

PSF Executive Office - Rowe, James H.
of President

PSF
Subject Files "E"

Box [REDACTED] [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] 148

1-2
PSF: Rowe
EX OFF. P.F.
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 9, 1939

Memorandum For The President.

Ben Cohen telephoned from New York that Sidney Hillman had called him about the Barkley amendment on the Military Bill. This amendment provides that if a head of a government department finds that contracting firms have not lived up to the Labor Relations Act, they are not eligible to bid on work to be done under the Bill.

Hillman says that the Assistant Secretary of the Navy, Edison, is trying to kill the amendment, which is of course a C. I. O. amendment. (This is similar to the bill which caused so much trouble last year and was defeated when John Lewis went to the Speaker's office.) Hillman feels that it would be one thing for the Administration not to back such an amendment, but that since it has already passed, it is quite another thing to try to kill it after it is passed.

I have checked with the Department of Labor which informs me that it is in favor of the Barkley amendment.

The Conferences met at two O'clock this afternoon, but I learned indirectly that they had reached no decision. They will meet again tomorrow and it has been intimated to them that the Army and the Navy will oppose the amendment. Cohen feels that if they were called off, a serious impediment to labor peace would be removed.

JHR
James Rowe, Jr.

Rowe

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

file
pres. mail
[1940?]
BSF
Adm
Assts

Dear Mr. President:

This is a belated note --
geared to appear only after your messages
to the Congress and to the Democratic
party -- to thank you for your Christmas
present. The ash tray is an admirable
vehicle for me to flaunt your initials
while I pretend to a surface modesty; but
it has doubled my smoking!

I humbly hope (and I know I
am out of line and am breaking the rules)
that I can some day tell my grandchildren
"this was given to me by our first and only
four-term President".

Faithfully,

John F. Rowe

The President
The White House

Very Confidential

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 24, 1940

Memorandum For The President.

Inter-American Bank

I am told that Assistant Secretary Berle talked to you this morning about the proposed Inter-American Bank and that, if you approve, it will be voted upon by the Inter-American Committee either tomorrow or Friday.

As you know, the main "headache" of our cooperation with South America has been the faultiness of our internal mechanism -- in other words, the clash of personalities and the disagreements between the interested agencies of our own government.

I was "tipped off" today by a source whose word cannot be doubted (and who, without exaggeration, was risking his personal career to tell me) that you should know all is not smooth sailing within our own government on the Inter-American Bank plan.

The Department of State, through Berle, has carried on extensive conversations with Treasury and the Federal Reserve Board. However, Berle has not secured the formal approval of Morgenthau or Eccles; as a matter of fact they are lukewarm about the bank plan. Jesse Jones has not been consulted, although the plan includes the purchase of debentures by the R. F. C. Secretary Hull has refused to take a position, ostensibly on the ground Sumner Welles and Berle are handling this matter with the White House.

The only concern of my informant, who believes in the Bank plan but is also acutely aware of agency jealousies, is that the unanimous backing of the executive branch (real and not perfunctory) be secured first. If you approve the plan, the representative of this country will of course vote favorably. Such a vote would naturally indicate to the other American governments that our nation is solidly behind it, particularly because we have taken the initiative in drafting the plan. However, there is considerable skepticism in Congress about it and it may well be a hard fight. If all the government agencies will not "go down the line" and are lukewarm when the treaty comes up for Senate ratification, their inactivity may well be fatal to its chances.

In such a case the South American countries might well throw up their hands. The performance of the United States in the treaty of Versailles and the League of Nations would be reenacted and actual Pan-American cooperation might well be set back for decades.

If you consider this important, there is some urgency as the Inter-American Committee may vote tomorrow, thus committing our government.

JHR
James Rowe, Jr.

2/30 - Told J. P. Jones, Berle & Van Bell; from the
Jewell the Commission and.

file
confidential

BF Rowe (no copies)

adm. Cont.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 1, 1940

Memorandum For The President.

Georgia

If you do go to Warm Springs, I understand the political leaders there will try to see you. If so, I think you should have this information:

(1) Camp. "I hope the President will ask Rivers to call a primary. The people are excited because they know Rivers will control the delegation and will sell it to the highest bidder. Rivers today is the most unpopular man in Georgia. He will probably have income tax trouble with the Federal Government and has cashed bad checks all over the State. He claims to be judgment-proof; however, in a sworn statement to the Communications Commission, he admits he has \$86,000 in the bank.

Under Georgia law, any kind of a primary can be called. It could be so arranged that without anyone's permission an open primary could be held and the winner could designate anyone to select the delegates. The Pro-Roosevelt forces would beat Garner at least 20 to 1 in Georgia. If the proper rules were adopted, the delegates must hold until released. Jim Gillis has also come into disfavor in Georgia because he sacrificed his best friend, Miller (the deposed Chairman of the Road Commission) to side with Rivers, and he is now regarded as completely under Rivers' thumb."

Camp and Rivers are enemies of course; but Camp and Gillis were once friends.

(2) Georgia Power Company. More important is information from Bob Kline, Litigation Counsel of the SEC. An investigation of political contributions by the Georgia Power Company, forbidden by Section 12 of the Holding Company Act, looks very serious, and probably as bad as the recent utilities scandal in Missouri. Kline thought you should know that at present it looks very much as though the investigation will lead to Senator George (who is probably not personally involved), that it will involve Rivers seriously, and in fact hit practically all of the Georgia leaders except Camp.

JHR
James Rowe, Jr.

PSF Rowe

adm. 2.

april 1, 1940

MEMORANDUM FROM THE PRESIDENT

TO JIM ROWE

APRIL 1, 1940

Re Sounding out Murdock on running in the Primaries and attaches letter of March 29, 1940 from Marriner Eccles who favors Delbert Draper whom he says has a better chance of winning against King in the Senatorial race.

Jim Rowe's reply of April 6, 1940 attached.

See: Gen corres-Eccles-Drawer 2-1940

PSF
Jimmie Rowe
adm ltr 1

Re: FDR's letter to Senator Maloney---May 2, 1940

Subject: Status of Fred Brown's health and resignation
as Comptroller General under the circumstances.
Attached Maloney's replies; also memo to John
L. Sullivan of May 9th from FDR on same subject
and memos of June 12th and June 20th from Jim
Rowe re Ray Stevens thoughts on the situation and
his talk with Mrs. Brown, also remarks about Brownlow
in connection with Ernest Draper for Comptroller General.
See: Fred Brown-Gen corres-Drawer 2-1940

PSF Rowe file adm. note

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON May 16, 1940

Memorandum For The President.

United States - New Zealand Air Route

Bob Hinckley, Chairman of the CAA, says the Board is ready to act on Pan American Airways' application for a route from Los Angeles via Hawaii to New Zealand.

The Board feels a certificate should be granted Pan American for an extension of its San Francisco - Hawaii route to New Zealand. Pan American wants a certificate from Los Angeles thus giving it a second route to Hawaii. Pan American would get another large government subsidy and that, of course, is why it wants the extra route to Hawaii. Traffic load, flight length, etc. are in favor of San Francisco, says Hinckley.

Hinckley's point is that some time ago you sent word to him you favored the Los Angeles route. He hopes you will agree to San Francisco because the arguments are better.

If you do not agree, Hinckley fears a stalemate. As you know, you are required under the statute to approve or disapprove the findings of the Authority on all foreign routes. If the Authority selects San Francisco and you disapprove its finding, a stalemate is reached (as I read the statute) unless the Authority yields and sends over another certificate. You can of course base your decision on national defense or any reason, or no reason. This would embarrass the Authority, and Hinckley hopes it can be settled before it announces its decision.

You have two choices:

- (1) To tell the Authority privately that you will agree to approve the San Francisco route.
- (2) To tell the Authority privately that you will disapprove its finding, which puts the next move up to the Board.

Hinckley hopes you will choose No. 1.

JHR
James Rowe, Jr.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Confidential

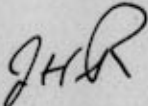
May 21, 1940

Memorandum For Mr. Early.

Dear Steve:

I return the memoranda on the New Zealand - Pan American route to you. Both are in substance what Trippe discussed with me Saturday. I talked to Hinckley Saturday and, for your very private information, he discussed the matter with the Authority yesterday. They will "go along" but ask that the interested government departments express their preference for the Los Angeles terminal. This is a reasonable request because the Authority must reverse the trial examiner's report. Under Supreme Court decisions it was necessary to make that report public. The whole matter will probably be cleaned up this week. I will let you know.

As a matter of fact, the loose-talking charges in the unsigned memorandum to the President about three members of the Board punishing Pan American because it aided the President in the Reorganization fight, are really absurd. Pan American does not actually know which members are opposing it and would be surprised if they did know. I do hope the President pays no attention to such loose talk which does not help the real merit of Pan American's case.


James Rowe, Jr.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 21, 1940

MEMORANDUM TO JAMES ROWE:

Dear Jim:

The President has sent this to me.

I think you, too, should read it.

S.T.E.

NEW ZEALAND AIR PERMIT

PLEASE READ THE ATTACHED MEMORANDUM AND THE FOLLOWING:

Because Pan American supported your reorganization of the C.A.A., three members of that Board are going to do everything they can to hurt Pan American.

The New Zealand permit is the first place where this attempt will be made.

There isn't any question that the permit should go from San Francisco to Los Angeles to Honolulu to New Zealand, and not merely from Honolulu to New Zealand.

If you have any doubt about this, ask Admiral Stark of the Navy Department, Judge Moore of the State Department, Louis Johnson of the Army, Harry Hopkins, either senator from California, or the Post Office Department.

Pan American at great expense pioneered the whole West Coast situation and particularly the route from San Francisco to Honolulu. They did that because the line from San Francisco to Honolulu was the shortest and therefore the quickest to get in operation.

The natural trade route for vessels and for travel is from San Francisco to Los Angeles to Honolulu and from there to New Zealand and to the Orient.

As a matter of fact, both San Francisco and Los Angeles

want this permit from San Francisco to Los Angeles to Honolulu to New Zealand.

All the talk about Pan American trying to get more money by going from San Francisco to Los Angeles to Honolulu to New Zealand is bunk.

Pan American has already filed an affidavit that it will not ask for more mail pay for carrying the mail from San Francisco through Los Angeles to Honolulu to New Zealand.

It's just an attempt on the part of three members of the C.A.A. to get even with Pan American for supporting you, and also an attempt on their part to keep the line from Los Angeles to Honolulu open for one of their friends.

Pan American has no objection to another permit being given to somebody else from Los Angeles to Honolulu, but that's no reason why Pan American should not be given a permit from San Francisco to Los Angeles to Honolulu to New Zealand.

The State Department and the Navy Department and the War Department will tell you that as a matter of international defense the permit should run from San Francisco to Los Angeles to Honolulu to New Zealand.

Memorandum

In 1935 Pan American inaugurated service across the Pacific. This first service over a major ocean route was undertaken by an American company operating American equipment and manned entirely by American crews.

The longest non-stop flight - between San Francisco and Honolulu - is 2,402 miles. San Francisco was selected rather than Los Angeles as the California terminal because the non-stop flight distance was 168 miles less. During the past four years the transpacific service has been operated at a loss of \$1,750,000. At present it is nearly breaking even. Operating costs on this route have been high owing to the low percentage utilization of terminal and shop facilities. The schedule is but one round trip per week over the route, as compared to approximately three round trips per week elsewhere in international service and over three round trips per day in domestic service.

With the sympathetic approval of Administration officials concerned, as well as ranking officers of the service departments, Pan American some years ago undertook to establish service from the United States to Australasia. Steps taken by the company were of assistance in securing sovereignty for the United States on Jarvis, Baker and Howland Islands, and later Canton Island. Following an agreement with the British Government, Canton Island is now considered as being under joint sovereignty.

The actual route under development by Pan American was from San Francisco as a terminus via Los Angeles, Honolulu, Canton Island, Noumea (French Caledonia), and Auckland. Arrangements have been completed with the Navy for facilities at Los Angeles. At San Francisco and Honolulu existing bases would be utilized. At Canton Island a complete air base has been established including terminal, maintenance and refueling facilities, radio and meteorological facilities, as well as a complete hotel to accommodate upwards of forty passengers. The lagoon has been dredged so as to accommodate the largest type of commercial and Naval aircraft. Five Naval aircraft have already made test flights over the 1,900 mile route from

Honolulu south to Canton Island. In connection with these Naval operations, Pan American personnel and facilities have already been of great value to the Navy. Naval stores as well as company stores are being maintained on the Island by the company. Necessary facilities have also been established at Noumea and Auckland.

Necessary landing franchises have been secured by the company in French Caledonia and New Zealand, the company commitment being to maintain a service on a minimum schedule of two round trips per month between these points and California. Aircraft of the latest type (super-Clippers of six thousand horsepower and eighty-four thousand pounds gross weight) are immediately available to inaugurate the service as soon as a starting date is fixed by the United States Government.

Following confidential hearings before both House and Senate Appropriations Committees at which Pan American officials outlined the program for twice monthly service between California, Honolulu and New Zealand (in addition to the weekly transpacific service between California and Hong-Kong), necessary appropriations have been voted and are currently available to start the service.

Under the newly enacted Civil Aeronautics Act, however, a route certificate must be issued by the United States Government. Formal action by both the Civil Aeronautics Authority and the President are required under the law, this being an international route. (The President has to actually sign the route certificate, along with its approval by the Civil Aeronautics Authority).

Hearings before an Examiner of the Civil Aeronautics Authority were completed some months ago. The Examiner has recommended that a certificate be issued only over that sector of the route between Honolulu, Canton Island, Noumea, and Auckland, the sector between Honolulu, Los Angeles and San Francisco not being covered. Both Pan American and the City of Los Angeles objected to this recommendation, both parties presenting oral arguments in support of their position before the Authority. (It is felt that the Examiner did not fully appreciate the technical and business necessity to Pan American of having the certificate cover the entire route as applied for. This was more fully covered in the oral arguments and brief presented to the full Authority).

The matter is now pending before the Authority for

*
No. This is
merely stated that
it was not
J.H.R.

action. The company is incurring an expense of over \$1,000 per day. Equipment and flight crews are ready. Personnel on all island bases are standing by. Inasmuch as Congress had provided the appropriations necessary for the California - New Zealand service to start in September, 1939 and inasmuch as Pan American was prepared to operate on and after September 30, 1939, the Post Office Department in August gave public notice that air mail service to Australasia was expected shortly to become available. September 30th was fixed as the deadline for stamp collectors to deposit first flight covers with the Department. Many thousands of covers were sent in and are currently being held for the inaugural flight.

Pan American could not be expected to commence service to Australasia under the limited route certificate suggested by the Examiner. The company has applied for a certificate to cover the entire route from San Francisco via Los Angeles and Honolulu and thence to New Zealand. The Examiner has recommended, as set forth above, that a certificate to cover only that sector of this through route between Honolulu and New Zealand be granted. Congress has appropriated funds sufficient to operate the entire route as applied for.

(A) A majority of steamship traffic for Honolulu and Australasia now clears through the Los Angeles Gateway. The boats operating between the United States and Australasia maintain an itinerary from San Francisco to Los Angeles, thence to Honolulu, Auckland, and Australia. If Los Angeles were not included in the route certificate on the airline just as it has been on the steamship line approved by the Maritime Commission such traffic would be obviously lost to Pan American.

(B) Pan American's maintenance base is at San Francisco. Its aircraft operating to New Zealand could not stop at Honolulu but would have to continue to California for servicing. It would be impracticable from an operating point of view to attempt to connect with the Hongkong service at Honolulu. Honolulu - California is the "bottle neck" on the transpacific service, owing to the long non-stop sector. Attempting to consolidate loads over this sector is therefore obviously impracticable from a commercial point of view as well.

(C) The Post Office Department from time to time could of course authorize an additional connecting service over the Honolulu - San Francisco sector of the transpacific certificate. Pan American would have no assurance however that this additional postal service would not be discontinued at some future date, making it necessary for aircraft on the New Zealand route to operate over the Honolulu - San Francisco sector without carrying United States mail. Furthermore, Pan American's aircraft could not tap the majority of the traffic to Honolulu and Australasia which passes through the Los Angeles gateway, unless Los Angeles is included on the through certificate. The additional annual operating cost to Pan American incurred as a result of including Los Angeles in the through route is approximately 3 1/2%. This added operating cost is brought about by the additional mileage involved. The additional traffic to be derived at Los Angeles would more than offset it however so that the cost to the Government in mail payments would be nil.

(D) The company's commitment with New Zealand requires a through service to California, not connecting service at Honolulu.

(E) Congress has authorized funds for a through service to California, not a connecting service to Honolulu. Not only Los Angeles requests that it be included on the route as is the case with service shipping to Honolulu and Australia, but Navy officers concerned also favor this. The Department has already formally released to Pan American sufficient Navy space at San Pedro Harbor for Terminal facilities there.

C O P Y

FW2/L11-1(714)

(11-js)

PATROL WING TWO
U. S. NAVAL AIR STATION
PEARL HARBOR, HAWAII, USA

FIRST ENDORSEMENT

March 27, 1940.

From: Commander Patrol Wing Two
To : District Manager, Pan American Airways,
Honolulu, T. H.

Subject: Assistance rendered by Pan American Airways
personnel in the salvage of 25-P-10 at
Canton Island. (CO, VP-25 ltr. serial 275
dated March 20, 1940.)

1. Forwarded
2. Commander Patrol Wing TWO, who was present and witnessed the operation desires to add his thanks and appreciation and to express his admiration for the excellent and efficient work rendered by all Pan American personnel.

A. L. BRISTOL

Copy to:
VP25

C O P Y

UNITED STATES FLEET
AIRCRAFT, SCOUTING FORCE
PATROL SQUADRON TWENTY-FIVE
U. S. NAVAL AIR STATION
PEARL HARBOR, T.H.

VP25/L11-1/P15(275)

10/km

March 20, 1940

From: Commander Patrol Squadron TWENTY-FIVE.
To : District Manager, Pan American Airways,
Honolulu, T. H.
Via : Commander Patrol Wing TWO.
Subject: Assistance rendered by Pan American Airways
personnel in the Salvage of 25-P-10 at
Canton Island.

1. It is desired to express the appreciation of this command for the whole-hearted assistance rendered by Pan American Airways personnel in the salvage of the subject airplane on 16 March 1940 at Canton Island. The promptness with which the PAA launch received radio information of the accident, took the plane in tow, and beached it in a favorable position indicates excellent organization and execution of plan.

2. The willing cooperation of all personnel concerned is noteworthy, particularly of the Airport Manager, Mr. Mullahey, and Mr. Weiner. The operation of getting the plane from its beached position to a plane on the shore where it could be repaired presented many difficulties. Mr. Mullahey made all necessary equipment available, with personnel to operate it where required. His excellent suggestions for the use of the equipment were invaluable. Moreover, his example of untiring effort and disregard of personal discomfort throughout the period of six or seven hours required for the operation were an inspiration to all hands. This is also true of Mr. Weiner. Both of these men exhibited remarkable ability to see what was required and in doing it successfully. They were working in the water almost continuously, both with and without diving apparatus. Without their willing help it is doubtful if the operation could have been successfully accomplished.

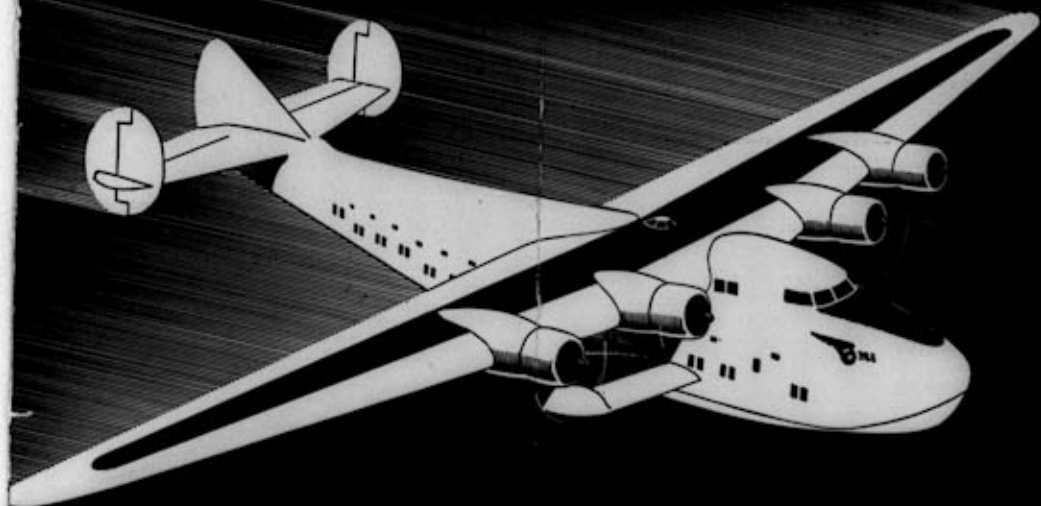
A. R. BRADY

PAN AMERICAN AIRWAYS SYSTEM

& ASSOCIATED CARRIERS

PAN AMERICAN AIRWAYS SYSTEM

& ASSOCIATED CARRIERS



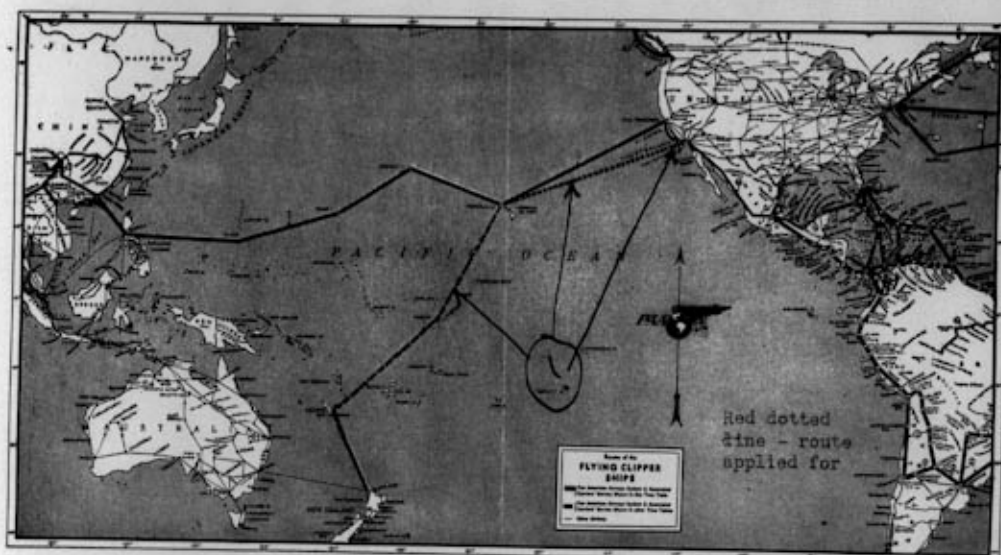
PASSENGERS · MAIL · EXPRESS



TIME TABLES- PASSENGER FARES INFORMATION

MAR. APR. MAY-1940
ISSUED QUARTERLY

SEE OTHER TIME TABLES FOR ATLANTIC
LATIN AMERICA AND ALASKA SERVICE



IT PAYS TO FLY
Ask your Travel Agent
TRANSPACIFIC SERVICE

**TABLE 8 U.S.A.-HAWAII-GUAM-PHILIPPINES
 MACAU-HONGKONG**

READ DOWN			READ UP		
801	Miles	Pan American Airways Co. (PAAP) "Orient Express" (a) (b)	805	Miles	
Tue. 18:00	3402	Ar. SAN FRANCISCO (Trans. Is.) U.S.A. ★PPT Ar.	809	Tue. 18:00	
Wed. 8:30		Ar. HONOLULU (Pearl Harbor), T.H. ★HLY Le.	813	Wed. 8:30	
Thurs. 8:00	3708	Ar. HONOLULU (Pearl Harbor), T.H. ★HLY Ar.	817	Thurs. 8:00	
Fri. 10:00		Ar. MIDWAY ISLAND 180° Ar.	821	Fri. 10:00	
Sat. 6:30		Ar. MIDWAY ISLAND (International Date Line) 180° Ar.	825	Sat. 6:30	
Sun. 14:00	4081	Ar. WAKE ISLANDS 180° Ar.	829	Sun. 14:00	
Mon. 7:00		Ar. WAKE ISLANDS 180° Ar.	833	Mon. 7:00	
Tue. 18:15	8209	Ar. GUAM ISLAND 180° Ar.	837	Tue. 18:15	
Wed. 8:00	7968	Ar. MANILA (Cebu), P.I. 180° Ar.	841	Wed. 8:00	
Thurs. 8:30		Ar. MANILA (Cebu), P.I. 180° Ar.	845	Thurs. 8:30	
Fri. 14:00	8705	Ar. MACAU 180° Ar.	849	Fri. 14:00	
Sat. 14:45		Ar. MACAU 180° Ar.	853	Sat. 14:45	
Sun. 13:30	8745	Ar. HONGKONG (Kai Tak Airport) 180° Ar.	857	Sun. 13:30	

TIME TABLE REFERENCES

The 24-Hour Clock is used in this Time Table. Times shown between 0001 (1 minute after midnight) and 1200 (noon) are A.M. Times shown from 1201 to 2400 are P.M. To convert P.M. times to 12-hour clock, subtract 12 hours.
 HLY, Hawaii Local Time (Halfway between 150th and 160th Meridians).
 PPT, Pacific Standard Time (120th Meridian).
 All other times are shown in degrees west of Greenwich unless otherwise noted (15 degrees difference in longitude equals 1 hour change in time).
 a-Boring Flying Route; b-Martin Flying Route; c-Douglas DC-4 Land Planes; d-Stinson Land Planes; e-Learner Hydroplanes.
 ★-Principal junction point.

