DISASTER SO OUR POLITICANS AND LEADERS KEEP READING THE RETURNS IN THE GALLUP POLLS WITHOUT DARING TO INFORM THE PUBLIC HOW CRITICAL OUR SITUATION IS

WE BELIEVE THAT LIFE ISN'T WORTH LIVING WITHOUT STEAM HEAT HOT AND COLD RUNNING WATER A GLASSED IN SHOWER BATH A MOTOR CAR AND THE LATEST FASHIONS IN CLOTHES AND COSMETICS SO WE DONT UNDERSTAND WHY ANYONE SHOULD BOTHER TO SUPPORT OR DEFEND HIS COUNTRY UNTIL EVERYONE OWNS EVERYTHING A SATURDAY EVENING POST AND SAYS AN AMERICAN SHOULD OWN OR HAVE

THE PIONEERS AND IMMIGRANTS WHO CAME TO AMERICA TOOK CHANCES AND LIVED A LIFE OF HARDSHIP FOR THE SAKE OF GENERATIONS TO COME BUT WE DON'T DARE SAY A WORD OR COMMIT AN ACT THAT WOULD TAKE AWAY ANY OF OUR COMFORTS OR BRING US CLOSER TO DANGER

WE THINK THAT NOTHING IS REAL UNLESS YOU CAN SEE IT TOUCH IT OR EAT IT AND THAT MEANS THAT LIBERTY JUSTICE ORDER HUMANITY AND LOVE HAVE CEASED TO BE REAL FOR A LOT OF US

WE ARE AFRAID OF THE TYRANNY OF WORDS AND SO WE ACCEPT THE TYRANNY OF IGNORANCE AND INERTIA

WE ARE THE PASSIVE SPECTATORS WHO THINK THAT LIFE IS JUST A NEWSREEL WE ARE USED TO SEEING TORTURE MURDER AND SLAVERY HAPPENING ON THE SCREEN AND WE DON'T BELIEVE IT CAN HAPPEN ANYWHERE ELSE LIKE THE SCANDINAVIANS WE STILL THINK FASCISM WILL RESPECT OUR NEUTRALITY AND HELPLESSNESS

WE ARE YOUR ORDAINED VICTIMS MR HITLER YOU CAN COUNT ON A RABBITS CHEER FROM US IF YOU EVER GET OVER HERE

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WHO THREATENS AMERICA TODAY?

THE FASCIST POWERS OPENLY THREATEN AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

THE WORLD CANNOT EXIST HALF FASCIST AND HALF FREE

FASCISM MAKES WAR ON TWO FRONTS EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL

FASCISM DOESN'T ATTACK WITH BOMBS AND GUNS UNTIL IT HAS POISONED ITS VICTIM WEAKENED HIS CONFIDENCE AND SAPPED HIS WILL TO FIGHT

FASCISM'S FIRST WEAPONS OF DEFENSE ARE HATE SUSPICION ENVY AND MISTRUST

FASCISM STARTS AN ANTI-SEMITIC CAMPAIGN IN ORDER TO SPREAD CONFUSION AND HATRED

FASCISM HEAPS HONORS AND PRAISE ON THOSE WHO WILL CARRY ITS MESSAGE BACK TO AMERICA: LINDBERGH FORD HAM FISH ROBERT REYNOLDS

FASCISM SEEKS TO INDOCTRINATE TOURISTS AND YOUNG STUDENTS BY SHOWING THEM THE BEAUTIES AND ACHIEVEMENTS OF GERMANY AND ITALY AND CONCEALING THE FACT THAT ALL BUT AN INSIGNIFICANT HANDFUL OF THESE BEAUTIES WERE CREATED BY MEN WHO BELIEVED IN HUMANITY IN SCIENCE AND IN SOCIAL COOPERATION, NOT BY FASCISTS

FASCISM FILLS AMERICA WITH LYING PROPAGANDA BULLETINS AND POISONOUS DEFAMATIONS FACISTS CONSULATES AND TOURIST BUREAUS PROMOTE ANTI-DEMOCRATIC ACTIVITY

FASCISM DRILLS ITS BUNDISTS AND WRECHERS IT WORKS WITH THE BLACK LEGION THE SILVER SHIRTS AND OTHER NATIVE GROUPS THAT ARE DISLOYAL TO DEMOCRACY

FASCISM USES THE BANNER OF SOCIAL JUSTICE AND CHRISTIAN FRONTISM TO ATTACK JUSTICE AND UNDERMINE CHRISTIANITY

FASCISM CALLS THOSE WHO RESIST IT WAR MONGERS AND IT USES THE PACIFISM AND MUDDLEHEADEDNESS OF THE WELL MEANING IN ORDER TO MAKE ITS CONQUESTS EASIER

HITLER BOASTS THAT BY NINETEEN FORTY FOUR HIS AGENTS WOULD HAVE THE UNITED STATES IN THE MIDST OF A CIVIL WAR OUT OF WHICH FASCISM WILL COME

ONE CIVIL WAR IS ENOUGH FOR US MR HITLER A HUNDRED MILLION AMERICANS MAYBE A HUNDRED AND THIRTY ARE UNITED ON THAT

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WHO THREATENS AMERICA TODAY?

