

PSF HERBERT H. LEHMAN (Gov.)

*Subject File*

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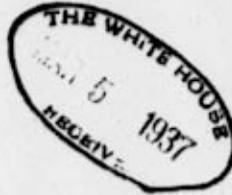
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STATE OF NEW YORK  
EXECUTIVE CHAMBER  
ALBANY

ROBERT H. LEHMAN  
GOVERNOR

PS F: Lehman



File  
FOR

March 3, 1937.

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

My dear Mr. President:

Lithgow Osborne has asked me to write to you commending his brother Charles, now Mayor of Auburn, for your consideration for appointment as Assistant Secretary of War.

I know that you know Charles Osborne well as he was one of your appointees to the Temporary Emergency Relief Administration. He is a man of excellent character and standing. I understand that ever since his own service overseas he has kept up his interest in military affairs, is a member in good standing of the Legion, and a National Guardsman.

I bespeak for him your careful consideration.

Very sincerely yours,

*Robert H. Lehman*

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PSF: Lehman  
THE WHITE HOUSE  
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STATE OF NEW YORK  
EXECUTIVE CHAMBER  
ALBANY

April 4, 1938.

HERBERT H. LEHMAN  
GOVERNOR

My dear Franklin:

I want to thank you heartily for your thought of me on the occasion of my sixtieth birthday and for your congratulations and good wishes, which I deeply appreciate.

I hope you had a good rest at Warm Springs and that you have returned much refreshed.

With greetings in which Edith joins me, I remain,

Very sincerely yours,

*Herbert H. Lehman*

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

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file  
personal PS

Hyde Park, N. Y.,  
September 7, 1938.

Dear Herbert:-

I hope that you are coming to the Constitutional Convention celebration in Poughkeepsie on September seventeenth, and I hope, too, that you and Edith will lunch with us that day. Kleaser is writing Edith but has had to go down to Minnesota with Jimmy somewhat unexpectedly and will not be back for several days.

I hope that after all these years it goes without saying that you are very welcome at any time.

As ever yours,

His Excellency  
Herbert H. Lehman.

PSF: Lehman



STATE OF NEW YORK  
EXECUTIVE CHAMBER  
ALBANY

HERBERT H. LEHMAN  
GOVERNOR

THE WHITE HOUSE  
AUG 31 9 04 AM '38  
August 30th, 1938  
RECEIVED

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

Dear Franklin,

I am writing you these lines because I consider it very unsatisfactory to send or receive messages through an intermediary -- our relationship over many years should preclude the necessity of resorting to such a course.

Within the past week Ed. Flynn has suggested to me that it would be advisable for me to ask you for an appointment so that we could discuss the political situation. I gained the impression from Ed that you felt somewhat aggrieved that I had made no attempt to see you. So that there may be no misunderstanding I am taking the liberty of outlining to you my point of view, which I have already explained in some detail to Ed Flynn on two separate occasions.

You must be aware of the fact that the impression is wide-spread both in New York State and elsewhere that there has been a breach between us. This impression was created at the time I assumed a position in respect of the Supreme Court Reorganization bill. From that time on there have appeared in the press many articles to the effect that you had taken great offense at my action and that our relations were no longer friendly.

Certainly there has been no action on my part that has given rise to the rumors of a breach between us. I have neither done or said anything, nor left anything unsaid or undone that might stimulate these rumors. The fact remains, however, that there have appeared countless articles in recent months referring to the fact that you are no longer friendly to me. So far as I know, none of these have been contradicted and many occasions have gone by when the rumors could easily have been dispelled -- when silence on your part gave added fuel to the fire.

The President

-2-

August 30th, 1938

When I announced my candidacy for the United States Senate on the death of Senator Copeland, I expected an expression of your good wishes. I believe the people of the State waited for that expression. It did not come. On the contrary, it has been reported at various times that you were behind another candidate. This, too, has not been contradicted so far as I know. The report has come to me from many sources that you do not look with favor on my candidacy.

Ed Flynn has told me that he understands you had written me a letter asking me to come to Hyde Park to see you. If this is so the letter never reached me. As I told him, the only letter which I have recently received from you was one dated June thirteenth, in acknowledgement of a copy of the Executive Budget at the end of which you wrote: "I do hope to see both you and Edith this summer."

I need not tell you, I am certain, that I will always be ready to come to see you at Hyde Park or Washington at your request or on your invitation. In view of the fact, however, that there has been so much speculation with regard to our present relations and the present political situation, I believe you will agree that if I now called on you on my own initiative, the impression would be created that I had done so for the purpose of enlisting your help in my candidacy.

Although I hope that you will feel that my public record entitles me to your support, I want neither to embarrass you or myself by giving renewed ground at this time for further speculation.

I feel sure that you will understand the spirit in which this letter is written.

With kindest personal regards to you and Mrs. Roosevelt in which Edith joins me, I am

Yours very sincerely,

*Herbert H. Lehman*

PSF: Lehman



STATE OF NEW YORK  
EXECUTIVE CHAMBER  
ALBANY

THE WHITE HOUSE  
SEP 12 9 03 AM '38  
RECEIVED

HERBERT H. LEHMAN  
GOVERNOR

September 9th, 1938

Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt,  
President of the United States,  
Hyde Park,  
New York.

Dear Franklin,

I am just in receipt of your letter of  
September seventh.

