

Republican Present Order: Stassen, Vandenberg, Dewey Taft.

Democratic Present Order: Eisenhower, Truman.

Copy

April 50-48

Stassen has achieved acceptance by both the House of Morgan and the Roman Catholic hierarchy. Dewey, who had the world by the tail six months ago, was unfortunate in not being at home when Wall Street and the Catholic Church came to interview him. Stassen has been working on his campaign with intensity for six years. He proved perfection in getting recognition on his business with Stalin. He's the guy that can tell anybody anything any time and "out of the horse's mouth". He now has cast himself. He is young and good-looking, an accepted pinko, beloved by the bankers, the industrialists, the Protestants and the Catholics.

The real reason for saying he is now first in the race is not that he has appeared great, but because he has made himself 100% acceptable to conservative America as the second choice. Without losing his pink coat he has been the perfect gentleman on Wall Street.

Actually the iron pattern of the new Republican party was set by the solid men many years ago. Stassen conforming, they have commended the bright lad to the Republicans as safe and sound.

Contrast this with Truman and his silly wooing of the Catholic church.

While the main powers questioned the Dewey salesmanship and the Dewey deal, over-confidence betook Dewey and his managers. When powerful people asked could they meet him, Dewey became too big for safety, and said he was the Governor of New York and too busy.

Just about that time the Northern Pacific Railroad crowd from St. Paul came down East and described Stassen as a conservative chap, declaring without Stassen we would be in the red ranks. "Only Stassen

can save us". So the Morgan people plus friends okehed his down here and even put a bet on Stassen over ten months ago. There was a big bet on Dewey also and his campaign manager passed cigars and got lots of nickels below 42nd Street, but Dewey was holding out and did not say thank you. His tooth-brush demeanor did not win friends nor influence powerful political factors.

Contrast the Dewey smugness with the way the Stassen dollar-guys said "Thanks" very voluably for much less ante. So today, probably below 42nd Street the thing in shaping strongly for "Stassen and Safety" against Wallace and everyone else.

Remember the Republican candidate must always be helped first. Remember that a Republican is almost necessary to Big Business now. So indeed the seven figure men perhaps don't want to take any chances by being beaten by a possible Democratic nominee, one Eisenhower, drafted carefully against a conservative Republican. This puts Taft out; Dewey probably out; Vandenberg only stays strong - in spite of his age. There is a very strong possibility that the Catholic Church and Wall Street will go wholeheartedly and save Stassen. Naturally they would rather compromise with Vandenberg and Stassen, but it does look as if Dewey and Raft are tired before reaching the stretch, and that as the horses are now running, Stassen and Vandenberg leads ahead of Dewey and Taft in that order.

On the Democratic side there are some very smart people now working with the Catholic city bosses. They know a Republican victory leaves them only the skimmed milk. They want to top the cream. They will not listen to Spellman. And so Murray will not be able to deliver the C.I.O., which he has ruined beyond repair, to Truman as against Eisenhower.

So the smart bosses together with the left-over Democratic Roosevelt Liberals are again about to combine to ditch Truman and draft Eisenhower. They take it for granted that no man drafted as Presidential nominee can turn it down.

Therefore Truman's only hope is for a pre-convention "I-won't-run-if-they-nominate-me" from Eisenhower. It is not probable that he will go that far however.

The President's picture is folding. Gael Sullivan resigned yesterday as executive secretary of the party to work entirely for Eisenhower. Sullivan has moved to California as the second most potent place. James Roosevelt, who is head of the party out there, is all out for Eisenhower. City bosses in New York are beginning to be all out for Eisenhower.

Some reports are coming in from below the Mason-Dixon line which agree that Eisenhower is safe and should be sure to get all Democrat delegates from the South. With New York and California already in for Ike, this "Draft Eisenhower" following seems to have already an odds on favorite in him.

Facing this move, the Republicans are more apt to nominate Stassen to cinch a victory. They know that otherwise with Taft or older Vandenberg they will have to face a popular war here and up and coming Wallace. They will then learn that the Democratic party will make a poor showing, and so-called red make-believe in the Wallace forces could cause an American surprise to be written into history, if not in '48, perhaps in '52.

They will know that the Republican party was started in 1854 in a mid-west small town, the first meeting having 15 people. They will remember that politically ambitious Horace Greely even sent a message to the Committee that he was too Old and tired to attend. They remember that in 1856 there were not many people in the party, just

another upheaval party against two conservative organizations and then they remember Abraham Lincoln in 1860. So they should remember that if Wallace gets even a substantial vote on a third party and is given credit for breaking up the Democratic party, that the people backing Wallace will remain enthusiastic another four years, and on the band wagon the independent liberal vote will have some value toward '52; because the repressed will smell blood and the resurgent feel spirit of adventure and will want to have someone now on the highest political seat.