AMERICA BY FASCIST PLANS FOR WORLD DOMINATION SPELL DOOM IF WE SUBMIT

DEMOCRACY AND FREEDOM WERE THE CREATION OF ENGLISH
WE CALL INSPIRING PEOPLES AND THEIR FATE RESTS WITH THESE
PEOPLES

THE TOTALITARIAN ATTACK ON AMERICAN DEMOCRACY WILL
BE SIMPLE IF THE OTHER ENGLISH-SPEAKING PEOPLES ARE
ALLOWED TO SINK WITHOUT OUR AID. AGAIN IN THE
EYES OF YOURS THE GIBAR OF THE BEAST OF FEET
THE SQUEEZE AGAINST AMERICA WILL COME FROM FOUR
DIRECTIONS:

WE HAVE OUR BEATS OF LATTER WAR IN NEW UNIFORMS IN
FROM THE EAST BY GERMANY AND ITALY OF THE NINTH-
FROM THE SOUTH BY A FRANCE DOMINATED LATIN
AMERICA

FROM THE WEST THROUGH JAPAN, RUSSIA AND THEIR
FROM THE NORTH THROUGH SIBERIA

IF THE FASCISTS HAVE AS MUCH AS TWO YEARS FREE
FROM BLOCKADE THEY CAN STARVE AMERICA OUT OF
WORLD MARKETS AND WITHHOLD FROM THERE ALL THE
ESSENTIAL PRECIOUS MINERALS AND NATURAL RESOURCES
THAT ARE NEEDFUL FOR FINE MACHINE MAKING

TUNGSTEN VANADIUM CHROMIUM
TIN NICKEL ETC. AND THEREBY THEIR
THE FASCIST SCHEME OF WORLD DOMINATION INVOLVES:

NOT TO THE WHITE HOUSE THE STATE DEPARTMENT OR
THE A MASTER RACE THE GERMAN
SATELLITE PEOPLES ITALIANS
SPANIARDS AND
JAPANESE
SLAVE PEOPLES THE REST OF THE WORLD
AND ABOVE ALL FASCISM'S
MOST DANGEROUS RIVALS
THE OLD DEMOCRACIES

HITLER PROPOSES TO GIVE US THE ALTERNATIVE OF
BEING PARTNER TO THE NAZI EXPLOITATION OF
EUROPE BY DONATING CAPITAL AND CURRENT SUPPLIES
OR OF BEING REDUCED TO OPEN SLAVERY

IF WE ACCEPT THE FIRST BID THE SLAVERY WILL COME
BY DEGREES UNTIL HITLER HAS A STRANGLEHOLD THAT
WILL TURN AMERICA INTO A FASCIST SATELLITE

AMERICAN DEMOCRACY CANNOT SURVIVE ALONE IN A
FASCIST PRISON AMERICA MUST MAKE A BREAKAWAY
BEFORE THE PRISON IS FINISHED

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AMERICA REJECTS FASCISM

WE CALL IT CRIME IN THIS COUNTRY

FASCISM DELIBERATELY SEEKS TO BARBARIZE THE
WORLD HITLER SAYS: I WANT TO SEE AGAIN IN THE
EYES OF YOUTH THE GLEAM OF THE BEAST OF PREY
GRASS OR BASTARDY I WILL WIPE OUT THOUSANDS OF YEARS OF DOMESTICATION

WE HAD OUR TASTE OF LITTLE MEN IN BIG UNIFORMS IN
THE TWENTIES BUT THE FIERY CROSS OF THE NIGHT-
SHIRT BRIGADE NEVER GOT NEAR THE WHITE HOUSE

WE HAVE HAD OUR SHARE OF THE BOSSES AND THEIR
GANGS OF GUNMEN AND GOONS BUT WHEN OUR DEMO-
CRATIC TOLERANCE IS PROVOKED TOO FAR WE PUT THE
PREMERSGASTS AND THE JIMMY HINSES IN JAIL

THE WOULD BE FUEHRERS HAVE BEEN STRUTTING AROUND
AND SHOUTING LOUD HERE PELLEY W~~ITH~~ROD COUGHLIN
LONG BUT THE BIGGEST OF THE FUEHRERS FOUND A
LITTLE WHILE AGO THAT IT COULDN'T HAPPEN HERE

WE HAVE OUR GUNMEN WHO KIDNAP AND TORTURE THEIR
VICTIMS JUST THE SAME AS YOUR GESTAPO DOES BUT
WHEN WE CATCH THEM WE SEND THE GUNMEN TO PRISON
NOT TO THE WHITE HOUSE THE STATE DEPARTMENT OR
THE DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

WHEN THE LAW-BREAKING POLICEMEN TRY TO PRODUCE
RESULTS BY USING THE THIRD DEGREE UPON SUSPECTED
CRIMINALS WE DON'T PROCLAIM THAT BARBARISM AND
TORTURE IS THE NEW AND YOUTHFUL WAY OF LIFE

WE HAVE SEEN ENOUGH NATIVE GANGSTERISM IN THE
LITTLE TO KNOW THAT WE HATE IT AND DESPISE IT
TEN TIMES AS MUCH IN THE LARGE WE KNOW THAT
ONE CAN'T MAKE A DECENT COUNTRY BY TURNING THE
CHRISTIAN VIRTUES INTO CRIMES AND BOASTING THAT
CRIMES ARE REALLY VIRTUES

AL CAPOE AND BENNY THE MUG DICK THE DOPE AND
ADOLPH THE NUT LOCK PRETTY MUCH ALIKE TO US

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CHAOS OR MASTERY?

THE DEMORALIZING PATTERN OF IMMIGRATION CONTROL

WE ARE OUR MIGHTY STEEL SCRAP AND
MACHINE TOOLS TO JAPAN RUSSIA GERMANY

WE WITHDREW AND FROM OUR FRIENDS AND ALLY
ALLIED AMERICAN INTERESTS LIKE US THE
WEST COME

CHAOS OR MASTERY?

