

BEN H. POWELL
A. J. WIRTZ
J. A. RAUHUT
W. S. GIDEON
BEN H. POWELL, JR.
HERMAN JONES
GEORGE W. LEONARD, JR.

LAW OFFICES
POWELL, WIRTZ, RAUHUT & GIDEON
BROWN BUILDING
P. O. BOX 63
AUSTIN (1), TEXAS

May 24, 1946

Mr. Elliot Janeway
444 East 52nd Street
New York 22, N. Y.

My dear Elliot:

These days "tempus fugits" at such an accelerated pace that I am startled to find that so much time has passed since the receipt of your letter of March 30 without an answer. At the outset, I must advise you, however, that I am not impressed with your flattery.

The matters discussed in paragraphs (1) to (5), inclusive, of your letter are no longer pertinent to any issues now before the people, since Lyndon has announced for reelection to the House, and Pappy O'Daniel has announced that he will not run for Governor; and you and I do not have time to engage in a purely academic discussion, what with your burdens in trying to save the Nation, and my worries with Texas politics.

The old "Texas Regulars" gang is again trying to defeat Lyndon in this District. They have a more respectable opponent against him than they put forth two years ago, and he may have a closer race, but I think it might be good for him to have to come down and extend himself. He needs to get out of the Washington atmosphere, get some country political exercise, and work off some poundage.

When John Lewis and his fellow travelers freeze and starve you and Babs out of the den of iniquity - which now comprises practically all of the territory north of that famous Line - I hope you will have the good judgment to come to the free (almost) State of Texas.

With best regards and good wishes to you both, I am

Sincerely,



Alvin J. Wirtz

AJW:ob

P.S. In the meantime, you might let me know what progress you are making in having Justice Douglas promoted to Chief Justice.

March 30, 1946

Mr. A. J. Wirtz
Brown Building
Post Office Box 63
Austin 1, Texas

Dear Alvin:

The most important reason why I have not answered your letter is that I've been running around like a chicken with its head off.

But there is a second reason. It's professional jealousy. I've read the damn letter once a week, you see, and it shames me into asking where a lawyer gets off writing that much better than a self-confessed writer. It's terrific, and I capitulate. So, understand, this is no letter -- any interchange with you in prose would leave me at too embarrassing a disadvantage -- it's just a bulletin. To wit:

1. I can see why Lyndon should not want to run. If he wins, he will inherit a mess. In handling patronage, he would be bound to make enemies all over the state. Also, in order to win, he might have to say things that would discredit him nationally.
2. The most embarrassing question he would have to deal with would be: Is he running for governor because he wants to be governor? Or because he wants to use the office as a springboard to the Senate?
3. I can see one powerful reason why Lyndon should want to run -- especially if O'Daniell does. People might say he was afraid to risk a second defeat.
4. My hunch is that Lyndon won't run himself, but will try to get the issue of the New Deal posed sharply. If this happens, middle-of-the-roads and businessmen will be more for him than they are even now -- and he'll practically be drafted for the Senate.

Mr. A. J. Wirtz

-2-

March 30, 1946

5. If we hold the House, he'll be chairman of his Committee.

But I'm just an outsider -- that is, an outsider subject to draft in case there is anything I can do for Lyndon or for you.

Mary Reuther tells me you're due up North soon. Maybe we can connect up. Meanwhile, your colleague in letters sends her love.

As ever,

Eliot Janeway

ej:lp

Mr. A. J. Wirtz

-2-

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Eliot Janeway

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AUSTIN (1), TEXAS

*copies to: W.C.D.
W.C.S.*

January 4, 1946

1 memo to answer

Mr. Eliot Janeway
444 East 52nd St.
New York 22, N. Y.

My dear Eliot:

It is good to have your letter of December 31, and to note that you are still interested in Texas. Although every Texan knows that it is at least 99% of the whole country, it still makes us feel good to know that a damn Yankee from New York feels the same way about it.

Answering your inquiry about John Connally, I do not know just what to say except that he seems to be settled in Austin. I think he is spending his time partly attending to Bird's radio station, and partly to planning one of his own. At any rate, you can reach him in care of Radio Station KTBC, Austin, Texas.

Regarding the prospect of Lyndon's running for Governor, I go on record as saying, first, I think he could win, and, second, I think that he should run and take his chances, win, lose, or draw. Politics in Texas are in a Hell of a mess. The people are as honest, liberal, progressive and wide-awake as the people of any state in the Union. But we have had a minority group in this State which has been enriched by oil or other fortuitous circumstances entirely apart from the merit of the individual. These men have used their money to obtain influence out of all proportion to their deserts. The capitol is much worse than the Temple when Jesus had to scourge the money changers. I do not think we will find anyone comparable to our Savior, and certainly I do not rate Lyndon this high. However, I think that while he is of the average in honesty he is above the average in ability. We have a number of Liberals who would like to run, including Dr. Rainey, ex-President of the University of Texas, who holds all the political and other ideals to which you and I subscribe, but I do not think he could be elected, and, if he could, I do not think he has had the practical experience to clean up the mess with which he would be confronted.

Mr. Eliot Janeway
Page 2
January 4, 1946

I think Lyndon could be elected, and I feel reasonably certain that he has the political "know-how" to do a clean-up job. In spite of my feelings in the matter, I have not encouraged Lyndon to run. I do not think he could be elected unless he decides for himself that he wants to make the race. If he so decides, I think he can be elected.

I have taken up a lot of your valuable time, and less of my invaluable time, to give you what I conceive to be a picture of Texas politics because I realize that you are a "big shot" and might do something about it. In order to get my real ideas over to you, however, I think that you and Babs and I ought to sit down and spend an evening together, preferably with a good mint julep or two - but not made out of rye whiskey. It now appears that I cannot be up that way before the latter part of January, and I do not see why you and Babs - particularly since she has attained such notoriety as a writer - do not come South for a week or a month or so.

With best personal regards and best wishes, I am

Sincerely your friend,


Alvin J. Wirtz

AJW:ob

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P. O. BOX 63
AUSTIN (1), TEXAS

8/31

August 28, 1945

Mr. Eliot Janeway
444 East 52nd St.
New York 22, N. Y.

My dear Eliot:

I know Confederate veterans. I can locate one. But, under no circumstances would I let him go to Connecticut, either dead or alive. In neither condition could he rest in peace under Yankee soil. Furthermore, the kind of mint you speak of is entirely too good for damyankees.

In my opinion, you have received the correct information in reference to Lyndon's prospects for being elected Governor of Texas. From this distance prior to the election, I think he could be elected. Conditions may change considerably between now and next summer. Still, I think he could be elected barring some unforeseen upset, or the candidacy of a crippled soldier. I think he should run. I believe it would be good for him and good for the State and Nation. Even so, I do not want him to run unless he decides to go into the race wholeheartedly and reaches his decision without pressure from his friends.

I am glad to have your report on the New York election. I trust you are not too optimistic, and that when O'Dwyer wins he will have an organization that will take over and go places.

I will probably be in Washington or New York the week of September 11. I would very much like to take advantage of the trip to visit you in Connecticut, but I have to work for a living; and because I have lost about a month on account of the Doctors I do not see much chance for any social visiting, much as I am tempted.

With best regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

A. J. WIRTZ

AJW:ob

Love to Babs
a

December 31, 1945

Mr. Alvin Wirtz
Brown Building
P.O. Box 63
Austin, Texas

Dear Alvin:

Babs and I want to thank you for your thoughtfulness in sending us those prime Texas pecans. They were swell.

