1. On all literature put out by Good Neighbor League, I must approve mss. For example the January Message must not be reprinted now and the Constitution pamphlet must be prepared by an expert in words of one syllable like Charles Beard.

2. For the next 2 months at least, the Good Neighbor League must be kept absolutely divorced from National Committee as the whole objective is to sell it and its pamphlets to the public as a non-parish organization.

3. All money received must be accounted for.
My dear Committeeman,

You may remember receiving a personal letter from the President early in the campaign four years ago in which he expressed his belief that while members of the State organizations must loyally cooperate and support the organization on every occasion, the real work of getting voters to the polls is after all, actually done by the local committeemen, whom he felt had not received sufficient personal recognition and attention in the past by the leaders of the party.

The President is very much impressed with the plan of the Good Neighbor League. This is a strictly non-partisan organization which confines its activities to issuing non-partisan booklets from time to time meeting the misstatements and propaganda gotten out by the Republican National organization and other opponents of the adoption of the Good Neighbor principle in government. He feels that our best chance of success lies in the public becoming thoroughly informed as to what is the truth and that any movement of this kind deserves the support of the party.

From what he has seen of these proposed publications, he is convinced they will help to this end and the National Committee has ordered a considerable quantity which it is anxious to place actually in the hands of those who need education in these matters.

Amongst the various ways of achieving wide distribution with the least expenditures of funds is the establishing of Distribution Centers for the literature we have purchased, and we have decided to try it out in a few states to see if it works. From such records as we have of the work of the active and conscientious local committeemen, the President has selected...
your name so you can count it as an official recognition of all you have done for us.

What we want is for you to select two places in your district, preferably drug or tobacco stores, where the proprietors are sufficiently interested in our success to put up the enclosed card on a prominent counter, together with about twenty-five copies of the booklets. Also we would like to have you keep watch of these centers and see what these cards are really kept in sight and how many requests there are for additional copies.

It is important that we start at this immediately so will you select your two stores and mail the names and addresses to me personally as I want to look over these with the President.

I need hardly tell you how thoroughly the President is convinced that the success of the last campaign was due to the activities of the local committeemen.

I think the enclosed papers explain what we want the storekeepers to do without taking up your time with further explanations.

Please take these exemplar to the storekeepers so that he will understand just what he is asked to do.

You can also send in applications for memberships or for booklets to the League from your friends. Many people will wish to become members of the Good Neighbor League although of course, this is no part of the Democratic Organization campaign. We simply approve of their ideas and publications and are willing to help them in any small way we can. Make it clear to your proposed distributor that this has nothing to do with the Democratic National Committee or its campaign committee.

Be sure to send me at the earliest possible moment the names and addresses you have selected.

Yours very truly,

Chairman
To be printed on 8" x 10" card, display style

Official Distribution Center of the Publications of the
GOOD NEIGHBOR LEAGUE

These are furnished without charge and additional copies can be obtained by applying to the Secretary of the GOOD NEIGHBOR LEAGUE, Washington, D.C.

GOOD NEIGHBOR LEAGUE

is a NON-PARTISAN association of those who believe in making the principle of the GOOD NEIGHBOR the fundamental policy of the government. There are no dues.

The GOOD NEIGHBOR LEAGUE will neither advocate or oppose any particular suggestion as to the best way to establish the New Deal policy in government.

GOOD NEIGHBOR LEAGUE

feels they can best help the cause by issuing from time to time authoritative statements of fact concerning:—

1. What is the New Deal?
2. What has it done?
3. What is it trying to do?

It is the belief of the members that what the public needs are facts and not propaganda.

A small button is furnished members by friends of the League without cost.

The only obligation undertaken by members is that they will endeavor to personally distribute five copies of every publication to their friends.

Membership application blanks can be obtained at this place. There is no obligation beyond distributing five copies of this literature and no dues, direct or indirect, of any kind.

Mr. Howe asks you to look this over. It is a copy of the proposed display card to be put on the drugstore counters. The other literature to be enclosed with the letter to the Committee will be a leaflet telling about the Good Neighbor League, a copy of your message to
Publications:

So far these publications have been arranged for:

1. What is the aim and purpose of the New Deal at home and abroad as contained in the Annual Message to Congress by President Roosevelt. The entire message will be given so as to make this a valuable reference book.

2. The Constitution of the United States with an abstract of recent court decisions affecting the New Deal and pointing out the clauses in the Constitution referred to by the Court. Also an authentic non-partisan history of the Congress of the Constitution as set forth in the proceedings of the Constitutional Convention showing from the debates themselves the reasons why the various clauses were inserted. By a professor who is recognized as an expert on the history of the Constitution. This is a valuable permanent reference book.

3. The New Yardstick by which the real cost of the manufacture and sale of electricity can be established for the use of the various Public Service Regulatory Commissions throughout the country. What this Yardstick will measure and why it is needed will be explained in a non-partisan way.

