

## HENRY A. WALLACE PROGRAM SCRIPT

Note: In this script, interviews are shown in upper and lowercase. Historic quotes are in upper and lowercase with quotation marks. The narration is in all upper case.

### Interviewees

Norman Borlaug, Nobel Agronomist  
John C. Culver, Wallace Biographer  
Jean Wallace Douglas, Daughter  
Dan Glickman, Former U.S. Secretary of Agriculture  
R. Douglas Hurt, Agricultural Historian  
John Hyde, Wallace Biographer  
Doris Kearns Goodwin, Roosevelt Biographer  
George McGovern, Former U.S. Senator, SD  
Pete Seeger, Folk Musician  
Richard Norton Smith, Presidential Historian  
Studs Terkel, Author

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TERKEL: There are three great Americans of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, two are household names, Franklin D. Roosevelt and Martin Luther King. The third should be: Henry A. Wallace.

A HEARTBEAT FROM THE PRESIDENCY IN 1944, SIX YEARS LATER, HENRY WALLACE  
STOOD BEFORE THE HOUSE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE DEFENDING HIS  
PATRIOTISM.

MCGOVERN: He was painted as a wild-eyed radical. Anybody who knew Wallace knew that his heart beat for the American farmer.

### UNDERWRITERS:

Funding for Henry A. Wallace has been provided by Pioneer Hi-Bred International, a subsidiary of DuPont, with headquarters in Des Moines, Iowa. Founded by Wallace in 1926, Pioneer provides solutions for farmers, livestock producers and grain and oilseed processors in nearly 70 countries,

By the Andreas Foundation,

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By Lee Baker

And by the John Ruan Foundation Trust.

### PROGRAM:

Wallace: "Today, we say with pride and humility that we are Americans, knowing in our hearts that Americanism, in its deepest meaning, stands for the freedom, and the welfare, and the brotherhood of the plain people of the world, wherever they may be."

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HE LIES IN A FORGOTTEN GRAVE NEAR THE FARM FIELDS OF HIS CHILDHOOD, HIS ACCOMPLISHMENTS SELDOM RECOGNIZED, HIS PLACE IN HISTORY UNSETTLED.

HE LED A WORLDWIDE AGRICULTURAL REVOLUTION THAT SAVED MILLIONS OF LIVES, AND AS A STATESMAN, HE DESIGNED THE MOST DRAMATIC AND FAR-REACHING CHANGES THAT AMERICAN GOVERNMENT HAD EVER KNOWN.

BUT FOR HIS COURAGE AND WILLINGNESS TO DEFY CONVENTIONAL WISDOM, HENRY WALLACE PAID AN ENORMOUS PRICE.

HIS WAS THE FATE OF A PROPHET, A MAN ULTIMATELY REJECTED BY THE PEOPLE WHOSE CAUSE HE CHAMPIONED. FEW MEN IN THE 20<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY HAVE HAD SO LARGE AND LASTING AN IMPACT ON THE WORLD.

TITLE -- Henry A. Wallace

HE WAS BORN AT HOME, ON A PRAIRIE FARM IN ADAIR COUNTY, IOWA. IT WAS 1888, AND MOST AMERICANS LIVED AND WORKED ON THE LAND. HIS PARENTS HONORED FAMILY TRADITION AND NAMED THEIR FIRST SON "HENRY."

HE WAS A WALLACE, BORN INTO ONE OF THE COUNTRY'S MOST INFLUENTIAL FARM FAMILIES. THE LEGACY HE INHERITED ULTIMATELY BECAME HIS OWN, GUIDING HIM FAR BEYOND THE RICH FIELDS OF AMERICA'S HEARTLAND.

CULVER: The Wallace family is the most remarkable family certainly in the history of the state. It really is comparable almost to the Adams family, if you will, in Massachusetts in terms of their three remarkable individuals, three generations, all dedicated in their way to public service.

DOUGLAS: It's the Wallace trait I think, somehow you know you have a responsibility. Maybe it was Grandmother who got that into us, but, she would always say, 'You're a Wallace and don't you ever forget it.' You were honest, you did what you were supposed to do and you didn't question it.

THE PATRIARCH OF THE WALLACE CLAN WAS THE REVEREND HENRY WALLACE, A PRESBYTERIAN MINISTER, AND THE MOST PROMINENT FARM EDITOR OF HIS DAY. PRESIDENTS, CABINET OFFICERS, AND THOUSANDS OF PLAIN DIRT FARMERS SOUGHT HIS ADVICE. COUNTLESS OTHERS FAITHFULLY READ THE AGRICULTURAL AND SPIRITUAL TEACHINGS OF THE MAN THEY KNEW AS "UNCLE HENRY" IN THE FAMILY'S FARM JOURNAL, *WALLACES' FARMER*.

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CULVER: The most important values that he derived from his grandfather were one, his religion, the basic faith in God, and secondly, the idea of service to your fellow man, the social gospel, that the best way to express your love of God was in service to your fellow man, and for the Wallaces that was through agriculture.

UNCLE HENRY'S SON, ALSO NAMED HENRY, WAS KNOWN AS HARRY TO FAMILY AND FRIENDS. A PROGRESSIVE REPUBLICAN, HE SERVED AS SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE UNDER PRESIDENTS HARDING AND COOLIDGE. IT WAS SAID AT THE TIME OF HIS DEATH THAT HARRY WALLACE KNEW MORE FARMERS BY NAME THAN ANYONE IN AMERICA.

BUT THE PRIDE OF THE FAMILY WAS HARRY'S FIRST-BORN SON, HENRY AGARD WALLACE. "THE SMARTEST WALLACE IN 200 YEARS," HIS FATHER BRAGGED.

