MEMORANDUM FOR WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE

Wisconsin Situation:

1. Conversation with Phil and conferences with other Progressives.

2. Cooperation in getting Schmedeman to withdraw from governorship.

3. Phil's following is very definitely a New Deal following. He could not be elected otherwise. He is personally delaying endorsement of the President awaiting the public reaction to Lemke. While this is satisfactory from his point of view, it is not well for us to permit too long a delay; and in order to force his decision, we should not be too quick to recognize them we have first secured the benefit of their endorsement.

4. Republicans and Progressives are both criticizing the Canadian Treaty; it will not be effective on account of the price of dairy products.

5. Campaign in Wisconsin and Minnesota must be handled differently than other States. Great care must be used to try and keep both factions satisfied. In order to do this it will be necessary to set up in each of these States a Roosevelt-Progressive club.

6. I am reliably informed from conferences with Progressives that they contemplate endorsing the President with certain reservations. These reservations are injected so that they may be able to criticize the program of the future. They definitely intend to try to establish a liberal party for 1940, and Phil has great aspirations to be the presidential candidate.

Minnesota Situation:

1. With Olsen being eliminated on account of illness, it is going to change the Minnesota situation very materially. The Farm-Labor Party was strictly an Olsen party, and there is no one directly able to take his place. There is no chance of the President carrying Minnesota unless we can get a coalition between the Democrats and the Farmer-Laborites. If Olsen withdraws, which on account of his ill health he will be forced to do within the next ten days, there will be a scramble for leadership and we must be care-
ful to analyze our situation correctly, otherwise, it might be to our disadvantage. Minnesota is nominally a very strong Republican State and we are not as strong as in 1932. Consequently, we must handle this situation very carefully.

Effect of Lemke Vote in Wisconsin and Minnesota:

1. The Lemke vote in Wisconsin should not be serious except in the northern part of the State. He will undoubtedly secure between fifty and seventy-five thousand votes; however, the trend should be watched very carefully.

2. In Minnesota with Governor Olsen eliminated, there is danger of confusion in his party and it is likely that some of the Farmer-Laborites may drift to Lemke. It would not surprise me to see Lemke get between seventy-five and a hundred thousand votes in Minnesota, and of course, the great majority of those will be drawn from us.

Republican Strategy for the Campaign:

1. I am reliably informed that it will be Landon's policy not to criticize the majority of the New Deal's accomplishments, but rather to endorse them and build himself up as the Great Liberator, but - unlike the President - he will be practical. Also an attempt will be made to sell him as a Great Administrator and the only one who can stop the left swing that will destroy America if the President is re-elected. There is also a significant attempt to inject the spirit of "America for Americans" which has sort of a reform or religious cast to it.

2. They plan also to secure the cooperation of large corporations and particularly insurance companies to appeal to their stockholders and policyholders stating that the New Deal is destroying the future and security of their holdings. I believe that we should make every attempt to put them on the defensive for such a program. Certainly the earnings of various corporations and the recovery made to date refute their arguments.
January 21, 1936

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

Dear Mr. President:

We have discussed the bonus at great length so I will not burden you with any further arguments. My hope is still high that you will conclude to sign. If you do decide to approve, may I venture to suggest that ample reason exists in the situation created by the majority decision of the Supreme Court?

Your administration has attempted to restore some measure of purchasing power to the masses of the people because this is the only way in which our modern industrial and agricultural mechanisms of production and distribution can be made to function. The majority of the Supreme Court has disrupted at least for the immediate future the carrying out of this program in an orderly and effective manner. I refer not only to the majority decision's direct effect on the A.A.A. but also to its implications in regard to many other features of your policies. Cannot you logically take the position that while you did not favor the bonus as a means of increasing purchasing power so long as other parts of your program were accomplishing this end, now in the emergency created by the Court's opinion you approve the bonus as a device for increasing purchasing power during the interim while ways and means are being worked out to substitute more constructive measures to meet the majority opinion of the Court?

Whatever your reaction may be to this suggestion I am sure that you know it is advanced in the best of faith.

Sincerely yours,

[Signature]

R.M. no
Honorables Franklin D. Roosevelt,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

Just a reminder of the points covered today.

1. The right man should be secured to gather and put in usable form the vast amount of factual information which in its present unorganized state in the various departments and agencies is useless. I suggest someone like Leon Henderson who is familiar with the very useful data in Research and Planning of N.R.A. and who also knows the people who know the material in the various departments and agencies. I also suggest that this person be attached to but not under Early and be given a room in the Executive Offices where his work can pass under your eye. Someone should also be obtained to work with him to put the material in popular form. Stewart Chase or some other person who has this gift is needed.

2. A weekly broadcast on the same day and same hour each week for a period of 15 or 30 minutes to put the heads of departments and agencies on the air in a "What Your Government is Doing" hour, material to be factual and popular but not political. The program should be scheduled in advance. At least two weeks notice should be given to the official who is to broadcast. His speech should go to the person in charge of material preparation one week in advance for coordination with the main objectives.

3. The keynote from now on and for this whole program should be Produce More Wealth for the Common Good. The Administration has made progress toward this goal but it is only a beginning. "Forward", the motto you used today is a good one.

Thanks for the time you gave me,

Sincerely,

[Signature]

RML/ES
Personal

Dear Mr. President,

I want to thank you for Mr. Le Follette and myself for the note about our baby. It was very kind of you to take time from your many duties to write us.

February 6, 1936.
My I take this opportunity to suggest the importance of having a talk with Senator Shipstead? He has a greater hold on the people of Minnesota than anyone else in the state. If you could invite him to lunch or have him in some evening for a friendly chat it would be helpful.