4. Civil Service and what can be done to get large numbers of competent administrators of relief and so forth without the present long delay before they can be taken in by civil service. This is one of the most important problems of the present day and the whole truth of the Civil Service in regards to relief activities will be set forth by figures and it will contain a statement by the Civil Service Commission itself.

5. Applying the principles of the Good Neighbor policy abroad as well as at home. By the President of the Pan-American League
MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

RE: PROPOSAL FOR A SERIES OF ADMINISTRATION BROADCASTS

If the proposed eight broadcasts from Government Departments could be made as an educational rather than a political presentation I believe the idea would be excellent.

However, I do not believe that that is possible:

1) Regardless of the actual non-political character of the speeches, they would be violently interpreted as a New Deal campaign broadside.

2) That interpretation would unquestionably force the broadcasting companies to allot equal time to the opposition.

I am, therefore, against the idea as suggested.

As an alternative, however, I believe it would be possible to put over the same program without making any announcement of the plan but simply by arranging un-related time on the air for the selected speakers. Once it is determined who is to speak I know that I could arrange the schedule in such a way as to arouse no suspicion that this is a concerted presentation.

Stanley High
MEMORANDUM FOR MR. STEPHEN EARLY:

The President suggested before he left that I send him in Miami some of the actual copy on the pamphlets which we have prepared. Rather than do that, I am sending herewith a comprehensive report on the whole picture. If you think the actual copy on pamphlets already finished should be sent to him, I can do that too.

We are, of course, printing no pamphlets which have not first received his O.K.

Stanley High
March 31, 1936

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

I want to make a brief report as to some of my activities.

1. LITERATURE

A) Pamphlets

Copy for the following pamphlets is already in hand:

"The Kind of Constitution the Framers Intended to Write" by Dr. Charles A. Beard.

"Do You Want This Kind of an America?" (The objectives of the present Administration revealed in quotations from the President.)

"The Case Against Franklin D. Roosevelt." (Classified attacks upon the President paralleled with quotations of identical attacks made from the same sources on Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln and Theodore Roosevelt.)

"Corn Wallace" by Rollo Walter Brown. (An interpretive study of the Secretary of Agriculture which we are preparing to syndicate in farm journals and later publish as a pamphlet.)

"The Stake of the Church in the New Deal." (A study of the social and economic declarations of the churches paralleled with the achievements of the present Administration.)

B) Pamphlets in the Course of Preparation:

"Boondoggling" by Jay Franklin. (On one page we have "the story" as told in an opposition newspaper and on the opposite page "the facts", covering some 20 major boondoggles.)

"These Are the New Deal" by Maxine Davis. (Stories from life of people who have been rehabilitated by New Deal undertakings.)
"The Roosevelt Era – Looking Back from 1936."
(An advance appraisal by Hendrik Willem Van Loon.)

C)- SUGGESTED PAMPHLETS.

"Six Presidents Who Ignored the Constitution."


"A Guide Book to the New Deal." (A description of each New Deal agency – why it came into being – what it was designed to do – and how much it has achieved.

"These Are the Answers." (A list of major New Deal Criticisms with factual answers.)

"The Educational Stake in the New Deal."

Plans are ready for the publication of the first issue of a weekly New Deal newspaper. This paper will not officially be under the Democratic National Committee, our feeling being that, however much the Committee may use the paper, it will have more influence if its editorial base is broader.

For the first issue C. C. Beall, illustrator for Collier's, and Tony Sarg are helping us with illustrative material. In addition to drawings, we will make generous use of photographs perhaps having a two-page spread of them in the center of the paper – the assumption being that the New Deal fundamentally is a story of people and that that story can best be told by photographs.

The first issue will contain a 1,500 word installment of Dr. Beard's Constitution article, one of Maxine Davis' "These Are the New Deal" stories, the first installment of Van Loon's "The Roosevelt Era", and a sample of Franklin's "Boondoggling" stories. Beall has prepared for us a perfectly marvelous drawing for the front cover.
Through the Committee of One and other special groups it is our aim to make this paper largely self-supporting after the first two issues. We will probably print two in April, two in May and not start it on a weekly basis until June unless the demand should justify it.

Suggested titles for the paper are:

- FELLOW CITIZENS
- THE AMERICAN CITIZEN
- FORWARD AMERICA
- LOOKING FORWARD

We will have here the kind of a publication which will make an impression on the newsstands and will provide, I believe, something new in the way of campaign literature.

2. COMMITTEE OF ONE

A mailing of 15,000 letters which provide samples for some 10 different lists selected by Mr. Hurja went out last week on the Committee of One. Returns to date indicate that although this letter went out cold and without any official sponsor, we will have a 12 to 15 per cent reply. After these returns are analyzed we will immediately secure a small committee to go on the letterhead of the Committee of One, make a large mailing and follow that with leads and suggested activities for these enrolled individuals. Before the end of April we should certainly have 100,000 people enrolled in this organization. The members of the Committee of One will be available not only for literature distribution and personal work, but can be used for precinct organization.

