

PAUL U. KELLOGG

1933 - 1944

May 27, 1933

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My dear Mr. Kellogg:

I talked a great deal about the article and I think there will be considerable interest.

Thank you for sending me the quotation, which I know my husband will appreciate.

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Paul U. Kellogg  
112 East 19th Street  
New York City

S:R

To be given to the  
President.

*Handwritten signature*  
*President*

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SURVEY  
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112 East 19th Street, New York

May 17, 1935

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

It was a stroke of fortune that found me by chance on the car that brought you from Washington Friday. And as a calling card, let me send you a paragraph just reaching me from Miss Alice Lee (3564 Seventh Street, San Diego). She is a fellow member of Survey Associates; and you should know that though she must be well along in her sixties - perhaps in her seventies - she is a veritable budget of initiative in social and civic things in that California City.

She is transplanted of course - one of the Boston Lees, who spends her summers on Lake Champlain, where in her father's time all the Brahmins and leaders of New England used to foregather. She is not merely transplanted geographically, but has a fine rebel foraging spirit. So much for the writer of the letter. This is what she writes:

"I confess I think the President shows his nine generations of good Dutch, and nine too of good 'Delano', and is doing all a man can do when he has had to face such a crisis. I like his advisers; and I like the way they live. Oh, it seems great good luck that he was born so he can still smile."

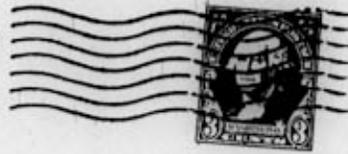
Sincerely,

Paul U. Kellogg

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

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*File*



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

ONE HUNDRED TWELVE  
EAST NINETEENTH STREET  
NEW YORK

June 11, 1954

100

Dear Mr. Kellogg:

I read the article which you sent me with a great deal of interest and regret that I have been so slow in telling you about it. I also gave it to the President to read. Many thanks for letting me have it.

Very sincerely yours,

S:O

Mr. Paul U. Kellogg  
112 East 19th Street  
New York

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April 20, 1934

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Will you let me send you these advance proofs of Mrs. Springer's article, to be carried in the May Survey Graphic? As associate editor dealing with social practice, Mrs. Springer has followed developments in unemployment relief throughout the last four years. Her article on Mr. Roosevelt's relief program in New York - in which he blazed the road for public relief throughout the country, the passage of the federal act last spring which made national responsibility a reality, the development, stage by stage, of the work of the FERA, and the Civil Works program launched in mid-fall, were all interpreted by Mrs. Springer in major articles that were sympathetic and affirmative.

I wanted you to know this background in reading the enclosed article, which is a piece of stock-taking of moves to date, and a searching portrayal of the need for a new calibre of planning, for a long range program, of an enduring rather than emergency character.

I hope you will read the friendly spirit between the lines; but there is thrust and edge to her appraisal which I am very eager shall reach through to you - and, if you will, to the President.

Sincerely,

*Paul U Kellogg*  
 Paul U. Kellogg  
 Editor

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

puk js e

The first meeting of the new auto board; left to right, Nicholas Kelley, Leo Wolman, Richard Byrd



because we had to. We had nothing to protect us except the company's good will."

Charles Schang from Fisher Body No. 2 [Flint] narrated how pamphlets detailing the company union plan were posted and distributed, "and then we were told to vote. The company ran the election. . . . Through the depression our morale was so low that when we were told to vote we voted. We thought our jobs were at stake."

John A. Bailey read to the Board a poster that appeared in the Buick plant on September 5 which began, "The Company is providing a more effective plan for cooperation between the company and its employes," and was signed Buick Motor Company. The men, he said, were urged to read the printed folder, also provided by the company, describing the proposed association. "Each foreman spent those two days [before the election] going through his division, trying to sell the plan. In my division, 7 out of 150 voted. We were told that if only one vote was cast, the man receiving that vote would be our representative. . . . We weren't in favor of the plan. . . . The company placed the ballot boxes and picked the watchers. The men were checked as they voted. Many blanks were cast. The men were scared of losing their jobs if they didn't vote."

As one worker after another told his story and answered the questions of members of the Board, the picture grew of organizations planned and shaped by "the bosses," with the men going through certain gestures of participation.

Side by side with this picture there emerged the efforts of the auto workers to form their own organizations, and to confer with management. Thus, after describing the dissatisfaction with the company union and the way it was formed, Charles Schang said, "Then we decided that under 7-a we could select a committee of our own. We men got the meeting together. No one not employed in the plant could be there. The nominations were from the floor. We voted by ballot. The committee we selected that way represents 90 percent of the plant employes."

**A**T Fisher Body No. 1, the president of the AFofL union maintained that 88 percent of the 4200 plant employes are members of his organization. Of 17,000 Chevrolet workers, the union affiliated with the AFofL claims 9200 members. There are said to be 1500 workers in the Fisher Body plant in Pontiac, of whom 1396 are "in the union," according to their spokesman. The figures for the Fisher Body plant in Lansing were given as 1400, with 941 union members. In the Buick plant, the union heads stated, 8700 of the 14,000 employes have "joined up," though not all have paid their dues.

When these independent unions asked management to confer with them, they testified that they were sometimes ignored, but more often informed that the employers could not meet with "self-styled representatives," that proof must be submitted to show not only the number of em-

ployes for whom the union committee spoke, but the actual individuals concerned. In no instance did the union agree to the demand for its membership list. The reason was fear of wholesale dismissal. The ground for that fear was the way in which employes had dealt with leaders who insisted that the words of Section 7-a "mean just what they say."

John A. Bailey, president of the Federal Auto Workers Union in the Buick plant, was called to the superintendent's office two months ago, he told the Labor Board, and warned that it was against the rules to "solicit" during working hours. "I stopped at once, but I went on soliciting during my own time at noon."

**Q**UESTION from the Board: "Is the noon hour your own time?"

Answer: "Sure, I don't get paid for it, do I?"

Later, he was again called to the superintendent's office and told that it was against the rules to "solicit" on company property, even on his own time. Ten days before the hearing, he was "fired for insubordination." He had been a Buick employe for ten years, as assistant foreman and tool setter. He added that "most of our active shop stewards and other officials in the union were discharged." He said the foremen expressed regret at letting them go, but stated that they themselves were "only employes of the company and had to take orders from above like anyone else."

Bert Harris who has worked at the Fisher Body plant in Cleveland since 1929 testified that he "was called to the office and told to keep my mouth shut." Then I was told, "You'll have to get the so-and-so union out of your mind." He was laid off in September. His dismissal notice offered in evidence, read, "Work—excellent. Attendance—excellent. Safety—fair. Cooperation—poor. STILL TALKING." The final comment was in large letters at the bottom of the card.

Al Cook who had been employed by Fisher Body Number 1, Cleveland, Ohio, since April 1927 reported that he was discharged January 13, and that between March 1 and March 14, 31 others, key men in the union, were "let out." Mr. Cook reported that the regional labor board had found that he was discharged solely as a union leader and on February 26 ordered his reinstatement, "but I'm still out of work." He added, "There was never no complaint against me till I protested against the company union."

An officer of the Buick Company urged James Bower, colored, to be a candidate for (Continued on page 243)

**W**E are concerned with X, with the end result of emergency relief economy on the lives of fifteen millions of our people.

For four years I have watched the spread of destitution until it has engulfed more than one family in every ten of our population. I have rejoiced in heightened national responsibility for the victims of this national disaster, have cheered announcements of "broad constructive plans" for their aid and have been sustained by promises that no one should suffer. For these four years I have watched our lumbering relief machine, implement of all our brave promises, and I have seen its human product. I have seen, day after day, long lines of wretched people waiting in front of police stations for a bag of coal. I have seen three thousand thinly clad men who stood in line all night in bitter weather in the hope of a job—a hope without reality. I have seen beaten men and dead-faced women with fretting children, crowded into fetid rooms to wait half a day to tell their stories of struggle and defeat.

In conferences of social workers I have heard discussion of ways to preserve the morale of the unemployed and then have seen two thousand vigorous young men huddled out of the weather into an armory to wait for hours for a bowl of stew and a bunk in a vermin-infested lodging-house. I have hailed high-powered plans for "jobs not doles," and have witnessed the disappointment and disillusion when those plans showed themselves compromised by bad-guessing and wishful thinking. I have seen blueprints of efficient relief organization, only to see them blown out the window in a week by a great huffing and puffing over a quick cure-all for mass unemployment.

I have heard the fine courage and patience of the unemployed commended in high places and have watched men and women, helpless under necessity, shunted back and forth from one form of relief to another, herded into line to register and reregister, and to expose their intimate personal affairs over and over with each change of procedure,—all as the price of a food ticket or of a rent order issued only after their meager possessions had been thrust into the street. I have seen men offer pawn tickets, for things that I did not know could be pawned, curtains for instance—a dollar you get for them if they are really good—as proof that they had not lightly sought charity. I have talked to men who have softened under the punishment of three years—"What the hell do I care so long as I eat," and to others who still have fight—"Just give me a job and to hell with your charity." I have sat in Madison Square Garden with eight thousand people protesting the end of the CWA and have felt their emotional rise to the challenge, "The problem in America is the problem of work and it can be solved only by the workers." I have lingered with the shifting crowds around Communist loud speakers in Union Square and watched the response in men's faces to "We demand. . . . We will compel. . . ."

**S**EEING and hearing all these things, multiplying each incident, each family, each man, by the staggering figures of our nation-wide destitution, I wonder how it happened that we, in the United States of America, in the 20th century, did unto others in ways that made these things possible.

It is easy, looking back, to see our mistakes, old, old mistakes most of them, rooted in tradition and complacency.

# X EQU

5,184,772 children + 460,000 single folk + 9,415,228 others =  
 Local resources + RFC Funds +  
 Ancient poor-law philosophy + States—leadership +

BY GERTRUDE

Our framework of laws for the public relief of persons unable to support themselves came down to us from Queen Elizabeth. Within that framework public attitudes formed that stigmatize indigence as a sort of public misdemeanor, punishable by stern practices approved by common consent if not actually written in the statutes. Humanitarians protested in vain. Their pleas to prepare, their warnings that ominous winter of 1929-30, that we faced a new kind of American poverty with which old methods could not cope, were lost. Private charity, for all its great drives, was obviously unequal to the situation. Yet in the winter of 1930-31, when mass destitution could no longer be denied, the public facilities for dealing with it were, except in a few large centers, substantially those of a hundred years ago. A man who all his life had asked nothing from anyone, who had paid his taxes, who himself believed that charity was a disgrace, must, when his job and savings were gone, put himself and his family into the class of the despised town-poor, must accept the stigma of failure and degradation from the hand of the town poor-master. Under the letter of the law of eleven states he lost, and still loses, his franchise.

**T**O many dispassionate observers the first mistake, the key perhaps to the long sequence, was made those first winters when, lacking any plan beyond the day, clinging to an optimism that denied realities, we thrust the dispossessed labor of our country, helpless and bewildered, into this old machinery of relief designed to dispose of social sediment as summarily as possible. No one was particularly to blame. It was the only way most of us knew, and the general bogie of "the dole,"—whatever that might be, "but look what it's done to England"—defeated any nascent will to attack the problem as unemployment and not as poor-relief. But from that rude lumping, in every community, of men out of work with chronic indigents and ne'er-do-wells has stemmed continuous confusion, humiliation and bitterness.

By the summer of 1932, when the federal government, prodded by a few doughty agitators, legislators and social workers, came to life and began parcelling out relief loans to the states, unemployment relief was set in the poor-master pattern. Governors quickly passed on the federal funds to whatever local organization was handiest. Leadership was generally lacking and the old routines prevailed. Soup-kitchens and breadlines flourished. Commissaries doled out bundles of miscellaneous groceries estimated as sufficient to sustain life for two weeks. A middle-west coal dealer gained national publicity and commendation for his neat scheme for feeding the unemployed for six cents per head per day. Apparently it never occurred to anyone, except to criers in the wilderness, that these herded, regimented, disciplined unemployed had previously managed their own lives to the satisfaction of the community. Pay envelopes were gone, but

# ALS ?

3,350,000 American families on relief

(FERA X Organization) + (CWA X Promise) X One year after another = X

SPRINGER

the men were the same. Of course no one deliberately set out to be heartless or cruel. Officials announced humane policies but by the time the relief money got down to where it met the actual individual in need there was little philosophy and less organization for carrying out these policies. There were only the old poor-master practices with no protesting public opinion strong enough to be effective.

With the New Deal and the FERA came new hope. To be sure the FERA took over, in the way of organization, little more than loose ends held together by a field staff of five for the entire country. Most of the states had advisory relief commissions that were more ornamental than practical. Only a few had working bodies that were putting any heart into the job. The line of responsibility along which relief funds passed varied in every state and in the large communities within the states. Appropriations, which had rarely been for more than a month ahead, were now, in most of the states, on practically a day-by-day basis. The FERA brought to this tangle a forthright facing of national responsibility that went beyond book-keeping. It demanded and got state relief administrations which it could hold accountable; it attacked the wretched business of the wandering homeless, the transient; it ruled that single women had a claim on public relief and that a modicum of medical care was a necessity of life. It raised the general level of the food order and in a few places removed grossly incompetent relief officials. It did in many places raise the standard of relief administration. But the system remained the same and the best intentions and the most virile direction at the top could not invariably reach down through the hastily assembled organization and prevail against fixed local practices and opinions at the bottom.

"PAY rent if you want to," said the FERA to the cities, "We have no rule against it." But the cities, close to bankruptcy themselves and straining their federal relief dollars to the uttermost, did not want to. For three years the game of beating the landlord has gone on. If you won you were smart; if you lost, your belongings were piled on the sidewalk; "the relief" paid your rent for a month in a new place and the game began all over again.

"Give cash-relief if you want to," said the FERA, "we know the grocery order is terrible." But the cities, few at

least, have wanted to, and the grocery-order system goes on. John Smith, who until some factory or other closed down, always managed his family affairs on his own pay-envelope, is not trusted by his community with a five dollar bill to buy his own groceries.

Then, across the wintry sky of November 1933 spread the bright rainbow

of the CWA—"Jobs not doles,"—"Real work at real wages"—"a huge employment program under federal control large enough to include as many as possible of the real 'forgotten men', the unemployed not on relief." Conceived by members of the FERA staff confronted by the critical situation of early winter and disturbed by the cumulative effect of relief on men and communities, the plan was presented to the President and announced before it had been hammered into administrative shape. It went across like a prairie fire. Here at last was the real way to cure unemployment by employment, here was something new and "American." Here, perhaps, was the formula for the "American Way" of unemployment insurance. Here was the answer to everything. How dumb we had all been not to have thought of it sooner. And all to be done so swiftly! Four million men at work in two weeks. That was "American" too, and we liked it.

TO be sure the plan, it was distinctly stated, was for three months only, to fill the gap until public works got going. But no one believed that. Why should he? The RFC \$300 million had been piously earmarked to last two years;—it had been exhausted in nine months and relief had not stopped. The law which created the FERA and endowed it with \$500 million had hopeful phrases about "unexpended balances" at the end of two years;—everybody knew it wouldn't last until spring. Anyway there was not time to think or to divide millions of dollars by millions of unemployed and see where you came out. Those who tried were pushed aside.

So, for a few hectic weeks, relief offices were plunged into the wild excitement of transferring this block of cases or that from one procedure to another, of quieting the protests of the blocks that were not transferred, of discouraging the hordes that struggled to get on relief as a short cut to a job.

Four million people, it will be recalled, were to get jobs under state and county quotas, half of them lifted *en bloc* from work-relief, the other half taken regardless of need, on the sole qualification that they were out of work, from the registration of the Reemployment Service.

Then the trouble began. In the first place it turned out that there were not two million men on work-relief in the country, so the quotas got all mixed up and the distracted relief offices were caught between counter-barrages of orders from federal, state and local authorities. "We just follow the last order wherever it came from and let nature take its course." In theory men on work-relief were transferred automatically to a "real job," although a good many on straight relief were slipped under the tent between orders. By the same theory all those on straight relief had to register and take their chance at the reemployment offices.

**What have we learned since 1929 about unemployment and its ill-born child, mass relief? What has been the day-by-day experience of the millions caught in the vast relief machinery? What is the outlook? This article and the next carry on Survey Graphic's continuing report of the front on insecurity**

## THREE YEARS IN THE LIFE OF JOHN SMITH, OUT-OF-WORK AMERICAN

## 1931

## NOVEMBER

- 2 Applies for job at Emergency Work Bureau. Interviewed, registered. "Lady will call."
- 7 Investigator calls and investigates.
- 16 Assigned to job. Three-day week, \$15 wage.

## 1932

## FEBRUARY

- 15 Notified that, money lacking, EWB job will end March
- 15. Advised to apply to City Work Bureau.
- 16 Applies to CWB. Interviewed, registered. "Lady will call."

## MARCH

- 1 Investigator calls and investigates.
- 10 Advised that nothing can be done while he is on EWB payroll.
- 15 Last pay from EWB.
- 16 Applies to CWB. Advised that placements are made only from rolls of Home Relief Bureau.
- 17 Applies at HRB. Interviewed. "Lady will call."
- 25 Investigator calls and investigates.

## APRIL

- 10 Food ticket delivered.
- 11 Applies to CWB. Interviewed. Will be notified when and if HRB arranges transfer.
- 20 Notice of dispossession.
- 21 Applies to HRB for rent money. No funds. Advised to apply to private charity.
- 22 Applies to private charity. Sorry. No funds to supplement public relief. Referred to special bureau for test of vocational aptitudes.
- 23 Dispossessed. HRB gives voucher for a month's rent.

## MAY

- 1 Vocational bureau reports that he stayed too long in one job. Should have changed oftener and gained wider range of skills.

## JUNE

- 25 Notified of transfer to CWB for part-time work in park, monthly wage, \$42.50.

## AUGUST

- 3 CWB funds give out. Advised to apply for home relief.
- 4 Applies at HRB. "Investigator will call."
- 20 Investigator calls and investigates.

## SEPTEMBER

- 8 Food ticket delivered.

## NOVEMBER

- 1 Reads of large appropriations for CWB and applies for transfer. Lists filled. Must wait turn.

## NOVEMBER and DECEMBER

- Daily calls at HRB to urge transfer.

## 1933

## JANUARY

- 13 Dispossessed again.
- 20 Transferred to CWB, alternate weeks; \$52 monthly wage; two hours travel from home to job.

## FEBRUARY

- 2-28 Succession of disabling colds from exposure in improper clothing cut earnings in half.

## MARCH

- 1 Dropped from CWB for too much sickness. Advised to apply for home relief.
- 2-30 Routine of application to HRB, interview, investigation, delivery of food ticket.

## JULY

- 15 Food ticket skipped for a week. Lack of funds.

## AUGUST

- 15 Dispossessed again.

## SEPTEMBER

- 1 Food ticket skipped again.

## OCTOBER

- 13 Food ticket skipped again.

## NOVEMBER

- 8 Hears of CWA, "Real jobs at real wages."
- 9 Advised by HRB that he must register with National Reemployment Service.
- 10-25 Registers at every NRS office he can find.

## DECEMBER

- 15 Called by NRS for CWA job, \$18 wage.
- 25 Merry Christmas.

## 1934

## JANUARY

- 18 Pay cut to \$14.40--lack of funds.
- 25 Hears that CWA will end May 1.

## FEBRUARY

- 28 Reads President Roosevelt's announcement of new policy and his assurance that; "The federal government has no intention or desire to force upon the country or the unemployed themselves a system of relief that is repugnant to American ideals of self-reliance."

## MARCH

- 6 Hears that CWA will end April 1.
- 8 Receives four-page questionnaire exploring his resources and the extent of his need.
- 16 Takes "pauper's oath" to questionnaire.
- 31 Receives last CWA paycheck.

## APRIL

- 1 ?

And a slim chance it proved to be with the crowds that lined up there. Frantically they stormed the offices, old men, young men, white-collar and overall men, a great segment of the American wage-earning population, rushing from one office to another, standing in line all night in their

anxiety to gain advantage. No one knows how many, the country over, poured their hopes into this registration. Some say eight million, perhaps more, perhaps less. The National Reemployment Service has been unwilling to commit itself to a figure. But in any case there were, outside of the work-

<p>E 64411 DO NOT DETACH</p> <p>E 64411</p> <p>LOAN OFFICE</p> <hr/> <p>JUN 28 1933 1933</p> <p><i>Ruit</i></p> <p>Amount Lent <math>4.00</math></p> <p>Extra Care as Agreed <math>25</math></p> <p>Not responsible for Loss or Damage by Fire, Breakage, Theft or Burglary. SEE RATES ON OTHER SIDE</p>	<p>E 64488 DO NOT DETACH</p> <p>E 64488</p> <p>LOAN OFFICE</p> <hr/> <p>JUN 30 1933 1933</p> <p><i>Book Cards</i></p> <p>Amount Lent <math>1.00</math></p> <p>Extra Care as Agreed <math>17</math></p> <p>Not responsible for Loss or Damage by Fire, Breakage, Theft or Burglary. SEE RATES ON OTHER SIDE</p>	<p>E 64962 DO NOT DETACH</p> <p>E 64962</p> <p>LOAN OFFICE</p> <hr/> <p>JUL 7 1933 1933</p> <p><i>Scarf Pin</i></p> <p>Amount Lent <math>2.00</math></p> <p>Extra Care as Agreed <math>20</math></p> <p>Not responsible for Loss or Damage by Fire, Breakage, Theft or Burglary. SEE RATES ON OTHER SIDE</p>	<p>41051</p> <p>15 1933</p> <p><i>H. Pen</i></p> <p>Amount Lent <math>1.00</math></p> <p>Extra Care as Agreed <math>17</math></p> <p>Not responsible for Loss or Damage by Fire, Breakage, Theft or Burglary. SEE RATES ON OTHER SIDE</p>
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A few of the pawn-tickets which record how John Smith's family filled the gaps when food-tickets stopped. All names have been erased.

relief quotas only two million jobs all told to feed the hopes of several times that number. So for every John Smith called to work there were three or four—six or seven in the large industrial centers—who were never called and whose hopes ended in nothing. Yet among their own neighbors they saw families who had had luck and had landed two, perhaps even three, of the promised jobs. They saw them able to buy their own groceries, go to the movies, get a cherished heirloom out of pawn, while they themselves still lived by grocery order, or staggered on on their own. And who can

wonder that their disappointment turned to bitterness and that they saw favoritism and political preferment in the decisions that had gone against them? There was a basis for this feeling after all. Relief, straight relief, had been relatively free from political man-handling even with the large juicy sums involved. Politicians, except a few hard-boiled ones who don't let anything get by, sheered away from it. The grocery order and the poor were traditionally political small change. But jobs were regular political legal tender—jobs were different—and the CWA

spelled jobs. Harry L. Hopkins, federal emergency relief administrator, says that political interference in the CWA was no greater than "the entrenched American practice of patronage made inevitable," and that "by and large" it was not important. But it is nevertheless true that, "by and large" the smoke from the charges of political manipulation and favoritism was one of the first clouds to drift across the rainbow of the CWA.

Just the same—four million men and women did go to work and, when the hastily blown-up accounting system got to functioning, did get their government pay-checks every week. Many a man whose body and soul had been rotting for months in a "shelter" stepped out on his own, bought a suit of clothes and slapped down cash-money for a meal of his own choice. Many a lone woman quit the struggle to cook grocery-order beans over a gas-jet in her room and bought herself a hamburg sandwich and glass of milk at a lunch counter. The clothing business had a sudden spurt. "Get rid of those damn old rags. I never want to see them again," said the customers. Ten-cent stores had a rushing Christmas trade—there was money to buy the baby a toy.

INEVITABLY the lift of all this carried back through the strata of relief organization and reinforced the hope that had illuminated the birth of CWA. Here was help for the unemployed becoming an active current in the recovery stream, instead of a backwash of sub-normal living and purchasing. Conceivably it might be articulated with a rounded scheme of social insurance. New inspiration, new expectancy, radiated from relief headquarters in Washington.

But it was a short breathing spell. Other clouds began to drift across the rainbow. The money was going too fast; there had been "bad guesses" in the early estimates. Politically favored firms, it was charged, were skimming the cream of the orders for materials. Then came the charges that CWA wages were too high, out of line with going rates and bound to interfere with rural and other employers; charges that the unemployed were loafing on their jobs, that they weren't real jobs anyway. In the face of mounting costs and sectional criticism the large recovery aspects of CWA lost their edge. Locally the notion that these were real jobs at real wages broke down against the poor-master idea of the right and proper treatment of the poor. With not enough jobs to go around there was the hard choice between one man taken on at going rates above the unskilled level or two or three men at a work-relief level. Here and there wages began to be chipped, working hours shortened, until presently those heartening government checks had shrunk close to the proportions of a relief order. In mid-January came a blanket cut in hours and pay. In New York state the payroll of 300,000 CWA men was slashed by \$900,000. For John Smith, laborer, it worked out to six hours less work and with \$14.40 in his weekly pay envelope instead of \$18.

With the end of January came the announcement that Civil Works would be completely shut down on May 1, by which date, the President confidently hoped, agriculture, public works and industry would have gathered the four million to its bosom. With March 8 the date was brought forward to April 1. The original plan had been to tide over the depth of winter. Other factors now entered in: the federal budget had to be balanced or the country would lose confidence and recovery would stall. It had been a shove while public works hung fire—and now it was over.

After all CWA was not relief from relief but just a little vacation.

While we were still refusing to believe our ears came a new policy to allay the doubts and fears of four million John and Jane Smiths who were wondering, "What about me?" They should not starve, they could be positive about that. If they lived in distressed rural areas or were numbered in "stranded populations" they would be helped in ways leading back to self-support. In large cities there would be a work-program for the physically competent, home-relief for the rest. In one way or the other the "needy" would be cared for. Difficulties were foreseen, but, as Harry L. Hopkins, FER administrator put it:

It will be inevitable that in a big situation like this there will be injustices in individual cases, but no one wants to see injustices and every effort will be made to avoid them. Nobody in need will be deliberately laid off. If there happens to be a mistake a worker can have an appeal and can be put back to work. . . .

When the new policy was brought down to cases by FERA rulings it became evident that one of its immediate effects in relief organization was to hand to states a prickly bouquet of thorns-in-the-flesh. They must, for instance, ease out men who had gotten their CWA jobs through the re-employment offices and had not, perhaps could not technically, "show need." They must set wage rates, though these must not fall below thirty cents an hour nor must hours rise above twenty-four a week. They must be responsible for compensation for accidents—federal funds were not to be used for premiums for compensation insurance and the man on the state work-program was no longer protected as he had been in CWA by Federal Workmen's Compensation. Also in the reckoning for the states was the business of re-gearing the relief machinery to pick up a new load of uncertain proportions. The machine had never stopped functioning of course, but the efforts to strengthen and perfect it which had been so challenging from May to November, had lagged during the CWA excitement.

Determination of need was the thorniest flower of the bouquet handed to the state administrations. The men previously on relief had had their need determined so many times that they were getting pretty sick of it. The "forgotten men," who had kept clear of the tar-brush of relief, but had gone after the "regular jobs" of the CWA through the National Reemployment Service, did not propose to be smeared now with a means test though God himself knew they needed the jobs. The white-collar folk, enrolled in Civil Works Service, had had one distasteful means test and most assuredly had no relish for another. The justly famous patience of the unemployed began to fray on the edges.

IT was not long before even the loyalest protagonist of the New Deal had to admit that the new "work-program" as it took shape was just the old rose of work-relief by another name. Only the stipulation of wages in cash and not in kind changed the doubtful sweetness of its smell. Home relief, it seemed, would be pretty much on the old dollar-stretching basis, with funds so dependent on local resources as to hold little hope of anything but hand-to-mouth planning. Work-relief would rest on federal funds, but it too would be subject to local ideas of spreading thin. The probability that it would be so thin that home-relief would have to supplement it was evident. John Smith working for a charity wage would still have to have a charity grocery order.

So the state and local relief administrations reluctantly clasped the thorns and went to work to pick up where CWA left off. The worst part of their task (Continued on page 249)

such an agency may operate for delay and delay, as in this case, is almost always to the advantage of the employer.

Labor, which has most to lose in the controversies over Section 7-a also has most to learn. The March crisis in the automobile industry afforded plenty of evidence that "big business" has not been won over to an organization of labor that would parallel the powerful and authoritative trade associations, and still believes the clear intent of the collective-bargaining provisions of NRA can be evaded. But more important is the obvious fact, underscored by these events, that our economic structure has been adverse to voluntary cooperation between employer and employe, to "partnership" between industry, labor and government. These hearings show the resistance on the part of great employers to change in that situation. To wrest from capital a degree of industrial control and thus gain an increasing share in national income and opportunity workers have to depend on their united strength, and on that alone.

### X EQUALS ?

(Continued from page 222)

was the determination of need. The general public had just enough imagination, enough "Suppose this were I," to dislike the red-tape of a means test, though it still wanted relief to be relief. The four million resented it and said so, collectively and in public places. Different cities set about it in different ways, all of them bad because there was no good way to do it; some of them going from bad to worse by the methods of doing it. Chicago transferred back to relief all who had been on it before the rainbow filled the sky. All others were dismissed by the same short-shift as they would have been by a shut-down in a factory. If they needed relief they must apply for it through the usual routines. In New York, every person on the CWA or CWS payroll was required to fill in a four-page questionnaire, its detailed items calculated to expose any resources that might still cling to any branch of the family tree. Sworn to before a notary this was to be offered as evidence of need.

Some civil works people took this inquisition bitterly and joined the growing and increasingly articulate body of social protestants; some took it doggedly as one more straw on the bending back of the camel; some ignored it and woke up on the morning of April 1 without either job or food ticket. Some few took it in fun. One little crippled woman whose CWA sewing-job had staved off the poor-house, delightedly gave herself all she could think of—four automobiles, a house free of mortgage, two rich husbands. And across the bottom of the last page she wrote, "I must have had a dream."