TABLE 9 CHINA SERVICES

Due to present unsettled conditions, the CNAC schedules shown below are only approximate. For latest information concerning CNAC Schedules and Fares, inquire at nearest Pan American Airways System or Associated Carrier's office.

HONGKONG-CHUNGKING-KUNMING-HANOI-BURMA

READ DOWN			READ UP		
811	Miles	China National Aviation Corp. (CNAC)	806	Miles	
17:30		Ar. HONGKONG 120° Ar.	810	17:30	
18:00	400	Ar. KWEILIN, Kwangsi 120° Ar.	814	18:00	
18:30	550	Ar. KWEIYANG, Kwangsi 120° Ar.	818	18:30	
19:00	770	Ar. CHUNGKING, Szechwan 120° Ar.	822	19:00	
19:30		Ar. CHUNGKING, Szechwan 120° Ar.	826	19:30	
20:00		Ar. CHUNGKING, Szechwan 120° Ar.	830	20:00	
20:30		Ar. CHUNGKING, Szechwan 120° Ar.	834	20:30	
21:00		Ar. CHUNGKING, Szechwan 120° Ar.	838	21:00	
21:30		Ar. CHUNGKING, Szechwan 120° Ar.	842	21:30	
22:00		Ar. CHUNGKING, Szechwan 120° Ar.	846	22:00	
22:30		Ar. CHUNGKING, Szechwan 120° Ar.	850	22:30	
23:00		Ar. CHUNGKING, Szechwan 120° Ar.	854	23:00	
23:30		Ar. CHUNGKING, Szechwan 120° Ar.	858	23:30	
24:00		Ar. CHUNGKING, Szechwan 120° Ar.	862	24:00	

CHENG TU-CHUNGKING-KIATING

READ DOWN			READ UP		
821	Miles	China National Aviation Corp. (CNAC)	816	Miles	
17:30		Ar. CHENG TU, Szechwan 120° Ar.	820	17:30	
18:00	188	Ar. CHUNGKING, Szechwan 120° Ar.	824	18:00	
18:30		Ar. CHUNGKING, Szechwan 120° Ar.	828	18:30	
19:00		Ar. CHUNGKING, Szechwan 120° Ar.	832	19:00	
19:30		Ar. CHUNGKING, Szechwan 120° Ar.	836	19:30	
20:00		Ar. CHUNGKING, Szechwan 120° Ar.	840	20:00	
20:30		Ar. CHUNGKING, Szechwan 120° Ar.	844	20:30	
21:00		Ar. CHUNGKING, Szechwan 120° Ar.	848	21:00	
21:30		Ar. CHUNGKING, Szechwan 120° Ar.	852	21:30	
22:00		Ar. CHUNGKING, Szechwan 120° Ar.	856	22:00	
22:30		Ar. CHUNGKING, Szechwan 120° Ar.	860	22:30	
23:00		Ar. CHUNGKING, Szechwan 120° Ar.	864	23:00	
23:30		Ar. CHUNGKING, Szechwan 120° Ar.	868	23:30	
24:00		Ar. CHUNGKING, Szechwan 120° Ar.	872	24:00	

①-Arrival and departure times indefinite. For current information, apply to the CNAC office at point of origin or arrival.

— *PSP Rove* *Ad. Inst.* *3/1/40*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

File
Randall
July 2, 1940

MEMORANDUM FOR MISS LE HAND

Mr. Forrestal requested me to
send this to you for the President.

E. S. Randall,
Secretary

WASHINGTON
THE WHITE HOUSE

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

To the President
from

James Forester

ASUON 3THW 3HT
NOTCHINGAW

UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS,
FAYETTEVILLE.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

June 22, 1940

Dear Mr. Dillon:

I talked with the Governor yesterday about his views on sending our army planes and destroyers immediately to Britain. He is strongly in favor of doing this and anything else that we can.

I notice in this morning's paper that Senator Walsh says that only men of property are advocating such a step. It seems to me that the governor of an agricultural state with relatively very few large property owners would be an effective answer to such nonsense. I believe he would, on the radio, achieve some results. Something must be done to handle that senile Senate of ours.

Cordially yours,

J. W. Fulbright
J. W. Fulbright

Clarence Dillon, Esq.,
28 Nassau St.,
New York City.

*↑ is president of the University
+ a gr. friend of
the Gov.*

Bailey

July 29, 1940

Mr. Ralph Budd
The Advisory Commission to the
Council of National Defense
Federal Reserve Building
Washington, D. C.

CONFIDENTIAL

Dear Mr. Budd:

I have before me a letter from the Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense requesting the Attorney General to postpone proceedings which have been under preparation for about a year and which are now completed and were ready for filing today against the major oil companies for violation of the antitrust laws and for taking rebates from common carrier pipe lines, which they owned, in violation of the Elkins Act.

The letter does not give explicit reasons for the request. It mentions the need for increased quantities of petroleum products under the defense program requiring new investments in refining plants. It mentions the Commission's interest in getting the oil companies to manufacture toluel and synthetic rubber, also requiring new investments in plants. It says the government is going to ask cooperation of the oil companies in meeting the demands of the defense program.

In the absence of explicit reasons, it is difficult to escape the conclusion that the underlying motive of the letter is a feeling on the part of the Commission that unless these proceedings are postponed the full and aggressive cooperation of the major oil companies will not be given to the government. This I believe the oil companies themselves would be the first to repudiate.

The letter seems to be based on some mistaken assumptions. The proceedings will not handicap the oil companies in obtaining their financial requirements from private sources or from the Government. The propriety or legality of increasing refining facilities is not questioned in these proceedings, nor is the manufacture of toluel or synthetic rubber. The proceedings are directed solely against marketing restraints, price fixing, the absence of competition, and rebates.

The prospective suit would in no way interfere with expansion of output nor with technical efficiency. Practically all the questions raised are questions of law. Some questions of fact are raised, but the suit cannot possibly come to trial within a year and a half or two years, and the final disposition of it would be some years away. Therefore, only the attention of lawyers is called for at this time. A postponement of the proceedings will have no practical advantage whatever in the actual operation of the oil companies. In effect, the suit would be "pending" during a period of postponement just as much as if it were actually filed. The only thing that could benefit the oil companies would be an assurance of permanent immunity.

The objectives of the prospective proceedings are:

- (1) The divestiture of ownership of common carrier pipe lines;
- (2) The divestiture of ownership of marketing facilities;
- (3) Injunctions against conspiracies to fix and maintain prices;
- (4) The elimination of rebates now taken in violation of law.

If these objectives are contrasted with the objectives stated in the Commission's letter it becomes apparent that there is no justifiable connection between the relief sought in these proceedings and the objectives of the defense program. In almost every current and prospective suit which involves in any way materials necessary for national defense, the plea is made that the defense program would be handicapped because of the vague charge that it will disturb the psychology of the producers of war materials. As you know, Bausch & Lomb Optical Company threatened to delay the completion of cruisers because of pending antitrust proceedings. In fairness to Bausch & Lomb it should be said that once it was determined that the proceeding would not be dropped they cooperated fully and aggressively in the defense program. The Antitrust Division has no authority to postpone action because of vague misgivings that businessmen will not assist in the defense program unless the enforcement of the antitrust laws is suspended. Indeed, the Antitrust Division does not believe that cooperation of businessmen is dependent upon such favors.

The last thing the Antitrust Division wants to do is to handicap the defense program. However, the reasons for postponing action should be explicit and indisputable and have some other relation to

national defense than the fact that the industries involved would fail to cooperate if antitrust cases were presented against them in court.

The situation which this suit presents is not something which has just arisen. Litigation between the Government and the major oil companies has been continuous in the past four years. Criminal proceedings against major oil companies on the West Coast are now about to be set for trial. Other criminal proceedings are pending in the mid-continent field. The use of a patent to control prices of 75% of the motor fuel in the United States has just been declared illegal by the Supreme Court of the United States in the Ethyl case. The contemplated suit will relieve the oil companies of the threat of further criminal proceedings by raising all of the relevant issues in a civil case. The oil companies, the independents and the public have been aware for a long time of the preparation of the suit to which your letter refers. Conferences with some of their attorneys have been had. Yet, in justice to the oil companies, it should be said that none of them has ever requested postponement of these proceedings on account of national defense. Indeed, their acceptance of an arrangement to postpone the proceedings would be short-sighted and prejudicial to the oil companies themselves. It would tend to confirm the gossip already current that they had declined to cooperate unless the suit were postponed. The public resentment that would result is obvious.

You are familiar with the recent decisions of the Supreme Court in the Madison Oil and Ethyl Gasoline cases. In the former a conviction for price fixing was upheld. In the latter also price fixing was proved and enjoined. Nevertheless, the fixed price differential of 2¢ per gallon for high test over regular gasoline is still unchanged, to the detriment of consumers in tens of millions of dollars. It is exactly what it was before the licenses compelling the fixing of that differential were abandoned after the Ethyl case. The conclusion from this is unavoidable that there is a complete absence of competition among the oil companies in this respect.

It is well known that the original oil combinations were built up through the use of rebates and today, by their ownership of pipe lines, the major oil companies have not only greatly restricted and otherwise handicapped the competitive activities of the so-called independents, but they have levied an oppressive toll on consumers in the process. The amount of this toll alone runs to a colossal sum each year. One of the objectives of the suit is to end that.

In the present emergency those objectives which will relieve consumers are particularly important in the present public interest. A vast buying program is being sponsored by the Government in the national crisis which we face. This buying program must not be launched on a market where prices are being artificially fixed. Neither must the consumer whose interests are recognized in the membership of your Commission be left at a disadvantage. It is expected that the prospective suit will, as has been our experience in other such suits, cause some of the excessive prices mentioned before to be passed on to the consumers. At present such reductions of price are passed on only when the major oil companies which own the common carrier pipe lines deem it advisable to use them in eliminating competition in the marketing branch of the industry. The relief sought in the prospective suit will put independent producers and refiners in a position to aid the Commission in its endeavors. Meanwhile, the suit should bring lower prices in competitive markets for the sale of petroleum products.

The precedent which would be established by a postponement of the suit on the basis of the Commission's letter would be disastrous. No better example of the results which could be expected from such a policy can be given than those mentioned in a recent editorial in the very conservative London Economist:

"Many very dearly cherished notions have been swept aside by a month of Blitzkrieg. We no longer believe that we have only to sit tight to win; . . .

"But there is another set of ideas, just as false and as enervating, which has not been abandoned, partly because its roots lie deeper in self-interest, partly because the proofs of its failure, though decisive, are not publicly apparent. This is the set of ideas that has been the dominant economic philosophy of the Conservative Party in the past nine years, the set of notions that sees its ideal of an economic system in an orderly organization of industries, each ruled feudally from above by the business firms already established in it, linked in associations and confederations and, at the top, meeting on terms of sovereign equality such other Estates of the Realm as the Bank of England and the Government. Each British industry, faithful to the prescription, has spent the past decade in delimiting its fief, in organizing its baronial courts, in securing and entrenching its holdings and in administering

the legal powers of self-government conferred on it by a tolerant State. . . . It is the order of ideas that led to the Import Duties Act being drafted in such a way as to put a premium on self-seeking monopolies and a discount on the public interest; that turned "high profits and low turnover" into the dominant slogan of British business; that raised the level of British costs to the highest in the world. It is a set of ideas that is admirable for obtaining security, "orderly development" and remunerative profits for those already established in the industry--at the cost of an irreducible body of general unemployment. It is emphatically not a set of ideas that can be expected to yield the maximum of production, or to give the country wealth in peace and strength in war.

"Nevertheless, when the war broke out and it became obvious to all but the purblind that maximum production had become the one object that superseded all others, this anti-productive system was carried to its highest point. The noble army of controllers was recruited from organized industry; the rings, from being tolerated, became endowed with all the power of the State. The result has been what could have been, and was, predicted--not so much an unfair advantage to certain private pockets as a sluggish tempo of advance and a low limit to what was considered possible. British industry, by and large, has, until recent weeks, been making the maximum effort compatible with no disturbance to its customs now or to its profit-making capacity hereafter. There is no suggestion of unrestriction in this; on the contrary, business men, placed in an impossible position of divided loyalties and contradictory intentions, have done their best. But the result has been what we see--a startling inadequacy of production. What was formerly prophecy is now fact. . . . Both in tanks and in aircraft (to take only the two outstanding cases) the existing rings have failed to produce the goods and, nine months too late, outsiders have had to be brought in."

I recognize the good faith of the Commission and wish to imply no criticism whatever of its action. I understand that the request is only for a short postponement for the purpose of investigation.

However, I wish to point out that there is no way in which the Commission can investigate the truth of the charges made by the Antitrust Division except by trying the case itself. During the past four years the major oil companies have been under continuous prosecution; in this litigation the Department of Justice has won on every substantial legal question which the courts have decided. This is evidence of the care in which our cases are prepared, and that unjustified suits are not being instituted. The same care has been exercised in the preparation of the proceedings you mention. We ourselves have not the slightest doubt that we shall prove the charges in the bill of complaint. Indeed, many of these charges are based on violations on which pleas of guilty and convictions have already been obtained.

If the Commission desires to investigate the facts all we can do would be to bring before the Commission the witnesses we expect to produce at the trial. This the Commission could not do without usurping the judicial process and the Commission probably does not look upon this as within its functions. The psychological effect of these proceedings upon the attitude of the oil industry is something which investigation cannot reliably appraise in advance. Neither can the psychological effect of the public postponement of the suit be reliably appraised in advance.

The Antitrust Division wishes to cooperate in every way with the Commission, just as I know the Commission wishes to cooperate with the Antitrust Division in our national defense program. There is no question but that any combination or compulsion essential to the national defense is not unreasonable under the antitrust laws once that fact is established. But this does not mean that the maximum effort of any industry or all industries is dependent upon the continuation of practices which are restricting maximum effort or which are exacting prices illegally fixed and maintained at artificial levels. In this instance I feel that if the Commission had the facts which we have it would see that our respective efforts are supplementary and cooperative and not conflicting.

Therefore, with great regret that I cannot comply with the Commission's request in this instance, I am compelled to recommend most strongly to the Attorney General that the suit be instituted forthwith. Any further delay would give plausibility to the charge already current that the Antitrust Division is being shackled against the public interest.

Sincerely,

THURMAN ARNOLD,
Assistant Attorney General.

Executive Office of the President
B.F. Rowe Bt 148 *Public Lands*
Bo 148
THE WHITE HOUSE *Confidential file*
WASHINGTON *JHR*

August 13, 1940

Memorandum For The President:

Bridges Deportation Bill

The Bill to deport Harry Bridges, having passed the House, is now being pushed in the Senate by Reynolds. Irrespective of the merits (which are dubious) and of Bridges personally, the Department of Justice will undoubtedly recommend a veto. I once spoke to Bob Jackson about it, who indicated as much; at that time I indicated that it would be terribly unfair to make you act on this Bill one way or the other during a political campaign. Jackson agreed.

So far as I can discover, no effort is being made by the Administration to keep the Bill in Committee. It would require delicate handling.

May I ask Justice to do what it can?

JHR
James Rowe, Jr.

You - to all
Sam. Barkley
JHR

PSP
Rover

Adm. Asst.
2140

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

file
Personal Ex. Off.

Hyde Park, N. Y.,
August 19, 1940.

MEMORANDUM FOR

GENERAL WATSON

Will you arrange an appointment for Thurman Arnold on Thursday -- twenty minutes to a half hour -- not for lunch, and give the enclosed to me, in confidence, on Thursday?

F. D. R.

CONFIDENTIAL

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 15, 1940

Memorandum For The President.

Thurman Arnold

This concerns an insoluble problem. It has to do with the anti-trust suits against the oil companies and their relation to the National Defense Commission.

A few days ago Thurman Arnold came to see me; he has also talked to several other persons, in an effort to present his position to you. Briefly stated, it is this:

Arnold insists on filing three civil suits against the oil companies. He insists these suits do not effect national defense, that he is publicly committed to filing them, that the Commission is stalling him, that it is no rightful concern of the Commission anyway, that he is under terrific pressure from the Hill, because about twenty-five Senators and innumerable Congressmen have called him asking why the suits have not been filed. (I think I detect the fine hand of Wheeler here). Representatives of the oil independents accuse him of deliberately holding up the suits.

As you know, this is a complex matter; I doubt if anyone knows what the real merits are. But this seems to be a question which cannot be decided on the merits at this time.

I have made discreet inquiries as to the status of these suits insofar as the Commission is concerned. I am told Knudsen and Stettinius will be just as adamant on one side as Arnold will be on the other. In what was regarded an adroit move, the Commission removed Blackwell Smith (who without question is trying to kill off the anti-trust laws) from the picture and put in Leon Henderson to handle the matter. Unfortunately Henderson seems to antagonize Arnold more than anyone else.

Henderson's lawyers working on this problem are honestly trying to find out what the Commission's requirements on oil will be. They do not believe, however, that the Commission itself will take this attitude, but will urge suspension of the suits.

The problem is insoluble before election unless a formula can be worked out to satisfy both Arnold and the Commission. I do not think both can be satisfied. A few days ago Arnold wrote to the Commission (copy attached) practically accusing them of trying to kill the anti-trust laws. This destroys the compromise made by Bob Jackson that the Commission would study the effect of this suit on its work.

There are two possible temporary solutions, either of which may get us past election:

(1) The President. Arnold has said almost openly that if these suits are stopped he will publicly bolt to Willkie. I think this threat should be

taken seriously. Normally he has a very excitable temperament. Members of his staff say that today he is facing a nervous breakdown from overwork. Arnold would undoubtedly regret such a public statement the rest of his life but that would be of little help. Bob Jackson cannot be of help in this situation because, I am told, he has reached the limit of his patience with Arnold, and Arnold thinks he is being soft. Also, Arnold believes, for some reason, that Jackson has kept him from seeing you. His constant refrain to his friends is that he never sees the President.

If you could talk to Arnold privately and tell him that the President also has a few problems and that he could ease your burden by not bringing this to a head now, it might work. He claims he has some political sense and will make no stir on other anti-trust suits involving national defense until after the election. Arnold does feel he is not appreciated; he claims, quite rightly, that he is the only man who ever enforced the anti-trust laws and the Administration does not appreciate him. You might even indicate to Arnold he could be useful campaigning in the West.

(2) Bill Douglas. Douglas is expected back in Washington in a few weeks. Arnold has faith in him and at one time they were close friends while on the Yale Law faculty. Douglas might be used ostensibly as an arbitrator between the Commission and Arnold; his practical streak would enable him to put the issue off until after the election.

These moves may not satisfy Arnold. In such case I believe a record should be prepared showing the negotiations on this matter, which can be offered to the public if Arnold bolts, proving he was just too darn difficult.

JHR
James Rowe, Jr.

file personal

BSF: Exec Office of the President
Rowe
B-46

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 23, 1940

Memorandum For The President.

Lowell Mellett

Department of Justice attorneys several weeks ago told Lowell Mellett he was violating the Hatch Act by indulging in politics (which he is), and scared him to death. For the past few weeks I have been arguing with Justice that they don't know how to interpret statutes, but I regret to say that they are quite correct.