3. THE GOOD NEIGHBOR LEAGUE

Co-chairmen of the Good Neighbor League are to be George Foster Peabody and Miss Lillian Wald. We have already secured the following individuals for our Board:

- Bishop Edgar Blake
  Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church
- Mrs. Geline MacDonald Bowman
  Former President of the Business and Professional Women's Club
Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt
Dr. James William Crabtree
   Headquarters Representative of the World
   Federation of Education Associations
Dr. Frank Porter Graham
   President of the University of North Carolina
Clifford V. Gregory
   Editor, The Prairie Farmer
George M. Harrison
   President of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks
Dr. John A. Lapp
   Former President of the National Conference of Social Work
Dr. Henry Goddard Leach
   Editor, The Forum Magazine
Rabbi Morris S. Lazaron
George Fort Milton
   Publisher, The Chattanooga News
Mrs. Percy V. Pennybacker
   Former President, General Federation of Women’s Clubs
Angus Roy Shannon
   Lawyer
Dr. W. A. Sutton
   Superintendent of Schools, Atlanta, Georgia, and
   former President of the National Education Association

By the end of this week the Board will be completed
with about twenty people.

It is our plan to send Dr. Beard’s Constitution pamphlet and the pamphlet on “Do You Want This Kind of an America?” under the auspices of the Good Neighbor League. Prior to that, however, we expect to have a public statement of the aims and purposes of the League, an announcement of its Board and, we hope, an endorsement from you. This will be followed by a large mailing to selected lists asking for individual enrollment.
4. CHURCH GROUPS

Last week a conference was held in my office of the following church leaders:

Dr. Russell J. Clinchy
Pastor of the Congregational Church
Washington, D. C.

Dr. John A. Lapp
Formerly Director, Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Council

Rabbi Morris S. Lazar
Baltimore, Maryland

Dr. J. A. MacCallum
Pastor of the Walnut Street Church
Philadelphia, Penna.

Dr. John MacDowell
Secretary, Board of National Missions of the Presbyterian Churches in the United States

Dr. R. A. MacGowan
Assistant Director, Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Council

Dr. Ross W. Sanderson
Secretary of the Baltimore Federation of Churches

Dr. William Stidger
School of Theology, Boston University

That group - all of them enthusiastic for the New Deal - outlined certain definite things that we can do including literature, coverage of church conferences, enrollment of individual preachers, etc. These plans are under way.

The following further suggestion came out of this conference. Protestants, Catholics and Jews all have national bodies assigned to speak on social and economic problems. It was proposed that a joint statement compiled from the declaration of these official groups be prepared and signed by the elected heads - Protestants, Catholics and Jews of these official organizations. This statement would simply be a declaration to the church people of America that here, in this political year, is where the churches stand on certain great issues which will be before the two parties.
It was proposed also that a delegation, representative of these three groups, seek to lay their statement of the principles before the platform makers of the two political parties. I encouraged this idea and Dr. Stelzle has taken steps which we think indicate it will be carried through. Measured by the standards of the churches, I have no doubt as to which platform will most closely approximate their desires in these matters.

From various sources a list of ministers, whose active cooperation can be counted upon, is being compiled. We already have some two hundred ministers in this list, and I think it will expand rapidly. We expect to personally contact each of these ministers, provide them with material and enlist their activity in so far as that can be wisely done.

5. THE JEWISH GROUP

After two preliminary conferences with the leaders of various Jewish organisations in New York a dinner has been arranged for Friday evening, April 3d, at which some twenty Jews, representing various Jewish groups and known to be friendly to the New Deal, will be present. They are prepared to cover the Jewish press both English and Yiddish to form and finance committees, to raise money and in a variety of ways to carry on under their own leadership.

6. TEACHERS

On Monday, March 30th, I met with a group of educators at the Willard Hotel, invited by Mr. Marshall Diggs. Present were:

Dr. Willis Anderson Sutton  
Superintendent of Schools  
Atlanta, Georgia

Dr. Joseph Rosier  
President, State Teachers College  
Fairmont, West Virginia

Dr. Lampkin  
State Teachers College  
Marysville, Missouri

Dr. Sidney Bartlett Hall  
State Superintendent of Schools  
Richmond, Virginia
This group is now organizing a nationally representative committee of public school men, and they suggested a number of immediate steps to be taken and they are already under way. The college group should be handled separately, and the preliminary organization of which has been placed in the hands of Dr. Rollo Brown, of Harvard. Dr. Brown is making a swing West as far as Des Moines to see a number of other people, and he will have a completed committee of college educators and presidents upon his return.

7. NEGROES

I have had a preliminary conference with Elder Michaux about an approach to the religious organizations of the negroes. Next week we expect to have a conference of several negro church leaders at which time this approach to the colored population will be more definitely outlined.

Stanley High
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

CONFIDENTIAL

April 30, 1936.