The restlessness engendered among CWA workers, first by the cutting of their wages and then by their demobilization, has been felt all over the country. Organizations have sprung up among them; some natural group efforts, some prompted or "captured" by Communists. The mass demonstration around the Minneapolis city hall in early April illustrated the new proportions of the unrest.

**N**O one knows what unemployment relief has cost the United States these three years. Add up the \$300 million of RFC administration, the first \$500 million of the FERA, the \$400 million from public-works funds for the CWA and you have only made a start. States have poured in millions—New York alone over a hundred—counties and cities have added their millions, private charity its bit—in millions. In 1933 public expenditures for relief in the continental United States were close to \$800 million, in the month of November alone \$70,250,000. That, as any one will admit, is important money, but important too were the numbers of those whom the money had to keep alive. In November, the last month for which detailed and comparable figures are available, the FERA counted 3,350,000 families, involving 15,060,000 individuals, subsisting on public relief. These families received an average monthly benefit of \$18.22, but the average for the various states ranged from as little as \$6.16 in New Mexico and \$6.45 in Oklahoma, to \$32.99 in Massachusetts and \$32.77 in New York. But, says the FERA:

State averages obscure wide differences among various sections within the states. . . . Taking the country as a whole the level of

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School of Social Service Administration

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Academic Year 1934-35  
begins October 1, 1934

*Announcements on request*

relief benefits in the principal cities was, during November, 65 percent, higher than in the remainder of the country, being \$23.27 in the former and \$14.12 in the latter.

Just what does the average relief dollar buy for its beneficiaries? The FERA tells us. Seventy cents of it goes for food; for shelter, 7.7 cents; for clothing, 8.6 cents; for fuel and light, 10.8 cents; for medical care, 2.4 cents; for household necessities, half of one cent.

We know how many were living in November by this American standard of beneficence. We know that many millions are still living by it in May. But who are the people behind the figures? On the basis of the 1930 census of families they comprise eleven out of every hundred families in the United States. Which makes them, it seems, pretty close neighbors to almost everybody. But in West Virginia they are twenty-nine out of every hundred families, in Florida twenty-seven, in South Carolina twenty-three, in Oklahoma twenty-two. Seventeen states including Pennsylvania and Illinois, are higher than the national average. Only Maine, Vermont, Nebraska, Idaho and Wyoming have five or fewer out of every hundred of their families on relief. Of all the families more than three fourths are white. Negro families make up 18.4 percent of the total, a representation almost double their relative incidence in the general population. Of the rest only Mexicans (48,311), and Indians (5368) appear in any but negligible numbers.

Looking again at the totals we find 460,000 single folk—one person families the statisticians call them—not homeless wanderers or transients, they are another story,—but people who belonging in their own communities do not happen to have family ties, the lone woman—the lone man. And, in the regular families we find 5,184,772 children under sixteen. Look at that again, 5,184,772 children under sixteen. Turn the whole procedure of mass relief, its insecurity, its uncertainty, its miserable standard of subsistence, into terms of one child with tousled hair and freckles and skinny legs, and you begin to see who is taking the real beating in this situation. If the psychologists are right in their measure of the effect of early conditioning the shadow of what we are doing to 5,184,772 children stretches far into the future and hardly bears thinking about.

Well, that is the general picture of where we are—after well on to five years of unemployment relief. Discount it as you will, deny it as you can, it is still a sobering one. Under the dictates of expediency, without any consistent philosophy or sustained plan, we have poured out uncounted millions of dollars in ways which, translated into the experience of bewildered men, women and children, have piled insecurity on their insecurity, added humiliation to their discouragement and roused their hopes only to betray them.

**W**HAT then is X? What is the answer to our millions and our mistakes spread over 11 percent of our American families?

Adding up the confusion, the fear, the growing cynicism of the people I know and have talked to, multiplying their accumulated desperation and resentment by the 3,350,000 families who have had about all they can bear of the deprivations and uncertainties of relief and I begin to see what X stands for in this spring of 1934.

Looking at the months ahead I wonder why we have to go on with this devastating fumbling with human misery. I have no quick cure for unemployment, but I have watched England handling a situation almost as bad as ours by sober systematic measures which do not destroy the fibre of its people. We could have adopted those measures any time in the last three years. We could set them going now. We could set out to wipe out our old poor-laws and stop pinning the legal stigma of "pauper" onto John Smith who is merely a man out of work in a society that cannot supply it. We could abolish the miserable system of grocery-order relief and stop treating John Smith and his wife like morons. We could lighten their fears by underpinning his future job security with unemployment insurance. The Wagner-Lewis bill would give a national shove. All these things, small as they seem in terms of a changed social order, matter enormously to all the John Smiths.

And so it seems to me that our real concern is not with the content of X in May 1934 but with what goes into it in the next six months. We can make X equal something different by October—if we will.

*(In answering advertisements please mention SURVEY GRAPHIC)*

April 13, 1935

100

My dear Mr. Kellogg:

Mrs. Roosevelt asks me to send you her check for \$10.00 and to ask that the Survey Graphic be sent to the Hyde Park Library, Dutchess County, New York.

Very sincerely yours,

Secretary to  
Mrs. Roosevelt

S O

Mr. Paul Kellogg  
Survey Associates  
112 East 19th Street  
New York  
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Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

We feel this spring that Survey Associates confronts its most telling opportunity, and ask you, as a fellow member, to join forces with us in making the most of it.

Bound into the April Survey Graphic you will find our annual report and thumbing it through, against the series of issues that have reached you hitherto, our hope is that you may have renewed faith in that service to the times which your participation has helped make possible.

We do not need to point out that developments and issues in the social, health, educational and economic fields have taken on new urgency. They have become central to public concern and it is fair to say that no other agency is duplicating the swift, first-hand work, midway between journalism and research of this cooperative society of ours. We have faith that the factors in our working scheme, which distinguish it as a contribution to "education for change" have carried fresh conviction among old friends and new. Such factors as our close-in investigations, our portrayal of findings and demonstrations, our exchange of experience and techniques, our open house to diverse points of view in the midst of emergency moves and experiments and long range planning.

If you will turn to the roster of members for 1934, where acknowledgment is made of your own contribution, you will find 1633 names. We have closed ranks and cut expenditures, but with new claims pressing thick upon us, we need reinforcement. While the rank and file of our \$10 members have stood by tenaciously in the teeth of the depression, we have suffered most in the higher membership brackets and larger contributions. On them, in the last analysis, hangs our ability to measure up to the demands upon us.

We come to you for a fresh shove and our hope is that every member of Survey Associates will feel that they can cooperate in one or both of two ways:

- 1) - Enlist among your friends one or more new \$10 cooperating members.
- 2) - You yourself, if you are in position to do so, lift your own membership from \$25 to \$50.

During the hard times we have refrained from urging this upon our members, but with so much at stake we feel they will understand our doing so now in this difficult but promising stage.

Sincerely,

*Paul Kellogg*  
Paul Kellogg  
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Joseph P. Chamberlain

*Frances G. Curtis*  
Frances G. Curtis

*Agnes Brown Leach*  
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Edward L. Ryerson, Jr.

*Richard B. Scandrett, Jr.*  
Richard B. Scandrett, Jr.  
Finance Committee

pk mk m

Box 1344

100

August 14, 1935

My dear Mr. Kellogg:

I am returning herewith the correspondence about the Jane Addams stamp which you sent to Mr. Pasbody and he in turn sent to Mrs. Roosevelt. Mrs. Roosevelt has asked me to send you also the President's memorandum on the subject, which is self-explanatory.

Very sincerely yours,

Secretary to  
Mrs. Roosevelt

0

Mr. Paul Kellogg  
Editor, the Survey  
112 East 19th Street  
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N.Y.

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July 26, 1935

Dear Mrs Russell

I have just returned from a very successful  
Open Air Opening of the Saratoga Spa - I was much disappointed that no  
message came from the President but I realize now he is being driven -

I hear from Mrs Kelly Hall Ross of her writing to  
you respecting her thought of a June 4th stamp - I  
also have letter from Mr. Paul Kellogg of The Survey with an  
enclosure which I venture to enclose with the word that  
have known of Mrs Ross as a most appreciative person who  
keeps up efforts for the public good in spite of ill health  
and a bare living - She was with Mrs. Alderman at Hill  
House in her early days and is as you will note a  
most ardent admirer but chiefly because of her own  
keen interest in Peace and Progress - She supports  
the President strongly in an adverse environment

I hope that you may find it convenient to  
write her what your thoughts may be

Faithfully  
George Foster Peabody

MEMO FOR THE PRESIDENT

If you think well of this suggestion,  
will you speak to Jim Farley about it?  
I think it would be a good idea to do  
something in Miss Addams' memory, but  
do not know whether this is wise.

E.R.

President's memo. says stamp impossible "because  
it violates all plans and precedents, but I hope  
we can devise some other practical memorial".

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August 27, 1935

file  
1  
Dear Miss Scherder:

Thank you for your note of the 14th with its inclosed memorandum from the President on the suggestion of a Jane Addams Stamp.

In the interval I had word from the Secretary of the Jane Addams Memorial Fund that his Trustees were anxious not to be in the position of promoting such a project at this stage; but were of course appreciative of the interest of Mr. Peabody, Mrs. Root and others. And I am sure that they will understand and appreciate the thoughtfulness of Mrs. Roosevelt and the President.

Sincerely,

Paul Kellogg  
Paul Kellogg

Miss Malvina T. Scherder  
Secretary to Mrs. Roosevelt  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

pk mr e

October 29, 1935

My dear Mr. Kellogg:

I am enclosing the membership cards which Mrs. Roosevelt has checked and signed. She asks me to request that you make sure her copies are sent here to the White House and not to 49 East 65th Street in New York.

Very sincerely yours,

Secretary to  
Mrs. Roosevelt.

Mr. Paul Kellogg  
Editor, ~~Survey Associates~~  
112 East 19th Street  
New York, New York

DD

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October 25, 1935

*Come by?*

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

If fortune's on our side, Survey Graphic for November, in its new format, will reach you by this same mail. Will you let me call your attention, as a member of Survey Associates, to the first page. There you will find instead of a leading article, our "frame of reference" - singling out certain trends that reach out from the emergency of these last years into the American future.

I am not at all sure that my delineation of these trends will fit your mind. But put them in your own way, and we would want to get at the truth about them and how they are headed. Always when you look to our Survey staff to delve beneath the surface of some situation, to draw on experience or search out the meaning of news, you are sharing in the results which come from combining the timeliness of reporting with the penetration of research. And when you keep up your membership you share in the living endowment which makes such results available, not to yourself alone but educationally - to a public many times more widespread and responsive than that reached by serious books and reports.

Our custom has been, at the outset of a new publishing year, to ask each member to let us know, if they could, that we could count on their renewal when it came due in the months ahead. Their willingness to pledge in advance has been the gracious miracle of these years of strain. This of all falls we need such assurance - with the Survey Midmonthly bending to its emergent service to social workers and agencies, public and private, that are handling the overhanging burdens of mass relief; and with these new and urgent claims on the scheme

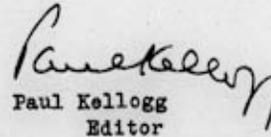
of inquiry and interpretation that has come to distinguish Survey Graphic.

You will understand why then we feel that this cooperative publishing society of ours - and yours - is entering a stage more significant than when it was founded. Now, as then, the cost of what goes into magazines is seldom met by what their readers pay for them. Without prospect of a trade audience, or advertising from large circulation, the founders of Survey Associates relied on carrying conviction that the work was worth its salt, and would enlist the participation of readers.

Their faith has been justified. Nearly every profession and vocation is represented in our membership roster which has taken character from the public spirit the names stand for in their own communities. You are one of 1700 readers who take part in this way.

Survey Associates belongs to you. Sign and send this card and it will bring us the enheartening word that for your part you will belong again in the year ahead.

Sincerely,

  
Paul Kellogg  
Editor

pk mk m

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January 6, 1936

My dear Mr. Kellogg:

Thank you so much for sending me the reprints of Mr. Stern's article on housing. I am very glad to have them.

Many thanks also for your good wishes.

Very sincerely yours,

0

Mr. Paul Kellogg  
Survey Associates  
112 East 19th Street  
New York

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112 East 19th Street, New York

December 30, 1935

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 LILLIAN D. WALD

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Occasionally, as an aid to your sifting process in the mass of things that reach you, we have sent you articles which because of the original information they contained, or the pertinence of their recommendations, we have felt should surely come to your hands - and perhaps go further if you felt as we did.

Such an article is Alfred K. Stern's "Housing: A Ten-Year Program", in the January Survey Graphic. I am enclosing two reprints.

You will identify Mr. Stern not only as chairman of the Illinois Housing Board but as one of our broadest gauged students of the problem here and abroad. Also, as trustee of the Julius Rosenwald Fund, he has been the prime mover in the practical demonstration it carried out in low cost construction.

Recently I attended a session of the Metropolitan Housing Council in Chicago which he has helped initiate and which is a force in the community. In my talk with him afterward I was so impressed with his grasp of factors entering into the national situation that I tempted him to write this article; which I am now eager to share with you - and yours.

Sincerely,

*Paul Kellogg*  
 Paul Kellogg  
 Editor

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

pk js e

*Every hard work for*

*1936*

# Housing: A Ten-Year Program

BY ALFRED K. STERN

Reprinted from SURVEY GRAPHIC, January 1936

Alfred K. Stern has given long study to the American and European housing problem, and also has had practical experience over the past six years as president of the Michigan Boulevard Garden Apartment Building Corporation, Chicago, in the construction and management of a successful private community housing project. He is vice-president of the National Association of Housing Officials, chairman of the Illinois State Housing Board, and consultant to the Housing Division of the Public Works Administration

# Housing: A Ten-Year Program

BY ALFRED K. STERN

**T**HANKS to the depression and a humanitarian federal administration housing has become recognized, particularly in the minds of those actively concerned with it, as a major social, political and economic problem on a national scale. It is responsible for the creation of a variety of public and private agencies for study, training and not over subtle propaganda, as well as agencies which are expected to yield a significant return by carrying out "projects" of great value as "demonstrations."

There are issues of basic and fundamental importance underlying the "housing problem." One of those is the opposition between governmental planning and control on the one hand and on the other the planless political economy of free, private enterprise. It is ultimately a matter of practical judgment whether the housing problem is best dealt with through the free enterprise of private, individual initiative or through cooperative action by governmental agencies. This article will accept as the better practical judgment that housing can more effectively be dealt with by cooperative social action through the agency of government rather than by free, private enterprise; further, that federal as well as state and local governmental agencies must participate in the solution of the "housing problem."

What is the "housing problem"? The need for human shelter is a matter of common knowledge and agreement. But a step beyond this broad generalization takes us into a confusion of facts, prejudices, and heated differences of opinion.

Some contend that as long as every man has some sort of roof over his head and few, if any, of our citizens actually freeze to death for want of shelter, there is no "housing problem." The adequacy of the shelter, beyond protection against rain or snow, is necessarily a relative matter. A standard might be arbitrarily fixed in terms of protection against the elements, heating facilities, plumbing, ventilation, lighting, space, privacy, and similar characteristics. There is room for differences of opinion as to whether dwellings should be single or multi family units, as to location and equipment; but only a person lacking in humane impulses and common sense would argue the desirability of hot and cold running water, toilet facilities, light, ventilation and at least one room per family. There is a small minority of ascetics who insist that such "luxuries" for the other fellow will merely create dissatisfactions and new demands. But if for the purposes of this discussion it is assumed that the housing

**What are the essentials of a long term program to provide decent housing for the USA? Can private enterprise be entrusted with the vast task of constructing and managing adequate low rent housing?**

problem is to provide living quarters which approximate the reasonable standard suggested above, the next question to be considered is to what extent

does housing fall short of even these minima? While it may be necessary to study carefully the present conditions of housing to deal effectively with the problem, it is not necessary to engage in elaborate research to know there is an extensive need for more adequate housing. A few well-founded statistics will confirm what is obvious to any one who has walked through an American city or passed American farms with his eyes open.

**A** COMBINATION of factors has created a tremendous cumulative housing shortage and demand. First, the rate of increase in family units will be much higher as contrasted with that of individuals during the next fifteen years due to the aging of the population and the larger proportion of people of marriageable age. Second, the marriage rate has been abnormally low from 1929 to 1934 due to economic conditions. This rate is now rapidly increasing. Third, families which are doubled up due to economic conditions are now beginning to seek separate quarters. Finally, private residential construction which suffered an almost complete hiatus for six years is now only beginning to show a small increase in proportion to the need or demand. There has been a large increase in contracts for residential construction, as compared with last year. But the number of new dwellings for which permits were issued in October 1935 was still not much more than ten percent of the average during that month in the 1920's. This new construction is mostly of the scattered, small house type, financed either entirely by the owners or with a reasonable mortgage.

Merely to meet the net increase of families and disregarding all other criteria of adequate housing, it is reliably estimated that it will be necessary to provide seven and one half million dwelling units between 1935 and 1945. Surveys indicate that over ten percent of present dwellings (three and one quarter million units) not only fall short of minimum standards of decency but constitute a menace to public health and safety. In view of the age and condition of prevailing housing facilities, through further deterioration during the next decade, there will be an accumulative need for an additional three and one quarter million dwelling units. Erring on the side of understatement, it is thus clear a total of four-teen million dwelling units is the minimum that will be

required in the next ten years. During the boom building years from 1920 to 1930, free private enterprise succeeded in providing a total of less than seven million new dwelling units. Is it likely that in the next decade private enterprise will more than double its productivity?

It might be agreed that the need for housing exists without agreeing that it is possible to satisfy the need more effectively than has been done up to date. Have the individuals who actually need housing the capacity to pay for it? Using conservative figures for monthly rental based on the lowest new construction costs available (whether for apartments or homes) more than one half of the families in the United States cannot afford to pay an economic rent without some form of subsidy. Millions of families cannot even afford the rent of the less than adequate dwellings now available to them.

**I**T is evident that some form of governmental subsidy is necessary to satisfy the housing need. Then the question becomes not only what is the family's capacity to pay, but what is the government's capacity to pay? The answers to these questions depend ultimately on the good judgment and the honest facing of facts by the government itself. We must assume that the government will not be guided by transient fluctuations of business activity and matters of immediate political expediency if we are to consider a long term housing program.

With this assumption, what are the chances that governmental agencies will continue to be concerned with the housing problem? Three possibilities will be considered here. First, local and state governments will undoubtedly continue in such accepted activities as planning and zoning, formulating building codes, licensing construction, inspecting buildings and the like. Second, the federal government will undoubtedly find it necessary to continue financial aid to housing if only because it already has extensive commitments in such agencies as the Federal Home Loan Bank, the Home Owners Loan Corporation, Reconstruction Finance Corporation, the Farm Credit Administration (which finances the home as well as the farm), and the Federal Housing Administration. Third, the federal government could continue to undertake the actual construction and operation of dwellings, already begun by such agencies as the PWA and the Resettlement Administration.

Of these possibilities, the second seems to be gaining the widest support at present. This is due to a number of factors, foremost among them the present degree of business recovery and the delays in the achievement up to date by governmental agencies which have attempted actually to provide low rent housing. Another and important factor in encouraging governmental financing rather than direct construction and operation is the articulate and well organized pressure on the part of those financial and real estate interests which, carrying inflated property values on their books, naturally desire to maintain a housing shortage except where it is to their financial advantage to do otherwise. These interests want to build only for the income groups which can afford them

a good profit. They are using every possible means to secure government aid, in the form most advantageous to themselves. They want the government to insure their risks, extend them credit on favorable terms and use its influence to reduce the cost to them of direct labor in building construction. With this assistance, it is contended they will recreate a building boom, reemploy millions, enhance general business recovery and, incidentally, provide much needed housing. In short, they would have the government encourage and underwrite an uncontrolled and diffused building boom with no assurance that those most in need of housing will obtain it and with every likelihood that within a short time the boom will precipitate the same kind of depression which fattered it.

There is already every indication that public aid to private interests will find the government ultimately holding a bag full of sour, frozen and imprudent real estate investments. That this is the case does not mean that the government must altogether abandon housing to free private enterprise. On the contrary, if the need for low cost housing is to be met, the government must engage directly in the financing, construction and management of housing. There are many who are skeptical about the capacity of government to carry out such a program. About one thing we can not be skeptical: if adequate housing is to be provided for those who lack it, the federal government is the only agency which can get the job done. Obviously any government housing program must avoid competition with decent tax-paying property; otherwise it would ultimately defeat its own purposes.

#### Federal Legislation

**T**HE federal government is already carrying on a number of building projects, which are incidental to an emergency relief program and hence in charge of temporary agencies. Housing slipped in by this back door and no one seems to know its status. There is at present no national housing policy.

While it is obviously difficult to anticipate what housing legislation, if any, the present Congress will enact, several quite detailed programs are already under discussion. The bill which Senator Wagner introduced into the last session of Congress (S. 2392) called for a permanent housing bureau in the Department of Interior, and favored federal aid for strictly public housing enterprise, complete decentralization of power to local housing authorities, local tax exemption on housing projects, and slum clearances. Representative Ellenbogen introduced two bills to set up a corporate United States Housing Authority, the first one (H.R. 7399) making it independent of any department, and the second (H.R. 8666) putting it in the Department of the Interior. Both the Ellenbogen Bills are much broader than the Wagner Bill, and provide for direct federal construction, management, and aid for approved limited dividend, cooperative or nonprofit agencies as well as for local housing authorities. Housing on new land rather than slum clearance

is favored, and it is specifically provided that local taxes will be paid unless there is local legislation providing for exemption.

According to a recent article in the New York Times, Senator Wagner will sponsor a long term housing program in the present Congress. The report states that the senator will propose a separate federal agency backed by a first appropriation of \$800 million, not to take direct title to land or buildings but to exercise a general control over local governmental bodies. This is a wise long range policy but considering the present underdeveloped state of most local housing bodies, it is premature to eliminate direct federal participation where there are no local governmental agencies to carry on a program.

Under any circumstances a United States Housing Authority even if it has to be nominally located in a department, should be as independent as possible. The Housing Division of the Public Works Administration and the Suburban Resettlement Division of the Resettlement Administration should as soon as possible be brought together in one permanent agency.

Whatever new legislation is attempted should, of course, be related to a long-term housing program. What are some of the principles to be recommended in formulating such a policy?

1. Congress must declare the government's policy with respect to the degree of public responsibility and the extent of public duty in housing matters.
2. This policy must with reasonable clarity define its purposes particularly with regard to the income group to be aided.
3. The policy must make explicit the division of responsibility and the character of the cooperation between federal, state, local and private agencies.
4. There must be permanent public agencies, federal, state and local, designated to promote or carry out a housing program.
5. These agencies should have legally established powers and permanent sources of funds, sufficient to carry through the intended program. The type of aid and the amount of subsidy available should be clearly specified.

**T**H**ERE** is considerable agreement among diverse factions actively interested in the housing problem on these five points. But in addition to these basic principles, there are some specific considerations which should be kept in mind in drawing a housing program: If private agencies receiving public aid are set up, careful provision

must be made to prevent any one from obtaining through them more than a specifically limited profit; all public-aided housing must come up to definite standards of planning, design and equipment; all subsidized housing must have rent levels controlled so that they will remain continuously within reach of those for whom the project was intended; all public-aided housing projects should wherever possible pay full local taxes; federal, state and local housing agencies should have the power of eminent domain for housing purposes; every project undertaken should be large enough to permit adequate neighborhood planning and community facilities, and conform to the larger metropolitan or regional plan; where state or local housing authorities exist, as much power and responsibility should be delegated to them as is feasible.

The last point perhaps warrants some amplification. There are at least six fairly separate functions involved in the housing process: Initiation and sponsorship; location and land acquisition; provision of funds (loans, subsidy or both); design and construction; ownership and financial responsibility; management.

**I**T will be necessary at the outset to permit the federal housing agency to engage in all six of these activities, pending the development of competent local authorities. Initiation, land acquisition, design and construction, ownership and management ultimately are most satisfactorily delegated to local agencies. Sooner or later, funds must be raised locally, particularly for investment in self-liquidating ventures for middle-income families. Control of limited-dividend or cooperative enterprises should also be transferred to state or local governmental agencies as soon as possible.

It is evident that the formulation of a long term housing program is no simple matter. The discouraging prospect is that the formulation of such a program will be postponed. However a minority but vociferous group has developed in the last few years which will continue to bring pressure on the federal government to engage in direct financing, construction and operation of housing. This group has succeeded in rallying to its cause a potentially powerful constituency consisting of those engaged in social work, the labor group, the building materials industry, government officials, as well as politicians. This group must be reckoned with in determining the future activities of federal government in the housing field. It is therefore in a strategic position to demand that the government approach the complexities and difficulties of the problem by formulating a long term program.



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May 9, 1938

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Just all round appreciation from the whole shop for your part in the May special of the "Mid." - "Social Work on the firing Line." It would not have been possible to put it over with such lift and edge without the generous gifts of time and writings that Mrs. Springer elicited as the architect of our Anniversary Number.

Thanks so much for your own characteristic contribution to our panel discussion of Mrs. Farlow's provocative piece.

An author's bundle of copies is going off to you under separate cover.

Sincerely,

*Paul Kellogg*  
Paul Kellogg  
Editor

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt

pk js e

25TH ANNIVERSARY YEAR

100

Mr. Paul Kellogg  
Editor, Survey Associates  
112 East 19th Street  
New York, N.Y.

January 20, 1939

I spoke to the President about your letter and he is sorry  
he felt he could not squeeze in the appointment requested.

Eleanor Roosevelt

Copies returned to  
Mr. Mrs. DuBois  
Letter attached for  
his sig.

wire sent 1/20

I think I shall write & say  
Am so sorry not to be able that  
he could not express in

TELEGRAM

The White House  
Washington

18wumc 56 DL

XQ New York, Jan.19,1939.

Mrs.Franklin D.Roosevelt.

In line with my letter of tenth could we have word if the President would let members of board survey associates and staff come to White House and present him first copy of our year long project quote calling America the challenge to democracy reaches over here end quote special number Survey Graphic for February eagerly.

Paul Kellogg.

*7:11 PM*  
*Jan 19 1939*  
*Yes*

February 1, 1939

100  
✓

My dear Mr. Kellogg:

Thank you so much for the copy  
of "Calling America". I think it is a  
grand production and the President agrees.

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Paul Kellogg  
Editor, Survey Associates  
112 E. 19th St., NYC

DD

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HAROLD H. SWIFT

January 25, 1939

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

We have just sent the first copy of "CALLING AMERICA" to Mr. McIntyre in the hope that he may put it in the President's hands. Here is copy number two. So much of it is right up your street and his that we hope it may be of some use and refreshment to you both.

And belatedly, let me thank you most genuinely for your wire, even if necessarily in the negative, in response to our request to present the first copy to the President in person.

Sincerely,

*Paul Kellogg*  
Paul Kellogg  
Editor

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

pk js e

*Handwritten notes:*  
2-1-39  
Wash  
Mr. McIntyre  
Mr. Roosevelt  
Mr. President  
Mrs. Roosevelt

110  
February 9, 1939

Dear Mr. Kellogg:

It is perfectly all right for you to use  
my letter if you will leave off the last clause,  
"and the President agrees".

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Paul Kellogg  
Editor, Survey Associates  
NYC

SO

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HAROLD H. SWIFT

February 3, 1939

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Your note of the first on our "Calling America" number gives a lift to the day. We shall put it in our treasure chest.

In our next issue, we shall publish a sheaf of expressions in regard to the number; and I need not say how much it would mean to us to include yours. That we should not do of course without your entire permission - and then only in the form that you would wish.

I am reluctant to make another demand on your time and friendliness - but you can see the temptation for us in this spontaneous note from you.

Sincerely,

Paul Kellogg  
Editor

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

pk js e

*Your note was the  
best thing I've  
seen in a year*

*Wm  
2-9  
112 E 19th St*

100

February 27, 1939

Dear Mr. Kellogg:

I am so glad to hear that your "Calling America" issue was such a success. Thank you very much for sending me a copy of the second edition.

Very sincerely yours,

0

Mr. Paul Kellogg  
Survey Graphic  
112 E 19  
NYC

This copy sent to  
Arthurdale



To Mrs. Roosevelt  
From Paul Kellogg  
Date Feb. 23rd, 1939

**SURVEY SPECIAL DELIVERY**

Thought you might be interested in learning  
that this issue is going over so well that  
we've run into a second edition.

*ack  
4/27*

*Very kind -*

*Kind regards  
with love*

February 28, 1939

100

Dear Mr. Kellogg:

Thank you very much for your comments  
on my speech at the Youth Congress:

I read your article and will give it  
to the President. I am sure that this March issue  
of the Survey Graphic, following the "Calling  
America" number, will be interesting.

Very sincerely yours,

0

Mr. Paul Kellogg  
Survey Associates  
112 E 19  
NYC

~~SURVEY GRAPHIC~~  
112 East 19 Street  
New York, N. Y.

(Algonquin 4 - 7490)

*Return to Mrs. Roosevelt File*

*J.M.P.  
This sent by Paul Kellogg  
of Survey*

FOR RELEASE  
ON RECEIPT

*J.M.P.*  
00  
KELLOGG

CLOSE-UP OF "UNDERGROUND GERMANY" March 11 1938

In the months since Munich, the ranks of the "Underground Movement" in Nazi Germany not only have had the spur of work that is gaining ground; they have found new protection in widespread sympathy for their cause. This is the message reaching the United States from an unnamed European correspondent, who gives line and text of recent experiences among the underground workers, in an article brought out by Survey Graphic in sequence to its widely read "Calling America" number. While the article is published anonymously, the editors vouch for the vigorous reality of "Y", as the author signs himself, when he was in this country last year, and for the closeness with which events have borne out his forecasts at that time.

The manuscript was mailed with the distinct understanding that the writer would remain nameless in order to safeguard men with whom he is in contact who have visited the Reich year after year since 1932. He tells the story of one of them who in the early days helped keep up the slender but precious contacts with the emigrant committees outside of Germany. He writes

"Once this courier was crossing the border illegally when he was overtaken by a terrific snow-storm high in the mountains. He was unconscious from cold and exhaustion when Nazi frontier guards captured him. They took him to their shelter and locked him up, but fortunately did not trouble to examine his papers. His fingers and toes were

frozen, but he managed to escape from his captors in the night and reached friends who nursed him in constant fear that a knock at the door might deliver them all into the hands of the police."