Mellett has been making a picture for Ed Flynn and has been furnishing the Democratic Committee with most of the information it uses. It would be difficult to remove him from politics at this time. Irrespective of the legal situation, the Republicans could use his case quite effectively.

Mellett asked me to take the matter up with you. He has suggested that for the few remaining weeks of the campaign he be transferred to one of the administrative assistant vacancies, either publicly or privately. This would solve the problem, because he would then be paid from funds exempt from the Hatch Act.

OK - Temporary
JHR
James Rowe, Jr.
JHR

I have just talked to Franklin, Jr. and have told him that despite his arguments, I would earnestly advise you to have the government go ahead.

To be very frank, I told him he was being "used" by Janus (or Schwartz). The government wants to go ahead and Janus wants to quit; the merits seem obvious.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 27, 1940

*File
person
&
confi*

SUMMARY:

Because of the reputation of Janus, which is held by every member of the Board, this case has a bad smell. Also there is really no valid excuse for stopping the case after argument. The Judge will undoubtedly want to know why, and there is no good reason why. Technically, also, the White House has no legal control over the CAB in this situation.

Harlee Branch hopes you will not try to stop the case.

He says that if you have made any commitments which are difficult to get out of, that can be easily solved. The Board will refuse to do what you ask, which of course, it can legally refuse.

The Lawyers are working day and night to complete the brief, which must be filed Monday morning. Branch would like an answer as soon as possible.

|| May I tell them to file the briefs with the court?

J+LR

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 27, 1940

Memorandum For The President.

Colonial Airways Case

(1) The Civil Aeronautics Board asked for a temporary injunction against Colonial Airways on September sixteenth before Judge Cox. Colonial Airways is operated by Sid Janus between New York and Buffalo.

The CAB General Counsel estimates the government has a 60/40 chance to get the temporary injunction. John Cahill, the District Attorney whose office has argued the case, estimates the government has a 75/25 chance to win the temporary injunction. No one doubts that even if the government loses the temporary injunction, (which will permit Janus to keep flying) it will get a permanent injunction and will win on appeal. Cahill has heard the Board has reconsidered going ahead with the case, and has written the Attorney General asking him to "stiffen its back".

(2) The Air Transport Association, composed of the principal airlines, is meeting in Chicago today to prepare to enter the case as amicus curiae, and to present a united front on behalf of the CAB and against Janus. Patterson of United (who has been leading the airlines' fight for Willkie) will probably join them. Westwood, their counsel, thinks the case is excellent and has been telephoning the Board all day urging it not to back down.

(3) The case has already been argued before Judge Cox and briefs must be filed Monday. The Board says frankly it can think of no excuse for withdrawing the case at this late date. It cannot argue that this is a poor case and that it has a better case coming because there are no other cases.

(4) The CAB, including Branch, are unanimous in the necessity for continuing.

(5) Sid Janus is the pirate of the industry. He is disliked by all the other airlines and was regarded as the "go-between" between Assistant Postmaster General Howes and the airlines. He tried to make a deal with Branch on this case and Branch, who knows his reputation, practically threw him out of the office. Janus operates through Pat Boland and Jim Mead (their activities are, of course, entirely proper) and through Charles Schwartz of New York. Schwartz is regarded as a "fixer". (As a matter of fact some weeks ago Schwartz asked me if this couldn't be "settled" through Harry Hopkins. I told him at that time hearings had been held before the Board on this matter and nothing could be done.) Janus has openly boasted to the airline industry that he would bring pressure in this case on the Board and would win. There are even rumors that he has spent time in San Quentin.

(6) Janus started this airline without a certificate between Buffalo and New York. However the legal question is not whether the CAB is interfering with an intrastate line (although, of course, the CAB would have to fight this sort of case too.) The CAB argues, and this it proves that Janus is operating an interstate line since many of the passengers are really interstate commerce.

(7) This case is also involved in the recent conference held by the CAB at Ottawa with the Canadian government. The American government got the best of the conference but had to agree to allow the Canadians a line from Toronto to New York. It was explained to the Canadians, of course, that the CAB could act officially only after hearing. However, if the Canadians don't get one line, the Americans will never get another line in Canada. These recommendations were sent to you by the Board a week or so ago. This does not mean that there will not be an American airline flying to Toronto, but is merely one factor among many others in this case.

(8) What Janus is really doing, (and the government lawyers argued this to the court) is trying to "jump the gun". The CAB held hearings a month or so ago on the New York - Toronto run. The decision should be out very soon. Three lines asked for a certificate: American, Pennsylvania Central, and Colonial Airways (Janus). American and Pennsylvania Central already operate, as part of interstate commerce, through New York territory. Janus is trying to force the Board this way to grant him the certificate. The argument that this will put his airline out of operation if he loses this case cannot be made; in fact he did not try to make it in court.

(9) Harllee Branch also talked privately to me about the political aspects. If the Board withdrew its suit and there later was an accident before election, the Board and the Administration would be crucified by McCarran and the Republicans, because Janus is not flying an airway with safety devices. On the improbable chance that the Board loses the temporary injunction, it has at least tried and the Judge must take the blame. If the Board withdraws the suit, this same situation will spring up in many States and federal safety control will become a thing of the past. If it loses the temporary injunction, no airline will start before the permanent injunction and the appeal is decided.

There is no "States-rights" question involved, although Schwartz is believed to have planted the Arthur Krock column which indicated that problem. The other airlines joining the Board, there can be no question about this. The Board understands Governor Lehman has refused to intervene.

On the other hand if the Board weakens now, everyone will know pressure was exerted. They will guess it came from the White House because the Board has been extremely strong in prosecuting the case.

JHR
James Rowe, Jr.

PSF
Rowe *adm. Asst.*
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 28, 1940

MEMORANDUM FOR

HON. JAMES ROWE

I think that the job as
Assistant to Frank Bane is an
excellent one and Lawrence will
be good, especially if he works
with Mayor Hoan.

Will you try to put it through?

F. D. R.

Memo 9/20/40 from Jim Rowe re job for
Lawrence Houghteling. Says has two
ideas both acceptable to Houghteling
but can't get anywhere unless can say
the P. wants it done. One is Asst.
Admin. of USHA and second is Asst.
to Frank Bane.

PSF Rowe
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON *admitted*
Adm. Asst.

September 28, 1940

MEMORANDUM FOR

HON. JIM ROWE

Tell Senator Byrnes I am all for the appropriation of funds to the Post Office for the American Export subsidy. Tell him that eventually, in my judgment, we will have five or six separate airlines -- one for North Europe -- one for the Mediterranean -- one for South America -- one for the Far East and one for Australia and New Zealand. When that time comes, the Government will own half of each company and be represented on the Board. The last part of this can wait, of course, but it is important to keep the American Export Airlines in business.

F. D. R.

fdr/tmb

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 27, 1940

Memorandum For The President.

American Export Airlines

I understand Senator Byrnes will see you tomorrow, perhaps on this:

You will remember that the Civil Aeronautics Board granted a certificate from New York to Lisbon to the American Export Airlines, in competition with Pan American Airways. You approved the certificate.

You later sent a budget message to Congress, asking that it appropriate funds to the Post Office for the American Export subsidy.

The House killed the appropriation and Byrnes' Committee is now considering it.

The lawyers for the American Export Airlines have seen me several times protesting that Juan Trippe was lobbying them out of business despite the certificate and your approval, and your budget message. I have patiently explained to them that there are three branches of government, and that the President cannot make a fight for every budget estimate that Congress doesn't like. This would seem to be particularly true when a federal subsidy to a private corporation is involved.

Nonetheless, the American Export Airlines are outraged at Trippe's behavior. There seems to be no question that he is killing it. Harllee Branch and the State Department have both told me that they consider this an outrage and that Trippe is doing it. As a matter of fact, Trippe is in very bad odor with every government department he deal with, particularly State, the CAB, and the Budget.

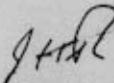
I do not know whether you wish to raise this with Senator Byrnes, but think you should have the information, and the feeling of the government officials.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 27, 1940

Byrnes is friendly to the American Export, but Tydings and McKellar are blocking them.

American Export has threatened to "blow the lid off" Pan American relations with the government if Trippe gets away with this.



James Rowe, Jr.

PSF
Rowe Adm Ass't

(7)

J. Rowe
Adm. Ass't

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON October 3, 1940

Memorandum For The President.

Gallup Poll

As you have probably heard, the Gallup poll for Sunday will show that Willkie now leads in only six States (North and South Dakota, Maine, Vermont, Nebraska and Kansas) with only 32 electoral votes.

The story came to me today from a friendly and responsible source that a serious effort will be made to rig the Gallup poll for Willkie. My informant was told this by a businessman whose large advertising account is carried by the Gallup firm and who was supposedly told the story by people in Gallup's office. This story is now widespread in Washington and New York.

This, of course, would have to be subtly done, but it is not impossible. The technique would be to show Willkie picks up slightly in the October 16th poll; a much larger gain will be shown on October 23rd and on October 30th Willkie will be shown far in the lead. The theory is to create a bandwagon psychology at the last moment similar to that which put him over at the convention. Time and Life will help as much as possible.

I have, of course, grave doubts about the accuracy of the story. However Gallup is known to be very strongly for Willkie.

If you think there is anything to this, would the following procedure help?

Ed Eicher of the SEC is Gallup's cousin. Eicher could tell Gallup you have heard this story, that you do not believe it is true and that it is mere gossip, but you think Gallup should know it is being said.

Even if the story were true, with this sort of subtle and quiet warning, Gallup would not dare try it.

JHR
James Rowe, Jr.

Adm Asst Rowe

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

*file
confidential
admit
PSF*

October 14, 1940 ~~67~~

Memorandum For The President.

If you have not seen them, you will be interested in these figures from the Princeton Public Opinion Research Project. The latest poll was taken after the Rome, Berlin, Tokyo pact. The shift in opinion as reflected in the figures for September 17th and then for September 30th is particularly noticeable.

JHR

James Rowe, Jr.

From Princeton Public Opinion Research Project (using Gallup facilities)
Hadley Cantril, Director.

- X Which of these two things do you think is the more important for the United States to try to do -- To keep out of war ourselves, or to help England win, even at the risk of getting into the war?

	<u>Sept. 30</u>	<u>Sept. 17</u>	<u>Aug. 21</u>	<u>July 20</u>
Keep out	37%	44%	49%	60%
Help England	~58%	~52%	~45%	~37%
No choice	5%	4%	6%	3%

- X Do you think the United States should let Japan get control of China, or do you think that we should risk a war with Japan to keep the Japanese from controlling China?

	<u>Sept. 30</u>	<u>July 20</u>
Let Japan control	32%	47%
Other	16%	16%
Risk war	~29%	~12%
No Opinion	23%	25%

President Roosevelt has forbidden the shipment of any more scrap iron from this country to Japan. Do you approve or disapprove?

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>
National	88%	4%	8%

Do you think our government should forbid the sale of arms, airplanes, gasoline and other war materials to Japan?

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
National	84%	9%	7%

Do You think the increase of Japan's power in the Far East is at present a serious threat to the United States?

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>
National	49%	33%	18%
New England	45%	33%	22%
Middle Atlantic	48%	37%	15%
East Central	45%	32%	23%
West Central	41%	40%	19%
South	58%	28%	14%
Rocky Mountain	60%	20%	20%
Pacific Coast	59%	31%	10%

(If "yes" or "no opinion" on the above question) -- Should the United States take steps now to keep Japan from becoming more powerful, even if this means risking a war with Japan?

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>
National	57%	23%	20%
New England	47%	28%	25%
Middle Atlantic	48%	22%	30%
East Central	62%	24%	14%
West Central	49%	31%	20%
South	68%	14%	18%
Rocky Mountain	56%	25%	19%
Pacific Coast	72%	15%	13%

Do you think the United States will go into the war sometime before it is over, or do you think we will stay out of the war?

	<u>Sept. 30</u>	<u>Sept. 17</u>	<u>Aug. 21</u>	<u>July 20</u>
Go in	58%	48%		39%
Stay out	29%	39%		48%
Other	6%	5%		7%
Undecided	7%	8%		6%

If Germany and Italy should defeat England in the present war, do you think Germany and Italy would start a war against the United States within the next 10 years?

	<u>Sept. 30</u>	<u>Sept. 17</u>	<u>Aug. 21</u>	<u>July 20</u>
Yes	61%	61%		55%
No	28%	31%		34%
Don't know	11%	8%		11%

Which side do you think will win the war -- Germany and Italy, or England?

	<u>Sept. 30</u>	<u>Sept. 17</u>	<u>Aug. 21</u>	<u>July 20</u>
Germany and Italy	11%	13%	17%	23%
England	62%	62%	43%	45%
Neither	4%	4%	6%	4%
Undecided	23%	21%	34%	28%

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 16, 1940

Memorandum For The President.

Democrats for Willkie

The estimable John Hanes and Lewis Douglas are, as you know, the leaders of the Democrats-for-Willkie clubs.

These gentlemen have taken to writing letters soliciting funds, a great number of which have been sent to government attorneys at their government offices. This is as clear and complete a violation of the Hatch Act as is possible.

It would seem to me to be a good idea for the Attorney General to announce publicly that he has ordered an investigation into this matter. Of course the letters themselves are sufficient evidence for an indictment. At the same time the matter should be called to the attention of Senator Gillette's Campaign Expenditure Committee. Of course this committee will do nothing beyond holding a hearing, if that much.

There is a question of timing here because, among other reasons, some of the men in the "Triple A" have been what might be described as "over-zealous" in collecting contributions for the Democrats and the Gillette Committee will investigate this. I believe, therefore, the Douglas-Hanes matter should be publicized as soon as possible.

May I talk to Bob Jackson about this?

JHR
James Rowe, Jr.

*PSF
Rowe*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

*File
personal
Adm Asst'*

October 29, 1940

Memorandum For The President.

New York Marshal

Ed Flynn just telephoned Bob Jackson that you promised to send the name of the New York Marshal to the Senate today.

Bob Jackson's last instructions from you were to do nothing until after election, and he will stand by these unless you tell him differently.

He again points out that Flynn has not cleared this with Wagner, that Jim Farley has asked that the matter be held up until after election, and also that he thinks it would be bad politics to name a Tammany man at this late date.

J+R
James Rowe, Jr.

Rowe PSF Adm. Asst.
Loomis

Aboard Presidential Special
December 8, 1940.

MEMORANDUM FOR

JIM EDWARDS

Will you take up with me on my
return?

F. D. R.

Longhand memo - "Mayor Carson of Portland, Oregon,
for the Maritime Com.?"

Look into

W *PSF*
Rowe *Adm. Asst.*
t-40
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 18, 1940

Memorandum For The President.

Selective Service

Before he knew he was to have an appointment with you tomorrow, Dr. Dykstra asked me to clear two points with you. My memorandum will, therefore, indicate what he wants to discuss.

(1) Conscientious Objectors. This recommendation by Dykstra has been cleared by all the cabinet officers concerned, the Budget Director, and the Advisory Committee. They are all enthusiastic about it because it seems to represent a rather good solution to a very mean problem. It also has the virtue of costing the government little or no money.

(2) Dykstra wonders what your reaction would be to appointing General Hershey as Deputy Director. This position, which is provided for in the budget, requires nomination and Senate confirmation.

Dykstra hopes to return to Wisconsin next semester. The Board of Trustees, entirely Republican, are making pointed comments about his absence and he foresees a storm brewing against the only liberal university in the United States. To protect his program he feels he must return.

If Hershey is now made Deputy Director you will be given sufficient time to select another good civilian. Also an appointment as Deputy Director will forestall a drive for Hershey as Director. Dykstra regards him as unusually competent.

Dykstra plans to do some advisory work with the War Department on the educational problem in the Selective Service Camps and believes he can do this safely without repercussions from Wisconsin.

JHR
James Rowe, Jr.

Exec. ofc

PST
Rowe

February 8, 1941

~~PERSONAL & CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR

HON. WILLIAM S. KNUDSEN
HON. SIDNEY HILLMAN
THE SECRETARY OF WAR
THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY

In regard to two positions in OPM, I have what might be called a sixth sense that there is a good deal of emotional tension going around in Washington. When a thing like this happens it is better to wipe the slate clean and start fresh, because there are lots of people in the United States who are qualified.

Here are two suggestions which will meet with the approval of neither side and are, therefore, probably pretty good:

1. For Executive Secretary of OPM, I suggest Herbert Emswirth — a man who has consistently made good, is owned by nobody, and is looked on as completely neutral by everybody.
2. For the position of General Counsel, I suggest consideration of two names:
 - a. Lloyd Garrison, Dean of the Wisconsin Law School, who is the same sort of caliber as Dykstra.
 - b. Dean Asheson without question the ablest lawyer in Washington. He has just taken the post of Assistant Secretary of State and I do not suppose he would care to change, but he is the type of man the OPM ought to have. This would put an end to all kinds of charges and counter-charges that are floating around the surface of things.

In the selection of any one of these three you would have "a happy ship", for the very good reason that not even a columnist can tie them to any group, political party, school of thought, or selfish motive.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 5, 1941

Memorandum For The President.

OPM

The appointment of Emmerich as Executive Secretary of OPM is excellent. It will go far towards removing much of the emotional tension. Certainly he should be acceptable to both groups.

Nonetheless the Emmerich appointment is not one-tenth as important as the selection of the General Counsel. The bitterness and ill-feeling between the various groups has been engendered by the many legal staffs of the persons involved. None are blameless.

A strong man is needed to centralize the lawyers and to prevent them from quarreling on policy matters which should not concern them. I have suggested the name of Lloyd Garrison previously.

Of course there has always been only one ideal man for the job. That is Dean Acheson. I still think, despite his appointment as Assistant Secretary, that he could resign and take the more important position of General Counsel, or could do both. I recognize this sounds absurd. But it is a real solution, preventing further makeshift solutions in the future. Also, I understand Acheson at present has no particular duties to perform other than those of Henry Grady and I have been told Grady left because those duties were nil.

JHR
James Rowe, Jr.

PSF: Rome folder
Ex. Off. 1-41

THE ADVISORY COMMISSION TO THE COUNCIL OF NATIONAL DEFENSE

FEDERAL RESERVE BUILDING

WASHINGTON, D. C.

At Chicago, Illinois,
March 6, 1941.

THE WHITE HOUSE
MAR 8 8 59 AM '41
RECEIVED

My dear Mr. President:

Of course, I shall be glad to await
your pleasure about my successor, as suggested
in your letter of March 4. In the meantime,
I shall hope to tell you what I can about the
various men who would be suitable.

Yours very sincerely,

Ralph Budd

Ralph Budd
Transportation Commissioner.

Personal
To The President,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

*Letter of resignation in
township files.*

*file
personal. Rose folder*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 4, 1941

Memorandum For The President.

Ralph Budd

Budd has submitted his letter of resignation as Transportation Commissioner to you.

You told me to check with McReynolds and Mahaffie as to whether you should accept his resignation or try to get him to stay on for a while.

McReynolds says Budd has wanted to resign for some months and undoubtedly will have to go very soon. He feels Budd has done an adequate day-to-day job.

Mahaffie says the same thing, and adds that Budd is the best railroad president in the country.

There is general agreement Budd has done nothing about transportation. The disagreement comes in whether anything should have been done or should be done now. As you may know, Budd has been subjected to more and more criticism because of his inactivity. Such men as Averill Harriman and the Henderson group, and certain men in the Production Division of OPW have been unusually outspoken. This may have had some effect on Budd's desire to resign. He himself indicates there is a full-time job to do.

Most criticism of Budd comes from the government and planning groups because of his exclusive use of the American Association of Railroads. They feel that Pelley and his associates are not interested in the defense problem, that they are a narrow vested interest and should not handle government problems, not only because they are non-governmental, but because they are anti-government. They are much more interested in blocking the bugaboo of government ownership than they are in studying the transportation problem in terms of national defense.

This group feels therefore that Budd is no great loss. They feel it would be unfortunate, however, if you replaced Budd with another railroad president who will have to play the game of the Pelley group and who again will do absolutely nothing.

They feel someone long ago should have started working on the following problems: (1) emergency equipment needs; (2) forecast of the prospective volume of traffic; (3) terminal problems (probably the most dangerous bottleneck); (4) deferred maintenance; (5) coordination of facilities; (6) procedures for pooling revenues. Equally important problems are highway studies and water transportation studies, including Atlantic shipping.

Many of these studies could probably better be carried out by the Board of Investigation and Research, when it is appointed, but someone should at least start thinking about them.

The Budget Bureau will soon recommend to you that Transportation be shifted from the Defense Commission to OPM, where it belongs and where it can be integrated with other problems.

The important thing, this group feels, is to make sure that the Pelley group are no longer in complete control of the transportation problem because it has only its own selfish interest to protect and has no concern with the national interest.

Under all these circumstances, the best thing to do is probably to accept Budd's resignation, asking him to keep it quiet for a while, and ask him to give you some suggestions about men to replace him. In the meanwhile, (1) appointment of the Board of Investigation and Research and (2) integration of Transportation into OPM will help the general transportation problem. I attach a draft for your signature.



James Rowe, Jr.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 3, 1941.

MEMORANDUM FOR

JIM ROWE

Will you speak to me
about this tomorrow?

F. D. R.

Missy:

*PSF: Roosevelt
1-41*

I may be cockeyed but this situation has given me a nightmare. It is temporarily more important than the Lend-lease bill. I know the President has been doing something but he will get no leadership or help from OPM, Army or Navy. They don't know there is a Congress.

John
J.H.R.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON March 8, 1941

Memorandum For The President.

Defense Investigation

*File
personal*

Ex. off.

Sabath telephoned to say the Cox resolution to investigate defense is coming up Tuesday. (He also said he thought he might beat it and wanted White House help. This of course has no relation to fact.)

There is some dissatisfaction in the House: The Military Affairs Committee is jealous of Cox. However, Cox has been promising to put certain men on the committee and this has given him strength in several delegations. The Speaker and John McCormack favor the resolution. Cox will get the Speaker to appoint his Democrats. The Speaker will accept Joe Martin's Republicans who will probably be Isolationists.

I don't know what Wallace is doing but, to be frank, someone will have to tell him which Senators are favorable and which aren't.

The last chance to avert a real tragedy is to get the "Big Four" Monday to be active. A joint committee with the right kind of Counsel is the only way to get a fair investigation. The Speaker and McCormack will be strongly against it and Wallace and Barkley won't have any influence. It is very late and it is difficult to do anything.

But if something isn't done, OPM, the Army and the Navy will be a shambles. Congress is "gunning" for them (Cox particularly aiming for Labor) and, under the present set-up a child could do the job.

