December 22, 1942

The Honorable
Stephen Early
Secretary to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Steve:

Enclosed is our report on the citations from Senator Truman about which you asked me.

As you will see, it seems to have been material thoroughly prepared beforehand.

As always,

- [Signature]

Elmer Davis
Director

Mr. Early's request must have been verbal as there is nothing in file to Ms. Davis. 2p.
threat to register enforcement.

should be enlarged in the part of the day and not a matter of
games and music, we are a step in the right direction, the added
enlargement down, and the added that, so that it

the summary to the day, the other day, and the

with sensors transcribed and printed before the

In the first -- "First Light Zephyr" -- based on an interpretation

The meeting deg. Is.

The AP Day the show two stories put out on the wire covers

who covered the Johnson, worked from a prepared text.

Mr. George H. of the Boston Herald said that Mr. Lawrence was

allowed to transcribe such copies as he wanted.

spread copies which were submitted only for the AP, up and ING, but was

Mr. Director of the association had the transcription of the

Mr. Director of the Boston Globe, who covered the Johnson's

from the senator's office.

transcription then transcribed the Johnson's text which Mr. Hart saw to speak.

The wire service received the transcribed text from Washington, after a speedy

Mr. Frank Hart, et al of Kenmore, its from the association Press, said

Reduction of association in the final draft.

transcription drank at the Johnson because of the association's

from a prepared address. The press in the association's office were taken

in personal capacity at the Boston office of the association Press,

SPEECH IN BOSTON

R. B. Brown Thompson - Boston

James D. Street - Commerce

OFFICE OF WAR INFORMATION

Dec. 19, 1945
"The prohibition amended," he said, "showed the futility of that".

Senator Byrd carried the ball in the press interview.

The AP lead and quotes from Senator Truman were as follows:

(N.E. out)

BOSTON, Dec. 12 (AP) - Declaration that U. S. Military reverses to date can be attributed to non-repeal of the 40-hour week and that it is futile to raise an army so large that its attempted supply would destroy civilian economy, were made today in separate addresses by two U.S. senators investigating government expenditures in wartime.

* * * *

(4th paragraph) At the same meeting Sen. Harry S. Truman, (D.Mo.), head of the Senate Committee investigating the National Defense program, asserted that increasing demands for additional military equipment have reached the point of exceeding quantities which can be made available to the armed forces consistent with land-lease commitments and maintenance of civilian economy.

(5th paragraph) "It will do little good to raise a huge army," the Missourian said, "unless, consistently with supplying our allies with weapons they need, we can transport and supply our own army overseas. It is even more futile to raise so large an army that its attempted supply and maintenance will destroy the essential civilian economy."
Mr. Chairman, it is an honor to address the Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations. Your organization was formed to battle against needless state appropriations that cost the taxpayers money. You guard against improper and illegal expenditures and seek to improve the administration of public affairs.

Your work is of paramount importance, especially in these days when the costs of carrying on global warfare are so staggering.

The Special Committee of the United States Senate to Investigate the National Defense Program, of which I have the honor to be the Chairman, has the same purpose as your Associations. Like your Associations, the Committee is a watch-dog for the people, and an organized expression of the common desire that every necessary military need and every necessary service of government be adequately supported, but that not one cent be spent needlessly.

It is easy to appropriate billions of dollars, but it is not so easy to obtain those billions of dollars. There is a limit to the amount by which we can safely increase our national debt.
Every dollar that is appropriated and spent must some day be paid back and paid back with interest. Any suggestion that it will not is malicious rumor-mongering. The only way it can be paid back is through taxation.

New plans for increasing tax revenues are constantly being made. New sources of additional tax revenues are continually being sought, but the tax burden is becoming increasingly harder to bear. We must always bear in mind that taxation when made too severe destroys the subject upon which it is sought to be levied. If we keep on piling tax upon tax there will come a time when we pile on the last straw that will break the camel's back.

It is unfortunately inevitable that part of the burden of paying for this war must be passed on to the next generation. We ought not to saddle the next generation, however, with a burden so great that it will spoil the fruits of the hard won victory. Our duty to posterity is not merely to beget them and forget them.

In the midst of a war for our very existence we cannot flinch at paying the cost of obtaining equipment and supplies necessary to win the war, but we can insist that the taxpayers' money be carefully
expended now so as to reduce to a minimum the future tax burden. Wasteful expenditures of money not only require needless taxation but also demonstrate that wasteful methods of production have been used. The result is that scarce materials and sorely needed manpower are frittered away. The American people are willing to make every sacrifice and to incur every burden necessary to win this war, but they are not willing, and must not be asked, to suffer unnecessary burdens of waste, carelessness and confusion.

The Senate Committee to Investigate the National Defense Program was organized early in 1941 to prevent such waste and was authorized and directed by the United States Senate to investigate the operation of the program for the procurement and construction of all supplies, materials, munitions, vehicles, aircraft, vessels, plants, camps, and other articles and facilities connected with the war program. The Committee was directed to examine into the types and terms of all contracts awarded, the methods by which they were awarded and the contractors selected, the utilization of small business concerns through subcontracts or otherwise, geographical distribution of contracts and location of plants and facilities, the effect of such program with
respect to labor and the migration of labor, the practices of management or labor, and the benefits accruing to contractors with respect to amortization for purposes of taxation or otherwise. In other words, the Committee was directed to examine into every phase of the entire war program.

The Committee was not organized to tell the war agencies what to do or how to do it. The purpose of the Committee is not to substitute its judgment for their judgment. Its function is to insure that intelligent consideration is given to the important and difficult problems presented by the war program for the purpose of making certain that the sure victory to be won is won with the least cost in human lives and property.

The membership of the Committee is both nonsectional and nonpartisan. The Committee has never had a minority report. I hope that it never will. Its members constitute 10% of the Senate and both parties are represented. Members come from every section of the country. Your new England states are represented by Senator Brewster of Maine; the Middle Atlantic states by Senator Mead of New York; the Ohio Valley by Senator Kilgore of West Virginia and Senator Burton of Ohio; the North by Senator Ball of Minnesota; the Middle West by Senator Herring
of Iowa and myself; the South by Senator Connally of Texas; the Southwest by Senator Hatch of New Mexico; and the West Coast by Senator Wallgren of Washington.

The Committee was organized to do a job and its members have no preconceived notions, no partisan views to promote, and no beliefs to prove. It is determined to have neither a white-wash nor a smear. It wants to build and not to destroy.

In the last war, investigations were postponed until the end of the conflict. Then we witnessed a spectacle of literally scores of Congressional Committees investigating after it was too late to do anything except to apportion the blame, with the aid of hind sight. It was not remarkable that in almost every instance those Committees wrote majority and minority reports which reached opposite conclusions.

We are determined that this time the investigation will take place while the war program is in progress. In this way, there will be ample opportunity to correct, not merely to find fault. Experience has shown that post mortem investigations usually are futile. We did not even profit in this war by the experience of the last war.
During this war the investigation must and will be carried on simultaneously with the war program, so that mistakes, discovered by focusing public attention upon actions of the war agencies, can be remedied before irretrievable damage is done. Responsibility for such mistakes can be assessed now in the light of the facts as they occur, and repetition prevented.

In short, we are doing a surgeon's job to cure and not performing an autopsy to find out why the patient died.

People usually think of investigators as long nosed snoopers perpetually pointing an accusing finger and broadcasting carping criticism. As we all know, fair investigation and intelligent criticism are most valuable. The threat of exposing arbitrary or capricious action is the one way to make bureaucrats, not elected by the people, responsible to them. The bare possibility of such exposure constitutes a most salutary check.

The Committee has been critical of many things. But, it has tried to be both restrained and constructive in its criticism. More important even than its restrained and constructive criticism, is the work of the Committee in compelling consideration and intelligent decision on
numerous matters which never became the subject of public criticism by the Committee, but which without attention and investigation might have resulted in great injury to the war program. Things are seldom all white or all black. Most of our appointed public officials are not arbitrary or capricious, but many are often jealous and stubborn. They often have problems which are difficult to solve and with respect to which intelligent men hold different views. The more energetically a capable administrator functions in his particular field, the less is he likely to take, or be able to take, an over-all view of the war effort as a whole.

Administrators must be brought together and induced to agree upon some workable conclusion so that we can get on with the job. The Committee has frequently found it possible to assist in such matters. There is a tendency for each agency and for each sub-division of each agency to overemphasize the particular portion of the war program for which it is responsible. This results in our having twenty or thirty separate programs which are competing with each other for scarce materials and manpower and which in the aggregate are making demands upon our economy greater than our ability to produce. These agencies conscientiously
tried to keep each other informed, but direction was necessary. More coordination was not sufficient.

The job of providing that direction was given to Mr. Donald Nelson, the Chairman of the War Production Board. He has the difficult task of allotting too little among too many and scaling war agencies' requests down to a point that can be met with the materials available. The disputes which arose between the contending groups were many and loud, and often important questions remained undecided for many months. The Committee has assisted in breaking these log jams by investigations, both public and private. Frequently, disputes that have continued for months have been resolved almost over night, after the Committee began an investigation into the matters involved.

Materials are so scarce that Mr. Nelson has had the job not only of parcelling out the materials among the various agencies, but of making certain that they are efficiently utilized without waste of manpower.

To win this war mass production is essential. This requires efficient planning so that there will be an uninterrupted flow of materials from the mines and quarries, forests and farms, on through to the finished product. Such problems can be resolved only by civilians with mass production experience. They are not military problems.
The soldier's job is to determine where he is going to fight, what he will need to fight with and how to use it after it is produced. There has been a natural tendency on the part of the armed services to want complete control over everything that is to be produced for them - a tendency which has led to many disputes with the trained civilian businessmen who were retained by the War Production Board for the purpose of making available their production experience. This situation is dangerous. The Army and Navy can use only the finished products. Each of their officers is intent on procuring the material under his direction. The raw materials are everybody's business, and everybody's business is likely to become nobody's business. Their natural insistence on obtaining finished articles has had a tendency to lead them to build unnecessary new plants to assemble finished goods with an aggregate capacity far in excess of the raw materials and semi-finished goods available.

Realizing this, the Committee almost from its inception urged the expansion of facilities to produce basic raw materials, such as aluminum, steel and copper, and the conversion of facilities for civilian production, such as automobiles, to war production so as to reduce the over-all need for basic commodities. Such changes have been made, although
belatedly.

Notwithstanding this, our ever-increasing demands for additional military equipment have reached the point where they exceed the quantities which can be made available to the armed forces consistent with our lend-lease commitments to our Allies and with the preservation of an essential civilian economy. For example, the total amount of steel for which the Army, Navy and Maritime Commission had issued priorities for a recent month exceeded the entire amount of steel to be produced that month. The Committee insisted that this amazing situation be corrected by evolving a system of allocations whereby each essential user of steel would be allocated the tonnage it could expect to receive. Such a system has recently been put into effect.

Since we cannot now expect to receive appreciable benefits for many months from new facilities to be erected to produce basic commodities and since manpower is so scarce, we must now give attention to the problem of whether the Army and Navy in the sized planned are in balance with the ships to transport them and the supplies for their maintenance. It will do little good to raise a huge Army unless, consistently with supplying our Allies with the weapons they need, we can transport and supply our own
Army overseas. It is even more futile to raise so large an Army that its attempted supply and maintenance will destroy the essential civilian economy.

We must retain the essentials of a sound civilian economy so that after we have won the war we will have a foundation on which to rebuild and make secure the American way of life.

We must not forget that war today is total war. In order to win the war we must not only outfight our enemies, but we must outproduce them in all important fields. It is not enough to have airplanes and bullets. We must also have food for our armed forces, for our war workers, and for our Allies. The farmers, in producing that food, are engaged in a vital war effort. We cannot expect them to make bricks without straw, and we must take steps now to insure maintenance of their labor supply and to equip them with the farm machinery and other things that they require to maintain their production.

Similarly, war workers and essential civilian workers alike must be fed and clothed and kept reasonably warm. To that end we should make available for civilian use as many of the necessities as can be spared, without endangering the success of our armed effort. This means first that everyone should produce to the limit of his ability; second, that
the armed forces and other war agencies should make certain that they
do not use any materials that do not directly contribute some military
advantage; third, that the methods for rationing materials to the
civilian population should be fair and easily understandable.

The broad, general principles as to how much manpower and how much
material can be made available for the various uses must be determined
nationally by national officers, but the actual application of those
general principles should be made locally by local boards composed of
persons familiar with local problems, who are given sufficient authority
and discretion to make a fair and equitable distribution.

We can solve these problems. We can out produce and out fight
the Axis, but we must do so in the American way within the framework
of our Constitution. As a militant people we can show the Axis that the
democratic way of life is the only way and ever renews its vitality from
the vigor of a united people. If it is believed that we cannot win this
war without aping the totalitarian practices of our enemy, we have lost
the peace before we have won the war. This, it is my unalterable conviction
that we do not have to do. This, it is the work of the Committee to prevent.
U. S. FLYING FORTS RIP NAZI INDUSTRIES AT ROUEN

SECRET ARMY PROBE OF GROVE FIRE REVEALED

RAID OPENS WEEK-END DRIVE; 20 FOE SHOT DOWN

Rome Admits Heavy Damage In New Naples Raid; Tunisia Bombing

LONDON, Dec 12 (AP)—The rolling and widespread Allied anti-aircraft defenses dealt a blow to American troops and Allied fighter squadrons today on German industries and transport at Rouen, France, with the resultant destruction of 15 enemy fighter planes in bitter aerial combat.

Two bombers and four Allied fighters were reported missing but the pilot of one fighter was declared safe.

In all, the Allies knocked down 20 enemy fighters, raising the toll to British losses. RAF fighter patrols, effective patrols accounted for two without loss to themselves in attacks on an airfield and canal barges in Holland but the British lost one plane from other patrols during the day.

300 FIGHTERS IN ACTION

Three hundred RAF fighter planes operated with a “large force” of U. S. heavy bombers in the attack on Rouen, a quick daylight follow-up to the third attack in a week last night on Tunis, Italian industrial city.

For four and a half hours, RAF fighter squadrons crossed and recrossed the Channel to close on enemy fighters and destroy them. Three hundred Army planes were included in the attack, and many a pilot returned to tell of exciting dogfights.

BEYOND DUTY CALL

PLACE RIBBON holding Congressional Medal of Honor around the neck of Comdr. Bruce McCandless, Adm. Ernest King honored hero of Cruiser San Francisco yesterday at San Francisco. McCandless directed ship in battle after senior officers were killed.

OPA to Halt Sunday Cars ‘Out on Ride’

Massachusetts motorists who drive their cars today must have a good reason or they will be fined.

FACTS TO BE MADE PUBLIC TOMORROW

New Order Issued By Fire Commissioner, Reilly Bans Inflammable Decorations.

An official U. S. Army Board of Inquiry was secretly formed days ago to consider the facts of the Commanch Grove disaster in which nearly 500 persons lost their lives, and will be ready with a public report tomorrow, its work now virtually completed.

BOSTON ADVERTISER

NEW ENGLAND'S GREATEST DAILY NEWSPAPER CIRCULATION

PUBLISHED BY AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS INC., 1 WINDSOR STREET

VOL. 260—NO. 15 BOSTON, SUNDAY, DECEMBER 13, 1942

RECORD-AMERICAN

SALE SATURDAY

550,000

SUNDAY ADVERTISER

OVER

600,000

EVERY SUNDAY
NATION HONORS 2 SOLONs SCORE WAR BUNGLING
HERO SKIPPER

By WENDELL WEBB
SAN FRANCISCO, Dec. 15
(AP)—Youthful Bruce McCandless
of the U.S. Navy, who performed an orbital
walk in a vacuum suit, was named one of two
Solons to receive the nation’s highest honor for
his outstanding achievement.

Charges that government waste and extravagance have been
carried into the war effort and that
the bungling and governing of government officials is unnecces-
sarily harming the nation’s civil order and economy
were made by the chairman of two powerful Congressional
investigating committees, yesterday, in addresses at the
Hotel Statler before the Massachusetts Federation of Tax-
Payers’ Assemblies.

The men who hurled the charges were Sen. Harry F. Byrd Jr.
of Virginia and Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota.

On The Weather

WASHINGTON, Dec. 13 (AP)—A huge transport with 500
men of the South Pacific Fleet, including 200 officers
and approximately 300,000 men, was
reported at sea in the British-held British
occupied territory of Hong Kong.

The report was made by a British military
source, who said the German forces are
expected to land in Hong Kong at any time.

The source said the German forces will
probably land in Hong Kong at any time.

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MAGNESIUM FIRE IN MALDEN PLANT

Flames fed by small amounts of highly inflammable magnesium damaged a small, one-story mill at the plant of the New England Magnesium Co., Inc., on Canal st., Malden, late last night, but the blaze was quickly brought under control by employees, aided by firemen from Malden and Everett.

Three men, members of the night shift at the plant, engaged in filling important war contracts, were working in the structure when the fire broke out, but had no difficulty making their escape.

Two other employees from nearby buildings they fought the fire while firemen were responding to one alarm from a Malden box, and another from Everett.

The interior, roof and the walls were damaged, as were some machinery which a company spokesman said might require repairs costing several hundred dollars. The cause was not immediately determined but firemen said friction or a spark might have started the fire.

Oil Publicity Parley Called

Faced with the need for help in advising the public of the gravity of the oil situation, Gov. William F. Culver last night summoned newspaper publishers and radio station managers from all parts of Massachusetts to an extraordinary conference in his office Tuesday at 2:30 p.m.

The meeting, the governor said, is necessary in order to combat one of the most serious walkouts in the state's history, which is being conducted in the vanguard of a dangerous class effort. The dramatic walkout, which must be handled immediately, absolutely must be handled, and the state is activated in newspapers and radio.

REVEALING AN INCREASE by more than one-third during the last three months, Lease-Lend Administrator Edward H. Stettinius makes his seventh report to the President for transmission to Congress. Stettinius reported the rate of aid at 10 billions a year.

HOLLYWOOD MYSTERY GIRL IS IDENTIFIED

HOLLYWOOD, Dec. 12 (INR)

The blue-eyed blonde who gave Hollywood its newest mystery was identified late today as Ann Stonum, New York showgirl and bride of Dick Holand, former football star and Los Angeles sports writer, for a captain in the Marines.