The testimony these couriers bring out is reminiscent of Whittier's stanza, which goes back to the time of the anti-slavery agitation in the United States:

"The toad beneath the harrow knows  
Exactly where each prong point goes."

Detection and arrest of underground workers still lead to harsh reprisals—five years for any connection with an organized group; ten years if proved a member; fifteen years to life imprisonment or the guillotine if proved a leader. Underground workers are still rounded up because acquaintances, arrested and beaten, have given their names; or because their telephone numbers are found in searching someone's else apartment. Nonetheless, as more characteristic of the situation today, "Y" tells of the experience not long ago of a responsible member of an organization that goes back to 1933:

"His position was fraught with danger recently when one of his closest associates was arrested. But this underground worker did not have to run away. The only care he took was to take a short leave of absence from the factory where he was known to work. If the police had come to look for him there, there were a dozen friends who would have been quick to send him warning. They could not be said to know about his secret activities, but they did know that he was against the Nazis. And before going to his apartment, he could stop nowadays at the shopkeeper across the street and be sure he would be warned had the Gestapo been to look for him. The story as it was told me closed with his remark: 'Even two years ago, you had no one to trust but yourself. You would not believe it but, today, there are even instances when police officials warn us if we are about to be arrested.'"

The New Movement and the Old

The author's credence is enhanced by the fact that he has hitherto disparaged romantic gossip spread abroad (in 1933 and 1934) about how internal resistance was growing; much less in 1936 when Hitler had an immense majority of the country behind him. The printed leaflet for underground circulation is now looked upon, he writes, as old-fashioned as a stagecoach. In its place are news broadcasts from outside the border. There remains little continuity between the old underground activities and the present movement. Especially qualified bodies, mostly younger people, were able to keep together in a fine network. The vigilance of the Gestapo forces them to remain hidden. But "Y" points out there is a new spirit among them and the Nazi regime itself knows the reason for it. To quote:

"Take one incident: during the crisis last summer thousands of former members of democratic organizations were called in by the police who made them surrender their house keys. Why was that? If war broke out tomorrow it would be that much easier to round up suspicious elements from their homes in the night and clap them in prison.

"Take another incident: at a cabinet meeting the representatives of the army protested against Himmler's plan to station divisions of the Black Shirts in the interior of the country in case of war. They felt that every able-bodied man should be sent to the front. Himmler is the commander of the secret police; and the party heads backed him against the army. They took the ground that a police force of half a million would be needed on the home front. What could that mean except recognition of unrest or low morale?"

"Y" next turns to another and wider circle made up first of all of those who belonged to democratic and socialist organizations before Hitler's time. These were long since gleichgeschaltet - given new Nazi names; Nazi directors were put at their head, Nazi treasurers took over their funds. Yet today their members are finding their way back to their old traditions. To quote:

If Not Free Speech - Free Song

If American tourists last summer visited the river front near a workers' district, they were likely to come upon camps and picnics made up of remnants of the old workers' and sports clubs. These seeming holiday seekers would not be talking politics, that would be too dangerous; they were just - being together. The Hitler regime has dissolved hundreds of these organization in the last year, and arrested their officers - sometimes even their Nazi leaders.

"A few months ago a large singing society in Berlin which used to have quarterly concerts, arranged a special affair. The tickets were sold out weeks in advance. Many former members of democratic organizations were present. Included in the program was Beethoven's 'Prisoners' Chorus' from 'Fidelio.'" There was wild applause. The great gathering sang it three times. Forthwith the Nazis clamped down on the society, dissolved it and arrested several dozen leading members. But you can't altogether suppress music in Germany - nor what it stands for."

A new symbolic language is growing up in Germany, not intelligible to a stranger but understood by Nazis and anti-Nazis alike. In Czarist days, every Russian used to know what they meant when they spoke about

rotten apples. The same thing is happening in Germany today. When a dog shows up on a newsreel, the whole movie house may burst into laughter.

There remains, "Y" declares, a third and still larger circle in German society which is characterized by a kind of emotional resistance. This includes a majority at least of the elder generation. Its most significant manifestation is a mass defeatism that official enthusiasm seeks to cover up. Its most sensational expression was the outspoken disgust last fall at the brutal pogroms.

Militant Democrats

"Y" sums up as follows:

"Underground Germany has become more and more conscious that its task is one of preparing a framework. Its ideas are ideas of a militant democracy. Its faithfulness is no longer merely to the past, but to new responsibilities for the future of Germany.

"My belief is that if war should come because of further turbulent expansion by the Nazi regime, that regime would be overthrown after military defeat. Underground Germany may not be strong enough to break through before the war, if Hitler's expansion goes on at the same threatening tempo as it did last year.

"But the future of Germany, the future of Europe, the future of our world, depend to a greater extent than is as yet realized on what has become Hitler's inexorable and most potential, if not yet forceful, inner enemy: Underground Germany."

# Underground Germany

by Y—

This article comes from a European source closely in touch with the arresting developments it describes. The manuscript was mailed us with the understanding that the writer must remain nameless, to safeguard the people with whom he is in contact. But we can vouch for his own vigorous reality when he was in this country last year; and the convincing character of his forecasts then which events have borne out since.

I CAN SPEAK FOR MEN WHO HAVE VISITED THE REICH YEAR after year since 1932. What they "brought out" late in 1938 was a definite impression: Underground Germany, even in the months since Munich, even more since Munich, is picking up hope. A new self-confidence is developing in its ranks. The feeling is gone that spread among the opponents of the regime in those earlier years when they had to think of themselves as part of a beaten cause. Once more they feel in the vanguard of coming change and look forward to a day that will come earlier than the more skeptical of them would have expected. It may still take years. But a friend of mine, intimately connected with the underground movement in Berlin, got through a message to me this winter that ran something like this: "The difference today is that the deepest depression among us is over. Six years have been enough to change the minds of millions both inside and outside the country. Who still questions that we are driving on to a new war and who wants that war?"

One thing is clear, and that is the brakes on the Nazi steam roller are giving way. First came the fall, early in 1938, of the old and hesitating General Staff, opening the way to expansion and adventure in Austria, Czechoslovakia and southeastern Europe. Now at the beginning of 1939, Schacht has fallen. That is probably of no less importance than the dismissal of Chief Commander Fritsch and his generals a year ago.

There are other symptoms: growing debts and less capacity to cover deficits; loans undersubscribed, speed-up work of the tax machinery; first symptoms of fatigue and decrease in production. These are matters of common knowledge. More important, in spite of the series of successes abroad, are the reports of a growing discontent inside Germany brought back from trips that have covered the whole country. They tell of a surprising reaction after Munich and the territorial gains of 1938—of a constantly growing defeatism that official enthusiasm seeks to cover up. For the first time since the bloody purge in 1934 a strong popular recoil has manifested itself. Its occasion was the fresh wave of Jewish persecution. The formula it has taken in all parts of the country in the weeks since the pogroms has been the same: "It is a disgrace for Germany. We aren't in agreement with this brutality." People not only say this privately to one another; they even say it publicly. When you read of thousands of arrests among "white Jews," or of outbursts of official hatred against "intellectual beasts" who gave shelter to persecuted Jews, or of nervous attacks in answer to English and American protests; when you read of these things

you have so many clues to the growing resistance that provokes them.

It is time, therefore, to appraise this Underground Germany of today. My belief is that if war should come because of further turbulent expansion by the Nazi regime, that regime would be overthrown after military defeat. Underground Germany may not be strong enough to break through before the war, if Hitler's expansion goes on at the same threatening tempo as it did last year. But the future of Germany, the future of Europe, the future of our world, depend to a greater extent than is as yet realized on what has become Hitler's inexorable and most potential, if not yet forceful, inner enemy: Underground Germany.

## The Early Days of the Movement

IN OTHER COUNTRIES, EXPECTATIONS HAVE BEEN ENTERTAINED as to this German underground movement which can only be called premature. For my part, I have always tried to point out the narrow limits which, until the crisis comes, must constrain such a movement organized against a party dictatorship. We must understand the early forms in which opposition can first express itself.

In 1933, Germany was taken by surprise. So was Italy taken by surprise a decade earlier; so was France nearly a century ago when Louis Napoleon set up his dictatorship in 1851; three coups d'état, all three supported by a gesture—"to save democracy."

In Germany it took more than a year before people realized what their savior really meant. "An episodic adventure"—that is what many Italians had said when Mussolini came to power. "It is good to have this experience. All the better that Nazis take part in the government; they will be discredited that much quicker." This is what many Germans said in January 1933.

So it was that the big democratic parties in the new German Republic betrayed themselves by prophesying a short intermezzo for the Hitler regime. All kinds of hopes prevailed. They counted on the relative weakness of his party; it had the support of big landowners and heavy industry, much of the middle class and many of the unemployed; but in itself, the Nazi party represented only 35 percent of the vote, even after the farce of the Reichstag trial. Even with conservative bourgeois groups as its allies, it controlled only a very small majority in Parliament. There were high hopes of fair play; of a rapid shift when it should become obvious that the Nazi party could not solve the problems confronting Germany in its crisis.

Meanwhile, a rapid growth of anti-Fascist views was

anticipated. This forecast was correct in that a combination was to gather head among dissatisfied Nazis on the one hand, and some of the leaders and followers of Germany's democratic parties on the other. Under the slogan of another revolution, they tried to turn against the regime. The famous purge of June 30, 1934 dissolved their mystic creed. With the powers of the state in his hands, Hitler set up his totalitarian regime with the most cruel terror and persecution of everybody who did not submit 100 percent. Then came the decisive phase of *Gleichschaltung* (nazification) of all parts of society. The organized forces of the German democracy, beaten and encircled in 1933, were now disarmed and dismembered.

It was perhaps natural that throughout this period, romantic gossip spread abroad about how internal resistance was growing. And indeed in 1934, as in 1933, there had been a springtime of false hope inside Germany. This was very similar to developments in Italy the first two years under Mussolini, when mass activities existed up to the Matteotti crisis. In practically all parts of Germany, efforts were made to replace the leaders of democratic

organizations who had been killed, arrested or driven into exile. More active groups made up of members of the former workers' parties, set up other committees after thirteenth and fourteenth attempts had failed. New, younger people tried to take the place of the old and to build up substitutes for suppressed organizations. Propaganda machinery was kept in motion by underground contacts and mimeographed literature. Leaving home for his work, a man would come back in the evening, his pockets filled with leaflets, pamphlets and mimeographed papers. He would find in his mail box some new appeal or proclamation from one of the numerous underground committees that sprang up like mushrooms.

But in due course, all this was liquidated. And so it is that there remains little continuity between Underground Germany of today and the Underground Germany of the first months of unrealistic attempts at resistance.

### Operating in the Dark

THE DARKEST PERIOD WAS TO COME WITH THE FIRST CLIMAX of Hitler's power when, in 1936, he proclaimed Germany's right to rearm and reoccupy the Rhineland districts. With the old smart of the Versailles Treaty to conjure with, undoubtedly he had an immense majority of the country behind him. Nazi demonstrations in those days were like religious processions. The bloody purge was remembered perhaps in small circles of discomfited Nazis but was forgotten by the millions in their fervor. Hundreds of thousands came from afar to line streets when Hitler was to appear, to kiss the hem of his garment and to see him if only for a second.

Those were days in which a confused national feeling of liberation broke down opposition and left hopelessness where it had been. The Fascist spirit beset families; fathers denounced their children; children denounced their parents. The former party committees had set up headquarters outside Germany to keep up ties with friends inside. These ties were now broken. Sometimes those inside refused to make the dangerous contacts; sometimes those outside let their eagerness to do so get the better of their caution. For the Nazi police had developed scientific methods in running down the remnants of the first underground movement. Moreover, unemployment disappeared with the new economic plan, with the creation of the *ersatz* (synthetic) industries and with the start of stupendous production of war materials. These gave credence to the claims for economic success under the new order.

Nonetheless there persisted, mostly in the illegal labor movements, an iron guard of faithful insurgents. Moreover, certain religious groups had been better protected and longer tolerated than any other organizations. Now came the development of heroic resis-

## Das neue Frankreich

Die Entwicklung der politischen Lage in Frankreich

# SOZIALISTISCHE AKTION

Organ der Sozialdemokratischen Partei Deutschlands

September 1937

## Die große Aufgabe: Organisation

In der letzten des Monats... (The text is a dense, multi-column article in German, discussing political and organizational matters. It begins with 'In der letzten des Monats...' and continues with several columns of text. The article is titled 'Die große Aufgabe: Organisation' and is dated September 1937. It appears to be a page from a newspaper or magazine, with a masthead at the top that reads 'SOZIALISTISCHE AKTION' and 'Organ der Sozialdemokratischen Partei Deutschlands'. The text is written in a formal, journalistic style typical of the era.)

The eight-page 8 x 5 newspaper of 1937 of the German Social Democratic party, like all printed matter, became too great a hazard. Outside broadcasts in German are now the news source

tance on the part of a minority in the Protestant Church under Niemoeller's leadership; and among the Catholics, several outstanding cardinals began to pray with the words of the Holy Bible against the Nazi catechism. Thus, in a sense, church prayers took the place of the political tribune.

But it was a period in which organized and determined underground workers comprised a far smaller group than the famous fraction of one percent who dared to vote "No" in the Hitler plebiscites. Numerous difficulties confronted the most conscientious worker. He lacked experience, technique, and contacts. It was not only the ruthless police power which endangered every active illegal worker. It was his isolation in the midst of Hitler's greatest success. It is easy to be brave in the ranks of a regiment. It is not so difficult to resist as a part of a minority, conscious of the approbation of your fellows. But to be treated by former friends as mad or even criminal is a different thing. No words of mine are strong enough to tell of the heroism of underground workers during 1934, '35, '36 and '37. They held on through years of mass infection of Nazi ideas, fighting against terrific odds. Some of them did not get into the first casualty lists; some were never denounced; but none of them had much chance to escape detection.

I have come to know a courier who, like others, tried to keep up the slender but precious contacts with the emigrant committees outside Germany. Once he was crossing the border illegally when he was overtaken by a terrific snow-storm high in the mountains. He was unconscious from cold and exhaustion when Nazi frontier guards captured him. They took him to their shelter and locked him up, but fortunately did not trouble to examine his papers. His fingers and toes were frozen, but he managed to escape from his captors in the night and reached friends who nursed him in constant fear that a knock at the door might deliver them all into the hands of the police. This case is typical of hardships no less than hazards faced by underground workers those years.

Another courier got into difficulties while traveling across the frontier as an ordinary passenger. He had already been through the passport examination with his only slightly irregular papers, when his train was searched not to find political couriers but money smugglers. With the hoarding of foreign exchange, every foreigner leaving the country must prove that he has used only money brought from outside. This courier had had to stay in Germany longer than he had anticipated. Rather than expose the friends who had supplied him with needed cash, he took the risk of giving himself up to the authorities as a violator of the money laws.

The story is told of an underground worker who was discovered in a hideout flat. Its ordinary tenants had forgotten to turn off the water in the bathroom, and the janitor, alarmed by a small flood in the hall, came in and found an unregistered stranger. Another was denounced by a neighbor because he typed late into the evening, and under the Nazi regime it is a suspicious matter to be found writing something. Others have been rounded up because acquaintances, arrested and beaten, have given their names, or because their telephone numbers have been found in searching someone's else apartment. It must be borne in mind that the Nazi regime has never felt secure. There were times when 7000 written denunciations were turned into Berlin police headquarters in a single day.



In every group are former members of democratic and Socialist organizations who quietly keep a sense of kinship

Quite understandably, a kind of prison psychology developed, even among those who were not taken to prison. They felt like mountain climbers struggling with an avalanche. In a district where the old democratic organizations could claim ten thousand members, only a dozen intransigents would remain active; and this dozen would shrink to seven or eight after working for months to keep alive its small contacts. Romantic stories were still current abroad of the growing strength of the underground work, stories of portable radio stations and the mass distribution of literature, but the real movement was cut to shreds. The tens of thousands of former officials of labor and Socialist movements, the members of parliament, the functionaries, secretaries and lecturers, all these—so far as they had not been killed or imprisoned or driven into exile—were reduced to a few thousand people including the younger elements that had joined with them. They worked largely by themselves—in the dark. At times their activities were no more than a casualty service, and a very primitive contact for information; 90 percent of their efforts were concentrated on circumventing the police danger. To make a single telephone call would involve hours of complicated arrangements. To meet somebody for a few minutes' talk would take a day's preparation.

For two or three to meet together at the same time would call attention to their subversive activity. The entire energy of highly qualified people was engrossed in keeping contacts alive among only a few dozen friends in the same city or town. Contacts with other towns in the same district had to be broken off. There was often no knowledge in one village when local resistance cropped out in the next. It was sometimes only after months and then through a fog of gossip that the events in one's own city came to be known. It may well be that throughout this period thousands of little resistant groups were scattered through Germany; but none of the stronger organizations had more than a few hundred dissociated persons.

The distribution of printed literature was almost entirely stopped. It had become much too dangerous. If a suspicious printed page were found in a flat, it meant arrest and conviction. Mass posses were organized to find some one contact person in an underground organization, to subject him to the third degree, to break down his resistance and get the names and addresses of organization centers.

There is a tradition that in the golden age of underground work against imperial Russia, the Czar "put a gendarme behind every Socialist." With his elite guard, Hitler has not only a Black Shirt to put behind every underground worker; but sets before his eyes the prospect of prison, the concentration camps, a scientific terror system for everyone apprehended, and decapitation for the leaders.

### The Reawakening

BUT THE MOVEMENT'S URGE TO LIVE LIVED ON IN SPITE OF everything. Especially qualified bodies, mostly younger people, were able to keep together in a fine network, developing better techniques, and educating themselves at the same time through the reading of standard works on history and economics, which were rescued when forbidden books were burned. These are almost the only books available other than the biased Nazi literature; and these young people have drawn on these old springs in developing character and wisdom in ways which may equip them for leadership in the future.

They have already won new status, as feeling among all sorts and conditions of people turns more and more against the Hitler regime. The stalwart dozen in any district in the past has again grown to fourteen or sixteen. It has been a kind of molecular progress invisible to anyone not in close touch with it, but highly encouraging to those in the vanguard itself.

Yet these organized groups are still tiny and isolated. The vigilance of the Gestapo forces them to remain hidden. In each case their safety and stability depends on the weakest of their members; but they have become more stable because the weakest among them have gained strength.

Although there has been this reawakening, it cannot be said that revolution is imminent. The unequal balance of forces inside Germany does not permit of that. On the one side is still the Nazi machine with millions of armed men ready to be turned loose; on the other side, only these individual workers held together in their tiny groups. But there is a new spirit among them and the Nazi regime knows about it. Take one incident: during the crisis last summer thousands of former members of democratic organizations were called in by the police who made them surrender their house keys. Why was that? If war broke out tomorrow it would be that much easier to round up suspicious elements from their homes in the night and clap them in prison. Take another incident: at a cabinet meeting the representatives of the army protested against Himmler's plan to station divisions of the Black Shirts in the interior of the country in case of war. They felt that every able-bodied man should be sent to the front. Himmler is the commander of the secret police; and the party heads backed him up against the army. They took the ground that a police force of half a million would be needed on the home front. And what could that

mean except recognition either of unrest or of low morale?

If the truth were known, recent police reports have disclosed the growth of opposition in spite of the fact that not a single economic or political organization exists overtly that is not completely official and controlled by representatives of the regime. Nazi officials are beginning to see pre-revolutionary specters over every shoulder. That in itself is a sign of stirrings among the old democratic majority.

Let me give you something more specific: I have learned from dependable quarters that during the summer crisis many policemen remembered that they had friends who were members of labor organizations in the old days. They looked them up, went to their houses and explained to them that they themselves were really "neutrals." They wore the uniform; but should not be considered enemies. Some of them were sincere; some of them merely took time by the forelock to have friends on either side. The continuance of mass arrests, the constant campaign against every threat to Nazi Germany, which means practically every nonconformist man or woman in the population, are only symptoms of this same fear.

I imagine that Nazi propagandists still travel through the United States telling everybody who cares to hear the miracle that 90 percent of the Germans are behind Hitler. Yet how do they reconcile the continuous purging of Nazi organizations themselves, with these claims for Hitler's great popularity and success?

Underground Germany has become more and more conscious that its task is one of preparing a framework. Its ideas are ideas of a militant democracy. Its faithfulness is no longer merely to the past, but faithfulness to new responsibilities for the future of Germany. This new self-consciousness among underground workers is developing in a setting charged with a resurgence of sympathy toward them. Two years ago that setting was one of spiritual isolation.

As a result of this change, the brutality they can expect from Nazi officials has lost some of its terror. Detection and arrest still lead to harsh reprisals—at least five years for any connection with an organized group; at least ten years if proved a member; at least fifteen years, life imprisonment or death if proved a leader. In one year, Hitler's guillotine beheaded 288 people. Nobody knows how many of them were civil criminals; how many political heroes. Nobody knows how many hundreds or thousands have been killed unofficially in concentration camps or shot by irresponsible Storm Troopers. In spite of the most careful precautions, members of the best organized committees are still arrested and their fellow members are at once placed in the gravest danger. In the old days those who had not yet been caught would have fled the country, giving up work into which they had put months and years of patient effort. Today this is no longer the case.

Not only have they the inner spur of work that is gaining ground; but they have a new protection in the widespread sympathy for their cause. I was told recently of a long time and responsible member of an organization which goes back to 1933. His position was fraught with danger recently when one of his closest associates was arrested. But this underground worker did not have to run away. The only care he took was to take a short leave of absence from the factory where he was known to work.

If the police had come to look for him there, there were a dozen friends who would have been quick to send him warning. They could not be said to know about his secret activities, but they did know that he was against the Nazis. And before going to his apartment, he could stop nowadays at the shopkeeper across the street and be sure he would be warned had the Gestapo been to look for him. The story as it was told me closed with his remark: "Even two years ago, you had no one to trust but yourself. You would not believe it but, today, there are even instances when police officials warn us if we are about to be arrested."

### The Street-level Above the Underground

ABOVE AND BEYOND THE ORGANIZED UNDERGROUND MOVEMENT there is another and wider circle made up, first of all, of those who belonged to democratic and Socialist organizations before Hitler's time and who are now somehow finding their way back to their old traditions. It must be remembered that not only were political parties and labor unions dissolved but numerous cultural and athletic organizations were *gleichgeschaltet*. That is, these were given new Nazi names; Nazi directors were put at the head of them; Nazi treasurers took over their funds. But even this regime could not abolish a sense of belonging among their old participants. The members tore up their membership cards, but they managed to keep in touch with their old comrades. During the first years there were other mass organizations which were markedly influenced by the Nazis. Today their members are not only reviving their primary loyalties, but are even beginning in turn to influence their new Nazi officers.

If American tourists last summer visited the river front near a workers' district, they were likely to come upon camps and picnics made up of remnants of the old workers' and sports clubs. These seeming holiday seekers would not be talking politics, that would be too dangerous; they were just—being together. A couple of years ago it would have been dangerous for anyone to put in an appearance at such a gathering if he were thought to be identified with an organized underground group. He would have risked being informed against. Today most likely he would be sought out by his old acquaintances. They are looking for contacts.

The Hitler regime discovered this danger, dissolved hundreds of these organizations in the last year, and arrested their officers—sometimes even their Nazi leaders.

A few months ago a large singing society in Berlin which used to have quarterly concerts, arranged a special affair. The tickets were sold out weeks in advance. Many former members of democratic organizations were present. Included in the program was Beethoven's "Prisoners' Chorus" from "Fidelio." There was wild applause. The great gathering sang it three times. Forthwith the Nazis clamped down on the society, dissolved it and arrested several dozen leading members. But you can't altogether suppress music in Germany—nor what it stands for.

Information circulates with astonishing accuracy and speed in spite of the official blockade of news. The printed leaflet for underground distribution has become as old-fashioned as a stagecoach. In its place are news broadcasts from outside the border. Broadcasts in the German language from French, English and other stations do not tell the listeners the whole story but they tell a part of it and

Underground Germany can make use of that part in sifting truth from lies in the official German broadcast at home; and these piece together a pretty accurate picture.

One day a miners' delegate from a German coal area appeared at the headquarters of an emigrant committee abroad and asked that the French station at Toulouse, which carried a regular news broadcast in German after midnight, should schedule it at an earlier hour. "We miners," he said, "have to get up at five and we lose too much sleep waiting up for the broadcast every night; so please ask those people to change the hour."

In the days of crisis last summer and fall, I was told that all over Germany you could hear broadcasts from foreign stations through the open windows—in spite of the danger of tuning in on forbidden programs.

Interestingly enough, a new symbolic language is growing up in Germany, not intelligible to a stranger but understood by Nazis and anti-Nazis alike. In Czarist days, Russians used to talk about an apple tree, about the good red apples on the tree and about the rotten apples. Everybody knew that when they spoke about rotten apples they meant the Czarist regime. The same thing is happening in Germany. When a dog shows up on a newsreel, the whole movie house may burst into laughter. Everybody knows what the dog has come to stand for.

Of course there is confusion among the people of Germany about what is really happening in their own country and in the world. But through the fog of falsification and inadequate information, alert people grasp the real truth about important questions with astonishing accuracy. Copies of good books circulate through offices and factories and come back torn and battered, having been read sometimes by hundreds of people. Booksellers tell you that in addition to their Nazi best sellers there is again a rediscovery of the German classics; and a growing interest in English and American memoirs and historical works.

### The Upper Floors of Discontent

THERE REMAINS A THIRD AND STILL LARGER CIRCLE IN GERMAN society which is characterized by a kind of emotional resistance against everything that is officially connected with the Hitler regime. This includes a majority at least of the elder generation. You must understand that in the eyes of these Germans there is a seamy lining to Hitler's great outside triumphs. To the world's bitter feeling against drastic expansion and barbaric oppression by the Nazis, you must add inside acquaintance with political intrigue; add dissatisfaction with the autocracy of the regime; and add a kind of frantic hope that developments sooner or later will reach a breaking point.

The most significant manifestation of this inner change during the last months in Germany is the mass defeatism. Its most sensational expression has been the reaction to Hitler's latest circus, the brutal pogroms which, far from being welcomed by the people, were greeted with outspoken disgust.

The underground cadres may still be small, still weak. But they are already a kind of sensory system with branches stretching out into every part of the German social anatomy. They are nuclei which will stimulate and swiftly gather about them mass movements of a democratic character that will prove important and decisive in the coming time of crisis.



Chicken Shack by Archibald J. Motley, Jr.

James L. Allen photos



Thinnin' Corn by Malvin Gray Johnson

December 1, 1939

100

My dear Mr. Kellogg:

I was very much interested in seeing the reprint of "Towards the Peace That Shall Last", and thank you for sending it to me. I am giving it to the President as I know he will want to have it.

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Paul Kellogg  
Survey Associates  
112 East 19th Street  
NYC

DD

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November 16, 1939

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Sometimes ore is minted in one crisis in such enduring fashion that it has gleam for another. This it seemed to me ~~was~~ true of a statement, "Towards the Peace That Shall Last," drawn up a quarter century ago in the early months of the World War. As you will see, Miss Addams, Miss Wald, Judge Mack, Mrs. Kelley and others had a creative part in the meetings at Henry Street from which it sprang.

To my mind it is so much more than a museum piece that we are reprinting it, after twenty-five years, in our Survey Graphic for December. Perhaps it may strike you as worth a reference in your "Day"; but more especially I am wondering if this group thinking by people who were gifted with insight in those days, so like the present, might not be refreshing to the President.

Its arraignments of war were riveted home in the four years that succeeded and the years that have followed. And the constructive leads on a "peace that shall last" in the concluding section, "Striking Hands," ring as true as when they were set down.

Sincerely,

*Paul Kellogg*

Paul Kellogg  
Editor

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

pk js e

*Ann Reed Brenner*

NOV 18 1939

100

January 8, 1940

Dear Mr. Kellogg:

Thank you for your letter and for sending me copies of the paragraphs which you are carrying in the January magazine. I am so glad you are doing this.

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Paul Kellogg  
Survey Associates  
112 E 19th St.  
NYC

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HAROLD H. SWIFT

ack  
1-7

January 4, 1940

*I am to get Paul  
you are doing that  
EP*

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Of course at Henry Street Settlement, we were thoroughly outraged at the Dies-Mathews report, as Miss Helen Hall is president of the Consumers National Federation; and Sue Jenkins was one of the people singled out for flagrantly unfair reference.

But here at The Survey, no less than at Henry Street, we have complete confidence in Donald Montgomery, and admiration for his rare service in the Consumers Counsel Division of the Department of Agriculture. I am enclosing an advance copy of some editorial paragraphs we shall carry in The Survey Midmonthly for January which, as you will see, rally in sheer justice to his defense.

With every best wish for the New Year,

Sincerely,

*Paul Kellogg*

Paul Kellogg  
Editor

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt

pk js e

From -- THE SURVEY MIDMONTHLY  
January 1940

### Americans as Consumers

WHEN trade unions wish information and sound counsel as to wage earning conditions and problems, they can rightfully turn to the U. S. Department of Labor, with its research staff and statistical bureaus. When business bodies wish kindred information of concern to them, they can turn to the U. S. Department of Commerce. In the absence of any similar central agency or bureau, it would seem equally right, pertinent and legitimate for consumer organizations to turn to the Consumers' Counsel Division of the Department of Agriculture, where Donald E. Montgomery has built up a service that has integrity and is illuminating. Yet the Mathews-Dies report, in one of the most unscrupulous attacks ever made on a public servant, singles out this government official for essentially attending to his

*responsibilities to  
the public ✓*

A varied group of consumers agencies were victimized by this same Mathews-Dies report. If it was put out as part of the drive to get new funds for the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, it ought to prove a boomerang. And this not only because of its inaccuracies, innuendoes and falsities, but because it was an outrageous exhibit of the abuse of governmental power. It was presented by a man whose animus is flagrant, the committee's chief investigator, J. B. Mathews. It was accepted and issued as a public report at a session at which only one member of the congressional committee was present, Martin Dies, its chairman. Moreover, in the case of the Consumers National Federation, it was issued without the introduction of evidence against the federation at any hearings, much less a chance to meet and confute charges which now have been blazoned throughout the country. There was neither common decency nor a shadow of justice in the whole procedure.

