

December 24, 1949

Memo for Claude Pepper:

In passing through Clearwater en route to Havana and Jamaica, naturally I am thinking of you. Several items occur:

1--You have had a good year and have done good work. It is not necessary to say that Truman has moved toward you. The fortunate geographical fact that he goes to Key West naturally made you his official host and gave color to the Truman-Pepper hyphen. Now is the time for you to rest. You always will be the man on the white horse. But the horse is weary and needs both water and hay. You have ridden too fast for the average Florida voter. It is an axiom in newspaper publishing that a liberal newspaper must not function more than two years ahead of the average mind. I feel that you are about four years out in front. And 1952 is but two years away.

2--The real significance in the life of all of us is to keep the peace. Without that the welfare state and the Fair Deal and the memories of the New Deal and the Big Stick days of the Republican Theodore Roosevelt become out a mockery. All shall perish in the wastage of our natural resources and the horrible ascendancy of the men at war. We shall have more nearly a security state in which the present name calling shall be as a pea shooter to a machine gun. Probably we are further from a world state than at any time since 1776. This in the present acute day.

3--In the long run of course there shall be a world of peace. It is ours to hold the line not in the folly of a Wallace nor in the fear of the petty and the mean in high places. But you as a division commander--head of shock troops for peace--have so much that you should do in the next ten years that I trust you will not be cut off from the main line of liberalism by one of these waves of black reaction.

4--Some working thoughts: Cultivate your people. Listen to your people. Feel and act within the LIMITS of thought comprehensible to the average Florida voter. The great Morris lost touch. His last note was to me at Chicago. Oscar Chapman is a reasonably fair colleague, bigger than any self line and yet extremely practical in seeing that he has enough water and beans for every political trip. I have found him an honest, able, and reliable colleague. You, he, and some of the new ones I do not know who have shaken Truman's political articulations are the hope of more than 120 million people whom you nationally represent. The thing is bigger than Party lines. Your great Republicrat speech made immediately after Taft and Barkley shook hands at the end of a Senate session, was the true beginning. And now with Byrnes and Baruch no longer crossing the grass to the White House, the mind of Truman may become sublimated up to the dignity of his responsibility.

Granted that no political leader can be other than practical as he moves daily in a maze of idealism and prejudice, it is those men such as you and Chapman who must hold the line by holding his hand and keeping the smaller minds from over-emphasis of the words "practical" and "safe." But to you I say finally, see the average voter of Florida first and

always as you move along and I would say it to John of Clearwater. No compromise with dishonesty; every consideration for the reader and his mental limits. For all human beings are of the earth. Their lives, their fears, their responsibilities for family safety, even their formal religion and hope for everlasting life is mixed up in this maze we seek to navigate.

5--I realize you probably will not be able to fly to Jamaica alone or with John for a week's rest. But when I return about February 20th, I think these times call for a day's black-out either in Florida or in Washington, Virginia. From there I go to India, Indonesia, and possibly HongKong and Manila with perhaps a stop over at Teheran and Cairo. In the past eight months I have covered again western and central Europe including Munich, Vienna, and Trieste--also South America, living a bit with the common people in Rio, interior Brasil, Argentina, Chile, and Peru. Within the coming month I shall re-check South America. John will tell you whom I now believe to be the current yes and no man in Russia. We should collect and sort out all information possible about this man. I believe he owns the body of power in Russia; that he is essentially a Russian nationalist; that his eyes have been influenced by the oriental Stalin, and that the next two or three years will find him strong enough in Moscow power to curb the Reds who want to go to the Atlantic before they consolidate the Far East. If this man and that policy slow up those who would have world revolution now through a march westward, we may have ten years in the fight for world peace. For the outposts of Japan, Australia, and the decision of both groups in India to go along with the west forms a defense area immeasurably stronger than that which existed before World War II and the memory of Pearl Harbor.

*Malenkov*

Again, my dear friend, give your horse water and a rest in Florida.

CEM

NOTE: We are not Great Britain. Historically within the last 100 years we have reached our public opinion maximum for humanity about 20 years AFTER western Europe. The reason is simply that they are more highly industrialized and have no great middle class, and the middle class is the final vote in America. And particularly remember relative prosperity means relative stability and relatively a drag in accomplishment as all permanent philosophers say it, "No mass movement occurs except through hunger or discomfort or fanaticism." Witness Mohammed, the French Revolution, and the British welfare drive.

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April 10, 1950

Senator Claude Pepper, West Palm Beach, Florida.

Leaving for Texas. Feel that I want to say hello through personal messenger to be sure that I am not careless or neglectful of a friend.

