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ARNOLD NEWMAN

LIFE'S COVER

Adlai E. Stevenson, Democratic nominee for president, was born in Los Angeles in 1900. When he was 6 his family moved back to the family home in Illinois (pp. 55-63). He went to Princeton University (1922) and Harvard and Northwestern law schools. In 1933 he helped organize the New Deal farm program. Later he was assistant to Secretary of the Navy Knox and to Secretaries of State Stettinius and Byrnes. In 1948 he won his first elective office, the governorship of Illinois.

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THE SOUTH SPEAKS: SENATOR OLIN JOHNSTON REBUTS ITS CRITICS



AT IMPROMPTU FLOOR CAUCUS ILLINOIS BOSSES GRIMLY ARGUE THEIR NEXT MOVE.

THE DEMOCRATS DEBATE, LOUD IN ZEAL AND ANGER

It was going to be different this time. The Democrats had learned a lesson from the quarrel-ling Republicans. They said they wanted to streamline their 1952 convention—convened in the same vast, air-conditioned Chicago auditorium where the Republicans nominated Dwight D. Eisenhower for the presidency 10 days earlier. They said sessions would start on time, speeches would be brief. Everybody was expected to sing the same sweet song of party harmony. Above all, the Democrats said, it would be an open convention—no dictation

A GUIDE TO UNDERSTANDING A U.S. PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

DEMOCRATIC PARTY: The majority party since Roosevelt's New Deal (1932). Considered the U.S. "liberal" party (Jefferson, Wilson, F.D.R., Truman), it actually takes in Southern rightist "Dixiecrats," Northern leftist labor, many independents, tends to seek public welfare by law.

REPUBLICAN PARTY: The party of Lincoln and trust-busting Theodore Roosevelt, often called "G.O.P." (Grand Old Party). Now considered the "conservative" party (last president, Hoover), it likes free enterprise. Once "isolationist," increasingly "internationalist," run by moderates.

PRIMARY ELECTION: One in which voters, as party members, elect delegates to national party conventions or indicate their choice among party candidates seeking the presidential nomination.

STATE CONVENTION: A meeting of party members from local districts to choose state delegates to a national convention. Thirty-six states elect delegates this way, 15 elect them in primaries, some choose their delegates by both methods.

NATIONAL CONVENTION: A meeting of party delegates from all states (and U.S. territories) to formulate a statement of principles ("platform") and choose (by majority vote) the party's nominees for the presidency and vice presidency.

GENERAL ELECTION: Held every four years in November to elect president and vice president. Actually votes are cast in every state for electors pledged to a candidate. These electors formalize the result later in "electoral college," and the ballots are counted on Jan. 6 by Congress.

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LEFT TO RIGHT: JOSEPH GILL, RICHARD DALEY, BARNET HODES AND JACK ARVEY



THE PARTY SPEAKS: KEYNOTER DEVER BLASTS REPUBLICANS

from the White House or the party bosses.

But what actually happened proved there is still life in the unreformed and unregenerate Democrats. On the morning the convention opened, with unparalleled candor and rudeness the party's labor bosses guillotined the beloved and venerable 74-year-old Vice President Alben W. Barkley (*next page*), who had hoped to win the presidential nomination. That night a group of Young Turks—including Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr. (*p. 16*)—launched an attack on their more conservative colleagues from the

South, demanding a pledge of "party loyalty" from states which had voted the Democratic ticket for generations. In no time at all the Democrats were fighting just like 1952 Republicans as America sat in front of its TV sets.

As the uncaptured ranks fought with each other, the clear-eyed bosses decided to close in on the open convention. The five supposedly leading candidates were obviously inadequate—they would not win the presidency or save the party. So the bosses moved to a nominee who was detached from the convention

battles—Governor Adlai Stevenson of Illinois.

Though he had been little more than a name to most delegates, it had long been obvious that Stevenson would be the best candidate. But he was genuinely reluctant, proclaiming that he would answer only to a genuine draft. So the bosses obligingly forced the draft. To clinch things, a spokesman for Mr. Truman gave Stevenson the President's personal backing on the very first ballot. By such maneuvers the party's palace guard had found a strange bedfellow and a strong candidate (*p. 15*).

A KEFAUVER SUPPORTER BOOS, A RUSSELL FAN BREATHES DEFIANCE, F.D.R. JR. HAS A BAD MOMENT, SENATOR PAUL DOUGLAS DEFENDS THE KOREAN WAR





AVERELL HARRIMAN HUDDLES WITH LABOR MEN

THE PARTY PATRIARCH LOSES OUT TO LABOR

Powerful men of U.S. labor moved into the convention early, and their one effective move involved a candidacy: that of Vice President Barkley. Before the convention began, Barkley stock had skyrocketed with word that Harry Truman wanted him to be the nominee. Then Barkley heard disturbing news. Several influential labor chieftains, some of whom favored Candidate Harriman (above), had made anti-Barkley phone calls to the White House.

Barkley invited 10 of them to breakfast with him and tell him why. Said C.I.O.'s Political Action Committee boss, Jack Kroll, "The job of president is too much for a man of your age. . . ." Barkley replied, "I'm a very vigorous man. I'm like a man of 40." Said Auto Workers' President Walter Reuther, "Life teaches us that you sometimes have to hurt most the people you love most." Barkley thereupon announced he was withdrawing. Two nights later he addressed the convention, got a 64-minute ovation (below, right) that expressed the party's true affection for him. This was not only balm to his grievous wound but a rebuke to the labor strategists, who shortly saw some of their friends get a come-uppance (pp. 16, 17).



AT THE PEAK of his presidential boom Barkley toured various state delegation headquarters. Here

he has mounted a chair to speak to Massachusetts group as Mrs. Barkley stands modestly at his side.



BAD NEWS for Barkley came at the breakfast to which he had invited labor leaders. After hearing their decision, Barkley said, "I cannot conceive of this."



GREAT OVATION made Barkley bow and beam to every part of hall. Many delegates wept as he clipped off a 47-year political career with a final "Good-by."



DEEP IN DISCUSSIONS WITH DELEGATES AT CONVENTION, STEVENSON SHOWS (LEFT TO RIGHT) DEEP INTEREST, AMUSEMENT AND EYE-BULGING INTENSITY

THE UNWILLING HERO ADMITS HE IS STUCK

While the convention was awash in a welter of doubt and debate, the man who would later emerge as the dominant character appeared on the scene only briefly. Arriving by plane from Springfield, Ill. a few days before the convention began, Adlai Stevenson—delegate from Illinois' 13th district—reaffirmed to the press his unwillingness to run and deftly fended off the persuasions of the party bosses. At one point eavesdropping newsmen heard the governor deny to fellow Illinois Democrats that he was fit "mentally, temperamentally or physically" for the presidency. But the men who run the party are no novices at high-powered salesmanship. At the convention opening, Stevenson's welcoming address as governor of the host state was greeted by a sustained round of applause. Slowly but certainly Stevenson was being propelled into the nomination. "Do you believe that demonstration was staged?" asked Jack Arvey, the national committeeman from Illinois. "No," replied the governor, "I guess I'm stuck." Later that evening Stevenson joined his delegation in the convention hall, but for four suspenseful days he was in seclusion at a friend's Chicago home (below).

PONDERING AND STILL RELUCTANT, Stevenson, in his only floor appearance as a delegate,

assumes a worried attitude as he considers events propelling him toward the Democratic nomination.



ALONE at his quiet Chicago headquarters, Stevenson watches the convention maneuvers on TV set.



ROOSEVELT JR., a congressman from New York and supporter of Truman's Fair Deal, stands beneath his father's portrait as he speaks for the party firebrands ("Young Turks") during their bold attempt to capture control of the Democratic party. Their move failed.



SPREADING HIS COAT LIKE BAT WINGS, A HAPPY STEVENSON MAN

WHEN 'YOUNG TURKS' FAIL

Like their labor allies some extreme Fair Dealers also started an aggressive move (*left*). They tried to throw out three anti-Fair Deal delegations from Southern states, who refused to sign any pledge of party conformity. They succeeded only in putting the convention in an uproar. Even before the warring factions shook the amphitheater microphones, it was plain that what any good doctor would prescribe for the party was a candidate. The one really eligible man, Governor Stevenson, had all but declared himself out. But the pros renewed their efforts to nominate him.

An hour after Stevenson had appeared before the convention,



JOINS THE 30-MINUTE CELEBRATION FOLLOWING THE NOMINATION

PROS RUN THE BANDWAGON

Indiana's Governor Henry F. Schricker told a strategy meeting he would nominate Stevenson—willing or not. He got eager support from other leaders. Pittsburgh's mayor and boss Dave Lawrence named a Stevenson floor manager. Correspondents began conceding Stevenson's nomination that very night.

Actually it was not that easy. Front-running Estes Kefauver still had 340 votes. But Kefauver had alienated the South by voting with the Young Turks. On the third ballot New York, which had given Averell Harriman 83 $\frac{1}{4}$ votes, threw in with Stevenson and cinched the nomination for the unwilling candidate from Illinois.



CONTROL came when the newly organized Stevenson forces decided that antiloyalty-pledge delegations from the South should be seated for the sake of party harmony. Here Chairman Sam Rayburn (left) is about to recognize a delegate from vote-switching Illinois.



VICTORY found Democratic party bigwigs on hand for Stevenson's acceptance speech. Front to rear: "Fishbait" Miller, Joe Gill (with glasses), Jack Arvey, Rayburn, President Truman, National Committee Chairman McKinney and Chicago Mayor Kennelly.



BEATEN CANDIDATE Estes Kefauver sits in a daze on speaker's platform during last ballot. He

had attempted to make withdrawal speech during voting but had been refused by Chairman Rayburn.



NANCY KEFAUVER WATCHES FATEFUL BALLOTING

THE END IS DESPAIR, AN ELOQUENT VICTORY

The climax of the convention brought unity of a sort to the party, but it left Estes Kefauver a glassy-eyed casualty. In the hysterical wind-up of his exhaustive six-month campaign he had spent five 20-hour days trying to stop the drift to Stevenson. His appearance on the platform to acknowledge the end was a study in despair.

Two hours later Adlai Stevenson, with almost biblical eloquence, accepted the call of the convention. Said he of the nomination, "... From such dread responsibility one does not shrink in fear, in self-interest or in false humility. So, 'if this cup may not pass away from me except I drink it, Thy will be done.'"

As their vice-presidential nominee, the ballot-weary delegates unanimously chose John Sparkman, 52-year-old senator from Alabama. On the platform (below) Sparkman, hopefully a compromise candidate between the Fair Dealers and the South, gave a manual demonstration of the sort of political ambidexterity he would have to provide for Stevenson in the coming campaign.



DEMOCRATIC DIGITS are variously waved near Stevenson. President Truman is telling delegates he wants to hear the candidate, and ticket-mate Sparkman



is making double victory sign. Sparkman, son of poor tenant farmers, has been delegate to U.N., is member of Senate banking and foreign relations committees.



AFTER A NIGHT TO REMEMBER two of nominee's three sons (see pp. 55-63) smile from friend's home at 4:30 a.m. John Fell Stevenson (right) was

still thrilled by applause that followed father's acceptance. Borden was not so sure. Asked how it felt to appear on platform, he said, "I like it better here."

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ARNOLD NEWMAN

LIFE'S COVER

Adlai E. Stevenson, Democratic nominee for president, was born in Los Angeles in 1900. When he was 6 his family moved back to the family home in Illinois (pp. 55-63). He went to Princeton University (1922) and Harvard and Northwestern law schools. In 1933 he helped organize the New Deal farm program. Later he was assistant to Secretary of the Navy Knox and to Secretaries of State Stettinius and Byrnes. In 1948 he won his first elective office, the governorship of Illinois.

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THE SOUTH SPEAKS: SENATOR OLIN JOHNSTON REBUTS ITS CRITICS



AT IMPROMPTU FLOOR CAUCUS ILLINOIS BOSSES GRIMLY ARGUE THEIR NEXT MOVE.

THE DEMOCRATS DEBATE, LOUD IN ZEAL AND ANGER

It was going to be different this time. The Democrats had learned a lesson from the quarrel-ling Republicans. They said they wanted to streamline their 1952 convention—convened in the same vast, air-conditioned Chicago auditorium where the Republicans nominated Dwight D. Eisenhower for the presidency 10 days earlier. They said sessions would start on time, speeches would be brief. Everybody was expected to sing the same sweet song of party harmony. Above all, the Democrats said, it would be an open convention—no dictation

A GUIDE TO UNDERSTANDING A U.S. PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

DEMOCRATIC PARTY: The majority party since Roosevelt's New Deal (1932). Considered the U.S. "liberal" party (Jefferson, Wilson, F.D.R., Truman), it actually takes in Southern rightist "Dixiecrats," Northern leftist labor, many independents, tends to seek public welfare by law.

REPUBLICAN PARTY: The party of Lincoln and trust-busting Theodore Roosevelt, often called "G.O.P." (Grand Old Party). Now considered the "conservative" party (last president, Hoover), it likes free enterprise. Once "isolationist," increasingly "internationalist," run by moderates.

PRIMARY ELECTION: One in which voters, as party members, elect delegates to national party conventions or indicate their choice among party candidates seeking the presidential nomination.

STATE CONVENTION: A meeting of party members from local districts to choose state delegates to a national convention. Thirty-six states elect delegates this way, 15 elect them in primaries, some choose their delegates by both methods.

NATIONAL CONVENTION: A meeting of party delegates from all states (and U.S. territories) to formulate a statement of principles ("platform") and choose (by majority vote) the party's nominees for the presidency and vice presidency.

GENERAL ELECTION: Held every four years in November to elect president and vice president. Actually votes are cast in every state for electors pledged to a candidate. These electors formalize the result later in "electoral college," and the ballots are counted on Jan. 6 by Congress.

CONVENTION FACES: MRS. ROOSEVELT SALUTES,



LIFE

INTERNATIONAL EDITION

Vol. 13, No. 4

August 25, 1952



LEFT TO RIGHT: JOSEPH GILL, RICHARD DALEY, BARNET HODES AND JACK ARVEY



THE PARTY SPEAKS: KEYNOTER DEVER BLASTS REPUBLICANS

from the White House or the party bosses.

But what actually happened proved there is still life in the unreformed and unregenerate Democrats. On the morning the convention opened, with unparalleled candor and rudeness the party's labor bosses guillotined the beloved and venerable 74-year-old Vice President Alben W. Barkley (*next page*), who had hoped to win the presidential nomination. That night a group of Young Turks—including Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr. (*p. 16*)—launched an attack on their more conservative colleagues from the

South, demanding a pledge of "party loyalty" from states which had voted the Democratic ticket for generations. In no time at all the Democrats were fighting just like 1952 Republicans as America sat in front of its TV sets.

As the uncaptured ranks fought with each other, the clear-eyed bosses decided to close in on the open convention. The five supposedly leading candidates were obviously inadequate—they would not win the presidency or save the party. So the bosses moved to a nominee who was detached from the convention

battles—Governor Adlai Stevenson of Illinois.

Though he had been little more than a name to most delegates, it had long been obvious that Stevenson would be the best candidate. But he was genuinely reluctant, proclaiming that he would answer only to a genuine draft. So the bosses obligingly forced the draft. To clinch things, a spokesman for Mr. Truman gave Stevenson the President's personal backing on the very first ballot. By such maneuvers the party's palace guard had found a strange bedfellow and a strong candidate (*p. 15*).

A KEFAUVER SUPPORTER BOOS, A RUSSELL FAN BREATHES DEFIANCE, F.D.R. JR. HAS A BAD MOMENT, SENATOR PAUL DOUGLAS DEFENDS THE KOREAN WAR





AVERELL HARRIMAN HUDDLES WITH LABOR MEN

THE PARTY PATRIARCH LOSES OUT TO LABOR

Powerful men of U.S. labor moved into the convention early, and their one effective move involved a candidacy: that of Vice President Barkley. Before the convention began, Barkley stock had skyrocketed with word that Harry Truman wanted him to be the nominee. Then Barkley heard disturbing news. Several influential labor chieftains, some of whom favored Candidate Harriman (*above*), had made anti-Barkley phone calls to the White House.

Barkley invited 10 of them to breakfast with him and tell him why. Said C.I.O.'s Political Action Committee boss, Jack Kroll, "The job of president is too much for a man of your age. . . ." Barkley replied, "I'm a very vigorous man. I'm like a man of 40." Said Auto Workers' President Walter Reuther, "Life teaches us that you sometimes have to hurt most the people you love most." Barkley thereupon announced he was withdrawing. Two nights later he addressed the convention, got a 64-minute ovation (*below, right*) that expressed the party's true affection for him. This was not only balm to his grievous wound but a rebuke to the labor strategists, who shortly saw some of their friends get a come-uppance (pp. 16, 17).



AT THE PEAK of his presidential boom Barkley toured various state delegation headquarters. Here

he has mounted a chair to speak to Massachusetts group as Mrs. Barkley stands modestly at his side.



BAD NEWS for Barkley came at the breakfast to which he had invited labor leaders. After hearing their decision, Barkley said, "I cannot conceive of this."



GREAT OVATION made Barkley bow and beam to every part of hall. Many delegates wept as he clipped off a 47-year political career with a final "Good-by."



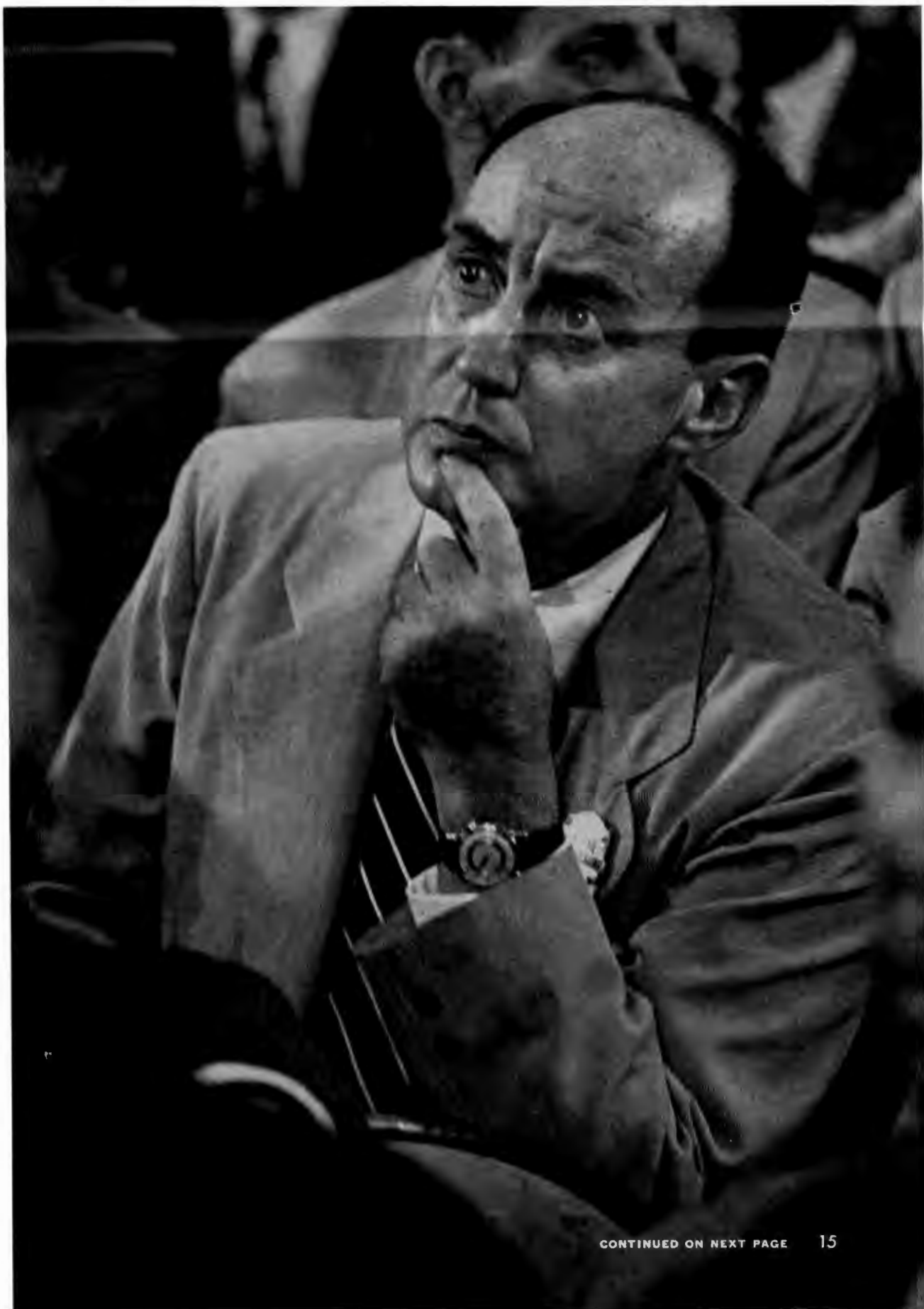
DEEP IN DISCUSSIONS WITH DELEGATES AT CONVENTION, STEVENSON SHOWS (LEFT TO RIGHT) DEEP INTEREST, AMUSEMENT AND EYE-BULGING INTENSITY

THE UNWILLING HERO ADMITS HE IS STUCK

While the convention was awash in a welter of doubt and debate, the man who would later emerge as the dominant character appeared on the scene only briefly. Arriving by plane from Springfield, Ill. a few days before the convention began, Adlai Stevenson—delegate from Illinois' 13th district—reaffirmed to the press his unwillingness to run and deftly fended off the persuasions of the party bosses. At one point eavesdropping newsmen heard the governor deny to fellow Illinois Democrats that he was fit "mentally, temperamentally or physically" for the presidency. But the men who run the party are no novices at high-powered salesmanship. At the convention opening, Stevenson's welcoming address as governor of the host state was greeted by a sustained round of applause. Slowly but certainly Stevenson was being propelled into the nomination. "Do you believe that demonstration was staged?" asked Jack Arvey, the national committeeman from Illinois. "No," replied the governor, "I guess I'm stuck." Later that evening Stevenson joined his delegation in the convention hall, but for four suspenseful days he was in seclusion at a friend's Chicago home (below).

