

PSF Executive Office — Lubin, Dr. Isador
of President

PSF
'E' Subject Files

Box [REDACTED]
1157 [REDACTED]

PSF: Lubin Folder
3-41

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 12, 1941

~~SECRET~~
MEMORANDUM

TO: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: MR. LUBIN

In order to get some idea as to the reaction of the miners in the captive mines to a possible unfavorable decision on the part of the Mediation Board, an arrangement was made for a small Gallup poll in the captive mine areas around Pittsburgh. The poll was made last Saturday and Sunday. The findings are absolutely confidential. They are attached.

The picture looks something like this:

1. Only 37 per cent of the men interviewed were in favor of calling the strike last month. In the U. S. Steel mines, around Pittsburgh, only 27 per cent of the men were in favor of the strike.
2. Ninety-two per cent of the men want a union shop in the captive mines.
3. Forty-seven per cent of the men want a union shop strongly enough to go on strike for it. The greatest majority who feel this way are employed by Bethlehem and Republic. Only 32 per cent of the men in the U. S. Steel mines want the union shop badly enough to go on strike.
4. Seventy-seven per cent of the men would prefer to follow you rather than John Lewis, if you asked them not to go on strike. However, the confidential reports of the interviewers, as shown by their comments in the attached memorandum, give the impression that despite their preference, a very large number of the men would go out on strike if John asked them to. Evidently the social pressure in the mining areas is such that the average miner does not dare to oppose the actions of his fellow workers. It is definitely evident that the men would not go on strike on their own initiative. They will only strike

if Lewis issues a call. As stated in the report of Interviewer D, on page 9 of the enclosed report, the men feel they would have to strike if others struck. "One fella canna do nothing in the mining camps."

PROCEDURE

This survey was made on the afternoon of Saturday, November 8th and on Sunday, the 9th. Four men who do a good deal of interviewing for the Gallup Poll were especially sent down for this job. They interviewed a total of 199 union men in the captive mines. These were distributed as follows:

U. S. Steel (interviewing in Star Junction, Leith and Filbert)	97 Interviews
Republic (interviewing in Fredericktown and Clarksville)	58 Interviews
Bethlehem (interviewing in Marianna)	44 Interviews

The men introduced themselves as working for the Gallup Poll and in the great majority of cases fairly soon got good rapport with the miners, especially on Sunday. The following three questions were mimeographed and the interviewers checked the responses in the regular fashion:

1. Were you in favor of calling the strike last month? (October 25th.)
2. Are you in favor of a union shop in the captive coal mines?
3. If the National Defense Mediation Board in Washington decides against a union shop for the captive coal mines, would you want a union shop strongly enough to go on strike for it?

A fourth question was not on the mimeographed sheet because of its controversial nature, and the answers to this question were obtained in conversation and the men checked the answer after they had left the respondent.

4. If John L. Lewis calls a strike in the captive coal mines to get a union shop, and President Roosevelt asks the miners to go on working anyway, which man do you think you would prefer to follow, Roosevelt or Lewis?

"Were you in favor of calling the strike last month? (October 25th)

(Answers in per cent)

	TOTAL	Bethlehem	Republic	U. S. Steel*
Yes	✓ 37	45	47	✓ 27
No.	58	50	50	✓ 66
Undecided	5	5	3	7

(Answers by cases)

Yes	73	20	27	26
No	115	22	20	64
Undecided	11	2	2	7
Total cases	199	44	58	97

*Note variation of U. S. Steel miners

"Are you in favor of a union shop in the captive coal mines?"

(Answers in per cent)

	Total	Bethlehem	Republic	U. S. Steel
Yes	92	98	95	87
No	6	2	2	9
No opinion	2	0	3	4

(Answers by cases)

Yes	182	43	55	84
No	11	1	1	9
No opinion	6	0	2	4
Total cases	199	44	58	97

"If the National Defense Mediation Board in Washington decides against a union shop for the captive coal mines, would you want a union shop strongly enough to go on strike for it?"

(Answers in percent)

	TOTAL	Bethlehem	Republic	U. S. Steel*
Yes	✓ 47	✓ 61	✓ 60	✓ 32
No	✓ 45	36	33	57
No opinion or No answer	8	3	7	11

(Answers by cases)

Yes	✓ 93	27	35	31
No	✓ 90	16	19	55
No opinion or No answer	16	1	4	11
Total cases	199	44	58	97

*Note variation of U. S. Steel

"If John L. Lewis calls a strike in the captive coal mines to get a union shop, and President Roosevelt asks the miners to go on working anyway, which man do you think you would prefer to follow - Roosevelt or Lewis?"

(Answers in per cent)

	TOTAL	Bethlehem	Republic	U. S. Steel*
Roosevelt	✓ 77	✓ 66	✓ 71	✓ 87
Lewis	✓ 16	27	21	7
Undecided or No answer	7	7	8	6

(Answers by cases)

Roosevelt	154	29	41	84
Lewis	31	12	12	7
Undecided or No answer	14	3	5	6
Total cases	199	44	58	97

SUMMARY INTERPRETATION

A clear majority of the men favor the union shop. It seems the only thing they know which will help them get what they feel they deserve. A majority were against the strike called last month, but they are about evenly divided on the question of striking if the NDMB decides against the union.

There is little doubt that the men would follow John Lewis if he called a strike. But there is also little doubt that the men would prefer to follow the President. An overwhelming majority state this preference, and the comments clearly indicate that the men are anxious not to do anything to hinder production during an emergency..

TYPICAL COMMENTS ON QUESTION 4Those Who Would Prefer to Follow Roosevelt:

"F. D. R. - he's a little bit higher."

"Roosevelt - All we do is lose money - that's what counts with us. I've been in debt to the company store since April."

"F. D. R. - the President is who is running the country."

✓ ✓ "I think if our National Defense is endangered, then we ought to forget about our union troubles. A closed shop won't mean a damn thing if we haven't a country to use it in. The union has done a great deal for us here at Bethlehem. I hope we get a closed shop."

✓ ✓ "Well, now, I would follow President Roosevelt's rule, 'cause he's head of the country. We can get along in this world without a union but we can't get along with a Hitler."

✓ ✓ "F. D. R. But if Lewis calls strike everybody will go including myself."

"We want the union but we no want to strike."

"F. D. R. Lewis should have had this thing settled long ago."

"Roosevelt. We put him in there so we ought to listen to him"

"Roosevelt - provided he had understanding with Lewis that he'd try to make a settlement."

"Not against the government. Hell No - you goin' against the U. S. law. Roosevelt is the boss - can't be against him."

"I have to obey Roosevelt no matter what Lewis says - matter of national emergency."

"Don't want to go against my government. Roosevelt absolutely."

Those Who Would Prefer to Follow Lewis:

(From a Union Leader) "These people around here don't want to strike. If we have to shut down on the 15th it will be one hell of a winter."

"Lewis - I must follow Lewis; he's head man for our organization."
(Had a picture of F. D. R. on the wall)

TYPICAL COMMENTS ON QUESTION 4 (Cont.)

"Lewis - everytime something important happens to the miners Roosevelt is fishing or something."

"By God, I'd go on strike for it - we loaded coal for 30 cents a ton once! (in 1931-32) Didn't get paid for settin' track or layin' timber."

"Lewis. We'd have to follow our leader!"

"Without a union, the company would make us do extra work - like carrying rails, without extra pay! Get a union, and you make something when you work for it!"

"Lewis. Should have held out since April until they got what they wanted."

"John L. Lewis is our president, we have to follow his instructions, that's the oath we take when we join union - for better or worse."

"Lewis - I have to go strike; everybody go strike."

Undecided:

"I don't know yet - wait and see how the other men feel about it."

✓ ✓ "Undecided. You'd have to strike if everybody strike. If everybody work, you have to work. One fella canna do nothing in the mining camps."

INTERVIEWERS' PERSONAL SUMMARIESInterviewer A.

The composite attitude of the men interviewed was, in general:

1. They want a union because without it they would be lost; company vassals with no hope for future improvement.
2. In the foreign speaking element, especially, an ignorance of the difference between a union and a closed shop.
3. A reluctance on the whole (American and foreign) to admit to themselves that Lewis is clay-footed - although the impression I got was that they realized it.
4. When asked if they would prefer to follow Roosevelt or Lewis, the indication was they would prefer to follow Roosevelt, but to protect themselves and avoid the possible wrath of fellow workers, they would follow Lewis.
5. A realization that they are better off now than before the union, but are still not satisfied.
6. The last three strikes have gained so little that they have, in fact, been setbacks. In Leith, Pa. (Fred'k. U.S.S.) there were statements made to the effect that not only at the company store but in other ways they were in debt to the company. To them, a strike now means "just less money in the cash box".

Interviewer B.

In my opinion the miners of the captive mining district are not following the union blindly. A great many of them told me of conditions existing before the union got in, such as working for scrip money, working 12 hours and being paid for 8 hours. They want a legal contract to work under. One worker told me that it wasn't just wages they were working for but a feeling of security. "I've got a wife and five kids and the company could throw me out right now for no good reason at all." "All we want is a decent contract to work under."

In other words, their feeling is that it's a union shop now or never. A great many of the foreigners seemed greatly mixed, they didn't exactly understand what it was all about and in this case were following the union quite blindly.

None of the miners want to strike naturally and I'm sure all would follow Roosevelt in case of a showdown. They do not want to interfere with the National Defense Program.

Interviewer C.

The typical miner is first of all a union man (Yes on No. 2) but the controversy around the captive mine situation, especially the October 25th strike, has him confused. Relatively few, I think, said unhesitatingly and with complete conviction, that they were in favor of calling that strike.

With his loyalty to the union he is still inclined to submit to authority, that is office of the President; partly because of fear, partly because he has some confidence in Roosevelt. He has a measure of awareness of the importance of continuation of work in the defense crisis. But in spite of that, sometimes, he'd be in a dilemma about what to do.

He is not a blind follower of Lewis.

In a showdown, he would undoubtedly follow Roosevelt. But it would be hard to tell if he'd follow Roosevelt, the man, or Roosevelt, the President.

Interviewer D.

A typical answer to question 4:

"You'd have to strike if everybody strike. If everybody work, you have to work. One fella canna do nothing in the mining camps."

I'd say the majority of people I talked to felt this way - especially the foreign element which amounted to one-half of the people I interviewed.

Most would prefer to follow F. D. R., but many of them would follow Lewis if he calls a strike if the local union leaders tell them to strike. Mass movement will determine the individuals action. The individual miner doesn't feel strongly enough about the union shop to go on strike for it, unless Lewis calls such a strike.

*file
personal*

BF Exec. Ofc.

Lubin Folger
Production

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 2, 1942

MEMORANDUM

TO: MR. HOPKINS
FROM: MR. LUBIN
SUBJECT: EFFICIENT PLANT UTILIZATION

Attached herewith is another example of what can be done with good management.

The Star Cutter Company makes high-speed cutting tools. It is relatively small and employs about 140 people.

In December 1941 this company turned out five times the average output of the five years preceding. Its work demands high precision and, as you will note from the letter, it tripled its output between January 1941 and January 1942. It accomplished this by increasing the actual man hours worked from 10,248 in January 1941 to 28,316 in January 1942. In other words, it actually increased its output per man hour from 3.8 to 4.02.

It might also be noted that this firm now has 75 apprentices, a number equal to more than 50% of its total labor force. Moreover, it employs almost the same number of people on each of its three shifts and they all work 8 hours per shift. If other firms worked on this basis, it would be easy to increase output tremendously without adding a single machine tool or new building to many of our industries.

STAR CUTTER COMPANY

HOGARTH 0330

February 21, 1942



10040 FREELAND AVENUE
DETROIT, MICHIGAN

Commissioner of Labor Statistics
Department of Labor
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

We are mighty glad to see someone digging into what we consider "damn poor practice".

In January, 1941, and for the previous five-year average we produced \$20,000 per month of cutting tools and hobs. In December, 1941, we increased that figure to \$100,000. Just this week OPM has asked us to increase an additional 50%, or in other words they expect us to produce 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ times our previous average.

WHAT IS THE AVERAGE INCREASED PRODUCTION OF OTHER SHOPS TODAY OVER THE AVERAGE PRODUCTION PREVIOUS TO 1941?

The great majority of plants are not running (which your requested report will show) 24 hours per day, six days per week. They are running two long shifts which positively is most inefficient.

From our observation, particularly in precision work, a man really works for 8 hours, he drags his heels the ninth and tenth hours and on the 11th and 12th hours, he drags elsewhere.

The following figures might benefit you:

	Man Hours	Man Hour Rate	Total Shipments	Shipments Per Man Hour
January, 1941	10,248	1.02	\$38,969.32	3.80
*July, 1941	17,280	.86	\$45,774.70	2.65
January, 1942	28,316	.94	\$113,900.17	4.02

*NOTE--Low rate and low shipments per man hour due to new, inexperienced men at a beginner's low rate.

