

PSF: Subject File : Wendell Willkie

Box 194.

Retixed for preservation

PSF: Willkie
~~McAdoo~~
Min 2

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 27, 1940.

MEMORANDUM FOR PERSONAL FILES

A letter to former Senator
McAdoo sent from Woodland, Cal.,
September 23, 1940:

"Illustrative of the
Hearst newspaper man who
writes one thing and be-
lieves the other. (See
paragraph #2.

The letter is from an independent
publisher.

PSF: Willkie

October 2, 1943

Dear Mac:

First of all I am glad of the assurance in your letter of September twenty-fourth that you are all right again. Be sure and conserve your strength and take the best of care of yourself.

Thank you very much for your interesting observations on the effect of the candidate's progress through California. I always have full confidence in your judgment. I also found particularly interesting the survey made by our friend Paul Leake. Please tell Paul I appreciate having his analysis too.

Hope to see you when you come to Washington.

Very sincerely yours,

Honorable William Gibbs McAdoo,
American President Lines, Ltd.,
San Francisco, California.

wdh-mw

Respectfully forwarded to the President:

EMW
E.M.W.

STE.
to prepare reply -
I Mac:



AMERICAN PRESIDENT LINES, LTD.
SAN FRANCISCO

PSF: Willkie

ack 10/2/40
mw

W. G. MCADOO
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

September 24, 1940

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

Mr. Willkie has just left us after barnstorming a considerable part of California. It occurred to me that you might like to know what sort of impression he made out here. I, therefore, asked our friend, Paul R. Leake, who is the publisher of the Woodland Democrat and also Vice President of the California Newspaper Publishers Association, to talk to the correspondents who accompanied Mr. Willkie and get their reactions. I enclose Mr. Leake's letter, which I think sizes up the situation with reasonable accuracy. My judgment is that Mr. Willkie made an agreeable impression personally, but that his speeches were unconvincing and failed to make a serious impression. I don't think he made a dent in your lines in this State. Our worst troubles are local and come from the heterogeneous composition of our Party, but from all I can see and learn California's twenty-two electoral votes will be cast for you.

I am glad to tell you that I am all right again and ready for any service to the country which I am considered competent to perform. I expect to be in Washington October 2, for about a week or ten days. I hope to have the pleasure of seeing you.

With warm regards, I am

Cordially yours,

wgm-s

ED. E. LEAKE PUBLISHING COMPANY
PUBLISHERS OF

Woodland Democrat

TELEPHONE
666

PSF: Willkie

WOODLAND • CALIFORNIA

September 23, 1940.

Hon. William Gibbs McAdoo,
American President Lines,
311 California St.,
San Francisco, Calif.

My dear Senator:

At your request, we talked with a number of newspapermen who covered the Willkie visit in San Francisco, also in Los Angeles.

Briefly, none of them, excepting one pro-Willkie reporter who is traveling on Mr. Willkie's train, expects the Republican nominee to carry California. Ralph Jordan, Pacific Coast editor for International News, covered the Willkie activities in Los Angeles, and despite the fact he is filling up the Hearst newspapers with all of the adjectives in his own vocabulary, as well as those to be found in Mr. Webster's latest dictionary, in favor of Mr. Willkie, he feels sure that California will return a smashing victory for the President. He states that Southern California is too strongly Democratic for Mr. Willkie to have made any inroads.

Two Washington reporters traveling with Mr. Willkie say he is theatrical and they are getting tired of the "same old stuff". They would not concede Mr. Roosevelt's triumph at this time, but they admitted they do not believe that Mr. Willkie's campaign thus far has made him any appreciable number of converts. The United Press reporters who followed Mr. Willkie in San Francisco said that even Mr. Willkie appeared a bit disappointed over his reception here, as he realized the crowds were made up mostly of Republicans who would vote for anyone to defeat the President. They stated that his best talk in San Francisco was extemporaneous, delivered to 3000 employees of the Paraffin Paint Company. He approached them by stating that he knew they were all for Mr. Roosevelt, and he invited them to "look me over". He posed as one of the boys and seemed to get away with it. The impression created evidently was favorable. He assured them that labor would lose none of the gains made in the last seven years, and he praised the President for standing by labor.

The Associated Press scribes were rather reluctant to discuss the situation. They said that Mr. Willkie apparently was "making a hit" with all of the crowds whom he addresses, but they conceded that his audiences were undoubtedly partial to him and looking for something to applaud.

Down at Madera, a little town in the San Joaquin Valley, Mr. Willkie

WOODLAND ■ CALIFORNIA

-2-

was jeered so badly that he could hardly continue his talk. This fact did not appear in any of the press reports. His Coliseum audience in Los Angeles booed the President. The boos were heard over the radio. Mr. Willkie was annoyed at this because he realized the demonstration would create sympathy for the President and arouse the friends of the President to action.

Even the newspaper boys on the train, who have become rather partial to Mr. Willkie because of their closeness to him, admitted they sense a growing reverence for the President. They hint that even Mr. Willkie is "not optimistic".

One of the boys on the train, sitting with a group of San Francisco newspapermen at the Press Club, expressed confidence that Mr. Willkie would be elected. One of the local newspapermen took a poll from the particular group, and the vote stood five to two for Mr. Roosevelt, despite the fact that all of the scribes are working for newspapers which are hostile toward Mr. Roosevelt.

All of the newspapermen described Mr. Willkie as a "great guy" personally, very democratic and intensely friendly. They also like Mrs. Willkie.