WHEN HENRY WAS FOUR YEARS OLD, THE FAMILY LEFT THE FARM AND MOVED TO AMES SO HIS FATHER COULD FINISH HIS DEGREE AT IOWA AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE. THERE, YOUNG HENRY MADE ONE OF HIS FIRST FRIENDS, A STUDENT NAMED GEORGE WASHINGTON CARVER. CARVER'S DEVELOPMENT OF HUNDREDS OF USES FOR THE PEANUT WOULD ONE DAY MAKE HIM WORLD FAMOUS.

HYDE: They would go on nature walks, George Washington Carver, this big, tall, gangly, young black man and Henry A. Wallace. Carver believed that God was in all living things. And that you could relate to God through observing plants.

YOUNG HENRY *LOVED* PLANTS. PLANTS WERE LIFE, AND FROM AN EARLY AGE, THE PLANT THAT CAPTIVATED HIM WAS CORN.

HYDE: He said at one point, there was a time at which he knew corn almost as well as he knew people and "I had for it as much affection."

TO THE WALLACES AND MILLIONS OF MIDWESTERN FARMERS, CORN WAS THE BACKBONE OF AMERICA. CORN BOUGHT THE LAND, IT CLOTHED THE CHILDREN, IT FED THE FAMILY, AND IT FATTENED THE LIVESTOCK.

THROUGHOUT THE MIDWEST, CORN WAS CELEBRATED WITH CARNIVALS, PALACES, AND PARADES. FOR SEVERAL DECADES, EXPERTS AWARDED PRIZES FOR THE BEST LOOKING EARS AT CORN SHOWS.

HURT: Wallace saw even as a high school student that just because you looked at an ear of corn that was large and the rows were perfect and the kernels were big, it wasn't necessarily going to produce a plant that itself was productive.

FIFTEEN-YEAR-OLD HENRY WALLACE CHALLENGED PERRY HOLDEN, THE LEADING

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CORN EXPERT OF THE DAY. WALLACE BELIEVED GOOD LOOKS DID NOT GUARANTEE GOOD YIELDS. "WHAT'S LOOKS TO A HOG?" THE BOY ASKED AND THEN PROVED THE EXPERTS WRONG WITH A SINGLE CROP GROWN IN HIS BACKYARD. WITHIN A GENERATION, THE CORN SHOWS WERE DEAD. YOUNG WALLACE'S EXPERIMENT WOULD CHANGE FARMING FOREVER.

DOUGLAS: Dad was always experimenting, always, and I think that's the thing which confuses people. People are not used to a scientist or somebody who really is experimenting outside of the laboratory.

THROUGHOUT HIS LIFE, NOTHING ESCAPED WALLACE'S SCRUTINY, HE SEARCHED FOR A LINK BETWEEN THE POSITION OF THE PLANETS AND WEATHER PATTERNS ON EARTH; TAUGHT HIMSELF CALCULUS, DEVELOPING STATISTICAL FORMULAS STILL USED TODAY; AND FREQUENTLY EXPERIMENTED WITH HIS OWN DIET, ONCE TRYING TO EXIST SOLELY ON STRAWBERRIES AND RUTABAGAS, ANOTHER TIME ON CATTLE FEED.

HYDE: I see him as something of an explorer, as a pioneer, a person who wanted to explore the world around him and learn as much as he could about life.

WALLACE STUDIED ANIMAL HUSBANDRY AT IOWA STATE COLLEGE OF AGRICULTURE AND MECHANICAL ARTS.

AFTER GRADUATING IN 1910, HE JOINED THE FAMILY BUSINESS, WRITING FOR *WALLACES' FARMER*. AS ALWAYS, HE CONTINUED HIS CORN RESEARCH.

BETWEEN GROWING SEASONS AND DEADLINES, WALLACE COURTED A DEMURE YOUNG WOMAN NAMED ILO BROWNE. HE WOODED HER WITH READINGS OF *FARMERS OF FORTY CENTURIES*, F.H. KING'S CLASSIC STUDY OF CHINESE AGRICULTURE. THEIR 1914 MARRIAGE LASTED 50 YEARS.

HYDE: It was a very conventional marriage. She saw her role as being a wife and mother. She was a very attractive and rather outgoing lady. ... And in that respect, she's kind of a flip side of Henry, because he doesn't like socializing very much, it's just not his cup of tea. He'd rather be home doing some math problems.

AS THE WALLACES BEGAN A LIFE OF THEIR OWN, THE TOWERING FIGURE OF HENRY'S YOUTH WAS GONE. HIS GRANDFATHER, WHILE WAITING TO DELIVER A SERMON, SUDDENLY DIED.

THE LOSS BROKE THE BOND THAT TIED HENRY TO THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH. HE

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EMBARKED ON A SEARCH FOR "INNER LIGHT" THAT TOOK HIM TO NATIVE AMERICAN RITUALS, THEOSOPHY, ASTROLOGY AND THE TEACHINGS OF A STRANGE RUSSIAN MYSTIC.

CULVER: One of the most striking characteristics of Henry Wallace was his insatiable curiosity, and secondly was his resistance to blindly accepting the conventional wisdom on any subject.

IT WAS WITH CORN THAT HIS UNCONVENTIONAL THINKING PROVED MOST PRODUCTIVE. BY APPLYING MENDEL'S GENETIC THEORIES TO CORN BREEDING, AND BUILDING ON THE WORK OF HIS CONTEMPORARIES, WALLACE DEVELOPED DOUBLE-CROSS HYBRIDS THAT DRAMATICALLY INCREASED YIELDS.

MCGOVERN: Wallace married science to agriculture. The revolutions in agricultural production that occurred in the '30s and '40s and '50s and since then, directly trace back to Wallace.

HYDE: At a crucial moment, he figures out how to use hybrid seed, how to develop it, in a way that you can predict reliably what corn is going to do and then improve it, constantly improve it. Once he's figured that out, then the question is, "How do you spread this information to farmers as a whole?". And finally decided that the only practical way to do it was to make it commercial.