What we would like to have you do is to get

Continued.....

from the cutting tools shops their figures showing the amount of production per man hour to prove that this long, two-shift day is most inefficient. Many of these "two, long-shift shops" are working the day shift six days, 11 hours per day and the night shift five nights, 12 hours per night, making a total of 126 hours. This is equal to only 5½ days. In our opinion they are only getting a little over four days of actual production because of the inefficiency of long hours worked.

Why should our government or ourselves waste our time and our money increasing our buildings and our equipment when the great majority are not working a maximum number of hours in an efficient manner?

Yours very truly

STAR CUTTER COMPANY

Howard B. Lawton

Howard B. Lawton
manager

FBL:jb /
Incl.

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personal*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

*Lubin Folder
1-42*

PSF

March 6, 1942

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

I think you will be interested in
reading this short memorandum from Lubin.

H.L.H.
H.L.H.

Enclosure.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 4, 1942

*aircraft
acceptances*

MEMORANDUM

TO: MR. HOPKINS

FROM: MR. LUBIN *KL*

SUBJECT: MILITARY AIRPLANE ACCEPTANCES FOR FEBRUARY

Acceptances of military airplanes for February aggregated 3,033. This is an increase of 57 over January. It should be borne in mind, however, that February was a short month and had three fewer days than January.

Of the total accepted, 1,397 were bombers and pursuits. In addition, 55 two-engine transports and 50 one-engine transports were accepted. There were also 95 observation planes accepted by the Navy.

The total number of trainers accepted was 1,157, or slightly less than 1/3 of the total. It is significant to note that tactical planes (bombers, pursuits, transports and observations) composed so great a percentage of the total.

It should be further noted that 72 transports were produced by leading manufacturers for commercial customers. Of this number, 7 were 2-engine Douglas transports and 65 were 1-engine Vultee transports.

4-Engine Bombers

The total output of 4-engine bombers was 134, a figure far in excess of anything thus far on record. Acceptances from Boeing were 75 and acceptances from Consolidated were 59.

The relatively large number of planes accepted from Consolidated does not necessarily mean that this firm is producing on schedule. It should be remembered that there were only 12 acceptances from Consolidated in January. A large number of planes were backed up because of changes, poor workmanship, and difficulties with government furnished equipment. In other words, an important percentage of Consolidated planes accepted in February really should be credited to January production. The total scheduled for Consolidated for January and February was 78 planes. The actual acceptances for these two months were 71.

Acceptances from Boeing were just about equal to schedule.

3/4/42

2-Engine Bombers

Total acceptances were 481 as compared with 397 in January.

In January, Boeing and Douglas turned out 186 two-engine bombers (A-20's). In February acceptances were down to 152. Acceptances of PBV's from Consolidated were 63, which is an increase of 11 over January.

Acceptances of B-26's from Martin were 17 as compared with one in January and 49 of the old model in December.

1-Engine Bombers

Total acceptances numbered 14 as compared with 9 in January. The schedule called for 28 of this type plane.

2-Engine Pursuits

The only acceptances of 2-engine pursuits were, as in January, from Lockheed. Acceptances numbered 127 as compared with 136 in January.

1-Engine Pursuits

There was a decline in 1-engine pursuits accepted in February. The number was 641 as compared with 726 in January.

Curtis acceptances of P-40's were 295 as compared to 317 in January. The schedule called for 305.

Acceptances from Grumman increased from 64 in January to 80 in February. North American showed no change, but was still 10 above schedule.

Republic showed an increase from thirty-eight P-43's in January to forty-six in February.

Observation & Transport

There was an increase in the number of observation and transport planes accepted. The total was 479 as compared with 292 in January and 229 in December. Of the total in February 329 were 1-engine planes.

3/4/42

Trainers

Acceptances of trainers were 1,157 as compared with 1,330 in January. Both months showed acceptances in excess of schedule.

Summary

4-Engine Bombers: Total acceptances of 4-engine bombers for January and February were 220. The schedule for the two months called for 229. We are apparently doing very well with this type of airplane.

2-Engine Bombers: Total acceptances for January and February were 878. The schedule called for 868. We were 10 ahead for the two months.

1-Engine Bombers: Total acceptances for January and February were 23. The schedule for the two months called for 64. This apparently is one of our weak spots.

2-Engine Pursuits: Total acceptances for January and February were 263 as compared with 307 called for by schedule.

It should be noted that a large number of P-38's, although accepted, were not ready for fly-away due to a shortage of government furnished equipment. Moreover, very few of the P-38's are actually available to combat service due to certain difficulties that have been experienced with this type of ship.

1-Engine Pursuits: Combined acceptances for January and February were 1,367 as compared with scheduled requirements of 1,527.

It is significant to note that the schedule for 1-engine pursuits fell from 837 for January to 690 in February. The schedules show further declines to 673 in March and 645 in April. Existing schedules show that we will not get back to the January level until some time in July.

U. S. AIRPLANE ACCEPTANCES

TYPE	Accepted		Scheduled	Accepted	Scheduled
	Jan.	Feb.	Feb.	Total Jan. & Feb.	Total Jan. & Feb.
BOMBERS:					
4-Engine	86	134	106	220	229
2-Engine	397	481	440	878	868
1-Engine	9	14	28	23	64
PURSUIITS:					
2-Engine	136	127	115	263	307
1-Engine	<u>726</u>	<u>641</u>	<u>690</u>	<u>1,367</u>	<u>1,527</u>
TOTAL COMBAT	<u>1,354</u>	<u>1,397</u>	<u>1,379</u>	<u>2,751</u>	<u>2,995</u>
TRANSPORT:					
2-Engine	39	55	42	94	71
1-Engine	59	50	75	109	133
OBSERVATION AND LIAISON	<u>194</u>	<u>374</u>	<u>257</u>	<u>568</u>	<u>406</u>
TOTAL SERVICE COMBAT	<u>292</u>	<u>479</u>	<u>374</u>	<u>771</u>	<u>610</u>
TOTAL TACTICAL PLANES	<u>1,646</u>	<u>1,876</u>	<u>1,753</u>	<u>3,522</u>	<u>3,605</u>

Journal PSF Exec. Ofc.

Lubin ^YFolder

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 20, 1942

Dear Harry:

Here's a pretty good one
on Senator Taft.

Lubin
I.L.

"He who knows not and knows not that
he knows not, is a fool - shun him."

Persian proverb

Robert A. Taft, the son of a president and himself a presidential aspirant, is among the best examples of the distinction between erudition and understanding, between knowledge and wisdom. This gentleman was graduated both from Yale and from the Harvard Law School as top man in his class, but, oh, how little he understands!

In a Lincoln Day speech last month Taft said, "In spite of the fact that the European war has been going on for nearly two years and a half, and we have appropriated and spent billions of dollars, we are at the present moment apparently unprepared to meet any of the immediate military and naval problems which face us at the very threshold of war."

But the gentleman did not state the degree to which he was personally responsible for our unpreparedness. For Taft voted against the Selective Service Act, against the Lease-Lend Bill, against the use of armed forces outside of the western hemisphere, against the transfer of Axis ships to Britain, against the ship seizure bill, against the extension of selective training, against the six-billion-dollar lend-lease appropriation, and against repeal or revision of the Neutrality Act!

There are many other indications of the caliber of his thinking as, for example, when on March 9th, 1941, he said, "War is even worse than a German victory." On May 4th, 1941, he said, "A million invading troops could scarcely find a foothold on America and there is no base nearby from which they could be launched to attack us. Greenland and Bermuda are useless as bases for such an attack because of their lack of facilities and we are protected from South America by the Caribbean Sea and the roadless mountains of Central America." On June 25th, 1941 he said, "First, it was said that we must go to war now for fear that Hitler will later overwhelm the world and conquer the United States. The force of this argument has steadily declined until today hardly a military or naval expert claims that Hitler can successfully attack the United States across the Atlantic Ocean."

These are the words of a man whose vision and comprehension are limited by the length of his nose. But they are also words of a United States Senator who pretends to be a leader and who hopes to be president. This man should be returned to his study and his books where, in the ivory tower of scholasticism, the knowledge of how human beings act and react is relatively unimportant. For this man has no understanding. This man has no wisdom.

March 18th, 1942

A. J. G.

PSE Exec. Off.

EMBAASY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Sandra L. Fisher
2-42
John
Personnel

OFFICE OF W. A. HARRIMAN
1, Grosvenor Square,
London, W.1.

December 7th, 1942.

Dear Grace,

After a most eventful trip, which I shall tell you about when I get back, I finally landed here on Saturday. I have been thoroughly acclimated, as far as the days go. The nights, however, are still to be conquered. One cannot describe the eeriness of pitch black nights, never knowing when you are at the end of a street and whether you are going to bump into someone. I take it that I shall soon master this difficulty because everybody else around here seems to have done it quite successfully. It was also quite an experience going to the Police this morning and getting registered. After I had gotten through with the police and the Ration Board, I find myself loaded down with so many documents that I shall need a little brief case just to carry my identification papers around with me. This, too, I suppose I shall soon get accustomed to.

In my conversation with the President just before I left we had a talk about North Africa. I told him that Paul Appleby asked me to look in on North Africa and sent me an official State Department letter to that effect. The President suggested that if I did get over, it would be well also for me to go down the west coast and look at a few things there. With the help of Mr. Wisant I doubt whether there will be any difficulty in getting the necessary transportation and making the proper contacts. However, a written word over the President's signature may prove very helpful if I run into any emergency.

I wonder whether I can get you to ask the President to send me a little note along the following lines:

"I think that Paul Appleby's suggestion that you stop off in North Africa on your way back from London is a good one. It should be very helpful if you would find it possible to visit with our people there and

bring back any suggestions that might help in guiding Appleby's work.

I know that you will make your arrangements in such a way as not to put any additional burdens on our already over-worked military and civilian staffs."

It looks as if I shall be here for about three weeks. There are about two dozen things that I must do. If I let myself in for the numerous requests that have already been made for my services, I will be here a year. Everyone here, British and American alike, is anxious to know what is going on in the United States. The newspapers give them very little news of what is happening at home and many of our people feel entirely out of touch with what we are doing. They all want to know about man-power, production, C.I.O. and A.F.L. politics, and most of all what the whole Darlan episode is about. The British are seething over the Darlan episode. I read four newspapers yesterday, and everyone of them had an editorial on Darlan and North Africa. They are all hoping and praying that the President will insist upon standing behind his statement which appeared in the press here that the arrangement with Darlan is entirely temporary.

I have deliberately refrained from answering any questions on these matters of higher State policy. After all, in matters of international politics I feel that it is my job to learn what is going on, and how people think; and my own answer is that the world can rely upon F.D.R. and that the experiences of the past should be sufficient guarantee that he sticks by his word. The thing that interested me most is the contention made in the press here that the President's statement was censored in North Africa and had never been made public either in the North African press or on the radio.

You can always get me here care of the Embassy.

Sincerely yours,

Isador Lubin
Isador Lubin

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

Dr. Jendor Lubin
OFFICE OF W. A. HARRIMAN
EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
LONDON.

SECRET

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

PSF Exec. Ofc.

*Mr. Lubin folder
file
personal 2-42*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

VIA STATE DEPARTMENT

December 18, 1942.

HON. ISADOR LUBIN
AMERICAN EMBASSY
LONDON

Because of certain developments
the Boss thinks better you not go
North Africa or Morocco but it is
all right see things in Freetown
and Liberia on way home.

TULLY

Lubin folder
2-43

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 2, 1943.

PSF

Dear Lube:

The President asked me to thank you ever so much for that very interesting manuscript which you sent to him. If it is all right with you, he would like to keep it in his confidential files.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 23, 1943

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: MR. LUBIN *h*

I picked up the attached manuscript when I was over in London. It is the story of a mission performed by one of our Fortresses. It probably will be published in one of our periodicals, if the Army approves its release.

It is a wonderful story which I know will impress you.

Lt. G. A. Gordon
VIII Air Force

TEN MEN

By Lt. G.A.Gordon,
U.S. Army VIII Air Force Public Relations

They are coming over the channel at altitude. Again. Up there the air is thin and cold as the edge of a knife, and from that height the earth looks blue and unimportant. But the air will bear the weight of a Fortress, and down below is the target, which is very important indeed.

If you were a German infantryman crouching behind the barbed wire that guards the Brittany coast, you could look up and see the tiny formation etched against the pale wintry sky. And you might say, grimly, "Look, the Americans are after the U-boat pens at St. Nazaire again."

Americans. Ten of them in each plane. Ten American heroes, faceless behind their oxygen masks. When they come back--if they come back--their gallantry will be duly recorded. You will know what this tail gunner accomplished, what heroic deed that pilot performed.

