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PSF: Politics

Noted
REPUBLICAN PLATFORM, 1916.

Foreign Relations

We desire peace, the peace of justice and right, and believe in maintaining a strict and honest neutrality between the belligerents in the great war in Europe. We must perform all our duties and insist upon all our rights as neutrals without fear and without favor. We believe that peace and neutrality, as well as the dignity and influence of the United States, can not be preserved by shifty expedients, by phrasemaking, by performances in language, or by attitudes ever changing in an effort to secure groups of voters. The present administration has destroyed our influence abroad and humiliated us in our own eyes. The Republican Party believes that a firm, consistent, and courageous foreign policy, always maintained by Republican Presidents in accordance with American traditions, is the best, as it is the only true way, to preserve our peace and restore us to our rightful place among the nations. We believe in the pacific settlement of international disputes, and favor the establishment of a world court for that purpose.

Tariff.

The Republican Party stands now, as always, in the fullest sense for the policy of tariff protection to American industries and American labor and does not regard an anti-dumping provision as an adequate substitute.

Such protection should be reasonable in amount but sufficient to protect adequately American industries and American labor and so adjusted as to prevent undue exactions by monopolies or trusts. It should, moreover, give special attention to securing the industrial independence of the United States as in the case of dyestuffs.

Through wise tariff and industrial legislation our industries can be so organized that they will become not only a commercial bulwark but a powerful aid to national defense.

The Underwood tariff act is a complete failure in every respect. Under its administration imports have enormously increased in spite of the fact that intercourse with foreign countries has been largely cut off by reason of the war, while the revenues of which we stand in such dire need have been greatly reduced.

Under the normal conditions which prevailed prior to the war it was clearly demonstrated that this act deprived the American producer and the American wage earner of that protection which enabled them to meet their foreign competitors, and but for the adventitious conditions created by the war, would long since have paralyzed all forms of American industry and deprived American labor of its just reward.

It has not in the least degree reduced the cost of living, which has constantly advanced from the date of its enactment. The welfare of our people demands its repeal and the substitution of a measure which in peace as well as in war will produce ample revenue and give reasonable protection to all forms of American production in mine, forest, field and factory.

We favor the creation of a tariff commission with complete power to gather and compile information for the use of Congress in all matters relating to the tariff.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM, 1920.

Foreign Relations.

The foreign policy of the administration has been founded upon no principle and directed by no definite conception of our Nation's rights and obligations. It has been humiliating to America and irritating to other nations, with the result that after a period of unexampled sacrifice our motives are suspected, our moral influence impaired, and our Government stands discredited and friendless among the nations of the world.

We favor a liberal and generous foreign policy founded upon definite moral and

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM, 1920.

Foreign Relations-Continued.

political principles, characterized by a clear understanding of and a firm adherence to our own rights, and unfailing respect for the rights of others. We should afford full and adequate protection to the life, liberty, property, and all international rights of every American citizen, and should require a proper respect for the American flag; but we should be equally careful to manifest a just regard for the rights of other nations. A scrupulous observance of our international engagements when lawfully assumed is essential to our own honor and self-respect and the respect of other nations. Subject to a due regard for our international obligations, we should leave our country free to develop its civilization along lines most conducive to the happiness and welfare of its people, and to cast its influence on the side of justice and right should occasion require.

League of Nations.

The Republican Party stands for agreement among the nations to preserve the peace of the world. We believe that such an international association must be based upon international justice, and must provide methods which shall maintain the rule of public right by the development of law and the decision of impartial courts, and which shall secure instant and general international conference whenever peace shall be threatened by political action, so that the nations pledged to do and insist upon what is just and fair may exercise their influence and power for the prevention of war.

We believe that all this can be done without the compromise of national independence without depriving the people of the United States in advance of the right to determine for themselves what is just and fair, when the occasion arises, and without involving them as participants and not as peacemakers in a multitude of quarrels the merits of which they are unable to judge.

The covenant signed by the President at Paris failed signally to accomplish this great purpose, and contained stipulations not only intolerable for an independent people but certain to produce the injustice, hostility, and controversy among nations which it proposed to prevent.

That covenant repudiated to a degree wholly unnecessary and unjustifiable the time-honored policies in favor of peace declared by Washington, Jefferson, and Monroe, and pursued by all American administrations for more than a century, and it ignored the universal sentiment of America for generations past in favor of international law and arbitration, and it rested the hope of the future upon mere expediency and negotiation.

The unfortunate insistence of the President upon having his own way without any change and without any regard to the opinions of a majority of the Senate, which shares with him the treaty-making power and the President's demand that the treaty should be ratified without any modification, created a situation in which Senators were required to vote upon their consciences and their oaths according to their judgment against the treaty as it was presented or submit to the commands of a dictator in a matter where the authority and the responsibility under the Constitution were theirs and not his.

The Senators performed their duty faithfully. We approve their conduct and honor their courage and fidelity, and we pledge the coming Republican administration to such agreements with the other nations of the world as shall meet the full duty of American to civilization and humanity in accordance with American ideals and without surrendering the right of the American people to exercise its judgment and its power in favor of justice and peace.

International Trade and Tariff.

The uncertain and unsettled condition of international balances, the abnormal economic and trade situation of the world, and the impossibility of forecasting accurately even the near future, preclude the formulation of a definite program to meet conditions a year hence. But the Republican Party reaffirms its belief in the protective principle and pledges itself to a revision of the tariff as soon as conditions shall make it necessary for the preservation of the home market for American labor, agriculture, and industry.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM, 1924.

Foreign Relations

The Republican Party reaffirms its stand for agreement among the nations to prevent war and preserve peace. As an immediate step in this direction we indorse the Permanent Court of International Justice and favor the adherence of the United States to this tribunal as recommended by President Coolidge. This Government has definitely refused membership in the League of Nations and to assume any obligations under the covenant of the league. On this we stand.

While we are unwilling to enter into political commitments which would involve us in the conflict of European policies, it should be the purpose and high privilege of the United States to continue to cooperate with other nations in humanitarian efforts in accordance with our cherished traditions. The basic principles of our foreign policy must be independence without indifference to the rights and necessities of others and cooperation without entangling alliances. This policy overwhelmingly approved by the people has been vindicated since the end of the Great War. America's participation in world affairs under the administration of President Harding and President Coolidge has demonstrated the wisdom and prudence of the national judgment. A most impressive example of the capacity of the United States to serve the cause of world peace without political affiliations was shown in the effective and beneficent work of the Dawes Commission toward the solution of the perplexing question of German reparations.

The first conference of great powers in Washington, called by President Harding, accomplished the limitation of armament and the readjustment of the relations of the powers interested in the Far East. The conference resulted in an agreement to reduce armaments, relieve the nations involved from the great burdens of taxation arising from the competitive construction and manufacture of capital battleships; assured a new, broader, and better understanding in the Far East; brought the promise of peace in the region of the Pacific; and formally adopted the policy of the open door for trade and commerce in the great markets of the Far East.

This historic conference paved the way to avert the danger of renewed hostilities in Europe and to restore the necessary economic stability. While the military forces of America have been reduced to a peace footing, there has been an increase in the land and air forces abroad which constitutes a continual menace to the peace of the world and a bar to the return of prosperity.

We firmly advocate the calling of a conference on the limitation of land forces, the use of submarines and poison gas, as proposed by President Coolidge, when by the adoption of a permanent reparations plan the conditions in Europe will make negotiations and cooperation opportune and possible.

By treaties of peace safeguarding our rights and without derogating those of our former associates in arms, the Republican administration ended the war between this country and Germany and Austria. We have concluded and signed with other nations during the past three years more than 50 treaties and international agreements in the furtherance of peace and good will.

New sanctions and new proofs of permanent accord have marked our relations with all Latin America. The long-standing controversy between Chile and Peru has been advanced toward settlement by its submission to the President of the United States as arbitrator; and with the helpful cooperation of this country a treaty has been signed by the representatives of 16 American republics which will stabilize conditions on the American Continent and minimize the opportunities for war.

Our difficulties with Mexico have happily yield to a most friendly adjustment, Mutual confidence has been restored, and a pathway for that friendliness and helpfulness which should exist between this Government and the Government of our neighboring Republic has been marked. Agreements have been entered into for the determination by judicial commissions of the claims of the citizens of each country against the respective governments. We can confidently look forward to more permanent and more stable relations with this Republic that joins for so many miles our southern border.

The wisdom of our policy, now well defined, of giving practical aid to other peoples without assuming political obligations has been conspicuously demonstrated. The ready and

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Foreign Relations--Continued

generous response of American to the needs of the suddenly stricken people of Japan and the starving in Russia gave evidence of our helpful interest in the welfare of the distressed in other lands.

The work of our representatives in dealing with subjects of such universal concern as the traffic in women and children, the production and distribution of narcotic drugs, the sale of arms, and with matters affecting public health and morals, demonstrates that we can effectively do our part for humanity and civilization without forfeiting, limiting, or restricting our national freedom of action.

The American people do cherish their independence, but their sense of duty to all mankind will ever prompt them to give their support, service, and leadership to every cause which makes for peace and amity among the nations of the world.

We favor the holding from time to time of international conferences for the advancement and codification of international law.

Foreign Debts.

In fulfillment of our pledge in the national platform of 1920 we have steadfastly refused to consider the cancellation of foreign debts. Our attitude has not been that of an oppressive creditor seeking immediate return and ignoring existing financial conditions. Our position has been based on the conviction that a moral obligation such as was incurred should not be disregarded.

We stand for settlements with all debtor countries similar in character with our debt agreement with Great Britain. That settlement achieved under a Republican administration was the greatest international financial transaction in the history of the world. Under the terms of the agreement the United States now receives an annual return upon the \$4,600,000,000 owing to us by Great Britain with a definite obligation of ultimate payment in full.

The justness of the basis employed has been formally recognized by other debtor nations. Thirty-five per cent of the total foreign debt is now in progress of liquidation.

Great nations can not recognize or admit in principle of repudiation. To do so would undermine the integrity essential for international trade, commerce, and credit.

The Tariff.

We reaffirm our belief in the protective tariff to extend needed protection to our productive industries. We believe in protection as a national policy with equal regard to all sections and to agriculture and industry. It is only by adherence to this policy that the interests of the consumers can be safeguarded and American agriculture, American labor, and American manufacturers be assured a return sufficient to perpetuate American standard of life.

A protective tariff is designed to support the high American economic level of life for the average family and to prevent a lowering to the levels of economic life prevailing in other lands. It is the history of the Nation that the protective system has ever justified itself by promoting industrial activity and employment, enormously increasing our purchasing power, restoring confidence, and bringing increased prosperity to all.

The tariff protection to our industry works for increased consumption of domestic agricultural products by an employed population instead of one unable to purchase the necessities of life. Without the strict maintenance of the tariff principle our farmers will need always to compete with cheap lands and cheap labor abroad, and with lower standards of living.

The enormous value of the protective principle has once more been demonstrated by the effects of the emergency tariff act of 1921 and the tariff act of 1922.

We believe that the power of the President to decrease or increase any rate of duty

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The Tariff-Continued.

in the tariff act furnishes a safeguard against excessive duties and against too low customs charges, and affords ample opportunity for tariff duties to be adjusted after a hearing that they may cover the actual differences in the cost of production in the United States and the principal competing countries of the world.

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Tariff.

We reaffirm our belief in the protective tariff as a fundamental and essential principle of the economic life of this Nation. While certain provisions of the present law require revision in the light of changes in the world competitive situation since its enactment, the record of the United States since 1922 clearly shows that the fundamental protective principle of the law has been fully justified. It has stimulated the development of our natural resources, provided fuller employment at higher wages through the promotion of industrial activity, assured thereby the continuance of the farmer's major market, and further raised the standards of living and general comfort and well-being of our people. The great expansion in the wealth of our Nation during the past 50 years, and particularly in the past decade, could not have been accomplished without a protective tariff system designed to promote the vital interests of all classes.

Nor have these manifest benefits been restricted to any particular section of the country. They are enjoyed throughout the land either directly or indirectly. Their stimulus has been felt in industries, farming sections, trade circles, and communities in every quarter. However, we realize that there are certain industries which can not now successfully compete with foreign producers because of lower foreign wages and a lower cost of living abroad, and we pledge the next Republican Congress to an examination and where necessary a revision of these schedules to the end that American labor in these industries may again command the home market, may maintain its standard of living, and may count upon steady employment in its accustomed field.

Adherence to that policy is essential for the continued prosperity of the country. Under it the standard of living of the American people has been raised to the highest levels ever known. Its example has been eagerly followed by the rest of the world whose experts have repeatedly reported with approval the relationship of this policy to our prosperity, with the resultant emulation of that example by other nations.

A protective tariff is as vital to American agriculture as it is to American manufacturing. The Republican Party believes that the home market, built up under the protective policy, belongs to the American farmer, and it pledges its support of legislation which will give this market to him to the full extent of his ability to supply it. Agriculture derives large benefits not only directly from the protective duties levied on competitive farm products of foreign origin but also, indirectly, from the increase in the purchasing power of the American workmen employed in industries similarly protected. These benefits extend also to persons engaged in trade, transportation, and other activities.

The tariff act of 1922 has justified itself in the expansion of our foreign trade during the past five years. Our domestic exports have increased from 3.8 billions of dollars in 1922 to 4.8 billions in 1927. During the same period imports have increased from 3.1 billions to 4.4 billions. Contrary to the prophesies of its critics, the present tariff law has not hampered the natural growth in the exportation of the products of American agriculture, industry, and mining, nor has it restricted the importation of foreign commodities which this country can utilize without jeopardizing its economic structure.

The United States is the largest customer in the world to-day. If we were not prosperous and able to buy, the rest of the world also would suffer. It is inconceivable that American labor will ever consent to the abolition of protection, which would bring

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Tariff-Continued

the American standard of living down to the level of that in Europe, or that the American farmer could survive if the enormous consuming power of the people in this country were curtailed and its market at home, if not destroyed, at least seriously impaired.

Foreign Policies

We approve the foreign policies of the administration of President Coolidge. We believe they express the will of the American people in working actively to build up cordial international understanding that will make world peace a permanent reality. We indorse the proposal of the Secretary of State for a multilateral treaty proposed to the principal powers of the world, and open to the signatures of all nations, to renounce war as an instrument of national policy and declaring in favor of pacific settlement of international disputes, the first step in outlawing war. The idea has stirred the conscience of mankind and gained widespread approval both of governments and of the people, and the conclusion of the treaty will be acclaimed as the greatest single step in history toward the conservation of peace.

In the same endeavor to substitute for war the peaceful settlement of international disputes the administration has concluded arbitration treaties in a form more definite and more inclusive than ever before, and plans to negotiate similar treaties with all countries willing in this manner to define their policy peacefully to settle justiciable disputes. In connection with these, we indorse the resolution of the Sixth Pan American Conference, held at Habana, Cuba, in 1928, which called a conference on arbitration and conciliation to meet in Washington during the year, and express our earnest hope that such conference will greatly further the principles of international arbitration. We shall continue to demand the same respect and protection for the persons and property of American citizens in foreign countries that we cheerfully accord in this country to the persons and property of aliens.

The commercial treaties which we have negotiated and those still in the process of negotiation are based on strict justice among nations, equal opportunity for trade and commerce on the most-favored-nation principle, and are simplified so as to eliminate the danger of misunderstanding. The object and the aim of the United States is to further the cause of peace, of strict justice between nations, with due regard for the rights of others in all international dealings. Out of justice grows peace. Justice and consideration have been and will continue to be the inspiration of our Nation.

The record of the administration toward Mexico has been consistently friendly and with equal consistency have we upheld American rights. This firm and at the same time friendly policy has brought recognition of the inviolability of legally acquired rights. This condition has been reached without threat or without bluster, through a calm support of the recognized principles of international law, with due regard to the rights of a sister sovereign State. The Republican party will continue to support American rights in Mexico as elsewhere in the world, and at the same time to promote and strengthen friendship and confidence.

There has always been, as there always will be, a firm friendship with Canada. American and Canadian interests are in a large measure identical. Our relationship is one of fine mutual understanding, and the recent exchange of diplomatic officers between the two countries is worthy of commendation.

The United States has an especial interest in the advancement and progress of all the Latin-American countries. The policy of the Republican Party will always be a policy of thorough friendship and cooperation. In the case of Nicaragua, we are engaged in cooperation with the Government of that country upon the task of assisting to restore and maintain peace, order, and stability, and in no way to infringe upon her sovereign rights. The marines now in Nicaragua are there to protect American lives and property and to aid in carrying out an agreement whereby we have undertaken to do what we can to restore and maintain order and to

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Foreign Policies (Continued).

insure a fair and free election. Our policy absolutely repudiates any idea of conquest or exploitation and is actuated solely by an earnest and sincere desire to assist a friendly and neighboring State which has appealed for aid in a great emergency. It is the same policy the United States has pursued in other cases in Central America.

The administration has looked with keen sympathy on the tragic events in China. We have avoided interference in the internal affairs of that unhappy nation, merely keeping sufficient naval and military forces in China to protect the lives of the Americans who are there on legitimate business and in still larger numbers for nobly humanitarian reasons. America has not been stampeded into making reprisals but, on the other hand, has consistently taken the position of leadership among the nations in a policy of wise moderation. We shall always be glad to be of assistance to China when our duty is clear.

The Republican Party maintains the traditional American policy of noninterference in the political affairs of other nations. This Government has definitely refused membership in the League of Nations and to assume any obligations under the covenant of the league.

On this we stand.

In accordance, however, with the long-established American practice of giving aid and assistance to other peoples, we have most usefully assisted by cooperation in the humanitarian and technical work undertaken by the league, without involving ourselves in European politics by accepting membership.

The Republican Party has always given and will continue to give its support to the development of American foreign trade, which makes for domestic prosperity. During this administration extraordinary strides have been made in opening up new markets for American produce and manufacture. Through these foreign contacts a mutually better international understanding has been reached which aids in the maintenance of world peace.

The Republican Party promises a firm and consistent support of American persons and legitimate American interests in all parts of the world. This support will never contravene the rights of other nations. It will always have in mind and support in every way the progressive development of international law, since it is through the operations of just laws, as well as through the growth of friendly understanding, that world peace will be made permanent. To that end the Republican Party pledges itself to aid and assist in the perfection of principles of international law and the settlement of international disputes.

Foreign Debts.

In accordance with our settled policy and platform pledges, debt settlement agreements have been negotiated with all of our foreign debtors with the exception of Armenia and Russia. That with France remains as yet unratified. Those with Greece and Austria are before the Congress for necessary authority. If the French debt settlement be included, the total amount funded is \$11,522,354,000. We have steadfastly opposed and will continue to oppose cancellation of foreign debts.

We have no desire to be oppressive or grasping, but we hold that obligations justly incurred should be honorably discharged. We know of no authority which would permit public officials, acting as trustees, to shift the burden of the war from the shoulders of foreign taxpayers to those of our own people. We believe that the settlements agreed to are fair to both the debtor nation and to the American taxpayer. Our debt commission took into full consideration the economic condition and resources of the debtor nations, and were ever mindful that they must be permitted to preserve and improve their economic position, to bring their budgets into balance, to place their currencies and finances on a sound

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Foreign Debts (Continued)

basis, and to improve the standard of living of their people. Giving full weight to these considerations, we know of no fairer test than ability to pay, justly estimated.

