Foreign Relations

We desire peace, the peace of justice and right, and believe in maintaining a strict and honest neutrality between the belligerents in the great war in Europe. We must perform all our duties and insist upon all our rights as neutrals without fear and without favor. We believe that peace and neutrality, as well as the dignity and influence of the United States, can not be preserved by shifty expedients, by phrasemaking, by performances in language, or by attitudes ever changing in an effort to secure groups of voters. The present administration has destroyed our influence abroad and humiliated us in our own eyes. The Republican Party believes that a firm, consistent, and courageous foreign policy, always maintained by Republican Presidents in accordance with American traditions, is the best, as it is the only true way, to preserve our peace and restore us to our rightful place among the nations. We believe in the peaceful settlement of international disputes, and favor the establishment of a world court for that purpose.

Tariff.

The Republican Party stands now, as always, in the fullest sense for the policy of tariff protection to American industries and American labor and does not regard an anti-dumping provision as an adequate substitute.

Such protection should be reasonable in amount but sufficient to protect adequately American industries and American labor and so adjusted as to prevent undue exactions by monopolies or trusts. It should, moreover, give special attention to securing the industrial independence of the United States as in the case of dyestuffs.

Through wise tariff and industrial legislation our industries can be so organized that they will become not only a commercial bulwark but a powerful aid to national defense.

The Underwood tariff act is a complete failure in every respect. Under its administration imports have enormously increased in spite of the fact that intercourse with foreign countries has been largely cut off by reason of the war, while the revenues of which we stand in such dire need have been greatly reduced.

Under the normal conditions which prevailed prior to the war it was clearly demonstrated that this act deprived the American producer and the American wage earner of that protection which enabled them to meet their foreign competitors, and but for the adventitious conditions created by the war, would long since have paralyzed all forms of American industry and deprived American labor of its just reward.

It has not in the least degree reduced the cost of living, which has constantly advanced from the date of its enactment. The welfare of our people demands its repeal and the substitution of a measure which in peace as well as in war will produce ample revenue and give reasonable protection to all forms of American production in mine, forest, field and factory.

We favor the creation of a tariff commission with complete power to gather and compile information for the use of Congress in all matters relating to the tariff.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM, 1920.

Foreign Relations.

The foreign policy of the administration has been founded upon no principle and directed by no definite conception of our Nation's rights and obligations. It has been humiliating to America and irritating to other nations, with the result that after a period of unexampled sacrifice our motives are suspected, our moral influence impaired, and our Government stands discredited and friendless among the nations of the world.

We favor a liberal and generous foreign policy founded upon definite moral and
political principles, characterized by a clear understanding of and a firm adherence to our own rights, and unfailing respect for the rights of others. We should afford full and adequate protection to the life, liberty, property, and all international rights of every American citizen, and should require a proper respect for the American flag; but we should be equally careful to manifest a just regard for the rights of other nations. A scrupulous observance of our international engagements when lawfully assumed is essential to our own honor and self-respect and the respect of other nations. Subject to a due regard for our international obligations, we should leave our country free to develop its civilization along lines most conducive to the happiness and welfare of its people, and to cast its influence on the side of justice and right should occasion require.

League of Nations.

The Republican Party stands for agreement among the nations to preserve the peace of the world. We believe that such an international association must be based upon international justice, and must provide methods which shall maintain the rule of public right by the development of law and the decision of impartial courts, and which shall secure instant and general international conference whenever peace shall be threatened by political action, so that the nations pledged to do and insist upon what is just and fair may exercise their influence and power for the prevention of war.

We believe that all this can be done without the compromise of national independence without depriving the people of the United States in advance of the right to determine for themselves what is just and fair, when the occasion arises, and without involving them as participants and not as peacemakers in a multitude of quarrels the merits of which they are unable to judge.

The covenant signed by the President at Paris failed signal.ly to accomplish this great purpose, and contained stipulations not only intolerable for an independent people but certain to produce the injustice, hostility, and controversy among nations which it proposed to prevent.

That covenant repudiated to a degree wholly unnecessary and unjustifiable the time-honored policies in favor of peace declared by Washington, Jefferson, and Monroe, and pursued by all American administrations for more than a century, and it ignored the universal sentiment of America for generations past in favor of international law and arbitration, and it rested the hope of the future upon more expediency and negotiation.

The unfortunate insistence of the President upon having his own way without any change and without any regard to the opinions of a majority of the Senate, which shares with him the treaty-making power and the President's demand that the treaty should be ratified without any modification, created a situation in which Senators were required to vote upon their consciences and their oaths according to their judgment against the treaty as it was presented or submit to the commands of a dictator in a matter where the authority and the responsibility under the Constitution were theirs and not his.

The Senators performed their duty faithfully. We approve their conduct and honor their courage and fidelity, and we pledge the coming Republican administration to such agreements with the other nations of the world as shall meet the full duty of American to civilization and humanity in accordance with American ideals and without surrendering the right of the American people to exercise its judgment and its power in favor of justice and peace.

International Trade and Tariff.

The uncertain and unsettled condition of international balances, the abnormal economic and trade situation of the world, and the impossibility of forecasting accurately even the near future, preclude the formulation of a definite program to meet conditions a year hence. But the Republican Party reaffirms its belief in the protective principle and pledges itself to a revision of the tariff as soon as conditions shall make it necessary for the preservation of the home market for American labor, agriculture, and industry.
FOREIGN RELATIONS

The Republican Party reaffirms its stand for agreement among the nations to prevent war and preserve peace. As an immediate step in this direction we endorse the Permanent Court of International Justice and favor the adherence of the United States to this tribunal as recommended by President Coolidge. This Government has definitely refused membership in the League of Nations and to assume any obligations under the covenant of the league. On this we stand.

While we are unwilling to enter into political commitments which would involve us in the conflict of European policies, it should be the purpose and high privilege of the United States to continue to cooperate with other nations in humanitarian efforts in accordance with our cherished traditions. The basic principles of our foreign policy must be independence without indifference to the rights and necessities of others and cooperation without entangling alliances. This policy overwhelmingly approved by the people has been vindicated since the end of the Great War. America's participation in world affairs under the administration of President Harding and President Coolidge has demonstrated the wisdom and prudence of the national judgment. A most impressive example of the capacity of the United States to serve the cause of world peace without political affiliations was shown in the effective and beneficent work of the Dawes Commission toward the solution of the perplexing question of German reparations.

The first conference of great powers in Washington, called by President Harding, accomplished the limitation of armament and the readjustment of the relations of the powers interested in the Far East. The conference resulted in an agreement to reduce armaments, relieve the nations involved from the great burdens of taxation arising from the competitive construction and manufacture of capital battleships; assured a new, broader, and better understanding in the Far East; brought the promise of peace in the region of the Pacific; and formally adopted the policy of the open door for trade and commerce in the great markets of the Far East.

This historic conference paved the way to avert the danger of renewed hostilities in Europe and to restore the necessary economic stability. While the military forces of America have been reduced to a peace footing, there has been an increase in the land and air forces abroad which constitutes a continual menace to the peace of the world and a bar to the return of prosperity.

We firmly advocate the calling of a conference on the limitation of land forces, the use of submarines and poison gas, as proposed by President Coolidge, when by the adoption of a permanent reparations plan the conditions in Europe will make negotiations and cooperation opportune and possible.

By treaties of peace safeguarding our rights and without derogating those of our former associates in arms, the Republican administration ended the war between this country and Germany and Austria. We have concluded and signed with other nations during the past three years more than 50 treaties and international agreements in the furtherance of peace and good will.

New sanctions and new proofs of permanent accord have marked our relations with all Latin America. The long-standing controversy between Chile and Peru has been advanced toward settlement by its submission to the President of the United States as arbitrator; and with the helpful cooperation of this country a treaty has been signed by the representatives of 16 American republics which will stabilize conditions on the American Continent and minimize the opportunities for war.

Our difficulties with Mexico have happily yielded to a most friendly adjustment. Mutual confidence has been restored, and a pathway for that friendliness and helpfulness which should exist between this Government and the Government of our neighboring Republic has been marked. Agreements have been entered into for the determination by judicial commissions of the claims of the citizens of each country against the respective governments. We can confidently look forward to more permanent and more stable relations with this Republic that joins for so many miles our southern border.

The wisdom of our policy, now well defined, of giving practical aid to other peoples without assuming political obligations has been conspicuously demonstrated. The ready and
generous response of American to the needs of the suddenly stricken people of Japan and the starving in Russia gave evidence of our helpful interest in the welfare of the distressed in other lands.

The work of our representatives in dealing with subjects of such universal concern as the traffic in women and children, the production and distribution of narcotic drugs, the sale of arms, and with matters affecting public health and morals, demonstrates that we can effectively do our part for humanity and civilization without forfeiting, limiting, or restricting our national freedom of action.

The American people do cherish their independence, but their sense of duty to all mankind will ever prompt them to give their support, service, and leadership to every cause which makes for peace and amity among the nations of the world.

We favor the holding from time to time of international conferences for the advancement and codification of international law.

Foreign Debts.

In fulfillment of our pledge in the national platform of 1920 we have steadfastly refused to consider the cancellation of foreign debts. Our attitude has not been that of an oppressive creditor seeking immediate return and ignoring existing financial conditions. Our position has been based on the conviction that a moral obligation such as was incurred should not be disregarded.

We stand for settlements with all debtor countries similar in character with our debt agreement with Great Britain. That settlement achieved under a Republican administration was the greatest international financial transaction in the history of the world. Under the terms of the agreement the United States now receives an annual return upon the $4,800,000,000 owing to us by Great Britain with a definite obligation of ultimate payment in full.

The justness of the basis employed has been formally recognized by other debtor nations. Thirty-five per cent of the total foreign debt is now in progress of liquidation.

Great nations cannot recognize or admit the principle of repudiation. To do so would undermine the integrity essential for international trade, commerce, and credit.

The Tariff.

We reaffirm our belief in the protective tariff to extend needed protection to our productive industries. We believe in protection as a national policy with equal regard to all sections and to agriculture and industry. It is only by adherence to this policy that the interests of the consumers can be safeguarded and American agriculture, American labor, and American manufacturers be assured a return sufficient to perpetuate American standard of life.

A protective tariff is designed to support the high American economic level of life for the average family and to prevent a lowering to the levels of economic life prevailing in other lands. It is the history of the Nation that the protective system has ever justified itself by promoting industrial activity and employment, enormously increasing our purchasing power, restoring confidence, and bringing increased prosperity to all.

The tariff protection to our industry works for increased consumption of domestic agricultural products by an employed population instead of one unable to purchase the necessities of life. Without the strict maintenance of the tariff principle our farmers will need always to compete with cheap lands and cheap labor abroad, and with lower stands of living.

The enormous value of the protective principle has once more been demonstrated by the effects of the emergency tariff act of 1921 and the tariff act of 1922.

We believe that the power of the President to decrease or increase any rate of duty...
REPUBLICAN PLATFORM, 1924.

The Tariff—Continued.

in the tariff act furnishes a safeguard against excessive duties and against too low custom charges, and affords ample opportunity for tariff duties to be adjusted after a hearing that they may cover the actual differences in the cost of production in the United States and the principal competing countries of the world.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM, 1928.

Tariff.

We reaffirm our belief in the protective tariff as a fundamental and essential principle of the economic life of this Nation. While certain provisions of the present law require revision in the light of changes in the world competitive situation since its enactment, the record of the United States since 1922 clearly shows that the fundamental protective principle of the law has been fully justified. It has stimulated the development of our natural resources, provided fuller employment at higher wages through the promotion of industrial activity, assured thereby the continuance of the farmer's major market, and further raised the standards of living and general comfort and well-being of our people. The great expansion in the wealth of our Nation during the past 50 years, and particularly in the past decade, could not have been accomplished without a protective tariff system designed to promote the vital interests of all classes.

Nor have these manifest benefits been restricted to any particular section of the country. They are enjoyed throughout the land either directly or indirectly. Their stimulus has been felt in industries, farming sections, trade circles, and communities in every quarter. However, we realize that there are certain industries which can not now successfully compete with foreign producers because of lower foreign wages and a lower cost of living abroad, and we pledge the next Republican Congress to an examination and where necessary a revision of these schedules to the end that American labor in these industries may again command the home market, may maintain its standard of living, and may count upon steady employment in its accustomed field.

Adherence to that policy is essential for the continued prosperity of the country. Under it the standard of living of the American people has been raised to the highest levels ever known. Its example has been eagerly followed by the rest of the world whose experts have repeatedly reported with approval the relationship of this policy to our prosperity, with the resultant emulation of that example by other nations.

A protective tariff is as vital to American agriculture as it is to American manufacturing. The Republican Party believes that the home market, built up under the protective policy, belongs to the American farmer, and it pledges its support of legislation which will give this market to him to the full extent of his ability to supply it. Agriculture derives large benefits not only directly from the protective duties levied on competitive farm products of foreign origin but also, indirectly, from the increase in the purchasing power of the American workmen employed in industries similarly protected. These benefits extend also to persons engaged in trade, transportation, and other activities.

The tariff act of 1922 has justified itself in the expansion of our foreign trade during the past five years. Our domestic exports have increased from 3.8 billions of dollars in 1922 to 4.8 billions in 1927. During the same period imports have increased from 3.1 billions to 4.4 billions. Contrary to the prophecies of its critics, the present tariff law has not hampered the natural growth in the exportation of the products of American agriculture, industry, and mining, nor has it restricted the importation of foreign commodities which this country can utilize without jeopardizing its economic structure.

The United States is the largest customer in the world to-day. If we were not prosperous and able to buy, the rest of the world also would suffer. It is inconceivable that American labor will ever consent to the abolition of protection, which would bring
Tariff-Continued

the American standard of living down to the level of that in Europe, or that the American farmer could survive if the enormous consuming power of the people in this country were curtailed and its market at home, if not destroyed, at least seriously impaired.

Foreign Policies

We approve the foreign policies of the administration of President Coolidge. We believe they express the will of the American people in working actively to build up cordial international understanding that will make world peace a permanent reality. We endorse the proposal of the Secretary of State for a multilateral treaty proposed to the principal powers of the world, and open to the signatures of all nations, to renounce war as a weapon of national policy and declaring in favor of pacific settlement of international disputes, the first step in outlawing war. The idea has stirred the conscience of mankind and gained widespread approval both of governments and of the people, and the conclusion of the treaty will be acclaimed as the greatest single step in history toward the conservation of peace.