But heroes are only people. Human beings. The boys you used to know, barefoot in summer on the farm, grease-stained under some car in the corner garage. Joe and Shorty and Bill. Your boys, really. Anybody's boys.

Do you know what they're thinking up there as they go out to face the toughest aerial opposition in the world? Do you

DECLASSIFIED

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

GSD letter, May 3, 1972

by _____ NARS Date _____

DECLASSIFIED

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

-2-

OSD letter, May 3, 1972

By J, NARS Date _____

know how it feels to be about to become a hero? Naturally not. It can't be described exactly, any more than scarlet can be explained to a blind man. You have to be up there to know.

Suppose you were up there--which gun would you like to man, which seat would you prefer to fill? The pilot's? Of course. He is the leader, the man in command. He makes the final decisions. He is the oldest, the wisest, the steadiest. Or should be. All right, you are the pilot.

Your name is Robert C. Williams, Captain, U.S. Army Air Corps, VIII Air Force. That's your real name; ask anyone in Flint, Michigan. Chances are they'll remember how you used to sing in church choirs there, used to go to the University of Michigan Law School until--this. Not a big guy. Five feet eight, maybe. But solid. With steady hands and intelligent, rather tired blue eyes. One is a little bloodshot right now. Reddish mustache. Not one of those mangey trans-Atlantic ones. A real one.

So there you are, a guy who likes group singing more than anything else, piloting a bomber. Just a damned aerial taxi driver, with the lives of ten men and four radial engines resting on your shoulders.

This is your first combat mission. Normally you're squadron operations officer. Normally you don't go on sorties. But today your roommate was sick, so you borrowed his plane and crew. It's a little like borrowing a valuable set of books. You want

to return them intact. The sooner the better.

So far everything is right. Too right. The briefing was clear, comprehensive. The take-off was perfect--the eternal miracle of lifting tons of metal off the sullen earth into the empty sky. Good weather so far. Guns tested and O.K. Engines O.K. Over France now, and no sign of enemy pursuits. No flak. Where are Goering's yellow-nosed Abbeville kids? Where is the flak? Things are too quiet. Too easy.

You are on the left wing of the squadron leader. There he sits, not thirty yards away. Beautiful thing, a Flying Fortress. (God, if there were only more of them!) Sunlight picks out the mottled camouflage on its wings. Under its glistening belly the ball turret turns slowly, the gunner inside looking like an embryo chick in a glass egg. In the transparent nose the bombardier kneels before his bombsight like an acolyte before an altar. You can see the livid yellow of his inflatable life jacket, the dark green of his oxygen mask.

The interphone crackles in your ear. "Bombardier to combat crew: altitude is now twenty-two thousand feet. Two-two thousand feet. Check oxygen supply." You turn up your oxygen gauge to twenty-four thousand. Over the interphone someone begins to sing 'Deep in the Heart of Texas'. More a metallic croak than a song. Still, it will get some laughs, reduce the tension. Where are those damn pursuits? Where is the flak? Things are too quiet....

Take it easy, Captain; they won't stay quiet long.

The formation drones on, the roar of the engines muted by the altitude. The flanking ships shove their props close behind the trailing edge of the lead bomber's wing, as if from their proximity they gain strength and confidence. The rubber diaphragms of the oxygen masks expand and contract like living lungs. Outside the sun is bright, but the temperature is fifteen below zero. Frost begins to form on the transparent nose, and the bombardier opens a panel to let the icy air stream through, clearing the glass. A thousand feet below a tiny circular rainbow with the shadows of three planes in it races across the clouds. A good omen, maybe.

Almost across the peninsular, now. Down below, on enemy airdromes, there must be frantic activity. Have they solved the puzzle of the diversionary flights? Do they know the target is the concrete sub-pens at St. Nazaire? Yes, now they know.

Near the target the flak comes up, menacing puffs of brown, oily smoke mushrooming across the sky. But it isn't bad. Low and to the left. Not bad at all. Not like the time the group went over at eight thousand feet....

Evasive action, now, to fool the gunners down below. Flak can be tough. It can be terrifying, mainly because you can't see it coming up. Just big ugly puffs spreading closer and closer through the empty sky. But today it's light. It should be easy

to give the bombardier the forty-five seconds of steady flying that he needs.

On his knees, his eye glued to the soft rubber eyepiece, the bombardier is waiting. This is his moment. This is everybody's moment. To this brief span of seconds the whole mission, the whole elaborate preparation is dedicated. To hit the target, that is the main thing. Getting back safely--that is desirable but secondary.

A good man, this bombardier. Emmette Ford, by name. Tall and raw-boned, with green eyes and crinkly hair. From Siloam Springs, down in Arkansas. Big and a little sleepy and easy going. He likes his job, its importance and exact skill. Likes it, too, because he has a gun to shoot. He can fight back when he has to. The pilots have to sit there and take it.

He has made his calculations now. The bomb bay doors are open. His finger is on the little lever that releases the load of death. He talks fast, his lips barely moving, the sensitive discs strapped to his throat carrying his instructions to the pilot. Under his straining eye the cross hairs bisect a certain infinitesimal point miles below. He touches the shiny little lever. The bombs are away.

The bombs are away and they will strike home, and maybe one U-boat less will stalk the African convoys. But it's not enough. It's never enough. This is a pin-prick; when do we start breaking their backs? We are the advance guard; where is the main army?

What the bombs may do when they strike does not concern the bombardier personally. Most of the things that concern him personally are four thousand miles away. The girl from Kansas, for instance, that he hopes to marry some day. Frankie, her name is. Frankie, who does not drink but likes fun and dancing. Funny, the way he met her....

He left home at nineteen to roughneck as an oil driller. It was a happy home, with a good mother and a father who was justice of the peace (there was a lot of peace in Siloam Springs) and four brothers and four sisters. But he left it because he liked to move, liked to meet new people.

So he moved, and he met people. He was the derrick man on a drilling crew that wildcatted all over the oil country. Five men in that crew, as closely knit and interdependent as any aerial combat crew. They made money and tossed it away, mostly on clothes and cars. A new car every year. Sometimes they'd drill sixty days, sometimes four or five months. Sometimes the well would come in; sometimes not. Once a gusher in Wyoming got away from them; that was something.

A rough life and a good one. And then one night at a Bohemian dance in Lyons, Kansas, he met Frankie--small, dark-haired, more attractive than pretty. He was wearing his working clothes. He was pretty grimy, really. But she didn't seem to care. Then Pearl Harbor, and Emmette Ford enlisted the next day.

come back from today's raid. But that man is not your lieutenant.

Past the target, now, and heading for home. Losing altitude, hoping to hedge-hop across the peninsular. Down to eighteen thousand feet. Down to sixteen. Captain Williams has turned over the controls to the co-pilot. Everyone is feeling better....

Wait a minute. What's that over there on the left? Climbing fast. Low-wing monoplane. Radial engine. Hey, it's a Focke Wulf 190. Look at him waggle his wings, trying to pretend he's a Spit. Give him a couple of bursts, navigator. Show him we know who he is!

The navigator charges his gun, slides the safety catch to the right. His forefingers squeeze the twin triggers. The red tracers streak angrily away. Too far. Never mind. He'll come closer, when his friends have joined him.

A nice looking kid, this navigator. Small, compact. Brown eyes and skin, straight nose, neatly parted hair. Jacob Chester Shively, of Fayetteville, Pa. 'Jake' to the rest of the crew. Grew up on his father's farm with four brothers and two sisters. Pretty place, that farm--all the buildings painted white and trimmed with green, set in the rolling Blue Ridge country. Not far from Gettysburg, where they also fought a battle once, remember?

Maybe seven hundred people live in Fayetteville. There is a drug store or two, a couple of churches. Jake's parents were steady church-gders--United Brethren. He went to Sunday School regularly. But he was happier hunting rabbits and pheasant, fishing for bass and suckers with his brother, staying out so late

they missed supper, being paddled when they got home.

Once that same brother--flying for the Navy, now--chopped the end of Jake's finger off with a corn shucking knife. The sight of blood scared them both to death, but Jake wasn't badly hurt. He'll see more of his own blood today, but he won't be badly hurt this time, either....

The Focke Wulf on the left disappears. The formation of Fortresses roars on. There is something majestic about that formation; there is security in its united power. But let one bomber lose its place, let it be shot out of formation for even a minute...

And then suddenly, over the interphone, comes the warning they have been waiting for. "Here the b-----s come! Seven o'clock!" The nose of a bomber is twelve o'clock; the tail is six. Out of the sun dive four FWs, one after the other. They are plenty brave, those German fliers, and they can shoot. Their 20mm. cannon shells, fused to burst at 800 yards unless they strike something first, begin to explode in the thin blue air behind the bomber's towering fin. They move closer and closer. In his lonely turret, the tail gunner watches them grimly. Until they hit.

When a cannon shell hits a plane the way it sounds depends on where you are. If ~~IX~~ you're not too close, it's a kind of metallic whoof, like a small bark from a big dog--and you feel a jar that shakes the whole ship. But if it's right beside you it sounds like some giant slamming his cupped hand down on the surface of still water. A double sound, really--the first from the impact and the

second when the shell explodes. Ka-plonk! Like that. Like firing a shotgun into a bucket. And your stomach shrivels up until you know how much damage has been done.

The first shell hit the port elevator two feet from the tail gunner. The nose of the Fortress went up as the tail was slapped down. She lost speed and dropped back somewhat from formation. It took a strong man to force the stick forward, bring her back to an even keel....

The co-pilot was very strong. Warren George, Jr., of Palestine, Texas. Don't forget the junior; everyone calls him that. Thick crowbar wrists and a round good-natured face, dubiously ornamented with a very new mustache. Plenty of beef around the shoulders and a little under the chin. A strong boy--all two hundred pounds of him. His mother wanted to make a concert pianist out of him once, but--secretly delighted--he broke his hand. He can still play some Boogie-Woogie, though. Now he wrestles the wounded bomber back to horizontal flying position, and just as he does--whoof, they hit the other elevator.

They really wreck that elevator. They hit the port wing. They damage the rudder controls. The tail drops again, and the nose rides up, and co-pilot Junior braces his feet against the control post and shoves forward with all his might. He can see the post bend under the strain; the old football muscles under his thighs bulge with it. Slowly the nose comes down. But now they are behind their formation. And the FWs know it. They come

whooping in, their guns winking little spiteful tongues of flame.

Waist Gunner Neeley to Pilot: "Houston is hit, sir."

Radioman Espitallier to Pilot: "Radio room on fire!"

Top Turret Gunner Aulenbach to combat crew: "Here the
b-----s come ~~again~~! Shoot the sons of b-----s!"

Slowly now, or it will be impossible ^{to} follow all this.
Nobody can follow it, really. Too much happens, too quick, with
too explosive violence. They wondered if it could happen to them
and then they thought it wouldn't happen and now it is happening.
In five minutes or five seconds they may be dead or maimed or float
ing down over the hostile fields of France with the Fws circling
triumphantly like buzzards. But there is no time for thinking
now. There is time only for feeling--and acting.

This waist gunner Neeley, who is he? Colon Neeley, of Colum-
bia, S.C. An old hand, a regular army man with service in Panama.
Close mouthed and dependable and tough as an old hunting boot.
No nerves at all. A leonine head with tawny, rather ruthless eyes.
A hunter's eyes. There was a waist gunner once who took the armor
plate out of his position because he felt he could shoot better
without it. He said that if he couldn't hit the enemy, well, they
were welcome to hit him. Maybe that gunner was Neeley; maybe not.
It might easily have been.

Once, on a former mission, the tail gunner's twin guns jammed
and he called on Neeley for help. Neeley twisted his own gun,

calmy, picked off the FW as it closed in. A dead shot with any kind of gun. Already one of his bursts has sent an enemy pursuit reeling away, damaged if not destroyed. But now a cannon shell slices through the fuselage. It bursts, and Neeley feels the fragments sting his legs. He sees the other waist gunner go down.

Surprisingly, Neeley keeps a diary of his combat missions. Look back a few weeks and you will find this entry: "Maj. Wilson suggested that we have two waist gunners and said we could pick any man in the squadron who satisfied us. I am taking Sgt. Houston, a mechanic on our ground crew, as he seems to be a good man, and think he will make a good gunner. I am going to bed early as I'll probably need a lot of extra energy tomorrow...."

So down goes Houston with a cannon shell in his thigh. Neeley bends over him, stretches him out, applies a tourniquet-- although blood flows slowly in the freezing air. Now the sulfa pills. Now the morphine needle.

And Hubert Houston, what do you need to know about him? That he was born 27 years ago in Johnson City, Tenn.? That he went to Happy Valley High School and likes baseball and football? Or is it enough to know that lying there now with his leg split open like a watermelon he simply says: "Never mind me. You'd better throw some more baseballs at those damn FWs."