Many thanks for the invitation extended  
to Edith and me to lunch with you on the occasion of the  
Constitution Convention celebration in Poughkeepsie on  
September seventeenth. I expect to attend the celebration  
and am very glad indeed to accept your invitation.

Unfortunately, Edith will not be able  
to come as she has other engagements of long standing  
for Saturday afternoon. She, nonetheless, wishes to  
thank you and Mrs. Roosevelt very heartily for your  
invitation.

With kind personal regards, I remain

Very sinverely yours,

*Herbert H. Lehman*

TELEGRAM

PS F: Lehman

The White House  
Washington

September 30, 1938.

Hon. John Boyd Thacher,  
Permanent Chairman of the Democratic State Convention,  
Rochester,  
New York.

I am made very happy by the willingness of Governor Lehman to accept renomination stop I well realize the personal sacrifice which this involves but I am certain that the people of our State will continue to approve the forward-looking comma businesslike and clean government he has maintained.

Paragraph Our citizens recognize also that Senator Wagner's services for humanity throughout America make our whole State proud of him and that he will be ably seconded in the Senate by another practical humanitarian comma Representative James Mead and in the House of Representatives as Representatives-at-Large by Mrs. O'Day and Mr. Merritt.

Paragraph I am glad too that it is proposed that my old friend Charles Poletti will be given opportunity to assist our Governor in the same way that Mr. Lehman assisted me when I was Governor.

Paragraph I scarcely need to say that I am happy that my old associates John Bennett and Morris Tremaine will be given opportunity to continue their fine work.

TELEGRAM

The White House  
Washington

-2-

Paragraph My congratulations to the Delegates to this  
Convention stop They are insuring the continuance of  
liberal democratic government in my home State

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

PSF: Lehman

1-538

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

October 10, 1938.

MEMORANDUM FOR

HERBERT H. LEHMAN

A very good friend of mine in Waterloo — who "knows his farmers" intimately — sent me the following slogan, which he says would help you and the rest of the ticket enormously all through up-State New York.

It is:

"Five cent milk at the farm, and ten cent milk on the street".

This may be a pretty difficult thing to carry into effect but over a period of two or three years I honestly believe it can be accomplished — and is, therefore, worth thinking about.

Incidentally, the man who sent it to me is a lifelong Republican who has consistently voted for you.

F. D. R.

PSF: Lehman

October 5, 1938.

THE PRESIDENT,

Dear Boss,

Now that you went and spoiled the war, the job I was looking for has gone by the board. Marvelous work and magnificently timed. For that you'll be called "ROOSEVELT THE GREAT" in the not far hereafter. Watch my predictions, they are not bad.

I expect to be running by your gate ere long on my trek South, for the winter; for my doctor is banishing me early this year on account of a bad bronchial condition that came on about two weeks ago, and has been unusually severe and early. He says, "beat it," so I'll be on my way I hope by the first of next week. So tell your gate keeper to let me in for a minute, at least, to say Howdy and Good Luck; for, with the stream running as it is, you'll have to back Lewis or Lehman at the convention or shoulder the pack yourself for the next term. I am a notably rotten politician, but I'd rather vote for The Governor than the blatherskite, though Labor and The Farmer may think differently. Tell Lehman to holler for "five cent milk at the farm, and ten cent milk on the street." That'll make him King if he wants the job. And it will be just.

With best of luck and again congratulating you on your marvelous work for the peace of rankind.

Devotedly yours,

*George*

PSF: Lehman

October 14, 1938

File  
private +  
confidential

Lehman would be the betting favorite in this election, and Dewey the long-shot, but there are various new factors to be taken into consideration. First, this election will not be on the New Deal issue, thereby muffling one of Lehman's biggest guns. Futile bombarding of the New Deal is what has spelled defeat for Republicans in this state for several years. Dewey is campaigning as a "liberal", labeling the Democrats as "radical", and he is concentrating on crime and corruption as his selling-points. Second, the old champion (Lehman) is pretty well played out. Sign of this in 1936 was the fact that he trailed Roosevelt in the State, although he had been "drafted" to aid the President's campaign.

Third, the Jewish vote has gotten used to having one of their race in high office, isn't so likely to look upon Lehman as a Jewish champion. That vote has always been inclined to disintegrate; it isn't like the solid Catholic vote. There are Jewish Democrats, Jewish Republicans, Jewish Laborites. Moreover, a lot of Jews definitely don't like Lehman.

Fourth, is the press. Most of the papers as yet have not lined themselves up on one side or the other. But there are ample indications that they like Dewey. This is part of their general anti-New Dealism. They have good words for Dewey whenever they can; most of them, for instance, sharply criticized Pecora for that Hines mistrial. At the same time, they pick on Lehman when they get a chance, as in this current probe of the Brooklyn District Attorney, Geoghan. This has been particularly true of the World Telegram, and I happen to know that Dewey is close to certain Scripps-Howard bigwigs. The Times is so far non-committal, praises both of them. The Post is a factor. And of course the Republican papers are after Lehman like the pack on the scent.

Fifth, and most important, is Dewey's histrionic ability on the radio. This gives him a direct appeal to the people, and especially to women. Lehman on the air has a Crossley rating of about 0.0000002.

I may be playing a hunch in picking Dewey to win or come close, but you may recall that my hunches were right on LaGuardia, Dewey, and Roosevelt last times out.