JHR
James Rowe, Jr.

Ex. Off. PSF: Rowe Jldpe
1-41
File
Personnel
Confidential

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 10, 1941

Memorandum For The President:

Mediation Board

I send you this copy of a letter which was written by Paul Herzog, a member of the eminently successful New York State Labor Board, who was at one time Executive Officer of the old N.R.A. Labor Board, and whose suggestions may prove interesting.

JHR
James Rowe, Jr.

EX-100
MAY 1941
THE WHITE HOUSE

(COPY)

NEW YORK STATE LABOR RELATIONS BOARD
Southern Regional Office
250 West 57th Street
New York

February 28, 1941

Dear Gerry:

I have been reading with great interest the newspaper articles about the proposed new mediation board, which may be created under the authority of the Office of Production Management. I suppose, however, that the Department of Labor will be consulted in the establishment of the board.

I note that the plan is to have a tri-partite body, composed of labor, employer and public representatives. I think you may want to refer to some of the experiences of the old National Labor Board in 1933. You will remember that the tri-partite arrangement worked very well during the period when the principal functions were those of mediation and conciliation. The employer representatives who were on the Board were particularly in a position to urge employers involved in strike situations to make concessions; similarly, the labor representatives on the Board were able to induce a reasonable attitude on the union side. The tri-partite arrangement only broke down when the Board found itself performing a quasi-judicial and enforcement function.

Since the purpose of the Defense Board will be limited to mediation, I believe that the experiences (and perhaps even the personnel) of the old National Labor Board can be called upon. Particularly important in this connection are the experiences of the 25 regional offices set up by the old National Labor Board and also by the first National Labor Relations Board, which operated under Garrison and Biddle in 1934 and 1935. The regional boards then performed a mediation function in various parts of the country and were eminently successful in settling disputes. They were composed of panels of employer and employee representatives in the respective communities, with a number of so-called public representatives in the middle. These Boards also did sterling work in settling disputes both before and after they reached the strike stage. I have no doubt that the oldtimers at the N.L.R.B. will have a list of the people who served on the various regional boards. There, even more than at the National Board in Washington, the employer and employee representatives were able to prevail upon their respective sides to take a reasonable position.

I suppose this is all old stuff to you, but so much has happened recently that I thought you would have no objection if I reminded you about it.

Sincerely yours,

Paul M. Herzog

Hon. Gerard Reilly
Solicitor, Department of Labor
Washington, D. C.

file personal

*PSF: Rowe folder
Ex. Off. 1-41*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 11, 1941

Memorandum For The President:

Ramspeck Act

Jesse Jones asked me to give you this letter at the proper time. It requests that one-third of the RFC employees, with special skills, be exempted from the operation of the Ramspeck Act.

This is but one of many problems arising out of the Executive Order which the Civil Service Commission will soon give to you to sign.

The order as now prepared will place every position (with a few statutory exemptions) under civil service one month from the day you sign the order. During the next six months exemptions in individual agencies are to be discussed and at the end of that six-months period the entire Government will be under civil service.

Your choice is to sign this blanket order or to issue a series of individual orders covering in particular agencies as they are ready to be covered. The latter procedure is the one desired by the politicians, led by Ed Flynn. Flynn is interested only in Agriculture and Treasury, because of the large number of positions in the field.

If you issue the blanket order, Civil Service will insist that all positions during the six-months period be selected from civil service registers. That will immediately close off all patronage, since even if you did not accede to this request no agency could employ anyone without a civil service status for longer than six months.

The other major problem relating to the Ramspeck Act is your choice between Plan A and Plan B for lawyers. I have no personal point of view on the defense or the political problem but I do believe that if you accept Plan B (which McReynolds and the Civil Service Commission want) you will cripple the entire Federal Government. Every lawyer who has studied this problem, including Frankfurter, Reed, Jackson, practically every general counsel in the Government, John Lord O'Brian, Bickle, General Counsel of the Pennsylvania Railroad, and the law teachers in general are in favor of Plan A. Mr. Justice Murphy is the only exception. He does not agree with either plan and, frankly, no one can understand his plan.

JWR
James Rowe, Jr.

RECONSTRUCTION FINANCE CORPORATION
THE FIDELITY COMPANY
FEDERAL NATIONAL MORTGAGE ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL RESERVE COMPANY
RUBBER RESERVE COMPANY
DEFENSE PLANT CORPORATION
DEFENSE SUPPLIES CORPORATION
DEFENSE HUNTER CORPORATION

FEDERAL HOUSING ADMINISTRATION
HOME OWNERS LOAN CORPORATION
FEDERAL HOME LOAN BANK BOARD
FEDERAL SAVINGS AND LOAN INSURANCE CORPORATION
ELECTRIC HOME AND FARM AUTHORITY
DISASTER LOAN CORPORATION
EXPORT-IMPORT BANK OF WASHINGTON

FEDERAL LOAN AGENCY WASHINGTON

JESSE H. JONES
FEDERAL LOAN ADMINISTRATOR

February 27, 1941.

Dear Mr. President:

The RFC is submitting to the Civil Service Commission a request for exemption, during the present emergency of certain positions, and classes of positions, from the operations of the Ramspeck Act, in the event you decide to place RFC and its subsidiaries under Civil Service.

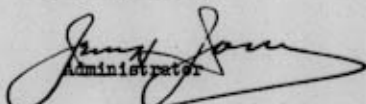
We will undoubtedly need special engineers, lawyers, business executives, and other experienced and especially trained personnel during the emergency, and it is important that we have a free hand in the personnel activities covering not only these types of employees, but those which are being listed for exemption.

Only about one-third of the personnel of the RFC would be covered by the exemption request. Only about 400 of these are in Washington; the others are in the RFC's 32 Agencies.

Commodity Credit Corporation has approximately 500 employees in various RFC Agencies. These employees are paid by the RFC on a reimbursable basis, but are in the main selected by Commodity Credit Corporation.

I recommend the request be granted during the emergency.

Sincerely yours,


Administrator

The President
The White House

Ex. Off.

PSF: Home folder
File 1-44
personally
confidential

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 12, 1941

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Memorandum For The President.

Steel and Labor

The Henderson group are having nightmares occasioned by Phil Murray's request for a wage increase from U. S. Steel.

Murray will probably be successful. This will touch off the vicious price spiral which government fears. U. S. Steel can absorb the wage increase. "Little Steel" cannot and must raise prices. That is all that is necessary to make the "high cost of living" the nation's No. 1 problem.

The time to stop it is now, say the Henderson group. How?

It requires the cooperation of business, labor and government, with government leading the way. U. S. Steel should reduce steel prices. But it had huge earnings in 1940. The steel corporation is in a "damned-if-it-does - damned-if-it-doesn't" position. It will probably grant the increase unless the government steps in.

To cut prices requires labor's cooperation. A sliding scale agreement could be made (I know how vicious such agreements can be, unless carefully drafted, because I have lived under a sliding scale wage agreement in the copper country). Labor would have to get the lion's share of praise for patriotic sacrifice.

But government will have to make labor like it. The steel corporation would undoubtedly accept it as a way out, but certainly will not initiate it.

This is almost insuperably difficult. Hillman is afraid to touch it. Lubin admits it is right, but is also afraid to touch it.

But the alternative is worse. A wage increase means higher steel prices and eventually, because of the high cost of living, Murray would be back demanding another necessary wage increase. In the meanwhile, John Lewis would have won a wage increase in coal -- and the lid will be off.

JHR
James Rowe, Jr.

PSF: Rowe Faldes
Ex. Off. 1-41

April 30, 1941.

MEMORANDUM FOR

HON. JESSE H. JONES

It is, of course, true that in some of these new production agencies we are employing dozens of men who have hated the Administration and fought all constructive change for years.

However, most of these men are employed for special business purposes and are not policy-forming like people in similar positions in the regular permanent agencies of the Government.

In these regular agencies, I honestly think that we ought to have people work for us who believe in us -- not just lip-service. That is why I honestly wonder why it is necessary for us to employ certain types of people -- like, for example, former Congressman Luce of Massachusetts, and the gentleman who was Senator King's secretary, and the gentleman who was Senator Burke's secretary. You and I know that all three have proved a thousand times that they did not believe in what we have been doing and are doing. All three have said this out loud, often and violently.

On the other side of the picture, there are at least thirty-times-three men of equal ability who have believed in us in the past, who have said so, who are not ashamed of it, and who would give you just as good service!

What to do?

F. D. R.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 25, 1941

Dear Missy:

May I tell you a story?

Once upon a time there was a President of the United States named Roosevelt who was a democrat. This last word could be spelled, in his case, with a large "D" or a small "d" because he was a real champion of the people, and strangely enough the people knew that he was their champion, which is a very unusual state of affairs.

During part of the time when Roosevelt was President of the United States there were two Democrats who were Senators. But the people spelled the word democrat with a large "D" when they referred to these two Senators because they did not like the people anymore than they liked the President. Their names were King and Burke.

Now as sometimes happens (although not as often as it should) the people found out that Senators King and Burke did not like the President and did not like the people and so they decided that these Senators would be much more useful, if not as happy, in private life.

Now as is the custom, United States Senators, whether they are friends or enemies of the people, are allowed to have secretaries. As you know secretaries always think exactly like the Senators for whom they work, and therefore these secretaries did not like the President, and said so publicly and privately, and did not like the people, and said so privately.

The people told the Senators to go back to private life. But the secretaries of the Senators had come to love Washington because it is a big city and a pleasant city and so they decided to remain in Washington. Although Washington is an unusual city because it is so beautiful, it is like other cities in the sense that the people who live in it must eat. So the secretaries had to work. They then did a very strange thing. Despite the fact they had fought the President harder than even Republicans had fought the President, they thought it was a very simple matter to hoodwink the President and say they really loved him and nothing would give them more pleasure than to work for him which would of course solve the problem of how they could eat.

Now you, who are naive, would naturally suppose the President's friends would remember that these Senators had been very vicious enemies of the President and would have nothing to do with these secretaries. You would suppose wrong. Because the President's friends had a very great deal to do with them.

In the government of the President is a Department called the Federal Loan Agency, which, among many other things, is presided over by a good friend of the President whose name is Jesse Jones. Jesse Jones gave these secretaries very nice jobs in the Federal Loan Agency, one of them paying \$8,000 a year which allowed them to eat. And since he does not like to have anyone go hungry,

Jesse Jones also gave Senator King's campaign manager a job in San Francisco, where, I assume, the campaign manager still calls the President names privately as he did publicly during the last campaign.

I do not know why Jesse Jones gave these nice jobs to the President's enemies, unless he does not like to see people go without eating, which is of course a very praiseworthy attitude and which point of view is always mentioned favorably among supporters of Roosevelt who are not fortunate enough to know the President's friend, Mr. Jones. One reason might be because he noticed that former Congressman Luce (Rep., Mass.), who made the mistake of being defeated by a New Dealer in the last election and who now works for Jesse Jones, was getting lonely for the right kind of companionship from the right sort of person who can call the wrong kind of President the right sort of names.

I hope that you like this story I have told you because it is very funny.

I do not like this story because I am the one who must listen to Senator Abe Murdock of Utah and Congressman Tom Eliot of Massachusetts who happen to be New Dealers, and therefore friends of the President, and who for some strange reason get very annoyed with me when I tell them that of course they cannot get jobs for their secretaries and their campaign managers because there are no jobs.

I also do not like the story because I have heard it so many times in this government from the friends of the President that I can no longer with a straight face defend such things.

Sincerely yours,

Jim Rane

Note: You may wonder why I tell you this interesting story instead of telling the President. My answer is that all I want is sympathy. Also I think the President suspects that I am always sniping at Jesse Jones -- and the President would be right, because the people have told me they always spell democrat with a big "D" when they talk about Jesse Jones.

*Approved -
M.A.H.
Grace G. Tully*

*(We can get hundreds
of New Dealers to
sign this)*

*file
personal*

PSF: Rowe Golden
Ex. Off

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 1, 1941

Memorandum For The President.

Selective Service

The last time I saw you we talked about a new Director for Selective Service. At that time you asked me what I thought of Fred Osborn. I thought it was excellent. Some newspaper mentioned Osborn as a candidate. Osborn telephoned me, after reading it, and said that if you were thinking of such a thing to please forget about it. He even went so far as to say politely he would not do it if you told him to. He pointed out he is a terrible administrator, and functions better as an idea man, and that he is far more interested in the Advisory Committee and the Army Morale Committee where his talents are put to good use. I think Osborn's estimate of himself is absolutely correct, and other persons on these Committees have said the same thing.

Osborn suggested that you appoint General Hershey. I pointed out the whole theory of the Act was predicated on civilian control, but Osborn felt that could be handled by appointing a few "big names" to his Advisory Committee. I disagree strongly with Osborn. I do not know how much you know about it, but the administration of Selective Service is rotten. More and more people are finding this out. The Budget Bureau is very disturbed about it. I have approached it more from the point of view of the complete disregard of the statute and regulations by the local boards.

The theory of the Act is complete decentralization down to localities, which is probably correct. However, national headquarters, to escape responsibility, has thrown away all its powers and allowed the local boards to run riot. There is a situation on statistics which is almost approaching a scandal. For example, no one knows how many persons are registered under the Act, how many have been deferred and how many have been selected.

The situation is so ridiculous that some local boards have been subscribing to a private "dope sheet" published in Washington to find out what national headquarters does. They cannot find out from national headquarters.

I lay the fault for this situation squarely at the door of Dykstra. I have thought so privately for six months, but since I find fault with so many people I was silent until numerous persons began telling me the same thing. Dykstra had less understanding and comprehension of Selective Service than, for example, I have. At no time did he take an active interest in Selective Service, and Hershey had to run it as best he could. Incidentally, I think you will find the same thing true of Dykstra in the Mediation Board today. He has been in a hospital for ten days and his colleagues refer to it as a very "diplomatic illness". People who know his career intimately tell me he has done this sort of thing all his life, that he is a great "politician" in the personal sense of the word and that he never gets below the surface of a problem.

But Dykstra is gone and the question of his successor is paramount. At the present time everyone thinks Selective Service is working very well and, therefore, now is the time to cure an inherently bad situation.

I do not believe it should be Hershey. He has been competent, and many of the faults of Selective Service cannot be ascribed to him because he was in the anomalous position of being the real administrator without any authority. But he does have the military mind and what is more important, the public will be much happier with a civilian.

I have no names to suggest, but will start looking around if you wish. The man who has been mentioned in several quarters is President Sproul of California who is regarded as the top administrator among college presidents. Although not well-known in the East except to informed educators, he is well-known in the West, where appointments are needed if we are to kill the rising tide of isolationism which is just beginning to simmer out there. I know nothing about him personally.

J + 162

James Rowe, Jr.

PSF: Home Folder
Ex off. file 1-41
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 8, 1941

Memorandum For The President.

Fred Osborn

For your information. I disagree with everything in his note except the first sentence of the last paragraph, which I hope is correct.

JHR

James Rowe, Jr.

WAR DEPARTMENT
WASHINGTON

May 7, 1941.

The Honorable James Rowe, Jr.
Administrative Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

PERSONAL

Dear Jim:

I have recently gone over a lot of Selective Service matters with the S.S. administration. They have made special efforts recently to get more uniform action on dependency questions with rather good results. Regulations are now in the course of preparation which ought to clarify further the situation. I judge that newspaper reports on dependency rulings in the District of Columbia are more noisy than the facts warrant and are on the way to being straightened out, for the future at least.

There have been only fifty-eight appeals to the President after six months' operation, which would indicate that dissatisfaction on this score cannot be very widespread. General Hershey is intervening with appeals himself, as he has a right to do under the law, in many cases, and, I think, has shown considerable sensitiveness to difficult situations, such as where local Boards are suspected of using their power to get radicals out of the community. Our present information indicates that appeals to the Appeal Boards are surprisingly few. A survey on this subject is now being made.

I enclose a couple of releases on publicity and some pages from their publicity material.

I judge a civilian director is now in sight. It seems to me important that the President and the new Director should know that Hershey has done a fine job under difficult circumstances. Dykstra was not in long enough to get a real hold on the job, and I believe the wide public acceptance given the draft is very much to Hershey's credit, and that Selective Service in general needs backing and contacts which under recent circumstances Hershey has not been able to get for them.

Yours sincerely,


Frederick Osborn
Chairman

Advisory Committee on Selective Service

FO/MP
enc.

100-100000

WASHINGTON

WAR DEPARTMENT

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 8, 1941

Memorandum For The President.

Fred Osborn

For your information. I disagree with everything in his note except the first sentence of the last paragraph, which I hope is correct.

James Rowe, Jr.

Letter 5/7/41 from Fred. Osborn re Selective Service.

File Personal Confidential PSF Home Folder
Ex. Off.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 8, 1941

Memorandum For The President.

Defense Transportation

Some time ago you sent me the following memorandum:

"Ask Mahaffie and Eastman what they would think of my putting in Dan Willard, who wants to resign from the B & O anyway, and let him start further studies".

This referred to the possibility of replacing Ralph Budd with Dan Willard. Budd has privately resigned as Defense Commissioner.

I did nothing about this because the Budget Bureau at that time was making a study of what should be done about the Transportation Division and I thought the matter would be settled in terms of a week or two. The problem has dragged on and on, but I understand the Budget will be ready within a week to make a recommendation to you - namely that a separate transportation agency be set up in ODM.

Until that is done, I think it advisable not to call the ICC about Willard.

In my personal opinion, Willard should not be available for two reasons. First, he is entirely too old. Second, he shares the attitude of the usual railroad president, although in all fairness he is much more flexible and broad-gauged than the usual railroad president.

It seems to me it would be fatal to put in another Ralph Budd or Dan Willard. One year ago the National Resources Board completed a study showing there would be a severe railroad car shortage in June 1941. At that time the Board, through Mr. Delano, warned Budd and warned Pelley, the spokesman for the American Association of Railroads, a lobby and anti-government group, that they should start planning for railroad car replacements on a two-year basis before defense orders were given to railroad equipment factories. The answer of AAR and Budd was the usual statement to the public that everything was all right, that business could go on as usual and that the railroads could take care of all problems.

Mr. Delano made one mistake. He was two weeks too late. There is today a messy railroad car shortage. Next Fall there will be an agricultural problem because the railroads will not be able to haul the crops. A year from now things will be hopeless.

Once again, this is the story of business men in defense.

This is the story of aluminum.

This is the story of magnesium.

This is the story of steel, despite Gano Dunn.

-2-

Each time government economists have said things were in a mess; each time your dollar-a-year men have said things were all right; each time the government men have been proven correct.

The comments on the railroad problem are bitter. The mild epithet I have heard used is "criminal negligence". The usual comment is "shooting is too good for people like Budd".

The railroad problem is, therefore, no longer that of satisfying the articulate special interest group like the AAR. They are discredited, as their own statement of last week admitting there is a car shortage proves. It is no longer a question of getting a "big name" to head transportation.

It is the problem of getting a young vigorous man who will do something about it. He will become a "big name" in a month. Otherwise, the answer again will be "too little and too late".

More and more the name of Joe Eastman is being suggested as the man to head transportation. Perhaps Eastman is not young enough or vigorous enough to do the job. But he has been right about railroad problems for many years. He has sent word to you, through Mr. Delano, that if you want him to he would be glad to take the job.

Perhaps there are better men, such as Horner, whom Mr. Delano has spoken to you about, but this country cannot afford to have another Ralph Budd in charge of transportation.

JHR

James Rowe, Jr.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 26, 1941

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM FOR
HON. SIDNEY HILLMAN

What do you think? If you
agree, I will ask Niles.

F. D. R.

Enclosure

*President saw
David Niles
6/3/41*

*PSF: Rose Folder
E. Off.*

RECEIVED
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
MAY 26 1941

Rowe Folder

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 26, 1941

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM FOR
HON. SIDNEY HILLMAN

What do you think? If you
agree, I will ask Niles.

F. D. R.

Enclosure

Memo 5/22/41 from Jim Rowe re possibility
of David Niles taking over Lubin's job
with Sidney Hillman -- Hillman wants him
but Niles does not want to do so unless
FDR asks him.

PSF: Rowe

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON May 22, 1941

Memorandum For The President.

Dave Niles

Mrs. Roosevelt sent you a note about Dave Niles, suggesting that he take over Lubin's job with Sidney Hillman and that Hillman wants him but Niles does not want to do so unless you ask him.

You sent the note to me with a memorandum "What do you think? F.D.R." I think it is an excellent idea for two reasons:

(1) Many people have been disappointed in Hillman's performance, although admittedly he has an impossible job to do. Part of that impossible job is to get much more labor support for defense than we have. Niles is a skilled propagandist, has innumerable labor contacts and knows how to use government better than anyone Hillman now has.

(2) The other reason is the personal one of Niles himself. Like so many of the old New Deal "shock troops", Niles has been unhappy because you have not talked to him for some time. Last week he talked to me ostensibly to get my advice as to whether he should take a \$75,000 job as the head of the Radio Manufacturers Association or not. He has really turned it down, since he wants to stay in the Administration.

I think he really wants to do propaganda work but he feels that there is a blight on Jews to which his own friends in the Administration are contributing. That of course is a state of mind against which one cannot argue.

What I think Niles really wants — even though he may not know it himself — is a request from you to do something for you.

I certainly recognize the demands on your time but if you could give him ten minutes and ask him to do the Hillman job, it would help him. His long record of devoted and unselfish service to you and the Administration is worth it.

JHR
James Rowe, Jr.

COPY

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 22, 1941

Memorandum For The President.

Dave Niles

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James Rowe, Jr.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

PSF: Rowe Folder

EX. Off.

May 31, 1941.

MEMORANDUM FOR

JIM ROWE

Is there anything new on
this? What should I do in
regard to Arnold's letter?

F. D. R.

nothing - file
FHR

MSA 21, 1847.

WASHINGTON
THE WHITE HOUSE

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 17, 1941

Memorandum For Miss LeHand.

Dear Missy:

I seem to be making it a regular habit to bother you at the damdest hours -- but I can't help it if the Administration's wild men don't get into action until the last minute.

Could you see that the President sees the attached memorandum and letter concerning Thurman Arnold and Henderson before he has his Monday morning conference with the legislative leaders?

Could you also let me know the action he takes -- if it is favorable -- because Henderson and Arnold will be pounding on the telephone all day Monday and if I can't tell them, they will start after everyone else in the White House?

Jim

James Rowe, Jr.