One of the reporters, who covered ten speeches made by Mr. Willkie in San Francisco, told me that he (the reporter) was surprised in the Italian Section, known as North Beach, by the favorable reception given to Mr. Willkie. He expected some resentment among the Italians to the President's "stab in the back" speech, but did not think that so many Italians would go over-board for Mr. Willkie. The reporter learned that the bankers and some of the business leaders in the North Beach section are very aggressive in behalf of Mr. Willkie, and have had great influence in turning the usual Roosevelt support to Mr. Willkie. The Republican nominee, incidentally, praised the Di Maggio boys, and this, of course, evoked a spontaneous ovation from his Italian audience.

All of the newspapermen who have covered Mr. Willkie are amazed that his radio talks are so disappointing. They think he makes a tremendous hit talking extemporaneously to small groups, but is a dismal failure over the radio.

We are passing along this information for whatever it may be worth to you, knowing of your great interest in the success of the President.

Sincerely yours,

Ed. E. Leake

PSF; Willkie



AMERICAN PRESIDENT LINES

Trans-Pacific Service • Round-World Service

311 CALIFORNIA STREET • SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA, U. S. A.

OFFICE OF
THE CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

September 24, 1940

Personal

Major General Edwin M. Watson
Secretary to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear General:

Thank you for your letter of September 19th.
I will send it to Mr. Adams.

I enclose a letter for the President which I
wish you would bring to his attention at some con-
venient moment. It occurred to me that he might
like to get a report on Mr. Willkie's visit to
California.

Best regards.

Cordially yours,

wgm-s

PSF: Willkie

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE
HOTEL BILTMORE
NEW YORK CITY

*file
confidential*

*The President to read
Willkie*

CHARLES MICHELSON
DIRECTOR OF PUBLICITY

Sept. 29, 1940

441

STRICTLY PERSONAL

Dear Steve:

Here's some off-the-record stuff about Willkie and his
tour, that I thought the boss might be interested in.

Thine,

C.M.

Willkie's major labor speech will be in Pittsburg next week. He believes in going where opposition is likely to be heaviest, hence the talk on labor in CIO-dominated Pittsburg. He promises to schedule some noon meetings of first importance to give afternoon papers a break, all big meetings so far having been at night.

He said he had received some reports on the impression he has made during the western tour. "Someone connected with the Gallup poll" has told him that, judging from sampling, the next poll will show a 3 or 4 per cent gain in the Pacific Coast states.

At Cleveland October 2, when he will make his second pronouncement on foreign policy, he does not expect to elaborate specifically on his stand for aid to Britain, such as advocating our sending her bombers. He said again that the administration record on foreign policy has been "fair" during the past year although the President has been stupid in several isolated instances. Roosevelt's last boner was the "stab-in-the-back" speech of June 10. A stab in the back connotes duplicity, whereas everyone knew where Mussolini stood with regard to France. He will probably touch on this in his Cleveland speech. He also said he thought the President was jeopardizing his popularity (Willkie's words were "making a mistake") in injecting himself so actively into the draft situation. He said: "Take the situation in my own family, for instance. Mrs. Willkie was unselfishly in favor of selective service but now that she has learned her son is in the first group that will be taken she is not so enthusiastic." Willkie said he thought this

instance would be multiplied over the country to the detriment of the President's popularity. He said that he realized the criticalness of the international situation, however, and agreed that the agreement between Japan and Germany and Italy might be the crisis which would sweep aside opposition to the administration and break down isolationist sentiment. Although the situation with regard to Senator Johnson was awkward, he did not anticipate any difficulty with isolationist Republican Congressmen, if he is elected because Congress has no control over foreign policy which is determined in the Senate. When someone mentioned that the House rules and foreign affairs committees might cut some figure, he replied that he didn't think the President had more than 10 per cent of the congressmen with him. For instance, Bankhead and Rayburn, both good friends, used to call him up and blow up about the President. Willkie pointed out that if he had wanted to play politics he could have come out as an isolationist but he hadn't done so because that was against his convictions.

With adjournment of Congress, he expects Taft and Vandenberg to campaign for him, he said; also Dewey. Senator Johnson has agreed to make two speeches in California, one to be nationally broadcast. Johnson is not so much of an isolationist as people think, according to Willkie.

Asked if he anticipated that he might have the same difficulties conciliating labor that the President had encountered with capital, he said no, because the White House conference plan to which he committed himself in his farm-policy speech at Omaha was what labor had been asking for, and besides, "I can get the support of John L. Lewis if I want it". By that he meant, he said, that Lewis always wants to

trade and Lewis would be with him if he made Lewis the right offer, such as naming the people Lewis wanted to the Labor Relations Board, for instance. It must be remembered, he said, that his company was the first utility company to sign with CIO. Asked if he would publicly come out for the AFL amendments to the Wagner Act, as he has done off the record, he said, "not in just those words". He said he and John Lewis had "a delightful personal relationship". On the other hand, John's dislike of Roosevelt goes deeper than just the feeling that Roosevelt didn't live up to campaign promises to the CIO. "It is pathological. John never can forget that he came up the hard way. The President is very genteel and he is patronizing to John without meaning to be and this drives John wild. John's sensitiveness over his humble beginning crops up in the impressive suites he always engaged at the Mayflower in Washington while I would be in just an ordinary one, not caring one way or the other so long as the arrangement was convenient." Getting back to his basis for believing he could have Lewis' support, he said that one evening in Rushville - one dull evening - he had called Lewis on the phone. Lewis was not home but the next morning had called back and said he would be very interested in what Willkie would be saying specifically in the campaign. (Forgot to mention that when Willkie first mentioned he could have Lewis' support, he added, "In fact, I've been in touch with him since the campaign started". Apparently, he meant this phone call.)