Yours,

Bill

PSF: Lehman

10/14/38

Feb  
personal

TICKLER - NEW YORK DAILY NEWS FOR THE LAST NINETY DAYS

CONFIDENTIAL

The News with a September daily circulation of 1,800,000 and a Sunday circulation of 3, 150,000 has not as yet announced its policy in the coming election.

It has a very large circulation among the laboring class, a factor of great importance in this year's election by reason of the American Labor Party's stupid blunder. The American Labor Party nominated the heads of the Democratic ticket but declined to nominate the Democratic party's candidate for Attorney-General and Controller. Thus, its strength will be measured by the most unfavorable process of elimination which it could have selected for itself. The News will have great effect on the showing made.

Patterson has stated that he will not sling mud at either Dewey or Lehman and remains non-committal. He has, however, instituted the "battle page" opposite the editorial page on which each candidate can express his views every morning. Additionally, the straw vote will again be taken.

Members of the News staff are for Lehman, Wagner and Mead, but there is a good deal of sympathy for the A L P ticket. Everything, however, depends upon what view Patterson will eventually take. His own staff feels that he can give Dewey great support by remaining silent, in view of the militancy of his former campaigns. They also feel that if the Democratic ticket stands on its record and the liberal forces as headed by Patterson again throw their weight behind the Democratic ticket leaders, Dewey will be the worst defeated candidate in the history of the State.

What Patterson will do is problematical, though within

limits. This is how he was thinking within the last three months:

ANALYSIS OF THE NEWS EDITORIALS

(There are two sets of editorials - <sup>arranged c</sup> chronologically and by subject)

SUMMARY

SECTION I. Franklin Delano Roosevelt

The President should serve third term - more reform in six years of F.D.R. than under previous six presidents - "A great man and a great president" - "A traitor to his class" for the general good and from the heart. But F.D.R. requires new platform. He has carried out most of his purposes. (The News often repeats this theme).

SECTION II. The President and the Press

Great majority of anti-New Deal papers trying to boil up fanatical hatred of F.D.R. Newspapers ought to be investigated.

A. The Daily News ~~xxx~~ to be investigated first.

B. In answer to Scripps-Howard papers on politics and relief "Any WPA'er who votes against the New Deal \* \* \* is nuts!". (This very virile type of writing is quite the rule with the News and is perhaps explanatory of its tremendous mass pull).

SECTION III. The Purge

The Purge is logical; there should be a re-alignment of parties with liberals on one side, conservatives on the other. O'Connor is properly nominated by the Republicans and Tammany should join the Republican Party.

SECTION IV. Approval of New Deal policies

The News is for

1. TVA
2. Government ownership of railroads
3. Public spending
4. Raised wages
5. Farm tenancy loans
6. Declares that "one-third of the

Nation" is really one-half of the Nation.

SECTION V. Isolation

Patterson is absolutely violent on this subject. He is polling the Congressmen to see if they will vote for a European war under any circumstances. He believes that America should stay at home and that whatever our sympathies for the British Empire, it should be left to work out its own destinies. Thus, he ran a full editorial on Jerome Frank's book "Save America First". His confirmed policy repeated at the end of almost every editorial is for a huge American Navy to defend our shores, his motto being 'two ships for one'. This is the Cato speech of The News.

SECTION VI. Dewey

"Dewey should not quit the job he has undertaken. He should see the people through." If he does run his social views are unknown, but that is <sup>the</sup> crucial issue.

SECTION VII. Private dislikes

He dislikes intensely the Federal Communications Commission and any censorship of the air.  
N.B. His "Damn it to hell, it is dangerous".

Believes the Wagner Act should be modified. Thinks the Act is as vengeful on employers as reactionary governments are vengeful upon unions, and that the quarrel is thus prolonged by the government.

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MAY 15 1948  
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SECTION I:

FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

*File  
Benson  
R. F. Johnson  
4/21/40*

May 21, 1940.

MEMORANDUM FOR

GENERAL WATSON

If and when Landon comes  
in I would like to have this  
correspondence given to me to  
read before I see him.

F. D. R.

PSF: Lehman



STATE OF NEW YORK  
EXECUTIVE CHAMBER  
ALBANY

THE WHITE HOUSE  
MAY 18 9 0

HERBERT H. LEHMAN  
GOVERNOR

May 17, 1940.

PERSONAL

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

Dear Franklin:

Frank Altschul has felt embarrassed over the developments in the matter of the invitation which you extended to Landon as a result of the message I brought to you. He has therefore asked me to send you the inclosed letter which I am sure you will be glad to have.

May I say again that I think your message was superb. I have heard praise of it from all sides. I am sure that it has brought a great confidence to the Nation.

With kindest personal regards, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

*Herbert H. Lehman*

Inc.

120 BROADWAY  
NEW YORK

May 17, 1940.

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

Dear Mr. President,

Early last week, when I was talking to Governor Landon on the telephone, he told me about a speech which he contemplated making tonight, Friday May 17th, in regard to foreign relations. As I then understood it, this speech was to be in the nature of an attack on the extreme isolationists, and it appeared to show recognition of the seriousness of the European situation and awareness of its possible implications for us.

A few days subsequently, the invasion of Holland and Belgium took place, and it appeared to me that a situation was developing which might make it desirable for a meeting to take place between you and some responsible Republican leader, with a view to creating an atmosphere in which certain major issues could be removed as completely as possible from the realm of partisan politics.