The people can rely on the Republican Party to adhere to a foreign-debt policy now definitely established and clearly understood both at home and abroad.

THE CONTROL OF MECHANIZATION — ADDRESS BY CHARLES M. EDGE
THE PENNSYLVANIA SOCIETY DINNER DECEMBER 19th, 1931.

Next week will just complete the 30 years since I entered one of Mr. Schwab's Pennsylvania steel mills as a laborer. I worked three happy years for Mr. Schwab, and he paid me exactly \$1.25 a day for 11 hours work. I admit, it is now a little late, but I do hereby publicly protest that this wage was inadequate and insufficient to support a proper standard of living. If one begins badly—one ends badly, and today I find that the accepted standard wage of all economists is even less than the \$1.25 a day of 30 years ago! There is a good reason for this:

We can sometimes give accurate answers to difficult problems, but do not know what to do with the answers!

As an example: In March, 1914, a Mr. Krakowsky came to see me. He said: "I have just come from Russia through Berlin. The Deutsche Bank have agreed to accept 200,000 rubles on deposit and give me 6% interest for 20 years," (2% higher than the current rate).

As this seemed impossible, I gave him the correct answer, and thought I was very clever: "Krakowsky, I am very sorry; but you will never get any interest on your principal."

I did not realize, or even consider, that here, given to me in New York, was the definite information that Germany was mobilising her finances—as important as the mobilisation of her army. Such information, vouched for and published in New York, London and Paris, might have changed all those catastrophes that followed.

Tonight, I am going to state to you the greatest problem of today, and give you, for your judgment, the theoretical answer. Perhaps some of you can see more clearly than I, what to do, and how to do it.

The problem is this:—"Why are so many millions in want with so much wealth in goods at hand? Why must men rely upon charity, or the State, for help?"

I am sure you will answer that a great world depression has caused this thing, and when prosperity returns it will cease to be. But employment and prosperity are so closely interwoven that any great fundamental change in employment can either cause such depression, or bring prosperity. It therefore becomes enormously important to examine any great change that has occurred in the employment of man.

To trace this problem to its source, we must remember that the first half of the 19th Century was the era of the "Technique of Scientific Research"; the second half of the 19th Century was the application of this research, and became the "Era of Invention"; the last 30 years have been the application of these inventions—the "Era of Mechanization."

New mechanization, the logical result of a hundred years of effort, is the transfer of the power to "create value" from man to the machine. It is the involuntary transfer of man's greatest asset, and must, therefore, be followed by results and consequences of the most momentous proportions.

This transfer, and consequent multiplication of power to "create value," can perform miracles. By its means, in a single life time, vast lands can be developed; the standard of living can be enormously raised; luxuries can be made universal; manual labor can be so reduced that there is time for leisure for everyone. The efficiency of a nation is so increased that its fighting strength can reach a maximum in an incredibly short time and be maintained at that strength for a longer time.

The United States has enjoyed all the great gifts that mechanization can bring. In a country undergoing development, mechanization confers these gifts as an almost unmixed blessing. But as a great country becomes developed, its need for imperative and productive improvements becomes gradually smaller; non-productive improvements take the place of the essential improvements—luxuries, non-permanent and easily destroyed, are added to the more essential and permanent luxuries. So more and more new outlets of consumption must be found. New luxuries must be invented, made and distributed, even if they are wasteful—even if the placing of them incurs great domestic debts—even if the placing of them necessitates great foreign loans and brings danger to the country.

To illustrate what I mean, seven billion dollars worth of automobiles have been sold to American farmers in 15 years. But is this true consumption? For during this period the mortgages on these farms have increased more than six billion dollars, and it would seem that these automobiles have not been paid for from income, but have incurred great debt.

It is conceivable that if mechanization makes luxuries too attractive and too cheap, they must compete with the most desirable of all luxuries-children. We all know that the birth-rate in the United States has fallen from 25.0 per thousand in 1915, to 19.0 per thousand in 1930-a decrease of 25% in 15 years. But the correlation between automobiles in use and the birth-rate is extraordinarily close, and it would be true to say that the sale of each and every 7 automobiles, since 1915, has coincided with, and has almost surely been partly responsible for the non-appearance of a baby of another citizen of the United States. I have given you these two illustrations to explain how momentous the consequences are that follow mechanization, the multiplication of the power to "create value."

At a certain inevitable point of development of mechanization, if the consumption of the machine products of the machine, and the work of man together, cannot be fully maintained, the machine ceases to be the servant of man, and becomes the competitor of man's own right to work. At the exact all-important point where man begins to lose his demand and value, is where the machine, until that time a blessing, becomes the monster of a "Frankenstein." Up to this point, both capital and labor receive increasing returns. At this point they reach a maximum, but beyond this point, their returns are doomed to decrease and ultimately to vanish.

Here, the "March of Progress" stops, and the light of universal welfare grows less bright.

The underlying right of every citizen, willing and able to work, would seem to be the right to defend his own value,-for this value is the practical measure of his freedom. Happily, the patience of all men is one of the most important facts of history. Happily, too, this right, aim and desire of the worker to retain his value and his demand, seem to be exactly identical with the aim and desire of the leaders and employers of labor. The direct aim of the latter is somewhat different; it is for maximum consumption, for maximum prosperity, but these can only be achieved when the true value of all men is at the highest, and all men are employed. In no other way can permanent prosperity be achieved and maintained.

It is hard to believe, but it would seem that this condition of prosperity requires no great sacrifices, perhaps no sacrifices at all, but a very great change indeed in economic thought.

The change is this. That true prosperity is not proportional to production, but is proportional to the demand for and value of man. This, and this alone, is the measure of prosperity-of true consumption, and can be realized by restoring to man that small variable fraction of his power to "create value" necessary for his complete employment. If we are prepared to accept so great a change as this in economic thought, then we will ask the questions again:- "Why are so many millions in want with so much wealth in goods at hand? Why must men rely upon charity or the State for help?"

Perhaps it is because mechanization, the giver of the greatest gifts, has reached that point where it has reduced the total demand for man and changed his value, and the machine-which should be the "servant"- has become the "master" of man, and usurped his rights.

This answer is so big, and so near to us, that it is out of focus, and probably it is only possible to fully understand, and see the cure, by comparison with its very humble, but nearest parallel.

It is simple to see that 31,000,000 automobiles, tractors and trucks have changed the value of, and the demand for horses.

Much to their surprise for 20 years after the introduction of the automobile, the value of and demand for horses was not reduced, and their number in the United States rose until 1919. At this point, motor vehicles became so numerous, and so efficient, that they usurped the horses' right to work. Since 1919 the actual number existing in this country has been reduced about 42%. It is easy to see that if the demand, value and life of the horse had been of paramount importance, equal in importance to that of man, it would have been comparatively simple to retain his use and artificially sustain his value by the taxation of motor vehicles up to the point where it was cheaper to use a horse untaxed, rather than a motor vehicle heavily taxed. Such determined taxation could definitely increase the relative value of a horse compared to a motor vehicle, to any desired extent, even today.

Please do not think it cynical and cruel if I ask you to examine the analogy further, but only by doing so can we see that raising the rental price of a horse would not have helped him; it would have imperilled his remaining demand. Shortening the working hours of a horse would also economically only make matters worse. It might rest the horse, when he did not want to be rested, but would further lower his competitive value against the motor vehicle. Theoretically, it is the working hours of the motor vehicle which should be shortened. We can see that an unemployment insurance, or a dole, for horses would not help the horse permanently, it would only be giving him back, in the form of State help, or charity, a fraction of what had been taken from him—his right to "create value". It would not change one iota the cause of his distress. We can even see that if the power of reasoning intelligence had been given to the horse, that about in 1921, two years after the critical point of time for horses had been reached—the oldest, and therefore, the wisest horses, would have sadly realized that the transfer to the machine of their right to "create value" by transportation had reduced their demand and value forever. No "eulogy" on the horse would have deceived them.

We can readily see what mechanization of transport has already done to the horse; we can see, quite clearly, what steps would have to be taken to preserve his value—but we refuse to admit, or to calculate, what mechanization of industry and farming has done, is doing and will do to man. This change most vitally affects the future of the United States, and must be calculated by the best minds in this country, beyond the chance of error.

The answer, to a fair degree of accuracy, is beyond question, and is as follows: The total number of workers and their families in the three greatest mechanized industries: farming, manufacturing and railways, in 1919, comprised 60% of the total population of the United States. In 1929, at the peak of prosperity, this percentage had already fallen from 60% to 47%. It has now fallen further, due to the depression, to probably 36%, although the volume of production in 1921 still exceeds 1919.

The percentage of the population employed in the non-productive, unmechanized industries has remained almost constant for 30 years, with perhaps a slight increase accounted for by the increased number of women workers, but it seems impossible, under normal conditions, for these industries to absorb more than a very small fraction of the permanent and increasing surplus from the productive industries.

The first existence of this large new surplus fraction of workers occurred in a time of great apparent prosperity, and therefore, was hardly realized up to 1927, and was not felt with its full force until 1930. It has been borne largely, up to now, by the State and Municipal Governments, whose expenditures and debts since 1919 have risen so enormously.

As an example:— In 1890 the expenditures in New York State for public schools were \$17,000,000 and in 1929 they were \$376,000,000—an increase of 2100%. The number of pupils increased only 100%. The value of all farm property increased only 35%.

This then, up to now, has been the unconscious and irresistible answer to the people: "Let us incur great public debts that the surplus of workers displaced by mechanization can be re-employed, directly or indirectly, by the State." Great apparent prosperity was maintained, but only by mortgaging the future.

Unhappily, in times of financial stress it then becomes impossible to use this great reserve for labor, for it has already been used to its maximum. Some other answer, safer and more permanent, than the flotation of great new debts, must be provided to compensate for the change in the demand for man.

It has been generally believed that mechanization, while possibly reducing the demand for labor, has at the same time, increased its value correspondingly. Unfortunately, the prices of wages are not a good criterion of the true value of man. The true value of a worker depends upon a much broader base than the price of wages; his value depends upon the value of the land itself; upon the value of a worker who owns the land and machinery, and derives a profit from them, or upon one who rents them and receives as wages a proportion of the products of his labor. For as far back as records go, the basis value, and obtainable wage of a man has been half the produce from the land he rents and can work.

The old law still holds true. In 1927 it gave, theoretically, a daily wage for farm labor of \$2.45, against actual wages paid of \$2.42. The same law makes the value of the man, and the value of the land he can till equal, so that land and labor are one and the same, and vary in value together.

But mechanization of farming has strikingly destroyed the value of average farm acreage. In 1921, a panic year, the United States Bureau of Agriculture represented its average value by an index number of 157, and it has steadily declined each year, to 116 in 1929—although commodities during this time remained practically unchanged. Allowing for the change in

the number of workers, the value of man, under this law, has steadily declined from 157 to 126 between the years 1921 and 1929.

If, as seems almost certain, the demand for and value of man has greatly declined in the last 12 years, then we must return to the Parable of the Horse. We saw that the demand for and value of the horse could have been saved by taxing the motor vehicle. In the same way, the relative demand and value of man, to that of the machine, can, theoretically, be increased to any desired extent, by taxation upon the machine to the point where man again becomes fully employed. This can be accomplished, not by an increase of taxation, but by transferring the burden of taxes, from land, which is labor, upon the machine and its use. Only so can man regain his right and power to "create value", in all those operations where he competes most closely against the machine. This is not de-mechanization, but is controlled mechanization-to its most profitable point-strangely enough for capital and labor.

Changing from known theory to unknown practice, it would seem possible that each municipality might be given the power to tax all machinery, from a carpet sweeper, an ice box, and an oil burner, to the telephone system and the power station, from the cigarette machine to the steel mill, at a definite rate upon their value, and reduce by an equal amount the tax collected upon land, and therefore, upon labor. The relative value of the man and the machine can so be changed to any desired extent.

The transfer of taxation from land to the machine, would have the immediate effect of increasing the value of land throughout the country, and of all agricultural workers-the base of prosperity and consumption. It would quickly release that part of our frozen assets relating to real estate; it would have an immediate, and steadily increasing effect upon the total demand for man; it would immediately increase his value, and thereby lessen that most important difference between his theoretical true value, and the actual price of labor, and would again justify new construction and progress.

It is now 7 years late to begin the control of the machine-in 10 years more it may be too late.

The world does not remain the same-it changes very fast. Our fathers solved their problems, we in turn must solve ours, most essentially those we ourselves have caused. Are we far enough advanced in education, and in thought, to turn a calculated key to the door of prosperity, or should we turn aside and leave much harder problems to our children?

As the United States has led the world in mechanization, so it is her privilege and duty to lead in its control.

PSF: Politics
(w)

May 14, 1935.

Dear Lawrence:-

Many thanks for that mighty interesting letter. Your diagnosis of the situation confirms my guesses. I suppose Kelly will be down here soon and without doubt will ask to see me. I shall arrange it.

I do hope to see Laura while she is here and also that you will be down yourself very soon.

As ever yours,

Lawrence Houghteling, Esq.,
10 South La Salle Street,
Chicago,
Illinois.

PSF: Politics

JAMES L. HOUGHTELING
10 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET
CHICAGO



MAY 10, 1935

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

Dear Franklin:

During the month which has passed since the Chicago mayoralty election there have appeared a good many interesting side-lights on that great Democratic victory; which are worth the consideration of the Head of the Party.

In the election Mayor Kelly polled slightly over 75% of all the votes cast, receiving close to 800,000 votes, against somewhat over 160,000 for the Republican candidate and less than 90,000 for the independent Newton Jenkins. This was a surprisingly large vote for a local election, as the Democratic vote for Anton Cermak in 1931 was only 670,000 in what was then considered a tremendous triumph of organization.

It was a very unusual election, in that the Republican party (under the masterful leadership of my good friend Frank Knox) has become completely demoralized and did not take much trouble about watching the polls. The registration of voters in Cook County is also in bad shape and the lists had not been properly corrected to eliminate people who had changed their residence. This made it possible for a well-organized machine to make a surprising demonstration. In a great many precincts fifty or more ballots were in the boxes at the time the polls opened. At least two members of the local city administration, who went to the polls late in the afternoon, were gayly told by the Democratic watchers that they had voted already; which was regarded as a great joke by both of them.

There is no doubt that on the basis of votes honestly cast and honestly counted Kelly was elected by a better than ~~two-to-one~~ majority. The question therefore arises why the organization went to such trouble and risk to poll many thousands of illegal votes. I have gone to some trouble to check up with a great variety of political experts on this question in search of an answer to this question.

In the first place it is the first time that Ed Kelly has ever been a candidate at an election and he was unquestionably very jittery about his prospects and decided to take no chances of losing. But behind it all was unquestionably the determination to make a strong impression on the National Administration at Washington.

Obviously one of the underlying motives had to do with the federal work relief program. Kelly has made big promises as to what he is going to get for Chicago. He seems to have a spectacular leaning towards projects which are politically impressive but economically unsound. However, the community has a good many real needs (as Harold Ickes knows) which can legitimately be financed under this new law. There are complicated problems involving the constitutional

To the President -- Page 2

May 10, 1935

debt limit which the Mayor seems to ignore but which others are facing constructively. Evidently he has allotted to himself the function of "high-pressure" the money out of the Administration.

As I told you when I saw you in February Mayor Kelly is, along most lines, a very able citizen who is believed by a fair proportion of neutral observers to be genuinely anxious to make a good record and who has ability to do so. His personal performance is very competent but his appointments to office are almost always made with more consideration for the exigencies of ward organization than for the real ability of the appointee to render public service.

One of his most particular pals is Bertie McCormick, who gave Kelly his start as an engineer with the Chicago Sanitary District. There is a very close link of personal friendship there (one of the few that Bertie can claim). Kelly's closest friend in national politics is Frank Hague of Jersey City. I was interested to note that during the Mayor's present vacation trip to Honolulu he reached San Francisco on the same day that Frank Hague and John Raskob arrived there. Hague and he landed in San Francisco yesterday from the same boat. To a number of wise ones these incidents represent Kelly's real alignment within the Democratic party. On the other hand, I believe he fully realizes that a great majority of the 500,000 to 600,000 honest votes he received in the last election were "Roosevelt votes."

I imagine you may have heard this diagnosis of Chicago politics from other sources, but at any rate I pass it on to you for whatever it is worth.

My friend Frank Knox seems to be neglecting the interests of his stockholders by giving the majority of his time to quiet organization work for the Republican nomination for President. He is very serious about it and is holding meetings and organizing wealthy industrialists and La Salle Street brokers at a great rate. The publishers of both the local Hearst papers are backing him. The situation is putting Bertie McCormick very decidedly "on the spot." Frank will be a very easy man for you to beat if he gets the nomination. In his opposition to all your policies, he has gone on record as vigorously opposed to almost everything which the great majority of the American people want. He is so sure of himself and takes so little advice that he will go blithely ahead making this mistake indefinitely.

To return to Mayor Kelly, the election has put him in a position where he is less and less dependent on Pat Nash and therefore more firmly the real leader in his own right. I think this is frankly a net gain for the City of Chicago. I am also assured that he would greatly welcome a better understanding with the National Administration.

Laura is just leaving for Washington and is hoping that she will have a chance to see you while she is there.

Yours sincerely,

Lawrence H. H. H.

JLH-at

Today in Washington

Trend Away From New Deal in Recent Elections Can Be Exaggerated.

By DAVID LAWRENCE

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WASHINGTON, Nov. 11.—Last week's elections in various States, indicating a trend away from the New Deal in the industrial States, will furnish the occasion for many a tentative calculation as to what the 1936 ballot in the Electoral College may conceivably be.

There are observers who will jump to the conclusion that if the momentum achieved by the Republicans last week continues to gather as much strength in 1936 as in 1935, the defeat of President Roosevelt may be anticipated.

But a glance at the possible electoral table, even if all the important industrial States in the East were conceded to the Republicans, will reveal a comfortable majority for Mr. Roosevelt on account of the strong New Deal support in the agricultural and mining States of the Middle West and West, respectively. Here is the way such a table would look:

	R.	D.		R.	D.
Alabama.....	11	3	Nevada.....	3	3
Arizona.....	3	3	N. Hampshire.....	4	3
Arkansas.....	9	3	New Jersey.....	16	3
California.....	22	3	New Mexico.....	3	3
Colorado.....	6	3	New York.....	37	13
Connecticut.....	8	3	N. Carolina.....	13	4
Delaware.....	3	3	N. Dakota.....	4	3
Florida.....	1	3	Ohio.....	26	11
Georgia.....	12	3	Oklahoma.....	11	3
Idaho.....	4	3	Oregon.....	5	3
Illinois.....	29	3	Pennsylvania.....	36	13
Indiana.....	14	3	Rhode Island.....	4	3
Iowa.....	11	3	S. Carolina.....	8	3
Kansas.....	9	3	S. Dakota.....	4	3
Kentucky.....	11	3	Tennessee.....	11	3
Louisiana.....	10	3	Texas.....	23	3
Maine.....	5	3	Utah.....	4	3
Maryland.....	8	3	Vermont.....	3	3
Massachusetts.....	17	3	Virginia.....	11	3
Michigan.....	19	3	Washington.....	8	3
Minnesota.....	11	3	W. Virginia.....	8	3
Mississippi.....	9	3	Wisconsin.....	12	3
Missouri.....	15	3	Wyoming.....	3	3
Montana.....	4	3			
Nebraska.....	7	3	Totals.....	218	313

The majority needed to win is 266, so it will be seen that Mr. Roosevelt would have forty-seven votes to spare.