So Neeley goes back to his gun. But not for long. Down from the radio room staggers Eddie Espitalier with an empty fire extinguisher in his hand. A cloud of smoke billows into the waist

behind him. Is the fire out? No, it certainly is not out. Well, says Neeley, sighting calmly, take that other extinguisher and go back and put it out. So back goes Sgt. Espitallier.

Eddie Espitallier, of Fresno, Calif., whose father was French and whose mother was Austrian. They came to America long ago, those two, bringing with them cuttings from the fair vineyards of France. And they started their own vineyards out under the shadow of the Sierra Nevada, and this is their boy Eddie.

He is tall and slender with mild brown eyes and an even milder mustache, and he admits that he has no temper and no resentments and harbors no grudges against anybody. He likes to collect guns and go places in his car--and his main hobby was ~~MERCURY~~ always electricity. Once, as a small boy, he nearly blew up the old ranch house under the elms by unwisely connecting two carbon rods. He smothered that fire with a pillow, and his parents never knew. But this fire is another matter.

It must have started when a machine gun bullet creased an ammunition can in the radio room and scattered incendiary material from one of the tracers in the belt. Anyway, the green insulation that covers the walls is blazing, and the smoke is getting thicker, and there is nothing worse than fire in an airplane--nothing.

So now the navigator Shively and the bombardier Ford leave their guns to go and help fight the fire. Shively goes first;

he crawls between the sturdy, widespread legs of Aulenbach, the Top Turret gunner who is firing steadily. He gets to the cat-walk that leads across the empty bomb-bay. He has taken off his oxygen mask; they are down to fifteen thousand feet now, and losing altitude. In his right hand he carries a fire extinguisher. He starts to worm his way into the narrow passage between the girders, but his parachute is too bulky. He must climb around them. He can climb either to his right or his left. He chooses the right. If he had climbed to the left he would not have been touched.

The 20 mm came through about ten feet from him and exploded. He was standing with his head down, and he felt as he used to feel in his Washington & Lee days when somebody in the boxing ring clipped him a good one on the chin. He hung on there, a little dazed, and then he saw the fire extinguisher lying on the floor of the bomb bay. He tasted blood, but his mind had just one idea in it: put out the fire. So he jumped down after the fire extinguisher. It was when he tried to pick it up that he knew his right arm was broken.

Ford was right behind him--long tall green-eyed Ford, the easy-going boy from Arkansas. Ford never liked the sight of blood; it made him feel sick. But he saw some now, and he was to see a lot more. He helped Shively out of the bomb bay and did not tell him that part of one of his nostrils was clipped away by a fragment that had also furrowed his chin. He took the fire

extinguisher--its nozzle was sliced off neatly at the base--and they went into the radio room. Shively worked the extinguisher, broken arm and all. Espitallier and Ford tore out pieces of smouldering material and flung them out of the hatch. Ford had taken off one of his gloves, and his hand was scorched a bit, but he did not feel it. He kept tearing away at the green insulation and throwing it overboard.

The fragments came sailing by the tail gunner and he thought the ship must be breaking up, but he stuck to his guns. A lonely job, tail gunner. No company but the clouds and the harsh voices on the interphone. And the FW 190s. It takes a real extrovert to be a good tail gunner. A man who does not mind solitude and can talk to himself when there's no one else to talk to.

This tail gunner is Willie Williams of Jasper, Fla. Hazel eyes and mouse-colored hair and a wide, humorous mouth. A great talker. And a lucky guy. Already cannon shells have burst like gigantic paper bags on each side of him. Looking back he can see a hole in the port wing that looks as wide as a barrel. But he is still intact, and so are his guns.

A thousand yards away an FW climbs lazily, hangs in the air, shakes its wings like an old hen getting out of the sand. Then suddenly it comes boring in, close, closer. Willie Williams pours his tracers into it. He sees them enter the propellor arc, glance off the armored cockpit. And then, abruptly, the FW rolls over, slips gently down, bursts into flames. A confirmed kill for

Sgt. Williams.

Maybe he learned the knack in his boyhood, on those cold gray mornings when he used to crouch among corn stalks white with frost waiting for the doves to come in. Or maybe something his parents taught him had more to do with it; "Fear God, and nothing else in the world."

Whatever it was, this is the same boy who used to go to school every day with his step-mother who taught--and still teaches--the first grade. The boy who liked fishing and hunting and roller skating, and baseball on Thursday afternoons and the old fashioned square dances afterwards at the Women's Club. This is the boy who used to take a girl now and then to the movies at the Fay theatre down on main street--and who liked one blonde girl better than the rest. This is Willie Williams who went to C.C.C. camp because it seemed the best thing to do, who wants to go back after the war and get a college education. And maybe he will, maybe he will.

So now he has shot down a FWL90 fifteen thousand feet over France, and so he's a hero of course. But he's also still Willie Williams of Jasper, Florida, and that's why we're going to win this war--if you see what I mean and I think you do.

The fight has been going on twenty minutes, now, and to some of them it seems like two seconds and to others it seems like two years. Bown in the ball turret, crouched like a squirrel in a woodpecker's hole, Claiborne Wilson of Holly Springs, N.C. is still firing his guns. There is a cannon hole the size of a cabbage six

inches from his turret. That doesn't bother him, but now a machine gun bullet drills the No. 2 engine, cuts an oil line. Out spurts the thick yellow liquid, over the wing, over the ball turret. So now Claiborne Wilson of Holly Springs cannot see to shoot. All he can do is wave his guns threateningly. So he does that.

He's the pet of the crew, really, this little chap who looks more like a teddy bear than anything else when he stands up in his sky-blue, electrically heated suit. His father is a tobacco farmer, and evidently a good one, since he brought up not only Claiborne but eleven other children down in the flat Carolina farm lands. They all lived in a big white farmhouse and grew their own vegetables and raised their own hogs and went to the Baptist church and square dances at neighbors' houses where the music usually consisted of a guitar or two and a violin and a banjo.

It was a good life, too, but Claiborne liked mechanical things. So he became an automobile mechanic, and then came the war, and now he flies in a spot where you have to crawl out and put on your parachute before you can jump. If you have to jump.

And maybe they will have to jump, because the No. 2 engine goes wild, and the vibration is beginning to shake the ship apart, and outside on the wing strips of torn metal are flapping

and clashing like hail on a tin roof. And the Germans keep coming, and now they put a 20 mm shell into the top turret-- a direct hit, with Aulenbach inside the turret.

He was a debonair sort of chap, was Kenneth. They called him affectionately 'The Flying Dutchman', or sometimes "that coal farmer", because he came from Reading, Pa. He had had a good job at home and he was engaged to a girl back there, and he talked often~~ing~~ of what he'd do after the war. But he was happy flying, too. They tried to ground him once--a good ground job--but he'd have none of it. He was an engineer, one of the best. He bought a motorcycle and went careering around on it over the muddy English roads.

He was the leader of the non-coms, in a way, the one who got them to combat crew meetings on time and saw that they got all messages and such. They liked him fine, because he was such a good-natured guy, always ready with a grin....

He never knew what hit him.

Ford took him out of the turret--Ford, who hates violence. He did what he could, but it was no use. So he climbed into the turret and tried to man the guns, but they were useless too.

Captain Williams called Ford, then, to take his place while he went back through the ship to estimate the damage. And the ship was a wreck. Fifteen cannon holes at least. Never mind the machine gun bullet holes. One elevator damaged, the other destroyed. Trim tabs useless. One motor out. Rudder

working on three cable strands.... No use enumerating the rest of it. The Fort was still flying, wasn't she? On the stamina the boys in the workshops at home gave to her. But still....

You can see William's face, can't you? Lined with strain and, yes, with rage, too. This was his roommate's ship, remember, his roommate's crew. He might have given the abandon ship order, if it hadn't been for the wounded. Perhaps the other members of the crew could have wrapped their arms around the wounded and jumped, pulling first one rip cord and then the other. But....

The worst of it is over, now. The formation has fallen back to protect them. They shut off the No. 2 engine and get rid of the vibration. They stagger over the channel at two thousand feet and somehow, with two men fighting the controls, coax her along to a friendly airfield. The tail wheel is stuck. No matter ~~XXXX~~ Little Wilson jumps on it till it comes down. So they set her down, without flaps, at 130 mph. Leave her there, like a big tired bird, for the salvage expert. There's not too much left, even for them.

Ten men went out that day. They bombed their target. Nine came back. Of the nine, three were wounded: Houston, Shively, and Neeley. Already Neeley is ready to fly again. The others are going to be all right.

Unusual? Not particularly. It had happened before. It will happen again. War breeds heroes. Thousands of 'em.

Captain Williams will get the D.F.C. The wounded will get the Purple Heart. They deserve it.

But don't forget this. Heroes are people. They never stop being people. They get scared and excited and desperate like any other people. That's what makes their achievements remarkable.

And don't forget this either. Men are what their parents and their families and their backgrounds make them. If they are cool under fire, if they are steady in the face of danger, if they sacrifice themselves for others--it's because that selflessness has been bred into them, from the start.

Whether that selflessness has its origin in the Blue Ridge mountains or th San Joachin River valley is unimportant. They have it, these boys. And because they have it, you can count on them. You, the people who gave it to them.

..... PSF Exec. Oxc.

Dr. Lubin folder 2-43

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

*file
personal*

May 13, 1943

MEMORANDUM

TO: MR. HOPKINS
FROM: MR. LUBIN

I think that the attached report will interest you. It is a confidential letter that is prepared for me by one of our boys in England. You will be particularly interested in the materials on Churchill on page 2.

In view of Churchill's presence here at the moment, I think the President might be interested in page 2. He may also be interested in the materials on pages 3, 4, and 5, which deal with the Communist Party tactics in British trade unions.

Mr. President:-

*I think you will
be interested in reading
this over the week end
Randy*

May 4, 1943

BI-MONTHLY LABOR LETTER - NO. 13

1. THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY AND RECENT BY-ELECTIONS: The Government is breathing easier as a result of the victory of the Government (Conservative) candidate over the Commonwealth party at Daventry. The Commonwealth victory at Eddisbury early in April (See LL. 12, item 2) had created some uneasiness among the major parties which form the coalition, and it was felt that further defeats of Government-endorsed candidates would not only prove embarrassing but might even endanger the electoral truce. Consequently the Daventry by-election was followed with the closest attention.

The Government (Conservative) candidate received 9,043 votes, compared with 6,591 for the Commonwealth party, a majority of 2,452. But the Conservative victory was clouded by the fact that a third candidate who ran as an Independent received 4,093 votes. In other words, despite the customary letters of endorsement from the heads of each of the major parties, including a strong letter of support from Churchill asking voters to observe the electoral truce and support the Conservative candidate, a majority of the total vote was cast against the Conservative candidate.

It is impossible to read precise meanings into the results of individual by-elections, but the results in Daventry again bear out an observation which I have made in previous Labor Letters: namely, the persistent difficulties which Conservative candidates have encountered in virtually every by-election held during the last year. Four of the five seats which have been lost during this period by the Government have been Conservative seats, and even when the Conservatives have retained their seats, it has almost invariably been by a narrow margin.^{1/} The Labor Party, on the other hand (and, to a lesser extent, the Liberal Party in the few by-elections which it has fought) has not only lost no seats but has won each of its by-elections either without a contest, or by overwhelming majorities. This difference in election results, as I have previously explained, is due to the fact that where the Labor (or Liberal) party is the incumbent party, the rank-and-file Conservatives observe the electoral truce and abstain from voting. But where the Conservative party is the incumbent, the anti-conservative forces ignore the electoral truce and go to the polls in large numbers.

However, I am becoming more and more convinced that the large vote against Conservative candidates and the small vote against Labor (or Liberal) candidates cannot altogether be explained in this way. The Conservatives have again and again encountered great difficulty even in constituencies which are normally overwhelmingly

^{1/} The fifth seat, at Eddisbury, was lost by a Conservative masquerading as a Liberal.

Conservative. Daventry is the latest example of this -- it is an exceptionally strong Conservative constituency. (In the 1935 election the Conservative defeated the Labor candidate by nearly a 2 to 1 majority: 18934 to 10,765..)

In the light of this I am more and more inclining to the view that the persistent by-election difficulties of the Conservative party indicate a definite weakening of the party's hold on the electorate at the present time. I advance this view not only because of the large vote almost invariably cast against Conservative candidates, but because the percentage now turning out to vote, especially when a Conservative is defending the seat, is now so large that it can be taken to be fairly representative of electoral opinion.