How are you? Is John Conally settled in law practice in Austin? I'd like his address. He told Ed Wessl, who certainly thinks the world of him, that there is a good deal of pressure on Lyndon to run for Governor. The decision is certainly a cruel and crucial one for Lyndon - if only because of the seniority he has built up in the House.

At this distance, it is impossible to have any judgment at all over the influence that the national trend is likely to have in Texas next June. Do you think that, if the House seems likely by then to go Republican the Texas primary could nevertheless be fought out in terms of personalities and local issues? Of one thing I am sure - the first half of 1946 is going to be very stormy so far as labor relations are concerned. Too many people have been assuming that production would swing into high gear as soon as the new tax year began. Actually, of course, corporation with low operating results can apply for refundation their excess profits payments - and, so can underwrite long drawn out strike sieges. It looks as if the excess profit tax was a yo-yo device for channeling money into the treasury and out again. Anyway, how would a stormy labor situation - aggravating inflation and consumer shortages - affect the Texas picture? Could Lyndon campaign on the basis that ~~he~~ be competent and get labor back to work on a basis that would work? Somehow, for all the talk about ~~anti~~-labor feeling, I don't see a lynch coming, and I believe that what the so-called public - which assumes that labor is here to stay - wants is to renegotiate labor-management relations into a deal that will stick while people get what they badly need and can pay for.

I hear big rumblings of a big deal in United Gas. What gives?

Do let us know when you plan to brave the trains again, and we'll be looking for you.

Sincerely

Eliot Janeway

August 24, 1945

Mr. Alvin J. Wirtz
Powell, Wirtz, Rauhut & Gideon
P.O. Box 63
Austin (1), Texas

Dear Alvin:

Do you know any Confederate veterans? If you can locate one, I would like to have you invite him up to our place in Connecticut. We could kill him and tunnel him down to earth under a highly adequate mint bed. Once it was thus fertilized, we could offer you adequate northern hospitality. We have ice too.

The only other serious matter on my mind is that I hear from Stanley Marcus, George Killion, Ed Weisl and others that Lyndon could and should run for Governor of Texas. When the Saturday Post print my piece on Carl Vinson, he'll get a couple of good plugs.

I assume you'll be down in Texas until after Lyndon has finished with his scouting trip. But I'm most anxious to see you. Do you think you could spend a little time with us in Connecticut?

The full story of the New York election is fantastic. We'll win in a walk - much to the confusion of the little Napoleon in Washington. Lyndon, I imagine, will have to learn to cope with the same double talk from him that O'Dwyer has declared war on. By the time you get up north, we should be able to evaluate the effect of reconversion unemployment on the political picture.

Sincerely

Eliot Janeway

CC 3/21

March 20, 1944

Dear Alvin:

It was swell to hear from you, even though the word your letter bears is necessarily depressing. Thanks a million for asking about Bradford for me.

About the political situation, I must say that, Lyndon to the contrary notwithstanding, I think it is steadily going from bad to worse. No doubt the President's ultimatum to de Valera was fully justified by military considerations. At the same time, any corrective action clearly had to be taken by the British. Since the British are not about to have an election which may be determined by millions of very nationalistic and sensitive Irish-Americans distributed in key states, I would have thought that the old master would have asked the British to take the initiative, leaving him in the position of arbitrating any row between Churchill and de Valera. Instead, I'm afraid that this time he has really tossed away the entire Irish vote; and how he can win these eastern states with the Irish vote against him is beyond me. Since, to be on the safe side, he ought to count on losing the middle west, I don't see how he can afford to lose any of the big states in the east.

Another factor, which just doesn't seem to be appreciated, is that there is no longer any Democratic Party worth the powder to blow it to Hell left in this state. It just can't get out the votes. But while it has been disintegrating, Dewey has been building a tremendous machine, especially in this Democratic stronghold. Certainly New York City is not going to go Republican. But I cannot see it giving Roosevelt the 600,000 majority that it must give him if he is to carry New York State. Granting that the war and the many other entirely non-political considerations will determine the outcome in November, it is still true that the political organizations will play enough of a part for their influence to be almost decisive in a close race. If it is that close, the present state of the Democratic Machine, as contrasted with the Republican Machine, makes Roosevelt awfully vulnerable in these parts.

It is too soon to say who will be nominated, except that it looks almost certain that Wilkie will not be the man. I'm still not sure it will be Dewey, though if Wilkie is unable to collect enough votes in the early ballots to deadlock the Convention, Dewey's chances will naturally improve.

As for the Court, what you say, of course, is true. It is all the more unfortunate that it should be true at a time when Douglas, Black and Rutledge are voting in decision after decision after decision on the same side as Stone. As you may have noted, a great many of the most controversial decisions, which have kicked up the greatest fuss in the newspapers, have been written by Stone. I may ~~am~~ well be prejudiced, but I can't help feeling that the Court always breaks into the news when it splits; and that it splits at almost regular historical intervals. This is one of those intervals. What distinguishes this fight on the court from the one led by dissenters Holmes and Brandeis is that the public could tell what they were up to. It cannot tell what Jackson and Frankfurter are up to. As Ben Cohen said about Jackson's dissent in the Hope Natural Gas Case, it makes a learned and informative and interesting and current opinion for a commissioner on the FCC to have written. I read the opinion three times and found it most instructive, but could not understand why it justified his voting one way or the other. Frankfurter went so far as to dissent in a concurring opinion in a nine to nothing case, I assume, because he could not bear to go along with Douglas in a nine to nothing decision. I feel that Roberts would long since have followed Stone across the bridge to the Douglas, Black, Rutledge point of view if it were not that Jackson and Frankfurter are creating a forum which is not a four-square and clean-cut conservative platform that Roberts would find familiar and congenial, but rather a hodge-podge of most of the muddle-headedness and arrogance and perverseness of both liberalism and conservatism. As you remember, Wilson's Attorney General was McReynolds. Do you remember when Jackson was the firebrand of the extreme left. He has traveled further than McReynolds ever did, but in less time.

I assume that Lyndon's not going to have any trouble in his Primary, and I hope that Rayburn will come through all right.

Do let me hear from you and I hope I'll be seeing you up here before long.

Babs sends her best wishes.

Yours,

Eliot Janeway

A. J. Wirtz Esq.
Powell, Wirtz, Bauhut & Gideon
Brown Building
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Austin (1), Texas

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P. O. BOX 63
AUSTIN (1), TEXAS

March 13, 1944

Mr. Eliot Janeway
Editorial Offices, Fortune
Time & Life Building
Rockefeller Center
New York 20, N. Y.

My dear Eliot:

Since receiving your letter of February 14, I have made inquiries concerning Tex Bradford. I have inquired about him at the Railroad Commission, which administers our oil and gas conservation laws, and among some of the oil men. While all of them seem to have heard of Bradford, they are unable to give me any definite information concerning him.

What do you think of the political situation now? Are you still promoting Bill Douglas? If you have any influence with the Supreme Court, I wish you would let them know that the public has less confidence in the present Court than it did in the old one. The present Court can't agree on a simple legal question in a negligence case, and instead of two opposing political philosophies on fundamental constitutional questions, we have a multitude of ideas. In fact, I think most of the judges are more concerned in legal debates than in establishing a system of jurisprudence under which citizens may be secure. They do not sound like New Dealers or Old Dealers any more, but like first year law students conducting a moot court trial.

I do not know that you or I can do anything about the situation, but I wish the Court could see itself as others see it. I do not want to commit legal suicide, so this letter will just have to be confidential.

Best regards to you and Babs.

Sincerely yours,


A. J. Wirtz

AJW:ob

W

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P. O. BOX 63
AUSTIN (1), TEXAS

August 20, 1943

Mr. Eliot Janeway
Editorial Offices
Fortune Magazine
Rockefeller Center
New York City, N. Y.