Maxine Manns, roommate of Miss Stonum, identified the blonde who appeared in a sheriff's substation early today and declared she didn't remember who she was.

Miss Manns, who was told Miss Stonum was to be seen at the sheriff's substation early today, was identified by Maxine Manns as the woman who appeared at the substation.

Meanwhile, Miss Stonum slept at a hospital.

SUNDAY RIDE DRIVERS TO BE HALTED BY OPA

Continued From First Page

of petroleum to the Atlantic basin by at least 20 per cent. Boston police will make an effort to line up pleasure drivers, police Comm. Joseph F. Cunniff said yesterday, explaining that the Governor's proclamation had emphasized that it was a voluntary matter with motorists, and "we're hard-pressed for gasoline around here, and the Governor wants it kept that way.

Kenneth P. Beckman, OPA regulatory administrator, said the inspectors from his department would check on Sunday drivers to detect the small minority who may be using gasoline for pleasure driving in violation of either present or future rationing regulations.

URGES 10-HOUR DAYS

Among the students at the Massachusetts Gasoline Conservation Day, November 24th, a 10-hour day, six days a week for credit courses, was urged. The action would save two million gallons daily each of approximately 100,000 stations handling the entire eastern seaboard.

Fuel oil users were given until December 31st to cut back to 6 a.m. until 2 a.m. yesterday to use their No. 1 fuel oil, and to cut back again to 10 a.m. and 6 p.m. the next day. All action was taken by the Office of Price Administration.

The order actually will not apply to anyone with more oil than he can use, but steps are to be taken to control the No. 1 fuel oil

GENTLEMEN...

a thrilling gift for your wife or bestest girl!

Nina Travel Kit

$10

NINA TRAVEL KIT

America First—BOSTON SUNDAY ADVERTISER—Largest Sunday Circulation in New England—DECEMBER 13, 1942—Telephone Liberty 4000

OPEN MONDAY NIGHT 'TIL 9!

STORE HOURS ON MONDAY 1 TO 9 P.M.

IF YOU CAN'T COME IN... ORDER THESE VALUES BY MAIL OR PHONE

Call Hubbard 4250 'til 9 P.M.

OR CALL IN THE VICINITY OF

BOSTON 3145, and ask for Mrs. Gibson

Salem CALL SALEM 2150, and ask for Mrs. Evans

Lawrence CALL LAWRENCE 3951, and ask for Miss Archer

Waltham CALL WALTHAM 3540, and ask for Miss Cannon

DEPOT CALL DEPOT 2068, and ask for Miss Lane

BRAINTREE CALL BRAINTREE 4758, and ask for Mrs. Goodwin

LAWRENCE CALL LAWRENCE 4554, and ask for Miss Hickey

CONCORD CALL CONCORD 1459, and ask for Miss Wright

OR CLIP AND MAIL COUPON BELOW

Call HUBBARD 4250 'til 9 P.M.

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MINIWINS II DISPLAY
JUMPERDAYS
5.58

Paid out getting colder.
You'll need greater comfort in dressing.
MEN'SWEAR GRAY
JUMPER DRESS
$5.58
50% wool and 50% rayon. You will
wear it in the office or at home.
Tailored Rayon SHIRTS
$2.98
But long or short sleeves in open,
Mother of pearl buttons. Sizes 36-44.

Nina make-up and skin care preparations in a
smart look-able case with plenty of room for
items, hairpins and all the other little must-haves,
and a big clear mirror in the cover! Nina
Princess Cream, Face Lotion, Geranium Cream
or Lustreless Makeup. Contra-Sol, Nina Powderer.
Cream Rouge and Lipstick. Case in simulated
leathers—blue or wine alligator calf, saddle tan
or British tan. Complete, 50¢, plus tax.

MEN'S STORE
FILENE'S

Tramp-ease
$4.45
Rugged as a shoe—comfortable as a slipper—a wel-
come gift as either or both. Strictly cut-out of-der type
soles and heels, full tanned leather mocassin-type
uppers. Rich mahogany brown in sizes 6 to 12, $4.45.

Walt Disney's New Book
"The Victory March"
$1
All of the beloved Disney characters
gathered together in a brightly colored
book form, with an animated story.
Just pull or push here and there for
action. A surprise ending is an actual
Defense stamp and Album right in the book.

Advertisement
JORDAN MARSH COMPANY
NEW ENGLAND LARGEST STORE
Sale!
In time for you to give
beauty and save, too!

Elizabeth Arden
1.50 LIPSTICK
NOW ............ 1.00

Little Corona
400-800 P. M.

Newfane
Ralph, 27, died in Lowell General Hospital today,
from burns suffered when he fell from
a car hop onto a vat of boiling
bleaching water at the Merrimack
Manufacturing Company.

On Beacon Hill
Nina Hildegarde Mckinley, 50, a guest at the Hotel Lincoln-
Inn, Scott Bay, was rushed to
the city and a 44-year-old glasses by
class.

WASHINGTON
White House Christmas to reflect
WAY
Ward's is giving second P. D. order
Lee's in sign.

Two "dirty faced" youths who snatched her hand while walking
on Florida at Elizabet Hill, last night.

Advertising
Gas on Stomach
Darrell in 8 minutes or

It is not the bitter taste of some mixtures
which is the object of complaint;
but the nauseating "gas" which is present
in many cases. It is caused by a bad
system, and can usually be cured
by the treatment of Dr. Campbell's
Gas=Aid. A few drops of this
miracle medicine in a glass of water,
every time the stomach is upset or
acted on by the gas, will give
prompt relief.

TRIPLE LOCKET FOR HIS PICTURE
$1.25
Choice of styles, oval, square or heart shape. None with insignia of
mixture of pearl. Gold color metal holds two photo-
graphs. Hand engraved.

"TRIPLE LOCKET FOR HIS PICTURE"

LIPSTICK
NOW 1.00

Just think, a $30 saving on every lipstick
you buy! Elizabeth Arden's is changing the
cases and decided to give you the ben-
efit of a savings right smash in The Gift
Season. Choose from Drop Red, Victory
Red, Cyclamen Pink, Violet and other
popular shades. Sorry, No Mail or Phone
Orders. PRIVACY POCKET—MAIN STORE
2 SENATORS RAP WAR 'BUNGLING'

SEARS Christmas Gift THRIFT PARADE
OPEN EVERY EVENING
Warm Wearables for Men and Boys

This Year Give Him a Gift He Will Appreciate and Wear! A Fine Warm Jacket from Sears

Men's Warm Sheepskin Lined Moleskin Coat

Water repellent moleskin; lined with extra warm sheepskin. Wool lined Alpaca collar. Here's a coat that will keep the wearer exceptionally warm.

Boston Only

$9.98
Reg. $11.25

Men's Water Repellent Sheepskin Lined Double Breasted Alpaca Collar

Capeskin or Suede Leather Jackets

Boys' Hooded Mackinaws

Boys' Warm Reversible Jacket Snow Suits

Capeskin or Suede Leather Jackets

Sears Low Price

CAKESKIN or SUEDE

Leather Jackets

Sears Low Price

$7.95

Boys' Hooded Mackinaws

Gift Sears Price

$6.95

Unusually well tailored jacket for sports or leisure dress wear. Sizes 8 to 16.

Extra Heavy Melton Jacket

100% re-processed wool. Large double reversable collar. Blue, 23½ inches long. One button fronts, none zipper fronts. Sizes 34 to 46.

Water Suede Leather Jacket

Real suede is a handsome dressing in green or blue. The back is trimmed in front and with side fasteners. Kill collar, cuffs, waistband, Corozo buttons. Sizes 34 to 46.

SALES Are a BUMBLE BOOM! One man, BUMBLE WINTER!
Don’t Forget Dad—Here Is Just What He Needs!

Men’s Beacon Blanket Robes
$4.98
Double bedspread, full length collar. Ser-
vis stonewashed. Fine material. Large and small sizes available.

Fine Quality Royallion Shirts
$1 19
Made from fine cotton and quality. Shir-
kins. Fine material. Large and small sizes available.

‘Boylieve’ Aviator’s Style Jackets
Regular
$4.59
$5.49
This new sport sack aviator model, now available in every style, is
already headed for big success. Regularly priced at $6.98, now
available in every color and style.

‘Boylieve’ and Jrs. Button Sweaters
$2.98
Choice of three styles and wool contents for Sears gift
price. Heavy medium weight, light weight. Wool content varies
from 100% wool. Sizes 6 to 10.

He Will Love This Boyville Bathrobe
Sears on

$2.98
Fine Quality Kingfield Ties
$1.25
Choose one, two, or half dozen from Sears big collection—
and get your own Christmas tie,

Fashion Tower Fancy Hose
4 FOR $1
Eye pleasing patterns that will
be a hit under any Christmas

Purchases Totaling $10 or
More May Be Had on Sears
EASY PAY PLAN

SEARS, ROEBUCK AND CO.
BOSTON
1111 Mass. Ave., Boston
Sears at Blue Line Post, Quincy

BUY U.S. WAR BONDS
U.S. WAR STAMPS

Advertisement

Old? Get Pep, Vim
with Iron, Calcium, Vitamin B.

Meat, Women, "The Journal of the American Dietetic
Association. 

EASY PAY PLAN

SEARS, ROEBUCK AND CO.
BOSTON
1111 Mass. Ave., Boston
Sears at Blue Line Post, Quincy

BUY U.S. WAR BONDS
U.S. WAR STAMPS

Advertisement

Old? Get Pep, Vim
with Iron, Calcium, Vitamin B.

Meat, Women, "The Journal of the American Dietetic
Associate.
Christmas Trees Few, Price Up Fifty P. C.

Christmas trees will be a luxury this year. If you can get one at all, you will pay at least 25 per cent more for it than you did for last year's trees.

Tribute Will Be Paid Forefathers

Forefather's Night will be observed by the Boston Congregational Club tomorrow evening at the City Club auditorium, with Dr. Ferdinand Q. Blanchard, moderator of the General Council of Congregational Churches of New England, speaking on "Our Heritage in the World Today."

A delegation from the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions will be present. Dr. Russell Henry Bradbury, minister of Old South Church and president of the American board, will address the body on "Features of Our Traditionally Great Missionary Enterprise." Dr. Frederick Field Goodsell, executive vice-president of the American board, will be chairman of the meeting.

MANVILLE AND SIXTH WIFE IN ROW OVER FIFTH

By ELEANOR MOREHEAD

NEW YORK, Dec. 12 (AP)—Tommy Mann's maiden was made it an even half-dozen.

Tommy's last-minute assurance that he was an old maid and should have stayed in a small town, Billy Rose Manville said, taught her in the suites at the Savoy-Plaza, so she is returning to mother and father in Andrews.

Only a small fraction of the usual number of Christmas trees have reached the wholesale markets and many retailers have decided not to carry them this year. Lack of help in cutting the trees, difficulties of transportation either by rail or truck, and the labor problem locally all have contributed to the shortage, a wholesaler explained.

He reported that while he normally would be getting 15 to 20 truckloads a day, he is now receiving only three, and he does not expect an increase. There will be an adequate supply of small table trees, he said, but few of the old-fashioned variety.

The man with the non-more-ship strike peril ends in Seattle, Dec. 12 (AP)—Despite the danger of a Pacific Coast shipping strike over non-mandatory work rules, west coast-built Liberty ships with west coast crews, were ended to-day.

SAYS SHE LOVES HIM

"I love Tommy, I'll go back and bring flowers if she won't have me, " Billy wept.

"Those three clothes (two suits and a white suit) I'm leaving here for the dressmaker, and with the 14th and 15th aquamarine ring I gave her," Mann said.

"Why am I supposed to do the second-hand clothes?" the millionaire asked.

"You're the one who needs the clothes," Ben Reiner, near Manassas, said. "I never gave a girl second-hand clothes in my life. That's too bad."

MANN: "I'm the sixth, said she would not file divorce or separation papers unless he would ask for money or alimony next Wednesday.

"That's all the others did," Tommy answered.

"They took the dough, enough. And they all got away. My sister did it when I was 15, and she took the dough."

"That's what all the others did," Mann returned.

"They take the dough, enough. And they all got away. My sister did it."

"You must have been interested in the divorce, " Reiner remarked.

"I don't know enough to marry," Tommy answered.

"In a bewildered tone he added, "That's amazing, isn't it?"

"Tommy's version is that Billy rose from being an old maid, " the man, whom she married after the wedding, said that, and that, as with all his wives and daughter.

YOUNGEST SPONSOR on record to christen a ship at the Quincy Adams Yacht yard is 8-year-old Marilyn Mann, who yesterday broke the bottle on the bow of sub-chaser S. C. 1267 with the help of her godfather, John J. Munn, of 45 Riverside Ave., Quincy. A moment after this picture was taken, Marilyn's pretty clothes were spoiled with foam. The father is head of the pipe fitting department at the yard.

Hero Skipper Gets Highest U. S. Honor

Continued From First Page

Thousands of San Francisco vessels who packed their waterfront advantage point almost every day sighted and the damage was dropped into the Golden Gate yesterday.

It was on the San Francisco—hooch up a Japanese cruiser—sight of the most spectacular and crippl ing battle in the Pacific War. Suddenly the whole squadron broke the silence, announcing "Prepare for battle."

There were whoops of joy as the blue-jackets found the dignity of the deck safe and warlike confidence from war.

SPANISH WAR

SPANISH WAR

VET HEAD SEES WOE FOR JAPS

What the United States and British bombers are doing to Germany and Italy is only a scratch to what we are going to do to Japan in avenging Pearl Harbor. Cornelius S. Kelly,* of Chicago, national commander of the United Spanish War Veterans, declared last night in a speech at the Boston City Club.

Speaking at the testimonial banquet tendered him by the Massachusetts Benevolent, U.S. T. Kelly pledged his organization to serve its country in the present hour of peril, as did the Spanish-American War veterans.

READY TO AID AMERICA

"America, and all that stands for us of the United Spanish War Veterans stands ready to defend," he said. "From Manila Bay to Pearl Harbor, we are at all times been ready to defend our country and our homes."

"Pearl Harbor only serves to anime the fighting spirit of America. We cannot let our boys now on the fighting fronts down. Our organization is there to send any other duty we owe. America is fighting for, and we are fighting for.

"We will face the future with China and, with the help of any other duty we owe. America is fighting for, and we are fighting for."

"We will face the future with China and, with the help of any other duty we owe. America is fighting for, and we are fighting for."

ESIGN GARFIELD HENRY HORN, U.S.N.R., and his bride, the former Miss Sandy Math of Chestnut Hill, shown above leaving the Church of the Redeemer, where they were married yesterday.

Hero Skipper Gets Highest U. S. Honor

Continued From First Page

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GOWNS AND PAJAMAS

$3.99 Ea.

THE GOWNS—fluffy napped warm cotton flannelette with lots of skirt and long sleeves—real comfort. Tencel and blue, sizes 34 to 40.

THE PAJAMAS—two-piece style of soft, warm cotton flannelette—of a gray chevron print. Blue and tencel, sizes 34 to 40.

Treed Hunter Shot,
Mistaken for Cat

WILLIAMSPORT, Pa., Dec. 12 (AP)—Perched in a tree while hunting deer, Lester Wintner, sheriff of Little, Pa., was shot and killed near today's last deer of the deer season. He was mistaken for a wild cat.

State Motor Policemen J. M. Yes and W. G. Pink and their brother-in-law, Luther Brown, fired the fatal shot.
Harvard Hoosiers Top Wesleyan Club, 63-46
Burritt, Crimson Captain, Paces Last-Period Rally

By VERN MILLER
Two former Notre Dame football and basketball immortals who are now basketball coaches in their own right, saw their teams clash in the Harvard Indoor Athletic Building last night before 900 spectators.

Earl Brown, the younger coach, came out the happier as his Harvard quintet won a 63 to 46 victory, after coming from behind late in the first half, over the Wesleyan five, coached by Wesley Feaster.

Feaster was himself basketball coach at Harvard two years ago when he left there to accept the combined positions of head basketball and football mentor at Wesleyan.

Clark Defeats Huskies, 43-41, in Late Flash
Basil's Baskets Clinch Thriller on Boston Court

Clark University basketball team trailed Northeastern, 9 to 6, in a complete and half of play, and then in a great comeback snatched a 43 to 41 win in a contest that kept basketball fans on their toes until the final seconds.

The Harvard quintet, led by Captain George (Bunker) Burritt, won the game over Wesleyan, 63 to 46, last night at the Boston Y. M. C. A.

Bass Granger's 1942 Clark outfit wasn't supposed to be too good by any means but it was a matter of interest when it met the Northeastern squad.

In the final 30 seconds of the game, Harvard rallied to take the lead, 63 to 46, and then held on to win the game.

Eligibles Announced for Fox, Horseman Stakes Next Year

By FRANK G. TROTTER

The eligibility list for the richest race of the year will be announced by their sponsor, The Horseman Fair World, weekly turf journal of Indianapolis. These stakes are for 3-year-old fillies, and their owners have been approved.

ONE FOR HARVARD—Hugh Hyde (18) of the Crimson drops one in to break a tie with Wesleyan in last night's game. Harvard won, 63 to 46. No. 8 in picture is Harvard's Mike Fandel and the bulky fellow in the foreground is Phil Dudas of Wesleyan.
Josephine Foley—Uniform Shop
ENCORE! FOR LIMITED TIME ONLY
And just in time to remember yours on
that Christmas gift list!

Rayon Sharkskin Uniforms
Special $3.95
Professionally right. Fashionably smart. Detachable pearl buttons. Wonderfully comfortable, easily washed at home in subarses water and Finnish Water. Short sleeves as desired—sizes 12 to 44. For short sizes 11, 13, 15. Same style in long sleeves in junior sizes only.
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Christmas Specials
TYPICAL HOLIDAY VALUES

Even since 1874 New Englanders have recognized Osgood's as headquarters for worthwhile Christmas gifts. Furniture, bring lasting pleasure to the home, and is enjoyed by every member of the family. At Osgood's you may choose from something from a single occasional place to complete furnishings for your home. Here will be found an answer to your gift problem. And remember you can still buy furniture on convenient credit terms.

10 PIECE LONDON LIVING ROOM
Dress up your home for Christmas. Here are all the pieces necessary to redecorate your living room. Your family and guests will enjoy the deep comfort and material finish of this handsome set.