In the same endeavor to substitute for war the peaceful settlement of international disputes the administration has concluded arbitration treaties in a form more definite and more inclusive than ever before, and plans to negotiate similar treaties with all countries willing in this manner to define their policy peacefully to settle justiciable disputes. In connection with these, we endorse the resolution of the Sixth Pan American Conference, held at Havana, Cuba, in 1928, which called a conference on arbitration and conciliation to meet in Washington during the year, and express our earnest hope that such conference will greatly further the principles of international arbitration. We shall continue to demand the same respect and protection for the persons and property of American citizens in foreign countries that we cheerfully accord in this country to the persons and property of aliens.

The commercial treaties which we have negotiated and those still in the process of negotiation are based on strict justice among nations, equal opportunity for trade and commerce on the most-favored-nation principle, and are simplified so as to eliminate the danger of misunderstanding. The object and the aim of the United States is to further the cause of peace, of strict justice between nations, with due regard for the rights of others in all international dealings. Out of justice grows peace. Justice and consideration have been and will continue to be the inspiration of our Nation.

The record of the administration toward Mexico has been consistently friendly and with equal consistency have we upheld American rights. This firm and at the same time friendly policy has brought recognition of the inviolability of legally acquired rights. This condition has been reached without threat or without bluster, through a calm support of the recognized principles of international law, with due regard to the rights of a sister sovereign State. The Republican party will continue to support American rights in Mexico as elsewhere in the world, and at the same time to promote and strengthen friendship and confidence.

There has always been, as there always will be, a firm friendship with Canada. American and Canadian interests are in a large measure identical. Our relationship is one of fine mutual understanding, and the recent exchange of diplomatic officers between the two countries is worthy of commendation.

The United States has an especial interest in the advancement and progress of all the Latin-American countries. The policy of the Republican Party will always be a policy of thorough friendship and cooperation. In the case of Nicaragua, we are engaged in cooperation with the Government of that country upon the task of assisting to restore and maintain peace, order, and stability, and in no way to infringe upon her sovereign rights. The marines now in Nicaragua are there to protect American lives and property and to aid in carrying out an agreement whereby we have undertaken to do what we can to restore and maintain order and to
Foreign Policies (Continued).

insure a fair and free election. Our policy absolutely repudiates any idea of conquest or exploitation and is actuated solely by an earnest and sincere desire to assist a friendly and neighboring State which has appealed for aid in a great emergency. It is the same policy the United States has pursued in other cases in Central America.

The administration has looked with keen sympathy on the tragic events in China. We have avoided interference in the internal affairs of that unhappy nation, merely keeping sufficient naval and military forces in China to protect the lives of the Americans who are there on legitimate business and in still larger numbers for nobly humanitarian reasons. America has not been stampeded into making reprisals but, on the other hand, has consistently taken the position of leadership among the nations in a policy of wise moderation. We shall always be glad to be of assistance to China when our duty is clear.

The Republican Party maintains the traditional American policy of noninterference in the political affairs of other nations. This Government has definitely refused membership in the League of Nations and to assume any obligations under the covenant of the league.

On this we stand.

In accordance, however, with the long-established American practice of giving aid and assistance to other peoples, we have most usefully assisted by cooperation in the humanitarian and technical work undertaken by the league, without involving ourselves in European politics by accepting membership.

The Republican Party has always given and will continue to give its support to the development of American foreign trade, which makes for domestic prosperity. During this administration extraordinary strides have been made in opening up new markets for American produce and manufacture. Through these foreign contacts a mutually better international understanding has been reached which aids in the maintenance of world peace.

The Republican Party promises a firm and consistent support of American persons and legitimate American interests in all parts of the world. This support will never contravene the rights of other nations. It will always have in mind and support in every way the progressive development of international law, since it is through the operations of just laws, as well as through the growth of friendly understanding, that world peace will be made permanent. To that end the Republican Party pledges itself to aid and assist in the perfection of principles of international law and the settlement of international disputes.

Foreign Debts.

In accordance with our settled policy and platform pledges, debt settlement agreements have been negotiated with all of our foreign debtors with the exception of Armenia and Russia. That with France remains as yet unratified. Those with Greece and Austria are before the Congress for necessary authority. If the French debt settlement be included, the total amount funded is $11,522,384,000. We have steadfastly opposed and will continue to oppose cancellation of foreign debts.

We have no desire to be oppressive or grasping, but we hold that obligations justly incurred should be honorably discharged. We know of no authority which would permit public officials, acting as trustees, to shift the burden of the war from the shoulders of foreign taxpayers to those of our own people. We believe that the settlements agreed to are fair to both the debtor nation and to the American taxpayer. Our debt commission took into full consideration the economic condition and resources of the debtor nations, and were ever mindful that they must be permitted to preserve and improve their economic position, to bring their budgets into balance, to place their currencies and finances on a sound
basis, and to improve the standard of living of their people. Giving full weight to these considerations, we know of no fairer test than ability to pay, justly estimated.

The people can rely on the Republican Party to adhere to a foreign-debt policy now definitely established and clearly understood both at home and abroad.
THE CONTROL OF MECHANIZATION — ADDRESS BY CHARLES M. EDEE
THE PENNSYLVANIA SOCIETY DINNER DECEMBER 19TH, 1931.

Next week will just complete the 30 years since I entered one of Mr. Schuab’s Pennsylvania steel mills as a laborer. I worked three happy years for Mr. Schuab, and he paid me nearly $1.25 a day for 11 hours work. I admit, it is now a little late, but I do hereby publicly protest that this wage was inadequate and insufficient to support a proper standard of living. If one begins badly and ends badly, and today I find that the accepted standard wage of all economists is even less than the $1.25 a day of 30 years ago! There is a good reason for this:

We can sometimes give accurate answers to difficult problems, but not know what to do with the answers.

As an example: In March, 1914, a Mr. Krakowsky came to see me. He said: “I have just come from Russia through Berlin. The Deutsche Bank have agreed to accept 200,000 rubles on deposit and give me 6% interest for 20 years.” (2% higher than the current rate)

As this seemed impossible, I gave him the correct answer, and thought I was very clever: “Mr. Krakowsky, I am very sorry but you will never get any interest on your principal.” I did not realize, or even consider, that here, given to me in New York, was the definite information that Germany was mobilizing her finances—as important as the mobilization of her army. Such information, vouched for and published in New York, London and Paris, might have changed all those catastrophes that followed.

Tonight, I am going to state the greatest problem of today, and give you, for your judgment, the theoretical answer. Perhaps some of you can see more clearly than I, what to do, and how to do it.

The problem is this: “Why are so many millions in want with so much wealth in goods at hand? Why must men rely upon charity, or the State, for help?”

I am sure you will answer that a great world depression has caused this thing, and when prosperity returns it will cease to be. But employment and prosperity are so closely interwoven that any great fundamental change in employment can either cause such depression, or bring prosperity. It therefore becomes enormously important to examine any great change that has occurred in the employment of man.

To trace this problem to its source, we must remember that the first half of the 19th Century was the era of the “Technique of Scientific Research”; the second half of the 19th Century was the application of scientific research, and became the “Era of Invention”; the last 30 years have been the application of these inventions— the “Era of Mechanization.”

New mechanization, the logical result of a hundred years of effort, is the transfer of the power to “create value” from man to the machine. It is the involuntary transfer of man’s greatest asset, and must, therefore, be followed by results and consequences of the most momentous proportions.

This transfer, and consequent multiplication of power to “create value,” can perform miracles. By its means, in a single lifetime, vast lands can be developed; the standard of living can be enormously raised; luxuries can be made universal; manual labor can be so reduced that there is time for leisure for everybody. The efficiency of a nation is so increased that its fighting strength can reach a maximum in an incredibly short time and be maintained at that strength for a longer time.

The United States has enjoyed all the great gifts that mechanization can bring. In a country undergoing development, mechanization confers these gifts as an almost unwarmed blessing. But as a great country becomes developed, its need for imperative and productive improvements becomes gradually smaller; non-productive improvements take the place of the essential improvements—luxuries, non-permanent and easily destroyed, are added to the non-productive and permanent luxuries. So more and more new outlets of consumption must be found. New luxuries must be invented, made and distributed; even if they are wasteful— even if the placing of them incurs great domestic debts— even if the placing of them necessitates great foreign loans and brings danger to the country.

To illustrate what I mean, seven billion dollars worth of automobiles have been sold to American farmers in 15 years. But is this true consumption? For during this period the mortgages on these farms have increased more than six billion dollars, and it would seem that these automobiles have not been paid for from income, but have incurred great debt.
It is conceivable that if mechanisation makes luxuries too attractive and too cheap, they must compete with the most desirable of all luxuries—children. We all know that the birth-rate in the United States has fallen from 25.0 per thousand in 1915, to 19.0 per thousand in 1930—a decrease of 25% in 15 years. But the correlation between automobiles in use and the birth-rate is extraordinarily close, and it would be true to say that the sale of each new automobile, since 1915, has coincided with, and has almost surely been partly responsible for the non-appearance of a baby to another citizen of the United States. I have given you these two illustrations to explain how momentous the consequences are that follow mechanisation, the multiplication of the power to create value.

At a certain inevitable point of development of mechanisation, if the consumption of the mechanisation products of the machine, and the work of men together, cannot be fully maintained, the machine ceases to be the servant of man, and becomes the competitor of man's own right to work. At the exact all-important point where man begins to lose his demand and value, is where the machine, until that time a blessing, becomes the monster of a "Frankenstein." Up to this point, both capital and labor receive increasing returns. At this point they reach a maximum, but beyond this point, their returns are doomed to decrease and ultimately to vanish.

Here, the "March of Progress" stops, and the light of universal welfare grows less bright.

The underlying right of every citizen, willing and able to work, would seem to be the right to defend his own value—for this value is the practical measure of his freedom. Happily, the patience of all men is one of the most important facts of history. Happily, too, this right, aim and desire of the worker to retain his value and his demand, seem to be exactly identical with the aim and desire of the leaders and employers of labor. The direct aim of the latter is somewhat different; it is for maximum consumption, for maximum prosperity; but these can only be achieved when the true value of all men is at the highest, and all men are employed. In no other way can permanent prosperity be achieved and maintained.

It is hard to believe, but it would seem that this condition of prosperity requires no great sacrifices, perhaps no sacrifices at all, but a very great change indeed in economic thought.

The change is this. That true prosperity is not proportional to production, but is proportional to the demand for and value of man. This, and this alone, is the measure of prosperity—or true consumption, and can be realised by restoring to men that small variable fraction of his power to create value necessary for his complete employment. If we are prepared to accept a great change in this economic thought, then we will ask the questions again—"Why are so many millions in want with so much wealth in goods at hand? Why must men rely upon charity or the State for help?"

Perhaps it is because mechanisation, the giver of the greatest gifts, has reached that point where it has reduced the total demand for man and changed his value, and the machine—which should be the "servant"—has become the "master" of man, and usurped his rights.

This answer is so big, and so near to us, that it is out of focus, and probably it is only possible to fully understand, and see the cure, by comparison with its very humble, but nearest parallel.

It is simple to see that 31,000,000 automobiles, tractors and trucks have changed the value of, and the demand for, horses.

Much to their surprise for 20 years after the introduction of the automobile, the value of and demand for horses was not reduced, and their number in the United States rose until 1919. At this point, motor vehicles became so numerous, and so efficient, that they usurped the horses' right to work. Since 1919 the actual number existing in this country has been reduced about 4%. It is easy to see that if the demand, value and life of the horse had been of paramount importance, equal in importance to that of man, it would have been comparatively simple to retain his use and artificially sustain his value by the taxation of motor vehicles up to the point where it was cheaper to use a horse untaxed, rather than a motor vehicle heavily taxed. Such determined taxation could definitely increase the relative value of a horse compared to a motor vehicle, to any desired extent, even today.
Please do not think it cynical and cruel if I ask you to examine the analogy further, but only by doing so can we see that raising the rental price of a horse would not have helped him; it would have imperilled his remaining demand. Shortening the working hours of a horse would also economically only make matters worse. It might rest the horse, when he did not want to be rested, but would further lower his competitive value against the motor vehicle. Theoretically, it is the working hours of the motor vehicle which should be shortened. We can see that an unemployment insurance, or a dole, for horses would not help the horse permanently. It would only be giving him back, in the form of State help, or charity, a fraction of what had been taken from him—his right to "create value". It would not change one iota the cause of his distress. We can even see that if the power of reasoning intelligence had been given to the horse, that about in 1921, two years after the critical point of time for horses had been reached—the oldest, and therefore, the worst horses, would have only realized that the transfer to the machine of their right to "create value" by transportation had reduced their demand and value forever. No "sulky" on the horse would have deceived them.

We can readily see what mechanisation of transport has already done to the horse; we can see, quite clearly, what steps would have to be taken to preserve his value—but we refuse to admit, or to calculate, what mechanisation of industry and farming has done, is doing and will do to man. This change most vitally affects the future of the United States, and must be calculated by the best minds in this country, beyond the chance of error.

The answer, to a fair degree of accuracy, is beyond question, and is as follows: The total number of workers and their families in the three greatest mechanised industries: farming, manufacturing and railways, in 1919, comprised 65% of the total population of the United States. In 1929, at the peak of prosperity, this percentage had already fallen from 65% to 45%. It has now fallen further, due to the depression, to probably 36%, although the value of production in 1921 still exceeds 1929.

The percentage of the population employed in the non-productive, unmechanised industries has remained almost constant for 30 years, with perhaps a slight increase accounted for by the increased number of women workers, but it seems impossible, under normal conditions, for those industries to absorb more than a very small fraction of the permanent and increasing surplus from the productive industries.

The first existence of this large new surplus fraction of workers occurred in a time of great apparent prosperity, and therefore, was hardly realized up to 1927, and was not felt with its full force until 1929. It has been born largely, up to now, by the State and Municipal Governments, whose expenditures and debts since 1919 have risen so enormously.

As an example—in 1900 the expenditures in New York State for public schools were $17,000,000 and in 1929 they were $376,000,000—an increase of 2200%. The number of pupils increased only 100%. The value of all farm property increased only 33%.

This, then, up to now, has been the unconscious and irresistible answer to the people: "Let us incur great public debts that the surplus of workers displaced by mechanisation can be re-employed, directly or indirectly, by the State." Great apparent prosperity was maintained, but only by mortgaging the future.

Unhappily, in times of financial stress it then becomes impossible to use this great reserve for labor, for it has already been used to its maximum. Some other answer, safer and more permanent, than the flotation of great new debts, must be provided to compensate for the change in the demand for man.

It has been generally believed that mechanisation, while possibly reducing the demand for labor, has at the same time, increased its value correspondingly. Unfortunately, the prices of wages are not a good criterion of the true value of man. The true value of a worker depends upon a much broader base than the price of wages; his value depends upon the value of the land itself; upon the value of a worker who owns the land and machinery, and derives a profit from them, or upon one who rents them and receives as wages a proportion of the products of his labor. For as far back as records go, the basis value, and obtainable wage of a man has been half the produce from the land he rents and can work.