Addenda.

Willkie intends to make one more near Southern speech, probably at Memphis. He told one of my friends he was sensible to the slump after his acceptance speech but had learned a lot and would make no more bulls.

He is at outs with Pew and Governor James of Pennsylvania. --Apparently will depend on Weir to come through there.

PSF: Willkie

January 10, 1941

I dined last night at Irita Van Doren's apartment to meet Wendell Willkie. The others were Robert Kintner and his wife from Washington, Harold Guinzburg and his wife, and Dorothy Thompson. I imagine Guinzburg and I were asked because we broached the idea to Irita on New Year's Day that Willkie could profitably make a trip to England as a means of putting himself in a position to reply, on the basis of first-hand knowledge, to the Republican isolationists who are ganging up on him. She passed the idea on to him, he accepted it, and the announcement of his projected trip was made on Monday. I hadn't seen Willkie since before the campaign. He still strikes me as an unusually honest, attractive fellow, on the right side in general, not at all an intellectual, sometimes a bit naive, but thoroughly admirable and likeable. I don't know whether he had seen Dorothy since the campaign but apparently her blasts against him hadn't ruined her friendship because he kissed her on both cheeks.

The first part of the evening was taken up by talking about how to improve the defense set-up. Kintner was very interesting, and Willkie showed himself open-minded and fair. He doesn't like the dual control of Knudsen and Hillman, but sees the difficulties of letting either industry or labor take control of production. Kintner said he had about come around to the view that only one man control would be effective, and that only a government official could be given such a job. On the other hand, this would open the Administration to charges of dictatorship, wanting to throttle industry, etc. Kintner reported that the difficulty of the present arrangement was not conflict between Knudsen

and Hillman, but that as you went down the line, their subordinates came into conflict and in particular that the respective counsel were always trying to get the better of each other. Willkie hasn't much of an opinion of Knudsen's abilities. He thinks him laborious but somewhat obstinate and very slow. He says that he could name a dozen business executives able to do the job "ten times as well," and that some of them at any rate would be able to meet the requirement of having the President's confidence and having a proper record on labor questions. He spoke of the head of the Firestone Company as particularly equipped by temperament and experience to push work through regardless, but admitted he might have been a political antagonist of the President. Another man he mentioned, named Woodruff, President of the Coca Cola Company "one of the best business executives in the country" he thought had supported the President and also had a good labor record. He said these were merely men who sprang to mind, and many others could be found far superior to Knudsen in experience and capacity. Throughout this talk, Willkie didn't show himself in the light of a reactionary businessman and recognized the difficulty of Roosevelt's position and the necessity of meeting Roosevelt's personal requirements.

As to his proposed trip, Willkie said that he had already begun to be subjected to a lot of pressure from business friends and associates who would like him to go also to Germany to see whether he "couldn't fix things up," or possibly to France, "to report on the need for food." Charlie Blackwell (whom apparently he knows only very slightly) came to him yesterday from Ambassador Henry-Haye suggesting the latter. I said at once to Willkie that he would come under great suspicion if he were to try to visit Germany, and that there wasn't any use in visiting

France, which is not an international factor in its own right at the present time. He quite agreed, saying that his only aim was to find out all he could about the condition of England, in the hope of strengthening his belief that England could and would continue to resist, and that we could and should continue to help her to do so as a prime measure of our own national security. I also suggested that, in addition to seeing people responsible for production, etc., in England, he make a special effort to get inside the minds of people like Bevin, and Dorothy promised him a letter of introduction to Bevin's closest confidential assistant. Kintner agreed that a good part of Willkie's effectiveness when he gets home will depend on the names of the persons he has seen cabled over by the American newspapermen. He obviously will want to see Churchill, Eden and other government leaders, but he mustn't see just them and the King; he must give an impression of having made the effort necessary to see average Englishmen also, and as representatives of labor and intellectual life.

The most interesting part of the evening (and the real reason for making this memorandum about it) was Willkie's extraordinarily frank statement of the present situation of the leadership in the Republican Party. By this term he means especially Hoover, Landon, Taft, Vandenberg, Dewey, Martin and Barton (he didn't mention Fish!). As a whole this leadership, he says is thoroughly isolationist for various reasons: (1) Willkie is in general for the President's foreign policy, for aid to Britain, for concentration on rapid defense measures; this means that anyone with 1944 aspirations, or with past resentment towards Willkie, on any one of a number of grounds, would automatically tend to take the opposite stand. (2) Businessmen who have been restive under

"New Deal interference" foresee that in wartime the Government would increase its interference with their affairs; they are the "paying members" of the Republican Party and hence have a strong influence with potential Republican candidates for office. (3) More businessmen are being won to the appeasement thesis daily by the argument that the war could be "fixed up" if the United States really exerted an effort in that direction, and that now that the Nazis have unified Europe, we could do more profitable business with Europe than ever before. (4) What I call "the property nerve" of a lot of rich men is being brought close to the surface by the imminence of war; they are afraid that if war comes, they will have to pay big taxes and may lose control of their businesses. The people who on this account are against a firm policy which entails the risk of war include not merely obvious examples like Joe Kennedy, but more respectable men like Jeremiah Milbank, of whom more in a moment.