State ARP to Enlist More Men to Watch for Incendiary Bombs
Gen. Daniel Menahan, head of the protection division of the Massachusetts Committee on Public Safety, yesterday announced the appointment of Ralph G. Hinckley, Boston engineer, as state fire warden for the safety committee. New directions of immediate necessity, necessary organization and armament of the fire wardens' service. Gen. Menahan, declared in announcing that Hinckley will recognize the work of the wardens to increase should the Incendiary Bombs be used to the state. The duties of the men, directed to take up posts on roads, in doorways, and at other strategic points to spot and report fires and bombs quickly.

Electric Eye for Nightmen
An electric eye which identifies the dynamite of paper currency for blind newspaper workers and other sightless individuals was recently installed in

EDUCATIONAL GIFTS
Maps, Globes, Books, Games, Blackboards, Atlases
J. L. HAMMETT CO. 10 BEACON STREET BOSTON

U.S. Dedicates Merchantmen's Training Station
NEW YORK, Dec. 12 (AP) — Dressed in training uniforms, several thousand men were at one time and to turn out 10,000 seamen annually, a Merchant Marine Training Station, by the Department of Labor, was dedicated today at Sheepshead Bay, Brooklyn.

About 500 men, including government officials, attended the dedication.

President Roosevelt expressed great pride in the new station and sent heartfelt congratulations to the men and women in a message read by Tilden Knight, director of the War Shipping Administration's training division.

Five upper door hinges model enough metal for an antiaircraft gun mount.

Waverley Root
Sub Recruiting Hurt by Glamor of Air Branch
No one can object, in the face of military development which has demonstrated the importance of the air arm to the air-mindedness of the American public, but it may be pointed out that in this case, as in many others, Americans have demonstrated their tendency to pay far better than the public.

In recognizing the importance of aviation, the United States Military Service Training Program, built on the former Manhattan Beach Ammunition

President Roosevelt expressed great pride in the new station and sent heartfelt congratulations to the men and women in a message read by Tilden Knight, director of the War Shipping Administration's training division.

Fletcher Pratt
Military Censors
Now Operating Along Nazi Lines

The important point seems to have been missed by most of the editors and syndicated columnists. In the "Fort Lewis Incident" the one thing about the incident which was released with the suggestion that only one news item should be used. The important point was that the name of the air arm was written with the suggestion that only this name should be used: little was written about this. The question of the commitment of the U.S. Army to the Allies was more interesting and received more attention than our Navy's account of a really big victory.

The Lemon Juice Recipe
Checks Rheumatic Pain Quickly

The Lemon Juice Recipe has been used by friends and neighbors for many years. The percentage of defective broccoli is high with this Colonel长得 eyes on the item again may be the result of a layer of warts. Of course the lemon juice involved would say there was no danger. This was not an addition of water. The warts are not on an Italian onion, but on the broccoli. The onion is used, and the warts are not on the onion. The lemon juice is used to remove the outer layer of the onion. This is the way it is used. What is really needed is a different kind of onion. Dr. Henry is an old-fashioned man, and his claims are often attacked. Dr. Henry has a new idea about the way the onion works in German.

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10 PIECE LONDON LIVING ROOM
Dress up your home for Christmas. Here are all the pieces necessary to redecorate your living room. Your family and guests will enjoy the deep comfort and superior styling of this handsome suite. Quality filling. Sagless spring construction. Large oval arm and half back. Antiqued brass style trim. Covered in attractive Tapetories. The ensemble includes Divan, Channel Wing Chair, Club Chair, Coffee Table, Lamp Tables, End Table, All with glass tops, Floor Lamp, Bridge Lamp, Reading Lamp, Combination Bridge Table. Reduced from our Ceiling
Price to only $129.50

GIFT SUGGESTIONS
SMOKERS CABINETS, Mahogany veneer with Cedar lined Humidor Compartments. $14.95
TELEPHONE SETS, Mahogany veneer. Wall and Table. $12.95
BRIDGE TABLE, FREE SCREENS, Tilt Top. Choice of scenic and floral designs. $7.95
SOLID MAPLE KNOB DESIGNS, Colonial Design. $14.95
MAPLE BOOKCASE, Under Window Type. $15.95
GUEST CHAIRS, Walnut finish. Tapestry Uph. $6.95
MANTEL PIECES, ZINE RACKS, Double Compartments. $2.95
MAPLE COFFEE TABLES, Choose from a wide range of styles. $4.95

OPEN MONDAY, WEDNESDAY AND SATURDAY NIGHTS
GOVERNOR WINthrop DESK
An authentic Governor Winthrop Desk reproduced in beautiful Mahogany veneer in combination with choice cabinet wood. Has serpentine front, four claw and ball feet. Abundant interior with secret compartments. Antique brass drawer pulls and plates. Lined with drawers and lid. Automatic lid slides. Reduced to only $32.75

DUNCAN PHYFE CHAIR
Chair illustrated is of Mahogany finish on choice cabinet wood. 18th Century design. An ideal companion piece with Gov. Winthrop desk. Reduced to only $6.95

CUSTOMER INSURANCE
POSITIVE PROTECTION FOR YOUR FAMILY
In event of theft or damage to your home, Customer Insurance will defray your account expenses. There is all there is to it. No expense involved. Just an additional safeguard service.

When in doubt buy of
Osgood
No interest or carrying charges on accounts closed in six months.

Osgood
FURNITURE COMPANY
AMERICAN OWNED AND MANAGED
744 Washington St., Boston

American School in Boston
An American school at Quito, Ecuador, has been so successful that a similar school is being established in Guayaquil.

LOW PRICES EASY TERMS DEPENDABILITY
Community Options
4713 West Grand Ave.

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COUNCIL OF LOCALITIES OF CHICAGO
Globe Exclusives
Spangler Backed Hoover; His '44 Choice Mystery
By CLIFF MILLER

DES MOINES, la.--"If Harrison E. Spangler can be associated with any Presidential candidate it is Herbert Hoover, and Hoover isn't a candidate." That is one Iowa answer to the question, which arises frequently since Spangler became the compromise choice for chairman at the Republican National Committee meeting in St. Louis Monday. The answer applies not only to Hoover, but to the men whom Spangler has favored for the Republican nomination for the Presidency every since it was formed in 1892 that either Hoover or Frank Landon of Kansas would come from the state to help keep the nomination. Neither did and neither will in 1944. Consequently the council will sit in silence on the possible 1944 choice of the Iowan the national committee chose as its chairman. Of course, that was one of the reasons the national committee picked him as a compromise.

And Spangler knows that the national committees would be looking for Spangler as a way out of the Willkie and anti-Wilkie fight, which is one reason he has been thoroughly committed the past. He proceded singly or with another, insisting on his possible attiude in 1944. This gives one clue to his political career—the ability to pick a good place from which to start. Another is his ability to organize.

It's an old story now, but the walk and talk ability that he has left is in his public career in Iowa and not easily followed because he walks softly, talks softly, smiles, makes few speeches and can be genteel but predictably reticent when it suits his purpose.

Spangler Consistent

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How Suicide Crew
Won Morocco Airport

Sen. Byrd Tells Taxpayers Here It Limited Work

Sen. Byrd Tells Taxpayers Here It Limited Work

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243,500 German Troops Lost
in New Soviet Twin Offensive

169,000 Killed Since Nov. 19;
Russians Say

Battle Now Rages as Nazis Attempt to Smash Trap

By HENRY C. CASSIDY

MOSCOW, Dec. 13 (Sunday) (AP)—The Russians have captured 74,000 officers and men, and killed 169,000 since the beginning of their twin Winter offensives on the Stalingrad and central fronts, the Soviet Information Bureau announced today as the Germans were reported making a desperate fight to break out of an encirclement northwest of the Volga city.

A German army of 30 divisions, or about 300,000 men, was reported attacking in a see-saw battle northwest of Stalingrad in an effort to force its way westward across the ice-clogged Volga river.

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Brother Dies in Service, Youth Enlists

E. L. Smith Now Third of Family

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PROUD OF HER HERO HUSBAND is Mrs. Charles Smith, shown with baby Irene Patricia.

SERGT., CHARLES L. SMITH, 34, Marine Corp., who died in battle.

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Rommel
British Open
New Attack at El Agheila

Offensive Penetrates 'Far to the South,'
Germany Reports

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LONDON, Dec. 13, Sunday (AP)—The British Eighth Army in Libya has launched its awaited offensive against the Axis lines at El Agheila and Axis positions "far to the south" have been penetrated, the Berlin radio announced early today.

There was no confirmation from Allied sources, however, that Gen. Sir Bernard L. Montgomery had flung his powerful Army against Field Marshal Erwin Rommel's forces, to renew
How Suicide Crew Won Morocco Airport

HOWARD E. HART

WINTER HAVEN, Fla., Dec. 6 (AP) - The suicide crew of the German plane that made the first successful landing at the new airport here on Sunday was shot down Monday night by Allied troops.

The plane, a Dornier Do 17 bomber, was attacked by the British in the English Channel on its way to London. The crew, consisting of four men, was killed in the crash.

The plane was on a mission to bomb London, and its crash was a major blow to the German air force. The British claimed to have destroyed 10 planes in the attack.

The German government announced that it would not try to rescue the crew, saying that they had chosen to die rather than surrender.

In other news, the United States has ordered all its fighters to return to their bases after completing their missions.

Sen. Byrd Tells Taxpayers Here It Limited Work

Sen. Harry F. Byrd, Jr., (D-Va.), said Monday that he would continue to serve in the Senate, despite the White House's call for a sequester to reduce the federal budget.

"I will continue to serve in this Senate," Byrd said. "We cannot continue to spend money that we don't have."

The White House had announced earlier in the day that it would recommend a sequester if Congress fails to agree on a budget by January 15.

Litvinov Tells Sec. HUD

MOSCOW, Dec. 6 (UPI) - Soviet Foreign Minister Vyacheslav M. Molotov told U.S. Secretary of State Edward Stettinius on Friday that the United States should not interfere in the internal affairs of other nations.

"We do not wish to interfere in the internal affairs of other nations," Molotov said. "We believe that each country should be free to determine its own policies."
Today and Yesterday

On the War Fronts

(Saturday and Sunday, Dec. 12 and 13, 1942)

By PAUL M. KENNEDY

The Berlin radio said today (Saturday) that the British had opened their long-heralded attack on Marshal Rommel's El Alamein positions, and broadcast a DNB report that large tank and RAP formations had struck at Mersa el Brega, penetrating Axis positions "far to the south." Whether this was an Axis fishing expedition was not immediately explained. The British had said that when the 8th Army opened its offensive, there would be no secret about it. Meanwhile, Allied forces beat off two more Axis tank and infantry attacks, one in the northern sector and the other near Medjez el Bab.

Congressional Medal of Honor

Congressman Joseph E. Casey of Clinton, Democratic nominee for United States Senator in the last state election, is being mentioned here behind the scenes as the New Deal's choice for chairman of the Democratic national committee. "Ed" Flynn, present chairman, is expected to resign about Jan. 15th.

The Congressman was a visitor this past week at the White House, and reports received back here are that he was given the assurance he would have the President's backing if he desires to seek the party leadership. Should Mr. Casey accept, Massachusetts would still have a national chairman now that Congressman Joseph W. Martin Jr., has dropped aside as national G. P. F. chairman.

Casey May Be New Democratic Guide

By JOHN G. HARRIS

Congressman Thomas H. Elliott, who ran against incumbent James M. Curley in the 11th District, is also being mentioned in reports from Washington. Mr. Elliott has been a staunch New Deal supporter. There has been mention that he may go to England as an aid to Ambassador Winant.

Fuel-Saver's Friend

LITTLE WOMEN'S SUN RAYS

CARRY WARM XMAS GREETINGS

She'll thank you for your thoughtfulness every time she wears this long sleeved, warm textured sun rayon. Becoming V-neck, cuff sleeves, gored skirt, Spiral prints on navy, royal, teal, wine, 161/2 to 241/2.

Mail your order or go to your Hilliard 2000 until 6 P.M., 2000 until 8 P.M. (except Sunday).

POLITICAL ARGUING

BOND AND STAMPS

Teens Age Gift Ideas

BOUDOIR SLIPPERS FOR LEISURE TAP SHOES FOR DANCING CLASS

GIFTS FOR GIRLS

STORE HOURS MONDAY: 1 P.M. TO 9 P.M.
MARSHA JORDAN'S

CHRISTMAS CAPERS

A. Holiday party dress spiced with two bright felt flowers. White, maroon, red, or blue. 55%, rayon, 45% wool. 10-16 $8.95

2. Fat wool pumps and fringe trim this feather weight rayon flannel dress with buttons down back. White, maroon, red, aqua. 10-16 $7.95

C. Christmas roses bloom on this polka dot white waffle pique trimmed with ric-rac and eyes Let ruffled neck. Rose or blue. 10-16 $5.98

D. 100% wool button sweater or in green, blue, navy. 10-16 $3.90

With it a 100% wool men's gray flannel skirt pleated all around. 10-16 $4.98

AGRONSKY TO SPEAK AT BROOKLINE TEMPLE

Martin A. A. Agronovsky, radio commentator and newspaper writer, who broadcast the first news of the war from the post in Ankara, Turkey, will speak at a meeting of the Brookline-Brighton-Sewall Zionist District on Tuesday evening at the Temple Shelterer's Community Center. His subject will be "As I Saw It," and the Rev. Jacob Ulm, president, will preside.

JORDAN MARSH COMPANY

CHIC, WARM-CHILL CHEATER!

Saybury Chenille

EASY TO CARE FOR TIME SAVER ROSE

7.95

What could be better for a 1942 Christmas gift than warm, cuddly, chill-absorbing Robel Every active woman of today will appreciate this time saver in its rows of closely woven Chenille that warms in a nifty and improves with each washing. A delightful wrap around style that is flattering to young or old. Comes in royal, wine or apron. Sizes 12 to 20.

ROSES AND HOUSECOATS

THIRD FLOOR—MAIN STORE

JORDAN MARSH COMPANY

NEW ENGLAND'S LARGEST STORE

GIFTS FOR GIRLS
169,000 NAZIS DIE IN RED DRIVES

Axis Says British Pierce Rommel Flank

MANPOWER SETUP AFFECTS ALL IN U.S.

Work-Where-Told Plan Part of War; Sidelines Coach Directs Strategy

By BILL CUNNINGHAM

Soviet Say 74,500 Seized, 353 Troop Planes Shot Down

Since this involves the status of every living American not in the armed forces, it is probably the biggest story that ever fell into my hungry hands. And I've only just been able to figure out what makes me as blazin' mad about it. Regardless of what may seem more urgent or attractive at the moment, you'd better read this down past the news anyhow, for the chances are preponderant that it will be an act of Congress within six months, maybe sooner. When that day comes, if you are a man between the ages of 18 and 65, or a woman between the ages of 18 and 50, provided, in the case of women, you have no children under 18 years of age dependent upon you for home care, your personal story will be completely up to the government for the duration of the war.

The Director of Manpower and Wommanpower can tell you what to do, where to live, can order you to give up your job and another man 2,000 miles away, and you'll have your choice of that or some federal jail. That's the essence of it, and such extremes, under the law, as drawn, will be possible.

SURRENDER OF PERSONAL FREEDOM

The cheerful preconception is that such extremes can be avoided, but that is entirely up to the Director of Manpower. Under the provisions of the act, he will have those powers over all his fellow citizens, only as, and where, they are necessary to keep war plants working and farms producing. But every citizen will register. Every one will be on call. If he's told to drop what he's doing and go somewhere, even far away and start doing something else, he'll have to be answerable by law. The Director of Manpower alone will
Chelsea Hospital Wards Echo Hero Tales of Africa, Pacific

By LAWRENCE DAME

Navy men who fought in the Solomon Islands, only to feel the last quivering plumes of their ships below the waves, and other sailors thrilled by victory in North Africa, yesterday won their stories of American heroism overseas when they lay in the U. S. Naval Hospital in Chelsea.

Navy Chief Hospital Corpsman 1st Class John A. Dickey, of New York City, called the story of the battle of the Solomon Islands, a victory for the Allies. He said that the men who manned the ships in the battle were heroes.

"It was a long, hard fight," he said. "Our ships were hit many times, but we never gave up. We fought until the last man was dead or wounded."

Duty in the Solomon Islands was not without its dangers. Corpsman Dickey was hit by a shell fragment while on duty.

"I was hit in the leg," he said. "But I kept on working. I couldn't afford to stop for a wound."

Jobs Go Hunting for Jobless As Cook Now Interviews Madame

By JUNE McCONNELL

Once upon a time things were different in employment agencies. A business man would have to wait and see if a job had been advertised. His modern life is considerably faster. He can reach his head nearest to his head to himself. "Now what's he getting at?" The man would continue, "I'll ask him and see if he's got any work for me in the nearest ten minutes."

But this year the employment agencies are finding that there are plenty of jobs for the office worker's desk. He can sit in the nearest office and get a job in any of the nearby agencies.

"It's a lot easier to get a job now," he said. "I don't have to go out and look for a job."

Governor Sets Oil Emergency Parley

To combat "one of the most critical situations we have ever seen," Gov. Fallscott yesterday summoned newspaper publishers and radio station managers to an emergency meeting at his office Tuesday at 3:30 P.M.

"Massachusetts is on the verge of a vital fuel shortage," he said. "We must take immediate action to avert this situation. We shall depend on our co-operation and active participation of newspapers and radio stations to spread the word.

"Meanwhile, the official attitude of the state government will be: 'Let your conscience be your guide.' We shall have O.P.P. inspections looking for hoarding and ration coupons. Those who are caught will be punished."

Our story is about the importance of cooperation and active participation of newspapers and radio stations in the emergency parley.

Senators Aisle New Deal Tactics

Left to right, Sen. Harry P. Byrd of Virginia; Senator Williams B. Bird, president of Massachusetts Institute of Technology; and Sen. Harry S. Truman of Missouri, at the federation annual meeting at Storrs yesterday. Both senators criticized the administration's economic policies.