The old law still holds true. In 1907 it gave, theoretically, a daily wage for farm labor of $2.45, against actual wages paid of $2.42. The same law makes the value of the man, and the value of the land he can till equal, so that land and labor are one and the same, and vary in value together.

But mechanisation of farming has strikingly destroyed the value of average farm acreage. In 1921, a panic year, the United States Bureau of Agriculture represented its average value by an index number of 157, and it has steadily declined each year, to 116 in 1929—although commodities during this time remained practically unchanged. Allowing for the change in
the number of workers, the value of man, under this law, has steadily declined from
157 to 126 between the years 1921 and 1929.

If, as seems almost certain, the demand for and value of man has greatly declined in
the last 12 years, then we must return to the Parable of the Horse. We saw that the
demand for and value of the horse could have been saved by taxing the motor vehicle.
In the same way, the relative demand and value of man, to that of the machine, can
theoretically, be increased to any desired extent, by taxation upon the machine to the
point where man again becomes fully employed. This can be accomplished, not by an
increase of taxation, but by transferring the burden of taxes, from land, which is
labor, upon the machine and its use. Only so can man regain his right and power to
"create value", in all these operations where he competes most closely against the
machine. This is not de-mechanisation, but is controlled mechanisation—to its most
profitable point—strangely enough for capital and labor.

Changing from known theory to unknown practise, it would seem possible that each munici-
pality might be given the power to tax all machinery, from a carpet sweeper, an ice
box, and an oil burner, to the telephone system and the power station, from the
cigarette machine to the steel mill, at a definite rate upon their value, and reduce by
an equal amount the tax collected upon land, and therefore, upon labor. The relative
value of the man and the machine can so be changed to any desired extent.

The transfer of taxation from land to the machine, would have the immediate effect of
increasing the value of land throughout the country, and of all agricultural workers—
the base of prosperity and consumption. It would quickly release that part of our frozen
assets relating to real estate; it would have an immediate, and steadily increasing
effect upon the total demand for man; it would immediately increase his value, and
thereby lessen that most important difference between his theoretical true value,
and the actual price of labor, and would again justify new construction and progress.

It is now 7 years late to begin the control of the machine—in 10 years more it may be
too late.

The world does not remain the same—it changes very fast. Our fathers solved their
problems, we in turn must solve ours, most essentially those we ourselves have caused.
Are we far enough advanced in education, and in thought, to turn a calculated kep to the
door of prosperity, or should we turn aside and leave much harder problems to our
children?

As the United States has led the world in mechanisation, so it is her privilege and duty
to lead in its control.
May 14, 1935.

Dear Lawrence:-

Many thanks for that mighty interesting letter. Your diagnosis of the situation confirms my guesses. I suppose Kelly will be down here soon and without doubt will ask to see me. I shall arrange it.

I do hope to see Laura while she is here and also that you will be down yourself very soon.

As ever yours,

Lawrence Houghteling, Esq.,
10 South La Salle Street,
Chicago,
Illinois.
To the President,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Franklin:

During the month which has passed since the Chicago mayoralty election there have appeared a good many interesting side-lights on that great Democratic victory; which are worth the consideration of the Head of the Party.

In the election Mayor Kelly polled slightly over 75% of all the votes cast, receiving close to 800,000 votes, against somewhat over 160,000 for the Republican candidate and less than 90,000 for the independent Newton Jenkins. This was a surprisingly large vote for a local election, as the Democratic vote for Anton Cermak in 1931 was only 670,000 in what was then considered a tremendous triumph of organization.

It was a very unusual election, in that the Republican party (under the masterful leadership of my good friend Frank Knox) has become completely demoralized and did not take much trouble about watching the polls. The registration of voters in Cook County is also in bad shape and the lists had not been properly corrected to eliminate people who had changed their residence. This made it possible for a well-organized machine to make a surprising demonstration. In a great many precincts fifty or more ballots were in the boxes at the time the polls opened. At least two members of the local city administration, who went to the polls late in the afternoon, were gayly told by the Democratic watchers that they had voted already; which was regarded as a great joke by both of them.

There is no doubt that on the basis of votes honestly cast and honestly counted Kelly was elected by a better than two-to-one majority. The question therefore arises why the organization went to such trouble and risk to poll many thousands of illegal votes. I have gone to some trouble to check up with a great variety of political experts on this question in search of an answer to this question.

In the first place it is the first time that Ed Kelly has ever been a candidate at an election and he was unquestionably very jittery about his prospects and decided to take no changes of losing. But behind it all was unquestionably the determination to make a strong impression on the National Administration at Washington.

Obviously one of the underlying motives had to do with the federal work relief program. Kelly has made big promises as to what he is going to get for Chicago. He seems to have a spectacular leaning towards projects which are politically impressive but economically unsound. However, the community has a good many real needs (as Harold Ickes knows) which can legitimately be financed under this new law. There are complicated problems involving the constitutional
To the President -- Page 2

May 10, 1935

debt limit which the Mayor seems to ignore but which others are facing constructively. Evidently he has allotted to himself the function of "high-pressuring" the money out of the Administration.

As I told you when I saw you in February Mayor Kelly is, along most lines, a very able citizen who is believed by a fair proportion of neutral observers to be genuinely anxious to make a good record and who has ability to do so. His personal performance is very competent but his appointments to office are almost always made with more consideration for the exigencies of ward organization than for the real ability of the appointee to render public service.

One of his most particular pals is Bertie McCormick, who gave Kelly his start as an engineer with the Chicago Sanitary District. There is a very close link of personal friendship there (one of the few that Bertie can claim). Kelly's closest friend in national politics is Frank Hague of Jersey City. I was interested to note that during the Mayor's present vacation trip to Honolulu he reached San Francisco on the same day that Frank Hague and John Raskob arrived there. Hague and he landed in San Francisco yesterday from the same boat. To a number of wise ones these incidents represent Kelly's real alignment within the Democratic party. On the other hand, I believe he fully realizes that a great majority of the 500,000 to 600,000 honest votes he received in the last election were "Roosevelt votes."

I imagine you may have heard this diagnosis of Chicago politics from other sources, but at any rate I pass it on to you for whatever it is worth.

My friend Frank Knox seems to be neglecting the interests of his stockholders by giving the majority of his time to quiet organization work for the Republican nomination for President. He is very serious about it and is holding meetings and organizing wealthy industrialists and La Salle Street brokers at a great rate. The publishers of both the local Hearst papers are backing him. The situation is putting Bertie McCormick very decidedly "on the spot." Frank will be a very easy man for you to beat if he gets the nomination. In his opposition to all your policies, he has gone on record as vigorously opposed to almost everything which the great majority of the American people want. He is so sure of himself and takes so little advice that he will go blithely ahead making this mistake indefinitely.

To return to Mayor Kelly, the election has put him in a position where he is less and less dependent on Pat Nash and therefore more firmly the real leader in his own right. I think this is frankly a net gain for the City of Chicago. I am also assured that he would greatly welcome a better understanding with the National Administration.

Laura is just leaving for Washington and is hoping that she will have a chance to see you while she is there.

Yours sincerely,

JHM-at
Trend Away From New Deal in Recent Elections Can Be Exaggerated

By DAVID LAWRENCE

WASHINGTON, Nov. 11—Last week's elections in various States, indicating a trend away from the New Deal in the industrial States, will furnish the occasion for many financial speculations as to what the 1934 ballot in the Electoral College may conceivably be.

There are observers who will conclude that if the momentum achieved by the Republicans last week continues to gather much strength in 1936 as in 1934, the defeat of President Roosevelt may be anticipated.

But, a glance at the possible electoral table, even if all the industrial States in the East were conceded to the Republicans, will still give a comfortable majority for Mr. Roosevelt on account of the strong New Deal support in the agricultural and mining States of West and West, respectively. Here is the way the table would look:

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<tr>
<th>State</th>
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<td>Wyoming</td>
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<td>Totals</td>
<td>218 313</td>
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The majority needed in win is 260 votes, so that Mr. Roosevelt would have forty-seven votes to spare.

But if Illinois, Indiana and West Virginia are Republican States, were to go against the President—a total of fifteen-one votes—he would be cheated in the above grouping of electoral votes.

Illinois, on the other hand, has been normally Republican only because the heavy Democratic vote in Chicago and its immediate vicinity—city—workers was usually balanced by the heavy farm vote of the downstate sections, which have heretofore been Republican.

To a large extent, this division of city and country districts has for more than fifty years been the way the Middle Western States have lined up to give the Republicans the electoral vote. But with the recent deficits and benefits and the recent tests in the referendum votes conducted by the AAA, there are strong indications that the Roosevelt administration would win substantial support in the farm areas.

Even, therefore, if the Republican farm vote in these States is only cut in half and the Democratic vote remains at normal levels, the chances are that Mr. Roosevelt would win the electoral vote of nearly all these agricultural States.

But will the Democrats retain their urban vote? The urban vote of living begins to affect the consumer? This is something else again.

Up to now the cost of living argument, or decrease in real wages, has not been emphasized enough to determine its political value.

There is, of course, no certainty that Mr. Roosevelt would lose all of New England, as indicated above, or California, but there is a strong drift in that direction. As for Maryland, Ohio, Michigan, New York and New Jersey, Republicans are distinctly on the up grade there.

Much will depend on who the Republican candidate will be. It is easy to see why the three foremost contenders for the Republican nomination come from Kansas, Illinois and Michigan.

If Gov. Landon can swing Kansas and make a distinction in the agricultural States, or if Frank Knox is strong enough to assure Republican success in Illinois and Indiana, or if Senator Vandenberg's sponsors can demonstrate how he can be counted upon to curry Middle Western States, then the merits of their respective candidates will probably take on particular value in the time for getting delegates.

No doubt these three men will enter the primaries in various States and will thus have a tryout with the Republican voters. If the Republican candidates dodge primaries in the spring of 1936, it will be a sign of Republican weakness and a strong indication that the farm districts are disinclined to vote for any anti-New Deal candidates.

The foregoing analysis demonstrates, even though the manner of making up an electoral table, twenty months before the presidential election, has not yet been determined. It is for the Republicans to have a constructive agricultural policy—something that can be shown to be really better for the farmers than what they now have from the AAA.

Have the Republicans such a policy? Not yet. But the parties among the agricultural experts of the Republican party are numerous and out of these conferences may come a constructive alternative.

Selling any new plan to the farmers against the AAA's possession of the propaganda machinery and control of farm organizations is like convincing a member of Congress that he ought to abandon his apostles and forever forgo the privilege of recommending his friends to public office. A good argument can be made for this, but it is not one against the grumblings of human nature to expect converts.

Hence it would not be surprising if the Republicans found their best bet in going after the large blocks of Democratic votes in every city or town, even in agricultural States, and making the consumers con-
The great difficulty is that when
stool pigeons are employed, they
almost inevitably become instiga
tors of recriminations. Nobody knows
how many crimes are prompted and
even committed by informers for the sake of earning a reward.
And yet, although we all know what extent police officials them
tselves may be privy to the acts of those they are supposed to
expose.
The public here, as elsewhere, is
usually indifferent to the most
violent crimes when victims as
well as the perpetrators belong to
the criminal class. Gang wars in
America have their counterpart in
an atmosphere of vengeance
between rival criminals in France.
The public is likely to decide that
the police are gangsters, and
another means just one criminal.
Sympathies vary, and that whether the
assassin is ever punished is of small
moment.
But when the conclusion is
forced, as it often is, that the
impunity or given known
human gull is due to the fact that he is a
paid police informer; and when, as
some feel, this means there is more than a
suspicion of police collu
cion in crime, the question takes
on another aspect. One is forced to ask whether it is possible for
the police to be on terms of
intimacy with a large number of
professionals, and still keep their
own hands clean; whether, in
fact, the employment of informers is
not a remedy worse than the
disease.
Two distinct crimes may be
taken for comparison: counterfeiting and dope running. The police are
markably successful in keeping
down the first, and almost power-
less against the second. Against
the counterfeiter it is rare that
informers are of any avail, but they
are invariably employed by nar-
tive guards all over the
world. Yet it is obvious that of the
two crimes, dope running is incompar-
able in extent, and it is more
than counterfeiting, as thousands of addicts are known to the police,
and they are most amateurish
Hawkshaw could not be the source
doing supply. It is difficult not to
conclude that the numerous in-
formers employed by the police
against the dope traffickers are
more of a hindrance than a help.

William Riss.

A Tree for Evasion.

From the West Point, N.J., Journal.

In case the Roosevelt Admin-
istration should make the tree as
the official emblem of the New Deal
as is reported, we respectively sug-
gest the slippery elm.

Statistical Analysis Required.

From the London Evening Standard.

And I think it would be true to
say that all these demonstrations of
financial opposition, there have
never been so many people—young,
middle-aged, and experienced men—
as there are today.

The Dog Test.

From a Letter to the London Times.

If your dog were suddenly
known to you as yours, and not as he
thinks you are, could you look him
in the face?
Miss Marguerite LeHand,
The "Little White House",
Warm Springs, Georgia.

Dear Missy:

Just today the enclosed letter from Jim Woodruff has come in. Curiously enough, I was telling the President the other evening what an ardent supporter he had in Jim Woodruff and of the amusing scene I walked in upon, to find Jim just laying out in lavender a representative of the United States Chamber of Commerce who was apparently spreading a little anti-Roosevelt propaganda.

This personal letter from Jim obviously should be destroyed, but I wanted you to read it and if possible, to pass on a word to the President about it because I don't think he has a more sincere friend in Georgia than Jim Woodruff.

Jim was chairman of the Muscogee County division of the Georgia Hall Committee and Chairman of the Columbus Birthday Ball for both 1934 and 1935, and in addition, conducted the Columbus Colonnade campaign.

Likely, the President will not have an opportunity to see Jim, but if you will let him come by and see you for a minute personally, Missy, I am sure he will feel better because he is certainly pretty much disturbed.