What Governor Landon had told me about the character of his speech prompted me and encouraged me to make an informal approach to him to see whether he would be receptive to such an idea. His response was immediate and cordial, and left no doubt in my mind that, if you cared to invite him to Washington, your gesture would be met in the broadest spirit.

When, yesterday towards noon, I received a copy of the draft of the contemplated speech, I was surprised and distressed. I immediately called Herbert and

urged him to get word to you that, unless the invitation had gone forward, it would be wise to hold it up until you had had an opportunity to read the speech and decide whether it interposed a difficulty.

Then I telephoned to Governor Landon, and told him that there was much in his speech that I thought particularly unfortunate; that it might easily be used as highly charged with partisanship; and that, on this account, it might seriously militate against the usefulness of any such meeting as that contemplated.

The Governor apparently did not agree with me at all. He seemed to consider his speech as being as non-political as he could possibly make it, and he left me with the impression that anyway it was probably too late to make any changes or do anything about it.

I am embarrassed at the turn the situation has taken, and I want you to have a full knowledge of the facts.

With a number of friends, I listened in rapt attention to your message to Congress yesterday. The enthusiasm which I felt for it was echoed throughout the whole group. It could not possibly have been better; and the interpolation "for the permanent record" was just the thing that so desperately needed saying. I do not feel that I can send you this letter on an entirely different subject without expressing to you a sense of personal appreciation for the tone and the substance of yesterday's speech, in which, in difficult circumstances, you asserted leadership of such high order.

Yours respectfully,



Frank Altschul.

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE

NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING

WASHINGTON

May 20, 1940

Dear Miss Tully:

At the request of Miss Shannon, I send you, herewith, a mimeograph copy of Mr. Landon's Warrensburg speech before the Johnson County Republicans. You will observe, however, that the New York Herald Tribune story published extracts which do not appear in the original text as released by the Republican National Committee.

Incidentally, the Herald Tribune story out of Topeka, dated May 18, copy of which is enclosed, quotes Mr. Landon as saying, "After the shock and horror of the invasions in Europe I believe the American people will be thinking foremost of the unsolved problems at home. I think the election of a Republican President this year is essential to bring about a solution of these problems". I have marked the passage in blue pencil for you.

With kindest personal regards.

Sincerely

*Ed. Brown*

Ed. Brown

CEB.B

40

# Taft Lists First Step in Defense: Scrap New Deal

## Fight on "Hureaucracy at Home as Vital as War Abroad," He Tells Kansans

By Francis M. Stephenson

TOPEKA, Kan., May 28.—Senator Robert A. Taft, of Ohio, a candidate for the Republican Presidential nomination, called tonight on Republicans and others with the interests of the nation at heart to close ranks and wage war on the New Deal now and in the November election as the first measure of national defense in a world of wars.

Addressing a party rally in this capital city of Republicanism, the Senator said: "The fight at home to preserve our form of government is just as important as the war in Europe."

"It is the domestic policy which may leave us weak and unprepared against attack," he warned. "Under cover of war, also, the New Deal domestic program is sneaking on. Every day the bureaus are issuing new regulations and extending their own power."

Earlier, in an interview, Senator Taft brushed aside suggestions of a coalition government as unwise unless the nation should become involved in war, and doubtful even then. He also announced his personal objection to any postponement in the June 24 date for the Republican National Convention.

### Landon Welcomes Him

Former Governor Alfred M. Landon of Kansas, the 1936 Republican Presidential nominee, welcomed Senator Taft to Topeka, where almost all the other Republican Presidential aspirants have called this year.

The titular head of the party, who has expressed his support of President Roosevelt's specific defense program, as has Senator Taft, agreed with the Ohioan that domestic issues should command foremost interest in the campaign.

"After the shock and horror of the invasions in Europe," he told newspaper men, "I believe the American people will be thinking foremost of the unsolved problems at home. I think the election of a Republican President this year is essential to bring about a solution of these problems."

Senator Taft again went directly to the delegates in his busy round of meetings with party leaders today, receiving such assurances of support from Nebraska, which voted a preference for District Attorney Thomas E. Dewey, of New York, in the April primary. A delegation from that state informed the Senator he would receive ten or eleven of the state's fourteen votes on the second ballot.

### Will Back Convention Choice

Speaking over a national hook-up of the National Broadcasting Company in his address tonight in the High School Auditorium, Senator Taft announced opposition "to any moves not designed to stop any

other candidate" and promised his support of the convention's choice.

In an unusual gesture, he mentioned other candidates for the Republican Presidential nomination by name after praising Mr. Landon and former President Herbert Hoover for their "forcible" attacks on the "fallacies and hypocrisies of the New Deal." He named Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, of Michigan; Mr. Dewey, Representative Joseph W. Martin Jr., of Massachusetts, the House Republican leader; Senator Styles Bridges, of New Hampshire, and Frank E. Gannett, Rochester, publisher, as well as "many other Republican leaders."

Senator Taft stated his belief that there would be no nomination this year on the first ballot, as in the last four Republican conventions. He predicted further that 75 percent of the delegates would enter the convention hall uncommitted. He repeated his prediction that he would have the lead on the first ballot.

### Kansas Waits on Landon

The Kansas delegation, which is watching Mr. Landon for its cue, is standing behind the protective favorite-son candidacy of the popular Senator Arthur Capper whenever approached by emissaries of the leading candidates. Mr. Landon is not talking candidacies.