But if Illinois, Indiana and West Virginia, which are Republican States, were to go against the President—a total of fifty-one votes—he would be defeated in the above grouping of electoral votes.

Illinois, on the other hand, has been normally Republican only because the heavy Democratic vote in Chicago and its immediate vicinity—city workers—was usually overbalanced by the heavy farm vote of the downstate sections, which have heretofore been Republican.

To a large extent, this division of city and country districts has for more than fifty years been the way the Middle Western States have lined up to give the Republicans the electoral vote. But with the AAA checks and benefits and the recent tests in the referendum votes conducted by the AAA, there have been indications that the Roosevelt administration would win substantial support in the farm areas.

Even, therefore, if the Republican farm vote in these States is only cut in half and the Democrats retain their normal vote in the cities, the chances are that Mr. Roosevelt would win the electoral

vote of nearly all these agricultural States.

But will the Democrats retain their urban vote if the high cost of living begins to affect the consumer? This is something else again.

Up to now the cost of living argument, or decrease in "real wages," has not been emphasized enough to determine its political value.

There is, of course, no certainty that Mr. Roosevelt would lose all of New England, as indicated above, or California, but there is a strong drift in that direction. As for Maryland, Ohio, Michigan, New York and New Jersey, the Republicans are distinctly on the up grade there.

Much will depend on who the Republican candidate will be, but it is easy to see why the three foremost contenders for the Republican nomination come from Kansas, Illinois and Michigan.

If Gov. Landon can swing Kansas and make a distinct cleavage in those agricultural States, or if Frank Knox is strong enough to assure Republican success in Illinois and Indiana, or if Senator Vandenberg's sponsors can demonstrate how he can be counted upon to carry Middle Western States, then the merits of their respective candidacies will probably take on particular value as the time for getting delegates begins.

No doubt these three men will enter the primaries in various States and will thus have a try-out with the Republican voters. If the Republican candidates dodge primaries in the spring of 1936, it will be a sign of Republican weakness and a strong indication that the farm districts are disinclined to vote for any anti-New Deal candidates.

The foregoing analysis demonstrates, even in this tentative manner of making up an electoral table, twelve months before the presidential election, how important it is for the Republicans to have a constructive agricultural policy—something that can be shown to be really better for the farmers than what they now have from the AAA.

Have the Republicans such a policy? Not yet. But the parleys among the agricultural experts of the Republican party are numerous and out of these conferences may come a constructive alternative. Selling any new plan to the farmers against the AAA's possession of the propaganda machinery and control of farm organizations is like convincing a member of Congress that he ought to abandon the spoils system and forever forego the privilege of recommending his friends to public office. A good argument can be made for it, but it goes against the grain of human nature to expect converts.

Hence it would not be surprising if the Republicans found their best bet in going after the large blocks of Democratic votes in every city or town, even in agricultural States, and making the consumers con-

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New York, November 9.

PSF: Politics (27)

THE COMMITTEE AGAINST INFANTILE PARALYSIS

Sponsored by

THE GEORGIA WARM SPRINGS FOUNDATION, Inc.

50 E. 42nd Street • Phone Murray Hill 2-2657

NEW YORK CITY

ARTHUR CARPENTER,
Executive Director

November 21st, 1935.

Miss Marguerite LeHand,
The "Little White House",
Warm Springs, Georgia.

Dear Missy:

Just today the enclosed letter from Jim Woodruff has come in. Curiously enough, I was telling the President the other evening what an ardent supporter he had in Jim Woodruff and of the amusing scene I walked in upon, to find Jim just laying out in lavender a representative of the United States Chamber of Commerce who was apparently spreading a little anti-Roosevelt propoganda.

This personal letter from Jim obviously should be destroyed, but I wanted you to read it and if possible, to pass on a word to the President about it because I don't think he has a more sincere friend in Georgia than Jim Woodruff.

Jim was chairman of the Muscogee County division of the Georgia Hall Committee and Chairman of the Columbus Birthday Ball for both 1934 and 1935, and in addition, conducted the Columbus Colonnade campaign.

Likely, the President will not have an opportunity to see Jim, but if you will let him come by and see you for a minute personally, Missy, I am sure he will feel better because he is certainly pretty much disturbed.

Sincerely,



AEC:F

WRBL

RADIO STATION, Inc.

"THE VOICE OF THE CHATTAHOOCHEE"

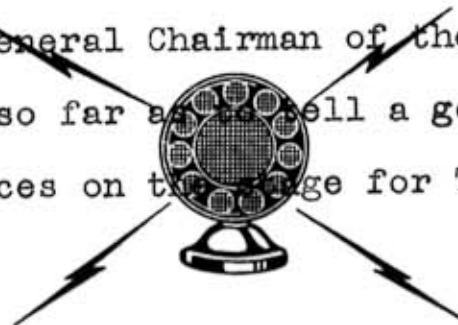
ROYAL THEATRE BUILDING - PHONE 4300

COLUMBUS, GEORGIA

Dear Capp:-

I thank you for the letter , I am sure ~~that~~ the unannounced entrance on your part revealed to you how and where I stood.

And now here is where you can do something for me , you recall the discussion we had about what we thought ~~was~~ poor politics on the part of certain friends who were arranging the details of ~~the~~ Home coming and ~~the~~ ReElection of our FRIEND ; well there has been certain persons conducting a whispering campaign against me trying to create ~~the~~ impression that I am not a real Roosevelt man but a Talmadge man , you KNOW where I stand and you heard me state that I was for Talmadge for Georgia and for Roosevelt for President and that ~~if~~ Roosevelt and ~~Talm~~ Talemadge were both on the Ga ticket that I was first last and always for Franklyn D . Now all of this stuff has been started by the publisher of a certain paper who got his job for his little ~~work~~ by accepting the appointment of Int Rev Co. in Atlanta , and the other one is none other than the General Chairman of the Welcome Roosevelt Com , He went so far as to tell a good friend of mine that they had ~~not~~ places on the ~~stage~~ for Talmadge men .



"RADIO SPEAKS YOUR MESSAGE"

WRBL

RADIO STATION, INC.

"THE VOICE OF THE CHATTAHOOCHEE"

ROYAL THEATRE BUILDING - PHONE 4300

COLUMBUS, GEORGIA

The news paper man is a friend that I will stand better in the eyes of FD than he does and I flatter myself to know that I DO ; since you and FD know that I am not looking for any job political or other wise neither am I looking for any reward , that my whole interest is for my very deep and ever enduring love for the man as a MAN and his interest in humanity ; For to be called friend by him and permit me to call him friend " ~~things are few~~

Things are few

You would not do

In friendship's name

Not even LOVE

Should rank above

Tru friendship's name.

Now before some of these scheming politicians have the chance to undermine me in FD eyesight I want you to speak a word for me .

I want you to know that I greatly appreciated your visit and shall certainly call on you when next in New York



"RADIO SPEAKS YOUR MESSAGE"

WRBL
RADIO STATION, INC.

"THE VOICE OF THE CHATTAHOOCHEE"

ROYAL THEATRE BUILDING - PHONE 4300

COLUMBUS, GEORGIA

I ~~thank~~ that I have about gotten the Mc Pherson cottage matter where it can be handled , have been talking with Hooper .

Please remember me to your charming wife and tell her that I am very fond of her husband .

Cordially



"RADIO SPEAKS YOUR MESSAGE"

The men who are spreading the WHISPERING

WEPAGE EARLE COCKE DIXON SMITH Sendor this district
to Ga and Ledger Enquirer candidate .

PS F: Politics

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

file
manual

February 11, 1936.

MEMO FOR MAC

file

~~Mr. Mac~~

Gen-Drawer 2-36

I want to speak to
Jim Farley about this on
Wednesday.

F. D. R.

WARD C. MORAN, JR.
2d DIST. MAINE

APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE

PSF: Politics

MISS ETHEL JANE SMALLEY
SECRETARY

MISS CATHERINE CROWLEY
ASSISTANT SECRETARY

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

February 7, 1936

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

President Franklin D. Roosevelt
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

I would have communicated this suggestion to Mr. Farley, but for his absence from the City and the need for prompt action, if action is to be taken along the line of this suggestion.

It occurs to me that President Kenneth C. M. Sills of Bowdoin College would be a man that could be elected Governor of Maine. I am confident that the only hope of his entertaining such a proposition would be a specific request by the Administration, and even then there is real doubt.

Somehow, I feel that a request from you over the telephone might accomplish it, if you feel such an objective desirable and suggested procedure proper. Anyway, I present the thought for your consideration.

To avoid some undesirable announcing, and thus forcing a desirable into a primary contest, I respectfully suggest that, if you feel the suggestion worthwhile, some action should be taken promptly.

Sincerely yours,

Edward C. Moran
M. C.

M/C

PSF: Politics
Gen L. Draper 2-36

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 18, 1936.

MEMORANDUM FOR

HON. DAVID J. LEWIS

I wish you would have a
talk, confidentially, with Millard
Tydings in regard to the Maryland
situation. I think it will be
helpful at this time. Enough said!

F. D. R.

✓
PSF: Politics



OFFICE OF THE CHAIRMAN

FEDERAL DEPOSIT INSURANCE CORPORATION
WASHINGTON

2-36

*file
personal*

March 16, 1936.

MEMORANDUM TO HON. MARVIN H. MCINTYRE:

Attached find copy of a letter which I received from a friend who is personally very close to Senator Borah, and who is very much interested in the Senator's election.

Leo T. Crowley
LEO T. CROWLEY
Chairman.

(C O P Y)

3/13/36

Dear Leo:

Just tried to get you by phone but you were out. A matter that I thought you might want to acquaint the President of the facts. Senator Borah talked with Hiram Johnson soliciting support in California. Johnson told him that he had quit the Republican Party forever and that he was for Roosevelt, but that he felt very kindly to Borah, etc., but unfortunately there was nothing he could do for him. This is down deep in the well.

file personal

PSF: Politics 36

The Wichita Eagle

WICHITA, KANSAS

VICTOR MURDOCK, EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

April 27, 1936

Gen. Danner 2

Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt
President of the United States
Washington, D.C.

My dear Mr. President:

I was deeply gratified by your letter, written to me in connection with a special edition of The Eagle greeting the State Democratic convention, now in session here. It was pleasing indeed to know that you remember my part when I was politically active. To most of the regular partisans my performance never seemed exactly to parse, but to me its justification was perfectly plain and so remains, I hope without the taint of pride of opinion.

It may interest you to know that in my life-time of reportorial observation I have never seen a greater manifestation of deep and really affectionate attachment to a leader than the Democratic hosts here this week evidenced for you. It overshadowed completely every other interest and put everything else into eclipse.

Thanking you for the letter and with my highest esteem, I am

Yours truly,

Victor Murdock

PSF: Politics

*Give to the
President Sunday
night for conference*

*file
Vap-Horn*

CONFIDENTIAL

AIR MAIL

May 12, 1936

Marvin H. McIntyre, Esq.,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mac:

Following your suggestion that I talk with Forbes Morgan and Carl Byoir about the business committee for President Roosevelt, I arranged for the two of them to join me at breakfast at The Plaza here in New York a week ago Sunday.

I do not believe Mr. Morgan's plan for forming a committee will be successful. He hopes to attract a number of comparatively unknown business and industrial names over the country and when that is done get some big names to head up the committee.

The only possibility of success for the right kind of a committee, as I see it, is to get first a Steering Committee of five men made up of such as, perhaps, Averell Harriman, Tom Watson, Owen Young, Gerard Swoke, A. D. Whiteside, or John Burke, president of B. Altman & Company. These men should have a talk with the Boss and secure his assurance that their committee would be something more than a mere political mouth-piece; on the contrary, it would be a group with which he would be glad to cooperate and join in discussing national problems, etc.

Sometime ago I presented to you, with copies to Forbes Morgan, Stanley High, Frank Walker, etc., a plan for the proposed Constructive Citizens League. This plan could be altered to become a Constructive Business or Industrial League. It is my suggestion to have it non-partisan, but to back the Boss's policies. In an election year I now believe it would be more practical to come out and call it a Constructive Business League for Roosevelt.

I believe Kiplinger was accurate in his last letter when he said that 85% of business and industrial men today are against the Boss. This, in my opinion, is his weakest spot. I believe that unless the Democratic Party recognizes this truth it will make a grave error.

I have been told that approximately \$5,000 might be available for such a business committee as Forbes Morgan suggested. \$5,000 out of \$1,000,000, which I have heard the party expects to collect and spend, is totally out of proportion to the seriousness of the present breach between the Boss and Business and industry.

Page -2-

A real job could be done if the procedure I have suggested would be followed; by obtaining a strong Steering Committee, then quietly attracting business and industrial leaders from every state in the union to join the movement, and planning a public announcement sometime in August. The work should be started not later than June 15. If the job were properly done it would be money well spent. If the Party agreed to make loans to this movement in the amount not to exceed \$45,000 with \$5,000 payable on June 15, \$10,000 on July 1, etc., the League or Committee could then employ a financial man to raise some money through its supporters. It could be handled in such a way that it would not interfere with the fund raising program of the Party.

If my proposal is seriously considered, I would be glad to discuss with the proper parties the possibility of personally directing it, - contrary to the advice of my friends.

With kindest personal regards,

Sincerely yours,

Peter Van Horn,

PVH/s
CC to Mr. Byoir,
CC to Mr. Farley, Postmaster General.

PETER H. VAN HORN
Age 42 - Born Logan, Ohio
Married 15 years - 1 son

Present Business: President, The National Federation of Textiles, Inc.
10 East 40th Street, New York, N. Y. - Lexington 2-2820

Residence: The Plaza, New York, N. Y. (Winter)
Greens Farms, Connecticut (Summer)

Education: Preparatory - Tucson, Arizona
University - Ohio State University (Worked on farm three vacations)
University of California
YMCA Night Law School (Columbus)

Politics: Strictly non-partisan - never a candidate for or holder of public office.

War Record: Volunteered as a private in U. S. Signal Corps, Aviation Section, May, 1917. Ended service as officer in charge of night bombing training at Ellington Field, Houston, Texas -- composed of three night flying fields.

Business Record:

March and April, 1919.
National City Bank, New York, N. Y.

October, 1920, to January, 1921.
Merrill, Lynch & Co., investment bankers, New York and Los Angeles offices.

January, 1921, to October, 1921.
Vice-president and partner of Allen T. Archer, insurance brokerage firm of Los Angeles.

October, 1921, to March, 1923.
Vice-president and partner of J. W. Kays, insurance brokerage firm of Los Angeles.

1924-5 - Traveling.

May, 1926, to March, 1934.
General manager of Better Business Bureau, Columbus, Ohio and (1933-34) president of National Association of Better Business Bureaus.

March, 1934 to present
President of The National Federation of Textiles, Inc. The National Federation of Textiles, Inc. successor to The Silk Association of America, Inc., organized in 1872. one of largest and oldest trade associations, staff of 75 persons.

References:

James C. Auchincloss, Auchincloss, Mills & Bergen, New York, N. Y.
John Burke, President, B. Altman & Company, New York, N. Y.
Paul C. Debry, President, Duplan Silk Corporation, New York, N. Y.
W. Averell Harriman, Brown Bros. Harriman & Co., New York, N. Y.
C. D. Jencks, President, Hamlet Textile Company, Pawtucket, R. I.
W. Alton Jones, Exec. Vice-President, Cities Service Co., New York, N. Y.
T. C. Kennedy, Vice-President, Ohio Public Service Co., Cleveland, O.
Simon Lazarus, President, The Lazarus Dept. Store, Columbus, Ohio
Bruce McLeish, Carson, Pirie & Scott, Chicago, Illinois
J. P. Maguire, President, John P. Maguire & Co., Inc., New York, N. Y.
B. H. Namm, President, The Namm Store, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Robert Roos, President, Roos Bros. Dept. Stores, San Francisco, Calif.
F. M. Stephens, Vice-President, Ohio Bell Telephone Co., Columbus, O.
L. D. Tompkins, Vice-President, U. S. Rubber Co., New York, N. Y.
A. D. Whiteside, President, Dun & Bradstreet, New York, N. Y.
Irwin Wolfe, Kaufman Department Store, Pittsburgh, Pa.

RELATIONSHIP WITH BUSINESS

Better Business Bureaus are cross sections of all the principal business interests of fifty-two of America's largest cities. Through years of activity with these and other organizations, Mr. Van Horn has been able to render unusual service to business groups all over the country, of which the following are indicative.

During 1930-31-32, he was asked to assist in organizing, and was offered the executive position in, Better Business Bureaus in Pittsburgh and San Francisco by interested business leaders of those cities.

In 1931, he had attracted national attention as a fighter against promoters in the security racketeering field and was invited to address the annual meeting of the National Electric Light Association. His work in clearing up rackets in the paint, lacquer and varnish industry brought him an invitation to address the 1933 annual meeting of that industry in Chicago. Through his work in counteracting fraud in the securities field, he cooperated closely with stock exchange officials and Federal and State authorities. In 1934, as a result of his national opposition to fraudulent memorial park promotions, he was requested to address a meeting of Cemetery Executives in Washington.

In 1934, because of his work in the merchandising and advertising field, he addressed the annual convention of the National Retail Dry Goods Association in New York. The same year, he was a featured speaker at the national convention of the sand and gravel industry; attended the conference of the Investment Bankers Association of America to give counsel in the preparation of the Investment Bankers' Code; addressed a large NRA meeting in Washington of representatives of the dyeing and cleaning industry; addressed the annual meeting of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce in Washington; and was called to Washington by the automobile and chattel loan interests of the country to address a national gathering and assist in the preparation of their code to eliminate questionable practices.

In August, 1933, he was drafted by Government and served for six weeks as an honorary worker on the NRA staff in Washington as expert on unfair trade practices. He wrote the trade practice section of the master Retail Code, which became standard for other codes.

In 1935, more than 400 executives of industry and business in a meeting in New York asked him to become permanent chairman of a committee to carry on an important national program. In this connection he organized a meeting in Memorial Hall, Washington, attended by 1,600 business men.

He has been active, since its inception, in the affairs of the Consumers Goods Industries Committee, made up of leaders in the principal consumers goods industries.

He has participated in the meetings called by the National Business Conference Committee, which was an outgrowth of the meeting sponsored by the U. S. Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers in White Sulphur Springs in the spring of 1935.

His radio experience has included weekly broadcasts for eight years and several over national hookups.

Summing up, Mr. Van Horn has been employed and spent his entire time during the past ten years as the representative of organized business in its relationship with government, in its own interrelationships and its public relations.

