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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Mr. John Gherini
Suite 230
La Arcada Building
114 State Street
Santa Barbara, California 93101



MICHAEL K. DEAVER

John
Thanks for taking the
time to give me your thoughts
on the debate. I'm sure RR
will do well in the 2nd one. I
agree completely with the points
you make. Warm, thanks!

LAW OFFICES OF
PIER GHERINI & JOHN GHERINI

SUITE 230 LA ARCADE BUILDING
1114 STATE STREET
SANTA BARBARA, CALIF. 93101
TELEPHONE (805) 966-4155

October 9, 1984

Mr. Michael K. Deaver
Assistant to The President
Deputy Chief of Staff
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20013

note

Dear Mike:

For what they are worth, I would like to pass along my observations of the first "debate".

I thought the President did well overall. His answers concerning Social Security, going to church and abortion were excellent.

The most important admission of the debate was that Mr. Mondale said he likes the President. So does everyone else, and this is why the country feels good about itself and the opinion polls reflect this.

In the next "debate", the President should ask: "Are the people feeling better about their country today than they were in 1980?" They obviously are, and this is because of the President's leadership. It takes leadership to set the tone for the country. Neither Carter or Mondale could do this in 1976-1980.

Mr. Mondale's problem, however, is one of credibility. His policies were soundly rejected by the voters in 1980. People weren't feeling good about their country then.

Mondale's lack of credibility, contrasted with the good feeling people have toward their President and their country today, is the basic theme which should be projected in the next debate.

I think the President's game plan should be simpler next time around. He appeared too concerned with reciting facts and figures, instead of being himself.

I do have a few suggestions which I utilize in my trial practice:

- (1) Each answer should basically be short and simple, with a single theme.
- (2) The President should try to end each discussion or rebuttal crisply. For example, "To conclude, ...", "In summary, ...", or a simple "Thank you" to the questioner. This prevents rambling, and gracefully allows one to end the discussion.

October 9, 1984 - Page 2

Mr. Michael K. Deaver
Assistant to The President
Deputy Chief of Staff

- (3) The closing statement should be well prepared and not "off the cuff".
- (4) Listen carefully to the questions posed to Mondale and his answers. Most of the time Mr. Mondale gives his patterned "speech" without answering the question. Point out to Mr. Mondale that he did not answer the question, which puts him on the defensive and goes to the issue of credibility.
- (5) Be aware that even while the panel is questioning Mr. Mondale, the television camera is looking at the President.

The next debate in foreign policy will probably deal with some of the following: (1) The Lebanon bombings; (2) Defense spending and the government report that says the spending has helped preparedness; (3) "The \$500 coffee pot"; (4) Nuclear War - is there any circumstance where it would be used?; (5) The President's ranch statement about bombing Russia; (6) Star Wars; (7) Nuclear power; (8) Central America, etc. Simple and concise themes should be prepared for these and other related areas of questioning.

The economy and defense of the country are strong and people are feeling good about it. That is more than you can say for the Carter-Mondale era.

Hope these ideas are helpful.

With best wishes,



JOHN GHERINI

JG/mo

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Mr. Pier Gherini
Pier Gherini & John Gherini
Suite 230, La Arcada Building
1114 State Street
Santa Barbara, California 93101



MICHAEL K. DEEVER

Pier
I personally handed your note
to the President. I'm sure you'll be
hearing from him soon.
Good to hear from you —
Hope all is well.
2/21/84 Mike

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do card

February 17, 1984

Mr. Michael K. Deaver
Assistant to The President
Deputy Chief of Staff
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20013

Dear Mike:

I am sending you a letter I have addressed to President Reagan.
I would appreciate your seeing that it reaches him.

I am delighted at the fine work you are doing for the President.
I wish it were possible to meet you again some time, but I appreciate that this is not possible.

Take good care of yourself and your family.

Sincerely,

Pier

PIER GHERINI

PG/mo
Enclosure

NO

*Can you do a little
note from RR - Old
RR supporter*

LAW OFFICES OF
PIER GHERINI & JOHN GHERINI

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1114 STATE STREET
SANTA BARBARA, CALIF. 93101
TELEPHONE (805) 966-4155

February 17, 1984

The Honorable Ronald Reagan
President of The United States
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

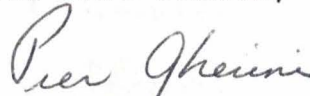
Dear President Reagan:

I enclose a copy of a recent wire (February 3, 1984) sent to you by Timothy Cardinal Manning of Los Angeles, reaffirming your continued opposition to the widespread practice of abortion.

The views of Cardinal Manning represent those of Catholic leaders throughout the United States, and also those of similar views held by non-Catholic leaders. I remember distinctly that they confirm similar views held by you when you were Governor of the State of California. I hope that your staff will verify these facts and make public your views when it is appropriate.

I am personally delighted that you have decided to run for a second term as President. I wish it were possible for me to be of greater help to you, but I cannot do so as I have had a series of strokes.

With best wishes,



PIER GHERINI

PG/mo
Enclosure

Archdiocese Celebrates C

The Tidings

LOS ANGELES

30¢

FEBRUARY

Cardinal Thanks The President

The Honorable Ronald Reagan
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

The voices of a generation of unborn Americans cry in gratitude for your compassionate defense of their right to life. May the Author of all life reward you for your courage. The Church of Los Angeles lauds you and California stands tall.