IN 1926, HENRY AND ILO WALLACE USED MOST OF HER MODEST INHERITANCE TO START THE HI-BRED CORN COMPANY, THE FIRST OF ITS KIND IN THE WORLD. SOON TO BE CALLED PIONEER HI-BRED, THE COMPANY RECORDED A PROFIT OF \$30 THAT FIRST YEAR. BEFORE LONG, NEARLY ALL FARMERS WOULD PLANT HYBRIDS AND THE COMPANY WOULD BECOME A SUCCESS.

BUT THROUGHOUT THE '20s, AMERICAN FARMERS WERE SUFFERING. FARM AND FARM POLICY FAILURES CONSUMED WALLACE AND HIS FARM JOURNAL.

MCGOVERN: Most Americans think the Depression began in 1929 when the stock market crashed. Every farmer knows that it began in 1921 when farm prices went down to a below-break-even point at the end of the First World War.

HYDE: Farmland was being lost at a horrific rate to foreclosure. Farmers were burning corn, they couldn't get enough money for it to pay for the transportation to take it to market. It was a desperate situation.

HURT: Throughout the 1920s, Wallace believed that to have a strong national economy you had to have a strong agricultural economy. He believed they were inextricably linked. But more importantly, he also believed in social justice. He believed that the federal government had a responsibility for improving the quality of life, the standard of living for farm men and women.

AS EDITOR OF THE FAMILY JOURNAL, WALLACE USED THE POWER OF THE PEN TO TRY TO IMPROVE FARMERS' LIVING STANDARDS. HIS FATHER, AS SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE, SOUGHT TO DO THE SAME USING THE POWER OF HIS OFFICE.

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IN 1924, FOLLOWING GALL BLADDER SURGERY, HARRY DIED OF TOXEMIC POISONING. HE WAS JUST 58 YEARS OLD. STUNNED AND GRIEF-STRICKEN, HIS SON WAS LEFT TO CARRY THE WALLACE FAMILY LEGACY ALONE.

TWICE IN THE 1920s, WALLACE AND OTHER FARM LEADERS CONVINCED CONGRESS TO PASS FARM RELIEF BILLS, ONLY TO SEE THEM VETOED BY PRESIDENT COOLIDGE.

IN 1929, THE ECONOMIC CALAMITY THAT HAD BATTERED FARMERS FOR YEARS SPREAD TO THE NATION AS A WHOLE. HERBERT HOOVER'S PRESIDENCY, BROUGHT IN ON A WAVE OF GIDDY OPTIMISM, COLLAPSED ALMOST OVERNIGHT. WALLACE, THE FARMERS HE SPOKE FOR, AND THE CITY-DWELLERS STANDING IN SOUP LINES, CLAMORED FOR ACTION.

SMITH: They almost didn't care what the action was. They wanted government to be a player. They wanted someone to reassure them, to give them hope, to give them a job, to give them confidence about the future.

HYDE: Henry Wallace, who is essentially a rather shy man, a man who was very reluctant to be involved in public life himself, a man who had no political ambitions and who would have been just as happy experimenting with his corn, slowly Wallace is drawn into the public arena because of the desperate need to address this problem.

AFTER A DECADE OF BATTLING FOR FARM RELIEF, WALLACE HAD LOST ALL FAITH IN THE REPUBLICAN PARTY. IN 1932, HE SUPPORTED THE DEMOCRAT, FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT, FOR PRESIDENT. HE CAMPAIGNED ACTIVELY FOR THE NEW YORK GOVERNOR, AND EVEN HELPED WRITE ROOSEVELT'S FARM SPEECH.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt: "I have unbounded faith in a restored, in a rehabilitated, agriculture."

AFTER CARRYING IOWA AND THE NATION IN OVERWHELMING NUMBERS, ROOSEVELT TURNED TO WALLACE FOR HELP WITH THE PRESSING RURAL CRISIS. RELUCTANTLY, WALLACE AGREED TO FILL THE POST ONCE HELD BY HIS FATHER. AT AGE 44, HENRY WALLACE BECAME SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE, THE YOUNGEST AND MOST ENERGETIC MEMBER OF ROOSEVELT'S CABINET.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt: "Beyond him, the Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Wallace."

SMITH: The two men had a shared temperament. They were not bound by inhibitions, ideological or otherwise. I suspect FDR found him wonderful company, stimulating, decidedly unconventional. FDR liked originals. Wallace was an original.

FARMERS WEREN'T WAITING FOR THE NEW SECRETARY TO SETTLE IN. RURAL

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AMERICA TEEMED WITH RADICALISM AND REBELLION. MANY FARMERS WENT ON STRIKE, AND PREVENTED THEIR NEIGHBORS FROM SELLING AS WELL.

IN IOWA, A JUDGE PRESIDING OVER A FORECLOSURE SALE WAS DRAGGED FROM HIS COURTROOM AND THREATENED WITH HANGING. MARTIAL LAW WAS DECLARED IN SEVERAL MIDWESTERN STATES.

IN THE EYE OF THE STORM WAS SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE HENRY WALLACE.

Wallace: "This is an extraordinary situation demanding extraordinary measures. ... But an unprecedented condition calls for the trial of new means to rescue agriculture."

GLICKMAN: I personally believe that the revolution, if it had come in America because of the economic plight of the Depression, would have started in rural America as it started in rural Russia or started in peasant China.

HYDE: Within less than 100 days, he had devised ways of controlling production; he had devised ways of trying to conserve the land at the same time; and he had put in place a revolutionary system of supplementing farm income in exchange for cutting back on production.

Newsreel: "These mules, long trained to walk between the plants are now driven right over them."