WE GIVE THE PRIVILEGES OF THE US BILLS AND
FREE SPEECH AND FREE ASSEMBLAGE TO THOSE WHO
WANT LIMITED DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT

WE PERMIT PRIVATE AMBIGUITY AND PRIVATE

Here is the turning point of the exhibition. The

OF OUR DEFENSES BARRIERS BARRIERS

first part has built up confidence and renewed a sense of

WE LET POLITICAL DEMOCRACY STAND IN THE

possibilities. The second part has faced the difficulties,

APPROPRIATING BELIEF

obstacles and dangers.

WE LET POLITICAL DEMOCRACY REMAINS THE

ONE GOVERNMENTAL AGENCY OPERATING ON THE AIR
AND COUNTERING LIES FACILE PROPAGANDA WITH

Now is the time for a sharp confrontation of the

two possibilities: a dizzy and demoralizing chaos, leading to

AND EVEN ATTACK PEOPLE WHO HAVE SO CORRECTLY

utter ruin, or a concentration of all our national energies,

AND FORCE US AND JUST AS CORRECTLY

leading to triumph. This should be bold and stark. The

WE PROVE THAT THERE IS NO NEED FOR DEEPEN

blacks very black; and the whites equally intense. EITHER CIVILIAN

OR MILITARY DEFENSE

WE HAVE PLANNED FOR WAR SINCE 1941 AND FAIL
ED FOR REASONS OF A THIRTY-FOUR HOUR BARRIERS IN
TIME TO FACE OCTOBER 1949

WE PROVE WE ARE AT WORK MAKING A MOVE THAT
IS ALREADY ATTACKING US AND THREATENING US

WE FIGHT IN BELIEF WITH BOTH PARTIES TAKING
A COMPLEX VIEW AND CONTRADICTION STAND ON
FOREIGN POLICY

WE TRY TO GET READY FOR A CONVENTIONAL WAR WITH A
MAGNIFICENT SALVO OF GOVERNMENTAL GASCHES ON
CROSSING AUTHORITIES AND UNCOORDINATED ADMINISTRATIVE
AGENCIES

IF THIS KEEPS UP MR. HITLER CAN BEAT AMERICA
WITHOUT DRINKING A BLOW

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CHAOS OR MASTERY?

THE DEMORALIZING PATTERN OF DEMOCRATIC CONFUSION

THE MOBILIZATION OF DEMOCRACY N O W

WE ARM OUR ENEMIES STEEL SCRAP AND
 MACHINE TOOLS TO JAPAN RUSSIA GERMANY
 THE ENEMY IS FASCIST BARBARISM THE OBJECTIVE
 IS TO WITHHOLD AID FROM OUR FRIENDS AND ONLY
 LIVE ALLIES AMERICAN DESTROYERS IDLE ON THE
 WEST COAST STABILIZING A DEMOCRATIC PEACE
 AMONG THE FREE AND EQUAL AND COOPERATING PEOPLES
 OF THE WE GIVE THE PRIVILEGES OF THE US MAILS AND
 FREE SPEECH AND FREE ASSEMBLAGE TO THOSE WHO
 WE SHOULD DESTROY DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT
 TO PROTECT WHAT WE HAVE TO CREATE WHAT WE LACK
 WE PERMIT PRIVATE ANIMOSITIES AND PRIVATE
 THE SYMPATHIES WITH FASCISM TO STAND IN THE WAY
 OF OUR DEFENSE NEEDS HENRY FORD
 CITIZEN VOLUNTEERS RUSH FOR VOLUNTARY TRAINING
 WE LET POLITICAL SKULDUGGERY STAND IN THE
 WAY OF REARMAMENT STETTINIUS ON TVA
 SOME APPROPRIATIONS HOLDUP

WE LET POLITICAL HUCKSTERS DISMANTLE THE
 ONE GOVERNMENTAL AGENCY OPERATING ON THE AIR
 AND COUNTERING LYING FASCIST PROPAGANDA WITH
 A HONEST DEMOCRATIC PROPAGANDA

WE LET THE DIES COMMITTEE ATTACK THE COMMUNISTS
 AND EVEN ATTACK PEOPLE WHO HAVE NO COMMUNIST
 AFFILIATIONS BUT STEER AWAY FROM THE COUGHLINS
 AND FORDS WHO ARE JUST AS SERIOUS DANGERS
 OF SACRIFICE

WE PRETEND THAT THERE IS NO NEED FOR DESPERATE
 HASTE AND DO NOT FIND PLACES IN EITHER CIVILIAN
 AREA OR MILITARY DEFENSE TO USE THEIR CAPABILITIES
 AND TALENTS TO THE FULL

WE MAKE PLANS FOR REARMAMENT BY 1946 AND FAIL
 TO PUT REVISIONS ON A TWENTY-FOUR HOUR BASIS IN
 UP TIME TO FACE OCTOBER 1940
 PROVIDING CONTINUOUS EMPLOYMENT IN PEACE AND WAR GIVING
 THEM WE PRETEND WE ARE AT PEACE AGAINST A FOE THAT
 IS ALREADY ATTACKING US AND THREATENING US

WE FIGHT AN ELECTION WITH BOTH PARTIES TAKING ALL
 OUR A CONFUSED TIMID AND CONTRADICTIONARY STAND ON
 FOREIGN POLICY

WE TRY TO GET READY FOR A STREAMLINED WAR WITH A
 MAKESHIFT JALOPY OF GOVERNMENTAL GADGETS CRISS
 CROSSING AUTHORITIES AND UNCOORDINATED ADMINISTRATIVE
 AGENCIES

IF THIS KEEPS UP MR. HITLER CAN BEAT AMERICA
 WITHOUT STRIKING A BLOW

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CHAOS OR MASTERY?