P L A N F O R

T H E

C O N S T R U C T I V E C I T I Z E N S L E A G U E

(non-political)

FOREWORD

Under the tentative name of "Constructive Citizens League"* a plan is presented for the formation of a non-political organization designed to promote understanding of the CONSTRUCTIVE policies of any national administration as well as to counteract harmful social forces. As indicated, the complete objectives utilize available technique in a definite plan of organization and performance.

*Other suggestions -

"Modern Government League"

"Constructive Government League"

THE OBJECTIVES

The major objectives of the proposed league include:

1. Influencing public opinion so as to increase respect for government -- offsetting the alarming growth of disregard for law and orderly progress resulting, in part, from the activities of sensationalists and vicious manipulators of political propaganda.
2. To encourage and/or support sound, modern - but moderate - government activity necessary to continued recovery and to prevent or minimize future depressions, without endorsement of any individual political office-holder or candidate; conversely, to oppose unnecessary, harmful government activity.
3. To disseminate to all citizens non-political, factual information on economic and social affairs vital to the support of government in its necessary CONSTRUCTIVE efforts.
4. To expose and attack any un-American political agencies destructive to the interest of the continuous evolution of our democratic system of government.

THE NEED FOR THE LEAGUE

1. A large number of well-known and seriously-considered national and local organizations are now active in purely negative, reactionary, destructive propaganda.
2. No organization able and willing to be a forum and assume leadership in a two-sided discussion of current issues now is in existence which is dedicated to CONSTRUCTIVE government and which is utilizing fact as distinguished from prejudice and loose opinion.
3. Any administration in power is under a fundamental handicap in seeking popular support; it is, to a considerable extent, powerless to educate impartially and thus obtain a sound reaction from all the citizenry as to its operation of the government.
4. Bitterness and passion - the American concomitant of a Presidential year - leave in their wake dangerous psychological situations in various groups or elements of the citizenry, creating a need for sane, CONSTRUCTIVE, educational activities by an impartial agency.
5. Citizens who approve of an administration's policy involving CONSTRUCTIVE legislation, but who are afraid or - for other and more valid reasons - unwilling to affiliate with a political party machine, would have in such an agency as proposed an outlet for expression of citizenship through useful participation in the nation's affairs.
6. The political control exercised over various media for education in national affairs prevents, to a serious degree, a true expression of opinion in economic and social matters. Such an organization of CONSTRUCTIVE citizens would work to offset this unfair situation.
7. Whatever the results of the next election, there is a tremendous task ahead in CONSTRUCTIVE industrial and business statesmanship. Needed extension or reduction of government in the economic life of the nation requires intelligent public opinion to retard or hasten the requirements.

PLAN OF ORGANIZATION

Below are a few of the major steps requisite to the organization of the proposed Constructive Citizens League.

1. Voluntary selection of non-partisan steering committee to undertake the following:
 - A. Appointment of Board of Directors, not to exceed twenty-four.
 - B. Incorporation as non-profit organization (Delaware).
2. Selection and appointment of paid officers, responsible to Board of Directors, to include:
 - A. President - full time, non-political public servant with record of broad business and industrial experience.
 - B. Assistant-to-President - full time, non-political - with broad, practical public relations experience.
3. Selection and appointment of honorary officers, to include:
 - A. Chairman of Board
 - B. Vice Chairman of Board.
4. Selection and appointment of honorary vice presidents for:
 - A. Each Federal Reserve District.
 - B. Major groups of citizens (business, industry, women, farmers, professional, workers, etc.)
5. Selection of members to serve on committees, including:
 - A. Executive (policy).
 - B. Organization.

PLAN OF OPERATION

The following indicate the manner in which the League would function:

1. Offices would be established in New York and Washington - with, perhaps, a Western headquarters conveniently located.
2. Departments would be planned as follows to insure efficient and economical execution of assigned tasks:
 - A. Administrative
 - B. Publicity
 - a. Magazines and
-Newspapers.
 - b. Radio and correspondence.
 - c. Newsreels.
 - d. Speakers (organization
and education).
 - e. Other media.
 - C. Research and Fact-finding.

PROCEDURE

The aggressive magazine, radio, newspaper and other campaigns to be continuously undertaken, in accordance with a carefully budgeted, time-table schedule, on issues of vital public interest would be consistent with the following general policy:

- A. Executive Committee to present to the Board all major questions of policy.
- B. In decisions of policy, full regard to be given to scientific, fact-finding analysis as to issues and problems.
- C. Execution of all programs to be consistent with the following platform:
 - a. Economical business-like government administration.
 - b. Maintenance of peace and extension of world trade.
 - c. Minimum of government competition with private enterprise.
 - d. Discussion of legislative issues on facts; not personalities or politics.
 - e. Stimulation of sound thinking on currency, credit, banking and securities problems.
 - f. Critical analysis of all legislation affecting group purchasing power.
 - g. Encouragement of necessary sound, practical social security measures.
 - h. Efficient, impartial handling of unemployment problem.
 - i. Preservation of the right and discouragement of abuse of freedom of speech.



OFFICE OF THE CHAIRMAN

FEDERAL DEPOSIT INSURANCE CORPORATION
WASHINGTON

May 19, 1936.

PERSONAL AND ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Memorandum to Hon. Marvin H. McIntyre:

I learned from a very reliable source that Borah had agreed that his name would not be submitted to the convention and that he would not make any speech against Landon. However, one of his managers, by the name of Bockman, who comes from Virginia, is going to make a speech against Landon prior to the convention. The leaders are hopeful that they can satisfy Borah so that he will stay within the Republican Party.

Leo T. Crowley
LEO T. CROWLEY
Chairman.

PSF: Politics

file
confidential

See - C - Document 2-36

RETURN TO MISS TULLY FOR THE
PRESIDENT'S FILES

PSF: Politics

June 7, 1936

(2)

Dear Leo:

It was nice of you to write me as you did on May twenty-sixth, and give me the low-down on the Nice interview.

We were all very much interested in it, and I can see you now "hit the ceiling" just like you used to do with me.

Naturally, I showed the whole thing to the President and he asked me also to thank you and to say "hello" for him.

Sincerely yours,

M. H. McINTYRE
Assistant Secretary
to the President

Honorable Leo R. Sack,
American Minister,
San Jose,
Costa Rica.

mwd



LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

San José, Costa Rica,
May 26, 1936.

My dear Mac:

Because you may have seen references to it in the Monday newspapers in the United States, I am enclosing for your information clipping of an interview given out in San José by the Honorable Harry W. Nice, Governor of Maryland, and translation thereof and also a letter to him from the American Minister in Costa Rica.

You can imagine how outraged I felt when I read in the Sunday morning newspapers, under a six column headline that "A SECOND ADMINISTRATION OF ROOSEVELT WILL BRING THE UNITED STATES TO RUIN".

It is quite apparent that the Republicans in the viciousness of their campaign against the President do not recognize any such a thing as a three mile limit and that they feel that it is perfectly proper to attack the President at any time and at any place. Obviously, I do not care for Costa Rica to be used as such a sounding board. Although I was laid up with influenza at the time, I dictated the enclosed letter to the Governor and sent it to him by messenger.

In the meanwhile the Governor's conscience must have hurt him because two or three minutes before my messenger arrived at the hotel he left in a taxicab for the Legation to see me and to tell me that he did not intend for his remarks to have been so interpreted by the reporter. Mr. Nice also told me that "I consider Mr. Roosevelt a gentleman of the highest character and personally my relationship with him has been most pleasing".

We

Marvin H. McIntyre, Esquire,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

V
Mac - hand
my nice letter
to Jack &
then return
to me

We discussed my letter and I made it clear to him that while I recognized his right to indulge in legitimate criticism within the United States, I did, as American Minister, resent very much his attack on the President while he was in this, a foreign country. I also told him that I regarded his interview as inexcusable and in very poor taste. The Governor was plenty apologetic and tried to say that the reporter did not get him correctly.

That, of course, Mac, as you know, is an old excuse. I later talked to the reporter who is the most reliable newspaper man in Costa Rica and he told me that there was no doubt whatsoever in his mind that Governor Nice intended that he should be quoted, just as he was quoted. With reference to the phrase "ruin and bankruptcy" the reporter said that he quoted the Governor verbatim and made notes at the time in the Governor's presence. The reporter also added that he had been informed by other tourist passengers on the boat that while he was in Habana Governor Nice indulged in similar criticism of Mr. Roosevelt.

May I add that the Governor's interview outraged not only members of the American colony but many prominent Costa Ricans, several of whom have congratulated me for my letter to him.

With my kindest personal regards, I am,

Very sincerely,


LEO R. SACK.

Enclosures: 3

UNA SEGUNDA ADMINISTRACION DE ROOSEVELT LLEVARIA A ESTADOS UNIDOS A LA RUINA

EL GOBERNADOR DE MARYLAND HARRY W. NICE, LLEGADO AYER A SAN JOSE, HACE ESA SENSACIONAL DECLARACION A "LA TRIBUNA"

EL GOBIERNO AMERICANO HA GASTADO TREINTA Y UN MIL MILLONES DE DOLARES SIN HABER LOGRADO DISMINUIR LOS DOCE MILLONES DE OBREROS QUE SIGUEN SIN TRABAJO

El gobernador Nice es uno de los hombres de mayor prestigio del partido Republicano y su nombre figura como candidato a la vicepresidencia y, aun como, probable candidato presidencial. — Su personalidad política es tan importante que ganó la gobernación de Maryland siendo éste estado uno de los baluartes del partido demócrata

En su edición de ayer LA TRIBUNA anunció de una manera exclusiva la llegada a San José del gobernador del estado de Ma-



HONORABLE HARRY W. NICE

ryland, uno de los más importantes de la Unión Norteamericana, Honorable Harry W. Nice, quien nos visita en compañía de su distinguida señora esposa y su hija en viaje de vacaciones y de negocios.

Ayer mismo, miembros de la colonia norteamericana nos informaron que el gobernador Nice había sido uno de los sostenes del partido republicano ("G O P") toda su vida. Su popularidad es tan grande y su hombría de bien tan conocida en Maryland, que en este estado netamente demócrata, él es el tercer gobernador republicano en un siglo de historia política de los Estados Unidos. Hace unos dieciséis años, nos dicen, el gobernador encabezaba la papeleta opuesta por los republicanos a la del inmensa-

elecciones por el ínfimo margen de unos sesenta y cuatro votos, riendo el electorado de varios centenares de miles de votos.

Los datos anteriores darán a los lectores una idea de la importancia política del personaje que nos visita en estos momentos por lo cual LA TRIBUNA destacó a uno de sus redactores para entrevistarlo a su ingreso a la capital.

La conversación que sostuvimos con el gobernador Nice giró exclusivamente sobre la política actual en los Estados Unidos, y, siendo nuestro distinguido interlocutor un acérrimo oponente de la administración del presidente Roosevelt, sus declaraciones son de gran actualidad en la contienda política que está desarrollándose en los Estados Unidos.

Con mucho gusto el señor Nice nos dio las siguientes declaraciones a los lectores de LA TRIBUNA:

"Lo que somos nosotros, los republicanos, creemos que el presidente Roosevelt no debe ser reelecto, pues con una segunda administración llevaría a los Estados Unidos a la ruina y a la bancarrota. Las ingentes sumas que se han gastado en poco más de tres años de la administración del presidente Roosevelt, pesarán sobre dos o tres generaciones, y los impuestos cada día más fuertes están llevando al país a un estado de cosas que no se sabe dónde terminará. A-

LA TRIBUNA

Director: JOSE MARIA PINAUD

Domingo 24 de Mayo de 1936

Año XVI

Número 4672

Muestra nuestra foto la llegada ayer a esta capital del gobernador del estado de Maryland, Honorable Harry W. Nice, en compañía de su señora esposa y de su hijo Harry Nice, Jr., porando para LA TRIBUNA en compañía del concul americano Mr. Collaps, Mr. Fick, los esposos Thomas Ewalt, y abajo el Dr. Edward Wasserman con su señora esposa.



haber gastado el gobierno treintayun mil millones de dólares, el número de desocupados no ha merma y, lamentablemente. Al asumir el poder el presidente Roosevelt eran unos doce millones setecientos cincuenta mil los que no tenían trabajo, y en este momento son doce millones. Salta a la vista que esos enormes gastos no han resuelto el problema de la desocupación. Lo que sí han producido es un bienestar ficticio, que forzosamente tiene que cesar tan pronto se agoten los recursos de la administración Roosevelt y les advierto que ese tiempo no está muy distante.

El mejor barómetro para conocer la popularidad de un mandatario es la prensa y cuando el presidente Roosevelt asumió el poder, un noventa y nueve por ciento de los diarios de los Estados Unidos estaba en su favor. Ahora, las cosas han cambiado de tal modo que un sesentisiete por ciento está en su contra. Además su pérdida de popularidad ha sido muy bien demostrada en la última votación llevada a cabo imparcialmente por el "Literary Digest" en la que tomaron parte diez millones de personas no través de los Estados Unidos; el porcentaje fue más o menos el mismo que el de la prensa. Des-



HONORABLE HARRY W. NICE

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Hasta aquí las sensacionales declaraciones del gobernador Nice, y en vía de dar a nuestros lectores una idea de su personalidad política, queremos agregar que es tan popular en todas partes de los Estados Unidos, que varios de los norteamericanos residentes en esta capital opinan que el distinguido huésped tiene muy buen chance de ser escogido como candidato republicano para la vice-presidencia y en ciertas circunstancias para la presidencia de la república en la convención nacional que se celebrará el cinco de junio, porque él dispone de los votos de los dieciséis delegados del estado de Maryland, territorio estratégicamente situado en las orillas de los estados sureños. Como se cree que el verdadero candidato republicano para la presidencia vendrá del oeste, los estrategas de ese partido buscarán a un hombre popular del este para armonizar todas las fuerzas y tratar de ganar las elecciones de noviembre. Este hombre muy bien puede ser el Honorable Harry W. Nice, quien se encuentra entre nosotros en estos momentos.

LA TRIBUNA se complace en saludar al distinguido huésped y a su familia y los esposos Ewalt que completan el grupo, deseándoles un feliz viaje de regreso a los Estados Unidos.

A SECOND ROOSEVELT ADMINISTRATION WOULD BRING
RUIN TO THE UNITED STATES

The Governor of Maryland, Harry W. Nice, who arrived yesterday at San José, made this sensational declaration to the LA TRIBUNA.

Governor Nice has been one of the main supports of the Republican Party (G.O.P.) all his life. His popularity is so great and his honesty so well known in Maryland, that in a purely Democratic state he is the third Republican governor in a century of United States political history. Some sixteen years ago, we are told, the governor headed the ticket with which the Republicans opposed the immensely popular Governor Ritchie, and Mr. Nice lost the elections by the very small margin of sixty-four votes, when there were several hundreds of thousands of votes.

The conversation we had with Governor Nice was exclusively on the political situation in the United States, and as our distinguished visitor is a strong opponent of President Roosevelt, his declarations are very up-to-date with regard to the political campaign that is going on in the United States.

"As far as we Republicans are concerned, we believe that President Roosevelt should not be reelected, for a second Roosevelt administration would bring the United States to ruin and bankruptcy. The enormous sums that have been spent during a little more than three years of the Roosevelt administration will weigh on two or three generations, and the taxes which are heavier every day, are bringing the country into such a state of affairs that we do not know where it will end. Notwithstanding the fact that the Government has spent thirty-one thousand million dollars, the number of unemployed has not diminished perceptibly. When President Roosevelt took office, the number of unemployed was twelve million seven hundred and fifty thousand, and at the present there are twelve million. It is quite evident that the enormous expenditures have not solved the problem of unemployment. What it has produced is a false well-being that must necessarily cease as soon as the funds of the Roosevelt administration are gone, and that time is not very far off.

"The best barometer to know the popularity of a leader is the press and when President Roosevelt assumed charge, ninety-nine percent of the American newspapers were in his favor. Now things have changed so much that sixty-six percent are against him. Besides his loss of popularity has been very well demonstrated in the last elections impartially brought about by the LITERARY DIGEST, in which ten million people throughout the United States took part; the percentage was more or less the same as the press. Of course our opponents do not believe in this

and

and we cannot make them change their opinion. But for the good of the United States, President Roosevelt should not be reelected, that is what we Republicans believe."

These were Governor Nice's declarations, and so as to give our readers an idea of his political personality, we wish to add that he is so popular in every part of the United States, that several North Americans living here are of the opinion that the distinguished guest has a good chance of being chosen Republican candidate for the vice presidency and in some circumstances for the Presidency of the Republic, at the National Convention that will take place the fifth of June, for he has the votes of the sixteen delegates of the State of Maryland, territory strategically situated on the border between the northern and southern states. As the belief is that the real Republican candidate for the presidency will come from the West, the leaders of the party will look for a popular man in the East to harmonize the forces and try to win the elections in November. This man may well be the Honorable Harry W. Nice, who is with us at the present moment.

San José, Costa Rica
May 24, 1936

Dear Governor Nice:

I have just read in today's LA TRIBUNA of San José your amazing interview in which you assert that "a second Roosevelt administration will bring the United States to ruin and bankruptcy."

Your prophecy is so ridiculous that I am reminded that four years ago another distinguished Republican predicted that if Mr. Roosevelt were elected the grass would grow in the streets.

Prevailing economic conditions in Maryland, where people are better fed and more cheerful than they have been since 1929, is the best possible proof of the falsity of that prediction.

The recent primaries in your state furnished abundant additional evidence of the reaction of the Maryland voters to the visible benefits of the Roosevelt administration and is, I believe, proof that your fellow Marylanders are more confident than you regarding the future.

I appreciate that as a Republican you regard it as your duty to attack President Roosevelt at any time and anywhere, but as the United States Minister to Costa Rica, I do resent the use of this, a foreign country, as your sounding board.

It seems to me that partisanship should cease at the three mile limit, and that it is very bad taste for even the most irresponsible American to assail the President of the United States in a foreign country.

Such an attack is even more inexcusable and in poorer taste when it is made by the Governor of the great state of Maryland.

Yours truly,

LEO R. SACK
American Minister

His Excellency
Harry W. Nice,
Governor of Maryland,
Temporarily at Hotel Costa Rica,
San José, Costa Rica

PSF: Politics

See - Dinner 12 - 13/6

September 12, 1936.

Dear Lawrence:-

Your letter is a perfect epitome and being one of those old-fashioned, hard-boiled politicians, I can only tell you that your summary is even more favorable than I myself had analyzed it. With seven weeks to go there are still all kinds of possibilities of bad breaks or fielding errors.

I do hope to get to Chicago in October but cannot make any plans for another ten days. I shall let you know as soon as I decide.

With love to all of you,
Affectionately,

James L. Houghteling, Esq.,
141 W. Jackson Boulevard,
Chicago,
Illinois.

PSF: Politics

JAMES L. HOUGHTELING

141 W. JACKSON BOULEVARD

CHICAGO

WABASH 2992

September 9, 1936

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

Dear Franklin:

When I saw you at Hyde Park in August you asked me to write you fully when I got back to Chicago about the local political situation. I have delayed doing so until the end of your drought-inspection trip, and then waited through Labor Day to get reports on two Coughlin-Lemke meetings.