100

January 10, 1940

Dear Mr. Kellogg:

I have read with great interest your article on "The Living Spirit of Florence Kelley", and I am giving it to the President to read.

Thank you for sending it to me.

Very sincerely yours,

0

Mr. Paul Kellogg  
Editor, Survey  
112 E 19  
NYC

January 19, 1940

My dear Mr. Kellogg:

Thank you for letting me see  
the letter which you wrote to Mr. Early.  
I was very much interested in it.

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Paul Kellogg  
~~Editor~~, Survey Associates, Inc.  
112 E. 19th St., NYC

DD

**SURVEY ASSOCIATES Inc.** 112 East 19 Street · New York City  
SURVEY GRAPHIC · SURVEY MIDMONTHLY · Telephone ALGONQUIN 4-7490

January 15, 1940

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

My first impulse was to address the enclosed to you; but it seemed best, as it got over into the political field, not to burden you with it. Yet I should be glad to share with you the impressions that reach my desk of the mounting interest in the program Miss Roche and her associates laid out in the health field.

Sincerely,

*Paul Kellogg*

Paul Kellogg  
Editor

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt

pk js e

*Handwritten notes:*  
1-19-40  
S. H. ...  
ER

*Copy*

January 15, 1940

Dear Mr. Early:

Your acknowledgment was much appreciated of my wire to the President hailing his triple play: Murphy to Jackson to Biddle. Here for what it is worth is something that may be merely a twist of hopes.

Hopes, namely, that the Administration's espousal of hospital building in neglected areas (I'm for that with both feet) may prove to be not an alternative, but a curtain-raiser to the rounded National Health Program laid down so fairly and convincingly after a year's research by the President's Interdepartmental Committee to Coordinate Health and Welfare Activities. That program ranged from strengthening, nationally, the ragged line of public health defense against the deadly diseases, maternal and child health, hospital construction - to adequate plans for medical care for low income families, with health insurance as one of the options, state by state.

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Josephine Roche's recent recall as chairman of that Committee gives ground for these hopes. They sprang up, naturally and confidently, in the minds of so many of us at the time of the National Health Conference called by the President in the summer of 1936. And they were fortified by the spirited response that came from labor and business leaders, from parent-teachers, social workers, public welfare administrators, women's clubs, farm organizations and the rest. Among them, forward-looking physicians. You see, I gave up a considerable slice of my vacation that year to condensing it all into a pamphlet for the Committee: The Nation's Health.

The Senate hearings last summer resulted in a sub-committee report that was anything but unfavorable to Senator Wagner's bill. I regret that no central nucleus of interested people and lay organ-

izations has been formed to fight as a foil to the ingrowing leadership of the A.M.A. But my editorial contacts before, and since, the country over, convince me that interest is not only latent; it is mounting. There, I guess I am a competent witness that again we need the shove of the President; again the dogs in the manger would bark in full cry; but again, and on an altogether new scale, there would be a running fire of response to his leadership.

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The political bearings of such a move are outside my ken. But I can testify that if Mr. Roosevelt were not to run for a third term, I should hate to see his trenchant spade work in this field come to no crop before it falls to weaker, or adverse hands. (It would be so easy for it to lapse into weeds; or erode under reaction.) And I can testify that if he were to run for a third term, such a move would be a stroke of statesmanship, epitomizing in a fresh way how he has stood out for the common welfare. All the more if made early, now, when it can be entertained by people of all political allegiances with a plus for progress. If Congress acted on it in the months ahead, it would add another way-mark to the Roosevelt record. And if not - if it became a campaign issue - that would advance public opinion decisively in ways Miss Addams once deftly analysed as "education by the current event."

So much for the cause. For its exponent - there's that Texas party leader who was for lining up with the doctors because you had them in every county. He was asked: "How many patients do you think there are in those counties?" Invented or not, there's pith in the story.

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Both doctors and patients have been stirred by developments to re-examine afresh the possibility of bringing medical services - in organization, cost and availability - abreast of what discovery has done for medical science. Not only have voluntary hospital, health and cooperative schemes of group payment spread like green bay trees; but, for example, San Francisco, under lead of Dr. Philip King Brown, has instituted a health insurance service for municipal employes. Ground has been broken, I'm sure, and it is eternally worth harrowing.

Sincerely,

Paul Kellogg  
~~Secretary~~

Mr. Stephen Early  
 Secretary to the President  
 The White House  
 Washington, D. C.

pk js e

February 14, 1940

105

My dear Mr. Kellogg:

Many thanks for your letter.

I was so interested in the story you enclosed and appreciate your sending the copy to me.

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Paul Kellogg  
Survey Associates  
112 East 19th Street  
NYC

DD

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February 8, 1940

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Robert Lane has sent me the messages he read at the dinner of the Social Workers Committee of the Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign; and I should like you to know how moved I was by your letter. And the wishes you extended from the President and yourself, I shall always cherish.

I am afraid I have overburdened you with things of mine, but here again I began with a story that might engage you - of Dr. David Starr Jordan, who risked tar and feathers on the Texas border in Wilson's time, when it was a toss up whether we would be at war with Mexico.

So I enclose a copy - with its concluding plea for government help for the refugees from Republican Spain, so desperately caught in the French concentration camps.

Gratefully,

*Paul Kellogg*

Paul Kellogg

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt

pk js e

*# Also, the story (page 9-10) of  
Chairman Mc Groat - The Canadian  
Chairman of the International  
Boundary Commission may interest  
you.*

Talk of PAUL KELLOGG Before  
SOCIAL WORKERS COMMITTEE, SPANISH REFUGEE RELIEF CAMPAIGN

At Dinner In His Honor

Murray Hill Hotel, New York  
February 1, 1940

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This is one of those double-barreled occasions which give me the warmth of finding so many friends here and in which we can all of us feel that the cause of the Spanish refugees is one which touches to the quick what we hold dear in its sheer injustice, its grueling human misery, and its appeal to our most fundamental instincts as believers in democracy. You know that I am part of the stage business in getting you here. You weren't altogether hoaxed by it. The thing that made me come, and the thing that makes you come, is that here we honor and help the forgotten people of Republican Spain: exiles, refugees, prisoners in concentration camps; men, women and children who have struggled and suffered for independence and self-government. They are left behind while the world is preoccupied with a war which itself registers the cave-in and repudiation of the devious policies that brought Spanish republicans where they are.

They are the hostages of Appeasement.

It came over me that once before, quite without any anticipation on my part, I was jerked into a position of honor and opportunity when for a day I found myself part of a voluntary commission that helped stave off one war - not with Spain but with our nearest Spanish American neighbor. That also was in the midst of a world conflict. Villa had made his raid across into Texas and the jingoes were in full cry. I happened to be in Cleveland and the railroad yards were full of troop trains that were full, in turn, of New England militia. On the sides of the cars they had chalked in huge letters, "On to

Mexico City." The afternoon papers were overloaded with headlines. You would have thought that every last man in the country was hell bent for fighting. But, no, there was at least one man to the contrary. Down in the corner of the front page was a tiny dispatch from El Paso, Texas, saying that Dr. David Starr Jordan, president emeritus of Leland Stanford University, had arrived there as a member of a voluntary three-man commission, set up by the American Union Against Militarism; and that he was trying to make contact with a similar voluntary commission from the Mexican capital. Apparently he thought that something might be done to stave off war. But the rest of the front page didn't give you any clue that he wasn't engaged on the wildest goose chase.

Now I happened to be a member of the American Union Against Militarism, of which Lillian D. Wald was chairman and Crystal Eastman, secretary. And despairing of getting any action from the Administration in embarking on a conference instead of on hostilities, they had tried to see if a voluntary commission might point the way.

I don't know whether many of you knew Dr. David Starr Jordan. He was a Hoosier - at least he had been president, I think, of the University of Indiana before going to California; and there were former students of his peppered all over these United States who swore by him. Of them, more later. In these years, he was a tall, gaunt man of later life - the kind that ate seaweed wafers at lunch for sake of his digestion. Nothing of epaulets ~~to~~ spurs or in between to suggest the warrior. But compact of the sheer nerve and lean insurgence that would stave off a mob - and might - as it turned out, stop armies in their tracks.

But it wasn't so easy as that sounds. When word got abroad in El Paso of the professor and his mission, things went the other way. The town was teeming with belligerence and let the world know. The rest of us would never have guessed there was this unreconstructed rebel in their midst except for the fact

that he had been a teacher. The Associated Press correspondent at El Paso was a former student of his. Every day this correspondent sent out over the wires a dispatch as to his doings. And the country learned there was this tiny crevice in the Texas front.

That was resented; feeling ran all the higher; there was a move on foot to <sup>to</sup> war and feather the unwanted meddler. It reached such a pass that another former student of Dr. Jordan's began to have fears for his safety if not for his life. He got the bankers of the city together and told them what a blow it would be to El Paso if any trouble came to the president emeritus of a great university; they must protect him. This former student carried conviction because he himself happened to be the leading banker of the place. And so, taking turns on three shifts, 24 hours a day, the bankers of El Paso picketed Dr. Jordan's room in a local hotel, to keep him out of harms way.

If it had been a question of scholarly intrepidity there would have been a six-man peace commission right there on the firing line. But the Mexican members had not been able to get through. And the two other American members sent regrets. Two more were invited to take their places and the joint meeting was transferred to Washington.

I went ~~in~~ on to cover it in my journalistic stride and found Dr. Jordan and Moorefield Storey, the elderly, distinguished Boston lawyer who years before, in the Spanish American war, had been one of the leaders of the anti-imperialists. The other appointee had not turned up and they mustered me in on the spot as the third. Dr. Jordan had a way of finding straw to make his bricks.

The Mexicans were there - the scholarly librarian of Mexico City was one; a young engineer, Modesto Roland, was the second, and he was to serve his country later in great works. The third was Dr. Atl, without counterpart in either Mexico City or Washington - an artist, who after years in the Latin Quarter of

Paris had thrown himself into native art and worked among the Indians. Small, redheaded, clad that, to him, unseasonable morning in a long dashing bathrobe, he was the antithesis of the spare Boston Blue Stocking or the lanky Californian.

But we found no difficulty in reaching an agreement on most of the major issues that were joined and staked off others that might be composed by study and conference. We signed a statement to that effect that had its day in the headlines. If six people, as citizens and neighbors, could do this, why not six as government delegates? At least the issuance of our findings posed that question. It set an example as private enterprize, if you will.

That day and the next, I discovered other forces at work. Lincoln Steffens was shuttling between the office of the lawyer that represented the Mexican revolutionary government and the White House; asking his inveterate, inimitable questions; getting over the idea that the <sup>matters</sup> ~~questions~~ at issue were manageable ones and that while Wilson and Carranza had called each other names, neither had horns. (Privately he guessed they had at least one streak in common.)

Saturday afternoon I sat in the office of the Secretary of War, who had his feet up on his desk and his pipe lit. We were alone; and Newton D. Baker ruminated on the fate that at this tense stage, Secretary Lansing was busy at the State Department penning lawyers indiotments, Tuesdays and Thursdays, to the Mexican authorities that made matters worse; while his own department would have to hold the bag if this led to war, as it seemed highly likely to do. He himself was tied to a desk, miles away, aching to get down to the border and straighten out things around a table with a couple of Mexican generals, who would have the sense to see that all this bandit business was a question of policing a great river bottom together. Except for the size, it was not so different from the police problems he had confronted as Mayor of Cleveland in tough districts of the suburbs.

Given time, a joint government commission was appointed by the two countries. Secretary Lane of the Interior and A. Leo Rowe, now of the Pan-American Union, were yeasty members. Miss Wald helped them clear one hurdle that nearly wrecked the negotiations. But, given time, they in turn worked out a formula and our forces were withdrawn from Mexican soil. Whatever the provocation on either hand, there hasn't been any situation since which we've proposed to settle by war. And today, the Good Neighbor Policy of Roosevelt and Hull runs to the south of us and there is promise of greater understanding and cooperation, North, South and Central, than ever before in the Americas.

But these things could not have come about so readily, and might well have been wrecked for half a century, had it not been for that joint government commission. That in turn might not have been created except that, among the other forces at work, was the precedent set by our voluntary joint commission. And that certainly would not have come about had not Dr. David Starr Jordan of California been asked by a voluntary committee in New York to go to Texas; and had had the nerve to go and stick.

I have told this story for the encouragement it gives in another period of strain. It shows what a small group - what one man - can do with courage and conviction. I tell it because similar situations may be in store for us. Because more especially, it can give us heart, in a meeting like ours tonight, for a battered cause like ours, under the auspices of small groups of social workers and their friends the country over. We can stick too - and count if we stick.

I cannot inform and stir you like Vincent Sheean, who knows the Riff and the Ebro first-hand; or Dr. Ebron who has given us an Argentinian's estimate. You could learn far more from Louis Fischer here, who has illuminated every stage of the Spanish conflict. Or Oswald Garrison Villard, just back from the countries

now at war; or "Y", a leader of the "underground," who has risked his life in getting in and out of Germany since Hitler came to power; or Constance Kyle, who went to Spain to take part in the work for children of our own Social Workers Committee. If I can do anything, it has seemed to me, it would be to speak from my own experience and the experience of others, as to why these things concern us, and why we care. I can speak, first, as a young reporter in the middlewest; and since as an editor here in New York of journals of social work and interpretation which bring me in touch with people who, like you, are concerned and do care.

When Arthur Kellogg and I, and the boys of our age, got past playing cowboy and Indian down by Portage creek, our horizons began to stretch beyond the sound of this juvenile echo of the old frontier. The spray and foam of old wind-driven caravels left a wake in the mind's eye. And in the mind's nose, there was smoke from campfires at Valley Forge and the night stops of the covered wagons from the rail-splitters camps of the middlewest and bivouacs, blue and gray, of the armies of Virginia. These things stood for discovery, adventure, struggles against tyranny and slavery. They stood for all manner of men who struck out for independence and the wilderness, for elbow room and for liberty.

And there was tangible feel of these things in our home town of Kalamazoo. After two generations the print of the pioneers of the 1850s was still on the place; of our own kin among them. In the Sixties, Uncle Channing and Grandfather Underwood had put in four years in the Civil War. On Decoration Days, Orcutt Post of the G.A.R. filed to the cemeteries in its old blue. Ex-slaves, that long since may have dropped off at a nearby station of the "underground railway," mowed our lawns, beat carpets, split wood in the livelihoods that had opened out to escaped field hands. But it wasn't all, though it was mostly, a town that was native born of native born. There were British and

Irish, Hollanders, Scandinavians, Germans and a lot of others. They were different, but fundamentally they were like the rest of us. They had stories to tell of breaking away from yokes of state, or church, or landlordism. Hadn't a young Jewish doctor from our town, Joe Israels, gone on the Grealey Expedition and lost his life in carrying trail-blazing to the Arctic. And hadn't Alf Curtenius' father fought under Bolivar - and that in itself made clear that the fight for freedom took in South America? When in our reading, Leather Stocking Tales gave way to Sienkiewicz, the struggles of the Slavs came too within our tent-ropes. This seemed the way of the world.

It was only later that any of us came to recognize that drum-beating could play us false, as it did in the Mexican War. (I was namesake of a young uncle, Paul Rawls, who lost his life in that. I have his sword.) As it did in the Spanish-American War, to which boys a peg older than we rallied.

But along with the liberty pole and its fighting instincts was another heritage. This sprang from awareness of the human pageant about us; the essential brotherhood of all sorts and conditions and races of men whose traditions blended with ours in the new adventure of America.

When I came east, New York was the great gateway of the new immigration. We published a special number which carried on its cover, instead of titles, the names of the half hundred peoples concerned. That gave inklings of a cast of characters that boxed the compass of countries of origin, but they stood, too, for so many cantos in the same great epic. In our Pittsburgh Survey in 1907-10, we had staff members from a score of American states and cities; but also an Italian artist, a Bohemian minister and a Russian engineer shared in our investigation of life and labor in the great type city of the new industrial frontier. I spent a summer with Jacob A. Riis, the Dane. I was thrown with great Jews - Brandeis, Frank Hank Mack, Wise, Paul Warburg, Dr. Rubinow Tchaykovsky and the rest. I was to meet Madame Breshkovsky and ~~Tashkowskici~~ <sup>Tchaykovsky</sup> - grandmother,

grandfather of the Russian Revolution; meet a leader of the new Zempvos who came over to raise money at the time of the great famine; meet Gregory Gershuni, the Polish Jewish schoolmaster who escaped from a Siberian prison in a barrel. In good time I was to know his pupil, Charney Vladeck, whose face still bore the scars of a Cossack's knout when three years ago he led the progressive block in the New York City Council. So I might run on. Quakers, Jews, Catholics, Protestants, of every source and race and faith fed the human stream at the mouth of the Hudson. They came from old hills and valleys abroad and the hinterland of our own continent.

Do you get the picture? You have such pictures in your own minds, out of your own experiences. This is why we in America have keys to the human quest.

Why, first of all, we are kin to those who risk everything for freedom the world round. Why we chime in in our hearts with their struggle for democracy. Why Vincent Sheean and others like him caught the secret of what the beset Spanish republicans stood for; caught that their cause was essentially our cause. Why the rest of us have tried from a distance to help the victims of that new-old struggle.

That is why, more slowly perhaps, we have become aware of other currents and forces, like the tides that meet fresh water in New York harbor. Came that "consciousness of kind," to use Prof. Franklin H. Giddings' illuminating phrase, which slowly wipes out ancient hates and divisions and castes and stigmas in the commingling of democracy. This has made for a union of peoples as significant as the union of states Lincoln strove for. And geography itself, the spread of settlement on our frontiers of opportunity, no less than the spread of all these streams at their source, played into the process. This gave us a chance to experiment with fresh relationships that the world had never had room

for before. We had a new continent as our laboratory.

What I mean has to do with the fact that neither the Great Lakes Basin, nor the Mississippi Valley, nor the plains, nor the Pacific seaboard, nor New England or the South before them, became nations themselves. That seems a paradox, when you consider their size, when you remember our inveterate bent for independence. The paradox was resolved by the larger span of freedom, security, opportunity encompassed in the union of these American states, which sprang from our Revolution and held in the Civil War.

As result, there were no fortified boundaries, when I grew up, between Michigan and neighboring Ohio, Indian, Wisconsin. And there were no barricades to the north of us, where Detroit looked across a narrow river to Ontario, or where a mythical line of dots cut through the blue of Lake Superior on our school maps.

Clearly, if they will, neighboring peoples can live together without fighting and without bristling defenses; the cost of which must break their backs. That is the story that ever since the War of 1812, the United States and Canada have to tell the world. Their three thousand miles of unfortified boundary has stood for peace for generations.

I have already told you some of the hazards that still beset our national boundary <sup>to the south</sup> in the 1900s because we had stupidly failed to match this pattern there. But it would be a mistake to think that at the north, the mere absence of guns and warships was enough, in and of itself. Right there lies the secret of a new engineering, the fortification of peace itself by new instrumentalities to settle the issues and grievances that naturally arise between neighbors whether across a back fence or <sup>along</sup> a three thousand mile border.

Two summers ago, on the way to the National Conference of Social Work at Seattle, Helen Hall and I stopped off at Victoria, the capital of the British

Columbia, on Vancouver Island. There we talked with a spare, handsome white-haired man, as tall and as truly North American in type as Dr. Jordan. He had retired from his post; but more than any other man, Chairman McGrath kept the peace on that border, decade after decade, as long time Canadian chairman of the International Boundary Commission. This itself is an invention of the New World. It is a bipartite body, with Canadian members under a Canadian chairman; United States members under a United States chairman. Together they carried through the biggest sanitary survey of waters in the world. That was their study of pollution in the Great Lakes - of contamination that was no respecter of political boundaries, and set hue and cries going in the communities affected. At one time, there was hot feeling along the border of what we call the Northwest. Rival interests contended over a winding river, over whether it should be used for power, navigation, agriculture or whatever. The commission met under our chairman at a county seat in Minnesota and heard our claimants and witnesses; got on a day train and once across the Canadian border, went through the process on the other side with Canadian interests pleading their cause. Similarly, on the great Columbia River, there was a row between the smelters on one side, which poisoned the stream, and the fisheries on the other that were threatened.

Issues and conflicts of a sort such as set nations at each other's throats are settled by conference, by study of conflicting rights, by constructive compromise and the unanimous agreement of a bi-national body which carries conviction by its integrity.

Have I said enough to set before you three chords of the American spirit:

- 1) Our faith in democracy; with as corollaries, our scunner against tyranny anywhere; our response to struggles for liberty and freedom everywhere.
- 2) Our penchant for neighborliness and peace as the way of life among

free people - one which can be stretched over wider and wider areas.

5) Our practical recognition that the way to stave off war is to contrive implements for peace that will ventilate and compose its causes.

You can say that in the World War our application of these principles was ragged and inconsistent. It was. We struck those two first chords and went into it with the slogan to save the world for democracy. But we refused to play the third chord when it came to the peace and to the League of Nations that our own President had initiated. Had we gone in, we might have spared the world the conflicts now raging.

Nor were we any happier later in devising such negative substitutes as outlawing war, isolationism, disarmament. They run counter to our whole experience on the Canadian border for alone, they provided no machinery for settling the causes of conflicts. Our Neutrality Act was so negative and inept that, most of all, it served notice on the dictators that they could burgeon out into conquest in any direction so far as we were concerned. It served notice on the militarists that their policy was the right one - that no peace-loving, peace-living nation could get equipment from us to help defend itself when its hour came. Under the searchlight of renewed war in Europe we have scrapped that act as threatening to democracies everywhere and paving the way, finally, for war upon us, disadvantaged by everything we failed to do in the interval.

But let us take those three chords of the American spirit and see what came of them in our relations to Spain.

The rise of the Spanish Republic struck that first chord in many of our minds. Here, in the mother country itself at last, we were witnessing the same evolution we had protected in the revolt against Spanish despotism by the Spanish colonies in South America; the same evolution we ourselves had spurred on in our attack on Spanish tyranny in Cuba.

The new Republic stood for self-government, for a riddance to kings; for curbs on army and nobles, for the separation of church and state, for public education - how those bells echoed our own. It stood for the breaking up of landlordism whether at the hands of crown, or church, or feudal heirs; for throwing open new standards of livelihood and opportunity to the peasants and to workers in the new industrial centers.

You can't expect to put new wine into old bottles without breaking clay that is brittle. And one old bottle was the medieval Spanish church, with its devoutness and priceless treasures but also its great holdings, its drag on education and its interweavings with other ancient institutions of the Iberian peninsula. Now the price of that decentralization of the Roman Catholic Church, which makes it flexible enough so that for the most part the American church is in step with progress and democracy in the United States - that price is, that the church is slow to change in backward areas. This had been true in Spain; and once the issue was joined, we had the paradox of American churchmen, become defenders of the Spanish church, so engrossed with concern that that was assailed, as to forget that they were underwriting many practices and privileges that from the American point of view were museum pieces from the dark ages.

More than that, especially because of the Communist factor in the revolution, the dread spread here that the Spanish church was up against a modern incarnation of Cromwell and his Roundheads. So churchly weight was thrown on the side that Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany espoused. A few tense years and many American Catholics have come to see their mistake. Read the atrocities reported by the Polish Cardinal since the Nazi conquest. Listen to forebodings from Germany and Austria. What the church has to reckon with in Hitler is a re-incarnation of Henry the VIIIth, whose capacity for damage outran a regiment of Ironsides. So hats off to those American Catholics whose scholarship, reading of history and democratic insight enabled them from the first to shear through

propaganda and anguish to a clearer view; and take a courageous, clearer-seeing independent stand.

So far as Soviet Russia goes - we must remember that it was Royalist France from whom our Founding Fathers sought succor and support. They got it where they could get it; and that did not declass the American Revolution. And we can bear in mind that this Spanish Revolution ran its course before the Chamberlain and Daladier governments turned turtle after Munich; before Soviet Russia shelved Litvinoff and itself embarked on <sup>con</sup>quest of Finland. The colors on the chess board of Europe seem to change with time.

Meanwhile, beyond all peradventure, Mussolini and Hitler were putting men, wealth and materials into the Franco rebellion in Spain. The war there became something very different from a clash between native forces. Their intervention did not turn into conquest, but it won the war for reaction against the Republic.

And through it all the English and French governments gave us a long drawn exhibit of what comes of a policy of appeasing aggressors. They called it non-intervention in Spain. What happened in Manchuria, Ethiopia, Spain did not teach them this lesson. It remained for the over-running of Czechoslovakia to do that - under pressure of resurgent feeling among the British and French people. We have no reason to decry those peoples as a whole. Four years ago I heard a British Labour leader give the most devastating appraisal of British policy from Manchuria on, and where it was leading to. Where it did lead to.

And we have no ground to decry them when we blundered badly ourselves - when we <sup>too</sup> played into appeasement, played into the aggressors. The American Congress and the American Administration twisted neutrality so that for the first time the United States applied it to a civil war. So doing - and you and I are party to not preventing it - we broke our treaties; flaunted international law; renigged on our principles and our love for freedom and clapped an embargo on

the Spanish Republic government; an embargo so tight that, as we were told, not even anti-aircraft guns could get through to protect women, children and other civilians against the grueling bombing of Spanish towns.

Nor was this the whole story here. There were the few Americans who rallied to Republican Spain and joined its armies; there were the more Americans who made it possible to get medical units through, and succor for children and uprooted families. Our government had little part in this; our great relief organizations had little. We can be ashamed for America as a whole; ashamed for ourselves in the things we ought to have done and did not do.

Now that Republican Spain is conquered and overthrown; now that these thousands of exiles are caught desperately in the concentration camps in France; now that the non-intervention policy and our neutrality policy that brought them low are alike scrapped, I should like to see the United States do belatedly for these Spanish republican refugees something kindred to what we may do so much more opportunely for the Republican Finns - who in turn are defending themselves from power politics and the threat of brute conquest. That is, I should like to see adequate government help extended to help them get out of their excruciating predicament as hostages to appeasement. To help them find a more friendly place in the world as Columbus did for us.

And for the rest, I am glad there is something we could do here and now to bring some small succor to these forgotten men, women and children. I am glad there have been social workers who stood by from the beginning. I am glad to have stood with them.

Even if it is little that we seem to do in any one stroke, we can know that it is in key with all those half-achieved chords of American purpose of which I have spoken. And we can take courage that small numbers can count.

March 25, 1940

100

My dear Mr. Kellogg:

Many thanks for the pamphlet  
published by The Labour Party in England.  
I was interested in it and appreciate your  
bringing it to my attention.

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Paul Kellogg  
Survey Associates  
112 East 19th St.  
NYC

DD

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HAROLD H. SWIFT

*Called  
3-25-40*

*Thank  
ER*

March 23, 1940

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Since my letter of Wednesday, the Labour Publications Department has sent me a further declaration of policy - this time by the National Executive of the British Labour Party, under date of February 9, 1940. This I enclose as a sort of postscript. It is evidently condensed from Major Attlee's earlier formulation, "Labour's Peace Aims," from which I quoted.

Running through it quickly, I find new material on pages 5 and 6, underscoring the need, on the one hand, for effective guarantee of France's security; and on the other, "the recognition of equality to the future Germany." And on page 7, they go beyond the League of Nations and demand that the "Peace Settlement shall establish a new Association or Commonwealth of States" - and suggest that the "present close cooperation between the British Commonwealth, France and their Allies in the political and economic spheres" might be its nucleus.

As a snapper to their whip (page 9), they close:

"Victory must come to the arms of Britain, France, and their Allies: the Peace must be won for Humanity."

Sincerely,

*Paul Kellogg*  
Paul Kellogg

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt

pk js e

# LABOUR, THE WAR, and THE PEACE

*A Declaration of Policy by the  
National Executive of the  
British Labour Party  
February 9, 1940*

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**PRICE ONE PENNY**

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From the LABOUR PUBLICATIONS DEPARTMENT, Transport  
House, Smith Square, London, S.W.1.

# Labour, the War and the Peace

*A Declaration of Policy*

## For Socialism and Freedom

Loyal to its Socialist and democratic faith, and fully maintaining its opposition to the Chamberlain Government, the Labour Party calls upon the British people to contribute their utmost effort to the overthrow of the Hitler system in Germany. This overthrow is essential to the achievement of Labour's programme of social justice, the maintenance and extension of democratic liberties and the building of a peaceful commonwealth of free peoples.

Britain in the past has led the world in the development of Parliamentary democracy and civil freedom. If these precious gains are not now to perish, it is imperative to break the evil power of totalitarian tyranny in Europe. The Labour Party, therefore, unreservedly supports the Allied war of resistance to Nazi aggression because, though loathing war, it regards this war as a lesser evil than the slavery which finally would be the only alternative.

Through the short-sighted weakness of the British and other Governments over a term of years, a crisis came in 1939 when the simple choice in Europe lay between Liberty and Serfdom. Month by month, as Hitler advanced, the threat to British liberty itself was intensified. It was high time, indeed it would soon have been too late, to make a firm and final stand against the expanding Nazi tyranny. Had British Labour not supported this stand, it would have been false to its ideals.

## Why Discuss Peace Aims Now?

The Labour Party issues this declaration of Peace Aims now, although the war is not yet won. Victory is our immediate task. But, before the peoples are still further estranged by hatred and suffering, a lasting and just Peace may be brought nearer by stating clearly now what our immediate war purpose is and what should be the principles and methods of the final settlement.

Discussion of territorial details is out of place at present; but a statement of the broad lines of settlement may be useful and opportune now. Moreover, if it is brought to the knowledge of the German people that they can have an honourable Peace under fair conditions, this might contribute to a shortening of the war.