Due to these various reasons, says Willkie, professional Republicans are against the President's foreign policy and have become very threatening to Willkie because of his support of that policy. "Hoover is the brains of the isolationist movement today," said Willkie, "Roy Howard is the general manager or field marshal, and Bruce Barton is the advertising manager and contact man." According to Willkie, Howard goes over to see Hoover at the Waldorf every day and is in telephone touch with him half a dozen times a day. Willkie says that there is no doubt that these men put Verne Marshall up to organizing the "No Foreign War" committee. Marshall is a Hoover man who came to see Willkie during the pre-convention campaign, and his associate Davis, international oil speculator, put up \$25,000. to prepare Hoover banners and

leaflets against the possibility that the Philadelphia Convention might decide to draft Hoover. I said it was too bad that Marshall had blown up with such a bang so soon, before his connection with Hoover, Lindbergh and other more respectable "appeasers" had become well established and well known. Willkie agreed heartily and said that since the Marshall group had blown up, the appeasers had been forced to change their tactics and undertake themselves a more open part in the campaign against Roosevelt's foreign policy. They have decided to make the big issue over the "lend-lease" bill to aid Britain. The morning the text was received from Washington, Roy Howard called Willkie up and said that "this was his chance to show up that blank-blank as a dictator." He said he'd like to help Willkie draft a statement. Willkie replied that he wanted to read the bill carefully and hung up. Just as he finished reading the bill, Howard called up again and said again that he's like to help him get his "blast" ready. Willkie said there wasn't going to be any "blast" from him, because, although he thought the language of the bill a little too wide, he was in favor of its general objectives and intended to say so, but in his own time and in his own way. A little later Howard called up again, very mad, saying that he had been talking to both Hoover and Landon, and that they were ready "to go along with him," in fact that he had "already fixed up Landon's statement for him" and was helping Hoover.

All this was last Friday, the 10th, the day the bill was introduced in Congress. Willkie made his statement in favor of the bill, and announced his trip to Europe, on Monday, the 13th. That day Howard called him up and asked him if he would come to dinner, and he accepted.

Howard began by telling Willkie he had missed "the biggest chance of his life," and that he, Howard, now saw that "all the time and effort I have spent on helping you has been wasted." Howard said he foresaw that Willkie was going to England to get "some more British propaganda," and said he just wanted to give him a warning that the Scripps-Howard papers were going to "tear your reputation to shreds." Willkie said this sort of threatening talk, mixed with cajolery, continued for about three hours, when Bruce Barton came in and began taking the same line. Willkie said he managed to keep his temper, "though if Howard wasn't such a little pipsqueak I'd have felt like knocking him down." Barton tried to tell Willkie that he was showing ingratitude towards him, Barton, who had made a "sacrifice" in running on the ticket with him last November. Willkie remarked here that his urging of Barton to run had been restricted to his replying to a beseeching message from Barton by saying that of the various candidates suggested for New York Senator, Barton seemed the strongest. Howard said to Willkie that he was going to show up his "Morgan friends," which Willkie said was silly as he wasn't under obligations to the Morgan people, and as they had practically no influence in the country any more anyway. (I recalled in this connection that I had seen Howard at Bill Chadbourne's the evening of Wednesday, January 8, the day he returned from a trip to Washington, and that he spent all the evening telling us that there ought to be a negotiated peace, that Roosevelt wants to get us into war, that he is backed by "a lot of radicals," and that the real danger to this country isn't from the Nazis, →

but from the Communists.)

I think that Willkie, like many people who have made their own way to the heights from pretty humble beginnings, is rather more sensitive to threats and criticism than he should be. I don't mean that he has weakened in the slightest degree under threats from people like Howard or the arguments from Hoover and others relayed to him by Howard. But he is hurt and worried. He naturally was feeling pretty mad, and as the evening went on limbered up to a surprising degree in telling us all the foregoing, with of course much more detail than I can set down here. Probably if he had been in political life longer he would take the threats of people like Howard philosophically. However, he is quite right in not underestimating the effectiveness of their propaganda in the present situation.

Willkie added one more interesting fact to what we already know about the present isolationist campaign. The first he heard of Jeremiah Milbank's interest in the point of view represented by the Wood and Marshall committees seems to have been while he was down at Hobe Sound, vacationing after the campaign, or just after his return to New York, Milbank offered to put \$2,000,000. in the bank, to be drawn upon by Willkie for radio and other expenses, provided he would undertake to head up a campaign against the "aid to Britain" policy which, according to Milbank, is drawing the country into war.

Dorothy inclined to question Willkie's feeling that appeasement sentiment was increasing generally in the country. She thought it

was merely becoming more articulate as opposition leaders recovered from the November defeat and as stunned reactionary businessmen regained courage. Willkie maintained, however, that appeasement ideas were taking hold on a wider and wider group of influential persons, though he admitted that they were to be found principally in the Republican Party or at least "among the people who voted for me." He professed not to be in the slightest degree swerved by any of their arguments, threats or offers from what he said he considered his plain duty. He said rather whimsically: "I told Roy Howard I wouldn't accept responsibility for Roosevelt's being President, in fact I did as much as anyone else did to try to see he wouldn't be, but the fact remains he is President, he has to exercise the executive power, and I want to see a bill passed that will permit him to do the job effectively, though within some set time limit, say two years." Willkie agreed with Dorothy and Kintner that any proviso making the President's action subject to certification by the Chief of Staff or the Secretaries of War and Navy would be unimportant, as they are appointees of the President. I pointed out that the proposed limitation against the use of American ports by foreign warships was directly contrary to our interests, because if Britain were defeated, the first thing we would want to do would be to get the British fleet safely to our side of the Atlantic. Willkie entirely agreed and said he was opposed to any limitation of that sort. In fact the only limitation he really seemed to favor was a time limitation of that sort. In fact the only limitation he really seemed to favor was a time limit, and he noted that the period could be extended later on if circumstances demanded.

Mrs. Brady ^{PSF: Wilkie}
4-41

The general is
going to forget for
time being - will you
file pls
R. S.