My dear Eliot:

I am shocked by the statement in your letter of July 29 that my letter to you "was a very welcome voice from the dead." Maybe I am dead, but I don't know it yet. I sometimes wonder whether a lot of people around the North and East, and most of the newspapermen, are dead to the sentiment of the people; and if they are alive, maybe I am dead.

Taking your letter as a whole, I am afraid that I failed to clearly express my views in my former letter to you. You diagnose the patient's ailment pretty much as I do - at least you agree that my diagnosis is correct - but you say nothing about the remedy I suggested. The American Public has a lot of ailments, any one of which would not prove fatal or even serious, but if agitated and irritated the cumulative effect might be fatal to the future of this Country.

The minor ailments are being irritated, agitated and nursed along by a lot of petty, self-seeking politicians and sensational-hunting newspapers and journals. For instance, every little strike or stoppage of work is headlined from one end of the country to the other. A four-hour lay-off by 10% of the employees in the Consolidated Bomber Plant at Fort Worth made the front pages for four days. When the Regional head of the War Labor Board in this district gave out figures to show that the time lost from all causes in War industries averaged less than .03 of 1 %, his statement was relegated to the inside pages of such newspapers as carried it at all. Newspapers and periodicals over the Country carry statements from the 1925 Model Governor of Texas, complaining of gasoline rationing, but the very printable speeches of the Speaker of the House receive scant notice. So-called liberal publications delightedly printed pictures of the athletic dancer on the payroll of BEW (I believe I saw this picture in some of your periodicals), as if it were a cause celebre. As a matter of fact, it was hardly a chigger bite on the body politic

Mr. Eliot Janeway
Page Two
August 20, 1943

until it was irritated, poulticed, puffed up and made to appear to be a malignant growth.


I am mentioning these few instances to try to get over my point that the Press and the magazines of the Country are doing everything possible, whether intentionally or unintentionally, to breed distrust of the Government. I am not complaining about healthy, constructive criticism. I am complaining about petty, nagging sniping and sensational-hunting, yellow journalism which has the cumulative effect of bringing about most of the real, serious conditions which are disturbing you and me.

The remarkable thing about the whole situation is that the Administration has been able to do as good a job as it has in conducting a War with a bunch of old wives nagging it at home. I do not deny that there are many mistakes and that there is cause for criticism. The only wonder is that we have not made more, and more serious, mistakes; that the Government has been able to prosecute a War with open and semi-open sedition rampant on the home front. I can understand that there are people in this country who think it is more important to get rid of Roosevelt and the New Deal and that there are some liberals who think it is more important to eliminate the Harri-mans' and the Jones' than it is to defeat the Axis. I know Mr. Luce and many other publishers are not in this class, but the set-up of some of their publications fits in with the program of those who do have such nefarious beliefs.

Despite all of this, I am optimistic. I have great faith in the mass of the American people. When I get away from the patrioteers and profiteers, I find that the people as a whole have a fine sense of proportion, and because of this we will not only win the War, but we will elect Roosevelt for a Fourth Term - not simply because he is Roosevelt and has personal charm and has done a good job, but because the critics offer no constructive program. They are not going to vote for the opposition because the opposition periodicals print pictures of a man dancer in a breech clout.

I am going to be in Washington next week and if you have the makings I will mix you a real mint julep and give you the benefit of some more political gospel.

Sincerely yours,


A. J. Wirtz

AJW:ob

B. J. - I'd
appreciate this back
Mike -



OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON, D. C.

February 9, 1961

Dear Mike:

I am glad I know a man who
isn't as old as he used to be. Your
letter made even me feel younger!

Mike, all I can say is that I
hope if you decide to work in Washington
this summer we have some money
to pay you with. We are in a period
of transition now and, as you know,
we do not have the committees any
more. At the moment I feel sort of
like a babe in the woods.

Keep in touch, if you will.

Sincerely

Walter Jenkins, Assistant
to the Vice President

Mr. Mike Janeway
Eliot L-21
Harvard College
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

United States Senate
Office of the Democratic Leader
Washington, D. C.
December 15, 1958

Dear Eliot:

I received the note from your secretary this morning in connection with Partisan Review's tax exemption problem. I had already sent the file to our Washington Office, but am getting in touch with them today asking that it be returned to you.

Best personal regards.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "Walter". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style.

Walter Jenkins
Assistant to
Lyndon B. Johnson

Honorable Eliot Janeway
Janeway Publishing and Research Corporation
Suite 5901
Empire State Building
New York 1, New York

12/11

EJ:

This seemed the only thing to do.
I could not reach Phillips the day the
letter went out but it never occurred to
me that there was any possibility of this
although he told me when I reached him
that he had told you of this possibility(?).

jk

✓
told him
phm
12/11

ne thought production was heading back to a maintenance level.

Janeway admitted we have the makings of a slump—we're in a lull right now—but he asserted that it would be over before we knew it. He looked for the bottom in the spring, one not far down, a steel production rate of perhaps 85%, but business returning to the level it is now by early summer.

Janeway appeared to be bearish for the short range, Bassie for the longer—he didn't attempt to time his recession so closely.

Janeway looked to Europe for the impetus to an early recovery in this country. The Europeans have had their short recession, springing from the Suez affair, and are on their way back already.

The City Club heard as much opinion as could be jammed into an hour and a quarter. If members came away thinking that experts were not of just two minds but many, they and the radio listeners had that much of profound truth.

11/2, 1937

December 11, 1958

Mr. Walter Jenkins
207 U. S. Court House
Austin, Texas

Dear Mr. Jenkins:

After Mr. Janeway's letter of you of December 8 regarding Partisan Review's tax exemption problem was mailed to you I called Mr. Phillips to ask if he would send us another copy of the file which was forwarded to you. I then learned that since his talk with Mr. Janeway Mr. Phillips has arranged to place the Review under the auspices of an existing foundation which has tax exemption. Consequently, unless some future problem should arise they are not in need of assistance.

If someone in your office would return the file of documents to us we will send them back to the Review.

Sincerely yours,

Secretary to Mr. Janeway

jk

December 8, 1958

Mr. Walter Jenkins
207 U. S. Court House
Austin, Texas

Dear Walter:

You will recall that the last time we talked on the phone I mentioned to you the problem put to me by our good friends at the Partisan Review. It will take you just a few minutes to read this and, in the name of a minor worthy cause and good work, I hope that you will take the few minutes needed to do so.

I can readily see why the opinion writers in the Treasury may have felt that the documentation before them justified revocation of the tax exemption. I am positive that this arises purely and simply from the amateurishness in legal formulation which is characteristic of literary people. There is no doubt that on the merits the facts entitle this publication to qualify for the exemption. My suggestion and hope is that re-formulation of the basic document - in this case the Certificate of Incorporation - could readily satisfy the opinion-writing section that the language is clear and definite enough to qualify the magazine for the exemption. In any case, the Treasury has now given two contradictory decisions, so that it has a reason for finding either way.

I promise you that this is a wrong. I hope that you will feel free to intervene. I am confident that amendment of the Certificate of Incorporation will be cheerfully forthcoming. After all, the only way in which any publication can be distributed - even in college book stores - is by a price being put on it. Anyway, I would appreciate your taking a look at this and seeing whether you think you may feel free to help these worthy wanderers.

All best,

Eliot Janeway

Enclosure

Partisan Review file forwarded w/Oct. 15, 1958 note & attached list
EJ:jk

PARTISAN REVIEW

22 EAST 17th STREET
NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

October 15, 1958

Mr. Eliot Janeway
Room 5901
Empire State Building
New York City

Dear Mr. Janeway:

Here, I think are all the documents you
would want to see. If there is anything else
you need, please let me know.

