

Great Britain : HAROLD LASKI

PSF: Gt. Britain: Laski

Box 90

Box-10

PSF: Laski

January 10, 1939.

Dear Harold:-

Ever so many thanks for that delightful note, for which, thank God, I had a large magnifying glass ready!

Honestly I think Felix's nomination has pleased me more than anybody else in the whole country.

Yes, do please come and see me as soon as you get back East -- and, of course -- I shall be honored and happy to have you dedicate the little book to me.

As ever yours,

Professor Harold J. Laski,
Hotel Edmund Meany,
Seattle,
Washington.

C O P Y

Hotel Edmund Meany
Seattle, Washington

5. 1. 39.

PERSONAL

My dear Mr. President:-

First of all, I want to thank you. Felix's nomination means more to me than I know easily how to say. Not merely, I hope, out of friendship, but as much because it is so splendid a symbolic confirmation of the essential things in your Administration, its tolerance, its insistent liberalism, its continuity of great purpose. And if I read the signs of such opinion as it has *dictated* aright, I think the public also has taken it in that spirit.

And, second, I owe you an apology. I had hoped so much to get back to Washington before I left for the West, but I found myself tied down by an inescapable press of academic duties and I could not get away. When we return in the early part of May, I hope eagerly that we may spend a little time with you. There is so much I want to tell you of things and people seen in the United States -- not least the happy chance of an encounter with Senator Vandenberg at Duke University where he gave me one of those opportunities which come just once or twice in a lifetime.

I have read with enthusiasm your Message of yesterday. You cannot easily imagine the exhilaration an Englishman feels in recognizing in your words the spirit he had hoped to find in his own rulers. It will, I am confident, reinforce both in mind and heart the best there is among the British people. I imagine you are not going to have the easiest of times with this Congress. But I do want you to know that there are many, like myself, who though not American, look to you for that lead to the democratic peoples upon which, in these next years, the fate of civilization depends. Your courage and steadfastness are, I think, the main bulwark we have against a new dark age. I know how grim a responsibility that places on your shoulders. But I hope I may claim to know you well enough to say that for you the profounder the responsibility the greater the opportunity. It is that sense which has made your Presidency, in my own view, the most notable achievement in American history since Lincoln's.

I hear constantly from England -- not the best of news, especially not on the side of military preparation. But my friends tell me that there is a growing revulsion against the policy of surrender, and

that the P. M. loses ground. I fear he may get a new lease on life after his visit to Rome by ^{striking} sticking a bargain with Tony Eden, and that may precipitate a spring election. If I may say so, it is very important, from the angle of our common hopes, that Joe K. be made to understand that his speeches in London, after his return, may, unless he is very careful, be turned to the service of the worst elements of reaction in Great Britain. There is, I fear, little doubt but that his speech of last October was interpreted to mean that you were solidly behind the Chamberlain policy.

The few days I have spent in the West have introduced me to a new world. But even these few days have been enough to show me how real is the hold you have upon the common folk out here. Talk of Schwellenbach and the instant reaction is that he is "a fine fellow who has been consistently loyal to the President". The big business elements, of course, are like their kind everywhere. What you have on your side are the young and the little people -- the Americans still able to dream of a new America. I do not think you would wish it otherwise.

I must not burden you further; but there is one other thing I want to ask. In April, I am going to give six public lectures at the University of Indiana, which I have to publish in a small book. I propose to discuss the Presidency -- an amplification of that piece of mine on your papers which you have seen. Would it embarrass you if the book were dedicated to you? Please tell me frankly if it would. But if it did not, it would be a special pleasure to me to make it say by that means something of what I have been made able to hope about democracy in the years since 1933.

With affectionate greeting,

Believe me,

Yours always,

(Signed) HAROLD J. LASKI

I stay here until the beginning of March

Hotel Edmond Meany.
Seattle, Wash.
5. 1. 29.

Dear Mrs. Sanford,

Would you be kind enough to give the enclosed to the
President? I shall be very grateful.

Yours very sincerely,

Lawrence J. Washli

Hotel Edmund Heamy
Seattle, Washington.

5. 1. 39.

Personal.

My dear Mr President,

First of all, I want to thank you. Felix's nomination means more to me than I know exactly how to say. Not merely, I hope, out of friendship, but as much because it is so splendid a symbolic confirmation of the essential things in your Administration, its tolerance, its insistent liberalism, its continuity of great purpose. And if I read the signs of such opinions as it has checked ought, I think the public also has taken it in that spirit.