<sup>sent by you</sup>  
whom I am <sup>1</sup> today or tomorrow, I do not want to be  
careless or neglectful.

Charles Marsh

April 10, 1950

The Honorable Claude Pepper,  
Tallahassee, Florida.

Dear Claude:

Franc Shor is about the same temperament as George Reynolds whom you know as one of the Wallace first flight executives. George's brain is sound and his information is generally accurate.

Shor has been out of the country most of the time during the last ten years, with UNRRA and with the Reader's Digest in China and generally in the Far East. He is a little bit more conservative than Lattimore because he worked in the practical difficulties of trying to make Madame Chiang and the gang around her play straight handball.

The Reader's Digest got his resignation when they refused to print his series of articles to the effect that Chiang Chek was a bum and out no matter how much money we gave him.

You won't read much further so I will let Franc tell his own detail. Sufficient to say that I absolutely trust him and he is an able newspaper man and because my son John has not ability I ask Shor to shake your hand and get you on the phone to me when you are free and if I can help.

Sincerely,

Charles E. Marsh

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Sincerely,

Charles E. Marsh

THE CLEARWATER SUN

P. O. Box 419

CLEARWATER, FLORIDA

# 1950 DANGER--A

STATE  
LEADER  
PEPPER

## Sen. Pepper or Mr. Smathers

### AN EDITORIAL

On May the second the voters of Florida will choose between Claude Pepper and George Smathers a man to represent them in the United States Senate for the next six years.

For some time now we have been listening to and reading of Senator Pepper and Mr. Smathers presenting their cases to the voters as to why they should have this privilege.

Of the two it seems to us that Senator Pepper offers the strongest and most logical reasons why he should be elected. His campaign speeches are for the most part based on his record and what he has done for our state during his terms of office. Few can honestly deny that he has done much for Florida. In the future he should be able to do more.

The facts and the record speak for themselves and he has asked the voters to judge him on these grounds. Certainly he has made mistakes—who hasn't? But we think a man should be judged on his batting average and we think Pepper's has been good enough to keep him in the game for another six innings.

On the other hand Mr. Smathers, it seems to us, has for the most part based his campaign on fear—a fear of what would happen to Florida if the voters elect a man whom he claims has communist instincts. He cites Pepper's visit to Moscow, his talk with Stalin. Of course the man went to Moscow and talked with Stalin. We think a man charged with the responsibility of being a member of the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee should have made this trip, but this doesn't make him a communist—it makes him a man of vision. After all, a man's judgment is no better than his information and we hope that not only Pepper but everyone else in Washington in responsible positions base their decisions on intelligent information and not selfishness or name-calling like little boys.

But Mr. Smathers would have you believe that Senator Pepper is a dangerous man because of this trip and indicates that if the senator is reelected the people of Florida are doomed. Well, someone said one day "The only thing we have to fear is fear itself."

Therefore may we say to the voters of Florida that we sincerely hope they allow Senator Pepper to continue his services to them after May the second.

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## Bulletin!

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., April 22—(AP)—A negro house in a residential district where whites

## LABOR PICTURE

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**DREW PEARSON**  
WASHINGTON MERRY - GO - ROUND  
1312 TWENTY-NINTH ST., WASHINGTON 7, D. C.

VIA SPECIAL DELIVERY

April 25, 1950

Mr. Charles Marsh  
6 East 92 Street  
New York, N.Y.

Dear Charles,

Here's the column.

Regards,



Drew Pearson

DP/od

THURSDAY, APRIL 27, 1950

THE WASHINGTON MERRY-GO-ROUND  
Drew Pearson

Washington.-- Today's column is going to make my name mud with a lot of my good friends, the newspaper publishers of Florida. For one of the most interesting senatorial campaigns in the nation is going on in their state, with 90 per cent of the newspapers battling hard for one candidate. And when you see all the boys ganging up on one side, I can't resist the good old American custom of seeing what's to be said on the other side.

The Florida election battle is not only a lollipaloosa, but it has all the earmarks of another Dewey-Truman campaign.

On one side, and fighting for his life is gnarled, weather-beaten Sen. Claude Pepper with 14 years in the Senate at stake, with his chief financial support from labor, and waging an effective, tireless, whistle-stop campaign almost identical to Truman's. Like Truman's, it is aimed at offsetting the solid wall of bad publicity given him by the press.

On the other side is popular, handsome Congressman George Smathers, with four years in Congress, whose chief financial support has come from big-money Republicans who spend their winters in Florida and register as nominal Democrats. No mean campaigner himself, Smathers has made a lot of political hay.