I do hope something comes of this but in any
case, on behalf of everyone connected with
the magazine, I'd like to tell you how
grateful we all are for your interest.

Sincerely,

William Phillips

William Phillips

*Janeway - I am now here over this. I
want to dictate to not to
Jenkins + I want to call
Phillips*

ENCLOSED FOR MR. JANEWAY

Letters from Treasury Department:

Oct. 2, 1951	postponing decision
Sept. 16, 1952	denying tax exemption
June 23, 1953	granting tax exemption
April 12, 1957	denying exemption
Sept. 19, 1958	reaffirming denial

Other documents:

Appeal by Foundation for Cultural Projects Inc., for tax exemption. March 1958. Plus addenda.

Appeal by Foundation in 1952.

List of some publications published by tax-exempt foundations.

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

June 13, 1942

Mr. Eliot Janeway
444 E. 52nd Street
- New York City

Dear Eliot:

Here is the Washington Times Herald story of June 12 -
just to keep you up on our young man's activities. Good
going don't you think?

Mary is improving rapidly, and both of us are looking
forward to seeing you next week.

With best wishes,



Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson

TRANSFERRED TO HANDWRITING FILE

'His Raid on Japs Goes Awry; 'Robbed,' Cries Rep. Johnson

SOMEWHERE IN AUSTRALIA, June 12 (U.P.).—Representative Lyndon Johnson of Texas, who remained long enough to vote for a declaration of war before leaving Congress for active duty with the Navy, was "robbed" in a bombing mission over Lae, New Guinea, he said today.

The Congressman, holding the rank of lieutenant commander, came here on a tour of the Southwest Pacific war theater and immediately requested permission to accompany bombers on a dangerous raiding mission.

He went on the raid and, although his plane never reached the target because of motor trouble, he won the admiration of the flyers at this base who now refer to him familiarly as "Raider."

"I was robbed," Johnson, one of Congress' youngest members, said as he stepped from the crippled bomber on its return.

But he said he saw enough to convince him that America's new soldiers have the nerve of the Crocketts, the Bowles and the Traverses—the men who defended the Alamo and fought for Texas independence.

"When the generator on our plane burned out as we neared the objective, the moans from the crew were loud," he said.

"When the pilot said that we must turn back those kids begged their skipper to continue on to the target and give them a chance to dump their bombs on the Japs. They said they would be glad to take their chances of getting back

with the faulty mechanism. They were broken-hearted when he couldn't comply."

A plane in which Johnson had intended to fly in an earlier raid failed to return. He almost didn't get to go on the later raid either. He couldn't find parachute straps long enough to encircle his huge frame, but when Pilot Lieutenant Walter Greer of Russellville, Ark., told him that the low level attack would make a parachute valueless anyway he went without it.

Johnson said that as a result of his tour and the raiding operation he felt that he could give Washington an "enlightening" first hand report on the problems confronting Americans in this area.

Everywhere Johnson toured he looked up Texans on the armed forces. He found scores of them last week, including an enlisted man who lived just down the block from him in Austin.

He doesn't know whether he is running for re-election to the House or is seeking a Senate berth. As a matter of fact he isn't sure he is running for anything.

"The primary filing date in Texas has passed and I haven't heard from home in several weeks," he said. "It would be interesting to know if I've been entered in one of the races."

Hello Mr. Janeway!

Hope I have remembered your address
correctly. When are you coming to Texas?

Mary

Austin, Texas,
August 18, 1942.

Honorable Eliot Janeway,
444 East 52nd Street,
New York City, New York.

Dear Eliot:

Here is a copy for you and one I want you to
try to get Mr. Luce to read. After that terrible
picture in Time, I want to try to break into Life
with a better impression.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Lyndon", with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

Lyndon B. Johnson.

FOR RELEASE WHEN DELIVERED

Print in Bay

Southwest Texas State Teachers College
Commencement Address
San Marcos, Texas
August 19, 1942
Riverside Athletic Field
8:00 to 8:30 PM

SPEECH OUTLINE

- I. Introduction
- II. Our Challenge
- III. What We Have Done About It
- IV. What We Haven't Done About It
- V. What We Must Do
- VI. Conclusion

Southwest Texas State Teachers College
Commencement Address
San Marcos, Texas
August 19, 1942
Riverside Athletic Field
8:00 to 8:30 PM

Dr. Evans, Members of the Graduating Class and Texas Friends:

It is good to be back home again - back in this quiet, beautiful college town far removed from the horrors of a war-torn world. There is a sadness, too, tonight as we realize that Dr. Cecil Eugene Evans is witnessing the graduation of his last little flock. There is a very personal feeling of sorrow over Dr. Evans' retirement and the knowledge that this is the last commencement address which he will hear as President of the school he has so faithfully and ably served for 31 years.

This school from which you are graduating has always practiced the democracy we preach so much about and for the preservation of which our boys are fighting on many world fronts today. Dr. Evans has seen to that.

In my boyish dreams I had thought that the greater things in life were pleasure and power and wealth. I had not been in Dr. Evans' vicinity long before I began to learn that the supreme essential in life is service; making the world a better place to live in; bringing health, enlightenment and advancement to all our people; helping to make the democratic way of living the universal way.

Four years sitting at the feet of this great president, watching him taking awkward, country boys and chartering a course for them, burned into my mind and heart a philosophy that I shall never forget. Here, poor, helpless youngsters were provided for. Some of them were sleeping in garage

rooms with leaky roofs; many were fed at second tables in exchange for sweeping floors and digging campus rocks, but all with an equal chance to learn to absorb and to awaken their minds. And, when at the last minute they could not muster the tuition money, Dr. Evans or some other member of his worthy faculty would take a look into their own bank accounts - which were never too big - and manage to scrape up a loan of ten or fifteen dollars, enough to see that the individual stayed in school. Dr. Evans and the teachers around him have not placed their investments in apartment hotels, in flowing oil wells or productive real estate, but instead the modest salaries they have received for their work have been invested in men and women - the men and women who today must match the leadership of the Nazi and Fascist challenge to the world.

For the past 8 months I have been honored by witnessing at first-hand small bits of that challenge. I have just returned from a tour of duty with some of the loneliest men in the world. Eating, sleeping, living with our boys in New Zealand and Australia and New Guinea, and watching them plow through the Alaskan fog at Dutch Harbor, impels me to make that statement. We must realize that a small world this is. You may not know where your boy is tonight. Perhaps you have just had a letter telling you not to write to the old address again, not to send another bundle for a while. But, wherever he is, no matter whether or not you are getting news from him, you may be sure that your boy is aware of what is happening at home.

Those boys from Fort Moresby to Dutch Harbor know that their brothers were driven out of Burma. That Guam went down quickly. That American Marines were forced to yield at Wake. That Skinney Wainwright, hungry and sick, hopelessly out-numbered, gave in to the yellow Japs in the Philippines and saw our flag pulled down, as Gen. MacArthur, after following an unchartered course

on the water and in the air, took up a new outpost to defend. As I speak tonight, the North and South Pacific is under constant fire.

In the belief that all of us on the home-front are just as patriotic as those on the war-front, tonight I ask you to indulge me as I review and analyse what we have done, what we haven't done and what we must do. It would be misleading for me to tell you that in these 8 months since Pearl Harbor we have not made great progress on the home-front. True, our people are a peace-loving people. They had not been taught to be prepared to fight at a moment's notice. But a reasonable and just appraisal of our people's efforts justifies the statement that during the last 8 months we have done about as much about as quickly as could be expected of a democratic people. Certainly no other Nation has done as much in such a short time. We have greatly increased our production capacity - 197% over 1941, 351% over 1940. We have expanded the forces of our Army and Navy to undreamed of proportions. We have assumed the job of supplying equipment of war to all fronts and following this equipment with men and supplies. We have created boom towns and ghost towns overnight, made jobs of men and profits for management and action for soldiers.