Sincerely,

[Signature]

November 21st, 1935.
Dear Capp:-

I thank you for the letter, I am sure that the unannounced entrance on your part revealed to you how and where I stood. And now here is where you can do something for me, you recall the discussion we had about what we thought was poor politics on the part of certain friends who were arranging the details of the Home coming and the Red Election of our FRIEND; well there has been certain persons conducting a whispering campaign against me trying to create the impression that I am not a real Roosevelt man but a Talmadge man, you know where I stand and you heard me state that I was for Talmadge for Georgia and for Roosevelt for President and that if Roosevelt and Talmadge were both on the Ga ticket that I was first last and always for Franklyn D. Now all of this stuff has been started by the publisher of a certain paper who got his job for his little work by accepting the appointment of Int Rev Co. in Atlanta, and the other one is none other than the General Chairman of the Welsome Roosevelt Com', He went so far as to tell a good friend of mine that they had not places on the stage for Talmadge men.
The newspaper man is a friend that I will stand better in the eyes of FD. than he does and I flatter myself to know that I do; since you and FD know that I am not looking for any job political or other wise neither am I looking for any reward, that my whole interest is for my very deep and ever enduring love for the man as a MAN and his interest in humanity; For to be called friend by him and permit me to call him friend:

Things are few
You would not do
In friendship's name

Not even LOVE
Should rank above
Tru friendship's name.

Now before some of these scheming politicians have the chance to undermine me in FD eyesight I want you to speak a word for me.

I want you to know that I greatly appreciated your visit and shall certainly call when next in New York.

"RADIO SPEAKS YOUR MESSAGE"
I think that I have about gotten the McPherson cottage matter where it can be handled, have been talking with Hooper.

Please remember me to your charming wife and tell her that I am very fond of her husband.

Cordially

[Signature]
The men who are spreading the WHISPERING WEPAGE  EARLE COCKE  DIXON SMITH Senator this district to Ga and Ledger Enquirer candidate.
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 11, 1936.

MEMO FOR MAC

I want to speak to Jim Farley about this on Wednesday.

F. D. R.
Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

February 7, 1936

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

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

Dear Mr. President:

I would have communicated this suggestion
to Mr. Farley, but for his absence from the City and the need
for prompt action, if action is to be taken along the line of
this suggestion.

It occurs to me that President Kenneth C.
M. Sills of Bowdoin College would be a man that could be elec-
ted Governor of Maine. I am confident that the only hope of
his entertaining such a proposition would be a specific request
by the Administration, and even then there is real doubt.

Somehow, I feel that a request from you over
the telephone might accomplish it, if you feel such an objective
desirable and suggested procedure proper. Anyway, I present the
thought for your consideration.

To avoid some undesirable announcing, and thus
forcing a desirable into a primary contest, I respectfully suggest
that, if you feel the suggestion worthwhile, some action should be
taken promptly.

Sincerely yours,

Edward C. Moran

M/C
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 18, 1936.

MEMORANDUM FOR

HON. DAVID J. LEWIS

I wish you would have a

talk, confidentially, with Millard

Tydings in regard to the Maryland

situation. I think it will be

helpful at this time. Enough said!

F. D. R.
MEMORANDUM TO HON. MARVIN H. McINTYRE:

Attached find copy of a letter which I received from a friend who is personally very close to Senator Borah, and who is very much interested in the Senator's election.

LEO T. CROWLEY
Chairman.
Dear Leo:

Just tried to get you by phone but you were out. A matter that I thought you might want to acquaint the President of the facts. Senator Borah talked with Hiram Johnson soliciting support in California. Johnson told him that he had quit the Republican Party forever and that he was for Roosevelt, but that he felt very kindly to Borah, etc., but unfortunately there was nothing he could do for him. This is down deep in the well.
Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt
President of the United States
Washington, D.C.

My dear Mr. President:

I was deeply gratified by your letter, written to me in connection with a special edition of The Eagle greeting the State Democratic convention, now in session here. It was pleasing indeed to know that you remember my part when I was politically active. To most of the regular partisans my performance never seemed exactly to parse, but to me its justification was perfectly plain and so remains, I hope without the taint of pride of opinion.

It may interest you to know that in my life-time of reportorial observation I have never seen a greater manifestation of deep and really affectionate attachment to a leader than the Democratic hosts here this week evidenced for you. It overwhelmed completely every other interest and put everything else into eclipse.

Thanking you for the letter and with my highest esteem, I am

Yours truly,

[Signature]
May 12, 1936

Marvin H. McIntyre, Esq.,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mac:

Following your suggestion that I talk with Forbes Morgan and Carl Byoir about the business committee for President Roosevelt, I arranged for the two of them to join me at breakfast at The Plaza here in New York a week ago Sunday.

I do not believe Mr. Morgan's plan for forming a committee will be successful. He hopes to attract a number of comparatively unknown business and industrial names over the country and when that is done get some big names to head up the committee.

The only possibility of success for the right kind of a committee, as I see it, is to get first a Steering Committee of five men made up of such as, perhaps, Averell Harriman, Tom Watson, Owen Young, Gerard Swayne, A. D. Whiteside, or John Burke, president of B. Altman & Company. These men should have a talk with the Boss and secure his assurance that their committee would be something more than a mere political mouth-piece; on the contrary, it would be a group with which he would be glad to cooperate and join in discussing national problems, etc.

Sometime ago I presented to you, with copies to Forbes Morgan, Stanley High, Frank Walker, etc., a plan for the proposed Constructive Citizens League. This plan could be altered to become a Constructive Business or Industrial League. It is my suggestion to have it non-partisan, but to back the Boss's policies. In an election year I now believe it would be more practical to come out and call it a Constructive Business League for Roosevelt.

I believe Kiplinger was accurate in his last letter when he said that 65% of business and industrial men today are against the Boss. This, in my opinion, is his weakest spot. I believe that unless the Democratic Party recognizes this truth it will make a grave error.

I have been told that approximately $5,000 might be available for such a business committee as Forbes Morgan suggested. $5,000 out of $1,000,000, which I have heard the party expects to collect and spend, is totally out of proportion to the seriousness of the present breach between the Boss and business and industry.
A real job could be done if the procedure suggested would be followed; by obtaining a strong Steering Committee, then quietly attracting business and industrial leaders from every state in the union to join the movement, and planning a public announcement sometime in August. The work should be started not later than June 15. If the job were properly done it would be money well spent. If the Party agreed to make loans to this movement in the amount not to exceed $45,000 with $5,000 payable on June 15, $10,000 on July 1, etc., the League or Committee could then employ a financial man to raise some money through its supporters. It could be handled in such a way that it would not interfere with the fund raising program of the Party.

If my proposal is seriously considered, I would be glad to discuss with the proper parties the possibility of personally directing it, - contrary to the advice of my friends.

With kindest personal regards,

Sincerely yours,

Peter Van Horn,

FVH/s
CC to Mr. Byoir,
CC to Mr. Farley, Postmaster General.
PEETER H. VAN HORN
Age 42 - Born Logan, Ohio
Married 18 years - 1 son

Present Business: President, The National Federation of Textiles, Inc.
10 East 40th Street, New York, N. Y. - Lexington 2-2220

Residence: The Plaza, New York, N. Y. (Winter)
Greens Farms, Connecticut (Summer)

Education: Preparatory - Tucson, Arizona
University - Ohio State University (Worked on farm three vacations)
University of California
Yale Night Law School (Columbus)

Politics: Strictly non-partisan - never a candidate for or holder of public office.

War Record: Volunteered as a private in U. S. Signal Corps, Aviation Section, May, 1917. Served as officer in charge of night bombing training at Elington Field, Houston, Texas - composed of three night flying fields.

Business Record:
March and April, 1919.
National City Bank, New York, N. Y.

October, 1920, to January, 1921.

January, 1921, to October, 1921.
Vice-president and partner of Allen T. Archer, insurance brokerage firm of Los Angeles.

October, 1921, to March, 1922.
Vice-president and partner of J. W. Raves, insurance brokerage firm of Los Angeles.

1924-5 - Traveling.

May, 1926, to March, 1934.
General manager of Better Business Bureau, Columbus, Ohio and (1933-34) president of National Association of Better Business Bureaus.

March, 1934 to present
President of The National Federation of Textiles, Inc. The National Federation of Textiles, Inc., successor to The Silk Association of America, Inc., organized in 1872, one of largest and oldest trade associations, staff of 75 persons.

References:
P. C. Deely, President, Duplan Silk Corporation, New York, N. Y.
O. D. Jones, President, Hamlet Textile Company, Patuxet, R. I.
W. Alton Jones, Exec. Vice-President, Cities Service Co., New York, N. Y.
T. C. Kennedy, Vice-President, Ohio Public Service Co., Cleveland, O.
Simon Lazarus, President, The Lazarus Dept. Store, Columbus, Ohio
Bruce McLeish, Carson, Pirie & Scott, Chicago, Illinois
B. H. Nunn, President, The Nunn Store, Brooklyn, N. Y.
P. M. Stephens, Vice-President, Ohio Bell Telephone Co., Columbus, O.
L. D. Tompkins, Vice-President, U. S. Rubber Co., New York, N. Y.
A. D. Whitehead, President, Dan & Bradstreet, New York, N. Y.
Irwin Wolfe, Kaufman Department Store, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Better Business Bureaus are cross sections of all the principal business interests of fifty-two of America's largest cities. Through years of activity with these and other organizations, Mr. Van Horn has been able to render unusual service to business groups all over the country, of which the following are indicative.

During 1930-31-32, he was asked to assist in organizing, and was offered the executive position in Better Business Bureaus in Pittsburgh and San Francisco by interested business leaders of those cities.

In 1931, he had attracted national attention as a fighter against promoters in the security racketeering field and was invited to address the annual meeting of the National Electric Light Association. His work in clearing up rackets in the paint, lacquer and varnish industry brought him an invitation to address the 1933 annual meeting of that industry in Chicago. Through his work in countering fraud in the securities field, he cooperated closely with stock exchange officials and federal and State authorities. In 1934, as a result of his national opposition to fraudulent memorial park promotions, he was requested to address a meeting of Cemetery Executives in Washington.

In 1934, because of his work in the merchandising and advertising field, he addressed the annual convention of the National Retail Dry Goods Association in New York. The same year, he was a featured speaker at the national convention of the sand and gravel industry; attended the conference of the Investment Bankers Association of America to give counsel in the preparation of the Investment Bankers' Code; addressed a large NRA meeting in Washington of representatives of the dyeing and cleaning industry; addressed the annual meeting of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce in Washington; and was called to Washington by the automobile and chattel loan interests of the country to address a national gathering and assist in the preparation of their code to eliminate questionable practices.

In August, 1935, he was drafted by Government and served for six weeks as an honorary worker on the NRA staff in Washington as expert on unfair trade practices. He wrote the trade practice section of the master Retail Code, which became standard for other codes.

In 1935, more than 400 executives of industry and business in a meeting in New York asked him to become permanent chairman of a committee to carry on an important national program. In this connection he organized a meeting in Memorial Hall, Washington, attended by 1,600 business men.

He has been active, since its inception, in the affairs of the Consumers Goods Industries Committee, made up of leaders in the principal consumers goods industries.

He has participated in the meetings called by the National Business Conference Committee, which was an outgrowth of the meeting sponsored by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers in White Sulphur Springs in the spring of 1935.

His radio experience has included weekly broadcasts for eight years and several over national hookups.

Summing up, Mr. Van Horn has been employed and spent his entire time during the past ten years as the representative of organized business in its relationship with government, in its own interrelationships and its public relations.
PLAN FOR

THE

CONSTRUCTIVE CITIZENS LEAGUE

(non-political)
FOREWORD

Under the tentative name of "Constructive Citizens League"* a plan is presented for the formation of a non-political organization designed to promote understanding of the CONSTRUCTIVE policies of any national administration as well as to counteract harmful social forces. As indicated, the complete objectives utilize available technique in a definite plan of organization and performance.

*Other suggestions -
"Modern Government League"
"Constructive Government League"
THE OBJECTIVES

The major objectives of the proposed league include:

1. Influencing public opinion so as to increase respect for government — offsetting the alarming growth of disregard for law and orderly progress resulting, in part, from the activities of sensationalists and vicious manipulators of political propaganda.

2. To encourage and/or support sound, modern but moderate — government activity necessary to continued recovery and to prevent or minimize future depressions, without endorsement of any individual political office-holder or candidate; conversely, to oppose unnecessary, harmful government activity.

3. To disseminate to all citizens non-political, factual information on economic and social affairs vital to the support of government in its necessary CONSTRUCTIVE efforts.

4. To expose and attack any un-American political agencies destructive to the interest of the continuous evolution of our democratic system of government.
1. A large number of well-known and seriously-considered national and local organizations are now active in purely negative, reactionary, destructive propaganda.

2. No organization able and willing to be a forum and assume leadership in a two-sided discussion of current issues now is in existence which is dedicated to CONSTRUCTIVE government and which is utilizing fact as distinguished from prejudice and loose opinion.

3. Any administration in power is under a fundamental handicap in seeking popular support; it is, to a considerable extent, powerless to educate impartially and thus obtain a sound reaction from all the citizenry as to its operation of the government.

4. Bitterness and passion - the American concomitant of a Presidential year - leave in their wake dangerous psychological situations in various groups or elements of the citizenry, creating a need for sane, CONSTRUCTIVE, educational activities by an impartial agency.

5. Citizens who approve of an administration's policy involving CONSTRUCTIVE legislation, but who are afraid or - for other and more valid reasons - unwilling to affiliate with a political party machine, would have in such an agency as proposed an outlet for expression of citizenship through useful participation in the nation's affairs.

6. The political control exercised over various media for education in national affairs prevents, to a serious degree, a true expression of opinion in economic and social matters. Such an organization of CONSTRUCTIVE citizens would work to offset this unfair situation.

7. Whatever the results of the next election, there is a tremendous task ahead in CONSTRUCTIVE industrial and business statesmanship. Needed extension or reduction of government in the economic life of the nation requires intelligent public opinion to retard or hasten the requirements.
PLAN OF ORGANIZATION

Below are a few of the major steps requisite to the organization of the proposed Constructive Citizens League.

1. Voluntary selection of non-partisan steering committee to undertake the following:
   A. Appointment of Board of Directors, not to exceed twenty-four.
   B. Incorporation as non-profit organization (Delaware).

2. Selection and appointment of paid officers, responsible to Board of Directors, to include:
   A. President - full time, non-political public servant with record of broad business and industrial experience.
   B. Assistant-to-President - full time, non-political - with broad, practical public relations experience.

3. Selection and appointment of honorary officers, to include:
   A. Chairman of Board
   B. Vice Chairman of Board.

4. Selection and appointment of honorary vice presidents for:
   A. Each Federal Reserve District.
   B. Major groups of citizens (business, industry, women, farmers, professional, workers, etc.)

5. Selection of members to serve on committees, including:
   A. Executive (policy).
   B. Organization.
PLAN OF OPERATION

The following indicate the manner in which the League would function:

1. Offices would be established in New York and Washington - with, perhaps, a Western headquarters conveniently located.

2. Departments would be planned as follows to insure efficient and economical execution of assigned tasks:
   
   A. Administrative

   B. Publicity
      b. Radio and correspondence.
      c. Newsreels.
      d. Speakers (organization and education).
      e. Other media.