NOTED
JUL 13 1941
WASHINGTON
THE WHITE HOUSE

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 17, 1941

Memorandum For The President.

Thurman Arnold and Leon Henderson

I attach a self-explanatory letter to you which Thurman Arnold has just sent over to me.

A House appropriations committee gave Thurman Arnold \$750,000 more than the budget called for, for the reasons indicated in the letter. That has now been removed by the Senate appropriations committee and Arnold asks your help in getting it put back.

Secretly fighting this increase are various elements of labor (most unsavory) and the big business crowd. The excuse used in the Senate is that the Administration is against this increase.

In the meanwhile, Bob Jackson has said that he will do the policing for Henderson. But Arnold is the policeman and needs this money to help Henderson. Without Arnold's help, Henderson is really powerless to control the price structure.

Henderson also called a few minutes ago asking that I give you a message that he strongly urges you to help Arnold because the money is desperately needed.

This matter is coming up on the Senate floor either Monday or Tuesday, so if you plan to take any action on it the best time would be at your Monday morning conference with the leaders.

As Henderson pointed out, if he and Arnold can get together to agree on anything it must be right!

JHR

James Rowe, Jr.

THURMAN ARNOLD
ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL

Department of Justice
Washington

May 17, 1941

Dear Mr. President:

I have never addressed a communication to you before on behalf of the Antitrust Division because I felt that your time was too much occupied. However, today a matter has arisen which may impair our usefulness to the Government, so serious that I ask the privilege of calling it to your attention.

The burden on the Division has increased tremendously on account of the war. We are attempting to extend our activities to prevent restrictions of production, particularly conspiracies which are blocking the defense effort. A poll conducted by Fortune Magazine among business executives last year showed that our program is supported by business. We are also attempting to clean up restraints which block the distribution of necessities, such as food and housing. Here we have the cooperation of the farmer and small business.

Due to that support, the House Appropriations Committee gave us an additional \$750,000. It has now been taken away by the Senate Appropriations Committee without any hearing, for reasons which we do not understand.

A few scattered examples will show the kind of enforcement we will have to drop:

1. The investigation which we are now conducting in the drug and chemical industries which, we believe, will help us eliminate restrictions which hamper our defense program and which prevent us from competing on equal terms with the Germans in South America. Drugs are an outstanding example of this.
2. Strategically located processors depress prices paid to farmers for raw materials and artificially raise prices to consumers in food, clothing and war materials.
3. In Chicago, commission men shake dice to see which particular pens of sheep are allocated to the winner, and the sole privilege of bidding is allocated to the winner.
4. In 27 states, retail grocers are raising the price of food by an illegal use of the Unfair Practices Acts.
5. In North Carolina, the price of potatoes is being affected adversely to the farmer and the consumer.
6. The distribution of cheese is a scandal; so are the practices in the packing industry.
7. In building, in nearly all large centers, oppressive practices, especially to small business men, are widespread.

The President/Page 2

May 17, 1941

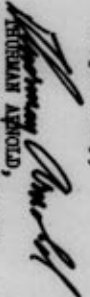
Our complaints are increasing by leaps and bounds. For example, in Denver, cement and lumber are higher than anywhere else in the country due to a tightly controlled method of allowing only certain wholesalers to sell them.

We feel that our activities are indispensable if Mr. Henderson's efforts at putting a ceiling on prices are to be successful. In cases where there are combinations to raise prices, or to maintain artificially high prices, or to disregard Mr. Henderson's requests, the antitrust laws provide the only legal remedy which is now available. We have just worked out the details of an arrangement with Mr. Henderson under which our staff is to deal with all problems of this kind which threaten to block the success of Mr. Henderson's efforts. I think everyone realizes that there is little advantage in putting a ceiling on prices if the existing prices are artificially high.

Mr. Henderson deals with the general economic problem. He needs the assistance of the Antitrust Division to make his efforts effective. If we have to let these things go for want of more men to take care of them, we believe the accumulation of these restraints will have a bad economic effect. Statistics cannot be compiled on this if it is an over-statement. Nevertheless, we feel the psychological effect of the known existence of these restraints of trade will militate against the entire policy of attempting to put a ceiling over prices.

Therefore, we feel that the necessity for having this additional \$750,000 is so imperative that I take the liberty of calling it to your attention. It is my belief that one of the reasons for the elimination of the increase by the Senate is the fact that they felt that they should stick to the Administration's appropriation. Therefore, I feel that all that is needed to correct it is a word from you.

Respectfully,


WILLIAM A. ARNOLD,
Assistant Attorney General.

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

*File
Personal*

August 21, 1941.

MEMO FOR J. ROWE:

Will you prepare for my signature a letter to Maybank saying I have received his letter in regard to the possibility of locating a shell loading, bag loading plant at Greenville, South Carolina. While I understand that it is the policy of the War Department not to locate any similar plant as near to the Coast as Greenville, I am asking the Secretary of War to make a study of the situation and let me have a report.

F.D.R.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 18, 1941

Howe
July
PSF
Ex. Off

Memorandum For The President.

Governor Maybank

One of the things Jimmy Byrnes and Maybank have wanted more than anything else is to have the War Department wire Governor Maybank that a survey would be made at Greenville, South Carolina for a shell-loading and bag-loading plant. Patterson has turned them down several times and today gave me a flat turn-down.

He says there is no possibility of building any plant there, that it is too near the coast, and that this is frankly political. I said that this may be true but that it was my understanding the War Department has not been so scrupulous about surveys with Senators and Congressmen and that I do not think the White House should be treated any worse. The War Department of course believes the so-called "political surveys" help appropriations.

Nonetheless Patterson refuses to change his mind.

While I have sympathy for his point of view, this sort of thing has been done in the past and I think Patterson should be told to do it. But it will take an order from you.

More recent information indicates Maybank is going to have a much tougher time than we have thought previously and that it is a tight race.

JHR
James Rowe, Jr.

1
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

*file
personal*

December 17, 1941.

MEMORANDUM FOR

JIM ROWE

I think on this matter, you and the Attorney General should have a talk and perhaps go up to the Hill and talk it over with Senator Hatch personally and unofficially.

There is a lot in what you say but, at the same time, the general cause of good government is not helped by the stories that Stokes and others published about Tommy Corcoran.

F. D. R.

PSF: Jim Rowe Folder
Rowe

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 1, 1941

Memorandum For The President.

Hatch Bill

I have noted your press conference comments in which you said you favored the "two-year rule" forbidding any official of the Government from practicing before the Government for two years after his departure.

About the same time you were talking to the press, I attended a meeting of Government lawyers, at which practically every department and independent agency of the Government was represented. There were about forty lawyers present. Without exception no one favored the bill for a variety of reasons.

Present were many of the "New Deal" General Counsels, many Government career men who have spent years in the Government and who expect to spend their lives here, and representatives of the newer group which for the sake of summary can be called the "dollar-a-year" men, the national defense lawyers.

The bill was badly drafted, no one knows what it means. However, many of the problems raised in the meeting can be cured by adequate draftsmanship. The main objection is that the whole procedure is rather silly. No decent man objects to the intent. Government lawyers are pestered more by the "fixers" than anyone else and would be delighted to see them disappear. They are realistic enough to know, however, that this bill will have not the slightest effect on the "fixer-lobbyists".

In brief, this bill does no good and may do a great deal of harm. Strictly from the point of view of an intelligent Government service, it may have a very bad effect on recruiting the good lawyers which is even a more pressing problem today than it has been in the past eight years. The younger men, all of whom always have a great deal of doubt about coming into the Government at all, may feel this new factor sufficient to keep them out. The older men, who may be willing to serve two or three years during a time of national emergency but who do not wish to stay in Washington as a career, may not come at all. For example the War and Navy Departments are having their really important legal problems handled in the main by lawyers borrowed from the big New York law firms. The bill, as presently drafted, does not in this case present an individual problem. If one member of the huge Cravath firm works two weeks as a consultant for the War Department, the entire firm is banned from handling the smallest problem in the SEC or even an immigration case.

The Treasury is banned from receiving the services of consultants like Randolph Paul or McGill, who at great financial sacrifice spend a lot of their time each year on the tax bills.

These are but a few of the countless examples of how this bill affects the complex machinery of the Government legal staffs.

Personally I can see no great objection to men experienced in Government law going into private practice. The end result, it seems to me, is better

for the country when a Bar experienced in the complexities of Federal procedure handles the problems of private claimants against the Government. In fact, the experienced Bar gets rid of the "fixer".

This removal of the experienced practitioner means a new flood of "the boys" selling "influence", but who actually don't know the first thing about what they are doing. I have been in several Government agencies and have seen both types. In the case of the lobbyist I have always, as do all Government lawyers, had to do his work for him.

This "two-year rule" is one of the most ageless recurrences in the Government. It began back in 1870 and is revived approximately every three or four years. Sober and unbiased consideration has always resulted in this kind of legislation being turned down.

Unfortunately, the point of view the lawyers present is complex and therefore unpopular. The slick and phoney "idealism" of Tom Stokes and his newspaper colleagues appeals to a gullible public.

In any event, I hope you do not reaffirm your position, at least until after such time as the Government lawyers can present their arguments, and, at the very least offer a reasonable compromise.

I do not predict any great exodus that this bill passes; I do however predict the Government's choice of good legal talent - and whoever can do the job these days - will be severely limited.

I have already discussed this with the Attorney General and eventually he will discuss it with you.

James Rowe, Jr.

BF Exec. Ofc.

Jim Rowe

file

Department of Justice
Office of the Assistant to the Attorney General
Washington

March 6, 1942

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT.

I have your memorandum of February 26th which reads:

"Can you persuade O. S. Warden of the Great Falls Tribune to help Jim Murray instead of Jim O'Connor? F.D.R."

O. S. Warden, besides owning and publishing the most influential newspaper in Montana (and that is saying very little, since the entire press is completely distrusted), is also Democratic National Committeeman, replacing Bruce Kremer.

Wheeler put Warden in to prevent a more vigorous and independent person from becoming Committeeman. Warden is non-political and knows nothing about politics. He is also the most indecisive person who ever lived. He wants to be nice to everyone and to help everyone. He will promise both sides his help and end up by helping neither and getting himself thoroughly disliked. So far as he has nerve enough to take a position, it will probably be on Wheeler's side. Wheeler will turn all the pressure he can on Warden to help Congressman O'Connor instead of Senator Murray. Warden's daughter for some years worked in Wheeler's Washington office.

Wheeler is out to get Murray's scalp. O'Connor is nothing but a windbag and it is really Wheeler against Murray. Where Wheeler has been adept, Murray has been appallingly maladroit. For instance, he promised entirely too many people jobs and now he can't deliver. I have been trying to help him where I can.

The War should help Murray because he followed the Administration's point of view. It is probably the only thing that can save him. Since he is politically inept and an extremely poor campaigner. He has a lot of money so there is no problem there.

I already have some persons working on Warden in an effort to make him support Murray. He will soon be in the East and I will talk to him then, indicating that you want Murray re-elected.

The most I can promise is to neutralize him, and make sure he does not support O'Connor openly. If he told me he would support Murray, I wouldn't believe him. He might mean it at the time, but he just can't "stay put".



JHR
James Rowe, Jr.

1. Date from Bureau of Education
2. Date from Bureau of Education
3. Date from Bureau of Education
4. Date from Bureau of Education
5. Date from Bureau of Education
6. Date from Bureau of Education
7. Date from Bureau of Education
8. Date from Bureau of Education
9. Date from Bureau of Education
10. Date from Bureau of Education

Division of
Office of the Registrar of the District Court
Department of Justice

Jim Rowe
1-42

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 26, 1942.

MEMORANDUM FOR

JIM ROWE

Can you persuade O. S. Warden
of the Great Falls Tribune to help
Jim Murray instead of Jim O'Connor?

F. D. R.

BF Exec. Ofc.

Rowe Folder
1-42

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 26, 1942.

MEMORANDUM FOR

JIM ROWE

I see no reason why our friend O'Connor should not get the correct idea that this is no time to have primary fights and that the easiest thing would be for him to return to the House and Jim Murray return to the Senate.

F. D. R.

Department of Justice

Office of the Assistant to the Attorney General

Washington

March 21, 1942

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT.

This is my second report on your memorandum of February 26th reading:

"Can you persuade O. S. Warden of the Great Falls Tribune to help Jim Murray instead of Jim O'Connor? F.D.R."

I talked to Warden today. His attitude is much as I had indicated it would be — his paper has always supported you, and in fact was the only influential paper in the Northwest which supported you during the last campaign. However, since he is Democratic National Committeeman, he hopes he will not be drawn into a bitter primary between Murray and O'Connor, but will go as far as he can in support of Murray.

In other words, he intends to be all things to all men. The end result will be that he will not support O'Connor despite Wheeler's tremendous pressure which, Warden indicated, has already begun. No matter what he promises, Warden will not be aggressive.

Murray is quite unpopular at the present moment despite his record on foreign policy. You are still as popular in Montana as ever and Wheeler is at his lowest ebb. However, Wheeler is so adroit, especially among the politicians, he will be a difficult obstacle for Murray to overcome.

In my opinion, a much better approach is to let "word" leak to O'Connor that you will aggressively support Murray. O'Connor hasn't yet made up his mind to run although he has been bidding strongly for Wheeler's support which he will get, if he runs. I think if O'Connor knows or believes you will come out for Murray, he will not run and will be content to try to keep his Congressional seat.

If you wish, I can make sure this reaches O'Connor's ears with not the slightest obligation on your part and in such a way that you will not be committed one way or the other and could, if necessary or desirable, repudiate me.

JHR
James Rowe, Jr.



PSF Exec. Cfc.

Rowe Folder
1-42

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 3, 1942.

MEMORANDUM FOR

JIM ROWE:

To speak to me about this. I
have destroyed the original.

F.D.R.

Memo from J.R. March 30th
Re:

OFFICE OF
THE ASSISTANT TO THE
ATTORNEY GENERAL

PSF EXEC.
Offc.



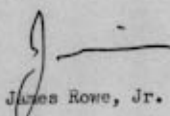
Jim Rowe Felder
file confidential
April 18, 1942

MEMORANDUM FOR GRACE TULLY.

Dear Grace:

For your personal and
confidential information per your
request.

Incidentally, I dis-
covered Mrs. Toombs' connection with
and relationship to the White House
is well known in this Department.


James Rowe, Jr.

Department of Justice
Washington

JAMES ROWE, JR.
THE ASSISTANT TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

April 18, 1942

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. ROWE

You asked me to inquire into the status of the case of George Herbert Brasseur and Frances Bennett Toombs. Briefly, the facts are these:

Mr. Brasseur and Mrs. Toombs were apprehended by the local police at Follansbee, West Virginia, while trespassing on the property of a national defense plant at Follansbee. Brasseur is a man of considerable wealth and a citizen of Luxembourg. In that country he achieved great success in industry through the use of a process for the reclamation of steel from steel companies' slag dumps. He has been engaged in this work in this country. His examination of the particular slag dump in West Virginia was part of a field trip which he was making to extend his activities in the United States.

With a foreign accent, a lady not his wife, and a brief case full of papers in German and French, the circumstances were so suspicious that the local police naturally thought they had a real spy on their hands. The matter got out of hand, and they were held for violation of the Espionage Act and the Mann Act.

At the present time, they are both out on bond, pending a hearing before a Grand Jury.

I talked with Mr. McInerney of the Criminal Division, who is handling this case. He is of the opinion that the case arose from a series of unfortunate incidents, and nothing will come of it.

No date has been set for Grand Jury action and it is expected that the matter will be postponed for at least three weeks for eventual dismissal.

The parties in question have conferred with Messrs. Berge and McInerney of the Criminal Division, and are represented by Mr. Auchincloss of New York City.



E H H
E. H. H.

PSF Exec. Afc.

Roosevelt Folder
1-42

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 4, 1942.

MEMORANDUM FOR

JIM ROWE

Will you prepare for my signature a perfectly polite and friendly letter to the Secretary of War on this, telling him that I want no action taken by Drum, under the Executive Order, in regard to enemy aliens as a group or nationality without talking with me first? Also tell him that the Order was intended primarily to give authority over the dimming of lights and not over enemy aliens — the latter being primarily a civilian matter except, of course, in the case of mass evacuation on the Pacific Coast.

F. D. R.

Memorandum from Jim Rowe
to the President has been returned
to Jim Rowe.

*File
Personal*

*Rowe Folder
1-42*

Department of Justice
Office of the Assistant to the Attorney General
Washington

May 6, 1942

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT.

Stanton Griffis

Some time ago you sent to me a memorandum "Will you check on Stanton Griffis", with a letter to you from Wayne Johnson, who recommended he be sent to London to help out Averill Harriman. Johnson cited Harrison, Myron Taylor and Floyd Odlum as individuals who knew his work.

When you were Governor, you appointed Griffis a Regent of Cornell. I assume Wayne Johnson's interest in him is because of his contributions to the Democratic Party.

I have checked Griffis extensively; I will have further reports later, if you are still interested.

Age 45, Griffis is an investment banker and chairman of the executive committee of Paramount Pictures. He is connected with the Madison Square Garden Corporation, Brentano's and several other corporations.

(1) Several Commissioners of the SEC tell me Griffis was associated with Odlum in the Empire Trust and Atlas Corporation, both of which caused the SEC some trouble.

(2) Griffis is a friend of Nelson and writes to him on a "Dear Don" basis. He has been asking Nelson for a job.

(3) Griffis has a reputation in New York for being a "playboy"; he is a lavish entertainer in the Hollywoodian flamboyant manner. He has a New York penthouse and a Florida estate. He is of the semi-social, semi-artistic group. Kuhn-Loeb are supposed to be his backers.

(4) The SEC informs me confidentially that while Joe Kennedy was reorganizing Paramount, Griffis was "rigging" the market in New York. His activities were such that an official investigation was under way. This did not result in indictment since Griffis left for Paris and the matter dropped. There is little question but that the "rigging" was in violation of the Stock Exchange Act of 1934.

(5) According to gossip, Griffis has had several wives.

(6) Rumor, unconfirmed, has it that Griffis is pro-Nazi or, at least, was so before Pearl Harbor. A fairly well confirmed rumor has it that Griffis and Herbert Bayard Swope got into a fist fight at the home of Dr. Foster Kennedy in New York because Griffis said Hitler was a great man.

If there is any possibility of Griffis being used in the Administration, or as a representative abroad, he should be much more thoroughly checked. If he is not to be used, the matter should be dropped. I will file further reports with the White House file room for future reference.

J. N. P.
James Rowe, Jr.

OFFICE OF
THE ASSISTANT TO THE
ATTORNEY GENERAL



File
Confidential
PSF
Exec. Afc.
Rowe

Dear Grace:

Mr. Rowe dictated this
before he left for Chicago.

I think he should have
attached his usual little request:

Dear Grace: Please return or please
destroy".

Kitty



Rowe Folder

Department of Justice
Washington

JAMES ROWE, JR.
ASSISTANT TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

June 10, 1942

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT.

Local Judgeships

I have been under the evidently false impression that Coral Sea and Midway, the sea route to Russia and American production were the important things occupying your attention today. I have evidently been wrong. I find that the paramount question confronting the President of the United States is who is going to fill an \$8,000 judgeship in the District of Columbia.

I have been reading Sandberg's "War Years" and note that Lincoln had to spend an absurd amount of time on such minor problems, so I suppose it is the fate of all War Presidents.

Despite the controversy, I have until now held my tongue on the assumption the Department of Justice recommendations should go to you the conventional way. I understand, however, that the Democratic Committee is making this a matter of paramount importance and thought you would be interested in the facts, at least as I see those facts:

(1) The merits. There are two candidates for the Chief Judge of the Lower Court. One is Walter Casey, a police court judge, the other is Nathan Cayton, a municipal court judge. The Department of Justice, meaning the Attorney General and myself, has recommended Cayton. The Democratic Committee has recommended Casey.

The truth is simply that Cayton is much the better judge. He originated and fought through Congress and against a reactionary local Bar the Small Claims Court Bill some years ago. This is patterned after the same legislation which you as Governor of New York put into effect. It is the main reason why Justice Murphy, who also had a small claims court in Michigan, is enthusiastic about Cayton. Small claims courts happen to be a hobby of mine. It is the only way I have ever seen the law really take care of the little people.

The local Bar Association has endorsed Cayton. Of course, we all know what goes on when Bar Associations endorse candidates. I think the Department of Justice, with a great deal of experience in such matters, gives such endorsements the proper weight. The endorsement, however, is indicative of something — that the leaders of the Bar favor the candidate endorsed. A local Bar should know its judges better than anyone else and usually does.

Cayton has the endorsement of several past presidents of the Bar. The local press, including Eugene Meyer's Washington Post and the Washington Daily News, have come out flat-footedly for Cayton. This is a rather unprecedented performance.

Cayton has a sufficient number of Senatorial and Congressional endorsements. The Democratic Committee has recently done something unheard of; it has sent its men to the Hill to get Senators and Congressmen to repudiate their endorsements. It has had little success. The local Negro leaders are backing Cayton and have sent delegations to the Department of Justice to protest the nomination of Casey on the ground he is anti-Negro. The Democratic Committee says this is politics. Perhaps it is, but the fact remains the Negroes are for Cayton and against Casey. I do not have to explain to you the seriousness of the Negro situation in this country today. The Department of Justice is having to arrest too many of them because they just won't fight; they say it isn't their war.

In brief then Cayton has the support of his community. Casey is a nice fellow, somewhat inarticulate and that is about all that can be said. On the merits, so far as the responsible persons in the Department of Justice can judge, Cayton is the logical choice. All the recommendations for the local judgeships were made to you by the Attorney General after many hours of consultation not only with myself, but with Solicitor General Charles Fahy and Ugo Carusi, the Executive Assistant to the Attorney General. This is an unusual procedure but it was followed because both Fahy and Carusi were at one time active members of the local Bar and know the merits of the candidates extremely well.

(2) Politics. Since the Democratic Committee has decided it knows more about the legal merits of judges than the Department of Justice, which presumably is qualified to make such decisions, perhaps it is not amiss for me to do a little talking about politics.

(a) Ed Flynn today is a sick and harassed man who spends practically no time in Washington running the Democratic Committee. Ed Pauley, the Secretary, is a nice fellow and probably a good oil man but he has not the slightest conception of what this government is about. There is no reason why he should because he has only been here a few months. The people who are running the Committee and causing all this rather absurd furor are a young boy named James Mathews, who wouldn't know a lawyer if he saw one, who has a good heart and no brains and Gene Casey who is, at least formally, your employee but who spends all his time at the Committee. You know my point of view about him, and although you have never said so, I suspect you agree with me. These are the persons who are worrying about judgeships.