By looking at our best examples of what we have done, one can get much comfort and hope, faith and confidence, but there are other examples too.

Even during the bloody weeks of Bataan the radio brought news to our heroes there. To these grimy, hungry men, far from home, fighting as best they could with not enough planes, not enough PT boats, short of ammunition, short of bandages, the radio brought reports of new plants, new programs and too much, entirely too much, conversation about what had been done, about what ought to be done. Listening in on their radios those men heard mental cowards

in high places urge that they be brought home at once. They heard those who tried to ignore the war entirely. Those who in return for desperate sacrifice then being made by every man and woman on the front refused themselves to sacrifice one iota of comfort. They heard "bickering as usual", "business as usual", "politics as usual", "blindness and corruption as usual." They heard all this, and yet, they didn't stop fighting. Last month in Australia and Alaska their radios brought them voices saying that we will win this war next year, that we are exceeding our production schedule, that our soldiers are the best armed, the best equipped and best trained of any Army on earth. And I know they must have thought what I thought as I heard these reports and read these ads. How well I could remember that the financial wizards, the captains of industry, the business tycoons, 12 years ago in the middle of the Hoover depression, day after day, assured us that our financial structure was sound, that the wheels of industry would again soon be turning and the marts of trade would again be busy. Their counter-parts in the Government told us that "prosperity is just around the corner."

I wish tonight that I could join wholeheartedly in this optimistic chorus but frankness to you and honesty to myself make that impossible. As a member of the Congress, as a Member of the Naval Affairs Committee of the House, as one who has spent the past 8 months in the uniform of our Navy, much of that time with your boys on the fighting front, I know we have no cause for optimism.

It is difficult for me and for others in the Service to be optimistic when we realize our ships are being sunk faster than we can build them. We do not have enough materials - steel, aluminum and copper - to build transport planes to checkmate the menace of the submarine. With the greatest store of raw materials in the world for the production of synthetic rubber, we have been unable to make a start on the production of it. Selfish groups are fighting

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over the question of what patents will be used, where the plants will be built, what character of basic raw materials will be utilized, and behind it all, who will control industry and get the profits after the war. And, in the case of gasoline and fuel oil, it is little different. With the greatest reserve of petroleum in the world and ample refining capacity, the Eastern Seaboard is being rationed on gasoline and the people in that section will endure cold and suffering this winter for want of coal and fuel oil.

Yet, men of vision in the Government - not Dollar a Year Men - had the foresight to predict and warn against this situation. They endeavored to anticipate it by constructing pipelines from our great oil fields to the Atlantic Coast. But, here again, selfish interests blocked their efforts. The coal industry joined hands with the United Mine Workers in opposing the construction of these pipelines. The great oil companies quarreled among themselves while precious time was lost.

And, then, we find ourselves not meeting the quota of ships and planes and tanks and munitions this year and the reason is the shortage of raw materials like steel and copper and aluminum. But, because selfish men - some of them ^{from} the steel industry itself - insisted on pursuing a "business as usual" policy, insisting that a portion of their production go to supply regular customers, blocking construction of additional smelters and blast furnaces, ships and tanks and airplane motors and guns will be lacking for some of your boys on some of the far-flung fronts where they are battling for our way of life.

Step by step the aluminum industry resisted the efforts of the Government to increase production of that metal. Dollar a Year Men recruited from the industry assured our military departments that there would be no shortage.

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Tches said
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I do not charge - I do not think - that they were essentially unpatriotic. They were simply looking at the situation from their own viewpoint. For years they had followed a policy of scarcity of production in order to maintain high prices. They were afraid that abundance of aluminum would mean low prices and reduce their profits. They too followed the "business as usual" policy.

When we talk about production, we talk of it in terms of the past. Ten days ago, for instance, a high production official was acclaiming our percentage increases in production as compared with one and two years ago. Suppose we are producing 197% over 1941, or 351% over 1940? That misses the point. What we ought to know and want to know is what is our production percentage of our capacity. Is it 100% of capacity, or 90% or 80%. My best information is that the general figure shows that we are somewhat less than 70% of total production capacity, and if our men at the fighting front were operating on a 70% basis, the picture would be much darker than it is.

We boast of our brilliant military leadership, and we do have exceptionally excellent officers in both Army and Navy - men of intelligence and resourcefulness. Yes, we have very, very brave men, but, unfortunately, our complete military machine is not yet geared to modern, total war. There are bureaucrats in the departments and an occasional Attache, General, or Admiral who still thinks of military tactics in the terms of the Civil War, or at the latest, the world war of '17 and '18. They have not geared their thinking to the 400 mile per hour combat plane, or the fast moving blitzkreig. They have not learned how to cut red tape in which they have become entangled in peace-time. They still refuse to admit openly inferiority in equipment, in machines and in implements of war. Yet, if you will ask the men at the front, the men who go

through the Hell of Moresby and Dutch Harbor, the men who survived Bataan and Corregidor and Midway, they will tell you - profanely perhaps - that the American soldier needs more and better equipment.

Many of our men in responsible positions in the Government are leading the American people to believe that we have attained or are rapidly attaining supremacy in the air. Yet, I know and they know that we do not have fighter planes that are superior in range, speed and maneuverability to fight at high altitude to the Japs' Zero or the German Messerschmitt.

Yes, these are some of the things that we have not done; some of the things that make the men at the front feel that they have been forsaken by those left behind, make them wonder if you know what they are facing, and sometimes in their moments of blackest despair, they wonder if you care.

And here I think it well to tell you of the last conversation I had with a pursuit pilot at Port Moresby, New Guinea, before my bomber carried me to the northern front at Darwin. Standing in a grass covered hut to avoid the blistering sun, I was talking with a Texas boy - an Austin, Texas, boy. He had learned that I was leaving, that the President had ordered all Members of Congress back to Washington. I asked him if there was anything I could tell the folks for him when I got home. With a deadly seriousness and an earnestness beyond compare, he replied: "Get us a better fighter plane as quickly as you can and get me word whether my baby is a boy or a girl." I shook hands and told him goodbye, determined to do my dead-level best to deliver on both counts. When I got back to Austin several weeks later, I went to his home and saw his first born, a beautiful, 8 weeks old baby daughter. His charming little wife told me that she had cabled him the night the baby was born and had sent four other cables, but that she knew he had not received them because he had never replied. That night I spent \$18.00 I didn't have and invested it in a telephone call to

Washington. I was told that it was practically impossible to get a message through to New Guinea except by official War Department communication, and of course the communication lines were overburdened with official messages. I told them of the promise I had made and asked them if one exception couldn't be made just one time, and some sympathetic and understanding people went into a huddle. The next day I received the following telegram: "This message has gone out as a War Department communication to General Douglas MacArthur, Commander of the Southwest Pacific, quote please deliver this message to Lieutenant Wilson Ralston 'baby daughter 8 weeks old and wife doing fine. Acknowledge if possible'. Signed George C. Marshall, Chief of Staff." And little Miss Ralston pats her hands happily today in the knowledge that her daddy at the fighting front, with the assistance of General MacArthur and General Marshall, knows of her existence because a few days later she got an acknowledgment from Daddy.