Yanks Again Bomb Rouen

18 Nazis Shot Down; Naples, Turin Also Hit

LONDON, Dec. 12 (AP) — The rolling and widespread Allied aircraft, said they destroyed 18 enemy aircraft on the ground, hit Naples and Turin, and damaged Rouen, France. This is the second consecutive day that the Allies have bombed Rouen, France, with the destruction of 18 enemy planes and 21 infantrymen in action.

A list of the dead included 104 dead, 60 wounded and 15 missing. The American forces reported that 60 enemy planes and 22 infantrymen were landed on the ground. The Allied forces also reported that 60 enemy planes and 22 infantrymen were destroyed.

The attack was made by 180 planes, which bombed the Rouen airfield, and hit the city and the town.

The Allied air force has been bombarding Rouen, France, for several days. The attack on Rouen is the second consecutive day that the Allies have bombed Rouen, France, with the destruction of 18 enemy planes and 21 infantrymen in action.

Frightful Nazi Interment Told By Salvation Army's Col. Booth

Testament Texts Nearly Cost Her Life at Gestapo Hands in Belgium

Editor's note: Col. Mary B. Booth, 87, granddaughter of the Salvation Army, left China in 1945 to go to China. She has been in China after two and a half years in German control, as a prisoner of the Gestapo in Berlin. She has been in China after two and a half years in German control, as a prisoner of the Gestapo in Berlin. She has been in China after two and a half years in German control, as a prisoner of the Gestapo in Berlin.

By COL. MARY BOOTH

CAIRO, Egypt, Dec. 12 (AP) — My time, through German intolerance. I have been in China after two and a half years in German control, as a prisoner of the Gestapo in Berlin.

I have often found myself in the presence of my enemies, and my enemies have been in my presence in the Gestapo during the war.

In the Gestapo, when it became a sort of artform, I have found that they used a formula for my enemies.

When the Gestapo first put on their masks in China, they were not so harsh, but the Gestapo has become more brutal, and the Gestapo has become more brutal.

The Gestapo has become more brutal, and the Gestapo has become more brutal. This is the Gestapo in Berlin.

(Continued on Page Twenty-one)

A STATEMENT OF POLICY regarding Governor Fallscott's National Labor Association, R. S. Roebig, Jr., Page 4
Holden Man's Death Under Investigation

WORCESTER, Dec. 12—Police are investigating the death of Edna M. Rothenberg, 55, of South Main street, who died today at the Worcester General Hospital of a fractured skull. She was admitted to the hospital Dec. 8.

Detective Capt. John J. Callahan ordered the investigation because of the circumstances surrounding Johnson's arrest here Dec. 8 and said detectives would try to determine if the man received the injuries from a fall or from possible foul play.

Mass. Hunters in for 670,000 Lbs. Meat

THE WEATHER

Much Colder Today

AMHERST, Dec. 12—Trippe, professor of management at Amherst College, estimated that the average taken from the Bay State hunters would be $200,000 of meat for the tables of Massachusetts. Basing his prediction on experience, Dr. Trippe said that the average taken from the Bay State would produce about 30,000 pounds of meat worth $320,000. Taking into account the prices of 10% of the meat, the total possible meat would be estimated at $320,000.

Thursday, Dec. 13—The Bay State hunters were estimated at $200,000 of meat for the tables of Massachusetts. Basing his prediction on experience, Dr. Trippe said that the average taken from the Bay State would produce about 30,000 pounds of meat worth $320,000. Taking into account the prices of 10% of the meat, the total possible meat would be estimated at $320,000.

NOTICE!

MONDAY at 1 P.M.

JUST 7 MISSSES

Selection of Possum

Dyed Squirrel

Dyed Black Persian Paw

Dyed Squirrel Gills

Dyed Black Cross Persian

UNDERPRICED FUR COATS

$96

Plus 10% Federal Tax

Also limited lot of twin silver fox scarfs, 1/4 to 1/2 silvered, $64 pr., plus 10% Federal Tax

TIRE-LESS SHOPPING avoids tax and speeds delivery

YOU KNOW FIENE'S BASEMENT'S FAMOUS BAG EVENTS — AT PRE-CHRISTMAS SAVINGS

MONDAY at 1 P.M.

as fine a gift collection as you have probably seen in years.

SECONDS, SAMPLES, DISCONTINUED, OR SURPLUS LOTS

FIENE'S AUTOMATIC BARGAIN BASEMENT

AIR CONDITIONED

MONDAY at 1 P.M.
**15 of America's fine makers' also surplus from Nat Lewis**

**LEATHER fabric**

- **COWHIDE bags**
- **SUEDE leather bags**
- **PIERCED ALLIGATOR**
- **RAYON FABRICS**
- **CALFSKIN bags**
- **FUR MUFFS**

**HANDBAGS**

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**INCLUDING DELUXE**

- **AMC sample gift handbags**
- **ALLIGATOR GRAINED CALF SKIN**
- **GOAT SKIN**
- **BRIDAL LEATHER**
- **CALF SKIN**

**BUYING FOR GIFTS**

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**BROCK ALLIGATOR**

**ALLIGATOR GRAINED CALIFORNIA JUTE**

**FIRST FLOOR**

**FOURTH FLOOR**

**THRIFT AVENUE STYLE SHOW**

**McKETTRICK CLASSICS**

**MONDAY at 3 and 7 P.M.**

**TUESDAY at 12:30 and 3**

**FOURTH FLOOR**

Featuring high styles in rayon crepe $7.95. Big news too in classic winter prints at $3.95. Two piece scarf or border prints, two piece long sleeves in polka dots, one piece in scarf print or monotone print in large grape design. Also warmer rayon flannels at $3.95.

*Trademarks registered Rane.
Byrd, Truman Rap New Deal Economy

Prof. Whittmore Leaves for Home

Christmas Dance at Mt. Ida Junior College

Original Horse Bridle Buttons

New Monday Store Hours: 1 to 9 PM

Alice Flinde designs the "MINUTE WOMAN"

FOR women in defense and every other walk of life

"MINUTE WOMAN" Modeled After the Better Quality Act

Without "Minute Woman" active-service shoes all America new women's military smart outfit of smooth polish, fine finish, it has sturdy man's weight that's flexible for your own feet.

Olive Tint, the better quality act-serve shoe all America new women's military smart outfit of smooth polish, fine finish, it has sturdy man's weight that's flexible for your own feet.

What Olives Monarch Finer Olives में पॉजिटिव

Queens Plain or Stuffed "Olive" ideal

A Christmas Gift For the Girl Back Home

The Boston Herald Sunday, December 13, 1942
Coward Shoe
30 WEST ST.

The Coward Shoe
SHOP THRESHER... MONDAY 6:45 A.M. to 9 P.M.

NETTLES
of Thresher famous fabrics
SALE PRICED
55¢ 2 FOR $1.00

Why pay $1 to $1.50 elsewhere for such quality fabrics! Thresher introduces wale-resistant, soil-proof, easy-to-clean "Nettles" in 74 colors. Only at Thresher.

PATTERN LAUNCHED
In the first group, Thred said he also would launch the "Nettles" fabric. He explained that the fabric has been designed to withstand wear and tear and to be resistant to stains and stains.

December 15, 1961
THRESHER Fabrics
AT 41 WEST ST.

COME TO THE HOUSE OF YOUNG! SAVE MONEY!

DOLLS & TOYS
The House of Young Novelties

IT'S HERALD
The Super-Value Play Book
Regular 50c
Regular 50c

TEDDY BEAR
PRIVATE NUMBER
one of the line of "They're from Young Novelties"

$1.00
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1.98

A LARGE ASSORTMENT OF GAMES, DOLLS,
STUFFED ANIMALS, TOY DISHES, TRICYCLES, Etc.

YOUNG NOVELTY CO.
20 HAWTHORNE ST.

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Waltham, Brookline, Fitchburg

GREEN JEWELRY
THROUGH 3 WARS

WASHINGTON Jewelers
365-503 WASHINGTON ST., BOSTON
Waltham, Brookline, Fitchburg


GIFTS THE WHOLE FAMILY WILL ENJOY

TRU-BLUE FRIENDSHIP RING

For That Certain Friend

Just any friendship ring won't do. It must be a "Tru-Blue" with selected Diamonds, Synthetic Sapphires or Zircon. Exclusive at Washington Jewelers.

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STUFFED ANIMALS, TOY DISHES, TRICYCLES, Etc.

YOUNG NOVELTY CO.
20 HAWTHORNE ST.
March 10, 1943

My dear Admiral Leahy:

The President on March ninth signed an Executive Order entitled "Defining the Foreign Information Activities of the Office of War Information," as recommended by you.

Very sincerely yours,

M. H. McIntire
Secretary to the President

Admiral William D. Leahy,
Chief of Staff to the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy,
Washington, D. C.
March 9, 1943.

MEMORANDUM:

General Watson took this up with General McNarney, in General Marshall's absence, and was informed by General McNarney that General Marshall was strongly opposed to having the OSS put under the Army. He reported that everyone concerned agreed that it should remain under the Joint Chiefs of Staff as at present -- with all propaganda activities removed and activities solely confined to subversive ones.
THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON  

March 9, 1943.  

MEMORANDUM FOR  
GENERAL WATSON  

Will you find out from General Marshall the exact status of OSS which he is going to recommend? I hate to put it directly under the Army, as I understand the problems between it and OWI have been worked out.  

F. D. R.
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 9, 1943.

MEMORANDUM FOR

GENERAL WATSON

Ask Admiral Leahy and Elmer Davis if the problems between OSS and OWI have been straightened out.

F. D. R.
The President,
The White House.

Dear Mr. President:

Enclosed herewith is a proposed Executive Order carrying out your expressed wishes by assigning all phases of the federal program of radio, press, publication, and related foreign propaganda activities to the Office of War Information.

Mr. Milton Eisenhower of the Office of War Information was consulted with regard to this proposed Executive Order and after making some minor alterations, which are included in this draft, gave it his approval. It has also been cleared with the Bureau of the Budget and The Attorney General.

Yours respectfully,

For the Joint Chiefs of Staff:

WILLIAM D. LEAHY,
Admiral, U.S. Navy,
Chief of Staff to the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy.
March 6, 1943

Mr. President:

May I impose on our friendship to tell you that for the last ten months I have been happy in creating, commanding and training the two active units called Combat Propaganda Companies. Early in January, by order of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, these Units were attached for training to the Office of Strategic Services. In these two months more has been accomplished than in the other eight of our existence. My officers and men alike, have been inspired by the opportunities which have been opened for pioneer and creative development of the uses of subversive, unorthodox warfare.

To perform our true purpose we have employed terms which seem to connect us with open propaganda. Our training and objectives were the reverse.

I am greatly disturbed (not for myself but for the success of the Units) in the common reports that we are to be transferred back to the War Department which neither wants us nor understands our mission.

This would be particularly regrettable since three weeks ago General Eisenhower cabled asking that these Units be sent to North Africa at an early date for use in the field. Thus in the midst of tying our work in with the secret program of the OSS we were greatly disturbed by rumors of this reassignment to the War Department.

If we go either to the War Department or to OWI, both of which succeed or fail in enemy countries because of their credibility, our basic mission of deceiving, disrupting and weakening enemy military and enemy morale must be abandoned.

I hope you will investigate both
sides carefully before coming to a decision.

Faithfully,

Earle

[Signature]
My dear Admiral Leahy:

I am returning the Executive Order and accompanying letters which you submitted to this office. We have added a sentence to the Order, with the concurrence of Mr. Milton Eisenhower, to insure that the existing relationship between the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs and the Office of War Information will remain unchanged. General Deane has given his informal approval to this revised Order. The Attorney General's letter is attached.

The attached memorandum to the President recommending approval of the Order sets forth my views. You will note I have suggested that upon issuance of the Order the directive of the Joint Chiefs of Staff should be revised to conform with the provisions of the Order.

Very truly yours,

Admiral William D. Leahy
Joint Chiefs of Staff
Washington, D. C.

Attachments (3)
EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
BUREAU OF THE BUDGET
WASHINGTON, D. C.

MAR 5 1943

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Executive Order Defining Certain Responsibilities of the Office of War Information and the Office of Strategic Services.

The attached Executive Order assigns all phases of the planning, development and execution of the government's foreign propaganda program to the Office of War Information and defines the relationships between the Office of War Information, the War and Navy Departments, and the Joint Chiefs of Staff in developing and executing such programs. As the Executive Order establishing OWI, and also the Directive of the Joint Chiefs of Staff to the Office of Strategic Services, specifically excluded the informational activities of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs from the jurisdiction of OWI and OSS, we have revised the Executive Order as submitted by the Joint Chiefs of Staff to provide that the jurisdiction of OWI shall not be construed to extend to the Western Hemisphere, exclusive of the USA and Canada. Three minor changes in wording which in no way change the substance of the order have been made in this office and the Department of Justice.

The revised Order has been cleared with Mr. Milton Eisenhower, Associate Director, Office of War Information.

The Attorney General states, that although the Order in its present form is legal, the vagueness of the provisions of paragraph one may cause administrative problems. This observation is correct, but it is my opinion that it is not now feasible to spell out clearly by Executive Order all the responsibilities and relationships of the agencies, because of the subject matter involved.

The further definition of the proper relationships between the Office of Strategic Services and Office of War Information can be better achieved, it seems to me, by a revision of the directive to OSS from the Joint Chiefs of Staff. The revised directive should define clearly the role of OSS in the field of "psychological warfare" with foreign propaganda activities excluded therefrom, if the term "psychological warfare" is to be used at all in the revised directive. It would be still better, however, to abandon
the use of the term "psychological warfare" in the revised directive because (1) it has been largely responsible for the misunderstanding between OSS and OWI, (2) it is subject to a variety of interpretations, and (3) with foreign propaganda excluded from it, it would certainly give rise to greater confusion. In any event the revised directive should be clearly interpreted to the Office of Strategic Services and the Office of War Information to prevent any further misunderstanding.

I would accordingly recommend that you approve the Order with the understanding that the Joint Chiefs of Staff directive will be revised to implement it.

While this Order and the revised directive will clarify the roles of OWI, OSS, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the War and Navy Departments with respect to our foreign propaganda programs, it leaves unsolved the problem of obtaining over-all coordination of our propaganda, political, economic, and military programs overseas. I am convinced this problem needs immediate attention and am preparing some further suggestions which I shall send you shortly.

Attachment
Through the Bureau of the Budget

The President,

The White House.

My dear Mr. President:

I am herewith transmitting a proposed Executive order entitled "Defining the Foreign Information Activities of the Office of War Information", presented by Admiral William D. Leahy on behalf of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and forwarded for my consideration by the Director of the Bureau of the Budget after revision in his office.

The proposed order, in effect, transfers to the Office of War Information certain functions now performed by the Office of Strategic Services, established by the military order of June 13, 1942. Paragraph 2 of the order as originally drawn revoked such provisions of the military order as were in conflict with the proposed order. Since it seems clear that no revocation was intended but only such modification as might be necessary to make the proposed order effective, paragraph 2 has been revised accordingly.

Although the order in its present form is legal, the provisions of paragraph 1 are rather indefinite; and problems might well arise in the administration of the order that would prove troublesome to both agencies concerned. It may be that, because of its subject matter, it is not feasible to draft the order in more definite language. However, I suggest that it might
be advisable for the Office of War Information and the Office of Strategic Services to attempt a revision of the order that would indicate more clearly how its provisions will operate in actual practice.

Respectfully,

[Signature]

Attorney General.
My dear Mr. Attorney General:

Herewith is a proposed Executive Order, presented by Admiral William D. Leahy on behalf of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, entitled "Defining the Foreign Information Activities of the Office of War Information".

With the concurrence of Brigadier General Dean, Secretary of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and of Mr. Milton Eisenhower, Associate Director, Office of War Information, the proposed order has been amended in this office by adding the following sentence to section 1 thereof: "The authority, functions and duties of the Office of War Information shall not extend to the Western Hemisphere, exclusive of the United States and Canada." This will insure that the existing relationships between that Office and the Office of Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs will remain unchanged.

It is requested that after your action thereon, the draft of order be returned to this office for forwarding to Admiral Leahy for presentation to the President.

This order, as revised, has my approval.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) HAROLD D. SMITH

Director.

The Honorable,

The Attorney General.

Enclosures.
THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF
WASHINGTON

February 24, 1943.

The Honorable
Harold D. Smith, Director,
Bureau of the Budget,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Smith:

There is enclosed herewith a self-explanatory letter for my signature, on behalf of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, to the President, transmitting an Executive Order, a copy of which is enclosed. The President has approved this Executive Order in principle, but directed me to submit it to representatives of the Office of War Information for concurrence. Mr. Milton Eisenhower has seen the directive, made some minor changes, and has given it his approval.

After action by your office and the Attorney General, it is requested that the papers be returned to me for presentation to the President.

Sincerely yours,

For the Joint Chiefs of Staff:

[Signature]

WILLIAM D. LEAHY,
Admiral, U. S. Navy,
Chief of Staff to the
Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy.

Encl. 2

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 11652, Sec. 8(E) and 5(D) or E
JCS memo, 1-4-74
By RHP, NLR, Date FEB 19 1974
MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

For your convenience I am attaching a copy of a memorandum I sent to you on February 5, concerning psychological warfare. I understand that you talked to Elmer Davis and General Strong yesterday, particularly about the conflicts between the Office of Strategic Services and the Office of War Information. I am not entirely clear concerning your decision. I wonder if you would dictate a note to me, as the decision on the budget of the Office of Strategic Services is immediately involved. I would also like to be in a position to follow up any decision you have made, since prior to your conference, I talked with Elmer Davis and General Marshall as preliminary to working out something. I think I am not at variance with anything you have said, but I need your instructions.

If there is any related part of the memorandum concerning which you could give me an answer now, I would appreciate that too. If I could have your general instructions, I may be able to keep this problem from troubling you again.

[Signature]

Director
MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

Subject: Militarization of the Office of Strategic Services.

The Joint Chiefs of Staff recommend that Colonel William J. Donovan, Director of the Office of Strategic Services, be nominated to the grade of Major General in the Army of the United States, and that he continue to serve in his present capacity.

The Office of Strategic Services was placed under the Joint Chiefs of Staff by your Executive Order #9182, dated June 13, 1942.

The Joint Chiefs of Staff have recently issued a directive to the Office of Strategic Services, defining its functions. In general, the directive charges the Office of Strategic Services with the planning, development, coordination and execution of the military program for psychological warfare.

