Reference: Saturday Evening Post
Article: "Postmortem: Who Elected Roosevelt?" by Samuel Lubell
Date: Jan. 25, 1941 issue
EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF GOVERNMENT REPORTS
WASHINGTON, D.C.

February 8, 1941

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

Maybe I'm all wrong, but I'd rather not see an "answer" to that Sat Evepost article, "Postmortem: Who Elected Roosevelt?" Here's why:

After a few unhappy introductory remarks, it sets forth page after page of reasons for voting for Roosevelt and the New Deal—reasons that any average reader must regard as good reasons. For the most part, the writer doesn't even answer at these reasons; perhaps because he doesn't dare to. And for the most part they are reasons nobody would wish to disavow. The article doesn't attempt to give the reasons moving the voters who voted against Roosevelt. If it had, that would be something to answer.

I've seen two painstaking statistical studies of the 1940 vote, county by county. One proves that the labor vote decided the election. (The other proves that the German vote gave Willkie his large bloc of middle western states.) It seems to me we have more to gain than to lose by letting the matter rest where it is. In other words, with the worst of intentions, the Sat Evepost probably has done us a service.

However, if desired, I'll see what can be done about an answer.

Lowell Mellett
Mr. President

You said you would like to have someone answer this.

Leverett

[Filled in area not legible]
Executive Office of the President  
Office of Government Reports  
Washington, D. C.  
February 26, 1941

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT:

An American Mein Kampf – under another name, of course – is being projected by the National Home Library Foundation with the idea of publishing two million copies. It would be a book of 35,000 to 50,000 words.

David Cushman Coyle has agreed to do the writing and submit his draft to a group of authors, publicists, etc., for their contributions, criticisms, etc. It would cover:

1. What preparedness means and how serious the situation is.
2. The story of democracy and its assets.
3. The story of the totalitarian way and its liabilities.
4. The efficiency of democracy against the efficiency of fascism.

This obviously can be a valuable undertaking, but Coyle would like to know that it has your blessing.

(signed) Lowell Mellett

P. S. And I would have the privilege of "censoring" it.

"Yes, grand.  
F. D. R."
March 7, 1941.

MEMORANDUM FOR

MRS. ROOSEVELT

TO READ AND RETURN FOR

MY FILES.

F. D. R.

Memorandum for the President from Lowell Mellett, Director, Office of Government Reports, 3/3/41, returning letter which Mrs. Roosevelt received from Forest Henderson, NYC, 2/27/41, in re censorship of international mail and international messages (radio and cable), which was referred to Mr. Mellett by Presidential memorandum of 3/1/41 "What can we tell Mr. Henderson?" Mr. Mellett suggests in his memorandum that it would be unfortunate to have the subject broached at this time.
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
March 1, 1941

MEMORANDUM FOR
HON. LOWELL MELLETT

What can we tell Mr. Henderson?

F. D. R./tmb

Enclosures

Let to Mrs. Roosevelt from Forest Henderson, 67 Broad Street, New York, NY All America Cables and Radio, Inc., 2/27/41 enclosing memo re recommendation for censorship of international mail and international messages (radio & cable) Says is member of Cable Committee of the Defense Communications Board and trying to get the cable committee to pass his recommendation for a censorship to the DCB as a matter of national safety and defense. Says further the Pres. Exec. Order setting up the DCB states that the board shall take no cognizance of matters pertaining to censorship.
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 30, 1941.

MEMORANDUM FOR

HON. LOWELL MELLETT

What do you think of this idea?

F. D. R.

Memorandum to the President, dated April 28, 1941, from John Franklin Carter - "Bright Idea" concerning the "Freedom of the Press".
EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF GOVERNMENT REPORTS
WASHINGTON, D.C.

THE DIRECTOR

May 5, 1941

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT:

At a time when increasing curtailment of production of non-essential consumer goods seems indicated, I believe any suggestion that defense contract holders be required to spend a certain percentage of their proceeds on advertising would meet with loud and logical resistance. (Incidentally, present advertising practice offers one of the best examples of conspicuous waste in our national economy.)

I am interested in any ideas anybody has for increasing the helpfulness of newspapers but I doubt if the plan proposed by J. F. C. is a practical one.

Lowell Mellett
MEMORANDUM ON A "BRIGHT IDEA" CONCERNING THE "FREEDOM OF THE PRESS"

If it is true that "necessitous men are not free men", it follows that a necessitous press is not a free press. Irrespective of the long-range trends in the economics of news-publication, the defense program should tend to reduce advertising expenditures by American manufacturers, a large part of whose facilities and output are going into munitions and army and navy procurement.

The suggestion is here made that in future defense contracts, a clause be inserted obligating the contractor to spend $x\%$ of the proceeds on advertising, over and above advertising which represents the normal outlay for promoting sales to the general public.

It is also suggested that this clause should contain something like the following provision: "Provided, that nothing in this clause shall be deemed to require the manufacturer to buy advertising in any newspaper, magazine, etc., radio time or billboard space, whose policy or whose principal officers oppose the national defense program or the policy of aid to the democracies" or words to that effect.

J.F.C.

[Signature]
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 13, 1941

MEMO FOR GRACE TULLY:

Dear Grace:

Mr. Early asks that you give this to the President today.

RR
MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

Dear "Boss":

Some time ago you asked Mark Ethridge, by letter, to make a study of radio and government relationships.

I hope very much, therefore, that you will read the two private letters Mark Ethridge has sent to Lowell Mellett — one under date of April twenty-ninth and the other under date of May seventh.

The National Broadcasters' Association is meeting today in St. Louis. Lowell Mellett is there. So is Mark Ethridge and Chairman Fly.

I must say that I subscribe to the statements made by Mark to Lowell in these letters.

S.T.E.
April 29, 1941

Private

Mr. Lowell Mellett
Office of Government Reports,
14th & G Sts.,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Lowell:

These are observations, rather than a preliminary report, but perhaps they will serve that purpose.

I have had conversations with enough people connected with radio and with the government to give me assurance that there are no insoluble problems, and indeed, no problems that can not be worked out to the advantage of both the industry and the government if good faith is demonstrated on both sides.

To my mind, the first gesture of good faith should come from the government. I say that for several reasons, and when I say it, I am assuming that the administration wants a peaceful working out and that what the President wants is not government ownership of radio, but for the government to perform "its principal function in the realm of radio, that of referee to determine who the operators of the limited number of transmitters shall be." (From his letter to me.) I am assuming, too, that he subscribes to Mr. Justice Frankfurter's thesis that "government as a rule undertakes no service or regulation except after private agencies have proved themselves incapable or unwilling."

If all that be true, I have great hope, if, I repeat, the government will make the first gesture of good faith. The government should make the first gesture because it has made so many gestures of bad faith and is in no position to point a finger at the industry until it has cleaned itself up. Besides, common, ordinary decency and a concept of public service worthy of a democracy should induce the government to clean its own house. That, in itself, would go far toward inducing others to fall in line.
I may be old-fashioned, but I do subscribe deeply to the idea that the air does belong to the people and that the government is merely the trustee for the people in issuing licenses. If that is true, and I believe you will agree that it is, then there should be one test, and one test only, to determine who shall have them: what is best for the public interest. But that test has not been applied and nobody would pretend that it has been. The Commission has been a political football ever since I have known it and licenses have been issued all too frequently upon a basis of political or personal pull. As a matter of fact, that has happened so often -- and I have seen it happen often -- that it has developed a complete distrust of the Commission both on the Hill and in the industry.

There have been recent flagrant cases. As a matter of fact, under Mr. Fly's chairmanship, they have been more flagrant that ever. To me, the WMCA case, no matter how 'vulnerable' the licensee was, was typical of the complete cynicism toward the public trusteeship of government. Because the licensee was, as Tommy Corcoran said, 'the lowest son-of-a-bitch in the lowest business', was no reason for either Corcoran or the government to act like one. I do not know where the pressure in the Winston-Salem case came from -- the President assured me he knew nothing about it -- but it was complete hypocrisy and cynicism to freeze a situation on principle one day and within a week violate the principle. The situation was made no better by the fact that the licensee was an associate of a man who had lent the Democratic National Committee $300,000. What standards of public service can the administration set for the broadcasters in a situation like that?

Again, the Jesse Jones case was as bad, or worse. Here is the Secretary of Commerce of the United States, theoretically making a great sacrifice of his personal interests to serve the government. (And many men are, including selectees). But, at a time when the Commission is setting out upon an inquiry to determine whether the ownership of radio stations by newspapers does not constitute a 'clogging of the channels of information', with complete cynicism the Houston monopoly is intensified by raising one station from 1,000 watts to 50,000 and another from 1,000 watts to 5,000 watts. Why shouldn't there be complete cynicism on the part of the industry and on the part of the newspaper owners who have no such pull? And how are we who have followed the New Deal to feel about it?

I have mentioned the Red and Blue network affair and I won't dwell on that. I could mention a great many others that are generally, and cynically, known by radio operators. I do not know why, in the circumstances, Mr. Sarnoff or anybody else should not feel that he could 'buy 'em or bluff 'em'.

I have nobody's chestnuts to pull out of the fire and I am not trying for strategic reasons to put the administration on
the defensive. I am merely saying what I feel: that until the government sets higher standards -- and I resent the absence of them -- it has no right to reform somebody else. Furthermore, any effort at reform under those circumstances is regarded with suspicion, properly, I think, and it makes the job all the harder and the determination to resist all the greater.

By one simple gesture the President could give the industry the signal that he was acting in good faith. That would be to allow Thompson's term to expire without renewing it and getting rid of Mr. Fly. Mr. Thompson's record and prejudices are well known. I do not for a moment believe that Mr. Fly has been engaged in crookedness, but I think there is sufficient indictment of him to say that he has violated his public trust. Those indictments are (1) He has yielded to political influence (in the Boston case, in the Jones case, in the Winston-Salem case, particularly); (2) He is prejudiced and unreasonable; (3) He has no grasp of the situation and undertakes, without understanding them, to carry out ideas that are fed to him perhaps by the "seminar" and by others who are of stronger minds and readier ideas, but who are unwilling to assume responsibility for the working out of their ideas.