PONDERING AND STILL RELUCTANT, Stevenson, in his only floor appearance as a delegate,

assumes a worried attitude as he considers events propelling him toward the Democratic nomination.



ALONE at his quiet Chicago headquarters, Stevenson watches the convention maneuvers on TV set.



ROOSEVELT JR., a congressman from New York and supporter of Truman's Fair Deal, stands beneath his father's portrait as he speaks for the party firebrands ("Young Turks") during their bold attempt to capture control of the Democratic party. Their move failed.



SPREADING HIS COAT LIKE BAT WINGS, A HAPPY STEVENSON MAN

WHEN 'YOUNG TURKS' FAIL

Like their labor allies some extreme Fair Dealers also started an aggressive move (*left*). They tried to throw out three anti-Fair Deal delegations from Southern states, who refused to sign any pledge of party conformity. They succeeded only in putting the convention in an uproar. Even before the warring factions shook the amphitheater microphones, it was plain that what any good doctor would prescribe for the party was a candidate. The one really eligible man, Governor Stevenson, had all but declared himself out. But the pros renewed their efforts to nominate him.

An hour after Stevenson had appeared before the convention,



JOINS THE 30-MINUTE CELEBRATION FOLLOWING THE NOMINATION

PROS RUN THE BANDWAGON

Indiana's Governor Henry F. Schricker told a strategy meeting he would nominate Stevenson—willing or not. He got eager support from other leaders. Pittsburgh's mayor and boss Dave Lawrence named a Stevenson floor manager. Correspondents began conceding Stevenson's nomination that very night.

Actually it was not that easy. Front-running Estes Kefauver still had 340 votes. But Kefauver had alienated the South by voting with the Young Turks. On the third ballot New York, which had given Averell Harriman 83½ votes, threw in with Stevenson and cinched the nomination for the unwilling candidate from Illinois.



CONTROL came when the newly organized Stevenson forces decided that antilyalty-pledge delegations from the South should be seated for the sake of party harmony. Here Chairman Sam Rayburn (left) is about to recognize a delegate from vote-switching Illinois.



VICTORY found Democratic party bigwigs on hand for Stevenson's acceptance speech. Front to rear: "Fishbait" Miller, Joe Gill (with glasses), Jack Arvey, Rayburn, President Truman, National Committee Chairman McKinney and Chicago Mayor Kennelly.



BEATEN CANDIDATE Estes Kefauver sits in a daze on speaker's platform during last ballot. He

had attempted to make withdrawal speech during voting but had been refused by Chairman Rayburn.



NANCY KEFAUVER WATCHES FATEFUL BALLOTING

THE END IS DESPAIR, AN ELOQUENT VICTORY

The climax of the convention brought unity of a sort to the party, but it left Estes Kefauver a glassy-eyed casualty. In the hysterical wind-up of his exhaustive six-month campaign he had spent five 20-hour days trying to stop the drift to Stevenson. His appearance on the platform to acknowledge the end was a study in despair.

Two hours later Adlai Stevenson, with almost biblical eloquence, accepted the call of the convention. Said he of the nomination, "... From such dread responsibility one does not shrink in fear, in self-interest or in false humility. So, 'if this cup may not pass away from me except I drink it, Thy will be done.'"

As their vice-presidential nominee, the ballot-weary delegates unanimously chose John Sparkman, 52-year-old senator from Alabama. On the platform (*below*) Sparkman, hopefully a compromise candidate between the Fair Dealers and the South, gave a manual demonstration of the sort of political ambidexterity he would have to provide for Stevenson in the coming campaign.



DEMOCRATIC DIGITS are variously waved near Stevenson. President Truman is telling delegates he wants to hear the candidate, and ticket-mate Sparkman



is making double victory sign. Sparkman, son of poor tenant farmers, has been delegate to U.N., is member of Senate banking and foreign relations committees.



AFTER A NIGHT TO REMEMBER two of nominee's three sons (see pp. 55-63) smile from friend's home at 4:30 a.m. John Fell Stevenson (right) was

still thrilled by applause that followed father's acceptance. Borden was not so sure. Asked how it felt to appear on platform, he said, "I like it better here."



AS EVA LAY DYING, THOUSANDS ATTENDED A MASS FOR HER IN THE RAIN, AND AFTER HER DEATH HALF A MILLION MOURNERS CROWDED TO SEE HER BODY.

GRIEF FOR EVITA PERON ENSHROUDS ARGENTINA



AN ACTRESS at 24, Eva was lively but untalented. She played bit parts.



AS INVALID, in a public appearance in June, she was pale and thin.

Eva Perón, surely one of the most extraordinary women the world has ever known, was dead at 33 of cancer, and Argentina was overwhelmed by grief. Day after day huge crowds choked the sidewalks near the Ministry of Labor in Buenos Aires, where her body lay in state. And still mourners swarmed into the city from every part of the nation.

Because her death had been momentarily expected for a month there was no sudden shock when the news was announced on July 28. At first the crowds were quiet and controlled although occasionally, in open expression of what the masses inwardly felt, a solitary man or woman (*above, right*) would burst through the police lines in a frenzy of sorrow. Later, when the initial numbness had passed away, at least four persons were killed and hundreds injured as the people struggled to approach her coffin. The sorrow of Argentina was one that no dictator, such as Eva's husband, President Juan Perón, could command to be displayed. It was genuine and it proved that little Eva, who had helped mightily to lead her people into dictatorship and toward bankruptcy, had also won their love. It was a paradox, but so was so much else about her—the friend of the *descamisados* (shirtless ones)—the laborers and the peasants—who spent \$40,000 a year on her personal wardrobe, the immensely powerful co-chief

Der Kaiserhof,
Bad Gastein,
Austria,
September 5, 1952

Dear Charlie:

As an ex-active Texan, I have an old man's curiosity as to whether Eisenhower or Stevenson will take Texas and why.

Could you drop me an air mail line to:
Claridge's, Brook Street, London, England, where
I will be on September 21st? Thanks.

Sincerely,

Charles E. Marsh

Mr. Charles E. Green,
The American Statesman,
Austin, Texas.

Der Kaiserhof,
Bad Gastein,
Austria,
September 5, 1952

Dear Charlie:

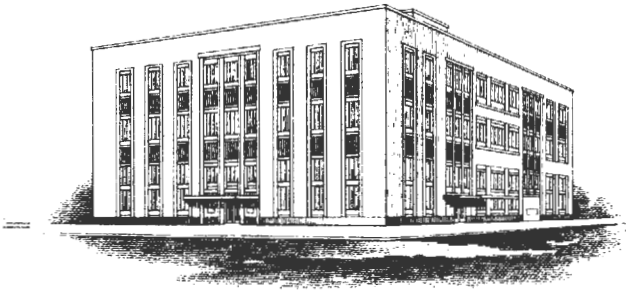
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Sincerely,

Charles E. Marsh

Mr. Charles E. Green,
The American Statesman,
Austin, Texas.



The Austin American
MORNING
The Austin Statesman
EVENING
Sunday American-Statesman
SUNDAY

SEVENTH AT COLORADO

AUSTIN, TEXAS

September 15, 1952

Mr. Charles E. Marsh
Claridge's
Brook Street
London, England

Dear Mr. Marsh:

I think possibly Stevenson will carry Texas but I am in the minority on that viewpoint as of the present time. Six weeks ago or two months ago, Eisenhower would have carried the state. I think the bickering among the political boys has disgusted a number of voters who might otherwise have voted for Eisenhower.

And Too, what happened four years ago is likely to happen again. A Texan makes up his mind to vote for Eisenhower and keeps it fixed in that direction until he gets hold of a ballot. Then he scratches the Republican and lets the Democrat stand pat.

If anyone but Eisenhower were running I would say it was a cinch for the Democrats. Truman's political dishonesty has disgusted any number of middle-of-the-roaders and even the mild liberals. There is a feeling that four years of the Republicans might clean off the barnacles and not really hurt the economy of the nation before the Democrats could take back over again. How strong that feeling is I don't know but I hear that sentiment nearly every day.

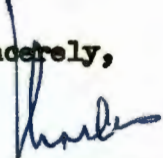
Governor Stevenson is missing the boat on Texas because his advice, I think, is coming from the leftist shouters who I don't think are too hot calling the shots. The tideland issue is entering the picture pretty big. It is becoming even bigger because Stevenson avoids any mention of the position of his own state of Illinois on the Great Lakes water basin.

Texans are a lot brighter than some people in the East give them credit for being. They know about navigable rivers and inland lakes, etc. On the tidelands and inland lakes and navigable rivers, it seems to me that there is a sensible answer that does not play into the hands of the extremists on either side. But I am sure Governor Stevenson is smart enough to realize that without my help.

If you find time, you might drop me a line on what you are finding out in your visits. I am sending this air mail in hopes that it will reach you in time. I don't know what it is worth but at least it is what I think.

Very best regards to all of you.

Sincerely,



Charles E. Green
Executive Editor

CEG/mw

*I miss seeing you & I miss
talking to you*



The Baytown Sun

P. O. BOX 90
BAYTOWN, TEXAS

FRED HARTMAN
EDITOR AND PUBLISHER

September 13, 1952

Mr. Charles E. Marsh
Claridge's
Brook Street
London, England

Dear Mr. Marsh:

I may be the worst chump in Texas on
November 5, but:

1. The campaign in Texas has developed into one with Senator Johnson and Speaker Rayburn leading the fight for Governor Stevenson and Governor Shivers and Senator-elect Daniel the big names refusing to support Stevenson but not actively supporting General Eisenhower. I believe Eisenhower will carry Texas.

2. I believe Eisenhower's personal popularity and the unpopularity of Washington give the general the edge nationally. I wouldn't bet a plug nickel I am right.

Very doubtfully yours,


Fred

FH/bmj

Der Kaiserhof,
Bad Gastein,
Austria,
September 5, 1952.

Dear Fred:

Over here in middle Europe we get our news from Time and Newsweek and the two International papers--The New York Times and the Herald Tribune.

Would you drop me an air mail letter to Claridge's, Brook Street, London, England, on these two questions:

- 1--Will Eisenhower Beat Stevenson in Texas?
- 2--How do you think the campaign is going nationally? What are your private betting odds if any?

I will be in London on September 21st.

Sincerely,

Charles E. Marsh

Mr. Fred Hartman,
The Baytown Sun,
Baytown, Texas.

Der Kaisernhof,
Bad Gastein,
Austria,
September 5, 1952.

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Sincerely,

Charles E. Marsh

Mr. Fred Hartman,
The Baytown Sun,
Baytown, Texas.

July 21, 1952

Arvey has counted noses on Stevenson. Barring a Truman inter-ference, he is certain that Stevenson is in. He has counted 500 reliable votes. His ballot plans count on the Barkley group, the Russell group, but above all with the merger of Illinois and Indiana, with the Irish Catholic eastern boss group now parking behind Harriman. If his plans mature, Stevenson is in.

The nomination probably will be made by Indiana and on the first ballot Stevenson may coast with less than 100 to show a genuine draft from scattered units well placed through the country. It is possible that even Illinois will refrain in modesty, giving Stevenson less than half and splitting the balance of its vote among favorite sons such as Barkley, and possibly Kerr and even a few to Russell and Williams of Michigan.

The second to fifth ballot: the draft continues with favorite sons everywhere who are looking for a vice presidency or Cabinet post, trading through their state bosses. People behind Barkley include the whisky group, with Farley representing Coca-Cola and DuPont, the old Liberty group and Jesse Jones and what remains of the old anti-third term against Roosevelt which included Hull and Farley, Hull seeking the Presidency and Farley the vice-presidency, backed by Jones, Garner, Byrd and the Republicrats of the Senate. Byrd never gave up the possibility of throwing the Presidency nomination into Congress and now has swallowed the Russell Taft-Hartley reversal rather than be counted out of everything. The Arvey-Flynn for Stevenson to this date has gone forward well oiled, with only one major mistake, WHICH NOW AND IMMEDIATELY MUST BE CAPITALIZED ON THE FLOOR ITSELF. It must be a dramatic issue of the bosses vs the people, the gangsters vs the people, and the money crowd for Eisenhower playing for a safe and conservative Democrat.

When Dewey put over Eisenhower, the first persons to rush to congratulate him on the floor were Rockefeller and Aldrich -- the Chase National Bank set-up. There was a Rockefeller and Aldrich running the Republican show for the big money crowd with Joe Bailey of Texas bribing the Democratic Senators and Foraker of Ohio passing the bucks out to Republican corruptionists in the Senate. These are father and son (and grandson) now tied up by marriage in Big Oil and the Chase bank. Shivers of Texas is not the corruptionist Bailey, but he does represent Big Oil (hence the Rockefeller and Mellon interests, and Sun and the Pew interests which center in Texas in Houston and Dallas with the tens of thousands of big company employees, lawyers, politicians and their satellites. So in the true essence Shivers in Texas operates as a Republicrat. One of them in my house as I write says: "I'm for Eisenhower and Stevenson. I'm a Republican nationally, and vote Democratic in the State. I went into the Republican primary for Eisenhower this time, and will be there in the Fall with half a million others for Ike to turn out this Truman-Washington mess."

Personally in Texas at the time just prior to the Democratic convention, I tested Shivers directly through one of his district leaders -- tested for compromise with Rayburn as a favorite son. Shivers answered: "No soap". "The convention is to be ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ uninstructed 100

percent against Truman. Our real loyalty test is 'are you against Trumanism to the end.' Connolly and Rayburn must go too, which is a clean sweep, and WE WILL KEEP OUR STATE CONVENTION OPEN SO WE CAN DECIDE OUR PITCH after Chicago. Russell is merely a rallying point of Truman and party leadership hatred. It is working very close with Arvey right now, with Lynden Johnson a liaison with Russell and Shivers with Russell the Southern liaison with Arvey, an Arvey, of course, playing close with Fitzpatrick and the Irish-Catholic group from New Jersey clear through to Maine, with its hard core in Massachusetts and Rhode Island. It is now quite obvious that Harriman has no personal strength in New York when the final drive for Stevenson passes Kefauver on the ballot. Then the Harriman stuff nicely packaged with the conservatives behind what is left of Barkley moved into the kill.

Actually only Truman can stop this set-up, and Arvey has pledged Big Money that "Stevenson is a truly safe, conservative, and sane fellow. You^x will be delighted with him."

Naturally it is very hard to consider Truman as switching from his personal humiliation in having been beaten in the primary by Kefauver. Lucas is the Senate leader who is intensely active in keeping up this flame on the lower levels.

While Mayor O'Dwyer can't come home and Costello et al cannot freely operate, there is Flynn on his bed in the Bronx pounding away holding Fitzpatrick in line to deliver in the all out against Kefauver. He has said within the past two weeks: "Anybody but Kefauver. He has hurt me personally and I cannot forgive him, Fitzpatrick."

So the deal boils down to two operating leaders at Chicago against Kefauver. The gangsters are more bitter and more afraid of Kefauver in the Presidency than Union Labor is against Taft-Hartley, and Arvey is merely using every anti-Kefauver element he can put together in his victorious orchestra.

Never forget that Big Money plays with both parties. Eastern money having won for Rockefeller and Aldrich with Eisenhower -- a true conservative -- the only possibility of an upset is a liberal leader like Kefauver who conceivably might beat their general with active Truman support. The Big Money true ticket is Stevenson and Russell. Since Russell has planned his southern leadership with Arvey and then cleared it with Truman, every act of Russell coincides with the above analysis.

Texas and Mississippi are entirely sympathetic, as much so as Georgia Democrats controlled by Public Utilities (Georgia Power, Coca-Cola and the DuPont group). It is Big Oil delivering Shivers first to Russell, then on to Arvey and Stevenson with the Eastern Catholics always conservative in leadership and tied up with Big Money. There is hardly a chance that Truman will wake up in time.

The only chance that I see is to dramatize the Texas-Mississippi set-up for what it is -- a march to Stevenson through Russell.

How can this be dramatized? The attached work-sheet is ^{my} ~~an~~ man's Idea.

July 21, 1952

BETWEEN NOW AND BALLOT ONE -- WORK SHEET:

Phone Truman Tuesday that only his vote and his leadership is the real issue. Kefauver should say simply that he realizes without Truman's friendly neutrality the jig is up and that Arvey will put Stevenson across with 100 from New England working through Fitzpatrick who will have 60 from New York, half of New Jersey, half of Pennsylvania with a block from Ohio, practically all of Indiana and probably a Michigan core, a Missouri group, and practically solid Illinois, and 200 scattering. If Truman wants that he certainly will be able to have it. But as far as Kefauver is concerned he can not go along since Russell and Arvey including the Hate Truman States of Virginia, Texas, and Mississippi are on the bag with Arvey on the final ballot. There is no beating the bush about this Truman vote. Kefauver should finish:

"I personally believe with you behind me or in front of me, we Democrats will win. But I can not take a Vice Presidency on a basically conservative ticket betraying the people. If you were to ask it personally of me I would take the Vice Presidency should you be drafted. But with no other."

Presuming the balloting will not begin before Friday there are three days to bring Truman and labor to Kefauver.

The only way to meet the Stevenson "draft" is to ~~shut~~ shut the windows on the Draft in the next three days--NOT AFTER THE BALLOTING STARTS.

The pitch is that Stevenson is a nice man and also is not a liar. Also that Stevenson would be the first to reject a draft by elements of Russellism and the anti-Truman blocks from Texas and Mississippi.

And then move in on Arvey with possibly Douglas or Moody spearheading with a bit of Humphrey and Roosevelt operating for Harriman. Then of course you have a sincere California for fireworks.