WALLACE EVEN WENT AS FAR AS PAYING FARMERS TO DESTROY A FOURTH OF THE NATION'S COTTON CROP AND TO SLAUGHTER SIX MILLION BABY PIGS. FARMERS WHO LOST INCOME RECEIVED SUBSIDY CHECKS. OBSERVERS CALLED IT THE MOST REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT PROGRAM IN HISTORY. OPPONENTS CALLED IT BOLSHEVISM.

GLICKMAN: The programs were revolutionary, but truthfully they were conservative because they saved the American system. Wallace and his programs, if anything, kept people believing that the American system worked.

TO EASE THE UPS AND DOWNS OF THE FOOD SUPPLY CYCLE, WALLACE CREATED A STOREHOUSE SYSTEM HE CALLED THE "EVER-NORMAL GRANARY."

AT THE SAME TIME, THE GOVERNMENT BROUGHT ELECTRICITY TO FARMS, WARM LUNCHES TO NEEDY CHILDREN, AND FOOD STAMPS TO THE POOR.

HYDE: He was a galvanizing force, really, he would cause people to think in new ways, to look for new solutions to problems. Everybody understood at the time that here was the greatest secretary of agriculture that the country had ever seen.

THE '30s WERE YEARS OF DEVASTATING HEAT, DROUGHT AND DUST STORMS. FARMERS WATCHED HELPLESSLY AS THEIR MOST VITAL NATURAL RESOURCE BLEW AWAY.

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TO PROTECT THE SOIL, WALLACE'S DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE CREATED SHELTER BELTS – BARRIERS TO SOIL-ROBBING WINDS THAT STILL STAND TODAY. THE USDA ENCOURAGED FARMERS TO BUILD TERRACES TO REDUCE WATER EROSION AND PAID THEM TO TAKE THEIR MOST VULNERABLE ACRES OUT OF PRODUCTION.

HYDE: Wallace once said soil is the mother of man. If you pay no attention to rebuilding it, to keeping it strong, your civilization is going to die.

Wallace: "I wanted the farmers to get equality of bargaining power and parity of income while at the same time increasing soil fertility and feeding the people of the United States and the world more abundantly."

HYDE: Farm income went up about 70 percent during those years. ... The basic farm program, which was put in place in the very beginning of the New Deal, survived for half a century.

SMITH: Wallace wasn't horrified at the prospect of upsetting traditional agricultural policy. Wallace was a radical.

CULVER: He was a shy person. He really was not one for small talk. He didn't smoke, he didn't drink, he really wasn't comfortable with off-color jokes, certainly unorthodox in terms of anything Washington had ever seen by way of a political figure.

WALLACE WAS SO POLITICALLY INDIFFERENT THAT HE SERVED FOUR YEARS UNDER FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT BEFORE SWITCHING HIS PARTY AFFILIATION FROM REPUBLICAN TO DEMOCRAT.

CULVER: Henry Wallace was never really interested in politics or political parties other than as vehicles for the successful pursuance of a great cause.

DOUGLAS: I think Dad was a man of very few words but whatever he said he felt was true and it was how he felt, and I think that's why Washington, I would never, I think that's one reason why dad was never really appreciated as much as he could be because people are not used to that.

RURAL AMERICANS BROADLY UNDERSTOOD WALLACE, BUT HIS GENIUS HAD UNEXPECTED – AND UNINTENDED – CONSEQUENCES. WALLACE, THE PUBLIC OFFICIAL, SOUGHT TO RESTORE FARM PROSPERITY BY LIMITING PRODUCTION; WHILE WALLACE, THE SCIENTIST AND BUSINESSMAN, HELPED FARMERS PRODUCE MORE.

HYDE: It was really the great irony of Wallace's life, I think, is that he had such a profound impact on finding a way to improve the production of corn, to produce more with less labor and subsequently, you have this continued mass migration off the land, what's been called the largest mass migration in American history.

HYBRID SEED, UNHEARD OF WHEN WALLACE STARTED SELLING IT IN 1926, WAS VIRTUALLY UNIVERSAL IN THE CORN BELT IN LITTLE MORE THAN A DECADE. CORN YIELDS INCREASED BY 50 PERCENT DURING THE 1930s ALONE.

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IN THE FOLLOWING DECADES, WALLACE'S ADVANCES LED TO INCREASING PRODUCTIVITY AND EFFICIENCY THROUGHOUT FARMING. IN EVER-INCREASING NUMBERS, FARMERS LEFT THE LAND. THEY FOUND NEW OPPORTUNITIES IN THE CITIES AND HELPED POWER A NEW ECONOMY.

GLICKMAN: I think to some extent the fact that we created an industrial economy unequaled in the world and now a modern technological economy unequaled in the world is based on the fact that we have a totally secure agriculture. I mean it is never anything we really have to worry about.

AS HIS STATURE GREW DURING HIS EIGHT YEARS AS AGRICULTURE SECRETARY, WALLACE'S INFLUENCE EXPANDED FAR BEYOND FARMING.

HE SPOKE OUT FORCEFULLY FOR A STRONG AMERICAN PRESENCE IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, RACIAL EQUALITY, AND BETTER LABOR RELATIONS.

Wallace: "... is how business, labor and farmers can manage to work together ... "

CULVER: I would consider his influence on Roosevelt as really quite remarkable and quite strong. Roosevelt referred to him as "old man common sense."

BUT MANY DEMOCRATIC LEADERS SAW WALLACE AS A DREAMER, AND THEY DISTRUSTED HIS REPUBLICAN ROOTS. THEY WERE STUNNED WHEN ROOSEVELT PICKED HIM AS HIS RUNNING MATE IN 1940.

GOODWIN: Part of the resistance was from more conservative forces who didn't want somebody so liberal. Part of it was the old party bosses who felt that Wallace had not worked his way up the Democratic Party ladder having once been a Republican.