It is not sufficient answer to justify Mr. Fly on the ground that the influences have been strong. His answer to influence could have been stronger than any arguments in its behalf. He could have said, "I am charged with a public trust. I will not betray it for a job. These applications will be granted or denied on merit." Any number of decent newspapermen have found that when that answer is made to advertisers or to any other pressure groups the only thing that happens is that there is greater respect. Mr. Fly could have quit his job in protest any time he wanted to set a fine example of respect for public office. But when I taxed him with the Winston-Salem case, he said he did not know the implications. I don't believe it for a minute. The stories had been on the front pages of newspapers all over the country. When I asked him how in God's name he justified the Jones case, he weakly said, "Why don't you tell the Chief that?" I have found that you can always quit if the boss insists upon doing something you think is wrong.

But that is not all. Saturday a week ago, I went to see him, after he knew I had been asked to make the study, and suggested that he give me a little time to try to work some matters out. His attitude toward that (he was pleasant otherwise) was, "The only thing you can do is to go get a letter from those fellows that they will accept reasonable regulation." I could get a letter from anybody if I could get a definition of what "reasonable regulation" is. But, you see, that's a juvenile,
unreasonable attitude that leads only to a fight when, I re-
peat, none is necessary. (Too, it makes the President take
a fight which I am sure he does not want.)

I am aware of the Washington attitude that nobody ever
wants to be dealt with because "this is not the right time."
That would be a legitimate attitude if all of us were culprits
and if the Commission, by its own actions, had not created the
situation which it is now trying to cure without knowing how,
or apparently without caring how. If the Commission persists
in its attitude, I certainly intend to tell the radio industry
that its only recourse is to fight all along the line. But,
it is not the time for a fight. The President and most of
the rest of us want to win the war. In comparison with that, making
changes in a radio structure that is 19 years old is trivial.
Yet, I must point out again, as I pointed out in the memorandum,
so much bitterness and suspicion have been generated by this
Commission in its actions and its attitudes, that there has not
been a full use of the facilities radio offers for informing the
public mind for, and preparing it to meet, the danger all of us
face. There is no chance of that as long as one side sits down
with an hypocritical piety and regards the other as a culprit.

There are monopoly situations that are bad; there are
newspaper situations that are bad; there are network practices
that are bad. There are instances, no doubt, of restraints of
trade. I am willing to admit there are a great many things that
can be improved. Moreover, I say something that nobody else has
yet said in my hearing: the level of public discussion can be
greatly raised by voluntary action of broadcasters who have time
to think about how to do that, instead of having to concentrate
on where the next blow from the Commission will come. I think
I know the answer to obtaining the "clear channel" from the govern-
ment to the people. I think I know an answer to the separation
of the Red and Blue. I think I know the answer to the "radio
lobby" question. I may know even the answer to the newspaper
question. I believe I can make suggestions as to changes in the
law that will give "substantive declaration", clarify procedure,
require hearings in the open, give the right of appeal and be
generally acceptable.

I must say that I have found those leaders of the in-
dustry with whom I have talked much more willing for a peaceful
settlement and much more amenable to reason than Mr. Fly.

It is legitimate to ask, therefore, what steps I have
in mind. I would let Mr. Thompson's term expire and either re-
move Mr. Fly from the chairmanship or make him a commissioner.
I would draft some man whose name symbolized unapproachability
as far as influence was concerned and say to him, "We are in a
national emergency. I want you to take this job as one of the
greatest public services you can render at the moment. I want
you to make your own studies from briefs and records that are available. I want you to sit down with responsible people in the industry and hear their stories. I want you to shun every political implication and renounce every political influence. I want you to give the industry a chance to see how far it will go with you. Then bring me a report."

The alternative, which I personally would probably adopt, would be to rip and reorganize the Commission along the line the President has in mind. But that need not be done immediately; it should, in fact, wait upon further study and less bitterness on the Hill. Senator White has agreed to hold up his bill for the time being if there is any chance of getting an administration bill. What I think is possible, however, is a quick and electrifying change in Commission and industry attitude.

I have merely given you the base upon which I believe we can work the situation out satisfactorily. I have not mentioned the Monopoly Report. I have not, and never will urge that it not be issued. By all means issue it, the sooner the better, but it certainly should not be issued with rules and regulations as of an effective date without giving the industry -- I mean the whole industry, because the whole industry is affected -- an opportunity to study it and file briefs, if not an opportunity for oral arguments. From all I hear, it is a drastic document. It is bound to cause a fight, legal if not otherwise. It may even provoke the fight on the Hill. I am not undertaking to assay its merit; what I am saying is that it is so drastic in nature that time ought to be given for at least an effort to study its effects. I can see nothing unfair in that; I can see only an unreasonable attitude in denying it.

I should like some indication of how the President and you feel about this approach before I go any further. I want to repeat that I have found on the part of the industry a wholly reasonable attitude and I have commitments which I do not feel free to divulge until they become more definite, or until the people who have made them have assured themselves that they will have a chance to live in peace, free from harassment. They do not care so much what the rules are, I have found, as whether they are to be administered fairly and in good faith and in pursuance of policies made by executive and legislative procedure, rather than by "seminars".

Sincerely yours,

Mark Ethridge.
Mr. Lowell Mallett
Office of Government Reports
14th and G Streets
Washington, D. C.

Dear Lowell:

This should be read in connection with my letter of April 29. I have had no reason to change my mind about anything I said in that. On the contrary, I feel more strongly than ever that we are confronted immediately with the alternative of a rational, reasonable, working out of radio problems, or of a fight that will be like a street brawl. I must repeat that the government should evidence its own good faith first, and its own desire for the peaceful working out. All the assurances we have had have been nullified by the action and the attitude of the Commission.

I want to stress one thing, as unpleasant as it is: There is no possibility of peacefully working out anything with Mr. Fly. He is biased, prejudiced, and, as far as I am concerned, wholly untrustworthy. I have had renewed evidence of that during the past week. The President, you and Steve Early all assured me that the inquiry into newspaper ownership would be a friendly, fair expedition into a perfectly legitimate subject. The hearings were to be informal, there was to be no hurry, and the question was not prejudged. I so told the publishers upon authority of the administration. I find now that such is not to be the case at all. The Chairman's tirade to Judge Thatcher and his associate counsel was, I am told, wholly out of keeping with what the President and you had in mind or desired. I find that counsel feel that he has prejudged the case; that he wants action "soon" and that they regard his attitude as "all out against newspapers". I was so anxious to establish the proper basis for the hearing that I even checked the names of counsel with Mr. Fly, and his respect for Judge Thatcher as a lawyer was one of the governing factors in the selection. We kept faith with the administration, but the administration has not kept faith with us if the administration accepts responsibility for the actions and attitudes of Mr. Fly.

I want to be perfectly on the record. If that is to be the attitude of the administration, then I propose to tell the convention of broadcasters next week that I have no faith whatever in the Commission; that I consider that it has betrayed and defied the President; that, unfortunately, the industry, with all its faults, is more honorable than the body which regulates it, and that the only sensible thing for the industry to do is to fight all along the line, as tragic as that is now.
One thing that should be strongly in the President's mind and in yours is that the radio industry does have to make up its mind in the convention next week what its attitude is to be. So far I have prevented any crystallization of sentiment or any action. Even though it feels the Commission has exceeded its authority; even though it feels that the Commission has no good intentions toward privately-owned radio; even though it feels a fair chance of success in a Hill fight; even though it feels strongly that such major national policy as to the sort of network structure we should have should come either from the President or from Congress, or from both, it has filed no challenge to the administration and does not want to do so. It wants to be friendly. It is ready to make all sorts of concessions if it has assurances that the harassment is to be ended. But, unless the President moves within the next few days, there is nothing left for the industry to do except to enjoin the Commission in the courts and take its fight to the Hill. I can not honestly advise anything else, and I don't propose to advise anything else.

The deeper I have gone into the question, the less necessity I see for an elaborate pattern of what radio is to be in the future. No pattern can be drawn that would be worth anything. Moreover, I have found that the radio operator is willing to take his chances with stringent government regulation if he is assured of two things: (1) That the regulation is honest and intelligent; (2) That what is done is not done to produce chaos, to further an eventual taking over by the government, but is done in pursuance of a sound policy. From every discussion I have had with radio operators, there always emerges the question of Commission personnel and personality. Nobody can do anything about the personnel except the President; he has the key to the whole situation. Literally, you have an anomalous situation in which an industry, far from resisting regulation, is literally saying, "For God's sake, give us honest regulation; we'll take our chances with that."

I can not bear in upon you too heavily the fact that most of the problems in radio would be dispelled with a change of atmosphere. Mentally honest men, accustomed to regulation, can accept the actions of other men whom they regard as mentally honest. Radio as an industry can adjust itself to any type of operation that best suits the public interest, if it can have the definition. But, it will never cooperate as long as it is suspicious that cooperation only means hastening doom.

To clear the atmosphere, I repeat the suggestion contained in my letter of April 29. I should like to see the President ask for Thompson's resignation - his term expires on June 1, anyway - and make his successor the Chairman of the Commission. The type of successor I have in mind is Joseph B. Eganman. I do not know him, or his state of health, or anything else about him, but the Interstate Commerce Commission has a public respect and an atmosphere of unapproachability that the F. C. C. must have if it is
not to continue to be a sewer. I believe the F. C. C. is the only one of
the Commissions which has yielded so disgracefully to political and per-
sonal pressure. The new Chairman should be instructed that he is not to
yield to pressure from anybody. To me, and I believe to the
decent radio operators, it is reprehensible and hypocritical for the Com-
mision to maintain in one breath that those licenses really belong to the
people and then in another to use them as political coin. My indiction
of Mr. Fly, contained in the letter of April 29, stands. Feeling that way
about him, I would ask for his resignation or transfer him to some other
position where his talent and temperance were better suited.

I would have the new Chairman begin the study immediately of a new
radio law. Most of the work looking toward a new law already has been done.
Senator White has a bill drawn and has his discussion of it already written.
He has reiterated his statement that he does not want to embarrass the ad-
ministration and he is waiting to see whether the administration will pro-
pose a law, or whether it will endorse something along the line that he has
in mind.