MEMORANDUM FOR

STANLEY HICH

The Kiplinger Letter of Saturday, April 25th, says "Conservative Republicans are passing the word to business men that Republican platform will be "shockingly liberal", that it will be dictated by Borah, but that platform mustn't be taken too seriously."

It seems to me that if this thought, which is probably true, can be stressed between now and June ninth, a Republican liberal platform will be discounted in advance and made ridiculous. About a month from now it might be well to pass the word out that as early as April 25th this Republican strategy was decided on and that at the same time the word was being passed out that the platform must not be taken too seriously.

F. D. R.
Dear Sir: Washington, Saturday, April 25, 1936.

If Guffey act is held constitutional, it will result next year (not this year) in enactment of comparable special acts for a number of leading industries, establishing government control of hours & wages.

If Guffey act is held unconstitutional, these immediate results:
Bituminous miners' strikes will be talked in a few regions, but are not likely to develop.

New coal bill will be presented to Congress, not much different from Guffey act. It probably will not pass now, despite strike talk. This will not disappoint the administration, which prefers promises of industry regulation as campaign issue to actual accomplished regulation.

Threat of anthracite coal strike next week, but no actual strike, because government intervention will force an agreement. Congressional inquiry into anthracite companies will be proposed, if strike develops.

Ellenbogen bill to regulate textile industry will make progress, regardless of Guffey act decision, but enactment this year is improbable. There's too much division of sentiment about it. A'Forb is only lukewarm. (Long-range effects of Guffey decision, see last week's Letter.)

Adjournment of Congress may be delayed to second week in June. June 1 adjournment seems impossible, due to taxes, relief, other issues. Democrats, keeping Congress in session during Republican convention, can counteract the sounding board effect of the Republican convention.

Taxes: House bill, now made public, has 236 pages, 7 1/2-in. thick, many grotesquely complex tables, involved language. Tax authorities who have studied revenue bills for years don't pretend to understand it.

One thing clear is that holding companies are heavily penalized, taxed at confiscatory rate if (a) 50% or more of their stock is owned by another corporation, and (b) 80% or more of gross income is from dividends. Not just utility holding companies, but holding companies in all lines. Corporations thus taxed would have to revamp corporate form immediately, or give up practically all income to government. Thus death sentence. Many multiple-layer holding companies could not revamp enough to escape. It is these at which the tax reformers are aiming especially.

Thus, a consistent continuation of administration hostility to complex corporate structures. An extended application of the principle approved last year to penalize holding companies. A mixture of the economic reform ideas of Frankfurter, Brandeis, and Berle-Allen.

Senate will change House plan, but will leave some undetermined tax penalty on intercorporate dividends. Corporations with complex forms should prepare for a softened blow, but still a blow.

House bill is not THE bill. Senate will write the final bill. Senate committee has substantial majority opposed to the House bill. One reason is that senators can't understand it, and say so privately.
Senate, after floundering on taxes, probably will raise the corporation rate, and add experimental tax on undistributed earnings.

Reasons guiding Senate: House bill too messy, too uncertain on revenue yield, especially next year when the revenue is sorely needed, too provocative of business dislocations in critical recovery period.

Excise taxes, substitutes for processing taxes: House is dodging them. Senate will vote them ONLY if President insists. It is doubtful whether he will insist strongly enough to put them in the final bill.

The political election arguments and pressures are all against them.

No excise taxes on imported oils, fats, eggs, starches, or on domestic oleomargarine, regardless of action on the other excise taxes. This appraisal is fairly dependable, is important to many business lines.

Windfall tax certain. Senate will revise it but keep it.

Of course it won't yield more than a fraction of the revenue estimated. Its purpose is not fiscal, but political, - theme for campaign speeches.

For fuller discussion of tax bill and tax prospects, see our Tax Letter of today, April 25, or write us for it.

Anti price discrimination bills, Robinson-Patman and others, have gained a lot of support among congressmen during the past week.

Much FEELING is being generated, - mainly anti-monopoly feeling.

Prospects are slightly on the side of enactment of some MILD measure.

Food & drugs: President expects to send strong message for it. This alone will not force enactment, but it will increase chances.

Members of Congress feel that the bill is "popular."

New organized pressure for public works, perhaps 300 millions, is developing, - by combination of liberals and construction industry. It probably will not come out of the $1 billion for relief and WPA, but would be IN ADDITION, and beyond the budget as planned. Roosevelt is technically opposed, but probably will not fight it openly.

Wagner housing bill probably can't pass, just because there's so much division of policy within New Deal on WHAT to do on housing.

There's much excusable floundering around on housing.

Farm mortgages: Land bank rate, now 3 1/2, will go to 4% July 1. There's new agitation for Wheeler bill, to continue the 3 1/2 rate, but its chances are doubtful. Also new stirrings in Congress for the Frazier-Lemke bill, (farm mortgage, greenbacks, inflation).

It may come to vote, but there's NO chance of enactment.