So it seems to me as I take the boat. When I get back about June 10th, I will go over it again.

Political Memo For C.E.M.

April 29, 1948.

The British position would prefer the Eisenhower they know, but the Morgan position feels safer with Dewey.

The St. Paul set-up starting as a seedling around Stassen whom they know as a conservative, has got early through the Hill interests into Morgan and Morgan took a second choice financial dip there behind Stassen. Only Morgan is sitting pretty now. Incidentally, the St. Paul group around Stassen is Catholic.

The Washington Today's report is that much progress is being made on Democratic Eisenhower program. The George Allen-Eisenhower trip seems to have paid off. Apparently only Truman is fooled.

February 2, 1948

SOUTHERN POLITICAL SITUATIONS:

TEXAS:

J.R. Parten is seeing Jimmy Allred who has said that he will run if Lyndon Johnson does not. This was ten days ago. Parten's number in Houston is Preston 8177. There are a number of Congressional races but none of them will mean anything unless we have this big Senate fight around which to generate steam.

ARKANSAS:

The County Prosecutor who used veterans to clean up Hot Springs, expects to run for Governor. Apparently has a fifty-fifty chance. There will be a candidate against Senator McClelland teaming with him.

LOUISIANA:

Earl Long as the winner for Governor will have old regular support in New Orleans which went for Morrison in the First Primary. Long is understood to hate Ellender the Senator now up for reelection.

TENNESSEE:

Browning and Kefauver are the ticket. Crump machine support has split from under him all over east, middle, and west Tennessee and the chances are even.

MISSISSIPPI:

Former Judge Clayton and present Circuit County Judge Jabits will both run against Rankin. No opposition in fight to Jim Eastland for Senate. Sam Lumkin, the present Lieutenant Governor is key to Mississippi politics, has a large number of county and state officials plus veterans of this war, with him.

ALABAMA:

John Sparkman, for reelection to Senate, has no visible opposition. Strong campaigns and candidates already in the field against Monasco in 7th, Rains in 5th, Battle in 9th, Grant in 2nd, and Boykin in 1st. There will be hell of a fight over these Congressional seats. It will be a big year in Alabama politics with Jim Folsom campaigning over the whole south for delegates to the National Convention. Aubrey Williams and his editor Gould Beach (Southern Farmer) are pushing Folsom's campaign.

GEORGIA:

Rayburn, Thompson, and Talmadge plus two other minor candidates will run for Gubernatorial nomination in the Primary. This means Talmadge victory unless Rayburn conducts the Folsom type campaign to get Talmadge's rural vote. Peacock against Cox in the 2nd District. Helen Mankin against Davis in the 5th, Tarver against Lanham in the 7th--all tight races.

SOUTH CAROLINA:

Governor Thurman on the edge of running against Maybank for Senate. Very important because he can win. You should meet Thurman. Another Arnall.

NORTH CAROLINA:

Ex-Governor Broughton and Senator Olmstead opposing each other in the May Primary for Senate. Machine completely split all over the state. Four candidates for Governor of whom Mayne Allbright is the most liberal. Little money but may have a chance of getting into the second Primary.

FLORIDA:

Eight candidates for Governor already in the field. Fuller Warren and English, former head of state schools, are leading liberals. Pepper to support Warren, but quietly.

N.b.-n.b.--Virgil Connor in Orlando District has fifty-fifty chance. Has Pepper's support and Jerry Carter's support (Railroad Commissioner). Smathers in Miami should be beaten--all of them should be beat. Candidates in Jacksonville against Peterson.

VIRGINIA:

The situation very messed up because of liberals wanting to wait until gubernatorial race in 1949. Everything needed. Everything looks hopeless.

Negro vote will reach the figure this year throughout the south of one million. AFL and CIO are working informally with AFL putting out ten times previous energy. Labor vote is increasing heavily.

Democratic Party split wide open in every southern state. In other words the objective conditions for liberal victories are by and large greater

than any time during the last thirty years but they require candidates of the Folsom type that can obtain the rural poor vote. Big problem is to speed up the mass enfranchisement of negroes and whites plus fighting candidates.

NOTE:

I will keep you posted on everything that comes across my desk. And I wish that whenever you are going to be in the Washington vicinity you would let me hear from you.

N.b.-N.b.--Please every possible assistance for Virgil Connor.