My idea is that the new law should set up a three-man commission;
that the best of the procedural safeguards set out in the Attorney General's
study - it is not necessary to specify them here - be applied here. All the
industry wants is the right of a full and fair hearing where substantial
interests are involved, the right of review, and the assurance that the
vague standard of public interest is not to be used arbitrarily to express
and enforce personal predilections. If it is possible, I should like to
see the National Association of Broadcasters, or the S. E. C., given the
right to intervene in connection with applications, so that known exploiters
of radio stations, some of whom have been extremely successful in getting
licenses, could be fought. I should like to see the section as to fairness
of the air strengthened in the light of all our experience of the past few
years.

While the new Chairman and his counsel are studying a new law, and
establishing a new attitude, I should like to see the rules and regulations
embodied in the so-called Monopoly report suspended. They are effective im-
mediately, with the provision that existing arrangements be terminated within
ninety days. Their application can be postponed. I suggest that not for any
self-interest, or even for network interest (I believe WBAY, being a big sta-
tion, would profit from the new formula at the expense of the smaller sta-
tions in Louisville), but that the administration is going to be greatly chas-
ged at how one regulation will work to the benefit of the networks and
the gutting of some of the small stations. I suggest suspension on
the ground that the regulations make a major change in the broadcasting
structure of the country, and, I, for one, have no confidence in the ability
of this Commission to make such a change in wisdom. It should probably be
determined by Congress whether the pattern which the Commission is under-
taking to set up is the pattern of radio the people of this country want or
should have. I am willing to take my chances along with others when the
determination is to be made by fair, intelligent and responsible people.

I have another reason beyond that. The new regulations leave no alternative; they must produce a fight. I have said before and I repeat, that it is not necessary, that it is stupid and tragic. I tried to indicate as strongly as I knew how in my letter of April 29 that what the Commission and this administration wants can be accomplished without the fight. I have gone far enough to know that I can find the answers to:

1. Separation of the Red and Blue.

2. Greater station responsibility and more control over its own time.

3. The question of local monopolies. (The answer is simple there; all the Commission would have to do would be to break any local monopoly by issuing more station licenses. Wherever there is a local monopoly, the Commission is responsible for it and has an easy remedy through the proper and orderly exercise of its licensing power.)

4. The radio "lobby" and a reciprocal decency and integrity on the part of the industry if it can be established in the Commission.

5. A greater degree of self-regulation by the industry, with the emphasis more and more upon individual station responsibility and authority, rather than any so-called "network domination". It does not in fact exist, but to whatever extent network influence is exaggerated, it can be easily cured inside H. A. B.

6. A more enlightened approach to public service programs. Machinery I have in mind could be worked out, but I have to indicate something here of what I mean. I believe it is true that discussion of public affairs is on a higher level in England than here. That is due to several things into which I need not go. One of them, however, is that time in the United States is allocated to public men, aside from the President, very largely on the basis of opportunities. Public men put pressure on radio for time - so many of them do, in fact, that they hog most of the time that could be given for public discussion. I propose to have the radio industry allocate some of its best time, from the size-of-audience standpoint, to the government on a regular period basis. The disposal of the time should be left to, say, the majority and minority steering committees of Congress; the Judiciary for Court news on days when the Supreme Court is handing down decisions; and to a committee, or an individual designated by the executive department, as the arbiter for the departments and independent agencies. Thus, the government itself would take responsibility for what reached the people; it would assume responsibility for the allocation of time; it would say which, among the competing agencies, had a more important message for the public, and it
would have good time guaranteed to it at regular intervals.

That could be coupled with more planning and discrimination by radio, networks and stations alike, upon the selection of topics to be broadcast, from the standpoint of serving the public interest and "preparing the public mind", as the President says, for meeting the bigger issues. It is natural that radio, occupied as it has been with growing up, should still be in its mental adolescence. Happily, it is in the last stages of adolescence. It has made remarkable strides within the past five years. It is ready for another one: the great improvement and elevation of the level of informing the public about its own affairs. That can never be done by fiat or regulation; there is no earthly way by mere regulation to call creative measures out of men's minds. But it can be done by encouragement and a measure of working together between the government and the industry.

I have ideas about other industry problems which will become pertinent only if the government wants to work them out cooperatively and not by its blitzkrieg method of regulation - ideas about such things as network-ownership of originating stations, newspaper ownership, etc. None of them is an insoluble problem, but the beginning of the solution lies with the government.

Finally, I want to make it clear that the present atmosphere at the F. C. C., in my judgment, is generating an unnecessary disunity in an important sphere of influence. Broadcasters perhaps as much as any other important group have some concept of the nature and depth of this crisis. They do not have to be coerced to do helpful and constructive things. But they should not be forced to spend their time and energies to fight for the preservation of their business at a time when all of us should be concentrating upon the preservation of the country.

Time is the great factor - and to me personally the decisive factor. I am in Washington because I have only this week to ascertain what the administration proposes to do about radio. All the assurances I have so far had have been in conflict with later action. Unless I can have assurance through positive action rather than through words, I must in all honesty tell the radio industry that it should take any legitimate measures it regards as necessary to preserve itself.

Sincerely yours,

Washington, D. C.
May 7, 1941
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 19, 1941

MEMORANDUM FOR
LOWELL MELLETT:

To do the necessary.

F.D.R.

Letter from Gardner Jackson, 6 West Kirke St.,
Chevy Chase, Md., 4/30/41 to the President, in
re the Davis-Mexican Oil-Nazi series now being
carried by PM which contains material
so sensational in its implications that it could
not fail to help greatly in galvanizing the morale
of our people for the titanic struggle ahead if it
is properly brought to public attention. Asks
support of resolution introduced by Sen. Josh
Lee which would permit investigations of foreign
propaganda committees, etc.
EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF GOVERNMENT REPORTS
WASHINGTON, D.C.

June 21, 1941

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT:

Hereewith copy of the report by the Assistant Solicitor General on the subject of censorship.

Cable, telegraph and telephone apparently could be handled without legislation and the Navy is pretty well set to take on the job. Mail presents a much more difficult problem, but Fahy is still working on it. The Army is not as well organized to handle mail as the Navy is to handle the other communications.

Have asked Fahy to examine the possibility of making a distinction between air mail and other mail. It is the air mail that is important, on the one hand and simple to control on the other, if authority is found.

With regard to Army camp censorship in this country, it occurs to me that this would be so easy to evade—merely by taking or sending letters out to be mailed—that the outcry resulting from examination of soldiers' mail by officers should not be invited.

Sincerely,

Lowell Mellett
MEMORANDUM FOR MR. LOWELL MELLETT

Re: Censorship of wireless and cable information leaving the United States

Wireless:

Section 606(c) of the Communications Act of 1934 provides that upon proclamation by the President that there exists a national emergency the President may suspend or amend for such time as he sees fit the rules and regulations applicable to any and all radio stations within the jurisdiction of the United States, may cause the closing of any station and the removal of its apparatus and equipment, or he may authorize the use or control of any such station and/or its apparatus and equipment by any department of the Government under such regulations as he may prescribe, upon just compensation to the owners.

Under this power the President may under existing circumstances take over and control the radio stations of the country. If he does not desire to go that far the President in my opinion may, through appropriate agents and regulations, control any radio station so as to prevent the transmission from the United States of any message, or part thereof, inimical to the national security and foreign policy of the nation.

Attention is called, however, to the provisions of section 605 of the Communications Act of 1934 that, "no person not being authorized by the sender shall intercept any communication (by wire or radio) and divulge or publish * * * contents * * * of such intercepted communication to any person." The Supreme Court has held that this provision applies to wire tapping and interception of messages, even by the Government, for the purpose of obtaining evidence. Weiss v. United States, 308 U. S. 321, Nardone v. United States, 308 U. S. 338. Attention is also called to section 326 of said Communications Act which prohibits the Commission from establishing any censorship over any radio communications or signals. Notwithstanding these provisions, I believe that under his emergency
powers referred to above, the President may exercise the control above stated. Whether or not information obtained through the exercise of this control could be used as evidence presents a different question and I express no opinion about that for the moment.

Cable:

Specific emergency powers like those granted over radio are not contained in the Communications Act, or elsewhere, with respect to cables. But should the President as Commander in Chief and under his other constitutional powers deem such action essential to the protection of the armed forces or the national security, or the protection of shipping, etc., in a time of unlimited national emergency such as now exists, he could I believe exercise similar control through the Army or Navy over the transmission by cable of messages from the United States. On April 28, 1917, censorship of cable, telegraph and telephone lines was established by Executive Order 2604, which recited the authority of the President under the Constitution and the Joint Resolution of April 6, 1917 declaring an existence of a state of war. Legislation was subsequently enacted specifically authorizing censorship (Trading with the Enemy Act, October 6, 1917.) but this legislation was only for the period of the War of 1917-18. Similar legislation is desirable to put the matter beyond doubt, although I believe the President may act without it.

Mail:

During the last war there was no censorship of mail until October 12, 1917, when it was established under the authority contained in the Trading with the Enemy Act of October 6, 1917 (Sec. 3(d). This statutory provision is no longer in existence. It is clear a great deal can be done with respect to second, third and fourth class mail; but in view of the protection which the existing statutes afford to sealed first class mail, the problem there is a difficult one, and I am still studying it.

Charles Fahy,
Assistant Solicitor General.
MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT:

Justice Black suggests some quick and clear indication of purpose to let Russia have assistance is necessary to prevent appeasers winning over some of our weaker supporters.

Lister Hill believes that is true as to some weak Senators.

Lowell Mellett
FOR: The President

FROM: Lowell Mellett

July 25, 1941
Weekly Summary

From Friday, July 18th to Thursday, July 24th, inclusive

Editorial Reaction

Extension of Term of Military Service

Total number of daily newspapers containing editorials on this subject... 157
(The 157 newspapers are published in 121 cities in 42 States and the District of Columbia)

Total number of editorials on this subject...........................................223

Approve extension of term of military service................................. 152
Approve extension, but oppose making order retroactive..................... 2
Approve extension, but urge bonus or increased pay for second year................................................................. 2
Oppose extension as breach of contract; unnecessary......................................34
Urge careful consideration of facts by Congress and presentation to the people.................................................................7
Urge consideration of voluntary enlistment for extended term of service.................................................................12
Declare that it is up to Congress to decide whether extended service or A.E.F. is necessary...................................................... 2
See request for extension of service as test of war sentiment in this country.................................................................................. 3
General discussion of proposal..................................................................9

Total..................................................................................................................223

Note: The majority of the editorials which consider the proposal for the extension of the period of military service also discuss the granting of authority for sending U. S. armed forces outside the Western Hemisphere. Strong opposition to the latter measure was expressed, chiefly on the ground that it was not necessary at the present time. An exception was the N.Y. Post (7/14) which declared editorially that defeat of resolutions permitting this country to use its armed forces outside the Western Hemisphere would be a formal pledge to Hitler that he may do as he likes. Editorial opinion as a whole was strongly in favor of consideration of the so-called "A.E.F." proposal as a separate issue.
Miscellaneous

New York Women's Wear Daily (7/18) says exporters welcome blacklist ruling on Latin America; see aid in "weeding out" dictator country agents from their customer lists; quotes example of Jan Bata Shoe Co., which has plants in South America, obtains material from the U. S. and ships them to the South American plants; and the material finds its way back to the Axis countries.