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I have read with enthusiasm your message of yesterday. You cannot easily imagine the exhilaration an Englishman can feel in recognising in your words the spirit he had hoped to find in his own rulers. Well, I am confident, therefore both in mind and heart the best there is among the British people. I imagine you are not going to have the easiest of times with this Congress. But I do want you to know that there are many, like myself, who though not American, look to you for that lead to the democratic peoples upon which, in these next years, the fate of civilization depends. Your courage and steadfastness are, I think, the main bulwark we have against a new dark age. I know how great a responsibility that places on your shoulders. But I hope I may claim to know you well enough to say that for you the profounder the responsibility the greater the opportunity. It is that sense which has made your Presidency, in my own view, the most notable achievement in American history since Lincoln's.

I hear constantly from England - not the best of news, especially not on the side of military preparation. But my friends tell me that there is a growing revulsion against the policy of surrender, and that the P. M. does not fear he may get a new lease of life after his visit to Rome by striking a bargain with Tony Eden; and that may precipitate a spring election. It may say so, it is very important, from the angle of our common hopes, that J. C. be made to understand that his speeches in London after his return, may, unless he is very careful, be taken to the service of the worst elements of reaction in Great Britain. There is, I fear, little doubt but that his speech of last October was interpreted to mean that you were solidly behind the Chamberlain policy.

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With affectionate greetings,

Believe me,

Yours always,

Harold J. Lasker.

I stay here until the beginning of March.

PSF: Laski

January 31, 1939.

Dear Harold:-

Many thanks for the reprint on the "Public Papers and Addresses". Because it is an essay and not a review, I wish much that it could be reprinted in some magazine with a million circulation. But such a magazine would not dare to publish it.

A delightful description has come from Anna telling of the furor you have caused at the women's clubs, golf courses, pink tea parties and university circles. May the furor increase in furiosity!

Come and see me as soon as you get East.

As ever yours,

Professor Harold J. Laski,
Department of Political Science,
University of Washington,
Seattle, Washington.

file

To the President

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 21, 1939.

MEMORANDUM FOR

S. T. E.

Will you take care of the
second paragraph of this letter
and return to me so I can reply
to Laski?

} Done

F. D. R.

PSF: Laski

April 17, 1939

My dear Mr. President:

One European, at any rate, finds it difficult to discover words to convey his gratitude for the speech to the Pan-American Union and the note to Hitler and Mussolini. I suspect that it is perhaps too late to alter the course they have charted. But at least they fit squarely the responsibility for conflict, if conflict it must be, and it makes their own people aware of the fact that it is their choice, deliberately made, if they make it. I have one, or rather two, anxieties. I hope that you will press the British government to hasten the completion of an Anglo-Soviet arrangement. That will have immense influence in building unity with Labour in England: without it, there is bound to be deep suspicion of Chamberlain's motives, and I hope, too, that you can make them begin now to think out the terms of possible accommodation, a definition of arms, war or no war. For I fear, as I fear nothing else, the coming of an imperialist war on the old model in which there emerges an unbridgeable gap between the Tories and ourselves out of which there comes the grave danger, above all if there is to be war, of internal civil dissension.

One other thing. I have arranged with the Labour Party to publish in England a pamphlet of your speeches on the international situation since the Chicago speech. Would it be a great trouble to have someone in the State Department send authorized texts as soon as possible to

James Middleton
The Labour Party

Transport House
Smith Square, London, S.W.1

I should be very grateful.

The University of Indiana is very pleasant. My lectures on the Presidency seem to interest them and if the horizon were not so black I should almost think it euthanasia. It is good to find that the lawyers are all enthusiastic about the new composition of the court; and I find with joy that it is a pretty general opinion that if war does come, you have necessarily to be drafted for a third term. Any other alternative is unthinkable.

With warm greetings,

Yours as always,

Harold Laski

"FAMOUS FOR FOOD"



Hotel Graham

P. C. GILLIATT, PROP.



BLOOMINGTON, IND.

17. 11. 39.

Dear Mrs. Le Hand,

Would you please give the President the enclosed? The more I read the new note, the more I understand why one can be proud to be an American.

With warm regard,

Very sincerely yours,
Harvey J. Leach

HOME OF INDIANA UNIVERSITY - HEART OF THE LIMESTONE DISTRICT

"FAMOUS FOR FOOD"



Hotel Graham

P. C. GILLIATT, PROP.



BLOOMINGTON, IND.

17. 11. 39.

My dear Mr. President,

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The Labour Party,
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Smith Square, London S. W. 1.

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With warm greetings,

Yours as always,
Harold J. Lasker.

April 22, 1939.

My dear Mr. Middleton:

I have much pleasure in forwarding the following material setting forth the President's views on the international situation. This is done in accordance with a request made to the President by Mr. Harold Laski.

Very sincerely yours,

STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President

Mr. James Middleton,
The Labour Party,
Transport House,
Smith Square, London, S.W.1,
England.

dj

Enclosure.

Material sent Nos: 1005, 1068, 1110, 1153, 1154,
1165, 1170, 1188, 1211, 1240, 1243.