In contrast, with the first two years of the war, when candidates, irrespective of party, were returned without opposition, and in contrast with the third year of the war, when Independent candidates began challenging Conservatives for the first time and usually only 15-25 percent of the electorate went to the polls, in the last few months the percentage voting in by-elections has risen to 40 to 50 percent. In Eddisbury 58 percent of the possible voters went to the polls, and in Daventry 50 percent. For war-time, when many voters have been called-up, or have moved out of the constituency, these are phenomenal percentages, and considering this, the percentages now voting are, in fact, not much below the last peace-time elections.

The most significant aspect of the Conservative Party's current difficulties is that the Party will need to lean heavily on Churchill in order to hold its own. Prior to the war large sections of the Conservative Party, as you know, were suspicious of Churchill -- "Brilliant but erratic" was the usual pre-war designation--, but Churchill's prestige is now so great, and the Conservative Party's current difficulties now so apparent, that it is fairly obvious that the party will have to dance to Churchill's tune not only during the war but for a substantial period afterwards.

The increasing difficulties which the Conservative party, as distinct from the other parties, is encountering in by-elections has not gone unnoticed. I am reliably informed that at the conference last month of the Young Conservatives considerable attention was paid to this aspect in the private sessions, and the sentiment of the conference was that some way must be found to impress on the country that the Conservative party stands for "progress and social change". Richard Law, a leading Conservative, made the significant observation that the party could no longer maintain its dominance by "merely opposing socialism -- a positive and progressive program must be advanced".

The difficulties of the Conservative party in recent by-elections have also had their effect on the Labor Party. The Laski-Shinwell group on the Labor Party Executive interprets this as a "shift" to the left", and takes the position that the Labor Party can capitalize on this turning away from the Conservatives providing it follows a bold policy now, and does not get entangled in any coalition after the war. The moderate and right-wing members of the Labor Party Executive, on the other hand feel that these developments merely strengthen Labor's bargaining position when the time comes to work out an agreement on the division of seats and offices in the post-war coalition government.

Three more by-elections are still to be run off at the present writing. In each of them the Conservatives will be defending, and my own view is that large votes will again be cast in opposition to the Conservative candidates.

2. THE CATERING WAGE BILL: The Catering Wage Bill passed its final reading in the House of Commons on April 20. In contrast to previous debates this one was brief and friendly. Nearly all the die-hard Tories accepted their defeat gracefully.

Apropos of what I wrote about Bevin's independence in my last Labor Letter (LL.12 Item 1) you will be interested in one of Bevin's comments during the course of the debate. Referring to the often repeated charge that the bill was controversial and that the Government had made a promise not to introduce controversial legislation during the war, he said, speaking for himself,

"I was never asked and I never gave any promise to any person that I would not introduce controversial legislation during the war. I was asked to come into the Government to take on a very awkward job. That is all I promised to do."

3. COMMUNIST PARTY INFILTRATION INTO THE TRADE UNIONS: I have, from time to time, called attention to the infiltration of Communist party members into positions of leadership among some of the major trade unions, particularly the miners and engineers.

I have discussed this question many times with various trade union officials and have been puzzled both by the tolerance of Communists shown by trade union leaders, who are personally hostile to Communism, and by their apparent lack of concern about this infiltration.

Recently there have been a number of indications that the trade union elements are beginning to get worried about this infiltration. In the South Wales Miners' Federation, in which the Communists, led by Arthur Horner, have established themselves in considerable

strength, the trade union elements have begun to organise to combat this infiltration. The reasons for this anti-Communist party move are however, not ideological, but practical. It was put to me in this way by one of the trade union leaders:

"We have no objection to Communists being elected to positions of leadership if they are competent. Arthur Horner, President of the South Wales Miners' Federation, for example, is one of the best trade union negotiators and administrators in the country and I can say the same of some of the other Communist trade union leaders in South Wales. But in the last year or so Horner and the Communists have used their position and influence to get party members, who are not especially competent, elected to senior and minor positions in the union. Some first class trade union minded men have been defeated as a result of these tactics. We think this has reached a state where this kind of practice can no longer be tolerated and we intend to fight Horner and the other Communists if they insist on putting party considerations above the welfare of the miners' union."

I can add that these tactics have not been confined to the miners' unions. Recent developments in the Amalgamated Engineering Union, where the Communists are strongly represented on the Executive Council, have followed much the same pattern. About eighteen months ago Wal Hannington, (a well-known Communist, who, prior to the war, was leader of the Unemployed Workers' Alliance) was elected as a national organiser of this union. He is a machinist by trade, but had no reputation as an experienced trade unionist. Four months ago another Communist, who was also without experience in trade union matters, was elected as a national organiser. Both of these men are straight "party-liners" of the worst type.^{1/}

The latest machinations of the Communist party in the Amalgamated Engineering Union are even more interesting. About three months ago, Fred Smith, the permanent secretary of this union, died suddenly. Smith was a strict trade-unionist, a man of great competence, and one of the leading anti-communists in this union. In trade union matters, Smith was generally able to prevent the Communists from influencing union policy. Unlike American trade unions, the secretary's office is

^{1/} About six months ago when I asked Wal Hannington point-blank whether, in January 1941, he was in favor of lend-lease to Great Britain he replied "No, and I think the American Communist Party was right in opposing it." I had asked Arthur Horner whether he was in favor of

the strategic position in British trade unions, and the Communists determined, if possible, to elect one of their members to this office.^{1/}

The natural Communist candidate for this office was Joe Scott, a member of the Executive Council for many years and regarded, even by anti-communists, as an extremely capable trade union leader. Scott, I am reliably informed, wanted the job of secretary but, although he is a good party member, he was ordered to stand down in favor of Wal Hannington, who, as I pointed out above, is a newcomer to this union. I have no information as to the reasons for this, but my informer's interpretation is that Scott has been a responsible trade union official too long to be completely trusted to carry out party orders.

The trade union elements in the Amalgamated Engineering Union have put up for the secretary's office the assistant secretary, who served under Fred Smith for many years, and is regarded as fairly able. These are the only two candidates. The secretary is elected by a referendum of all members, and it will be at least six months before the returns are in from all local branches. The campaign will be fought on the issue of "Communism versus trade unionism", and the result of the vote will provide a good indication of the sentiments of the membership of this union.

^{1/} The secretary's position corresponds in importance with the position of the president in American trade unions. The "president" in British trade unions usually serves only a year or two. Bevin, Marchbanks, Citrine, etc., are all secretaries.

BF Exec. O/C. Lubin folder 2-43

file

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 19, 1943

MEMORANDUM

TO: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: MR. LUBIN

The attached charts may be of some interest to you and the Prime Minister. They are an interesting analysis of the world armament situation and compare the production of combat armament in the various United Nations and Axis countries.

The figures are based upon data prepared by the War Production Board.

SECRET

ESTIMATED WORLD PRODUCTION OF COMBAT ARMAMENTS
1938-1943

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY

CHART I

This chart shows a sharp increase in world armament production since 1938.

The present level of combat armament production is more than twice that of 1940 and more than five times that of 1938. By the end of 1943 it will be three times higher than in 1940 and eight times higher than in 1938.

~~SECRET~~

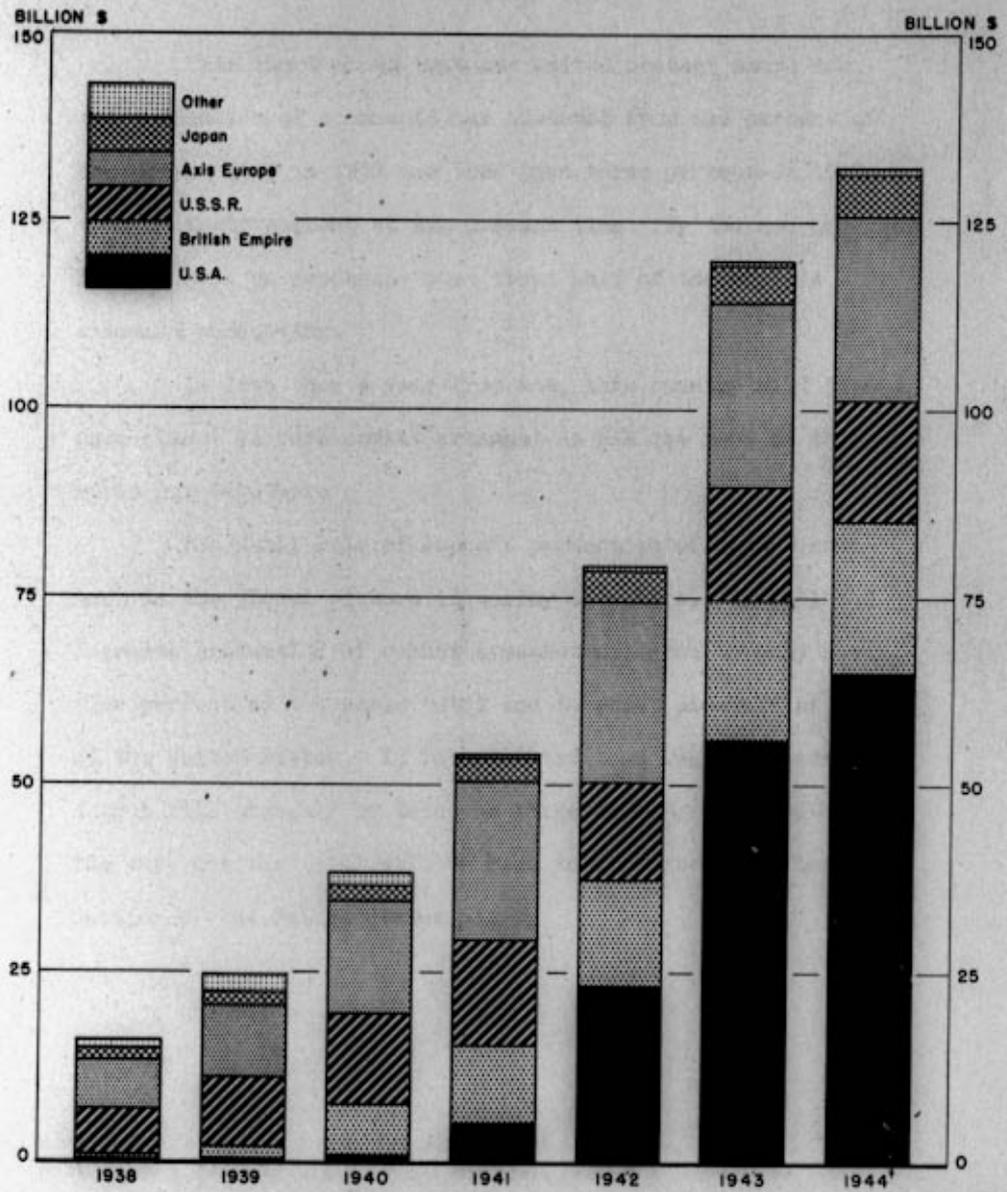
CHART I

~~SECRET~~
P.O. Doc. 277

5 9 23

ESTIMATED WORLD PRODUCTION OF COMBAT ARMAMENTS 1938-1944

U.S. ARMAMENT PURCHASING POWER



*Aircraft, ground army ordnance and signal equipment, army and naval vessels and equipment.
†Rate of December 1943.

~~SECRET~~

CHART II

This chart shows that the United States' share in the production of armaments has advanced from one percent of the world total in 1938 and less than three percent in 1940 to over forty percent at the present time. By the end of 1943 we will be producing just about half of the world's armament production.

In less than a year from now, this country will produce almost as much combat armament as all the rest of the world put together.

The small role of Japan's production of combat armament in the global picture is worthy of notice. In 1941 the Japanese production of combat armament amounted to only about five percent of the world total and to about one-half of that of the United States. It is estimated that 1943 Japanese output will probably be twice as large as before she entered the war, but the total will be less than one-tenth of the production of the United States alone.

