

PERSONAL DIARY



OF THE PRESIDENT



August 19, 1953

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

SUBJECT: Party organization in the southern states.

Some months ago John Wisdom undertook the formation of a Committee of Southerners with the object of devising ways and means for strengthening the Republican Party in the Southern States. There was a great deal of difficulty experienced in the attempt to form and operate such a committee and finally it was suggested that the trouble lay in the fact that the Committee had a certain "official" atmosphere when it should properly be an informal grouping of Republican leaders in that section. There has been possibly some truth in this contention since Mr. Wisdom was actually attempting to function in his capacity as a member of the Executive Committee of the Republican National Committee.

Now, I understand, that all have agreed that the Committee should be organized quickly but on an informal basis.

This morning I called the National Chairman (Len Hall) to tell him of my intense personal interest in the objectives of this Committee. I have little concern as to whether the Committee is formal, informal or anything else - I am simply interested in

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finding out from intelligent and experienced people what should be our next and succeeding moves in that region.

Chairman Hall is to see Mr. Wisdom tomorrow and will try to get this whole matter straightened out and the whole project on the rails.





August 19, 1953

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

SUBJECT: Responsibility of Attorney General to provide a factual brief on the segregation of people in primary schools.

Several days ago in Denver the Attorney General explained to me the general nature of the responsibility placed upon his department, by the Supreme Court, for rendering to that body a brief on the above subject. It appears that the Supreme Court desires both a memorandum of fact as well as an opinion concerning the intent of the fourteenth amendment.

It seems to me that the rendering of "opinion" by the Attorney General on this kind of question would constitute an invasion of the duties, responsibilities and authority of the Supreme Court. As I understand it, the Courts were established by the Constitution to interpret the laws; the responsibility of the Executive Department is to execute them.

This morning I telephoned to the Attorney General to present this view to him. He promised to have the idea carefully examined. Because it seems to me that in this instance the Supreme Court has been guided by some motive that is not strictly functional. The Court cannot possibly abdicate; consequently it cannot delegate its responsibility and it would be futile for the Attorney General to attempt to sit as a Court and reach a conclusion as to the true



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meaning of the fourteenth amendment.

The Attorney General will, regardless of his conclusions as to the question I raise, render to the Supreme Court at the proper time a complete resume of fact and historical record.



August 1, 1953.
DDE/acw.

Senator Taft's death came so quickly after his first knowledge of any illness that I think it astonished even those of us who had some reasonably early warning of the nature of the illness.

He came to see me in Augusta where I was staying at the Augusta National Golf Club, on April 19th, and spent the night with me. At the conclusion of a golf game on August 20th, he remarked to me that his hip hurt him a little bit -- that he had noticed some pain in the region of his hip for a couple of weeks. He said that he thought he possibly should see a doctor.

On May 20th he went to Walter Reed Hospital for preliminary examination; and on May 27th General Snyder told me that he had certain alarming symptoms of cancer.

On June 10th I was in Minnesota when I received word that the Senator had made public announcement that he would have to give up his leadership duties in the Senate.

On June 19th, I attended a conference in Mr. Shanley's office (actually it was in Governor Adams' office - acw) attended also, among others, by Senator Taft, Secretary Durkin, Mr. Shanley and Congressman McConnell. It was the first time I had seen Senator Taft using crutches and I thought he looked fairly badly.



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On June 24th he attended a Legislative breakfast, and on June 25th a Legislative luncheon at the White House.

On June 29th, a meeting of Legislative leaders was held in the Cabinet Room, which Senator Taft attended. Thereafter he came to my office for a short conference. He looked fine; with good color, and was very jovial. He was particularly delighted with his physical improvement, saying that although he had lost 25 pounds since he first became ill, he had, in the week just preceding my meeting with him, gained four pounds. He was quite sure he was well on the road to recovery.

On July 4th Senator Taft went to New York, and on July 8th an exploratory operation was performed. General Snyder had told me some time before that he was going to have such an operation and he thought the Senator had delayed it unnecessarily and unwisely.

On July 21st I called him on the telephone. He was feeling well and said that within one week he was going to leave the hospital and come back to Washington. We discussed a number of matters, including the appointment as Assistant Secretary of Labor of a man named Siciliano.

On July 31st he died, never having left the hospital.

Subjects; appointment to FCC; selfishness of individuals
and industry; motion picture tax veto.

July 31, 1953.



Recently I have had a few experiences that illustrate the peculiar kind of disappointment that comes to me these days and, I suppose, has come to everyone who has ever occupied this office.

During the election campaign of last year and the pre-nomination activities extending back over two or three years, a man named Eugene Pulliam, of Indiana, has been one of the men who persistently urged me to seek the Presidency. He is a newspaper publisher with papers in Indiana and Arizona, possibly elsewhere. He was one of those who always insisted that his convictions as to my duty in this regard were based upon completely selfless factors -- he was "interested only in the good of the country." A number of times he repeated, "I want nothing and you cannot possibly do anything for me."

Now I learn through Mr Hall, Chairman of the Republican National Committee, that Mr. Pulliam is really disgruntled, vociferously so, because a man named Garland (I believe) has not been appointed to the Federal Communications Commission. Mr. Hall tells me the man is a complete nonentity and has no discernible qualifications for the job, other than that he is just another citizen without a black mark against him. It is apparently true, however, that he has been interested in a radio station or stations controlled or owned by Mr. Pulliam. If this is true, it gives one possible explanation of Mr. Pulliam's intense interest in his appointment.

I have taken the trouble to look up the activities and responsibilities of the Federal Communications Commission, and have concluded that while



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no great technical proficiency in the field of communications is mandatory, yet the qualities of good judgment, sound common sense, and, above all, a reputation for complete integrity and devotion to the public service, should be sought in any candidate for this position.

In this case Len Hall reports that the man is not "too bad." By this he means that nothing in the record would lead to the belief that the man is venal or would be a definite menace to the government. On the other hand, there is nothing to show that he would be a credit to the Administration or that he would be an effective public servant.

A second incident involves Senator Wiley, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee. He has appointed to the position of Counsel for the Committee a young fellow named Julius Cahn. He wants this man appointed to the same position that Pulliam seeks for Garland.

In the case of Cahn, the evidence seems even more overwhelming as to the unsuitability of the appointment than in the other case. He is a man thirty years old. I understand that during the war he evaded military service by pleading some kind of psycho-neurotic condition. The doctors, I am told, found him to be a "pre-psychotic incurable." He seems to be a very precocious young fellow, with a general reputation for being extremely smart-alecky -- although everyone gives him credit for having a very rapid and agile mind.



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In seeking this position for young Cahn, Senator Wiley has written letters to everybody he can reach, in some instances the letters bordering upon the insulting.

Finally he has started to bombard me. All of us have the very definite belief that Cahn himself writes the letters and Wiley signs them, since the praise of the young man is so extravagant that any other conclusion is scarcely tenable. If Wiley writes them himself, he has far less judgment and common sense than even I suspect.

Now to both Wiley and Pulliam a public office is to be regarded primarily as a "reward for the faithful." There is no disposition to put the public service above the interests of the individual.

I do not mean to say that I can claim to be shocked by this attitude -- I have been around enough to know that there are many people who believe this attitude to be characteristic of every politician. Nevertheless, it does grow a bit wearisome to have recommendations based upon this kind of thinking come in from people who in their personal conversations with me protest their complete dedication to the public service, their devotion to the single objective of America's health and welfare, and their complete disinterestedness in the patronage of politics.

A case of a slightly different kind involves the success that the motion picture lobby has had in seeking the approval of Congress to its contention that all taxes on admission tickets should be removed. Our excise taxes are onerous, heavy,



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and, in many cases, not only unjust but positively stupid. For example, in the matter of excise taxes on whiskey, it has become quite clear that the taxes are so high as to reduce the revenue derived -- and bootlegging on a large scale has thereby been encouraged. It was reported to me only recently that bootlegging is as prevalent as it was in the height of the prohibition days. This means not only that we are losing the revenue we should be getting; we are also building up a new rank of racketeers and vastly increasing the costs of law enforcement and crime detection and prevention.

Nevertheless, this Administration in its efforts to provide a decent, well-thought out tax program had first to face the stark and ugly fact that there was going to be a serious deficit in this financing, substantially greater than was publicly predicted by the out-going Administration. This meant that while we were making the study and developing a plan for tax reform that we would have to have the maximum revenue. Therefore to begin the process of eliminating certain of the excise taxes could not fail to start a general rush in this direction, and the result would be a terrific loss of revenue, which we could not afford.

As a consequence, we decided to hold the line during this session of the Congress, and by next January ~~20~~⁷ to have ready for presentation a tax program which would take into consideration the condition of the different businesses, their prospects, their necessities, and so on.

It is true that the motion picture industry has gone through a very hard time because of the competition of television, as well as other influences. Nevertheless, the American public is still keenly aware of the fact that much of



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the cost of motion pictures has gone into extravagant and almost senseless competition, and the salaries of the so-called "stars" whose qualifications were normally nothing more (in the case of the women) than platinum hair and shapely legs, or men with good profiles and vibrating voices.

I have personally met a number of these people; those with whom it is a pleasure to talk informally constitute a very small portion of the whole. I think one out of ten would be an exaggeration. Yet these people have been reported constantly in the public prints as having incomes of a half a million a year, or at least in the hundreds of thousands; fabulous salaries of directors, producers and so on have likewise been publicized. The movies ran the old-fashioned vaudeville practically off the stage; they enjoyed for many years practically a monopoly in popular indoor entertainment. Both the legitimate theatre, and the opera and the concert companies were hard put to it to stay in business. With this monopoly they indulged in the kind of publicity and salary binges that I have just mentioned, and grew careless indeed in the kind of pictures that they produced.

Now they have all awakened to the fact that they are strictly up against it. If a citizen has to be bored to death, it is cheaper and more comfortable to sit at home and look at television, than it is to go outside and pay a dollar for a ticket.



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I personally do not believe that the cure for all this is to be found in singling out the movie industry for special privilege in the tax field. Even if my reactions as just recorded are somewhat on the harsh side -- and indeed I think they are -- the fact remains that the movie industry not only sought relief, they insisted upon total elimination of the excise taxes as applied to their industry.

Congress promptly agreed. In fact the members almost seemed to be in a great rush to get aboard the band wagon, and I suppose this can be traced to the influence of local and small town movie houses in political campaigns.

In view of the similar appeals that I have had from the fur trade, the jewelry industry, the cosmetic people and so on and so on, I think that the movie industry (in spite of the very eloquent appeal made to me yesterday by: Mr. Bob Livingstone, Lincoln, Nebraska, Vice President of National Theatre Owners of America; Mr. Robert Coyne, New York City, Director, Council of Motion Picture Association of America; Colonel H. A. Cole, of Dallas, Director Council of Motion Picture Association of America, and Mr. Pat McGee, Denver, Director, Council of Motion Picture Association of America -- has over-reached itself so far as to make it almost necessary to veto the Bill that Congress passed in this regard.

Like everybody else, I believe that entertainment and recreation at a price within the reach of every citizen, is an absolute necessity for our people. I would like to be a party to improving the quality of the movie



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industry. And I realize that if we persist in a level of taxation that forces the closing of countless of the theatres we now have in the land, any reform or improvement will be difficult to achieve because of the lack of revenues. I think that already the revenue of the movie industry has fallen from something like one billion five hundred million, to about one billion. Here I am merely quoting the figure given me yesterday by one of my visitors.

Nevertheless, the tax is not wholly to blame. The action of the Congress in removing the industry completely from the burdens inherent in the excise tax program is, in my opinion, unwise and unjustified. My conclusion is that in this case the hope of immediate gain on the part of the theatre owners and others led them too far. I think that had they been content with getting the tax cut in half, I would have been glad to go along with them. Even if they had gotten it reduced by two-thirds, I think I would have approved the bill. As it is, I do not yet see how I can possibly approve the bill without feeling that I am completely unfair both to the government and to every other entertainment and luxury industry in the country.

Incidentally, I am reminded of a visit to my office by Ben Fairless. He came in several weeks ago. The call was merely a personal one, but as President of United States Steel, he mentioned the question of the excise profits tax, which I was then attempting to have extended by the Congress. He said: "The extension of the tax will cost our company 80 million dollars. We think you ought to insist upon extension. You cannot possibly favor one group in the country at the expense of another -- and we are willing to bear our share until you find a more equitable way of dealing with the matter that the excess



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profits tax was supposed to cover. Everybody agrees that it is a vicious and stupid form of taxation, but in the light of the circumstances, you should continue it until next January." The point of registering his statement -- in almost his exact words -- is that he is a representative of the class that the so-called liberal is always calling "thief," "robber," "economic tory," and all of the other names that imply venality and utter selfishness.