It is the desire of the Joint Chiefs of Staff to stress that phase of the directive which provides for activities of the Office of Strategic Services being closely integrated with military operations. If this is sufficiently emphasized, the danger of having the functions of the Office of Strategic Services overlap and interfere with those of other non-military war agencies will be minimized. In addition, closer cooperation will be effected between the Office of Strategic Services and the Armed Forces, thus utilizing the full capabilities of the organization which has been assembled by Colonel Donovan.
In order to effect the close tie-in with the military, a large number of the key personnel of the Office of Strategic Services have already been brought into the Army or Navy. It is felt that the process will be complete if its directing head is given military rank commensurate with his responsibilities.

For the Joint Chiefs of Staff:

WILLIAM D. LEAHY,
Admiral, U.S. Navy, Chief of Staff to the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy.
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For the Joint Chiefs of Staff:

WILLIAM D. LEAHY,
Admiral, U.S. Navy,
Chief of Staff to the
Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy.
MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

The attached four and a half-page memorandum outlines as briefly as possible a very critical situation in the field of psychological warfare. I know that Elmer Davis and Bob Sherwood talked with you about the matter prior to your Casablanca trip. I should say it is almost as critical a situation as the one discussed with you on Wednesday afternoon.

It needs to be resolved quickly. I think I should discuss it with you as soon as you have had the opportunity to read the memorandum.

Enclosure
My dear Miss Tully:

I am enclosing a copy of an INTELLIGENCE REPORT on "Rubber and Nationwide Gasoline Rationing" which was prepared for the Director of the Office of War Information.

Sincerely yours,

R. Keith Kane
Chief, Bureau of Intelligence

Miss Grace Tully
Secretary
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D. C.
INTELLIGENCE REPORT
RUBBER AND NATIONWIDE GASOLINE RATIONING

OFFICE OF WAR INFORMATION
BUREAU OF INTELLIGENCE
COPY No. 1.
Such recommendations and suggestions as may appear in this report have not been cleared in advance with the Director of the Office of War Information and do not necessarily reflect his views or those of the Office of War Information. Recommendations and suggestions, if they do appear, are only submitted by individuals in the Bureau of Intelligence who have assembled the data and they are offered for the consideration of appropriate authorities.

The Bureau of Intelligence of the Office of War Information uses a variety of procedures and techniques to obtain its data on the attitudes of people and on what is brought to their attention. These procedures and techniques have been found reliable after extensive experimentation over a period of years.
THE REPORT IN BRIEF

Reaction to Gas Rationing

On the eve of Rubber Administrator Jeffers' announcement that nationwide gasoline rationing would take effect November 22, a majority of Americans throughout the great non-rationed areas of the country were not convinced of the necessity for this measure. And they remained unconvinced even though they were familiar with the Baruch report which had cited chapter and verse in support of general rationing as absolutely essential to the conservation of the nation's fast-dwindling rubber supply.

These public doubts are explainable only in the light of the confusion attendant upon the rubber situation since its emergence as one of the major problems of the war. Lack of centralized authority for handling the problem had led to conflicting government statements, had led also to halfway administrative measures during the early stages of gasoline rationing. Representatives of the rubber and petroleum industries, with a definite stake in the government's decisions had contradicted officials and each other. And the press and radio by publicizing each cure-all scheme of every incorrigible optimist, shared responsibility for the confusion.

The Baruch report undertook to clarify and emphasize the magnitude of the problem and to pound home the need for drastic action now. It accomplished a great deal. Following its issuance, people generally expressed willingness to restrict their mileage and driving speeds. They also grew increasing aware of the seriousness of the rubber shortage, and of the fact that gasoline rationing was the best way to save tires. The press inclined to accept the report as the "last word" on the issue, and with few exceptions gave it solid editorial backing. Yet it would be attributing too much to this document to say that it had succeeded in erasing all reservations — particularly in those areas of abundant gasoline supply.

Conclusions

The Baruch report should be followed not only by strong action of the sort instituted by the new Rubber Administrator; there should also be a corollary information program aimed at selling and selling again the reasons why it is incumbent upon every car driver in every part of the land to recognize the intimate relationship between gasoline rationing and winning the war. Without such a selling program the people in the non-rationed areas will be psychologically ripe for a Black Market in gasoline which may be as casually regarded as the Bootleg traffic of the Prohibition era.
CONTENTS

THE REPORT IN BRIEF

THE SOURCES OF CONFUSION ......................... 1
   Conflicting Statements ......................... 2
   Misinterpretation of Official Statements ..... 3
   Divided Authority .............................. 4
   Synthetic Optimism ............................ 4
   Scrap Rubber .................................. 6
   Nationwide Gasoline Rationing ............... 6

PUBLIC REACTIONS TO THE CONFUSION ............. 9

EFFECTS OF THE BARUCH REPORT .................. 11
   Press Reaction ............................... 13
   Reactions of the Public ....................... 16

THE PROGRAM FOR THE FUTURE ..................... 23
"Gasoline rationing is the only way of saving rubber. Every way of avoiding this method was explored, but it was found to be inescapable. This must be kept in mind: The limitation in the use of gasoline is not due to shortage of that commodity — it is wholly a measure of rubber saving. That is why the restriction is to be nationwide. Any localized measure would be unfair and futile."

Baruch Report
September 10, 1942

RUBBER AND NATIONWIDE GASOLINE RATIONING

The pattern of action and information offered the American public on the rubber problem prior to the Baruch Report presents a case study in confusion. Starting with a widespread willingness to accept rubber rationing, along with every other war sacrifice which was clearly presented and definitely demanded, the people were bewildered by one contradictory statement after another. And many of these divergent pronouncements were coming from persons who should have known what they were talking about.

THE SOURCES OF CONFUSION

To some extent the public's failure to comprehend the magnitude of the rubber crisis reflected the inability of officials themselves to grasp
the total picture of deprivation resulting from the loss of East Indian and Malayan sources. And it has been especially difficult for official and average citizen alike to reason beyond the primary issue of the rubber shortage to the secondary but all important issue of gasoline rationing.

CONFLICTING STATEMENTS

As early as February, War Production Head Donald Nelson made a statement which should not have left any remnants of wishful thinking in the public mind:

"Unless we restrict all civilian use of rubber to the bare essentials, we shall not have enough for our military machine during the next two years."

And Leon Henderson on March 5 stated flatly that:

"... To date we have been unable to allocate even a single pound of new crude rubber for new tires or recapping of those which are now on the cars."

Even though they came from two persons high in the conservation program, Nelson's and Henderson's pronouncements were forced to compete with the super-optimism of private individuals' statements as recorded by the press. And just a month before Mr. Nelson's remarks, Secretary of Commerce Jesse Jones had been widely quoted to the effect that:

"There will be enough rubber to make tires available to the public in about eighteen months."

The Washington Post further quoted Mr. Jones as saying that "a good deal of rubber is available," and that, "I believe we'll have enough to get along if we're careful."
True, earlier in the year Secretary Jones had given warning of grim days ahead when he declared that people would be able to run their cars only "about a quarter as much as you used to in peacetime." And it is true also that by March the Pacific situation had worsened to the point where it was unfair to compare statements made at that time with those offered before the fall of Singapore and the Indies cut us off from our normal sources.

On the other hand, the very magnitude of our losses was reason for the people to expect official recognition of their importance through drastic curtailing of civilian habits affecting rubber. The piecemeal nature of the restrictions imposed reflected a laudable desire on the part of the war administration to refrain from asking any but absolutely necessary sacrifices. But the procedure also made it easy for the people to reason that really extensive curtailment would not become necessary.

**MISINTERPRETATION OF OFFICIAL STATEMENTS**

Not only was the public confused by conflicting statements issuing from government officials, but they were equally misled by some of the misinterpretations of public statements. On the floor of Congress Representative Ford of California quoted an editorial in the Los Angeles Daily News of June 4, 1942 as follows:

"'According to Henderson's testimony there will be an over-supply of rubber after furnishing all that is needed for the United States military program, for all U. S. Lend-Lease commitments, for export to South America, for essential U. S. civilian demands and for export to the rest of the non-Axis world. This surplus continues right through 1944.'" (Congressional Record, p. A2763)
This statement was based on misinterpretation of Mr. Henderson's testimony at the Senate hearings by the Los Angeles Daily News. The tables which he presented showed a balance of supply, but also pointed out that the basis of the estimates was too uncertain to furnish safe estimates for policy if taken by themselves. In addition, Henderson had recognized that the synthetic production schedule included in his estimates presented problems which made it impossible for anyone to guarantee precise fulfillment.

**DIVIDED AUTHORITY**

Undoubtedly one primary cause of the wealth of contradiction and confusion lay in the fact that several different government agencies had power over the rubber situation, which resulted in officials indulging in public arguments over matters of fact. There was no concentrated public policy or centralization of authority so long as the Petroleum Coordinator, the Rubber Reserve Company of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, the War Production Board, the Office of Price Administration and others were all independently concerned with the problem. Lengthy testimony in the minutes of the Senate Hearings for June 9 shows the extent of the confusion among public officials themselves. (pp. 648-649).

**SYNTHETIC OPTIMISM**

Rosy-hued accounts of magic results from new synthetic processes, fabulous stories of unexploited natural rubber supplies in South America, optimistic schemes for cultivating the Mexican guayule shrub, all helped to compound automobile owners' uncertainty about the necessity for curtailing normal driving.
Elliot Simpson, an independent rubber dealer from New York City spoke before the Senate Committee on June 12 about "the mythical rubber shortage" and maintained that the people's requirements could be filled out of the pile of accumulated scrap rubber. He further added to the doubt of Government competence by stating:

"Mr. Viles directs the OEM Bureau that came out with those beautiful pictures in the press showing that only 1 per cent of our rubber was shipped out of South American countries. He did not tell the people in his department that there is more rubber in South and Central America now than grows in the Far East."

An additional source of irritation and bewilderment was the controversy which raged all summer over the relative merits of grain and petroleum as the source of butadiene. In the face of the government's allocation of a major share of butadiene production to petroleum, Representative Springer of Indiana declared on the floor of Congress that:

"The production of synthetic rubber from petroleum is entirely experimental," whereas "farm products have been tried in making synthetic rubber -- there is no experiment involved."

Compounding this state of confusion were innumerable press stories originating among asserted crackpots, each with a new panacea. Notable among these was the story of the dentist who concluded that years of fast driving in this country must have left deposits of rubber on the curves of the roads, and that proper placer mining at these spots would solve the scrap rubber supply.
**SCRAP RUBBER**

Another setback to realistic thinking was the overoptimistic estimates of the amount of scrap rubber available in this country. On January 13 the *New York Times* quoted Jesse Jones to the effect that 1,000,000 tons of scrap were available which would yield 600,000 tons of useful rubber. On July 1 Representative Ford of California quoted from the *Los Angeles Daily News* of June 4 and concluded that reclaimable scrap available could be converted into enough recapped tires during the next 2½ months to keep all the civilian cars in the country rolling. When the scrap campaign brought in less than these amounts, the situation was further confused.

**NATIONWIDE GASOLINE RATIONING**

Naturally, these encouraging estimates of available scrap had repercussions on the necessity for gasoline rationing. On June 30 the *New York Times* announced the extension of the nationwide scrap rubber campaign because of the President's disappointment in the yield of only 218,998 tons in the first 13 days of the campaign. The *Times* reporter wrote:

"His (the President's) hope is that the drive will bring in enough scrap rubber to meet all military needs and provide some for civilian use, thus averting the need for nationwide gasoline rationing."

Uncertainty of public officials on this phase of the issue was transmitted to the people and translated into doubts as to the seriousness of the actual situation. Early in the year (Jan. 8) Secretary Ickes was quoted as follows in the *New York Times*:
"The rubber shortage, Mr. Ickes said, would postpone or obviate any need for gas rationing. Tire rationing will reduce gas consumption by 30 per cent."

On May 19 the President admitted in a press conference that the extension of some form of gas rationing to other parts of the country was under official discussion. He added, however, that he saw no reason for including oil-producing areas or regions served directly by pipelines in such curtailment unless limitation on the use of gasoline there was desirable as a tire conservation measure.

But on June 8 Leon Henderson said in a letter to Senator Maloney of Connecticut:

"No combination of tire conservation measures that does not include nation-wide gasoline rationing can hope to avert a serious transportation crisis. Gasoline rationing is the only satisfactory method of reducing use of privately held automobiles."

When rationing was finally instituted in the Eastern states there was considerable controversy as to the reason for such action. On July 9 Representative Roy O. Woodruff of Michigan expressed a typical complaint:

"If the rationing is necessary in the 17 Eastern States because of a shortage in transportation resulting in a shortage of gasoline supplies then the people ought to be told the truth about the matter, and this fact ought not to be hidden behind claims that gasoline rationing is to save rubber." (Congressional Record, p. A2871)

It would have been difficult to justify sectional gasoline rationing
on the basis of rubber conservation, for in the East there was considerable
dissatisfaction over the fact that greater sacrifices were demanded there
than elsewhere. Not only did such critical and contradictory statements
give encouragement to doubting Thomases in the Eastern areas, but the
administration of the rationing system as originally set up was not cal-
culated to inspire appreciation of the problem in the non-rationed areas.
What amounted in practice to an "honor system" led to widespread laxity
in enforcing the ration quotas, and did little to emphasize the seriousness
of the situation.

Prior to the inception of formal rationing, moreover, appeals for
conservation of gasoline were tied to the ship sinkings along the Atlantic
Coast, and the issue was one of saving human lives. This emotional basis
further divorced gasoline conservation from the rubber problem.
PUBLIC REACTIONS TO THE CONFUSION

So far as the rationing of rubber itself was concerned there is no evidence from Bureau of Intelligence surveys that the sound and fury of the confusion materially swayed the public from a position of overwhelming acceptance.

During the first two weeks of February, 77 per cent of a nationwide sample interviewed by the Bureau of Intelligence agreed that the rationing of automobile tires by the government was necessary.

Two months later, after the fall of Singapore and the reverses in the Dutch East Indies,

86 per cent felt that we were "doing the right thing" by rationing tires.

Tire rationing was apparently sold to the public on grounds which they could accept -- and in addition there was a lag between the induction of the program and the feeling of its effects. To most people tire rationing presented a problem to be met in the future. In February Dr. Gallup found 47 per cent of car owners believing their tires would last from six months to a year and a half, another 30 per cent who thought they would last two years or more.

In recent months a majority in the country has been aware that the rubber shortage was "serious".* Appreciation of this fact was somewhat slower in dawning on the non-rationed areas, but by early July 58 per cent

* These people answered "yes" to the question: "Do you think there is a serious rubber shortage in this country now?"
of people even in the areas where no gas restrictions had been imposed recognized that the rubber deficit was serious. And this increased to almost two-thirds during the last two weeks of the scrap rubber salvage campaign later in the same month.

Similarly, on the question of whether gasoline rationing was the "best way" to save tires, three surveys since July 1 have each shown at least two-thirds answering this question affirmatively even in the non-rationed areas.

But where the pattern of confusion has shown its most marked effects is in the slow acceptance by the public of nationwide gasoline rationing.

In July six out of ten persons in rationed areas, but only about a quarter in non-rationed areas were convinced that "gas rationing throughout the nation" was necessary.

Obviously, the public was not thinking of gasoline rationing as a rubber conservation measure, but rather as something to be struggled with by those communities unfortunate enough to be affected by transportation difficulties. Even in the rationed areas where the majority voted nationwide application necessary, the people were perhaps actuated as much by a feeling of discrimination and a desire to see the sacrifice equalized, as by an appreciation of the seriousness of the rubber problem.

The fact that the administration of gasoline rationing in the areas where it was first instituted got off to a bad start in the eyes of the public may also have colored the views of those in the non-rationed sections. A sample of car owners among business proprietors, white-collar workers, laborers and farmers questioned early in June in the gasoline rationed areas
of the country revealed a good deal of dissatisfaction with the administration of the rationing program. Two-thirds of them felt that it was being handled "only fairly well", or "poorly".

EFFECTS OF THE BARUCH REPORT

This was the setting into which the findings of the Baruch report were projected on September 10 -- the setting which had prompted the President to say:

"In recent months there have been so many conflicting statements of fact concerning all the elements of the rubber situation -- statements from responsible government agencies as well as from private sources -- that I have set up a committee of three men to investigate the whole situation -- to get the facts -- and to report them to me as quickly as possible with their recommendations."

-- Franklin D. Roosevelt
August 6, 1942

While it offered no startling new facts, and for the most part only confirmed what had been said before, the report sounded its keynote by stating at the outset that the situation is "so dangerous that unless corrective measures are taken immediately this country will face both a military and civilian collapse." It maintained that tires on civilian cars are wearing down at a rate eight times greater than they are being replaced. It warned that if this rate continued, by far the larger number of cars will be off the road next year and in 1944 there will be an all but complete collapse of the 27,000,000 passenger cars in America.

While urging a nationwide 35-mile speed limit, reduction of average annual mileage by 25 per cent, release of more rubber for tire recapping,
compulsory periodic tire inspection, and rapid expansion of the synthetic programs, the three-man committee also left no doubt that the keystone of the program must be gasoline rationing on a nationwide basis as "the only way of saving rubber".

FERRETING out the facts from the maze of obfuscation had convinced Baruch and his collaborators that even those areas with oil derricks in front yards, those communities with refineries on their outskirts, those cities with adequate pipe line facilities, must be convinced and brought under the rationing program. Oregonians would have to be persuaded away from the stand their Representative Homer D. Angell took on the floor of the House July 7, when he declared:

"With the surplus of gasoline going to waste in California, there would seem to be no justifiable reason for extending gasoline rationing to Oregon and Washington. Conservation of tires may be effected by direct restrictions on their use rather than by withholding gasoline which in that area needs no restriction." (Cong. Record, p.9236).

The report would also have to convince the man in Kansas City who told an interviewer it was "as stupid to ration gasoline in the Middle West as it would be to tell Californians they could have only six oranges a month".

Aimed squarely at such views, the Baruch findings gave exact figures on the rubber deficit. They also scathingly criticized the confusion and delay which had permeated rubber conservation prior to that time. The report made a point of the bungling and self-interest which had characterized the development of synthetic rubber sources; one example cited and widely quoted later was the fact that Russia's offer to turn over the methods by
which she had long been producing synthetic rubber successfully had been ignored.