Timothy Cardinal Manning
Archbishop of Los Angeles

January 31, 1984

Cardinal To Install Santa Barbara Vicar

Bishop William Levada will be installed as Episcopal Vicar for

Scientists To Iss

Music Videos 'Like Flash Of Hell'

By NC News Service

The music videos shown nationally on the MTV cable television channel seem "like a flash of hell," Father Morton Hill of Morality in Media said this week.

Father Hill commented on the MTV fare after the National Coalition on Television Violence issued a report charging that the videos not only illustrate the often violent song lyrics, but also show additional violence, much of it sexual in nature.

In Canada's Ontario province after April 1, rock videos will have to be submitted to a censor board before being shown to audiences that may include children, the Canadian



MICHAEL K. DEAVER

Newt

Thanks for your note
and the Human article.
I agree with your comments
but will run them on to
others.

Sincerely, Mike

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

The Honorable Newt Gingrich
United States House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

NEWT GINGRICH
SIXTH DISTRICT, GEORGIA

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PUBLIC WORKS AND
TRANSPORTATION
HOUSE ADMINISTRATION

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Congress of the United States
House of Representatives

May 23, 1984

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NEWNAN, GEORGIA 30263
(404) 253-8355

Mr. Mike Deaver
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20500

*discuss
at 8:30*

Dear Mike:

There are some lessons for the 1984 Reagan Campaign from Robert Donovan's Conflict and Crisis: The Presidency of Harry S. Truman. The Truman campaign won the largest House sweep by an incumbent President since World War II. The Democrats picked up 75 seats while narrowly winning the reelection of the presidency. The key to that pick-up was not because Truman asked Congress to help him, but that Truman ruthlessly and continually attacked and outmaneuvered the Republicans and forced the Republicans to bear the burden of the campaign.

His approach in setting up the Republican Congress, aggressively carrying to it an agenda that would fail, and then forcing the burden of failure on that Congress is a master study in how an incumbent, even one who at that time seemed to be in grave difficulties and likely to be defeated, can turn the tide by carrying certain messages.

The lesson for us this fall is clear. The President should not appeal for a Republican Congress to help him. The President should consistently and systemically make clear that Tip O'Neill and the Liberal Democrats are the hand maidens of big labor, the servants of special interests, and the deniers of opportunity to the values of the American people. By focusing again and again on their unwillingness to bring up crime legislation, balanced budget legislation, etc. we can make the case that they are worse than a do-nothing Congress. They're a block-anything Congress.

I thought you'd find the attached pages useful.

Sincerely,

Newt Gingrich
Newt Gingrich

NG/ao
Enclosure

ROBERT J. DONOVAN

CONFLICT AND CRISIS

*The Presidency of Harry S Truman,
1945-1948*

W · W · NORTON & COMPANY · INC · NEW YORK

priations." He insisted that he was trying to carry out the liberal Democratic platform of 1944 but was not getting help from Congress.

"That is partly your fault," he said. "In the election of 1946 you believed all the lies that were published about your President. And two-thirds of you didn't even go out and vote. Look what the other third gave you! You deserve it. Now, if you let that sort of situation continue—you have got a chance to remedy it this fall—if you let that sort of situation continue, I won't have any sympathy with you. You will get just what you deserve."¹⁰

From there he drove to Grand Coulee Dam, where many of the traveling reporters who had already boarded the press bus at the Spokane station when Truman was making his crack about the worst Congress caught up with him and sought an explanation. The Eightieth, he told them, was the worst Congress since the days when Thaddeus Stevens was a leader of the radical Republicans in the Reconstruction. This modified his earlier statement, already bulletined by the wire services. On the roadway surmounting the dam, reporters were shouting at Truman to make themselves heard above the waterfall, trying to establish just how bad he thought the Eightieth Congress was.

"Can't we stand on your earlier statement?" one fairly yelled.

"Go right ahead," Truman said.

As "Worst Congress" filled the headlines, Republicans retorted that Truman was the worst president in history. The *Chicago Tribune* called him a "nincompoop." He was a "nasty little gamin," a "Missouri jackass," said Representative Cliff Clevenger, Republican, of Ohio. Taft went on radio and proposed that Congress adjourn until a new president was elected. Then the senator put his foot in it. Addressing the Union League Club of Philadelphia, he accused Truman of "blackguarding Congress at every whistle station in the West." The Democratic National Committee telegraphed officials of thirty-five cities and towns on Truman's itinerary to ask how they liked being called "whistle-stops," which was railroad parlance for communities classified as too insignificant to enjoy regular scheduled train service. Responses were unfavorable to Taft. "Must have the wrong city," replied the mayor of Eugene, Oregon. Out of the incident grew the enduring term for Truman's style of campaigning.*

Unmistakably, the blend of error, comedy, folksiness, and political head-splitting was stirring great curiosity about Truman's itinerant Punch-and-Judy show, and crowds grew larger as it moved along.

"You know, this Congress is interested in the welfare of the better classes," he said from the balcony of the Elks Club in Bremerton, Washington. "They are not interested in the welfare of the common, everyday man."

"Pour it on, Harry," someone shouted.