(Sent to Mr. McDermott, State Dept., 4-22-39, for transmission through official channels.)

that Mr. Laski is a
member of the
Rabbi.

COPY

PSF: Laski

G-2
As from
S. S. Washington
United States Lines
New York City
14 - 5 - 39

My dear Mr. President:

I do not want to leave America after all these months without saying to you that not the least vivid experience of my full days has been the sense of all you have come to mean to the common people. Their trust in you, their faith that you'll care for them and their problems, are, I think, the things I am most certain about in this great welter of ideas and emotions. And I don't think it is my affection for you only that makes me so sure of this. It is really written into the fabric of their lives.

So please keep fit and well. Please keep your courage and your belief in the big things. You cannot appease your enemies. I want your administration to end with the grand gesture that makes the historian say 'He ended even more splendidly than he began.' I know that is your own vision of what may be. It is the thing in America that seems to me to matter most in its destiny. In fighting for your America, please remember always that you keep alive the dream of what still may be in Europe. And you give us all there who care for the big thing, the right to hope and to courage.

My warm affection to you always.

Ever yours,

Harold J. Laski

DOCTOR ALFRED E. COHN

300 CENTRAL PARK WEST
NEW YORK CITY

As from

S. S. Washington.
United States Lines.
New York City
14. 1. 39.

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My warm affection to you always,

Ever yours,

Harold J. Lasker

DOCTOR ALFRED E. COHN
300 CENTRAL PARK WEST
NEW YORK CITY

13.V. 39.

Dear Mrs. Keane,

Will you please inquire Mrs. Keane? And keep her
informed.

Yours very sincerely,

H. J. Keane

30
DOLIOB-VTELL

Permit me to ack. the receipt of yr. letter
of May 15th and to thank you for yr. int.
in submitting yr. views.

I shall be glad to bring yr. desire for
employment to the atten. of the Direc. of
the USES in the hope that he may be able to
make a helpful sugges. to you.

MHM

USES: Suggests that husbands and wives who are
both employed

Great Bardfield 86.

PSF: Laske
Yen - 2

C
O
P
Y

Manor Cottage,
Little Bardfield
Braintree, Essex.
S. W. 39.

6/9/39

Dear Miss LeHand,

Would you give this to the President? I shall be so
grateful.

With warm regards.

Yours very sincerely,

(Signed) Harold J. Laske

Great Bardfield 86.

Manor Cottage,
Little Bardfield,
Braintree, Essex.
England.

S. W. 39.

[5/9/39]

My dear Mr. President:

I listened to your talk last night, and I do want to tell you how exactly right I thought it was. xx The undertone came through, and as we listened to the air-raid warning (fortunately a false one) it gave us heart and faith.

We shall need it all; but I do not think there was any alternative. My motion in the executive ^{Labour} the Labour Party, The Trades Union Congress and the Parliamentary ~~Labour~~ Party was unanimous with a vigour and intensity that moved me deeply. These working men know what tyranny means, and they will give all they have and are to the task of fighting it. We agreed unanimously too not to go with the government. We must be free to criticise, above all, in the making of aims (arms?), and the methods of domestic organization. We should not be free if we were committed to support a minority representation in the cabinet. And the question of who holds the essential(?) keys is pivotal(?) . Party government has a vital place even in war. We join fully in the common task of administration(?) We must state our own policy in our own way.

I have never seen the people so determined. There is no exhilaration. There is just a sober sense that life in a world subject to perpetual crisis is not worth living, and that the search for permanent ~~care~~(?) of ^{basic} peace must be found, whatever the cost. I do not find any hate for the masses in Germany; on the contrary rather a sense of pity for the degree to which they have followed a bad ruler. How far this will last if air bombing begins it is of course impossible to predict; certainly the sinking of the "Athenia" is blamed on the government rather than on the people.

I do hope you will be able to keep America out. At some early ^{terms} stage we must have vital mediation, and no one but yourself will then be in the position to suggest ~~ions~~ consistent with the preservation of international decency. And it is more than ever vital to go on full steam ahead with the New Deal. The more the United States now can show successful results in the working of democracy, the greater the part it can play in the making of a new of world direction. I can not think of a greater contribution to peace than this, the greater because the Soviet Union has, I fear, committed one of the supreme psychological blunders of history. I understand its but it has thrown away an initiative which would have enabled it to share in the moral leadership of the world. Now I see no prospect of trust in its good faith for a long period to come.

My warm regards to you. Take care of yourself as never before.

Yours always,

(signed) HAROLD J. LASKI

GREAT BARDFIELD 86.

MANOR COTTAGE,
LITTLE BARDFIELD,
BRAintree, ESSEX.
5. 11. 39.

Dear Mrs Le Land.

Would you give this to the President? I
shall be so grateful.