William Allen White, Emporia editor, placed his hand on Senator Taft's shoulder in an introductory talk at the meeting of Kansas delegates at noon at the Jay Hawk Hotel and assured him, "We would not be unhappy if any of the candidates who have visited us would be nominated, but I think we would be a little extra happy, for sentimental reasons, if you are nominated."

The editor then recalled his own allegiance to the "Bull Moose" candidacy of Theodore Roosevelt in the 1912 campaign against President William Howard Taft, the Senator's father, and the subsequent victory in Kansas of the Democratic candidate, Woodrow Wilson.

As Senator Taft joked heartily in the laughter, Mr. White said: "I think we would like to make it up to you for that." He added that

Ed. Brown

later he and President Taft "became good friends, thanks to his generosity and tact."

There was all manner of delegate talk throughout the day. The first question of the newspaper men was: "Who is going to be nominated?" War questions followed.

### Ingalls Rejoins Candidate

David S. Ingalls, of Cleveland, the flying campaign manager of Senator Taft, met the candidate here after a swing through the Far West. He brought with him in his plane J. Edgar Chenoweth, Colorado state chairman.

Reporting a definite trend toward Senator Taft in the West, Mr. Ingalls said: "The closer we get to the convention, the more the people seem to be thinking of the qualities of the candidates and regarding it less as a popularity contest." Mr. Ingalls was a World War flier and formerly was Assistant Secretary of the Navy in charge of Aeronautics. He said, "The worse the war gets, the more the people seem to be turning to Mr. Taft."

Mr. Chenoweth said the Young Republicans of Colorado were enthusiastic about Mr. Dewey, but the gist of all the conversation was that the actual support for Mr. Dewey among delegates was still uncertain. Delegates and personal Taft friends brought reports from Oklahoma and Iowa to this effect.

Senator Taft left no doubt that he would challenge any attempt to bind the Oklahoma delegation for any candidate by the unit rule. Two Oklahoma delegates were here today. Arthur H. Geisler, of Oklahoma City, and W. N. Stranahan, of Muskogee. They insisted that the delegation of twenty-two votes was "not sewed up" for any one.

Vincent Starlinger, of Des Moines, a friend of Senator Taft, said his canvass of the state's twenty-two delegates showed sure secondary strength for Mr. Taft if the delegation should swing from the favorite-son candidacy of Hanford MacNider, to whom it is pledged.

Senator Taft remained here to have dinner tomorrow with Mr. Landon. He will deliver an address on foreign policy over the radio from St. Louis Monday night.

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE  
Publicity Division  
718 Jackson Place, N. W.,  
Washington, D. C.

May 16, 1940 /G252

Release to Newspapers  
of Saturday, May 18, 1940.

Address of Alf M. Landon, former Governor of Kansas and Republican Presidential Candidate in 1936, before the Johnson County Republicans at Warrensburg, Missouri, Friday, May 17, and broadcast over the NBC-Red Network from 9:30 to 10:00 P.M., Eastern Standard Time.

FOREIGN POLICY

The thin crust of the kind of civilization we believe in is cracking over most of the world. The result of the war in Europe has vast implications for America's future. Inevitably, and immediately, the people of America face a grave responsibility. And while we want to keep partisan politics out of our foreign affairs as much as possible, after all, we are facing the most important American job of selecting a new chief executive.

This is a difficult and depressing time to be discussing foreign policies. The chief point I would drive home to every American citizen is that our policy must be flexible and open. No man or group of men is capable of laying down a fixed and final policy, when a battlefield may change America's position over night. But this does not mean a drifting policy; nor does it mean keeping the American people in the dark as to the direction the Administration's foreign policy is taking us.

Our illusions of safety are being shattered. More than ever we must watch our step now; our steps toward national defense, and the steps in our foreign policy.

We have a manifold duty to perform. We owe much to ourselves as a people and a nation. And we also owe a duty to humanity and our civilization. The course we pursue as a nation must be weighed carefully, taking into account the relative value and importance of everything involved. The gravity of this situation requires the highest order of statesmanship and devotion to national unity. We must as a nation pursue a policy which will be in our own self-interest, knowing that if it is sound it will also be in the interest of humanity and civilization.

In the first place, we are going to keep out of this war. The American people, despite the horrifying developments of this last week, still are opposed to armed participation in it. They do not want to send American soldiers to fight a foreign war on a foreign soil. No one will come here to fight us, if we are prepared to meet them on equal terms. Our responsibility, however, does not end with keeping out of the war. There is a great deal to do besides that. We must prepare immediately a modern and impregnable defense. And we must also prepare for a constructive role in the ultimate peace, and in its preservation. The need for proper defensive measures

should be obvious to every American citizen. It is also obvious that we have much to gain, both individually and collectively, from a stable world. Therefore, we should not assume, automatically and in advance, that we have no opportunity to exert ourselves for peace in the world without injuring our own peace through entangling commitments. In general, all candidates, Republican, Democrat, or New Dealers, say they would keep us out of war. Practically all candidates recognize the responsibility of America in the world. Practically all candidates promise a degree of forbearance from any active participation in dangerous international relationships.

We must have a President who will encourage the American people to stand together in working out dangerous and delicate questions involving foreign policy. It is not conducive to good feeling at home or respect abroad when our President repeatedly attempts to make bitter partisan capital out of every grave issue. One day our President speaks of the spreading horror confronting us in foreign affairs. The next day he starts a political attack aimed to drive people into antagonistic camps, and plans a political swing around the circle.