The case against Arvey:

Arvey controls the subcommittee and the committee which has endorsed the seating of the anti-Truman blocks of Texas and Mississippi. Arvey made the great mistake of personally sponsoring the Arvey Resolution to seat the anti-Truman groups of these states. This is exactly the route of Taft which was upset on the floor by the vigorous Dewey leadership. While there is no man in the present Convention with the experience and prestige of Dewey on the floor, there certainly is a sincere and nationwide protest against the Democratic Party being turned over to the conservative Truman-hating leaders. A rejection of Truman and his Party leadership is unthinkable. It makes Kefauver boil to see the people betrayed under the hypocrisy of an unwilling and basically anti-Truman leadership. It not only threatens an Eisenhower victory but puts back 20 years the progress of labor and Roosevelt and Truman. So Kefauver goes all out to seat the Truman loyalists from Mississippi and Texas. Not for himself nor for Truman but for the people and the welfare of the country. For that he is willing to sacrifice his own hopes.

Maury Maverick has the facts for the speeches from non-Texas supporters. George Reynolds has all of the facts on Mississippi from personal interviews with the Truman-haters who seek seats. Party disloyalty is truly a matter of fact and not a matter of mouth service in order to defeat the people. And the great effective victory of Dewey for Eisenhower was that he brought all this out in his fight before the convention against Taftism. The thing that sparked the Republicans to beat Taft on the Credentials issue was the simple thing this Convention is its own master. This convention must decide the future of the people versus the bosses. And the bosses are bossed by big money and entrenched privilege and aided from the slums of corruption who personally are afraid of labor and honest youth in Washington for the next four years. This insult to Truman in

the Arvey Resolution should not be charged to anyone except Arvey himself, and those with whom he serves to discredit those forces in Texas and Mississippi who vote for Truman against almost impossible odds. It is only by making Truman see and hear in Washington for two days this great fight in which he personally is dramatized by Kefauver that we have any chance of having Truman by Friday put Kefauver on his OK list. Should that message get over and be authentic it makes no difference whether Harriman is on the OK list and not too much if Stevenson were on it, but of course Truman now and before the ballot can ignore Stevenson and confine himself to active candidates. That leaves him Kefauver and Harriman. If he puts both names on his OK list Kefauver of course comes through. But if he puts only Harriman on his list Arvey and Fitzpatrick take Stevenson through and with the pay-off Russellism and the conservative republicrats and ex-dixiecrats.

Repeating again and again remember Arvey has made his great error. If all speakers are martialled to name it The Arvey Resolution to seek anti-Trumanites because he is his agreement with Russell on the balloting, then and then only will labor and the truly human elements of the Democratic Party come through as did Eisenhower on the floor against the committee. The terrific appeal is that only the convention is supreme and not the committee. It is doubtful whether Maury Maverick himself should be permitted--even if legal--to address the convention. Probably no Tennessee speaker unless perhaps Kefauver himself should talk on these resolutions. If the ball is given to Moody or Douglass there may be some votes for Kefauver and the same is true of Humphrey. and perhaps some strong Kefauver figure in Penna. Thus a work sheet with the final repeat, Truman has the vote and there is a gap between Truman and Kefauver yet to be filled and it is only three days to go.

NOTE: Senator Lehmann should be the strongest man and probably close for the Kefauver group. He is tremendously respected and knows the score on Stevenson.

June 9, 1952

Persons to carry measures often make the difference between success and failure.

No President can administer this vast government. He can do three major things:

- 1--Decide administrative policy and suggest legislation to carry it out.
- 2--He can appoint thousands of sub-administrative chiefs who altogether will constitute a good or bad administrative government.
- 3--As commander-in-chief of our military might he may appoint with military advisers and the consent of Congress the all-necessitous personnel for our defense.

As a condition for this high office I feel I should tell all voters how I feel on the necessity of appointments.

My guiding thought will be "the best man for the best place regardless of race, color, creed or Party allegiance."

Certainly the reverse policy "to the victor belongs the spoils" has no place in a modern Democracy fighting for world peace and prosperity through efficiency and government and lower taxes at home.

It would be unthinkable for any President facing a changing world war problem to retire an Eisenhower. It would be equally unthinkable not to seek advice from former Secretary of State Marshall or the expert Mr. Dulles who did such expert work in Japan. Who wouldn't use Truman to rehabilitate his own point four - the rehabilitation backward nations.

Only a know-it-all or the rankest egotist would do otherwise.

On the broader scale, not on the details of state rights, but on the broader detail of 48 states in harmony, as your President I would propose to attend the annual sessions of the Governors of your states at their own sessions to serve on problems peculiar and particular to the states. This concentration of federal power must not find enmity between state and nation, but must find harmony ~~face~~ face to face ~~and~~ frank discussion ^{with} all administrative chiefs.

These are all simple things and I hope simply said. Wherever there is a problem it must be solved by brains and patriotism. Above all only sound careful administration by an elected President and elected Governors should be given to the governed millions who work in government and state.

June 9, 1952

NOTES:

In a Wall Street, Washington dated, round-up on Speaker Rayburn as a candidate, Monroney (quoted and probably the basic informant) says that Rayburn will come along at the tenth ballot to win. There are about five active travellers under Monroney collecting second choice ballots based on 80 Congressmen having endorsed their Speaker. Monroney confidently believes Kefauver, Russell, and Harriman constitute mutual blocks which can not coalesce. Monroney states the only fear is that Stevenson may coalesce, but hopes to stop Stevenson before Stevenson can get going. Their strategy is to move Rayburn at the right time on to the speaking floor by virtue of his permanent Chairman position.

June 17, 1952

TAFT MOVES

It should be settled that Taft will steal what it takes to win.

Taft carries with him constantly a daily revised list of delegates by states. He does this work himself. He relies on nobody. This is his night chore on which he goes to sleep.

He has made some open mistakes, such as "possession is nine-tenths of the law" -- this referring to Texas.

Taft and his men, such as Ingalls, alternately sneer at the Eisenhower amateurs and use the old stuff that the pot shouldn't call the kettle black. Coleman of Wisconsin is quite cocky. He believes with Bertie McCormick that the Chicago zone can be held for Taft no matter what the Eisenhower parade for victory does. This means Wisconsin, Michigan and of course Indiana. Certainly these states are manned by veteran Taft organizers. Specifically Michigan, through its national committeeman, is concerning them because this man has to ride horses between Ford and Chrysler, with probably the yes-or-no political man for General Motors tipping the scale. My Detroit people report the probability of 60/40 for Eisenhower and the possibility of 70/30 if the national committeeman isn't militantly for Eisenhower.

Pennsylvania has a special technique in regard to Governor Fine with his probable 25 to 30 votes. MacArthur has visited Fine in person at his home and played with his children on the floor. Our people at the Eisenhower foreign meeting with the Pennsylvania delegation say that the General seems tired. One reporter, at least, was assigned to cover Fine throughout the meeting. We had the report that Fine will trade for all he is worth but apparently has not reached the trading stage.

The reporters said "He is a bum" but certainly knows how to play "hard to get." The boiled-down consensus I leave to the two people especially assigned, one to Eisenhower and one to Fine. They say Fine will not make any trade until Chicago develops the strength. He desperately wants to be on the winner and right now believes that Taft will make it. Taft's real strength of course is with the Old Liners who are inheriting: Pew of the Sun Company and the Grundy boys. I would give this state at the moment 50/50, with Fine to determine who shall have the 65/35. Duff personally has now about 8 or 10.

So Taft's problem is clarifying down to Michigan and Pennsylvania. The Maryland Governor's effort for a combination of Michigan, Pennsylvania and Maryland into a "Harmony Bloc" is merely considered by Taft as an Eisenhower move and has been given no consideration, either in Pennsylvania or Michigan. They have already counted Maryland's Governor and what he controls for Eisenhower.

It seems that Taft, having the organization, can give people like Fine and the Michigan national committeeman more stuff than Eisenhower's group can muster on the political level.

Concluding: unless an emotional upset swings 5% of the delegates from wavering Taftites to fervent Ikemen, the present bet is 2 to 1 for Taft to be elected.

KEFAUVER

Kefauver has nothing to trade with to get the majority. He only has about 400 votes. He very prudently has publicly stated several times that he has 300. But 400 maximum won't do it. The opposition groups are beautifully assembled by Master Truman himself. All kinds of political gossip rumors regarding Truman as a wavering or neutral person are so much bunk. He has been reasonably frank when talking inside with men like Fitzpatrick and McGrath -- the so-called Irish Catholic Democratic bosses. It is fairly certain that cooperation on the cardinal - bishop level is in hand. Apparently Phil Murray will go along and the conservative A.F. of L. Unions already are in the bag. And with Kefauver having no money other than to meet his current bills, he is unable to create an artificial Kefauver bandwagon assembly.

The only anti-Kefauver problem is the candidate. Stevenson's chances of beating Kefauver are certainly 2 to 1 or better. The Kefauver people of course have collected a large bunch of rumors all favorable to themselves. Some which the writer discounts, are expressions by Senator Douglas of Illinois and Senator Lehman of New York. Both say Stevenson is far to the right. Lehman having endorsed Harriman is anxious to further his man. He has been very open in stating that he would prefer Kefauver to Stevenson. Douglas has been even more open, hoping to influence Seapy Williams (Michigan delegation) through his closest political friend, Senator Moody. The spiritual force of Douglas over certain younger senators is well known. If practical, they would prefer Douglas as the nominee to anyone, including Kefauver. Douglas thinks his time may come after he sincerely gives everything he has got to Kefauver and that after he has given everything, Kefauver will throw to Douglas rather than to Stevenson. At least that is what repeated and different reports bring.

The Rayburn and Barkley groups are to be discounted except that they could be counted for Stevenson, but possibly not for Harriman.

So putting it on a purely political and technical delegate basis, there is less chance for Kefauver than for Eisenhower

The invisible element for both Eisenhower and Kefauver is that the people want both as against the professionals, who want neither. Anything can happen to upset pencil figures. Who would have said three months ago, for instance, that Kefauver could collect 400 votes? Who would have said he could have beat Truman in the North and close-finished Russell in Florida? And today with the whole Truman machine being herded into the Washington D.C. primary, and with labor and the negro-conscious vote pushing into the ballot boxes, jostling with the federal payroll boys, there is still a chance for a Kefauver miracle in tomorrow morning's papers.

Throughout the country there has been no enthusiasm for anybody in the Democratic party except Kefauver. That almost can be said in the Republican party for Eisenhower. But Eisenhower is a tough and single-shot opponent. The drift in the Democratic party is against Truman. It is "The King is dead, Long Live the King" business and Kefauver's strength reaches clear into the Truman Cabinet. And many district and state democratic leaders from the West and South and Middle West are acting independently. They want to keep the Democratic Party in office. They simply believe Kefauver would be a better vote getter and has proven it, than any other Democratic name, including Stevenson. And they know that Eisenhower, if nominated, would be an extremely tough nut. They also believe that Taft, if nominated, gives them a cinch with Stevenson.

There is no question but that Truman is very irritated with Stevenson. This is not a rumor. He has repeatedly said privately "Why doesn't that fellow fish or cut bait? What is he waiting for?" But Stevenson in a two-hour conversation less than ten days ago and knowing that he was speaking to a Truman go-between, said he positively won't do it. He said he would go along up to that point as a bagholder and a threat. He has a mild case of ulcers. That routine checkup last week was an ulcer checkup. His doctors did not tell him that he could not make the race, but the fact that he wanted the checkup was politically significant. Instead of regarding this as indicating that he wanted a physical checkup before shooting the works, psychologically I believe that he wanted a personal excuse for not running to add to his other reasons. The wife is still active. She says she will let him be Governor of Illinois, keeping his children in God's country, but she will be damned if she wants another bunch of Roosevelt kids and that she has something to say about it -- to the point of killing herself rather than have her life messed up further. Whether a Stevenson would believe her or even let it effect him if true, is one question.

The nuts to me is that he is keeping every possible asset for not running against Eisenhower that he can find. But I do say that it is 3 to 1 that you will find him opposing Taft if Taft makes it. He is merely say 1956 for me rather than Eisenhower now.

FOR FANTASY'S SAKE

The above is written with a sense of accuracy mixed with ironic pessimism but there is an invisible choir which I, for lack of a better word, shall call the inarticulate push of public opinion of individual souls.

The delegates of both parties reach Chicago pretty well set. They are either going to follow a particular state boss as he trades around or they have picked the candidates they truly want to vote for as individuals and as persons who have to go home from Chicago. It is conceivable, though a bit fantastic, that ten percent of the technically counted delegates in both parties might move toward independent thought and that emotion which we may call "I'm damned if I'm going to let anybody tell me." That is the drift that both Eisenhower and Kefauver have in their favor. Personally I cannot put a pencil to it but I have a feeling it would be fun to see it happen. And it is no more miraculous than Kefauver beating Truman in New Hampshire. Or the possibility of today that Kefauver beat Harriman in Washington D.C.

June 21, 1952

KEFAUVER ON FEPC;

Kefauver's position on FEPC is approximately expressed by General Eisenhower. i.e. That he will run on any plank that the Democratic Convention adopts, but personally favors trying to handle the FEPC problem through state action before attempting a compulsory Federal FEPC law.

In the south Eisenhower's stand is being widely acclaimed as being acceptable to the south. In Mississippi, The Jackson Daily News editorialized "that we now have an alternative to Russell, a man who sees eye to eye on State's Rights particularly FEPC." In the same breath they condemn Kefauver as unacceptable because of his FEPC stand. It is obvious that his stand is misrepresented in the south because they don't want him or perhaps any Democrat except Russell. What they actually want is a Republican and these rabid State's Rights folks in Louisiana, Mississippi, Georgia, and South Carolina are simply using FEPC as a cloak to try to put over the Republican Party whether it is Eisenhower or Taft.

At the Convention Kefauver and Kefauver's delegates on the Credentials Committee should, as far as possible, stay in the background. They should not fight loudly either for or against federal FEPC. They should take a mild and somewhat compromising attitude and say as little publicly as possible. Let the rabid southerners and the rabid Humphreys do the loud arguing. Kefauver, when the voting on nominees comes, will need to try to pull some southern votes and also get the Humphrey vote. Kefauver, himself, when asked at press conferences or on the radio, what his FEPC stand is, should simply quietly say that he has made himself clear on that and tell them to look at the record of his vote and his pronouncements when he first began his campaign; that he has a deep and abiding belief that progress is being made and will continue to be made; that he believes his election will in turn result in the election of a more liberal Congress which will help the FEPC situation very greatly and that he believes his liberal leadership will bring progress faster than will actually occur should an all-out FEPC plank be adopted.

In the south when he appears there, he might make it plain that his stand and General Eisenhower's on this subject are almost identical. His stand and Stevenson's are also very much alike.

June 21, 1952

PUTTING STEVENSON ON THE SPOT:

Every effort should be made to get Stevenson interviewed by the reporters who will ask the right questions and who are friendly with Kefauver, or at least not overly keen on Stevenson. Stevenson should be asked to clarify his stand on the following:

1--CIVIL RIGHTS: He should be asked to clarify his stand. Does he believe in a compulsory FEPC? Will he try to have one passed in Congress? Does he expect to rely wholly on state action?

2--TIDEWATERS: His position on this is a little muddled and he is trying to straddle. He should be asked flatly, "If oil is discovered in Lake Michigan who should be in control--Governor Stevenson of Illinois or Harry Truman in Washington?" He should not be allowed to answer just on California, Texas, and Louisiana, but pin him down on off-shore oil in Illinois.

3--FARM PRICE SUPPORTS: Stevenson is reported to favor only emergency price supports and not the regular system that is in effect now. He should be asked a lot of questions on what kind of farm price supports he will advocate and support if he is elected. He should be asked whether he favors the views of the Farm Bureau on farm price supports or whether he favors the views of the Farmers' Union on farm price supports.

4--PUBLIC POWER: His views on public power have been very hazy. He has indicated that he favors the government, through water power, producing electric power, but has been hedging on whether the government should be allowed to distribute this power once it is produced or whether it should be sold for distribution to private power companies. His views on this might make him unpopular in the south and southwest if they are brought clearly.

5--I was told in Louisiana and Mississippi that they would not take Stevenson because they considered him a Truman Stooge. Questions concerning his relations with Truman and Truman policies where he would have to come out very flat for Harry, might help in some quarters to embarrass him. On the other hand they might make him stronger with the Truman forces, so the questions would have to be very carefully picked.

June 21, 1952

PEOPLE IN CHARGE OF KEFAUVER AT CHICAGO:

Don't forget to impress on Kefauver that he should have a prominent Tennessean cutting his time and deciding who he sees at the Convention. As a matter of fact, his whole reception group should be carefully picked by Kefauver personally, but should definitely be in charge of somebody like Judge White of Nashville. The big city boys who are horning in now will run off votes if they are the reception committee. A guy named Nelles is in charge of physical arrangements at the Convention and is moving in very rapidly trying to plan Kefauver's every move and I think will do it unless Kefauver asserts himself very strongly and says flatly that he is picking the people to do that job.

I have talked with him about this the other night and he seemed to get the point and said he would get into it right away, but I think you should add your voice to it. He has asked me to help him at the Convention and I have told him that I would, but the man in charge should be his ablest guy from Tennessee. I can probably do him more good working with the delegations that I have been working on rather than spending all my time on his reception committee. I simply know that the crowd that are in charge of Convention arrangements, both the men and the women, are not what Kefauver should have receiving people in his suite and deciding who sees him.

Sullivan can not do this job because he will have to beoperating himself and the people he has picked just won't do. Kefauver himself, must make it ~~very~~ clear to Sullivan and his Convention arrangements committee that he, Kefauver, is running his personal part of the show.

As far as the personal staff around Kefauver at the Convention, I would suggest Judge White be in charge; that a man named Wallace who is his administrative assistant in the Senate, be assigned there; that his personal secretary Mrs. O'Donahue, should help. As a second woman in the reception office, I would suggest Mrs. Vivian Lynn who has a prominent place in his campaign headquarters. All these people are good at smelling out the phonies. There will have to be some other men, but they can be picked by Judge White or Kefauver.

July 1, 1952

DIALOGUE FOR TV:

Estes to Nancy--"How are you, Jenks?" (This presupposes a few millions will get a chuckle that Estes has a pet name for Nancy.)

Nancy--"What kind of jinks do you mean?"

Estes--"The super-jinks, darling."

Nancy--"I'm a little tired, but still standing." (This for women)

Estes--"Well, you said the other day some folks didn't know how I stand. Well, fire away."

Nancy--"How do you feel about Taft and Eisenhower?"

Estes--"I think this country has had adequate generals and admirals everywhere in modern wars. This goes for Eisenhower and McArthur. I think Taft is a hard-working Senator, sincere when in the Senate. But I think our business, Nancy, is to stay out of the Republican Party; stay in the Democratic Party, and fight for its policies and the folks."

Nancy--"What do you think about organized crime?"

Estes--"That's a phony question - a time waster. You might as well ask me how I stand on the American family and forest fires."

Nancy--"How do you stand on foreign affairs?"

Estes--"That's a good question. We're in the quick-sands with changing water traps produced by Moscow and some timid souls who are being hurt by the Big Bad Bear. Well, I'm not an isolationist, nor one of those people who say 'What are we waiting for? Let's drop the first bomb on Moscow.' And I truly believe that time strong preparation with fine leaders in the air, on land and on the sea being trained with our fighting millions, is all to the good."

Nancy--"What about the State Department?"

Estes--"The State Department has been used as a vote-getting football by perhaps nine out of ten of all the candidates. I think we would be lying to each other if we said that much good had not been done under the Marshall Plan, Point 4, the encouragement of the human plan for the United States of Western Europe. But I also think we should tell these folks what we have been saying to each other. I believe there is a lot of fancy pants waste in distributing aid on the diplomatic frontier--too many palaces for receptions--too much evacuation of space for ruling American Generals and Commissions in Germany with no direct knowledge of the common man's problems while the diplomats bicker ~~and waste~~ in millions of dollars which trickle down perhaps from the factory to the worker. Were I now as was Hoover after the First World War, I would have acted like Hoover. Factories had to be rebuilt to make jobs. But above all in the American tradition an American flag would be on every hill in a Europe where food tickets from the starving could promptly be filled out without regard to race, color, creed, or religion or politics. You just don't trade with hunger. Only good in the stomach can kill Communist unrest. I do not believe so many of our agents should come from the millionaire class of our State Department. You can't feed the starving in cutaway coats. I think this business of looking for a Communist behind every pillar in the State Department is bunk. It is not getting

policy done and perhaps it is throwing a reign of terror around folks who would do more for the folks of Western Europe if it were not for the McCarthys of our Senate--yes, even the

niggardly Tafts who promise money in our pockets in exchange for desperate men seeking food in Communist-lead riots."