With warm regard

Yours very sincerely,
Harold J. Lasker

GREAT BARDFIELD 86.

Please type
most H.

MANOR COTTAGE.

LITTLE BARDFIELD.

BRAINTREE, ESSEX.

4. 9. 39.

My dear Mr President,

I listened to your last last night, and I do want to tell you how exactly right I thought it was. The unspoken came through, and as we listened to the air - said warning (formally a false one) it gave us heart and faith.

We shall need it all; but I do not think there was any alternative. My motion in the Executive of the Labour Party, the Trades Union Congress and the Parliamentary Labour Party was unanimous with a vigorous and energetic first mover. These workers know what fighting means, and they will give all they have and are to the task of fighting it. We agreed unanimously to not to go into the government. We must be free to discuss, advise all, in the making of arms, and the methods of domestic organisation. We should not be free if we were committed to support a minority representation in the cabinet. And the question of who holds the essential keys is pivotal. Party government has a vital place even in war. We join fully in the common task of administration. We must state our own policy in our own way.

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The greater because the Soviet Union has, I fear, com-
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of history. I understand its dilemma; but it has
thrown away an initiative which would have enabled
it to share in the moral leadership of the world. Now
I see no prospect of that in its own future for a long
period to come.

My warm affections to you. Take care of
yourself as never before.

Yours always,
Harvey L. Ladd

of the 'artisans'
on the people,
area out. At some
time, and no one
to suggest that
abroad, steadily,
on full steam
at least 6 weeks
the working of
a play in the
direction, 'can
pieces from the
and, 'year, com-
stead of the
only at the

BRAINTREE
6 1509
5 SEP
1939
ESSEX



Private & Personal

Miss H. la Hard.

The White House

Washington D.C.

U. S. A.

From H. J. Lasli
Manor Cottage
Wote Road
Essex, England.

Great Bardfield 86.

P
Y

Manor Cottage,
Little Bardfield
Braintree, Essex.
S. W. 39. [S. 9. 39]

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With warm regards.

Yours very sincerely,

(Signed) Harold J. Laske

Great Bardfield 86.

Manor Cottage,
Little Bardfield,
Braintree, Essex.
England.
S. W. 39. [4.9.39]

My dear Mr. President:

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We shall need it all; but I do not think there was any alternative. My motion in the executive ... the Labour Party, The Trades Union Congress and the Parliamentary (above Party was unanimous with a vigour and intensity that moved me deeply. These working men know what tyranny means, and they will give all they have and are to the task of fighting it. We agreed unanimously too not to go with the government. We must be free to criticise, above all, in the making of aims (arms?), and the methods of domestic organization. We should not be free if we were committed to support a minority representation in the cabinet. And the question of who holds the essential(?) keys is pivotal(?) . Party government has a vital place even in war. We join fully in the common task of administration(?) We must state our own policy in our own way.

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My warm regards to you. Take care of yourself as never before.

Yours always,

(signed) HAROLD J. LASKI

PSF: Laski

copy

*file
personal*

g. - 2
HOTEL EDMOND MEANY
University District
S E A T T L E

7.11.39

Dear Miss LeHand,

Would you, please, give him this; and
see that he fully understands that, though the dogs bay
at the moon, it still rises each night.

With warm regards,

Yours very sincerely,

(Sgd.) Harold J. Laski

HOTEL EDMOND MEANY
University District
S E A T T L E

C
O
P
Y

7.11.39

My dear Mr. President:

Alas! Everything except the ^{brief} ~~iniquities~~ of the Roosevelt administration is merely a nine days' wonder in Seattle. So, having provided the D.A.R. with its ~~half~~ hour of excitement. I am a simple-minded foreigner, unaccustomed to American ways, once more. But it is at least fun to make an occasional speech here and point out to these red-necked lumber millionaires that the man in the White House is entitled, like Lord Clive, to be astounded at his own moderation.

Many ^{make me} things are tragic just now; but your damned Senate really ~~make one~~ furious over the Roberts' nomination. I wish someone could work up the remarkable data in William Allen White's Coolidge on Taft's efforts to prevent the abuse of Senatorial courtesy over appointments to the Federal Bench. Someone ought to say bluntly that it is in that way that the Mantons of this world get their jobs. I was so glad to see that Murphy on this last matter is not leaving all the thunder and lightning to Dewey. I hope that bubble will get pricked before 1940.

You are having hard sledding just now, above all in international affairs. But I don't need to tell you that for the first time since Munich you have begun to put heart into the common people in the European democracies; and it is just possible that this will communicate itself to their leaders while there is yet time. Anyway the historian of our time is going to say that you have made a measurable difference in the tempo of the age in this last fortnight, and I know that, whatever the barking of the dogs you will take the caravan onwards.