"I'm going to—I'm going to," he replied.¹¹

In Seattle a greater crowd turned out to see Truman than had welcomed Roosevelt. Moving on to Tacoma, Washington, Truman said, ". . . I had to come out here and let you look at me and let you see for yourself what the facts are with

* See "whistle-stop," Webster's Third New International Dictionary (unabridged).

He returned to Washington June 18, three days before the Republican National Convention was to meet in Philadelphia and hear former Representative Clare Boothe Luce of Connecticut say: "Let us waste no time measuring the unfortunate man in the White House against our specifications. Mr. Truman's time is short; his situation is hopeless. Frankly, he is a gone goose."

Nothing seemed to justify her remarks more completely than the nomination of the ticket of Thomas Dewey and Earl Warren. Geographically, it was perfect, balanced by the governor of New York and the governor of California, states the loss of which would be crippling for Truman. Dewey and Warren were seasoned, respected politicians, each a moderate, each with a good record, each a poor target for campaign attacks, each a good campaigner in the past, and each a man of seemingly presidential stature. Even Truman's mother-in-law, Mrs. Wallace, is said to have told friends it was a waste of time for him to run against such a ticket.

On the day after the convention had adjourned, Truman strode out the northwest gate of the White House on his morning walk, accompanied by Nicholson. Truman asked him what he thought of the ticket. The Secret Service man ventured that a Warren-Dewey ticket would have been stronger. "That's right, Nick," Truman agreed. Reflecting on Dewey, he added: "Before this campaign is over I will take the mustache off that fellow, you can be sure of that."

As they walked, Truman said the Republicans had made a mistake in not nominating Taft.

"He was deserving of it, and he is an honorable man," Nicholson recalled Truman's saying. "They think he would be easy to defeat because he doesn't have labor support. Well, he has. He has plenty of labor support when he runs and wins in Ohio for the Senate. He would be a very much tougher opponent for me than Governor Dewey."²³

Before Congress adjourned it passed only one of the eight measures Truman had designated in Los Angeles—the Agricultural Act of 1948. This measure, extending price supports, was by no means the heart of the political drama in the farm belt in 1948, however.

Rather, a routine bill that was to influence the outcome of the election, though no one imagined it at the time, was S. 1322. That June the charter of the Commodity Credit Corporation, the agency through which Federal farm loans and subsidies were extended, came up for renewal, provided for in S. 1322. Reflecting the influence of the grain lobby and the economy-minded House Banking and Currency Committee, Congress wrote into the bill an obscure provision that was potentially costly to farmers. To qualify for price supports farmers had always had to store their grain in facilities approved by the government, either in commercial bins or ones maintained by the Commodity Credit Corporation. The new provision, however, prohibited the CCC from acquiring new bins, the number of which already had been declining since the war. In the event of a moderate harvest the new provision would not have drastic effect because commercial storage facilities could handle the grain. But if bumper crops grew, then the CCC could not provide additional bins near the farms as in the past, and the farmers would stand to lose money for lack of storage space.

tance speech if all went well in the balloting. For the moment, Truman and Charles Murphy were alone together by the radio in the presidential car, listening to a broadcast of the proceedings. Suddenly, Truman became perturbed. He complained to Murphy that Leslie Biffle in his role as sergeant at arms of the convention was trying to swing the presidential nomination to Alben Barkley, the Senate minority leader.²⁸ The thought had been hounding Truman all week. In notes he had made on Monday he commented: "My 'good' friend Leslie Biffle spends all his time . . . running Barkley for President."²⁹

The 1948 convention was the first ever televised. Thus Truman was the first President ever to be able to watch the proceedings from the White House. It appeared to him that a demonstration for Barkley after the latter's keynote speech had been promoted by Biffle.

The convention had opened in despair. Then the first night the delegates were born again with a dose of old-time Democratic religion administered in the galvanic keynote address by Barkley, a log-house-born Kentucky raconteur and spellbinder, a former Paducah prosecuting attorney, who had taken his seat in Congress the day Wilson was inaugurated president, on March 4, 1913. Having delivered the keynote addresses at two previous Democratic conventions, having seconded Alfred E. Smith's nomination in 1932 and having placed Roosevelt's name in nomination in 1944, Barkley was a seasoned orator, brimming with merciless ridicule of the Republican party. Not only did his performance revive the convention, but it made him an obvious candidate for vice-president—indeed, the only serious contender since Justice Douglas had rejected an offer by Truman of second place on the ticket.

During the preconvention troubles with the liberals in Philadelphia, McGrath had telephoned Truman and suggested that he deal with the problem by selecting Douglas as his running mate. Truman reached Douglas in an Oregon camp where he was vacationing and made the offer. After deliberating for a few days Douglas declined on the opening Monday of the convention, saying he did not believe the court should be used as a stepping stone to political office.³⁰ Doubtless he did not relish boarding the *Titanic*, either. In one of his private memorandums of those heated days Truman wrote:

I call him, tell him I'm doing what FDR did to me. He owes it to the country to accept.

He belongs to that crowd of Tommy Corcoran, Harold Ickes, Claude Pepper crackpots whose word is worth less than Jimmy Roosevelt's. I hope he has a more honorable political outlook. No professional liberal is intellectually honest. That's a real indictment—but true as the Ten Commandments. Professional liberals aren't familiar with the Ten Commandments or the Sermon on the Mount.