I wish, as I know you wish, the message about the baby daughter could have been taken by the fastest, best equipped, most modern, most invincible plane in the world and landed in front of the Moresby hut. But, the plane has not gone there yet and that is a job we all have to do together. I hope you don't think me too bitter. I hope you don't think what I have said about our shortages and our bickering sounds too much like someone "boefing," for the only way I know to make perfect that which is not perfect is to face the cold realities and prepare to meet them.

Now, what must we do? What must you do is a portion of this discussion that I approach with humility and reluctance. I believe that I know the attitude and the temper of our Texas people. I know, as you know, that no man in all the world is more sincerely desirous of winning this war, and doing

everything it takes to win, than our President, Franklin D. Roosevelt. No man in all the world is better equipped in wisdom, ability and information to lead the forces of democracy to a complete victory and a lasting peace. With a very few outstanding exceptions, the representatives of the people in the Congress are giving him wholehearted cooperation.

Perhaps you ask, then, why do we have the selfish, the shortsighted and the incompetents. My answer to this is, we do not have a dictator. Roosevelt believes in the democratic processes. Like all good men he has confidence - sometimes I think too much confidence - in his fellow man. You may recall that for four long years another war President, Lincoln, contended with the same interests, the same forces, the same incompetency. He, too, had industrialists and businessmen and contractors who hung around like jackals to fatten off their country's misfortunes; financiers who maintained a gold market and profited from the blood of their fellowman. He, too, found that the military hierarchy had its incompetents. At the head of his Army was a man who had once been a great tactical officer - General Scott. Under him were men who had all the appearance of soldiers; but they thought in terms of past wars. McDowell lost the Battle of Bull Run and nearly lost the war in that first battle. He was succeeded by McClellan who appeared to be every inch a soldier and who was a national hero, but who had political aspirations hardly concealed by his soldier's uniform. After McClellan came Pope, Hooker, McClellan again, Burnside and Meade, until finally a military genius emerged in the person of General Grant.

The problems that confronted Lincoln in the Civil War were by comparison very simple. Today, we are fighting a global war - a war on many fronts and all the seas of the world - a war both under the water and in the sky. One man has been designated by the American people through their

democratic processes to call the signals and to lead them, and thank God for that great man - Franklin D. Roosevelt. Undoubtedly, he will make mistakes. But of one thing you may be assured: The man that led the American people out of the depths of despondency and despair in which they found themselves in 1933 can and will lead them to victory against the foreign aggressors.

This matter of victory is not an easy thing. We are faced by the greatest, the most powerful, the most ruthless and the most cruel forces in the history of the world. And tonight those cruel forces blare their challenge and we answer that challenge: "We shall win or we shall die."

Looking at Poland, Greece, France, the Low Countries, does not give us reason to believe differently. The facts are as simple as that.

What do we have to meet:

We have to meet a combined Germany, Italy and Japan - all of whose people have for ten years been engaged in all-out production of tools of destruction - all of whose people have a fanatical determination to dominate the world and to wrest from the other nations of the world what they have.

Then where do we stand today? What have we undertaken to do about it?

We have agreed to be the arsenal of democracy; through Lease-Lend we are attempting to supply arms and materials to all the far-flung battlefronts of the world.

We have attempted to supply China and Russia and England, who have been on the front lines dying for the cause in which we are a partner. Brave, heroic China has received little. Because of shipping and convoy problems, we have failed to get to the Russian fighting front what we should have.

What have we done?

We have made a start - a good start - in 8 months, but we don't have 10 years to prepare for it as our enemies did. We have got to do it quickly; yes, do the impossible, quickly, if we are to survive.

We have the best fighting men. They are the best fed and best clothed, and I wish I could say the best equipped. We have the highest morale, the greatest wealth, the most unlimited resources.

But what do we have yet to do and what can you do about that? Public servant and private citizen must make their decisions and determine their acts on only one basis - winning this war.

The most important problem in anything is personnel and leadership. Lincoln groped with that problem for 4 years. To say that we do not have it now is to refuse to face facts. We must grope no more. We must clean up and clean out. Where we have top military leaders they must be given authority and responsibility. Where we have indecisive, unimaginative, non-aggressive people clinging to old ideas they must be kicked out. We have more good than bad but we have some bad, and up to now they have not been kicked out. Some have been kicked upstairs and some have been transferred. We cannot and we must not wait until another Pearl Harbor gives us proof. The cost is too much in men and planes and ships.

In every action we must fight as if we were all in the same uniform. This means complete coordination of action between Army, Navy and Marine Corps.

Better fighter planes.

Better bomber planes.

Better torpedo and dive bombers.

To say that we have them is to mislead you. The only way we are going to get them is to admit that we do not have them and rush production of them in quantity.

We need land based planes for the Navy to accompany its task forces.

We need more range for all types of planes.

We need air cargoes, and I'm for trying the Kaiser proposal.

Is it unpatriotic to say we do not have the best? Some columnists will object; you will get in the dog-house with some Admirals and Generals. But the

boy at Darwin says he has only a short time to fight now - the range of his plane is so limited that if he saves enough gas to get home he has only a few minutes to battle the Japs.

And the boy at New Guinea says: "I want you to do two things for me when you get home - tell my wife I want to know about that baby of ours that was supposed to be born this month and get me a plane that will fly and fly fast and maneuver above 16,000 feet so I can meet those guys on an equal footing."

And the boys at other outposts say, as did the women of France: "Where are our planes?"

What can we do about this?

You can kick anybody in the pants that says the war is won or about to be won or that they are not concerned about it.

You can demand that we take every nickel for the war and cut out every expenditure that is not going toward support of the fighting men.

You can demand that we tax now and tax heavily to pay the bill.

You can support a system of withholding savings to meet it while we have it.

You can insist that every one of your public servants pledge themselves to fight the profiteer, to fight the unholy alliance between the war contractor and the labor racketeer that costs the farmer the blood of his boy and his own financial livelihood.

You can say to the Hendersons and all the little Hendersons that 'one for all and all for one' is equal justice and we will back you to the hilt, but we are not going to see you put a ceiling on one and not on the other.

We will not see war contractors make millions with no limit to what we pay the other fellow to work in our plants and yet limit what the farmer sells to him.

Quit stomping your independent little man as you write regulations which protect his big brother.

You can say to this minority crowd in the Government shadows in the

production program (they are the same crowd that told us prosperity was just around the corner in '32 and are now saying to us in big ads and press releases that all is good and ahead of schedule that) "The test is country above company and country above self. If you cannot meet that test - out you go!"

You can say to them, we cleaned you out twelve years ago; now function for country or we will clean you out again. You can say if you are unable to get your brain unlocked, if you refuse to accept new ideas, if you are unable to deliver the goods, we will put you in the rear ranks and put somebody at the front who can and will. In short there is some firing that has to be done in this country on the home front as well as on the firing front, and the test of that firing must be: Can and will he do it? Has he done it or hasn't he?

And you can say to the headline writers, to the magazines and to the Government press release artists: What we want is the truth, the cold, hard truth. We can take it and give it out.

And you can go out and not only preach it but you can teach it. And if you do not do it you will have Hitler and the Japs to follow.

We have not won any war yet. We have not lost any war yet. But, we have lost here and we have lost there and this war can be lost.

Woe be unto the military experts when this boy comes home from flying his load of bombs in the fog of the Aleutians. Woe be unto you when he gets back from the Solomons and New Guinea if you have kept him there to face the enemy with inferior equipment and inadequate supplies.

Our President must tell them - the Army and the Navy and the Marines - "You have an undivided responsibility." We must tell our President we will give him support every inch of the way and he doesn't need to look back to see if we are coming. You can make bullets out of your ballots. You can get hot and stay hot until the job is done. You can look with an accusing eye toward those who do business, politics, wrangling as usual.