   C. Research and Fact-finding.
PROCEDURE

The aggressive magazine, radio, newspaper and other campaigns to be continuously undertaken, in accordance with a carefully budgeted, time-table schedule, on issues of vital public interest would be consistent with the following general policy:

A. Executive Committee to present to the Board all major questions of policy.

B. In decisions of policy, full regard to be given to scientific, fact-finding analysis as to issues and problems.

C. Execution of all programs to be consistent with the following platform:

   a. Economical business-like government administration.
   b. Maintenance of peace and extension of world trade.
   c. Minimum of government competition with private enterprise.
   d. Discussion of legislative issues on facts; not personalities or politics.
   e. Stimulation of sound thinking on currency, credit, banking and securities problems.
   f. Critical analysis of all legislation affecting group purchasing power.
   g. Encouragement of necessary sound, practical social security measures.
   h. Efficient, impartial handling of unemployment problem.
   i. Preservation of the right and discouragement of abuse of freedom of speech.
Memorandum to Hon. Marvin H. McIntyre:

I learned from a very reliable source that Borah had agreed that his name would not be submitted to the convention and that he would not make any speech against Landon. However, one of his managers, by the name of Bockman, who comes from Virginia, is going to make a speech against Landon prior to the convention. The leaders are hopeful that they can satisfy Borah so that he will stay within the Republican Party.
RETURN TO MISS TULLY FOR THE
PRESIDENT'S FILES
June 7, 1956

Dear Leo:

It was nice of you to write me as you did on May twenty-sixth, and give me the low-down on the Nice interview.

We were all very much interested in it, and I can see you now "hit the ceiling" just like you used to do with me.

Naturally, I showed the whole thing to the President and he asked me also to thank you and to say "hello" for him.

Sincerely yours,

M. H. McIntyre
Assistant Secretary to the President

Honorable Leo R. Sack,
American Minister,
San Jose,
Costa Rica.
My dear Mac:

Because you may have seen references to it in the Monday newspapers in the United States, I am enclosing for your information clipping of an interview given out in San José by the Honorable Harry W. Nice, Governor of Maryland, and translation thereof and also a letter to him from the American Minister in Costa Rica.

You can imagine how outraged I felt when I read in the Sunday morning newspapers, under a six column headline that "A SECOND ADMINISTRATION OF ROOSEVELT WILL BRING THE UNITED STATES TO RUIN".

It is quite apparent that the Republicans in the viciousness of their campaign against the President do not recognize any such a thing as a three mile limit and that they feel that it is perfectly proper to attack the President at any time and at any place. Obviously, I do not care for Costa Rica to be used as such a sounding board. Although I was laid up with influenza at the time, I dictated the enclosed letter to the Governor and sent it to him by messenger.

In the meanwhile the Governor's conscience must have hurt him because two or three minutes before my messenger arrived at the hotel he left in a taxicab for the Legation to see me and to tell me that he did not intend for his remarks to have been so interpreted by the reporter. Mr. Nice also told me that "I consider Mr. Roosevelt a gentleman of the highest character and personally my relationship with him has been most pleasing".

We

Marvin H. McIntyre, Esquire,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.
We discussed my letter and I made it clear to him that while I recognized his right to indulge in legitimate criticism within the United States, I did, as American Minister, resent very much his attack on the President while he was in this, a foreign country. I also told him that I regarded his interview as inexcusable and in very poor taste. The Governor was plenty apologetic and tried to say that the reporter did not get him correctly.

That, of course, Mac, as you know, is an old excuse. I later talked to the reporter who is the most reliable newspaper man in Costa Rica and he told me that there was no doubt whatsoever in his mind that Governor Nice intended that he should be quoted, just as he was quoted. With reference to the phrase "ruin and bankruptcy" the reporter said that he quoted the Governor verbatim and made notes at the time in the Governor's presence. The reporter also added that he had been informed by other tourist passengers on the boat that while he was in Habana Governor Nice indulged in similar criticism of Mr. Roosevelt.

May I add that the Governor's interview outraged not only members of the American colony but many prominent Costa Ricans, several of whom have congratulated me for my letter to him.

With my kindest personal regards, I am,

Very sincerely,

Leo

Enclosures: 3
UNA SEGUNDA ADMINISTRACIÓN DE ROOSEVELT LLEVARÍA A ESTADOS UNIDOS A LA RUINA

EL GOBERNADOR DE MARYLAND HARRY W. NICE, LLEGADO HAYA A SAN JOSE, HACE ESA SENSACIONAL DECLARACIÓN A "LA TRIBUNA"

El gobierno americano ha gastado treinta y un mil millones de dólares sin haber logrado disminuir los dos mil millones de deudas que siguen sin trabajo.

El gobernador Nice, es uno de los hombres de mayor prestigio del partido Republicano y su nombre figura como candidato a la vicepresidencia, y aunque probablemente candidato presidencial — su personalidad política es tan importante que cuando la gubernación de Maryland siendo éste estado uno de los baluartes del partido democrata...
El mejor entrenador para el Mundial

El entrenador del equipo de fútbol debe tener el conocimiento de la técnica, la táctica y la estrategia para dirigir a los jugadores con eficacia. Además, debe ser capaz de motivar a los jugadores para que hagan un esfuerzo máximo durante el partido. También es importante que el entrenador tenga experiencía en dirigir equipos en diferentes situaciones y que sea capaz de adaptarse a las circunstancias del partido.

La formación de los jugadores es otra consideración importante. El entrenador debe poder identificar los puntos fuertes y débiles de cada jugador y trabajar en ellos. Además, debe ser capaz de desarrollar habilidades individuales para los jugadores para que puedan contribuir al equipo en su totalidad.

La comunicación con los jugadores también es fundamental. El entrenador debe ser capaz de comunicarse con los jugadores en voz alta, en el campo, durante el partido. Debe ser capaz de transmitir instrucciones y explicar sus estrategias de manera clara y concisa.

Finalmente, el entrenador debe tener la capacidad de trabajar en equipo con el resto del plantel. Debe ser capaz de trabajar con los técnicos de juego y con el cuerpo técnico para que todos trabajen juntos en la misma dirección. Debería ser capaz de liderar a la plantilla de manera efectiva y crear un ambiente de trabajo positivo y cooperativo.

En resumen, el entrenador debe tener conocimiento técnico, táctico y estratégico, experiencia en dirigir equipos en diferentes situaciones, formación de jugadores, capacidad de comunicación y trabajo en equipo. Estas características son esenciales para dirigir un equipo con éxito en el mundial.
A SECOND ROOSEVELT ADMINISTRATION WOULD BRING
RUIN TO THE UNITED STATES

The Governor of Maryland, Harry W. Nice, who arrived yesterday at San José, made this sensational declaration to the LA TRIBUNA.

Governor Nice has been one of the main supports of the Republican Party (G.O.P.) all his life. His popularity is so great and his honesty so well known in Maryland, that in a purely Democratic state he is the third Republican governor in a century of United States political history. Some sixteen years ago, we are told, the governor headed the ticket with which the Republicans opposed the immensely popular Governor Ritchie, and Mr. Nice lost the elections by the very small margin of sixty-four votes, when there were several hundreds of thousands of votes.

The conversation we had with Governor Nice was exclusively on the political situation in the United States, and as our distinguished visitor is a strong opponent of President Roosevelt, his declarations are very up-to-date with regard to the political campaign that is going on in the United States.

"As far as we Republicans are concerned, we believe that President Roosevelt should not be reelected, for a second Roosevelt administration would bring the United States to ruin and bankruptcy. The enormous sums that have been spent during a little more than three years of the Roosevelt administration will weigh on two or three generations, and the taxes which are heavier every day, are bringing the country into such a state of affairs that we do not know where it will end. Notwithstanding the fact that the Government has spent thirty-one thousand million dollars, the number of unemployed has not diminished perceptibly. When President Roosevelt took office, the number of unemployed was twelve million seven hundred and fifty thousand, and at the present there are twelve million. It is quite evident that the enormous expenditures have not solved the problem of unemployment. What it has produced is a false well-being that must necessarily cease as soon as the funds of the Roosevelt administration are gone, and that time is not very far off.

"The best barometer to know the popularity of a leader is the press and when President Roosevelt assumed charge, ninety-nine percent of the American newspapers were in his favor. Now things have changed so much that sixty-six percent are against him. Besides his loss of popularity has been very well demonstrated in the last elections impartially brought about by the LITERARY DIGEST, in which ten million people throughout the United States took part; the percentage was more or less the same as the press. Of course our opponents do not believe in this
and we cannot make them change their opinion. But for the good of the United States, President Roosevelt should not be reelected, that is what we Republicans believe."

These were Governor Nice's declarations, and so as to give our readers an idea of his political personality, we wish to add that he is so popular in every part of the United States, that several North Americans living here are of the opinion that the distinguished guest has a good chance of being chosen Republican candidate for the vice presidency and in some circumstances for the Presidency of the Republic, at the National Convention that will take place the fifth of June, for he has the votes of the sixteen delegates of the State of Maryland, territory strategically situated on the border between the northern and southern states. As the belief is that the real Republican candidate for the presidency will come from the West, the leaders of the party will look for a popular man in the East to harmonize the forces and try to win the elections in November. This man may well be the Honorable Harry W. Nice, who is with us at the present moment.
Dear Governor Nice:

I have just read in today's LA TRIBUNA of San José your amazing interview in which you assert that "a second Roosevelt administration will bring the United States to ruin and bankruptcy."

Your prophecy is so ridiculous that I am reminded that four years ago another distinguished Republican predicted that if Mr. Roosevelt were elected the grass would grow in the streets.

Prevailing economic conditions in Maryland, where people are better fed and more cheerful than they have been since 1929, is the best possible proof of the falsity of that prediction.

The recent primaries in your state furnished abundant additional evidence of the reaction of the Maryland voters to the visible benefits of the Roosevelt administration and is, I believe, proof that your fellow Marylanders are more confident than you regarding the future.

I appreciate that as a Republican you regard it as your duty to attack President Roosevelt at any time and anywhere, but as the United States Minister to Costa Rica, I do resent the use of this, a foreign country, as your sounding board.

It seems to me that partisanship should cease at the three mile limit, and that it is very bad taste for even the most irresponsible American to assail the President of the United States in a foreign country.

Such an attack is even more inexcusable and in poorer taste when it is made by the Governor of the great state of Maryland.

Yours truly,

LEO R. SACK
American Minister

His Excellency
Harry W. Nice,
Governor of Maryland,
Temporarily at Hotel Costa Rica,
San José, Costa Rica
September 12, 1936.

Dear Lawrence:

Your letter is a perfect epitome and being one of those old-fashioned, hard-boiled politicians, I can only tell you that your summary is even more favorable than I myself had analyzed it. With seven weeks to go there are still all kinds of possibilities of bad breaks or fielding errors.

I do hope to get to Chicago in October but cannot make any plans for another ten days. I shall let you know as soon as I decide.

With love to all of you,

Affectionately,

James L. Houghteling, Esq.,
141 W. Jackson Boulevard,
Chicago,
Illinois.
To The President  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.  

Dear Franklin:  

When I saw you at Hyde Park in August you asked me to write you fully when I got back to Chicago about the local political situation. I have delayed doing so until the end of your drought-inspection trip, and then waited through Labor Day to get reports on two Coughlin-Lemke meetings.

My report must be mainly favorable, as its background is the primary vote last April here in Illinois in which you received a complimentary vote 450,000 higher than the combined Knox and Borah vote at the end of a hot contest. I don't believe the intervening months have changed the situation materially, despite 1) the "Landon swing" in the corn-belt, 2) the Coughlin-Lemke effort, and 3) the Horner-Kelly fight.

Landon looked awfully good to the discouraged Republicans downstate after Frank Knox's intensely selfish stupid campaign before the convention (more or less riddled by insidious Tribune anti-Knox propaganda and by the much franker and more refreshing Borah onslaught). There has always been plenty of able Republican leadership in the great strip of country between Cook County and our southern coal-mining counties (which are overwhelmingly pro-Roosevelt), and that leadership began to work with enthusiasm as soon as Landon's nomination gave it somebody acceptable to work for. You had the edge in the corn-belt before the conventions. My best information is that there was immediately a decided swing toward Landon. The Tribune carries more weight down there than in Chicago. My Republican friends downstate were greatly encouraged early in July. But their optimism appears to be oozing away as time goes on.

I think you should come up to the Cook County line on election day on even or very nearly even terms. And you should have no difficulty in carrying Chicago by an impressive majority. Of Course, the Tribune, the News and the Hearst papers are plying their readers unceasingly with the unfair sort of dirty fighting, but so far it hasn't seemed to get across with the great bulk of Chicagoans. The effect of that sort of day-by-day attack is, however, hard to measure. It is true that the newspapers haven't brought a single new argument against you this year, but their reiterated hammering about rising debts and increasing taxes may have some effect. The Times is the only Chicago newspaper whose circulation is growing, and the enthusiasm of its readers for its New Deal
loyalty is most encouraging. It recently advertised Roosevelt buttons and gave away 2,000,000 of them so fast that the Democratic National Committee asked it to hold back on account of the expense.

My contacts inside the Chicago Daily News office are most interesting. Except for two or three writers who stick close to Frank Knox, the whole editorial staff thinks that the Landon-Knox ticket hasn't a show. This includes two or three special writers who have been making confidential canvasses. One man close to the Republican headquarters staff tells me that the finance officers over there are much worried over certain financial commitments on the part of big business men, on which they are having great difficulty in collecting. They are spending all the money they collect on their tremendously expensive campaign and, if these commitments run out on them, they are afraid they may have no money to man the polls on election day. Since I heard this I've been wondering whether such a situation may not explain the very favorable early returns in certain straw votes - also Landon's sudden decision to campaign in Maine. After all, it's necessary to persuade even the most ardent anti-New Dealers that they won't be throwing their money down a rat-hole.

Father Coughlin had an immense turn-out for a mass-meeting here on Sunday, and great enthusiasm - although Times spotters thought that a reasonable percentage of the crowd came through curiosity. The personal tribute to Coughlin was undoubtedly accentuated by the ill-judged action of Bob Dunham as president of the park board last year when he refused the use of the Grant Park stadium to Father Coughlin. However, the Labor Day turn-out for Lemke and Big Bill Thompson, held at the same location as the Coughlin meeting, was a distinct fizzle. Coughlin can always draw a crowd for himself, but I doubt if he can deliver them to Lemke, or Landon.