Of course, all of us are selfish. The instinct of self preservation leads us into short-sightedness and self-centered actions, often at the expense of our fellows, are all around us. But the very least that we should attempt to do, it seems to me, is to think of our long term good as well as of our immediate gain. One thing that the long term good of each of us demands is the fiscal, economic, industrial and agricultural soundness of America. There is no future prosperity for any except as the whole shall prosper. So what I am probably trying to say concerning my reactions to the above incidents, is that at least Ben Fairless exhibited a more intelligent kind of selfishness than did the politicians seeking special favors for an individual or an industry demanding a completely privileged position for itself.

END OF TIRADE!

dde/acw

STAG DINNER -- Monday, July 27, 1953



The President

Mr. Archie A. Alexander
Contractor, Alexander & Repass

The Honorable Robert B. Anderson
Secretary of the Navy

Dr. James Phinney Baxter
President, Williams College

Mr. Russell Davenport
Writer

Judge Blair S. Gunther
Judge of Superior Court, Pittsburgh

The Honorable Leonard Hall
Chairman, Republican National Committee

Mr. Stanley High
Senior Editor, The Reader's Digest

Mr. John G. Jackson
Attorney, New York City

Mr. Thomas A. Pappas
Importer-Exporter, Boston

Dr. Frederick D. Patterson
President, Tuskegee Institute

Mr. W. A. Patterson
President, United Airlines, Inc.

Brigadier General David Sarnoff
Chairman of the Board, Radio Corporation of America

Senator Fred Seaton
Publisher, Hastings Daily Tribune

Mr. George J. Spatuzza
Attorney, Chicago

The Honorable Robert T. Stevens
Secretary of the Army

The Honorable Harold E. Talbott
Secretary of the Air Force

Mr. Fred M. Waring
Orchestra Conductor

July 24, 1953



Subjects:

Stag dinner, July 20

(discussion of gold standard)

Governor Byrnes - decision of Supreme Court re removal
of segregation in schools

Re-establishment of Hoover Commission

Bricker Amendment - Knowland Amendment

Korea

Other Governmental Commissions

August 1, 1953

Times.

LATE CITY EDITION

Fair and pleasant today and tomorrow.

Temperature Range Today—Max., 83; Min., 65
Temperatures Yesterday—Max., 85.8; Min., 69.2
Full U. S. Weather Bureau Report, Page 27



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FIVE CENTS

SENATOR TAFT IS DEAD AT 63; EISENHOWER LEADS TRIBUTES; REPUBLICANS' UNITY SHAKEN



The New York Times

Senator Robert A. Taft

THE NATION MOURNS

President Sees 'Tragic Loss' — Tumors Fatal After 13-Hour Coma

By RUSSELL PORTER

Senator Robert A. Taft died here yesterday of malignant tumors, and President Eisenhower led the nation in mourning.

The President declared the death of the man who had contested so hard with him for last year's Republican Presidential nomination was "a tragic loss to the nation," and he lamented the passing of a "wise counselor and a valued friend."

Having risen from opposition and defeat to become the President's political mentor and lieutenant and to wield great influence as Senate majority leader, the 63-year-old Ohioan was stricken at the height of his fame and power.

Though he had failed in his ambition to follow in the footsteps of his father, the late William Howard Taft, twenty-seventh President of the United States, to the White House, he had become universally recognized as a tower of strength to the nation in a time of trouble.

Always respected for his ability and character, but often considered somewhat cold and aloof, he had won warm and widespread popular affection in the last year of his life because he had proved himself so good a loser and had continued to smile in the face of political and personal affliction.

Four Sons at Bedside

He died peacefully at 11:30 A. M. in the room he had occupied at New York Hospital since July 4, having been in a deep coma for thirteen hours. His four sons were at his bedside, but his wife, Martha, an invalid in a wheel chair, was too weak to leave her Washington home.

Mrs. Taft had flown here Tuesday and then returned to Washington. Before she suffered a stroke three years ago she had been her husband's adviser and companion in his political career. They were known to political Washington as "Bob and Martha," and she often received credit for much of his success.

Funeral plans were being made last night by the family and the Rev. Dr. Luther Tucker, rector of the Indian Hill Protestant Episcopal Church at Cincinnati, where Senator Taft worshiped. Dr. Tucker arrived at the hospital yesterday morning and said prayers for Mr. Taft in the interdenominational chapel there.

Ill for Three Months

The body was taken with police escort to the Frank E. Campbell undertaking establishment, Madison Avenue and Eighty-first Street, late yesterday afternoon. It is understood it will be taken to Washington today and then to Cincinnati.

Mr. Taft had been ill for three months. After previous treatment in New York, Washington and Cincinnati, he entered New York Hospital on July 4 and underwent an exploratory abdominal operation July 8. Early post-operative reports from the hospital were optimistic, but he suffered a relapse Tuesday and though gaining strength Wednesday took a second turn for the worse Thursday. He went into a coma that night and oxygen was administered early yesterday morning.

In announcing his death, hospital authorities for the first time revealed the cause, malignant tumors. The bulletin read:

"Senator Taft's life came to an end quietly without pain at 11:30 A. M. July 31, 1953.

"His death was the result of widespread, highly malignant, rapidly growing tumors, the first symptoms of which were pains in the legs, later localized in the left hip.

"These symptoms had their onset in the latter part of April, 1953, and in the beginning were very obscure.

"The disorder was accompanied by a severe anemia requiring many transfusions. Some of the areas of involvement were benefited by treatment and there were brief periods of general improvement.

"However, the disease could not be controlled and eventually progressed relentlessly despite the application of all therapeutic weapons available to modern science."

The bulletin was signed by Dr. Claude E. Forkner, attending phy-

SENATOR TAFT DIES IN HOSPITAL AT 63

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ician and member of the hospital staff.

One of the Senator's sons, Robert A. Taft Jr., a Cincinnati lawyer, issued the following statement:

"On behalf of Mrs. Taft and the entire family, the deepest appreciation is expressed to the many who have helped in the treatment of Senator Taft's illness during the past months. We know that every step advisable and possible was taken to cure, retard and alleviate the illness with which he was afflicted.

"Nothing but praise is due to the doctors and staffs of the Walter Reed [Army] Hospital in Washington, Holmes Hospital in Cincinnati, New York Hospital, and the Memorial Hospital in New York, as well as his personal physicians and consulting physicians, for the skill and excellence of their diagnosis and treatment.

"The family wishes to express also its heartfelt thanks to the many who have sent messages of courage, hope and help."

Before this statement was issued, it had not been known publicly that Senator Taft had been examined or treated by anyone from Memorial Hospital, which is part of the Memorial Center for Cancer and Allied Diseases.

Thousands of Messages Sent

However, it was recalled that on June 10, when he publicly disclosed that his illness was "serious" and relinquished his active Senate leadership, he said he had made a trip to New York the previous night for examination by two specialists. He did not give their names or the place where they had examined him.

Reference in the family's statement to the many who had sent messages was expanded by Mrs. Virginia F. Muldoon, public relations director for New York Hospital. She said the hospital had "sacks" of mail and telegrams addressed to the Senator, to be turned over to the family. Thousands of messages and hundreds of baskets of fruit and carloads of flowers had been received from many parts of the country, she said.

Senator directed that the lowers and fruit be distributed among other patients at the hospital, and that as many as possible be given to children. Mrs. Muldoon said there was an increase in telegrams and telephone calls Thursday afternoon after it was announced the Senator had taken another turn for the worse.

Two of Senator Taft's sons—Robert A., Jr., 35, an dLloyd B., 30, an executive of The Cincinnati Times-Star—had been with their father since early in the week. A third, William Howard Taft 3d, 37, United States Ambassador to Ireland, arrived here by plane Thursday. The fourth, Horace, 27, a physicist, arrived with his wife by plane yesterday morning from Los Alamos, N. M., and reached the hospital before his father died.

"I didn't want to come until it was serious," he told reporters. "I have been in touch all the time by telephone."

The wives of Robert, Lloyd and Horace Taft were at the hospital, together with Jack Martin, the Senator's administrative assistant.

Ambassador Taft and Mr. and Mrs. Horace Taft flew to Washington yesterday afternoon to comfort their mother.

"We were expecting father's death for some time," said the Ambassador.

Mrs. Taft Gets News

Mrs. Taft received the news in her Victorian house in the Georgetown section of Washington. With her was Mrs. Darrah Wunder, a family friend, who had accompanied her on Tuesday's trip to the hospital.

According to Mrs. Wunder, the Senator had rallied from his first relapse and Mrs. Taft had a "nice visit with him."

Brig. Gen. Julius Klein of the Illinois National Guard, a past national commander of the Jewish War Veterans, and a Taft delegate at last year's Republican national convention, was at the hospital when the Senator died.

He told reporters he had visited Mr. Taft ten days ago and had thought "he did not appear ill at all." He went to the hospital again Thursday and then returned to his Chicago home, but flew back here when he heard the Senator's condition had become critical.

David Ingalls of Cleveland, the Senator's campaign manager in last year's bid for the Presidential nomination, arrived at the hospital shortly after Mr. Taft died.

Mr. Taft told Washington reporters last month that his hip began troubling him in April and he first noticed it after "whaling" a golf ball. He jokingly added that neither President Eisenhower, his recent golfing companion, nor the Burning Tree Golf Club at Washington, nor the Augusta links where they had played, were to blame.

The first news to the public came on May 20, when it was announced he had been admitted to Walter Reed Hospital for examination and X-ray treatment for pains

him to quit work entirely for a time, but he had refused, though he had agreed to take as much rest as he could and devote considerable time to taking the necessary treatments. These would keep him from being active as Senate floor leader the remainder of the present session of Congress, he explained, but he intended to continue attending the Senate and taking part in policy meetings with President Eisenhower and other Republican leaders.

He entered New York Hospital for the first time on June 12 for examination and treatment, and left June 17, his condition being reported "good." When he returned to the Senate on crutches he looked thin and pale, but on July 1 he cheerfully announced he had regained nine of the twenty-six pounds he had lost.

However, he re-entered New York Hospital July 4 and on July 8 it was announced he had undergone an exploratory operation of the abdominal wall to discover more precise information on his disease.

The hospital reported he had stood the operation well and was expected to leave in two weeks. Favorable reports continued to come from the hospital for nearly three weeks.

He Expected to Return

It was announced that the Senator expected to return to Washington July 29 (last Wednesday) and that, while he did not intend to return to his duties as Senate floor leader at this session of Congress, he planned to do so when Congress reconvened in January. In the meantime, he hoped to be able to vote on any close issue before the adjournment of the present session. Thereafter he planned to take three or four months' rest.

Reports of satisfactory progress continued to come from the hospital through last Sunday, but Monday it was announced he would not return to Washington Wednesday as further treatment was indicated. Then came a series of bulletins that told the story of the Senator's last days:

Tuesday—10 A. M., "condition deteriorated in last twenty-four hours"; 6 P. M., "generally weaker"; 10:30 P. M., "resting a little more comfortably."

Wednesday—10 A. M., "condition somewhat improved"; 6 P. M., "had better day than yesterday"; 10:45 P. M., "resting comfortably."

Thursday—10 A. M., "resting comfortably"; 4 P. M., "suddenly took turn for worse at 3:30 P. M., breathing with marked difficulty"; 6:15 P. M., "condition critical"; 11 P. M., "in coma, failing rapidly."

Friday—5:40 A. M., "condition still critical"; 11:40 A. M., "came to an end * * * at 11:30 A. M."

in his hip. He left the hospital May 23.

He entered Holmes Hospital in Cincinnati May 25 for further treatment. It was while he was there that his son Robert read a speech by the Senator at a Cincinnati meeting that created a furor. This was the speech in which the Senator said the United States "might just as well forget the United Nations as far as the Korean war is concerned." He left the hospital May 31 and was reported "decidedly better."

Returning to Washington he appeared on the Senate floor June 1 for the first time in two weeks, making his first appearance on crutches. He continued to take treatments at Walter Reed Hospital, but on June 10 he turned over active Senate leadership to Senator William F. Knowland of California.

Mr. Taft said then the doctors were unable to tell him just what was the matter but that he had a lesion of the left hip and it was serious, requiring further X-ray, cortisone and other treatments.

Mr. Taft said the doctors wanted



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July 24, 1953.