(b) Since I and my family have been Democrats for many generations, perhaps I can also complain about the Democratic Committee. The President of the United States has been bothered and the Department of Justice has been harassed by the Committee about this minor judgeship for months. It is the only sign of activity that has emanated from the Democratic Committee that I have been able to see. The constant complaint of Washington is that it does not have the vote. It is certainly true that no votes in the forthcoming elections are going to turn on this judgeship. Cayton has never been in politics and Casey has never been in politics. Casey married a girl born in Montana but who has been out of the State

for twenty years, with brief exceptions. Casey has been out of Massachusetts for about twenty years himself. Why then is this local judgeship in a voteless city so important? The answer is, of course, that it is of no importance.

But the forthcoming Congressional elections are more important than any since at least 1913. Why doesn't the Committee do something about them? A great number of people besides myself are wondering about it. The frank answer is that there is no confidence whatever in the Democratic Committee. Your administrators in the executive branch regard it as a constant source of irritation because of the complete ignorance of minor personnel who run the show exhibit. The Committee complains it gets no patronage, which is true. The Committee never recommends anyone with any merit. I am sure that if I were on the Committee's staff I could get reams of patronage. All it needs is some knowledge of the government and some cooperation with the government. I do not know how many of your administrators have told you this but I do know they think it. Their opinion is shared by every responsible political leader on the Hill.

What is vitally needed is a new Democratic Committee.

Sir, the defense rests!

J. N. R.
James Rowe, Jr.

BF Exec. Ofc *Rowe Folder*

Department of Justice
Washington

JAMES ROWE, JR.
THE ASSISTANT TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

July 1, 1942

File
personal

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT.

Massachusetts

Congressman Tom Eliot is trying to see you to talk about the political situation in Massachusetts. As you may remember Eliot was gerrymandered out of his district. He planned to run in Congressman Tom Flaherty's district (the latter wants to be Boston Postmaster) which is strongly Democratic and predominantly Irish and Italian. However, Jim Curley has announced that he will run for that seat. This district is probably the strongest of Curley's strongholds. When he ran for Mayor against Tobin, also an Irish Democrat, last year he carried it 3 to 1 against Tobin.

Eliot is now thinking of running for the Senate. Frankly he hopes he can get quiet Administration backing and hopes he can talk to you about it. It looks like a tough fight either way.

Another candidate for the Democratic nomination for Senator is Ned Brandon, whom you may remember as a close friend of Jimmy Roosevelt. He is now the United States Attorney for Massachusetts, is Irish, and will have the financial backing of John Sargent and others. Brandon is not tied up with the corrupt Irish element which has practically ruined the Democratic Party in Massachusetts.

Eliot is of course a Roosevelt New Dealer and, in terms of the peace after the war, is the kind of intelligent Senator to have.

Whoever does run will, of course, have tough sledding against Lodge who will be campaigning in a Army uniform. The fight against Lodge will be made even harder by the fact that the Secretary of War has seen fit to send this distinguished officer on a "special mission to Egypt", which is of course the rankest kind of partisan politics. I don't mind so much when "our boys" do it, but I don't like to see the Republicans do it through this Administration.



JHR
James Rowe, Jr.

BSF Exec. Cfo.

Rowe Folder

OFFICE OF
THE ASSISTANT TO THE
ATTORNEY GENERAL



*file
Brown*

July 6, 1942

MEMORANDUM FOR GRACE TULLY.

Perhaps the President will be interested in seeing this.

If I were running for Senator I would like nothing better than this build-up. Do you suppose the Republican National Committee has shifted headquarters to the War Department?

Honest, it does make it a bit tough, particularly because the distinguished Major will be campaigning in his uniform.

JHR

James Rowe, Jr.

THIS DOCUMENT IS THE BEST
AVAILABLE. EVERY TECHNICAL
EFFORT HAS BEEN TAKEN TO
INSURE LEGIBILITY.

SENATOR LODGE, JUST BACK FROM FRONT LINE COMBAT SERVICE
IN THE LIBYAN DESERT, SAID TODAY HE HAD EXPERIENCED GERMAN DIVE-BOMBING,
MACHINE GUNNING AND SHELLING.

"I MUST LEAD A CHARMED LIFE," HE SAID. "MEN WERE KILLED WITHIN HALF
A DOZEN YARDS OF ME. ONCE I WAS NEARLY TAKEN PRISONER. IT WAS NEAR
DUSK AND I SAW THREE TANKS APPROACHING. I COULDN'T TELL AT FIRST
WHETHER THEY WERE FRIEND OR FOE, BUT I PUT FIELD GLASSES ON THEM AND SAW
THEY WERE GERMAN."

LODGE, A RESERVE CAPTAIN WHEN HE WENT ON ACTIVE DUTY WITH THE
ARMY LAST FEB. 18, CAME BACK TO CAPITOL HILL BEARING A MAJOR'S LEAF-
CLUSTER. HE SAID HE HAD BEEN PROMOTED "JUST RECENTLY."

7/6-R131P

ADMIRAL WILLIAM D. LEAHY, AMERICAN AMBASSADOR RECENTLY RETURNED
TO THIS COUNTRY FROM VICHY, SAID FOLLOWING A CONFERENCE WITH PRESIDENT
ROOSEVELT THAT THE CHIEF EXECUTIVE "HAS IN MIND EMPLOYMENT FOR ME IN THE
NEAR FUTURE."

LEAHY SAID HE PREFERRED FOR THE PRESIDENT TO SUPPLY DETAILS, BUT
INDICATED THAT IT WILL BE AN ASSIGNMENT IN CONNECTION WITH THE WAR
EFFORT HERE.

SINCE HIS RETURN FROM UNOCCUPIED FRANCE, LEAHY HAS BEEN ASSIGNED
TO THE STATE DEPARTMENT WHERE, AS HE DESCRIBED IT TODAY, HE HAS
BEEN WORKING UP RECORDS OF WHAT I BROUGHT BACK IN MY HEAD FROM FRANCE.

7/6-R134P

ADD LODGE

LODGE SAID HIS TOUR OF DUTY HAD GIVEN HIM A COMPLETE VIEW OF THE
ARMY -- FIRST AT THE INFANTRY SCHOOL, LATER AT MANEUVERS, AND THEN IN
FRONT-LINE COMBAT SERVICE. HE STRESSED THAT HE WAS RESTRICTED IN THE
TYPE OF INFORMATION WHICH HE COULD MAKE PUBLIC.

"I ARRIVED AT THE FRONT WEST OF TOBRUK JUST WHEN THE FIGHTING BEGAN
AT THE END OF MAY," HE SAID. "I STAYED THERE UNTIL I WAS ORDERED HOME
BY THE WAR DEPARTMENT." HE SAID HE WAS IN EGYPT ABOUT A WEEK AGO.

7/6-R137P 9-0

file journal *PSF Exec. Ofc.*
JAMES ROWE, JR.
THE ASSISTANT TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

Department of Justice

Washington

August 13, 1942

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Re: Texas

This memorandum is a diversion from the second front!

I pass on to you without comment a message from the Texans backing Jimmy Allred.

As of last night, the Coke Stevenson forces estimate O'Daniel has 55% and Allred has 45%. 950,000 votes were cast in the primary. It is estimated that 700,000 will be cast in the runoff, primarily because there are no local offices such as sheriff on the ticket, and rubber will keep the rural vote at home.

The Allred forces claim they can shift the percentage if they can get the money. Money has not been forthcoming and they say it will not be unless you make public the fact you are supporting Allred.

O'Daniel is taking the position that he has supported and will support your foreign policy and war program. The Allred forces point out you have nothing to lose because O'Daniel knows you are against him and will continue to be against you.

Several formulas have been suggested to indicate you are for Allred, against O'Daniel, and yet are not interfering (!) Perhaps the best that has been suggested is to be asked the question at your press conference and to reply:

"I am too busy with the war to bother about politics in Texas. Further, if the people in Texas do not know my attitude by now, nothing I could say would make it clear. O'Daniel's votes in the Senate and Jimmy Allred's point of view about the war are both well known in Texas. It is entirely up to the people in Texas. If they insist on returning O'Daniel, I will have to struggle along with the help of my friends in the Senate as best I can."

If anything is to be done for Allred, it is to be done this week because he needs money for radio as soon as possible and a comment by you is the only way he can get it.



gHR
James Rowe, Jr.

PSF Exec. Off.

Department of Justice
Washington

Jim Rowe Filed
file
personal

JAMES ROWE, JR.
THE ASSISTANT TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

August 24, 1942

MEMORANDUM FOR GRACE TULLY.

Dear Grace:

The President may know this, and, for all I know, it may be "all according to plan", but if he doesn't know, he ought to.

Dean Alfange, the nominee for Governor for the American Labor Party always has been a Farley "stooge". There is no reason to believe he has changed. From the desperate and uninformed manner in which the American Labor Party was trying to find a candidate, I rather suspect the American Labor Party leaders are not aware of the close relationship between Alfange and Farley. If I am right, there is a beautiful "double-cross" in the air.

Further information on Alfange indicates he came very close to being indicted by the Department of Justice a year or so ago. There is also some question whether he is an American citizen or not.

In the 1932 campaign Alfange actively backed Hoover against the President and was a registered Republican.

I pass this on merely for information purposes.

JHR
James Rowe, Jr.



BSF Exec. A/c.

Jim Rowe
Folder

Department of Justice
Washington

JAMES ROWE, JR.
THE ASSISTANT TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

file
↓

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

August 24, 1942

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT.

As you of course know, Jimmy Allred ran a beautiful race in Texas but was nosed out. I do not know what your plans are, if any, for Allred but do think I should call this possibility to your attention as soon as possible:

Rufus E. Foster of the Fifth Circuit died last night. Judge Hutcheson already represents Texas on that Circuit, and ordinarily the appointment should probably go to Louisiana (Foster's State) or to Florida, both of which are now unrepresented.

Claude Pepper is already pushing for his law partner who is now a District Judge.

If you do feel you want to appoint Allred to the Circuit Court it should probably be done speedily before the pressure from the other States begins to mount.

I have of course not mentioned this to anyone.

JHR
James Rowe, Jr.



PSF Exec. Ofc. *Rowe Folder*
OFFICE OF
THE ASSISTANT TO THE
ATTORNEY GENERAL



file personal
September 16, 1942

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT.

You may be interested in this letter from Mike Mansfield, the Democratic candidate for Congress from my district in Montana.

I think he will probably win. He is an intelligent New Dealer with an international point of view, and combines the excellent background of a hard-rock copper miner and history professor. Considering that the last two Representatives from this district have been Jeannette Rankin and my Fascist friend Thorkelson, I think you should know that we are about to redeem the fair name of Montana.

However, I am not sending you the letter for this purpose but only to let you know that our old friend Wheeler seems to have taken to the hills where he will undoubtedly hide out for the duration.

JHR
James Rowe, Jr.

COPY

543 Brooks Street
Missoula, Montana
September 9, 1942

Dear Jim:

I've just returned from a two weeks tour of the district during which I also attended the state convention at Billings. I was delighted to find two letters from you and also the check from Elizabeth. I really needed the assistance because I have applied for a leave of absence during the Fall quarter and that means we will have no income whatsoever coming in. I am more grateful than I can say.

I want to thank you for the fine letter you sent to Mr. Rayburn. I will write him tonight. I have already written to Flynn, Drewry and Lyndon Johnson as you suggested. Flynn turned the letter over to Drewry and I've received two communications from Capt. Victor H. Harding, the Executive Secretary. The letters were encouraging but that was all.

About the convention everything was harmonious — at least on the surface. Murray and Wheeler both had lunch with the candidates. Murray gave the keynote address and it was a masterpiece. O'Connor was temporary chairman, and I was the permanent chairman. Wheeler was supposed to speak at the banquet but, according to Art Lancey — who is again state chairman — he was called home in the afternoon on private business and consequently did not show up. The meeting was a Murray meeting all the way through. I am quite sure that Murray will be reelected although it must be admitted that he has a difficult opponent in Rankin. O'Connor seems to have the edge over Haynes, his Republican opponent, but it is doing to be a hard race on present indications. At this writing it looks very good for me and I will do my best to keep it that way.

Again, let me thank you for your generous help. I forgot to tell you that I felt I had to take a leave of absence because of pressure exerted by the Republicans during the primary. I was not forced to take a leave but I think it was the only thing to do as the State Board and Pres. Melby have both been very decent to me. Incidentally, the board members whom I saw and Melby were very relieved when I made my request.

As you said in your letter I am fully aware of the problems ahead of us in this war and the tremendous job facing our President. Rest assured that if I am elected I will do all I can to help him in his great task of winning the war and restoring peace and prosperity.

I will write you from time to time about developments out here as I know how keen your interest is.

With all best wishes,

Sincerely,

(Mike)

RSF Exec. Offc.

OFFICE OF
THE ASSISTANT TO THE
ATTORNEY GENERAL



file
Confidential - Rowe Folder
September 19, 1942

MEMORANDUM FOR GRACE TULLY.

Dear Grace:

In these days the President is entitled to extract what little amusement he can from the world we live in. I think the following three facts merit at least a grin:

- (1) The distinguished Senator Byrd who is a very great economizer has been sniping at the Administration for its "loose spending policy".
- (2) The Department of Justice is undergoing a reorganization, and is about to abolish a division, saving the government about \$150,000. Of course a number of the personnel will have to be dismissed.
- (3) The first political pressure to keep someone from being dismissed came from ---- guess who?

JHR
James Rowe, Jr.

OFFICE OF
THE ASSISTANT TO THE
ATTORNEY GENERAL

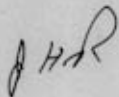


October 8, 1942

MEMORANDUM FOR GRACE TULLY.

Here are some figures from the Office of Public Opinion Research at Princeton. During the 1940 campaign I gave similar figures to the President and he seemed to be interested. I have arranged with the Director to give them to Dave Niles but Dave may not have sent them in.

The Princeton poll is much more sensible and sensitive than Gallup or Roper.



James Rowe, Jr.

1-42

A. The President -- 1944.

1. Does President Roosevelt intend to run in 1944?

yes	42%
no	29
no opinion	29

2. If he runs in 1944, would you vote for him?

Yes	53%
No	37
No Opinion	10

The switch in party vote from '40 to '44 is about even -- around 16%. (Table 1)

About one-fourth of those who say they will vote Republican in the coming Congressional elections, say they would vote for FDR in '44. (Table 2)

B. The President -- Today.

Great majority with opinions think FDR has not been tough enough in dealing with heads of government departments concerned with war effort. (Table 8)

Even majority of FDR '40 voters say this. (Table 8)

C. Negro Vote.

There seems to be about a 6% shift of the Negro vote in the Republican direction since '40.

D. Coming Congressional Elections.

Democrats of 1940 are not yet as decided as Republicans of 1940 how they will vote in Congressional elections. (Table 4)

The party shift between '40 elections and coming Congressional elections seems about even (around 10% each).

Democrats express less interest in coming elections. (Table 5)

E. Criticism of Congress.

Although Wilkie voters believe more than FDR '40 voters that Congress has not done all it can to further the war effort, still over half of FDR '40 voters are critical of Congress. (Table 6)

Also, over half of those who would vote for FDR in '44 say Congress has not done all it could to further war effort. (Table 7)

Table 1.

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>	<u>Total</u>
Does President Roosevelt intend to run in 1944?	42%	29%	29%	100%
If he runs in 1944, would you vote for him?	53%	37%	10%	100%
<u>1940 Vote</u>				
Republican	18	73	9	100
Democrat	74	16	10	100

Table 2.

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>	<u>Total</u>	
If President Roosevelt runs in 1944, would you vote for him?	53%	37%	10%	100%	
<u>Intended Congressional Vote 1942</u>					
<u>Nat'l.</u>					
Republican	34%	24%	67%	9%	100%
Democrat	38	73	19	8	100
Undecided	28	52	32	16	100
	<u>100%</u>				

Table 3.

	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Other, Didn't vote & Undec.</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Negro</u>				
<u>Vote in 1940</u>				
White	36%	49%	15%	100%
Negro	18	62	20	100
<u>Vote in State Elections</u>				
White	35	39	26	100
Negro	24	51	35	100
<u>Intended Vote in Congressional elections 1942</u>				
White	34	40	26	100
Negro	25	49	26	100
<u>Interest in coming elections</u>		<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	
White		64	36	100
Negro		59	41	100

C O P Y

Table 4.

<u>Vote for Congressmen</u>	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Other and Undecided</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>1940 Vote</u>				
Republican	72%	10%	18%	100%
Democrat	12	65	23	100

Table 5.

<u>Interest in Coming Elections</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Total</u>
Republican	78%	22%	100%
Democrat	69	31	100

Table 6.

<u>Has Congress done all it can to further war effort?</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>1940 Vote</u>				
Republican	30	57	13	100%
Democrat	40	47	13	100

Table 7.

<u>Has Congress done all it can to further war effort?</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>1942 Vote</u>				
For FDR	42	45	13	100
Against	32	57	11	100

C O P Y

Table 8.

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Not Tough Enough</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>
Has President Roosevelt been tough enough?	32%	53%	15%
<u>1940 Vote</u>			
Republican	26	59	15
Democrat	36	50	14

PF Exec. Ofc.

Rowe folder
1-42

OFFICE OF
THE ASSISTANT TO THE
ATTORNEY GENERAL



November 16, 1942

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT.

The distinguished, brilliant and able junior Senator from Montana recently announced that despite the anti-Administration wave he pulled through because of his great personal popularity and following. I regret he is stupid enough to believe this. Just to keep the record straight, I hope you can glance through these excerpts of a letter to me from a Department of Justice lawyer who is now on the West Coast, but who was raised in Montana and knows his politics thoroughly.

JHR
James Rowe, Jr.

C O P Y

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
1602 U. S. Post Office and Court House
Los Angeles, California

November 10, 1942

James H. Rowe, Jr.
1662 - 34th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Bim:

I thought you might be interested in my first hand reactions to the Murray-Rankin race. Even after my experience in Murray's 1936 campaign, I was really amazed at the feeling against him, particularly from people that ordinarily should have been for him. You can mark it down in your book that Rankin would have beaten Murray by 10,000 votes if it hadn't been brought home to the people, and almost too late, that to vote against Murray would be voting against the President. It was the consensus of opinion around town, except of course for the Murray intimates who are, as you know, as dumb politically as he is, that if it wasn't for Frank Walker's speech, Murray would have been a gone goose. For example, I talked with Andy Gunther, business agent for the Clerk's Union, one evening. In collecting union dues Andy covers the town and he is keen politically. He said that everyone was so down on Murray they forgot his defeat would be a slap at the President but that the presence of a cabinet member in Butte to speak of the President's accomplishments and need for loyal help jolted some of the more sensible and thinking Butte voters back into the Murray camp. Joe Lyden who runs the Board of Trade had the idea that the Administration didn't want Murray and Lyden would not support him until Mr. Walker's speech convinced him otherwise and he swung the gambling vote to Murray even though Rankin had done that group a legitimate favor which Murray refused to do for them.

I talked to Judge Downey the day after election. He said that the whole court house crowd was solidly against Murray until a week before the election when it was pointed out to them in Mr. Walker's speech by clear implication how dumb it would be for the people of the State to have an Anti-Administration Senator and a republican Senator representing them in Washington.

Last Friday Murray published a statement saying that he unfortunately had been caught in an Anti-Administration wave that swept the country but that he bore no resentment to anyone. He seems to have forgotten that he only beat Joe Monaghan by 1800 votes in 1936, and certainly there was no substantial feeling against the Administration that year.

C O P Y

-2-

The Anaconda Company's position was amusing. They knew Rankin of old and they didn't want him but wanted Murray less, mainly because he a supporter of the President.

Your friend,

/s/ JIM

James E. Harrington

HR
113

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL

November 24, 1942.

File confidential
NOV 26 9 22 AM '42
RECEIVED
THE WHITE HOUSE

MEMORANDUM

The President

The White House.

I am returning the file addressed to you
by Jim Rowe. In the President's own words, I
am both proud and mad.

Truman

BSF Exec. Off.

**Department of Justice
Washington**

file personal - Rowe folder

JAMES ROWE, JR.

THE ASSISTANT TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

November 20, 1942

MEMORANDUM FOR GRACE TULLY.

I spoke to you about this this morning. You will remember that last summer I sent to the President a memorandum telling that Internal Revenue agents were going all through Texas stirring up political trouble for "our crowd". I know that they have been used in the past (by Wheeler in my own state for instance) to go after certain enemies. In 1938 Wheeler effectively broke the back of his political opposition by an Internal Revenue investigation.

I sent to the President this memorandum saying that they were after the "third term crowd" who had done the job in Texas, that they were going to all the banks and to the lawyers checking up on political contributions and that if it weren't stopped we wouldn't have a friend left in Texas. So far as I can determine and I think it is with accuracy, the President spoke to Marvin McIntyre about it. Mac called John Sullivan, the Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, who called me for the facts which I gave to him. A few days later, Sullivan called me to say Internal Revenue agents had been looking over the books of George Brown, a war contractor, for regular routine reasons, that the investigation had been finished, the agents had left and that was all there was to it. I promptly forgot about the matter.

There was silence for a month or so and again they started. I believe the harm has already been done in that the men who put up the money to lick Jack Garner, to help at the Chicago Convention, to help try elect Lyndon Johnson a Senator and to help try to elect Jimmy Allred a Senator say they are through. They have had enough. This is common gossip all through Texas. Former Under Secretary Wirtz, who was the campaign manager for all these ventures, says they have not gone after the Garner men or the Tom Connally men but only our crowd, although it is well known that the Garner men and Jim Ferguson and Coke Stevenson have spent a great deal more money in the last couple of years to try to stop the Roosevelt men than have we.

The Roosevelt men can't find out where it is coming from. They are suspicious of Garner, of Tom Connally, of Jesse Jones, and of the old Texas group whose control over the state was never challenged until this young Texas group started moving in 1940. But the agents keep probing in every big city in Texas.

Incidentally, the Roosevelt crowd was licked recently and Garner had his man elected (with Jesse Jones' help) as Democratic National Committeeman. There is some suspicion that this is tied up



in a general move with Jim Farley all over the country. For instance, less than a month ago Jim Farley was conferring with Pat Van Wagoner about 1944 delegates. Van Wagoner has always been a Farley man and hostile to the President because he backed Frank Murphy.