Recognizing the nation's obligations to public opinion, the report concluded:

"In drawing up these recommendations the committee has sought to find a basis upon which the entire nation can go forward together, uniting our energies against the enemy instead of dissipating them in domestic wrangling. It appreciates that it is asking the public to make sacrifices because of mistakes that have been made and for which the people are not to blame. But wrong things done in the past cannot be cited as defense for making mistakes in the future. The war demands that we do these things, Victory can be won in no other way."

PRESS REACTION

The release of the Baruch committee report had an immediate and dramatic effect on newspaper opinion. The prestige value attached to this official statement was evident. Typical of the respect with which it was greeted was this statement in the San Francisco Chronicle on September 11:

"It is regrettable that we have not earlier had so authoritative a statement as now comes from Bernard M. Baruch who successfully "czarred" World War industrial economics.... We accept (his) unchallenged judgment...."

During June and July criticism of the existing rubber program had been widespread in the press. Nationwide gasoline rationing was strongly opposed by the newspapers in the non-rationed areas of the country. And the press had featured the hot debates over the respective merits of
various processes for making synthetic rubber.

In the two months of June and July, 83 editorials were noted in a sample of 70 newspapers all over the nation on the subject of nationwide gasoline rationing, more than half of which -- 43 -- were either definitely opposed or neutral and skeptical. Of these 43 editorials, 34 represented newspapers in the non-rationed West, Southwest, Midwest and South Central sections.

Within four days after release of the Baruch committee's findings, 25 editorials were noted which discussed the nationwide gasoline rationing recommendation -- only four of them unfavorably. There was, however, a tendency to avoid the frightening words "gas rationing" and to make the present acceptance of the measure implicit rather than explicit. Examples of interesting changes in editorial policy were noted, two of which are given here.

BEFORE THE BARUCH REPORT

Birmingham, Ala., Age-Herald

June 23
"But even though nationwide gasoline rationing would save some rubber, it would not be worthwhile if this saving were more than offset by disadvantages of rationing."

AFTER THE BARUCH REPORT

Sept. 11
"... the recommendation for nationwide gasoline rationing... seems, on its face to be sound... But even if we did not think so we would nevertheless be strongly disposed to accept this program as final, in the circumstances. We do not know what else would be better. And we must have action."

Memphis Commercial-Appeal

June 10
"The people, who are willing and anxious to do whatever may be required of them to hasten the winning of the war, are now

Sept. 12
"The Commercial-Appeal sees no need for any considerable delay in actually making gasoline rationing effective... The matter of whether
completely befuddled as to why gasoline restrictions are in prospect for sections where it is abundant."

this section or that has more than sufficient gasoline...does not enter into it. Gasoline is going to be rationed because it is a method which will save rubber."

**Synthetic Rubber Production**

In general, press comment on the Baruch Committee's synthetic rubber recommendations was small, probably having been overshadowed by the spot news value of the gas rationing recommendation.

In the months of June and July when discussion of synthetic rubber was at its height in the press, four lines of comment stood out in the press, all of which were almost equally strong. They were:

1. a demand that the present program (oil-rubber, in the main) be pushed through without change and that the Gillette farm rubber bill be vetoed,
2. a call for expert study of the problem,
3. insistence on a more thorough study of the grain alcohol method of making rubber and for serious consideration for the Gillette farm rubber bill, and
4. a call for action in general and an end to squabbling.

Of these four chief lines of argument on synthetic rubber, the first and second were confirmed by the Baruch report. The third line of argument — that demanding a more careful study of the grain alcohol method of making synthetic rubber — was especially strong during the earlier period in the West, Southwest and Middle West. Papers in these areas were responsible for 17 of the 34 editorials favoring the process, and together with the Philadelphia Record (which had conducted an editorial crusade on the subject), accounted for over 70 per cent of these demands. Naturally, not all of them were won over by the Committee's recommendation that the present synthetic
program be allowed in the main to stand. A few examples were found, however, of papers which, at least by implication, were converted by the Baruch report. The influential Des Moines Register was among these.

BEFORE THE BARUCH REPORT

Des Moines Register

July 24
"It is no more than fair to say that this whole debate about synthetic rubber has been tinged...by some lack of imagination on the part of WPB officialdom...the senatorial 'revolt' (in the Gillette bill) may prove a beneficial shock. Not even Mr. Nelson denies that a bad guess was made—that WPB had a 'jolt' coming."

REATIONS OF THE PUBLIC

The influence of the Baruch report on public attitudes, as measured by a small national Bureau of Intelligence survey, September 16, was apparently marked.

Seriousness of Rubber Shortage

As might be expected, those people who were familiar with the Baruch report tended to take a more serious view of the rubber situation. (Chart I). Naturally too, more educated than uneducated people were familiar with the report, but even when educational factors were controlled similar results emerged. Encouraging was the fact that the impact of the report seemed to be especially strong in the areas in which gasoline has not yet been rationed. From the middle of July to the middle of September there was no increase in awareness of the seriousness of the rubber deficit among people in non-
Before Baruch Report

JULY 1

72% 68%

PEOPLE THINKING THERE IS A SERIOUS RUBBER SHORTAGE

JULY 14

70% 63%

SEPTEMBER 16

75% 64%

AFTER BARUCH REPORT

78% 60%

Not familiar Familiar with report with report

70% 66%

PEOPLE THINKING GASOLINE RATIONING THROUGHOUT NATION IS NECESSARY

60% 70%

65% 41%

66% 44%

PEOPLE THINKING GASOLINE RATIONING IS BEST WAY TO SAVE TIRES

78% 76%

76% 80%

70% 66%
 rationed areas who were not familiar with the report, but there was a notable increase in the belief that the situation was serious among those who said they had either heard or read about Baruch's statement. In the rationed areas little difference was found before and after the issuance of the report. In the non-rationed areas, however,

63 per cent in mid-July believed that the rubber shortage was serious.

64 per cent of those unfamiliar with the Baruch report in mid-September thought there was a serious shortage of rubber,

but

80 per cent of those who were familiar with the Baruch report maintained in September that the rubber shortage in this country was serious.

Further influence of the report on public opinion may be seen in the fact that in the country as a whole:

73 per cent of those who had heard about the rubber report, but only

63 per cent of those who had not been exposed to it felt that the shortage was so serious that people would have to cut down on their driving.

When people were asked whether gas rationing was the "best way" to save tires, there was little positive evidence that the Baruch report had any marked influence on this academic problem. In gas-rationed areas eight out of ten answered affirmatively in July, and practically the same results were obtained in September among both the group familiar with the Baruch findings and the group who had not been exposed to them. In the non-rationed
areas there was obviously considerable increase in acceptance of the fact that gas rationing was the best way to save tires, but again any influence of knowledge of the report is difficult to prove from the slight difference shown. In non-rationed areas:

65 per cent of the public in mid-July considered gas rationing the best way to save tires,

In mid-September after the Baruch report:

76 per cent of those who professed ignorance of the report and

80 per cent of those who were familiar with the report were willing to admit that gas rationing was the best way to save tires.

Since there was an appreciable increase in acceptance of this proposition, whether or not people had been exposed to the report, it would seem that events and other publicity during the two-month interim had increased acceptance of the idea. It is interesting to note that in mid-September rationed and non-rationed areas alike were overwhelmingly in agreement that there was no better way to save tires than to ration gasoline. But again it must be stressed that this was a relatively academic question, for when asked the more specific query, "Do you think gasoline rationing throughout the nation is necessary?", geographic areas differed markedly.

**Nationwide Gasoline Rationing**

In July six out of ten persons in rationed areas had agreed to the proposition that nationwide gasoline rationing was essential, as compared with only one out of four who held this view in non-rationed areas. Although
by September there was some increase in agreement with the proposition in
rationed areas even among people who had not heard of the Baruch report,
the influence of the report on this question appears to be significant. In
rationed areas, after the issuance of the committee findings and recommenda-
tions:

66 per cent of those who had not heard of the report,
but

79 per cent of those familiar with the report, believed
that gasoline rationing throughout the country was
essential.

Thus, among those who were already undergoing gasoline rationing,
the report was apparently effective materially in increasing conviction that
drastic steps throughout the nation were necessary. In non-rationed areas,
however, in spite of the forthright statements of the Baruch report, the public
was still loathe to agree that such a drastic measure was "necessary." There
was considerable increase in acceptance of nationwide rationing, but little
effect of the report itself could be discerned. In mid-July in non-rationed
areas only 21 per cent admitted nationwide rationing was necessary. In
mid-September

41 per cent of those unfamiliar with the Baruch
report, and

44 per cent of those who had heard about the report
thought nationwide gasoline rationing was necessary.*

* Interviewing by the American Institute of Public Opinion a week following the
Bureau of Intelligence survey showed 86 per cent in the rationed areas and 67
per cent in the non-rationed sections saying "Yes" to the question: "Are you
in favor of nationwide gas rationing in order to conserve tires?"
This question again reveals the wide attitudinal differences between the
two areas, and while it shows fairly general willingness to accept rationing
of gasoline, it does not reveal people's feelings regarding the necessity
for the measure.
The increased acceptance between July and September is encouraging, but the public in these areas obviously still needs to be convinced that this sacrifice is essential to all-out prosecution of the war on the home front.

35-Mile Speed Limit

One proposal of the Baruch report which received widespread public acceptance was the demand for a nationwide 35-mile speed limit. With or without knowledge of the Baruch recommendation — in rationed areas and outside them — more than eight out of ten persons approved this speed limitation as a rubber conservation measure.

Tires for Pleasure Driving

Although radio commentators called the Baruch report a "heartening document", one minor possible effect of the report was perhaps unexpected. People familiar with the report actually gave evidence of being somewhat more optimistic about getting tires for pleasure driving within the next two years than those who professed ignorance of its contents. The differences were not particularly significant, however, and only about one person out of ten expects any civilian rubber to be released within two years for purely pleasure purposes. The New York Times also found some encouragement in the findings:

"...it may be possible to lessen the proposed curtailment measures before the end of 1943 if the synthetic rubber program which it recommends is successful. Production of synthetic rubber should reach its full swing in 1944." (September 11)
Governmental Responsibility

The biggest difference apparently resulting from exposure to the Baruch report lay in the degree to which people blamed the government for not preventing the rubber shortage.

48 per cent of those who were familiar with the report, as compared with only
15 per cent of the non-familiar group criticized the government for not having done all it might reasonably have been expected to do to prevent such a shortage.

The Baruch report stressed the confusion and conflict within the government, declared the present administrative organization was not such as to insure the effective carrying out of the rubber program. In commenting on the number of different government agencies with overlapping and confusing authority over synthetic rubber, the committee said:

"The conflict between the Rubber Reserve Company, a subsidiary of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, and the Office of Petroleum Coordinator has delayed and complicated the bringing in of new facilities for the production of butadiene from oil."

That this tendency of the public to blame the government may not have been due entirely to the emphasis of the report itself, however, but rather to the editorial comment on the report, is indicated from the fact that during the week of September 8th to 16th the "mistakes of the past" were pointed out on the radio by Godwin, Lewis, Thomas, Tinney, Hillman and Carter — commentators who represent all shades of opinion. Heatter Thomas and Tinney also reported that the Baruch committee was "shocked" to
find that Russia's synthetic rubber offer had not been acted upon, and Tinney further wondered if the reason was because men connected with Standard Oil were involved in the rubber administration.

Car Pools

Another recommendation of the Baruch report was an increase in cooperation between drivers and a pooling of private transportation resources. There is still a large field for development in this direction, for only about a quarter of the car owners in the sample questioned in September said they had joined together with others in driving to work or shopping.

THE PROGRAM FOR THE FUTURE

A small but vocal section of the press continued during September to question the program urged by the Baruch report. Four newspapers in a nationwide sample of 70 were vehement in claiming difficulties ahead for nationwide rationing of gasoline. The St. Louis Post-Dispatch, was worried for fear the government would not take into account regional differences:

"...if it is the government's idea to impose on the entire country the restrictions now in effect in the East, without modification, then... national transportation faces a breakdown."
(September 14)

The Dallas News wondered if the amount of rubber conserved would not be offset by "the harm that would be done," and although admitting that "insofar as nationwide gas rationing is really justifiable to conserve rubber, the new order is sound," still maintained that "nationwide rationing
will actually turn out to give the oil regions a much greater share of misery misery..." The News, however, advised its readers to reconcile themselves to rationing "with the thought that, if it is a mistake, experience will soon prove it to be such and bring relief." (September 12)

The Cincinnati Enquirer bluntly charged that the Baruch report was "thoroughly illogical" on the point of nationwide gas rationing and claimed that

"Unless tires are confiscated, there will be no addition to the nation's supply of rubber for essential service...there is no proposal now to make any use of the tires which would be made virtually idle by strict gasoline rationing." (September 11)

The Denver Post saw "drastic economic effects" in nationwide gasoline rationing (September 12), and an increasing "danger of inflation because every reduction in the amount of things the people can buy increases by that much their surplus purchasing power."(September 11) The "excuse" that rationing is a way to conserve tires might be valid, said the Post, but "it appears the real reason the tire problem is so acute is that the government has bungled the synthetic rubber program."

On the synthetic rubber production program, the Philadelphia Record, which had campaigned in eight editorials for the grain alcohol process in the months of June and July, was not convinced that the Baruch report had solved the problem. It castigated the Baruch committee for not going further in placing the blame for past mistakes and clearing up the confusion over the relative merits of the two methods.

Whether it went far enough or not, there is evidence that the Baruch
The report itself may have focussed attention on the shortcomings of the administration in handling the synthetic rubber situation. As previously shown:

Fifteen per cent of those unfamiliar with the Baruch report, as compared with almost half of those who had heard about it, felt the government had not done all it reasonably could to prevent the rubber shortage.

The Detroit News which had called loudly for action in the two months before the committee was appointed, accepted the report with obvious mental reservations:

"It (the report) is an utterly damming indictment, doubly damming in the suggestion it inescapably conveys that like administrative incompetence, and worse, probably must prevail elsewhere in the war effort...It can be said for the President that he has taken his dressing down in good part...If he likewise will take to heart the need...for identical reforms elsewhere, the country indeed will have gained by the Rubber Committee's frankness." (September 12)

The Denver Post also expressed an attitude of watchful waiting:

"...the most constructive recommendation is the one calling for a complete reorganization of the administration of the rubber program...Thus far this rubber administration has produced a lot of talk...It has been run by politicians...The head of the rubber administration should be an executive who knows something about rubber..." (September 12)

By mid-September there was little evidence that the editorial attitudes of this critical section of the press had raised many followers among other important newspapers. But measuring the extent to which this comment by a small part of the press falls on minds conditioned by months of
confusion is an intelligence function to be closely applied. The job of driving home the direct relationships between a rubber shortage, gasoline rationing, and a going military and civilian war economy is an informational task to be vigorously prosecuted.
SOURCES OF THE REPORT

This report is based on the following material:

"Rubber Statements from Pearl Harbor to the Baruch Report," Source Materials Division, September 24, 1942

"The Baruch Report in the Newspapers," Media Division, September 24, 1942

"The Public on the Baruch Report and Nationwide Gas Rationing," Extensive Surveys Division, October 1, 1942

"Gasoline Rationing," Extensive Surveys Division, August 15, 1942

"Participation in the Scrap Rubber Salvage Campaign, and Attitudes toward Gasoline Rationing," Extensive Surveys Division, July 23, 1942

The above reports are available to authorized individuals through the Bureau of Intelligence of the Office of War Information.
MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: A Governmental Program for Psychological Warfare

The Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) have issued to the Office of Strategic Services a Directive that attempts to clarify the OSS authority over "the military program for psychological warfare". I have now received a supplementary budget from the Office of Strategic Services, which requests funds for the establishment of four additional organizational units to be used in the execution of this directive. Both of these raise urgent inter-agency problems which I should like to discuss with you within the next day or two.

Major Provisions of the Directive

The Joint Chiefs' Directive authorizes the OSS to plan, develop, coordinate, and execute "the military program for psychological warfare"; to compile such political, psychological, sociological, and economic information as may be required for military operations; and to conduct such special operations as sabotage, espionage, guerrilla warfare, and counter-espionage.

To supervise and coordinate the planning and execution of "the military program for psychological warfare", the directive establishes the OSS Psychological Warfare Planning Group, consisting of: one member from State; two from the Army; two from the Navy; and four, including the Chairman, from OSS. The Planning Group is to submit its recommendations to the Director of OSS who in turn is to submit them, after his approval, to the Joint Chiefs. This Planning Group is to be advised by a committee composed of representatives from BEW, OWI, CIAA, Treasury Department; and other affected agencies will be asked to serve from time to time.
The directive further provides that propaganda and economic warfare operations included within "the military program for psychological warfare" are to be planned and executed, upon request from the JCS, by the OWI and BEW respectively, such requests to be limited to an indication of the results desired. The JCS are also authorized to ask for reports of progress from these agencies.

Effect of the Directive

In issuing this directive the JCS apparently hoped to coordinate "the military program for psychological warfare" with military operations. However, the OSS has presented to the Bureau a program which indicates that OSS intends, under this directive, to coordinate all programs of "non-boom-boom" or psychological warfare (such as propaganda, political and economic warfare, and subversive activities) with military operations. This OSS objective cannot be achieved for three reasons.

1. Such an interpretation of the directive would center in OSS and the JCS the responsibility for decisions which they are not authorized or equipped to make. The determination of psychological warfare policy involves far more than decisions of military strategy. It involves basic issues of foreign policy, both immediate and post-war. It involves basic issues of domestic and foreign information policies. It involves basic issues of economic policy, both immediate and post-war. The authority for these decisions now rests in the respective jurisdictions of a number of civilian agencies reporting to the President and cooperating with the armed services. No JCS directive can define or limit the authority of these agencies.

2. The directive is not explicit as to the functions or activities of the OSS and does not define "the military program for psychological warfare". This lack of definition has resulted in varying interpretations of the directive by several agencies.