PSF: Willkie

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 28, 1941

MEMORANDUM FOR PA:

*Gen Tuttle
Special Pres.*

*head.
2/11/41
or
Hinson*

Speak to me about seeing
Wendell Willkie next week.

F.D.R.

5. You asked me to mention
W.W. coming down
from N.Y.C. this week

PSF: Willkie

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 27, 1941.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

David Niles asked me to give you this report on his recent meeting with Wendel Willkie:

"I saw Wendell Willkie Friday afternoon at three o'clock in his office. I first told him that you would like to have him as part of your Administration, and also that you had said that this didn't mean that he was to give up any of his partisan ideology. He said that he was very much flattered and pleased, but thought that he would be much more useful to your foreign policy if he were not part of the Administration. I suggested that he ought not to say "no" without further consideration and he replied that he would be glad to talk to you about it when you sent for him.

I had told him that you would be glad to see him whenever you and he thought wise to discuss next year's political situation. You told me to suggest to you when that ought to be. I think the sooner the better, and I do not think it is necessary now to wait until these movie hearings are over. You will remember that you had thought it wise not to see him until the movie hearings were finished. I doubt if they will be resumed in the immediate future, if ever."

E. M. W.

4-41
PSF; Wilkie
folder

Private

October 31, 1941.

Dear Wendell:

I have thought a lot about putting Ben Cohen into the Solicitor Generalship. However, while I do not think there would have been any disapproval on the part of the Supreme Court, yet I sensed that they felt he had not had enough experience in presenting cases before them.

On the other hand, they knew Fahy and liked him and his court work, as he had argued many cases before them. I think his selection was particularly persona grata to the Court, including not only the new members but also the Chief Justice and Owen Roberts.

Ben is such a straight shooter and such a modest fellow, I sincerely hope he will continue with the government. It is really too bad that he has had so much publicity from columnists, etc.

I do hope to see you one of these days very soon.

As ever yours,

Honorable Wendell L. Willkie,
15 Broad Street,
New York, N. Y.

fdr/dj

PSF: Willkie

WENDELL L. WILLKIE
15 BROAD STREET
NEW YORK

THE WHITE HOUSE
OCT 15 9 07 AM '41
RECEIVED

October 14, 1941

My dear Mr. President:

It was said to me the other day, that you are considering appointing Benjamin Cohen to the office of Solicitor General.

I am writing you this letter without either the suggestion or the knowledge of Mr. Cohen, with whom I have never discussed the subject.

I have known Ben since the very early days of your Administration. I have disputed with him much and disagreed with him more, and likewise I do not agree today with many of his social and economic beliefs. But I can say to you that from those disputes and differences, I have come to have a profound respect for his ability and character. No one in your Administration has represented you more disinterestedly or more zealously.

I would not recommend anyone to you for official position in whose appointment I had the slightest personal interest. I recommend Mr. Cohen to you only because of his merit.

Respectfully yours,



Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt,
Executive Mansion,
Washington, D. C.

PSF: Willkie

Gen Corres
4-41
W

January 28, 1942.

Dear Wendell:

I have just received from Ambassador Winant two photostat copies of the letter which you took to the Prime Minister. I thought you might like to have one for your files.

My best to you.

Always sincerely,

(Signed) Franklin D. Roosevelt

FDR to Willkie
Wendell Willkie, Esq.,
15 Broad Street,
New York, N. Y.

gst/dj

Enclosure. Photostat of letter to Winston Churchill Jan. 20, 1941 which Willkie carried with him. Copy attached for our files.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

January 27, 1942.

~~Personal and Confidential~~

MEMORANDUM FOR MISS TULLY:

With reference to the personal letter of introduction to Mr. Churchill which the President gave to Mr. Willkie at the time of the latter's visit to England, I have now obtained from Mr. Winant the two photographic copies which the President desired, one for the White House files and the other for Mr. Willkie.

The photographic copies are enclosed herewith, together with a copy of Mr. Winant's communication to complete your files.


George T. Summerlin.

Enclosures:

Two photographic copies
of letter.
Copy of letter from Mr.
Winant.

EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA

London, January 5, 1942.

Personal and Confidential.

My dear Mr. Summerlin:

I received your letter of December 5 a few days ago, and am happy to enclose the two photographic copies of the President's letter introducing Mr. Willkie to Mr. Churchill which 10 Downing Street has been good enough to let us have.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN G. WINANT

George T. Summerlin, Esq.,
Chief of Protocol,
Department of State,
Washington.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 20
1941

Dear Churchill

Wendell Willkie will give you
this - He is truly helping to keep
politics out over here.

I think this verse applies to your
people as it does to us:

"Sail on, Oh Ship of State!
Sail on Oh Union strong and free,
Humanity with all its fears,
With all the hopes of future years
Is hanging breathless on thy fate"

As ever yours
Franklin D. Roosevelt

THIS DOCUMENT IS THE BEST
AVAILABLE. EVERY TECHNICAL
EFFORT HAS BEEN TAKEN TO
INSURE LEGIBILITY.

2824

12. THIS OFFICIAL PHOTOGRAPH, C-0-12854,
ISSUED BY THE MINISTRY OF INFORMATION.

In his broadcast of Feb. 9th, this year,
Mr. Winston Churchill quoted from a
letter which Mrs. Wendell Wilkie had
brought to him from America from the
President of the United States. The full
text of this document is shown in this
facsimile.

Each April 41.

PSF:Willkie

M

PSF: Willkie

~~Mr. [unclear]~~
4-42

CONFIDENTIAL

February 21, 1942.