When I heard this story I went on my own to Guy Helvering, knowing he was the President's man. Helvering told me he knew all about it, said he would look into it and in my presence ordered the investigation stopped until he could. He then went off to Kansas to campaign and has just returned. Far from stopping, the investigation has continued.

I have been "fiddling" around and find that one of the troubles in this matter is caught in the midst of a Treasury squabble. Helvering has come back from Kansas completely dispirited, saying that the Roosevelt crowd is through, he is tired and wants to retire, and that he is sick of fighting with Morgenthau who for several years has been making Helvering's life miserable. Morgenthau, to be blunt, has no political sense, and Helvering just won't take his orders. The result is that Morgenthau has largely circumvented Helvering.

Helvering has indicated that he can take care of this Texas situation without any trouble, and fairly, but he won't do it if Morgenthau is going to interfere at the last minute. If Helvering gets told by the President to handle it, and if he is backed up, he will do it. But the combination of the bad licking in Kansas and his age and continual friction with Morgenthau has put him in a position where he just doesn't care about anything.

I have talked to Helvering and to Wirtz and to Lyndon Johnson and I am completely convinced that this is political persecution. If there is any question about taxes being paid, they should be paid which is the attitude taken by everyone. But this continual hounding of one particular group, whose only sin has been loyalty to the President, and not the slightest inclination to look at the Garners, the Connallys or Fergusons (who whatever they have been have not been 100 percenters) is completely suspicious. We need whatever friends we have now and, frankly, our Texas crowd is "fed to the teeth" because of this particular business. I do not think I have been "sold a bill of goods". I know I would not sell my President one for any one else. I think this one is on the merits.

James Rowe, Jr.

OFFICE OF
THE ASSISTANT TO THE
ATTORNEY GENERAL



PSF
Exec. a/c.

November 27, 1942

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

file

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT.

Just another case in the Northwest
where the party leadership (State Chairman
Coulter) let the administration down.

J R R

James Rowe, Jr.

C O P Y

Boise, Idaho
Nov. 23, 1942

Dear Mr. Rowe -

Since getting back to Idaho a few days ago I have taken pains to get a good over-all picture of the political situation here.

I find that, through the somewhat murky mess, one part of the picture emerges sharply-defined and of beautiful clarity. That is, the Governor was defeated and badly discredited, while at the same time every one of the Democratic official heads of departments was re-elected. In other words, while Governor Clark and State Chairman Coulter were devoting themselves to the one task of re-electing Clark - in spite of party hints of and scolding about fixing and double-crossing - and were getting themselves beaten at the poles, at the same time the department heads campaigned independently and were all re-elected.

The Democratic State Treasurer and State Auditor had whopping majorities; the Secretary of State, the State Superintendent of Public Instruction and the State Mining Inspector had substantial majorities; the Attorney General just squeaked through, his narrow margin apparently being due to his association with the Governor, with whom he appeared on the platform several times; that nearly queered him. This lists all of the department heads; all were Democrats, all sought re-election and all were successful.

On the other hand, with the campaign centering on him as the only important star, the Governor was defeated and his methods were repudiated. His home county, Bonneville, which gave him a huge majority (that is, in percentage) in 1942, turned him down this time. Bannock County nearby, the largest in Southeastern Idaho, did the same thing --- and so it went.

Thus it is perfectly clear who are at present the real leaders of the Democratic Party in the State at the present time, and who have the right to speak for the party - in the State-wide sense. They are the re-elected heads of State departments who received a vote of confidence while the Governor was repudiated. None of them is going to feel aggrieved if Clark is not appointed to the federal bench - nor is the Democratic Party in the State as a whole. My opinion is that they would be angry and somewhat shocked if he were chosen. I know that that's the way Mrs. Simons, National Committeewoman feels, and I think it's true of all the State elective officers. Mrs. Simons, daughter of one of the best Governors Idaho ever had, is a fine woman, a real liberal and a staunch supporter of the Administration, while Brown, National Committeeman, is a reactionary viewer-with-alarm. His idea of an

C O P Y

- 2 -

ideal representative in the Senate is John Thomas - and D. Worth Clark for that matter - and there is every reason to believe that the same is true of Governor Clark and Bob Coulter.

To the party leaders of course should be added the name of Glen Taylor who, all things considered, made a surprisingly strong run for the U. S. Senate. His feelings are well known and have been openly expressed by him. He accused Clark and Coulter of helping to defeat him for the Senate in 1940 and of deliberately double-crossing him in the State Convention and later this year.

Several able Democrats have told me since my return that they feel that Clark and Coulter "have dam near ruined the Democratic party in Idaho".

I am enclosing a clipping from the Statesman of Aug. 30. It gives just one small glimpse of the Clark-Coulter mess.

Well, there's your picture, and it seems to be a pretty clear one.

I want to take this opportunity to tell you that I very much appreciated and enjoyed the opportunity of having a good talk with you while I was in Washington.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ Allen B. Eaton

Rowe folder
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personal

Department of Justice
Washington

JAMES ROWE, JR.
THE ASSISTANT TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

December 10, 1942

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT.

Hawaii

The Hawaii situation is boiling up, in terms of civilian versus military control. Lt. General Emmons and Governor Stainback are here now and the Attorney General and Secretary Ickes have been holding conferences with them and Assistant Secretary of War McCloy.

It may be settled amicably but I doubt it. I think it will go to you.

Even if it doesn't, I feel strongly the President of the United States should know what is going on. Therefore, I send you two documents:

(1) One is eleven pages, but after having done a great deal of "summarizing" for you I do not think it can be summarized. I think you should have it unvarnished. It is a report to the Governor of Hawaii from his Attorney General, who is Garner Anthony.

Anthony is a young lawyer, quite wealthy and who was associated with the law firm which has represented the men who run Hawaii. His background is not New Deal, which adds weight to his statements. Of course, it is a "value-judgment" as to whether he is representing his own crowd or is doing an A-1 job in the public interest. I am inclined to believe his motivations are the best; he is young enough to forget his old clients.

(2) The other is a confidential memorandum to J. Edgar Hoover from his agent in Hawaii. This man is one of the really crack agents in the FBI.

I need not point out that I would be in serious trouble in at least five different places if you reveal the source of your information.

However, I think it would be good for the souls of everyone concerned if they find out you know quite a bit about the Hawaiian situation when they start to tell you about it.

JHR
James Rowe, Jr.



JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR



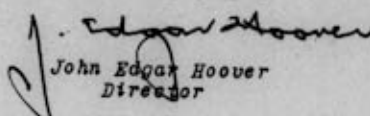
Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.
DEC 10 1942

STRICTLY PERSONAL
AND

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ASSISTANT TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL.
MR. JAMES H. ROWE

I am enclosing herewith a copy of a memorandum which I have today directed to the Attorney General relative to the Hawaiian situation. I thought that you likewise would be interested in its contents. Of course I urge that it be treated strictly confidentially by you.

Very truly yours,


John Edgar Hoover
Director

Enclosure

BY SPECIAL MESSENGER



DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 11652, Sec 5(a)(2)
Justice Dept. letter 9-21-72
By SLR NARS Date JAN 3 1973

**Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.
DEC 10 1942**

**STRICTLY PERSONAL
AND CONFIDENTIAL**

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

I have just received a communication from the Special Agent in Charge of the Hawaiian Division of this Bureau containing certain observations upon the conditions in the Hawaiian Islands which I thought might be of interest to you, particularly in view of the fact that a number of the ranking officials of the Hawaiian Islands are now in Washington in connection with this whole controversy.

I am, therefore, quoting the portions of the letter which I thought would be of interest to you. I of course would urge that this information be treated strictly confidentially by you as it comes to me from the Agent in Charge of the Federal Bureau of Investigation office at Honolulu, who has to work with all of these officials, and consequently any comments contained in the following might be offensive to certain officers and would be prejudicial to our getting along as amicably as we can with the various factions and cliques in the Hawaiian Islands:

"Additional information has come to my attention concerning the general situation in Hawaii with which you should be acquainted. The Civil Governor and the Military Government as represented by Brigadier General Thomas H. Green, Executive to the Military Governor, are still wide apart and there is still a deep feeling of antagonism between Governor Stainback and General Green. I pointed out to you in my letter of September 27 an example of the petty feelings existing between the Military Commander and the Civil Governor which were brought about by the fact that neither had called on the other since the inauguration of Mr. Stainback as Governor of the Territory. The feeling between Lieutenant General Delos C. Emmons, the Military Commander and Military Governor, and Governor Stainback has been somewhat lessened because just recently General Emmons gave a luncheon for Governor Stainback at Fort Shafter, which was attended by the Governor and all of the general officers attached to the Army on the Island of Oahu. A review was held for the Governor when he arrived at Fort Shafter to attend this luncheon. This seemed to have appeased Governor Stainback to some extent, and there is not the bitter personal feeling between these two men at the present time as exists between Governor Stainback and the Executive to the Military Governor, Brigadier General Thomas H. Green, although Governor

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 11652, Sec 5(c)(2)

Justice Dept letter 9-21-72

By SCR.. NARS Date JAN 31 1973

" Stainback still bitterly resents the control exercised by the Military authorities in the Territory. The Governor feels that the courts should be permitted to function without the restrictions that are now imposed by the Military authorities. He resents the control that is exercised by the Military on every phase of human existence in the Territory of Hawaii which would normally be exercised by the Civil Government under the existing laws governing human conduct in the Territory. General Green is resisting every effort which the Civil Government is making to regain the powers it transferred to the Military authorities when the Governor declared martial law on December 7, 1941. As I pointed out in previous correspondence, Governor Stainback and General Green will never be able to get together. The best interests of Hawaii will not be served so long as this condition exists. It cannot be remedied unless General Green is removed as Executive to the Military Governor.

Governor Stainback is determined that the civil functions shall be returned to the civil authorities except those that involve military necessity. He is of the opinion that the Military should control all situations in Hawaii that deal directly with military necessity and he is willing to cooperate with the Military authorities one hundred per cent under such an arrangement. He has not been able to effect such an agreement since he was inaugurated as Governor of the Territory and sensing the hopelessness of trying to restore civil government to the people, where it belongs, by consultation with the Military authorities in Hawaii, he has decided to go to Washington, where he expects to fight the matter out, if necessary, before the President. He has informed me he will leave for Washington the fifth or sixth of December, depending on available Clipper space, and will proceed to Washington from San Francisco by train. He should arrive there around December 12. General Emmons and General Green are also going to Washington tomorrow, December 4, so I have been informed. The Acting United States Attorney, Angus Taylor, has been requested to come to Washington for a conference with the officials of the Department, although I do not believe there is any connection between Stainback and Taylor's call to Washington. Governor Stainback has said to me he would like very much to talk the whole situation over with you and I have told him I am sure you will be glad to see him if you are in Washington while he is in that city. I think the situation will be brought to a showdown one way or the other when Stainback arrives, and I am sure that Secretary Ickes will support Stainback in his demands.

It is my opinion that the Territory of Hawaii, the United States, and the war effort would be best served by a relaxation of martial law to permit the courts of Hawaii, both Federal and Territorial, to operate freely as they did prior to December 7, with the exception that the writ of habeas corpus should still be suspended so long as martial law is in effect in the Territory. It is common knowledge that the Provest Courts are susceptible to influence and are dominated and directed by Brigadier General Thomas H. Green.

It is also common knowledge that the blackout regulations are flagrantly violated by the officer personnel of the Army and Navy in Hawaii and the big-shot civilian friends of the Army and Navy. Cocktail and dinner parties are still being given in Hawaii for the armed personnel and the influential civilian friends of the Army and Navy officers, of course, do not have to have blackout passes. They are all in uniform and merely indicate to the police who stop them after blackout that they are on official business. The influential big-shot civilian friends of the Army and Navy in Hawaii have been issued blackout passes which permit them to travel after blackout on official business, which they use for their pleasure rather than their official business.

Lieutenant General Emmons has been given one of the finest homes in Hawaii for his use in entertaining and for relaxation. This home belongs to Mrs. Wallace Alexander, whose husband was formerly President of Alexander & Baldwin. Major General Burgin, who is in command of the Coast Artillery in Hawaii, also has a fine home for relaxation and entertaining which is owned by Paul Fagan, one of the wealthiest residents of Hawaii. Admiral David W. Bagley, Commandant of the Fourteenth Naval District, also has a fine waterfront home which has been made available to him for relaxation and entertainment. There are just a few examples of the way the armed officer personnel, particularly the Army, in Hawaii are devoting some of their efforts.

Walter Billingham, who is one of the wealthy individuals of Hawaii, an independent who is not connected with the Big Five, completely dominates the situation here now and has Emmons directly under his thumb. His business is directly connected with the war effort and he will undoubtedly be one of the wealthiest individuals in the Territory when the war is over.

The Office of War Information in Hawaii is under the direction of Earl Thacker, whom you have met. You will remember him as trying to be the Grover Whalen of the Hawaiian Islands. He is one of the smartest, shrewdest individuals in Hawaii, and has connections with the Army and Navy which enables him to know everything that is going on in the Military and Naval Departments in the Hawaiian Islands. It was through Thacker that the homes were made available to the Army and Navy officers mentioned above. He has close associations with General Emmons and Admiral Nimitz and officers of their respective staffs. I feel sure that Thacker reports pretty accurately the information he gets from both the Army and Navy to the Office of War Information in Washington.

The Office of Military Intelligence in Hawaii now has a staff of approximately 150 personnel.

" in counter-espionage under the Contact Office of G-2 and do not include any of the officers and personnel assigned to the Combat Intelligence Unit of G-2. The Office of Naval Intelligence now has a staff of approximately 350. Neither the Office of Military Intelligence nor the Office of Naval Intelligence has contributed anything to the general intelligence information in the Territory subsequent to my letter of October 2.

Mr. Edwin G. Arnold, a representative of the War Relocation Authority, came to Honolulu a few days ago in connection with the evacuation and relocation of Japanese from Hawaii. I was very much impressed with Mr. Arnold. He came here for the purpose of acquainting the Military authorities with the work of the Relocation Authority and its purposes and ultimate aim. As I have previously informed you, the War Department has indicated to General Emmons that they will be able to take care of 15,000 evacuees from Hawaii over a period of time. It is my judgment that if things continue as they are at present, the Army in Hawaii will not evacuate over 3,000. I think an overall figure of 5,000 would be ample to take care of those aliens and citizens of Japanese ancestry who should be evacuated from the Territory. I am sure that this figure will not be exceeded. Some 3,000 will be evacuated over a period of time which, in my judgment, will require from six months to a year.

The Department and perhaps the Bureau may expect forceful statements to be made by Angus Taylor concerning the Japanese situation in Hawaii. His statements will be highly exaggerated and will spring from his highly imaginative and prejudiced mind rather than from facts known to him or anyone else in Hawaii. He has not yet gotten over the excitement which was created in him by the Japanese attack on December 7. He feels, so he has stated, that the national defense and internal security work in Hawaii should be handled by the Bureau rather than by the Office of Military Intelligence. I agree with him on that because the Army has done very little along this line since it took over that responsibility. To one not familiar with the situation here and with the facts as they are, Mr. Taylor may likely prove convincing. I think I can safely say beforehand that he will not be able to bring one single fact to the Department's attention that has not been heretofore presented to the Bureau and the Department by this office. He will make statements to the Department which he will not be able to substantiate and the facts will not bear him out in some of his statements I expect him to make if he says to the Department officials what he has said to me and other Agents of this office and which he says publicly to all who will listen. I have said, and I say again, that he is not sufficiently well informed on the Japanese and the Japanese situations in Hawaii to be in a position to express an opinion about them. He has reported many things, incidents and what he called facts, to

" the Military Intelligence since they assumed responsibility for national defense investigations in Hawaii. The Military authorities have investigated all of his reports and in not a single instance, to my knowledge, has any of his information been verified, but on the other hand it was all discredited. Mr. Taylor would like to believe, and probably does, all of the wild rumors that have been published about sabotage and fifth column activities in Hawaii on December 7 and subsequent thereto. In a conversation with me a short time ago he said he thought the Director had stuck his neck out by making a statement to the Tolan Committee. I told him the Director made no statement to the Tolan Committee but that the statement in which the Director was quoted was made to the Committee by an official of the Department of Justice. I further told him that the Director did not stick his neck out but on the other hand the Director had stated the facts in a simple, straightforward manner and that what the Director had said was true and could not be controverted or contradicted. Incidentally, Mr. Arnold said to me that the Director's statement, as quoted in the Tolan report, had done more to quiet the feelings on the mainland than any one thing that has been said to date by anybody.

General Emmons and General Green left Honolulu today (December 3) by Clipper for the mainland. United States Attorney Angus Taylor also left at the same time. Governor Stainback will leave Saturday, December 5, if the weather is such that the Clipper will be able to leave on that date. The Governor has decided to take his recently appointed Attorney General, Mr. Garner Anthony, with him. Generals Emmons and Green should arrive in Washington December 5 and Stainback and Anthony should arrive there around the seventh, as I understand they will fly to Washington from San Francisco instead of going by train as previously stated. Undoubtedly there will be a battle royal when all of these forces reach Washington if they are brought together to thresh out the situation in Hawaii. Governor Stainback is sincere in trying to regain civil control in Hawaii over all civilian functions that are not directly related to military necessity. He feels very keenly that the military authorities and some of the civilians, interested from a monetary standpoint in the war effort in Hawaii, are taking advantage of the war conditions to perpetrate a Fascist Government on Hawaii under the guise of military necessity."

Respectfully,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

COPY

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)

Interior Dept. letter 44-3-72

By SLR, NARS Date FEB 1 1973

TERRITORY OF HAWAII
Department of the Attorney General
Honolulu

December 1, 1942

Honorable Ingram M. Stainback
Governor of Hawaii
Honolulu, Hawaii

My dear Governor:

At your request I make the following report on the government of Hawaii. On December 7, 1941 your predecessor, Governor Poindexter, virtually abdicated his office, turned over all functions of government to the Commanding General, including the functions of the judicial officers of the Territory. This he purported to do under the Organic Act¹ which gave him no such power.

General Short assumed the title of "military governor", and from then on he and his successor, General Emmons, continued to exercise increasing stringent controls over the civil population of these islands regardless of whether or not they have any basis in military necessity.

These controls are exercised in the form of general orders issued from the "Office of the Military Governor". They proceed upon the theory that the Constitution itself and all federal and territorial laws may be freely ignored or suspended at the will of the commanding general; that he is at liberty to rule the civil population by military and substitute his will for that of the Congress, or the Legislature of Hawaii.

It would seem clear that since Hawaii is not a conquered nation or in rebellion against the authority of the United States, the federal and territorial laws are still in

¹ This section authorizes the governor to " * * * call upon the commanders of the military and naval forces of the United States * * * to prevent or suppress lawless violence, invasion, insurrection or rebellion in said Territory, and he may, in case of rebellion or invasion, or imminent danger thereof, when the public safety requires it, suspend the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus, or place the Territory of any part thereof, under martial law until communication can be had with the President and his decision thereon made known".
31 Stat. (1900) 153, 48 U.S.C. (1940) Sec. 532.

force, subject only to such modifications as may be imposed by the commanding general based upon military necessity. The basic error that the will of the commander is law regardless of whether his commands are justifiable on the ground of military necessity results in nothing but confusion in every activity of civil life, whether it be the government of Hawaii or the private activities of the inhabitants.

THE OFFICE OF "THE MILITARY GOVERNOR"

There is no basis either in federal or territorial law for the use of the term "military governor". This phrase is unknown to our law even in times of the direst emergency; it is a term properly applied only to the areas in rebellion or conquered nations. It is, I regret to say, an apt expression for the rule which exists here.

The office of the "military governor" was organized by G. O. No. 56, copies of which are enclosed. I am also enclosing copies of a functional chart prepared by the military authorities. From an examination of this chart, you will observe that for all practical purposes there is nothing to be done by the Governor of Hawaii, designated on the chart as "civil governor"; nor for the territorial and county governments. All of the affairs of the government are placed under the direction of the executive of the so-called "military governor".

I also enclose a more recent modification of this chart, which, you will note, places the subject of price control in the hands of the Office of Price Administration, directly under the executive of the "military governor". In fact, price regulations, which originate and are prepared by the OPA, at the present time are issued as orders of the "military governor". In fact, Mr. Karl Borders, the director of the OPA in Hawaii, a federal employee, is appointed as director of price control by the Military Governor under G.O. No. 159. The enforcement of such orders is, of course, in the provost courts.

On the staff of the military governor are a large number of civilian employees who are engaged in purely civilian activities, such as food control, labor control, materials and supplies control, land transportation control, and cold

storage. The November budget for this office is \$40,608.41, exclusive of the \$25,000 for new buildings. This monthly charge is paid out of the \$15,000,000 allocated by the President for the relief of the civil population of Hawaii.

G. O. No. 56 purports to place the director of civilian defense under the control of the "military governor". Section III, 2, b, provides: "The Director of Civilian Defense shall to the extent directed by the Military Governor" perform his duties as director of civilian defense. This, of course, is directly contrary to the existing legal situation. The Office of Civilian Defense was created pursuant to the Hawaii Defense Act (Act 24, Sp. S.L. 1941). The funds originally expended in the administration of this office were funds provided by the territorial legislature. These were soon exhausted and federal funds were made available under the Independent Officers Appropriation Act of 1942, Public Law 28, 77th Congress, First Session, which appropriated \$25,000,000 "to enable the President, through appropriate agencies of government, to provide for emergencies affecting national security and for each and every purpose connected therewith".

By letter of January 12, 1942 addressed to the Secretary of the Interior the President appropriated and allotted \$15,000,000

"for any and all emergencies due to the existing war conditions for the protection, care and relief of the civilian population in the Territory of Hawaii
* * * while this allocation is being made to you, I assume that the money will be transferred as and when needed to the Governor of Hawaii for expenditure in connection with emergency situations which may arise".

Pursuant to the foregoing authorization, the Secretary of the Interior radioed Governor Polindexter "you are hereby designated to authorize obligation for the \$15,000,000 allotment from emergency fund for protection and relief of civilian population of Hawaii". From the foregoing, it is abundantly clear that the funds appropriated by Congress are to be expended by the Governor of Hawaii acting under direction of the Secretary of the Interior for the purposes designated in the letter of allocation.

Since the original allocation of this fund was made, the military authorities here have attempted to dictate its use. It is with these funds (allocated for the relief of the civilian population) the "military governor" has been able to create a rule which for all practical purposes completely supersedes civilian authority.