THE MOBILIZATION OF DEMOCRACY N O W

THE ENEMY IS FASCIST BARBARISM THE OBJECTIVE IS TO RESTORE TO DEMOCRACY THE STRENGTH TO LIVE THE UNITY TO ACT THE COURAGE TO FIGHT THE WISDOM TO ESTABLISH A DEMOCRATIC PEACE AMONG THE FREE AND EQUAL AND COOPERATING PEOPLES OF THE WORLD

WE HAVE GOT TO LEARN FAST AND WORK QUICK TO PROTECT WHAT WE HAVE TO CREATE WHAT WE LACK

THE ARMY THE NAVY AND THE AIR FORCE REARM

CITIZEN VOLUNTEERS RUSH FOR VOLUNTARY TRAINING

UNIVERSAL SERVICE FOR GIRLS AND BOYS MEN AND WOMEN THE LIFELOOD OF A NEW DEMOCRACY

THE ARMY GENERAL STAFF AND THE NAVAL BOARD OF STRATEGY COORDINATE THE MILITARY DETAILS

A CIVILIAN GENERAL STAFF STILL NON-EXISTENT COORDINATES THE ECONOMIC SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL DETAILS

THE SLOGAN FOR THE NEW DEMOCRACY IS SERVICE AND SACRIFICE EQUALITY OF SERVICE AND EQUALITY OF SACRIFICE

THE STRIP TEASE OF THE PRIVILEGED CLASSES TAKES AWAY THEIR PRIVILEGES BUT USES THEIR CAPACITIES AND TALENTS TO THE FULL

THE RECLOTHING OF THE STRIPPED CLASSES BUILDING UP UNDERNOURISHED BODIES RESTORING SELF-CONFIDENCE PROVIDING CONTINUOUS EMPLOYMENT IN PEACE AND WAR GIVING THEM A BIGGER STAKE IN THEIR COUNTRY BOTH IN THE PRESENT AND THE FUTURE

WE CANNOT BUILD AN EFFECTIVE DEFENSE WITHOUT USING ALL OUR PEOPLE TO THE FULL AND GIVING THEM AN OPPORTUNITY FOR LIVING AT CONCERT PITCH IN THE MIDST OF SACRIFICE

THE TRANSFORMATION OF SPECTATORS INTO ACTORS OF ROBOTS INTO CITIZENS

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THE FAITH OF DEMOCRACY IN THE FACE OF CHAOS
CHAOS OR MASTERY

PHYSICAL DEFENSE IS NOT ENOUGH

TODAY--DEMOCRACY MUST GROW ITS COMFORTS AND
AND POWER TO THE POINT OF BEING STRAIN UNDER
PASCISM IS A RELIGION AND YOU CANNOT FIGHT A
RELIGION WITHOUT HAVING A FAITH EQUALLY
FIRM AND CONCENTRATED AND SELF SACRIFICING
VOTING BILLIONS OF DOLLARS FOR ARMAMENT IS
FOLLU UNLESS WE HAVE THE COURAGE TO USE
ARMAMENT WHEN IT IS IMPERATIVE TO ACT AND TO
FACE THE HARD ROAD AHEAD BEFORE PEACE FREEDOM
AND JUSTICE CAN BE RESTORED

THE MISCHIEFS OF THREE HUNDRED YEARS OF POWER
POLITICS AND POWER ECONOMICS CANNOT BE REPAIRED
BY A HANDFUL OF MEN AT A PEACE CONFERENCE OUR
WORK FOR THE NEXT CENTURY IS OUT OUR FOR US

DEMOCRACY IS A RELIGION: ITS DOGMAS ARE---

1. THE PERFECTABILITY OF SOCIAL MAN THROUGH COOPERATION AND THROUGH ORDERLY LEGALLY REGULATED CONFLICT BETWEEN INDIVIDUALS GROUPS CLASSES AND PEOPLES
2. THE DIGNITY OF THE HUMAN PERSONALITY AND THE EQUAL WORTH OF ALL MEN
3. EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR PARTICIPATING IN GOVERNMENT AND IN ALL SOCIAL DECISIONS BY EVERY MATURE INDIVIDUAL
4. A DEMOCRACY IS A COMMUNITY OF PERSONS AND THEREFORE EVERY MEMBER MUST BE TRAINED FOR RESPONSIBILITY INITIATIVE SELF-GOVERNMENT
5. THE UNITY OF HUMANITY UNDER A COMMON MORAL CODE A COMMON LAW AND A COMMON GOVERNMENT

RESPECT FOR TRUTH FREEDOM JUSTICE AND LOVE
ARE THE FOUNDATIONS OF DEMOCRACY

HENCE DEMOCRACY IS THE SWORN ENEMY OF THOSE
WHO BURN BOOKS WHO TORTURE OR IMPRISON THOSE
WHO DEFEND TRUTH WHO WIPE OUT THOSE WHO DEMAND
JUSTICE WHO SUBSTITUTE HATRED FOR LOVE AND
AGGRESSIVE TYRANNY FOR COOPERATION