Nancy--"What do you plan to do for the American family?"

Estes--"Well, that's a big one. I can only just touch on it. Every President in every action and in every proposal to Congress, in every veto, should ask himself, 'Am I aiding the health and pursuit of happiness of the average American family?' And when I say average, I mean average. The long uphill fight against special privilege everywhere goes on from century to century. We have made astonishing progress under the Democratic banner in such previous administrations as Jackson from our own Tennessee, and under the expert guidance of our Party leaders since 1932--a full twenty years. Should I be the one to haul down the flag? But in practice a President who knows that one out of six American workers is now employed by city, state, and national governments, should certainly set an example of pruning the trees of waste. If a true economy and efficient government is to be ours, we must save through efficiency as we eliminate useless numbers. The name "bureaucracy" is born from the French word 'put in a drawer.' And I say have every proposal on an open table with a decision openly arrived at. I say a strong check should be an economy check and should curb even Cabinet members. Everyone has a tendency to be a big shoe and have more secretaries than he needs. Many a Cabinet officer has been known to brag about how many men there are in his department. I'm for fewer and better men and saving money. In general I agree with a slow reform of our government, seeking simplicity and the cutting out of duplication. This is not a miracle job, and I'm not promising a forty per cent tax slash either. I am merely promising to work every day in every way to cut down waste when I see it. And without promising exact percentages and figures, I believe we can get at bureaucratic waste by abolishing duplicating bureaus and simplifying the delays of over-paper work and buck-passing. The American citizen is entitled to as much efficiency in Washington as time and honesty will permit. What we need here is a new look under the slogan 'the best man for the best job.' So will be my appointments and influence."

(NOTE: This speech in conclusion has nothing about labor and equal rights.)

Nancy--"What would you want in the platform?"

Estes--"I'm one of those folks who believe in two party government. I believe the function of the platform committee is to spend many heated hours hammering out the Party's opinions without fear or favor. No member of this committee should be blackmailed by any minority or group threatening secession. I believe that any candidate who has by necessity to seek or be drafted for the nomination should say in advance that he is proud to be the leader of his party as campaigner and nominee. I certainly do not think he should dictate to the 48 members of the committee. They are building the platform. The candidate must withdraw or accept this platform. I conceive it unfair to the Party for any aspiring nominee to look at the platform, then at himself, and then at the other candidates." "This is not a peep show, nor is it a sneak punch. It's an all out battle for the best man to bring honor to the Party without any reservations of Eisenhower or Taft as his opposite number, and without any reservations that the Party platform is good enough for him. That's Arvey and Fitzpatrick and the trading posts of the hotel rooms."

Nancy--"Don't you think you're a bit rough, Estes?"

Estes--"Well, darling, haven't we been roughed enough lately?"

June 30, 1952

NOTE:

If an MC is used at the Chicago Saturday Television, he might wind up the show with "You have enjoyed, I am sure, the husband and wife dialogue of the Kefauvers - Estes and Nancy. They would, of course, like to hear from you at the Senate Office Building in Washington, as to how you liked the program. I am suggesting on my own that you tell the delegates to the Convention from your District how you liked the program. We are all on the way to the big show in both Parties and certainly only Delegates can vote now."

July 1, 1952

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Nancy--"What about the State Department?"

Estes--"The State Department has been used as a vote-getting football by perhaps nine out of ten of all the candidates. I think we would be lying to each other if we said that much good had not been done under the Marshall Plan, Point 4, the encouragement of the human plan for the United States of Western Europe. But I also think we should tell these folks what we have been saying to each other. I believe there is a lot of fancy pants waste in distributing aid on the diplomatic frontier--too many palaces for receptions--too much evacuation of space for ruling American Generals and Commissions in Germany with no direct knowledge of the common man's problems while the diplomats bicker and trade in millions of dollars which trickle down perhaps from the factory to the worker. Were I now as was Hoover after the First World War, I would have acted like Hoover. Factories had to be rebuilt to make jobs. But above all in the American tradition an American flag would be on every hill in a Europe where food tickets from the starving could promptly be filled out without regard to race, color, creed, or religion or politics. You just don't trade with hunger. Only good in the stomach can kill Communist unrest. I do not believe so many of our agents should come from the millionaire class of our State Department. You can't feed the starving in cutaway coats. I think this business of looking for a Communist behind every pillar in the State Department is bunk. It is not getting

policy done and perhaps it is throwing a reign of terror around folks who would do more for the folks of Western Europe if it were not for the McCarthys of our Senate--yes, even the

niggardly Tafts who promise money in our pockets in exchange for desperate men seeking food in Communist-lead riots."

Nancy--"What do you plan to do for the American family?"

Estes--"Well, that's a big one. I can only just touch on it. Every President in every action and in every proposal to Congress, in every veto, should ask himself, 'Am I aiding the health and pursuit of happiness of the average American family?' And when I say average, I mean average. The long uphill fight against special privilege everywhere goes on from century to century. We have made astonishing progress under the Democratic banner in such previous administrations as Jackson from our own Tennessee, and under the expert guidance of our Party leaders since 1932--a full twenty years. Should I be the one to haul down the flag? But in practice a President who knows that one out of six American workers is now employed by city, state, and national governments, should certainly set an example of pruning the trees of waste. If a true economy and efficient government is to be ours, we must save through efficiency as we eliminate useless numbers. The name "bureaucracy" is born from the French word 'put in a drawer.' And I say have every proposal on an open table with a decision openly arrived at. I say a strong check should be an economy check and should curb even Cabinet members. Everyone has a tendency to be a big shoe and have more secretaries than he needs. Many a Cabinet officer has been known to brag about how many men there are in his department. I'm for fewer and better men and saving money. In general I agree with a slow reform of our government, seeking simplicity and the cutting out of duplication. This is not a miracle job, and I'm not promising a forty per cent tax slash either. I am merely promising to work every day in every way to cut down waste when I see it. And without promising exact percentages and figures, I believe we can get at bureaucratic waste by abolishing duplicating bureaus and simplifying the delays of over-paper work and buck-passing. The American citizen is entitled to as much efficiency in Washington as time and honesty will permit. What we need here is a new look under the slogan 'the best man for the best job.' So will be my appointments and influence."

(NOTE: This speech in conclusion has nothing about labor and equal rights.)

Nancy--"What would you want in the platform?"

Estes--"I'm one of those folks who believe in two party government. I believe the function of the platform committee is to spend many heated hours hammering out the Party's opinions without fear or favor. No member of this committee should be blackmailed by any minority or group threatening secession. I believe that any candidate who has by necessity to seek or be drafted for the nomination should say in advance that he is proud to be the leader of his party as campaigner and nominee. I certainly do not think he should dictate to the 48 members of the committee. They are building the platform. The candidate must withdraw or accept this platform. I conceive it unfair to the Party for any aspiring nominee to look at the platform, then at himself, and then at the other candidates." "This is not a peep show, nor is it a sneak punch. It's an all out battle for the best man to bring honor to the Party without any reservations of Eisenhower or Taft as his opposite number, and without any reservations that the Party platform is good enough for him. That's Arvey and Fitzpatrick and the trading posts of the hotel rooms."

Nancy--"Don't you think you're a bit rough, Estes?"

Estes--"Well, darling, haven't we been roughed enough lately?"

July 1, 1952

DIALOGUE FOR TV:

Estes to Nancy--"How are you, Jenks?" (This presupposes a few millions will get a chuckle that Estes has a pet name for Nancy.)

Nancy--"What kind of jinks do you mean?"

Estes--"The super-jinks, darling."

Nancy--"I'm a little tired, but still standing." (This for women)

Estes--"Well, you said the other day some folks didn't know how I stand. Well, fire away."

Nancy--"How do you feel about Taft and Eisenhower?"

Estes--"I think this country has had adequate generals and admirals everywhere in modern wars. This goes for Eisenhower and McArthur. I think Taft is a hard-working Senator, sincere when in the Senate. But I think our business, Nancy, is to stay out of the Republican Party; stay in the Democratic Party, and fight for its policies and the folks."

Nancy--"What do you think about organized crime?"

Estes--"That's a phony question - a time waster. You might as well ask me how I stand on the American family and forest fires."

Nancy--"How do you stand on foreign affairs?"

Estes--"That's a good question. We're in the quick-sands with changing water traps produced by Moscow and some timid souls who are being hurt by the Big Bad Bear. Well, I'm not an isolationist, nor one of those people who say 'What are we waiting for? Let's drop the first bomb on Moscow.' And I truly believe that time strong preparation with fine leaders in the air, on land and on the sea being trained with our fighting millions, is all to the good."

Nancy--"What about the State Department?"

Estes--"The State Department has been used as a vote-getting football by perhaps nine out of ten of all the candidates. I think we would be lying to each other if we said that much good had not been done under the Marshall Plan, Point 4, the encouragement of the human plan for the United States of Western Europe. But I also think we should tell these folks what we have been saying to each other. I believe there is a lot of fancy pants waste in distributing aid on the diplomatic frontier--too many palaces for receptions--too much evacuation of space for ruling American Generals and Commissions in Germany with no direct knowledge of the common man's problems while the diplomats bicker and trade in millions of dollars which trickle down perhaps from the factory to the worker. Were I now as was Hoover after the First World War, I would have acted like Hoover. Factories had to be rebuilt to make jobs. But above all in the American tradition an American flag would be on every hill in a Europe where food tickets from the starving could promptly be filled out without regard to race, color, creed, or religion or politics. You just don't trade with hunger. Only food in the stomach can kill Communist unrest. I do not believe so many of our agents should come from the millionaire class of our State Department. You can't feed the starving in cutaway coats. I think this business of looking for a Communist behind every pillar in the State Department is bunk. It is not getting

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Nancy--"Don't you think you're a bit rough, Estes?"

Estes--"Well, darling, haven't we been roughed enough lately?"

June 30, 1952

NOTE:

If an MC is used at the Chicago Saturday Television, he might wind up the show with "You have enjoyed, I am sure, the husband and wife dialogue of the Kefauvers - Estes and Nancy. They would, of course, like to hear from you at the Senate Office Building in Washington, as to how you liked the program. I am suggesting on my own that you tell the delegates to the Convention from your District how you liked the program. We are all on the way to the big show in both Parties and certainly only Delegates can vote now."

July 11, 1952

NOTES:

1--Harriman wants Secretary of State.

2--Russell may want first appointment to Supreme Court and to have veto on the Vice Presidency.

3--Turner of Oklahoma Secretary of Agriculture.

4--Governor of Oklahoma Ambassador to one of the ABC South American countries--Argentina, Brazil, or Chile but might settle for Venezuela, Colombia, or Peru.

5--Chapman, if loyal, best bet for Vice President--geographically and as vote getter.

July 11, 1952

NOTES:

This is presumed that you call a Press conference and the Press asks you.

"You asked what do I think of Eisenhower as a possible opponent. Eisenhower has the respect of all America as a military figure. It is probably his nomination is based upon this respect as we face a continuous uncertainty with Russia.

"So I believe that any Democrat nominated ~~to~~ oppose him will have the good sense to see that Eisenhower remains active in the job as our greatest military figure. Certainly I would.

"Every man in times like these must work for the country first and himself second. Would it not be absurd for the President of the United States in the next four years not to have the best military brains constantly at his right hand? Of course, Eisenhower must be retained."

This campaign, if it is Kefauver versus Eisenhower, will be based on two simple items. One for Eisenhower will be "He is the only one to face Stalin."

The one for Kefauver will be: "He is one of us folks and knows the answers to American prosperity and the rights of the plain people."

And then the rebuttal for Kefauver is millions of remarks like: "I don't want a policeman in the White House. I want a man who is one of us folks and not a uniform."

July 11, 1952

NOTE:

It is a question whether this statement should not be a basis of a Monday night speech in New York.

July 11, 1952

Now that we know where we are, let's go forward. General Eisenhower, as the nominee of Republicanism, will oppose the nominee of the Democratic Party next week. Naturally I hope it is I.

But no matter whom the Democrats nominate, I hope and pray that no Party partisanship will occur in the campaign which destroys by one iota the great value that General Eisenhower may be and should be to our country and the world.

We Democrats, without partisanship, should admit the greatness of General Eisenhower as a military figure. General Eisenhower has risen to the heights - to the climax of D-Day and the fall of Berlin.

Since a victorious peace, General Eisenhower has been called back from Columbia University by a Democratic President, to represent our proud country in Europe where military matters must be decided on the ground itself. Ably has General Eisenhower represented our country as head of the military forces of the United Nations.

And so as patriots first and Party members second I can conceive of no ~~nominee~~ of the Democratic Party, if victorious, retiring General Eisenhower to the comparative unimportance of a college campus.

And now as to those of us who believe that the Democratic Party is the true Party of humanity in America, I may with equal sincerity state my belief that General Eisenhower is not the most fortunate candidate for the Presidency. The General is a specialist of specialists. One does not elevate the greatest brain surgeon to the Presidency just because he is the greatest brain surgeon. One does not promote a Henry Kaiser or a Henry Ford to the Presidency just because he is a greater builder or a great auto manufacturer. And with profound conviction and in humbleness, I ask the American people to determine whether they want a General in the White House.

The greatest use that this country and the United Nations can

make of the special values of General Eisenhower, is at the base and in the front line of military decisions.

There are two determinations as to where and for what the General should be drafted by a victorious Democratic nominee. He should either be drafted for Secretary of Defense to be at the right hand in the Cabinet of a civilian Democratic President, or he should be sent back to the job from which he came--our first American military man on the European front.

Any other decision of a Democratic victor would be both unpatriotic and stupid. I, for one, do not believe at fist-shaking at Stalin nor at shrinking from Stalin. And evidently neither does General Eisenhower. Neither the General nor myself are in favor of a sneak punch by dropping bombs on Moscow nor are we of those who would cringe to the Russian menace.

And I, without ~~any~~ hesy, but with devout hope, see a civilian in the White House voted in the democratic processes, to the job of Commander-in-Chief, who immediately drafts General Eisenhower as his first and foremost adviser. And that, gentlemen, is my answer to Moscow and Stalin and the Communist evil.

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And I, without ~~hypocrisy~~, but with devout hope, see a civilian in the White House voted in the democratic processes, to the job of Commander-in-Chief, who immediately drafts General Eisenhower as his first and foremost adviser. And that, gentlemen, is my answer to Moscow and Stalin and the Communist evil.

July 1, 1952

NOTE:

This speech is probably the shortest nominating speech ever made at a National Convention for a major candidate. It is purposely so because Television is a new instrument.

It is presumed that the first speech will be for Russell and a southern flower of bombast reviewing Russell's history as Governor of Georgia, Senator, stalwart regular, no Dixiecrat, etc. It is presumed that Stevenson will be nominated by Illinois later. But the reason for the brevity is that Television is here and since it is here, every precious minute that can be saved from bragging on Kefauver should be allotted to as many minutes from other states as possible, limited to two minutes. This Television audience should see a pop-up of eager men rising to their feet all over the whole hall and representing New Hampshire, California, Oregon, Arkansas, Pennsylvania, and Ohio--all minutely planned in advance with stop watches synchronized. And then, of course, another big march.

July 1, 1952

NOMINATING SPEECH BY GOVERNOR BROWNING OF TENNESSEE:

We are here from Tennessee to give you Estes Kefauver. (Pause-applause)

Where are the enemies he has made? They are silent. They are many. Some of these enemies are still skulking in the deep cesspools of our cities--hiding from the FBI and income tax. These will not vote for Senator Kefauver. For one, I do not care to present a man who has not made enemies.

Many have lost their citizenship behind Federal and State and City prison bars. These can not vote against Senator Kefauver. And as this Convention opens, there are some men who sit here silent who will now say, "When this noise is over, we will get to work."

What is the work that will be done? You people will not see it. You people will not hear it. But you people, surely in the hours to come, are to know it. Out of our great cities there has evolved a democracy which is not a democracy. Two weeks ago, an independent survey of choices for President of these United States was made among the teeming millions of New York. (This survey was not the one that Taft objected to.) And this survey found two voters out of every three in our greatest city FOR Kefauver and AGAINST Taft. I refer that to Chairman Fitzpatrick of the New York State Democratic Committee. There he sits. (Point) Where is the democracy in this?

In our second largest city of Chicago, where we now stand, there is another man drafting his plans as night falls. (Point to Jake Arvey) There he is.

These two men alone conceivably will name the Democratic nominee.

Our man from Tennessee has already been voted for by over three million people. He lost two battles--the city of Washington to Harriman with only 20,000 votes cast, and the state of Florida to Russell on

the racial issue. He voted for FEPC, this man from Tennessee. And so I say we love him down in Tennessee for the enemies he has made. But two or three men alone, voting state machines, may beat us all.

If so, so be it. Nothing more may come out of this Convention than a complete proof to the American people by this instrument of Television that two or three men may beat millions of twos in this great democracy of Party and nation.

Our man from Tennessee is in no sense a prosecutor. He is a simple American who got mad at crime. If that be his crime, so be it.

The people have spoken in California. (Point to the California solid delegation and let them roar.) The people have spoken in New Hampshire. (Let them roar. There are not many of them.)

I will not use our precious time to tell you what we in Tennessee think of Kefauver. (Let Tennessee roar.) They speak for themselves. Nor will I take time to give expression to thirty (?) states who may have no chance to speak because of iron clad unit and boss bound Convention groups. To you among the tens of millions who are not here but who are watching us, I have this special word. Our man from Tennessee has done his best. His have been acts - not words.

And if there is any crime in any man who has made a race as a lone man with no organization and no money except that which the plain people have provided, then I say this crime is FOR and not against America.

If the man from Tennessee is an outlaw to the few criminals and city bosses among the millions of fine citizens of Chicago, then I plead to loving this outlaw.

And what do these silent men say to each other? In the Senate of the United States at the end of the crime hearings in New York, friends of mine report what they said in the cloak rooms and in the committee rooms and in the TOILETS.

They simply said, "That fellow from Tennessee has upset our plans. He is so dumb he is unorthodox. He did not ask us and did not ask anybody."

Well, if this man from Tennessee is dumb, I let you be the judge of that. If this man from Tennessee is just an ordinary fellow, I let you be the judge of that. If this man from Tennessee does not have a better background for dealing with world affairs, I let you have the striped-pants boys from the State Department who never used a shovel or cut a tree.

From California and the west the pioneer stock comes back to Chicago with votes for Kefauver. From the mountain states come the delegations. Not one out of a hundred of these men for Kefauver has ever been in Tennessee. From the south in the states near him, in spite of prejudice and class distinction and dollar bondage to Wall Street, still come the votes for Kefauver. (Pause - applause) And from the steel mills of Pennsylvania, the coal mines of West Virginia, the textile mills of Philadelphia, come these men for Kefauver. There will not be many votes for Kefauver from New England. Just a few where the man from Tennessee shook hands with them.

And under the whip lash of a Fitzpatrick I see many men sitting seriously now--men from Long Island, men from up-state New York, and proudly those working millions from the great city of New York. Can a Fitzpatrick from a Buffalo hold them bound?

I submit there is no especial American. The great majority of American voters still are free. The great majority of American delegates can and may be free to vote the right and the truth and their personal conviction.

There have been historically many phrases spoken nominating our candidates for President. It was a Bryan who said that "this nation shall not be crucified on a cross of gold." Well, this man from

Tennessee has no gold, nor has any been offered him from the La Salle Street finance of Chicago, or the Wall Street finance of New York, or the Beacon Street finance of Boston.