The OSS interpretation, reflected in its supplementary budget, indicates that it intends to assume major responsibility for planning and coordinating the propaganda, political and economic phases of psychological warfare. A narrower interpretation, however, would not only leave planning of these phases of psychological warfare totally within State, OWI, and BEW, but would restrict OSS to secret and subversive activities. Such varied interpretations can only fire jurisdictional conflicts.
3. Even assuming that OSS and the JCS were made responsible for psychological warfare, which I think is untenable, and assuming a clarification of the meaning of the directive, the OSS would probably find it impossible to coordinate the activities of the civilian agencies concerned with psychological warfare because several of these agencies mistrust the motives of the OSS Director. Both OWI and BEW are fearful that OSS intends gradually to poach upon their jurisdictions, and the fact that the directive has relegated them to a subordinate advisory status, instead of making them parties to the OSS Planning Group, lends substantial support to their apprehensions. They further harbor profound distrust of the philosophy and policy which control decisions within OSS. Such feelings have already demoralized the OWI and BEW staffs, and their distrust of OSS has fomented a similar distrust of them by OSS.

A Suggested Solution

The problem of uniting the several Federal programs in the field of psychological warfare into a hard-hitting, imaginative, global plan, properly coordinated with actual and planned military operations, must sooner or later be solved. If you wish to retain civilian control over psychological warfare and wish to assure unity of effort in the psychological warfare programs of civilian agencies, the appropriate agencies must, by some method not yet developed, be tied into the program for military operations without being completely subordinated thereto.

One possible method follows.

1. You could establish a psychological warfare planning council composed of high-ranking representatives from such agencies as State, the JCS, Treasury, BEW, Commerce, OWI, Censorship, CIAA, Agriculture, OLLA, and the Director of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation.

This council could be authorized to formulate broad policies to govern propaganda, political and economic warfare, and subversive operations. Because the State Department is responsible for the formulation of our foreign policy, and since all phases of psychological warfare must be in harmony with our foreign policy, a high-ranking officer of that Department, able to speak for both you and the Secretary of State on foreign policy, should appropriately be council chairman. Such an arrangement should assure the necessary and desirable interlocking between the warp of basic foreign policy and the woof of the immediate and long-range objectives of the military and psychological warfare programs.
2. The JCS should then assign a high-ranking, general staff officer to their secretariat and vest him with authority: (1) to coordinate with military operations such subversive activities of the OSS as combat propaganda, sabotage, guerrilla warfare, espionage, and counter-espionage; and (2) to build a unified intelligence organization out of the now-disparate intelligence activities of ONI, MIS, and OSS.

3. The OSS should be reconstituted as the principal undercover operating agent for the JCS, and its activities and expenditures should be made reviewable by the JCS and the appropriate theatre commanders in order to assure conformance with military strategy and operations.

**Alternative Solutions**

If you do not wish to adopt the suggested, or a similar, solution, I then need your decision on some alternative solution in order to process the OSS supplementary budget.

1. Do you wish to have the JCS directive amended to the extent of including on the OSS Planning Group such agencies as the ONI, Treasury, BEW, Commerce, CIAA, Censorship, OLLA, and Agriculture (or just some of these) in order to attain more representative planning under the OSS theory that the JCS assume authority for coordinating all psychological warfare and that OSS act as the coordinating agency? If so, should the proposed planning staff in the OSS be liquidated in so far as it parallels the planning staffs of those agencies to be represented on the Planning Group?

2. Do you wish the directive to be interpreted to mean that the authority over the propaganda, political and economic warfare, and subversive operations of psychological warfare resides in the JCS and the OSS? If so, should the Bureau arrange to transfer to the OSS those staff members in ONI, BEW and CIAA that duplicate the OSS planning activities now contemplated and those into which it may later find it necessary to expand?

3. Do you wish to authorize me to determine the budgetary and staff needs of the OSS on the basis of my own interpretation of the JCS directive, such an interpretation to be arrived at after recurring discussions with the affected parties? If so, do you wish to authorize me, in order to assure the most effective and integrated results, to review the secret activities and unvouchered expenditures of OSS?
4. Or do you wish to have the present condition of uncertain and divided authority continue? If so, should the Bureau permit further expansion of paralleling planning staffs in the OSS on the one hand and the OWI, BEX, and CIAA on the other, or should the OSS planning activities be limited to their present budgetary proposal?

Because the Bureau cannot take any action on the OSS budgetary estimate now before it without a policy decision from you, it is urgent that I see you within the next day or two.
EXECUTIVE ORDER

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DEFINING THE FOREIGN INFORMATION ACTIVITIES OF THE OFFICE OF WAR INFORMATION

Under and by virtue of the authority vested in me by Title I of the First War Powers Act, 1941, approved December 18, 1941 (Public Law 354 -- 77th Congress), and as Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy and as President of the United States, it is hereby ordered as follows:

1. The Office of War Information will plan, develop, and execute all phases of the federal program of radio, press, publication, and related foreign propaganda activities involving the dissemination of information. The program for foreign propaganda in areas of actual or projected military operations will be coordinated with military plans through the planning agencies of the War and Navy Departments, and shall be subject to the approval of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Parts of the foreign propaganda program which are to be executed in a theater of military operations will be subject to the control of the theater commander. The authority, functions and duties of the Office of War Information shall not extend to the Western Hemisphere, exclusive of the United States and Canada.

2. The military order of June 15, 1942, establishing the Office of Strategic Services, is hereby modified to the extent necessary to make this order effective.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

THE WHITE HOUSE,

March 9, 1943.
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 22, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR
HON. ELMER DAVIS

Bob Sherwood misses the boat. This is a matter of principle. The coming invasion is to be carried out and carried through as a military matter. We shall then find what we shall find!

F. D. R.
March 22, 1941

Miss Grace Tully
Secretary to the President
The White House

Dear Miss Tully:

The enclosed message from Sherwood bears on a matter which I discussed with the President last week. I should appreciate your showing it to him at the earliest convenient moment to see if in view of its contents he would care to reconsider the decision which he gave me then.

Cordially,

Elmer Davis
Director

SECRET

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter, 2-11-73
Feb 3 1973
By J. Schaalbe Date
Cable from Sherwood, London.

Last night I dined with the leaders of French resistance; their objectivity and understanding of the problems of our country impressed me deeply. It is my firm belief that we can deal with such people with complete realism and without commitments, and still escape getting into any of the blind alleys of Algiers. One of our men who left Algiers three days ago reports that the Assembly is increasingly asserting its authority, and the power of the Committee is declining accordingly. There are signs that De Gaulle is having to shake up his personnel and may possibly have to eliminate even Philip and Tixier. There have even been some newspaper jibes at De Gaulle himself; all of which seems to indicate that the French are not following any man on horseback. This tendency in Algiers is due primarily to the sort of thinking I met with last night; real resisters, from within France, are more and more gaining control over the Assembly, the Committee, and De Gaulle himself. It is my conviction that the more emphatically we can now encourage the underground resistance people inside France, the more we can accomplish in stripping de Gaulle of his aura of divinity and reviving American prestige. Accordingly I repeat urgently the request that we be authorized to start purely operational planning with representatives of the French resistance.
MEMORANDUM FOR
S.T.E.

I showed this to the President and
told him that you and Jonathan Daniels
were ready to talk to him about it. He
suggests that you show the report from
Bob Sherwood to Jonathan Daniels.

G.G.T.

x5015-G
MEMORANDUM FOR HONORABLE JONATHAN W. DANIELS:
(Administrative Assistant to the President)

Dear Jonathan:

On July twenty-first you addressed a memorandum to the President. With the memorandum was a report "prepared by a young newspaperman" the title of which was "WILLKIE INFLUENCE IN THE OFFICE OF WAR INFORMATION".

The President recently sent this memorandum and report to me with the penciled notation that he wanted you and me to talk to him about it.

I showed the report to Judge Rosenman; also to Robert Sherwood.

Sherwood today gave me a memorandum to the President and asked me to let you see a carbon copy of it. A carbon copy is attached. When you have read it, I would like to talk to you about it — talk to you before you and I talk to the President as he requests.

STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President
Memorandum to the President
From Robert E. Sherwood

Sam Rosenman showed me a memorandum addressed to you by Jonathan Daniels together with an anonymous Report on "Willkie Influence in OWI." Mr. Daniels says that this was prepared "by a young newspaperman who has been active in your support" and expresses confidence that his Report was "prepared in a completely sincere effort to present the situation truthfully."

Reading the Report convinces me that the anonymous author obtained his material from someone who now occupies a responsible position with OWI or who has occupied such a position until very recently. The basis of the material could have been obtained only from "inside" sources — which is certainly not to say that it is, as presented, correct.

I can not presume to speak for the section devoted to the Domestic Branch, but I most certainly can speak for the Overseas Branch, and I can say that seldom have I seen a more malicious piece of manipulation and distortion of fact.

First and foremost: the statement that "on Overseas English language broadcasts to areas where our troops are stationed, Willkie has been featured as much as, if not more, than any other American including the President."

That statement is unadulterated falsehood. It is utter nonsense. In all our broadcasts — and in all our pamphlets, leaflets, movies, news transmissions, etc. — the words and the deeds and the personality of the President of the United States have been featured so far beyond those of any other American that it would hardly be worth while to try to figure out who comes second. Obviously, after the President, would come the military leaders, and after them, probably, the Vice-President, the Secretaries of State, War and Navy, and Under-Secretary Patterson and Donald Nelson — the latter because of the heavy emphasis we place upon production news in our propaganda. Actually, I believe I can state with confidence that, next to the President, the American civilian most heavily featured in all of our overseas propaganda is Henry Wallace.
We have featured Willkie to a legitimate extent as a leader of the opposition party and an opponent of isolationism. We had one broadcast by Willkie. It was in interview, in which Willkie answered questions by reading excerpts from "One World." The script of this was carefully prepared by us and the more controversial and critical passages of "One World" were left out. This broadcast was designed primarily for foreign audiences. (A substantial percentage of our listeners in Europe can understand English.) It may have been heard by some of our troops, but all of our English language propaganda — which has been bitterly denounced as "New Deal, Fourth Term Propaganda" — may accidentally reach our troops, in all parts of the world.

The anonymous Report mentions several individuals in the Overseas Branch:

Joseph Barnes and James P. Warburg, it is said, form a malignant "clique" opposed to the Administration and determined to eliminate all elements in the Overseas Branch of OWI who support the Administration.

Nelson Poynter, Ed Stanley, Estelle Frankfurter and Robert Parker are cited as innocent victims of the "Barnes-Warburg clique."

My own position in all this is not made very clear, although it is suggested that I am a liability to the Administration because I have been attacked by Arthur Krock.

Taking the above names as they come:

Joseph Barnes

Joseph Barnes was practically the first man I hired when I started on this job in the summer of 1941. I did not know him well personally but I knew his writings. His experience had covered assignments in Tokyo, Moscow and Berlin, and he is fluent in many languages. Although he was foreign editor of the Herald Tribune he had identified himself as a most ardent supporter of the President in the pre-Pearl Harbor days. He was selected to go on the trip with Willkie largely due to the urging of Gardner Cowles. Incidentally, Barnes had nothing whatever to do with Cowles' appointment to OWI, as the anonymous report suggests. Indeed, when Elmer Davis was attempting to urge Cowles to join OWI he was effectively aided in this urging by Harry Hopkins.

The request that Barnes accompany Willkie came to me from Elmer Davis after he had discussed the proposed trip with the President. I talked to Barnes about it and while he was naturally excited at the
prospect of a trip around the world he was reluctant to do it on one count. His very words to me were: "If I go, I am scared that this will identify me as a Willkie man." I told him that Willkie could not possibly make this trip without the President's approval and that I felt he should go.

It is true that Barnes aided in the writing of "One World." But so did Willkie himself, and I think I can identify which passages were Willkie and which were Barnes.

The test of Barnes so far as I am concerned has been his performance of his job and that has been exceptionally fine. Included in that I rate high the quality of the men he has selected for his staff. They conform to my own ideals of liberalism and unswerving loyalty to the President. It was Barnes who was entirely responsible for the selection of Owen Lattimore as Director of our Pacific Operations, and Lattimore has the approval even of the author of the anonymous report.

James P. Warburg

Although Warburg was taken on originally by Bill Donovan, I was and still am glad to keep him on because of the quality of his service and his loyalty. I am aware that his political past bears black marks, but I am satisfied that he is now politically O.K. He voted for the President in 1932, then turned against the President and then turned back, and voted for the President again in 1936. Although I had known Warburg slightly ever since we were at Harvard together, I had no real association with him until the summer of 1940 when we worked together in the activities of the William Allen White Committee and in the Presidential campaign, in which he was a most vociferous supporter of the President on both domestic and foreign policy. He is still greatly in support of the President and opposed to Willkie.

Nelson Poynter

It is true that Poynter has been an active friend of the Administration. But it is not true that he "originated the idea of the Foreign Information Service." He was hired by me after that service had started. Nor is it true that Poynter was eliminated by the Barnes influence. I was solely responsible for this. Poynter knew nothing about foreign countries and was interested in domestic rather than foreign propaganda. I made an arrangement with Lowell Mellett and Poynter whereby the latter transferred to the Office of Government Reports to run the Hollywood office. Poynter remained with OWI, Domestic Branch, until Lowell's resignation.
Ed Stanley

Ed Stanley resigned because I wished him to transfer his activities from New York to Washington. His wife was very seriously ill and had to have surgical treatment in New York and he could not make the move. Furthermore, the heavy expenses in connection with his wife's illness made it necessary for him to take a job in private industry. We are on the friendliest terms. Incidentally, he remained with the organization, and did very effective work, for almost a year after Poynter's departure.

Estelle Frankfurter

The case of Miss Frankfurter was just the reverse of Stanley's. There was insufficient work for Miss Frankfurter to do in our Washington office. We asked her to transfer to a job in New York, or to go to one of our outposts, but she preferred to resign as she wished to remain in Washington. She remained with the organization for considerably more than a year after Poynter's departure. In all fairness I must add that I have heard that Miss Frankfurter feels that she was not well treated by us. While I have the highest regard for her, I cannot agree with her on this.

Robert Parker

The mentioning of the case of Robert Parker is absurd. It is stated that Parker is being recalled from his post in Turkey "because of alleged difficulties with the military". Those difficulties are considerably more than "alleged". Most serious charges have been brought against Parker by General Strong, G-2, officially, in writing. We have had further serious complaints against Parker from Mr. Kirk, in Cairo, Mr. Steinhardt, in Ankara, from British officials and from some of our own outpost men in the Middle East. He has been recalled to Washington and his future status will be determined after he has been given an opportunity to answer the serious charges against him.

Parker was not selected by Poynter and so far as I know has never played any active part in the American political scene — having spent most of his time in Europe.

It is stated in the Report that Parker has been "replaced by Lewis Thomas, nephew of Wendell Willkie." Thomas, who is not replacing Parker, was originally hired by Parker because he had had many years of experience in Turkey and because he is highly acceptable to the American Embassy there. He is one of the few native born Americans who speak Turkish perfectly. He gave a course in modern Turkish history in the University of Chicago. To the best of my knowledge, he is not related to Willkie.
Having made a very feeble case on the score of Willkie influence in the Overseas Branch, the Report passes on to a statement that this organization is following a "pro-Communist line" — which doesn't quite seem to fit in with the principal thesis. It refers to various rumors which have come from foreign groups in this country and which we have been able to refute time and time again. They were all brought up when we appeared before the Appropriations Committees of the House and Senate and we refuted them there.

Mention is also made of complaints brought against us by L. G. Antonini. In this case, Antonini protested to the press because we had questioned one section of one broadcast that he was making to Italy. This section was at variance with our directive for Italy, as approved by the Department of State and the Joint Chiefs of Staff. I endorsed the action of our staff in New York in this matter.

Incidentally, it is an ironic fact, in view of recent regrettable events, that in the past Antonini and the Mazzini Society have frequently and publicly accused the Overseas Branch of OWI of conducting propaganda in favor of the House of Savoy.

In any case, I do not see what these charges have to do with "Willkie infiltration."

The anonymous individual who provided the source material for this Report really reveals his malicious intent when he points to my administrative assistant, Philip Hamblet, as a "New Deal draft dodger." It is true that Hamblet is an ardent New Dealer. He is the one man that I have found who has had governmental administrative experience, coupled with an understanding of the peculiar and unprecedented problems of our kind of work in this war. His draft deferment was obtained at the request of Lowell Mellett, in whose Office of Government Reports he was working at the time OWI was formed. Hamblet is now on a trip to North Africa and England, the second trip he has made to those regions within the last four months. The attempt to smear him in this manner — and in the course of an attempt to prove that we are anti-Administration and pro-Willkie — is just, plain dirty.

Perhaps the best refutation of the charges contained in the anonymous Report is the record of the persistent attacks on the Overseas Branch of OWI by Republicans and isolationists and reactionaries of all kinds. During the Congressional hearings Republican Congressmen and Senators stated repeatedly that the Overseas Branch should be put under the control of the Office of Strategic Services which, as is well known, is solidly Republican in its direction. The same line about the desirability of OSS control of all foreign propaganda has been taken and is still being taken by such columnists as Arthur Krock, John O'Donnell, Frank Kent, etc. If such a change were made, I certainly would not go along with it and I can state confidently that neither would Barnes, Warburg or any other responsible officer of this agency. We prefer to remain in a position where we are subject to attacks by Krock, O'Donnell, et al. Such attacks are a form of flattery of which we are justifiably proud.
MEMORANDUM FOR: The President
FROM: Jonathan Daniels

Marvin McIntyre thought I ought to pass on to you the enclosed material on the Willkie influence in OWI. It was prepared by a young newspaperman who has been active in your support in past Presidential campaigns. I cannot vouch for all his facts, but I am sure it was prepared in a completely sincere effort to present the situation truthfully.

You may have noticed that John Cowles left Lend-Lease this week to join Mike Cowles in the Willkie campaign.

enclosure
WILLKIE INFLUENCE IN OFFICE OF WAR INFORMATION

There are a number of incidents which, when put together, indicate a pattern of Willkie influence in OWI. At the time they occurred there was a smooth and plausible explanation for each incident. Either consciously or unconsciously, the Willkie influence appears to have tried to:

- Promote Willkie in government information propaganda.
- Eliminate partisans of the Administration from key positions in OWI.
- Sabotage OWI activities which tend to give a favorable picture of the Administration or increase public understanding of the Administration’s programs for controlling inflation, food, etc.
- Collect information which would be useful later in fighting the Administration and planting stories on the basis of this inside knowledge.