Ft. Wayne, Ind., Journal-Gazette (7/18) Editorial cites parallel between Willkie, Stimson, Knox and Stephen A. Douglas. Douglas was ready and willing to co-operate with Pres. Lincoln and Douglas died as a result of subsequent exertions in behalf of his President. "They, therefore, pitch into the fray even as three of them-- Willkie, Stimson and Knox--pitched into other conflicts not so long ago, 'Like Roosevelt or dislike him,' these patriots seem to say, 'but be ready to co-operate with your President in times of crisis!"

Editorial Madison, Wis. Times (7/17) notes Congressman Harry Sauthoff's referendum letter, which the Congressman is sending to every voter in his district: "Everyone realizes that we are face to face with war. That issue may have to be decided in the near future. Congress alone has the power to declare war under our constitution. As your representative in Congress, it will be my duty to vote on that issue. How would you have me vote--for or against war?" Observes that Sauthoff has framed the question to get the kind of an answer he wants; suspects the Congressman is using this poll for campaign fodder rather than getting an intelligent expression from his constituents.

Milwaukee Post (7/18) says in news story that contest over Congressional seat of late Representative Stephen Bolles will be "test vote" in Wisconsin on Administration's foreign policy, since former-Congressman Thomas R. Amlie, liberal and Administration champion, will probably be opposed by a choice of the LaFollette isolationist followers. Madison Journal in editorial (July 18) says confusion in Republican ranks may reduce party's representation in Congress but that La Follette Progressive support for acceptable candidates in both major party primaries may eliminate isolationism as issue in election later.

Dallas Times-Herald (7/16) announces formation of the W. Lee O'Daniel Preserve Democracy Club with slogan that there is no place in a democracy for government from the top down. Says speculation spots movement as an incipient O'Daniel candidacy for president in 1944.

Portland, Me. Telegram (7/20) says political differences between U. S. Senator White and Governor Sewall have been turned into chord of harmony; that Sewall will seek reelection and not oppose White for Senatorship.

Gladstone Williams in Atlanta Constitution (7/16) discusses failing health of Secretary Hull; sees Undersecretary Welles as successor.
From the Magazines

"The Periscope", Newsweek (7/21) and Editor & Publisher "Fly Dislikes Term 'Stalin Line'" (7/19): Refer to Chairman Fly's action in summoning representatives of press bureaus and radio commentators and cautioning them about overemphasizing the Stalin "line" since it would be bad for public morale when and if it should be pierced.


Editorial, "Collier's" (7/26): Praises the President for demand for an end to all racial discrimination in hiring workers for the defense industries.

"Domestic Diamonds", Time (7/21): Cites sale of long-idle diamond mine in Pike County, Arkansas, to Chicago syndicate and importance of domestic supply of diamonds for use of machine tool industry in case world's supply of diamonds should pass from British to Nazi control.
EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF GOVERNMENT REPORTS
WASHINGTON, D.C.

THE DIRECTOR

August 25, 1941

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT:

Herewith an exceptionally fine editorial
by William Allen White. I am undertaking to obtain
republication in various places.

Lowell Mellett
THE ROAD TO PEACE.

That was a historic conference, probably one of the momentous gatherings of the thousand years since the Congress of Vienna, between the government of Great Britain and the head of the administration of the United States. It is curious how events in the last thousand years have gradually pointed to the evolution of freedom in Western Europe. In the South American countries, and in the English-speaking world. Consider the Magna Carta, the Cromwellian rebellion, the Declaration of Independence, the fall of the Bastille in Paris, Napoleon's Waterloo, the revolts of South America under Simon Bolivar, the Ossipage speech, the League of Nations and the conference of the powers on the sea yesterday.

Common men are vastly freer than the barons were who challenged King John. It has not been a straight line, this march of freedom. It has zigged and zagged and curved. It has bent up and away from and back to freedom, but always the line of liberty has moved on.

The Twentieth century is drawing to an end. The new century is about to open the third thousand years of man on earth. Man in this epoch has climbed a long upward way. But in every struggle in this era man has been trying to free himself from toil and the fear of war. But he has gained much. He has stored up knowledge with invention of printing. He has harnessed steam, beguiled the use of electricity, invented the percussion engine. With each of these expressions of widening knowledge, man has broadened his liberty.

The allies of liberty are fighting this great war, this war of machines to free men from machines by breaking down high barriers which slow down machines and threaten men with idleness and starvation. To break down tariff walls will mark the next step in human evolution.

Today the conference in the Atlantic is in the stage of "what we shall do if we can do it when we are able to do it. It is written in the potential of the future. History is engraved finally in the past indicatives. But this great conference of the English-speaking powers promises freedom to lovers of freedom everywhere. It heralds the guarantee of nations to live as they will, under their own form of government and giving all-victors and vanquished alike—access to the world's raw materials.

This is a momentous occasion. This is proclamation of a new era in the Twentieth century and in a new millennium of the third thousand years of our epoch. A place in human progress will be marked somewhat by this conference of the powers.

Remember it and tell your children who lived in this day and how you heard the news.

Gradually, the foreign policy of the United States has developed. As the war went from phase to phase, it has become evident that the President is leading his country along the road to peace—the road to peace that follows international justice. A good neighbor named like safety and justice, evermore in a good neighborhood. A decent nation can not thrive even behind ships and guns and planes in a world of aggressors. Only as human relations are fair and equitable can decent men prosper happily.

International relations are founded upon international justice. Democracy can survive anywhere in the world. Justice itself is set up only after discussion and compromise—never by arbitrary force. for proclamation or by ukase!

Step by step, for four years, beginning with his demand that the aggressors be quarantined, back in 1927, President Roosevelt has been to the pathay to that conference in the Atlantic. In the light of that conference, his policies are clearly revealed. Look at the pathway: the repeal of the embargo act, the shipment of arms to Britain after Dunkirk, the swap of destroyers for island bases to protect our continent, and to enforce the Monroe doctrine, the lease-land bill, the defense program, the occupation of Newfound land, the establishment of a naval base in Iceland—all these, taken step by step, make the straight course to permanent peace.

The President's peace aims were announced Thursday from the conference in the Atlantic. Any deviation in the past two years of war, when the course he has kept, would have led us quickly into war. For any other policy than his would have let Great Britain go down in defeat. It would have left us facing the totalitarian tyrants alone.

President Roosevelt has remained silent with simple courage while he has walked his steadfast way to peace. His enemies, the isolationists, have found him by clamoring with incessant indecency he was leading America to war. He has let events speak for themselves. Now his deeds, ringing down the corridor of the years, are eloquent notes. Now the country knows that the President has been walking the only way to peace which America can follow. Ours is the way of peace through justice, offering liberty as the basis of peace, holding up freedom to all rulers and to all people as the way of life in a modern world.

These lines are written by one who has opposed President Roosevelt in three campaigns and felt his election for a third term would be a public calamity. Yet today we ask all American citizens to look back over the course he has charted in the last four years: Aren't you proud of your President? Why should partisanship cloud the glory of this day?

The tyrants were afraid to let their people read the eight peace points which President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill offered to the world as the war aims of the democracies. If the tyrants were sure of their ground, they would be sure of their people. The tyrants would be sure that their people would reject these aims or, if not reject them, doubt the sincerity of those who offered the new peace.

But fear is the tyrants' poison. He drinks it to his death. Some way, despite the censorship, despite all the barriers erected around Continental Europe, the people there will learn the truth and the truth will make them free. When any man, any people, any tyrant fears the truth, he is doomed.

The clinching proof that the tyrants are scared is found today in the branding, taunting, arrogant reply of the Hitlerite to democracy's peace aims. Getting tough is a sign of rough going.—W. A. W.
EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF GOVERNMENT REPORTS
WASHINGTON, D.C.
November 10, 1941

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT:

Our man in Georgia understands that the Attorney General, Ellis Arnold, is seeking a visit with you while you are at Warm Springs. Arnold is considered a candidate for Governor.

Our man believes that if you are willing to receive any potential candidate for Governor, one worth your meeting would be Harmon Caldwell, President of the University of Georgia, former Dean of the Law School, about forty years old and a first class person - which, he thinks, distinguishes him from the Attorney General.

Sincerely,

Lowell Mellett
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 12, 1942.

MEMORANDUM FOR
THE PRESIDENT

To take this up with Lowell Mellett after the Press Conference tomorrow.

G. G. T.
February 16, 1942.

MEMORANDUM FOR

HON. LOWELL MELLETT

I suggest you pass the word to your man in Atlanta -- Shurlin -- that we don't want any opposition to Ellis Arnold. Will you speak to me about this?
To hear the word of pro. men in Athens - Shurley - that we don't want opposition to Ellis' demand -
U. S. RADIOTELEPHONE CENSORSHIP REGULATIONS

1. Delay in completing international radiotelephone calls, and possible interruptions in the conversations, will be minimized if patrons take steps with the telephone company to familiarize themselves with United States and foreign Radiotelephone Censorship Regulations before putting in a radiotelephone call to any person outside the jurisdiction of the United States.

2. No communication will be established with anyone in a locality under enemy control.

3. Before an outgoing international radiotelephone call can be completed, the patron must furnish the telephone operator with his full name, his home or business address, the number and address of the telephone instrument from which the call is put through, and the full name and address of the person called. If other than immediate service is desired, the patron may state the time at which he desires his call to be completed. Patrons will not be permitted to "hold the phone" while calls are being completed. It is permissible, if the censor is notified beforehand of the names and addresses of all persons participating, for personal conversations to be shared by various persons at either end of the line.