Numerous conferences and conversations of recent days brought out a few points interesting enough to make brief notations concerning them.

On Monday night, the 20th, I had the fourth of a series of bi-weekly stag dinners. (Guests listed on separate sheet). At this particular dinner the guests got to talking about gold standards, the value to the United States of the gold now buried at Fort Knox, and the value of the raw materials of many kinds now included in our stock piles as a war reserve.

As always, a small minority favored "return to a gold standard." When these people were pressed, they had no clear idea as to the method by which this should be done; indeed, they had no real idea of what they were talking about. It developed that what was really the unanimous hope was the achieving of a long-term stability in our dollar. This was expressed in terms of insurance policies. Mr. Schaefer (J. Earl Schaefer, Vice-President Boeing Airplane Company, Wichita, Kansas) expressed the opinion that unless people could believe that insurance policies would be paid off in roughly the same kind of dollars as were put into them, we would finally find our investment needs far greater than the capital to fill them.

In any event, it was finally agreed that if all the gold at Fort Knox should sink into a bottomless pit -- and no one ever learned of this fact -- the disappearance would not have the slightest effect on any of us, so long as we did not have to ship out gold to pay for the excess of imports over exports. As of today, this seems to be a possibility only for the remote future. Consequently, the conclusion --



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that is of today -- is that we don't need the gold except psychologically. If people knew it was gone, there would be a panic.

On the other hand, the materials in our stock piles represent insurance against disaster. They have a definite and concrete value to our economy. The obvious question is "Why are they not a better backing for a currency than gold?" Such questions as these were pursued the entire evening. As usual, everybody went away carrying with him the opinion with which he came.

* * * * *

A few days ago (Monday, July 20) I had luncheon with Governor Byrnes of South Carolina, my great friend a man in whose company I always find a great deal for enjoyment.

He came to talk to me about the possibility of a Supreme Court ruling that would abolish segregation in public schools of the country. He is very fearful of the consequences in the South. He did not dwell long upon the possibility of riots, resultant ill feeling, and the like. He merely expressed very seriously the opinion that a number of states would immediately cease support for public schools.

During the course of this conversation, the Governor brought out several times that the South no longer finds any great problem in dealing with adult Negroes. They are frightened at putting the children together.



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The Governor was obviously afraid that I would be carried away by the hope of capturing the Negro vote in this country, and as a consequence take a stand on the question that would forever defeat any possibility of developing a real Republican or "Opposition" Party in the South. I told him that while I was not going to give in advance my attitude toward a Supreme Court opinion that I had not even seen and so could not know in what terms it would be couched, that my convictions would not be formed by political expediency. He is well aware of my belief that improvement in race relations is one of those things that will be healthy and sound only if it starts locally. I do not believe that prejudices, even palpably unjustified prejudices, will succumb to compulsion. Consequently, I believe that Federal law imposed upon our states in such a way as to bring about a conflict of the police powers of the states and of the nation, would set back the cause of progress in race relations for a long, long time.

* * * * *

On a later date (July 21, 1953) former President Herbert Hoover, with a group of others, had lunch with me. We discussed the formulation of a new governmental commission, the real purpose of which would be to make a study of federal functions and organization, and in doing so, to expand the work and findings of the Hoover Commission of some four years ago. For my selections to the new Commission, I have chosen Mr. Hoover, Mr. James Farley,



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Attorney General Brownell and the Director of Defense Mobilization, Mr. Arthur Flemming. Mr. Hoover is delighted with the opportunity to get back into the middle of this big problem. However, I was a bit nonplused to find that the only individuals he wanted on the Commission were those whom he knew to share his general convictions -- convictions that many of our people would consider a trifle on the motheaten side. As quickly as I found this out, I tried to make my other three appointments from among individuals whom I knew to be reasonably liberal or what I call middle-of-the-road in their approach to today's problems.

* * * * *

The Bricker Amendment to the Constitution is being pushed by the Senator from Ohio as his one hope of achieving at least a faint immortality in American history. The purpose of the Bricker Amendment is to assure the American people that no provision of a treaty may over-ride, internationally, any portion of the United States Constitution. Beyond this, it provides that no part of a treaty that affects the domestic affairs of the United States can become the law of the land until proper legislation is enacted by Congress. Now up to this point there is no quarrel about the matter at all. A number of us believe that an Amendment to the above effect is completely unnecessary because we hold the present Constitution is perfectly clear on this point. Because we do so believe, we are quite willing to have an amendment specifically re-stating the proposition. But Senator Bricker wants to



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add (at the insistence of a certain fearful section of the American Bar Association) a provision to the second of the above purposes by saying that the Congressional law passed for the implementation of a treaty would be invalid unless it would have been completely valid in the total absence of a treaty. This I cannot accept and none of my advisers will accept. To do so would completely wreck the traditional and prescribed balance between the Executive and the Legislative branch in the making of treaties.

Senator Knowland has introduced a substitute Amendment containing only the parts of the Bricker Amendment of which the Administration approves.

* * * * *

It is almost hopeless to write about the Korea-Rhee situation. Both the Communists and the South Korean Government have raised so many difficulties in the prosecution of the negotiations intended to end the fighting that it raises in my mind a serious question as to whether or not the United Nations will ever again go into an area to protect the inhabitants against Communist attack. It has been a long and bitter experience, and I am certain in my own mind that except for the fact that evacuation of South Korea would badly expose Japan, the majority of the United Nations now fighting there would have long since attempted to pull out.

It is impossible to attempt here to recite the long list of items in which Rhee has been completely uncooperative, even recalcitrant. It is sufficient



July 24, 1953 - 6.

to say that the United Nations went into Korea only to repel aggression, not to re-unite Korea by force. The armistice was intended to stop the fighting after the United Nations had proven its ability to stop such aggression and was intended also to mark the beginning of political discussions which would hope to re-unite Korea and accomplish the evacuation of that country by both the Chinese and the allied troops.

There has been so much backing and filling, indecision, doubt and frustration engendered by both Rhee and the Communists that I am doubtful that an armistice even if achieved will have any great meaning. Certainly we must be extremely wary and watchful of both sides. Of course the fact remains that the probable enemy is the Communists, but Rhee has been such an unsatisfactory ally that it is difficult indeed to avoid excoriating him in the strongest of terms.

* * * * *

I have mentioned above the Commission on Government Reorganization and Functions, authorized by the Congress. I personally doubt the need for its organization, because of the simultaneous authorization of another Commission which will have to do with the division of functions, duties and responsibilities between the federal government and the several states.

It seems to me that this second Commission, in order to reach its answers, will have to cover almost the identical ground that the Organizational Committee will. Essential functions of the federal government can be specified and segregated only in the light of what it is proper for states to do. Nevertheless,

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and in spite of the fact that these views were carefully explained to Congressional leaders, two or three individuals on the Hill were so determined to have a new "Hoover" Commission that I had to accept the Hoover Commission in order to achieve the other one, from which I expect much.

A third Commission is to study the whole problem of foreign trade. Here again, if we succeed in getting a thorough study and unbiased analysis, we should have a very sound background for the programs that we shall have to present to Congress during the coming months. Pressure groups always want to establish new tariffs -- I believe that an increased volume of trade, with decreasing obstacles of all kinds, is absolutely essential to the future of the free world. Undoubtedly, at numerous places in this notebook, I have discussed the reasons for this. But this does not mean that the job of getting our people (particularly the ivory fringe of the Republican Party) to examine this matter dispassionately and intelligently and with the hope of serving the enlightened self-interest of the United States, is an easy one.

D. D. E.

The Commissions the President speaks of, above, are, in order,

1. Commission on Governmental Operations,
2. Commission on Intergovernmental Relations
3. Commission on Economic Foreign Policy.

STAG DINNER -- Monday, July 20, 1953



The President

Mr. Maxwell Abbell
Abbell Chain of Hotels

Dr. Karl Compton
Chairman of Corp., Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Mr. William H. Francis
Lawyer, Houston

Mr. J. P. Grace
Grace Lines

Mr. M. A. Hutcheson
President, United Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners of America

Mr. Stanley Hiller
President, Hiller Helicopters

The Honorable Douglas McKay
The Secretary of the Interior

Mr. William E. Robinson
The New York Herald Tribune

The Honorable Walter S. Gifford
Former Ambassador to Great Britain

Mr. Eugene Meyer
The Washington Post

Mr. J. Earl Schaefer
Vice President, Boeing Airplane Company

The Honorable Arthur E. Summerfield
The Postmaster General

Mr. Earl Slick
Chairman of the Board, Slick Airways

The Honorable Sinclair Weeks
The Secretary of Commerce

Mr. Henry Sears
Henry Sears & Company

Mr. Darryl F. Zanuck
Vice President, 20th Century Fox Film Corporation



I N D E X

Aldrich, Winthrop - Story of Appointment as American Ambassador to Great Britain	Feb. 13, 1953
Bricker Amendment	Apr. 1, 1953
Cabinet - Personalities	Feb. 7, 1953
Churchill, Winston - Visit to America	Jan. 6, 1953
Churchill, Winston - Walter Gifford's appraisal	Feb. 13, 1953
Congress, Relationships with	Feb. 7, 1953
Hawaii, Governor of	Jan. 5, 1953
Holmes, Julius	Feb. 13, 1953
Legislative program	Feb. 9, 1953
McCarthy, Joseph	Feb. 13, 1953
Personalities	May 14, 1953
Personnel - Difficulties	Feb. 7, 1953
Reciprocal Trade Agreement	Feb. 7, 1953
Retirement - Personal efforts, hopes	Feb. 13, 1953
Taft, Senator Robert A.	Ap. 1, 1953
Taft, Senator Robert A.	May 1, 1953
Third Party	Apr. 1, 1953
Taft, Senator Robert A.	June 1, 1953
White House Staff	Feb. 7, 1953

STAG DINNER, -- Monday, July 6, 1953



The President

The Honorable Charles E. Wilson
The Secretary of Defense

The Honorable Ezra T. Benson
The Secretary of Agriculture

Dr. Allan Kline
American Farm Bureau

Mr. Herschel Newsom
National Grange

Mr. Sidney Weinberg
Investment banker (formerly Treasurer Citizens for Eisenhower)

Mr. Harry Darby
National Committeeman, Kansas

Mr. Charles E. Wilson
General Electric Company

Mr. Ben Hibbs
Saturday Evening Post

Mr. Harvey Firestone
Firestone Tire & Rubber Company

Mr. William Paley
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

Mr. George Whitney
J. P. Morgan & Company

Mr. David J. McDonald
United Steelworkers of America

Dr. Gordon Gray
President, University of North Carolina



DDE/hew
7/2/53

Daily I am impressed by the short-sightedness bordering upon tragic stupidity of many who fancy themselves to be the greatest believers in and supporters of capitalism (or a free competitive economy), but who blindly support measures and conditions that cannot fail in the long run to destroy any free economic system.

Lenin held, of course, that capitalism contains within itself what he calls "contradictions" which not only makes certain of its inadequacy as a basis of government, but which he claimed are certain to bring about revolution of the proletariat.

The first of these contradictions he called the capital-labor contradiction. He claimed that there were no restraints upon the power of the capitalists -- the great corporations and the syndicates -- to confront the masses with the choice between the extremes of abject acceptance of a condition of
on one hand
slavery/or bloody revolution on the other.

The second contradiction in the capitalistic system he described as the inevitable conflict between separate groups of capitalists each struggling for the sources of raw materials and other means of production. In essence, of course, this meant capitalistic wars between capitalistic states for the domination of the world's surface.

His third contradiction was the inherent conflict, as he argued, between the advanced, industrialized nations of the world and the dependent masses



of backward peoples. He saw in the unequal advances made by peoples in industrialization only opportunity for exploitation by the stronger and more advanced. This he regarded as inhuman, brutal, cruel, and another factor certain to cause world revolution.

Any material contemplation of the points raised by Lenin could easily show that his intentions had plausibility only when considered in terms of extremist. All human experience tends to show that human progress, where advanced numbers of people and intricate relationships are concerned, is possible only as extremes are avoided and solutions to problems are found in a great middle way that has regard for the requirements, desires, and aspirations of the vast majority. Consequently, the inevitability of the results of the so-called contradictions in capitalism is open to question. In fact, we flatly deny that they have to become so serious as to cause the destruction of competitive form of enterprise and a free government based upon it.

Of course, in an exhaustive study of some of the Communist writings, the kind of reasoning sketchily illustrated by the examples given above leads them to their fundamental conclusion that free systems of government cannot possibly exist in the world. Conflicts among pressure groups -- in short, the intimate selfishness of men -- are cited by the Communists as evidence that man is really incapable of self-government.