Most Roosevelts aren't either!³¹

In his Monday memorandum, after Douglas had turned him down, Truman said:

I'm inclined to give some credence to Tommy Corcoran's crack to Burt Wheeler that Douglas had said he could "not" be a No. 2 man to a No. 2 man.³²

John Snyder telephoned Truman on Monday or Tuesday to report that Roosevelt, Henderson, and Wilson Wyatt were backing Barkley for president. At that

point Truman's suspicions were eased, for he noted in a Tuesday memorandum: "Maybe so, but Barkley is an honorable man. He won't give me the double cross, I am sure."³³ Something seems to have been going on in Barkley's head, however, and Truman was enough of a fox to know it. Having heard of Truman's offer to Douglas, Biffle told certain Democratic senators that if Barkley did not get the vice-presidential nomination, they might be surprised at what he would run for.

At about the time Douglas had declined Truman's offer, Biffle and Barkley telephoned the president from Philadelphia. Barkley asked if Truman would mind if he sought the vice-presidential nomination.³⁴ At first glance Barkley was not an ideal choice for Truman. The senator was seventy, six years older than the president. Furthermore Kentucky and Missouri were hardly a good balance compared with New York and California on the Republican ticket. But Truman assented, unenthusiastically. After the White House staff meeting July 13, Eben Ayers noted in his diary: "Talking about the vice-presidency the President said he never did care much who was nominated to run with him. . . . He indicated he did not feel Barkley was the best candidate but that if the delegates wanted him, let them have him."³⁵

The good spirits of Monday night gave way to renewed bitterness over civil rights on Tuesday when the platform committee, supported by the Truman forces, recommended the moderate plank patterned after 1944 to prevent a southern bolt. Biemiller thereupon announced that the liberals would carry the fight for a stronger plank to the convention floor on Wednesday. By the time Truman got to town Wednesday night the Democratic party had been through an inferno. Frustrated in their efforts to dump Truman, the liberals carried the day in a wild fight to amend the civil rights plank.

Eliminating the vague language of 1944, the new plank commended Truman for his stand on civil rights. It called upon Congress to act on his proposals for full and equal political participation, equal opportunity in employment, the right to personal security, and "the right of equal treatment in the service and defense of our nation."

When he could get the floor, Handy Ellis, an Alabama delegate, told the convention, "We bid you good-bye." With that, thirteen members of the Alabama delegation and the entire twenty-three-member Mississippi delegation seized their state standards and marched out of the hall.

Truman then was nominated on the first ballot, receiving 947½ votes to 263 cast by southern delegates for Senator Russell of Georgia.* No one adhered to tradition and moved that the nomination of Truman be made unanimous. It was unlikely the South would have gone along. Thus, when Truman arrived the situation was that he was going to have to run against the powerful Dewey-Warren ticket with a northern Progressive faction of Democrats split away under Wallace and a Democratic southern Dixiecrat faction split away under the ultimate leadership of Governor Thurmond and his running mate, Governor Wright of Mississippi, who hoped to be able to throw the election into the House of Representatives.

In these seemingly hopeless circumstances Truman went before the bedraggled

* Former Governor Paul McNutt of Indiana received half a vote.

delegates and did the last thing anyone would have imagined possible at that wretched hour of 2 A.M. He electrified the convention.

"Senator Barkley and I," he said, "will win this election and make these Republicans like it—don't you forget that!"³⁶

He laid it right on the line:

Never in the world were the farmers . . . as prosperous . . . and if they don't do their duty by the Democratic Party, they are the most ungrateful people in the world. . . .

And I say to labor what I have said to the farmers: they are the most ungrateful people in the world if they pass the Democratic Party by this year.

In those days before air conditioning Convention Hall was sweltering. The miserably managed convention had dragged on so long Truman had to wait downstairs for four hours. When he finally appeared on the rostrum in his white linen suit, Mrs. Emma Guffey Miller, sister of a former senator from Pennsylvania, released from a floral Liberty Bell a flock of white pigeons in the role of doves of peace. The place was turned into a flapping scene out of Alfred Hitchcock, with birds winging everywhere, crashing into balconies, and even alighting on the lectern within Rayburn's grasp.

Truman soon had the hall in a different kind of uproar, Democrats stamping and hollering as he sprang a trap on the Republicans. Speaking from an outline prepared chiefly by Murphy, Rosenman, and Clifford, he first laid down a barrage against "that worst Eightieth Congress" for all the things it had not done about economic controls, slum clearance, schools, and welfare. Then he recited the promises in the recently adopted Republican platform to deal with high prices and provide housing, aid to education, and increased Social Security benefits.

"My duty as President," he said, "requires that I use every means within my power to get the laws the people need on matters of such importance and urgency.

"I am, therefore, calling this Congress back into session July 26.

"On the twenty-sixth of July, which out in Missouri we call 'Turnip Day,'* I am going to call Congress back and ask them to pass laws to halt rising prices, to meet the housing crisis—which they say they are for in their platform. . . .

"I shall ask them to act upon other vitally needed measures such as aid to education, which they say they are for; a national health program, civil rights legislation, which they say they are for . . . extension of social security coverage and increased benefits, which they say they are for. . . .

"Now, my friends, if there is any reality behind that Republican platform, we ought to get some action from a short session of the Eightieth Congress. They can do this job in fifteen days, if they want to do it. . . ."