## The Allies' War Purpose

The Allies' war purpose must be to defeat Hitlerism and to undo the wrongs resulting from Nazi aggression without creating new wrongs. It must be shown beyond all doubt that we shall not allow aggression to succeed.

Victory for democracy must be achieved, either by arms or economic pressure, or—better still—by a victory of the German people over the Hitler regime, resulting in the birth of a new Germany.

The Labour Party is convinced that the Allies ought not to enter into peace negotiations, except with a German Government which has not merely promised, but actually performed, certain acts of restitution. In view of the experience of recent years, no one can trust a Nazi Government honestly to perform such acts, or to abstain from future aggression.

Restitution must include freedom for the Polish and Czechoslovak peoples. No promise of independence for these peoples will suffice, unless accompanied by the withdrawal of the German forces and police.

## The Interests of all Peoples must be Respected

The Austrian people, even earlier victims of Hitler's aggression, must be left free to decide, without intimidation or coercion, whether or not they wish to remain within the German Reich.

Recalling, moreover, the British Government's statement that "we seek no material advantage for ourselves," the Labour Party demands that undertakings shall be given to the German people that, in the general rearrangement after the war, the just and real interests of all the peoples will be respected, including those of the German people.

## France and Germany

Whatever else may be contained in the Peace Treaty, this will assuredly not be the last war in Europe, unless, when this war ends, we can succeed in reconciling the French claim to Security with the German claim to Equality. If Britain is either inattentive or impatient towards either of these claims, she will already have incurred a share of responsibility for the Next War.

The French people, who have suffered so often and so cruelly, must be assured of protection against violence and menace, and the German people must be given acceptable and peaceful outlets for their energy and ambition.

In reply to the just claim of the French, the Labour Party answers:

"We share your determination that this recurrent German menace, requiring these repeated mobilisations of the whole manhood of France, shall not plague your next generation and ours, if our strength and foresight can prevent it. Henceforth, in resistance to any German aggression, our two peoples must be not merely allies for a season, but brothers for all time."

In reply to the Germans, the Labour Party would say :

" We are opposed to any attempt from outside to break up Germany. We do not seek the humiliation or dismemberment of your country. We wholeheartedly desire to welcome you without delay into the peaceful collaboration of civilised nations. We must warn you, however, that Hitler and his system prepared and started this war. He could not continue it if you ceased supporting him. Until this accursed Nazi regime is overthrown, there is no hope of Peace between us. But if you establish a Government sincerely willing that Germany shall be a good neighbour and a good European, there shall be no humiliation nor revenge."

History teaches that any attempt to keep Germany an outcast after this war, or to deprive her of such security as her neighbours rightly claim for themselves, will fail. The most far-sighted and least dangerous policy is to seek to win the co-operation, as an equal partner, of a Germany governed by a political system whose aims and needs run parallel with ours.

Only the equilibrium thus created, on the one hand by the effective guarantee of France's security and on the other by the recognition of equality to the future Germany, will make possible a new and hopeful approach to the achievement of our Peace Aims. If we fail to create this equilibrium, we shall find either France, or Germany, or both, intractable.

## Russia

Labour has always stood four square against aggression. We had hoped that Soviet Russia would join with the Democracies for the collective organisation of Peace and resistance to aggression. We worked hard to that end. We condemned the clumsiness of the British Government in its earlier relations with the Soviet Union; but this cannot excuse the Russian Government's Pact with the Nazis on the eve of the war, much less its unprovoked attack on Finland in shameless imitation of the Nazi technique in foreign policy. We should regard the extinction of the free Finnish democracy as an intolerable disaster for civilisation.

## Labour's Peace Aims

Six years ago the Labour Party defined its purpose in foreign policy as "the building of a Co-operative World Commonwealth," and declared that "to have Peace we must subordinate national sovereignty to world institutions and obligations." This is still Labour's Peace Aim.

The Labour Party, therefore, demands that the Peace Settlement shall establish a new Association or Commonwealth of States, the collective authority of which must transcend, over a proper sphere, the sovereign rights of separate States. This authority must control such military and economic power as will enable it to enforce peaceful behaviour as between its members, and thus secure the all-round reduction of national armaments to the level required for the preservation of internal order.

All international disputes, wherever arising and of whatever sort, must be settled by peaceful means, through predetermined procedure of arbitration and conciliation.

The present close co-operation between the British Commonwealth, France, and their Allies in the

political and economic spheres should be the nucleus of this wider Association, membership of which should be open and advantageous to all nations.

All nations, great and small, must have the right to live their own lives, free but co-operative within the framework of the new world order.

Labour will be no party to imperialist exploitation, whether capitalist or other. Labour, therefore, demands that Colonial peoples everywhere should move forward, as speedily as possible, towards self-government. In the administration of Colonies not yet ready for self-government, the interests of the native population should be paramount and should be safeguarded through an extension and strengthening of the Mandate system. There must be equal opportunity of access for all peaceful peoples to raw materials and markets in these Colonial territories.

### A New World Order

A new world order, which applies these principles, can only be securely founded on Socialism and Democracy. The necessary unity of purpose will be lacking if the peoples remain divided internally into two nations, sundered by wide differences of wealth, privilege, and opportunity. Lasting Peace depends on social justice *within* States, no less than on political justice between States. The necessary vigour and power of growth will be lacking if the individual citizen is treated as the slave of the State or is denied such freedom of opinion, speech, and faith as is compatible with the freedom of others. These elementary freedoms should constitute a new and world-wide Declaration of the Rights of Man.

A very grave economic crisis will confront all nations at the conclusion of this war, when the world's productive powers must once again be turned to peaceful ends. This problem of transition, unless handled with great skill and courage, may provoke mass unemployment and vast social catastrophes in

every land. In addition to national policies of reconstruction, therefore, there must be bold economic and financial planning on a world-wide scale. International public works, conferring benefits on more than one nation, and covering also the comprehensive development of great colonial territories now divided between two or more Colonial Powers, as in Africa, must be undertaken through an International Authority with a budget and powers far greater than the League of Nations ever had. Such an Authority must make full use of scientists and technicians. It must plan with vision and execute with efficiency.

The purpose of such schemes should be to make available greater abundance, both for the inhabitants of these areas and for all mankind. Further, to aid in raising the standard of living of workers in all lands, a new impetus must be given to the work of the International Labour Organisation.

The ineffectiveness of the League, often quoted to discredit international co-operation, was partly due to the lack of conviction and sincerity of its leading member States, and partly to its comparative neglect of economic questions. Successive British Governments, since 1931, have a heavy share of responsibility for its collapse. We must learn the lessons of experience and build better next time.

The repeated aggressions of the last few years and the evasive neutralities in face of aggression, mark the breakdown, moral and material, of the old world order. The foundations of a new order must be laid now.

Victory must come to the arms of Britain, France, and their Allies: the Peace must be won for Humanity.

NOTES

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From  
The Labour Publications Dept.,  
Transport House,  
Smith Square, London, S.W.1

*February, 1940*

February 25, 1941

100

My dear Mr. Kellogg:

Many thanks for the copy of your  
new Survey Graphic special. It is a thrilling  
number!

Very sincerely yours,

+ | Mr. Paul Kellogg  
| Survey Associates  
| 112 East 19th St.  
| NYC

DD

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*Called  
2-25-41*

*Happy Birthday!  
Shirley  
Kamden  
ER*

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I'm celebrating Washington's Birthday by sending you one of the first copies to reach us from the binders yesterday afternoon of our new Survey Graphic special (to be released February 27)

THE AMERICAS: SOUTH AND NORTH

One of the big news service people said we had dug <sup>up</sup> more that is fresh and significant than their whole scheme of South American correspondents! That may have been just friendly exuberance - but if even a little bit of it is true, I am eager to have the number reach the President's hands for any shafts of insight there may be imbedded in it.

And you have been our best ambassador in the past!

State Department people have been ever so cooperative (Berle, Thomson, Duggan), and as you will see Mr. Berle writes our lead article, Peace Without Empire, in a trenchant way that will stretch imaginations. And I have seen nothing on Common Defense to match General McCoy's, who treats it as a spur to unity and action.

The President might be especially interested in the accompanying naval base map (page 120), of which we have not seen the like.

Other articles that might have treasure trove are those by McCulloch, Aikman, Herring, Juan Trippe, Dr. Inman, Hanke and Governor-Ambassador Winant, whom we landed on his way back from Lima.

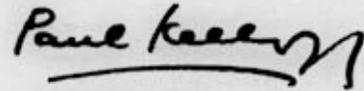
Companion pieces (old and new) are Professor Sharp's on the Pan American Union; Mr. Rockefeller's on the Coordinating setup - the most inclusive prospectus yet published.

You will find glamor - and yes, surprises in store - in our section (Part III.) on Regions Touched with the Future - where we took up a constellation of islands, the industrial A E C's and two river systems -

the Amazon and the President's St. Lawrence - as areas still touched with the freshness of a new world. And of course Moises Saenz on Indians Are Americans is a natural.

You will recall that Raymond Gram Swing edited our prophetic CALLING AMERICA number in 1939 - which ran into three editions with its message to strengthen our own democracy at home. Victor Weybright follows in his footsteps as special editor of its sequel to the south of us. Five years ago we could scarcely have gotten a small hearing for such a contents page - and five years from now it would have lacked its elements of discovery.

Sincerely,



Paul Kellogg

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

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Mr. Paul Kellogg  
Survey Associates  
112 East 19th Street  
New York, N.Y.

April 21, 1941

Deeply regret cannot speak Atlantic City June 4. Calendar so full  
until July can make no more engagements

Eleanor Roosevelt

0

TELEGRAM

The White House  
Washington

40WUAB 162 3:34 p.m.

*ack  
1-21*

XQ., New York, N.Y. April 18, 1941

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt:

Are you by some miracle, free for four o'clock Wednesday, June four? Can you, will you, be our speaker then at survey associates meeting at national conference of social work Atlantic City? For four months, we have looked forward to having Harry Hopkins, who was good enough to say that if he spoke anywhere at that time, he would speak for us. Now he sends word that because of his new lend lease responsibilities he feels any speaking engagements whatever would affect his usefulness on the job the President has entrusted him with. There is no one more sensitive than yourself to whole range of social concern the survey stands for, no one who could so throw imaginations forward among social workers gathered from every state in Union in this time of crisis. Your friendly consideration and generous response would give a lift to our shattered plans. May we have word from you by Tuesday, care Survey Associates, 112 East 19 Street New York.

Paul Kellogg, Editor.

*Ward  
deeply regret  
calendar so full  
until July can make  
no more engs—  
E.R.*

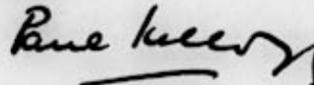
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SURVEY GRAPHIC · SURVEY MIDMONTHLY · Telephone ALGONQUIN 47490

April 22, 1941

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

We regret more than I can say that you cannot speak at the Atlantic City meeting of Survey Associates on June 4th, and entirely understand. But I should like you to know how much I appreciate the swift courtesy of your telegram.

Sincerely,



Paul Kellogg  
Editor

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt

pk js f

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January 15, 1942.

My dear Mr. Kellogg:

I have thought seriously about having Margaret Bondfield here. I am asking her to come and speak at our luncheon. I do not feel that much good would come from her spending a week here in the office, though I think we will have a meeting here so she can speak to the staff.

Very sincerely yours,

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt  
Assistant Director

Mr. Paul Kellogg,  
112 East 19th Street,  
New York, New York.

Roosevelt/enk/hc

OFFICE OF CIVILIAN DEFENSE

January 15, 1942

MEMORANDUM

TO: MISS THOMPSON

FROM: MRS. KNIGHT

All the file copies which are attached to  
the enclosed letters are for you to keep in your  
files.

New York, N.Y.  
February 10, 1942

100

PAUL  
Dear Mr. Kellogg:

Thank you so much for sending me a copy of the letter which you wrote to Mr. Raymond Clapper.

I hope for the sake of OCD that he will see Dean Landis and Justice Polier. I am afraid that I alienated him from any sympathy for what I might do, when I differed with him on his attitude toward some of the members of the American Youth Congress. At that time, no one had real proof that some of the Youth Congress leaders were communist controlled, and I was all for giving them a fair chance. His criticism of them was very destructive, I thought, and I spoke to him about it. I am sure he did not like my criticism.

I am not in the least disturbed by this latest attack. It is purely political and made by the same people who have fought NYA, CCC, WPA, Farm Security, etc. I shall be sorry if it lessens the effectiveness of OCD and hurts any of the people involved.

I am pleased to know that you think I have contributed something worth while as I value approval from you.

Very cordially yours,

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February 9, 1942

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

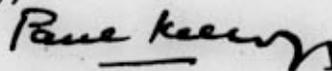
An Irish neighbor I knew in my early settlement days used to say she gave someone "the content of me tongue." And she did!

Raymond Clapper's columns Friday and Saturday were so execrable that I was tempted to do just that to him.

But on second thought, they struck me as so out of character, as I have known him, that it seemed worthwhile to come back at his old self this way.

Every best wish.

Sincerely,



Paul Kellogg

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

pk js e

February 9, 1942

Dear Raymond Clapper:

I read the first and then, next day, the second of your strictures on Mrs. Roosevelt and her part in the OCD; recoiling so sharply at them that I found myself speculating on what could possibly have animated you.

- With such wretched results that I shook myself because I was conjuring up myths about you without knowing the facts in your case. That isn't my beat.

Nor is it yours to conjure myths in Mrs. Roosevelt's case. I have had genuine respect and a mounting admiration for the way you brought into the columnist field your correspondent's bent for firsthand appraisal. That is why, instead of coming back at statements of yours I feel to be distortions, I urge you to take up this situation yourself with the people most concerned.

No, I am not disinterested in this suggestion. I am very much interested - for toward the end of November, Mrs. Roosevelt called me in as an adviser in organizing her end of the OCD - an end which had been all but allowed to lapse prior to her coming. She had had the counsel and collaboration of Justice Wise Polier, who had given up her vacation to be of assistance. Judge Polier's investigation of relief operations in mid-depression was one of the most constructive inquiries we have had in New York City. She swiftly got to the heart of this phase of the <sup>OCD</sup> situation and framed a series of recommendations with which I found myself heartily in accord.

Had not Pearl Harbor intervened (which took Mrs. Roosevelt to the Coast) the program might well have been announced in mid-December. I had never worked with Mrs. Roosevelt before and found her good sense and creative initiative bringing order out of a very tangled skein.

No, I don't know anything about the young dancer who is in Kelly's division which recruited the physical directors of the country and which antedated Mrs. Roosevelt's coming to the OCD. Nor anything about the Hollywood man brought in to head up an arts division - which is something new since my last trip to Washington. But I put a pinch of salt on the hue and cry about them by people eager to put pins in the Administration.

What I do know firsthand is that Mrs. Roosevelt had a genuine part in bringing Dean Landis to the OCD - not only because of his earlier prowess in swinging federal assignments of the first order, but because he was the outstanding regional director of the OCD setup - both in efficiency and outlook - and could bring his New England experience directly to bear.

And in her own sphere in the OCD, Mrs. Roosevelt has developed a clear working conception. That is based on the recognition that protection against attack is only part of the picture; that the stresses, dislocations, needs in American communities, inland as well as coastal, due to the impact of defense moves themselves - such as migration, priorities unemployment, health, housing, etc. - are actually creating dislocations and social problems as acute, if not so dramatic, as anything to be anticipated from bombing. And to strengthen these communities is close-in to morale and the reinforcement of a people at war. You would agree with me, I think.

Her intent and that of the executive order originally creating the OCD was not to set up service agencies of the sort that would duplicate those of the ODHWS or kindred national operating agencies, public and private. But to carry on clearance functions and make for team-play at Washington; to broaden and reinvigorate the civilian defense system (regional, state and local); and to encourage rounded organization and cooperation at the community level.

I had nothing to do with the enlistment of Jonathan Daniels as executive under Mrs. Roosevelt - but I heard him last summer give an analysis of situations as he had found them in camp and industrial areas; and if he brings the same keenness and energy to this job as he showed in his scouting as a journalist, he will give things a shove.

but I did know of and thoroughly backed two other appointments to key posts:

Mary Dublin as head of the information division - who organized swift and telling research as secretary of the National Consumers League; and, later, as director of hearings for the Tolan Committee had an extraordinary grasp of the factors entering into the industrial areas central to defense. She is a competent and gifted person.

Hugh Jackson as head of operations. Long since, Jackson had been picked as his successor by Homer Folks of the New York State Charities Aid Association - the pioneer private body in the country that is engaged in appraising, criticizing and developing state welfare services. He was loaned for two years to the New York City Department of Public Welfare in reorganizing and developing the public relief setup - a tough job as ever was, with a staff numbered in the hundreds. And his performance earlier as the young director of a statewide inquiry into unemployment, relief, works projects, was such that three members of the commission competed in trying to land him - Folks in social work, Allen Wardwell in law and John Burke, who offered him a vice presidency at Altman's.

Yet you lump these three key appointments, under Mrs. Roosevelt, and on her initiative, as expressive of her disruptive qualities. They were chosen after a canvass of the field by her associates; in one case lifting the appointee out of another important public job, and in the other in competition with posts offered by major government departments.

And you ignore the whole central core and scheme of work, which has been Mrs. Roosevelt's lively and active concern these past weeks, and which to my mind offers the best chance to bring team-play and results in a whole range of activities by various agencies, from Washington down, and from the local community up.

Do you wonder I ask you to see for yourself? Even more than Mrs. Roosevelt and Dean Landis, I suggest that you see Judge Polier and go into it with her; as well as Daniels, Jackson and Mary Dublin.

What I've written is wholly confidential. I do not know how much of the story can be told at this time. Developments have waited on the recruitment of these key people. But at least you will get the measure of plans and program to which, I bet a hat, you will feel that you have done a grave disservice.

*as I see it*  
 Forgive me, but you owe it to Mrs. Roosevelt, to her team mates and to a significant wartime effort thus to get at the facts - and to bear witness to them.

Sincerely,

Paul Kellogg

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LOWELL SHUMWAY  
HAROLD H. SWIFT

February 8, 1942

FEB 9 - 1942

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I'm sure that insight and yeasty team-play, no less than direct experience, will count for a lot on that overall Advisory Committee. If you have come to count on Dr. Alice Keliher, <sup>for the likes of that</sup> by all means add her to the Committee.

Everyone tells me she is a grand person to work with and a past-master in her own field. She brought a creative spirit to the Progressive Education Commission on Secondary Schools; ranks high in research and as a psychologist; is especially alive to ethical values. She would be a "natural" as an insurgent adviser to the U. S. Office of Education in its defense activities.

But outside her field, would you be putting a round peg in a square hole in appointing her? You will know the answer better than I and that is why I ask it?

I can see that in the OCD she would have much to give as a member of an advisory committee to your youth section. Or to the section on Interpretation which I recommended. In that my thought was not just another publicity bureau; but a nucleus which would draw out the whole drama of the defense effort as it touches homes and lives, work and morale. You'll remember John Edelman's idea of getting people who build tanks and planes, etc., to catch the meaning of their own works of hand by letting them know how these actually are counting on the various fronts. And my notions as to traveling exhibits and an "arsenal" museum in Washington for all comers to see.

Helen was much impressed at Henry Street with Dr. Keliher's original techniques in the use of movies. That would be germane to such a scheme of interpretation.

all  
 When it comes to the over/ Advisory Committee itself, we thought to focus its work on community organization; on defense areas; on gaps, overlappings, lags; on tough problems; on inventions in one place adaptable in others; and on situations needing clarification and concert with-  
 Bureau of participation.  
 in the range of your new/Community and Voluntary Partici/And in that way help formulate and spur organized action at the local level; "nag" and encourage it at Washington among the federal services concerned.

That is why I have felt this Advisory Committee should break away from the limitations of an essentially representative body, each with an axe to grind (such as that inter-agency committee we've sat in on); and instead be a relatively small and dynamic nucleus.

The Sunday I had my last talk with Dean Landis, I left with him a list of possible appointees which illustrated such a "cast of characters." They included

(a) People with genuine experience in community organization, preferably in areas of first importance in the defense picture, and with a bent for action (like William J. Norton in Detroit, Pierce Atwater in St. Paul and Chicago).

(b) People with a gift for setting things going close to the ground (such as Josephine Wilkins among service clubs and the like; Helen Hall among neighborhoods and consumers).

(c) Labor people and others with a direct stake in how things pan out.

(d) Laymen and others with a born sense of currents in public feeling or a yen for instigation.

That combination, I felt, should at once make for sure-footing, craftsmanship, flexibility and initiative.

(b) or

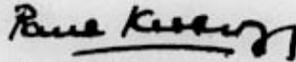
Dr. Keliher might well strike twelve under/(d) in such a setup.

Two others with differing but kindred qualities you might want to con-

3.

sider as additions also are Agnes King Inglis (who is I think at the  
OCD, and of whom I have heard fabulous things) and Eduard C. Lindeman,  
with his grasp of social forces and his talent for synthesis.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Paul Kellogg".

Paul Kellogg

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt

pk js e

February 18, 1942

100  
Dear Dr. Kellogg: (Paul

I am hoping that you will be down here Friday of this week at two o'clock, but in any case, I want to write you this note to thank you more than I can say for what you did in helping to get civilian mobilisation finally organized.

I am leaving the Office of Civilian Defense with a great sense of satisfaction that you have good people there, and I am hoping very much that you will form a panel of consultants to be the Rock of Gibraltar to which they can turn for advice, just as you have been to me. Your wisdom and patience will mean a great deal to them.

I do not think it need tie you down too much, as they will undoubtedly not ask you to come except when they really need to thrash out some difficult question.

I hope we may have an opportunity to work together on many things in the future. I have enjoyed what we have done together on this and knowing you better has been a great enrichment to me.

With my kindest regards to Mrs. Kellogg,  
I am

Very cordially yours,

0

Dr. Paul Kellogg

I am hoping that you will be down here Friday of this week at two o'clock, but in any case I want to write you this note ~~to~~ to thank you more than I can say for what you did in helping to get civilian mobilization finally organized.

I am leaving OCD with a great sense of satisfaction in feeling that we have good people there and I am hoping very much that you will form a panel of consultants to be the Rock of Gibraltar to which they can turn for advice just as you have been to me. Your wisdom and patience will mean a great deal to them.

I do not think it need tie you down too much as they will undoubtedly not ask you to come except when they really need to thrash out some difficult question.

I hope we may have an opportunity to work together on many things in the future. I have enjoyed what we have done together on this and knowing you better has been a great enrichment to me.

With my kindest regards to Mrs. Kellogg, I am  
very cordially yours,

separate letter to Mr. Kellogg

Miss Keliher came down here for Miss Davison as a consultant. I have found her on many other occasions, a loyal and helpful person. I am sure if you care to have her on your panel, you will find her of value. I would like you to see her if you are willing to do so and talk it over with her.

e.r.

100

February 18, 1942

Dear Dr. Kellogg:

Paul  
Alice V.

Miss Keliber came down here for Miss Davison as a consultant. I have found her, on many other occasions, a loyal and helpful person. I am sure if you care to have her on your panel, you will find her of value.

I would like you to see her if you are willing to do so and talk it over with her.

Sincerely yours,

100

February 25, 1942

Dear Mr. Kellogg:

I am very much interested to see your  
letter and memorandum to Congressman Wigglesworth.

Thank you for sending them to me.

Sincerely yours,

0

Mr. Paul Kellogg  
Survgy Associates  
NYC

SURVEY ASSOCIATES Inc. 112 East 19 Street · New York City  
SURVEY GRAPHIC · SURVEY MIDMONTHLY · Telephone ALGONQUIN 4-7490

cut  
2-26  
February 23, 1942

PERSONAL

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Herewith my enclosures to Congressman Wigglesworth.

You see I always write "with the bark on." So I took advantage of the week-end to make the text crisper and more specific, put my analysis in a separate memorandum and add a couple of paragraphs on my own hook to the close of the covering personal letter.

Sincerely,

*Paul Kellogg*

Paul Kellogg

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

pk js e

*Went*  
*ER*

Washington's Birthday  
February 22, 1942

PERSONAL

Hon. R. B. Wigglesworth  
Member of Congress from Massachusetts  
House Office Building  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

At this date, I can scarcely set up as a constituent of yours, for it's a hundred and ten years since great grandparents of mine set out for Michigan from the May State.

Rather I am taking advantage of this holiday to write you as one American to another, with enough of common heritage for me still to count on old principles of fair play between us. Regardless of the fact that you knocked them into a cocked hat in your treatment of me on the floor of the House early this month.

Relying on second-hand data, distorted by the office of the Dies Committee, you became party to a wretched piece of misrepresentation in the Congressional Record. Let me make clear at the outset that I have no reason to construe any personal bias on your part in publicizing me as another of the scarecrows hoisted up by Congressman Dies and his associates. My informal enclosure will show you their handiwork in one case.

If, as I anticipate, those New England principles hold between us, then you will want to check my memorandum in some less biased quarter and, if it holds water, set things to rights.

x x x

This covering letter is itself personal to you. For my part, let me make altogether clear that I am sending both letter and memo. in my individual capacity. I have not been a member of the operating staff of the Office of Civilian Defense. Rather, I have put in occasional days in an advisory capacity in Mrs. Roosevelt's Division of Civilian Participation- one month without compensation; the last two months on a per-diem basis with status of consultant.

From that semi-detached coign of vantage, I should be unfaithful as a witness to the truth if I did not, also, express the hope that our exchange will prompt you to clear up in your own mind (and that of others) far more grievous misconceptions, the spread of which have been a dis-service to the whole war effort. They cannot have been anything but a handicap to Dean Landis in his vigorous reorganization of the operations, structure, personnel and drive of the Office of Civilian Defense - to which he was called a month ago from your own New England because of his record as the outstanding regional director in the country.

More especially, let me urge you to take time to get from first-hand sources the real dimensions of the constructive plans and sound organization for the new Civilian Mobilization Branch which Mrs. Roosevelt brought to <sup>front</sup> formation in her service at OGD.

Sincerely,

*Paul Kellogg*

Paul Kellogg

pk js e

112 East 19 St.  
New York City

February 22, 1942

MEMORANDUM

TO -- Congressman Wigglesworth  
FROM -- Paul Kellogg

My challenge centers on the comment tabulated on pages 1154 and 1155 of the Congressional Record for February 6, 1942. In introducing this material, you explained that it had been supplied by the Dies Committee at your request, and was inserted in the Record "under leave to extend" your remarks.

The implication of those remarks was altogether plain:- that you were acting on the suggestion that some participants in the OCD "have such backgrounds in a subversive sense" as to be "improper persons" for government service; and that the Dies Committee had supplied you with half a dozen exhibits in point.

There was implication also that my own felonies were compounded. You pointed out that the typewritten comment under my name "required two pages."

Whew! Let's "look at the record" and see if your source betrayed you into partnership in publicizing a sheer piece of misrepresentation. The tabulations are set in three columns:

The first labeled "Communist-front organization";  
The second "Association of the individual";  
The third "Authority".

So far as my own section goes, three-fifths of the "authorities" cited turned out to be two Communist publications - The New Masses and The Daily Worker. That's sheer discoloration. My name could have been traced, say, in the index of The New York Herald-Tribune. Would that have been proof that I am a rock-ribbed Republican?

Close reading disclosed that in referring to the first column, you took pains to point out that it was the Dies Committee which "said" the organizations listed were Communist fronts. I found hope in that! Hailed it as a clue that you had not swallowed their aspersions hook-line-and-sinker and regurgitated the sour mess into the Congressional Record without a saving pinch

of salt!

*There is*  
~~I have~~ no priority on salt. Here is some more for your consideration. Let me give you three or four examples of the high crimes ascribed to me.

#### SOME SPECIFIC CHARGES

I. Over half of the citations refer to activities in the period when Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany had put troops, money and munitions into the France rebellion against Republican Spain. History is bound to write that down as the curtain-raiser to Axis invasions and conquests in World War II. Nor will history lay all the blame for the outcome on discredited appeasers like Laval in France and Hoare in England. The United States broke precedent and for the first time applied an embargo in the midst of a civil war. This embargo that we clapped on the recognized government of Spain was so tight that not even anti-aircraft guns could be gotten through to protect civilians in the ~~grazing~~ ~~bombing~~ ~~towns~~ ~~against~~ ~~the~~ ~~quelling~~ ~~burning~~ ~~of~~ ~~3~~ ~~badly~~ ~~towns~~.

I was a member of a Social Workers Committee (cited in Dies memo) which got medical care, food, and help through to children, first in war-torn Spain, and then in refugee camps in France.

Attached are excerpts from the first and last pages of an address I made at a dinner given me by this committee February 1, 1940. They indicate my approach to the whole excruciating situation, and I stand on it. If desired, I will gladly send you the whole text.

II. The test of whether any of these organizations was in truth a "Communist front", or the contrary, came with the outbreak of the European War; and then, even more sharply, with the Nazi-Soviet pact and the Russian attack on Finland.

The Dies tabulation cites me as a sponsor of the Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign. I am glad to inform you also that I was a member of its board in 1940-41 - at a time when the issue was joined. First, there was unanimous acceptance of a resolution I drafted that our work was grounded in aiding the Spanish refugees, should follow that responsibility through wherever it lead, but should never be skewed toward political ends.

The rub came shortly in our practical and rigorous application of that principle. A minority split off, denounced the rest of us, started a rival body. The majority had successfully blocked what we assessed as an attempt to use the Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign as a Communist front. Yet, here, three years later, the Dies Committee lists it as such.

III. In 1938, the Dies charge is that I signed an appeal for a boycott against Japanese aggression. Well? Here once more, for reasons I have yet to fathom, the Far Eastern policy of the USA played into the hands of an aggressor nation. I don't recall that appeal, but for several years I threw such weight as I had in behalf of an American embargo on the scrap, oil, machines, cars and tools we were sending to Imperialist Japan, and that Japan was using in its ruthless drives to conquer Republican China. This was the stand taken at the time by Henry L. Stimson, now Secretary of War, who as Secretary of State in a Republican administration, had long since challenged Japanese aggression in Manchuria.