Telephone inquiry has become flagrantly ex parte. Communications Commission will get orders next week from high quarters to relax on AT&T, to change inquiry methods. Complaints from telephone stockholders are coming via Democratic party channels. Politicians are getting the idea that the inquiry hurts election chances. Commission will oblige.

Power policies: Little dams at headwaters, more for floods than for power, promoted by Morris Cooke of REA, seem to be gaining favor in Congress, - as against dominant big dam policy of Norris-TVA-Roosevelt.

APPLIED study of how social security affects various industries. "Handbook of the Labor Factors in Investments", the best study to date, may be obtained by writing Dow, Jones and Co., 44 Broad St., N.Y., 25c.

It is more practical than any of the government reports, which are fancy.
This year's drought is more serious than officials say publicly. Dust bowl of Kansas, parts of Oklahoma, Texas, Colorado, extending into southern Illinois and Indiana, - moisture deficiency in this area.

Winter wheat and western cotton may be materially affected. Effects on farm income are problematic. If rain soon, income will hold up, as expected. If no rain soon, income will be cut.

Chamber of Commerce next week will try to "lay off Roosevelt." Speakers at annual meeting have been told to avoid spirit of bitterness. Most will, some won't. Those who don't will get the newspaper headlines.

Chamber really doesn't represent Big Business or Big Wealth. Big Business looks down on Chamber. Big Wealth looks for representation to temporary propaganda organizations, aired by Black lobby committee.

How to increase business and employment will be Chamber theme. Nothing will result, except a committee to study and cooperate.

Washington official opinions about war have not changed much in the past few weeks. All expressions are qualified by ifs-a-ands, but they sound these notes: No general European war during 1936. England will continue efforts to work out an agreement with Germany. France will not fight unless England agrees, or unless Germany attacks. Italy's Ethiopian victory is hollow, in view of precarious economic situation within Italy. Italy's internal troubles may break out soon.

France probably will devalue, perhaps within next few weeks, perhaps delayed some months. Shock of French devaluation to American markets will be temporary, not serious, not continuing.

No further American devaluation (probably), as result of French devaluation. There are no official assurances of this, but all the unofficial talk is that our government will leave the dollar where it is.

We have a de facto stabilization of currency. Most of the talk about the need of stabilization means the need of insurance against some future change. The chances are against change.

Hull's trade agreement policy will be challenged by figures on international balance of payments soon (NOT delayed for policy reasons). They will show increase of unfavorable trade balance position, - more imports than exports. This will help Peek, who is veering Republican. But administration thinks it can PROVE ultimate benefits of Hull policy.

Political kidding: Conservative Democrats are passing the word that Roosevelt, once in after reelection, will turn "safe and sane", and "quite satisfactory to business." Note Roan next week on this.

Liberals are passing the word through their own pet channels that Roosevelt, once reelected, will "let loose with his REAL reforms."

There are all shades of truth and untruth in these whispers, but it is our opinion that the liberals are closer to the real truth.

Conservative Republicans are passing the word to business men that Republican platform will be "shockingly liberal", that it will be dictated by Borah, but that platform mustn't be taken too seriously. Borah, by New Deal standards, is highly conservative.

Opponents of Landon, who seems 2-to-1 the nominee, are saying that Landon will surprise his own party by his liberality. They complain that Landon believes in about 50% of the New Deal objectives.

Opponents of Landon are accurate in their appraisal of him.
Government propaganda influence on the press: Issue is active within Washington and among newspaper publishers, due to recent incidents which the press feels restrained from publishing, due to "confidential" nature of discussions between high officials and the publishers.

Fact: One very high official tells publishers "off the record" (thus preventing publication) that they should carry "straight news" from Washington. ("Straight news" consists largely of the things which officials do, say, or report. Straight news necessarily reflects largely the views of the administration in power.)

Fact: He advised against "columnists" and named some of them. (Columnists add to the straight news the elements of comment, judgment, weighting, criticism. Most are able, honest and thoughtful.)

Fact: Democratic publicity organization, which is hand-in-glove with the government, is attacking publicly those columnists who are adversely critical of the New Deal, either regularly or occasionally. Democratic organization is refraining from attacking those columnists who are regarded as "friendly" to the New Deal.

Fact: Most of the chief government publicity men (scores of them) are appointed through the Democratic party propaganda director, and their publicity policies for the government are often suggested by him.

Fact: Government publicity men get local directors of federal agencies to write letters to editors of local newspapers. The letters are identical. Thus, government operates a chain propaganda of its own.

Fact: Government sees nothing wrong with any of these practices.

Radio, through which the press power is being diminished, can not be fully trusted, because it gets its life-or-death licenses from a government authority, which under any administration is apt to be partisan, and which under this administration IS partisan.

Views, based on years of observation of successive regimes:

No government is ALWAYS right. This applies to present and past. Government should not dictate what the public shall read.

The present government is making some gestures in this direction. Propaganda of a government and of a party should not be in the same hands, or conjoined, as they are under the current administration. Pressure propaganda on controversial issues, on which the public has not yet made up its mind, should not be financed by the government.