Republicans fumed at this impudent strategy, which had been under discussion in the White House for some time. It was a rather obvious and appealing device. The calling of special sessions is an option open to all presidents. Truman already had called the one in the fall of 1947 to deal with foreign aid and inflation. As

* Missourians differ as to whether Turnip Day was July 25 or 26. In any case the latter date served Truman's purposes better, since the twenty-sixth fell on a Monday that year—a logical day for the convening of a special session. An old Missouri saying was "On the twenty-sixth day of July"—assuming Truman was right—"sow your turnips, wet or dry."

Congress had balked at passing his program in 1948, speculation about a special session often appeared in the press. Reporters kept asking Truman about the possibility throughout the spring. The question was asked as recently as the press conference of July 1.³⁷

The idea, therefore, was not arcane. Truman's most intimate political advisers favored it. An unsigned memorandum of June 29, later found among Rosenman's papers, though not written by him, reflected the thinking of the subject. The election, it said, could be won only by bold and daring action, such as the calling of a special session. The advantages of such a call were enumerated: (1) it "would focus attention on the rotten record of the Eightieth Congress," (2) it "would force Dewey and Warren to defend the actions of Congress and make them accept the Congress as a basic issue," (3) "it would keep a steady glare on the Neanderthal men of the Republican party . . . who will embarrass Dewey and Warren," (4) it would split the Republicans on major issues, and (5) it "would show the President *in action on Capitol Hill*, fighting for the people."³⁸ Cussing away, Truman announced his decision on the special session to his staff July 13, informing them that he was going to tell the Republicans: "Now, you sons of bitches, come and do your God-damndest."³⁹

He was pleased with the excitement stirred by his speech, jotting in a memorandum July 16:

Editorials, columns and cartoons are gasping and wondering.

None of the smart folks thought I would call the Congress. . . .

Dewey synthetically milks cows and pitches hay for the cameras just as that other faker Teddy Roosevelt did—but he never heard of "turnip day."⁴⁰

While the public was concentrating on the conventions, the situation in Berlin had grown more serious. As was to be the case throughout the next four months, Truman was pulled between the spectacle of the campaign and the exigencies of Israel, Korea, China, and Germany, where the Soviet blockade remained clamped on Berlin as tightly as ever. Truman's decision to hold the United States zone of the German capital still stood. B-29s were being readied for movement to Germany and Great Britain. Fleets of American transport planes kept 2,500 tons of food and fuel flowing daily to the beleaguered Berlin population. Yet on July 3 Sokolovsky told the Western military governors that the blockade would continue until their countries abandoned plans for a West German government.⁴¹ On July 10 General Clay made a drastic proposal. In a message to General Bradley he said:

. . . I am strongly of the view that if the blockade is not lifted . . . we should advise the Soviet Government that . . . we propose on a specific date to send in a convoy accompanied by the requisite bridge equipment to make our right of way into Berlin usable. There is of course an inherent risk . . . since once this convoy crosses the border it is committed to the movement to Berlin. . . .⁴²

Convinced that the Soviets did not intend war, Clay repeated his request July 15, the day Truman returned from Philadelphia, and Bradley assured Clay the proposal was being weighed.⁴³

While this question hung in the balance Truman approved a general position

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properly it would be the ideal answer to Truman's 'red herring' charge."⁶⁸

Approvingly, Dulles forwarded the letter to Dewey, who neither answered it nor in fact ever made much of the alleged Communist menace in his campaign. For all his other handicaps Truman was lucky on this issue. Sensations like the revelation of the pumpkin papers on Chambers's Maryland farm and the indictment of Hiss for perjury came after the election. McCarthy had not yet stumbled onto the Communist issue. Nixon was not yet a major figure. China had not fallen to the Communists. And, curiously, the grand jury impaneled in New York to hear the testimony of Miss Bentley and others did not hand down any indictments. Committed to fostering national unity, Dewey avoided Red-baiting. He did not feel that he needed the issue to win. Still another factor was critical in getting Truman off the hook. Henry Wallace had become so entangled with Communists that, with generous help from the Democrats, the Communist issue was turned against him instead of Truman, as Dewey, too late, was ruefully to acknowledge.

In a postelection exchange of letters A. Augustus Low, chairman of the Hamilton County Republican Committee in New York, commented to Dewey that if Wallace had not run, "all of the extreme left wingers, screwballs etc. would have been in Truman's camp and he would have had a left-wing load to carry and explain."

"There is a lot to what you say about the Wallace candidacy," Dewey replied. "In many respects he helped the opposition more than he hurt them."⁶⁹

Thirty years later leading historians agree with this assessment.

The Turnip Day session ground through eleven querulous days to a barren end. Rejecting Truman's antiinflation program, Congress passed a bill simply authorizing the Federal Reserve Board to raise reserve requirements of member banks and to reimpose controls on consumer credit. Truman signed the bill but denounced it as feeble and advantageous to "the ends of special privilege."⁷⁰

The old deadlock on housing carried over into the special session. The House again rejected provisions in the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill for low-rent public housing and urban redevelopment, and Truman had to settle for legislation easing the terms of federally insured mortgages and of down payments. While signing the bill, he accused Congress of deliberately neglecting families forced to live in slums.⁷¹

At the end of the session he was pleased to let a reporter put more words in his mouth.

"Would you say it was a do-nothing session, Mr. President?"