Yours always,

(Sgd.) Harold J. Laski

HOTEL EDMOND MEANY

UNIVERSITY DISTRICT
SEATTLE

7. 16. 39.

Dear Gus to hand,

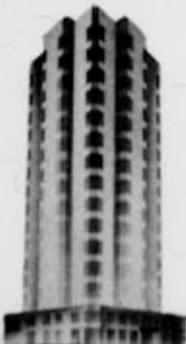
W. send you, please, give him this; and see that he fully understands that, through the dogs bay at the moon, it still rises each night.

With warm regards,

Yours very sincerely,

Harold Lock

Every Room
a Corner
Room



JUST OFF THE UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON CAMPUS

HOTEL EDMOND MEANY

UNIVERSITY DISTRICT
SEATTLE

7. 9. 39.

My dear Mr President,

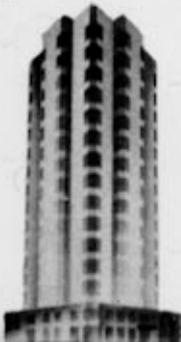
Alas! Everything except the inquiries of the Roosevelt administration is merely a nine days wonder in Seattle. So, having provided the D.A.R. with its brief hour of excitement, I am a simple-minded foreigner, unaccustomed to American ways, once more. And it is at least fun to make an occasional speech here and point out to these red-necked lumber millionaires that the man in the White House is entitled, like Lord Clive, to be abounded at his own moderation.

Many things are happening just now; but your damned Senate really made me furious over the Roberts' nomination. I wish someone could work up the remarkable data in William Allen White's Coolidge on Taft's efforts to prevent the abuse of Senatorial courtesy over appointments to the Federal Bench. Someone ought to say bluntly that it is in that way that the Martons of this world get their jobs. I was so glad to see that Mueller, in this last mess, is not leaving all the thunder and lightning to Dewey. I hope that bubble will get pierced before it is too late.

You are having hard sledding just now, above all in international affairs. But I don't need to tell you that, for the first time since Munich, you have begun to put heads into the common people in the European democracies; and it is just possible that this will communicate itself to their leaders while there is yet time. Any way, the historian of our time is going to say that you have made a measurable difference in the tempo of the age in this last fortnight. And I know that, whatever the barking of the dogs, you will take the caravan onwards.

Yours always,
Harvey Washburn

Every Room
a Corner
Room



JUST OFF THE UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON CAMPUS

While in America his
address was Hotel Edmund
Meany, Seattle, Wash.

PSF: Laski - 2
Jen - 2

P
Y

Great Bardfield 86.

Manor Cottage,
Little Bardfield,
Braintree, Essex,
19, Aug. '39.

Private and Confidential

My dear Mr. President,

We have been seeing a ^{Labour} good deal of Halifax these days in reference to the Far Eastern problem. Particularly, we have emphasised the ~~labours~~ view that any surrender to Japan on the currency question would be indefensible. We found that he was not unsympathetic, and that a large element of his attitude was defined by reason of his unwillingness to jeopardise American confidence.

My colleagues on the National Executive have therefore asked me to tell you this, and to express the eager hope that you will put all the pressure possible on the F. O. to this end. I don't think I need to urge it on you, but it is so important, from our angle, to stiffen this incredible government of ours, that I have promised to pass on their view.

The atmosphere is pretty grim. One feels like a patient who is waiting to know if he is to have an operation, being himself convinced that the decision to operate is likely to be fatal even if he comes through. But Felix will have told you of the mental here. I can't tell you how much I miss the exhilaration and experimentalism of the United States after all those months. That is to say that I miss deeply the sense of you as the source of decision.

Anyhow, I have written a book on the Presidency which, maintaining all the proper spirit of what the professors call 'objectivity' will, I hope, make your enemies furiously angry. Few things are more pleasant than to write a book in the guise of a scientific treatise. You may like to know that I found the 'Public Papers' illuminating in grasping the technique of the process at almost every turn.

My warm greetings. It is a comfort to have you there. But I'd like America to have the P.M. for the next six months and put you in No. 10 instead.

Yours always,

Harold J. Laski.

GREAT BARDFIELD 86.

MANOR COTTAGE,
LITTLE BARDFIELD,
BRAintree, ESSEX.

19. 8. 29.

Dear Miss de la Harpe,

I should be grateful if you would pass on
the enclosed to the President.

With warm regards,

Very sincerely yours,

Henry J. Lamb

GREAT BARDFIELD 86.
Covers + Contracted

MANOR COTTAGE.
LITTLE BARDFIELD.
BRAINTREE, ESSEX.

19. vii. 39.

My dear Mr President,

We have been doing a good deal of talking these days in reference to the Far Eastern problem. Particularly, we have emphasized the balance view that any surrender to Japan on the currency question would be inadvisable. We found that he was NOT unyielding - perhaps, and that a large element of his attitude was defined by reason of his unwillingness to stop at the American compromise.