Dear Wendell:-

I hope that the next time you are in Washington you will let me know a few days ahead and come and lunch with me, as there are a number of things I want to talk with you about.

By the way, it seems to me that the problem of Fish is just as much a problem as it was when we talked it over many months ago. I have various recommendations for candidates -- some Democrats, some Republicans -- but I am still inclined to think that if Warden Lawes could be persuaded to run, he would make the best showing. I think he calls himself an Independent Republican. None of the other names are well-known in all three Counties.

As ever yours,

Honorable Wendell L. Willkie,
15 Broad Street,
New York, N. Y.

*file
personal*

PSF: Willkie ~~Gen. C. ...~~
4-42

WENDELL L. WILLKIE
15 BROAD STREET
NEW YORK

February 24, 1942

My dear Miss Tully:

The President's letter addressed to Mr. Willkie was received this morning. However, Mr. Willkie left last night for the west coast. I shall hold the letter until Mr. Willkie returns, which will be around the second of March, unless the President wishes it forwarded to him. Will you let me know? Thanks.

Very truly yours,

Grace A. Tully

Secretary

Miss Grace Tully,
Secretary to the President,
White House,
Washington, D. C.

PSF: Willkie ~~from letter W~~
4-42

WENDELL L. WILLKIE
15 BROAD STREET
NEW YORK

THE WHITE HOUSE
MAR 7 11 38 AM '42
RECEIVED

March 6th, 1942

Personal

My dear Mr. President:

I apologize for not having heretofore answered your letter of the 21st. I have been absent on the west coast.

The information that comes to me is that Ham Fish will not run for renomination which, if true, solves that particular problem. I may learn more about this shortly. As you know, I am exceedingly hopeful that all traces of isolationism can be washed out of both Republican and Democratic parties, so that whatever debates may occur hereafter will be within the framework of the recognition of America's necessary position in world affairs and of world leadership.

I shall, in accordance with your suggestion, let one of your secretaries know when I next expect to be in Washington. Thanks very much for the cordial invitation.

Respectfully yours,

Wendell Willkie

Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt
Executive Mansion
Washington, D. C.

W.W. Saw the Pres. off the record.

PSF:Willkie

~~Jim Coates~~
W
4-42

April 15, 1942.

Dear Wendell:-

I did enjoy that little party the other night a lot. We did not get very far on the Ham Fish matter.

My best wishes to you,

Always sincerely,

Honorable Wendell L. Willkie,
15 Broad Street,
New York, N. Y.

PSF: Willkie

~~Gen. L. W.~~
4-42

*file
personal*

WENDELL L. WILLKIE
15 BROAD STREET
NEW YORK

WHITE HOUSE
APR 22 11 57 AM '42
RECEIVED

April 21, 1942

PERSONAL

My dear Mr. President:

Many thanks for your gracious note. I enjoyed myself very much indeed, in talking with you.

My information may be incorrect, but I believe the Hamilton Fish matter is being solved. I am quite confident Fish is going to be eliminated. As a matter of fact, I doubt if he even runs.

Respectfully,

Wendell Willkie

Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt,
Executive Mansion,
Washington, D. C.

PSF: Willkie

Gen. Counsel
W
4-42

file
Personal

WENDELL L. WILLKIE
15 BROAD STREET
NEW YORK

THE WHITE HOUSE
JUN 3 9 24 AM '42
RECEIVED

June 2, 1942

Personal and Confidential

My dear Mr. President:

Just prior to my last letters to you in regard to the Ham Fish matter, I had been in conference with Dan Gleason. Dan had given me his word that he would do everything he could to prevent the nomination of Ham Fish by the Republicans, and consequently, things looked very much on the up and up. As you undoubtedly know, Dan died shortly thereafter, since which time the whole matter has been in some confusion.

I had a long talk with Judge Mack yesterday about it and undoubtedly he will tell you of that talk.

Respectfully,



Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt,
Executive Mansion,
Washington, D. C.

PSF: Willkie

WAR DEPARTMENT
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF STAFF
WASHINGTON

July 31, 1942.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

I have spoken to General Marshall with reference to your note to him concerning Mr. Wendell L. Willkie, and he directed me to send you the following reply:

"I have no objections to offer relative to the trip which Mr. Wendell L. Willkie proposes in his letter to you of July 29, especially if the trip is for the purpose of bolstering the morale of the leaders in the countries which he proposes to visit. I suggest that he be sent either as your 'unofficial' or as your 'special' representative.

"Prior to his departure I think you should make it plain to Mr. Willkie that it is your policy to concentrate the means available to the United States in those areas where they will do most to further our strategic aims. I believe he should be instructed that he is not to give the leaders of foreign countries the impression that he will sponsor requests for United States troops or munitions. I mention this because our experience thus far has been that when we send a representative to a foreign country he immediately embraces all of their problems as his own and urges the United States to undertake the solution of them. Each such instance brings about an additional pressure on the War Department to further disperse our available means."

Joseph S. McInerney
Acting Chief of Staff.



PSF: Willkie

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
July 31, 1942.

MEMORANDUM FOR

GENERAL MARSHALL:

I think that for many reasons Mr. Willkie should take this trip -- especially to put some pep talks into the officials of Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Irak, Iran and China. I do not know what capacity he should go in -- perhaps as a special representative of the President.

What do you think?

F.D.R.

Enclosure - Willkie's personal and confi. letter to the Pres. 7/29/42 saying he would like to take a trip to the middle East, into Russia and perhaps China.