"I would say it was entirely a 'do-nothing' session," he replied. "I think that's a good name for the Eightieth Congress."⁷²

The Republican massacre of his program was fodder for the kind of campaign he planned to wage. In contrast to Dewey's comment to his aunt that the special session would not much affect the election was a memorandum to Truman August 13 from Clifford, reporting on a talk with Carey of the CIO:

He stated that there had been a decided change in feeling among the top officers of the CIO with reference to the coming election. The President's Speech at the Convention made a great impression on labor as did the decision to call a special Session of the Congress. The failure

Accompanied as usual by Mrs. Truman and Margaret, the president departed September 17 on his first big coast-to-coast whistle-stop trip of the campaign, and Democratic bigwigs were at Union Station to cheer him on. "Go out there and mow 'em down," Barkley told him.

Truman's reply was his epitaph. It was the definition of a role he was pleased to live up to for the rest of his life. "I'll mow 'em down, Alben," he said, "and I'll give 'em hell."

Because reporters on the train had nothing else to write that day but the departure story, newspapers and news broadcasts poured out the story of the underdog off to the battle, vowing to "give 'em hell." "Hell" was still a somewhat daring word then, and Margaret chided her father for using it.¹⁴ But his comment, flashed across the country, caught on like "Remember the Maine!" Wherever Truman went someone would invariably shout, "Give 'em hell, Harry," and that would set him walloping Wall Street or slapping the special interests or chopping up the Eightieth Congress, which he was soon calling "good-for-nothing" as well as "do-nothing."

The role became good politics in the campaign, and, of course, when the election turned out as it did, Truman cherished it. It is too much to say that the "Give 'em hell" act changed his personality, but it affected his style in public. Forever after, he knew what audiences expected, and the temptation to perform was strong.

The first major appearance scheduled for the tour was a farm speech at the National Plowing Contest in Dexter, Iowa. Truman and Secretary of Agriculture Brannan were alert to the Republicans' problems in the Midwest and gave Dewey no quarter.

At just about the time farmers were realizing what the changed rules of the Commodity Credit Corporation meant to them, Harold Stassen visited Dewey in Albany September 2 and then made a statement that fell like manna on the White House. With the farmers increasingly worried about the sag in prices, Stassen attacked the Truman administration for having deliberately tried to keep food prices high. Blaming the administration for inflation generally, he continued that the Department of Agriculture in order to prevent lower food prices had made unnecessary grain purchases for export. Brannan, he charged, had implied he would increase such purchases.¹⁵

Long an obscure official in the Department of Agriculture who had caused little fuss and looked like a professor, Brannan turned out to be a political fireball as secretary. Within two hours of Stassen's statement he blew the issue sky-high by retorting that Dewey and Stassen were attacking the farm price-support system. Stassen had not mentioned price supports explicitly. Brushing this detail aside, the Democrats grabbed the issue in their teeth and shook it in the eyes of the farmers.

On September 4 Representative August H. Andresen, of Minnesota, second-ranking Republican on the House Agriculture Committee, wrote to Dewey from his home in Red Wing, warning him that Stassen had done much harm. The Truman administration was turning Stassen's statement to its advantage, Andresen said, adding: "I have been in Minnesota for the past two weeks, and I regret to state that many farmers do not intend to vote for the Republican ticket in the coming election. . . . We cannot win without the farm vote."

Dewey replied that he had been disturbed by similar reports but that a state-

ment would be issued countering the fire from Washington.¹⁶ Meanwhile Truman was westward-bound, and "give 'em hell" was a modest characterization of what he had in store for Dexter, Iowa.

His farm speech, echoing the era of William Jennings Bryan, was truly the last of a kind. Such prose has not been heard from the candidate of a major party in any presidential election campaign since. The lurid passages, however, were not Truman's creation but were the work of a little-known writer and former government employee named Albert Z. Carr. Carr had worked in the White House under Roosevelt and stayed on briefly in the Truman administration. He returned in the summer of 1948 when Truman brought in as a special speech writer David M. Noyes, and Noyes enlisted Carr's services. A former newspaper editor and public relations man, Noyes had known Senator Truman in Washington during the war. While the farm speech was the product of many hands in the White House and the Department of Agriculture, the style and tone were Carr's.¹⁷

Addressing 80,000 persons on Mrs. T. R. Agg's model farm, Truman zeroed in on Wall Street "gluttons of privilege." Fabulous sums were they contributing, he said, to turn the country back to the times when farmers suffered under Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover. When did "Wall Street Republican administrations" ever help the farmer? "The Republicans gave you that greatest of all depressions . . ." In the Eightieth Congress they had already "stuck a pitchfork in the farmer's back"—Carr's phrase.¹⁸ Touching a raw nerve, Truman continued:

Many growers have sold wheat this summer at less than the support price because they could not find proper storage. When the Democratic administration had to face this problem in the past, the government set up grain bins all over the wheat and corn belts to provide storage. Now the farmers need such bins again.

But when the Republican Congress rewrote the [CCC] charter this year there were certain lobbyists in Washington representing the speculative grain trade—your old friend. These big-business lobbyists and speculators persuaded the Congress not to provide storage bins for the farmers.