Indeed in Lenin's arguments it is interesting to note that he flatly rejected the theory of some of the early Communists -- those represented in the second internationale, that a majority of citizens in any country would necessarily be converted to Communism before the Communistic theory could be successfully applied in that country. He scorned such a doctrine and insisted that any circumstance or accident that gave a group of devoted Communists an opportunity to seize positions of power was really all that was necessary. Thereafter, the Communistic theory in its entire scope would and should be quickly applied to the entire country.

Of course, there have been happenings in history that would seemingly give a certain validity to some of these Communistic arguments. But I believe that, no matter what were the true basic causes of deterioration of democratic systems established among the citizens of ancient Athens and Rome, it is safe to say that the principal contradiction in the whole system comes about because of the inability of men to forego immediate gain for a long time good. I believe that the educational process has convinced the vast majority of Americans, for example, that the true interests of labor and capital within our society follow courses that are far more nearly parallel than conflicting. I believe that capitalistic -- that is to say, self-governing -- nations have long ago foreseen that any kind of war is too high a price to pay for the hope of a piece of additional territory. I believe, also, that, in the high average of cases, industrialized



countries approach the problem of relationships with backward areas on the basis of mutual benefit and advancement.

But when it comes to the making of decisions as between the immediate and selfish interest of a nation, a group, or an individual on the one hand, and on the other the long-term good of the world, the nation, or the individual, we do not yet have a sufficient number of people who are ready to make the immediate sacrifice in favor of a long-term investment.

Specifically, our country has depended for decades on a system of tariffs designed originally to protect infant industries and, in latter days, to protect an American industry against cheap labor to be found abroad. This doctrine was undoubtedly a good one to follow as long as we were a debtor nation; since we had to acquire currencies of foreign countries in order to pay for the imports we bought, it was to our interest to keep them of the lowest possible aggregate value. Otherwise, all our gold reserves have been gradually draining away, and with disastrous consequences on our own economy.

As the years and two World Wars passed across the stage, America became the greatest creditor nation the world has ever known. No longer is it to the interest of America to keep imports down and exports up just to preserve the financial soundness of our whole system. In certain



instances, it is possible that particular industries should be protected because of their importance to us in the event of war. For example, I suppose that there is no substitute for a small but competent watch industry in our country because, in time of war, the skills and facilities of such an industry would be available for the making of fine instruments of all kinds. Similar arguments can be made in the case of certain other industries. But, by and large, the case for lowered American tariffs is so generally valid that to see so many so-called enlightened people opposing such a trend leads me almost to repeat again the sentence with which I opened this memorandum.

Industries, big and little -- sheep growers, pipe makers, silk scarf manufacturers, miners of tungsten, and so on, and so on -- all these people are so concerned for their own particular immediate market and prosperity that they utterly fail to see that the United States cannot continue to live in a world where it must, for the disposal of its products, export vast portions of its industrial and agricultural products unless it also imports a sufficiently great amount of foreign products to allow countries to pay for the surpluses they receive from us.

Along with this main proposition go a number of corollaries. An important one springs out of the continuous struggle going on in the world between the Communistic theory and free systems of government. Since Communism is aggressive, it reaches out to absorb every area in which can be detected



the slightest discontent or other form of weakness. Where men and women and their children suffer the pains of hunger and exposure, Communism quickly makes great headway. Consequently, unless the free world espouses and sustains, under the leadership of America, a system of world trade that will allow backward people to make a decent living -- even if only a minimum one measured by American standards -- then in the long run we must fall prey to the Communistic attack.

Another item in this particular phase of the situation is the American complete dependence upon other areas for certain types of materials such as tin, cobalt, uranium, manganese, natural rubber and, increasingly, crude oil. There are countless others. Unless the areas in which these materials are found are under the control of people who are friendly to us and who want to trade with us, then again we are bound in the long run to suffer the most disastrous and doleful consequences.

The general conclusion of these meandering thoughts is that leadership must find a way to bring men and nations to a point where they will give to the long-term promise the same value that they give to immediate and individual gains. If we could produce clear and dispassionate thinking in this regard, if we could get today the questions of world trade and world cooperation studied and settled on the basis of the long-term good of all, we could laugh at all the other so-called "contradictions" in our system, and we could be so secure against the Communist menace that it would gradually dry up and wither away.



As it is, the danger is very real and very great that even the so-called enlightened areas of Western Europe, Britain, United States, and the other English-speaking peoples will, by stubborn adherence to the purpose of achieving maximum immediate gain, actually commit suicide.

In this situation, we find a reason to say that, even if the free government were not originally based upon some form of deeply felt religious faith, then men should attempt to devise a religion that stresses the qualities of unselfishness, cooperation, and equality of men.

In the facets of our resources -- material, scientific, human, and spiritual -- there is ample assurance not only of security but of continued advance for all the free world in living standards if only we have sense enough to learn to cooperate for the long-term benefit of all of us.

STAG DINNER -- Monday, June 22, 1953



The President

Mr. Bernard M. Baruch

The Honorable Herbert Brownell
The Attorney General

Mr. Harry A. Bullis
General Mills, Incorporated

The Honorable Joseph M. Dodge
The Director of the Budget

Dr. Edward L. R. Elson
Minister, National Presbyterian Church

Mr. Fred G. Gurley
President, Atchison, Topeka, & Santa Fe Railway System

Mr. Fred Lazarus, Jr.
Federated Department Stores, Cincinnati

Mr. John L. Lewis
United Mineworkers Association

Mr. John J. McCloy
Lawyer, New York

Mr. H. Jack Porter
Oil executive, Texas

Mr. Sid W. Richardson
Oil executive, Texas

Mr. Arthur Hays Sulzberger
Publisher, The New York Times

Mr. Henry M. Wriston
President, Brown University

Dr. Milton S. Eisenhower
President, Pennsylvania State College

STAG DINNER -- Monday, June 8, 1953



The President

The Honorable Herbert Hoover

His Eminence Francis Cardinal Spellman

General Douglas MacArthur

The Honorable Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr.
The United States Representative to the United Nations

The Honorable John Foster Dulles
The Secretary of State

The Honorable George M. Humphrey
The Secretary of the Treasury

The Honorable Martin J. Durkin
The Secretary of Labor

Mr. Edward L. Ryerson
Chairman & Director, Inland Steel Company, Chicago

Mr. Lessing J. Rosenwald
Philanthropist

Dr. Milton S. Eisenhower
President, Pennsylvania State College

Mr. Harry D. Collier
Standard Oil Co., California

Mr. Palmer Hoyt
Publisher & Editor, The Denver Post

Admiral Lewis L. Strauss
Special Assistant to the President

Subject: Senator Taft

June 1, 1953.



Some days ago Senator Taft told me he was not feeling well. Shortly afterwards he went to the hospital (Walter Reed) and later went on to Ohio, where he entered another hospital. I understand that there are grave doubts among the doctors as to the exact nature of his trouble. There is currently some fear that he is really very sick, possibly even indefinitely incapacitated. On the other hand, there is a possibility that he merely has some kind of acute glandular disorder and will soon be able to take up his normal duties.

From the personal viewpoint, an indefinite incapacitation on his part would be quite a blow to me. Over the past several months Senator Taft and I have gradually developed a curious sort of personal friendship. It is not any Damon and Pythias sort of thing that insures compatibility of intellectual viewpoint, nor even, for that matter, complete courtesy in the public discussion of political questions. On the other hand, we have reached a very amicable and definite understanding as to the methods of handling common problems and to date, he has never failed to attack vigorously any particular chore that I ask him to undertake within the Senate.

On the partisan political side, his loss would be little short of calamitous -- because it would probably mean loss of Republican control

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of the Senate. The Governor of his state is a Democrat and would be expected to appoint a Democratic senator. With Senator Morse voting with the Democrats, this would give to them a majority, and of course we would lose the chairmanships.

On the broader horizon of the country's welfare, I am not certain how I would calculate the effect of Senator Taft's disappearance from political activity. In most domestic matters he and I stand firmly together. The real point of difference between us is that he wants to cut taxes immediately, believing that this is possible if we arbitrarily reduce the security establishment by about ten billion dollars. And he believes that in no other way can the Republicans be returned to the control of the Congress in 1954. I personally agree with none of this. I believe that the American public wants security ahead of tax reduction and that while we can save prodigious sums in the Defense Department without materially hurting our security, we cannot safely, this year, knock out enough to warrant an immediate tax reduction. To do it without a tax reduction would, of course, produce another deficit of extraordinary size, force us to seek an increase in the legal debt limit, and would be most inflationary in its effect.

But I do believe that we can make sufficient reductions this year to show the American people that we are doing a sensible and sane and efficient job, and win an election next year on a record of economy,



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~~that we are~~ impelled by mutual friendship to seek ways and means to minimize any evidence of apparent opposition, no matter how much we might differ in basic belief.

In many ways he has cooperated so well as to excite my admiration and . . . certainly far exceeded the expectations I held last December. On the other hand, he is so impulsive, and at times so irascible that he can scarcely be classed as a skillful statesman. His best friends explain his irascibility as frankness, and his blind prejudices as outspokenness. His worst enemies call him stupid and a political schemer. He is certainly not this last. But he is likewise far from being a Dick Nixon, who is not only bright, quick and energetic -- but loyal and cooperative.

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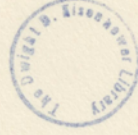


efficiency and effective security. With consistent attention to these matters, I believe that we can cut government expenditures far enough to justify real tax reductions for the fiscal year '55. All this, of course, assumes that we go ahead with the elimination of the excess profits tax and the emergency rise in personal income taxes, on next January first.

In the foreign field, Senator Taft never disagrees with me when we discuss such affairs academically or theoretically. He believes in the theory of cooperative security and mutual aid. However, when we take up each individual problem or case, he easily loses his temper and makes extravagant statements. He always does this when he starts making a public speech -- he seems to work himself into a storm of resentment and irritation.

The result of all this is that our allies fear him and all he influences. They think he gives McCarthy ideas and McCarthy, with his readiness to go to the extremes in calling names and making false accusations, simply terrifies the ordinary European statesman. Incidentally, I very recently read part of a German broadcast, in which the German, Von Cub, stated in effect "McCarthy makes it so easy to hate Americans that it is necessary that all of us who understand America's decent motives and basic friendliness should speak up in behalf of the things she is doing in our own countries."

The implication from all this is that Senator Taft and I will never completely really agree on policies affecting either the domestic or the foreign scene. Moreover, we will never be sufficiently close that we are



IMMEDIATE RELEASE

July 24, 1953

James C. Hagerty, Press Secretary to the President

THE WHITE HOUSE

The President today appointed the following as members of the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government:

Herbert Hoover, of California
James A. Farley, of New York
Herbert Brownell, The Attorney General
Arthur S. Flemming, Director, Office of
Defense Mobilization

Mr. Hoover and Mr. Farley were appointed by the President as public representatives, while Mr. Brownell and Mr. Flemming were designated as the representatives of the Executive Branch of the Government.

In making the appointments, the President said:

"The former President of the United States has once again placed his great talents at the disposal of the government, and I am sure that I speak for the people of the nation as I take this occasion to thank him publicly for responding to this call to duty.

"The government is fortunate that Mr. Farley has likewise agreed to help the Commission in its work. His knowledge of government and its functions will be of inestimable value to the tremendous task confronting the Commission."

Under the law establishing the Commission, eight additional members will be designated by the Congress. The President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House each will designate four Members -- two from each House and two from private life.

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NOTES _ TOP SECRET. May 1, 1953. After meeting
of Legislative Leaders April 30, 1953.

TO BE OPENED ONLY AT DIRECTION OF THE PRESIDENT.

Ann Whitman

April 14, 1969

It was noted this date that this envelope
was opened twice -- probably one time
by DDE when he was working on Mandate
For Change and probably once by JSDE.

RLS

Q

Whelan

Q





DDE/hew
May 14, 1953

During the first four months of this Administration's existence, there have gradually come forward a number of men who are establishing themselves as very competent, capable, and dedicated public servants. Since nothing is static in human affairs, I could not possibly say that my present opinion of these individuals will remain the same through the four-year term (assuming even that all of us live and keep our health). However, it may be interesting, when the time comes for me to make up my own mind as to the identity of a logical successor, for me to look back on these notes and find in them impressions I have formed after four months of intimate association with these personalities.