IV. In 1938, also, I am charged with signing a manifesto of the Union for Concerted Peace Efforts. Again this is something I do not specifically recall. But again my iniquity was to be greater. That organization was largely ~~xxx~~ a representative body promoted by the League of Nations Association - in the same way that it later launched the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies under William Allen White.

I later served the Union for Concerted Peace Efforts as chairman of the program committee of its Washington Conference which gave an opportune shove to the belated amendment of the Neutrality Act so as to ~~from~~ get help through overseas in the teeth of the Nazi invasions.

#### MY TALLY SHEET

No, I don't lay claim to anything more than a few threads of a prophet's mantle. Nonetheless, here is what some of the things some of us stood for - things that failed - might have meant had they succeeded:-

- (a) That a Republican Spain would be standing today on our side in the war.
- (b) So too, would a Republican Finland - for I favored economic aid to the Finns in withstanding the Soviet invasion.
- (c) That Republican China would today be a far greater counterweight to Axis Japan.
- (d) That Axis Japan would ~~not~~ be using - as it doubtless does - American oil, steel and equipment against us in the Philippines and the East Indies.

Now take two things I stood for that have succeeded in their immediate objectives. Without the amendment of the Neutrality Act - much less without Lend-Lease, which a ground-swell of American citizens favored (I among them), we cannot be at all sure that today the British Commonwealth of Nations, plus Soviet Russia, plus Republican China, would be able

to bear the brunt of Axis assault. the world over while we of the United States are gathering strength.

The Dies listing is as incomplete as it is inaccurate and perverted. My opposition to Japanese, Italian, German and Russian aggression goes back to Manchuria, Ethiopia, Austria and Czechoslovakia, Finland.

With such a tally sheet, I am tempted to take a leaf out of the boyhood vocabulary <sup>which</sup> of T.R. resorted to on occasion; and tell the Dies Committee to "shinny on your own side."

In net result, which side are they shinnying on, anyway, as we confront the fundamental alignment against democracy?

#### WHY WAS I SINGLED OUT?

I am not a Communist; never have been one by a mile. Other explanations must be looked for than that fake one as to why the Dies Committee hit on me for lengthy attention.

It may be that to their mind any stick is good enough to belabor the Roosevelt administration as it shoulders the heavy load of these war months.

More likely it is simply that non-Communist critics of the Dies Committee are more uncomfortably in their way than Communist ones. So they smear them with the self same pitch.

- For it happens that I heartily joined in exposing the personal animus and special interests that manipulated their unwholesome attack on the Consumers National Federation (listed in my tabulation).

- And it happens that in 1940 I joined in a petition (also listed) to discontinue the Dies Committee. I did this because I had become convinced of its sleppy and sinister performance in several fields; of its great and unexplained blind spots in others; - and of its ugly penchant for character assassination.

Apparently American citizens can rail at Congress, can criticize decisions of the Supreme Court, but if they touch this Holy Cow they are in for reprimand.

I am not sufficiently acquainted with the inner workings of the Dies Committee to know how far certain of its members should be exempted from such strictures; how far these should focus on chairman and staff.

I realize also my limitations as a character witness in my own behalf. But at least I know whereof I am concerned in that tabulation under my name supplied by the Dies Committee and circulated in the Congressional Record.

Still less, in such testimony, am I setting myself apart from the <sup>OTHERS</sup> five others dealt with in the OCD tabulations on pages 1154 and 1155. Two of them I know personally - Judge Justine Wise Polier of the Children's Court, New York; Miss Mary Dublin, recently director of hearings for the Tolan Committee. If I have established credence in the above analysis, let me say that pillorying them in this fashion is all folderol. Their responsible work and public spirit are a matter of record. Both have brought rare gifts and telling service to basic operations which implement the executive order creating the Office of Civilian Defense as a wartime agency.

And if my exposure of the shoddy stuff the Dies Committee whipped up into a scarecrow of me carries weight, I trust that it may give pause when they traduce others. My case is unimportant; my part in the developments I have mentioned a minor one. What is important is that American citizens everywhere should be free, without fear of rank reprisal, to espouse causes walling up from the living springs of American democracy.

PAUL KELLOGG

## HOSTAGES OF APPEASEMENT

by PAUL KELLOGG

Excerpts from talk February 1, 1940, at dinner meeting  
Social Workers Committee, Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign

To me, this is one of those double-barraded occasions: the warmth of finding so many friends here; a call which touches to the quick what we hold dear in its sheer injustice, its grueling human misery, its appeal to our most fundamental instincts as believers in democracy.

For here we can honor and help those forgotten people of Republican Spain who are exiles, refugees, prisoners in concentration camps; men, women and children who have struggled and suffered for independence and self-government. They are left behind while the world is preoccupied with a war which itself registers the cave-in and repudiation of devious policies toward the Spanish republicans which have brought them where they are.

X X X

Hostages of appeasement as they are, betrayed, defeated by "non-intervention" along with fascist intervention, the Spanish Republicans are not blind in their exile. They know that a Nazi victory would slam the door to their hopes. When the great war came, their leaders offered their services to England and France.

For ourselves, we, too, played into the appeasers and into the aggressors.... We broke our treaties, flaunted international law; renigged on our principles and our love for freedom.

Nor was this the whole story here. There were the few Americans who rallied to Republican Spain and joined its forces; there were the more Americans who made it possible to get medical units through, and succor for uprooted families....

Now that Republican Spain is conquered and overthrown; now that these thousands of refugees are caught desperately in French concentration camps; now that the non-intervention policy and our neutrality policy that brought them low are alike scrapped, I should like to see the United States Government do belatedly for these Spanish Republican refugees something kindred to what we can still do opportunely for the Finnish Republicans. I am for extending economic aid without strings to the Finns in defending themselves against aggression and the threat of brute conquest. I should like to see such aid extended to these Spanish victims of aggression to help get them out of their excruciating predicament. To help them find a more friendly place in the world - as Columbus did for us.

For the rest, I am glad there is something we can do to bring some small succor to these forgotten men, women and children. I am glad there have been social workers who have stood by from the beginning. I am glad to have stood with them. Even if it is little that we seem to do in any one stroke, we can know that it is in key with all those half-achieved chords of American purpose of which I have spoken. And we can take courage that small numbers can count.

100

March 12, 1942

Dear Mr. Kellogg:

Thank you for sending me the prospectus prepared by Mr. Friedman. I have given it to the President.

Very sincerely yours,

0

Mr. Paul Kellogg  
Survey Associates  
112 E 19th St., NYC

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March 10, 1942

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Dear Mrs. Roosevelt,

I am no economist to pass on Mr. Friedman's prospectus.

Nor is he - but a youngish lawyer downtown, gifted with one of the most original minds in these parts. And here at Survey Associates we have long found that some of the most fruitful advances in our fields have sprung up where professions border each other.

His proposal is so fresh and arresting, cuts such hard knots that plague both our government and our economy if we are to stave off inflation - that I've asked him to let me send it to you before he takes any steps to publicize it elsewhere. For it strikes me that early and above all the President should himself scan it.

Won't you let me know if you agree? So that I can tell Mr. Friedman to hold his horses until word comes from the White House - rather than go ahead with plans he has under way to get a hearing elsewhere.

Sincerely,

*Paul Kellogg*

Paul Kellogg

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

pk js e

Dear Mr. Kellogg:

This is in reply to your letter of April 23 enclosing the pamphlet of Mr. A. Friedman advocating a plan for installment selling of consumers' durable goods for post-war delivery.

I am assured by the Treasury Department that Mr. Friedman's proposals have been carefully studied and that several members of its staff have discussed with Mr. Friedman the details of his plan. Those who have studied his plan are skeptical that savings would be increased to any considerable extent by offering to the public priorities in the acquisition of automobiles, refrigerators, and other durable goods to be produced in the post-war period. The inducement to increase savings that may be provided by offering priorities on consumers' durable goods would be rapidly diminished as the number of such priorities granted rises. Furthermore, the plan proposed by Mr. Friedman requires the Government to assume the liability of guaranteeing delivery of the goods purchased and guaranteeing that producers will receive a reasonable profit on the goods sold under the plan. The adoption of such provisions the Treasury Department believes would represent an important departure in government policy and raise some very complex problems.

The Treasury Department informs us that this plan for promoting savings has several meritorious features which they will continue to study.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Paul Kellogg,  
112 East 19th Street,  
New York, New York.

SDS:KMB:HEW/jm  
7/1/42

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HAROLD H. SWIFT

April 23, 1942

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

You will remember the plan Mr. Abraham Friedman put forward for advance instalment buying of durable goods for post-war delivery. I sent you the early typewritten draft in March, which you were good enough to put before the President, and he before the Treasury Department. (Enclosed is the subsequent printed edition which he has circulated in confidence.)

Recent reports of an address Mr. Rolf Nugent of the OPA made at the New School for Social Research provoked public interest in the subject. In the meantime Mr. Friedman had himself interested Dr. Lubin, Mr. Randolph Paul of the Treasury, Prof. Joseph P. Chamberlain and Prof. John M. Clark of Columbia; and Mr. Bonnar Brown of the Federal Reserve Bank, who had himself been working on a kindred scheme. Some pointed out flaws; some made constructive suggestions to overcome them. This was a healthy process as the general response was favorable; the chief question one of ways and means.

I should like to let you know that these last few days Mr. Friedman has canvassed the plan with key people in merchandizing and in the sales end of electrical appliance and automobile industries. These practical business men envisage the situation when the peak of war production is passed, and rise to the prospect of a backlog of orders then. One of the most interesting leads has to do with a formula kindred to saving certificates which would at once engage prospective consumers and free their elbows in selecting models in the post-war market.

Mr. Friedman is not sanguine that the Treasury's consideration of his proposal has as yet reached a stage that would encourage the President to incorporate reference to the general idea in his forthcoming message and address. But he is big with hope that Mr. Roosevelt will leave the way open for such a development later.

Sincerely,

*Paul Kellogg*

Paul Kellogg

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt

pk js e

July 3, 1942

100

Dear Mr. Kellogg:

I have your letter of April 23 enclosing the pamphlet of Mr. A. Friedman advocating a plan for installment selling of consumers' durable goods for post-war delivery.

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The Treasury Department informs me that this plan for promoting savings has several meritorious features which they will continue to study.

Sincerely yours

Mr. Paul Kellogg  
112 East 19th Street  
New York, New York

VDS



THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY  
WASHINGTON

July 2, 1942.

*Send letter  
re: ...  
7/13/42  
← Done*

Dear Eleanor:

Thank you for your note of May 6 in regard to the enclosed letter of Mr. Kellogg and the pamphlet of Mr. Friedman.

A reply is appended which you may wish to send Mr. Kellogg.

Affectionately,

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt,  
The White House,  
Washington, D. C.

Enclosures.

FOR DEFENSE



BUY  
UNITED  
STATES  
SAVINGS  
BONDS  
AND STAMPS

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. Kellogg:

*Here*  
~~This is in reply to~~ your letter of April 23 enclosing the pamphlet of Mr. A. Friedman advocating a plan for installment selling of consumers' durable goods for post-war delivery.

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The Treasury Department informs me that this plan for promoting savings has several meritorious features which they will continue to study.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Paul Kellogg,  
112 East 19th Street,  
New York, New York.

JUL 2 1942

Dear Eleanor:

Thank you for your note of May 6 in regard to the enclosed letter of Mr. Kellogg and the pamphlet of Mr. Friedman.

A reply is appended which you may wish to send Mr. Kellogg.

Affectionately,

(Signed) Henry

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt,  
The White House,  
Washington, D. C.

Enclosures.

SDS:KSB:HW/jm  
7/1/42

100

July 13, 1942.

Dear Mr. Kellogg:

Thank you very much for your letter. I think the new issue sounds interesting.

I was interested to know of Mrs. Kellogg's association with the Red Cross and send her all good wishes.

Very sincerely yours,

*PS You are wonderful  
Paul Kellogg*

Mr. Paul Kellogg  
Survey Associates  
112 East 19th Street  
New York, New York.

VDS

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July 6, 1942

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

You are ever so good to bring me abreast of Treasury Department reactions to Mr. Friedman's proposals. I am venturing to share your letter with him and may have something to send back to you, as he has been in Washington frequently, in touch with some of the key men not only in the Treasury but in the OPA and elsewhere; and more than that, has been canvassing industrial leaders who have shown mounting interest. Your swift response to my letter in getting his prospectus into the right hands was ever so much appreciated and I am still hopeful that something will come of it in one quarter or another.

x x x

The Survey office is a small eddy compared with the great sluice-way of events at The White House; but these times are thick with both hazards and opportunities for us. We have two projects on the skids for special numbers which might interest you. The first of these, scheduled for November, will be the seventh in our CALLING AMERICA series and we are dubbing it for the nonce: - "COLOR: The Unfinished Business of Democracy". Dr. Alain Locke of Howard University is our special editor.

He bore a similar capacity to <sup>our</sup> special in the mid twenties - "HARLEM: Mecca of the New Negro". The new project will begin with an American section, a close-up of wartime developments in the field of race relations here at home; the second part will range in turn over the Caribbean, South America, Africa and the East, in the hope of spreading understanding as to our stakes, in war and in the peace, in what might be called "emancipation everywhere". I am venturing to enclose a scratch scenario of it. We have yet to make public announcement.

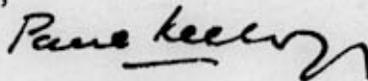
The second special, probably scheduled for early winter, will be edited by Stuart Chase and will deal with full employment as primary not only to the American future but to democracy and enduring peace.

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My most exciting personal news is that Helen Hall (Mrs. Kellogg) has been mustered in by the American Red Cross for a significant post overseas. Her mother's long illness and death in the early winter had held her closely at home; but she has had inward tuggings to put to work talents and experience that go back to the first World War. Then she was in charge of recreation work in two base hospitals in France and afterward served in the U.S. Army in its recreational work among service men generally; with Manila her headquarters and the Philippines and the Orient as her bailiwick.

This new work will be in a sense in sequence to that, under ARC auspices. She does not know when she will sail, but is visiting ARC headquarters in Washington as I write.

Sincerely,



Paul Kellogg  
Editor

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

pk mk e

PROSPECTUS      Survey Graphic      for November  
7th of            CALLING AMERICA      series

This series has been our chief contribution to the times since Munich and before. Special numbers are the spearheads of the work of inquiry and interpretation which distinguishes Survey Associates as a cooperative society for education in a democracy. They are neither books nor pamphlets nor reports - and win from two to fifty times the audience engaged by the general run of publications dealing with comparable subject matter.

Combined circulation of six numbers to date: 355,000; (from 30,000 to 90,000)

THEME:- This might be defined narrowly as one to help disclose - to themselves and all of us - the stake of American Negroes in the war; in democracy; in the world we look forward to when the forces for aggression and intolerance are downed.

Or contrariwise, the stake of Americans generally in overcoming the hurts, injustices and discriminations which tend to take the edge off Negro participation in the struggle. These are being used by Nazi and Japanese propagandists not only to muddy the waters here in the United States, but to distort and betray what we stand for in the four corners of the earth.

Nonetheless our conception comprehends more than either of these definitions or both combined. We sense that white and black Americans need to see clearly and to strike hands in the war crisis. But beyond that the long course of human affairs may hang on the common faith and good will with which all peoples come to the peace table; on whether hitherto subject races find new and secure footholds in the brotherhood of man.

TIMING:- We have no illusions that our Survey work engages directly the main currents of public thought and action. But such specials break through to men and women, of all races, creeds, and outlook, who have a bent for putting convictions to work. Our materials are taken up by broadcasters, columnists, editors; are spread by radio, press, churches, synagogues, schools. Over and over again we have demonstrated that new attitudes can be set going in concentric circles in this way.

Clearly now is the time for any such stroke for understanding to count for most in American public opinion - when feelings are being rasped in industrial areas; and when the armed services are still warped by discriminations that go back to slavery - and this in the midst of a war for human liberation.

Now, too, is the time to help (if we can) reinterpret America affirmatively in terms of race relations and race progress - to the Chinese, with their backs to the wall after their protracted resistance to conquest; to India at the crossroads; to the South Pacific with its outworn cramp of colonialism; to Africa, with its stir of native hopes.

SPECIAL EDITOR:- Race relations are not new ground for us. In earlier pioneering we have found our way through their thicket. Thus in the mid-twenties came a major Graphic special on HARLEM: Mecca of the New Negro.

This was a forerunner - in advance of awareness of what was afoot there on the part of either the art critics or the press. We made the most of the fact that in this northward trek was something as significant as the earlier "winning of the west" by waves of European immigrants. Here, talents were being unearthed that had long been half buried in the cotton lands - of musicians, dancers, playwrights, poets, novelists, scientists, teachers and the rest.

Here, too, was adverse housing, ill health, dead-end alleys of opportunity; the tangling of young lives in adverse conditions.

The number scored by breaking old stereotypes, throwing open new windows and spurring action for the general good.

The colleague who wove its pattern into a reliable and engaging fabric of interpretation was Dr. Alain Locke of Howard University, who later recast the materials in a book, "The New Negro." This new project was suggested to us by Mr. John Becker, a young midwesterner here in New York, and it was to Dr. Locke that we naturally turned again as special editor. Our first move was to bring into conference key people, Negro and white, who could broaden the base of our planning. This tentative prospectus is the result.

SCOPE AND THRUST:- What we have learned from our experience over the years makes us conscious that this new project we are taking on bristles with thorns and pitfalls. It will take intuition and poise, disinterestedness, sheer good sense and a constructive bent to see it through and make the most of it:

It would be easy to bring out just a budget of abuses and injustices, hang-overs from old and evil days and fresh, raw grievances. It would be easy to base the number on fear and dread of a worldwide clash of color.

These might make a splash; might even spur American action to end ancient ills. But they would not accomplish our wider purpose.

That is to interpret progress as well as problems and to give fresh clues to readers everywhere of what America by and large has struggled for since the days of Lincoln and before.

What neither Hitler with his Nordic bias has to offer; - nor Mussolini with his overthrow of the one black independent nation; - nor the Japs with their treatment of Koreans and their drive for Asiatic conquest with its echoes of Byron's Assyrians who "came down like the wolf on the fold."

On the other hand, nothing would be more self-defeating than to make the number an apology, much less a whitewash, of a deep and moving situation, where the pendulum swings in the balance between bitterness and mutual team play.

The project essentially puts the question: "Can we give a realistic shove to belated gains here at home and at the same time hold out the 'promise of American life' so that here and abroad all who run may read, regardless of race or color?" Only so can we make it at once a tool of intelligence and a leverage for advance. We have done the like before. For example:-

Our first CALLING AMERICA number began in 1938 with the idea of interpreting the persecution and suppression of Jews in Nazi Germany and Central Europe as the most excruciating situation of the times. Had it just been that it ran the risk of merely aggravating prejudice battenng on the idea of a flood tide of refugees.

With Raymond Gram Swing as special editor, we dealt with the refugee problem at the gifted hands of Dorothy Thompson; but first we had broadened our European stage to include all minorities; and then we brought the issues of rights and deencies involved down to American earth as a challenge to strengthen our own democracy at home. The result was heartening - for the number (brought ou in February, 1939) ran into three editions, and scored up to the hilt.

Our feeling is that this new number should at once:-

- (a) Set the gauge for wartime advances in race relations here in the United States as part of the national effort for unity.
- (b) Bring home to white Americans some of the racial aspirations they must reckon with on other continents than ours; and at the same time
- (c) Make the most of the fact that in our own history and our population we have natural links with the whole process of worldwide emancipation.

TIME IS OF THE ESSENCE:- When Sir Stafford Cripps was here two years ago, on his way back from the Far East, he confessed that he found the situation in the great sub-continent of India sobering but not unsusceptible to change for the better. The trouble, as he said to some of us, was that the British cabinet and public alike, were engrossed in the European conflict and might let things in the Far East go by default.

He had hoped to espouse understanding and action on his return to England. Instead he was sent to Russia, and only after his success there, was dispatched on his emergent mission to India - too late to compse age-long divisions, now worsened by months of neglect.

Our special number cannot of course set up as a solvent of the race problems of a war-torn world. But in reaching key people on college campuses and in community life, in Congress and overseas, it may help stretch imaginations and make for understanding - while there is time.

PAUL KELLOGG  
Editor

A P P R O A C H

Inescapably, the vindication of democracy in what has become a global war, poses the question of new relationships, under freedom, among the peoples of the earth.

Meanwhile, each widening of the area of conflict opens the eyes of more Americans to how our home front is linked with the fortunes of a world predominantly non-white.

Hence, the unfinished business of our own "race problem" takes on wider insistence as democracy everywhere confronts the challenge of color - both in waging war and in broaching its unmatched opportunity for acceptance as a free way of life.

X X X

This can only call for the drastic correction of negative traditions and ancient alignments; and, no less, for the projection of constructive and demonstrable alternatives to them.

Thus, half-way round the globe, the rise of the Chinese Republic and its spirited resistance to conquest sets our sights high. On the other hand, retrogressive attitudes of European colonialism present the greatest single set of internal obstacles to be overcome by the United Nations. Change is equally imperative if the races of men are to be integrated after the war in enduring peace and liberty.

X X X

Thus, over here, every advance we make towards our historic goals is a gain for mankind. On the other hand, traditional backset currents in American attitudes have dampened Negro morale and have blocked full minority participation in the common effort. There is mounting evidence that the overhang of race prejudice and color discrimination among us -

1. Hinders effective, wholehearted sharing in the war effort by one-tenth of our population.
2. Plays into Axis propaganda, here and overseas.
3. Sows seeds on either hand of antagonism and potential Fascism.
4. Complicates our progressive Caribbean program for hemispheric defense, neighborliness and postwar trade at the crossways of the Western Hemisphere.
5. Thwarts confidence in Pan-Americanism.
6. Sluices elements in public opinion and political leadership into alliance with imperialism when the New World can rightly become a creative force for worldwide federation, open to Asiatic and African peoples.
7. Undermines our moral leadership in world democracy.

That we do, or leave undone, in the United States in meeting the challenge of color thus conditions America's whole course in war and in peace.

With so much at stake, we can throw our imaginations forward rather than back. We can make our weight and our ideals count with augmented efficiency in the war against aggression. We can make the most of our world obligations undertaken in the Atlantic Charter. We can put Lincoln's choice to work, here and now, in a new generation - not for a world divided, but for a world "all free".

C O L U M NThe unfinished  
business of  
DEMOCRACY

(Titles tentative. Stars after authors' names signify acceptances. Descriptive matter intended as clues in dovetailing the table of contents into a whole.)

1. THE UNFINISHED BUSINESS OF DEMOCRACYALAIN LOCKE\*

The general theme linked in its national and international aspects. Majority interests at stake in both minority morale at home and social strategy the world over. Springboard for the number as a whole by its special editor

PART I. NEGROES. U.S.A. 19422. PUTTING OUR HOUSE IN ORDERHERBERT AGAR

Forthright call for advances in national policy and domestic practice. The race issue in the midst of the war effort - bridging past and future. An overall article, spanning Part I, and including implications to other minority groups. By a non-official spokesman, white and a southerner, of thoroughgoing liberal convictions.

3. NEGROES AND WAR PRODUCTIONLESTER BRANDER\*

Their anomalous industrial position as aggravated by the war demand for skilled workers and all out production. Illustrations of discrimination by management and labor. Appraisal of gains and ground yet to be covered. Fair Employment Practices Committee; AF of L; CIO; federal training programs, etc.

4. NEGROES AND THE ARMED FORCESWALTER DOLTE\*

Evidential challenge of the current paradox in a war for human liberation. Setbacks and accomplishments to date in the struggle for parity of treatment.

5. NEGROES AND THE COMMUNITYELMER CARTER\*

The progressive bankruptcy of the "dual system" of bi-racial organization as thrown into sharp relief in the defense areas. The impasse of segregations- the increasing costliness of Jim Crow institutions as they approach equality. Their impediment to the war effort; their undemocratic implications for the peace. Constructive examples to the contrary.

6. OUT OF THEIR MOUTHSSTERLING BRUSH

Intimate conversations, showing typical reactions on war issues and racial situations. From the South, from northern urban districts, from various economic and educational levels, but with emphasis on the "average" Negro. Thumbnail fashion - a link and break between sections.

PART II. SELF-RECONSTRUCTION AND THE SOUTH

7. NEW PATTERNS FOR OLD JONATHAN DANIELS \*  
Regional handicaps; the old order of race; progressive trends. The contribution which the affirmative settlement of moot issues would make to southern advance - such as the elimination of the poll tax and the participation in citizenship of whites and blacks, now legally and economically disfranchised. The Conference on Human Welfare. The Third Conference on the War Effort.
8. STRIKING THE ECONOMIC BALANCE CHARLES S. JOHNSON \*  
An analysis of the shift of the Negro to the cities and to marginal economic levels. Effects on farm productivity, unemployment and consumer insufficiency. Low incomes as aggravated by racial differentials in both the industrial and farming situation. Standards of living and economic stability.
9. THE MEANING OF EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY EDWIN R. EMBREE \*  
Education as democracy's first line of defense, with particular reference to public institutions - professional, technical, vocational. Brief carry-back to the employment opportunities. The issue of federal subsidies. A concluding statement of the role of public education in the problem of group adjustment.
10. THE NEGRO OUTLOOK TODAY JOHN AUBREY DAVIS \*  
The thrust of Negro youth. Changes in Negro attitudes and leadership. Impact of interracial organizations. What a progressive and fully democratic minority policy would include. The new perspective it would afford on American democracy in other countries. Drawing on the constructive findings of the Carnegie-Myrdal study and those of the American Youth Commission.

PART III. THE CHALLENGE OF COLOR

11. AMERICA AND WORLD DEMOCRACY ADOLF A. BERLE, JR.  
The New World's role in implementing the Atlantic Charter. Problems and policies in the Western Hemisphere as stepping stones to the more entrenched situations in the Eastern. Realistic stock-taking of conquest, vested interests, traditions of master races; and their liquidation through progressive international and interracial relationships. The parts played, or to be played, by military exigencies and racial insurgency, by diplomats, statescraft and popular demand. By an official spokesman of creative bent.
- IN THE NEW WORLD
12. CROSSWAYS OF THE CARIBBEAN ERIC WILLIAMS  
Our increasing contacts with the West Indies; and the responsibilities it entails. Color, caste and racial policy as factors, complicated by sugar, rum, leased bases, colonies and hemispheric defense. The implications for closer economic team play; the possibilities even of a Caribbean federation.
13. MEXICO'S DEMOCRATIC EXPERIMENT SENOR PADILLA  
Land, labor and educational policies accentuated in terms of mass education and race and cultural equality.
14. BRAZIL'S TRADITION OF RACE EQUALITY PROF. ARTHUR RAMOS  
The resistance of colored elements to Nazi "racism." A mixed nation and its speedy break with the Axis.

IN THE OLD WORLD

15. AFRICA FOR THE AFRICANS AZIKINE  
Native aims and alternatives to exploitation and competitive imperialism that themselves are roots of war. Proposals of full international trusteeship. By the editor of the Gold Coast Pilot.
16. OUR STAKES IN AFRICA MARY MOSS\*  
The human landscape of a vast continent under the impact of the war. The potential role of the United States in holding the balance of power among the United Nations - fortified by the historic ties of our missionary movement, and our own black minority. By an educator-missionary who championed Ethiopia.
- x x x
17. EAST AND WEST MUST MEET LIN YUTANG  
The conception China has struggled for in her long fight for independence - and now in alliance with the West against Japanese aggression. A free people in a free world - with economic cooperation based on cultural reciprocity. ~~By the author of "The East and West Must Meet"~~
18. HINDU AND MUSLIM SYUD MUHAMMAD  
India - through understanding eyes.
19. THE PACIFIC FRONT OF SOVIET RUSSIA MAURICE MANDUS  
Not only on the ocean of that name but, against the background of internal policies toward minority peoples, in terms of race relations in a postwar world.
- x x x
20. AFTER SINGAPORE GEORGE HORN  
Liabilities of the "colonial mind" in dealing with the East Indies. Shortcomings of white prestige under the stress of war. Threat of Japanese propaganda among the colored and Asiatic peoples. Possibilities of Westerners regaining Oriental cooperation and confidence. By an independent American correspondent.
21. THROUGH A BRITISH GAZE ARCHBISHOP TEMPLE  
The new Archbishop of Canterbury, long a force for dynamic Christianity in industrial and international relations, looks at the future.
22. FREEDOM FOR ALL PEARL BUCK\*  
An epilogue on the stake of Americans in a democratic world. By the author of The Good Earth.

Maps, photographs and other graphic materials will set off the sections. Charts will visualize trends and contrasts. Brief signed statements by outstanding leaders will be carried in boxes and will break into the text.

100

August 3, 1942.

Dear Mr. Kellogg:

I have just finished the August issue of "Survey Graphic", and I enjoyed it very much indeed. Thank you very much for sending it ahead.

I will be glad to see Mr. Scandrett, Jr., if he happens to be in Washington anytime when I am there. In the meantime, I have written to Colonel William J. Donovan, at the President's suggestion.

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Paul Kellogg  
Survey Associates,  
112 East 19th Street  
New York, New York.

VDS



100  
August 17, 1942

Dear Mr. Kellogg:

As I wrote you, I sent your plan to Secretary Morgenthau, and I understand the Treasury Department is studying Mr. Friedman's plan very carefully along with other means of accomplishing the desire objectives.

I realize that any hope we have for a better world will depend in large part on the economic condition of the world after the war is over, and that it is important to consider carefully every suggestion or proposal.

I had an opportunity yesterday to talk to a most interesting young English woman, Miss Barbara Ward, foreign editor of "The Economist." Among many other things, she told us that eighty percent of the people in England were thinking in world terms and realized they could never go back to the "old days." Her account of the forums in small villages and the keen interest generally in current history was very encouraging. However, she came back each time to the fundamental importance of world economy.

This has been a busy summer, with many important visitors, and on the whole an interesting one if one could forget about the horrors of war.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Paul Kellogg  
112 East 19th Street  
N.Y., N.Y.