My report must be mainly favorable, as its background is the primary vote last April here in Illinois in which you received a complimentary vote 450,000 higher than the combined Knox and Borah vote at the end of a hot contest. I don't believe the intervening months have changed the situation materially, despite 1) the "Landon swing" in the corn-belt, 2) the Coughlin-Lemke effort, and 3) the Horner-Kelly fight.

Landon looked awfully good to the discouraged Republicans downstate after Frank Knox's intensely selfish stupid campaign before the convention (more or less riddled by insidious Tribune anti-Knox propaganda and by the much franker and more refreshing Borah onslaught). There has always been plenty of able Republican leadership in the great strip of country between Cook County and our southern coal-mining counties (which are overwhelmingly pro-Roosevelt), and that leadership began to work with enthusiasm as soon as Landon's nomination gave it somebody acceptable to work for. You had the edge in the corn-belt before the conventions. My best information is that there was immediately a decided swing toward Landon. The Tribune carries more weight down there than in Chicago. My Republican friends downstate were greatly encouraged early in July. But their optimism appears to be oozing away as time goes on.

I think you should come up to the Cook County line on election day on even or very nearly even terms. And you should have no difficulty in carrying Chicago by an impressive majority. Of Course, the Tribune, the News and the Hearst papers are plying their readers unceasingly with the unfairiest sort of dirty fighting, but so far it hasn't seemed to get across with the great bulk of Chicagoans. The effect of that sort of day-by-day attack is, however, hard to measure. It is true that the newspapers haven't brought a single new argument against you this year, but their reiterated hammering about rising debts and increasing taxes may have some effect. The Times is the only Chicago newspaper whose circulation is growing, and the enthusiasm of its readers for its New Deal

To the President,
Sept. 9, 1936.

loyalty is most encouraging. It recently advertised Roosevelt buttons and gave away 2,000,000 of them so fast that the Democratic National Committee asked it to hold back on account of the expense.

My contacts inside the Chicago Daily News office are most interesting. Except for two or three writers who stick close to Frank Knox, the whole editorial staff thinks that the Landon-Knox ticket hasn't a show. This includes two or three special writers who have been making confidential canvasses. One man close to the Republican headquarters staff tells me that the finance officers over there are much worried over certain financial commitments on the part of big business men, on which they are having great difficulty in collecting. They are spending all the money they collect on their tremendously expensive campaign and, if these commitments run out on them, they are afraid they may have no money to man the polls on election day. Since I heard this I've been wondering whether such a situation may not explain the very favorable early returns in certain straw votes - also Landon's sudden decision to campaign in Maine. After all, it's necessary to persuade even the most ardent anti-New Dealers that they won't be throwing their money down a rat-hole.

Father Coughlin had an immense turn-out for a mass-meeting here on Sunday, and great enthusiasm - although Times spotters thought that a reasonable percentage of the crowd came through curiosity. The personal tribute to Coughlin was undoubtedly accentuated by the ill-judged action of Bob Dunham as president of the park board last year when he refused the use of the Grant Park stadium to Father Coughlin. However, the Labor Day turn-out for Lemke and Big Bill Thompson, held at the same location as the Coughlin meeting, was a distinct fizzle. Coughlin can always draw a crowd for himself, but I doubt if he can deliver them to Lemke, or Landon.

The Horner-Kelly fight is as bitter as ever under the surface. Personally I think that Horner is more than 50% to blame, although in general I admire him much more than the other crowd. As a politician he's ungracious, uncompromising and suspicious (and unfortunately shows his suspicions too plainly). I'm afraid he will have a hard time winning re-election; although two of my best non-partisan sources of information think he will squeak through. Horner is unquestionably loyal to you and is doing everything he can for the national ticket. Some of his followers would trade votes against you if they dared, but they know Horner must count on your popularity to pull him in. The same holds good with the Kelly crowd. Kelly took an awful smash in the eye in the primary and the whole success of his administration and the continued power of his machine depends on a big Democratic victory in November. I know of numerous instances in which Mayor Kelly has gone out of his way to do helpful things for the national ticket. Some of his crowd will knife Horner seriously, but the safest thing for all of them will be to support the whole ticket.

To The President,
Sept. 9, 1936.

I told you about the offer of Edgar Cook, the Borah pre-convention manager out here, to campaign for you among the Borah following in Illinois, if his expenses are paid. (Borah polled 420,000 votes in the primary, and intimates that his feelings won't be hurt if all of them vote for you in November). Jim Farley sent Sen. O'Mahony to talk to Cook recently and the senator seemed favorably impressed. I'm sitting in a bit on the situation myself. Dick Finnegan of the Times - the smartest political strategist in Chicago - thinks the money would be well spent. Cook is an egotist who has to do things his own way, but I believe he can be valuable. His activities might be a good offset against the Coughlin-Lemke inroads (if any). With the local newspaper opposition building up every possible factor unfavorable to you, I don't believe we should overlook any bets.

By the same token, while I think Illinois is safe, we mustn't be overconfident. A speech by you in Chicago would draw a huge crowd, encourage your supporters and dispel the clouds of poison gas the local newspapers are spreading. Come on out. We're really a most friendly town.

Always yours sincerely,

Lawrence Douglas

P. S. I've just been lunching with Gen. "Bill" Westervelt, vice-president of Sears Roebuck & Company. He tells me that his company's reports from its agents all over the country are most encouraging as to your election.

PSF: Politics

Normandy Farm
Greynedd Valley
Montgomery County
Pennsylvania

file
personal

October 24th, 1936.

Telephone
Ambler 40

See 2-36

My dear Mr. President:

I cannot tell you how much I appreciate your having taken the time to write to me during your strenuous campaign, and I thank you most sincerely for your letter.

Anything I can do to help your campaign will still be insufficient to express my gratitude to you for the victory you have accomplished over distress and broken morale, one which history will not fail to recognize. I felt it my duty, therefore, to offer you my support, but here in this conservative community in which I live and where I have been an active participant in the Republican Party for many years, it is somewhat difficult to shift one's vote without incurring criticism for disregard of Party regularity. This, however, is of no importance.

We are working hard here and I feel sure that many Republicans in southeastern Pennsylvania will follow my example and express their gratitude to you by re-electing you as their Leader on November 3rd for another period of office.

With respectful regards, believe me,
dear Mr. President,

Very sincerely yours,

Ralph Beaver Strassburger

The Honorable
Franklin D. Roosevelt,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

PSF: Politics

File
(personal)

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF LABOR
WASHINGTON

April 27, 1937.

My dear Mr. President:

Major George L. Berry called me from Tennessee yesterday, telling me that Governor Browning had an appointment with you to-day.

He said that the Governor has been very much upset because appointments such as United States Marshal and the head of the Social Security Administration in Tennessee were made without any consultation or advice from him.

Major Berry asked me to tell you that if the Governor could get assurances that Major Berry could be consulted on appointments, if the Major was appointed by the Governor for the unexpired term of the late Senator Bachman, the Governor would be very much inclined to appoint Major Berry. Whether or not Governor Browning will discuss this with you I do not know. I am making this at the request of Major Berry.

Faithfully yours,

Edw. F. McGrady
EDW. F. McGRADY.

The President,

The White House.

file
private
(2)

Telegram to Senator Joseph T. Guffey,
Democratic Members of the House
of Representatives from
Pennsylvania.

Dear Sir:

President Roosevelt is right. Secretary Morgenthau and former President Hoover are wrong.

From 1929 to 1933 this country suffered as few civilized countries have ever suffered. This was solely due to the policy of President Hoover and the Republican leaders, the only policy they knew, of pouring money into the laps of the employers, hoping some of it would trickle down to the lower income branches. This Federal money never got beyond the first layer, the employer.

President Roosevelt, barely in time, with courage and foresight dragged us back from the edge of the precipice, building from the bottom up and not the top down, by giving purchasing power to the worker, farmer, white collar man and small business man, by the N. R. A., A. A. A. and a great constructive works program. Today, by his deflationary tactics, Mr. Morgenthau is about to destroy all the President has built up.

Our great problem now is the problem of our people displaced by the machine. In mill and factory and office, down in mines and out on farms, everywhere more and more of us are being thrown out of work by labor saving devices. Until this fundamental problem, bringing with it magnificent production, miserable distribution and steadily increasing unemployment, is met and conquered, we must go on priming the pump, go on with the great works program of decent housing, safe roads, of rural electrification and C. C. C. camps. We must back Secretary Wallace, securing a fair and living price for cotton, wheat and corn.

Secretary Morgenthau's last speech was a page from the textbook of Wall Street.

To you Democratic members of Congress from Pennsylvania, I urge you to stand firm for the progressive policies of the New Deal that have saved our country from chaos or worse.

Secretary Morgenthau's deflationary policies have already started our country into a tailspin. If persisted in, America will go into a nosedive that will dwarf 1929.

George Earle
Governor

DOUBTFUL Chairman Jones of the House agriculture committee has told friends that the new farm bloc bill can't pass as it stands. It is a composite of the old Hoover Farm Board, A.A.A., and ever-normal granary. If it passes, the erosion prevention system of passing out benefits will be superseded--and Congress has just provided funds for that system.

Not all farm organizations are behind the new bill. White House support is in doubt. The bill is not a "must".

NEW YORK

By James McMullin

FROZE The late Charles Hayden of Hayden, Stone was no admirer of the New Deal when alive. In death he played a colossal joke on its painstakingly planned share-the-wealth program.

He was aided in doing so by the fact that only two close relations survived him--his wife and his brother. On both of these he foresightedly settled lavish "gifts" years ago--before there was even a gift tax--so that they were amply taken care of for life and no provision had to be made for them when he died. Consequently he was able to--and did--leave his entire fortune to a charitable foundation established by his will. Bequests to charity are of course tax-exempt.

The cream of the jest is that Mr. Hayden's estate is confidentially and reliably estimated at close to \$80,000,000. Most of this vast sum would normally have been subject to the 75% share-the-wealth inheritance tax. His ingenuity therefore froze the Treasury out of the modest sum of almost \$80,000,000--not to be sneezed at even in these days of multiple digits.

CLOAK Naturally this brilliant device for short-circuiting the tax collector after one's demise has attracted the admiring attention of other wealthy gentlemen confronted with inheritance tax problems. Not many can emulate it 100% because of their need to provide for personal dependents, but it's a safe bet that rich men's wills probated within the next ten or twenty years will show staggeringly large bequests to charity. Charity's gain will be Uncle Sam's loss.

The government may rage and roar about this large leak in the tax dike. But the beauty of this hole--from the viewpoint of those who take advantage of it--is that it is practically impossible to plug. Even a Congress disposed to soak the rich to the limit would hesitate to take action which would lay it open to the charge of grabbing money intended for philanthropic use. Charity in this case is a marvelous cloak, to be worn on all possible occasions.

In a sense, this practice will amount to redistribution of wealth anyway. But the possessors of fortunes won't mind that as long as they, and not the government, direct the distribution.

DEFECT The confidential opinion of dirigible experts, based on evidence in the inquiry to date plus the incident described in the general release, is that--no matter what the Germans say--the Hindenburg failed structurally first in that a gas cell gave way or one of its valves was not functioning properly.

They contend that otherwise it would have been impossible for a large quantity of gas to be present in a "free" state--in the ship but outside the cells. One of the crew testified that one of the valves in a rear cell had been giving trouble and had been changed.

Of course it remains true that--regardless of possible structural defects--there would have been no fire if the escaping gas had been helium instead of hydrogen. That is the most important fact about the disaster.

CHARGE Sources in a position to know say that Pleas Greenlee, protégé of Senator Minton of Indiana who was recently appointed to the Bituminous Coal Commission as a representative of the public (see general release), has never denied the charge that he was formerly an organizer for the Ku Klux Klan.

CLARIFIED In a recent Confidential item, we reported remarks of an official of American Cyanamid expressing great bitterness towards President Roosevelt. The speaker quoted was neither an officer nor director of the company.

The statement was made under private circumstances and was reported in these Confidential pages to Editors as an extreme instance of attacks on the President which are reaching great proportions among right wing leaders in business and finance.

This statement is made in response to a request that we make clearer the definition of the individual's position by whom the words were used.

RICHARD WALDO, Editor

PSF: Politics

(2)

file
personal

OFFICE OF

THE COMPTROLLER OF THE CURRENCY

7,000 ft in air
Between Chicago
and Salt Lake
June 9-37

Dear Mr. President

after leaving
you yesterday Frank
Daugherty called me from
Mayflower and told me
that Sen Hiram Johnson
had called him and told
him of our conversation.
Evidently Johnson is great-
ly interested.

Sen Radcliffe came
to my table at dinner last
night. Living at the same
hotel we have many chats

2

OFFICE OF
THE COMPTROLLER OF THE CURRENCY

I asked him if he knew
Sen Johnson's feeling to-
wards the President.
Of course he did not know
the reason for my asking.
He said he had a long
talk with Johnson about
two weeks ago and Johnson
spoke "feelingly and
kindly of the President."
He said he regretted it
was necessary to differ
on some questions.
I asked Sen R. if he would
pass that on to you. He
hesitated and told me of
his great affection for you
but he wrote you a letter

OFFICE OF
THE COMPTROLLER OF THE CURRENCY

telling why he opposed
the Court plan and seem-
ed to feel this would
make some difference.
My recollection is that
every federal official
in S. Francisco & Los Angeles
U.S. Atty., Marshalls, Customs
Collectors of Internal Revenue
and all assistants were
given to Sen McAdoo and
only Roche, federal judge
given to Johnson while
McAdoo was given 2 Feder-
al judges in Los Angeles
and now a Circuit Judge.
I believe Johnson can
be got back into the fold
probably not on the Court

OFFICE OF
THE COMPTROLLER OF THE CURRENCY

plain

but on other issues - with-
out offending Sen McPherson.
I believe the Vice President
can bring it about.

Will bring you a full
report of California
situation when I return.
With affectionate regards
I am -

Cordially & Sincerely
J. G. F.

PSF: Politics

What has happened
to Frank Knapp? Jeff

THE CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 9, 1937.

ROOSEVELT IS '100 PCT. CORRECT' ON GOLD—ALDRICH

New York, June 9.—(UP)—President Roosevelt knows more about the gold situation than "anyone else and what he says about it is 100 per cent correct," Winthrop W. Aldrich, chairman of the Chase National Bank, said on his return from abroad on the S. S. Bremen yesterday.

Aldrich said he did not think the United States should do anything with regard to the gold situation except to co-operate with England. He said he thought the whole situation "is up to the government and is being very well handled."

"The gold situation is out of the bankers' hands and is a government problem," he said.

Chairman Myron C. Taylor of the United States Steel Corporation also returned aboard the Bremen and waved aside questions concerning steel labor difficulties.

"Don't speak of such things. There is no point in speaking at this time at all," he said.

President Thomas J. Watson of International Business Corporation said the most important thing in connection with future prosperity in the United States, "is a greater unity of purpose on the part of government and business."



THE COMPTROLLER OF THE CURRENCY
WASHINGTON

Los Angeles, California.
February 16th, 1938.

PSF: Politics
THE WHITE HOUSE
FEB 18 9 08 AM '38
RECEIVED

My dear Mr. President,

The friends of Cecil B. DeMille have made every effort to get him to run in the Republican primary for United States Senator. His closest friend and adviser told me that DeMille set forth as one of the conditions of his running, that he receive the open support of Senator Hiram Johnson, and also the agreement that Johnson would speak for him. This information was passed on to Senator Johnson and my friend saw a copy of the reply.

Senator Johnson said he would take no part in the Republican primaries in California and possibly not in the election because your Administration had more nearly represented the things he wanted, although not all of them, and at times he was forced to disagree.

Before you directed the release of my letter and your letter to the Press on my resignation, I talked to Senator Johnson at the Capitol. He said he rather hoped I would not resign and he made complimentary references to my work. I told him my friends in California were rather insistent about it, and he said "I don't like to see you get into that dirty mess", and then he asked me if I would receive your approval and I indicated to him confidentially that you were favorable. He then said, "You are the next Governor of California". I have not told this to anyone else as I regarded the conversation as confidential.

The conversation did indicate the very friendly feeling of the Senator. He further said "I have not received a letter criticizing your work in the nearly five years you have been in Washington".

The campaign is progressing rapidly here, and everyone of the leaders in the primary campaign of 1932, which was directed by myself in Southern California, are enthusiastic in my support. I am particularly pleased about this as I do hope that we can keep a solid Roosevelt front.

(2)

I am enclosing you herewith a copy of my release to the Press.

I will be in Washington February 25th to assist in celebrating the 75th anniversary of the signing by President Lincoln of the Bill creating the Bureau of Comptroller of the Currency. I do hope to have a chat with you.

Cordially yours,



J. F. T. O'CONNOR
Comptroller

Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt,
President of the United States,
Washington, D. C.

STATEMENT BY J. F. T. O'CONNOR

I shall enter the Democratic primaries for Governor of California.

The state exists for the people. The people do not exist for the state. The end and aim of government should be to bring happiness to all the people. Peace and happiness cannot exist in the same atmosphere with organized crime, which makes jobs insecure, business unsettled, and throws its death shadows into peaceful homes. Racketeers in New York struck terror into the ranks of small business men and their employees. Unless tribute was paid, death threatened both employer and employee. These organized bands must be destroyed. The courageous leaders in New York supported by the progressive forces of labor made New York safe for laborer and employer. This accomplished, labor, agriculture, industry and business will have cleared their path of a serious obstacle.

Ill-will and hatred come largely from misunderstanding. If each group will concede to the other the same rights it demands for itself we can go forward. Going forward means widening markets for California's soil and factory products in our own country and the extension of our trade lines to our sister Republics to the south, as well as countries across the seas.

Government is a business in which each citizen is a shareholder. There must be no preferred shareholders claiming superior rights, but each should have an equal interest. Those elected to direct the great business of Government are merely servants, irrespective of the title. Honesty, efficiency and economy should characterize every act of a public official. And when the work is done the pages of the book should be turned one by one that all might read and each may judge whether or not the faith has been kept.

As the campaign progresses, many issues will be discussed. More than six months away is the primary. The voters during that time will have ample opportunity to determine which candidate they prefer, among a field of fine men, to carry on the battle to the November election. If that choice should fall upon myself, I pledge a clean and vigorous campaign, and in the event of election, an Administration of honesty, efficiency and economy. I shall make no promise to any individual of political reward in the event of victory. If I cannot serve all the people, I choose to return to the more peaceful pursuits of private life.

Swamp Reclamation Next Big Job For City, State And Nation

Rome's Pontine Marsh Drainage Points Way For Project Near New Orleans

Decisive Action By Mussolini Solved 2500-Year-Old Problem And Brought Fertile Farms To Once Waste Area; Same Results Are Possible In Louisiana

By BAKER MARSH

THE drainage of the potentially rich but unproductive alluvial lands lying in the swamps surrounding New Orleans is the next big problem confronting the city today. The city has gone far already. With the aid of federal funds streets have been paved or repaired, drainage and sewerage disposal improved, the lakefront, parks and other sections beautified. New Orleans is now ready to go ahead.

The answer to how that is to be done lies in the reclamation of that area around the city which is not being utilized to the fullest extent.