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FAITH OF DEMOCRACY

THE FAITH OF DEMOCRACY WE MUST BE READY TO FIGHT

DEMOCRACY MUST WORK AND BUILD THAT A GANGSTER LIKES HITLER
ISN'T A STRIP AND WILLING VICTIM

TODAY---DEMOCRACY MUST SHOVE ITS COMFORTS AND
OLD ROUTINES TO ONE SIDE IT MUST STRAIN EVERY
EFFORT TO MANUFACTURE ARMAMENTS AND TO BUILD
UP A FIGHTING MORALE

DEMOCRACY MUST BE PREPARED TO CHALLENGE
DEMOCRACY MUST TRAIN YOUNG AND OLD FOR IMMEDIATE
SERVICE A POST FOR EVERYONE AND EVERYONE AT
HIS POST

NO INTERCOURSE WITH FASCISM; PEACEFUL INTERCOURSE
DEMOCRACY MUST PRODUCE FOOD FOR EVERY MAN WOMAN
AND CHILD AND HAVE PLENTY OVER FOR ITS ALLIES

DEMOCRACY MUST PRODUCE NEW HOMES FOR ITS MUNI-
CIPALITY WORKERS IN ORDER TO INCREASE THEIR HEALTH
SATISFACTION AND EFFICIENCY

DEMOCRACY MUST WIPE OUT ITS SLUMS AND PLAGUE
SPOTS OF POVERTY AND BARBARISM WHETHER URBAN OR
RURAL AMERICA MUST HAVE LARGER LANDS FENCED THAN THE

WE MUST REPLAN OUR CONGESTED AND OVERGROWN
CITIES DECENTRALIZE A LARGE PART OF THEIR
POPULATIONS SO THAT NO ATTACK FROM THE
AIR MAY CRIPPLE OR DEMORALIZE US

DEMOCRACY MUST GIVE PRIORITY TO ALL THE ACTIVITIES
THAT GIVE MEN FIT BODIES AND ALERT
INTELLIGENT SENSITIVE HUMANE MINDS
BOOKS SCHOOLS LABORATORIES LIBRARIES THEATRES
PARKS PLAYGROUNDS GARDENS MUSEUMS

DEMOCRACY MUST MINIMIZE OR ABOLISH COMFORTS THAT
DO NOT CONTRIBUTE TO HEALTH OR REST IN LIVING
AMUSEMENTS THAT DEBILITATE BODY AND MIND

DEMOCRACY MUST SHARE ITS CAPACITIES FOR HIGH
LIVING WITH EVERY MEMBER WITHOUT RESPECT FOR
OLDER METHODS OF COMMERCIAL EXPLOITATION IF
THEY STAND IN THE WAY OF WIDE DISTRIBUTION

THE UNITED STATES WAS BORN IN THE REVOLUTIONARY
WAR. IT WAS DEDICATED TO THE PRINCIPLE THAT
ALL MEN ARE CREATED FREE AND EQUAL IN THE EYES
OF THEIR CREATOR AND THAT THEY ARE ENDOWED WITH
CERTAIN UNALIENABLE RIGHTS, THAT AMONG THESE ARE
LIFE, LIBERTY AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS.

THE UNITED STATES WAS BORN IN THE REVOLUTIONARY
WAR. IT WAS DEDICATED TO THE PRINCIPLE THAT
ALL MEN ARE CREATED FREE AND EQUAL IN THE EYES
OF THEIR CREATOR AND THAT THEY ARE ENDOWED WITH
CERTAIN UNALIENABLE RIGHTS, THAT AMONG THESE ARE
LIFE, LIBERTY AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS.

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FAITH OF DEMOCRACY

THE SPIRIT OF WAR DEMOCRACY MUST BE READY TO FIGHT

VIGILANCE AND SACRIFICE ARE THE PRICE OF FREEDOM

THERE'S NOTHING THAT A GANGSTER LIKES BETTER THAN A TIMID AND WILLING VICTIM

IT IS OUT OF THE SPINELESSNESS OF DEMOCRACY THE
TOUR BACKBONE OF FASCISM WAS CREATED

CHILDREN DEMOCRACY MUST BE PREPARED TO CHALLENGE
FASCISM WHEREVER THERE IS A FIGHTING CHANCE
OF OVERCOMING OUR ENEMY

TRAINING NO INTERCOURSE WITH FASCISM; PEACEFUL INTERCOURSE
PERMITS THE CANCER OF FASCISM TO EAT INTO HEALTHY
TISSUE

WAR AMERICA MUST BUILD MORE PLANES THAN THE FASCISTS

AMERICA MUST HAVE MORE PILOTS THAN THE FASCISTS

AMERICA MUST HAVE MORE TANKS THAN THE FASCISTS

AMERICA MUST HAVE LARGER LANDING FORCES THAN THE
FASCISTS

AMERICA MUST ACCEPT THE RESPONSIBILITY OF
KEEPING THE FASCISTS FROM GETTING STRONGER
IN EUROPE

AMERICA MUST KEEP FASCISM OUT OF THE
WESTERN HEMISPHERE WHETHER IT COMES WITH
THE AID OF A BALLOT OR A GUN

AMERICA MUST SUPPLY FOOD AND MUNITIONS TO
COUNTRIES THAT WOULD RESIST FASCISM

IF DEMOCRACY IS NOT PREPARED TO FIGHT
FASCISM IT MUST BE PREPARED TO ENDURE
LIFE ON FASCIST TERMS***SUBSERVIENCE AND
SLAVERY

IN ORDER TO BUILD A PEACEFUL WORLD AMERICA
MUST BE READY TO FIGHT AT THE DROP OF A
HAT THE FASCIST POWERS THAT BELIEVE IN WAR
AND AGGRESSION