And then we remember another Democratic nominee of whom was said, "We love him for the enemies he has made." And from that homely American philosopher who in his day spoke as did Will Rogers, for the folks, we have the simple words, "Honesty is the best policy."

This man from Tennessee is the best known by votes - the least known by hireling report.

This man from Tennessee has never had the money nor the working time to visit Europe except to get a wife whom he had met in dear old Tennessee. It was not a crime when it was found that Franklin Roosevelt in 1930 had not been to Europe in twenty-five years and then as a young man with his mother. Now it becomes a crime not to have been in Europe as often as Secretary of State Acheson. (Pause for boos) I have been in Europe as Governor of Bavaria - the top administrative post there for many years among American residents, but if I thought I had as much sense as Kefauver--the delicacy of feeling and common sense that makes for the big wisdom--I would be humble before my God. Yes, I will say that we Tennesseans love Kefauver for the enemies he has made. And in these fateful hours ahead may you think and feel with me for Kefauver. The fighting man from Tennessee will run on the platform and win on the platform.

(All out applause. Then comes the Parade with Tennessee leading, and California being in the van. The more Hell the better, the more banners struggled over the better, the more fist fights the better. If properly arranged Speaker Rayburn won't have a chance with his gavel and you will have "won the show.")

July 11, 1952

NOTE:

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July 11, 1952

Now that we know where we are, let's go forward. General Eisenhower, as the nominee of Republicanism, will oppose the nominee of the Democratic Party next week. Naturally I hope it is I.

But no matter whom the Democrats nominate, I hope and pray that no Party partisanship will occur in the campaign which destroys by one iota the great value that General Eisenhower may be and should be to our country and the world.

We Democrats, without partisanship, should admit the greatness of General Eisenhower as a military figure. General Eisenhower has risen to the heights - to the climax of D-Day and the fall of Berlin.

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And so as patriots first and Party members second I can conceive of no ~~loss~~ of the Democratic Party, if victorious, retiring General Eisenhower to the comparative unimportance of a college campus.

And now as to those of us who believe that the Democratic Party is the true Party of humanity in America, I may with equal sincerity state my belief that General Eisenhower is not the most fortunate candidate for the Presidency. The General is a specialist of specialists. One does not elevate the greatest brain surgeon to the Presidency just because he is the greatest brain surgeon. One does not promote a Henry Kaiser or a Henry Ford to the Presidency just because he is a greater builder or a great auto manufacturer. And with profound conviction and in humbleness, I ask the American people to determine whether they want a General in the White House.

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Any other decision of a Democratic victor would be both unpatriotic and stupid. I, for one, do not believe at fist-shaking at Stalin nor at shrinking from Stalin. And evidently neither does General Eisenhower. Neither the General nor myself are in favor of a sneak punch by dropping bombs on Moscow nor are we of those who would cringe to the Russian menace.

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June 17, 1952

TAFT MOVES

It should be settled that Taft will steal what it takes to win.

Taft carries with him constantly a daily revised list of delegates by states. He does this work himself. He relies on nobody. This is his night chore on which he goes to sleep.

He has made some open mistakes, such as "possession is nine-tenths of the law" -- this referring to Texas.

Taft and his men, such as Ingalls, alternately sneer at the Eisenhower amateurs and use the old stuff that the pot shouldn't call the kettle black. Coleman of Wisconsin is quite cocky. He believes with Bertie McCormick that the Chicago zone can be held for Taft no matter what the Eisenhower parade for victory does. This means Wisconsin, Michigan and of course Indiana. Certainly these states are manned by veteran Taft organizers. Specifically Michigan, through its national committeeman, is concerning them because this man has to ride horses between Ford and Chrysler, with probably the yes-or-no political man for General Motors tipping the scale. My Detroit people report the probability of 60/40 for Eisenhower and the possibility of 70/30 if the national committeeman isn't militantly for Eisenhower.

Pennsylvania has a special technique in regard to Governor Fine with his probable 25 to 30 votes. MacArthur has visited Fine in person at his home and played with his children on the floor. Our people at the Eisenhower foreign meeting with the Pennsylvania delegation say that the General seems tired. One reporter, at least, was assigned to cover Fine throughout the meeting. We had the report that Fine will trade for all he is worth but apparently has not reached the trading stage.

The reporters said "He is a bum" but certainly knows how to play "hard to get." The boiled-down consensus I leave to the two people especially assigned, one to Eisenhower and one to Fine. They say Fine will not make any trade until Chicago develops the strength. He desperately wants to be on the winner and right now believes that Taft will make it. Taft's real strength of course is with the Old Liners who are inheriting: Pew of the Sun Company and the Grundy boys. I would give this state at the moment 50/50, with Fine to determine who shall have the 65/35. Duff personally has now about 8 or 10.

So Taft's problem is clarifying down to Michigan and Pennsylvania. The Maryland Governor's effort for a combination of Michigan, Pennsylvania and Maryland into a "Harmony Bloc" is merely considered by Taft as an Eisenhower move and has been given no consideration, either in Pennsylvania or Michigan. They have already counted Maryland's Governor and what he controls for Eisenhower.

It seems that Taft, having the organization, can give people like Fine and the Michigan national committeeman more stuff than Eisenhower's group can muster on the political level.

Concluding: unless an emotional upset swings 5% of the delegates from wavering Taftites to fervent Ikemen, the present bet is 2 to 1 for Taft to be elected.

KEFAUVER

Kefauver has nothing to trade with to get the majority. He only has about 400 votes. He very prudently has publicly stated several times that he has 300. But 400 maximum won't do it. The opposition groups are beautifully assembled by Master Truman himself. All kinds of political gossip rumors regarding Truman as a wavering or neutral person are so much bunk. He has been reasonably frank when talking inside with men like Fitzpatrick and McGrath -- the so-called Irish Catholic Democratic bosses. It is fairly certain that cooperation on the cardinal - bishop level is in hand. Apparently Phil Murray will go along and the conservative A.F. of L. Unions already are in the bag. And with Kefauver having no money other than to meet his current bills, he is unable to create an artificial Kefauver bandwagon assembly.

The only anti-Kefauver problem is the candidate. Stevenson's chances of beating Kefauver are certainly 2 to 1 or better. The Kefauver people of course have collected a large bunch of rumors all favorable to themselves. Some which the writer discounts, are expressions by Senator Douglas of Illinois and Senator Lehman of New York. Both say Stevenson is far to the right. Lehman having endorsed Harriman is anxious to further his man. He has been very open in stating that he would prefer Kefauver to Stevenson. Douglas has been even more open, hoping to influence Seapy Williams (Michigan delegation) through his closest political friend, Senator Moody. The spiritual force of Douglas over certain younger senators is well known. If practical, they would prefer Douglas as the nominee to anyone, including Kefauver. Douglas thinks his time may come after he sincerely gives everything he has got to Kefauver and that after he has given everything, Kefauver will throw to Douglas rather than to Stevenson. At least that is what repeated and different reports bring.

The Rayburn and Barclay groups are to be discounted except that they could be counted for Stevenson, but possibly not for Harriman.

So putting it on a purely political and technical delegate basis, there is less chance for Kefauver than for Eisenhower

The invisible element for both Eisenhower and Kefauver is that the people want both as against the professionals, who want neither. Anything can happen to upset pencil figures. Who would have said three months ago, for instance, that Kefauver could collect 400 votes? Who would have said he could have beat Truman in the North and close-finished Russell in Florida? And today with the whole Truman machine being herded into the Washington D.C. primary, and with labor and the negro-conscious vote pushing into the ballot boxes, jostling with the federal payroll boys, there is still a chance for a Kefauver miracle in tomorrow morning's papers.

Throughout the country there has been no enthusiasm for anybody in the Democratic party except Kefauver. That almost can be said in the Republican party for Eisenhower. But Eisenhower is a tough and single-shot opponent. The drift in the Democratic party is against Truman. It is "The King is dead, Long Live the King" business and Kefauver's strength reaches clear into the Truman Cabinet. And many district and state democratic leaders from the West and South and Middle West are acting independently. They want to keep the Democratic Party in office. They simply believe Kefauver would be a better vote getter and has proven it, than any other Democratic name, including Stevenson. And they know that Eisenhower, if nominated, would be an extremely tough nut. They also believe that Taft, if nominated, gives them a cinch with Stevenson.

There is no question but that Truman is very irritated with Stevenson. This is not a rumor. He has repeatedly said privately "Why doesn't that fellow fish or cut bait? What is he waiting for?" But Stevenson in a two-hour conversation less than ten days ago and knowing that he was speaking to a Truman go-between, said he positively won't do it. He said he would go along up to that point as a bagholder and a threat.

He has a mild case of ulcers. That routine checkup last week was an ulcer checkup. His doctors did not tell him that he could not make the race, but the fact that he wanted the checkup was politically significant. Instead of regarding this as indicating that he wanted a physical checkup before shooting the works, psychologically I believe that he wanted a personal excuse for not running to add to his other reasons. The wife is still active. She says she will let him be Governor of Illinois, keeping his children in God's country, but she will be damned if she wants another bunch of Roosevelt kids and that she has something to say about it -- to the point of killing herself rather than have her life messed up further. Whether a Stevenson would believe her or even let it effect him if true, is one question.

The nuts to me is that he is keeping every possible asset for not running against Eisenhower that he can find. But I do say that it is 3 to 1 that you will find him opposing Taft if Taft makes it. He is merely say 1956 for me rather than Eisenhower now.

FOR FANTASY'S SAKE

The above is written with a sense of accuracy mixed with ironic pessimism but there is an invisible choir which I, for lack of a better word, shall call the inarticulate push of public opinion on individual souls.

The delegates of both parties reach Chicago pretty well set. They are either going to follow a particular state boss as he trades around or they have picked the candidates they truly want to vote for as individuals and as persons who have to go home from Chicago. It is conceivable, though a bit fantastic, that ten percent of the technically counted delegates in both parties might move toward independent thought and that emotion which we may call "I'm damned if I'm going to let anybody tell me." That is the drift that both Eisenhower and Kefauver have in their favor. Personally I cannot put a pencil to it but I have a feeling it would be fun to see it happen. And it is no more miraculous than Kefauver beating Truman in New Hampshire. Or the possibility of today that Kefauver beat Harriman in Washington D.C.

July 13, 1952

The greatest danger that I see this week and next week is Taft cockiness among ourselves.

The leading candidate is always ~~hot~~-shot by all the other candidates. In order to be very stupid we should start claiming victory now.

The facts are that only one force can put Kefauver over and only one force can keep him from winning. The force that can put him over is the people themselves. The force that can defeat him is a combination running from Truman through the property class of New England Catholics, the labor boss Catholics, and the southern Bourbon groups around Russell, and that is the reason there are not more than 400 votes around Kefauver though more than 50% of sincere Democratic voters are with him. If these sincere DEMOCRATIC CONSISTENT VOTERS ARE PERMITTED THEY MAY WELL NOMINATE KEFAUVER. But if the group around Kefauver get cocky now the whole force of Kefauver will be destroyed in ten days.

Kefauver never has been a candidate for the Democratic nomination. It is the people who are pushing him into the nomination. They must be permitted to keep up this job of pushing him. In a Chicago telecast a week ago Kefauver stupidly said, "When I am President, etc." The reaction to my radio audience was, "How come" this man to be so stupid. We thought he was not a Taft type braggart."

Another said, "We thought he was the under-dog and that we had the job of putting him over, but if he thinks he has already got it we can quit working."

A spot analysis of the Eisenhower victory is simply that Eisenhower was the under-dog and did not brag and gave the people a chance to keep pushing him into victory.

The reverse was that Taft claimed 604 votes ten days before. He then had to say 550 votes and then Eisenhower said, "I will have 500

and I doubt if Taft gets 500." But this Eisenhower prediction was very timely and not issued over 48 hours before the balloting.

In other words, Taft was a braggart proving himself a liar before the balloting began by over-claiming. And from the inside Eisenhower group six man strategy board, comes the information (I think I have seen it columnized) that the Eisenhower group knew all the time that Taft had three different delegates counts. He had one for bragging purposes, one for his staff, and a third for himself which he hugged every night. But the effect on the people was that Taft was branded publicly as a braggart and liar before Dirksen nominated him. The effect on his own organization is that the working sheets were open to the Eisenhower Board through leaks and they knew where to hit and where to buy and where to trade out Taft's own bridge hand. And the third effect was that Taft became autointoxicated with his own wind.

If Kefauver ever again says between now and voting such a bromide as "when I am your President" he convicts himself immediately to the people of this country of being either a fool or a liar. The expression should be "Should you make me your nominee and the November voters make me your President, I shall appoint my political opponent my right hand in the war against Communism and Stalin himself. As your Commander-in-Chief I would draft Eisenhower as Secretary of Defense or send him back to Europe so that the European front may stand impregnable against Stalin."

(I understand that there is a speech to be made Monday night and that is the only reason for using this particular illustration.)

The real reason for the length of this memo is that I consider it the real life and death of the picture ahead.

In contrast in our own Party is Russell, the oldfashioned operator. He issued a statement saying that he had wired congratulations to Eisenhower and then added "and I can beat him." He goes to Truman and

comes out saying, "We understand each other." Already checking the south we find Russell is slipping fast because the people now know he is a liar and that he has turned upon the very thing that he gave to the south in service. Russell simply now wants the job. He even went to Chicago to see Arvey. Now with Taft tactics and Russell tactics in front of this memo, does it need any more argument to keep Kefauver a man of the people whom the people are pushing into victory against the bosses? I claim that Kefauver can't even attack the bosses by saying positively, "I shall beat them." For the people will fight terrifically for an under-dog but they won't fight a damn bit for a self-confessed braggart and liar. Certainly nobody knows whether Kefauver can win and even those boys who want to predict the number of votes should be muzzled. Such predictions are merely boring because they all do it and nobody believes such predictions. When the Russell statement was read by an old war horse going up with the Byrd machine as Delegate-at-Large to vote for Russell, this Delegate-at-Large said, "How stupid. But we can't help it. He was born that way." This man had been in Congress, is a substantial editor, and is going up for the show, but already has gas on his stomach about Russell.

Please let us be sensible this week and admit that the Eisenhower advisory board never made a prediction of concrete vote victory, and as far as I know never made the flat statement "Ike will win." They gave all that slop to the Taft people and the Credentials Georgia vote simply proved that the under-dogs got together because the Taft cockiness gave them the creeps. And so we get Nixon of California, Stassen, in the Cabinet, and McKelvin somewhere and Fine somewhere.

Damn it, can't we simply say, "The leading candidate can't win if he goes Taft nuts."

Let's go back a moment to the Truman Vice Presidential battle against Wallace. It is quite a bit more apropos than Douglas and

Kefauver before Television saying Roosevelt beat the bosses so I shall beat the bosses. When Truman came through the next day those around Wallace began to see how it really had happened. The name "basket holder" was coined for Truman coming from the old French Guillotine days when the workers chopped off the heads and the others held the basket to catch them. Watching Truman operating twenty-four hours before he won, what do we find? We find him spending a whole day with Barkley going around to all the delegations with Barkley, saying, "My friend Barkley - vote for him." And of course, when Barkley and Kentucky voted where were they? With Wallace? We tried to break Kentucky for Wallace but were a bit late. Even the Louisville Courier crowd could not help us. We simply did not try to get Barkley with us and simply tried to get the delegates with us when he failed. Let us admit that Douglas has that much sense. He is helping Kefauver, isn't he? But would he be supposed to think that Kefauver would help him after Kefauver fails? And honestly could Kefauver prevent his boys from going to Douglas should he slip? Even MacArthur had that kind of advice. Help Taft and hope he slips.

Closing this with my most earnest thought, I say the candidate himself must issue orders that no predictions are to be made by anyone without his OK.

Politics

Memo:

From The Desk of
MARTHA ANN WOMACK

2:00 p.m., 5/7/52

Alabama delegation - unofficial and not final ...

1st district	Russell - 1 Uncommitted - 2
2nd district	Russell - 4 Uncommitted - 1
3rd	Uncommitted - 3
4th	Russell - 4
5th	Russell - 3
6th	Uncommitted - 4
7th	No contest <i>2</i>
8th	Uncommitted - 3
9th	Uncommitted - 3

April 8, 1952

L.J. Gordon, 3117 David Stott Building, Detroit, Michigan.

WILL YOU SEND YOUR ESTIMATE OF MICHIGAN DEMOCRACY PRE
CONVENTION CONCERNING RUSSELL, STEVENSON, WILLIAMS. SEEMS
TO ME MICHIGAN WILL DRAFT STEVENSON BUT MEMO ME AT NEW YORK
BEFORE TWENTIETH BY PHONE OR NOTE.

CHARLES.

DOMESTIC SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a full rate telegram	
FULL RATE TELEGRAM	SERIAL
DAY LETTER	NIGHT LETTER

WESTERN UNION

Telefax *Telefax*

JOSEPH L. EGAN, PRESIDENT

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent at the full rate	
FULL RATE	DEFERRED
CODE	NIGHT LETTER

PLEASE DO NOT FOLD. TYPE OR WRITE MESSAGE PLAINLY WITHIN THE BORDER USE DARK INK OR PENCIL

Send the following message, subject to the terms of the Western Union Telegraph Company, which are hereby agreed to

NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED

To George Reynolds Date MAY 2, 1952

Address 6524 Longwood Road, Little Rock, ARKANSAS

PLEASE CALL me CARLTON HOTEL, Room 800
BETWEEN SIX AND SEVEN WASHINGTON
Time TONIGHT.
C. E. MARSH

SENDER'S NAME AND PERMANENT ADDRESS
WU 1240 (9-48)

ROOM NUMBER

the attorneys for both the government and six of the seized steel companies, and presented again in oral argument last Monday and Tuesday. At the conference, the legal points that could be decided were hashed over and probably voted on.

The senior justice in the major-

ity over. It may well be that no one point of view will command five of the nine votes. Then, each of the justices will try to line up support for his opinion. Memoranda will circulate among the offices. The clerks will fight minor, but nonetheless vigorous, battles among themselves, and their ideas

say, "What difference does a vote more or less make among fifty or sixty million?"

The Presidency of the United States itself has turned on a relative handful of votes several times. And a long list of governors, Senators and Representatives have been elected in the last half-dozen years by margins so narrow the result could have been swung the other way by a switch of less than one vote in each election precinct.

New York State's electoral votes gave the Presidency to Grover Cleveland, Democrat, in 1884 over James G. Blaine, Republican. The margin by which the state went Democratic was 1,149 votes out of a total of 1,125,159.

Similarly, in 1916, Republican Charles Evans Hughes lost California and the election to President Wilson by a margin of 3,806 votes out of a total of nearly a million in the 5,000 precincts of that pivotal state.

In 1948, Gov. Thomas E. Dewey lost Ohio and California to President Truman by approximately one vote a precinct—Ohio, by 7,107 votes in 9,247 precincts and California by 17,865 votes in 16,802. Each of these states had twenty-five electoral votes.

What Might Have Been

Had the narrow Truman margin been overturned in these two states, giving the fifty electoral votes to Mr. Dewey, neither of the major party candidates would have had a majority in the electoral college—266 votes. That's because thirty-nine electoral votes in the Deep South were captured by the Thurmond-Wright Dixiecrat ticket. So, if California and Ohio had gone Republican, the 1948 Presidential election would have been thrown into the House of Representatives where each of the forty-eight states would have had a single vote and a majority would have elected a President.

The prospects are good for some tight elections this fall for Senate and House seats and Governorships if the photo finishes of 1950 are any indication. One of the closest was in Michigan, where G. Mennen Williams, Democrat, was elected Governor by 1,154 votes out of 1,880,000—a margin of one vote in every three precincts. Gov. Williams also won the right to appoint the successor to the late Sen. Arthur Vandenberg, and named Blair Moody. Another Democrat who squeaked through in 1950 was Sen. William Benton of Connecticut, whose margin of victory was 1,102 votes of 878,000 cast.