PSF: Willkie

WENDELL L. WILLKIE
15 BROAD STREET
NEW YORK

July 29, 1942

Personal and Confidential

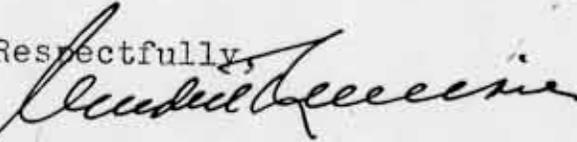
My dear Mr. President:

As you know, I would like to take a trip to the middle east, into Russia and perhaps China. I would like to leave sometime between the fifteenth of August and the first of September, and return sometime between the first and fifteenth of October; all of this, of course, if agreeable to the Government.

I do not know just all that is necessary to be done in the way of arrangements, as far as the Government is concerned. Also you can appreciate that I would have a good many personal arrangements to take care of in advance. Would it be asking too much of you if the proposed trip is agreeable with you, to refer the matter to persons who could work out the details with me?

I would appreciate it much if there is no public announcement made until I have an opportunity to discuss the form of such announcement, if any, with such person as you might designate.

Respectfully,



Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt,
Washington,
D. C.

STANDARD FORM No. 14A
APPROVED BY THE PRESIDENT
MARCH 10, 1926

TELEGRAM

OFFICIAL BUSINESS—GOVERNMENT RATES

C O P Y

FROM

PSF: Wilkie
The White House folder
Washington

CF

NIGHT LETTER

...

August 2, 1942.

HON. WENDELL L. WILLKIE
15 BROAD STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y.

AM ARRANGING FOR YOU TO LEAVE ANY DAY AFTER AUGUST 15TH
AGREEABLE TO YOU AND TO RETURN BETWEEN FIRST AND FIFTEENTH
OF OCTOBER. IT IS MY THOUGHT YOU WOULD DO THE MIDDLE EAST
BUT THAT RUSSIA AND CHINA WOULD BE SUBJECT TO DEVELOPMENTS
WHICH YOU AND I CAN TALK OVER. GENERAL MARSHALL AND GENERAL
ARNOLD WILL HANDLE DETAILS. I HOPE YOU CAN COME TO SEE ME
AT YOUR EARLIEST CONVENIENCE SO THAT WE CAN HAVE A GOOD
TALK IN REGARD TO IT AND IN REGARD TO A LOT OF OTHER
THINGS. CALL UP McINTYRE AND HE WILL ARRANGE DAY AND
HOUR.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

TELEGRAM

PSF: Willkie

The White House
Washington

*File
confidential*

NIGHT LETTER

AUGUST 2, 1942

HON. WENDELL L. WILLKIE
15 BROAD STREET
NEW YORK, N.Y.

AM ARRANGING FOR YOU TO LEAVE ANY DAY AFTER
AUGUST FIFTEENTH AGREEABLE TO YOU AND TO RETURN
BETWEEN FIRST AND FIFTEENTH OF OCTOBER. IT IS
MY THOUGHT THAT YOU COULD DO THE MIDDLE EAST AND
THAT RUSSIA AND CHINA COULD BE SUBJECT TO DEVELOPMENTS
WHICH YOU AND I CAN TALK OVER. GENERAL MARSHALL AND
GENERAL ARNOLD WILL HAVE DETAILS. I HOPE YOU CAN
COME TO SEE ME AT YOUR EARLIEST CONVENIENCE SO THAT
WE CAN HAVE A GOOD TALK IN REGARD TO IT AND IN REGARD
TO A LOT OF OTHER THINGS. CALL SECRETARY MCINTYRE AND
HE WILL ARRANGE DAY AND HOUR.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

COPY TO MR. MCINTYRE.

~~SECRET~~

PSF: Willkie Folder

file
WAR DEPARTMENT
HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY AIR FORCES
WASHINGTON

August 10, 1942

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

Subject: Air Transportation for Mr. Willkie, Mr. Cowles and Mr. Barnes.

Air transportation can be provided for Mr. Wendell Willkie, Mr. Gardner Cowles, and Mr. Joseph Barnes from Washington to Egypt on August 20th or any day thereafter, to and including August 25th, by Stratoliner.

The plane will over-night at Miami the first day, Belem the second, and Accra the third, reaching Cairo the fourth or fifth day out of Washington.

In addition to Mr. Willkie, Mr. Cowles and Mr. Barnes, there will be 5 other passengers who will be specially selected from personnel enroute to the Near East.

A plane has been definitely set up for this purpose, to be available August 20th or such date thereafter as may be designated by Mr. Willkie.

H. H. Arnold
H. H. ARNOLD,
Lieutenant General, U.S.A.,
Commanding General, Army Air Forces.



~~SECRET~~

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DOD DIR. 5200.9 (9/27/58)

Date- 3-10-59

Signature- Carl J. Spicer

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 8, 1942.

MEMORANDUM FOR

GENERAL ARNOLD

Can you provide transportation
to Egypt for Wendell Willkie, Gardner
Cowles and Joseph Barnes about August
20th to 25th by clipper or bomber?

F. D. R.

Office, C. G., A.A.F.

AUG 10 1942

Received

file

August 8th, 1942

Proposed Visit to Australia of Mr. Wendell Willkie

Mr. Wendell Willkie called at the Australian Legation on July 31st, 1942 for the purpose of informing me unofficially he would be glad to visit Australia if such a visit would be welcome to the Australian Government. He added that it would be convenient for him to leave almost at once.

I told Mr. Willkie that I was aware that the question of such a visit had been under consideration for some months, but that I had had no discussion with the Government for some time on the subject. I said that I felt sure that a visit from Mr. Willkie would be very pleasing to the Government, but at the same time the attitude of the United States Administration would be a matter for consideration.