We must not be lured from the true course by false flares. Impossible promises of comfort and plenty must be ignored.

As a man, as a representative of the people, I would be unworthy of your trust if I considered my political future a restraint on what I say to you. I speak the truth as I see it. I will not tell you the way is short or the battle easily won. My experiences of the last 8 months have made me sad, yet confident. Sad because I have seen the terrible cruelty and suffering of war at the front - because I saw my companion, my friend, go down in flaming death before the Jap Zero fighters. Confident because I know that in all the world you cannot find finer soldiers than ours. In the boys the spirit of Bowie, Travis and Crockett lives again. I have talked with them in Pearl Harbor, in the Fiji Islands, in Palmyra, at Canton Island, in New Zealand, in the deserts of Australia - in the outpost of Port Moresby in New Guinea which the Jap is now marching on. Yes, in Alaska and the Aleutians where I've been this week. They know we are in a war. They expect us to act accordingly. For my own part, I intend to do everything within my power regardless of consequence, to get those boys the leadership and the equipment they need. One day this war will be over. Things will not be the same - not for many of us - the memory of a smiling, courageous face does not fade with the signing of the Armistice. When that day comes, the more fortunate will return, but unless we do more than we have been doing, I, for one, do not want to face the disappointment - the disillusionment, the bitterness, which they will bring with them. I do not want to look into those accusing eyes and try to explain our shortcomings at home.

In the last terrible days of Bataan and Corregidor, there was not a man alive who did not hope and expect help from home. When only bare shreds of their clothing was left, when their ammunition was gone; and their only food for days

was horse meat, they still had faith that the wealthiest, greatest, richest land in the world, their beloved America, would send them aid. That aid never came. They knew not why. Many will never know. Those not dead are prisoners. Perhaps we may never have to face them, but we can never forget them.

We are a rich people, a powerful people, and a bold people. We can win this war. But, we have got to be made to understand that we can lose it. To lose it would be the greatest tragedy in the history of man. Not only would it mean that the men who fell at Pearl Harbor and Bataan and in the Coral Sea and at Midway, and at a thousand other battle grounds of this war had died in vain - it would mean that the things we have always considered fine and decent and civilized would be ruthlessly uprooted from the earth.

And, as I say goodbye to this graduating class, I want to remind you that not even in 1776 or in 1863 or in 1917 was your country in greater danger. What happens in 1942 may well determine your life, if you live at all. You were educated for peace and you are graduating into war, and never did a graduating class emerge into a world that needed it more and about whose destiny it could have more to say.

My own feelings can best be reflected by quoting a portion of a statement made by that great leader of the world, Franklin D. Roosevelt, in 1936:

"It is a sobering thing, my friends, to be a servant of this great cause. We try in our daily work to remember that the cause belongs not to us, but to the people. There is a mysterious cycle in human events. To some generations much is given. Of other generations much is expected. This generation of Americans has a rendezvous with destiny. In this world of ours and other lands, there are some people, too, in times past, have lived and fought for freedom, and seem to have grown too weary to carry on the fight. They have sold their heritage of

freedom for the illusion of a living. They have yielded their democracy. We are fighting to save a great and precious form of government for ourselves and for the world. I accept the commission you have tendered me. I join with you. I am enlisted for the duration of the war."

And here tonight on this beautiful San Marcos River, I repeat you the words of Franklin D. Roosevelt, uttered almost six years ago to the day in that City which made American history - Philadelphia - and I plead of you to reaffirm those words: "I accept the commission you have tendered me. I join with you. I am enlisted for the duration of the war."

RICHARD B. RUSSELL, GA., CHAIRMAN

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J. NELSON TRIBBY, CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES

June 16, 1951

Dear Eliot:

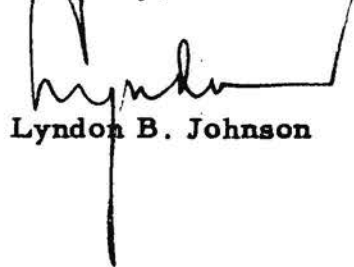
We have seen the Magazine Section of tomorrow's
New York Times.

Collier's tried -- it was adolescent.

Saturday Evening Post improved it, but I guess it
is always difficult to satisfy the subject.

You did, however, and thanks a million.

Sincerely,



Lyndon B. Johnson

Mr. Eliot Janeway,
270 Park Avenue,
New York, New York.

TRANSFERRED TO HANDWRITING FILE

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24 November, 1959

TO:
Senator Lyndon B. Johnson
207 U.S. Courthouse
Austin, Texas

*Conventions. note my call
to Jenkins 11/25 as ps to this letter*

Nothing is more un-American - or more alien to the ethical principles and teachings responsible for human progress - than to discriminate against people because of the circumstances of their birth. In plain English, I am against being against anybody because of where that person happened to be born. I say this with some feeling, because I know what it is to be the object of prejudice - on the grounds that I happen to have been born in a state which Sam Houston led to one of the great victories won by freedom in the history of America.

I can even remember how some small-minded people vented their small-minded prejudices against Franklin Roosevelt because, as they sneered, he happened to have been born in the Hudson Valley of New York State. Going back before then, I remember that, when my Daddy and his friends and co-workers in the cause of Democratic progress in Texas were fighting to ~~root~~ the Ku Klux Klan out of American life during that particular era of Republican prosperity, the same kind of small-minded people vented the same kind of vicious and evil prejudices against Al Smith, sneering that he was born in the slums of the lower East side of New York City.

These small-minded prejudices are still strong weapons in the hands of powerful groups in this country today. We must rally the Democratic party not merely to follow in the tradition of Smith and Roosevelt and Truman in the fight against prejudice, but to take the lead in renewing the fight: to take the initiative in leading all who have suffered unfairly because of the accident of birth towards the equality of opportunity which we must guarantee in order to assure America parity of opportunity in the race for survival with the Russians.

Don't mind them come to this country

fair
~~Don't mind them come to this country~~
areas all over the world during the McKinley Era - because America offered them a better deal than Tsarist Russia, hungry Ireland, or the reactionary Austria-Hungary of the Hapsburgs. And America gave them a better deal. But there's been a lot of progress in this country between the time of McKinley and the time of Roosevelt and of Truman and of our 86th Congress - and what used to be a good deal in McKinley's time isn't a good enough deal in Eisenhower's time. The people of this country have a right to their share when things - including credit - are tight, and a duty to share the burden of doing without. But right now, the big corporations are getting their share of whatever money the banks are allowed to lend, while the members of the public are sharing the burden of doing without. What this country needs is an economic Bill of Rights, so that each of us can take our turn at the lending window of the bank - regardless of what kind of a name we sign on the loan, and regardless of whether we sign a "Mr. and Mrs." before it, or an "Inc." after it.

Let me talk to you for a couple of minutes about my idea of an economic Bill of Rights. All of us can remember the days of wartime rationing, when it seemed that

INSERT PAGE TWO:

And the families with whom America is growing share
at least this problem in common with the great corporations which have power with America - they need credit.

Insert 2

Has the name -
calling argument the
Administration were to
justify without the
kills your business
is passing, and to
explain why the
Administration is
afraid to let
you have too
much spending
money.

Senator Lyndon B. Johnson

24 November, 1959

there was hardly enough of anything to go around. Shoes, sugar, meat, and gasoline were all in short supply, but each of us got our fair share of what there was. Giant corporations in the soft drink business counted their sugar allotments along with the ordinary housewife. The men and women who kept our factories humming saved stamps for workshoes along with country squires who were saving up for a new pair of boots for riding to hounds. None of us liked rationing, but none of us could claim that anyone else was getting a fairer deal than we were. Roosevelt and Truman saw to that.