Roosevelt Had Close Call

Two Republicans who lost New York House seats by hair-line margins recently were W. Kingsland Macy, defeated by 138 votes out of 155,000 in eastern Long Island in 1950, and William T. Pfeiffer, who lost his Manhattan East Side district by eighty votes out of 37,000 cast in 110 precincts in 1942.

One of the closest New York

One Tamma many 1948 of Democra York Cou George F. running w 1,150 votes the 1,000 gin by whic Eisenhower Molinari, a contest for t tial seat. A (Staten Isl Congress Di

Mr.

WITH E. Dr wheti vetoed State Forbes' bingo which many pe litically more combination measures passed Legislature this Bingo has b to New Jersey and Sen. Forbe if Gov. Drisco it he should pe made by the i instead of kee for further D tion.

That Sen. Republican, s cessfully for Houses the m game for wel approved at a many raised e inner circles. tor from Son ted whatever eyebrows by l brief but met

Wanted

In fact, f surprise elec record this last week no they consid didacy for G The thir lisher and sergeant les with politio on return ran inde fully—for cil. Two publican Senate.

Thunder in the South

Fair Deal Nominee Faces Threat Of Revolt and a Third Candidate

By Bert Andrews

WASHINGTON.

THIS is the kind of political story that a reporter writes on the basis of the best information at the moment and then puts in his "future book" so he can check at a later date and see just how good the information was.

The information is this:

If any Democrat who supports President Truman's views on civil rights and the Truman philosophy on fair employment practices is nominated for President in Chicago in July, there will be a third candidate from the South who will run against the Democratic and Republican candidates.

The easiest way to say where the information came from without betraying the source would be to say something like, "Some Southern sources believe," or "the considered opinion of people who think they know the attitude of some Southern politicians is that..."

However, it can be pin-pointed a little more closely—but not much more—by saying that the information comes from a "Southern legislator" who knows a lot about what might happen and who packs a lot of weight when it comes to making things happen in his section of the country.

'Blacklist' Drawn Up

The "Southern legislator" says specifically:

That W. Averell Harriman and Adlai Stevenson and Brien McMahon "and others of their ilk" are on the list of potential nominees "who just won't be acceptable to the South."

That "the Northern Democrats" may be able to control the Democratic convention and pick a candidate.

That when he is talking about "a third candidate" he is not talking about a third party.

That he means that if the Democratic convention in Chicago nominates some one not acceptable to the South, the candidate of that convention will be the "third party" and that the "third candidate" named from the South will be the true Democratic candidate.

That he believes that Sen. Richard B. Russell, of Georgia, who has said he wouldn't bolt the party,

might become the "third candidate" out of a feeling that he would not be bolting the party, but that the party, in effect, would be bolting the South.

If the "Southern legislator" were a person of little influence in his own section, his ideas could be dismissed as some of the usual pre-convention political talk.

However, he is a man of great influence in his section and his statements must be weighed carefully even though they may make many Democrats shudder and many Republicans and independents wonder what in the world politics has come to.

Eisenhower's Role

He says such things as these:

That if General of the Army Dwight D. Eisenhower ran against any of the "Truman Democrats," he'd take many Southern states despite the almost unbroken tradition of voting for a Democrat, no matter what Democrat.

That Sen. Robert A. Taft would take some Southern states against a "Truman Democrat," but not as many as Gen. Eisenhower.

And that if any "Truman Democrat" is nominated in Chicago, any Republican will run well in the South because there'll be the "third candidate" to take some of the Southern votes away from the "Chicago Democrat."

His views are recorded for the "future book" and will be re-examined after the Democratic convention, which begins its sessions in Chicago on July 21, decides what to do.

More States Requiring Registration of Lobbies

CHICAGO (U. P.).

State legislatures in recent years have been devoting more attention to the regulation of lobbying.

According to the 1952 Book of the States, published by the Council of State Governments, interest in regulating lobbies was given impetus by the 1950 Congressional investigation which exposed their tremendous influence.

By the end of last year, twenty-nine states required registration of lobbyists and nineteen states required the filing of expense statements.

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nn. (AP). a control ll become 7 in Min-

e industry e not only ore planes, ent of new niques for

registered last year. acres for 5,600 acres an average acre.

May 18, 1952

You wish to ask Helen about:

Leo J. Lerner, Meyers Newspapers, Chicago, Illinois.

Moody, Williams, and VanWaggoner in Michigan.

Gael Sullivan.

The Senator should shake hands Monday or Tuesday with Senator Moody to make up his own mind about Governor Williams and dropping in on him. He should not go to Michigan to make any speeches. He should not go to Michigan without calling on the Governor and asking the Governor who else he should call on. The Kefauver manager, Van Waggoner, of course is well respected and he would of course call on him.

May 17, 1952

GALLUP NOTE:

If the proper person checks the Gallup organization at Princeton, New Jersey, it would find (a) that Gallup was on the Eisenhower corner personally, and (b) that his political questions are loaded for Eisenhower.

He is currently using Kefauver versus Taft on popularity using the old "leading candidate" dodge. His long range plan is to pull a deadly parallel by putting Kefauver versus Ike and then contrasting Ike as more popular than Kefauver and Kefauver as more popular than Taft. The timing of this schedule seems to be to complete it about three weeks before the Republican Convention showing that Ike has the great independent vote rather than Kefauver and that Taft has a minimum and is Mr. Republican only. The people are then to make up their minds independently that Kefauver can beat Taft but that Ike certainly will beat Kefauver.

Somebody can block this by good newspapering. Theoretically Kefauver can beat Taft is supposed to be good Kefauver publicity but it is surely the sting of an adder when the second half of this program comes out. It ought to be forecasted by the columnists and I find that the newspapers publishers don't like this fellow Gallup too well anyway. I think the review of the Gallup organization should be due within the next thirty days. I believe people will find that the revenues of the Gallup organization really come from large advertising agencies representing very large businesses. Gallup is the recognized pollster on nationally advertised commercial products and Gallup, the slick little Iowa boy, is a myth. He is a bastard money grubbing son of a bitch. That man thinks where his money is. He does not ordinarily fudge his figures. He did it once. I don't think he will ever do it again, but his crookedness is in the way he loads his questions and the "timing" of the printing. Also if his poll does not come out to his liking on even a loaded question, the bastard merely does not publish it.

May 18, 1952

MICHIGAN:

Checked today the betting in Detroit has moved in two weeks from ten to one on Kefauver for President to three to one. Reuther-Auto workers-is working harmoniously with Governor Williams and Senator Moody who are a parallel working team. Michigan will nominate and vote on first ballot for Williams. They are not for Stevenson as reported because of Senator Moody's intense admiration for Senator Douglas of Illinois. He will await every opportunity to join a Douglas boom. But if a Douglas boom does not develop there is a fifty-fifty chance that Moody's dominance over Governor Williams may result in all of Michigan or a part of Michigan breaking from Williams to Kefauver and/or Douglas.

SUGGESTION: You might call on Moody tomorrow to tell him that you may have a little rest period and may want to sniff cool Michigan air. You have never been there but you don't want to go into the state if it would embarrass the Senator or the Governor. Should you go in of course you would call upon VanWaggoner who is managing Kefauver affairs there, but you don't want to even do that but you would normally go in and call on the Governor first and then perhaps ask VanWaggoner to give you a cool week end in the woods without telephones with your wife. It is almost certain that Moody will be delighted to phone the Governor and report to you and the papers of course will report your calling on the Governor and picking Michigan for a bit of rest weekend-wise. I would not suggest so much detail to you if it were not my confident belief that in the progress of the Convention, Douglas and Moody might confer on where Michigan should go in leaving the Favorite Son Williams. Certainly Moody will suggest a complimentary vote for Douglas and Williams will go along. But after this applesauce and since Douglas after getting such a vote and also Illinois independents finds that his boomlet is over, who else can he suggest except Kefauver for both Michigan and Douglas influence.

I have always strongly suspected that Douglas went down to Florida for the purpose of getting Kefauver's friendship because he did not expect Kefauver to win and that as a compromise between Stevenson and Kefauver this early gesture might pay off. This Douglas already knew he had Michigan and has played, I think a skillful game with the cards he had. His age and Stevenson over him are the cards which don't pay off. So both Moody and Douglas being Senators who respect Kefauver, they ultimately should come through as Kefauver delegate-getters.

INDIANA: Today's news finds McHale--the sponsor of McKinney to Truman--fired by the Governor. McHale admits his defeat was caused by the Governor's forces in his defeat for re-election as National Committeeman. So neither Truman nor McKinney nor McHale has any influence in Indiana now. So the Democratic Indiana delegation is in the Governor's vest pocket. Probably also he should have his doorbell rung by you should you go to visit the neighboring state Governor. There are also good lakes in northern Indiana equal to Michigan and closer to a good political weekend and not too far away so it will tire you. On first ballot Indiana should go Stevenson. Your trip for later voting friendships.

FLORIDA: My son today says you should get 9 to 10 in Florida. My estimate 7 or 8.

Raymond Moley

Results in Texas Show System Of Conventions Isn't Outmoded

TULSA—This is written after two weeks in Texas, during which I got a clear view of the great battle there for the control of the two political parties. At this stage it seems that the conservative, anti-Fair Deal Democrats will prevail over the self-styled "loyalists." In the Republican party a rush of Eisenhower votes has greatly outnumbered the old Republican leaders who were for Taft. In both cases the result is unquestionably a fair expression of popular government, and it has been accomplished through the once-derided convention system.

For those citizens who do their political duty there is no better way to exercise influence than through conventions. They are a real training in active citizenship. Properly conducted, they are a fair way to choose candidates for office. There are those who say that when few people care to exercise their political rights conventions become the tools of selfish bosses. The answer is that no system works when the public refuses to do its duty. When apathy prevails, there are much worse in-

fluences operating in direct primaries than evil bosses.

Forty years ago, when so-called "progressivism" was sweeping the country, the convention system was regarded as an evil center of infection. The rallying cry was to give the government back to the people through direct primaries. And so in many states direct primaries were adopted. We have now had a good trial of those primaries, and that trial has not justified the claim of the advocates of direct government. The fact is that direct primaries have contributed heavily to the decline of the two-party system, they have made parties less responsible, and in general they have been unsatisfactory means of choosing candidates for high office. What is worse, they have helped to build up political mountebanks and demagogues.

I ask any responsible man to pose for himself the question whether Estes Kefauver has the record, the experience, or the capacity to be the candidate of a major party for the presidency of the United States. But by leaping into the great empty void of the primaries, he has won more than any other Democrat.

In the precinct and county conventions in Texas, a clear choice has been made through an open and popularly understood and operated device. The precinct conventions were very large this year. All records were broken, which shows that when a real issue is presented and bealous, public-spirited leaders get out the vote, the public will respond. These precinct conventions were vastly better exercises in citizenship than direct primaries, because they required much more than merely the dropping of a ballot into a box. They involved the use of parliamentary procedure, public debate, and face-to-face contact with the opposition. In short, they gave the citizen more to do.

It should be added that the law has something to do with the quality of conventions. Bad election laws make for bad and unrepresentative conventions. But in Texas the law has been thoroughly overhauled, and in this first test of the new regulations the result was good.

Of course, the results of these early conventions may be thrown out by subsequent conventions. But the remedy for such instances should be in the courts rather than in a direct appeal to the people.

The best way to put new life into the party system might well be to return to a new and more popular form of convention system. Texas provides the model for this.

ma 16/54
Chatham

Miracle in Texas

by Raymond Moley

TULSA—This piece is written after fifteen days in Texas observing what Mark Twain would describe as a planned miracle.

It was a most exciting demonstration of political revolt. At the moment, it seems that the revolution is an accomplished fact. A new conservatism has won all along the line.

Two weeks ago, I wrote in this space that Democratic leaders of the conservative movement to wrest control from the so-called liberal supporters of the Washington regime were fearful lest in the precinct conventions of May 3rd so many of their partisans would go into the Republican side that they would be denied a majority in their own party. But in thousands of neighborhood conventions so many voters appeared that there were enough to win for the conservative Democrats and to provide an Eisenhower majority on the Republican side as well. I attended a Democratic precinct convention in Fort Worth. Before the proceedings began, the conservative leader told me rather anxiously that at least 50 of his people had gone to the Republican convention in the next block. And yet, when the voters were divided on the crucial roll call, he had 50 and his opponents only 32. Over in the Republican convention, the division was 50 to 23 for Eisenhower. That sort of result prevailed all over Texas.

I have never seen a more inspiring example of citizen action at the voter level than the precinct convention that I attended. It was called to meet at a drugstore. Ordinarily, so few would have attended that it could have convened behind the prescription counter. But this time the crowd gathered out on the sidewalk and on the grass patch. It was a tense but orderly group of men and women. First they checked in with the poll list. Then the precinct chairman called the meeting to order. The liberal (pro-Administration) leader moved that the convention express itself in favor of the so-called pledge. This would bind delegates to follow the decisions of conventions all along the line, including the national convention in Chicago. A conservative moved that

delegates remain unpledged. This is the decisive issue, because it is the determination of the conservatives under Governor Shivers to remain free to act all along the line. There were some speeches. The vote was taken, with the result indicated above. Thereupon, the liberals bolted and held a rump convention about a hundred feet down the sidewalk. Both

groups proceeded in an orderly manner to select a slate of delegates to the county convention.

In that county convention, three days later, the conservatives were seated and the liberals bolted. These bolts are quite normal procedure in Texas whenever a real contest is involved.

At the Democratic county convention which I attended at Dallas, the vote was about four to one conservative. The chairman's keynote speech contained a reference which is a significant indication of what may happen at Chicago and later. He said: "I for one will not be greatly disappointed if we are not seated [at Chicago] for in that event the State of Texas and the leadership it will provide will probably determine who shall be the next President of the United States." That may prove true.

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All this is on the supposition that Drool and S. are not really far apart and that Jake has not been idle.

But this series of questions could be asked almost immediately. It would irritate Harriman and Fitzpatrick. It would alienate three Vice Presidential hopefuls who are running for the head nomination - i.e. Kerr, Harriman, and McMahon, as each of these thinks he has Mr. Drool's consent for top place.

I am in favor of quick action and then some columnist work immediately with wire service over-lays tailing the activity of Stevenson every day proving almost immediately the Arvey-Truman-gangster-big machine plan of "Stevenson or bust" with favorite sons being the gullible fools of Mr. Drool. We can cement the Missouri-Illinois combine against the balance of the Democratic states. Kefauver remains the country boy.

And then we come forward from the south, which I believe I can produce, with the statement that the ticket down there is Stevenson and Russell-the cousins. Digging S in with that deal and putting all of the sectional Russell stuff as well as FEPC on Mr. S. as a two-mouth operation to win with Truman, the Bosses, and Russell, even to playing against the FEPC and liberals in the dark rooms.

There also should be some very favorable publicity given Arvey with features and photographs of the Mark Hanna behind McKinley--the man behind the throne. For this Arvey has a very colorful career, a little better even than Pendergast as he succeeded the front man Kelley of Chicago and has always been intelligent enough since then to put decent men up for Governor and Senators as long as they did not bother him in handling his Chicago corrupt machine. This of course, if well done, would make Arvey the Charlie McCarthy post-Pendergast and Stevenson the well dressed mouthpiece of a smarter King Maker.

I think if there is enough of this stuff soon enough, the people will say, after the columnists have said it, "Kefauver is a lonely under-dog whom they must beat at the Convention and will stoop to anything to beat." The "Stevenson or Bust" business will then be paralleled by our crowd into the bosses hurt by K in both Kansas City and Chicago saying, "Corrupt political machines in both Kansas City and Chicago (Missouri and Illinois) are centering Favorite Sons in New York, Connecticut, and the south through Russell, in an all-out 'Down with Kefauver, the man who killed Lucas the Democratic leader.'"

"He ain't our kind of a Democrat," said the Senate when he became the

Lucas killer, and Lucas, of course, tried to save Truman in Vermont by personal appearances. But Kefauver then became the Truman killer.

NOTE: We can dig up Lucas again and send him into California and/or Kentucky (next to Tennessee). Lucas is broke and intensely vindictive. This Stevenson needs a few barnacles on his present clean coat tails. You take Truman and I will try to take Lucas. I think Barkley may be stupid enough to let him come into Kentucky. It is convenient and the railroad fare is nothing. I believe the Louisville people can arrange for him to address something in Louisville and possibly say it at a luncheon club: "Naturally I am for Barkley AND ANYONE ELSE TO BEAT THAT TENNESSEE SHOW-OFF."

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THE SOUTHWEST DETAIL:

The matter of timing to do the most for Kefauver on the fourth ballot is to have reserve strength from Rayburn and loyal Democrats AFTER Kefauver has done all possible to obtain a loyal administration candidate wherever Kefauver himself can not get votes for the first ballot. His ultimate reserve is good will from Truman and Rayburn after Rayburn and Kerr are out as the southwest potentials.

Kerr goes in with Oklahoma first ballot. He will try to trade with either Harriman or Stevenson for the Vice Presidency. His delegation knows this, but the Governor Murray and the ex-Governor Turner delegates will have a majority under a unit rule after Kerr fades as an instructed favorite. They are apt to go where Kerr does not want them to go under the unit rule because Murray wants to run for Senator in 1954 against Kerr and because both Turner and the junior Senator Monroney want to eliminate Kerr permanently from Oklahoma political life not later than 1954. The Oklahoma National Committeeman is handling Kerr's detail and pretending to control the Governor. Both Kerr and the Committeeman are lying about this. It has been checked.

To make Kefauver the "basket" for the Oklahoma unit delegation vote on the fourth or fifth ballot may be difficult because the Governor is now leaning toward Russell as his second choice post Kerr. But the writer believes that the Turner and Governor Murray forces both desire to eliminate Kerr in '54 and will work together under the unit rule to destroy Kerr in his Vice Presidential trading of Oklahoma votes. Since Kefauver of course could not have either Kerr or Turner as a running mate, there is a possibility that Turner would make the best Secretary of Agriculture that could be picked for a Democratic administration. He is personally the most respected man in the southwest country among cattle and farming interests and is the most decent citizen that Oklahoma has produced in the last decade. He is independently wealthy but not too wealthy. He has always fought big oil and has never joined the Tideland group grab. He is intensely religious and a reformer at heart. He is extremely well liked by Truman.

Turner's political career started as a reformer against school graft in his town of Oklahoma City where he cleaned out a bad mess of educational grafterson practically a graft demand of the PTA associations of Oklahoma City. He did it because he had children in school and his wife wanted the mess cleaned out. He neglected his oil business to be a real citizen. His success in the Oklahoma City clean-up made him Governor.

Judging the political value to Roosevelt of having Wallace the Iowan as his Secretary of Agriculture leads me to believe that were I an incoming President I would pick Turner for Secretary of Agriculture and I would let the Turner and Governor Murray forces take care of 1954 on the state level because this fellow Kerr is certainly a dangerous man to promote further. The detail on Kerr is not necessary because he won't be in there as Vice President and will be eliminated

as Senator in '54 retiring back to his oil business and what very decent Oklahomans say is his general manipulation and crookedness as the little boy front for big oil. He is definitely tied up and

running parallel with the same interests as have just grabbed Texas in the campaign against Truman. With the Turner intelligence and money temporarily silenced by the Kerr unit rule and Murray smarting under the disloyalty of his National Committeeman in stealing the Oklahoma Convention for Kerr when Murray wanted it uninstructed, we have the diverse elements necessary to work for a fourth ballot switch for Sam Rayburn instead of Russell. So the Oklahoma minor picture fits in with what I now discuss as the Major Kefauver southwest picture.

You can't beat nobody with nobody so the somebody to beat the Ikecrats who now own the Governor of Texas and the regular delegation which they will pick in their state convention in late May, is to have the martyr Rayburn and the political events very plain to Truman and all regular Democrats. It is quite possible that ~~how~~ this Rayburn thing is handled is the difference in the campaign should it be Eisenhower versus Kefauver. If Kefauver is blameless and Rayburn the martyr and Truman the mad, we have the potentialities together with the Credentials Committee controlled by Truman and Rayburn the permanent Chairman, to upset the Ikecrat strategy in stealing Texas.