The Horner-Kelly fight is as bitter as ever under the surface. Personally I think that Horner is more than 50% to blame, although in general I admire him much more than the other crowd. As a politician he's ungracious, uncompromising and suspicious (and unfortunately shows his suspicions too plainly). I'm afraid he will have a hard time winning re-election; although two of my best non-partisan sources of information think he will squeak through. Horner is unquestionably loyal to you and is doing everything he can for the national ticket. Some of his followers would trade votes against you if they dared, but they know Horner must count on your popularity to pull him in. The same holds good with the Kelly crowd. Kelly took an awful smash in the eye in the primary and the whole success of his administration and the continued power of his machine depends on a big Democratic victory in November. I know of numerous instances in which Mayor Kelly has gone out of his way to do helpful things for the national ticket. Some of his crowd will knife Horner seriously, but the safest thing for all of them will be to support the whole ticket.
To The President,
Sept. 9, 1936.

I told you about the offer of Edgar Cook, the Borah pre-
convention manager out here, to campaign for you among the Borah
following in Illinois, if his expenses are paid. (Borah polled
420,000 votes in the primary, and intimates that his feelings won't
be hurt if all of them vote for you in November). Jim Farley sent
Sen. O'Mahony to talk to Cook recently and the senator seemed
favorably impressed. I'm sitting in a bit on the situation myself.
Dick Finnegan of the Times – the smartest political strategist in
Chicago – thinks the money would be well spent. Cook is an egotist
who has to do things his own way, but I believe he can be valuable.
His activities might be a good offset against the Coughlin-Lemke
inroads (if any). With the local newspaper opposition building up
every possible factor unfavorable to you, I don't believe we should
overlook any bets.

By the same token, while I think Illinois is safe, we
mustn't be overconfident. A speech by you in Chicago would draw a
huge crowd, encourage your supporters and dispel the clouds of
poison gas the local newspapers are spreading. Come on out. We're
really a most friendly town.

Always yours sincerely,

[Signature]

P. S. I've just been lunching with Gen. "Bill" Westervelt, vice-
president of Sears Roebuck & Company. He tells me that his company's
reports from its agents all over the country are most encouraging
as to your election.
My dear Mr. President:

I cannot tell you how much I appreciate your having taken the time to write to me during your strenuous campaign, and I thank you most sincerely for your letter.

Anything I can do to help your campaign will still be insufficient to express my gratitude to you for the victory you have accomplished over distress and broken morale, one which history will not fail to recognize. I felt it my duty, therefore, to offer you my support, but here in this conservative community in which I live and where I have been an active participant in the Republican Party for many years, it is somewhat difficult to shift one's vote without incurring criticism for disregard of Party regularity. This, however, is of no importance.

We are working hard here and I feel sure that many Republicans in southeastern Pennsylvania will follow my example and express their gratitude to you by re-electing you as their Leader on November 3rd for another period of office.

With respectful regards, believe me, dear Mr. President,

Very sincerely yours,

The Honorable
Franklin D. Roosevelt,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.
My dear Mr. President:

Major George L. Berry called me from Tennessee yesterday, telling me that Governor Browning had an appointment with you to-day.

He said that the Governor has been very much upset because appointments such as United States Marshal and the head of the Social Security Administration in Tennessee were made without any consultation or advice from him.

Major Berry asked me to tell you that if the Governor could get assurances that Major Berry could be consulted on appointments, if the Major was appointed by the Governor for the unexpired term of the late Senator Bachman, the Governor would be very much inclined to appoint Major Berry. Whether or not Governor Browning will discuss this with you I do not know. I am making this at the request of Major Berry.

Faithfully yours,

EDW. F. McGrady

The President,
The White House.
Telegram to Senator Joseph T. Guffey,  
Democratic Members of the House  
of Representatives from  
Pennsylvania.  

Dear Sir:  

President Roosevelt is right. Secretary Morgenthau and former President Hoover are wrong.  

From 1929 to 1933 this country suffered as few civilized countries have ever suffered. This was solely due to the policy of President Hoover and the Republican leaders, the only policy they knew, of pouring money into the laps of the employers, hoping some of it would trickle down to the lower income branches. This Federal money never got beyond the first layer, the employer.  

President Roosevelt, barely in time, with courage and foresight dragged us back from the edge of the precipice, building from the bottom up and not the top down, by giving purchasing power to the worker, farmer, white collar man and small business man, by the N. R. A., A. A. A. and a great constructive works program. Today, by his deflationary tactics, Mr. Morgenthau is about to destroy all the President has built up.  

Our great problem now is the problem of our people displaced by the machine. In mill and factory and office, down in mines and out on farms, everywhere more and more of us are being thrown out of work by labor saving devices. Until this fundamental problem, bringing with it magnificent production, miserable distribution and steadily increasing unemployment, is met and conquered, we must go on priming the pump, go on with the great works program of decent housing, safe roads, of rural electrification and C. C. C. camps. We must back Secretary Wallace, securing a fair and living price for cotton, wheat and corn.  

Secretary Morgenthau’s last speech was a page from the textbook of Wall Street.  

To you Democratic members of Congress from Pennsylvania, I urge you to stand firm for the progressive policies of the New Deal that have saved our country from chaos or worse.  

Secretary Morgenthau’s deflationary policies have already started our country into a tailspin. If persisted in, America will go into a nosedive that will dwarf 1929.  

George Earle  
Governor
DOUBTFUL. Chairman Jones of the House agriculture committee has told friends that the new farm bloc bill can’t pass as it stands. It is a composite of the old Hoover Farm Board, A.A.A., and over-normal granary. If it passes, the erosion prevention system of passing out benefits will be superceded— and Congress has just provided funds for that system.

The doubt is that all farm organizations are behind the new bill. White House support is in doubt. The bill is not a “must”,

NEW YORK
By James McMullen

FROZEN. The late Charles Hayden of Hayden, Stearns was no admirer of the New Deal when alive. In death he played a colossal joke on its painstakingly planned share-the-wealth program.

He was aids in doing so by the fact that only two close relations survived him - his wife and his brother. On both of them he reportedly asked them “gift” years ago - before there was even a gift tax - so that they were taken care of for life and no provision had to be made for them when he died. Consequently he was able to - and did - leave his entire fortune to a charitable foundation established by his will. Requests to charity are of course tax-exempt.

The secret of the jest is that Mr. Hayden’s estate is confidentially and reliably estimated at $80,000,000. Most of this vast sum would normally have been subject to the 75% share-the-wealth inheritance tax. His ingenuity therefore from the Treasury out of the modest sum of almost $80,000,000 — not to be unnerst at even in these days of multiple digits.

CLOAK. Naturally this brilliant device for short-circuiting the tax collector after one’s demise has attracted the admiring attention of other wealthy gentlemen confronted with inheritance tax problems. Not many can emulate it 100% because of their need to provide for personal dependents, but it’s a safe bet that rich men’s wills probated within the next ten or twenty years will show staggering large bequests to charity. Charity’s gain will be Uncle Sam’s loss.

The government may rage and rant about this large leak in the tax dike. But the beauty of this hole - from the viewpoint of those who take advantage of it - is that it is practically impossible to plug. Even a Congress disposed to take the risk to the limit would hesitate to take action which would lay open to the charge of grubbing money intended for philanthropic use. Charity in this case is a marvelous cloak to be worn on all possible occasions.

In a sense, this practice will amount to redistribution of wealth anyway. But the possessors of fortunes won’t mind that as long as they, and not the government, direct the distribution.

DEFEAT. The confidential opinion of directable experts, based on evidence in the inquiry to date plus the incident described in the general release, is that - no matter what the Germans say - the Hindenburg failed structurally first in that a gas cell gave way or one of its valves was not functioning properly. They contend that otherwise it would have been impossible for a large quantity of gas to be present in a "true" state - in the ship but outside the cells. One of the crew testified that one of the valves in a rear cell had been giving trouble and had been changed.

Of course it remains true that - regardless of possible structural defects - there would have been no fire if the escaping gas had been helium instead of hydrogen. That is the most important fact about the disaster.

CHARGE. Sources in a position to know say that Plans Greenlee, protege of Senator Morton of Indiana who was recently appointed to the Bituminous Coal Commission as a representative of the public (see general release), has never denied the charge that he was formerly an organizer for the Klux Klan.

CLARIFIED. In a recent Confidential item, we reported remarks of an official of American Cyanamid expressing great bitterness towards President Roosevelt. The speaker quoted was neither an officer nor director of the company.

The statement was made under private circumstances and was reported in these Confidential pages to Editors as an extreme instance of attacks on the President which are reaching great proportions among right wing leaders in business and finance.

This statement is made in response to a request that we make clearer the definition of the individual’s position by whom the words were used.

RICHARD WALDO, Editor
OFFICE OF
THE COMPTROLLER OF THE CURRENCY
7,000 ft. in air
Between Chicago
and Salt Lake
June 9-37

Dear Mr. President,

After leaving you yesterday, Frank
Dangerty called me from
Mayflower and told me
that Sam Hiram Johnson
had called him and told
him of our conversation.
Evidently, Johnson is greatly
interested.

Sam Rodalepso came
to my table at dinner last
night. Living at the same
hotel we have many chats
I asked him if he knew
Jim Johnson's feeling to
wards the President.
Of course he did not know
the reason for my asking.
He said he had a long
talk with Johnson about
two weeks ago and Johnson
spoke "feelings and
kindly of the President."
He said he realized it
was necessary to differ
on some questions.
I asked Jim R. if he would
pass that on to you. He
hesitated and told me of
his great affection for you.
But he wrote you a letter.
OFFICE OF
THE COMPTROLLER OF THE CURRENCY
telling why he opposed the Court plan and seemed to feel this would make some difference. My recollection is that every federal official in S. Francisco, Los Angeles, U.S. Attys., Marshall, Custom Collectors of Internal Revenue and all assistants were given to Mr. Adams and only Roche, federal judge given to Johnson while Adams was given 2 federal judges in Los Angeles and now a Circuit Judge.
I believe Johnson can be first took into the fold probably not on the Court.
But on other issues - without offending Sen. McAdoo - I believe the Vice President can bring it about. I'll bring you a full report of California situation when I return. With affectionate regards.

Endeavour & Sincerely,
Jeff
ROOSEVELT IS '100 PCT. CORRECT' ON GOLD—ALDRICH

New York, June 9. (UP)—President Roosevelt knows more about the gold situation than "anyone else and what he says about it is 100 per cent correct," Winthrop W. Aldrich, chairman of the Chase National Bank, said on his return from abroad on the S. S. Bremen yesterday.

Aldrich said he did not think the United States should do anything with regard to the gold situation except to co-operate with England. He said he thought the whole situation "is up to the government and is being very well handled."

"The gold situation is out of the bankers' hands and is a government problem," he said.

Chairman Myron C. Taylor of the United States Steel Corporation also returned aboard the Bremen and waved aside questions concerning steel labor difficulties.

"Don't speak of such things. There is no point in speaking at this time at all," he said.

President Thomas J. Watson of the International Business Corporation said the most important thing in connection with future prosperity in the United States, "is a greater unity of purpose on the part of government and business."
My dear Mr. President,

The friends of Cecil B. DeMille have made every effort to get him to run in the Republican primary for United States Senator. His closest friend and adviser told me that DeMille set forth as one of the conditions of his running, that he receive the open support of Senator Hiram Johnson, and also the agreement that Johnson would speak for him. This information was passed on to Senator Johnson and my friend saw a copy of the reply.

Senator Johnson said he would take no part in the Republican primaries in California and possibly not in the election because your Administration had more nearly represented the things he wanted, although not all of them, and at times he was forced to disagree.

Before you directed the release of my letter and your letter to the Press on my resignation, I talked to Senator Johnson at the Capitol. He said he rather hoped I would not resign and he made complimentary references to my work. I told him my friends in California were rather insistent about it, and he said "I don't like to see you get into that dirty mess", and then he asked me if I would receive your approval and I indicated to him confidentially that you were favorable. He then said, "You are the next Governor of California". I have not told this to anyone else as I regarded the conversation as confidential.

The conversation did indicate the very friendly feeling of the Senator. He further said "I have not received a letter criticizing your work in the nearly five years you have been in Washington".

The campaign is progressing rapidly here, and everyone of the leaders in the primary campaign of 1932, which was directed by myself in Southern California, are enthusiastic in my support. I am particularly pleased about this as I do hope that we can keep a solid Roosevelt front.
I am enclosing you herewith a copy of my release to the Press.

I will be in Washington February 25th to assist in celebrating the 75th anniversary of the signing by President Lincoln of the Bill creating the Bureau of Comptroller of the Currency. I do hope to have a chat with you.

Cordially yours,

J. F. T. O'Connor
Comptroller

Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt,
President of the United States,
Washington, D. C.
STATEMENT BY J. F. T. O'CONNOR

I shall enter the Democratic primaries for Governor of California.

The state exists for the people. The people do not exist for the state. The end and aim of government should be to bring happiness to all the people. Peace and happiness cannot exist in the same atmosphere with organized crime, which makes jobs insecure, business unsettled, and throws its death shadows into peaceful homes. Racketeers in New York struck terror into the ranks of small business men and their employees. Unless tribute was paid, death threatened both employer and employee. These organized bands must be destroyed. The courageous leaders in New York supported by the progressive forces of labor made New York safe for laborer and employer. This accomplished, labor, agriculture, industry and business will have cleared their path of a serious obstacle.

Ill-will and hatred come largely from misunderstanding. If each group will concede to the other the same rights it demands for itself we can go forward. Going forward means widening markets for California's soil and factory products in our own country and the extension of our trade lines to our sister Republics to the south, as well as countries across the seas.

Government is a business in which each citizen is a shareholder. There must be no preferred shareholders claiming superior rights, but each should have an equal interest. Those elected to direct the great business of Government are merely servants, irrespective of the title. Honesty, efficiency and economy should characterize every act of a public official. And when the work is done the pages of the book should be turned one by one that all might read and each may judge whether or not the faith has been kept.

As the campaign progresses, many issues will be discussed. More than six months away is the primary. The voters during that time will have ample opportunity to determine which candidate they prefer, among a field of fine men, to carry on the battle to the November election. If that choice should fall upon myself, I pledge a clean and vigorous campaign, and in the event of election, an administration of honesty, efficiency and economy. I shall make no promise to any individual of political reward in the event of victory. If I cannot serve all the people, I choose to return to the more peaceful pursuits of private life.
Swamp Reclamation Next Big Job For City, State And Nation

Rome's Pontine Marsh Drainage Points Way For Project Near New Orleans

Decisive Action By Mussolini Solved 2500-Year-Old Problem And Brought Fertile Farms To Duce Waste Area; Some Results Are Possible In Louisiana

By BAKER MARSH

The drainage of the potentially rich but unproductive alluvial lands lying in the swamps surrounding New Orleans is the next big problem confronting the city today.