The "military governor" took over food production and distribution including the stimulation of locally grown products. This section formerly was in charge of Colonel White, who has since been made a general. Although a large amount of money has been expended in this activity, it has proved a complete failure, just as complete a failure as the attempt by the "military governor" to exercise price control. Several weeks ago the "military governor" apparently decided to turn this activity back into civilian hands. Curiously enough, instead of relinquishing the assumed power and returning it to the territorial government, the "military governor" selected a civilian of his own choosing and appointed him director of good production (G.O. No. 153).

In other words, a civilian affair which the military authorities desire to abandon, is not relinquished to the lawfully constituted authorities but turned over to civilians selected by the "military governor", who are not responsible to either the territorial or federal authorities. Whether this was an intentional affront to civilian authority or was simply accidental is immaterial, the fact remains that to accomplish this task (which had already been under investigation by this department at your request) a territorial agency with duly constituted powers as control over certain public lands would have to be created. You would not be warranted in turning these lands over to any private individual even though he had been appointed by the "military governor", since such an individual would not be responsible by law to the territorial authorities.

The "military governor" has a public relations section (a staff of four) who feed the press with news designed to place military rule in a favorable light and suppress news reflecting any dissatisfaction with it. In addition to this set-up, Mr. Lorrin P. Thurston, the manager of the Honolulu Advertiser,

one of the two daily papers printed in this city, has been appointed as "Public Relations Advisor to the Military Governor (G. O. No. 155). It is unfortunate that this newspaper has thus foreclosed itself from being of any public service in criticising the existing military rule.

At the present time, the "military governor" exercises control over almost every civilian activity whether governmental or private, the principal exception is the realm of taxation. These fields may be summarized as follows:

- (1) The courts, civil and criminal
- (2) Municipal affairs, operation of taxi cabs, rent control, rubbish and garbage disposal, house numbering, traffic regulations, one way streets, no parking zones, and control over the police
- (3) Labor
- (4) The press
- (5) The Office of Civilian Defense
- (6) Public health, civilian hospitals, and water works
- (7) Prisons, jails and insane asylum
- (8) Price control
- (9) Liquor
- (10) Food control and production
- (11) Land transportation
- (12) Gasoline rationing

- (13) Materials and supplies, including all WPB functions
- (14) Fiscal matters, including the collection and disposition of fines and receipts from liquor commissions
- (15) Use of territorial and county properties and institutions
- (16) Incarceration of military prisoners in territorial prisons and county jails

The above fields do not, of course, include those matters which are of military nature such as regulations of movement about the water front, army posts and military installations, censorship of wireless messages, fire arms, radios, evacuation areas, air raids, poison, curfew and blackout, all of which are subject to stringent military orders.

The enclosed chart was prepared by the "Office of the Military Governor", which clearly illustrates the Army's conception of the plan of civil government in Hawaii. You will note that the "civil governor" as well as the mayor, territorial government and county governments, appear as appendages on the left, evidently having no governmental functions to perform. The remainder of the chart places all activities therein designated under the direction of the "executive section", which means under the direction of General Green, who is known as the "executive to the military governor".

Since your appointment of Mr. E. E. Black as director of the Office of Civilian Defense, I believe the military authorities are beginning to realize that funds disbursed by the Office of Civilian Defense are funds appropriated by Congress allocated by the President for the "relief of the civil population of Hawaii" and expendable by the Governor of Hawaii acting under the direction of the Department of the Interior. These funds cannot be expended without your approval.

Heavy fines and long prison sentences are meted out in many cases for comparatively trivial violations of military orders. The former practice of making people donate blood or buy bonds in expiation of their sins has been abandoned. In some instances persons have been found guilty of violating "the spirit of martial law" or "the spirit" of general orders, notwithstanding the act for which they are charged is not prohibited either by statute or military order.

The accused is not furnished with a copy of the charge against him but is permitted to examine the prosecutor's copy. Trials take place in crowded courtrooms in which the officers in charge are fully armed. The witnesses are brought before the provost judges en masse and stand in a circle about the bench together with the accused. The assemblage tells the judge their views of the matter. Cross-examination of witnesses is tolerated with none too much patience by the court.

There have been instances in which arrests have been made and the accused kept in jail three or four days awaiting trial, even in the case of comparatively minor offenses. With the writ of habeas corpus suspended the unfortunate accused in such cases is without remedy.

Shortly after you took office, General Orders No. 133 was promulgated, which purported to be a relaxation of the prohibition imposed upon the courts by the military authorities. That order, together with General Orders No. 135, preserves to the military tribunals a very large share of criminal jurisdiction. Moreover, it has the effect of circumscribing and limiting the jurisdiction of the courts of the land to such an extent that they are but little better off than they were prior to its promulgation. General Orders No. 135 purports to define the jurisdiction of the federal and territorial courts. The prohibition against the territorial courts includes all crimes against the government, espionage, violation of the Selective Service and Training Act, vagrancy, prostitution, public health, traffic ordinances, driving while drunk, and all violations of military orders. Not only are a large number of purely non-military offenses denied to the ordinary courts but a large class of persons are not triable only before military courts. This class includes not only members of the armed forces but any person engaged in any defense activity under the direction of the Army, or the Navy, or the "military governor" (G. O. Nos. 133, 135).

There are possibly fifty thousand persons employed on defense contracts on this island. In addition to this, there are many civilian employees of the Army, the Navy and the "military governor". Employees of public utilities are tried before military courts, for example, if a utility bus driver has a traffic accident he goes before the provost, whereas if the driver is working for a bakery he is tried in civil courts.

General Orders No. 135, sec. 4 b, provides in part:

"The determination of the status of such persons, and whether an offense is committed within the scope of employment shall rest with the Military Governor whose decision shall be final".

This order also specifically provides that the determination of the jurisdiction of federal courts, territorial courts and military tribunals "shall be determined by the Military Governor whose decision shall be final". The order reserves to the military authorities the right to take any particular case from the civil courts and turn it over to the military for trial.

"Notwithstanding any provision of this or any other order of the Military Governor to the contrary, the Military Governor may, whenever in his opinion such action be necessary in the public interest, exercise jurisdiction at any time over any crime or offense or person, and direct that the same be tried before a Military Commission or Provost court". (G. O. No. 135, Sec. 7.)

The "military governor" has appointed what he styles a coordinator of courts. At the present time this is Captain Edward N. Sylva, who was formerly one of the deputies in this office. I am informed that as cases come in Mr. Sylva makes a determination whether or not they should be tried by the courts of the land or tried before the military tribunals. His determination is final.

The proceedings in these military tribunals are not only shocking to a lawyer but to anyone with a sense of fair

play . Severe and bizarre sentences are meted out by persons untrained in the law. The feeling of the public is that they are guilty before they step inside the courtroom and their main problem is to escape with as light a sentence as possible.

CENSORSHIP OF THE PRESS

There exists no free press in Hawaii today. The press operates under a strict military censorship, not only the censorship that the mainland press presently complains of (i.e., insufficient information about the war), but in addition, censorship which prohibits publication of certain news of general interest not related to the conduct of the war. The "military governor" controls the press through a licensing system permitting it to publish "under such conditions and regulations as shall be prescribed from time to time by the Military Governor" (G.O. No. 14). When the editor of the Star-Bulletin wrote an editorial which mildly criticized the administration of civil affairs he was promptly given to understand that the offense would not be tolerated by the "military governor".

Murders and rapes have occurred in Honolulu, yet the press is forbidden to publish these incidents. The press is denied access to police files.

The prostitution problem is a good illustration of how censorship operates. For many years the evil of prostitution has been efficiently handled by the local police by segregating these unfortunates in certain areas and placing them under police supervision. After the outbreak of war the Army decided to take over. As a result prostitutes were scattered throughout the residential districts of this city, and people who did not care to have their houses devoted to this purpose experienced difficulty in regaining possession of their premises. When this subject got a little "hot" the Army decided to return jurisdiction to the Police Commission, which was done in part. The police proceeded to enforce their prior regulations and a three week strike ensued. Nothing appeared in the public press in regard to this strike nor was the press permitted to say that prostitution was being controlled by the Army.

There is always the possibility that censorship may be made effective by the "military governor's" control of the importation of news print. His office regulates the allocation of shipping space and the importation of all commodities.

In addition to the censorship of the press we have complete consorship of the mails. This, until lately, has been under the supervision of the Army and is now under the censorship bureau. The Act of Congress (Second War Powers Act, 1942, 55 Stat. 840) permits the censorship of mails from the United States to foreign countries. It does not authorize the censorship of mails between territories and other parts of the United States. There is pending in Congress legislation which will legalize the present censorship.

LABOR

Perhaps the greatest inroad on the liberty of the individual, next to abrogation of the Bill of Rights, is G. O. No. 91, which has the effect of freezing labor.

This order prohibits army and navy agencies, contractors, federal, territorial and county agencies, hospitals, public utilities and stevedoring companies from employing any individual formerly in the employment of any such agency unless the individual presents a release without prejudice from his private employer. Moreover, any individual who refuses to report to his job after ordered to report by his employer is subject to a \$200 fine or imprisonment for two months.

It is essential, of course, that labor should not be constantly changing jobs. However, insofar as this order applies to private employers, it strikes at the very heart of the fundamental liberties of the individual. Employees of the electric company, the gas company and the bus company, for instance, under this order are frozen to their jobs and prohibited from seeking employment elsewhere. This results in great dissatisfaction in these employees, particularly when they see others engaged in similar work receiving substantially higher wages.

Instances have come to my attention in which bus drivers have purposely had accidents hoping that they would obtain a discharge on the ground of negligence so that they

would obtain a discharge on the ground of negligence so that they will be free to seek other employment. Industrial mobilization, when carried out by the government under a general law, is one thing, but freezing men to their jobs for the benefit of private employers who thereby profit by the services of the employees, in my opinion, is a very different matter. Those in command here seem to lose sight of the fact that the Civil War and the Thirteenth Amendment are generally considered to have put at rest involuntary servitude in the United States "or any place subject to their jurisdiction".

CONCLUSION

It is easy enough to understand the cause that brought about our present situation--the combination of a military and naval disaster on December 7 coupled with the fact that our affairs were in the hands of an aged and weak governor who readily surrendered all powers to the Commanding General. Whatever might be said for his course on December 7 and the days that immediately followed, it cannot be said that present conditions warrant the continuance of the present military rule.

It might be wondered how the public of this Territory have acquiesced so long in a reign that is so contrary to every tradition of America. I believe that there are several reasons. The first is fear. To the average citizen the present regime is an anathema. However, he is never sure of his ground and is fearful of punishment and hence remains inarticulate. He is also afraid lest his criticism of existing conditions will stamp him as unpatriotic.

The second reason is censorship. I feel safe in saying that no place in America, and probably few elsewhere, have been subjected to the rigid censorship which exists here. By the censorship of the press and all means of communication, there is a virtual blackout on information available to the public concerning civil affairs in Hawaii. Some information trickles back via visitors returning to the mainland.

The third reason is the fact of the large number of Army and Navy personnel and the employees of these services including the civilians working for the "military governor". The latter class have a financial interest in maintaining the status quo.

The last, but not the least important, reason is the existence of a small number of fascist-minded business men. They are influential with the "Office of the Military Governor". This group, I regret to say, favor the military regime with all its stringent controls of labor, severe and arbitrary penalties for infractions of orders. To be sure, they want to win the war, but they are also interested in profits and find it extremely convenient to obtain whatsoever they desire in the form of an order from the military authorities. They are not hampered either by democratic processes, such as legislation, or by territorial civil servants who, as a rule, are far more able to deal with the shrewd man of business than the average army officer.

This report, already too long, is by no means exhaustive of the problems that exist under the present military rule. The solution of our present difficulties cannot be reached here but can only be settled in Washington.

I understand that in no single instance has any general order been submitted to your before it is promulgated. This is consistent with the view that the governorship is a mere figurehead and that the real governor of Hawaii is the "military governor". The situation can be clarified by reaching an agreement on the following points:

(1) The restoration of the courts to their normal functions, reserving to the military tribunals only those cases directly affecting the prosecution of war, such as sabotage, espionage, violation of the Articles of War, or crimes in and about military establishments. The jurisdiction to be determined by the United States District Court for Hawaii.

(2) A restoration to the territorial government of all civilian functions. This would involve the relinquishment by the military of all the civil functions presently usurped under military rule, such as food, price and liquor controls.

(3) The abolition of the assumption of military governorship by the Commanding General.

(4) A rescission of all general orders heretofore issued which are not based upon military necessity and an agreement that in the future the military orders dealing with the civilian population and civil government be predicated

upon the ground of military necessity and, except in case of a real emergency which will not admit of delay, that such orders be submitted to you for approval before issuance.

In the event such a program cannot be agreed upon, the only alternative would seem to be the issuance of a proclamation terminating martial law. This, of course, should not be done without first having obtained the approval of the President. It could be done without restoring the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus. This would have the effect of placing us in approximately the same situation as exists in the West Coast where there is, in fact, a form of martial law, except that the writ of habeas corpus has not been suspended there. This would afford the military all necessary power, restore to civil authorities all civilian functions, and preserve to the citizen the substance of the Bill of Rights.

Respectfully yours,

/sgd/ Garner Anthony

Garner Anthony
Attorney General

PST Exec. Off.

*Rowe folder
fill
plus mail 2-42*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 11, 1942.

MEMORANDUM FOR

JIM ROWE

In regard to your memorandum of Halleluiaah for the Law Department, you must remember your peaks and valleys. It was in the doghouse a year ago. Now it is a fair-haired angel. Next year almost certainly, under the law of averages, it will return to the doghouse!

F. D. R.

Department of Justice
Washington

JAMES ROWE, JR.
THE ASSISTANT TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

December 9, 1942

MEMORANDUM FOR GRACE TULLY.

Dear Grace:

I once heard the President say he knew the Red Cross was well run because Admiral Grayson never bothered him about it.

That is all right as far as it goes but I have had a long deep-seated suspicion that certain uninformed gentlemen were telling the President that Biddle did not know how to run the Department of Justice. It doesn't do much good to talk about suspicions, but I don't think a little "propaganda" on the other side would do any harm.

Sam Rayburn and John McCormack told me the other day that they had great pleasure in telling the President that the Attorney General had the best relations on the hill of any Cabinet Officer or Administrator. They told me they were using Biddle for the purpose of comparison with Leon Henderson.

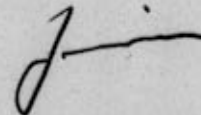
I attach a clipping from today's Merry-Go-Round column which reads:

"The Budget Bureau privately pays tribute to the following as the three best-run Government departments in Washington: Frank Walker's Postoffice, Biddle's Justice Department, and Ickes' Interior Department".

I am certainly not naive enough to start quoting columnists at the President because I value my own head too highly. I do happen to know, however, that Harold Smith and Wayne Coy do rank Justice as among the first three.

We are pretty good on the law too, but I won't go into that because the President has a feeling that a good lawyer is like the Westerner's "good Indian".

If you get a chance, will you let the President see this? I know he has nothing else to do but read my memos.



James Rowe, Jr.



75-2-107
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
*file
perman.*

December 11, 1942.

MEMORANDUM FOR

JIM ROWE

I love your poison pen! I am
sending the name of Hon. Joshua Lee
to the Senate as a member of the
Civil Aeronautics Board.

F. D. R.

Department of Justice
Washington

JAMES ROWE, JR.
THE ASSISTANT TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

December 9, 1942

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT.

Civil Aeronautics Board

Several months ago I suggested the name of Hugh Cox to you as a member of the Board. You decided to appoint him, provided he could return from London in a reasonable time. He could not and, therefore, declined the appointment. When Cox comes back the Department of Justice wants him as Director of its War Division.

Shortly before election I suggested the name of Gerry Gesell who, other things being equal, would make the strongest man on the Board. I heard nothing further about it, and assume you are not interested.

Senator Josh Lee tells me he is a candidate. I strongly believe it is necessary to take care of some of the "lame ducks". Particularly, should the "Roosevelt men" be taken care of. No one ever accused Josh Lee of being anything else and, in fact, he went down to defeat principally because of his vote against the Thomas Farm Price Amendment.

Welch Pogue, the Chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Board, has told me that if he has to take a "lame duck" Josh Lee is certainly the best of them all. I thoroughly agree with him. I think it will also strengthen the Board because every agency will have to change its handling of Congress when the new Congress comes in and it will do no harm to have a "friend at court".

Further, Lee comes from Oklahoma and although that is not far enough West for my taste, it is regarded as "West" by the effete East and what is more important by the people of Oklahoma. I have been told by some politicians that Josh Lee and the Governor will control the Oklahoma delegation in 1944.

This seems to be a case where the Administration can take care of its own and also get an intelligent man in an important government position.

More than incidentally, your esteemed Secretary of Commerce, who seems unable to get it through his head that he has legally nothing to do with the Civil Aeronautics Board, called in Josh Lee last week and told him he was doing everything he could to get Lee appointed but that the "White House" was blocking it!

This, coupled with what I read in the papers about EEW, and coupled with what I hear about that distinguished Cabinet Member's political activities in regard to the 1944 Texas delegation, lead me to wonder whether I shall have to continue writing that famous book entitled "Where is Jesse?" When Lyndon Johnson was running for the Senate and dear Jesse was being difficult I used to write memoranda entitled "Where is Jesse?" which you sent on to him, according to our arrangement. Jesse finally came through.

Perhaps a busy War President may have need of a few more chapters. If so, my "poison pen" is, Sir, your most obedient servant.

JHR
James Rowe, Jr.



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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 14, 1942

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
MEMORANDUM FOR

HON. SUMNER WELLES

Is Mr. Culbertson a registered
agent in this country of General
Franco?

F. D. R.

No papers accompanied this memorandum

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By Deputy Archivist of the U.S.
By W. J. Stewart Date JAN 31 1973

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Rowe folder
2-42

Department of Justice
Washington

JAMES ROWE, JR.
THE ASSISTANT TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

December 7, 1942

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT.

Some things in the War effort puzzle me. I feel they would puzzle you too:

(1) The attached clipping of December 5th shows that Franco wires Hitler "a wish for triumph". As an old sympathizer of Loyalist Spain (and who had to confine his expressions of sympathy to his wife because he worked in the White House and recognized he was no expert on foreign affairs) I fully understand, I think, why we have to play along with the Generalissimo. But I do wonder if we have to play along with him to the extent that his registered agent in this country, one Mr. Culbertson, the former Washington lawyer and a present reactionary of reactionaries, should be placed in charge of the "Geopolitics" Division of Military Intelligence. I am delighted that Military Intelligence (much of whose second-rate work I see in Justice) is aware of geopolitics but I wonder what particular translation the Generalissimo's agent gives to this fascinating new German science.

(2) My United States Attorney in Hawaii reports that Walter Dillingham has been made Food Administrator of Hawaii. He was so appointed by General Green, a Military Governor of Hawaii under General Ammons. I assume Mr. Dillingham's past career is sufficiently well-known to you so that I do not have to detail it.

In this particular case too I could understand that Mr. Dillingham may be the best available man.

But gee, Mr. President, when is the law of averages going to shift so that the Roosevelt men will win is of the time? If the Culbertsons and the Dillinghams are going to run my country, I am going up to Brooklyn, pick up George G. Harvey and both of us will go to Canada!

JHR

James Rowe, Jr.



PSF Exec. Ofc.

*file
personal*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 16, 1942

MEMORANDUM FOR

R. F.

The President wants to
re-appoint Welch Pogue as
Chairman of the Civil Aeronautics
Board. Will you do the neces-
sary?

G. G. T.

Department of Justice
Washington

JAMES ROWE, JR.
THE ASSISTANT TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

December 14, 1942

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT.

Welch Pogue

I wrote you recently about Josh Lee, and you sent word you were going to appoint him to the Civil Aeronautics Board. That, of course, is excellent.

Of course the airlines are against it because Josh is "political". That sort of thinking, in my opinion, is stupid — particularly with a tough Congress coming — but understandable.

Part of the rumor being circulated is that you will also designate Josh Lee as Chairman. Under the statute, you designate the Chairman annually. I do not believe this part of the rumor. On the remote chance it may be so, I feel it should be pointed out that it will make the airlines very uneasy.

Josh is not yet experienced and, unfortunately, has given several interviews to the magazines specializing in aviation, explaining his thoughts on aviation. His thoughts prove their point that he doesn't know much about it.

You will recall that last year you designated Welch Pogue as Chairman, replacing Harlee Branch because Harlee was sick and also because you wanted a young vigorous Chairman. Pogue has proved he was all of that in a most difficult and trying year. It was very difficult for him within the Board, because he had been the Board's subordinate one day and the next day was its boss. He handled that very tactfully. His relations with the hill are quite good. Most important of all, he gets along well with the Army. Bob Hinesley resigned mostly because the Army was taking over his duties and he tried to handle it by yelling bloody murder. Pogue has handled it by doing the Army's work better than the Army could so that even the Army admits that he is doing a No. 1 job. It is only by his tact and intelligence that the airlines have not been taken over by the Army. I am sure that if Josh were appointed as Chairman the Army would use that as an excuse to move in.

But perhaps you know all this and have already decided to re-designate Pogue. I hope so.

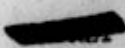


JHR
James Rowe, Jr.

*Rowe folder
JHR personal 2-42*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 19, 1942


MEMORANDUM FOR

PA

Secretly, will you get
Edgar Hoover to look into the
opinions of William S. Culbertson?
I want to know if he is heart
and soul with the Government
or otherwise

F. D. R.

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By Deputy Archivist of the U.S.
By W. J. Stewart Date JAN 31 1973

WASHINGTON
THE WHITE HOUSE

Rowe Foster

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
December 15, 1942

My dear Mr. President:

In reply to the inquiry contained in your confidential memorandum of December 14 with regard to Mr. William S. Culbertson, I find that his law firm, Culbertson and Le Roy, registered as representatives of the Spanish Embassy in Washington, but terminated connection on March 24, 1942.

On July 9, 1942, Mr. Culbertson's partner, Mr. Le Roy, again registered as representative of the Spanish Embassy.

I am further informed that although Mr. Culbertson has ostensibly severed all connection with his legal practice, he is still actively engaged in its conduct. Confidential reports obtained by the Department of State indicate that the firm account is carried as "Culbertson and Le Roy" and that checks drawn on this account still demand both signatures for payment.

Believe me

Faithfully yours,

SUMNER WELLES

The President,
The White House.

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter, 1-11-73
By R. H. Parks Date FEB 1 1973

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