MCT/mlt



THE UNDER SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY  
WASHINGTON

August 13, 1942

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

In the absence of Secretary Morgenthau, we have prepared a letter which you may wish to use in replying to Mr. Paul Kellogg.

Mr. Kellogg's and Mr. Friedman's letters are returned herewith.

Very sincerely yours,

*W. B. E. Bell*  
Under Secretary of the Treasury

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

Enclosures.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. Kellogg:

This is in reply to your letter of August 4, 1942, enclosing a letter from Mr. A. Friedman dated July 31, 1942.

The Treasury Department informs me that Mr. Friedman's plan is being carefully studied along with other means of accomplishing the desired objectives.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Paul Kellogg,  
112 East 19th Street,  
New York, New York.

*Wrote to give  
✓ some thing  
more clearly*

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LOWELL SHUMWAY  
HAROLD H. SWIFT

August 4, 1949

*ack  
8-17-49*

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

AUG 5 - 1949

Mr. Friedman was ever so grateful to you for transmitting the points raised by the Treasury people with respect to his Plan. He talked them over with me later so clearly and cogently that I suggested he put them in writing. I enclose the original of his letter, together with a carbon, should you care to pass it on to your informants.

And also, being told that Judge Rosenman is delving in kindred fields at The White House, I am venturing to enclose an extra carbon, together with the Plan itself and covering note, should you care to share these materials with him.

*Best you send  
just - to Rosenman*

Sincerely,

*Paul Kellogg*  
Paul Kellogg

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt

pk js e

AUG 3 1942

ERNST, GALE, BERNAYS & FALK  
FORTY WALL STREET  
NEW YORK

EDWIN A. FALK  
MURRAY C. BERNAYS  
HENRY GALE  
GEORGE G. ERNST

CABLE ADDRESS  
"ERNSTGALE"

July 31, 1942.

Dear Mr. Kellogg:--

Thanks for sharing Mrs. Roosevelt's letter of July 3 with me in confidence. I am especially indebted to her for conveying to me so clearly the views of the Treasury Department with respect to my plan for wartime installment selling of consumers' durable goods for postwar delivery.

The purpose of the plan would be to help check inflation and at the same time to help create employment and stave off a slump immediately after the drop in war production. Let me say that I have received a friendly hearing at the hands of several members of the Treasury staff and welcome the opportunity to come to grips with those points of skepticism which some of them still express. As I read Mrs. Roosevelt's letter, there are four such points, and I will take them up in the order in which they appear in her letter.

I

The first of these points is that savings would not be "increased to any considerable extent by offering to the public priorities in the acquisition of automobiles, refrigerators, and other durable goods to be produced in the post-war period."

Negatively, the plan would not diminish money savings. To the contrary, it specifically provides (VI - PARTICIPATION IN THE PLAN) that before a person could purchase under it, he must

ERNST. GALE. BERNAYS & FALK

Mr. Paul U. Kellogg

-2-

July 31, 1942.

agree to buy out of his current income a fixed amount of war bonds. Insofar as it actually stimulated the sale of war bonds, it would be a new and agreeable form of "compulsory saving."

Positively, it would stimulate saving, if you will, in kind. That is, it would postpone spending on wartime consumers' goods by ~~supplying~~ a chance to turn money back into the Government which after the war would be released in durable goods from refrigerators to autos, etc..

Personally, I have come upon considerable skepticism as to whether it would accomplish this kind of saving, from theoretical economists and financial experts. But there has been a heartening chorus of response from manufacturers, sales executives, trade associations and the like, who have already been exploring the possibilities of this kind of saving on their own hook and would welcome an overall Government scheme which would afford them a more serviceable framework.

This was a point on which Dr. Isidore Lubin, the White House economist, wanted light when I first broached the idea to him. I spent several weeks canvassing key men, and Dr. Lubin was agreeably surprised by the way these practical business people brushed this questioned difficulty aside. They were practically a unit that there would be an active response and that the volume of advance sales would be well worth going after and would drain off a considerable share of that excess purchasing power which threatens us with inflation.

Mr. Paul U. Kellogg

-3-

July 31, 1942.

II

The second point made is a sort of corollary to the first: namely, that "The inducement to increase savings that may be provided by offering priorities on consumers' durable goods would be rapidly diminished as the number of such priorities granted rises."

As I understand the foregoing, it means that if the plan genuinely succeeds in stimulating sales (savings in kind) at the start and many consumers use the chance of securing early delivery of refrigerators, cars, etc. at the close of the war, latecomers might be discouraged and feel that they would have to wait to buy.

But let's look at the arithmetic of resumed civilian production. In 1941 the production of cars reached 500,000 cars a month. Therefore, if a person had a priority on say the 450,000th car, he would get delivery within a month after the auto industry got back into its stride. If 4,000,000 cars were sold under the plan, the delivery of the last 50,000 earmarked cars would be made within 8 months.

Estimates have been made by Federal agencies that at the close of the war (if the war should last from one and a half to two years), there will be a market for between 12,000,000 and 15,000,000 new cars. To get in ahead of this rush is after all a thing which will register with the average consumer.

And to get in, also, at a non-inflationary price would clinch the incentive. This last is the aspect of the plan which I feel should be scrutinized more thoroughly than has yet been

Mr. Paul U. Kellogg

-4-

July 31, 1942.

done. But both producers and Government experts have expressed their belief that it is feasible.

However, the incentive to take part in the plan does not hinge on this latter consideration. The spur to advance purchasing is something that is bound to mount with each month as consumers see things they want go off the market, and hear forecasts of the buying rush that it is anticipated will follow the war. That is simple enough and sure-fire enough to weigh a great deal with the average consumer.

### III

The third point raised is that the plan "requires the Government to assume the liability of guaranteeing delivery of the goods purchased;" and that this feature represents "an important departure in government policy and raises some very complex problems."

In my discussion with the Treasury this problem did not seem to offer insuperable difficulties. The Government would be covered because, of course, it would require corresponding guarantees from manufacturers with such teeth in them that no manufacturer would likely default.

Moreover, the incentive to manufacturers to abide by such agreements would be impressive, as their good will and their future operations would necessarily depend on the treatment given consumers who had priorities under the plan.

Mr. Paul U. Kellogg

-5-

July 31, 1942.

IV

The fourth point is related to the third: namely, that the plan requires the Government to assume the further liability of "guaranteeing that producers will receive a reasonable profit on the goods sold under the plan;" and that this also represents "an important departure in government policy and raises some very complex problems."

I freely admit that there is some meat on that bone of contention as brought forward by the Treasury. If this feature of the plan could or should be preserved at all, it will have to be worked out much more thoroughly than has yet been attempted. It has advantages, but would not be indispensable. From my talks with progressive manufacturers, I am not at all sure that there would be an insistence on such a guarantee.

To be assured of a firm backlog of orders when they change over to civilian production - orders with money "on the line" - is itself a substantial inducement. And this is only one, if the largest, of the inducements that might enter into their collaboration.

\* \* \* \* \*

Will you let me turn the tables?

One of the assets in the plan that I have been very conscious of on my various trips to Washington is that it touches not one but a number of departments, bureaus, offices and agencies.

The interest which it has engaged in not a few of them has been thoroughly encouraging, but that is only half the story.

Mr. Paul U. Kellogg

-6-

July 31, 1942.

The real difficulty with the plan that I have encountered is that it is nobody's exclusive business to work on it and determine once and for all whether it is feasible, whether it should be thrown into the discard or whether the promise it holds out is such that it should be developed and put through with vigor as a Government program.

In my talks in Washington, at the Treasury and elsewhere, I have met with unflinching courtesy, and a heartening degree of swift comprehension. More than once the interest aroused has led to later calls to Washington for further discussion. But so far as I have heard, little or no attempt has been made to explore its possibilities outside of official Washington - that is, to bring it to the test of a thorough-going canvass of all the elements on whose responsibility and participation it would hang.

This is entirely understandable, as the men I have talked with are themselves confronted with unremitting demands of their daily work. They can give only spare time to a proposal which may not be central to their own responsibilities. I am sure that if I were in their place, I would do the same thing and give right of way to the pressing tasks that go over the desk.

I was glad to have the concluding assurance in Mrs. Roosevelt's letter to you, that the Treasury felt my plan had several meritorious features which they will continue to study. None the less, the letter itself seemed to indicate that the plan had all but reached a dead center, in at least some Treasury minds.

ERNST, GALE, BERNAYS & FALK

Mr. Paul U. Kellogg

-7-

July 31, 1942.

This was all the more disappointing because when I was last there in mid-June, some effort was to be made to sound out representatives of labor unions. Clearly they have a genuine stake in the assurance of active and continued postwar employment, and equally clearly their favorable interest in such a proposal and their practical cooperation would be invaluable in promoting advance sales.

Indeed, one of the by-products of the plan might prove to be that it would implement collaboration between Government, management and labor in a new field where they would find common ends.

But this is only one facet of the thing. It would pay to explore the possibilities with representatives of industry, merchandising and agriculture.

\* \* \* \* \*

The response which the plan has already elicited, the very questions which the Treasury raises, which show thoughtful consideration, all point one way to my mind. What is needed is the designation of some qualified person or persons to give their full time to a swift, close and responsible study of its possibilities.

Sincerely,

*Abraham Friedman*

AF\*EW

Mr. Paul Kellogg,  
112 East 19th Street,  
New York, N.Y.

Kellogg -

As I wrote you - I  
sent your plan to Secy.  
Morgenstern & I understand  
The Treasury Dept is  
& studying Mrs Freedman's  
plan very carefully  
along with other means  
of accomplishing the  
desired objectives.

I realize that our  
hope we have for a better  
road will depend  
in large part on the  
economic condition of  
the road after the war  
is over, & that it is

important to consider  
carefully every suggestion  
or proposal.

I had an opportunity,  
yesterday, to talk to a  
most interesting young  
English woman - Miss  
Barbara Ward - foreign  
editor of "The Economist."  
Among many other things,  
she told us that 80%  
of the people in Great  
Britain were thinking in world  
terms & realized they  
could never go back to  
the "old days." Her account  
of the forums in small  
villages & the keen  
interest generally in

Current history was very  
encouraging. However  
she came back each time  
to the fundamental  
importance of sound economy.

This has been a  
busy summer - with many  
important visitors, & on the  
whole an interesting one  
if one could forget  
about the horrors of war

ER

SURVEY ASSOCIATES Inc. 112 East 19 Street · New York City  
SURVEY GRAPHIC · SURVEY MIDMONTHLY · Telephone ALGONQUIN 47490

161  
10-12  
August 19, 1942

fil  
Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Yes, I have heard from Helen, to my great easement - first an undated, unplaced message of "Safe"; and then on Sunday, a follow-up letting me know of her arrival in Australia. It was good of you to ask.

And thank you again for your constructive interest in Mr. Friedman's plan. And for the glimpse of English thinking you shared with me from Miss Barbara Ward.

Sincerely,

Paul Koenig

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt

pk js e

THIRTIETH ANNIVERSARY YEAR: 1912-1942

100  
August 25, 1942.

Dear Mr. Kellogg:

It was very nice to get your letter and I deeply appreciate it. It makes me so angry to have the Dies committee attack people like you, and even like Joe Lash who, while he is much less important, does stand for a good deal among the young people, and who can, of course, defend himself far less well than you can.

I am very much interested in the memorandum which you sent me, but I am sure that you have all the material that you need and that it is much better than anything which I could contribute.

Very cordially and gratefully yours,

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT

Mr. Paul Kellogg  
112 East 19th Street  
New York, N. Y.

or

Kellogg:

It was very ~~kind~~ nice to get your letter and I deeply appreciate it. It makes me so angry to have the Dies committee attack people like you, and even like Joe Lash who, while he is much less important, ~~he~~ does stand for a good deal among the young people. ~~and who~~ <sup>and who</sup> You can, of course, defend himself far less well than you can/

I am very much interested in the memo which you sent me, but I am sure that you ~~have~~ <sup>are</sup> all the material that you need and that it is much better than anything which I could contribute very cordially and gratefully yrs.

e.r.

AUG 13 1947

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HAROLD H. SWIFT

August 12, 1942

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

With Helen somewhere en route to the South Seas, I have split an anxious fortnight between The Survey office and Washington; and two long week-ends at our place back of Cornwall-on-Hudson.

Richard Scandrett is a neighbor down the road. When I took him your friendly note yesterday, he was moved by your invitation to him and the President's suggestion. I need not tell you how much I appreciated your swift understanding and the characteristic way you crystalized it.

Let me thank you, too, for your prompt acknowledgment of Abraham Friedman's clarifying letter and for putting the copy in Judge Rosenman's hands. I think he has a propitious idea by the tail.

x x x

My Washington trip was in the interest of two major projects we have on the stocks in our CALLING AMERICA series of Survey Graphic. I think I sent you advance "blueprints" of them some time ago. The attached memos. will put you abreast. If you felt that you have something "in your system" to say on either theme, for which they might serve as opportune carriers, we should count it a stroke of fortune to muster you into their tables of contents.

And of course any suggestions or leads would be ever so opportune.

x x x

You'll remember, perhaps, that when you were under that wretched attack in your creative work at the OCD, Congressman Wigglesworth joined the hue and cry by publishing in the Congressional Record last February some tables supplied by the Dies Committee as exhibits of the subversive activities of members of the OCD staff. Except for Joe Lash, mine I think was the longest.

Those tables (employed by the Dies office in other situations) were mantraps and smelled of the Inquisition - as I endeavored to demonstrate by ripping up their tabulation in my own case. I may not have made a good fist of this, but some of the charges were so fool-in-the-head that they boomeranged pleasantly; and I even hoped the analysis might help put a crimp in this practice of character assassination. So far as I know, however, the Gentleman from Massachusetts altogether failed to insert anything from my rejoinder in the Record. Ultimately, I sent the documents to the Department of Justice, and they are on file, if you please, in the Criminal Division.

x x x

Meanwhile, harrassed as you were at the time, you yourself had countered the thing in your own deft way and ~~to~~ my lively comfort.

In Helen's absence, my Mother's youngest sister/ has joined me at Cornwall. We come from Michigan, and she was proud as punch that a friend of hers, a newspaperman, had told her last winter that in "My Day" you had mentioned conferring with me. More, that you had called me a "good friend" - and you can guess how an Aunt felt about that! I told her this was less than half the story - told her how, when I was under fire, you had taken that means to let all and sundry know you had confidence in me.

But I'm afraid I never told you how much it meant to me. I do now -  
wholeheartedly.

Sincerely,

*Paul Kellogg*  
Paul Kellogg

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt

pk js e

MEMORANDUM TO

M R S. R O O S E V E L T

FROM P.K. AUGUST 12, 1942

Two forthcoming special numbers  
in the CALLING AMERICA series of Survey Graphic

(The half dozen specials to date have ranged from 35,000 to 91,000 copies. Small compared with newspapers or popular magazines, but large compared with the general run of books and reports on similar subject matter. Their combined circulation has reached a third of a million, and they have been widely drawn on as source material.)

VII. C O L O R: THE UNFINISHED BUSINESS OF DEMOCRACY

SURVEY GRAPHIC for November

Alain Locke (Howard University), special editor

The first half of the number will deal with NEGROES, U.S.A., 1942; covering developments in the armed forces, war production, defense areas - and the South as our historic proving ground.

The second half, in turn, with the Caribbean, South America, Africa, Asia.

Throughout the effort will be to handle constructive developments as well as discriminations; realistic enough to give a shove to domestic progress, but affirmative enough to afford reassurance overseas as to democracy as a medium for advances in race relations.

x x x

Since I had seen him, Dr. Locke had attended the conference at Campobello and was just back from the corresponding conference in the South. At Washington, we made fruitful contact with the Office of War Information and hope to draw on some of their materials.

On the American front, we have enlisted such key Negro leaders as Lester Granger and Walter White; and I am glad to let you know that Herbert Agar and Jonathan Daniels are contributing major articles.

On the international front, Adolf A. Berle, Jr. (who wrote the lead article for our THE AMERICAS: South and North, March 1941) has consented to lead off this section. Iin Yutang, Syud Hossain and Emory Ross (an educator-missionary of the Congo region, who organized the American Committee Against the Italian Conquest of Ethiopia) are among the contributors. Through Mr. Butler, we are endeavoring to enlist the new Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Temple) as a liberal Englishman.

Pearl Buck has given helpful counsel and contributes the concluding article. At a recent conference with Dr. Locke and me, she pointed out that the wartime gains in race relations have themselves provoked backset currents, and there is danger that lines may be drawn in public opinion in terms of old stereotypes. For us to broach the theme against the world background, underscoring American stakes in the war effort and in the peace - will, to her mind, help lift consideration to new levels.

VIII. FROM WAR TO WORK: FULL EMPLOYMENT

as basic to the American Future; <sup>to</sup> democracy  
among the nations and Enduring Peace.

Survey Graphic for -- around the turn of the year.  
Stuart Chase, special editor.

However we finally coin the title, the theme itself is one which seems to us a natural strand running through postwar planning - domestic and foreign. Something kindred to the President's innovation in including freedom from want and from fear in the Atlantic Charter. That opened men's minds to include economic and social principles, no less than historic civil rights, as essential to a liberated world.

Clearly it was unemployment and distress, in the years following World War I. that provided the seed bed for Nazism and Fascism - for intolerance, aggression and conquest.

And equally clearly, work and livelihood are modern counterparts of free-men on free-land in agricultural societies, when it comes to footholds for self-government and security.

x x x

The idea for the number came to us ten months ago from Samuel S. Fels, the progressive Philadelphia manufacturer; author of This Changing World, and a long time member of Survey Associates. It was not without counterpart in men's minds both here and abroad.

In some scouting I did last fall, Luther Gulick of the National Resources Planning Board - then recently returned from England - let me know how the employment factor had taken root in imaginations both in London and Washington.

And Isador Lubin of your White House "faculty" rose to the project at that time, as in line with his own convictions. This was history repeating itself, for he had joined forces with us a dozen years before, when he was associated with Senator Couzens in a Congressional inquiry, and we embarked on a special number of Survey Graphic, at suggestion of Justice Brandeis, on UNEMPLOYMENT AND WAYS OUT. That was published in April, 1929 - six months before the stock market crash.

And it was Helen Hall's "Case Studies" for the National Federation of Settlements that gave us close-up line and text of the crevices of worklessness that, as yet unrecognized by public or the Hoover administration, were already cracking the shiny surfaces of postwar prosperity.

x x x

Came Pearl Harbor last December, and we shelved our new project - with the public mind and energies engrossed in the muster of war. Our counselors felt it would count for more later on; and we have only recently reopened it actively. In June, Mr. Fels and I enlisted Stuart Chase as special editor - who has been up to his elbows in postwar studies for the Twentieth Century Fund which have trenched on this terrain. In the meantime had come not only their reports, and those of the Resources Planning Board, but forthright presentments by the President, Mr. Wallace, Milo Perkins and others.

While we thus sacrificed the element of surprise, there is general consensus that our number will count for more at the right time in gathering up these various strands and helping to win an overall hearing for the conception.

x x x

An informal dinner meeting at the Metropolitan Club on Tuesday, the 4th, broke further ground for this team play. The invitations went out over the signature of the Washington members of our Survey Board:-

Beardsley Ruml, treasurer of Macy's and a force in the Federal Reserve System.  
Dean James M. Landis, of the Office of Civilian Defense.  
Fred K. Hoehler, director of the American Public Welfare Assn., and active in half a dozen federal fields.  
Earl G. Harrison, whose nomination by the President as Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization in the Dept. of Justice has recently (and belatedly) been confirmed.

Among those who participated were Eccles of the Federal Reserve, White of the Treasury, Nathan of the War Production Board, General Osborne of Special Service (War Dept.), Altmeyer of the Social Security and Manpower Boards, Feis, economist at the State Dept.; Ruml, Landis, Hoehler of our group; Gulick and Lubin.

There was the freest sort of discussion, back and forth across the table, for three hours. I think it is not overstating it to say that the participants were almost a unit in feeling that there is opportunity for a telling stroke for understanding.

The next day, Chase and I gathered the various ideas, leads, practical considerations and imagination-stretchings into a skein. He is now at work on a revised scenario, of which I shall send you a copy.

Enc. Copy of Lt. Ravenel's letter of 8/21/42  
to which was attached copy of Scandrett letter  
to Ravenel and Ravenel's letter to Scandrett.  
Scandrett says he has plenty of work to do which is  
necessary but if he is needed he will become available  
for duration. Ravenel letter says no opportunity now  
but will be delighted to take advantage of his  
capabilities if opportunity occurs.

August 27, 1942.

My dear Mr. Kellogg:

Mrs. Roosevelt has asked me  
to send you for your information, the  
enclosed copies of correspondence which  
is self-explanatory.

Very sincerely yours,

Secretary to  
Mrs. Roosevelt.

Mr. Paul Kellogg  
Survey Associates  
112 East 19th Street  
New York, New York.

VDS

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

25th and Constitution Avenue, N. W.

— COPY SENT  
8/27/42

August 21, 1942

My dear Mrs. Thompson:

In reply to your kind note of August 1st to Colonel William J. Donovan, we sent application forms to Mr. Richard B. Scandrett, Jr., 30 Pine Street, New York City, which he filled out and returned to us.

There is no apparent opening at the present time in our organization for Mr. Scandrett, and his letter of August 17th indicates that he is not interested in giving up his present responsibilities unless his services are urgently requested by the Government.

Enclosed you will find Mr. Kellogg's letter to Mrs. Roosevelt, which you asked us to return, and also a copy of Mr. Scandrett's letter to the writer, together with the reply.

Thanking you for suggesting this gentleman's name to us, and appreciating your kind cooperation, I am

Very sincerely yours,



Daniel Ravenel, Jr.  
Lt. Comdr., U.S.N.R.

Mrs. Malvina C. Thompson  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

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Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

With this I am sending an advance copy of Survey Graphic for August, out tomorrow, which gives the nib of "How War Came" - (page 349) the Davis-Lindley variant of government white papers. I thought it might prove a time-saver for you; and also that you would be taken with Richard Scandrett's interpretation of leadership in a democracy as exemplified in different generations by Lincoln and Mr. Roosevelt.

This brought back that glimpse you gave Justine Wise Polier and me of the President at his desk in a room off the corridor at The White House - that afternoon before Pearl Harbor, when he told us he had played his last card for peace in the Pacific - in his personal message to the Japanese Emperor. I shall always remember it.

x x x

I am also enclosing\* a copy of Mr. Scandrett's own little volume, "Divided They Fall," which proved a telling stroke in the pre-Pearl Harbor debate. Alackaday, he handed it to me to give to you when I was commuting to Washington and the OCD. At the time I leaned backwards not to act as a lightning rod to you or The White House in personal overtures; and Mr. Scandrett then, as now, was champing at the bit to count in these times in some way by being on the ground in Russia.

No, he is not a Communist or a fellow-traveler, but Dwight Morrow's nephew, and at the far pole from Colonel Lindbergh. He was a Republican candidate for Congressman-at-Large in the Dewey campaign four years ago - and incidentally, is throwing his whole weight against him, as against Bennett, today. Two years ago, he was a close adviser to Senator Taft in his pre-convention fight - but broke the traces following the Philadelphia convention and voted for FDR in the national election. His book played a part in stirring up the insurrection at the last meeting of the Republican National Committee in Chicago in its break with the isolationists.

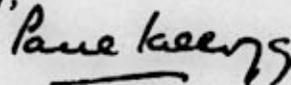
\*sending under separate cover

More especially, Mr. Scandrett was in Russia in the mid-thirties and has had a consuming interest in developments there since; knows some of the key men and would bring insight, deftness and an extraordinary gift for give and take should he be drawn in, in any way, to negotiations as they go forward at Moscow.

You can see why I did not wish to intrude such a personal matter six months ago. But I am no longer a personal adviser to you in another field today, and this spontaneous full length review of his will give you Dick Scandrett's bent and quality.

This letter of course does not require acknowledgment.

Sincerely,



Paul Kellogg

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt

pk js e

September 11, 1942

100

Dear Mr. Kellogg:

I talked to the President as a result of your letter of August 25, and he feels it wiser to await developments in India. Mr. Fischer may not be entirely correct in his judgment of Mr. Gandhi, and there are other sides to this picture.

<sup>LOUIS</sup>  
Mr. Fischer admitted here in Washington that he went to India with his mind fully made up before he saw Mr. Ganhi.

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Paul Kellogg  
Survey Associates  
112 E 19, NYC

0

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

September 10, 1942.

MEMORANDUM FOR

E. R.

I would go very slow on this Gandhi business. I am not at all certain that Louis Fischer is right either in the sureness of his judgment or in his description of Gandhi's mind as being flexible and having integrity and openness to accomodation. There are other sides to this picture. At this time it is best to "lay off" and not get into another spider's web.

F. D. R.

*PLEASE FORGIVE ME  
I think the President is having  
developments*

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HAROLD H. SWIFT

August 25, 1942

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

AUG 26 1942

Louis Fischer was at our place at Cornwall over the week-end. He read us part of an article he is turning into the Reader's Digest dealing with his recent week with Gandhi and telling of the intimate play of the Mahatma's mind - its flexibility and integrity and openness to accommodation in ways that bear directly on the critical situation confronting India and the United Nations.

Sunday's New York Times brought us Sir Stafford Cripps' statement of the British case. For my part, I have faith in Cripps, yet there were developments that are a matter of record which he did not go into at all (says Louis Fischer) and others which the latter threw into a differing perspective on the basis of his interviews with Nehru, General Wavell, Moslems, Civil Servants and the whole cast of characters over there.

What this raised in my own mind is the possibility that in the midst of Sir Stafford's negotiations, he may have been over-ruled by London; that his public statement now was kept within, shall I say, the framework of an official statement from a cabinet member; and that he himself can be counted on for a more creative, fresh approach, if encouragement should reach him from overseas.

The above is solely my personal construction (not Mr. Fischer's) in the light of what Cripps said at an informal meeting here in New York two years ago, on the way back from his earlier swing through the Orient, as "an out" and a private citizen.

x x x

However that may be, Mr. Fischer told me that Gandhi had given him some oral message of significance to transmit to President Roosevelt in person if the opportunity offered.

Now along with all his redoubtable insight and bent for getting behind the scenes, and his sureness in his judgments, Louis Fischer has an inveterate inhibition when it might be considered he is trying to force himself in because of self importance. I gave him a good scolding on this. The stakes are too high to hang back.

x x x

Louis Fischer is, of course, a contributing editor of The Nation - not of The Survey - but Ivised the last chapter of his book "Men and Politics" to help him make sure that (after his years overseas) he was actually getting across to American readers what it was <sup>(Hadd)</sup> he had to say - meeting their minds half way. In the mid-thirties Helen and Helen Harris, John Elliott and I went through Russia with him as members of his tour. We were by way of being insurgent, realistic, variants from the rest of the party. Afterward we could testify to two things: that whenever we had a question to ask of anyone from the engineer in charge of the great fabricating works at Leningrad to a peasant in the Caucasus, he asked it for us; and he gave the answer straight and clear whether or not it ran counter to some construction of his own.

Later, as you know, at risk of scuttling the standing in Russia he had built up in a decade, he broke with the Stalin regime on the purges, on the invasion of Finland and on the Nazi-Soviet pact. With result he has been out in the wilderness so far as Moscow goes since.

I gather he set off for India, in the same way he set off for Spain, because he has the lures of a journalist and is especially engaged by struggles from the bottom up, political and economic. But I gather also that he came back when he did, deeply concerned in the cause of Indian independence; (no less than the cause of the United Nations); in the hope that he could bear witness in ways that would count.

After talking with him, I felt sure Mr. Fischer has information to give the President that he has not as yet published, and that may throw some fresh light on things that have gotten to the White House through government, diplomatic or ordinary press channels.

When we saw Mr. Fischer off on the bus Sunday evening, he let me know he was going to Washington for three or four days this week and will be staying with Mr. Edwin Kuh, 2949 Newark, N.W., - Washington correspondent for the Chicago Sun.

So I am sending you these clues, quite on my own initiative, in the hope they may prove opportune.

Sincerely,

*Paul Kellogg*

Paul Kellogg  
Editor

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

pk mk e

P.S. Mr. Scandrett told me Sunday he was off to Washington that night, highly pleased at your willingness to see him.

100

September 21, 1942

Dear Mr. Kellogg:

Many thanks for your letter  
and for the advance proofs you sent me. I  
will read Mr. Fischer's story with interest.

Very sincerely yours,

0

Mr. Paul Kellogg  
Survey Associates  
112 E 19, NYC

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LOWELL SHUMWAY  
HAROLD H. SWIFT

September 16, 1942

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Since my letter of August 25, we have had a windfall from the Reader's Digest. They found it necessary to defer from October to November their use of Louis Fischer's intimate account of his week with Gandhi - and were game to let us handle it at once as the sands are running over there.

So I can send you advance proofs from Survey Graphic for October. It's a very different piece of writing from his argumentative ~~article~~. Next best to talking with him is to thumb them through. You may care to put them, if not in the hands of the President, then in those of some key person in the administration especially concerned in developments on that front.

Thank you for your letter of September 11, and even more for the step you took in bringing it up with the President. It was because "there are other sides to the picture"; and because these have been widely set forth, that I ventured to call attention to his side - a variant, fairly recent, behind the scenes and less well known - at least so far as the public goes.

That was like Louis Fischer to admit in Washington, in all frankness, that he himself set out with his mind made up before he saw Mr. Gandhi. He wears his biases on his sleeve - but not, I have found, as tight blinders to his eyes and ears. If he had not had that sort of spur, doubtless he would not have drawn his savings from the bank and put them into this "Passage to India" on his own. Whatever the kit he took with him, I felt he had brought back things worth weighing - not as milk of the word but as pertinent testimony of a distinctive sort.

Sincerely,

Paul Kellogg

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt

pk js e

December 18, 1942

10/11

Dear Mr. Kellogg:

Thank you for sending me the remaining copies of "Color: Unfinished Business of Democracy". I am delighted to have them and also to hear about the increased circulation.