The press has not lost its freedom under New Deal, as some say, and is not in imminent danger of losing it. Some elements are cautious, merely fault finding; some elements are sycophantic to officialdom; all elements have faults, but most are honest and workmanlike.

But government pressures on the press are quietly increasing. They have not reached the stage of alarm. They HAVE reached the stage where the facts and the tendencies should be reported to the public.

These things are not "straight news," but they ought to be said. They relate not to one party, but to good government. Yours very truly,

April 25, 1936.

THE KUTZ WASHINGTON AGENCY

**N.B.** — MATERIAL IS PROTECTED BY COPYRIGHT AND IS NOT TO BE DUPLICATED IN WHOLE OR IN PART IN ANY FORM WHATSOEVER.
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Hyde Park, N. Y.,
August 6, 1936.

FOR: STANLEY HICH

SUBJECT: SPEECH MATERIAL FILE

Letter from George Palmer Putnam,
2 East 45th Street, New York City,
July 29, 1936:

"The other day a prominent
New Yorker in the course of an attack
on the Administration said to me:

"Of every thousand dollars
spent by the Government on relief,
seven hundred goes for administration,
and only three hundred reaches the
people for whom the money is actually
intended."
PSF Good Neighbor League

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Hyde Park, N. Y.,
August 5, 1936.

FOR: STANLEY HIG

SUBJECT: SPEECH MATERIAL FILE

Letter from Lela C. White, 330
Oakwood Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois,
July 24, 1936, to Mrs. Roosevelt:

"The other day I was talking
to an old boss of mine, one who sold
the business which he and another
farm boy had started from scratch,
for four million dollars in 1923 ......
he is thoroughly antagonistic against
the administration. When my friend
and I protested he said, "You don't
read the papers. Didn't you see the
other day where Roosevelt caused the
bank panic?"
MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

I am enclosing herewith a letter just received from Maury Maverick which is self-explanatory.

In addition to the churches we got the labor and peace groups active for him.

STANLEY HIGH
Dear Mr. High:

As soon as I was certain of the election I sent you an Army Radio, but now write to confirm the good news. Also I want it known that I would like to do something for the President. I am good at organization and can speak any style from radio to stump. Possibly in about a month I'll get on a train and come up your way and talk the matter over.

Nearly every preacher in town got a wire from somebody in New York. The different things that you did helped me a great deal and I appreciate it very much. They gave me the works. They bribed a good many of the alleged leaders of the town and spent a lot of money — I can't tell exactly, but it looks like between fifty and seventy-five thousand dollars. However, they did no good and got nowhere. The "West Side", populated by Mexicana, and usually known as a purchasable district simply would not be bought off. I carried that district overwhelmingly and it is a real tribute to the people that nobody let themselves be bought off.

I appreciate very deeply what you have done.

Sincerely yours,

Maury Maverick
August 21, 1936.

Miss Marguerite LeHand
The President's House
Hyde Park, New York

Dear Marguerite:

I think the President may be interested to know that, searching for a news commentator who could do something better for us than Bill Hard is doing for the Republicans, I found Mr. T. V. Smith, founder of the Chicago University Radio Round Table.

Mr. Smith, in addition to being a radio notable, is a professor of political science at the Chicago University and is a Democratic member of the Illinois State Senate. He begins a week from Monday night at 10:45 Eastern Daylight Saving Time and he won't cost us a cent.

Sincerely yours,

[Signature]

SH:FR
Dear Mr President:

I am not among those who believe that the election is in the bag - regardless of how Maine goes. It is my opinion that there is a tendency to underestimate Mr Landon. His back-porch and back-platform campaign is likely to be more effective than we admit. Moreover, there is an even more serious tendency to underestimate the fanaticism of the anti-Roosevelt forces - particularly among the women. What they may lack by way of office-holding organization, they are making up, in many places, by volunteer zeal. I doubt if there has ever been so much house-to-house, bell-ringing enthusiasm among the women Republicans as there is today. The same is true - to a somewhat lesser degree - among young people.

The aim of this activity is to get the middle-class vote. The family with an income of from $5000 to $8000; the home-owning, Protestant, Kiwanis Club, small-town citizen. The strategy is to frighten these voters. In the order of their importance there are three points to this fear-strategy: 1) The financial fear, i.e., taxes and the cost of living; 2) the fear that a change of our form of government is in process; 3) the religious fear - which rings all the changes on anti-Catholicism, anti-Semitism, anti-Communism.

I do not believe that this election will be won unless these three attacks are more effectively met.

I should like to put a few suggestions into the hopper for what they are worth.

First, I think that - to date - we have relied too much on the radio as a substitute for platform-to-platform campaigning. I do not think that it is a substitute. For the average Senator or Cabinet Officer it is far easier to make a radio speech from a convenient spot than to start on a personal-appearance tour of the tank-towns. But I do not believe that it is half so effective. If we win the kind of a mandate-victory we ought to win it will be, in considerable part, because we put some of our best - and therefore hardest-to-handle - people on the kind of a schedule that Ruth Bryan Owen is following.