THE UNITED STATES WAS BORN IN THE REVOLUTIONARY
WAR. IT WAS REDEDICATED TO THE PRINCIPLE THAT
ALL MEN ARE CREATED FREE AND EQUAL IN THE WAR
BETWEEN THE STATES AND IT MUST BE PREPARED TO

ACT AS A PRIVATE INDIVIDUAL
ACT AS A PUBLIC SERVANT
INITIATIVE OF A PRIVATE INDIVIDUAL
FIGHT ANOTHER WAR SO THAT GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE
BY THE PEOPLE FOR THE PEOPLE MAY NOT PERISH FROM
THE EARTH

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GOALS FOR DEMOCRACY

REMEMBERING THE LAND

THE FAITH OF DEMOCRACY

VIGILANCE AND SACRIFICE ARE THE PRICE OF FREEDOM

THIS IS YOUR COUNTRY YOUR DEMOCRACY
YOUR FREEDOM IT IS YOUR LIFE AND YOUR
CHILDREN'S LIVES THAT ARE AT STAKE

TAKE YOUR SHARE IN PUBLIC SERVICE AT
LEAST A THIRD OF YOUR TIME AND ENERGY AND
BRAINS BELONGS THE COMMUNITY EVEN IN
TIMES OF PEACE NO DEMOCRACY CAN LONG
EXIST WITHOUT BUILDING AND MAINTAINING A
TRADITION OF ACTIVE PUBLIC SERVICE

SHARE THE DANGERS WITH YOUR NEIGHBOR IN TIMES
OF WAR AS YOU DO IN A FLOOD OR A FIRE

YOUR LIFE IS MEANINGLESS EXCEPT IN RELATION TO
THE LIFE OF YOUR PEOPLE. AMERICA'S LIFE IS
MEANINGLESS EXCEPT IN RELATION TO THE LIFE OF
MAN AND ALL THE VALUES MEN HAVE ACCUMULATED
THROUGH THEIR EFFORT TO BE HUMAN

MAKE YOURSELF STRONG AND FIT AND INTELLIGENT.
NOBODY ELSE CAN THINK FOR YOU OR ACT FOR YOU
IN A DEMOCRACY

LEARN TO LOOK AFTER THE SICK AND THE HELPLESS
LEARN TO LOOK AFTER YOURSELF TO COOK AND
WASH FOR YOURSELF AND WAIT ON YOURSELF

LEARN TO TEACH AND CARE AFFECTIONATELY FOR THE
MILLIONS OF CHILDREN WHOSE PARENTS HAVE BEEN
KILLED AS WELL AS YOUR OWN

LEARN TO FACE ILLNESS INJURY AND DEATH
TO BE FREE AND CONFIDENT YOU MUST LOOK DEATH IN
THE FACE AS READILY AS THE SOLDIER DOES

LEARN TO ACCEPT RESPONSIBILITY FOR TOUGH JOBS
NO DEMOCRACY CAN DO WITHOUT THOSE WHO DEMAND
THE PRIVILEGE OF PERFORMING HARDER WORK OR
UNDERGOING GREATER DANGERS THAN THEIR FELLOWS--
WITHOUT SUCH AN ARISTOCRACY A DEMOCRACY MUST
FALL INTO A EASY GOING MEDIOCRITY

PREFER COMRADESHIP TO RICHES AND THE COMMUNITY'S
WEALTH AND HAPPINESS TO YOUR PRIVATE ADVANCEMENT

ACT AS A PRIVATE INDIVIDUAL AS IF YOU WERE A PUBLIC SERVANT
ACT AS A PUBLIC SERVANT AS IF YOU HAD THE RESPONSIBILITY AND
INITIATIVE OF A PRIVATE INDIVIDUAL

WE WILL BUILD AN AMERICA OF SELF-DENYING AND
COOPERATING HEROES

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GOALS FOR TOMORROW

RECONQUERING THE LAND

THE UNITED STATES IS NOT A BLANK SURFACE
COVERED WITH CONCRETE HIGHWAYS FILLING
STATIONS AND BIG CITIES

WE ARE A GROUP OF PROVINCES AND REGIONS
EACH OF THESE UNITS HAS A CHARACTERISTIC
SKY AND LANDSCAPE IT HAS ITS SPECIAL
BLENDING OF PEOPLE IT HAS ITS HISTORY AND
ITS JOKES AND ITS LITERATURE AND ITS WAY OF
LIFE

TOMORROW EACH CITIZEN WILL KNOW HIS OWN REGION
AS WELL AS HE KNOWS HIS OWN FACE

HE WILL KNOW THE HISTORY OF HIS VILLAGE HIS
REGION HIS COUNTRYSIDE HE WILL KNOW THE
GEOGRAPHY AND GEOLOGY AND CLIMATE AND WEATHER
HE WILL CAMP IN THE PRIMEVAL AREAS ON THE
MOUNTAIN OR BY THE SEA
HE WILL HAVE A TURN OF WORK IN THE FARMS AND
FORESTS AS PART OF HIS PREPARATION FOR
DEMOCRATIC SERVICE

HE WILL FEEL HE BELONGS TO HIS REGION AND
HIS REGION BELONGS TO HIM

HE WILL ALTER THE OLD PATTERN OF SETTLEMENT
SO AS TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF BETTER KNOWLEDGE
AND MORE ENLIGHTENED PLANS FOR LIVING