My colleagues on the National Executive have therefore asked me to tell you this, and to express the same hope that you will put all the present proposals on the P.C. to this end. I don't think I need to urge it on you. But it is so important, from our angle, to obtain this incredible government of ours, that I have promised to pass on their view.

The atmosphere is pretty queer. One who looks a patriot who is waiting to know if he is to have an open show, being himself convinced that the decision to open is likely to be fatal even if he comes through. But this will be out with you of the mental dim and here. I can't tell you how much times the other nations and approximations of the United States after all these months. That is to say that I must deeply the sense of you at the source of decision.

Say how, I must mention a word on the Peace treaty which, maintaining all the proper spirit of what the propagators call 'objectivity'.

well, I hope, make your enemies furiously angry. Few things are
more pleasant than to make a head in the opinion of a
scientific lecturer. You may like to know that I found the
'Public Papers' illuminating in grasping the bearings of
the process at almost every turn.

My warm greetings. It is a comfort to have you there.
You'll be like America to have the P.M. for the next six
months and put you in No. 10. Indeed,

Yours always,
Henry J. Locke

any. For return
to 100
to 100

BRAINTREE
6 30 PM
20 AUG
1939
ESSEX



Private & Personal.

Miss H. Le Hand,
The White House
Washington, DC
U. S. A.

DEVON LODGE,
ADDISON BRIDGE PLACE,
W.14.
FULHAM 2444.

Miss Butehorn
Please type
AGLH
20. X. 40.

My dear Gus Le Hard,

Will you give this to him for me? and
please drink his health for me at that
crucial moment when the victory is sure.

With warm regards,

Very sincerely yours,
Harold J. Lasker

DEVON LODGE,
ADDISON BRIDGE PLACE,
W.14.

FULHAM 2444.

20. X. 40.

My dear Mr President,

I hope this is going to arrive just as amended goes to the polls; and I hope it will preclude the kind of victory that makes Hitler and Mussolini as the handwriting on the wall. I know, at any rate, no Englishman who does not feel that your triumph will be our own.

We have had hard days since I wrote to you last; I hope we have learned something from them. I remain heartened by the spectacle of the power of the common man to face danger with calm resolution, and to subordinate his private suffering to the sense that what matters is the public cause. We have been very fortunate, for though bombs have come quently near, and we have shivered in the basement room, we have, so far, only lost windows, and still stand proudly erect. I was still more lucky, for a bus I was in had its front blown out when a time bomb blew off, and I was not even scratched by the flying glass. It is pretty ugly to go through raid after raid. But at least we have beds to sleep in; and my heart goes out to these grand people who sleep in the Tube each night and ask for nothing but that they be asked to do more.

Of the war itself, you know all there is to know. But one comment I want to make to you personally. Winston is a very great commander-in-chief; he has yet, in my view, to prove himself a great Prime Minister. He will only do that when he sees that the condition of a real victory is a New Deal

DEVON LODGE,
ADDISON BRIDGE PLACE,

W.14.

FULHAM 2444.

3

except by himself? I rather guess that he is one of those forcible Americans whose news pour out from physical effort rather than intellectual insight. He mistakes volubility for vigour, and he obviously does not understand that when you know nothing of a subject the wise thing is to say so. On the whole the root old Q.O.P. must feel that Tom Lamont and his friends sold them a pup, and when it is all over, Eugene Meyer will still not know how it all happened. His professional gunmen seem to me, on the whole, to have done the dearest job in the fight that has come my way. The most interesting thing is the people's instinct that they must stick to you - something like that sense during the Civil War about Lincoln that transcended all the superior people's dissipation. I must not forget to add that I knew the result was alright when I read of Walter Hyppmann's dissatisfaction with Wheeler's campaign. That Waldorf-Astoria liberal is a perfect index to the tears of respectable privilege.

One thing here I wish you could see, for it is a lesson to American colleges in the significance of intellectual freedom. I work with ablest the first part of the week, and then teach in Cambridge for two days (the college is evacuated there). I have never known young men and women so intellectually alive, so morally disinterested, or so aware of the values that are at stake. Six months ago they had too much detachment about the war for my liking. Today, they understand that what is in issue is that right as persons to be ends and not means,

The New Deal
is the way out
for the poor. It
will do a world
of good.
L.H.M.

and that they have an individual responsibility to assist in shaping the outcome. I am sure they have this outlook because the clash of views in the lecture-room forces them to make their own choice; and they come to see that the power to make their own choice is, ultimately, the central principle in civilized living. I wish you could make the Harvard Corporation see that.