Second, I do not believe that our chief need, at present, is for help from the Progressives - valuable as that is in off-setting Lemke, et al. I do think we need to send out everybody who can pass as a Conservative - such persons as Mr. Cummings, Mr. Hull, Mr. Morganthau, Senators Robinson,
Harrison, Clark, Barkley, Jesse Jones, Joe Kennedy, etc.

Third, we ought to corral every friendly business man to
give to the newspapers his reasons for supporting the administration. The women are doing a swell job at this among women leaders. Aside from Mr. Kennedy's book, we have had nothing by way of business men's statements. And yet there are business men of standing who are for us.

Fourth, I think we ought to get out every second-string speaker - assistant secretaries, etc. - who is fitted to talk on the finance picture. I have in mind such men as J F T O'Connor, Mr Crowley of the FDIC, the Assistant Secretaries of Commerce, etc. There must be fifteen able speakers who for the better part of the next month could average two speeches a day for us in doubtful states.

I am sending this week a detailed report of the Good Neighbor League which is now functioning with established offices in eighteen states. It is our aim to meet the religio-communist attack on the New Deal and I think we are now organized to do it.

May I say in conclusion how thrilled I was by both the "Drought" and "Green Pastures" speeches.

Very sincerely yours,

[Signature]

The Honorable Franklin D Roosevelt
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D C
The Good Neighbor League, Inc.

Executive Headquarters
105 PARK AVENUE
New York, N.Y.

Telephone CALysta 5-7640

Christmas Eve
1936

Dear Mr. President,

My resolution "not to grow until Christmas" lasted only a few days. As Christmas approaches, I can assure you that not much the Congressional Medal of Honor could have been more thrilling than the watch on Christmas Eve.

This year has been one of sorrow, loss, and disappointment. I have realized that the end of not only is not better than the beginning, but that some climaxes are worse than the last. I am convinced that our country has learned better than any other nation in the world.

Thank you for your letter and I wish you and your family a very happy Christmas.

Very sincerely,

Stanley High
MEMORANDUM FOR

GENERAL WATSON

Will you give this to me next Wednesday at 2 P.M. when I have this meeting?

F. D. R.
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Walter Jones
Millard
H. R. Ware in H.
J. Emerson
\[Signature\]

Will 2 p.m.
Mr. James Roosevelt,  
7210 Santa Monica Boulevard,  
Los Angeles, California.  

Dear Mr. Roosevelt:  

The magazine "News Week" prints a statement that the Good Neighbor League is to be reorganized by the Democratic National Committee in preparation for the Campaign of 1940. Of course, I anticipated this action, but it makes the situation somewhat difficult for me.

I am afraid that if the whole story of the discontinuance of the League four months ago were told, it would be embarrassing, not only to the Democratic Committee and to the Directors, but to the President. The latter gives me great concern. As I think I wrote you some time ago, while the Directors of the League were in session at the Mayflower Hotel last March to consider the future of the League, the President is said to have personally telephoned the directors that the League was to be "wrapped in cellophane and put on ice."

If he actually telephoned this message, it must have been due to a misrepresentation of the facts by Charles Michelson. The latter has always been opposed to the "nonpartisan" character of the League, even though my activities were always of a nature to bring credit to the President.

I understand that the President also sent a message to the Mayflower meeting asking that Walter Jones come in to see him the next day, so that he might thank him "for the fine work he had done through the Good Neighbor League." I find it difficult to express my opinion regarding these alleged activities of Mr. Jones. The fact is, he promised me $5,000 a year from the time he became President of the League. He gave me less than $1,000 per year during the first two years, and nothing at all last year. Outside of this, he was a negative quantity, taking the place of someone who might have been or real service.

No public announcement has been made of the action taken at the Mayflower Hotel meeting of the directors. I asked Mr. Jones and Mr. Michelson to tell me how this announcement was to be made, but neither answered my letters.
I cannot wait much longer, now that this story has been printed by *News-Week*, to make my own announcement regarding the folding up of the League. I was personally responsible for the formation of the committee of six hundred outstanding Americans and for the three thousand ministers who joined the League, to say nothing of the editors of the three hundred labor papers, and of the Advisory Committee of the League. I must make some sort of a statement to them.

I feel that I am personally responsible to these various groups, as well as to many others who came into the League at my solicitation, and that something should be said to them as to why the "League was "put on ice". I have always felt that I was more than a mere "employee" of the Directors. I put too much into the League to be so regarded, and the Directors cannot easily dismiss this whole matter by a resolution, the burden of which is that the President was responsible for the discontinuance of the League. The opposition newspapers could easily make an exciting story of this item.

I tried to see you when you were in New York in order to discuss the form this should take, so that nothing might be said to affect the President, but I am wondering if you have received my letters. I can only conclude that you have not personally seen them.