Then he picked up where Brannan had left off and accused the Republicans of "attacking the whole structure of price supports." After that came the dividends from Stassen's visit to Albany:

Republican spokesmen are now complaining that my administration is trying to keep farm prices up. They have given themselves away. They have given you a plain hint of what they have in store for you if they come into power. They are obviously ready to let the bottom drop out of farm prices.¹⁹

Dewey's Victory Special had finally pulled out of Albany. The Republican nominee was on his way also to the traditionally Republican state of Iowa to deliver his first campaign speech in Des Moines forty-eight hours after Truman's blast at Dexter. After the Republican convention a stream of Republican leaders had flowed through Albany, giving the candidate advice on the forthcoming campaign. Unanimously, it seems, they urged Dewey to say as little as possible and avoid controversy. Dewey was seen as having enough votes to win; the problem was not to lose any of them by rash words. This advice coincided with his own instincts.

ing to you and which would definitely be 'acceptable.' 25-53 is the plain blue serge in the dark blue and 23-46 is the same thing in a herringbone.

Gaunt had made suits for Coolidge and Hoover. His father had made them for William McKinley. Dewey replied October 25:

My difficulty is this: would I need an inaugural suit, I would undoubtedly use the cut-a-way I now have. It would be quite a waste to have another.⁶²

In these last days Truman concentrated on identifying himself with the New Deal philosophy and intensified his appeal to elements of the Roosevelt coalition, including blacks, Jews, Catholics, labor unions, and voters of Eastern European origin. In Chicago he delivered a rather nasty speech. Written by Carr but softened by Clifford and Elsey, it likened Dewey by implication to Hitler and Mussolini in the sense that he was the front man for fascist elements that might destroy democracy in the United States.

"The Republican candidate has the gall to say, and I quote him verbatim," Truman declared, " 'The Eightieth Congress delivered as no other Congress ever did for the future of this country.' "

"Well, I'll say it delivered. It delivered for the private power lobby. It delivered for the big oil company lobby. It delivered for the railroad lobby. It delivered for the real estate lobby. . . . Republican leaders stand ready to deliver to big business more and more control over the resources of this nation and the rights of the American people."

The next night in Cleveland Truman made a rollicking speech, comparing the current polls with the *Literary Digest* poll of 1936, which indicated that Roosevelt would lose to Landon, who in the end carried only Maine and Vermont. "These polls that the Republican candidate is putting out are like sleeping pills designed to lull the voters into sleeping on Election Day," Truman said. "You might call them sleeping pills. . . . My friends, we are going to win this election."

In Mechanics Hall in Boston the following night he attended to Catholic sentiment by charging that in 1928 the Republicans had resorted to bigotry against Alfred E. Smith, the Catholic Democratic nominee. "And now the Republican leaders tell us that they stand for unity. In the old days, Al Smith would have said, 'That's baloney.' Today I think he would say, 'That's a lot of hooey.' And if that rhymes with anything, it is not my fault."

"Wait until the morning of November 3," he said in South Norwalk, Connecticut, October 28 on the way to New York, "and you are going to see more red-faced pollsters than you ever looked at in your life." "We are winning this election," he told a sidewalk crowd in Manhattan. "Don't let anybody tell you anything different." At a Liberal party rally in the old Madison Square Garden that night his pitch was what he had done for Israel. Trying to squelch any lingering resentment over the Bernadotte plan, he said, "I have never changed my position on Palestine or Israel."

The next day Truman went to Harlem and delivered a civil rights speech in a public square where he was presented the Franklin D. Roosevelt Memorial Brotherhood Medal by the Interdenominational Ministers Alliance. As was the

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MICHAEL K. DEEVER

Paul

I was saddened to hear of Jim's tragic death. I appreciate your thoughtfulness in writing. I have sent a note to his widow.

Again, my best regards.

PITBOS - Mike

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Mr. Paul W. Girard
3775 Walnut Avenue
Concord, California 94519-1947



MICHAEL K. DEEVER

Dear Mrs. Guglietti

I just learned of Jim's death and was saddened. I knew him as a very fine Fraternity Brother and a warm and sensitive friend. I know that this is difficult to understand but please remember you and Jim and your family are in my thoughts and prayers. Sincerely
M. Deever

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Mrs. James R. Guglietti
5200 Ridgeway
Fair Oaks, CA 95628

Paul W. Girard
3775 Walnut Avenue
Concord, CA 94519-1947

March 12, 1984

PERSONAL

Mr. Michael K. Deaver
Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mike;

It is with a great deal of sadness that I report the death of our fraternity brother, Col. James R. Guglietti, USAF, (Retired).

Jim, as you may recall, was in the Class of 1958 at San Jose State College and had been an active member of the fraternity while at San Jose. Following his retirement two years ago he had been active in the alumni of Delta Sigma Phi.

While in the Air Force he served as a pilot for the Strategic Air Command and for about the last 10 years of his service had been an air attache at several locations around the globe.

He is survived by his wife of more than 20 years, Joann and a 4-year old son, Michael.

The family address is 5200 Ridgeway Way, Fair Oaks, CA 95628

Jim's body was found in Willits on Friday, March 9. He apparently took his own life.

At this writing, funeral services have not been set, but it is likely a memorial will be held at the Mather AFB chapel on Wednesday.

YITBOS,

Paul W. Girard

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

3/06/84

Mr. Leonard Goldenson
American Broadcasting Company
1330 Avenue of the Americas
New York, New York 10019



MICHAEL K. DEEVER

Leonard

Thanks for the note about
22

American Broadcasting Companies, Inc.