Well! Please consider that on Nov. 5, I go in spirit to my precinct and cast the vote of all Europeans who care for freedom for the Roosevelt ticket. On November 6th, General Bwors, the most intelligent soldier in the British Army, and Eng-Gen. Gribes (a grand airman of the last war, now in enemy propaganda) are dining together to celebrate your victory. We shall drink your health in champagne and ask you to remember that your victory is our triumph.

My warm affection, as always,

Ever yours,
Hawro. J. Laspi

COPY

DEVON LODGE
ADDISON BRIDGE PLACE
W. 14

20 x. 40

My dear Mr. President:

I hope this is going to arrive just as America goes to the polls; and I hope it will prelude the kind of victory that makes Hitler and Mussolini see the handwriting on the wall. I know, at any rate, no Englishman who does not feel that your triumph will be our own.

We have had hard days since I wrote to you last; I hope we have learned something from them. I remain heartened by the spectacle of the power of the common man to face danger with calm resolution, and to subordinate his private suffering to the sense that what matters is the public cause. We have been very fortunate, for though bombs have come grimly near, and we have shivered in the basement rooms, we have, so far, only lost windows, and still stand proudly erect. I was still more lucky, for a 'bus I was on had its front blown out when a time bomb blew off, and I was not even scratched by the flying glass. It is pretty ugly to go through raid after raid. But at least we have beds to sleep in; and my heart goes out to these grand people who sleep in the tube each night and ask for nothing but that they be asked to do more.

Of the war itself, you know all there is to know. But one comment I want to make to you personally. Winston is a very great commander-in-chief; he has yet, in my view, to prove himself a great Prime Minister. He will only do that when he sees that the condition of a real victory is a New Deal for Britain, and that he must begin the New Deal now as part of the actual strategy of the war. It isn't a matter of socialism or capitalism. Its a matter of making him see that a better standard of life for the underprivileged is the way to enduring peace; that he has got to make the victims of Nazism realize that he knows this; that the way to this realization lies through action in Britain now of which they can be made to hear. He is so preoccupied with other sides that this side he does not see in its right perspective; and among his colleagues there is no one with the authority or influence to make him see it. I want you terribly badly to do that because you are the only person in the world who can do it. If he tells the homeless docker and the evacuated mother who is pining to go home to her man that the New Deal begins for

responsibility
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two could

them and their children even while our national existence is at stake, he not only communicates to them an unbreakable resolution but, also, he serves notice on the people in Europe that the world we envisage is better than any they can offer and is being made even while the bombs fall. That England and F. D. R's America in conjunction can take over the leadership of the masses throughout the world. There is the best revolution by consent in world-history in this approach. Please use your authority to make him start. He has the imagination and the courage; what he needs is the understanding.

I have watched the campaign day by day. Willkie is a superb example of Dr. Johnson's "No man was ever written (?) down except by himself"; I rather guess that he is one of those forcible Americans whose views pour out from physical effort rather than intellectual insight. He mistakes volubility for vigour, and he obviously does not understand that when you know nothing of a subject the wise thing is to say so. On the whole the poor old GOP must feel that Tom Lamont and his friends sold them a pup. And when it is all over, Eugene Meyer will still not know how it all happened. His professional gunmen seem to me, on the whole, to have done the dirtiest job in the fight that has come my way. The most interesting thing is the people's instinct that they must stick to you -- something like that sense during the Civil War about Lincoln that transcended all the superior people's dissatisfaction. I must not forget to add that I knew the result was alright when I read of Walter Lippmann's dissatisfaction with Willkie's campaign. That Waldorf-Astoria liberal is a perfect index to the fears of respectable privilege.

One thing more I wish you could see, for it is a lesson to American colleges in the significance of intellectual freedom. I work with Attlee the first part of the week and then teach in Cambridge for two days (the college is evacuated there). I have never known young men and women so intellectually alive, so morally disinterested, or so aware of the values that are at stake. Six months ago they had too much detachment about the war for my liking. Today, they understand that what is in issue is their right as persons to be ends and not means, and that they have an individual responsibility to assist in shaping the outcome. I am sure they have this outlook because the clash of views in the lecture-room forces them to make their own choice; and they come to see that the power to make their own choice is, ultimately, the central principle in civilized living. I wish you could make the Howard (?) corporation see that.

Well! Please consider that on Nov. 6, I go in spirit to my precinct and cast the vote of all Europeans who care for freedom for the Roosevelt ticket. On November 6th, General Brooks, the most intelligent soldier in the British Army, and Brig. Gen. Groves (a grand airman of the last war, now in enemy propaganda) are dinging together to celebrate your victory. We shall drink your health in champagne and ask you to remember that your victory is our triumph.

My warm affection, as always.

Ever yours,

Harold J. Laski.

Gen Corcoran "L"
3-45

PERSONAL

file →

January 16, 1945.