Such a project is no idle dream. Outside Rome, in an area similar to that around New Orleans, Italians have brought forth an agricultural gold mine. Of their problems and their results we will see more later. Let's look at conditions here first.

Within a 50-mile radius of New Orleans lies some of the most fertile land in the world, deposits laid down by the Mississippi river. Today that land is a breeding place for mosquitoes, the haunt of a few trappers. Reclaimed it could easily support 30 times as many people as now live there and those people could provide the purchasing power needed to bring new industries to the city, as well as materially aid those already here.

City, state, business and civic organizations and leaders realize the potentialities of such a project.

The Association of Commerce named a special committee of John Klorer, consulting engineer for the Sewerage and Water board; George Earl, chief engineer of the board, and Walter Parker, to study the possibilities of such a program. They reported "such work is feasible, practicable and desirable from an economic and health standpoint." They outlined a tract bounded by the Spillway, the Chef, the lake and Lafitte as the area within which such work could best be done. About 50,000 people live in that section now. Enhanced by the 500,000 acres a reclamation project would make available, 1,500,000 people could live there.

There would be the purchasing power, combined with the fact that millions of dollars now leaving the city for farm and dairy products would be spent in the immediate vicinity, building up a community farming center along lines of the

Flood Control and Water Conservation commission, Young Men's Business club, and the state Legislature. With congress appropriating a record \$3,750,000,000 for direct relief, aid to the unemployed and public works, Governor Leche went to Washington to seek the \$30,000,000 it was estimated the project would cost. Earnest efforts to obtain this money are now going on.

How Italy Solved Problem

Backed by federal funds, what is now only a plan to better the economic and sanitary activities of the city would become a reality.

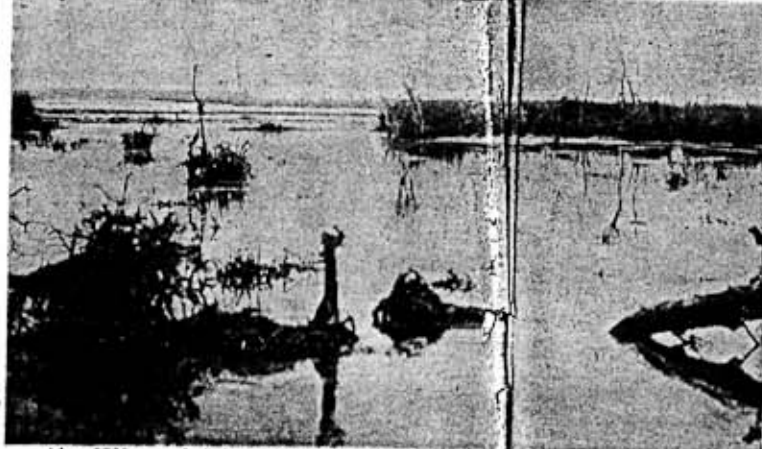
If that sounds far fetched, a nebulous dream that would never work in reality, take a look at what Italy has done, then see what can be done here and the far reaching results of such a program.

Just at the doors of Rome lay the famed Pontine marshes, just as swamps lie just at the doors of New Orleans. The marshes were an unproductive morass and a pesthole to the Romans almost 2000 years before Blenville set foot in Louisiana. They stayed that way until a few years ago despite continued attempts to put them to use.

Today, unlike the swamps around New Orleans, they are a land of plenty that have answered Mussolini's demand for enough grain to



Il Duce
Surveys...



After 2500 years Italy has reclaimed the famed Pontine marshes, approximately 500,000 acres of fertile lands lying almost at the doors of Rome. The marshes were formed by a dune along the seacoast which prevented natural drainage of rain water flowing from the Lepine mountains in the interior. Canals were dug, roads built, and the entire area turned into a farming province. Below, at left, is a picture of the swamp before the reclamation work. Below, right, is a view of Littoria, capital of the province, built on the spot shown at the left. At right, above, is Premier Mussolini, the man responsible for the reclamation project.

blocking the flow of water into the sea, the area has become a fertile plain.

city for farm and dairy products would be spent in the immediate vicinity, building up a community farming center along lines of the resettlement administration and forming a farm-city axis for mutual advantage.

Encouraged by the report, various organizations went to work. The project was approved by the Association of Commerce, Advertising Club of New Orleans, Louisiana.



PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT



GOVERNOR LECHE



MAYOR MAESTRI

Today, unlike the swamps around New Orleans, they are a land of plenty that have answered Mussolini's demand for enough grain to make Italy self-sufficient; that have provided the much needed space for agricultural expansion; and the mosquitoes, carriers of malaria, the dread "Roman fever," have practically been eliminated.

Beginning just south and east of Rome, the marshes form a rectangular plan of about 500,000 acres, enclosed on two sides by the Lepine mountains and on the other two by the Tyrrhenian sea. Heavy rains in the mountains during the winter months send torrents of water onto the plains, carrying tons of rich earth.

Previous Efforts Balked

And those rains, bringing fertility, also brought ruin. Along the seashore runs a 3-mile-wide dune,

a view of Littoria, capital of the province, built on the spot where the sea once was. At left, above, is Premier Mussolini, the man responsible for the reclamation project.

blocking the flow of water into the sea. The region, therefore, was like a huge, shallow basin from which the water could not drain.

In 1925 the work of digging canals, building roads, filling low places, fighting malaria began. An 85-foot canal collects much of the water from the mountains, skirts the low places and carries it to the sea. Pumps lifted other water out. Undergrowth was cleared out and stumps and roots removed to a depth of three feet.

Now there are 160 miles of roads, 300 miles of canals, thousands of farm houses. With the land drained, canals and pumps removing excess rainfall and the land made tillable as well as healthy to live

on, the area has become one of the leading provinces in Italy.

The fight against malaria was itself a great achievement. The aid of the Rockefeller foundation, experimental stations were set up in 1926 and worked right with the laborers. In 1926, 90 percent of the population was infected with malaria and practical child reached its first birthday without an attack. Today the infection percentage is close to 0. The dreaded "Roman fever" is more.

Cost Of Land A Factor

One of the major problems confronting the Italians, and one that is bothering the government the proposed New Orleans project is the cost of taking over the land

reclaimed or the working out of some scheme in which the owners can co-operate.

Italy solved this in two ways. In one instance the state offered financial assistance to every landowner who would build, on every 30 acres of land, a house with stable, pens, cattle and baking oven. Interest on the loan was set at two percent. Under that system the owner provided the land, buildings and the heavy machinery to till the soil. The farmer, for his part, supplied the labor, a cart and the small tools for cultivation. The produce, the proceeds from the sale of cattle, everything, was then split 50-50 between farmer and landowner.

If, however, the owner refused to co-operate the state expropriated the

land. Under this system the state built the house, provided the cattle and farming machinery, the farmer his labor, and the crop was split with the state.

Health, Educational Facilities

But Italy did not stop there. By payment of a small annual sum, the farmer was guaranteed medical, hospital and dental care and the state provided all educational facilities. In addition, three cities were built. Electricity was made available and recreational facilities set up. Highways, bus service, telephones, radio are a commonplace in a land that 10 years ago was a swamp.

The effects of the plan are far reaching. Besides cleaning up a pesthole, Mussolini was able to supply fertile land for those whose soil

was poor, unproductive. This had become quite a problem in Italy. Besides, he vitally aided unemployment.

G. C. Baravelli in "Land Reclamation in Italy," says:

"Land reclamation, besides being a radical remedy for unemployment because the new lands rendered fit for agriculture lead to an increased demand for agricultural labor and to the permanent settling of workers on the land, also, while the work is being carried out, insures a temporary absorption of unemployed laborers. Reclamation work in Italy has provided 135,363,750 working days for unemployed laborers."

Those working days, besides temporarily helping the unemployed, went for a project that will provide steady employment for hundreds of families for years to come. Many of the men who prepared the land for use stayed to live on it, although a number of them had no agricultural experience at all.

Can Be Duplicated Here

The story of Italian reclamation can be duplicated in New Orleans, engineers say. The conditions, the problems, are almost identical, except that Louisiana has no malaria problem. In the future for both cities lies potential greatness that cannot be overlooked.

The problem here is even simpler than in Italy. In a number of places the land is above sea level so that natural gravity will drain the land without the use of expensive pumps. This is an important point, as pointed out by H. Van R. Chase, general manager of the Association of Commerce, "the problem is not the development of drainage but upkeep."

Harry Jacob, state engineer, has suggested that a number of small, individual projects instead of a single large one might improve the program. He pointed out that drainage districts in the parishes affected, as well as police juries, could sponsor the small projects and cause earlier completion than would be possible under a general program. This plan fits in with the idea of reclaiming those high lands which can be drained by natural gravity.

However, engineers seem to agree that there are only two possible methods of draining the South Louisiana swamps. One of these is to enclose a given area with levees, dig canals through it, and install pumps to remove the water and keep it off. This involves a continuing expense in maintenance. The other method is to dike or bulkhead the borders of the area to be drained and to pump into that area from adjoining water-bottoms enough earth to raise it above the

water level. This involves a high first cost but reduces maintenance. Would Draw New Farmers

Whatever the plan worked out here, three eventual results are certain. These are the development of potential wealth, the elimination of mosquitoes, and the reduction of health hazards. They form a goal well worth shooting for. In the estimation of New Orleans business and civic leaders who now have their heads together to bring fulfillment of the project.

The opening up of large areas of rich land will act as a well nigh irresistible lure to farmers who have been fighting dust, floods, pests, year in and year out. The prospect of land that will require no fertilization for years, that will produce a wide variety of crops all year round, is a rosy dream to many now struggling with sparse, unproductive soil.

The government has provided millions to aid these people when swirling sand engulfed their crops, when the top soil went sailing over the horizon, when fertile acres went floating down rivers or remained covered with sandy silt. Long, expensive irrigation canals, similar to the one now being built across the desert to California, have been provided. Certainly the prospect of laying bare to the plow 500,000 acres of rich Mississippi river alluvial land should please Uncle Sam's agricultural economists.

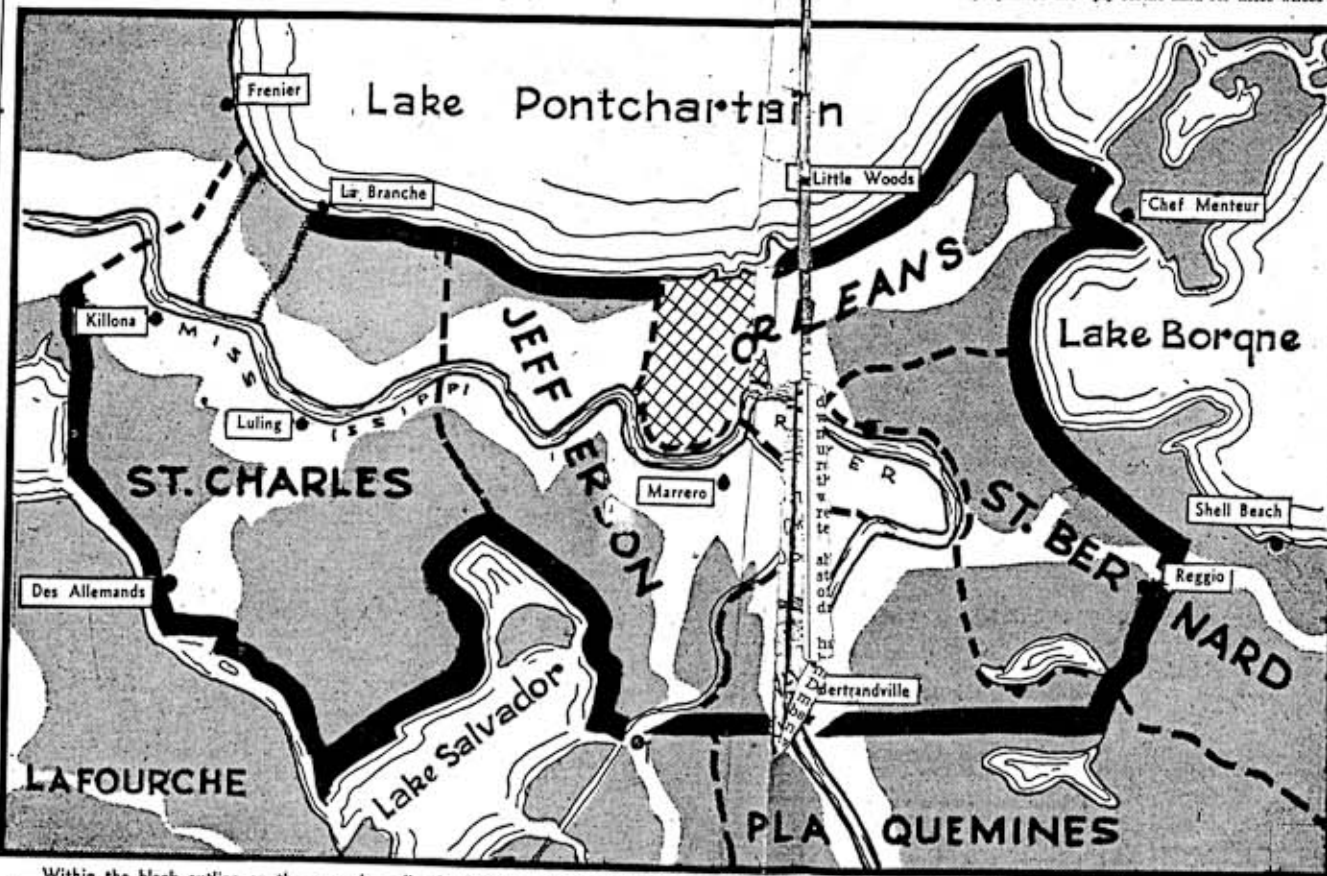
Not nearly so far-reaching as Italy's setting up of complete villages and towns but embodying the co-operative idea is the plan for reclamation and settlement in this region proposed by Hampton Reynolds, chairman of the City Planning and Development council.

"We must take out of farming the one-man-one-mule-one-plow drudgery for small returns in order to make it attractive," Mr. Reynolds says. "The average man does not want to live on a small farm, shut off from all conveniences and all contact with community life and recreation. The answer is co-operative farm communities."

But he has in mind no Utopian scheme. The idea is to avoid subdividing the reclaimed land in regular geometric patterns with a house in the middle of each and with no provision for a centralized community life among the farmers.

Instead, he would have a central community area from which the farm boundaries radiate. The homes would be close to the community life with the farms stretching out behind. A central power plant would supply electricity. Community plows, reapers and other machinery would do the harvesting. Within the community there would be stores, garage, school, churches, cinema, playground and other facilities for trading, recreation and education.

There's the prospect for New Orleans.



Within the black outline on the map above lie the Pontine marshes of Louisiana, approximately 500,000 acres of fertile farm lands that are now swamp. Engineers have reported that these swamps can be drained, mosquitoes eliminated, and the whole turned into productive farming country. City and state officials, business and civic leaders, are seeking \$30,000,000 in Federal funds for the work. At left are the three men who can do the job that Mussolini has done with the Pontine.

PSF: Politics

*file
personal*

J. F. T. O'CONNOR
3400 WILSHIRE
LOS ANGELES

*Q
Sent 2*

Los Angeles, Cal.
August 30th 1938.

Hon Franklin D. Roosevelt,
President of the United States
Washington. D. C.

My Dear Chief;

In a few house the results of the California election will be known. I will wire you as soon as there is definite information. As in all contests we have found the true and false friends of the administration. Harry Bridges came out with a strong newspaper endorsement for Sen Olson. Tom Mooney issued his instructions from his prison cell to vote for Olson as he was then assured of a pardon. John Dockweiler surprised us all by advocating the Thirday dollar per week pensonand attacking the spending policy of the national administration and perdicting ruin for the country if it continued. Wm. Neblett tried to cover up his former bitter attacks on the administration when he found how popular you are in California and also his strong opposition in the early part of 1932 when I was leading the fight for your delegation to Chicago. So it has been a merry contest.

You will be interested in Manchester Boddy's editorial this morn-
ing paper. We need him in your next great fight to carry out your program
and I am pleased that he feels so friendly to me. More power to your efforts
to elect a Congress who will support you. We must let nothing break our ranks.

With best wishes and kindest regards, I am

Yours as Always

JFT
J. F. T. O'Connor

M-BL

The WEATHER

Partly cloudy Tuesday and Wednesday.
Not much change in temperature; southerly
wind to southwest wind, northwest
on coast.

Atlanta		71	74
Boston		68	71
Chicago		65	68
Denver		62	65
Los Angeles		71	74
New York		68	71
San Francisco		65	68

Volume 15, Number 311

Daily News

Los Angeles, Calif., Tuesday, August 10, 1938

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LONDON THREATENS BOLD MOVE TO STOP HITLER

VIEWS OF THE News

BY MANCHESTER BODDY

ON PAGE 10 you will find a marked ballot for registered democrats which can be taken with you to the polls this morning.

With respect to the major candidates, our position is well known as to need no elaboration at this time.

We urge the nomination of Sheridan Downey for the United States senate as the only means of retiring W. G. McAdoo.

Herbert C. Legg will give the Democratic party a candidate for the governorship who can win against the republicans' Merriam or Hatfield in November. From every point of view Legg is, in our opinion, the best qualified man in the race.

NATURALLY, we do not expect all of our readers to agree with us. Our second choice would be

VIEWS OF THE News

BY MANCHESTER BODDY

ON PAGE 10 you will find a marked ballot for registered democrats which can be taken with you to the polls this morning.

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J. E. T. O'Connor, who has kept his feet on the ground and campaigned throughout as a true Roosevelt democrat.

In the Raymond Haight campaign an eleventh hour move—that might confuse the registered voters of the Progressive party—came to light late yesterday in the form of a marked ballot indicating that Haight had undertaken to endorse candidates for other offices. Haight has taken steps to correct the error and wishes his progressive followers to understand that he has made no such endorsement.

Our recommendations for the other offices are certain to get us into a peck of trouble. So let us say at this outset that if you already have your candidates for democracy's sake, vote your own convictions, not ours!



FRANK MURPHY
GOVERNOR

PSF: Politics
file
STATE OF MICHIGAN
EXECUTIVE OFFICE
LANSING
d-v-
Seal

September 1, 1938

PERSONAL & ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Dear Jim:

Enclosed is a story which appeared
in the Detroit Free Press this morning.
It will give you some idea of how they
are operating against me.

This kind of material is going out
all over the state.

Sincerely,

Mr. James Roosevelt
Administrative Assistant
to The President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

P.S. The crowd that Hall is operating
with - Comstock et al - are not
the president's friends.

FM.

Rebuff to Murphy Dealt as Roosevelt Cancels State Trip

**Ardor Dampened
by Purge Failure
Fear for Governor's
Chances Is Seen in
President's Move
McAdoo Conceding
Victory of Downey**

By Clifford A. Pomeroy
WASHINGTON, Aug. 31.—President Roosevelt will not go to Michigan in an effort to keep the state in the Democratic column, the White House announced today. Tentative plans had called for a presidential visit to Port Huron late in September to dedicate the new Blue Water International Bridge, now nearing completion.

