

February 18, 1941

There are three parts to the personal progress of a Senator:

1. He must be in the line of national thought. He could get no national recognition (and this means he could get no national vote) unless he has been identified with the thought trend of the nation as a whole. The time has passed when a man can be a compromise candidate in this country-- the sort of candidate picked by the section bosses to carry out their personal and private promises. The time for this started to end with McKinley and Hamah, and later Harding and Dogherty ended the racket. The country is going to pick its leaders in '44 and '48 probably based:

A. On the man's soundness internationally, and

B. A conviction in regard to his intelligence to handle post-war problems in America.

2. The machinery of Democracy probably will carry on. This means a Republican Party and a Democratic Party. One should not look beyond '44 except to say that names have changed in America before. Whigs and Republicans became Democrats in the Civil War crisis. Therefore, no look beyond '44, but excessive regularity until '44 because in the first realization that the party is in danger, all regular Democrats will become hysterical, and will seek to name one of party regularity to save the perquisites of party regularity within their own states. I am saying that it is doubtful if '44 will reach beyond party lines in picking a candidate. (With the possible exception that Willkie may be the nominee of a coalition. There will be a great effort to form a national party having such diverse elements as possibly La Guardia, labor moderates, Wisconsin, Willkie, and the like. But this will not be cohesive, and it will not prevail against one or other of the strong party tops. So the next President and Vice President will be men of international vision, with reputation for affirmative action, not complainers. Sectionalism will become less important monthly.

3. No man can reach national party recognition at a convention in the sense of candidacy who has not a solid group of effective votes at least as second choice. McNutt is a second-chooser over a wide area. Richie came dangerously near this, and would have been the nominee if Roosevelt had been stopped and Baker had proven too colorless. This was because Richie achieved second choice votes everywhere. If I were to start out today with the handicap of sectionalism, I would move from my own state to the next state, to the next state, to the next state, cultivating interest and being of mutual helpfulness to my neighbor--not in activity for self, but in the consciousness that our people deserve representation in Washington, the capitol of the United States, in every intelligent way that does not offend the United States in its destiny. That is what representative government means. (It is desirable that one become the salesman of sectional consciousness, looking down to '44 in the privacy of the performance. While such a one may lead a public fight against the poll tax, he will balance his position by leading many a private battle for the protection of the communities of his fellow citizens. Since one's state is in process of defending America, and since one's state has abandoned the poll tax, one obviously has two special small activities. I use the word "small" because they are sectional activities, as against a national view and an international peace consciousness.)

It has been said that there are three general lines of activity over a four year period. Attached is a lot of detail that may have some thought in it.

The psychological point here obviously is the President. This may be handled, but attached to the Senator, an alive press specialist as a secretary and traveling companion who does not become, and is not known, as a press representative. The moment a man becomes a press representative, he is marked, and his employer is marked as a self-seeking man. But the reason for having a press-conscious secretary attached to a Senator at all times (practically

living with him) is that no man sincere in his answers can afford the corroding influence of being himself press conscious. The press conscious Senator will become insincere; his timing will become bad; he will become over-eager, like a Josh Lee. (Russell, of Georgia, in my mind, is the best young man in the Senate who times himself and his performance. His comes are near being the junior Byrnes as we have. Therefore, Russell is important, and Georgia is a neighbor. Russell never will compete, but may be inspired to promote, for everywhere there is a kingmaker.)

Refer to Congressional Record of August 14, 1940 for remarks made
by Senator Pepper on subject of Congressional adjournment while discussing
Dictatorship in connection with broadcast of Mr. Fulton Lewis Jr.

PRESERVATION COPY

November 5, 1940

The Department of Information, which has been changed to another name, is headed by Lowell Millet.

Appropriation for this was \$1,000,000. In theory this department was the President's eyes and ears over America for the purpose of clarifying his mind, answering enquiries, and investigating reports. It later became an incoming report bureau which its enemies would call a spy machine, but which in general could function on a broad front as a presidential machine to do anything he wanted. For instance, if a fur coat costing \$2,000 appeared on the wife of a judge, a neighbor woman might write to the President asking how she got it. This would go to Millet, who would send it to the divisional chief at, let us say, Dallas, who would answer Millet as to whether it was honest or not.