1330 Avenue of the Americas New York, New York 10019 Telephone 212 887-7018

Leonard H. Goldenson
Chairman of the Board

note

87-7018

Feb 29, 1984

Dear Mike -

I wanted to make you aware
of this. It should be a very special
evening and an appropriate prelude
to a truly American occasion.

I hope to see you soon.

With warm regards,

Leonard

MRD

Fyi

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Leonard H. Goldenson
Chairman of the Board

February 28, 1984

Dear Mr. President:

As you know, this summer the XXIII Olympic Games will be held in the United States, in your home state of California. This is the first time the Summer Games will have been in the United States in 52 years.

Most of ABC's television coverage will be broadcast live, and we feel the Games will have a special nationwide impact -- serving to unify Americans, to fuel their enthusiasm and to stimulate a national pride that will be a positive force for the country.

To celebrate and to preview the occasion, American Broadcasting Companies will host a gala dinner at the Pension Building the evening of May 17. We would like very much to specially honor you and Mrs. Reagan that evening.

Among the guests for the dinner will be the American medal winners from the Winter Olympics at Sarajevo; many of the outstanding athletes who will compete during the Summer Games; representatives of the International Olympic Committee and Los Angeles Olympic Organizaing Committee; previous Olympic greats and sports notables; members of your Administration; and Members of Congress.

The evening is a tribute in particular to the Olympic athletes who carry our country's traditions and values around the world so well. It will be a very special evening, one we plan to share with the public through subsequent television coverage. We feel the gala will cap off a special Olympics week in Washington, with the Olympic torch arriving there earlier in the week.

We hope very much that you and Mrs. Reagan can be with us.

Sincerely yours,



The Honorable Ronald Reagan
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Gerald Goodman, Esquire
Attorney at Law
6303 Indian School, NE
Albuquerque, New Mexico 87110



MICHAEL K. DEEVER

Mr. Goodman

Thank you for your kind
note. I appreciate your
taking the time to give me
your thoughts.

Sincerely,
Mike

GERALD GOODMAN
ATTORNEY AT LAW
6303 INDIAN SCHOOL N.E.
ALBUQUERQUE, NEW MEXICO 87110
TELEPHONE 505/883-6555

October 3, 1984

Mr. Michael K. Deaver
Deputy Chief of Staff
The Whitehouse
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Mr. Deaver:

I congratulate you on taking a positive roll in bringing Gromyko and President Reagan to the bargaining table. It is long over due that America and Russia build a bridge of trust. The political difference between our two countries do not merit the financial expenditures, animosity and risk of destroying the world.

Sincerely yours,



Gerald Goodman

note

GG:jo

Canadian Embassy



Ambassade du Canada

1746 Massachusetts Ave NW
Washington, D. C. 20036.

August 4, 1983.

Thank

Dear Mike and Caroline,

Some souvenirs of the party
for our Prime Minister in April.

Hope you like them.

Yours sincerely,

Allan

Allan Gotlieb.

The Hon. Michael K. Deaver,
Assistant to the President,
The White House.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

His Excellency Allan **Gotlieb**
Embassy of Canada
1746 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, DC 20036



MICHAEL K. DEEVER

Alan & Sandra

Thanks! Thanks! Thanks!

What a Christmas
present. I did a note
to PM yesterday. 21



MICHAEL K. DEEVER

Allan

Thanks for letting me
know about withdrawing
Marc Lalonde is name for
OECD. Keep me posted.
Mike

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

His Excellency
Allan E. Gottlieb
Canadian Embassy
1746 Massachusetts Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Canadian Embassy



Ambassade du Canada

1746 Massachusetts Ave. N.W.,
Washington, D.C. 20036.

May 17, 1984

Note

The Honourable Michael K. Deaver,
Deputy Chief of Staff,
The White House,
1600 Pennsylvania Ave.,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mike,

I should like to inform you that we have decided to withdraw Marc Lalonde's candidacy for the position of Secretary General of the OECD. It was the view of many European countries that the OECD Secretary General should come from Europe, and as we wanted to avoid a deadlock, we have joined the emerging consensus in favour of the French candidate.

Thank you once again for receiving me at short notice on Monday to discuss this subject and to receive the text of Prime Minister Trudeau's letter to President Reagan.

Yours sincerely,

Allan Gotlieb

Allan Gotlieb
Ambassador



MICHAEL K. DEEVER

Allan

Thank you for the Briefcase
- I've sent a note onto Ted also.
We had such a good time at the
Hockey game - I'm only sorry Beer
spilled it for the Vice President and
me. Again Thank you sincerely.
Mike

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

His Excellency Allan Gotlieb
Canadian Embassy
1746 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Canadian Embassy



Ambassade du Canada

1746 Massachusetts Ave NW
Washington, D. C. 20036.

February 7, 1984.

Mr. Michael Deaver,
Deputy Chief of Staff and
Assistant to the President,
The White House, Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Deaver,

Sandra and I enjoyed having you
and Carolyn join us for the hockey game
Sunday. That the Capitals won was an
arranged bonus for you!

The Prime Minister's office has
asked me to forward this briefcase to you
to replace the one you received right after
the Williamsburg Summit. I hope it will be
useful to you.

Yours sincerely,

Allan Gotlieb
Ambassador

*Briefcase
Sent also.
at the
my Blair's
sent and
sincerely,
Mike*

2/12/84