First, the older group -- of roughly my age or, in some cases, even a little older:

John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State.

I still think of him, as I always have, as an intensive student of foreign affairs. He is well informed and, in this subject at least, is deserving, I think, of his reputation as a "wise" man. Moreover, he is a dedicated and tireless individual -- he passionately believes in the United States, in the dignity of man, and in moral values.

He is not particularly persuasive in presentation and, at times, seems to have a curious lack of understanding as to how his words and manner may affect another personality. Personally, I like and admire him; my only doubts concerning him lie in the general field of personality, not in his capacity as a student of foreign affairs.



George Humphrey, Secretary of the Treasury.

He is a sound business type, possessed of a splendid personality, and truly interested in the welfare of the United States and of all the people that compose it. He is almost a direct opposite of the caricatured businessman that so often appears in the columns of the "liberal" press. He is persuasive in his presentations and usually has his facts well in hand. He is an acceptable figure in every conference and always adds something to its deliberations.

Charles Wilson, Secretary of Defense.

In his field, he is a really competent man. He is careful and positive, and I have no slightest doubt that, assisted by the team of civilian and military men he has selected, he will produce the maximum of security for this country at minimum or near minimum cost. If he fails, it will be because of his inability to sell himself and his programs to Congress. In this connection, if he will only make greater use of Roger Kyes (his principal Assistant, and selected by him personally) as the man to represent the Defense Department before Congress, I should say he will be making a very wise move. Kyes, also a good business executive, is likewise persuasive in conference and presentation. Already he has achieved a real standing with the various members of the Congress. On the other hand, Mr. Wilson is prone to lecture, rather than to answer, when asked a specific question. This not only annoys many members of Congress, but it gives them unlooked for opportunities to discover flaws in reasoning and argument.



It is the one direction in which I feel that Charlie Wilson has a definite weakness. And, while I frequently advised him to delegate to Kyes and others maximum responsibility in this field of legislative work, I am still doubtful as to the final outcome.

* * *

The three above-named men are all of my age or slightly older. They are, nevertheless, very active members of the Administration and I invariably seek their advice and counsel in all affairs of great moment whether or not the subject directly affects the activities of their particular Departments.

Another group of people, somewhat younger, are likewise important in the Administration. The ones that come instantly to mind are:

My brother, Milton Eisenhower -- President, Penn State College.

Henry Cabot Lodge -- American Representative on the UN.

Herbert Brownell -- Attorney General.

Harold Stassen -- Director for Mutual Security.

Joseph Dodge -- Director of the Budget.

Oveta Hobby -- Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Sherman Adams -- Head of the White House Staff.

Charles Halleck -- Republican Leader in the House of Representatives.

Richard Nixon -- Vice President.

Senator William Knowland, of California.

Robert Stevens -- Secretary of the Army.

Robert Anderson -- Secretary of the Navy.



Robert Cutler -- my Administrative Assistant, and
Director of the National Security Council.

C. D. Jackson -- my Administrative Assistant for
Psychological Warfare Activities.

Dr. Arthur Flemming -- Director of Defense Mobilization.

Philip Young -- Chairman of the Civil Service Commission.

To this list, I could add a great many others. But most of them are individuals who, by reason of their very specialized assignments, do not figure prominently in councils and decisions of really broad scope. For example, Jerry Persons and his group of assistants; Dr. Hauge; and Tom Stephens.

Of the list I have just named, I should remark as a general impression that none of them has really disappointed me; on the contrary, they have performed both individually and as a group beyond my original expectations. At this minute, I am not going to attempt to set down my opinion of the qualifications and personalities of each. It would take far too long. However, in a few cases, I do want to make some record of my current impressions.

So far as my brother Milton is concerned, I am, of course, a prejudiced witness. However, I have no hesitancy in saying I believe him to be most knowledgeable and widely informed of all the people with whom I deal. He is a great character and personality, a humanitarian, and a truly capable organizer and leader. So far as I am concerned, he is at



this moment the most highly qualified man in the United States to be President. This most emphatically makes no exception of me.

Several years ago, the doctors threatened him with the possibility of some cardiac difficulty but, as I understand it, repeated examinations have shown no deterioration. He has, however, been working very hard and shows some signs of nervous tension. This is probably aggravated by -- or, indeed, may be completely caused by -- the very serious illness of Helen, his wife. Two years ago, it was discovered that she had a serious malignancy and, in recent months, there has been some slight recurrence. The doctors are hopeful that deep X-ray will cure her of this, but the answer is still problematical. It causes distress to the entire family and, of course, acutely so to Milton.

I would not, of course, offer to Milton -- and he would not accept -- any position in the Government. He does, however, consult frequently with various members of the Government and is my most intimate general adviser. He has been of invaluable assistance in helping develop our reorganizational plans and has consented to make a visit as my personal representative to South America, to take place during his vacation period this coming summer.

Next to Milton in general all-round capability (and I am speaking of capabilities now with particular reference to governmental service), I would place Henry Cabot Lodge. He is well-educated, widely experienced, quick, shrewd, and possessed of a fine personality. He has long been in



politics and is therefore apt to form judgments somewhat more colored by political considerations than would an individual whose background is more like Milton's. However, he is, by instinct and upbringing, an honorable man -- and remains so even in political argument and discussion. He is doing a particularly good job in the United Nations, where his quickness of wit and his great ability and extemporaneous debate serve us very well indeed.

He has been quite unpopular with certain section of the Republican Party -- especially the so-called Reactionary Wing. There is no question, however, that he represents the general stream of American thinking far better than does an individual such as Senator Malone or any other of that particular school.

Herb Brownell. Here is a man with long experience in politics, especially in the conduct of political campaigns. It would be natural to suppose that he would become hardboiled, and that the code by which he lives could scarcely be classified as one of high moral quality. The contrary seems to be true -- certainly he has never suggested or proposed to me any action which could be considered in slightest degree dishonest or unethical. His reputation with others seems to match my own high opinion of his capabilities as a lawyer, his qualities as a leader, and his character as a man. I am devoted to him and am perfectly confident that he would make an outstanding President of the United States.



Charlie Halleck. This man is a different type. He is a Phi Beta Kappa, which means at least that he is highly intelligent and mentally adept. He has had a reputation as being a ruthless politician, but I find him not only considerate and kind but a real team player. He does believe in discipline in an organization, and he has no patience whatsoever with the individuals that "stray off the reservation" when it comes to a matter of Republican regularity. He is charming company and, so far as I can determine, of exemplary tactfulness. Perhaps my opinion can be best expressed by merely stating the fact that he was high on my list of acceptable Vice Presidents when my opinion was asked last July. And, since that time, he has steadily grown in my estimation.

Arthur Flemming and Philip Young. These two individuals are highly knowledgeable concerning governmental function and organization. Both are very well educated, Flemming now being the President of Ohio Wesleyan, on leave -- while Phil Young has just served several years as the Dean of Business School of Columbia University. I consider both to be invaluable in the Administration and respect highly the counsel and advice I get from them. They both seem to possess executive ability in an extraordinary degree and, all in all, it is difficult indeed to class anybody above them except in the single quality of broad experience. (Both are relatively young men.)

* * *



For the moment, I shall not attempt to go further in my descriptions of the individuals I have named herein, since the mere fact that I have named them implies correctly that I have for them real admiration and respect.

Over and beyond this list, there are others in business or in State Governments who rank highly in my estimation. At some later date, I shall attempt to list a few.

* * *



~~TOP SECRET.~~

One copy only of this memorandum made. Notes destroyed. ACW.

May 1, 1953.

Yesterday was one of the worst days I have experienced since January 20th, the major part of the wear and tear coming through a meeting of the Legislative Leaders. Luckily there were one or two features of the meeting that provided reason for a subsequent chuckle. All in all, therefore, the day's end was not quite as bad as some of the moments in its middle.

The difficulty arose at the weekly meeting of the Executive Departments and the leaders of the Republican Party in the Congress. The purpose of the meeting was to bring about some kind of rough agreement as to the general character and extent of the changes that would be recommended by the Administration in the Truman budget, submitted to the Congress at the end of last year.

After three months of sweat and study, the Executive Departments had come up with recommendations that the requests for new money be cut by something like eight billion four hundred million. Moreover, the expenditure program for the fiscal year 1954, although largely frozen by commitments and contracts made long ago, was cut and figured until it had been reduced by four billion four hundred million.

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This whole program was explained in the light of the desire of the Administration to avoid any weakening of our defensive posture in the world; in fact in the light of the need for increasing the presently available strength, particularly in the air forces.

Most of those present seemed to have a clear appreciation of the agony of work and scheming that had gone into the business of making this kind of a cut, and it was carefully explained that future experience ought to bring about even greater opportunities for savings. Quite naturally, when we have achieved the defensive build-up that is considered the minimum necessary, savings should be much greater, even if we have to continue in the conduct of the more or less "cold war."

In spite of the apparent satisfaction of most of those present, Senator Taft broke out in a violent objection to everything that had been done. He used adjectives in describing the disappointment he felt that were anything but complimentary. He accused the Security Council of merely adopting the Truman strategy, and by a process of nicking here and chipping there, built up savings which he classed as "puny." He predicted that acceptance by the Congress of any such program would insure the decisive defeat of the Republican party in 1954. He said that not only could he not support the program, but that he would have to go on public record as fighting and opposing it.

I think that everybody present was astonished at the demagogic nature of his tirade, because not once did he mention the security of the United States or the need for strength either at home or

May 1, 1953 - 3.



among our allies. He simply wanted expenditures reduced, regardless. Of course, the individuals who had been working so hard on this program, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Director of the Budget, the Director for Mutual Security, and the Acting Secretary of Defense, were all astounded, and it was obvious that they felt had been badly let down -- that they had had a right to expect great understanding and cooperation -- particularly in view of the fact that they had never failed to keep the leaders as well informed concerning their progress as was possible in the circumstances.

The ludicrous part of the affair came about when several of my close friends around the table saw that my temper was getting a little out of hand at the demagogic proceeding, and of course they did not want any breach to be brought about that would be completely unbridge-able. So George Humphrey and Joe Dodge in turn jumped into the conversation as quickly as there was the slightest chance to interrupt and held the floor until I had cooled down somewhat. After that I simply laid out the general basis of our global strategy, its inescapable requirements in terms of vital areas, the obvious truth that protection cost a mint of money, and defended the individuals on the Security Council who had worked so long and so earnestly to bring about the projected savings, a process that of course had to encounter and accept calculated risks at more than one point. By the time that the Senator had seen the reaction to his own talk and heard the general comment about the table, he was to a very considerable amount, backing up; before the meeting was over he had the appearance of being

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a jolly good fellow who had merely expressed himself emphatically.

Nevertheless, even assuming that he now accepts our position in complete detail (which I do not expect), he still has lost a great bit of his leadership position in front of his associates who were here with him. I do not see how he can possibly expect over the long run to expect to influence people when he has no more control over his temper than seemed apparent at the meeting; likewise, I do not see how he can maintain any reputation for considered judgment when he attempts to discuss weighty, serious and even critical matters in such an ill-tempered and violent fashion.

Of course I am pleased that I did not add any fuel to the flames, even though it is possible that I might have done so except for the quick intervention of my devoted friends. If this thing ever has to be dragged out into the open, we at least have the right to stand firmly upon the platform of taking no unnecessary chances with our country's safety, but at the same time doing everything we can to protect its solvency and its economic health.

Before the day was over, my friends dropped in to chat with me about the occurrence and to express the opinion that the whole incident cleared the air and enhanced the prestige of the Administration, because of the quite obvious acceptance by all the others present of the honesty and efficiency of our work. However, I still maintain that it does not create

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any confidence in the reliability and effectiveness of our leadership
in one of the important houses of Congress.

~~TOP SECRET~~



April 1, 1953.

The happenings of the past few weeks emphasize again how difficult it is for a party that has been in the minority for twenty years to take up the burdens of responsibility for the operation of the government. We have had a number of misunderstandings, to say nothing of blunders. Sometimes these have been either my own fault or the fault of some other part of the Executive Department. More frequently, I think, they result from the readiness of political legislators to fly into print at every possible opportunity. I repeat, this is especially true because of the fact that for so long a time the Republican Party has been opposed to, and often a deadly enemy of, the individual in the White House.