4. Only "person to person" calls will be completed, except in certain cases where, in order to expedite legitimate business, permission may be granted to call a certain specifically named and located office or firm. Also, where the station addressed is suitably identified as a safe station, station-to-station calls may be permitted.
Patrons calling from hotels must be identified by the hotel management or other known authority. They may call from any instrument in the hotel.

5. Calls will not be completed from public pay stations or from other telephone stations where the person calling can not subsequently be identified.

6. The English, French, Spanish, and Portuguese languages will be permitted. Use of these foreign languages will be denied only in the event that translators are not available at the Censorship point.

7. No reference, either open or hidden, will be made to any of the following subjects in any international communication:

(a) The location, identity, description, movement or prospective movement of any merchant vessel, aircraft, naval or military vessel or naval or military force, including the collective or individual personnel thereof, operated by the United States or other nations opposing the Axis powers. Messages pertaining to the shipment of material or movements of vessels must be so worded as not to associate any two of the following elements: (1) The name of the vessel; (2) the nature of the cargo; and (3) the name of port or arrival or departure. The specific date of arrival or departure on any present or future voyage is not permitted, but approximate dates may be used, employing such expressions as "next week", or "late next month", etc. No such expression shall be more specific than one week's time. This applies to American, anti-Axis, and Neutral ships alike.

(b) The location, identity, description, test, performance, production, movement or prospective movement, of defensive or offensive weapons, installations, supplies, ma-
terial, or equipment of the United States or other anti-Axis nations.

c) The location, description, production, capacity, or specific output of existing or proposed private or government-owned or controlled plants, yards, docks, dams, structures, experimental or other facilities, or to contracts, plans, and rates of industrial activity in connection therewith. This extends to any process, synthesis, or operation in the production, manufacture, or reconstruction of any article the export of which is prohibited or limited by the Government.

d) The civil, military, industrial, financial, or economic plans of the United States or other countries opposing the Axis powers, or the personal or official plans of any official thereof.

e) The employment of any naval, military, or civil defense unit of the United States or other anti-Axis nations.

f) Reports on production and conditions in the mining, lumbering, fishing, livestock, and farming industries, and shortages or surpluses in connection therewith.

g) Weather conditions (past, present, or forecast).

h) The effect of enemy operations or casualties to personnel or material, suffered by the United States or other anti-Axis nations, until the information is officially released.

i) The effect of our military or naval operations against the enemy, until the information is officially released.

j) The number, description, location, or identity of prisoners of war.
(k) Criticism of equipment, appearance, physical condition or morale of the collective or individual armed forces of the United States or other nations opposing the Axis powers.

(1) Any data whatever concerning military or naval communication or intelligence methods or results.

(a) Any other matter, the dissemination of which might directly or indirectly bring aid or comfort to the enemy, or which might interfere with the national effort, or disparage the foreign relations, of the United States or other anti-Axis nations.

(b) Any former communication by cable or radio involving the parties to the conversation or their representatives.

8. Where any of the foregoing regulations apply specifically to outgoing calls, the general principles apply as well to incoming calls.

February 19, 1942.

Director

The White House

February , 1942.

Approved:

I certify this to be a true copy of the original as signed by Byron Price, Director, and approved by President Roosevelt on February 20, 1942.

Theodore F. Koop,
Assistant to the Director.
OFFICE OF CENSORSHIP
Washington

U. S. CABLE AND RADIO CENSORSHIP REGULATIONS

Regulation 1.

Strict compliance with these regulations, while required, will not insure the passage of any message either by the United States or foreign censures. Senders of messages should keep themselves informed as to foreign censorship rules through the operating companies.

Regulation 2.

All messages will be accepted for transmission at the sender's risk, and may be stopped, delayed, or otherwise dealt with at the discretion of the censor, without notice to the sender.

Regulation 3.

No message will be accepted for transmission to territory under enemy occupation, unless the communication is a government message to or from one of the other American Republics, or unless special license has been granted by the Office of Censorship to send the message.

Regulation 4.

Service involving notification by the company to the sender as to the fact or time of delivery of any international message is suspended except for international press dispatches. Inquiries at Censorship Stations regarding messages can not be handled by telephone.

Patrons filing “reply prepaid” messages, and communication companies which accept “collect” messages, must do so at their own risk, since no information regarding deliveries can be given and thus no refunds made.
Regulation 5.

On every message there must be an address which will clearly identify the addressee for whom the message is intended.

Except where a cable address is permitted under these regulations, the address must be in plain language. The use of an abbreviation of the entire postal address, provided such abbreviation is sufficient in itself to insure the identification of the addressee by the censors through whose hands the message will pass, is not prohibited; but all abbreviations of address are used at the risk of the senders, and Censorship can give no assurance that any specific abbreviation will suffice in all cases to insure identification of the addressee or ready delivery of the message.

The names of large or well-known buildings such as banks, hotels, etc., are sufficient without street addresses.

Regulation 6.

Cable addresses are not permitted at present. However, in order to expedite the assembly of a complete file of cable addresses being used in other countries, it is requested that persons or firms who are usual patrons of the cable and radio inform the Chief Cable Censor, Washington, D. C., by letter, showing the names, addresses, and corresponding cable addresses of the foreign persons or firms to whom their messages are sent.

Regulation 7.

Full name and full address as used in this regulation, in either (1) or (2) below, shall be understood to mean given name, middle initials, and surname; street and number, or name of office building; and town or city, with name of State or country where necessary to avoid ambiguity.
The following supplementary information will not be transmitted as a part of the message, but may, by direction of the sender and on payment by him of the landline toll, be transmitted as far as the station of the first cable sender to act on the message.

(1) **Addresses**

When any cable address or any abbreviation of a plain language address is used in a message, the full name and full address of the addressee must also be recorded on the manuscript form on which such message is filed with the communication company.

If the message is addressed to an individual acting on behalf of a firm or other organization, the name and address of such firm or organization, and the addressee's connection with it, must appear on the form as well as the name and address of the addressee.

(2) **Sender**

In addition to the signature required on the message, the full name and full address of the sender must be recorded, as supplementary information, on the manuscript form on which each message is filed with the communication company.

When a frequent patron of the cables or radio changes his address, it will expedite his traffic to give both the old and the new address on two or three of his first dispatches sent from the new address.

If the message is signed by an individual acting in behalf of a firm or organization, or by an abbreviated form of the name of that organization, the full name and full address of that organization must also be given on the form.
(8) The name of the commodity, if any, involved in the message, must be stated on the form, and should be stated in the text of the message.

Regulation 8.

All messages must be signed.

The signature transmitted should, when considered in connection with the text and the addressee, be such as to identify the sender clearly, and distinguish him from any other individual, firm or organization with a similar name.

The transmitted signature of an individual must consist of the surname at least. Such signatures as "Father", "Aunt Bess", or a nickname, will not be accepted.

The transmitted signature of a firm or organization must be sufficiently complete to identify it clearly.

The name of a responsible member of the firm or officer of the organization may be used, provided satisfactory information regarding him is made available to the censor.

A cable address as signature is not permitted, but where a surname or the name of an organization is also registered, the fact that it is so registered will not preclude its use as a signature.

Regulation 9.

Messages will not be passed unless the meaning of the text is clear to the censor.

Single-word texts satisfy this requirement only in rare instances, and then only with appreciable delay necessary for inquiry or investigation.

Messages consisting of address and signature only, with no text, are not permitted.

Regulation 10.

All plain language messages must be in English, French, Portuguese, or Spanish. However, all press
dispatches should be filed in English; otherwise they may be subject to delay. Transit traffic may be in any plain language which is acceptable at destination.

Legitimate terms or words common in any profession or trade may be used if intelligible to the censor and not susceptible to double meaning as used.

**Regulation 11.**

The use of the following commercial codes is permitted in terminal traffic:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Code</th>
<th>Indicating Symbol</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABC Sixth Edition</td>
<td>ABC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGEM Code and Supplement</td>
<td>AGEM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bentley's Complete Phrase Code</td>
<td>ENGLISH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bentley's Second Phrase Code</td>
<td>ENGLISH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lombard General Code</td>
<td>LOMBER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lombard Shipping Code and Appendix</td>
<td>LOMSHIP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Standard Half Word Code</td>
<td>STANHAF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Standard Three Letter Code</td>
<td>STARTER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peterson's Third Edition</td>
<td>PRT</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In every coded message the code used must be indicated by placing the appropriate indicating symbol in the heading of the message. The symbol is not a chargeable word so used.

Cable and radio patrons should ascertain from the communication companies whether the code is acceptable by the censorship, if any, at the destination of the message.

The use of private codes is not permitted except by special license granted by the Director of Censorship. Such licenses cannot be granted unless the licensee is in a position to furnish fifteen copies of the code book for the use of censors.

The use of code words from catalogues and price lists cannot be permitted since there is little likelihood that they can be made intelligible to the censor. (See Regulation 9.)

It is advised that those issuing catalogues or price lists containing code words mark them with a statement as follows:
"During the continuance of the U. S. Cable and Radio Censorship, these code words are not permitted in cablegrams."

Regulation 14.

Banks and other business institutions which have previously used test words in the conduct of their business may continue to use test words in transmitting international messages; provided, however, that the Office of Censorship may, at any time, and without notice, withdraw such privilege; and provided further, that any user of test words shall at any time furnish such information pertinent to his international communications as may be required by the Office of Censorship.

Any bank or business institution desiring to obtain the privilege of using test words in transmitting its international messages may apply to the Office of Censorship, but before such privilege is granted, and at any time thereafter, must furnish such information as may be required by the Office of Censorship.

Regulation 15.

Information required by the censor from the sender in the United States in regard to a specific message may be requested when necessary by a "collect" telegram from the censor to the sender.

Any information which the sender may consider necessary to make the meaning of his cablegram or radiogram clear to the censor may be imparted in a prepaid domestic telegram addressed to the censor having jurisdiction. This telegram ("Memorandum Message") should be filed with the cablegram or radiogram to which it refers.
Regulation 14.

Numbers that are unrelated to the text and not easily understandable to the censor are not permitted, whether expressed in plain figures or by code words translating into plain figures.

Regulation 15.