Farley: "Delegates will take their seats and the convention will be in order."

IT WAS AN HISTORIC CONVENTION – NEVER BEFORE HAD A PARTY NOMINATED A PRESIDENT FOR A THIRD TERM.

..."that valiant American, Franklin Delano Roosevelt."

WITH WAR RAGING IN EUROPE, THE DELEGATES WERE QUICK TO AFFIRM THEIR CONFIDENCE IN ROOSEVELT – BUT NOT IN HENRY WALLACE.

HYDE: There was enormous opposition to him at that convention. His nomination was greeted with boos. The thing was pretty much out of control. Roosevelt himself was prepared to not run if he didn't get Wallace.

IN AN UNPRECEDENTED MOVE, ELEANOR ROOSEVELT CAME TO CHICAGO AND ENCOURAGED THE DELEGATES TO ACCEPT ROOSEVELT'S CHOICE.

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GOODWIN: Eleanor gets up at that critical moment to give a speech; the minute she stands up, there is sort of a hush over the crowd.

Eleanor Roosevelt: "You cannot treat it as you would treat an ordinary nomination in an ordinary time."

GOODWIN: What she was saying underneath the lines is, "Allow Roosevelt the choice of the people that he feels are most qualified for this job."

CULVER: Roosevelt believed, as did his wife, that Wallace was uniquely qualified to carry out the New Deal, the domestic programs and the international policies that he advocated if anything should happen to him.

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT'S LANDMARK SPEECH, THE FIRST BY A WOMAN AT AN AMERICAN POLITICAL CONVENTION, HELPED SECURE THE NOMINATION FOR WALLACE. BUT IT DIDN'T SMOOTH THE DELEGATES' RUFFLED FEATHERS.

WALLACE WAS URGED TO DELIVER HIS ACCEPTANCE SPEECH ONE MONTH LATER IN HIS HOMETOWN OF DES MOINES.

Wallace: "Most Republicans may not yet realize it but their party is the party of appeasement in the United States today. It is the party which the totalitarian powers will back in every way possible."

THE ROOSEVELT-WALLACE TICKET WON EASILY IN NOVEMBER. WITHIN WEEKS, THE PRESIDENT DISPATCHED WALLACE TO MEXICO, WHERE NAZIS WERE GAINING A FOOTHOLD.

Newsreel: "President Camacho, Senora Camacho and American Vice-President-elect Wallace ... "

AFTER ATTENDING THE INAUGURATION OF THE NEW PRESIDENT OF MEXICO, THE WALLACES REMAINED IN THE COUNTRY FOR SIX WEEKS ASSESSING MEXICAN AGRICULTURE. APPALLED BY ITS PRIMITIVE CONDITION, WALLACE PETITIONED THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION TO FUND THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH STATION.

IT WAS THE START OF THE WORLDWIDE GREEN REVOLUTION.

HYDE: There are maybe a few pockets of agriculture around the world that have not been touched by this, but they're very few. Billions of people have been touched by what Wallace started.

MCGOVERN: He believed ... that you can't have a stable, peaceful world evolving towards freedom if the major preoccupation of people from the time they get up in the morning until they go to bed at night is hunger.

BORLAUG: I wished he had had a chance to see this because all of these things were dear to his heart, not just as an agricultural scientist but as a good warm human being.

WHEN WALLACE RETURNED TO WASHINGTON IN JANUARY OF 1941, THE WAR IN EUROPE WEIGHED HEAVILY ON ROOSEVELT'S MIND. THE PRESIDENT PROMPTLY ASSIGNED HIM CRITICALLY IMPORTANT ROLES IN THE WAR MOBILIZATION EFFORT.

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HE TURNED TO WALLACE, THE ONLY SCIENTIST IN HIS CABINET, FOR ADVICE ON ONE OF THE MOST CRUCIAL DECISIONS OF HIS PRESIDENCY – THE DECISION TO BUILD THE ATOMIC BOMB. WALLACE HEADED THE TOP SECRET COMMITTEE THAT MADE THE FINAL RECOMMENDATION TO PROCEED.

NEWSPAPERS BEGAN CALLING HIM THE "ASSISTANT PRESIDENT" AND THE NATION'S "PRIME MINISTER." NEVER HAD AN AMERICAN VICE PRESIDENT BEEN GIVEN SO MUCH POWER.

IN THE AFTERMATH OF DETROIT'S 1943 RACE RIOTS, THE VICE PRESIDENT SPOKE OUT BOLDLY.

Wallace: "We cannot fight to crush Nazi brutality abroad and condone race riots at home." Applause.

CULVER: Throughout the war he was sort of unique in national public life, trying to infuse the war with a moral purpose. And he was of the belief that if we fought this war and it only resulted in a restoration of the status quo, it would be a tragic failure.

WHILE THE NATION CONCENTRATED ON A MILITARY VICTORY, WALLACE, AS HE HAD ALL HIS LIFE, ALSO SPOKE FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE. HE SPOKE FOR FREEDOM ... ABUNDANCE ... AND DIGNITY FOR ALL PEOPLE IN ALL NATIONS.

Wallace: "I say that the century which will come out of this war, can be and must be the century of the common man. If we really believe we are fighting for a people's peace, all the rest becomes easy."

HYDE: Wallace saw that we had this incredible opportunity because we were so technologically advanced, we were so far down the road economically, we had the natural resources and we had the ability at long last to really make the dream come true for ordinary people, not only in this country but to start it going around the world.

WALLACE'S DREAMS FOR THE PLAIN PEOPLE OF THE WORLD WOULD NOT BE REALIZED. THOUGH HE HAD NEVER BEEN MORE POPULAR WITH THE VOTERS, IN WASHINGTON HIS POWER WAS ON THE WANE BY MID-TERM.