The city has gone far already. With the aid of federal funds streets have been paved or repaired, drainage and sewerage disposal improved, the lakefront parks and other facilities beautified. New Orleans is now ready to go ahead.

The answer to how that is to be done lies in the reclamation of that area around the city which is now being called the fullest extent.

Such a project is no idle dream. Outside Rome, in an area similar to that around New Orleans, Italians have brought forth an agricultural gold belt. Of their problems and their results we will see more later. Let us look at conditions here first.

Within a 35-mile radius of New Orleans lie some of the most fertile lands in the world, deposits laid down by the Mississippi river. Today that land is a breeding place for mosquitoes, the haunt of a few trappers. Reclaimed it could easily support 20 times as many people as now live there and these people could provide the purchasing power needed to bring new industries to the city, as well as materials and those already here.

City, state, business and civil engineering leaders realize the possibilities of such a project.

The Association of Commerce, under a special committee of John Keeler, consulting engineer for the A. W. & W. Steam, George Hart, chief engineer of the New York & Water Engineers, was formed. The possibilities of such a program were outlined, presented at a meeting addressed to the economic and social state of New Orleans.

They outlined a map showing the entire area, with the main roads and canals clearly marked. "The destruction of the swamp would make available, 5,000 acres of prime real estate," they said.

There would be the purchasing power needed to bring in the best that agriculture and industry have to offer.

After 2500 years Italy has reclaimed the fertile Pontine marsh, approximately 50,000 acres of fertile lands lying almost at the doors of Rome. The marsh was formed by a series of levees from the Lagoons of the laguna, high lands which prevented natural drainage of rain water in the interior. Canals were dug, roads built, and the area drained into a farming province. Below, at left, is a picture of the swamp before the work began. Below, right, is a view of Litoro, capital of the province, built on the spot where the levee is located. Above, is a map of the project.
Hon Franklin D. Roosevelt,
President of the United States
Washington, D. C.

My Dear Chief;

In a few house the results of the California election will be known. I will wire you as soon as there is definite information. As in all contests we have found the true and false friends of the administration. Harry Bridges came out with a strong newspaper endorsement for Sen Olson. Tom Mooney issued his instructions from his prison cell to vote for Olson as he was then assured of a pardon. John Dockweiler surprised us all by advocating the Thirday dollar per week pensonand attacking the spending policy of the national administration and perdicting ruin for the country if it continued. Wm. Neblett tried to cover up his former bitter attacks on the administration when he found how popular you are in California and also his strong opposition in the early part of 1932 when I was leading the fight for your delegation to Chicago. So it has been a merry contest.

You will be interested in Manchester Boddy's editorial this morning paper. We need him in your next great fight to carry out your program and I am pleased that he feels so friendly to me. More power to your efforts to elect a Congress who will support you. We must let nothing break our ranks.

With best wishes and kindest regards, I am

Yours as Always

J. F. T. O'Connor
LONDON THREATENS BOLD MOVE TO STOP HITLER

VIEWS OF THE NEWS

By MANCHESTER BUNNY

On Page 10 you will find a marked ballot for registered Democrats which can be taken with you to the polls this morning. With respect to the several unincorporated localities, you should go to those unincorporated localities and vote as you have been accustomed to do at previous localities.

The Democratic party in the United States insisted on the appointment of G. M. Geddes as Governor of the United States. Scarcely a few people have been heard to talk of this appointment, but now it is no longer a secret that the Democratic party is taking very seriously the situation that has developed. The people want a man of character and ability as Governor of the United States. The Democratic party has, therefore, come forward and taken this step in the matter.

NATUALLY, the Democratic party will have a very strong candidate for Governor of the United States. The Democratic party is determined to put up a strong candidate. The people want a man of character and ability as Governor of the United States. The Democratic party has, therefore, come forward and taken this step in the matter.
September 1, 1938

PERSONAL & CONFIDENTIAL

Dear Jim:

Enclosed is a story which appeared in the Detroit Free Press this morning. It will give you some idea of how they are operating against me.

This kind of material is going out all over the state.

Sincerely,

Mr. James Roosevelt
Administrative Assistant
to The President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

P.S. The word that's all is operating with — connected it all our way the president's friends.
**Thursday, September 1, 1938, 108th Year.**

**Rebuff to Murphy Deal as Roosevelt Cancels State Trip**

**Ardor Damned by Purge Failure for Governor's Move**

By Clifford A. Wilson

WASHINGTON, Aug. 31.--A 200-by-300 foot billboard at the corner of 14th and K streets, Southeast, announcing the arrival of the President in Washington, was removed yesterday morning.

The billboards were put up by the Republican National Committee as a farewell to the President. The committee said it wanted to make sure the President knew that they were watching him. The billboards were removed because of the success of the Republican National Committee's candidate for Governor of Michigan, who is running against Governor Alfred E. Smith.

**Decision Is Blow to Murphy Drive**

Continued from Page 1.

The Democratic committee made a statement yesterday that it would continue its efforts to defeat the Republican ticket in the state. The committee said it would keep working to ensure that the election is a success.

The Republicans are running on a platform of prosperity and progress, while the Democrats are running on a platform of change and reform. The outcome of the election will determine the future of the state and the country.

**Murphy Will Deliver Plan for Visit to Mrs. Roosevelt**

The President is scheduled to deliver a plan for the visit of Mrs. Roosevelt to the state on September 2. The plan will be delivered to the Governor and the state legislature. The plan includes proposals for improvements in the state, including education, health, and infrastructure.

**Murphy Appears Before Interstate Commerce Commission**

President Murphy appeared before the Interstate Commerce Commission yesterday to discuss the state's highways and transportation systems. The President stated that the state is working to improve the transportation infrastructure to ensure the safety and efficiency of the state's residents.

The commission is composed of members appointed by the Governor and the state legislature. The commission is responsible for regulating the state's transportation systems and ensuring that they meet safety standards.

**Murphy Announces Plan for New Highway**

President Murphy announced a plan for a new highway in the state yesterday. The plan includes a series of improvements to the state's transportation infrastructure, including the construction of new bridges and the expansion of existing highways.

The plan is expected to create jobs and stimulate the state's economy. The President stated that the state is committed to ensuring that the highway is completed on time and within budget.
Dear President Roosevelt:

It would take more than an off-year election to depress YOU, I know.

I hope you can give Frank Murphy a good appointment. The Supreme Court of the United States is not too good for him. He has ability and youth and connated heart and mind.

Best wishes always.

Faithfully Your Friend,

/s/
Chase S. Osborn

The Honorable Franklin Delano Roosevelt,
President of the United States.

(Written:-
Michigan is normally
Republican from 100,000 up -
Except when you run!!!)

(Written-
No man in the world has ever been able to delegate or transfer
anything like his own personal strength & your great Hyde Park radio
address carried N.Y. for Lehman and his ticket! )
CHASE S. OSBORN,
SAULT DE SAINTE MARIE,
MICHIGAN.
Possum Poke in Possum Lane,
Poulan, Worth County, Georgia,
November 11, 1938.

Dear President Roosevelt:

It would take more than an off-year election to depress YOU, I know.

I hope you can give Frank Murphy a good appointment. The Supreme Court of the United States is not too good for him. He has ability and youth and connoted heart and mind.

Best wishes always.

Faithfully Your Friend,

Chase S. Osborn

The Honorable Franklin Delano Roosevelt,
President of the United States.

(over, please)
Hello and thanks

I have just received a long letter from my father in England. He tells me that he will be coming to the States in a few months. He has been working hard in his new job and is looking forward to a much-needed vacation. He mentions that he is very excited to see me and my family again.

I'm glad to hear that he is doing well. It sounds like he has settled in nicely. I can't wait to see him and hear all about his adventures in England.

Take care,

[Signature]
Memorandum for the President:

State Senator Ralph Gilbert, of Shelbyville, Kentucky, a prospective candidate in the Democratic primary for the Governorship, can be eliminated by a federal appointment.

Gilbert is an excellent lawyer and could be taken care of as an Assistant Attorney General or as attorney for some department. His removal from the race leaves the issue squarely between the State Administration's candidate, Lieutenant Governor Keen Johnson and the Roosevelt-Barkley, New Deal forces, who will back John Young Brown.

NOTE - Barry Bingham in connection with Kentucky situation.
Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. President:

I am happy to tell you that the appointment of Frank Banks as administrator of the Bonneville project has been received with great enthusiasm throughout the northwest. I sincerely hope that Mr. Banks will be permitted to carry on this important work at least until after the May primary next year. I think it quite important that you make this suggestion to Secretary Ickes.

I hope you will not feel that I wandered too far afield in making the interview as outlined in the enclosed clipping. In view of the well organized and persistent drive that is being made to control delegates to the 1940 convention some method should be used to let your friends know that they should not make any pledges and that they should hold themselves in readiness to follow your lead when the time comes. As it is now they have no standard around which to rally and the opposition is working on them constantly with the story that you will not be a candidate yourself nor will you attempt to exercise any influence during the convention. May I suggest that when you make your western trip next month you arrange to have a delegation from each state confer with you personally so that you can point out to them the importance of not making any commitments and going as far as letting them know that you do not intend to stand by and permit the "wrecking crew" nominate their candidate. On this last trip east I talked to people in more than a dozen states and I know the uncertainty that exists in the minds of your friends and how much they would welcome a word of advice from you.

Upon my arrival in Oregon I find that we are facing a hard fight on our primary referendum. I am preparing now to make a ten day tour of the state in order to make sure that a sufficient number of signatures are obtained.
It was grand to see you while in Washington. I want you to know how deeply I appreciate your kindness in arranging to see me on that busy day and for your interest in working out the Bonneville appointment so satisfactorily.

With affectionate regards,

Sincerely,

Willis Mahoney
May 18, 1939

Miss Marguerite H. LeHand,
Secretary to the President,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Miss LeHand:

Will you be kind enough to hand the enclosed letter to the President?

Thanking you and with best wishes,

Sincerely,

Willis Mahoney
WILLIS MAHONEY SEES THIRD TERM

Oregonian Home Following Parley With Roosevelt

Willis Mahoney, ex-democratic candidate for United States senator, returned Wednesday from a conference with President Roosevelt, and gave it as his opinion that Roosevelt is apt to seek a third term.

Mr. Mahoney stopped short of a flat prediction that Roosevelt will run, but he said, "I counselled [Roosevelt] to continue to stay in Roosevelt corner until a President's wish list is completed." He said, the President is "anxious" that this position he has made.

There's a growing demand that the President should seek a third term, Mr. Mahoney said. "I think the President makes no commitments," the report indicates, "that he intends to play, and at an important part in the convention. For that reason, friendships of the President are the ones that should make no commitments until after he makes his plans." Mr. Mahoney forecasts that high Democratic officials will air similar statements on behalf of the President...

Mr. Parley To Stay Put

Mr. Parley, democratic national chairman, who reportedly was the candidate's ambidextrous choice, Mahoney said he thought Parley would be "in Roosevelt corner." Speaking of Frank Banks, new chairman of Bonneville...
Bishop's House
207 West Ninety-Sixth Street
New York City

Feb 23/40

My dear Mr. President:

Gives indeed strength
and kind of you to invite me to luncheon
today and thank you to know how much
I appreciated the honor. To see you look
so well and all your cares was indeed
refreshing.
I was happy to learn that our sound and wise gun laws plus your present policies are enough to the present world crisis. Your spirit is young and dauntless and will keep us at peace.

I hope to avail myself of your kind invitation to call again for a friendly chat.

With sentiments of esteem,

Very sincerely yours,

[Signature]

His Excellency
The President of the U.S.A.

[Signature]
MEMO FOR THE PRESIDENT

I- The article in the papers by the Rev. James M. Gillis of the Paulists Fathers, is in such bad taste that it will bring votes for the President, rather than alienate them. He states that superiors are never elected for a third term. That is the law. But it often happens especially in Religious Communities of Woman, that a Superior may be elected for a third term with the approval of the Pope. This is done for a good and just cause; and has been done. The present emergency in the world is sufficient reason for a third term.

2- The Italian vote in New York City may still be delivered if one or two good Italians be appointed to any vacancies on the bench. The writer would be glad to cooperate in this matter.

October 22, 1940.
Father Gillis Calls Roosevelt And Third Term Dangerous

Catholic World's Editor Exhorts Electorate to Turn President and Family Out of the White House.

The Rev. James M. Gillis, widely known as a radio preacher and as the editor of the monthly Catholic World, calls for the defeat of Franklin D. Roosevelt because of the third term and other issues in a vigorously worded article in the November issue of the publication, which came out today. Father Gillis, a member of the Paulist Fathers, calls Mr. Roosevelt a psychological riddle. "It is a psychological riddle," Father Gillis says of the President. "It is a psychological riddle. I do not understand the man. I do not think him inconsistent. I do not think him unpredictable. I do not think him habitual in his behavior. I do not think him habitual in his actions."

Whether the President of the United States is wise to speak thus truncately: whether he has a mandate from the people to challenge the dictators may be questioned. To say in one breath that he works for peace and in the next breath to dare the dictators to knock the chips off his shoulder indicates an amazing intellectual emasculation.

It is a psychological riddle. I confess I don't understand the man, but I do think him inconsistent and unpredictable. I do not think him habitual in his behavior. I do not think him habitual in his actions.

Nauseating Passages.

Quoting Morris L. Ernst's advocacy of the third term on the ground that there is nothing in Roosevelt's style of government that would make him a dictator, but that he is a man of action, Father Gillis says that in his experience of reading newspapers as an editor he has been nearer to naivete than reading the Thompson and Ernst passages, "As for me, I say, I would not put a Cleveland or a Lincoln in office for a third term.

Daniel Webster said, The conduct of the government must be such as to give to the government, not only the power to do what it pleases, but the power to do what it must do.

There are men in all ages who mean to exercise power usefully, but who mean to exercise it useful. They mean to govern, but they mean to govern. They promise to govern, but they mean to govern. They promise to govern, but they mean to govern.

The great orator and statesman, who in his way did as much as Abraham Lincoln to save the Union from disintegration, must have been a masterly man. How otherwise could he have seen Franklin D. Roosevelt so clearly and have described him so aptly almost a hundred years in advance? They mean to be masters, says Webster. "My opponents have found theirs," says Roosevelt, "and it will soon become evident that they have found theirs master."

The article says: "The President seems to be afflicted with an incapacity—congenital or acquired, or both—of recognizing the consequence of his own actions."