We Republicans are willing to go a long way for unity on our foreign policy. But the chief executive, now as always in the past, must lead the way in the creation of that national unity. The proper national unity has never been established by sharp partisanship. If the President wants the national unity he needs and should have, his political trip across the country should obviously be called off. It is tragic that this nightmare foreign situation should develop at the time of our national election, when political activity is always at its peak.

In this fateful hour the grave questions of foreign relations and national defense must be discussed, free of the usual invectives that characterize most of the New Deal discussion, and as far as possible free from partisan bias.

I said last September that the spirit of unity in America was with the President for the asking. But it was up to him to fuse it together. This he has tragically failed to do. Even up until now he has tended to produce antagonisms, when he should have been welding a national unity in American thinking about foreign relations.

We must think in terms of what the duties of this country are now, and what they will be when the war ends. We must be prepared, whatever the eventuality, and regardless of what person or what party may be governing the nation. But if we are going to be prepared, whatever the eventuality, we can delay no longer setting our own house in order. We cannot continue to go deeper and deeper into debt. We cannot continue to flirt with inflation. And above all, we cannot afford to continue the breakdown of human morale and self-reliance.

There must be no political consideration of this problem. But also, there must be no blindness of the American people to the defects of our national defense. We in the United States are committed to the view that war is destructive of all the finer things in life, desired by mankind, but until all governments join in this realistic view, I recognize the necessity of being prepared to defend our freedom.

We have got to face the possibility that the democracies may be defeated. This contains threats of such a character to us that we must consider their significance. The developments of the past week are a real threat to the peace and security of the western hemisphere. Those who are afraid to face this menace, for fear of being called war mongers or interventionists or internationalists, are doing a dis-service to their country. The obligation to speak plainly and fearlessly is inescapable. We must face the grim realities. For our own safety we can no longer rest on the assumption of a stalemate with an exhausted Germany. The invasion of Denmark, Norway, Belgium, and Holland presents a real problem to the United States. Their possessions bring the war much closer to the western hemisphere. No longer can America feel complacent about her security or peace.

We must, as a public duty, plant in the public mind not only the will to go on, but the determination to go on, if we are challenged.

A big Navy and a big Army are not all there is to a national defense. The big thing in any defense program is to have behind the armed force a united nation, an efficiently functioning industry, and a healthy agriculture.

We cannot afford to continue to incite class feeling at home. We cannot by violent speeches set business apart from the rest of the nation. We cannot set agriculture against business, nor labor against business, nor business against agriculture and labor. Such incitements are a blow at national safety. "A house divided against itself cannot stand."

If the resources of this country are to be mobilized in the most effective manner behind a great program of national defense, it is essential that government, management, and labor must be able to move forward promptly in a spirit of complete confidence in the development of all necessary plans.

I consider that the greatest effectiveness and efficiency can be attained only if our American system of free enterprise is encouraged in every appropriate way to make its maximum contribution to the task ahead. Of course, there will be restriction and legislation, if necessary, to prevent profiteering.

In this hardboiled world in which we find ourselves today, we must be strong enough to have other nations respect our desire to stay out of war. No matter how much you appropriate for armaments, these funds must be vigorously, efficiently, and promptly administered. We are tragically late in the appropriation for national

defenses. And we are even more tragically late in execution. There is now a sad lack of definite policy on the part of the administration toward preparedness. The deplorable condition of our national defense is almost unbelievable. The Army is in a pitiful state of unreadiness, by reason of being inadequately armed, inadequately munitioned, and almost devoid of modern war planes, anti-air defense, or mechanized equipment. In spite of threatening developments, practically no attention was paid to our army until the last few months. It is true that a few new men were added to our National Guard last fall, but it took practically eight months to obtain even the uniforms for these new men in Kansas. The equipment now in the hands of the National Guard is so obsolete that it would be almost useless in modern warfare. This equipment is so obsolete, and we have been so slow in replacing it, it would be a joke if it were not so tragic.

There is notorious friction in the War Department, at the top, interfering with its efficiency. The Secretary of the Navy has confessed to the vulnerability of our battleships to air bombing. We are woefully deficient in strategic war material.

I think the lesson of the European War is preparedness. We are living in a world overrun by a swift plague of brutality, and in a world in which force makes power. We cannot be a power for peace unless we have force. We have no ambitions that require force for their attainment, but we need force to maintain our own safety and security.

If we are going to coast with the problems as the Allies have done in the past years, if we are going to continue to live, as they have done, in the security of the past, we are evidently going to meet the same fate as the Allies in the face of a superior force.

We have a lesson to draw from them, as long as the dictators reign. We must build up facilities that will permit us to go into production of the most important war material in sufficient quantity at any time it appears to be necessary. It will take us some time to build such facilities. But we do not want to be two years behind the eight ball, as the English and the French seem to be. The condition of our national defense, in the light of developments in Europe, is alarming, and these developments have taken place during the life of this administration. For the first six years the New Deal, instead of building up our defenses, wasted our money on projects like the Florida canal, or the attempt to harness the tides at Passamaquaddy. As everyone knows, these projects have been abandoned as failures. But think of the thousands and thousands of airplanes the money wasted on these failures - and other purely vote-buying projects - would have purchased, or would purchase now if we had it

Spending for adequate preparedness would truly have been "spending to save."