A PUBLIC FEUD WITH COMMERCE SECRETARY JESSE JONES RESULTED IN WALLACE'S FIRING FROM THE BOARD OF ECONOMIC WARFARE.

AS THE '44 CAMPAIGN NEARED, A PLOT TO DROP HIM FROM THE TICKET WAS TAKING ROOT. WALLACE, INDIFFERENT TO THE EFFORTS TO UNSEAT HIM, WENT ON AN EIGHT-WEEK DIPLOMATIC MISSION TO THE FAR EAST AND SOVIET ASIA.

CULVER: He really didn't care about the nuts and bolts of politics; and had he been more attentive, he clearly would have served himself better and I think he would have served his ideals, perhaps, better.

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JUST A FEW DAYS BEFORE THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION, WALLACE RETURNED TO WASHINGTON FROM HIS FAR EAST MISSION. ROOSEVELT TOLD HIM HE HOPED IT WOULD BE THE "SAME OLD TEAM." BUT, UNKNOWN TO WALLACE, THE PRESIDENT ALSO EXPRESSED A WILLINGNESS TO RUN WITH EITHER SUPREME COURT JUSTICE WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS OR MISSOURI SENATOR HARRY S. TRUMAN.

HYDE: The bosses are very opposed to Wallace, but Wallace is enormously popular with the delegates. He had been the champion of the common man; he had been the champion of liberalism and of the New Deal and of Roosevelt.

CULVER: Wallace knew that if he were going to be put over he had to have the support of the Southern Democrats ... but he stood up there ... and threw down the gauntlet that the Democratic Party must be a liberal party.

Wallace: "Equal educational opportunities must come. The future must bring equal wages for equal work regardless of sex or race."

CULVER: That was one of the most remarkable speeches in the history of political conventions. It was an electrifying, unexpected response.

Delegates: "We want Wallace! We want Wallace!"

SENATOR CLAUDE PEPPER, LEADING THE WALLACE FORCES, FRANTICALLY SOUGHT AN IMMEDIATE VOTE ON THE VICE PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION. BUT HIS EFFORT TO REACH THE PODIUM WAS BLOCKED BY WALLACE OPPONENTS. A FRANTIC MOTION TO ADJOURN WAS RAMMED THROUGH, AND FIRE MARSHALLS ORDERED THE HALL CLEARED.

BY DAYBREAK, THE BOSSES HAD REGAINED CONTROL WITH A COMBINATION OF THREATS, PATRONAGE AND COLD CASH.

"The totals of the first ballot are as follows ... Bankhead – 98 ..."

WALLACE'S FIRST BALLOT LEAD TURNED INTO AN OVERWHELMING TRUMAN VICTORY ON THE SECOND BALLOT. HAD WALLACE BEEN RENOMINATED, HE WOULD HAVE BECOME THE 33<sup>RD</sup> PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

CULVER: Claude Pepper said that the failure to be recognized changed the face of history for the next 50 years.

IN NOVEMBER, WITH HARRY TRUMAN AS HIS RUNNING MATE, FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT WAS ELECTED TO AN UNPRECEDENTED FOURTH TERM

TO MAKE AMENDS, ROOSEVELT OFFERED WALLACE HIS CHOICE OF CABINET JOBS.

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"So help you God." (swearing in as commerce secretary)

WALLACE CHOSE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE, A POSITION THEN HELD BY HIS RIVAL JESSE JONES. A MONTH AFTER HE WAS SWORN IN, THE WORLD CHANGED. FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT WAS DEAD. WALLACE WROTE IN HIS DIARY "THE CORD WHICH HAD BOUND THE CABINET TOGETHER HAD SNAPPED." HARRY TRUMAN WAS PRESIDENT.

HYDE: Truman is essentially not a New Dealer. He's a politician; he's a party man, clearly not as liberal as Roosevelt on domestic issues. And is something of a blank slate on foreign policy.

AS THE MONTHS PASSED, TRUMAN INCREASINGLY SIDED WITH THOSE WHO WANTED TO "GET TOUGH WITH RUSSIA". WALLACE GREW MORE AND MORE ALARMED.

CULVER: Wallace felt that during the period particularly 1945 to '48 that there was a serious opportunity for a more constructive relationship with the Soviet Union. They were desperate and destitute.

MCGOVERN: If there's any alternative that was never really thoughtfully considered that was it, the possibility that maybe Russians and Americans could live at peace on the same planet.

SMITH: If on the other hand you believe that Joe Stalin was a murderous psychopath atop a system that placed little if any value on human life, then you believe Henry Wallace was, at the very least, criminally naïve.

HYDE: He gave a speech in 1946 to a real left wing crowd in Madison Square Garden in which he said, "I'm neither pro-British nor anti-British. I'm neither pro-Russian nor anti-Russian. I'm an American; I feel we can work with everybody. I think we should get along."

Newsreel: "Secretary of Commerce Henry A. Wallace comes to the White House to hear from President Truman the direction U.S. foreign policy will take. Wallace's New York speech ...

HARD-LINERS IN THE ADMINISTRATION FELT WALLACE HAD GONE TOO FAR IN SUPPORT OF RUSSIA AND DEMANDED THAT HE BE FIRED.

TRUMAN VACILLATED FOR A WEEK, HOPING THE FIRESTORM WOULD DIE DOWN. BUT THE DAMAGE HAD ALREADY BEEN DONE.

Wallace: "Dear Harry, As you requested, here is my resignation. I shall continue to fight for peace. I am sure that you approve and will join me in that great endeavor."

AFTER 13 YEARS OF PUBLIC SERVICE – AS NEW DEAL SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE, WAR TIME VICE PRESIDENT, AND SECRETARY OF COMMERCE – HENRY WALLACE LEFT WASHINGTON.