On 31st July I telegraphed to the Australian Government regarding a visit by Mr. Willkie, and have now received a reply from the Australian Minister for External Affairs, Dr. H. V. Evatt, stating that the Government would welcome a visit by Mr. Willkie, but that the most satisfactory arrangement would be for him to visit Australia as the representative of President Roosevelt. Dr. Evatt added that before he left the United States he had discussed with the President the possibility of two American representatives visiting ^{the} Southwestern Pacific area, and that amongst others the names of Mr. Hopkins, Admiral Leahy and General Arnold had been mentioned. Dr. Evatt said that the Australian Government felt that the President should have the benefit of constant reports from the Southwest Pacific area by persons in whom he has implicit trust, and stated that the Australian Government would be glad to do anything possible to assist in this direction. He requested me to discuss the matter with President Roosevelt and suggested that if Mr. Hopkins and Admiral Leahy were unavailable it might be possible for both Mr. Wendell Willkie and General Arnold to visit Australia.

ASW:LW

PSF: Willkie Folder

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 22, 1942.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

FROM: SECRETARY HULL

Mr. Willkie will very much need at least an informal note from the President to Mr. Stalin and also to the Generalissimo in China, and possibly some reference to Madame Chiang Kai-shek. Will the President draft and sign these notes, or can the State Department be of help?

PSF: Willkie Folder

August 22, 1942.

Dear Mr. Stalin:-

Mr. Wendell Willkie, the titular leader of the opposition party in the United States, about whom I have already telegraphed you, ought to get to Moscow about the fifteenth or twentieth of September. I am delighted that you will receive him and I think it will be of real benefit to both of our countries if he can get a firsthand impression of the splendid unity of Russia and the great defense you are conducting.

According to present plans, and in accordance with my suggestion, he will proceed to Chungking in order to see the Generalissimo and to tell him that the United States is thoroughly alive to the necessity of China's victory in the war against Japan.

From there he wants to return to the United States via Eastern Siberia and Alaska, as this is much the quickest route and because he wants to be back by October fifteenth.

My very warm regards,

Very sincerely yours,

His Excellency
Joseph Stalin,
President of the Council of Peoples' Commissars
of the U.S.S.R.

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and for the

PSF: Willkie Folder

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 14, 1942.

MEMORANDUM FOR
THE SECRETARY OF STATE:

How do you think I should
reply to Mr. Willkie's telegram?

F.D.R.

(Secret) from ~~the~~ Willkie re situation
in Turkey, Sept. 10th.

PSF: Willkie Folder

September 15, 1942

AMERICAN EMBASSY

KUIBYSHEV

From the President for Willkie.

I greatly appreciate the information and views expressed in your telegram from Beirut regarding wheat for Turkey. The subject is being given immediate attention.

Steinhardt reports your visit to Turkey highly effective and beneficial to our cause.

Roosevelt

867.00/3193
032.Willkie, Wendell/61

NE:GVA:BLS

PSF:Willkie

COPY FOR THE PRESIDENT
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
THE SECRETARY

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

SECRET

Beirut

Rec'd: Sept. 10,
11:59 a.m.

338, Sept. 10, noon.

FOR PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT FROM WILLKIE:

"Situation in Turkey: Prime Minister able, shrewd, popular leader. Greatly concerned about growing shortage of wheat for his people and consequences of this on stability of his government and on his own political future. Says he needs minimum of 150,000 tons wheat shipments during next twelve months. I believe if you could authorize Steinhardt at once to say United States will send 30,000 tons wheat in next three months in addition to that already on way this would build great good and strengthen present firm intention of Turks in every event to resist Axis invasion. Germans are working hard on Turkish Government. Premier also urged planes, tanks and motor trucks."

GWYNN

S/urs

PSF: Willkie

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

THE SECRETARY

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

September 15, 1942.

The telegram from Mr. Willkie regarding additional wheat for Turkey raises several difficult problems.

First of all, there is the problem of providing shipping space. When the Turkish Prime Minister in July last appealed through Steinhardt to you, to me, and to Welles for 15,000 tons of wheat for Turkey, we found that there is no allocation of cargo space to Turkey as a separate destination. The allocation of space is made to the Middle Eastern area as a whole, and whatever amount of the limited space for that area is assigned to one of the Middle Eastern countries necessarily deprives the other countries in that area of space which otherwise would or could have been allocated to them. As you know, shipping space for civilian supplies to the Middle East is very tight indeed.

The Middle East Supply Center at Cairo, on which this Government is represented by General Maxwell and Mr. Frederick Winant, has as one of its chief functions the study of the overall requirements of the Middle Eastern area. Out of its study come its recommendations regarding the materials, and the quantities of those materials, that should go to the Middle Eastern countries. It is implicit in the conception of the Middle East Supply Center that only materials recommended by the Center should be supplied by the United States and the United Kingdom. The wheat recommended by Mr. Willkie has not been cleared through the Center. Neither were the 15,000 tons of wheat which were requested through Steinhardt last July cleared through the Center before they were promised to the Turks, and as a consequence the British officials who are concerned in the work of the Center were distinctly upset.

Finally, Mr. Willkie recommends that 30,000 tons of wheat be shipped to Turkey in the next three

months.

months. Steinhardt, in his No. 895, September 11, reports that the Prime Minister asked only that the United States and Britain would recognize the necessity of providing an additional 15,000 tons of wheat during the coming year. We hope that in some manner, with the collaboration of the Middle East Supply Center, this relatively modest request can be satisfied. The matter does not, however, seem to call for immediate action, and this is fortunate because of the difficult problems that are involved.

C.H.