THE NEW REGIONAL CITY WILL BE A CLUSTER OF
SMALL COMMUNITIES SET OFF IN GREENBELTS

WE WILL REFOREST THE BARE HILLS
WE WILL IRRIGATE THE DRY LANDS—INLAND EMPIRE
WE WILL REFERTILIZE THE WASTED FIELDS
WE WILL USE NATURAL RESOURCES THRIFTLY
REMEMBERING THE GENERATIONS TO COME

WE WILL TURN GARBAGE AND SEWAGE INTO FERTILIZER
INSTEAD OF POLLUTING LAND AND STREAM

WE WILL TURN SLAGHEAPS INTO CONCRETE AND
RUBBISH INTO USEFUL RAW MATERIALS SCRAP
METAL INTO SUPERIOR STEEL AND SCRAP RUBBER INTO
NEW TIRES

THE REGION WILL BE A CENTER OF COMMUNAL LOYALTY
AND PERSONAL ACTIVITY

REGIONAL SELF RESPECT IS THE BEST CURE FOR THE
FASCIST INFERIORITY COMPLEX

WE WILL BUILD AN AMERICA OF SELFGOVERNING AND
COOPERATING REGIONS

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GOALS FOR TOMORROW

THE RENEWAL OF THE FAMILY WORK

AMERICAN DEMOCRACY NEEDS MORE RECRUITS
WE NEED BIOLOGICAL STRENGTH AS WELL AS WORKING
EFFICIENCY

THE FAMILY IS THE CORE AND CONSERVATOR OF
ALL LIFE BUT IN A TOPSY TURVY WORLD PEOPLE
PUT MONEY AHEAD OF BABIES

THE NEEDS OF FAMILY ARE PRIMARY AND WAGES AND
BUDGETS MUST CONFORM TO THESE NEEDS

FIRST: A PERMANENT DWELLING PLACE WHICH WILL
NOT RETURN TO THE BANKS OR SPECULATORS WHEN
TEMPORARY MISFORTUNE OVERTAKES THE FAMILY

SECOND: LIVING SPACE WITHIN THE HOME GARDEN
SPACE OUTSIDE THE HOME WHEN A CHOICE MUST BE
MADE BETWEEN LIVING SPACE AND MECHANICAL
UTILITIES THE LATTER MUST BE PARED DOWN AND THE
FIRST EMPHASIZED

THIRD: A NEIGHBORHOOD DESIGNED FOR FAMILIES
SAFE FOR CHILDREN TO PLAY IN QUIET AND RESTFUL
AT ALL HOURS OF THE DAY EQUIPPED WITH SCHOOLS
HEALTH CENTERS NURSING HOMES PLAYGROUNDS
CLOSE TO THE OPEN COUNTRY

FOURTH: LEISURE FOR PARENTS AND CHILDREN SO
THAT THERE MAY BE COMPANIONSHIP IN WORK AND
PLAY WITHIN THE HOME

FIFTH: AFFECTIONATE AND INTELLIGENT CARE OF
THE YOUNG REVIVAL OF THE FAMILY BOOK AND
FAMILY RECORDS

WE WILL BUILD AN AMERICA OF PROUD SELF-RELIANT
FAMILIES

WE WILL BUILD AN AMERICA OF STURDY UNSTAGGING
WORKERS EFFICIENT IN PLACE AND CAPABLE IN DEED

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GOALS FOR TOMORROW

THE TRANSFORMATION OF WORK

LABORSAVING MUST BE MAN-CREATING

WHEN MACHINES PERFORM THE WORK OF SLAVES
SLAVES AND DRUDGES CAN BECOME FULL FLEDGED
CITIZENS

AS LESS CAPITAL GOES INTO THE PROFIT-
MAKING TOOLS OF PRODUCTION MORE CAPITAL
MUST GO INTO THE LIFE REWARDING MEANS OF
CONSUMPTION—SCHOOLS PARKS MUSEUMS LIBRARIES
HOUSES

THE OLDFASHIONED MINUTE SUBDIVISION OF LABOR
PRODUCES LAMED AND ONESIDED MEN TO COM-
PENSATE FOR OVERSPECIALIZATION HOURS OF WORK
MUST BE SHORTERED, MORE PEOPLE MUST BE EM-
PLOYED AND MANUAL LABOR MUST BE REINTRODUCED
IN THE FORM OF GARDENING AND HANDICRAFT IN
SPARE HOURS

PUBLIC WORK FOR ALL MUST BE COMPULSORY ON
ALL TASKS THAT INVOLVE EITHER GREAT DANGER
OR SERVILE LABOR THIS IS THE BASIS OF A
DYNAMIC DEMOCRACY UNIVERSAL SERVICE IN
ARMY NAVY AND WORK CAMP COMRADESHIP
BETWEEN CLASSES GROUPS AND REGIONS

ALL WORK MUST BE LIFE SUSTAINING THE
HOUSEHOLD CRAFTS ARE AT LEAST AS IMPORTANT
AS THE WORK OFFERED BY OFFICE AND FACTORY

TOMORROW EVERY WORKER WILL HAVE THREE KINDS
OF WORK OPEN TO HIM

PUBLIC WORK WHICH HE SHARES WITH
EVERY OTHER CITIZEN
PRIVATE WORK WHICH UTILIZED HIS
SPECIAL TALENTS OR SKILLS
FAMILY WORK WHICH KEEPS THE
BALANCE NEEDED FOR PHYSICAL AND
MENTAL HEALTH

NEW SCHEDULES FOR WAGES AND HOURS MUST PROVIDE
A PLACE FOR THESE THREE KINDS OF WORK BOTH IN
THE DAILY BUDGET OF HOURS AND THE YEAR'S
ALLOTMENT OF TASKS

WE WILL BUILD AN AMERICA OF STRONG UPSTANDING
WORKERS EFFICIENT IN PEACE AND CAPABLE IN WAR

AMERICA LEADS THE WORLD TO THE FUTURE WE KNOW THAT THE
BEST OF A FREE WORLD LIES IN AMERICA AND THE ONLY
BEST OF AMERICA LIES IN A FREE WORLD

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GOALS FOR TOMORROW

DEMOCRACY MUST DARE!