THE WALLACES SETTLED ON A 115-ACRE FARM IN SOUTHERN NEW YORK STATE. THEY CALLED IT FARVUE. HE RESUMED HIS EXPERIMENTAL BREEDING OF CORN AND

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CHICKENS.

DOUGLAS: ... the moment we got up there he was just so busy. I think his whole point was just leave politics and off we go into doing the work that he really enjoyed.

BUT THE POLITICAL ARENA CONTINUED TO BECKON. IN HIS NEW ROLE AS EDITOR OF THE LIBERAL *NEW REPUBLIC* MAGAZINE, AND ON SPEAKING TOURS ACROSS THE UNITED STATES AND EUROPE, WALLACE CONTINUED TO CHALLENGE TRUMAN'S COLD WAR POLICIES IN EVER-SHARPER LANGUAGE.

Wallace: "If we persist today in a policy of threats and encirclement we shall increase international distrust and suspicion. We are paving the way toward war."

CULVER: There was a very substantial element in the military and in the political circles who were very aggressive about the need to hit Russia now when they were weak.

WALLACE'S CONCERNS WERE SHARED AND SUPPORTED BY TRADE UNIONISTS, CIVIL RIGHTS ACTIVISTS, FAMOUS INTELLECTUALS AND CELEBRITIES.

HE DECIDED TO JUMP BACK INTO THE FRAY.

Wallace: "The American people must have more than a choice between evils. ... To that end, I announce that I will run as an independent candidate in 1948 for president of the United States."

BUT MANY DOUBTED HIS INDEPENDENCE. ACTIVE SUPPORT FROM THE AMERICAN COMMUNIST PARTY SEIZED THE ATTENTION OF THE PUBLIC AND THE PRESS.

TRUMAN WAS CONCERNED THAT WALLACE'S CANDIDACY WOULD LURE LIBERAL DEMOCRATS AWAY FROM HIM. THE PRESIDENT WENT ON THE OFFENSIVE.

Truman: "I do not want and I will not accept the political support of Henry Wallace and his communists. If joining them or permitting them to join me is the price of victory, I recommend defeat."

WALLACE SUPPORTERS FORMED THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY. ITS FIRST CONVENTION DREW THOUSANDS FROM AROUND THE COUNTRY TO PHILADELPHIA IN JULY.

MCGOVERN: The people that I met at that convention were just ordinary farmers and workers, just ordinary Americans from across the country. I thought it was wonderful. ... Pete Seeger was there leading folk singing.

SEEGER: There's lots of things I don't know but I know how to get a crowd singing, and I had them all singing. 'We are building a people's party, we are building a people's party, we are building a people's party, brothers, sisters, all' ...

MCGOVERN: They had an idealistic streak. They thought America could do better; they didn't think the world was as evil as some people did.

SMITH: 1948 was also an election about foreign policy, the first election after the Second World War, the first election of the Cold War. It was a referendum on America's role in the world, whether we were to slip

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back into isolation, what kind of world power were we going to be?

Reporter: "Why did you run in 1948?"

Wallace: Because I wanted to make peace the dominant issue of the 1948 campaign. To me that outweighed everything else."

HYDE: Everything gets swallowed up in this communist issue and in the portrayal of Wallace as being somehow or other beyond the pale, beyond the mainstream of American thought.

Newsreel: "The convention of the third party, called the Progressive Party, awaiting the acceptance address of its presidential candidate Henry Wallace. Supported by communists, he campaigns on the issue of the American-Soviet dispute and the Berlin crisis."

Wallace: "I am committed to peaceful negotiations with the Soviet government."

MCGOVERN: Well, let's be clear on one thing. Wallace had no use for communism; he had no use for Stalinism. A dictatorship of that kind was repugnant to Henry Wallace. Wallace was a progressive American capitalist, who incidentally made a personal fortune as a businessman.

CULVER: He knew throughout the course of that campaign that it was an albatross around his neck to have the support of the U.S. Communist Party, but he didn't feel that they should be denied participation as long as they were citizens of the United States and weren't doing anything at that point that was illegal.

SMITH: Not a dupe of the communists, as his critics said. The man was too intelligent to be a dupe, no one duped him. He was thoughtful; he had given a lot of thought to these issues, but he was on the wrong side of history.

Newsreel: "The police break up battles between Reds and vets ... "

1948 AMERICA WAS IN THE GRIP OF ANTI-COMMUNIST HYSTERIA AND THE PROGRESSIVES WERE AN EASY TARGET. WALLACE SUPPORTERS LOST THEIR JOBS. SOME WERE BEATEN, THREATENED AND JAILED. ONE WAS MURDERED.

JUST WHEN IT SEEMED THINGS COULDN'T GET MUCH WORSE, WALLACE TOOK HIS CAMPAIGN TO THE DEEP SOUTH.

TERKEL: When they traveled south, it was the first political gathering ever to have an integrated get-together; and they were egged; and they were tomatoed. They were threatened; they were driven out of town ...

SEEGER: Wallace went up to a man who was shouting and grabs him by the lapel and says, "Are you an American?" The man says, "Take your filthy hands off me." And the policeman said, "Mr. Wallace, I don't think I can hold this crowd back."

SEEGER: Several people said, "Mr. Wallace, this is very dangerous. You may not live through this week." And Wallace says, "Whether I live or not is not that important, it's important that I continue this tour." And I got the idea of what real courage is in this world.

HYDE: Never before in American history had an American politician refused to campaign before segregated audiences. He refused to sleep in segregated hotels; he refused to eat in segregated restaurants. It was clear that he had pointed to the great injustice in American democracy.

FROM THE EGG-THROWING OF SEGREGATIONISTS TO THE SMEAR TACTICS OF

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ANTI-COMMUNISTS, THE '48 CAMPAIGN TRAIL WAS A BRUTAL ONE FOR HENRY WALLACE, AND HIS FAMILY AS WELL.