One of the difficulties that is now more of a carry-over than a new incident is occasioned by the so-called Bricker Amendment. Senator Bricker wants to amend the Constitution to limit the power of the President in making international agreements. Likewise, he wants to limit the position of an approved treaty as "the Supreme Law of the Land." By and large I think the logic of the case is all against Senator Bricker, but he has gotten almost psychopathic on the subject and a great many lawyers have taken his side of the case. This fact does not impress me very much. Lawyers are trained to take either ^{side} ~~case~~ of any case and make the most intelligent and impassioned defense of their adopted viewpoint. This tends to create a practice of submerging conviction in favor of plausible argument.

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I realize that there are ~~many~~ few lawyers whose standing and position have been such that they could afford to take only cases that completely agree with their own political and philosophical convictions. This, however, does not affect the observation I have just made, and I truly believe that that observation is at least partially correct. In any event, such lawyers as John W. Davis, General Mitchell, Foster Dulles and Herbert Brownell are of the opinion that the effect of the Amendment would be to damage the United States materially in its efforts to lead the world in support of the free way of life. These are not only able lawyers, they are also experienced in government. This is important.

Senator McCarthy is, of course, so anxious for the headlines that he is prepared to go to any extremes in order to secure some mention of his name in the public press. His actions create trouble on the Hill with members of the Party; they irritate, frustrate and infuriate members of the Executive Department. I really believe that nothing will be so effective in combating his particular kind of trouble-making as to ignore him. This he cannot stand.

Throughout these weeks, with the difficulties of which the above two are random examples, there has been a growing strength in the friendly



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relations between the Republican leaders of both Houses and the Executive Department. I think it is scarcely too much to say that Senator Taft and I are becoming right good friends. This applies, also, to the mass of Republican senators, who in general will follow Taft's lead. In the contest on Bohlen's confirmation, eleven Republican senators voted against us. There were only two or three who surprised me by their actions; the others are the most stubborn and essentially small-minded examples of the extreme isolationist group in the Party. I was surprised by the vote of Bricker and Goldwater. These two seemed to me a little bit more intelligent than the others, who sought to defend their position with the most specious kind of excuse and the most misleading kind of argument.

In spite of all this, Taft held the mass of Republicans squarely in line, and the Democrats, with the exception of two only, voted solidly with us.

Of course, if this kind of thing were often repeated, it would give some weight to an argument that was presented to me only yesterday. It was that I should set quietly about the formation of a new party. The method would be to make a personal appeal to every member of the House and Senate; to every Governor, and to every National Committeeman whose general political philosophy and purpose seem to belong to that school known as "The Middle Way." It may come about that this will be forced upon us, but the difficulties are vast and if we can possibly bring about a greater solidarity among Republicans, if we can get them more deeply committed to team work and party responsibility, this will be much the better way.



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In the House I do not anticipate a great deal of difficulty, but in the Senate the record of the past few weeks is encouraging only insofar as the majority of Republicans is concerned. However, if we can win away from the McCarthy-Malone axis about five or six of their members, the splinter group will be reduced to impotence.

On such a basis, I think we should be able to build a splendid progressive record, including substantial balancing of the '54 budget, greater achievements in our whole security program, a stronger position in Asia, real progress in the NATO concept, and possibly a real prospect of lowering taxes by the end of the '54 fiscal year. If we can have the solidarity that will accomplish these things, then the chances for the Republicans retaining control of the House and Senate (which involves the vital chairmanship of committees) shall be really bright.

If that comes about, the only remaining great problem will be the date of my announcement that I am through with politics.

D. D. E.

Walter Gifford's recommendations:

1. Churchill's place in party
2. Method of appointment of Mr. Aldrich
3. Julius Holmes also: "old age"

February 13, 1953.

Yesterday, the 12th, I had luncheon with our retiring Ambassador to Great Britain, my good friend Walter Gifford. He wanted to give me several suggestions and some of them I think to be rather valuable.

First, he expressed the complete conviction that Winston Churchill is no longer a real power in the Conservative Party -- certainly not its real leader. He is more tolerated than obeyed. Walter says there is no question of Winston's personal popularity as a Britisher, but it is well understood in all circles that he has grown sufficiently old that he is really stretching -- if he has not outlived -- his usefulness.

This fact creates a very awkward situation because his Cabinet has to bear both the burdens of government and the additional one of pretending that Winston is the boss.

Again I am reminded of how hard it is for older men to retire and accept the inevitable verdict of passing years. I have watched this over my life, and I continue to pray that I, in my turn, will not fall victim to the same human failing. So far I have not wavered as I tried earnestly to step down and out when I came back from Europe in 1945, believing that the experiences of the immediately preceding years may have taken a much greater toll out of me than I even suspected. Next, when I left the office of Chief of Staff I again tried to keep out of active work, but finally succumbed to the arguments of the Trustees of Columbia University. Incidentally, I thoroughly



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enjoyed that work as quickly as I got over the initial feeling of strangeness. Having settled there and having already informed the Trustees that at the age of 65 I would insist upon getting out, I had the NATO position thrust upon me and I had to go back to Europe. Mamie and I discussed this long and soberly, and she was personally so bitterly disappointed that for a while she considered remaining in the United States while I went over to Europe. Once we got to Europe Mamie liked her house and her circle of friends and had a nice time. We did, however, hope that the NATO tour would be our last stretch of active service and twice I suggested to individual trustees of Columbia that they find some way of putting me on the inactive list and not counting upon my returning there for duty after the NATO tour should be over.

Of course, after being there less than a year, the pressures from political figures became so great that again I was persuaded that I had a duty to turn to another task, that of offering myself as a political leader to unseat the New Deal-Fair Deal bureaucracy in Washington.

So here I am -- and the reason for reciting the record to date is that if I do finally succumb to the same kind of thing that now seems to rule my great friend Winston, I will at least have a record that for a period I had somewhat better sense.



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The next thing that Walter wanted to tell me about yesterday was the confusion that reigned in London for a time created by the unfortunate manner of naming his successor.

About a year ago I visited London and during the course of my visit there Walter told me that as soon as a new administration came into Washington, he was determined to retire as Ambassador to Great Britain. With this knowledge, I of course was interested in the task of selecting a completely acceptable and useful successor. We started this job shortly after the election in early November and it was not long before we determined that all things considered, Winthrop Aldrich would be our best bet. This selection was made on the most confidential basis, but to our consternation it was soon public knowledge in New York City -- and indeed, throughout the nation.

Foster Dulles considered this situation so embarrassing that he felt he would have to make a prompt public announcement of the fact that we intended to nominate Winthrop Aldrich when the new administration should take over. I agreed, but did put in my word of caution that Walter Gifford would have to be protected in every possible way. I was very greatly concerned that he should not be embarrassed, not only because he is an able American citizen and had done a good job in London, but because he was also my good friend. Having said this, I promptly dropped the matter from my mind.

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Actually, it turned out that Walter received from Foster Dulles a letter one morning informing him that a change would probably be made (something that Walter, of course, already knew since he had himself made the decision) and that afternoon Foster called Walter to inform him that the announcement of his successor would have to be made promptly because of unfortunate leaks here at home.

Walter acted promptly to put a proper appearance on this kind of emergency action, and had a story published in the New York Times to the effect that he was going to retire promptly on January 20th. The next thing that happened was the immediate announcement from the United States of the intended appointment of Winthrop Aldrich. This upset the British government very badly -- and I must say most understandably. As Anthony Eden pointed out in his informal protest to Walter Gifford, this meant that Britain was being subjected to pretty rough treatment when there was no effort made to get the usual "agreement." He said that with this precedent, any small nation could pursue the same tactics and if Britain should protest, they could argue that since the United States had done this and Britain had accepted it, no real objection could be made.

To guard against any such development as this, I am going to advise Anthony, when I see him next month, to lay the blame for this whole unfortunate occurrence squarely on me. He will have the

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logical explanation that my lack of formal experience in the political world was the reason for the blunder. Actually, I was the one who cautioned against anything like this happening, but manifestly I can take the blame without hurting anything or anybody, whereas if the Secretary of State would have to shoulder it his position would be badly damaged.

Walter apparently moved earnestly to repair the damage done and it will probably be quickly forgotten. However, it left a very deep resentment in him and I must say I don't blame him. On the other hand, it is quite clear that Foster intended no insult or discourtesy. On the contrary, he has a great admiration, just as I do, for both Walter and our British friends. He simply was thrown off balance by a leak that should never have occurred, and he apparently decided that it would be a greater affront to the British if they read about our intended action in the newspaper than if they received notice, rather abruptly, through our Ambassador. However, the final mistake made was that when Foster telephoned to Gifford -- apparently on the afternoon of November 29th -- he failed to ask the Ambassador, as a personal favor, to notify the British government of the whole unfortunate occurrence and to say that the "agreement" would be sought as soon as possible and that our intended appointment would be subject to the receipt of such "agreement."



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Gifford pointed out that the real importance of this occurrence was a feeling on the part of the British, at that time, that the new administration intended to be pretty rough with them and with our other allies. They are, of course, very sensitive indeed and are watchful for every affront to their dignity and rights. Beyond this, they feel that they should have something of a special position with us because of our close partnership during World War II.

This, I think, is only logical because it is quite clear that unless the English-speaking peoples of the world can live relatively close together and can set something of a model for the necessary cooperation among free peoples, then we are truly in for desperate trouble. However, no such special relationship can be maintained or even suggested publicly. In public relationship all nations are sovereign and equal. This means that on the personal and informal basis we must find a way of agreeing with our British friends on broad objectives and purposes. Thereafter, each must pursue its own detailed methods of achieving these purposes. Some hurt feelings will occasionally be inevitable -- but as long as our hearts are in the right places and both sides are reasonably intelligent, we should be able to work for the common aim of a free and secure world based upon common sense among nations and decent respect for each other.

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Out of the November incident one conclusion seems inescapable -- namely, that Winthrop Aldrich should be warned to keep his mouth shut when he has knowledge of any official subject which is not public knowledge. The whole difficulty arose out of his impatience and his naive supposition that the people he talked to in New York would keep his confidence. If he should be guilty of that kind of thing in his present office, he would quickly lose his usefulness.

Walter Gifford's final recommendation to me was to promote Julius Holmes to Ambassador and assign him to a fairly important post. I assured him I already had this in mind, but believed that Aldrich would need Holmes in London for a few months. After that we would find a proper post for him, because he is a most able and devoted career man. Moreover, there is nothing New Dealish about him.

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HARRY S. TRUMAN
FEDERAL RESERVE BANK BUILDING
KANSAS CITY 6, MISSOURI



Jan. 28, 1953

Dear Mr. President:-

I can't tell you how very
much I appreciate your good
letter of the 23rd inst.

It was a pleasure to help all
I could in the orderly transfer from
my administration to yours.

I would never have mentioned
the incident of your son, had you
not asked me about it.

Please remember me to
Mrs. Eisenhower and the best
of everything to you.

Sincerely,

Harry Truman



January 23, 1953.

Dear Mr. President:

This note is to express my appreciation for the very many courtesies you extended to me and mine during the final stages of your Administration. The efforts you made to assure the orderly transfer of government, from your Administration to this one, are largely a matter of public knowledge but I am personally aware of the fact that you went to far greater trouble to accomplish this than almost anyone else could have known.

On the personal side, I especially want to thank you for your thoughtfulness in ordering my son home from Korea for the Inauguration; and even more especially for not allowing either him or me to know that you had done so.

I sincerely wish for you many years of happy and useful work; and of course, Mamie joins me in sending affectionate greetings to the ladies of your family.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

The Honorable Harry S. Truman,
Independence,
Missouri.

February 9, 1953.



Proposed Legislative Program
Reciprocal Trade Agreement

This morning we had our regular Monday morning meeting with the Senate and House leadership. The principal subject for discussion was the proposed legislative program.

A tentative schedule was suggested by Senator Taft, who took the State of the Union speech as his basis and worked up a detailed program that he thought would best suit the calendar of the Congress.

The subjects agreed upon as "must" legislation were:

1. Reorganization Bill - already passed.
2. Appropriations Bills to reach the Senate not later than May 15.
3. Hawaiian Statehood Bill.
4. Taft-Hartley amendments.
5. Limited extension of controls, allocations, etc., dealing with materials required for defense program and critical defense areas.
6. Legislation related to submerged lands.
7. Extension of Reciprocal Trade Act.
8. Custom Simplification Bill.
9. Extension of old age and survivors insurance, to cover groups presently excluded.
10. Extension of bill for temporary aid to schools in critical areas.
11. Adding of two Commissioners for the District of Columbia.

This list of course is not an exclusive list, but does lay before the Republicans of both houses a general outline that will be helpful.