Now let us approach the political chronology for Texas events. Remember it is not the technical unseating of the Texas regular delegation at Chicago which is the issue. That can be done of course, with a Rump Rayburn delegation using the loyalty pledge issue. But that will not get Texas and Oklahoma for the Democratic nominee in November. The people must understand the issue.

THE CHRONOLOGY:

Last week Governor Shivers revealed his Convention strategy. It is;

Solidly uninstructed and anyone who tries to instruct for Favorite Son Rayburn will get his head punched by a four to one defeat. "I don't want any Rayburn talk anyway from any of my friends before the Convention is over. Rayburn is tied up with Truman--tarred with the same stick--and my convention will be anti-Truman with great shouts. So Rayburn might as well stay away." The authenticity is simply that it was planned to get him to speak to a Congressional District operator of the Governor. When the operator asked the Governor the direct question, "How about Favorite Son for Rayburn instead of uninstructed?"

The loyalist issue will be defeated four to one in the state convention. The timing should be to let them kill Rayburn first and then kill the loyalty issue the next day and then Rump for Rayburn and tie that with the reason for Rumping with Rayburn as the big news event. One knows that the loyalty thing has been all over the lot out there and is not news. Everybody knows that the convention will turn a loyalty pledge down by an overwhelming vote. But everyone does not know that Sam Rayburn will be humiliated because he has been a loyal Party leader in Washington. The Rayburn issue will be five times as strong in the grass roots as the loyalty issue. The grass roots may even applaud the loyalty defeat. They will not applaud the defeat of Rayburn and thus the loyalty issue must come second. Otherwise the defeat on the loyalty issue and then the Rump and then the picking of Rayburn would be construed by the grass roots as merely the action

of Trumanites and Washington to defeat the will of the Texas people in their state convention. Abstract ideas and political manoeuvring do not get to the grass roots of Texas and Oklahoma. They have rarely paid any attention to national Democratic Conventions. They are too busy at work in their local political affairs. But when you hit a dearly loved citizen of Texas like Rayburn you had better watch out because the grass roots will say, "Why did they have to go that far in their hatred of Truman?" It is at this point that one hopes that Governor Shivers will begin to wane as a national Democratic leader. He can not be kicked off as a state Democratic leader as he is intensely popular--beyond Rayburn or anyone else. He has got to kill himself and then Rayburn BEFORE the Rump and the naming of Rayburn by the Rump convention.

It is presumed that a Mississippian will nominate at the Convention because Mississippi is Rayburn's native state and alphabetically comes ahead of T for Texas. And then, if seated, the Rump leader will second the Rayburn nomination when T is called. If this chronology is followed and is successful, the Rayburn boomlet might reach sixty or seventy votes at the fourth ballot but NOT ONE of these votes could be initially on the first ballot for Kefauver anyway. They come from Russell and CAN BE KEPT FROM RUSSELL FOR FOUR BALLOTS. If that is done Russell may have as little as 150 first ballot votes.

NOTE: The Arkansas thing according to George Reynolds is in good shape. He says I should not bother and that he is reporting to you direct. George is working a bit in New Mexico and Oklahoma and we are conferring.

May 17, 1952

MARSH NOTES:

Subject Monroney:

Suggest Monroney is to arrange for Monday meeting with Rayburn. To Rayburn personally I discuss Senator Johnson's position and Governor Shiver's position, big oil Richardson, Eisenhower-Houston Post (Reid), and Eisenhower plans for the Democratic state convention as revealed through Shivers himself. What Shivers says about the potential Rayburn candidacy. What big oil in Houston says. Contact man between Johnson and Sid Richardson. The Eisenhower big money in big oil on Tidelands. How to get Johnson back in his stride as a loyal friend if Rayburn for what it is worth at the Convention at end of May.

Shivers states Rayburn test in convention 80-20 against this Truman tool. ~~Two surveys~~ indicate Shivers currently getting weaker on the Rayburn instruction issue by refusing all phone calls by saying "plans all set." "Will discuss other questions only and after we have ended the convention and gotten rid of these loyalty and Truman people."

Since Johnson is personally very popular as an efficient Senator among the rank and file he would hardly risk this popularity if he thought Rayburn himself knew what he really was doing in Houston and Fort Worth circles. He has Buck Fever since Connally perished and is planning now for his next ten years and possibly a national hope for '56. Nobody in Texas knows how far he has gone except the Republicrats in the big money. His main liason with the Ikecrats is his former Washington senior secretary. I think both Truman and Rayburn and possibly McFarlan should give him a good beating right now.

I WOULD FORCE JOHNSON TO NOMINATE RAYBURN AT THE STATE CONVENTION OR AT LEAST HAVE HIS REFUSAL. He has developed into a coward and a two-timer on the record in the past two months. (Then say the plane ride with Sid; the talk with Governor Hobby and Brown).

5 o'clock with Kefauver:

Put Kefauver to work on the notes while Claudia and I only are in the room with his wife, talking kids and the details of the Convention set-up. We should arrange to do anything we can for her personal comfort at Chicago. She should have a quiet personal room in the same hotel, with her husband so he can get his rest without having to go outside his hotel. But it must be a quiet, no telephone deal with the telephone in an adjoining room with an efficient operator to take calls. We to arrange for these blank rooms if she has any trouble. Where are they going to rest in the time before the Convention?

Reid memo for New York:

Tell her Eisenhower is doing wonderfully in Texas and Oklahoma and can probably beat the Democratic nominee if Harriman or Stevenson are it. Certainly nothing has been done to indicate Kefauver or Russell will be nominated and the battle which is between the two northern bigs has an underlay as the two Cardinals of Chicago and

New York are feuding inside with probably Spellman controlling the Boston Cardinal and placing both behind Harriman at the moment with the CIO through Murray and the eastern Democratic bosses through Fitzpatrick and his liason with Spellman. Harriman has claimed New Jersey, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and possibly Maryland-but here they are breaking into natural Russell territory. From Chicago hear that Arvey still confident that it will be Stevenson, but Kefauver has a fairly strong position for the first ballot at least with the entire west coast, Montana, the mountain states, as well as strength in Iowa, Minnesota through Humphrey, and of course Nebraska. So Stevenson has slipped during the last two weeks and Harriman gained tremendously. Kefauver may go in with 250 plus and Russell 150 plus on the first ballot. Kefauver can't win but a Stevenson-Russell picture may carry. Truman now behind Harriman in the east won't take Russell.

May 17, 1952

NOTE FOR HELEN:

The order of precedence in nomination: I am sure that Alabama will yield to Georgia and Senator George nominating will get polite applause. My observation of Conventions is that I would pick the second spot and Arizona can give this to Kefauver. The contrast of applause on radio and TV between Russell and Kefauver is obvious and if Kefauver is nominated after second place he would be in trouble as both Harriman and Stevenson are seeking the second spot now. The alphabet has it Arizona and not Arkansas. So immediately today or yesterday if you have not done it, get the agreement of the boss of the Arizona delegation to yield to Tennessee.

I have just talked to Governor Browning who asked me whether Alabama would yield to Tennessee, and I told him no it would yield to Georgia. That is where I stopped with Browning, but I think Arizona should be sewed up at once, otherwise the Kefauver nomination will come third or fourth instead of second where it should be because of the contrast of applause between the Russell applause and the Kefauver applause. Waiting for Chicago to make this deal would be very much too late. What is needed is an absolutely solid promise made this week by the man who really is in charge of the Arizona delegation and can deliver. It is certain that both Harriman and Stevenson and Truman through McKinney will be working over Arizona if they have not already done so. Speed and accuracy, please.

* * * * *

There is no need to discuss this except on the minor items. The regular Kefauver organization of course, is well up on its plans and has picked its hotel, etc. I did not ask Browning whether their hotel had been picked and how many rooms they had for the Tennessee delegation. The important thing is that it be centrally located. If the McKinney people work with the Stevenson crowd as Chicago hosts, Jake Arvey will locate the Tennessee delegation in St. Louis because all the hotels will be filled in Chicago as far as Tennessee is concerned. If your hotel is not picked now, for God's sake study the map of Chicago hotels. I would prefer the Blackstone though it is a bit off the convention headquarters. The Stevens, right across the street, will be the natural selection of all politicians because of the size and the number of delegations who will be there. The Stevens is controlled by the Hilton group which of course, would be anti-Kefauver and pro-Stevenson. But I don't believe the Blackstone has been pre-empted by Stevenson. It is possible the Harriman group would be sucked in by The Drake which is a mile and a half off center to the north. The Blackstone, I believe, is controlled by Kirkaby who has The Gotham in New York, who is not politically minded and wants the money. On this one I stop except to tell you that Arvey controls them all and he does not want Kefauver to be in Chicago on arrangements.

May 18, 1952

You wish to ask Helen about:

Leo J. Lerner, Meyers Newspapers, Chicago, Illinois.

Moody, Williams, and VanWaggoner in Michigan.

Gael Sullivan.

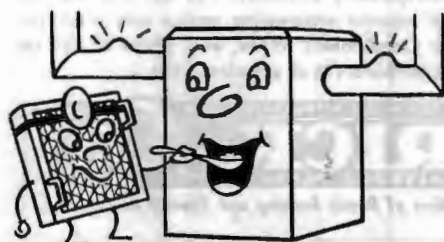
The Senator should shake hands Monday or Tuesday with Senator Moody to make up his own mind about Governor Williams and dropping in on him. He should not go to Michigan to make any speeches. He should not go to Michigan without calling on the Governor and asking the Governor who else he should call on. The Kefauver manager, Van Waggoner, of course is well respected and he would of course call on him.

AIR-MAZING FACTS

BY O. SOGLOW



DUST FLATTENS SUN! Don't rush to an eye doctor if you get up some morning and see a watermelon-shaped sun climbing the horizon. It's only an illusion. Rays from the top and bottom of the sun, bent at different angles by the earth's dust-laden atmosphere, make the sun look squashed on top and bottom instead of round.



CHEAPER DIET FOR FURNACES! You can pep up your furnace and cut fuel bills by replacing dirt-clogged air filters with new, disposable Dustays. Dustays hold more dirt without clogging, give you more heat per fuel dollar, last longer.



TRAPS DUST! Air-Maze air filter panels keep troublesome dust out of hotels, railroad cars, commercial and industrial buildings. Cleaning bills are cut, employees and customers are happier, Air-Maze filter panels are easily cleaned, have high dirt-holding capacity.

WHETHER YOU BUILD OR USE engines, compressors, air-conditioning and ventilating equipment, or any device using air or liquids—the chances are there is an Air-Maze filter engineered to serve you better. Representatives in all principal cities, or write Air-Maze Corporation, Cleveland 5, Ohio.

AIR-MAZE

The Filter Engineers

AIR FILTERS
SILENCERS
SPARK ARRESTERS

LIQUID FILTERS
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GREASE FILTERS

Perspective

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Miracle in Texas

by Raymond Moley

TULSA—This piece is written after fifteen days in Texas observing what Mark Twain would describe as a planned miracle.

It was a most exciting demonstration of political revolt. At the moment, it seems that the revolution is an accomplished fact. A new conservatism has won all along the line.

Two weeks ago, I wrote in this space that Democratic leaders of the conservative movement to wrest control from the so-called liberal supporters of the Washington regime were fearful lest in the precinct conventions of May 3rd so many of their partisans would go into the Republican side that they would be denied a majority in their own party. But in thousands of neighborhood conventions so many voters appeared that there were enough to win for the conservative Democrats and to provide an Eisenhower majority on the Republican side as well. I attended a Democratic precinct convention in Fort Worth. Before the proceedings began, the conservative leader told me rather anxiously that at least 50 of his people had gone to the Republican convention in the next block. And yet, when the voters were divided on the crucial roll call, he had 50 and his opponents only 32. Over in the Republican convention, the division was 50 to 23 for Eisenhower. That sort of result prevailed all over Texas.

I have never seen a more inspiring example of citizen action at the voter level than the precinct convention that I attended. It was called to meet at a drugstore. Ordinarily, so few would have attended that it could have convened behind the prescription counter. But this time the crowd gathered out on the sidewalk and on the grass patch. It was a tense but orderly group of men and women. First they checked in with the poll list. Then the precinct chairman called the meeting to order. The liberal (pro-Administration) leader moved that the convention express itself in favor of the so-called pledge. This would bind delegates to follow the decisions of conventions all along the line, including the national convention in Chicago. A conservative moved that

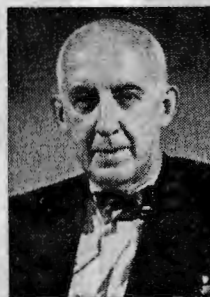
delegates remain unpledged. This is the decisive issue, because it is the determination of the conservatives under Governor Shivers to remain free to act all along the line. There were some speeches. The vote was taken, with the result indicated above. Thereupon, the liberals bolted and held a rump convention about a hundred feet down the sidewalk. Both

groups proceeded in an orderly manner to select a slate of delegates to the county convention.

In that county convention, three days later, the conservatives were seated and the liberals bolted. These bolts are quite normal procedure in Texas whenever a real contest is involved.

At the Democratic county convention which I attended at Dallas, the vote was about four to one conservative. The chairman's keynote speech contained a reference which is a significant indication of what may happen at Chicago and later. He said: "I for one will not be greatly disappointed if we are not seated [at Chicago] for in that event the State of Texas and the leadership it will provide will probably determine who shall be the next President of the United States. That may prove true."

I NOTED at the beginning of this piece that this result in Texas was a planned miracle. It has required the devoted energy and brains of a great many people over a period of ten years to prepare the way. First, the people of the state had to be told how the rise of Federal power was threatening their liberty. Next, they had to be impressed with the importance of taking part in the mechanical activities of government, from the precinct convention to the final election. Then a better primary and election law had to be drawn up and passed by the legislature. Finally, there had to be leaders in every community to get voters to do their duty. A lot of Texas people have been working at that job without hope of reward, without publicizing their names, and without taking a specific organization name. This result is the payoff. It is a very significant example of what can be done by the persistent action of a few citizens.



May 16, 1952

Helen:

I believe Governor Turner of Oklahoma was national finance chairman for the Democrats but that he resigned because of his wife's health.

I have checked into this and believe it was his active oil business rather than his wife's health.

He has now gotten emotionally stirred up. If Kerr takes a beating and makes enemies this year by crying for the Vice Presidency by joining the anti-Truman Russell group as a compromise Vice President with Stevenson after Truman has vetoed Russell on the rising loyalty issue, we can get the Oklahoma Delegation for Eisenhower. The trade would be Turner for Secretary of Agriculture and an implication that Senator Murray might come out of Governor Murray in '54 with a later trip to South America as an Ambassador.

After two days here I am certain that Turner would as soon have Secretary of Agriculture as the Vice Presidency and all Kefauver could possibly offer him would be a Cabinet job. These things are possible. They seem fantastic. The position is due to a two point hatred and possibly jealousy of Kerr. The feeling down here among a majority of important Democrats (possibly a majority of the delegation) is that they were tied in by a joint action of the National Committeeman appointed by the Governor but working for Kerr, and under the Unit Rule are going to be unwillingly helpless behind the Favorite Son. Certainly ex-Governor Turner, ex-National Committeeman Harber and Monroney are the basis of a joint slogan "Kill Kerr in 1954 and get rid of him forever" looking toward '56.

I believe that Turner should be reinstated as a National or Regional money raiser for the active campaign ahead. He would turn the real work over to his friend Harber and the job would be well done trans-Mississippi and this side of the Rockies. I believe he would take it now because he is angry with Kerr and I am certain he would take the Secretary of Agriculture but no other job. Kefauver should call on Turner AFTER calling on the Governor. I have spoken to Turner and asked him if it would embarrass him if Kefauver dropped down to call on the ex-Governor after he had called on the Governor. He said, "Not at all. I would be glad to see him, but the Governor should be called on first."

NOTE: I am writing this while fresh but it is all directed to you for judgment and observation. You bring this memo to me before I go in with Reynolds to see the junior Senator in Washington next week. Turner has agreed to drop down to see the President and Monroney in about two weeks. I want to be sure that this proposed Washington trip does not find Turner absent from Oklahoma City when Kefauver drops through. I am to use George or myself in contacting Turner further. As to dating Turner for the Washington trip (in about a week or ten days) we should have Kefauver's absolute assurance that he will drop off in Oklahoma City. No one has told Governor Murray about this and it should be more or less of a surprise visit as certainly the National Committeeman will get wind of the Kefauver visit if any telephone or other arrangements are made with the Governor. He will immediately tell Kerr.

AT PATRONS TAKE TIME TO VERIFY
CHEON CHECKS WHEN PRESENTED.

Salads

Lettuce and Tomato 60	Fruit Salad 1.25
Chef's Salad 80	Chicken Salad (all white meat) 2.50
Crabmeat Salad 2.15	Shrimp Salad 2.15
	Potato Salad 50
Special Chef's Salad Bowl:	
Julienne of Chicken, Ham, Cheese and Tongue 2.25	

Sandwiches

Chicken 90	Cheese 70	Cream Cheese and Jelly 50
Tongue 75		Virginia Ham 1.00
Ham 75	Club 1.25	Lettuce and Tomato 60
		Sardine 80
(Sandwiches on Toast, 10c. extra)		

Cheese

Camembert 55	Bleu 65	Cream 45
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Desserts

Fruit Pudding 35	Plain or Raisin Cake 25	Assorted Pies 55
French Ice Cream 50		Jello with Whipped Cream 40
Cheese Cake 55		Chocolate or Strawberry Sundae 55
Half Grapefruit 35		Fresh Fruit Cup 75
Chocolate or Strawberry Parfait 55		
Imported Bar-Le-Duc with Cream Cheese 75		

—:

Coffee 25	Sanka 30	Tea 25	Milk 20	Iced Tea or Coffee 30
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Cover 15c.

All prices are our O. P. S. ceiling prices or lower. A list showing our ceiling price for each item is available for your inspection.

McArthur	40 - 1	R/Imp
McArthur	\$ 40 - 1	R/C
Harrison	\$ 5 - 1	C/R
Stevenson	\$ 2 - 1	C/R
Kefauver	\$ 3 - 1	C/R
Truman	\$ 4 - 1	C/R
Reverend	\$ 18 - 1	C/R
Kerr	\$ 75 - 1	C/R

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politics

April 29, 1952

Telephone Memo to C.E.M.

From: Bob Haskell

First source of information is Wilson McGee of the Miami Herald. You may remember he worked in Orlando and I think he is one of the best reporters in the State. He is going to cover the Russell speech tonight and call me tomorrow morning to give me the reaction to this speech -- so if there is any other information wanted, it can be covered first thing in the morning.

McGee says Kefauver is definitely ahead in Miami. He would say he is well ahead from Orlando South in the central part of the State and on both Coasts -- the resort areas. He also got hold of the Herald's political reporter and he said Kefauver is definitely ahead at Miami and is strong on both Coasts and in the southern part of the State.

McGee said MARK WILSON, former Florida Congressman, is handling Russell's campaign. This was given to McGee off the record. He said Russell will carry all of the North but he himself (Russell's campaign manager) admits they are in trouble in the South and on both coasts. He said Russell has no money and is having definite financial trouble. A committee has been organized in Miami under Wilson's direction to raise money for the campaign and McGee says there is a hell of a lot of money represented on this committee.

Kefauver's campaign is being managed by KATZENSTINE, former Mayor of Miami Beach and owner of Radio Station WKAT in Miami. He admits that North Florida is strong for Russell. He says he has just received from Kefauver's manager in Jacksonville a very optimistic report for Jacksonville. It may go for Kefauver because of the fact of increased industrialization there and the heavy labor vote. Katzenstine says they are solid throughout the State and claims both Coasts and South Florida.

Talked to Wally Zschach in Clearwater. He said the relative groups that have come out to hear both politicians speak are: 600 for Kefauver and 400 for Russell.