Millet picked up about thirty reporters. He was the editor in chief of the Scripps Howard paper at Washington. One of these men was a reporter whom Marsh had let out for laziness. Millet paid him \$6,000 a year and his second or third job was to report that Charles Marsh was a little crazy. No one would know from that report whether the fact he was fired had anything to do with it, but the report was asked for by Millet and was not checked or double checked. Later Marsh naturally saw Millet and spent a day with him because he did not want Millet telling important people Marsh was crazy, but the report is still in the files, which means that any one asking Millet who Charles Marsh is might find Millet out and a clerk might read the report which might upset the plans of the inquirer who would say, "Too bad, Marsh ain't any good."

The first thing naturally that a smart man would do would be to re-check these files for human errors, reduce them to a brief active workable piece of machinery because there must be some good in the several million dollars that was spent. This would require about twenty new active

employees, traveling the country with these files in their possession. The greatest need of this country is to locate brains. The second greatest need is for the American flag to tap these men for use and quit depending upon political pull and love of adventure and sons of rich boys and grafters infiltrated through corporations for \$1 a year rah-rah work.

In the clean up and bringing information up to date, time being the essence, the news man in charge of this must be a \$10,000 assistant to the President or bureau chief with Millet being promoted into literary activity. I see complete failure as an executive through laziness, but standing very very high with the President because of his honesty. He lives in the country with a Jap butler on a nine hole golf course which he loves. He is constantly being called upon for policy decisions. And he has got too big for his britches as far as this deal is concerned. It is largely being handled by a female secretary.

Constructively, the President should have one very high class, but anonymous newspaper operator, like Karl Bickel, but one probably younger on the job constantly on the City Desk of government publicity. His decision should be supreme subject to the President and the President should not be bothered with this matter except on the basis of monthly results. He would have instantaneous approaches through his files and news sources throughout the country on any information of significance that any cabinet official or the President might need for decision about any person or thing. Every press agent of every department should be placed by him or vetoed by him. This is extremely necessary because soft men through flattery and weakness become publicity men for department chiefs and spend their time keeping their jobs by reflecting what their bosses want them to say and what their bosses believe about themselves. Iokes is a perfect example. At one time he had sixty detectives and six publicity men on different pay rolls. Morgenthau has a press

department. Perkins has a terrible one. The Department of State has none for the reason that Civil Service and political appointments have removed the press department too far from the actualities of common people and radio and active press.

The thing that destroys the will and intent of a new administration to be friends and equals of the voters is the same thing, but in two parts.

A. The habitual use of executive power as a great many "no's" as well as "yes's", and each "no" creates an adverse piece of publicity.

B. The break down of confidence of a fresh executive seeking to serve his people is constantly going on because his confidence and honesty of mind is violated by people to whom he gives it. Then he becomes secretive, reducing all of ~~xxxx~~ his thoughts to "handouts", and beyond his "handouts" instructs his publicity contacts to give out nothing.

This has resulted in the custom of each cabinet official having fixed dates and days for meeting accredited press representatives. Questions in most cases have to be submitted in advance to a secretary. The secretary demands the right to talk "off the record." The reporter flits from office to office. Each reporter gets the same dish and nothing but that dish. All humanness ceases. All variety is at an end, and the business of informing the American public of their government as far as life and color is concerned has degenerated and become the particular business of gossip columnists like the Merry-Go-Round, Jay Franklin, and the group of columnists who become a ~~ttache~~ financially to certain bureau chiefs on a part time basis. One important and very smart department chief who has a flair for publicity probably has done favors of a personal or financial nature for twenty or thirty news men reporting to newspapers in many parts of the country. He has the best press through bribery, but he has been smart enough to buy the reporters directly underneath the noses of their publishers. This sort of anarchy,

whether of the type above or the Corcoran method of making publicity ahead of the news in order to manufacture executive decision, is now at the point of an extreme low similar to the methods used by Richelieu in France. The press in Washington is both hamstrung and purchased. The great wire services, except Hearst which is biased by Hearst, attempt a reasonable virtue. But the system of "handouts" formal press meetings which are increasingly limited, and gossip columns, has reported Washington to the country in an untrue and grossly conflicting light. The biggest briber gets the best break.

In the interest of the entire government and the unity of the country, virtue should come into all this, and virtue can never come except through authority and virtue itself--Cleverness, chicanery, having supplanted enterprise and intelligence in reporting.

From the other side--the country itself--it is even worse. The great newspapers, and to a lesser extent the radio, has been inherited by non-doers and non-makers, nephews, sons, grandsons, banks are now controlling the newspapers once built in great freedom and for service to the people. The publicity view point through advertising revenue as well as rich man ownership has contributed.