Even now, in peacetime, people in many communities are still forced to live with rationing of one kind or another - water, for example, in the arid sections of the West and even in some big cities. Water has been short in Toledo, in Milwaukee, and even in New York. But when the water supply is turned off or cut back, it's turned off or cut back for everyone - not just for the man on the corner with a new lawn coming up, but for the big estate owner with formal gardens to tend. This is the American way - when there's a shortage of one of life's necessities, every person has a right to his share, and every person shares the burden of doing without - without prejudice to circumstances of his birth or the size of his bankroll.

Right now, the country is again faced with a shortage of one of life's most fundamental necessities - credit. The economic rain-makers in power in Washington have refused to give the credit reservoir the refill we Democrats know it needs. They have refused to do so on the grounds that it would be inflationary. What is inflation? *(margin) 2*
~~means that the Administration which is vetoing the Bills your Congressman is passing is afraid to let you have too much spending money.~~ So, as the U.S. economy continues to grow - slower than the Russian economy and slower than the needs of our people, but faster than the supply of credit - loans are not only expensive but, more important, for the average run of people hard to come by throughout the country. I do not agree with the economic rain-makers who tell us that a shortage of credit is necessary for the economic well-being of the country. Growth made America great, and only more growth will make America greater. More growth means more money - money for the baby carriage, the rumpus room in the basement, the new car in the garage, the college education for our children. But the monetary authorities in Washington are limiting the amount of growth we can enjoy by limiting the credit we are allowed to have in order to finance it.

They have decided that a credit shortage is healthy for the U.S. economy. But this credit shortage under Eisenhower has very little in common with the familiar wartime food shortages, or peacetime water shortages. We have worked our way through these as a united people under Roosevelt and Truman. But this new credit shortage is not a shortage in which everyone gets his share, and everyone shares the burden of doing without. Not by a long shot. It's the big corporations with bulging bank deposits who are getting first call on the limited credit supply, while members of the working public are told that debt is dangerous, especially now that the banks have no money left over to lend them. Big mills can borrow money to build up inventories, but Polish mill workers are telling the Wall Street Journal that they can't borrow money to buy Christmas presents for their kids. Big defense contractors must borrow money to finance their long term contracts for missiles and space developments, but Italian bricklayers are up against it to borrow money to put their sons through school so that they can help to engineer them. The Government can borrow money to help feed hungry children abroad, but the young book-keeper and his wife can't borrow money to pay for an extra room for the new baby.

If the monetary authorities are determined to cut back the credit which lubricates the wheels of our economy, they must be forced to make sure that everybody gets his fair share - the families just trying to get a start in this country as well as the big corporations which helped start the American economy on the road to progress.

* INSERT ATTACHED.



THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

September 7, 1962

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

This letter will introduce to you Mr. Mike Janeway, 326 East 51st Street, New York 22, New York, who is scheduled to leave the United States the latter part of September on an extended visit to study in Europe.

Mr. Janeway was a member of my staff while I was Majority Leader of the United States Senate in the summers of 1959 and 1960, during which time he was a student at Harvard. He has also worked the past two summers as a member of the staff of the Senate Democratic Policy Committee under Honorable Mike Mansfield.

Mr. Janeway has a BA degree from Harvard (Magna Cum Laude in History). He has also been awarded by Harvard a Shaw Travelling Fellowship for travel and study in England, France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Greece, Yugoslavia and Egypt.

Mr. Janeway plans to visit in London while in Great Britain. I shall personally appreciate all consistent courtesies shown him.

With cordial good wishes, I am,

Sincerely,

Lyndon B. Johnson

Honorable David K. E. Bruce
The American Ambassador
The American Embassy
London, England



OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

RECEIVED
SEP 24 1962

September 21, 1962

Dear Mike:

For your information here are two letters the Vice President has received from Ambassadors Gavin and Bruce which I am sure you will want to see.

Sincerely,


Glynn Stegall
Assistant to the
Vice President

Mr. Mike Janeway
% Janeway Publishing and Research Corporation
350 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York



THE FOREIGN SERVICE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

American Embassy
Paris, September 17, 1962

Dear Mr. Vice President:

Thank you for your letter of September 7 addressed to Ambassador Bohlen concerning the plans of Mr. Mike Janeway who will be visiting Europe this Fall on a Shaw Travelling Fellowship from Harvard. I note that Mr. Janeway has been at various times a member of your staff and Senator Mansfield's.

You may be assured that the Embassy will be most pleased to extend every appropriate courtesy and assistance should Mr. Janeway call upon us while he is in Paris.

Sincerely,



James M Gavin

The Vice President
United States Senate
Washington, D.C.

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EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
LONDON

September 14, 1962

Dear Mr. Vice President:

Thank you for your letter dated September 7, 1962, concerning the visit to London during the latter part of September of Mr. Mike Janeway.

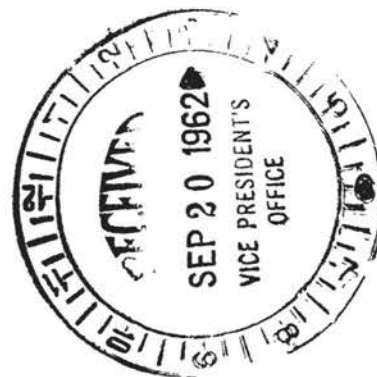
You may be sure that if Mr. Janeway calls at the Embassy, he will be accorded every appropriate assistance and courtesy.

Sincerely yours,

David Bruce

David Bruce
American Ambassador

The Vice President,
United States Senate.





THE FOREIGN SERVICE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

American Embassy
Athens, Greece
September 17, 1962

Dear Mr. Vice President:

Thank you very much for your letter of September 7, 1962 informing me of the visit to Greece of Mr. Mike Janeway.

We shall be delighted to extend every possible assistance which Mr. Janeway may require during his stay here, should he call at my office. I have also sent a copy of your letter to Mr. Daryl Dayton, Cultural Attaché of the Embassy, who will try to assist him with his study tour in Athens.

With very best wishes,

Sincerely yours,


Henry R. Labouisse

The Vice President,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

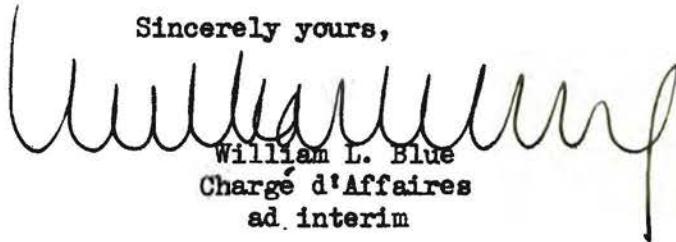
Lisbon, September 18, 1962.

Dear Mr. Vice President:

In the absence of the Ambassador, I should like to thank you very much for your letter of September 7, 1962, concerning the forthcoming visit of Mr. Mike Janeway of New York City, who plans to spend some time in Portugal.

The Embassy will be most happy to assist Mr. Janeway in every way possible, should he call.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'William L. Blue', written in a cursive style.

William L. Blue
Chargé d'Affaires
ad interim

The Vice President,
United States Senate,
Washington 25, D. C.

American Embassy,
Madrid, Spain,
September 17, 1962.

Dear Mr. Vice President:

Thank you very much for your letter of September 7, concerning the prospective visit to Spain of Mr. Mike Janeway, who was a member of your staff in the summers of 1959 and 1960.

You may be sure that we will be looking forward to seeing Mr. Janeway, and I hope that we can help to make his visit to Spain more interesting and enjoyable.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,



Robert F. Woodward

The Vice President,
United States Senate.