Serial numbers in messages are subject to deletion, but may, at the sender's risk, be included as the first word on the message, when they can be easily understood by the censor and plainly do not convey a hidden meaning.

Regulation 16.

Due to restrictions on the use of radio by ships at sea, there can be no assurance of immediate delivery of, or reply to, radiograms addressed by the public to seagoing vessels.

Regulation 17.

Routine stock market daily reports (including curb market, cotton, grain, and similar market reports) will be expedited by the censor the same as press dispatches when received from properly recognized and trustworthy agencies. However, reports concerning individual transactions and messages between brokers, dealers, firms, and individuals relative to bids, offers, acceptances, inquiries, quotations, etc., shall be subject to all of these regulations.

Regulation 18.

In connection with any messages relating to financial transactions, the censor may require complete information relative to the identity of the payor and payee, and the ultimate purpose of the transaction.
Regulation 19.

Except in press dispatches (for which separate regulations have been issued), no reference, either open or hidden, will be made to any of the following subjects in any international communication:

(a) The location, identity, description, movement or prospective movement of any merchant vessel, aircraft, naval or military vessel or naval or military force, including the collective or individual personnel thereof, operated by the United States or other nations opposing the Axis powers. Messages pertaining to the shipment of material or movements of vessels must be so worded as not to associate any two of the following elements: (1) The name of the vessel; (2) the nature of the cargo; and (3) the name of port or arrival or departure. The specific date of arrival or departure on any present or future voyage is not permitted, but approximate dates may be used, employing such expressions as "next week", or "late next month", etc. No such expression shall be more specific than one week's time. This applies to American, anti-Axis, and Neutral ships alike.

(b) The location, identity, description, test, performance, production, movement or prospective movement, of defensive or offensive weapons, installations, supplies, material, or equipment of the United States or other anti-Axis nations.

(c) The location, description, production, capacity, or specific output of existing or proposed private or government-owned or -controlled plants, yards, docks, dams, structures, experimental or other facilities, or to contracts, plans, and rates of industrial activity in connection therewith.
This extends to any process, synthesis, or operation in the production, manufacture, or reconstruction of any article the export of which is prohibited or limited by the Government.

(a) The civil, military, industrial, financial, or economic plans of the United States or other countries opposing the Axis powers, or the personal or official plans of any official thereof.

(b) The employment of any naval, military, or civil defense unit of the United States or other anti-Axis nations.

(c) Reports on production and conditions in the mining, lumbering, fishing, livestock, and farming industries, and shortages or surpluses in connection therewith.

(d) Weather conditions (past, present, or forecast).

(e) The effect of enemy operations or casualties to personnel or material, suffered by the United States or other anti-Axis nations, until the information is officially released.

(f) The fact or effect of our military or naval operations against the enemy, until the information is officially released.

(g) The number, description, location, or identity of prisoners of war.

(h) Criticism of equipment, appearance, physical condition or morale of the collective or individual armed forces of the United States or other nations opposing the Axis powers.

(i) Any data whatever concerning military or naval communication or intelligence methods or results.
(n) Any other matter, the dissemination of which might directly or indirectly bring aid or comfort to the enemy, or which might interfere with the national effort of, or disparage the foreign relations of, the United States or other anti-Axis nations.

Section 25.

Due to the necessity of avoiding disclosure of the location of military and naval units, personal messages to naval personnel afloat or military personnel in the field, may be subject to considerable delay. At times it may be necessary, due to the exigencies of the situation, not to accept radio messages to such personnel.

February 19, 1942

Director

The White House

February , 1942

Approved:

I certify this to be a true copy of the original as signed by Byron Price, Director, and approved by President Roosevelt on February 20, 1942.

Theodore F. Koop, Assistant to the Director.
OFFICE OF CENSORSHIP
WASHINGTON

RULES FOR OPERATING COMPANIES

The following instructions and rules for companies operating overseas cable and radio circuits and affiliated landwire companies concern the handling of international traffic, and are known as "Rules for Operating Companies". These rules affect only the relationship between the carriers and Censorship. It should be clearly understood that the rules are not intended to, nor do they have the effect of, authorizing action by the carriers which is in violation of the Communications Act of 1934, as amended, the rules, regulations and orders of the Federal Communications Commission promulgated thereunder, or the tariffs filed by the carriers with the Federal Communications Commission.

General Provisions

Such landwire traffic as is involved in the handling of international cable or radio traffic between the point of entry to or departure from the country and the cable user is subject to control of Cable and Radio Censorship.

Throughout these rules, the word "cable" or "cablegram" includes also "radio" or "radiogram".

Cable and Radio Censorship desires to interfere as little as possible with legitimate business, including the business and regular operations of the communication companies and their affiliates.
Rule 1. Employees.

All employees in contact with cable patrons, and all operating personnel at the sending and receiving apparatus must be thoroughly familiar with "U. S. Cable and Radio Censorship Regulations", and "U. S. Radiotelephone Censorship Regulations". They must be furnished also with such data on foreign censorship regulations as will best serve the interests of their patrons.

Rule 2. Continental Censorship Stations and Jurisdiction.

Cable Censorship Stations have been established in New York, Miami, New Orleans, San Antonio, San Francisco, and Seattle, and will be established at Los Angeles and such other places as experience shall from time to time indicate to be necessary. The jurisdiction of each of these Cable Censorship Stations extends to all international traffic by cable, radio, ship-shore radio, or other means, over the seaboard areas specified below:

(a) New York - The Atlantic seaboard north of the State of Georgia. Traffic to Mexico over the Galveston-Tampico-Vera Cruz cable of the Western Union Company shall be routed via New York for censoring.

(b) Miami - The seaboard of the States of Florida and Georgia.

(c) New Orleans - The seaboard of the States of Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas.

(d) San Antonio - The Mexican Border of the State of Texas.
(e) San Francisco - The Pacific seaboard of the State of California.

(f) Seattle - The Pacific seaboard of the States of Washington and Oregon, and traffic to or from Alaska.

Notes: The jurisdiction of the Los Angeles station when established will include the Pacific Seaboard of the State of California south of and including Santa Barbara, the Mexican Borders of the States of California, Arizona, and New Mexico.


Overseas Censors have been established in the Virgin Islands, Puerto Rico, Guantanamo, Panama, Honolulu, Alaska, and Iceland.


Field Censors are established in the operating rooms of the commercial companies as a necessary contact with Censorship. Their duties are:

(a) To insure that Cable Censorship has acted upon all outgoing cable and radio traffic before transmission and upon all incoming cable and radio traffic before delivery. (See Rule 6.)

(b) To cooperate with the commercial companies to see that all readable messages comply with "U. S. Cable and Radio Censorship Regulations" before being submitted to the Censorship Stations.

(c) To cooperate with the commercial companies in preventing or mending mutilations.

(d) To pass on the commercial companies' "service" messages if communicated beyond the jurisdiction of the United States.
(e) Any other liaison required.

**Rule 5. Communications between Censor and Operating Companies.**

(a) Censor will communicate directly with the officials of the commercial companies in their respective areas as regards:

1. The enforcement of instructions, regulations, and rules already established.
2. The establishment or adjustment of local routine arrangements not affecting other Censorship Stations or Censorship as a whole.

(b) All other communications between Cable Censorship and the commercial companies will be conducted by the Chief Cable Censor.

**Rule 6. Primary Responsibility.**

(a) It is the primary responsibility of the commercial companies to see that all cabling are submitted to Cable Censorship for action either before being sent out of the country on any circuit, or before being delivered or further transmitted for delivery to the addressee after receipt in this country. Included also are abnormally routed cabling which might not otherwise have entered the jurisdiction of the United States.

(b) All transit traffic irrespective of code or language except traffic originating in or addressed to enemy-occupied territory will be passed by the Field Censor at the point of departure from continental United States. The Field Censor will retain "Ditto" copy. Transit traffic originating in or addressed to enemy-occupied territory shall pass through full censorship at the point of departure from the United States.

Commercial companies operating landwire communication facilities within the jurisdiction of the United States will route all cable or radiograms as follows:

(a) Outgoing Terminal International Traffic carried by landwire telegraph will be sent to the office of the cable or radio company where the message is to be transmitted out of the country. This company, before transmitting the message, will submit it, as provided in Rule 6, for censoring to the Censorship Station having jurisdiction. (See Rules 2 and 4a.)

(b) Incoming Terminal International Traffic entails no responsibility on the part of the landline companies, except that, in cases where jurisdiction is surrendered by one Continental Censor to another, passmarks, etc., must be transmitted as indicated. (See Rule 10b.)

c) Maritime Radiograms will be sent to the office of the radio company over whose facilities the message is to be transmitted. This company, before transmitting the message, will submit it for censoring to the Censorship Station having jurisdiction. (See Rules 2 and 4a.) Companies filing such radiograms must ascertain whether messages are replies to previous cablegrams or radiograms and, if so, how and when such previous messages were routed. In order that censors may achieve a clear understanding of messages, it is sometimes necessary to consider the message to which the one being handled is a reply. Therefore, it may be necessary that a reply message be censored at the continental station which censored the original message.

d) Shipboard Radio Stations. All persons filing radiograms on board ship shall register their full names and addresses and, if the radiogram is an answer to a message
censored by the U. S. authorities, shall also state when and by what communication company such original message was handled. Radio companies shall furnish the censor with this information by service message. This rule applies, however, only to vessels from which radio transmissions are permitted under wartime conditions. (See, regulations covering the use, control, supervision, inspection or closure of radio stations on all vessels under the jurisdiction of the United States.)

(e) Domestic Point-to-Point Radio Traffic. Point-to-point commercial radio traffic which can be heard outside the jurisdiction of the United States may be examined by censorship before being transmitted by radio, and may by this authority be suppressed or diverted to landlines for transmission. This is an exception to Rule 7(a) which applies to landline telegraph only.


With respect to either incoming or outgoing international messages the operating company shall deliver to Censorship two copies of each message; namely, the original hard copy and a "Ditto" copy. The operating company may retain a carbon copy of each message for accounting purposes. If, because of physical location, it is necessary to transmit messages to Censorship by teletype, then Censorship will make the required copies.


It is of first importance to Censorship that the companies preserve, during the entire continuance of the
Censorship, all messages now on file in the offices of the companies and all messages that may be received either for transmission or for delivery during the continuance of Censorship, and that such files be made available to Censorship if required.