The Dewey-Truman comparison is so striking that it caused the staid New York Times to comment:

"The Senatorial challenger is a young and handsome man with a rich, well-trained voice, and a reporter might almost imagine he was back on the 'Victory Special' listening to a rear-platform speech by Gov. Thomas E. Dewey.

-- ECHOES OF DEWEY TRAIN --

"The content of the speeches is almost identical. Communism is the main issue....and like Gov. Dewey, Representative Smathers is seeking election without outlining in any detail the program and policies he would follow if elected.

"Another echo of the Dewey train," continues The Times, "is that reporters traveling with Mr. Smathers complain because he uses the same speech every day and they are finding it hard after five weeks to find a 'new lead' for the next day's paper."

But since few Floridians read the New York Times, most Florida newspaper readers get the impression that Claude Pepper is not only Stalin's closest buddy but that he is already a gone gosling.

Just to add to his bad press, the Saturday Evening Post, long a force in Republican politics, deftly scheduled a feature story on Pepper's opponent just ten days before the Florida primary.

Probably most of those who read it did not realize that the Saturday Evening Post averages \$50,000 worth of advertising from the Du Ponts and affiliated companies every issue and that one branch of the Du Pont family is heavily supporting Smathers.

-- STRAIGHT GOP-DEMO FIGHT --

Real fact about the Pepper-Smathers fight, however, is that it's a straight, down-the-line Republican-Democratic battle. When you get away from all the dust-throwing, the issues are clear and clean-cut as between the Truman liberals and the Republican conservatives. This is probably a healthy thing, because ordinarily an election in Florida doesn't mean much beyond a choice of personalities.

Long ago young Smathers began conferring with ex-Speaker Joe Martin, leading Republican in the House of Representatives. Long ago, he began quietly accumulating GOP money and GOP support.

And as that support accumulated, Smathers began swining over to the Republican side of the Congressional aisle. When he first came to Congress, Smathers was hailed as the liberal Sir Galihad of the South. But gradually he began voting the opposite.

While casting his vote against slum clearance, he simultaneously promoted the real estate lobby's idea of increasing the amount they could borrow from Uncle Sam up to \$750,000. Thus Smathers voted to deny the poor man low-cost housing, but give the big real estate operator the right to use three-quarters of a million dollars of the taxpayer's money, 90 per cent guaranteed by Uncle Sam.

Smathers also voted against Social Security for traveling salesmen and others, against the minimum wage, and, perhaps most important of all, for the bottling of bills in the Rules Committee instead of open debate on the floor of the House.

On various occasions Smathers even voted to override Truman's veto on important party policies. Pepper, on the other hand, has voted consistently for fair deal projects.

-- STALIN'S PAL --

Most interesting issue in the Florida battle, however, is Smathers' charge that Pepper is a pal of Joe Stalin's. He says -- to quote the Saturday Evening Post -- that "By the summer of 1945" he, Smathers, was convinced someone should run against Pepper; that "he couldn't get out of his craw that Pepper had become so involved with Henry Wallace."

The real fact, however, is that well after the summer of 1945-- on Jan. 16, 1946, to be exact -- Smathers wrote a letter to Pepper's secretary referring to "our good friend Henry Wallace."

It was also after the summer of 1945, when he now says he decided Pepper must be defeated, that Smathers actually was writing Pepper a stream of letters asking his aid in getting him out of the Marines, in getting him a job as Assistant U.S. Attorney, and later in helping him run for Congress.

In other words, Smathers was largely built up by the unsuspecting Senator whom he is now trying to defeat.

To read the Saturday Evening Post's glowing account of George Smathers one would think that the Justice Department was clamoring to hire him and that the Florida public couldn't wait for him to get out of the Marines and run for Congress. But the letters which the young Marine Corps officer wrote to "Dear Claude" tell a different story. They show how Smathers wanted to get out of the Marines while the Japanese war was still on, and even asked Pepper to hold up a naval improvement at Key West so his opponent, Congressman Cannon, would not get credit for it.

Despite this, Smathers now tells Florida voters how, in the fall of 1945 --the exact time he was pleading with Pepper for help-- he got disgusted with Pepper's stand on Russia and decided he should be defeated.

It was in the summer of 1945, just after Truman conferred with Stalin at Potsdam that Pepper also conferred with Stalin, later writing an interview widely published in the metropolitan press.

Pepper probably regrets that interview more than anything else in his political life. But at that time many people were visiting Moscow and it was not considered a crime to urge U.S.A.-U.S.S.R. cooperation.

The payoff is that on April 22, 1946, six months after Pepper's much-touted interview, George Smathers himself said: "We have got to work with Russia and all the nations of the world if we are going to work out a satisfactory peace."