While no reason was given for calling off the trip, designed originally to assist Gov. Murphy in his campaign for re-election, the decision was reached after G. Hall Roosevelt, former City controller of Detroit, had conferred with the President. Hall Roosevelt kept in close touch with Michigan politics and is reported to have expressed the belief that Murphy could not win in November.

Fear Loss of Michigan
Other reports being gathered here by Federal departments indicate that the Democrats may be defeated in the state. In view of the setbacks sustained by the Administration yesterday in California and South Carolina, Mr. Roosevelt was being strongly advised to drop his interference with strictly state campaigns.

The Michigan situation is decidedly complicated because of a split between Gov. Murphy and State Highway Commissioner Murray D. VanWagoner. The latter controls the most powerful machine ever erected in Michigan.

VanWagoner and his manager, G. Donald Kennedy, are closely associated with Hall Roosevelt in patronage matters. The latter and the Governor are no longer friends.

White House Gloomy
Gloom descended over the White House today as a result of the victory of Senator Ellison D. (Cotton) Ed Smith over Gov. Olin Johnston, New Deal candidate in South Carolina, and the defeat of Senator William Gibbs McAdoo by Sheridan Downey in California. The President will continue his efforts to "purge" Senator Millard E. Tydings in Maryland, however, visiting that state in behalf of Rep. David J. Lewis next week-end.

The only comment offered by the President today on the outcome of Tuesday's primaries was: "It is often true that it takes a long, long time to bring the past up to the present." Mr. Roosevelt was referring to the victory for Senator Smith, which did not come as a great surprise to the Capital. The defeat of McAdoo was wholly unexpected by political observers here.

Decision Is Blow to Murphy Drive

Continued from Page One

McAdoo's downfall, as an incumbent New Deal senator, was overshadowed in the eyes of many observers by the fact that a new old-age pension scheme appeared to have been the most potent vote-getting argument for his foe, Stephen Early, secretary to the President, said that Mr. Roosevelt had believed that Senator Smith would win by 40,000 votes. The one-sentence statement from the President was written after Mr. Roosevelt had opened a sealed envelope which contained his predictions as to the outcome of the fight to remove the veteran Smith.

Seek to Close Ranks

That the Democratic National Committee will move swiftly to close the ranks of the party was indicated by Mrs. Dorothy McAllister, of Grand Rapids, who directs all women's activities for the committee. In a speech at Boston, Mrs. McAllister announced that the women's division, over which she rules, would support Smith and Downey.

"Triumphs of the yes, but Democrats," said Mrs. McAllister, "will not mean disaster because there is such an overwhelming majority in favor of the New Deal."

Only three men remain on the President's announced purge list—Tydings, in Maryland; Senator Walter F. George, in Georgia, and Rep. John J. O'Connor, of New York, chairman of the all-powerful Rules Committee of the House.

McAdoo Concedes His Defeat

The seventy-four-year-old McAdoo, secretary of the Treasury in the cabinet of President Wilson, conceded Downey's victory tonight and frankly blamed the pension issue for his own defeat.

"My defeat is evident from returns thus far received," he said, "and I hope to accept it with good grace."

The main issue in the primary espoused and advocated by the successful candidate is the plan for a \$30 every Thursday pension in State warrants to persons over 50 years of age. This undoubtedly determined the result of the election.

"I cannot support a cruel delusion of old and deserving people, as this measure undoubtedly is. I know that it will ruin California if adopted and that it will defeat the Democratic Party if it advocates it."

Democratic returns from 9,184 of California's 12,438 precincts gave Downey 299,574 votes to 275,911 for McAdoo. Three other candidates were definitely out of the picture.

State Senator Culbert Olson, backed by many C.I.O. locals and giving highly qualified approval to the pension scheme, won the Democratic nomination for governor over seven other candidates. About 7,137 precincts, Olson had 214,918 votes to 93,271 for Rep. John S. Dockweiler, his nearest opponent who was strong for the \$30 pensions.

Ray E. Riley, a veteran State officer, took the lead in the Republican senatorial contest after trailing Philip Bancroft, militant farmer and New Deal critic, all day. The count in 8,639 precincts was: Riley, 176,339; Bancroft, 172,080.

Gov. Frank F. Merriam had 248,780 for the Republican governorship nomination to 111,038 for Lieut. Gov. George J. Hatfield, out of 7,346 precincts.

Senator Smith Wins Big Margin

In South Carolina, virtually complete but unofficial returns gave Senator Smith 173,901; Johnston 139,544—a somewhat smaller margin than the President said he had expected for Smith.

Although hailing the results as a victory for democracy, Senator Smith expressed admiration for Mr. Roosevelt.

Burnet R. Maybank, Charleston's New Dealer mayor, held a big lead in the eight-way race for governor but will have to enter a runoff primary with Wyndham M. Manning, Sumpter farmer, on Sept. 12. Cole L. Blease, twice governor and once senator, ran third.

The vote in 1,443 precincts was: Maybank 107,371; Manning 69,397; Blease 56,115; Neville, Bennett 44,400; Ben E. Adams 24,713; F. M. Easterlin 6,573; John Hughes Cooper 992; D. T. Blackmon 972.

Secretary of Commerce Daniel C. Roper, a South Carolinian, today expressed the opinion that local issues were most important in the primary. He answered with flat negatives reporters' questions as to whether the outcome should be interpreted as a rebuke to the New Deal or a refusal to endorse the President's policies.

Chairman John D. M. Hamilton

of the Republican National Committee said that he was not surprised by the South Carolina and California results, adding that "it looks to me like the people are doing the purging."

"The results only confirm evidence available since last spring that the people of this Country, Democrats as well as Republicans, have become tired of Mr. Roosevelt telling them what they must do," Hamilton said.

California's proposed \$30-a-week pension plan, which Downey backed, weathered one legal attack by its opponents in the State Supreme Court today, and won the right to go to a vote of the people in November.

Two taxpayers had challenged the right of the proposal to appear as an initiative measure on the November ballot.

Under the plan, each week everyone over 50 years old and presently unemployed would receive 30 state warrants, each of one-dollar denomination. Each week a two-cent state tax stamp would have to be affixed to each warrant. The stamps would be purchased from the state in cash. At the end of a year each warrant would be redeemed with the stamp tax money, according to the plan's proponents.

Murphy Will Deliver Plea for Visit by Mr. Roosevelt

LANSING, Aug. 31.—Gov. Murphy said Wednesday that he would go to Washington immediately after the special legislative session to urge President Roosevelt to reconsider his decision and come to Michigan to dedicate the Port Huron-Sarnia bridge.

"The people at Port Huron have planned on this occasion, and the President has indicated to me in the past that he would come," Murphy said.

Neither the Governor nor Varun B. Steinbaugh, deputy highway commissioner and chairman of the bridge commission, had received any word of why the President had declined the invitation.

The President's announcement threw into confusion Democratic plans to make the bridge dedication the occasion of a statewide drive in behalf of a Mackinac Straits bridge.

Gov. Murphy had planned to organize a committee to be headed by former Gov. Chase S. Osborn, which would muster delegations from every Michigan county to meet the President. The delegations were to have presented Roosevelt with a petition outlining plans for the Mackinac bridge and asking his support for the plan.

The bridge commission meanwhile went ahead with plans to open the bridge to traffic about Oct. 1.

The President's decision not to come to the bridge ceremony stirred immediate speculation among legislators as to whether Roosevelt would visit Michigan at all in the coming governorship campaign. Democratic strategists had counted heavily on a Presidential rally as a high spot in their State campaign. They hoped to revive in behalf of Gov. Murphy and the State ticket the enthusiasm for the Roosevelt regime which carried the State ticket to victory in 1936.

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PSF: Politics
file
personal - Good
f-v

CHASE S. OSBORN
SAULT DE SAINTE MARIE
MICHIGAN

Possum Poke in Possum Lane,
Poulan, Worth County, Georgia
November 11, 1938

Dear President Roosevelt:

It would take more than an off-year election to depress
YOU, I know.

I hope you can give Frank Murphy a good appointment. The
Supreme Court of the United States is not too good for him. He
has ability and youth and connated heart and mind.

Best wishes always.

Faithfully Your Friend,

/s/

Chase S. Osborn

The Honorable Franklin Delano Roosevelt,
President of the United States.

(Written:-
Michigan is normally
Republican from 100,000 up -
Except when you run!!!)

(Written-

No man in the world has ever been able to delegate or transfer
anything like his own personal strength & your great Hyde Park radio
address carried N.Y. for Lehman and his ticket!)

PSF: Politics

CHASE S. OSBORN,
SAULT DE SAINTE MARIE,
MICHIGAN.

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has ability and youth and connoted heart and mind.

Best wishes always.

Faithfully Your Friend,

Chase S. Osborn

The Honorable Franklin Delano Roosevelt,
President of the United States.

(Over, please)

*Michigan is naturally
Republican except
100,000 up when you
see!!!*

No man in the
world has ever
been able to
delegate or
transfer any
thing like his
own personal
strength. You
went Hyde Park
garden address
Carried N.Y. for
Lehman and his ticket!

President of the United States.
The Honorable William Howard Taft.

Confidential!

PSF: Politics

file
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 16, 1939.

Memorandum for the President:

State Senator Ralph Gilbert, of Shelbyville, Kentucky, a prospective candidate in the Democratic primary for the Governorship, can be eliminated by a federal appointment.

Gilbert is an excellent lawyer and could be taken care of as an Assistant Attorney General or as attorney for some department. His removal from the race leaves the issue squarely between the State Administration's candidate, Lieutenant Governor Keen Johnson and the Roosevelt-Barkley, New Deal forces, who will back John Young Brown.

See
NOTE - *AK* Barry Bingham in connection with
Kentucky situation.

Harry E. Heathman
Manager



May 18, 1939

Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. President:

I am happy to tell you that the appointment of Frank Banks as administrator of the Bonneville project has been received with great enthusiasm throughout the northwest. I sincerely hope that Mr. Banks will be permitted to carry on this important work at least until after the May primary next year. I think it quite important that you make this suggestion to Secretary Ickes.

I hope you will not feel that I wandered too far afield in making the interview as outlined in the enclosed clipping. In view of the well organized and persistent drive that is being made to control delegates to the 1940 convention some method should be used to let your friends know that they should not make any pledges and that they should hold themselves in readiness to follow your lead when the time comes. As it is now they have no standard around which to rally and the opposition is working on them constantly with the story that you will not be a candidate yourself nor will you attempt to exercise any influence during the convention. May I suggest that when you make your western trip next month you arrange to have a delegation from each state confer with you personally so that you can point out to them the importance of not making any commitments and going as far as letting them know that you do not intend to stand by and permit the "wrecking crew" nominate their candidate. On this last trip east I talked to people in more than a dozen states and I know the uncertainty that exists in the minds of your friends and how much they would welcome a word of advice from you.

Upon my arrival in Oregon I find that we are facing a hard fight on our primary referendum. I am preparing now to make a ten day tour of the state in order to make sure that a sufficient number of signatures are obtained.



Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt -2-

May 18, 1939

It was grand to see you while in Washington. I want you to know how deeply I appreciate your kindness in arranging to see me on that busy day and for your interest in working out the Bonneville appointment so satisfactorily.

With affectionate regards,

Sincerely,

Willis Mahoney

Harry E. Heathman
Manager

530 Rooms



May 18, 1939

Miss Marguerite H. LeHand,
Secretary to the President,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Miss LeHand:

Will you be kind enough to hand the
enclosed letter to the President?

Thanking you and with best wishes,

Sincerely,

Willis Mahoney

Willis Mahoney

Oregonian
May 17

WILLIS MAHONEY SEES THIRD TERM

Oregonian Home Following Parley With Roosevelt

Willis Mahoney, ex-democratic candidate for United States senator, returned Wednesday from a conference with President Roosevelt and gave it as his opinion that Roosevelt is apt to seek a third term.

Mr. Mahoney stopped short of a flat prediction that Roosevelt will run again, but counseled Oregon democrats to "continue to stay in Roosevelt's corner."

President's Wish Told

He said the president is "anxious" that this position be made known to his friends.

"There is a growing demand that the president should seek a third term," Mr. Mahoney said. "While the president makes no commitments, he does indicate that he intends to play an important part in the 1940 convention. For that reason, friends of the president should make no commitments until after he makes known his plans."

Mr. Mahoney forecast that high democrats soon will air similar statements on behalf of the president.

Farley to Stay Put

Of James A. Farley, democratic national chairman, who reportedly is nursing presidential ambitions, Mahoney said:

"I think Jim Farley will be in Roosevelt's corner."

He praised Frank Banks, new acting administrator of Bonneville dam, saying:

"Appointment of Frank Banks as Bonneville administrator should be hailed with great enthusiasm by people of the northwest. Mr. Banks is not only an engineer of national reputation but also an able executive. His appointment comes at a critical stage in the Bonneville development. There is a growing impatience in Washington at any further appropriation for Bonneville or Grand Coulee."

Power Sale Needed

"From now on it will be necessary to convince congress that Bonneville can be put on a self-liquidating basis if we are to expect further appropriations. To do this, we must find an immediate sale for Bonneville power. To date, in this respect, Bonneville has been a disappointment to administration leaders."

"I believe that Mr. Banks will furnish the leadership that is needed, and it will be just a matter of time until he finds a market for the full capacity of Bonneville."

64

Bishop's House
207 West Ninety-Sixth Street
New York City

PSF: Politics

file

personal

Oct 22/40

D
M

My dear Mr. President:-

It was indeed courteous
and kind of you to invite me to luncheon
today and I want you to know how much
I appreciated the honor. To see you look
so well amid all your cares was indeed
refreshing.

I was happy to learn first-hand how
sound and sane your present policies are
in regard to the present world crisis. Your
spirit is young and dauntless and
will keep us at peace.

I hope to avail myself of your kind
invitation to call again in a friendly chat.

With sentiments of esteem I am,

Sir Excellency

The President of the U. S. A.

Very sincerely Yours
Stephen J. Mackay
W. Bus. & N. Y.

PSF: Politics

MEMO FOR THE PRESIDENT

I- The article in the papers by the Rev. James M. Gillis of the Paulists Fathers, is in such bad taste that it will bring votes for the President, rather than alienate them. He states that superiors are never elected for a third term. That is the law. But it often happens especially in Religious Communities of Women, that a Superior may be elected for a third term with the approval of the Pope. This is done for a good and just cause; and has been done.

The present emergency in the world is sufficient reason for a third term.

2- The Italian vote in New York City may still be delivered if one or two good Italians be appointed to any vacancies on the bench. The writer would be glad to cooperate in this matter.

October 22, 1940.

Father Gillis Calls Roosevelt And Third Term Dangerous

Catholic World's Editor Exhorts Electorate to Turn President and Family Out of the White House.

The Rev. James M. Gillis, widely known as a radio preacher and as the editor of the monthly Catholic World, calls for the defeat of Franklin D. Roosevelt because of the third term and other issues in a vigorously worded article in the November issue of the publication, which came out today. Father Gillis, a member of the Paulist Fathers, calls Mr. Roosevelt a psychological riddle, cites provisions of canon law against long tenure of office and says: "We can stay out of war if on November 5 we vote Franklin D. Roosevelt out of office."

The article points out that the major superiors of most congregations of the Roman Catholic Church are elected only for prescribed terms and that local superiors hold office for three years, with the possibility of a second term, but not of a third, and says:

"Those who wrote the canon law did not ignore the supernatural influences calculated to keep down a superior's self-esteem: prayer, holy mass, examination of conscience, the doctrine and tradition of Christian and monastic humility. None the less, they took no chances. Canonists are realists. They know the weakness of man and the propensity of those who once obtain power to hold on to it. Hence, the safeguards against any one's considering himself indispensable. I have heard much favorable comment by visitors to religious houses when they met So-and-so, once a superior, now by rule reduced to the ranks."

We go in and we go out. If we step up we step down. And that, I think, is one of the reasons why the Church gets along as well as she does. There is more essential democracy in the Catholic Church than in any political government."

'All Roosevelts Dangerous.'

Father Gillis says that a few years ago a man close to the administration said to him: "I think all the Roosevelts are dangerous," and adds:

"Whether he meant only Franklin and Eleanor and Jimmy and Elliott, or whether he harked back also to Teddy, I don't know. Speaking for myself, I should certainly include the Rough Rider."

"The imperialistic policy of the two Roosevelts contains more possibilities of disaster than any other of the numerous changes that have taken place in our laws and traditions. Interfering here, there and everywhere, in Europe, Asia, Africa, in Australia and in the islands of the South Pacific, we shall hasten the end of the Great American Experiment."

Out With Them All.

"It is for this reason, above all others, that I think the electorate should hand Franklin D. Roosevelt (and, of course, with him the whole box and dice of the Roosevelts) their walking papers on election day. We should say to him what canon law says to better, wiser, more humble, saintlier men: 'Step down. Give place. You have had

enough. More certainly would spoil you and would probably ruin us."

Asserting that the greatest crime a man at the head of a republic can commit is to give out the idea that he is indispensable, the article says that those who argue that our being in an emergency justifies the third term are wrong and that if ever we should fear the third term it is when we are in an emergency, when a President has more power. The country needs, the article asserts, a man who knows when he has had enough. "Such a one does not become intoxicated—with liquor or with power."

Recalling previous bids for a third term, Father Gillis says of Gen. Grant: "The national Republican convention of 1880 was not 'in the bag' like the Democratic convention of 1940. The Rooseveltian technic was missing; there was no 'fellow in the cellarage' with microphone and megaphone to stampede the delegates. Grant was ignored. Roosevelt was drafted."

Father Gillis lays to Dorothy Thompson, the columnist, "incredible tergiversation." He recalls that in days past she has called Mr. Roosevelt "dangerous," "reckless" and "audacious," said that he "threatens to make a revolution" and that "his philosophy is incompatible with human freedom."

Then he points out that in advocating his re-election, she says that she would rescind little and modify some of her former criticism and comments: "And this flip-flop she calls 'modification'."

Nauseating Passages.

Quoting Morris L. Ernst's advocacy of the third term on the ground that there is nothing in Roosevelt of the dictator, but that he is "a gay and casual person," Father Gillis says that never in his career of reading newspapers as an editor has he been nearer to nausea than on reading the Thompson and Ernst passages. "As for me," he says, "I would not put a Cleveland or a Lincoln or a Washington in office for a third term."

"Daniel Webster said, 'The contest for ages has been to rescue liberty from the grasp of executive power. There are men in all ages who mean to exercise power usefully, but who mean to exercise it. They mean to govern well, but they mean to govern. They promise to be kind masters, but they mean to be masters.'"

"The great orator and statesman, who in his way did as much as Abraham Lincoln to save the Union from disintegration, must have been clairvoyant. How, otherwise, could he have seen Franklin D. Roosevelt so clearly and have described him so aptly almost a hundred years in advance? 'They mean to be masters,' says Webster. 'My opponents have found their match,' says

Roosevelt, 'and it will soon become evident that they have found their master.'

The article says: "The President seems to be afflicted with an incapacity—congenital or acquired, or both—of recognizing the consequence of his own actions. . . . For many years," he says, "every ounce of energy I have had has been devoted to keeping this nation and the other republics at peace with the rest of the world. That is today the objective for which I hope and work and pray." Yet, he repeatedly castigates the dictators, calls them names, threatens and challenges them all, presumably as a means of preserving peace.