~~SECRET~~

CHART II

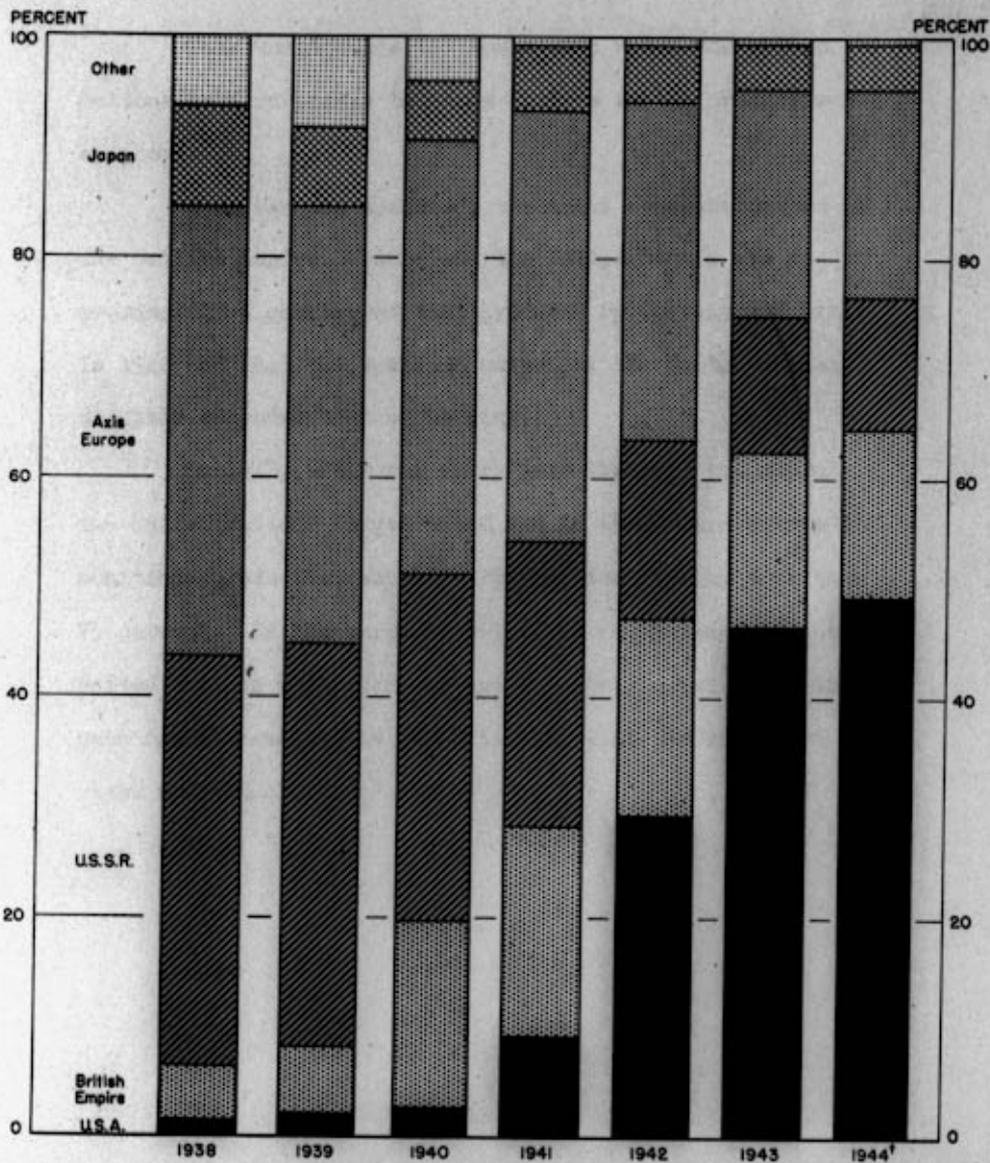
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DISTRIBUTION OF ESTIMATED WORLD PRODUCTION OF COMBAT ARMAMENTS*

1938 - 1944

PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL



*Aircraft, ground ordnance and communications equipment, army and navy vessels, used equipment.
† Rate of December 1943.

~~SECRET~~

COMBAT ARMAMENT PRODUCTION OF
UNITED NATIONS AND AXIS

CHART III

This chart shows the speed with which the United Nations have surpassed the Axis nations in the production of armaments.

When war was declared, the total armament output of the British Empire, France and the United States was approximately a quarter of that produced by Germany and Italy. In 1940 and 1941 the combined output of the United Nations slightly exceeded that of Germany.

In 1942, after our entry into the war, the output of the United Nations forged ahead and in that year the combat munitions production exceeded that of the Axis by more than 75 percent. In the current year it is estimated that the United Nations will turn out approximately three times as much combat armament as the Axis. In 1944 the estimated ratio rises to $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 1.

SECRET

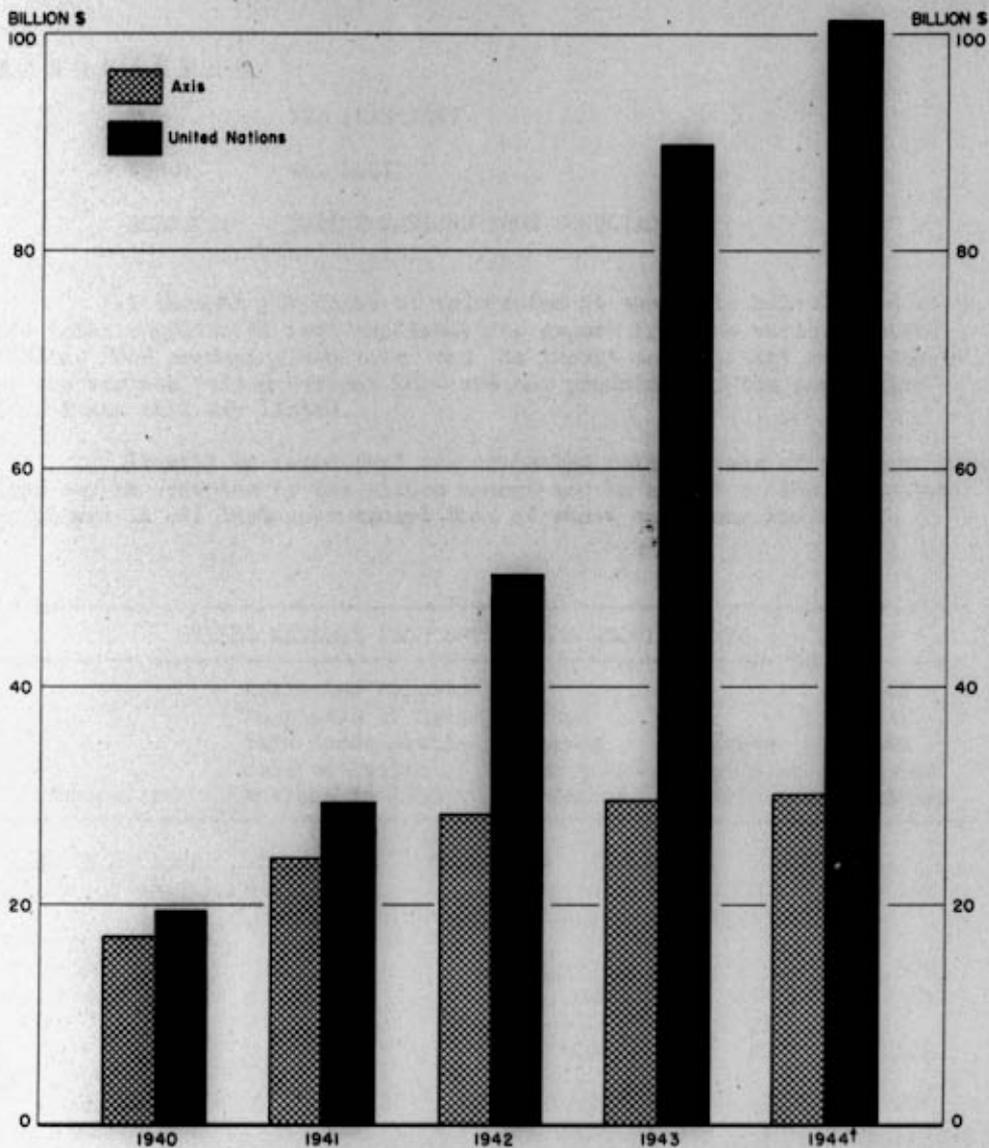
10 of 25

CHART III

COMBAT ARMAMENT* PRODUCTION OF UNITED NATIONS AND AXIS[†]

1940 - 1944

(BILLION \$ U.S. ARMAMENT PURCHASING POWER)



*Aircraft, ground army ordnance and signal equipment, army and naval vessels and equipment.

†Rate of December 1943.

‡U.S.S.R. included throughout with United Nations and Japan with Axis.

SECRET

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 19, 1943

MEMORANDUM

TO: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: MR. LUBIN

SUBJECT: UNITED NATIONS FOOD SUPPLIES

I thought you might be interested in the table below which shows the total supplies of food available for export from the various United Nations food producing countries and the import and military requirements of the various United Nations that are not producers of the particular food items that are listed.

It will be noted that the estimated relief needs of the countries that may be occupied by the Allied troops are in excess of the indicated surpluses in all instances except that of wheat and flour and sugar.

UNITED NATIONS FOOD SUPPLIES & REQUIREMENTS

Commodity	Estimated Export Surpluses of Cer- tain Foods Avail- able to United Nations in 1943	United Nations Import Re- quirements	Indicated Surplus or Deficit	Relief Needs: Allied Occupied Countries
Wheat and flour (terms of wheat)	1,250	450	+ 800	248
Rice	1,565	3,050	- 1,485	
Meat (carcass weight)	7,056	8,271	- 1,215	1,690
Fats and oils	6,852	6,002	+ 850	1,003
Butter	580	559	+ 21	
Cheese	620	600	+ 20	264
Milk (evaporated or condensed)	1,000	997	+ 3	706
Milk (dried)	398	397	+ 1	190
Eggs (terms of shell)	1,586	1,575	+ 11	3,564
Sugar	20,900	11,567	+ 9,333	713

The President
ALA

PSF. Lubin folder 2-43
file
Box 147

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 27, 1943 -

MEMORANDUM

TO: MR. HOPKINS
FROM: MR. LUBIN
SUBJECT: THE STRIKE SITUATION

Despite the apparent restraint shown by the press and by the Congress, we seem to be heading for real trouble in the labor field. It looks as if the number of man days lost due to strikes during the month of May will exceed all but the worst months of the last 10 years. To be sure these figures are affected by the one-day coal strike. However, the loss due to the rubber strike and a whole series of less important strikes throughout the country will of themselves involve more lost man days than any month since Pearl Harbor.

It is significant that these smaller strikes are the results of a whole series of forces, such as strikes against the promotion of women, strikes against the lay-off of a union member, jurisdictional strikes and strikes for wage increases. It seems as if we are riding a fundamental swell of industrial unrest.

If the situation gets out of hand, it may be impossible to recover lost ground until some dramatic reverse is encountered.

The situation may well get worse because (1) concessions are due in the coal controversy and (2) because the War Labor Board must probably correct its decision in the rubber case. In other words, the two most significant wage increases of recent times are likely to be made in industries where strikes occurred.

This situation is in very marked contrast to the record which was established by labor throughout 1942 and the first three months of this year. In only one year since our record begins in 1927 have there been as few days of idleness as in 1942. Strikes have never been as short nor has government intervention ever been as effective as it was under the War Labor Board in the 15 months following Pearl Harbor and the "No Strike" agreement.

MR. HOPKINS

- 2 -

5/27/43

This business of the President personally ordering people back to work every time a large strike breaks cannot go on forever. The President should be protected against getting into a position where he asks the men to go back to work once too often. We cannot afford to let him get in a position where he may be turned down. I personally feel that the time has come for the President to get hold of the various labor leaders and make them realize that it would be impossible to keep Congress from tying labor in a knot if the present strike situation continues.

BF Exec. Ofc.

Lubin folder
Till
Personal 12-43

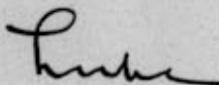
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 1, 1943

Grace,

Last Friday Steve called me from Hyde Park and told me the President was concerned about a certain statement that was included in his letter of transmittal that accompanied the Lend-Lease report. Steve further added that the President wanted to know how the letter of transmittal ever got out without his seeing it.

I explained the situation to Steve. However, I am terribly upset about this whole business and I should appreciate an opportunity to clarify the matter for the President. If there is any chance of his seeing me, it will take a terrible load off my mind.



Lube

8-4-44

File - taxes

2. Taxes

BF Lubin folder 2-44

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 26, 1944

MEMORANDUM

TO: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: MR. LUBIN *AL*
SUBJECT: TAXES IN THE UNITED STATES

In view of the fact that you will probably be receiving the new tax bill for signature in the not distant future, some facts contrasting the tax situation in the United States, United Kingdom and Canada might be of some interest to you. Some startling comparisons have just been made in a study by the Federal Reserve Board.

1. In the fiscal year 1943-44 the total taxes paid in the United States (Federal, State and local) will be about 32 percent of the national income. Last year they were 42 percent in Great Britain and 36 percent in Canada.

2. Income tax rates in the United States (Federal and State combined) are substantially lower than those of Great Britain and Canada. (New York income tax rates are taken as typical of the State rates. This, of course, exaggerates the picture because the New York rates are higher than those in many States. Some States have no income tax.)

A single man with a net income of \$2,000 pays a total of \$345 in income taxes in the United States. In the United Kingdom he pays \$624, and in Canada \$628.

A person with a \$5,000 income pays \$1,172 in the United States, \$1,975 in the United Kingdom, and \$2,180 in Canada.

In the \$50,000 income group the United States tax is \$28,800; in the United Kingdom \$36,550 and in Canada \$36,300.