DEMOCRACY CANNOT PUT A CHINESE WALL AROUND AMERICA AND BE SAFE FROM FASCISM. THE DAY OF CHINESE WALLS MAGINOT LINES AND FANCIFUL ISOLATION IS OVER

WE MUST REBUILD OUR COUNTRY SO THAT WE WILL BE STRONGER AND MORE CONFIDENT OF OURSELVES THAN THE FASCIST COUNTRIES ARE

WILLIAM JAMES TAUGHT THAT WE GET ANGRY BECAUSE WE PUNCH. SO WE WILL ACQUIRE CONFIDENCE BY DOING DARING THINGS

DEMOCRACY MUST NOT COWER BEHIND ITS FRONTIERS. THE COLUMNS OF DEMOCRACY MUST FAN OUT BEHIND THE ENEMIES' FRONT AND RECAPTURE AND SET FREE AGAIN THE COUNTRIES AND CONTINENTS THAT HAVE BEEN ENSLAVED BY FASCISM

DEMOCRACY SAYS NO TO IRRESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT BY TINPOT TYRANTS AND MANIAC DESPOTS

NO TO CONCENTRATION CAMPS FOR THE INTELLIGENT AND THE FREE SPIRITED

NO TO TORTURE AND TERRORISM AS A METHOD OF POLITICAL CONTROL

NO TO A SYSTEM THAT WOULD MAKE PHYSICAL WARFARE THE CHIEF AIM OF LIFE AND THAT WOULD PUT A QUIETUS UPON ALL FORMS OF MENTAL STRIFE AND SUPPRESS ALL CULTURAL DIFFERENCES

NO TO FASCIST PEACE THE PEACE OF DEATH
NO TO FASCIST UNITY THE UNITY OF SLAVES
NO TO FASCIST BARBARISM THE REIGN OF IGNORANCE
HATRED STUPIDITY AND
BRUTALITY

AMERICAN DEMOCRACY SAYS YES TO OUR OWN HISTORY
WE ARE THE HEIRS OF WASHINGTON AND JEFFERSON

DEMOCRACY SAYS YES TO THE GOSPEL OF SELF-RELIANCE
AND FREEDOM WE ARE THE HEIRS OF EMERSON AND
LINCOLN

AMERICA SAYS YES TO STRUGGLE AND SACRIFICE
WE ARE THE HEIRS OF THE TOUGH PIONEERS WHO CONQUERED
A CONTINENT

AMERICA SAYS YES TO THE FUTURE WE KNOW THAT THE
HOPE OF A FREE WORLD LIES IN AMERICA AND THE ONLY
HOPE OF AMERICA LIES IN A FREE WORLD

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GOALS FOR TOMORROW

FOR A NEW WORLD ORDER

EYES FRONT AMERICA! THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA WILL BECOME THE UNITED STATES OF THE WORLD

HOLD UP YOUR HEAD AMERICA! OUR COUNTRY BEGAN ITS LIFE AS THE HOPE OF THE WORLD. TODAY IF AMERICA GOES UNDER CIVILIZATION GOES UNDER

TAKE WINGS AMERICA! ONCE YOU CONQUERED A CONTINENT IN A COVERED WAGON NOW YOU HAVE AN EAGLE'S WING AND WITH AN EAGLE'S COURAGE YOU MUST RESTORE FREEDOM TO AN ENSLAVED WORLD. IF YOUR WINGS FALTER YOU WILL DROP LIKE A PLUMMET TO THE JACKALS WHO AWAIT YOU BELOW

EYES ON THE HORIZON AMERICA! THE BEST THAT YOU HAVE DONE SO FAR IS ONLY A SMALL EARNEST OF ALL THAT REMAINS FOR YOU TO DO

"WHEN ARE YOU GOING TO LAUGH AMERICANS? WHEN IS THE BIG LAUGH THE COARSE LOUD LAUGH THE HARSH LAUGH ^{OF} AMERICANS GOING TO BLURT OUT AND FILL THE WORLD?"

BE YOURSELF AMERICA AND YOU HAVE NOTHING TO FEAR FROM ALL THE MOULDY FASCISTS WHO HAVE STEPPED OUT OF THE TOMBS OF ROME OR ALL THE GOOSESTEPPING FASCISTS WHO WOULD TURN THE WORLD INTO A PRISON CAMP LIKE NAZI PRUSSIA

"WHEN ARE YOU GOING TO SAY ALL AS ONE MAN AND ALL TOGETHER WE HAVEN'T YET BEGUN TO LIVE WE HAVEN'T YET EVEN BEGUN TO CREATE ON THIS CONTINENT THE NEW AND UNTRIED AND NEVER YET REALIZED WORLD OF FREEDOM AND SECURITY AND SELF RESPECT"

SING OUT AMERICA! YES TO FREEDOM
YES TO DEMOCRACY

Y E S TO OUR AMERICA!