For many years, he says, "every ounce of energy I have had has been devoted to keeping this nation and the other republics at peace with the rest of the world. That is today the objective for which I hope and work and pray. Yet, he repeatedly castigates the dictators, calls them names, threatens and challenges them all, presumably as a means of preserving peace."

"Whether the President of the United States is wise to speak thus truncately: whether he has a mandate from the people to challenge the dictators may be questioned. To say in one breath that he works for peace and in the next breath to dare the dictators to knock the chips off his shoulder indicates an amazing intellectual emasculation."

It is a psychological riddle. I confess I don't understand the man, but I do think him inconsistent and unpredictable. I do not think him habitual in his behavior. I do not think him habitual in his actions.
MEMORANDUM FOR

HON. JAMES A. ROE

It has come to my attention that this man Verne Marshall, a publisher from Iowa, who is conducting a campaign which has the whole-hearted blessing of the Nazi Government and is intended indirectly to encourage complete German victory, has approached a number of Democratic leaders in New York City. It is said that one leader signed the names of his district captains to Marshall's pronouncement, apparently without their knowledge. It is said that in one of the Brooklyn districts the Marshall crowd and Father Coughlin's crowd have come together.

I thought you would like to have this information.

F. D. R.

6019 Roosevelt Ave
Woodside, L.I.
New York
Victor A. Sholis

February 11, 1942

Miss Grace Tully,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Grace:

Since I recall keeping you up while I delivered one of my favorite lectures on "Congressman McKeough, A Great Guy", I decided to send you this note. Quite a few people for some reason or another are spreading the story around that McKeough's candidacy for the Senate in Illinois is a fake -- that it is the product of a deal between Mayor Kelly and Col. McCormick to produce a set-up for Curly Brooks in the fall.

Knowing both men, this talk is just bosh to me. The Mayor's record of affection and loyalty to the President which I have seen intimately since 1936 satisfies me. And Ray's aggressive liberal record in the House plus his support of the President's foreign policy and his personal devotion to the Boss, not to mention his fine character, bar him from becoming any party to such a deal. I'll stake what's left of my reputation (see my landlady's last report) on the sincerity and integrity of these two men in the fight in the coming campaign.

I don't believe the President is entertaining any doubts in this direction. Since I know, however, that several people high in the Administration have encouraged this suspicion to get around, I thought you might show the President the enclosed speech which Ray delivered on the floor of the House yesterday. I hope it will silence these people who are doing distinct disservice to the President's conduct of the war and my two good friends back in Illinois.

Hope you had a good time in Warm Springs and that you found Marguerite coming along.

Warm regards,
The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. Randolph: On page 2, line 6, strike out the word "ten" and insert the word "five".

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. DITTINGER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks and include therein an article by David Lawrence.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

THE LATE PVT. RICHARD GRAFF

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. McCormick) is recognized for the State Department with considerable desire.

Mr. McCormick. Mr. Speaker, I desire to read an editorial that appeared in the Chicago Daily Tribune in my city of Chicago yesterday morning, and to make some comments thereon.

The editorial relates to the death of Pvt. Richard Graff.

The editorial is as follows:

[From the Chicago Daily Tribune of February 21, 1927.]

PVT. RICHARD GRAFF

Pvt. Richard Graff, who was killed while fighting with General MacArthur's forces in the Philippines is the first of the Tribune family to fall in action this war. He had been with us for nearly 11 years when he enlisted a year ago last month.

We mourn the loss of a conscientious co-worker, a friend, of a gallant soldier. He will not be forgotten. The Tribune will honor his memory and, of course, will take whatever steps may be necessary to see that the widow is taken care of.

Richard Graff, like him, almost every other man who has given his life for his country in this war, had no part in the making of it. He died doing his duty.

The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.

The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.

CONGRESSMAN OF COLUMBIA

Mr. SABATH, from the Committee on Rules, submitted the following report:

The House, by a vote of 4,500,000, amended the act entitled "An act to expedite the provision of housing in connection with national defense, and for other purposes," approved October 14, 1946, as amended, for printing under rule 36.

Resolved, That upon the adoption or modification of this resolution it shall be in order to move that the bill pass to the Senate for the consideration of the Senate, and that the bill be passed to the Senate for the consideration of the Senate, and that the bill be passed to the Senate for the consideration of the Senate.

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BICKERSTAFF. Yes, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. FISH. Does the gentleman propose to call this bill up tomorrow?

Mr. SABATH. Yes. It is the District of Columbia housing bill and provides a $50,000,000 authorization.

Mr. FISH. It will come up under the rule tomorrow. That is one purpose for which I rose. The other purpose is to say, as the gentleman from Illinois can verify, that we have not reported from
the Rules Committee either the Rogers bill or the bill extending the term of the Dies investigating committee.

Mr. SABATH. It was my hope that we might report the Rogers bill today, but due to the opposition on the part of some members of the committee to the extension of the bill, it has been postponed. Also due to the fact that the committee desires to give every Member of the House a chance to be heard on the resolution extending the time of the Dies committee, in opposition to the resolution, that matter will be taken up tomorrow morning at 10:30.

Mr. FISH. I just want to make clear that I don't think the questions that I have asked these questions is because the number of Members on this side have asked me about the Rogers resolution and the Dies resolution. Neither will be brought up tomorrow, and maybe not this week.

Mr. MAY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SABATH. I yield.

Mr. MAY. I am getting a great many requests from the War Department with regard to the War Department bill, known as the Rogers bill. The committee emphasized the fact that it was urgently requested by General Marshall, the Chief of Staff, and that there is a great need for it. I would like to say to the chairman of the Rules Committee and to all the other members of the Rules Committee that we always appreciate their courtesy and help given in this case, and the fine spirit in which they do it, but we feel that the urgency of the situation is not being unnecessarily delayed.

Mr. SABATH. I may say to the gentleman from Kentucky that it was my aim to report the bill, and I had been in hopes that we would be able to obtain a vote on the resolution so that we could do so in time to have the bill read as at the present time two or three hundred thousand women might be enrolled. As I stated, a majority of the members of the committee think there should be a limitation as to the number of women who should be induced in the Auxiliary Corps. There is no limitation in the bill, and as it is read at the present time it must be understood that no women will be enrolled. As I stated, a majority of the committee think there should be a limitation.

Mr. MAY. In that respect, Mr. SABATH. As to the number of women who may be enrolled in the corps.

While the Department claims that at the time there is need for only 12,000 women to carry on certain duties, yet the bill does not limit the number. I may say to the chairman of the Military Affairs Committee that a question arose in our committee as to whether married women should be enrolled, and there was also discussion as to what the estimated cost will be for the establishment of this corps.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks and to include certain material, including editorial comments.

Mr. FISHER. The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

The matter referred to will appear elsewhere in the Appendix.

COOPERATION OF THE PUBLIC IN THE WAR EFFORT

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the previous order of the House, the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. FADDIS) is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. FADDIS. Mr. Speaker, I am sorry to say that reports from various sections of this Nation show that a proper appreciation of the task which confronts us, in regard to the part we must play in this war, if we are to emerge victorious, is sadly lacking. The people are still apathetic and are not aware of the urgency of the situation. Our production capacity is not getting into high gear, and we are not making sufficient effort to place arms and equipment in the hands of the troops which soon must go on the firing line.

I fear that American people are taking victory for granted and are all too anxious to wish, sing, or dance their way to victory. Wars are not won in that manner. Wars, whether we wish to believe it or not, are won by offensive action, by the shedding of blood and death, by the hard hammering and relentless pressure of armed forces which break the will to resist and allow the victor to force his will upon the vanquished.

For the past several years we have heard much—too much—about national defense. We have heard little—too little—about national offense. In consequence we had Pearl Harbor, the outcome of which be thousands of fine American boys voluntarily lost in action, and because this Nation refused to look facts in the face and call an enemy an enemy—until too late. Yes, we were going to wish our way or hope our way out of a war. Did we think that we were going to wish or hope that the war would end without our fighting? It may do so in fact, but unless we do our share of the fighting we will probably not end advantageous to ourselves or our allies. We have two sons of our own in the service, but I know I must face that situation realistically. Furthermore, we are vitally interested in the peace which will follow. Upon the peace-structure erected after this war depends our entire post-war system of economy, security, and politics. How can we be a strong influence at the peace table if we have not borne our share of the fighting?

The apparent success of the Russians and the valiant stand of General MacArthur and his men, coupled with the fact that the real theater of operation is far from our shores, has served to again jolt us into a somber state of complacency. Too many feel that the war will not really affect them. Some seem to feel that some great cataclysm, the Nagasaki will overcome our enemies, like an earthquake in Japan or typhus fever in Germany. More wishful thinking. Consider the nations conquered and enslaved today due to their wishful thinking. The reason for their failure is clearly told. Too little and too late. Too little preparation for war. Too little determination to sacrifice what was necessary to secure their freedom. Too late to place sufficient force at strategic points. Too late to take a firm stand by the side of their friends. Too late to realize that selfish class jockeying for position in times of national crises is disastrous.

This is no time for complacency or reliance upon the fact that we have been victorious in every war in which we have engaged. Who can guarantee that we will be victorious in this one? Can we ever be sure, even if we are now so loud in their criticism, guarantee that we will win? Can the impractical, theoretical, pseudo-intellectuals, who are already planning our foreign and domestic economic, social, and political future, inspire us victory? These starry-eyed, irresponsible, crusading muddlers, who have had to meet a pay role or could not care for their own heritage, and who would never willingly shoulder a gun, are responsible for our state of impotency, because they fostered a system wherein relief took precedence over rearmament and social security outranked national security.

Mr. RANDOLPH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FADDIS. I yield to the gentleman from West Virginia.

Mr. RANDOLPH. During the debate and action in this House on our civilian defense programs on January 18 and the subsequent action on the conference report on January 19, the gentleman from Pennsylvania now speaking and others of us felt it was a dangerous program to allow the civilian defense efforts to be correlated except through the channels of the War Department. Is the gentleman still of that opinion?

Mr. FADDIS. I am more strongly of that opinion than ever before. I am quite sure that events since January 18 have proven that it would have been the part of wisdom to place this agency under the control of the War Department at that time.

If these starry-eyed muddlers have any regret for the peace we hope will come, let them be quiet about their hastily drawn, ill-considered, visionary plans for revolutionary post-war changes to the American system of free enterprise—or there may be no place for us.

The truth of the matter is, we are facing the most desperate situation we have ever faced as a Nation. This means all of us—farmers, laborers, bankers, industrialists, manufacturers, professionals, and except for the few quixots who have set out to be their own judges, even the starry-eyed crusaders. We are all in the same ship of state. We must both work and fight our way up with an offensive will, or we will be torpedoed, bows first, under the sea and the air. Because we were reluctant to curb the Japanese in the North Pacific at the right time, we are off to a bad start. We must face that fact.

At this time it seems likely that the Japanese will, because of their start, have the advantage of the Indies and all of the resources of that region. If the Germans can drive down through the Suez and establish a line of water communication to Egypt, they can be protected by land-based aircraft, the two major Axis nations can exchange commodities with their mutual advantage and to the disadvantage, and perhaps to the destruction of the United Nations. This
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 9, 1943

MEMORANDUM FOR

GRACE

Tell Jimmy Rowe to talk this over with Frances Perkins and see if he would fit in.

F. D. R.
MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT.

Jack Houston

It is politically necessary of course to "take care" of some of the "faithful" who were defeated in the last election. It is a pleasant necessity when the person defeated is a capable man. Josh Lee's appointment to the Civil Aeronautics Board was such a case. I personally believe Jack Houston is another.

One of your continuing minor "headaches" is the necessity of replacing Leiserson on the National Labor Relations Board. Leiserson wants to return to the Mediation Board and railroad labor wants him to return. I understand it has been held up because of Otto Beyer's desire to play "dog-in-the-manger". He now has an excellent position with Eastman in the Office of Defense Transportation where he is very useful (he is a very capable man) and there is no reason why he shouldn't resign the Mediation Board job.

I think Jack Houston would be an excellent appointment for the following reasons:

(1) He is one of the really intelligent men who have sat in Congress. He had great influence there, particularly on the Appropriations Committee.

(2) His voting record on labor problems was good. I attach a summary.

(3) If anything is to remain of the domestic New Deal reforms, an intelligent rearguard action must be fought by the New Dealers. Under Ganson Purcell, for instance, the SEC has for months been laying a quiet groundwork to save its statutes from emasculation by the new Congress. The Labor Board must do the same thing. Jerry Reilly, the newest member of the Board, understands this perfectly but he does need help. Houston who is "one of the boys" can give this help because he can save the Labor Board's appropriations and can also exert his influence with the leaders to bottle up anti-labor legislation.

(4) Houston comes from Kansas, the heart of the farm belt field. The farmers will be the spearhead of the organization against labor. The appointment of a sympathizer of the farmers will look to the public like retrenchment. That appearance must be given. Labor today is as blind as the utilities were in 1934 but that is no reason why this Administration, whose sincere friendliness towards labor has always been evident, should be equally blind.

I would of course never suggest Houston unless I was thoroughly convinced he is "right" on labor questions. It would seem imperative that this appointment be made without consulting either branch of organized labor. In the present state, it would be impossible to select a good man acceptable to both.
(5) The appointment of Houston would have excellent repercussions in the House where we need all the friends we can get.

I admit this suggestion of Houston is a second thought. The Attorney General and I were extremely hopeful that Houston could be enticed into the Department of Justice. We talked to him and found, to our complete chagrin, that he is not a lawyer. (I know that you do not regard this failing as a bar sinister).

James Rowe, Jr.
. Rowe:

The Wagner Bill was passed and the Conference Report on the same agreed to, in the House, both without a record vote.

M.H.L.
M.H.L.
12/29/42.
December 29, 1942

LABOR VOTING RECORD OF
CONGRESSMAN JOHN M. HOUSTON OF KANSAS

74th Congress - 1st Session

Social Security - Passage of Bill

Yay

75th Congress - 1st Session

Sit Down Strikes, to investigate Railroad Retirement - Passage of Bill

No

Yay

Housing Authority, creating - Passage of Bill

Yay

75th Congress - 3rd Session

Wage Hour - Passage of Bill

Yay

76th Congress - 1st Session

Housing Act, amendment to limit National Labor Relations Board, to investigate

No

No

76th Congress - 3rd Session

Labor, authorizing Bureau to collect statistics of productivity and labor costs

Yay

Labor Standards - Motion to prevent amendments to Labor Standards - Motion to recommit Bill amending N.L.R.B. - Smith amendment as substitute N.L.R.B. - Passage of Bill as amended Bridges, Harry - Deportation of
77th Congress

Labor Disputes - Providing for the Investigation and Mediation of
(Strike)
Smith substitute
Passage of Bill with Smith substitute  No