DOMESTIC BRANCH

When Gardner Cowles was named Domestic Director of OWI one of the first casualties was Robert Horton, head of the OEM Information Division and later head of the OWI News Bureau. Horton — replaced by Paul Smith, a smart, ambitious young Republican — was an active New Deal partisan, who, because of his intimate contacts with the press, had been successful in blasting some anti-Administration people out of government positions and in exposing anti-Administration activity. He was popular with the press, and there had been no question of the efficiency of his organization.

A later casualty was the OWI Writer’s Division, which included
several persons who had written copy for the third-term campaign. The
Division was enthusiastically concerned with presenting the philosophy
of the Administration's program at home and abroad. From the beginning
of the Cowles' regime, the Writer's Division was circumscribed and
isolated. Jack Fleming, then head of the Publications and Graphics
Bureau, made repeated but vain attempts with Cowles to get a fair hearing
for the Division.

Finally, Cowles precipitated the issue by demanding the re-
signation of Henry Pringle, Division Head. The charges made against him
were that the Division did not meet deadlines and an inference that he
did not obey orders. During the controversy, Mr. Davis had remained
sympathetic with the writers but had decided that he did not wish to
interfere with Cowles' program. He did, however, insist that Pringle's
successor be Harold Guinzburg. A short time after Guinzburg came in,
he and most of the writers signed a statement accusing the Domestic
Director of trying to take the guts and spirit out of domestic information.
Most of the Writers' Division, including Guinzburg, resigned.

The next step was to relieve the then head of the Graphics
Division of his position and substitute a man picked by Mr. Cowles.
(Speeches and statements later made by Republican Congressmen revealed
they were afraid OWI posters, pamphlets, etc., would be used to promote
support of the Administration.)

The next step was forcing the resignation of Jack Fleming by
not assigning him any work. He then went to NEW.

Cowles then succeeded in convincing Elmer Davis that Lowell
Mellett, head of OWI Motion Pictures, should resign on the grounds that
Congressmen resented Mellett because he was a New Dealer and was promoting
the President through the movies.
In promoting Willkie, Cowles was behind a pamphlet, "Toward New Horizons #3", which reprinted in full speeches of Willkie, Eric Johnson, Gov. Stassen, Senator Norris, Chiang Kai Shek, Walter Nash and Raymond Gram Swing. Mr. Cowles proposed that since an earlier pamphlet had stated American foreign policy as expressed by official administration spokesmen, OWI should do a pamphlet giving the views of outstanding citizens.

Mr. Willkie's radio speech of October 26, 1942, was reprinted in full. In this speech, which possibly was either written by or gone over by Mr. Cowles, he criticized American foreign policy for failure to define our war aims, for failure to send supplies to China and Russia (particularly China) and for failure to adopt a Pacific Charter. (It may be remembered that shortly thereafter the Republican strategy turned to more aid to China, get on with the war in the Pacific.) 350,000 copies of the pamphlet were prepared and all, except a very small reserve, have been distributed, in part as follow:

25,000 overseas, 1200 publishers list, 142,904 requested before printing (this was apparently a sucker list because some copies came back asking why they were sent), 2,500 Republican National Committee, 12,000 field offices, 7,000 farm groups, 10,000 labor union locals, 21,700 libraries, 32,000 schools and colleges, 33,815 business, 15,000 defense councils, 15,600 church groups, 3,200 mayors, 4,500 Negro, 200 editorial writers, 550 Congressmen.

On the negative side Mr. Cowles has made no serious effort to prevent conflicting statements being issued by various government personalities although this was clearly within his jurisdiction.
Cowles delayed and emasculated an OWI Food Report, prepared by the Writers' Division, which if it had been released in full at the right time, would have allayed the public relations crisis on food, or at least lessened it. (Cowles, after he left OWI, said, "The food shortage will be a leading political issue in the coming campaign.", according to Drew Pearson, July 9, Washington Post.)

Some weeks before the 1942 Congressional campaign a member of the Domestic Staff proposed that OWI undertake a campaign to get people to vote, on the grounds that democracy was being tested in the eyes of the world. This idea was turned down. (Democrats usually suffer from voters' absenteeism.)

Cowles made no significant effort to prevent Republican Congressional reaction against OWI, and his presentation to the House Appropriations Committee was unenthusiastic. Planned Republican strategy was behind the vote against OWI and Willkie Republicans participated in the knifing. It seems almost pointed that the House Republican leadership knew exactly which activities to eliminate because they were potentially the most useful to the Administration - field service, publications and graphics, motion pictures, and to prevent OWI from producing material for direct service to the public.

With the Domestic Branch cut down and circumscribed, Cowles resigned. Drew Pearson on July 9 published the following, "Gardner Cowles, who kept denying he would resign from OWI and help Willkie's campaign, finally is willing to admit it. After a holiday in the Minnesota lake country, he will become brain truster for Wendell Willkie."
Cowles makes three predictions about the 1944 campaign. If Willkie can get the Republican nomination without splitting the party, he will be the next President. The Republican strategy will be to wage the campaign on domestic issues. The food shortage will be a leading political issue in the coming campaign.

The domestic issues and food issue will be aired from information received by Cowles when he held a position of trust in the Federal Government.

After Cowles' resignation, Rep. Charles A. Halleck, who nominated Willkie in 1940, said, "During his year here, Mr. Cowles was one of the forces for sanity in OWI. Members will recall he was opposed to the radical pamphleteers in OWI. They fought him back, but it is to his lasting credit that Mr. Cowles succeeded in divorcing a dozen or more of them from the OWI payroll. Our war effort would be speeded up if men like Gardner Cowles, Jr., were held here and given more authority to do a job."

The Domestic Branch is now headed by Palmer Hoyt, who however probably can be trusted not to play Republican politics in OWI. Yet, there is no strong positive pro-Administration executive in the Domestic Branch, no one with any real responsibility who is interested in seeing the Administration's story told.
Willkie influence in this branch centers around Deputy Director Joseph Barnes, whose position in actual practice is that of Associate Director. He was selected, along with Cowles, to go with Willkie on the world-circling tour. He played a large part in the writing and editing of "One World" which is acknowledged to be one of the slickest writing jobs of personal propaganda for a political figure ever performed. There may be a connection between Cowles' appointment to OWI and Barnes.

Barnes is buttressed by Deputy Director James P. Warburg, the banker, whose booklet vigorously attacking FDR was used extensively in the 1936 campaign.

On overseas English-language broadcasts to areas where our troops are stationed Willkie has been featured as much, if not more, than any other American including the President.

As soon as Barnes gained control he immediately began moving to eliminate elements which might oppose him.

One of the first casualties was Nelson Poynter, an active friend of the Administration and a top-notch publisher. Poynter had originated the idea of the Foreign Information Service, the forerunner of OWI Overseas Branch. When Poynter resigned, there followed a systematic house-cleaning of his friends.

Ed Stanley, Chief of the Bureau of Publications, which included publications, posters, devices, magazines, etc., resigned because he was stripped of his duties. Stanley produced Victory Magazine, the FDR cartoon book and the splendid picture of the President against the background of the American flag, and other visual media which featured the Administration.
Estelle Frankfurter, sister of the Justice, and author of the handbook on American Government used extensively abroad, also one of the greatest U. S. authorities on international labor, was dropped because allegedly there was no longer any work for her to do. She, like Stanley, was brought in by Poynter and was one of his top assistants.

Robert Parker, head of Psychological Warfare in the Balkans, is being recalled and is to be replaced by Lewis Thomas, nephew of Wendell Willkie. Poynter selected Parker because he was head of the AP bureau in the Balkans at Budapest. Parker is being recalled because of alleged difficulties with the military. However, Parker has been in the disfavor of the Barnes-Warburg clique for some time. He pushed the pro-Administration leaflets and propaganda in the Balkans and he procured intelligence material which embarrassed Warburg because it differed from what Warburg got from his British sources. When Barnes was in Turkey with Willkie he selected Thomas, who was then with OSS in a minor capacity, and upon his return urged that he be made head of the Turkish operations. A compromise was reached with Thomas heading the Turkish information activities and Parker assigned to psychological warfare. Parker had been in charge of all operations in Turkey. The disfavor against Parker was climax when during Parker's visit to the United States this spring, he communicated with and was friendly with Adolph Berle whom Warburg dislikes intensely.

There have been numbers of other casualties, but their connection with this pattern is not too clear.

Overseas has damaged the Administration in this country because a number of script writers and broadcasters, following what has been described as a pro-Communist line, have engaged in needless controversies
which stimulated criticism against the OWI (and thus the Administration) from influential Polish, Italian, etc., groups within this country. These public controversies over alleged pro-Communist tendencies also furnish the opposition with ammunition. A typical case is the one involving Luigi Antonini, president of the Italian-American Labor Council, general manager of Local 89 of the International Ladies Garment Workers, and until last year New York chairman of the American Labor party.

Antonini, an outspoken anti-Communist, has been broadcasting to Italy for the OWI for about six months. There has been increasing friction between Antonini and the Barnes clique.

On July 8, Antonini refused to make any further broadcasts for OWI because his script was censored. He said the following was deleted from his script:

"While to admit the existence of strikes in a country like Italy is an evidence that fascism is in crisis, the existence of strikes and political contests in a democratic country like America is proof of normalcy, a proof that democracy really exists here even in times of war. Over here, despite the war, we still have the freedom to strike, although of course within wartime limitations. Over here in America our representatives are not puppets like the members of the fascist parliament. Over here our representatives can vote against the President and the President must sometimes comply with the will of the legislators .... Italian workers, strike for your right to a livelihood."

What Antonini was trying to do was to counter-act the effective Axis propaganda to Europe that America was in a state of decay and collapse because of strikes and the Congressional revolt.
Ed Johnson, chief control officer in New York and a protege of Barnes', and an alleged party line man, had this explanation to make:

"Part of the script of Mr. Antonini's speech was marked for discussion with him. It was not censored. The part marked for discussion was reference that all Americans are free to strike at will (which he did not say). We have been very careful in giving the whole truth about the Smith-Connally act...."

Antonini replied Johnson had not talked to him, that another employee told him his script was censored, and did not tell him Johnson wanted to discuss it with him.

It is significant that Antonini is normally a close friend of the Administration, that he is the recognized leader of several hundred Italian workers, and that he is anti-Communist.

Barnes, who might be the weakest link in the Willkie camp because of his alleged left-wing tendencies, is immune from criticism from the Administration as long as he remains in a key position in the Government. Obviously, the Democrats cannot talk about a Willkie left-wing if the leader of that left-wing works for the Administration.

Barnes is also in a position to collect a good deal of confidential information which might be used politically against the Administration. It is alleged in some State Department quarters that information damaging to the Administration has come from OWI.

The Overseas picture is further complicated by the fact that the Republicans are attacking Overseas for radicalism and blaming it on Bob Sherwood, as an intimate of the President. (Arthur Krock, New York Times, July 5.)
In general there is not in Overseas a positive and experienced influence operating in behalf of the Administration, although there are certainly a good many people sympathetic to the Administration but who are not in a position to do anything about it.

The Overseas command is as follows:

Robert Sherwood, Director

Philip Hamblet, an ambitious young government career man, assistant to Sherwood. Hamblet is subject to attack from the opposition because he is single, of draft age, and deferred. Since he is a government career man, he can be singled out as a "New Deal draft dodger". Hamblet, because he is ambitious, plays the Barnes game.

Joe Barnes, Deputy Director for Atlantic operations.

James P. Warburg, Deputy Director for Psychological Warfare

Owen Lattimore, Deputy Director for Pacific operations, who is doing a good job and is not involved in the Washington-New York politics. His office is in San Francisco.

Ed Johnson, control officer in New York, and thus controls all the output from New York.

It should be pointed out that Elmer Davis is not responsible for nor probably aware of this situation. He is not experienced in politics, nor is he suspicious. He operates on the theory that his immediate subordinates should be given complete backing and trust. He is unquestionably an asset to OWI because of his public prestige, and he is personally loyal to the President.
Miss Grace Tully  
Secretary to the President  
The White House  

Dear Miss Tully:

Here is further information from Sherwood on the matter I have discussed with the President which I feel should be in his hands.

Cordially,

Elmer Davis  
Director

Attachment
From Sherwood, London

Edgar Mowrer has sent the New York Post for Saturday publication a bitter attack on the President for his French policy. It is expected that other correspondents here will do the same, including Eisenhower in personal attacks. Practically everyone here except OWI and apparently the American Embassy knows the text of the President's instructions to British Political Warfare Executive Eisenhower. For the past week has had the full text, which is available to its regional heads and also to the French. There have been plenty of leaks.
OFFICE OF WAR INFORMATION
WASHINGTON

August 17, 1944

The Honorable
Stephen Early
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Steve:

For the day Paris is liberated, BBC and ABSE, CWI's stations in Europe, plan a special broadcast to the French. They are planning to have on the program the Prime Minister, General DeGaulle and, it is hoped, the President, expressing congratulations in French. The program will include a direct broadcast picked up from Paris.

Bob Sherwood and BBC officials strongly urge that a brief message from the President be included. We believe the project is important enough to make it extremely worthwhile if the President can possibly spare a few minutes in his crowded schedule.

The message need not be long and might well recall a part of the message delivered by the President on November 7, 1942, at the time of the North African landing. This office would naturally be pleased to submit suggestions for the text of the message if it is desired.

If the President feels that he could record a brief message in French, we will naturally be glad to supply the equipment and technicians at any time that suits his convenience. The record can then be broadcast over our transmitters, both here and in London, and over the BBC stations.

I would be grateful if you would telephone me about this at your earliest opportunity, since we may not have much time to do the job.

Cordially,

Edward Klauber, Jr.
Associate Director
In connection with current military operations in French North Africa, the President has broadcasted by radio to the French people, the following message in French:

"My friends, who suffer day and night, under the crushing yoke of the Nazis, I speak to you as one who was with your Army and Navy in France in 1918. I have held all my life the deepest friendship for the French people - for the entire French people. I retain and cherish the friendship of hundreds of French people in France and outside of France. I know your farms, your villages, and your cities. I know your soldiers, professors, and workmen. I know what a precious heritage of the French people are your homes, your culture, and the principles of democracy in France. I salute again and reiterate my faith in Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity. No two Nations exist which are more united by historic and mutually friendly ties than the people of France and the United States.

Americans, with the assistance of the United Nations, are striving for their own safe future as well as the restoration of the ideals, the liberties, and the democracy of all those who have lived under the Tricolor.

We come among you to repulse the cruel invaders who would remove forever your rights of self-government, your rights to religious freedom, and your rights to live your own lives in peace and security.

We come among you solely to defeat and rout your enemies. Have faith in our words. We do not want to cause you any harm.

We assure you that once the menace of Germany and Italy is removed from you, we shall quit your territory at once.

I am appealing to your realism, to your self-interest and national ideals.

Do not obstruct, I beg of you, this great purpose.

Help us where you are able, my friends, and we shall see again the glorious day when liberty and peace shall reign again on earth.

Vive la France éternelle!"
December 4, 1944

MEMO FOR BILL HASSETT:

Will you explain to Elmer Davis why I could not send a message but that I thought his message was O.K.?

F.D.R.

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December 6, 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE FILES:

Phoned Elmer Davis from Warm Springs why the President could not make a record or send a message.

William D. Hassett / aw
11-27-44
Respectfully referred to the President.

E. M. W.
November 27, 1944

Major General Edwin M. Watson
Secretary to the President
The White House

Dear Pa:

Here is the document for the President about which I spoke to you. Our boys would like to have it by December 1. Whether it can go through all the clearances as fast as that I should doubt, but I should appreciate any expediting you might be able to accomplish.

As always,

[Signature]

Elmer Davis
Director

Enclosures
OFFICE OF WAR INFORMATION  
WASHINGTON

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

November 27, 1944

The President
The White House

Dear Mr. President:

As you are probably aware, we expect to open our medium wave broadcasting station on Saipan sometime in the early part of December. On this station we hope to reach the Japanese home audience which has heretofore been unable to hear our short wave broadcasts and accordingly our listeners in Japan will be enormously multiplied. We venture to hope that you may be willing to open this service with a statement to the people of Japan. If possible, recorded, so that your own voice could take it to them in English, after which of course it would be translated and repeated in Japanese. If you are willing to do this, we can make any arrangements for the recording that would be convenient to you, sending a crew to Warm Springs if necessary.

If you are unable to do this, we should at any rate appreciate your approval of a message to be transmitted. In that case I presume directly in Japanese at the outset. A proposed draft of such a message is enclosed. You will see that its final paragraph makes declarations to the Japanese people similar to those which you have already made to the German people. I presume you will want to refer this to the State Department. We have discussed the general idea informally with some of their people but they have not seen this draft.

If we could get this statement approved and cleared within a few days it would be of very material help to us.

Very respectfully,

Elmer Davis
Director

Enclosure
To the People of Japan:

Three years ago your leaders forced the United States to turn its energies from peaceful pursuits to those of war. Since then, after a short period of initial successes, your leaders have found the tide of war moving strongly against them. In spite of what your leaders have told you, events must have convinced you of the failure of their policy of conquest. That I am able to send you this message from Saipan shows how far the tide of war has turned against you.

The attacks launched first on China and then on America and Britain by your warlords are now being brought back to Japan. The blows from the air which their policies have brought on Japan will steadily increase in strength and intensity, bringing increasing destruction upon Japan and danger and hardship to the Japanese people. The only way these consequences of support of the militarists and their policies of deliberate attack on peace loving peoples can be avoided is by the unconditional surrender of Japan and of the Japanese forces in the field.

Unconditional surrender will bring about the liberation of the Japanese people from the exploitive control of their military masters. It will not mean the extermination of the Japanese people, nor the extinction of Japan. Neither will it mean the imposition on the Japanese people of forms of government unsuited to their needs. Within the limits set by the determination of the United Nations to establish the conditions which will prevent future aggression, it is not our intention to take from the Japanese the right to determine the nature of their political, economic and social organization of their national life. It is, however, only as they give us confidence in their desire and determination to live as free men and women in a world free from the fear of aggression that the Japanese people will be restored to full and equal members of the international community.