"Whether the President of the United States is wise to speak thus truculently; whether he has a mandate from the people to challenge the dictators, may be questioned. To say in one breath that he works and prays for peace and in the next breath to dare the dictators to knock the chip off his shoulder indicates an amazing intellectual obfuscation. . . . It is a psychological riddle. I confess I don't understand the man, but I do think him inconsistent and unpredictable. A dangerous, reckless, audacious, inconsistent, unpredictable man is no man to be three times President of the United States."

PSF: Politics

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PRIVATE

January 16, 1941.

MEMORANDUM FOR

HON. JAMES A. ROE

It has come to my attention that this man Verne Marshall, a publisher from Iowa, who is conducting a campaign which has the whole-hearted blessing of the Nazi Government and is intended indirectly to encourage complete German victory, has approached a number of Democratic leaders in New York City. It is said that one leader signed the names of his district captains to Marshall's pronouncement, apparently without their knowledge. It is said that in one of the Brooklyn districts the Marshall crowd and Father Coughlin's crowd have come together.

I thought you would like to have this information.

F. D. R.

6019 Roosevelt Ave
Woodside, L.I.
New York.

PSF: Politics

~~Yan Corcoran~~
4-42

file
personal

VICTOR A. SHOLIS

February 11, 1942

Miss Grace Tully,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Grace:

Since I recall keeping you up while I delivered one of my favorite lectures on "Congressman McKeough, A Great Guy", I decided to send you this note. Quite a few people for some reason or another are spreading the story around that McKeough's candidacy for the Senate in Illinois is a fake -- that it is the product of a deal between Mayor Kelly and Col. McCormick to produce a set-up for Curly Brooks in the fall.

Knowing both men, this talk is just bosh to me. The Mayor's record of affection and loyalty to the President which I have seen intimately since 1936 satisfies me. And Ray's aggressive liberal record in the House plus his support of the President's foreign policy and his personal devotion to the Boss, not to mention his fine character, bar him from becoming any party to such a deal. I'll stake what's left of my reputation (see my landlady's last report) on the sincerity and integrity of these two men in the fight in the coming campaign.

I don't believe the President is entertaining any doubts in this direction. Since I know, however, that several people high in the Administration have encouraged this suspicion to get around, I thought you might show the President the enclosed speech which Ray delivered on the floor of the House yesterday. I hope it will silence these people who are doing distinct disservice to the President's conduct of the war and my two good friends back in Illinois.

Hope you had a good time in Warm Springs and that you found Marguerite coming along.

Warm regards,

VS

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. RANDOLPH: On page 2, line 8, strike out the word "ten" and insert the word "three."

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. DITTER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks and include therein an article by David Lawrence.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

THE LATE PVT. RICHARD GRAFF

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. McKEOUGH] is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. McKEOUGH. Mr. Speaker, I desire to read an editorial that appeared in the Chicago Daily Tribune in my city of Chicago yesterday morning, and to make some comments in connection therewith.

The editorial relates to the death of Pvt. Richard Graff.

The editorial is as follows:

[From the Chicago Daily Tribune of February 9, 1942]

PVT. RICHARD GRAFF

Pvt. Richard Graff, who was killed while fighting with General MacArthur's forces in the Philippines is the first of the Tribune family to die in action in this war. He had been with us for nearly 11 years when he enlisted a year ago last month.

We mourn the loss of a conscientious co-worker, of a friend, of a gallant soldier. He will not be forgotten. The Tribune will honor his memory and, of course, will take whatever steps may be necessary to see that the widow is spared financial worry.

Richard Graff, and like him, almost every other man who has given his life for his country in this war, had no part in the making of it. He did not will it. He did nothing to instigate it. He did not go roaring up and down the country shouting for blood. He was no war monger.

It is a striking fact, which at this moment cannot be forgotten, that it is men like Graff who are facing the enemy today, risking their lives for their flag, while the war mongers remain comfortably and happily in places of security. It is time that those who willed the war were driven from their hiding places and sent to the front, where they can share some of the agony they have created.

Richard Graff was not afraid to face privation, suffering, and death. He was no night-club hero. A volunteer, he sought no comfortable berth as a Navy press agent on Broadway or as a State Department cooky pusher in Washington. He played a man's part. Let the others dare as he did, or live and die in disgrace.

I, of course, join with the publisher of the Chicago Daily Tribune, Col. R. R. McCormick, in paying well deserved tribute to Pvt. Richard Graff. After all, he has made the supreme sacrifice that his country might live.

That is the only part of the editorial, however, to which I subscribe. I desire

to call attention to parts of the editorial, and I quote the following:

He did not go roaring up and down the country shouting for blood.

I, of course, do not know whom Colonel McCormick may have had in mind when that language was written into this editorial. Neither do I know whom he had in mind when the following language was written into the editorial:

It is time that those who willed the war were driven from their hiding places and sent to the front where they can share some of the agony they have created.

Neither do I know whom Colonel McCormick had in mind when the following language was written into the editorial:

He was no night-club hero. A volunteer, he sought no comfortable berth as a Navy press agent on Broadway or as a State Department cooky pusher in Washington.

You will note from that language that there is some identification at least by departments in that editorial. It refers to the State Department with considerable disdain, and creates the impression at least by the language that it implies all who are in the State Department are "cooky pushers." I do not know whether Colonel McCormick is acquainted with the distinguished Secretary of State, Cordell Hull. I do not know whether or not he may have met the distinguished Undersecretary, Sumner Welles, who has achieved such fine accomplishment in the recent Pan American Conference in Brazil. I submit that at this time editorials of this character have no place in a newspaper in our country. Our country is now at war. It may have been perfectly defensible, I presume, in the eyes of Colonel McCormick, prior to Pearl Harbor, to have satisfied his vanity, his great partisanship—yes, his hate of the Commander in Chief of our country's forces in the person of the distinguished President of the United States, Franklin Delano Roosevelt. But I submit that this language appearing in a great newspaper—at least, from the standpoint of its circulation—and I use the word "great" advisedly—for it is only "great" because of its circulation, and not because of any contribution that it has made to the welfare and progress and security of our beloved country. I submit that the language that I have read in this editorial brings Colonel McCormick at least within the pastel shading of treason. We are in a war. I had always hoped that even though Colonel McCormick hated President Roosevelt, the colonel would first of all remember that he was an American; second, that every real, true American, now that Pearl Harbor has happened and enemies of this Nation have declared war on us, forcing us to accept that challenge, would join with the other fine American citizens, 130,000,000 of them, and follow the leadership of our President, whom I presume he had in mind when this editorial implied, that he went "roaring up and down the country seeking blood."

President Roosevelt, I submit, sought peace, but while seeking it, he also urged his fellow-countrymen to prepare for what he knew must be coming. He

spoke in my city in October of 1937, and that speech is referred to with correctness as the "quarantine of aggressor nations" address. Those of us who realized he was possessed of vision, courage, and determination to protect his country and its people, willingly supported his foreign policy. We now have cause to rejoice that we decided to follow Roosevelt, our President and Commander in Chief rather than Col. R. R. McCormick of the Chicago Tribune.

I say that under these circumstances the Tribune editorial would have no proper place in the high field of splendid service the newspapers of our country are rendering. Now that we are at war I challenge Colonel McCormick's patriotism, and I say that that language at this time makes him subject, at least to thinking people, as being guilty of treason; and I so charge him. I hope his conduct will not be an example that the other newspapers of our country will follow, but on the contrary that they will live up to their high traditions and protect their sacred right of freedom of the press by not resorting to license, vilification, and the giving of comfort to the enemies of our Government in Berlin, Tokyo, and Rome.

[Here the gavel fell.]

DEFENSE HOUSING IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Mr. SABATH, from the Committee on Rules, submitted the following report (H. Res. 437, Rept. No. 1766) on the bill (H. R. 6483) to amend the act entitled "An act to expedite the provision of housing in connection with national defense, and for other purposes," approved October 14, 1940, as amended, for printing, under the rule:

Resolved, That upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to move that the House resolve itself into a Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H. R. 6483) to amend the act entitled "An act to expedite the provision of housing in connection with national defense, and for other purposes," approved October 14, 1940, as amended. That after general debate, which shall be confined to the bill and continue not to exceed 2 hours, to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, the bill shall be read for amendment under the 5-minute rule. At the conclusion of such consideration the Committee shall rise and report the bill to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted, and the previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion, except one motion to recommit.

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SABATH. I yield.

Mr. FISH. Does the gentleman propose to call this bill up tomorrow?

Mr. SABATH. Yes. It is the District of Columbia housing bill and provides a \$50,000,000 authorization.

Mr. FISH. It will come up under the rule tomorrow. That was one purpose for which I rose. The other purpose is to say, as the gentleman from Illinois can verify, that we have not reported from

the Rules Committee either the Rogers bill or the bill extending the life of the Dies investigating committee.

Mr. SABATH. It was my hope that we might report the Rogers bill today, but due to opposition on the part of some members the reporting of the rule on the Rogers bill has been postponed. Also due to the fact that the committee desires to give every Member of the House a chance and opportunity at least to be heard on the resolution extending the life of the Dies committee, in opposition to the resolution, that matter went over until tomorrow morning at 10:30.

Mr. FISH. I just want to make clear that the reason I ask these questions is because a number of Members on this side have asked me about the Rogers resolution and the Dies resolution. Neither will be brought up tomorrow, and maybe not this week.

Mr. MAY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SABATH. I yield.

Mr. MAY. I am getting a good many requests from the War Department with regard to the Women's Auxiliary Corps bill, known as the Rogers bill. The committee emphasized the fact that it was urgently requested by General Marshall, the Chief of Staff, and that there is great need for it. I should like to say to the chairman of the Rules Committee and to all the other members of the Rules Committee that we always appreciate their extreme courtesy to us and the fine spirit in which they receive us, but it does seem that in view of the urgency of this bill it is being unnecessarily delayed.

Mr. SABATH. I may say to the gentleman from Kentucky that it was my aim to report the bill, and I had been in hopes that I would be able to obtain a vote on the resolution for a rule in the Committee on Rules, but a majority of the committee think there should be a limitation as to the number of women who should be inducted in the Auxiliary Corps. There is no limitation in the bill, and as it reads at the present time two or three hundred thousand women might be enrolled. As I stated, a majority of the members of the Committee on Rules feel there should be a limitation—

Mr. MAY. In what respect?

Mr. SABATH. As to the number of women who may be enrolled in the corps. While the Department claims that at this time there is need for only 12,000 women to carry on certain duties, yet the bill does not limit the number. I may also say to the chairman of the Military Affairs Committee that a question arose in our committee as to whether married women should be enrolled, and there was also discussion as to what the estimated cost will be for the establishment of this corps.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks and to include certain material, including editorial comments.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

COOPERATION OF THE PUBLIC IN THE WAR EFFORT

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the previous order of the House, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FADDIS] is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. FADDIS. Mr. Speaker, I am sorry to say that reports from various sections of this Nation show that a proper appreciation of the task which confronts us in regard to the part we must play in this war, if we are to emerge victorious, is sadly lacking. The people are still apathetic and are not aware of the urgency of the situation. Our production capacity is not getting into high gear, and we are not making sufficient effort to place arms and equipment in the hands of the troops which soon must go on the firing line.

I fear the American people are taking victory for granted and are all too anxious to wish, sing, or dance their way to victory. Wars are not won in that manner. Wars, whether we wish to believe it or not, are won by offensive action, by toll and sacrifice, tears and sweat, by blood and death, by the hard hammering and relentless pressure of armed forces which break the hostile will to resist and allow the victor to force his will upon the vanquished.

For the past several years we have heard much—too much—about national defense. We have heard little—too little—about national offense. In consequence we had Pearl Harbor, the outcome of which will be thousands of fine American boys unnecessarily slain, because this Nation refused to look facts in the face and call an enemy an enemy—until too late. Oh, yes; we were going to wish our way or hope our way out of a war. Did we? I fear we are still trying to wish or hope that the war will end without our fighting. It may do so in fact, but unless we do our share of the fighting it will probably not end advantageously to us. I have two sons of my own in the service, but I know I must face this situation realistically. Furthermore, we are vitally interested in the peace which will follow. Upon the peace structure erected after this war depends our entire post-war system of economy, sociology, and politics. How can we be a strong influence at the peace table if we have not borne our share of the fighting?

The apparent success of the Russians and the valiant stand of General MacArthur and his men, coupled with the fact that the real theater of operations is far from our shores, has served to again lull us into a comatose state of complacency. Too many feel that the war will not really affect them. Some seem to feel that some great catastrophe of Nature will overtake our enemies, like an earthquake in Japan or typhus fever in Germany. More wishful thinking. Consider the nations conquered and enslaved today due to wishful thinking. The reason for their fate is easily told. Too little and too late. Too little preparation for war. Too little determination to sacrifice what was necessary to secure their freedom. Too late to place sufficient force at strategic points. Too late to take a firm stand by the side of their friends. Too late to real-

ize that selfish class jockeying for position in times of national crises is disastrous.

This is no time for complacency or reliance upon the fact that we have been victorious in every war in which we have engaged. Who can guarantee that we will be victorious in this one? Can some of the former isolationists, who are now so loud in their criticism, guarantee that we will win? Can the impractical, theoretical, pseudo-intellectuals, who are already planning our foreign and domestic economic, social, and political future, insure us victory? These starry-eyed, irresponsible, crusading muddlers, who never had to meet a pay roll or could not care for their own heritages, and who would never willingly shoulder a gun, are responsible for our state of impotency, because they fostered a system wherein relief took precedence over rearmament and social security outranked national security.

Mr. RANDOLPH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FADDIS. I yield to the gentleman from West Virginia.

Mr. RANDOLPH. During the debate and action in this House on our civilian defense program on January 8 and the subsequent action on the conference report on January 19, the gentleman from Pennsylvania now speaking and others of us felt it was a dangerous program to allow the civilian defense efforts to be correlated except through the channels of the War Department. Is the gentleman still of that opinion?

Mr. FADDIS. I am more strongly of that opinion than ever before. I am quite sure that events since January 8 have proven that it would have been the part of wisdom to place this agency under the control of the War Department at that time.

If these starry-eyed muddlers have any regard for the peace we hope will come, let them be quiet about their hastily drawn, ill-considered, visionary plans for revolutionary post-war changes to the American system of free enterprise—or there may be no peace.

The truth of the matter is, we are facing the most desperate situation we have ever faced as a Nation. This means all of us—farmers, laborers, bankers, industrialists, manufacturers, professionals, and except for the few Quislings among them, even the starry-eyed crusaders. We are all in the same ship of state. We must both work and fight our ship with an offensive will, or we will be torpedoed, both from under the sea and from the air. Because we were reluctant to curb the Japanese in the Pacific at the right time, we are off to a bad start. We must face that fact.

At this time it seems likely that the Japanese will, because of their start, gain control of the Indies and all of the resources of that region. If the Germans can drive down through the Suez and establish a line of water communication to the Far East, which can be protected by land-based aircraft, the two major Axis nations can exchange commodities to their mutual advantage and to the disadvantage, and perhaps to the destruction of the United Nations. This

PSF: Politics

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 9, 1943

MEMORANDUM FOR

GRACE

Tell Jimmy Rowe to talk this
over with Frances Perkins and see
if he would fit in.

F. D. R.

Sublime H
PSF: Politics

Department of Justice
Washington

JAMES ROWE, JR.
THE ASSISTANT TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

December 29, 1942

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT.

Jack Houston

It is politically necessary of course to "take care" of some of the "faithful" who were defeated in the last election. It is a pleasant necessity when the person defeated is a capable man. Josh Lee's appointment to the Civil Aeronautics Board was such a case. I personally believe Jack Houston is another.

One of your continuing minor "headaches" is the necessity of replacing Leiserson on the National Labor Relations Board. Leiserson wants to return to the Mediation Board and railroad labor wants him to return. I understand it has been held up because of Otto Beyer's desire to play "dog-in-the-manger". He now has an excellent position with Eastman in the Office of Defense Transportation where he is very useful (he is a very capable man) and there is no reason why he shouldn't resign the Mediation Board job.

I think Jack Houston would be an excellent appointment for the following reasons:

- (1) He is one of the really intelligent men who have sat in Congress. He had great influence there, particularly on the Appropriations Committee.
- (2) His voting record on labor problems was good. I attach a summary.

(3) If anything is to remain of the domestic New Deal reforms, an intelligent rearguard action must be fought by the New Dealers. Under Ganson Purcell, for instance, the SEC has for months been laying a quiet groundwork to save its statutes from emasculation by the new Congress. The Labor Board must do the same thing. Jerry Reilly, the newest member of the Board, understands this perfectly but he does need help. Houston who is "one of the boys" can give this help because he can save the Labor Board's appropriations and can also exert his influence with the leaders to bottle up anti-labor legislation.

(4) Houston comes from Kansas, the heart of the farm belt field. The farmers will be the spearhead of the organization against labor. The appointment of a sympathizer of the farmers will look to the public like retrenchment. That appearance must be given. Labor today is as blind as the utilities were in 1934 but that is no reason why this Administration, whose sincere friendliness towards labor has always been evident, should be equally blind.



I would of course never suggest Houston unless I was thoroughly convinced he is "right" on labor questions. It would seem imperative that this appointment be made without consulting either branch of organized labor. In the present state, it would be impossible to select a good man acceptable to both.

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JAN 10 1962
JAMES ROWE, JR.
JAN 10 1962

(5) The appointment of Houston would have excellent repercussions in the House where we need all the friends we can get.

I admit this suggestion of Houston is a second thought. The Attorney General and I were extremely hopeful that Houston could be enticed into the Department of Justice. We talked to him and found, to our complete chagrin, that he is not a lawyer. (I know that you do not regard this failing as a bar sinister).

JHR
James Rowe, Jr.

Rowe:

The Wagner Bill was passed
and the Conference Report on
the same agreed to, in the House,
both without a record vote.

M.H.L.

M.H.L.

12/29/42.

December 29, 1942

LABOR VOTING RECORD OF
CONGRESSMAN JOHN M. HOUSTON OF KANSAS

74th Congress - 1st Session

Social Security - Passage of Bill Yay

75th Congress - 1st Session

Sit Down Strikes, to investigate No
Railroad Retirement - Passage of Bill Yay
Housing Authority, creating - Passage
of Bill Yay

75th Congress - 3rd Session

Wage Hour - Passage of Bill Yay

76th Congress - 1st Session

Housing Act, amendment to limit No
National Labor Relations Board, to
investigate No

76th Congress - 3rd Session

Labor, authorizing Bureau to collect
statistics of productivity and
labor costs Yay
Labor Standards - Motion to prevent
amendments to Yay
Labor Standards - Motion to recommit
Bill amending Yay
N.L.R.B. - Smith amendment as
substitute No
N.L.R.B. - Passage of Bill as
amended No
Bridges, Harry - Deportation of Yay

77th Congress

Labor Disputes - Providing for the
Investigation and Mediation of
(Strikes)

Smith substitute	No
Passage of Bill with Smith substitute	No