Dear Harold:-

I have not had a chance to thank you for your nice letter of December fifth. I had hoped to see you this winter in England but I fear this must be postponed until later on.

I will have the consolation at least of knowing that a little later in the year that charming climate of yours will be more bearable to me -- more heat, more daylight, and I hope more vegetables. I have a standing order against Brussels sprouts!

I hoped you liked that unconscionably long Annual Message of mine to the Congress. Our goal is, as you say, identical for the long range objectives but there are so many new problems arising that I still must remember that the war is yet to be won.

I am inclined to think that at the meeting with Marshal Stalin and the Prime Minister I can put things on a somewhat higher level than they have been for the past two or three months.

With all good wishes and I do hope to see you soon.

Always sincerely,

Professor Harold J. Laski,
Devon Lodge,
Addison Bridge Place,
W. 14.

(London, England)

COPY

DEVON LODGE
ADDISON BRIDGE PLACE
W. 14
Fulham 2444

5 December '44.

My dear Mr. President,

The election result means one more link in the great chain which stretches by El Alamein through Stalingrad and the Normandy Beaches to final victory. I wish I had the words to tell you how glad we were and how proud -- For if you see on a different road from mine, and if, sometimes, I do not easily understand your decisions, believe me I have never doubted that we march to the same great goal. It is marvelous to think that it may give the common peoples of the Old World and the New the chance of a freer life.

But it isn't more than a chance. That is why, with all my heart, I beg you to make this term the Lincoln-term of your four terms, in which the spirit of the Gettysburg speech comes to be a living thing, and the Four Freedoms are not great sections in a great speech but hopes fulfilled in the lives of more people everywhere. To me, who have just seen the P.M. begin to change from a great national symbol back into the Tory leader, it would be unbearable if, after all these years of pain and suffering and death, you did not wish that the immense power of the United States be used to lay the foundations of peace and ordered living. But I know you want to fight for this end not less than I, and that you see through the men like Jesse Jones and Bob Murphy and Bill Bullitt; that you see the real America, the great America, in making the world hope for Emerson's "Man the Reformer."

We who care deeply for you want to see this term a memorable epoch in the history of mankind. May you have the strength and the friends to end as greatly as those first magic days when you entered the White House.

With my deep affection,

Yours always,

HAROLD J. LASKI

Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt.

DEVON LODGE,
ADDISON BRIDGE PLACE,
W.14.

PULHAM 2444.

5. XII. 46.

My dear Mr President,

The election result means one more link in the great chain which stretches by Elbe across the North Sea to the Atlantic and the Normandy Beaches to final victory. I wish I had the words to tell you how glad we were and how proud. For if you are on a different road from mine, and if, sometimes, I do not easily understand your decisions, believe me I have never doubted that we march to the same great goal - It is marvellous to think that it may give the common peoples of the Old World and the New the chance of a full life -

But it is not more than a chance - That is why, with all my heart, I beg you to make this term the Lincoln - term of your four terms, in which the spirit of the Gettysburg speech comes to be a living thing, and the Four Freedoms are not great notions in a great speech but hopes fulfilled in the lives of little people everywhere - To me, who have just seen the P.M. begin to change from a great national symbol back into the Tory leader, it would be unbearable if, after all these years of pain and suffering and death, you did not insist that the imminent power of the United States be used to help

THE FOUNDATIONS OF PEACE AND UNDECEITED TRUTH -
BUT I KNOW YOU WANT TO FIGHT FOR THIS END
NOT THE OTHER, AND THAT YOU SEE THROUGH
THE MEN LIKE WALKER BURNETT AND BOB MURPHY
AND BILL BULLITT; THAT YOU SEE THE REAL
AMERICA, THE GREAT AMERICA, IN MAKING
THE WORLD LOOK FOR EMERSON'S MAN THE
REFORMER. HE WHO CAN DEEPLY SEE YOU
WANT TO SEE THIS BE A MEMORABLE EPOCH
IN THE HISTORY OF MANKIND. MAY YOU
HAVE THE STRENGTH AND THE FRIENDS TO END
AS GREATLY AS THOSE FIRST MUSIC DAYS
WHEN YOU ENTERED THE WHITE HOUSE.

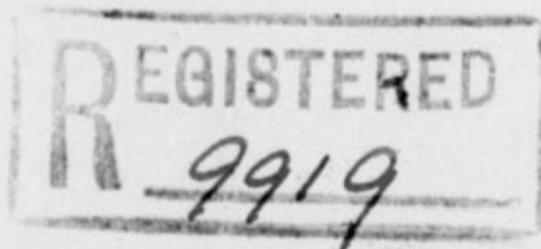
With my deep affection,

Yours always

Harold J. Lasker

Wm. Franklin D. Roosevelt.

John S. W. ...



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Private & Confidential - Personal

The Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt

The White House

Washington D. C.

W-S-A-