**Rule 10. Methods of Censoring and Action in Connection therewith.**

(a) **Types of Action:**

Censors may:

1. PASS,
2. DELAY,
3. PARAPHRASE,
4. DELETE a part,
5. SUPPRESS,
6. CANCEL or permit cancellation of,
7. RETURN FOR CORRECTION (technical irregularity), or
8. REFER to Chief Cable Censor for his action or advice.

Every message received in Censorship will eventually receive one of the treatments listed above.

(b) **Censorship Marks:** Censors in acting on messages may place thereon either in the preamble, or in Memorandum Messages (MM's) following, certain censorship indicators for the information of other censors. Such additions made to messages by censors will not be removed by the personnel of the operating companies, but will be transmitted by the operating companies until removed by a censor. MM's will be charged for at Government rates and billed to the Office of Censorship, Washington, D.C. Censor's "Passmark", inserted in the preamble, will be carried free, but if lost from a message and recovered by a "service" message, will be replaced at the expense of the company.
Censorship marks, etc., will be removed from traffic by the censor who last handles the messages either before transmission beyond United States Censorship jurisdiction or before release for delivery to the addressee.

(c) Technical Irregularities: Operating companies are expected to notify by service message the station of origin of any messages when a cablegram does not conform to Censorship Regulations or is badly mutilated or garbled, and for such reason is "Returned for Correction" by the censor. Operating companies should not accept messages not conforming to Censorship Regulations, and the burden of obtaining their technical readjustment is therefore on the company. Technical irregularities must be corrected either by the sender or by the operating company before a message can be released by a censor.

In case the technical irregularity is, in the censor's opinion, not capable of being readjusted, the censor, instead of returning the message for correction, may cancel the message because of technical irregularities. (See Rule 10b.)

(d) Inquiries to Senders: Explanations required by a Censor from a cable sender in the United States as to any message filed by him may be obtained by a "collect" message from the censor to the sender, or by a free service message to the office of origin, at the discretion of the censor.

(e) Censorship requests that the operating companies report to the originating censor the inability of a company to obtain a reply to a service message or to deliver an inquiry, and the reason therefore. This cooperation will
make it possible to censor immediately telegrams that otherwise might be held in expectation of receiving either a reply from the sender, or action by the office of origin.

(f) Non-Delivery: When a telegram is refused by an addressee, no further, and no other, attempt to deliver to the same, or to any other addressee, will be made without receiving permission from the censor who passed the telegram. However, the operating company is invited to advise the censor as to some other addressee or address where it is believed delivery is intended or will be accepted.

When an operating company is unable immediately to deliver a message, but learns later that the addressee has moved to another city, the company shall not forward the message, but shall return it to the censor, with the explanation, and the new address.

(g) When Censorship deletes or paraphrases a message, it shall be re-typed by the Censor on an operating company form which shall be identical with the form used by the operating company in the transmission of the message to Censorship, and returned to the operating company for transmission or delivery.

(h) Action Not to be Revealed: All operating companies, their executives or employees, are required not to reveal the action taken by a censor on commercial traffic other than press dispatches, except by written permission of, and to the extent prescribed by, the Director of Censorship. (See Rule 23.) The one exception to this rule is that CANCELLATION of a message for any reason carries with it the requirement that the operating company notify the sender and consider a refund.
In this connection, before making delivery of a message, operating companies will ensure that the delivery copy does not reveal any action of the censor, such as deletion, paraphrase, indication of a difference between the number of words charged for and the number of words delivered, passmarks, impressions of rubber stamps, etc.

(i) Copies: The operating companies may furnish a patron, upon request, a copy of previously delivered message, provided it was passed by the censor and is in the exact censored form and does not reveal any action of or change by the censor.

Rule 11. Credit.

When extending credit to the sender of a cablegram, operating companies will charge for the actual number of words filed, and not merely for the actual number of words transmitted. The entire number of words filed will be charged for even if the message is not returned by the censor for transmission. Credits for words not transmitted will be allowed only if and when permission to consider refund has been granted by the Director of Censorship.

Collect Messages: In the case of a deleted "Receiver to Pay" or "Collect" cablegram, with the single exception of recognised Press Cablegrams, collection is required to be made for the actual number of words delivered, and not for the actual number of words transmitted.


No information regarding the fact or time of delivery of messages will be furnished to patrons without the permission of the Director of Censorship. (See Rule 10b.) For this
reason, patrons filing "reply prepaid" messages and communication companies which accept "collect" messages must do so at their own risk.


(a) When complaints are received by the operating companies as to errors in transmission, mutilation, omission, delay, etc., the following rules shall govern:

When the company ascertains that the difficulty was due to some irregularity or error made by it, or an affiliate, as a matter of company operation, the matter may be disposed of as the company sees fit, without reference either to the local censor or to the Director of Censorship.

When the company ascertains that the error or irregularity complained of is due to some action taken by a censor, the complaint is required to be referred to the Director of Censorship without, of course, disclosing to the cable patron that this has been done and without in either case entering into explanations. (See Rule 10b.)

(b) When complaints of non-delivery are received by the operating companies, the matter is required to be referred to the Director of Censorship, and no information will be given out by the company. This course may be adhered to even though the company's records may show that the cablegram in question was passed by Censorship.

There is one exception to this rule: When a cablegram is cancelled by the censor, the company is expected to notify the sender. (See Rule 10b.)

(a) The interest of Censorship in matters of refund extends only to the control of the possible revelation of the action of Censorship by the adjustment of a refund between an operating company and a patron. Where secrecy is necessary, refunds are not permissible, since they would disclose the fact that a message has been censored. Where secrecy is not necessary, the granting of a refund is not subject to objection as far as Censorship is concerned. If carriers, however, determine to make refunds in such cases, they must assume the responsibility that such action is consistent with the Communications Act of 1934, the rules, regulations and orders of the Federal Communications Commission, and the tariffs filed by the carriers.

(b) Requests for refund must be made to the operating company and not to Censorship. When such a request is made to a censor, he will reply that such request must be made to the company with which the message was filed for transmission, but the following rules will be observed:

(1) When requests for refunds are received by an operating company, they will not be considered until permission has been given by the Director of Censorship, except in the case of cancelled cablegrams. (See Rule 16b.)

(2) Each application for refund must be accompanied by a copy of the cablegram with the full name and address of the addressee and sender thereof, and a written statement from the addressee that the cablegram in question has not been delivered.
(c) The "U. S. Cable and Radio Censorship Regulations" (Regulation 4) provide that no information whatever concerning the treatment or disposition of a cablegram may be given to the public. Therefore, in forwarding to the Director of Censorship requests from cable users for refunds, it is unnecessary to inquire what explanations to make to the sender. The following procedure will be observed:

(1) In answer to a patron's request for information concerning the disposition of a message, or for a report of the service on a message, it will be understood that the company will reply stating that "U. S. Cable and Radio Censorship Regulations" forbid giving any information, calling attention to Regulation 4.

(2) The only inquiry that need then be forwarded to the Director of Censorship with refund papers will be whether or not the Director of Censorship grants permission to consider the patron's request.

(3) Letters regarding refunds are required in duplicate, and must be accompanied by supporting papers and data, including the original request from the cable user, statement of non-receipt of the message in question, and copy of the message. The reply will be simply that permission is or is not given, and no explanatory notes are required to be given by, nor expected from, the Director of Censorship.

(4) In order to avoid possible injustice, and inadvertent errors, it may be suggested to the patron that formal complaint in writing be made to the Director of Censorship, sending a copy of the message in question, a statement of the circumstances under which it was sent, explana-
tion of the text, and full information concerning himself, his correspondent (addressed), his business, and any person or firm mentioned. Such complaints will be investigated carefully, but the Director of Censorship will rely upon the operating companies to see that care and discretion are employed in making such suggestions to patrons.

**Rule 15. Code.**

"U. S. Cable and Radio Censorship Regulations" prohibit the use of private codes. However, censors are instructed that the use of the communication company's private code may be permitted on the company's own circuit for official business, provided a copy of the code is in the possession of the censor. Field Censors may pass "service" messages themselves, if such messages are perfectly clear to them and legitimate. But nothing in this paragraph shall be construed as excepting such company messages in private code from the scrutiny and control of the censor.

**Rule 16. Cable Addresses.**

(a) "U. S. Cable and Radio Censorship Regulations" prohibit the use of cable addresses until approved by the Director of Censorship. This means that all the cable addresses of all companies are no longer officially in existence.

(b) However, it may be expected that the Director of Censorship will announce a modification of that regulation.

(c) Censorship will not undertake to usurp the peacetime system of the registration of addresses, but will control it. Addresses will continue to be registered with the
operating companies, and the companies will charge the proper fee for the service, but the companies will not accept new registrations, nor renew old ones, nor make any alterations, transfers, or changes of any kind, except upon the presentation by the applicant of the necessary authority from the Director of Censorship.

(d) Applicants for cable addresses, or for renewals, transfers, or changes, shall be instructed to apply in writing to the Director of Censorship for exactly what they want. The application must state:

(1) Exactly where they desire to register the address;

(2) exactly the code word and its cable address that they desire to register; and

(3) that the substance of (2) is acceptable for registration at the place the registration is desired.

(e) When applications are granted, the Director of Censorship will so inform the applicant in writing, stating exactly what is granted. A copy of the letter of authority will be sent to the place where the registration is desired to be made. Before accomplishing the registration, the authority presented by the applicant must be checked against the copy from the Director of Censorship.

(f) If the papers are not in agreement, the registration will be rejected, and both copies of the authority will be returned to the Director of Censorship by the office rejecting the application, with an appropriate statement of the circumstances. This should be done without the knowledge of the applicant, if possible.
(a) In some cases, for well-known firms, organizations, and individuals, the Director of Censorship, in the interest of efficiency and time saving, may authorize future periodic renewals of registered addresses without further reference to him. Such cases will be handled with particular care by the registration bureaus. If periodic renewals are desired, the letter of application must cover this point in full. (See (c) above.)

(b) When a cable user or company submits evidence of the exclusive and continued use of an address, which has thereby become a business or personal asset, Censorship will gladly cooperate in confirming such a cable address.

Rule 17. Cable Address Records.