In the \$100,000 bracket the tax is \$70,500 in the United States; \$84,200 in the United Kingdom and \$82,500 in Canada.

The United Kingdom and Canada make allowances for certain post-war refunds, but they are insignificant. After deducting these refunds, the income tax rates in these countries still run considerably higher than in the United States.

3. Since the United States taxes corporate net income, which in a sense is a tax on the dividend receiver, provision must be made for this "double taxation". Even after charging the corporation tax to the dividend receiver, personal income tax rates in the United States are lower than in the United Kingdom and Canada. The tax borne by a married person with no dependents in the \$25,000 bracket in the United States becomes approximately \$11,150, as compared with \$15,000 in the United Kingdom and \$16,000 in Canada. In the \$500,000 bracket, the United States individual income tax becomes \$448,000 as compared with \$474,000 in the United Kingdom and \$465,000 in Canada.

4. Despite the fact that the United States started with a very low tax level prior to the war, the increase in the income tax burden since the war started has been smaller in the United States than in Great Britain or Canada.

In the United States a married taxpayer with two dependents with an income of \$2,000 paid no income tax before the war. He now pays \$58. (This includes New York State Tax). In Canada the same taxpayer paid no tax before the war. He now pays \$275, or almost five times as much as the American. In the United Kingdom he paid \$13 before the war and now pays \$304.

A \$10,000 income receiver in the United States has had his tax liability increased from \$659 before the war to \$2,333 at the present time. This increase is less than \$1,700. A similarly situated taxpayer in the United Kingdom paid \$1,854 in pre-war years as compared with \$4,300 at the present time. This is an increase of \$2,446. In Canada the pre-war tax for such a person was \$666. Today it is \$4,698, a rise of \$4,032.

5. Excise taxes are also much higher in the United Kingdom than in the United States.

The tax on distilled liquor in the United Kingdom is \$23 a gallon as compared with \$7.30 in Canada and \$7.50 in the United States (including the New York State tax).

Beer is taxed in the United Kingdom at \$28 a barrel as against \$7.90 in Canada and \$7.93 in the United States.

The tax on cigarettes ranges from 27 cents to 34 cents a package in the United Kingdom. It is 9 cents in the United States and 18 cents in Canada.

Gasoline is taxed 12 cents a gallon in the United Kingdom as compared with 10 cents in Canada and 5½ cents in the United States.

To measure the significance of the heavy tax rates on liquor and tobacco in Great Britain, it should be borne in mind that these two items absorb almost 20 percent of total consumers expenditures in Great Britain. This is equal to the British expenditures for rent and clothing combined.

BF Exec. Oxc.

Lubin folder 2-44

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 11, 1944

PERSONAL

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: MR. LUBIN
SUBJECT: SIR WALTER CITRINE

I have just received a telephone call from Miss Perkins from Philadelphia.

Word has gone around the ILO conference that you are to see Sir Walter Citrine today. All of the labor delegates, including our own AFL folks, are very much upset about your seeing Citrine. He has been a thorn in the side of the labor people at the conference and has not been too nice to Miss Perkins. Even the British Government delegates do not like the idea of having Citrine go back to London and say that he saw the President of the United States.

Citrine is in the dog house in London and the British labor people tell me that he will use his conference with you as a way of building himself up again. Evidently he used his friendship with Beaverbrook to get the Prime Minister to ask you to see him.

I merely tell you these things because I take it that you have no alternative other than to see Citrine.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Lubin folder
PSF 2-44

file → THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

9.16.66

May 19, 1944

MEMORANDUM

TO: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: MR. LUBIN *oz*
SUBJECT: COST OF LIVING IN APRIL

During the month of April the cost of living went up 0.6 percent. This was the first rise since December 1943. Half of the increase in the cost of living is accounted for by the increase in excise taxes which became effective on April 1. These taxes affected motion picture admissions, postage, railroad fares, light bulbs and toiletries.

The cost of living is now 0.3 percent higher than a year ago when the "hold the line" order was issued.

The items that rose during April were food, house furnishings, clothing and services. There were marked increases in women's clothing.

As compared to April of last year, the only item that is down in price is food. House furnishings and clothing are up by 7 percent, without taking full account of quality deterioration.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

file Rubin BF

Between May 15th and June 15th the cost of living in large cities advanced 0.3 per cent, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, largely because of an increase of price in foods not subject to the General Maximum Price Regulation.

About 40 per cent of the food purchased by the average wage earner is exempt from control. These uncontrolled food prices advanced 4.8 per cent. Though the prices of controlled foods declined by one per cent, the average cost of all foods, controlled and uncontrolled, advanced 1.3 per cent.

Clothing prices decreased in almost all cities ~~surveyed~~ surveyed. The average decrease was seven tenths of one per cent.

PSF Exec. Ofc.

Lubin folder
2-44

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 7, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR

S.T.E.

Is there any publicity in this?

F.D.R.

Secret memo to the Pres. from Dr. Lubin
Subject: Aircraft production in May
date June 6, 1944

Lubin folder 2-44

file ~~SECRET~~
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

PSF

June 9, 1944

MEMORANDUM

TO: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: MR. LUBIN

I thought you might be interested in the attached chart which shows the time required to add one thousand airplanes to our overseas inventory.

You will note that it took from February to July in 1942 to get one thousand planes overseas. The time required became progressively shorter as time went on. In 1944 we added one thousand planes to our inventories in as short a period as two weeks. Indeed, between January 1 and June 1 we added eight thousand planes to our overseas inventory.

DECLASSIFIED
By Deputy Archivist of the U.S.
JAN 30 1973
By W. J. Stewart Date _____

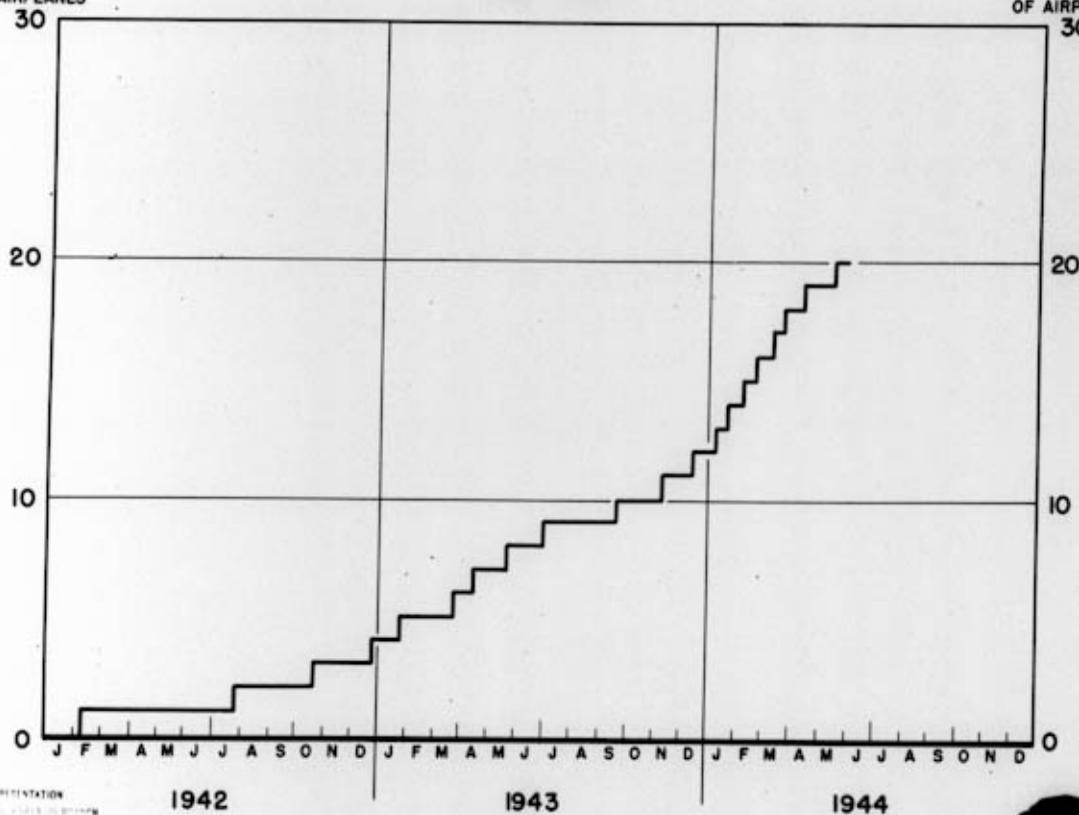
~~SECRET~~

TIME REQUIRED TO INCREASE AAF COMBAT AIRPLANE INVENTORY OVERSEAS BY ONE THOUSAND AIRPLANES

THOUSANDS
OF AIRPLANES

1942 - 1944

THOUSANDS
OF AIRPLANES



GRAPHIC PRESENTATION
 111
 1-11-44

*file Rubin for year 2-44
PSF*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 24, 1944

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: MR. LUBIN *on*
SUBJECT: COST OF LIVING INDEX

A special committee appointed by Will Davis to investigate the Bureau of Labor Statistics' cost of living index has just submitted its report. The Committee is made up of Wesley Mitchell as chairman, Simon Kuznets of the statistical section of the War Production Board and Margaret Reid of the Bureau of the Budget. Wesley Mitchell has long been acknowledged as one of the leading authorities in the world on the question of index numbers. The Mitchell Committee comes to the conclusion that it has little advice to offer for improvement in the methods used by the BLS. It estimates that if allowance is made for deterioration in quality, the index is off by no more than two or three points. The Committee does point out, however, that the index is a national average and does not entirely show the rise in cost of living for families at the bottom of the income scale.

In view of the fact that you may be asked about the Mitchell report at a press conference, I thought you might be interested in three or four of the outstanding facts brought out by the report.

1. "The detailed evidence presented in Part III confirms confidence in the accuracy and representativeness of the price changes shown by the BLS index."

2. "We believe that family expenditures in general have not been pushed up by deterioration of qualities more than two or three points beyond the increase indicated by the BLS index."

3. "If the Bureau of Labor Statistics had obtained strictly accurate reports of all the prices it tries to collect; if it had caught the change in average prices caused by the reduction in bargain sales; if it had priced the qualities bought by families with very low income and the qualities bought by the most prosperous of wage earners as well as those in the middle groups; and if it had made full allowance for increases in expenditures forced on families by quality deterioration

6/24/44

that can be offset by buying more goods, its index would probably not be higher than it is now by more than three to five points."

4. "...in general we have little advice to offer for improvement in the methods used by the BLS. The methods used by us in estimating the shortcomings of the present index are for the most part not suitable for an official index that must be based on measurable phenomena."

5. "Among the items the Bureau is criticized for omitting are extra expenses incurred because many wives have taken paid jobs and cannot do so much housework as formerly,.....all of these items unquestionably add to the amount of money some people spend. If any agency tried to measure average changes in family expenditures, it should include them. And such an index would be useful for many purposes.

But that is not the kind of index the BLS makes, and this Committee does not think it should now change its aim."

6. "In applying the national average to specific groups there seems little doubt that the BLS index understates considerably the rise in prices encountered by families at the bottom of the income scale."

"The greater price rise experienced by those with lowest income is, however, an important fact that should be kept in mind by those who use the index."

Lubin folder 2-44

file → ~~SECRET~~
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

PSF

November 9, 1944

MEMORANDUM

TO: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: MR. LUBIN *DS*

I have just finished reading the secret Weekly Intelligence Review of the British General Staff for October 4, 1944. The attached, which appears in this Intelligence Review, is based on reports submitted to the British General Staff from interviews with prisoners of war.

The report states that the prisoners of war from whom this information was received "have shown themselves to be accurate on other matters upon which they were questioned. There is no reason to doubt their statements."

Please do not attempt to read the attached report after eating a meal. I have never run across anything was more conducive to turning one's stomach.

DECLASSIFIED
By Deputy Archivist of the U.S.
By W. J. Stewart Date MAR 26 1970

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED
JCS MEMO. 117-73
BY RT. DATE MAR 26 1985



★ **Life in a Concentration Camp** ★
Will this Leopard change his spots?

The following summary of a few of the many reports of atrocities committed by the Germans speaks for itself. The PW from whom the reports have been taken have shown themselves to be accurate on other matters on which they were questioned. There is no reason to doubt their statements.