With nations breaking up like ice in the spring, we need alert, dynamic leader-

ship, capable of pushing military preparedness now.

Of course I favor the additional appropriations proposed for national defense. But it is plainly evident that we cannot continue pursuing our leisurely pace in putting them into effect. We must rush their availability, to begin production now rather than next year, or the year after, as is planned. Even the naval and military improvements now planned are not to produce any worthwhile results in new and modern fighting equipment for several years.

At the same time we must pursue friendly international relations, because it is to our interest to do so. We do not want to see Europe disintegrate, for a disintegrating Europe threatens to start a world disintegration. We are concerned, as realists, with what happens to the world at large, because restoration of healthy economic conditions in America would be greatly enhanced by restoration of healthy relationships with the world at large.

Within the term of the next administration this country will be forced to make decisions far reaching in their effects on world civilization and the future of popular government. These decisions will be enormously difficult and complicated. Our wealth of natural resources, and our size, will be of decisive influence in the future course of world events.

We do have a vital interest in the survival of those standards of civilization and human rights, which will allow us to pursue peacefully our own manner of life under our own institutions.

There are those who feel that our safety lies in imposing a self-instituted boycott in the way of a strict isolation policy. But, stripped of all idealistic motives, two world wars in a generation require a new kind of solution, when peace is made. Obviously, the solution following 1918 was not the correct one. If the system of free economic enterprise, free religion, and free speech, and free peoples are to be preserved, we must help to make them safe. Free enterprise and democracy will not survive unless peace and popular government are preserved on more than a year to year basis.

World peace and good times, when the average man has the opportunity to make a decent living, go hand in hand. Peace in the world, as well as good times, is built on political stability, and political stability is built on economic stability. It is to our interest to plant America's moral and economic strength on the side of a just and realistic peace, if the opportunity presents itself. Our idealistic motives go hand in hand with our material interests in helping to restore an enduring peace in the world.

It is not a question of our emotional friendship for popular governments, or our natural and inherent animosity to dictators. It is a question of leaving the door

open, so that if the opportunity presents itself we can promote healthy worldwide trade. This is the only alternative to a state-controlled trade, barter, and war.

To that end, we can well enter into international discussions of economic questions. We are not concerned with boundary lines and political arguments, but we are concerned in broader and more liberal economic relations among the nations. Most emphatically, we can and should, as a nation, work unremittingly to expand the area of American trade, and open up American markets wherever the opportunity exists. We cannot, of course, join in a league of nations or other associations which will involve us in the purely political problems of Europe and Asia. But whatever contributes to the economic stability of the world after the war contributes to our own future and the stability of popular government everywhere. Of course all this depends on what kind of a world we will be living in and doing business in. It is possible, no matter who wins, that we will be in a world doing business on a barter basis, with a definitely lower standard of living. So our program, in the nature of these things, should not be stiff, dogmatic, and inflexible, save only, of course, our immovable determination to stay out of this war unless the United States and its possessions are threatened.

This country has voiced its determination to stay out of war. But, based on all recent experience, determination is not enough. We have seen many countries equally determined who found war thrust upon them. If this determination is to have any meaning, it must be implemented with a policy of preparedness permitting us to take all the necessary steps to make it effective.

America is in the mood in which armed participation may come through the carelessness or the impulsiveness of a chief executive who does not realize the necessity of giving the American people a steel backbone to resist the pull of their natural sympathy and emotion for the Allies. Despite all our sympathy and emotions for the kind of civilization we believe in, we cannot undertake to preserve the boundaries of all the democracies of the world.

It is futile to think we can escape the financial and political scars of war. First war; then chaos; then fear; then vanished confidence; then depression; then frozen trade; then war again. Who can say we have no interest in collaborating to prevent such a devil's cycle? How long can the already faltering system of free enterprise and free government survive such a devil's parade?

People everywhere cry for peace, and the revival of employment that can come on a healthy basis only when peace comes. I recognize that in the critical period which must follow the laying down of arms, the demobilization of millions of men, and the slowing or stopping of war materials production, there must be a peace which offers hope to all the world's peoples. When this time comes, America alone may expect

to be economically strong and relatively financially sound. But even we cannot expect to be economically and financially sound unless our domestic policies in the meantime are themselves sound. America should encourage and help to realize the aspirations of people for strengthening international law, and for re-validating international morality. We cannot be a hermit nation.

I favor the Republican Platform permitting the incoming Republican President to cooperate with other nations, if the opportunity presents itself, to banish militarism, to re-open the channels of trade, and thereby relieve the use of financial pressures as weapons in threatening the peaceful independence of small nations. The Republican President must be left free to move vigorously and effectively in these matters, when the war ends.

With malice toward none of the people engaged in the present struggle, in the firm determination to preserve our own free institutions, I favor the Republican Party's pledging the United States to collaboration, whenever that may effectively be given, toward the setting up of an economically sound and just peace.

The Republican Party more than any other political agency has brought America through the years to a position of world leadership, and I think it should pledge itself to continue that leadership by a realistic recognition of our place in a changing world - a place that must be held by our determination and ability to protect our own peace.