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Paul Kellogg  
112 East 19th Street  
New York  
New York

O/bcd

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December 11, 1942

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

This week we scraped the barrel of our first edition of COLOR: Unfinished Business of Democracy (45,000 copies), and are going into a second edition of 10,000. I thought you would like to know because of your interest in the project at its inception early last summer. Half a dozen of the remaining copies of the original printing go off to you, knowing that you will put them in the right hands.

My enclosures will give you some of the early response. Since this was multigraphed, Irving Dilliard has let us know that the St. Louis Post-Dispatch has reproduced a full page of our graphs in the picture section of their Sunday edition.

I only wish we were well enough off to seed it down among key southern people, who by no chance are among our readers or buyers at this juncture. A southern Negro educator told me the other day that he was sending copies to all his friends in lieu of Christmas cards - and I was glad to think these were white as well as colored.

Let me take this occasion to thank you for the encouragement you gave us months ago.

Sincerely,

*Paul Kealey*

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt

pk js e

*that  
helps  
me - 49*

# The First Reader

By HARRY HANSEN.

## *Margaret Walker and Survey Graphic.*

To hear Margaret Walker read from her book of poems, *For My People*, is a moving experience. I heard her last week at the 30th anniversary dinner of *Survey Associates*, and I shall not forget the experience for a long time. Later she read at the Book and Author Luncheon at the Astor. Miss Walker reads without trying for effects; what impresses is her complete sincerity. She was born in Birmingham and educated both in the South and in the Middle West, but her speech is free from regional accents.

Stephen Vincent Benet chose her poem for this year's edition of the Yale Series of Younger Poets, and speaks, in his introduction to *For My People*, of the "controlled intensity of emotion" and "the surge of Biblical poetry" in her writing, something rarely found combined with "straightforwardness, directness and reality." The Methodist preaching that she heard in her youth has left its imprint on her poems. The ways of living in cities and on the land, the labor "in this valley of cotton and cane and banana wharves" left its mark on her thinking. With her roots deep in the South she rises beyond regionalism to understand the issues in American social adjustment. Best of all she knows her people.

I think everyone at the Survey meeting was deeply moved when she read the title poem with its clarion call: "Let a new earth arise . . . let a people loving freedom come to growth." There I also heard Alain Locke, who believes that the present war will end racial inequality as a logical sequence of liquidating imperialism. Dr. Locke opens the seventh special number in the Calling America series of *Survey Graphic*, entitled *Color: Unfinished Business of Democracy*, which gives a comprehensive account of color relations in the United States, in the army, in Central and South America and Africa. Here, by eminent authorities, is an exposition of what the Negro is getting—in industry on the farms, in the schools, and what his aims are. In every instance the aim of the Negro is to be a useful part of American life.

asking only the rights guaranteed to all citizens of the United States. This special *Survey Graphic* number is really a book and should be accessible wherever documents on the Negro are called for.

*For My People* by Margaret Walker is published by Yale University Press at -2: *Color: Unfinished Business of Democracy* by *Survey Graphic*, 50c.

# The New York Times

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 12, 1942.

## Topics of The Times

There is all the difference in the world between a job neglected and a job unfinished. This is one reason for congratulating the editors of The Survey Graphic on the happy choice of a title for their study of the race problem in the November number. They call it "Color: Unfinished Business of Democracy."

They did not choose a subtitle like the failure of democracy, or the shame of democracy or the negation of democracy. It might so easily have happened formerly. It occasionally does happen even now when people have grown more careful about signaling democracy's failure and shames.

The point we have in mind, this vital difference between a job neglected and a job unfinished, is illustrated in this number of The Survey Graphic by a double-page pictorial display concerned with the Negro in the U. S. A.

The vivid little pictures and diagrams with a few words of text show that the Negro's life expectancy of 50 years is ten years shorter than the white American's life span, and childbed mortality among Negroes is three times as high as among whites. But a warning "Yet" calls attention to a diagram showing that the Negro death rate in half a century has been cut in two. Little pictures show that of children who have less than five years of schooling the colored youngsters are more than four times as many, proportionately. But another admonitory "Yet" calls attention to the fact that at the close of the Civil War only one in twenty Negroes could read, and today eighteen in every twenty can read. Even faster has grown Negro enrollment in the high schools, which increased tenfold between 1920 and 1940.

There is no cautionary "Yet" between two pictures in showing what Negroes earn in the cities of the North and what they earn in the rural South. Among the former we

(TURN, PLEASE)

find that four out of ten Negroes earn less than \$1,000 a year. This is another way of saying that six out of ten earn \$1,000 a year or more. In the rural South it is only one in every ten Negroes who earns \$1,000 a year or more. But it means that the Negro people in the North have made notable gains on the economic scale.

No doubt we have here given a somewhat different emphasis to the meaning of Unfinished Business from that intended by The Survey Graphic. Unfinished business may be two things. It may be a particular piece of business waiting to be started. It may be a piece of business not yet completed. American democracy's unfinished business with respect to the Negro's status in our nation may be made to mean that nothing has been done to improve that status. It may mean that much still remains to be done before the Negro has received his full share of justice and opportunity.

That is what we meant  
Only by the difference between a  
Losses job neglected and a job un-  
Counted finished. It is a difference  
in emphasis that holds for  
other American problems than the  
Negro. Until a few years ago the  
dominant American mood was to stress  
the neglects and the failures and to  
overlook the achievements. For the  
Negro you quoted his higher death  
rates and his lower income and his in-  
ferior schooling, and so pronounced  
a verdict of failure. You failed to  
mention that the Negro's lower level  
nevertheless represented great progress  
and sometimes tremendous progress,  
as in the school figures; in other  
words, unfinished business.

It was a difference in  
Robbers emphasis that got into our  
Build writing about the American  
Nation past. Historians dealing  
with our mighty economic  
expansion after the Civil War gave  
virtually all of their space to the  
Western landgrabbers and the railroad  
speculators and the robber trusts and  
the corrupt politicians; in other words,  
democracy's failure. Only toward the  
end of the chapter the historian would  
remark, to all intents and purposes,  
"Oh, now that I happen to think of it,  
while all this railroad wild-catting and  
land-boodling and other terrible things  
were going on, twenty-five million peo-  
ple came and made their homes in the  
Western country."

EARLY COMMENT

COLOR: Unfinished Business of Democracy

30th Anniversary Number

Survey Graphic - November, 1942

STRAWS IN THE WIND

- "...timely." Quincy Howe, Columbia Broadcasting System
- "...You've rung the bell again" Byron Dexter, Reading, Vermont
- "...most helpful" Bruno Lasker, Institute of Pacific Relations
- "...outstanding" Edward Krehbiel, Black, Starr & Gorham, N.Y.C.
- "...another of those great issues" Harold Rugg, Teachers College
- "...a magnificent job" Frank N. Trager, American Jewish Committee
- "...a splendid issue." Alice G. Maslin (Nancy Booth Craig), Blue Network
- "...written vividly and dramatically...all should read" Lisa Sergio, WQXR
- "...exceedingly interesting" Marguerite Woodworth, Dean of Women, Oberlin
- "...a job well done" James Waterman Wise, Council Against Intolerance in America
- "...unusually fine" Charles A. Collier, Jr., City-Wide Citizens Committee on Harlem
- "...a masterpiece" Ellen C. Potter, M.D., Dept. of Institutions and Agencies, New Jersey
- "...The right thing printed at the moment it counts" Lewis Gannett, N.Y. Herald-Tribune  
x x x x x x
- "...my appreciation of this fine publication" Mary McLeod Bethune, Director of Negro Affairs, National Youth Administration
- "November Graphic is triple-extra fine! - as it should be with such a galaxy of authors, set off by Winold Reiss' cover" Evelyn Campbell, N.Y.C.
- "What a magnificent, vital, timely number of Survey Graphic! What a need it fills!!" Cora M. Winchell, University of Rochester, N. Y.
- "Your November issue of Survey Graphic is a very valuable record of opinion and aims as well as of facts." Estelle M. Sternberger, Commentator - WQXR
- "Congratulations on your achievement of 'required reading.' The students are fighting to get hold of it." Alice Davis, College of William and Mary, Richmond, Va.
- "A very special edition indeed... I hope a great many of our listeners will read the magazine." Adelaide Hawley, Columbia Broadcasting System
- "Your number interested us greatly and we thought it distinctly worth while. We have purchased copies for distribution to friends." Anson Phelps Stokes, Lenox, Mass.
- "I want your November issue circulated widely. It deals with the most important issue of our national life today. Indeed the result of this war may turn upon that very issue." James Clair Taylor, Godwin St. A.M.E. Zion Church, Paterson, N. J.
- "An invaluable contribution to the thinking of persons deeply concerned about the problems of color in American life... U.S.O. has placed an order for 1,200 copies for distribution among clubs, regional executives and other key people." Walter Hoving, Chairman of the Board, United Service Organizations.
- "Color: Unfinished Business of Democracy is a challenge that we have long and deeply been conscious of, and we are grateful to you for your contribution toward meeting it." Tamar de Sola Pool, National President, Hadassah
- "This last special issue was truly magnificent in its scope and incisiveness. It reflects the Survey method as well as the personalities who are responsible for such consistent excellence. On your 30th Anniversary, I salute you.....Charles S. Johnson, Dept. of Social Sciences, Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.
- "The work of the Survey Associates during its first thirty years (think of it - thirty years!) on every front and under all changing circumstances has been wonderful and now for the next thirty!" Ralph S. Rounds, Chairman, Foreign Policy Assn.

(turn, please)

163  
January 23, 1943

Dear Mr. Kellogg:

Thank you for sending me the copy  
of the cable from Mrs. Kellogg and of your  
letter to Senator Wagner.

Very sincerely yours,

0

Mr. Paul Kellogg  
265 Henry Street  
NYC

encl  
1-23

HENRY STREET SETTLEMENT  
NEW YORK

MAIN HOUSE  
285 HENRY STREET

January 19th 1943.

TELEPHONE  
ORCHARD 4-1100

JAN 20 1943

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Helen's message from Australia is something I feel I can share, also, with you - together with my letter to Senator Wagner transmitting it in confidence.

Transmitted  
Jia

Sincerely,

Rose Kellogg

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

HENRY STREET SETTLEMENT  
NEW YORK

MAIN HOUSE  
265 HENRY STREET

January 19th 1943.

TELEPHONE  
ORCHARD 4-1100

Confidential

Hon. Robert F. Wagner,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington DC

Dear Senator Wagner:

Helen Hall (Mrs. Kellogg) sends the enclosed message by cable to transmit to you.

X X X

For six months now Miss Hall has been one of the chief executives of the American Red Cross in Australia, in line with kindred work she carried out for the U.S. Army in Manila after the last war, with the Philippines and the China coast as her bailiwick. She is especially charged with developing service clubs in the cities and rest homes for fliers and others who need building up rather than hospital care.

This has taken her by airplane on long hops throughout Northern Australia and New Zealand; and thrown her not only with key officials of the Army and Navy, but notably with everyday Australians and community leaders of standing. Only Sunday the New York Herald Tribune carried a couple of columns drawn from letters she had sent me in October and November giving her keen analysis of the friendly relations between Australians and Americans as she has "gotten them" in intimate and convincing ways.

X X X

As you may imagine, Helen Hall has leaned backward not to dip into politics and such. Here she is proving that rule by bending it; letting a long time and trusted friend know something of the feeling she has sensed since the announcement of Mr. Flynn's nomination, and no doubt also since the circulation in Australia of some of the domestic reaction to it.

I need not recall to you her extraordinary gifts of social insight. You know, too, of her ardent feeling toward the New Deal, and especially toward the President and yourself as architects of the social program that has meant so much to American life - first in the hard times and now in the war years.

You will note that she does not attempt to pass on Mr. Flynn; though unquestionably she has herself been on the defensive with respect to his nomination. She cuts through to the type of appointment that would not only avoid misconception but would make the most of the opportunity for mounting understanding and teamwork between our two democracies.

X X X

Page 2  
Senator Wagner  
1-19-43

Hence, I take it, what the Quakers would call her concern to share her insight at a time when so much hangs in the balance. And her resort to send this word confidentially through a personal channel to you.

Sincerely,

Cable via Melbourne,  
Jan. 18, 1943.

"Tell Senator Wagner important highest type representative  
sent here . . . ."

February 1, 1943

Dear Mr. Kellogg:

Your letter to Mrs. Hodson is  
very nice and I am glad to have the opportunity  
to read it. Thank you for sending me a copy.

Sincerely yours,

0

Mr. Paul Kellogg  
Survey Associates  
NYC

**SURVEY ASSOCIATES Inc.** 112 East 19 Street · New York City  
SURVEY GRAPHIC · SURVEY MIDMONTHLY · Telephone ALGONQUIN 47490

1-27-43

at 1-1

January 27, 1943

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Perhaps you may care to glance at the enclosed letter in which I tried to convey to Mrs. William Hodson the sense of our staff in the loss of her husband as "the first great casualty in the ranks of American social workers." There is reference to the President in the paragraph indicated.

Sincerely,

*Paul Kellogg*  
Paul Kellogg

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt

pk js e

*R. Quinn*  
*ER*

THIRTIETH ANNIVERSARY YEAR: 1912-1942

C O P Y

January 22, 1948

Dear Mrs. Hodson:

We of The Survey - and all the staff join me in this - want you to know our deep sympathy in your irreparable loss. There is no way of replacing what William Hodson meant in his own home as husband and father.

And that holds true for the whole household of social work - for there is no one who quite in the same way drew together strands first from private and then public effort, whose insight ran to the basic need for relief, for rehabilitation of body and spirit, and to the enduring structure of social and security legislation. His administrative capacity and leadership refuted those who disparage social work as a new profession and as a creative contribution to the general welfare.

We can send you not only our sympathy but our common understanding in your loss.

We should like to share with you, also, our sense as to the way of his going. Here he had spent his life for others, underprivileged children in his earlier years, the whole vast community of New York - first as the spearhead of voluntary effort, and then as the prime public official whose stewardship ran to countless hard-pressed families in the midst of the worst depression the country had ever known.

Because of his record and his prowess, he was in a time of crisis released by the Mayor who had known his mettle, called by the Governor who had recognized his outstanding services, and by the President who had commissioned that Governor to be the pivot in bringing American resources to bear in war scotched regions overseas. They asked him to set the pace and pattern for relief and rehabilitation in North Africa as the first of the regions to be released from conquest and repression. He responded to their call - eagerly and with a sense of contributing his innate gifts to democracy's great struggle for survival.

His exploratory mission and the constructive developments at his hands that would have sprung from it, have been out short. But his leadership and spirit have not been out short. He broke ground for what will be built on his pioneering.

"Bill Hodson" is so much more than the first great casualty in the ranks of American social workers in this war. He gave his uttermost - and that uttermost will light the way for all those who follow.

Sincerely,

Mrs. William Hodson  
246 St. & Palisade Av.  
Riverdale, N. Y.

pk js e

176  
admission  
2000

July 5, 1943

Dear Mr. Kellogg:

By the time your telegram  
had reached me, because I was not in  
Washington, the President had already  
commuted the sentence of Max Stephen.

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Paul Kellogg  
112 E 19th st.  
NYC

The White House  
Washington

JUN 30 17 03 PM 1943

WB34 224/223 DL

XQ NEWYORK NY JUNE 30 1943 434P

MRS FRANKLIN D ROOSEVELT

THE WHITE HOUSE

FORGIVE ME BUT HERES HOPING FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT WILL NOT KNUCKLE IN  
TO WITCH-BAITERS IN THE CASE OF MAX STEPHEN SENTENCED TO EXECUTION  
AS TRAITOR THURSDAY BY FEDERAL COURT IN MY NATIVE STATE. FOR A  
GENERATION THE PEOPLE OF MICHIGAN HAVE RELEGATED CAPITAL PUNISHMENT  
TO THE SCRAP HEAP AS A RELIC OF BARBARISM WHERE IT BELONGS. AS A  
MICHIGANER I RESENT THE INTRUSION OF ANY HOARY EYE FOR AN EYE DOGMA  
EVEN IN WARTIME. MOREOVER AS NEAR AS I CAN MAKE OUT, WHAT STEPHEN

DID IN HELPING AN ESCAPED GERMAN FLIER ON HIS WAY WAS WHAT EDITH  
CAVELL DID IN THE LAST WAR. WHAT I WOULD HAVE DONE FOR AN AMERICAN  
AIR MAN HAD OUR POSITIONS BEEN REVERSED. AMERICANS ARE HOPELESSLY  
OUTCLASSED IN TRYING TO MATCH NAZI TERROR WHETHER ONE LIFE IS AT  
STAKE OR A MILLION WHY SHOULD WE TRY? ALL THE MORE WHEN THE SHADOW  
OF PREVENTABLE RACE RIOTS HANGS OVER AMERICAN JUSTICE IN DETROIT.  
FOR THE PRESIDENT, WITH ALL HE STANDS FOR TO ME, TO BE PARTY TO  
SUCH BLIND COURSE OF VENGEANCE IS UNBEARABLE. LINCOLNS COURSE WITH  
RESPECT TO THAT MUGWAMP GOVERNOR IN THE CIVIL WAR AFFORDS A PRECEDENT  
RIGHT HERE IS A LUMINOUS CHANCE TO HANDLE STEPHENS LIFE IN WAY THAT  
WILL BE A BLAZING CONTRAST TO NAZI PRACTICES AND GIVE THE FIRST  
ENACTING CLAUSE TO THE ATLANTIC CHARTER

PAUL KELLOGG

SURVEY ASSOCIATES Inc. 112 East 19 Street · New York City  
SURVEY GRAPHIC · SURVEY MIDMONTHLY · Telephone ALGONQUIN 47490

July 2, 1943

July 3 1943

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

As a sort of postscript to  
my wire to you of yesterday, let me  
share this copy of a telegram which  
I am just now getting off to the  
President.

Sincerely,

*Abbreviating*  
*Paul Kellogg*

Paul Kellogg

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt

pk js:e

*In my telegram  
I'm going back to  
Lincoln's president  
I used the wrong word  
-it was a "copperhead"  
not a "nigger nump"  
governor of Indiana he  
handled so deftly.*

Charge to the account of \_\_\_\_\_

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NEWCOMB CARLTON  
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER  
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

July 2, 1945

**WANT A REPLY?**  
"Answer by WESTERN UNION"  
or similar phrases may be  
included without charge.

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

My genuine appreciation your insight, courage and statesmanship in handling  
Max Stephan case.

PAUL KELLOGG

New York, N.Y.  
September 29, 1943

100

Dear Mr. Kellogg:

Miss Rose Franken told me that you had reprints made of her article about me and sent me a copy of your booklet.

It was more than kind of you to be so interested and I appreciate it very much. I have just written your wife that I hope you and she will come to Hyde Park this coming Saturday for lunch and I shall look forward to seeing you both.

With many thanks,

Very cordially yours,

A handwritten signature, possibly 'L. B. Nichols', is written in the lower left quadrant of the page. Below the signature is a large, hand-drawn checkmark.

*copy**100*

October 4, 1945

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Here is the story of F.H.L. as I set it down  
Sunday.

You and I knew his limitations no less than  
his excellencies in the Civilian Defense work. I am not  
beholden to him in any way; nor had I heard what were the  
reasons that balked his commission in the army.

But a clear-cut civilian assignment in a great  
crisis is something different. It seems sheer waste not to  
employ him, however briefly, in Italy now - when so much is  
at stake and there is no one we have to send with just such  
gifts.

x x x

Helen and I enjoyed so much our luncheon with  
you Saturday. She found it a great refreshment to match  
Australian experiences with you for her work there meant a  
great deal to her.

Sincerely,

*Pave Kellogg*

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt  
Hyde Park, N. Y.

pk js e

cc: to Washington, D.C.

October 4, 1945

MEMORANDUM

As you will recall, Thomas Nelson Page was our Ambassador to Italy in World War I. The American Embassy was housed in a substantial old residence overlooking a small park or square. This was a mile or more uphill from the center of Rome from which, on an overcast day in the early winter of 1917<sup>-18</sup>, a limp procession set out to celebrate the entrance of the United States into the war.

That, of course, had taken place the spring before, but there were plenty of reasons to try to make the most of it even at this date. These had come to a head when the Austrians broke through the much publicized Italian front that had run from the Alps to the Adriatic.

In the shakedown that followed, General Diaz was chosen to organize fresh resistance along the Piave. This he did without any of the fanfare of the old command and inspired our confidence when we called at his headquarters to report on food and blankets made available among the fugitives of the north.

He expressed his thanks to the American Red Cross, but beyond shadow of doubt the help that buttressed his own confidence was a British army under the resolute General Plummer which had been trans-shipped all speed for the Western Front.

On the other side of the picture, disorganized Italian soldiers had been rounded up (after the retreat) behind barbed wire. They had been half fed and without underclothing when winter set in on the heights.

*Combrin* There was a serious food shortage among civilians, also, and the prefects we talked with were full of forebodings of what might come of the continuation of defeat and destitution. The effort had been to move the refugees south to relieve the situation. Venetians had been evacuated to resort hotels and cottages further down the coast, and rioting over bread between them and the resident population had been staved off only in the nick of time. Rumors of rebellion brewing were frequent.

Ambassador Page was thoroughly alive to the unrest throughout Italy - and to its causes. Every day a digest reached his desk of newspapers up and down the peninsula which told the same story. This was prepared by

Gino C. Speranza, who had been a leader in the protection of Italian immigrants to the U.S.A. But about all the average Italian in Italy had to go on that a resourceful ally had lined up alongside them was a contingent of American aviators and an Emergency A&C Commission shot through from Paris on the heels of the invasion.

So the American and Italian authorities staged the belated celebration in Rome. I have never seen a less enthusiastic procession - with its broken lines of marchers, no two of them in step as they plodded up the long hill in a drizzle. Once at the American Embassy, the demonstration was in the same key. Responses in English from an upper window did not get over. The scheme to stir Italy had all the qualifications of a wet blanket.

Then a short, stocky figure thrust through the window in the uniform of an American flyer. For the first time, the crowd hushed as Italian speech came from him and brought cheers at his first climax. Then another, and another geyser of it, along with clenched fists that drove home each point. The celebrants went wild. They not only heard and believed - they rose to him as the "spittin' image" of what America had stood for to their kith and kin - what in strength and spirit it held out to them in their own struggle. And the word spread over Italy.

x x x

That is what FRONTELLO LA GUARDIA meant to the people of his Fatherland twenty-six years ago. It gives a clue to what he might mean to them - to the cause of the United States and the United Nations - if the three-times Mayor of the greatest city in the New World were there even for a short span ~~xxx~~ in the days of decision just ahead.

100  
fil

Washington

DEC 8 1 29 PM 1943

W2 (FIVE) 12

PZHR NEWYORK NY 1215P DEC 8 1943

MISS MALVINA THOMPSON, SECRETARY TO MRS ROOSEVELT

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON DC

BYE PHONES COAST IS CLEAR. PLEASE CAN WE HAVE COPY TOMORROW

MORNING

PAUL KELLOGG..

100

December 16, 1943

Mr. Paul Kellogg  
Survey Associates, Inc.  
112 East 19th Street  
New York, N.Y.

Galley proof entirely satisfactory

Malvina Thompson  
Secretary to Mrs. Roosevelt

# Survey Associates, Inc.

A non-partisan, non-profit, educational society  
organized to promote the common welfare.

PUBLISHERS OF SURVEY GRAPHIC • SURVEY MIDMONTHLY • 112 EAST 19 STREET • NEW YORK CITY

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AGNES BROWN LEACH  
THOMAS I. PARKINSON  
LINDSAY ROGERS  
WILLIAM ROSENWALD

BEARDSLEY RUMI  
EDWARD L. RYERSON  
LOWELL SHUMWAY  
HAROLD H. SWIFT  
ORDWAY TEAD

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December 13, 1943

*Went  
gives proof  
entire, Sweeney*  
Dear Miss Thompson:

Here is proof of Mrs. Roosevelt's foreword to Miss Hall's article. How she (and you) manage to swing in such a stroke of friendship amid all the other claims on your time, I shall never know.

But it was just what I was eager for - deft and luminous in pushing out new horizons on the Pacific - and putting in some good licks for woman's part in it all.

x x x

As I let you know, Mr. Bye cleared with the Curtis people; and they gave him a green light for us. When I heard about that complication, I almost wired you to call my request off, as I was even more loath to embarrass Mrs. Roosevelt than to burden her.

x x x

I took you at your word in dovetailing the manuscript into the rigid space of our first page. This called for cutting from 754 words to around 600. Simple copyreading helped; but something longer had to go and I hit on the references to particular ARC women workers as the only passage that would not break into the closely knit "plot." Especially as Helen had been very distressed in not mentioning by name many of her associates who had given their level best to the whole adventure; and as luck would have it, the foreword named three of the very ones she herself had cited in her text.

x x x

I hope Mrs. Roosevelt's own article will afford her elbow room to do the honors, and that the deletion will fit her mind. Also the few changes I ventured to make in the interest of precision, etc. (See memo.) Also the title I coined:-

"NEW STEPPING STONES IN THE PACIFIC"

This seemed to dovetail with HH's title that follows:-

"RED CROSS UNDER THE SOUTHERN CROSS"

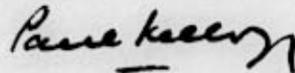
2.

Will you long distance me (Algonquin 4-7490) if you question anything.

Helen was delighted with Mrs. Roosevelt - thought and writing.

With renewed appreciation from us both - to both of you,

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Paul Kellogg". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned to the right of the typed name.

Paul Kellogg

Miss Malvina C. Thompson

pk js e



To MCT

From PK

Date 12/13/45

## SURVEY SPECIAL DELIVERY

I ventured to

- 1) Make the scope of HH's article more specific. She mentions but does not cover ARC services in camp and hospital. These she did not "open," as they antedated her coming and are handled by another division.
- 2) Change "Pacific" at this point to Eastern Hemisphere to avoid repetition - as I had done with "home," "welcome," etc., elsewhere.
- 3) Add "forward" to movement of troops.
- 4) Expand categories of ARC workers at both ends of the scale.
- 5) Delete reference to particular women (see covering letter). Perhaps I should call to your attention, also, that Admiral Halsey's "domain over air, sea and land" (as Helen puts it) is the South not the Southwest Pacific.

x x x

Mrs. Roosevelt's words must be short no less than pat, for as you'll see, I was able to restore in proof two passages in her conclusion.

# New Stepping Stones in the Pacific

A Foreword by ELEANOR ROOSEVELT

The quintessence of Mrs. Roosevelt's own discoveries in her days in the South Seas last summer on invitation of the American Red Cross.

IN THE YEARS THAT ARE AHEAD OF US, IT SEEMS TO ME THAT, for the people of the United States, the Pacific basin may be of even greater interest than the Mediterranean. The contacts established with New Zealand and Australia and the various islands, during this war, may be the stepping stones into fields of future cooperation which are as yet untouched.

(1) ~~It is~~ that follows by Helen Hall, of the opening ~~of~~ American Red Cross service clubs and ~~leaves~~ *Red - Thomas* is of great interest to anyone of us who understands the needs of the boys in our armed services, many of whom are far away for the first time in their lives. To find a Red Cross club with American men and women in charge is a little like finding a bit of home.

THE AUSTRALIANS AND NEW ZEALANDERS HAVE DONE WONDERS toward this future cooperation and many an American boy will remember the households where he has been made so warmly welcome. Many a boy will have a better understanding of the natives on the islands, because he or a wounded buddy may have been carried gently down from the line of battle to the nearest base hospital by the Fuzzy-Wuzzies of New Guinea, or he may have been fed and hidden from the Japanese on some island after drifting around in the ocean for days.

The memory of kindness will lead to a better understanding of what should be done for native populations. They may have been exploited in the past; the way for development is now open.

Since the Cairo conference we know that Japan is not to be a dominating factor in the Pacific. If this is so, the Chinese and other such nations as have interests in that area, must see to it that better health conditions and opportunities for self-development come to its many peoples. We, of the United States, who have seen what our course in the Philippines has brought us in the way of loyal brothers-in-arms among the Filipinos, should be able to

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(2) help in such a policy of development for the island populations of the Eastern Hemisphere.

The American Red Cross, on these islands and in New Zealand and Australia, has had a unique opportunity to pioneer. It has done wonderful things for our own men and the fact that its clubs have been open, not only to them, but to the servicemen of the United Nations, means that they have played a part in drawing people together who in the future must work with each other as they have worked together in war.

*in peace*

(3) As we move our armed forces forward, the ARC moves with them, and our responsibilities will grow greater among the native populations. The Red Cross definition of responsibility has never been a narrow one and I have an idea that this war is going to broaden our concept of what Red Cross services should mean in peacetime to some of the less well developed areas of the world. I think the influence of women will have a great deal to do with our new concept.

5 WHEN I WAS IN THE SOUTHWEST PACIFIC, I WAS STRUCK BY the quality of the women serving sometimes as directors of clubs, sometimes as supervisors and administrators. All of them have learned to meet unusual situations and cope with them, even though they may have had moments when they wondered just what was going to be the outcome of their predicaments. Each new success brings them greater confidence; and be it said that it also brings to the army and navy officers a sense that they can trust these women to take on a real share of the burdens of war.

*Substitute for a line - making her a subject*

↓

5 When I was in the Southwest Pacific, I was struck by the quality of the women serving in the field, sometimes as area supervisors or directors of clubs; and sometimes when a man is director, as able assistants. We certainly have been able to bring to the Red Cross services overseas some of our most able and attractive women. All of them have learned to meet unusual situations and cope with them, even though they may have had moments when they wondered just what was going to be the outcome of their predicaments. Each new success brings ~~them~~ greater confidence; and be it said not only does it bring them greater confidence, but it also brings to the army and navy officers a sense that they can trust these women to take on a real share of the burdens of war.

February 12, 1944

100

Dear Mr. Kellogg:

I am so sorry that I cannot be present at the dinner on February 23, but I must be in Washington on that date.

Thank you very much for asking me.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Paul Kellogg  
Survey Associates, Inc.  
112 E 19 NYC

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