* * * * *

A subject that is coming up soon for decision involves the Reciprocal Trade Agreement with other nations. In our present law is a so-called "escape" clause, which provides that under certain conditions, the Federal Trade Commission may recommend an increase in our tariffs and upon the approval of the President, such increase go instantly into effect.

The case presently to be decided involves briar pipes -- just plain smoking pipes. It is inconsequential insofar as the volume of imports is concerned and the number of people engaged in the business of making pipes here in the United States. However, it is a very important case from the standpoint of establishing attitude and future policy, and I am informed by the Secretary of Commerce that the whole world -- as well as the American Congress -- will be watching the decision.

So far as fulfilling the conditions for the application of the escape clause, this particular case is clear cut. On the other hand, our whole policy of collective security among the nations of the free world depends on an ability of these other nations to make a living. This means that they must have the ability to export and since the United States consists of by far the greatest single market in the world, it means that we must be quite ready and willing to import items where these do not seriously damage our economy.



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Specifically, the kind of items that we should like to import are those where a great deal of hand labor is involved and where these items are not essential to the workers in our economy, particularly in time of war. This type of essential item we would far rather make here at home. (I am not discussing here the essential raw materials that we need from abroad. In this category we need especially those items in which our own production is inadequate.)

Consequently, the question at issue is to decide between the letter and intent of the law on the one hand, and the clear damage that will be done to some of our allies by such compliance.

The law provides also that certain officials, among whom I think are the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defense, the Secretary of Labor and the Director of Mutual Security, must all advise the President as to their convictions in such a matter, and I have a suspicion that without exception they will recommend that the tariff remain at the 50 to 75% rate that now exists. To avoid the increase would manifestly be to the best interests of the United States as a whole.

However, the entire Reciprocal Trade law expires in a very short time and we have to depend upon a Congress --part of which is not sympathetic to Reciprocal Agreements -- to re-enact it. Consequently, to decline to grant the increase, when the case is so clear-cut as to comply with legal conditions, would probably provoke the Congress and might result in a failure to re-enact the Law.



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On the other hand, approval would hurt the morale of our allies far more than it will hurt them economically.

Again, we come up against the whole question of the ability of a free government to continue functioning in spite of pressures from groups inside the body politic, where these pressures are created by immediate self-interest. Numbers of our writers of today believe, indeed strongly urge, that free government can continue to exist only as the central authority -- in our case, the federal government -- assumes a stronger and stronger role in directing the economic processes of the country. By exercising a stronger authority over the economy, these writers mean bureaucratic rather than purely legislative control. In this way they would hope to get away from the group influence, to which an elected official is so sensitive, while at the same time they would preserve the general forms of free government and individual liberty through the dependence of the bureaucrats upon the Congress for appropriations.

Thinking of this kind leads to a greater and greater dependence upon the so-called "Regulation" Commissions, most of them having a combination of legislative, executive and judicial functions.

The Congress has at times referred to some of these Commissions as an "Extension of Congress." This would be an accurate description if their functions were limited to legislative action and their decisions always subject to approval by the Executive. This is not the case, and



I would not be surprised that a very strong argument could be made against the functioning of some of them, on constitutional grounds. In any event, in the degree that we depend more and more upon the Regulatory Commission, we are departing from the system laid down in our Constitution, a system that groups all functions into three categories and keeps these mutually independent of each other. Since America has always believed that this functional dispersion of power is equally important with the geographical dispersion accomplished by the reservation of all powers to the states and to the people, except where such power is especially granted to the central authority by the Constitution, it follows that in the degree that we depend upon the Regulatory Commission, we are threatening the individual liberties and the entire system of free government that they established.

Of course, we well understand that whereas in the early days of our Republic, the "liberal" was any individual who pled for less government in our daily lives, we have come to the point in the past thirty or forty years where the present-day liberal is the man who demands more and more government in our lives, claiming that only in this way can the mass of the individuals be protected against the greed and lust of the predatory few. Individuals of this school shout their undying hatred of the "practitioners of special privilege" but the fact is that the only special privilege



that could possibly exist under the systems that they advocate, would be the high ranking bureaucrats of Washington.

Admittedly, masses of people have suffered under the injustices inflicted by people controlling means of production, not only in our civilization but in past ones. However, individual fortunes come and go; shirt-sleeves to shirt-sleeves in three generations is almost an accepted characteristic of modern civilization. But once an all-powerful and self-perpetuating government has fastened won onto the people, then exploitation of the masses will revert again to the kind practiced by the Hitlers and Napoleons of the past -- and indeed, as it is practiced by Stalin today.

All of this, of course, is not provoked by a mere instance of the "briar pipe" case, but that case is indicative of what goes on in a democracy. It points up the need for the people to be constantly on the job of reminding all of us what these trends -- or the accumulation of a sufficient number of these instances -- can eventually mean. If we do this seriously and persistently enough, we should be all right.

February 7, 1953.



Relationships with Congress
Cabinet personalities
White House staff
Difficulties of finding right people
for right spot

Early experiences with the Congress have led me to some strange and unexpected conclusions. Surface indications to date are that the individuals from whom I had expected the greatest amount of opposition and with whom I would find cooperation to be difficult have shown a contrary attitude. Senator Taft has been the model of cheerful and effective cooperation -- so has Senator Bridges, Capehart, Dirksen and others of this general group. In the House Joe Martin, Charlie Halleck and John Tabor have been most helpful, and while these men have not been classed in the public mind as the extreme conservatives, neither have they been known as members of the more liberal wing of the party. At the same time, I have found in the Senate that some of my best friends have either been extremely sensitive or have become rather temperamental. Frank Carlson so dislikes a particular individual that I want to give an important post in government to that I have to withhold the name of one of the men who could do one of our toughest jobs in admirable fashion, Saltonstall has been very fearful and ineffective in handling cases of cases of men who have to dispose of large amounts of stock in order to qualify for office. While in every case the men I have named have been quite willing to comply with the provisions of the law (and I am referring to interpretations given by some eminent



men such as John W. Davis) I have found that some of our senatorial friends are so politically fearful that they carry the meaning and intent of the law far beyond anything that could be considered reasonable.

^{likely}
The result is that sooner or later we will be unable to get anybody to take jobs in Washington except business failures, ^{political} college professors, and New Deal lawyers. All of these would jump at the chance to get a job that a successful businessman has to sacrifice very much to take. Reasonable sacrifices are, of course, to be expected; in fact the government can scarcely afford to allow anyone to occupy an important post unless he ^{has} ~~did~~ have to sacrifice very materially in order to take it. But it is the carrying of the practice to the extreme that will eventually damage us badly, unless we get some logical breaks in the Senate in the handling of these cases.

* * * * *

All my early Cabinet meetings have revealed the existence of a spirit of teamwork and of friendship that augers well for the future. Everybody is working hard and doing it with a will. At the moment my two slight worries involve Weeks of Commerce and Durkin of Labor. The former seems so completely conservative in his views that at times he seems to be illogical. I hope that



I am mistaken or if not, that he will soon become a little bit more aware of the world as it is today.

Mr. Durkin seems to me to carry a bit of a chip on his shoulder. Whenever he presents anything in the Cabinet meetings, it is with an attitude that seems to be just a bit jeering. Again I hope I am mistaken.

Naturally, in both cases I shall do the best I can in personal conversations to eliminate what I think I see in the two of them. It is the kind of problem I have often had before, and I am by no means discouraged. It is merely that I want this team to function better than any I have ever had around me before. All other members of the Cabinet, including Lodge, Stassen, Dodge and Mrs. Hobby, are performing exactly as I expected and I am delighted with them.

* * * * *

The White House and Executive staff is rounding into shape rapidly and I believe is going to function exceedingly well. Most of the members are individuals who have been together for a long time, and it should be a much easier task for them to develop a real team than it is for the Cabinet.

In certain positions of government it has been difficult to find the right people to take over the responsibilities. Arthur Flemming, President of Ohio Wesleyan University, is the only man I know that could fulfill the responsibilities devolving upon the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission -- at least the responsibilities that I intend to place on that officer. Yet there are a few people on the Hill that have a curious notion that Arthur Flemming is a bit of a New Dealer. Actually I find him a very distinct middle-of-the-roader --



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as well as a brilliant and devoted man. But I have had to come to the conclusion that I cannot use him except in posts where no Senate confirmation is required. I had the same experience in my hope of sending Val Peterson to India as Ambassador, when one Senator defeated the idea. This difficulty springs from the fact that the Republicans have been so long in opposition to the Executive, Republican Senators are having a hard time getting through their heads that they now belong to a team that includes rather than opposes the White House. Senator Taft has grasped this fact more quickly and more definitely than have any of the others and I repeat that -- to date -- he has been a model team mate.

January 10, 1952³



To: Governor Sherman Adams

Re Mrs. Lord's memo of January 8: "Frankly, I think Cabot is being a bit difficult on this point. While all of us recognize him as the senior and controlling U.S. Representative in the U.N. -- it seems to me that to deny Mary Lord the right to sit on the delegation will lessen her effectiveness on the other job. Cabot may doubt her ability -- but if his doubts are well founded then we should not have offered her anything! I'm personally confident she can do the job well!"

D."



Memorandum of conversation with Senator Ferguson 1/6/53, 10:00 A.M.

Senator Ferguson called the General about a telegram purporting to come from the General to Senator Potter, saying in effect "I am looking forward to working with your Senator Potter" -- which was read at a recent dinner in Michigan. It ignored Senator Ferguson and his friends have commented on it. He realizes that it was unintentional but wondered if there could have been some slip-up in office.

The General promised to look into the matter.

Senator Ferguson said there were several things he would like to talk to the General about, and the General told him to come up any time -- then could have picture taken together and matter would be repaired.

One of the things is regarding possible transfer to Foreign Relations Committee.

There was a little discussion of filibuster issue; the General said in his view the Senate rules had been worked out by itself throughout the years and they had their experience and own wisdom behind it.

Draft of telegram

1/6/52.



Mr. Robert C. C. Heaney,
Chairman Republican State Inauguration Committee,
Olis Hotel,
Lansing, Michigan.

Please extend to those attending your victory dinner dance (word dance was omitted in reading), my deep appreciation for the splendid support given to me and to the party during the campaign. I am looking forward to working with your Senator Potter, your Congressional delegates, and with the many Michigan men I have taken from you.-- Arthur Summerfield, Charles Wilson, Joseph Dodge, Roger Kyes, and Arthur Vandenberg will be the mainstays of your new administration. My heartiest congratulations to Michigan representatives and my best wishes for a happy New Year.

Dwight D. Eisenhower.

Received 1/1/52.

(This was sent by Mr. Hagerty's office)

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Mr. Pratt says presumably Senator Ferguson was not included because dinner was for newly elected officers and newly designated appointees.

No wire to dinner was received from Senator Ferguson (or from Mr. Vandenberg, who was unable to be present).

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Monday, January 5, 1953 - 2.



(Dictated by D.D.E.)

The process of selecting a proper Governor for Hawaii has brought to me my first personal example of the traditional kind of political appointment. In prior cases it has been my job to try to discover, in the United States, the individual that I consider best fitted for the discharge of a particular set of duties -- after that my next chore was to make certain that I could get that individual for the job. (We have been remarkably successful in this regard. I had none of my choices even attempt to decline a Cabinet post; so far as I know, the Cabinet designees have had few declinations in their search for their principal assistants.)

In the case of the Governor of Hawaii, there are two principal candidates who are themselves seeking the job. Each has developed a "pressure group" to support his claims. Such an approach to a public service position violates every instinct I have. To seek such a post is, to me, clear evidence of unsuitability. I feel that anyone who can, without great personal sacrifice, come to Washington to accept an important governmental post, is not fit to hold that post. This, of course, is not true in some of the more technical and professional positions, and it is unfair to assume that everyone should share my feelings in the matter when high positions are involved. But just the same, my respect and admiration for any individual who turns out to be a seeker after a political post diminishes almost to the vanishing point.

Some days ago Mr. Brownell and I tentatively decided that a man named Crossley was the best suited for the job and so informed him. Since then I have learned that quite a number of other individuals (including such diverse types as four senior Republican Senators and Charlie Willis) believe that to ignore the claims of Samuel King will practically destroy the Republican Party in Hawaii.

My experience in this case has generated in me the profound hope that I will be compelled to have little to do, during the next four years, with the distribution of Federal patronage. Having been fairly successful in late years in learning to keep a rigid check on my temper, I do not want to encounter complete defeat at this late date!

TUESDAY, January 6, 1953 - 3.