A month ago I wrote the President asking him to give me a chance to state the facts regarding the League, but my letter has remained unanswered.

I just want to say that the attitude of the Democratic Committee and of Mr. Michelson in particular, regarding the Good Neighbor League has not only put it "on ice" but has frozen it to death. Its value in the next campaign as a political factor, under all the circumstances will be lower than zero.

For your information I am enclosing a copy of a letter which I have just sent to the directors of the League. It will also indicate to you the situation regarding the American Jewish Committee.

I hope that you will give me such counsel as your judgment may dictate, particularly so that I may secure a clear understanding of the attitude and purpose of the President regarding this whole matter.

Cordially yours,

Charles Steigle
A Personal Letter to
the Directors of the
Good Neighbor League

Walter A. Jones
Edward J. Flynn
James L. Houghteling
Charles Michelson
Sol A. Rosenblatt

Gentlemen:

Since the official closing down of the Good Neighbor League I
have been working steadily on the Campaign for Democracy, and the Cana-
dian-American Good Neighbor Celebration. At the beginning of this period
I was introduced to representatives of the American Jewish Committee
through Mr. James Roosevelt, and I was given assurance that this Commit-
tee would give me substantial financial backing.

However, the Committee, as a whole, which had previously en-
tered into negotiations with several other organizations, decided at a meet-
ing held last week, that they were not yet ready to commit themselves to
any particular organization, although I believe that meanwhile some kind
of an arrangement will soon be made whereby I will be called upon for a
special service in the field of Labor.

Under the circumstances I did not try to tie up with any other
group, because the promises held out to me seemed to be of such a substan-
tial character that I felt it might later become embarrassing were I to do
so. For the same reason I did not try to organize a general committee.
Meanwhile, I assumed the responsibility for carrying on during the past
four months, personally borrowing such sums of money as I could, although
I have had no salary during this period.

You will recall that when the League was discontinued, we still
owed about $1,000, for which I said I would not depend upon theDemocratic
National Committee because a friend had promised to underwrite this sum.
Unfortunately, the business prospects of the underwriter did not material-
ize as quickly as had been hoped, and while I am sure the money will ulti-
mately be paid, I have been greatly embarrassed by the demands of the do-
zen or so creditors to whom we are indebted. Several threats to sue the
League.

I have already explained why this indebtedness was incurred. The
$6,000 contributed by the Democratic Committee for the year's activities
was scarcely enough to carry on the work committed to me, and I used my best
judgment in order to continue. Unfortunately, the "war scare" of last Fall
temporarily retarded all attempts to raise funds. There were other reasons,
but this was the most prominent. But we simply could not stop completely at
that time. No progressive Committee or Board of Directors would have done so.
The reason I am writing this letter to the Directors of the League is with the hope that they will help me clear up this $1,000 debt. It seems only fair to remind the Directors that I personally secured the cancellation of notes amounting to nearly $10,000, when I became their Executive Director, for which I had no responsibility. I honestly feel that while the Democratic Committee fulfilled its financial obligation, the Directors surely had at least a moral obligation to stand by me, particularly as I attempted nothing but what had been definitely authorized by them.

Some of the directors assured me that they would assist financially, but none of them did so. I know that technically this was not required of them, but I accepted their promises in good faith, and proceeded accordingly. Had these promises been kept, there would have been no debt.

I am facing a very serious situation which I cannot evade. I want to complete the job I have undertaken, and I believe that support for doing so will come through, but I must clear up the debts of the League before I can make progress. If actual contributions cannot be obtained, may I suggest the possibility of securing a loan of $1,000, which will be paid through contributions which will later be received. The fact is, this sum was expended for work already done in connection with the projects upon which I am now working.

I sincerely hope that you will favor me with the courtesy of a prompt reply.

Sincerely yours,

CS/G
Memorandum For The President.

Re: Good Neighbor League

After the meeting of the Good Neighbor League, I saw Dr. Stelzle at his request. Stelzle told me he had a conversation with Jones in which Jones said "you see everything about this is now political and I am not going to be used to pull his political chestnuts out of the fire".

Stelzle then told me there was a judgment of $250 against the Good Neighbor League which would be enforced by eviction on Monday and seizure of the records of the League including all the lists - a good list of 200 Protestant ministers and a card list of 30,000 good will names.

I called Michaelson and learned that Michaelson was going to send Rosenblatt over to pay the $250, but not the continuance of the rent, and seize the records for the Democratic National Committee. I learned that Stelzle had already made copies of the smaller lists, but had not made copies of the card list. What I was worried about was that the list might by attachment or sale or by Stelzle copying them or by Rosenblatt seizing them fall in the hands of the enemy.

Apparently Rosenblatt was sent yesterday to get the lists. Stelzle has been trying to call me to intervene with you. Michaelson thinks Stelzle is a fraud. I am keeping out of it unless I have specific instructions.