(a) All cable address records shall be opened and made available to censors at any time, both for their own information when required, and to enable Censorship to investigate old registrations when necessary in connection with applications for new registrations, or for any other reason.

(b) If the cable address is not available or on record with the company at the place of the Censorship Station, it must be obtained through the company's connections and affiliates.


The operating companies may be required by the Director of Censorship to furnish the Cable Censor at each Censorship Station a daily abstract of all international cable and radio traffic entering or leaving the country at said Censorship Stations or under the jurisdiction thereof, indicating for each message: (1) Number of words; (2) where
from; (3) destination; (4) sent to (addressee); and (5) signed by.

Rule 10. Reports of Suspicious Circumstances.

The Director of Censorship and all local censors will welcome any information of suspicious circumstances in connection with the filing of messages. This may be a rare occurrence, but if it uncovers only one enemy effort it will be worth while. Agents of the operating companies may communicate such circumstances by hand on the message. It should be pointed out to said agents that they should not consider themselves as exercising the functions of Censorship, and should not alter or delay a message without the knowledge of the patron. Their action would be in the nature of that of any citizen rendering patriotic assistance to his government, which is the natural obligation of all citizens.


Hereafter no fixed greeting ("canned") messages or "ALT" messages will be accepted without the permission of the Director of Censorship, whose decision will be based upon existing circumstances and published in sufficient time prior to holidays.

Rule 21.

No communication company will permit the transmission of any call letters, signals, service messages or any communication whatever intended for reception in enemy-occupied territory without the specific authority of the Censor in each case.
Rule 22.

Censors may divert traffic from one carrier to another, or reroute traffic, at their discretion, when such action is necessary in the public interest.

Rule 23.

The following action is authorized in connection with the handling of press dispatches:

(a) Communications companies handling press dispatches are authorized to inform any recognized news agency and correspondent of the fact and the time of transmission of any bonafide news dispatch, including news service dispatch, filed by that agency or correspondent.

(b) The communication company may also inform the news agency or correspondent of the actual number of words transmitted in any of his news dispatches and may make arrangements with the news agency to charge for the number of words transmitted rather than for the number of words filed.

(c) Communication companies which offer their facilities to the press on a time basis may keep the news agencies informed of the copy on hand in order that available transmission time may be fully utilized.
Rule 26.

In connection with international radiotelephone communications, when telephone operators are questioned by patrons as to the need for the information required, the patron may be told that the information is required under Government Regulations.

February 19, 1942

Director

The White House

February 19, 1942

Approved:

I certify this to be a true copy of the original as signed by Byron Price, Director, and approved by President Roosevelt on February 20, 1942.

Theodore F. Koop,
Assistant to the Director.
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 5, 1942.

MEMORANDUM FOR
LOWELL MELLETT

That is a grand photograph of a glorious room in a magnificent and historic building which, in the generations to come, will preserve democracy for the people of the United States against the sordid attacks of a subversive press.

I have but one final suggestion to complete the perfection of this Temple of that ancient god MEL-EK, and that is that we acquire from Messrs. Ringling Brothers an historic supreme Calliope to be put on top of the Information sign in order that it may discourse sweet harmony capable of being heard in the Halls of the Congress. I suggest also that a special loud speaker from said Calliope be inserted into the offices of the Washington Post.

F. D. R.
Photographs of unsigned bills to go on House Ave. under bank, Washington, D.C.

File "Phot. File"
I don't know whether this is a.O.P. or U.S. I.S.

President's Secretary's File
Folder: June 1942
Box 90

May I have the allotment for 70. You there? I have taken 86 of 117. How many?
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 18, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR

HON. LOWELL MELLETT

I like these and I hope you will get an enormous circulation for them.

What would you think of an additional plan -- to prepare a series of editorials, based on the Hearst method (Isn't that terrible for me to say)? In other words, the style of type with a word in large caps every sentence; length to fit into a single page leaflet or handbill, paper of the poorest quality. The only problem being a real distribution. We ought to have millions and millions of them.

You might work on this.

F. D. R.
MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

From: Lowell Mellett

Here are five more of the pamphlets. You have read the one on the CCC and NYA.

Walker approves these, but since they involve policy so deeply I am sure you will wish to look them over.
PRIVATE

December 28, 1944.

Dear Lowell:

Many thanks for your note. The trouble with Press Conferences is that you have no time to tell the whole story — if you did it would not be printed.

At a Press Conference it is almost impossible to go into reasons and, as you and I know, everyone is inclined — from columnist to President — to lump things together.

Of course, the whole trouble with the columnists, except half a dozen including you, is that they do not tell the truth or else do it in such a way as to hurt their neighbor. Unfortunately this tendency is hurting two groups or really three. First, the newspapers themselves; second, the people who write for them and, third, the working out of some very big world problems where we only have the beginnings of a new desire for harmony.

And it is missing the point entirely to point out, as Joe Patterson did yesterday morning, that some columnists are pro and others are con politically. If all the columnists in the United States were for me, I would still feel as I do about most of them. There are always people in private life who believe anything they read. Remind me to tell you about Al Smith in the 1928 campaign in Georgia.
Columnists have certain obligations of
decency and it really is true that people like
Fagler and O'Donnell seem to lack that sense.

Remind me, too, to tell you what
happened as a result of Drew Pearson's story
about American aviators in Russia. He has hurt,
and perhaps snuffed out the lives of some of his
fellow beings. The war closes my mouth on this
but the damage is done.

Of course, most of them in the writing
of a column are too apt to say "Will this please
so-and-so or will this make so-and-so mad"? It
is a curious fact that when a column happens to
be about me, I have developed a waterproof back
like a duck.

Honestly I am thinking about the country.
I hope to see you soon.

As ever yours,

Lowell Mellett, Esq.,
The Evening Star,
Washington, D. C.
ANTICIPATING HISTORY'S VERDICT

I've always contended that if a person is worthy of a bouquet or a pat on the back give it to him while he's still living and able to enjoy it instead of heaping it on his coffin or saying with a lugubrious countenance, "He was a great guy.

So in this vein I have a little suggestion to make which, if you wish, you can jot down under the heading of post-war projects. My observation right here is that you'll have to do it sometime so you might as well get in a mood for it.

OUT IN OUR BLACK HILLS we have what we proudly call, "The Shrine of Democracy," its chief attraction is Rushmore mountain upon whose bald brow are chiselled the faces of four gentlemen who have perhaps a lot to do with the making of America—George Washington, the leader of the Revolution of which his Country? Thomas Jefferson, the first great champion of the common man; Abraham Lincoln, who kept the country from breaking asunder in Civil war, and Theodore Roosevelt, who planted the nation during its transition from adolescence into "big pants."

MY SUGGESTION IS THAT we add a fifth face to that galaxy of the great—make it at least a full poker hand. Whose would be the fifth? Why Franklin D. Roosevelt of course.

I've "cased the terrain," and I have found that immediately to the right of Washington's face, or to the left as you look away from you, is an area of unused cliff that about right size to accommodate the visage of P.D.R. Of course the genius who conceived and brought into being the shrine, Gutzon Borglum, has departed from the scene, but we might talk to Jo Davidson into superintending the crowning touch. Or Perhaps Lincoln Borglum could do the job.

TO THE OBJECTION THAT "you don't erect statues to people until they're dead." I reply, "You could, couldn't you?" To the question, "what has Roosevelt done that could place him on a plane with the other four?" I say he brought us through a bit of a crisis back then in '21 ect., without recourse to riot squads and paralyzing runs on banks. He is charting our path to the summit of victory through the worst shambles ever made of the civilized world. That he is doing with brilliance.

His leadership, with our help, has demonstrated to us our tremendous power and potentialities which have lighted the way to hope for the future. He has confounded his critics by making his place in history before leaving office. He has become the symbol of the free life and democracy to millions of persons throughout the world.

HE REVERSED OUR NATIONAL philosophy from adulation of the dollar to glorification of the human being, God's supreme gift to the world.

That to my mind, is reason enough to rate a face on Rushmore even if he never does another tap. If he succeeds at his supreme task—welding of a lasting peace in a world of brotherly co-operation then we'll just make his stone face 10 feet longer.

THIS LITTLE PROJECT suggests itself to me one evening as I sat in a hotel lobby in Chamberlain. A group of out-of-state hunters were there. They were gazing with interest at a picture of the Rushmore faces on the wall of the lobby. "What, no Franklin?" queried one of them. He seemed to be downright disappointed.

So I remarked to Don Strmatney that we'd just have to do something to keep up the morale and spirits of our guests. We just couldn't afford to disappoint them in this fashion. That's worse than not getting a goose.

THE MORE I THINK OF THE proposition the more worthy it appears. It even presents practicalities and healthful aspects.

For example, the Roosevelt-hater could roll up beneath the shrine in his Rolls-Royce. There in the cool mountain air and in the shade of the restful pines he could hiss at his heart's content without running the hazards of appleyse as he does in his stuffy office today.

Then it could do much to keep traditions alive. The boomy mausoleum of the future could debouch there and gaze and gape through his eyes. He then could turn to little Cavendish and say, "there's the man who caused your grandfather to jump out of the tenth-story window of his bank building."

ON THE OTHER HAND THERE might be quite a few like little Jonathan, I hope, who would lead his elders for inscribing that fifth face there. And I hope he'll find a reason to say, "I'm glad my old man didn't go down on the record as one of the 'hikers' we read about in the history books." He could even continue to say that the "old man didn't even hate Hoover, or Coolidge or even Harding; he just didn't care much for them. And after all, didn't we name a whole mountain for Coolidge?"

Oh well, the time arrives to think of the next step in the proceedings—the introduction of the appropriation bill in Congress for this venture. I wonder if Hoffman, Rich, Mundt or Joe Martin would appreciate the honor of footing such a measure? I wonder.
DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

I didn't expect to be included in the fortunate group receiving your rare Christmas book. I can hardly tell you how much I appreciate this gift from the only man I ever called Boss.

But I wish you would quit saying unkind things about us columnists. Read the attached and see what one columnist proposes as an added exorcism on the face of Mount Rushmore.

Bailey is quite a fellow. First he sold me to his editor and then we sold you, and the editor did his damnest to swing the state of South Dakota--no mean feat, if he had succeeded.

With warmest Christmas wishes to Mrs. Roosevelt and yourself,

Sincerely,

Lowell Mellett

The President,
The White House.