# Landon Backs Arms Program And Asks Unity

**'Alert, Dynamic Leadership'  
Vital in Re-Arming U. S.,  
He Tells Missouri Rally**

WARRENSBURG, Mo., May 17 (UP).—Alfred M. Landon, titular head of the Republican party pledged his support to President Roosevelt tonight, "in his announced efforts to strengthen the nation against attack."

Mr. Landon, former Governor of Kansas, who was the Republican Presidential nominee in 1936, said,

"The deplorable condition of our national defense is almost unbelievable" and added that additional appropriations must be made available as quickly as possible."

He cited, "notorious friction in the War Department at the top" and called for "alert, dynamic leadership, capable of pushing military preparedness now."

But, he said, "the big thing in any defense program is to have behind the armed forces a united nation, an efficiently functioning industry and a healthy agriculture."

"The President, in his splendid address to Congress yesterday," Mr. Landon told Johnson County Republicans in a speech broadcast over the National Broadcasting Company red network, "spoke as the leader of all the people. He is acting in the spirit of unity for which American citizens have been waiting and in a spirit which will bring him a united support in preparing our defenses."

### Pledges Co-operation

"I pledge to continue to co-operate with him in all efforts for complete unity of foreign policy."

Mr. Landon has accepted an invitation to a luncheon conference at the White House next Wednesday. His 1936 running mate, Col. Frank Knox, of Chicago, met with Mr. Roosevelt yesterday.

The President's secretary, Stephen T. Early, "welcomed" today indorsement of the national defense program by former President Herbert Hoover at New York and said it was "an indication of national unity which we welcome."

Speaking gravely, Mr. Landon said that "the thin crust of the kind of civilization we believe in is cracking over most of the world. The result of the war in Europe has vast implications for America's future."

"This is a difficult and depressing time to be discussing foreign policies. The chief point I would drive home to every American citizen is that our policy must be flexible and open. No man or group of men is capable of laying down a fixed and final policy when a battlefield may change America's position overnight. But this does not mean a drifting policy; nor does it mean keeping the American people in the dark as to the direction the Administration's foreign policy is taking us."

### 'We Must Watch Our Step'

"... Our illusions of safety are being shattered. More than ever we must watch our step now; our steps toward national defense, and the steps in our foreign policy."

"In the first place," said Mr. Landon, "we are going to keep out of this war. The American people, despite the horrifying developments of this last week, still are opposed to armed participation in it. They do not want to send American soldiers to fight a foreign war on a foreign soil. No one will come here to fight us if we are prepared to meet them on equal terms. . . ."

"We must have a president who will encourage the American people to stand together in working out dangerous and delicate questions involving foreign policy. . . ."

"We Republicans are willing to go a long way for unity on foreign policy. But the Chief Executive, now as always in the past, must lead the way in the creation of that national unity. The proper national unity has never been established by sharp partisanship. If the President wants the national unity he needs and should have, his political trip across the country should obviously be called off."

The President told reporters today that "it was obvious that his trip probably would not be undertaken."

Mr. Landon urged a Republican platform "permitting the incoming Republican president to co-operate with other nations. If opportunity presents itself, to banish militarism, to reopen the channels of trade and thereby relieve the use of financial pressures as weapons in threatening the peaceful independence of small nations."

He spoke from 9:30 to 10 p. m.

L7946

PSF: Lehman *Ken Conner 3-41*



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HERBERT H. LEHMAN  
GOVERNOR

February 22, 1941.

PERSONAL

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

My dear Mr. President:

You will recall that sometime ago I spoke to you about Mr. Antonio C. Gonzalez, former United States Minister to Panama, Ecuador and Venezuela, and told you of his great desire to get back in some way into the Government service.

He is confident that because of his long experience in Central and South America and his wide acquaintance in the different South American countries he could be of very great use in cementing inter-American relations. He has not been active since he retired from the Diplomatic service a year or two ago. He finds that his failure to obtain reappointment or other designation in the Federal service has caused people to question his usefulness and has reflected, to a certain extent, on his standing.

Unless there was something in his record in the Diplomatic service which would militate against him, it would seem to me that his background and his experience might make him a valuable man in furthering inter-American relations. At least, I again bring his name before you for such consideration as you may see fit to give to it.

With best wishes, I remain,

Yours very sincerely,

*HHL  
Personal*

*P.S.F. Lehman Jan 20 1942*

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STATE OF NEW YORK  
EXECUTIVE CHAMBER  
ALBANY

HERBERT H. LEHMAN  
GOVERNOR

November 12, 1942.

The President of the United States,  
The White House--Washington--D.C.

Dear Mr President,

Just a line to tell you how much I enjoyed  
the talk we had yesterday afternoon and how pleased I am at  
the prospect of undertaking the work which you have offered me.  
It is something that appeals to me tremendously and I know that  
my experience in administrative work as well as my deep interest  
in and long contact with social problems will enable me to do  
an effective job.

I am returning to Albany this afternoon and  
can be reached there at any time.

With kind regards,

Very sincerely yours,

*Herbert H. Lehman*

HHL/EL.

PSF: Lehman ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~  
3-42

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

November 19, 1942

MEMORANDUM FOR

HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN

When you come down remind me to speak with you about a Mr. McDougall, an Australian whom Henry Wallace is very keen about. He might be an excellent choice as your Assistant. He has League of Nations' experience and has been very helpful on various international conferences, such as wheat. Henry says he is 100% sold on all we are doing.

"F.D.R.

F. D. R.

No papers accompanied the original of this memorandum to Governor Lehman.