P.W. "A," who had been a member of the Social Democratic Party, was taken away by the Gestapo in March, 1938. After 24 hours' starvation in a dark cell he was "interrogated" on a subject of which he knew nothing. As a result of the prolonged enquiry, in which rubber truncheons played the main role, PW had to be artificially fed in a hospital for some time. He was then sent to a concentration camp with a batch of others. On their arrival, as a warning and foretaste of what to expect, one man was selected haphazardly and whipped to death in front of the newcomers. Soon after his arrival PW saw five men buried with only their heads above ground, face towards the sun. Some ants' nests were brought near their faces and they were left there all day. Three died and the other two became insane. Fear of this type of punishment leads to prisoners threatened with it running through the guards so as to be shot. On another occasion PW saw a man, who had fallen asleep while employed in cleaning part of the latrines, bound and thrown headfirst into the latrine ditch. PW helped to dig him out half an hour later, but he had died of asphyxiation. A common punishment undergone by PW himself was "one hour on the pole." Prisoners were suspended on poles, their arms bound behind their backs. Nails were fixed in the poles, so that as the arms of the victims tired the nails were driven into their posteriors. The guards amused themselves by pulling the victims away from the poles, so that, on letting go, the nails made a "satisfactory" penetration. The scars of the wounds thus inflicted are still visible on PW's body. PW was released in March, 1944, for service in the German Army.

P.W. "B," who was "suspected of subversive activities," was interned in concentration camps from December, 1938, till he escaped in October, 1943. The following were camp punishments imposed on the slightest pretext :-

- (1) Light punishment consisted of standing 12-48 hours at attention at the main gate without food. Any SS man passing asked the reason for the punishment and accompanied the question by blows on the face.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

- (2) The victim was hung ~~over a board~~ on a table by the wrists tied on his back and was beaten at intervals.
- (3) Prisoners were ordered to receive 25 strokes with a plaited cowhide, each blow being counted by the victim. About the fifteenth blow the supervising official would contradict the count and the whole procedure started afresh from "one." Three days' solitary confinement without food followed this punishment.
- (4) Major punishment consisted of 50 double blows, inflicted by two officials, followed by 42 days' solitary confinement in a dark room, during which time the only food given was vegetable soup every third day.
- (5) Prisoners were selected as "guinea pigs" for experiments, Russian PW, on one occasion, being detailed to see what degree of high pressure they could stand.

P.W. "C," who had also committed the crime of belonging to the Social Democratic Party, was imprisoned from 1938 to 1943. He was subjected to the usual "treatment" by rubber truncheons, forced to stand motionless from 7-12 and 1-5 every day, etc. Requests for medical treatment received the answer "There are no sick here, only living or dead." The officials in charge thought of some new "special treatment" every day, including drenching with fire hoses and parades for meals which either were not forthcoming, or which they were allowed only to smell. PW was a member of a party which had to bury three Jews in sand with only their heads above ground. One of the leading SS officials then jumped on their heads till they died. Another "entertainment" in which all the camp officials took part was the baptism of some Jews, which took the form of throwing them into the sewage canal and forcing them to swim round for a while.

P.W. "D" gives the following account of an asphyxiation van which he saw in action in RUSSIA. "Russian Jews, men, women and children, in all about 70, were hustled into the van, quite willingly as they were told they were being transferred to another locality. The double doors were then closed and a rubber tube from the interior of the lorry was connected to the exhaust pipe and the engine run for about ten minutes. The lorry appeared to be soundproof as one could not hear the victims knocking more than about 10 yards away."

The same PW witnessed the shooting of some thousands of Russian Jews near KHERSON. They were shot in batches of ten and the bodies were thrown into an anti-tank ditch nearby. PW estimated some 5,000 people were murdered here.

P.W. "E" served with an SS Regiment which was sent into the Jewish Ghetto in WARSAW in April, 1943. They remained there a month and during this time they shot some 45,000 men, women and children.

Four P.W. took part in a punitive action on a French village. The commander of their battalion "disappeared" and in retaliation the men of the village were assembled in a large barn and shot with MG's. The women and children were then herded into the church where they were the object of MG practice. The church was set on fire and all those inside were burned, alive or dead. The entire population of 900 was wiped out.

P.W. "F" told of an artist, of mixed German and English origin, who was employed by the Germans as an interpreter in ITALY. The Germans regarded him as too softhearted, and delighted in making him witness their outrages and seeing him be sick. To teach him a lesson an Italian prisoner was stripped and his back burnt with a red-hot poker. The Italian died. The artist's nerves gave way and he was later sent to a lunatic asylum.

P.W. "G" states: "We've shot terrorists in the hills, too, sick and wounded included, particularly my company. The Italians had to carry the ammunition up the hills and then they were shot, after they'd dug their own graves."

An escaped American officer saw a French girl whom the Germans had questioned. They had pulled her finger nails out and put vices on her knees and crushed her legs.

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED
JCS MEMO. 1-17-73
BY RT. DATE MAR 26 1975

~~SECRET~~

Lubin folder 2-44

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

*File
PSF*

December 29, 1944

MEMORANDUM

TO: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: MR. LUBIN *es*

I do not know whether General Arnold has given you the following figures, but I thought that they might be of interest to you.

On December 23, the AAF had on hand more than one thousand heavy heavy bombers. The inventory on that date was as follows:

B-29	925
B-32	6
B-29	
(Second Line)	34
F-13 (B-29)	<u>45</u>
	1,010

During the first 23 days of December, 152 B-29's were delivered from the factories.

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By W. J. Stewart Date JAN 30 1973

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 4, 1945

MEMORANDUM

TO: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: MR. LUBIN *K*

The reports that came in today show that the 250,000th airplane produced by the United States since July 1, 1940 was delivered on the last day of 1944. The total through December 31, 1944 was 250,042, distributed as follows between categories.

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Heavy Bombers	28,719	11
Medium and Light Bombers	52,089	21
Fighters & Reconnaissance	81,707	33
Transports	19,412	8
Trainers	56,737	23
Communications	<u>11,378</u>	<u>4</u>
Total	250,042	100

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PST: Exec 575 - Lubin folder 2-45-

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LV*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 16, 1945

~~PERSONAL &
CONFIDENTIAL~~

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: MR. LUBIN *LS*
SUBJECT: SECRETARY OF LABOR

In view of what you said about your difficulty in filling the post of Secretary of Labor, have you ever given any thought to Leon Henderson?

I think that the labor boys could be persuaded to accept him if they knew that a trade union person was not going to be appointed, and I am convinced that the appointment would go very well with the employers of this country.

If you think there is anything in this idea and you want me to sound Leon out when I see him in London next week, I shall be delighted to do so.

T-501

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 24, 1945.

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE SECRETARY OF STATE:

Do you think it is all right
for me to sign this?

F.D.R.

Lubin folder 2-46

PSF

March 22, 1945

MEMORANDUM

TO: MR. LUBIN

SUBJECT: UNITED STATES POLICY ON REPARATIONS

In implementing the Reparations Protocol that was agreed upon at Yalta, you should be guided by the following general principles as representing the policy of the United States Government in this matter:

I. The basic principle, which is controlling under all circumstances, is that reparations should contribute to the maximum extent in eliminating Germany's war potential and making Germany economically weak.

II. Reparations should aid in rehabilitating, strengthening and developing industries in the devastated countries of Europe as part of a broad program of reconstruction for these countries and should assist the liberated countries and England to expand their exports.

III. With respect to a minimum standard of living for the Germans, it should be borne in mind that the peoples in the devastated countries of Europe have priority and no policy should be adopted designed to maintain the German standard of living above that of any other country of Europe.

In accordance with these principles, you should undertake to secure an agreement in Moscow on a program embodying the following specific objectives:

A. To the maximum extent possible, reparations should be taken from the national wealth of Germany existing at the time of collapse, including the removal of industrial machinery, equipment and plants, particularly the metallurgical, electrical and chemical industries (including all industries producing synthetic oil, synthetic nitrogen and synthetic rubber), ships, rolling stock, German investment abroad, shares of industrial, transport, shipping and other enterprises in Germany.

B. Delay in determining the total amount and division of German reparations should not prevent the immediate removal of

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By W. J. Stewart Date JAN 30 1973

plants, equipment and raw materials from Germany and the confiscation of German assets abroad, as parts of a program of reparations and restitution.

C. To the extent that reparations are collected in the form of deliveries of goods over a period of years, such goods should be of such a nature and in such amounts as not to require the Allies to take any steps designed to maintain, strengthen or develop the German economy or to develop a dependence of other countries on Germany after reparations cease.

This policy can best be realized by making recurring reparations over a period of years, after the removal of plant, equipment, etc.,

- (i) As small as possible in relation to the reparations to be paid in the form of industrial plants and equipment.
- (ii) Primarily in the form of natural resources, such as coal, metallic ores, timber and potash, and ~~not~~ in the form of manufactured products.
- (iii) In as small annual amounts as possible.
- (iv) Over a period of approximately ten years. (The period recommended in the Russian proposal made at Yalta.)
- (v) Arranged to taper off toward the latter part of the reparations period.

D. We are opposed to any reparations program which for its achievement would require the United Nations to take widespread, detailed and continued control and responsibility for the efficient running of the German economic and financial system.

~~SECRET~~
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 22, 1945

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: MR. LUBIN *KL*

I have had a conversation with Ed Stettinius relative to the policy that I should be instructed to follow on reparations in Moscow.

I have also had a talk with some of the State Department staff people who have been working on this problem. It is evident that there is no definite unanimity of opinion within the State Department.

I have put down on paper my own ideas as to what our policy might be. These follow very much along the lines that I had discussed with John Winant and Ed Stettinius. They have not been seen by anyone in the State Department yet.

I should be grateful if you could take a minute off to read the attached. If you agree with these ideas and will approve them with your signature, I should then like to go to the State Department staff and discuss them in detail.

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By Deputy Archivist of the U.S.

By W. J. Stewart Date JAN 30 1973

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Lubin folder 2-45

PSK

April 6, 1945.

MEMORANDUM FOR

DR. LUBIN

I just got a flash that Harriman has advised caution in making commitments on reparations. In other words, you can very easily refer proposals to me after you get there.

F. D. R.

No accompanying papers.

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THE M
1434

*Original of this memorandum in file - Special Information Folder
2-45*

April 4, 1945

SPECIAL INFORMATION FOR THE PRESIDENT

These current developments in foreign affairs may be of interest to you:

BRITISH REPORTED TO HAVE SUBMITTED NEW SURRENDER INSTRUMENT TO EAG. The Department has learned through the Soviet Ambassador that Strang reportedly introduced a new surrender document to the EAG on March 31 in which no mention of unconditional surrender is made. The Ambassador's on instructions, inquired concerning the American attitude toward this document and was informed that we had not heard of it. Winant in answer to an inquiry states that the document represents Strang's effort to prepare a proclamation for use in the event that neither a German Government nor High Command was available to sign the unconditional surrender. It has been distributed but not placed before the EAG. Gousser, the Soviet representative, was greatly disturbed but has been assured by Winant that American policy on unconditional surrender is unchanged and that approved documents are still binding. Winant considers that distribution was a mistake and is sure that British have no intention of changing policy. He feels that the Russians have been made more sensitive by the rapid advance of American and British Armies.

MOLOTOV INFORMED OF OUR COMPLAINTS REGARDING RUSSIAN TREATMENT OF AMERICAN PRISONERS OF WAR. Harriman, in compliance with the suggestions contained in a message from the President, has written to Molotov reciting our complaints regarding the treatment of our prisoners of war by the Red Army. He closed with the request that the necessary steps be taken to insure that conditions cited will not exist in the future and asked to be kept informed of any corrective action taken.

HARRIMAN ADVISES CAUTION IN MAKING COMMITMENTS ON REPARATIONS. In connection with the early departure of Dr. Lubin to participate in reparations discussions in Moscow, Ambassador Harriman points out that the Russians have shown little willingness to implement the Crimea decisions and suggests that we should be cautious in making commitments on reparations, which is the one subject in which the Soviet Government has shown most interest.

RUSSIAN PRESS TREATMENT OF WESTERN FRONT OPERATIONS MAY BE BASED ON SUSPICIONS OF DEAL WITH GERMANY. Ambassador Harriman comments upon recent Russian press treatment of Western Front operations and particularly an article by General Galaktionov in Pravda. Harriman feels that Russian suspicions have been fanned by American press and radio reports of a lack of German resistance and have concluded that the Germans are making a token resistance only, either because of an understanding with our military authorities or in the hope of obtaining mild treatment.

ASSUMPTION STATED TO FRENCH THAT DE GAULLE ATTENDANCE, IF ANY, AT SAN FRANCISCO WOULD BE BRIEF. Caffery has been authorized informally to state to Pleven our assumption that, if de Gaulle decides to come to San Francisco, he would do so in his capacity as Provisional Chief of State either during the official opening or at some other suitable time. If de Gaulle decides to make such a visit, he would be very welcome.

BELGIAN GOVERNMENT VIEWS ON RETURN OF KING LEOPOLD. The Belgian Government has requested that it be informed immediately after the King of the Belgians has been liberated and that the King be requested to remain in a place agreeable to him until a Government delegation can visit him. This delegation will consist of the Prince Regent, the Prime Minister, the Foreign Minister and Baron Holvoet. It will make the necessary arrangements in connection with the King's return.