(Note: General Eisenhower saw Prime Minister Churchill at Mr. Baruch's home the previous evening; he visited him at five o'clock, remained until about 6:30; returned to Morningside to change clothes, returned to the Baruch home for dinner at about eight, and remained until around eleven p.m.)

Mr. Churchill is as charming and interesting as ever, but he is quite definitely showing the effects of the passing years. He has fixed in his mind a certain international relationship he is trying to establish -- possibly it would be better to say an atmosphere he is trying to create. This is that Britain and the British Commonwealth are not to be treated just as other nations would be treated by the United States in our complicated foreign problems. On the contrary, he most earnestly hopes and intends that those countries shall enjoy a relationship which he thinks will recognize the special place of partnership they occupied with us during World War II. In certain cases he would like to make this connection a matter of public knowledge -- in others he apparently would be satisfied with a clear understanding between us, even if these had to be reached secretly.

Of course, in specific instances we would be damaging our own interests if we should fail to reach prior understandings with the British; for example, in most of our Asiatic problems. However, even in these cases, we will certainly be far better advised to treat, publicly, every country as a sovereign equal. To do otherwise would arouse resentment and damage the understandings we are trying to promote.

I assured him that I am quite ready to communicate with him personally, on our old basis of intimate friendship, where discussion between us would help advance our common interests. But I made it clear to him that when official agreement or understanding must be reached, it must be done through those channels that will establish proper records for the future and that will make certain of the proper domestic collaborations that our form of government requires.

He is unquestionably influenced by old prejudices or instinctive reaction. I tried to point out to him the great importance to the free world of bringing about a more effective cooperation among Western European nations. I pointed out that neither his country nor mine could afford to see Western Continental Europe completely pass under Communist domination, either through military action or through subversion and internal decay. To such a thought he reacts with a rather grudging



TUESDAY, January 6, 1953 - 4.

approval, but wants to turn instantly to the prospect of American-British partnership. With respect to the concept of European unity, he will say "I have already approved that." But he does not respond with any enthusiasm to an insistent assertion that the United States cannot see any great profit in supporting Western Europe economically and militarily unless that region will, through economic and political cohesion, help develop its own maximum power.

Both Foster Dulles and I have pointed out to him that until Europe makes a success of the European Army and the Schuman Plan, we can have little confidence of its future. One of the stumbling blocks to such success is Europe's feeling that Britain is not greatly concerned and will not help them politically, economically and otherwise. It is almost frustrating to attempt to make Winston see how important it is to the welfare of all three regions -- Europe, Britain and the United States -- to exert British leadership in bringing about this development.

He talks very animatedly about certain other international problems, especially Egypt and its future. But so far as I can see, he has developed an almost childlike faith that all of the answers are to be found merely in British-American partnership.

In this connection, I pointed out to him that the recent British proposal to Iran, which was forwarded to Iran as a joint Truman-Churchill proposition, would have been far more effective if sent purely as a British proposal. Better than this, he should have sought, on a confidential basis, our good offices to get the matter proposed as a Persian proposition. All that he did was to get Mossadegh to accuse us of being a partner of the British in "brow-beating a weak nation."

Winston is trying to relive the days of World War II.

In those days he had the enjoyable feeling that he and our President were sitting on some rather Olympian platform with respect to the rest of the world, and directing world affairs from that point of vantage. Even if this picture were an accurate one of those days, it would have no application to the present. But it was only partially true, even then, as many of us who, in various corners of the world, had to work out the solutions for nasty local problems, are well aware.



TUESDAY, January 6, 1953 - 5.

In the present international complexities, any hope of establishing such a relationship is completely fatuous. Nationalism is on the march and world Communism is taking advantage of that spirit of nationalism to cause dissention in the free world. Moscow leads many misguided people to believe that they can count on Communist help to achieve and sustain nationalistic ambitions. Actually what is going on is that the Communists are hoping to take advantage of the confusion resulting from destruction of existing relationships and in the difficulties and uncertainties of disrupted trade, security and understandings, to further the aims of world revolution and the Kremlin's domination of all people.

In some instances immediate independence would result in suffering for people and even anarchy.

In this situation the two strongest Western powers must not appear before the world as a combination of forces to compel adherence to the status quo.

The free world's hope of defeating the Communist aims does not include objecting to national aspirations. We must show the wickedness of purpose in the Communist promises, and convince dependent peoples that their only hope of maintaining independence, once attained, is through cooperation with the free world. On the one side lies slavery, preceded possibly by a momentary independence, as in the case of Czechoslovakia. On the other side lies possibly a slower and more orderly progress towards independence, but the certainty that it will then be healthy and sound.

All this we must prove by our deeds as well as our words. Consequently there is great danger in the two most powerful free nations banding together to present their case in a "take it or leave it" fashion. It will be far better for us to proceed independently toward the solution of knotty problems, but agree on fundamental factors and proposals before we make public our separate suggestions. In this way we will create confidence and even if occasionally there is a lack of uniformity in the detailed methods we suggest, this will be an advantage rather than the contrary.

Winston does not by any means propose to resort to power politics and to disregard legitimate aspirations among weaker peoples. But he does take the rather old-fashioned, paternalistic, approach that since we, with our experience and power, will be required to support and carry the heavy burdens of decent international plans, as well as to aid infant nations towards self-dependence, other nations should recognize the wisdom of our suggestions, and follow them.

TUESDAY, January 6, 1953 - 6.



This is true -- in the abstract. But we cannot expect that it will be accepted unless we convince others by persuasion and example. Long and patient negotiations, understanding and equality of treatment will have to be used.

Much as I hold Winston in my personal affection and much as I admire him for his past accomplishments and leadership, I wish that he would turn over leadership of the British Conservation Party to younger men. He could perform a very great function by coming forward with his inspiring voice only when critical circumstances so demanded. I am very much afraid that he will never voluntarily adopt this kind of semi-active role. (For myself I am determined that whatever the cause of my own retirement from public life, I will never stay around in active position so long that age itself will make me a deterrent to rather than an agent of reasonable action.



December 30, 1952.

NOTES FOR C. D. JACKSON

I.

In the meeting today with leaders of the Senate, suggestion was made that we stress that the Republicans are inheriting a very lop-sided economy, part of which is inflated and other parts are definitely depressed, if we use relative rather than absolute yardsticks for measurement. An example of the depressed portion is seen in farm prices.

Correction of this situation will not be easy and time will be required in order that greater ills are not created by too sudden application of correcting measures.

II.

It was also suggested that the timing of the "State of the Union" message should be some time between January 20th and the 1st of February. It was thought that a delivery date of somewhere around January 27th might give an opportunity to point out specific cuts recommended in the budget -- this would include possible cuts in personnel. Senator Taft offered for special consideration the



12/30/52.

NOTES FOR C. D. JACKSON - 2.

possibility that we might eliminate price controls by Executive order. This, he said, would offer an opportunity to remove some five thousand people from governmental rolls. If these people are on the civil service rolls, their removal would have to take the form of transfers to other essential jobs, but it would mean a reduction of this number of people.

Senator Saltonstall was anxious that the "State of the Union" message include one or two explanatory paragraphs about the budget and the financial responsibility of the outgoing administration. I explained that we already had this matter in mind -- particularly that it would be many months before the new administration could have clear responsibility for our expenditure and budgetary programs. He agreed that this point should be emphasized in the message.

III.

All of them shared the belief that the message should be delivered in person. As you know, I have now agreed to this idea -- so that in the preparation of the talk we must have regard for length of sentences and for the spoken word as well as for the ideas expressed.

12/30/52.

NOTES FOR C. D. JACKSON - 3.

IV.

In response to a tentative suggestion of mine, each of them expressed a readiness to go over the draft of the message with my representative -- in fact, they seemed quite anxious to do so. I told them that of course we could not send a copy down, but that I hoped that my representative could visit their office and secure from each a half hour or so to read the message for any omissions or any matters of substance that they might wish to raise. As I see it, this task will devolve upon you because you would be in a position to make corrections or argue the case, whichever seemed to be appropriate.



D. D. E.

DDE:mb
Brown Palace Hotel
Denver 2, Colorado
19 August 1952



Dear Mr. and Mrs. Henley:

Thank you very much for your telegram, and even more for the personal confidence that is implicit in it.

One of the reasons that finally induced me to allow my name to go before the Republican convention in Chicago was a conviction that we must preserve the two-party system in America-- that we cannot allow domination by one to lead us down one particular, and I believe false, political path. A final consequence of such a development would be, of course, disaster, unless it should become possible to build another political party on the ruins of a half dozen successive defeats. To do this successfully would require a number of years. By that time the party in power would have further solidified its position.

This conviction that we must bring the Republican Party back into power was, of course, only one of the reasons that led me to allow the use of my name in the campaign. I believe also in forward, liberal policies for America; I believe that we can uproot subversion and disloyalty without smearing or damaging the reputation of any innocent person; I believe that people who have devoted their whole lives to the service of our country should enjoy our respect and admiration, and should not be vilified from behind a curtain of innuendo. I believe that our form of government was instituted in order to serve all the people, not any privileged group.

Now in conducting the current campaign, I am influenced by every single one of these personal convictions. By no means do I intend to sacrifice my purpose of serving all the people; and secondly, I am never going to condone smear practices that are not only un-American, but are unjust and repugnant to our sense of fair play.

Even though we may condemn the practices of some of the individuals who have been nominated by the Republicans in certain of our states, the fact remains that every candidate who is on the Republican slate has been placed there by some

Mr. and Mrs. Henley
19 August 1952
Page two.

legal process which presumably reflects the will of the Republican citizens of his state or district. If we are to have a two-party system, we by all means should establish at the earliest possible moment homogenous party control of the Federal government. This means that we not only need to elect a President and a House of Representatives, but that we need also to gain party control of the Senate. This will be extremely difficult because, as you know, only one-third of the Senate comes up for re-election every two years. Prospects for Republican gains among those that are up for election this year are not considered by the politicians to be overwhelmingly bright.

I see nothing reprehensible-- on the contrary I see a necessity -- in urging that our people elect a Republican Senate and a Republican Congress, as well as a Republican President. To win this election we certainly cannot ignore the states which may have nominated men with whom you and I would differ sharply in numbers of instances. The campaign must be carried into those states in a direct appeal to the voters. Those same voters have, however, nominated the men with whom we disagree.

It seems to me that the aim is to repeat and insist upon the need for party responsibility, but this does not include the necessity for approving the past acts and decisions, or for personal sponsorship of individuals with whose actions and records we disagree.

Thank you again for your wire.

Sincerely,



P.S.: This is written so hurriedly that it is undoubtedly filled with error or repetition. I am quite sure, however, that it does reflect my honest conviction.

Mr. and Mrs. Eugene Henley
Danbury, Connecticut

OFFICE OF DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER



LONG HAND

NOTES MADE AT COMMODORE

DECEMBER 1952

Sheraton Hotels

MEMO PAD
FOR DAILY
FOLLOW-UP



Is it OK for
me to ask
Mr. Sedgwick
to make certain
investigations -
with consent of
person to be
investigated.

Grateful

Iran:

- (a) Briefed by Jones.
- (b) Intend to talk
to British Friends.
[no commitments.]

Korea [going as
American]

- ② Will discuss with
Pentagon.
- ③ will inquire
whether call at
U. N. will forest
fears of that body.

Indo-China } (2)
Formosa } out
Manila. }

Thanks for plane.

Understand that
my reps. can
confer with
Depts. In each
case a letter
will be given by
Sledge or by me.

1 - 4 - 11 /

Wilson -
Keep Foster??
Discuss some
lower posts with
Lowell,
Before selecting
any Under - or
asst. secretary -
pledge to loyal
team work

~~1st Before~~

(3)

1-10-41



[Faint, mostly illegible handwritten text, possibly including a name and address.]

Dalles-

assistants

Psychological
Warfare

— Naval

Special Emergency

[Faint, mostly illegible handwritten text, possibly including a name and address.]



1 - 4 - 4 /



Faint, illegible handwriting, possibly including the words 'Budget' and 'Department'.



Humphries

Progressive
Conservative
Balanced Budget

Cooperatives
Sec. Treas
Chairman Fed Res

Bd.

Director of

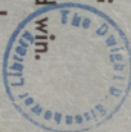
Budget
Hold - Douglas

"Opportunity"

They do me wrong who say I come no more
When once I knock and fail to find you in;
For every day I stand outside your door
and bid you wake and rise to fight and win.

Wail not for precious chances passed away!
Weep not for golden ages on the wane!
Each night I burn the records of the day—
At sunrise every soul is born again.

—WALTER MALONE



MS-21