DOUGLAS DOUGLAS: "I hated the whole thing. The whole thing was not my father; and he knew it too; and my mother was just not happy either because it wasn't, it just wasn't my father."

THE 1948 ELECTION, WITH TRUMAN'S STUNNING VICTORY, WAS A FULL-BLOWN DISASTER FOR WALLACE, HIS PARTY, AND THE LEFT IN GENERAL. THE PROGRESSIVES RECEIVED ONLY ABOUT A MILLION VOTES, A MERE 2 PERCENT OF THE TOTAL, AND CARRIED JUST 33 PRECINCTS IN THE ENTIRE NATION.

THEIR ONLY SUCCESS LAY IN THE PARTY'S PLATFORM.

HYDE: The platform called for a Medicare-type program. It called for equal rights for women. It called for the end of segregation. It was a whole blueprint for forward thinking measures that have since become part of law or are still very much in play.

IN THE YEARS AFTER THE ELECTION, WALLACE CONTINUED FIGHTING FOR LIBERAL CAUSES AND WORLD PEACE. THE FBI CONTINUED MONITORING HIM – AS IT HAD EVEN WHEN HE WAS VICE PRESIDENT. AND CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES, LIKE THE HOUSE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE, BADGERED HIM AND QUESTIONED HIS PATRIOTISM.

Cmte: "So, Mr. Wallace, you deny you had anything to do with any of these licenses?"  
Wallace: "I do most deeply, flatly and indignantly."

IN A LETTER DELIVERED BY HIS DAUGHTER, JEAN, TO A MEMBER OF YET ANOTHER SUBCOMMITTEE, WALLACE BARED HIS SOUL. "It is a humiliating experience, " he wrote, "when a man who has served his country in high public office for 13 years is dragged before a Senate Committee and then has no attention paid to his sworn testimony ... I'm sure you would want to set the record straight for the sake of your children and your grandchildren."

Murrow: "Good evening, Mr. Wallace."

HAW: "How are you, Ed?"

Murrow: "Good. Mr. Wallace, what comes first with you on the farm these days, chickens?"

HAW: "Oh, I think chickens have to come first, but I'm mightily interested also in breeding gladioli and some strawberries; and I still keep my hand in with corn believe it or not."

Murrow: "Uh-huh. Well does that leave a little time for politicking?"

HAW: "Absolutely not. I'm through with politicking. All I do nowadays ... "

WALLACE LEFT POLITICS TO ENJOY WHAT HE LOVED MOST – HIS FAMILY, HIS FARM, AND SCIENCE. AT ONE TIME HALF THE CHICKENS ON EARTH WERE SAID TO BE RELATED TO WALLACE'S PROLIFIC EGG LAYERS.

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BUT ATTACKS ON HIS CHARACTER CONTINUED TO DOG HIM. WALLACE FOUGHT HARD TO DEFEND HIS NAME AND THE FAMILY REPUTATION.

CULVER: He had become sort of fair game for the critics. ... He would painstakingly try to reply to each and every one of these false allegations and rumors surrounding his loyalty. ...The lie was halfway around the world before he could get his typewriter out.

MCGOVERN: He was always painted as a wild-eyed radical. Anybody who knew Wallace knew that that was a lie. They knew that he was a genuine 100 percent American patriot, no question about that. They knew that he was committed to free enterprise and was a practitioner of it. They knew that his heart beat for the American farmer, the American worker and the independent businessman.

ON RARE OCCASIONS WALLACE GAVE SPEECHES AND INTERVIEWS. STILL VIGOROUS AT 75, HE COULD EASILY MANAGE 20 PUSH-UPS OR MORE. BUT IN THE SUMMER OF 1964, WHILE CLIMBING A PYRAMID IN GUATEMALA, HE NOTICED A WEAKNESS IN HIS LEFT LEG. BY FALL, HE HAD BEEN DIAGNOSED WITH A-L-S, LOU GEHRIG'S DISEASE. THE OUTLOOK WAS GRIM.

HYDE: He approached the disease very much in the same way that he approached all of life, very curious about its origin, about what caused it, about whether there was any solution, any cure. He turned himself over to the National Institutes of Health for experimentation on his own body while he was still alive.

WALLACE KEPT A DIARY OF HIS PHYSICAL DETERIORATION. HE CALLED IT "REFLECTIONS OF AN ALS'ER." "Sometimes I slump and would be happy to pass out," he wrote, "but most of the time I am determined to live beyond 80. I do want to play my part in developing a superior brown-egg chicken, a strawberry with unique flavor, and a fine type of miniature gladioli."

ON THE EIGHTEENTH OF NOVEMBER, 1965, WITH ILO BY HIS SIDE, HENRY AGARD WALLACE DIED. HE WAS 77.

HYDE: I don't think he had a lot of regrets about his own life. I think he felt that he had done the best he could. I think he felt that he had made a real contribution to humanity in some ways and he had fought for his ideals and they were worth fighting for.

SMITH: One thing that he deserves credit for is the courage that he showed going into the South, braving the hail of eggs and worse and standing up for civil rights long before it had entered the political mainstream. That, in a lot of ways, is his finest hour.

BORLAUG: Of course, he will always be remembered for his scientific contributions and for his humanitarian ones and I think, from a personal standpoint, from his vision of seeing the world and its needs like few other people of that time.

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HIS PASSING WAS BARELY MENTIONED ON THE EVENING NEWS ... AT HIS REQUEST NO EULOGY WAS GIVEN, NO LAVISH CEREMONY OR FANFARE ... HIS ASHES ARE BURIED IN A SIMPLE GRAVE IN HIS HOMETOWN OF DES MOINES.

CULVER: Roosevelt once said to him, "You know, Henry, the things you believe in are all going to come some day. Your problem is that you're just too far ahead of your time."

### PROGRAM CREDITS

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