Wally called the Publisher of the Tallahassee paper and was told by him that that portion of Florida and all the way up to Jacksonville was strong for Russell.

He called the General Manager of the Times Union in Jacksonville -- a very conservative paper which never takes a very active part in politics -- and he too said Jacksonville was strong for Russell.

Welch, Managing Editor of the Miami Daily News, says Kefauver is ahead in Miami, due most likely to the Senate Crime Investigations.

It seems to be the consensus that Kefauver is ahead at the moment and even Russell's own campaign manager, speaking off the record, is not a damn bit optimistic.

R.H.

Orlando Morning Sentinel

ORLANDO EVENING STAR

FLORIDA

MARTIN ANDERSEN
PUBLISHER

April 23, 1952

Mr. Charles E. Marsh
6 East 92nd Street
New York, New York

My dear Marsh:

Mr. Kefauver came in to see us yesterday, through our back door. Would not cross the picket line, which has been at our front door for three years.

He asked about you.

He made a good appearance here but Russell ought to beat him on the FEPC, Taft-Hartley issue.

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For what it may be worth: The Independent, which is a bulletin published by the International Independent Party, 160 Third Ave., N. Y., 5, N. Y., of the Typographical Union, trying to oust Randolph as president, carried this item, April issue:

"Lawyers running our union are bringing paralysis upon our industry. As if it isn't enough to have two high-priced lawyers on our payroll, Randolph has employed a third, Defeated Sen. Claude Pepper of Florida has been added to our payroll.

"The teletypesetters are here. Randolph, his council, our high-priced lawyers, have failed miserably to protect our jurisdiction or our membership. The greatest ingredient in the make-up of the present administration is lip service. Lip service is very bad; especially when it's the lower lip and it's loose."

Sincerely



copy to Jamaica, B.W.I.

MR. MARSH:

Read both the Andersen and Gordon letters to Helen Fuller at noon. She said they were both very interesting, though Andersen was "off the track" about Russell.

She said she did not think it necessary for you to fly down to Washington. Kefauver is due in Washington late this afternoon and will be at the Newspaper Editors Meeting tonight. He leaves Washington again at 8 A.M. tomorrow.

Helen wants to phone you again about 8 o'clock tonight, after she has had a chance to talk with Kefauver, to arrange for his telephone conversation with you. She said it can be any way you want it but she suggests it be late tonight rather than very early Sunday morning because Kefauver is so overtired she doubts if he would make sense on an early morning call.

Kefauver speaks in Tuscaloosa tomorrow afternoon, then goes on to Florida. He will stay in Florida through Thursday--perhaps longer if pending arrangements can be completed.

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MR. CUNEO called to say he is back from Alexandria and is available if you should want him.

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RALPH expects to be in NY about 3 PM -- he had a breakdown, which delayed him.

April 6, 1952

If I were Kefauver now that events have promoted a Lone Ranger to a platform standing with a respectful audience nation-wide, my voice must say things simply and well and sincerely.

I realize the immediate state battles drain me of strength to think and sometimes even to feel. It is hard to see the forest through the trees. Many people seeing me now of platform size will tell me this and that and write me much of dribble and special pleadings. On the supposition that if Taft is the nominee he will beat himself, a premise should be that Eisenhower is an able man of war--a great Godsend to our country in peace and war. For this is essentially the truth and fifty million voters won't go wrong. Wherever plain fear is rampant there is an Eisenhower vote AFTER Taftism and self-withdrawal into the family unit and the national family unit has eliminated Bob the Bad. For there is simply nothing bad about Ike that many people know of. And it is certainly too late to start any drive against Ike the person. An abstract and cynical statesman would say the issue must be: better a citizen than a policeman for the top job.

You don't want the policeman in the sitting room. You want him outside watching for law breakers whether Communists of Moscow or the possible policing of the world as the rash of troubles continues. Who would say that any sincere President would displace Eisenhower as America's greatest individual contribution to world peace? I honor Truman for this as one of his wisest steps. He certainly would not permit partisanship to cloud his statesmanship. And possibly, if this is not too blatant, he would say in the people's common language "When (or should or if) I become President through our great democratic process, my first act would be to offer the position of Secretary of War to Eisenhower."

For all this I might get a rebuttal to the effect that I am merely a politician seeking independent votes. But at least I would be saying something that the people could understand and I would be the first one to say it simply and well. And, right or wrong, I would jump into the national and global picture with a news item capable both of defense and of growth as the so-called paramount issue, for I would offer the American voters what they probably really want. This is really a bi-partisan government of a Kefauver (the plain simple and honest and dependable civil servant) with Eisenhower (a plain, conscientious, honest global policeman).

Should I make this statement before or after the Democratic Convention? The cynical statesman seeks his own answer for he always has in mind what fifty million voters think. He got his training during a long life of printing that way rather than on expecting God to speak to him so that he might speak to all. For the cynic naturally found out in a few years that one thousand people on any one question know more than he does about what they want. So in early manhood he always asked one thousand people personally when the issue was big enough. So thinking here with nothing in front of us, we must be practical. And timing is everything. For there is no greater and more fierce competition than in the world of ideas. Leadership even of the Huey Long and McCarthy school goes to those who speak either loudest or firstest. And to the cynic it seems that the real issue of a bi-partisan battle will be between the world's first

policeman and a man who represents what people will call the world's first citizen.

For this reason a clipping is enclosed. It is not, of course, more than a suggestion. But the new leadership which is soon to come as Churchill's and Attlee's hands fall with age and illness, is the Bulldog Bevan who has had courage enough to fight straight through to a more international liberalism than Attlee, preoccupied with internal necessity, was able to cope with. And obviously Ramsay MacDonald, the Laborite, broke a century of aristocratic political leaderships in the British Empire; as a bastard personally and politically he formed a coalition with Tories and set the march of mankind back a generation. But post World War II England put the intensely nationalistic Labor people in front with sincere but second-class leadership--a true coalition of mediocrity. And now Bevan's light is shining and there can be no coalition with Tories--only a despairing and almost senile defense of class leadership of a negative approach to democracy, i.e. that democracy is best served by a mythical Platonic rule of the best for the greatest number. But even Kefauver will join the cynic in knowing that the greatest leaders must come from the soil of humanity itself.

This interpolation of British trend might be hurriedly glanced at as unnecessary. But a cynic would say it is more necessary to learn one thing and TO GRAB THIS ONE THING FIRST AND HOLD ON WITH AN INCREASING GRASP than to exhaust one's human strength on a myriad of get-the-job-first minutiae.

One more item. There being a fundamental sympathy throughout the United States for Britain now that they are starving and because they are no longer the paramount British Empire, we must have a practical approach to the fact that everywhere in western Europe, including Britain, the common man is saying, "Where do WE get on or off in this Washington-Moscow business?" We may exclude the rest of the world from thinking of such seriousness as must be thought of along the line running from Berlin down through Vienna, Trieste, Rome and to its intelligent outpost at Turkey controlling the Dardanelles. There is no hope for Turkish people under Russian rule. And now that we have drawn the real line of the battle of war or political victory, we may dismiss the Far East because those reserves for Russia on the real front can not be decisive geographically in the time element of a rapid all-out final fighting war.

And since that is so and since a citizen seeking the world's highest office must say so sooner or later, he should now lay out his work along realistic lines. He need not say everything, but he must consider what is to be. The stakes are very, very high. Fifty million voters vaguely know it. It is possible that the coming election will develop more sincere thought among the people than have ever thought before in America. And the prospective candidates of two parties all know this. It is not to be a campaign of joking, wise-cracking, or mud-slinging. The old order passes as the pitiless sun of necessity sweeps away clouds of subterfuge and the thunders of name-calling. Even the present Taft-Eisenhower semi-final shows Taft, the tenacious and ill-tempered as against Ike with a smile and a serious driving purpose. "We can do it," says Ike, "but we all must work like hell." But suppose a citizen says, "We, with Ike on the job, ARE DOING IT." But behind Ike is the real body of the

permanent drive for peace with victory and freedom. No one man can be two places doing two things. Ike belongs to America. I simply respectfully say to American voters regardless of Party, we need a civilian President and a fighting Ike--both for peace. But certainly for a peace of helath and strength; not a peace of fear or retreat.

But for a moment I would like to talk about the world citizen at peace. There can not be any great difference in this citizen mind of the world whether he is an American, a Mexican, a Frenchman, A Britisher, a German, or a Turk--yes, whether a Chinamen or an East Indian or a poor Fellah in an Egyptian cotton field--they all feel alike. They want a family life for their children better than their own family life. They want the dignity to stand up straight while they think and feel and speak in freedom for the good of all. They know that the good of all must be first before they have any good for themselves. And they work through the only way they know how. They follow their leaders trying blindly to see as well as hear the truth through the noise of partisanships and the threats of death as tanks rumble through the streets and the jet bombers reign the air. But obviously every man every where there is no desire to die. He knows the things he knows. And so all know that war and war making machines and war mongering people are the motive force as we move forward in time and space to perhaps the abyss of our age and the thousand year throw-back into savagery, terror and the ultimate reign of a colossus of force and fear.

So if the common man has spoken to himself, his wife, and his children he perhaps would vote his beliefs if anyone can say it simply. And truly this year in America is the high spot of world thought although only fifty million of two billion people have the vote. BUT WHAT A VOTE.

The cynic maintains this vote is in no sense national but that merely a section of American voters will take on the proud responsibility of voting for all this world in a sort of magnified Gallup Poll. But the only way they may do so is by a ballot vote for President. Can't this thing be put on that big a basis? (Evidently Taft is distrusted because he accentuates me and mine and us after the world thought has passed him by) and Eisenhower can not because his past military accents can not ever speak the language of the simple man of peace. He is merely the defense act with offense over-tones explaining that he is the doctor needed. But the cynic emphasizes that a doctor may be necessary perhaps--surely is and may become more necessary. But this is a family conclave. The head of the family is not abdicating his family headship just because he is ill. He is not going to commit suicide after suggesting that the doctor marry his wife and carry on the family in health. He lies in bed and calls for his shoes. He is feeling pretty good. He thanks the doctor and says he wants to keep him on the payroll on an annual retainer to "keep me fit and well and all the family in good shape." And politically speaking he is not going to abdicate the sacred right of a pure democracy by appointing an upright soldier to the double job of civilian leader and shoulder marked official. He wants the top man in plain clothes and he needs a head man in plain clothes who supports with everything he has got the top brass and through him to the Private in the trench, in the great drive to preserve peace with liberty through this world.

April 7, 1952

The Rt. Hon. The Earl of Munster,
Parliamentary Secretary of State for the Colonies,
Kingston, Jamaica, B.W.I.

Dear Lord Munster:

You have asked for a layman report on economic Jamaica,
present and future.

Because of my inexperience and youth there may be too
much opinion and too few facts in the accompanying re-
port, and perhaps an over-plus of the hotel industry.
But certainly there should be a freshness of opinion
because I have not access to past facts and figures as
my business is but two years old.

As an employee and as a manager of a small hotel business
six years ago at the age of twenty-four, just out of
the Service, my memory of what I know is acute. If what
I say has any stimulation to those who really know the
facts and figures from the files, I shall be pleased to
have helped even an individual bit as a citizen of The
British Empire.

Sincerely,

April 7, 1952

**SOME OBSERVATIONS ON JAMAICA AND THE CARIBBEAN BRITISH AREA
TODAY AND TOMORROW:**

The business of government in helping a so-called backward people toward higher living standards world-wide, is based primarily on food, housing and health. The British sector in the Caribbean is a few million colored people descended from African slavery with an over-lay of less than two per cent of Caucasian, Semitic, and Chinese industrial over-lords. Local political government is in the hands of the colored people. London controls through veto and a police and judicial system. In the maintenance of order and the stabilization of the government there should, of course, be no conflict. On the ultimate objective--the raising of living standards--there is not necessarily any major conflict.

Progress has certainly been made in the last 150 years under the British control. American economic control which now exists in Cuba, Puerto Rico, and largely in Haiti, has been operating since the Spanish-American War and is of course, a much larger economic problem than is faced by the British in the Caribbean.

There has been approximately twenty million in government in the American areas but there has been immeasurably more economic development for the inhabitants. The American government and the American industrialists have probably poured one billion dollars into the Caribbean economic life. But Jamaica is facing to day and tomorrow the ultimate test of the British control as to whether British groups will keep relative pace toward the future for the inhabitants as would occur in the American group. In the past five years tourism and Bauxite have been "up" factors. The biggest business of all, agriculture, from this observer's standpoint, is badly lagging. Both Bauxite and erosion, and the wasteful and over-use of the land are resulting in lessening production in relation to the American group progress. The obvious American advantage is its wealth for export which of course employs at increasingly higher wages in the sugar industry which is the greatest export for pound intake, and the Bauxite industry which is the greatest export for dollar intake.

The Canadian aluminium cousin of The Aluminum Company of America is probably the most effective operation in the Caribbean. The Kaiser and the Reynolds aluminium operations are heavily subsidized by the American government under the American stock pile of alumina program. Perhaps the forty million dollar American investment in

Bauxite mining and exporting has a background of about ten million American free dollars. In spite of that the Aluminium Company of Canada-which is reported by insiders working at the business here as not only the most efficient of the three but probably in the Caribbean, may become the largest Caribbean producer of Bauxite. Because of American judicial decree under anti-trust decision, the Aluminium Company of Canada may eventually be dominated by Canadian capital. At the present time this is probably not so as Americans substantially dominate patents practices and prices. There is merely now a first cousin deal from the American Mellon dominance of post World War I in America. The Roosevelt administrative policy of post World War II made Reynolds and Kaiser possible in Bauxite and the ultimate aluminum product. So these two are the babies of Washington. The same weakening of chemical and textile monopolies in the western world of the Duponts has occurred by the same history and methods of the Washington government in pouring billions for increased production and competition and price control to the large alleged competitors of Dupont.

Affecting the Jamaican scene these great corporations have probably very good government contracts. Jamaica needed the development economically but apparently it made no provision for this considerable wealth of Jamaica remaining anywhere near the common inhabitant of the island. The uplands are to be stripped into wastes with a few feeble gestures such as cattle raising on unused land and a rather nebulous intent to restore agricultural soil as the machines strip the surface of hundreds of thousands of acres formerly baronies owned by a very few individuals personally interested in the social and business heirarchy which centers at Kingston. The people were not there. The government representatives of the people felt they needed the Bauxite development because of acute unemployment. They may not have had the vision of permanence for the people. There is no per ton export tax such as exists for many years in Venezuela in oil after twenty years of exploitation and devious operation between the American industrialists and the changing governments of an unstable and perhaps corrupt nature. The situation Bauxite-wise here in Jamaica may have been impractical from the standpoint of the long view for the people when faced with a temporary demand for employment today and now.

But from the government angle in London, the cost of government in Jamaica and the proper acquisition and use of all revenue possible for ultimate government and humanitarian purposes may be facing worse unemployment in permanent agricultural help than it will get in temporary contractual obligations with the contracting companies. Bauxite that goes out never comes back. If it is to become a permanent fund for the improvement of the peoples lives it may look at the present Venezuelan pattern and the tremendous income of states in the American set-up which is going by the billions yearly into the education and transportation costs of state governments as the oil leaves the well and reaches the pipeline. Here operates the American severance tax plan. No one can escape this tax plan. It is the simplest of all taxes. It becomes the legal necessity of the pipeline companies to keep the books and remit the fees at the well head. An export tax at the shipping point could as easily be collected in Jamaica. This tax is done with sulphur in both Louisiana and Texas, the 90% production points in sulphur in America.

The broadest view I see is that the first benefit of Bauxite withdrawal in Jamaica should be to the people who live in Jamaica thus lessening the burden of London.

Speaking of Kingston commercial control of the entire island I mention export and income at Kingston harbour for study. Who controls these exports and imports? What power really makes the ultimate consumer prices for the people here and who controls prices of things produced and consumed on this island? Hungary, before World War II, was controlled of course by a great agricultural land-holding power with recurring governmental instability when the 95% of the working population revolted occasionally through peasant party political drive against the 5% of majority land holders aligned with the military and aristocratic land over-lords. Mexico went through the same thing until 1920 when the communist-type revolution imitated Russia. Mexico since 1920 has grown relatively prosperous and is now largely an economic adjunct to United States big business. But without a military, religious, or land owning control of the people.

This little Jamaica is but a spot in this economic world but it is my only spot. We definitely are moving forward in governmental home rule. Also definitely the economic lot of the people is better than it was five years ago. It is the speed and permanency of this improvement that concerns me.

Among the 98% of colored inhabitants there is of course an immeasurably rapid growth of wants. The six shilling a day, twelve hour day, on the large estates is breaking rapidly against the high cost of living. The things people eat, wear, and need for housing are now three times higher than a decade ago. Wages definitely have not gone up in proportion. So potentially the petty increases in wage intake and the great rise of knowledge of the workers has a greater latent discontent than ten years ago. In themselves and not in public because of police control of what is said and done in public meetings, it would be impossible for a British official to know this story. It can be found only in the hill country, along the water front, and in the city slum districts. An exaggeration perhaps, but a journalistic inquiry received the answer that if a secret ballot of Jamaican voters (or workers) on farms, industries, and the city employed and unemployed would be taken today on "What country would you like to be with - Britain, the United States, or Canada?" Britain would run third with less than 15% and the United States probably first with Canada a strong second. Obviously this makes today and tomorrow a difficult problem in satisfying the population. It is England's responsibility now and tomorrow to satisfy or at least prevent an increasing general unrest.

It is hardly possible from London and its reports from its British controlled and British paid civil servants to get this hill country-port side-and unemployed estimate. They can not see the forest because of their trees. And human nature, world wide, reports pleasantly to superior groups which pay them and control their jobs. Neither the contacts are with them nor is the disposition to combat their own personal security and living standards. I have written a brief note to His Excellency accompanying this report. I said that I did not know the facts and figures. I only live here and

employ at this date fifty contented workers. But it is a never ending surprise to me how much these people know or think they know about Kingston government which they merely call "government." A Gallup Poll on "What do you think of government? Should and can it be improved in its relations to me?" might find a ten to one affirmative. It is hardly possible that 10% of the population is satisfied with government as it now is.

One of the current acute discontents comes from an operation American which gives special immigration privileges to Puerto Ricans and even Cubans. The official and unofficial restrictions of the common native Jamaican in reaching the United States amount to a scandal and a trickle. These people firmly believe that they are imprisoned by the British on the island of Jamaica with no chance of freer and better opportunities. Practically no American or Canadian tourist has reached this island without at least one direct or furtive appeal to "take me out of here" back with them. There is little chance that America will change this policy toward the Caribbean people. It therefore remains completely a British problem--probably not solvable--but the fact emphasized is that the British government operating at Kingston gets the entire blame for this acute discontent. These people are much like the Italians and the Irish who went to America when there were no restrictions before the first World War. Southern Italy was supported from the sent-home pay of Italians in America. But today where union labor dominates at Washington, the capitalistic demand for more workers before 1914 has been eliminated. This, added to the naturally increasing population in the United States of about seven million a year, has made the great American industrialists less insistent on south European labor and the gate is now closed to the British Caribbean probably forever.

If the emigration export of people becomes a talking myth the obvious only other answer is to get the job down here in Jamaica. It is also obvious that Canada and the United States have ten dollars to export for every ten shillings the British Isles can export to Jamaica.

The small British Bauxite picture here hardly counts. The little cement plant at Kingston has been more noise than product. It proposes to serve the island needs for construction with a monopolistic agreement with government but the people know the score on the cost of cement blocks. The files of your government must have these facts also. In their simple way, the people did not appreciate a reduction in cement prices that accompanied the beginning of operation of this plant. They know that ten years ago the cost of cement building blocks was about one-third of the present price. They also know that the price went up very high for two years before the plant went into operation and that the price concession now made was hardly a reform for the two years price rise. And the building of his own home is the ultimate ambition of every Jamaican especially if he can get an acre of land.

While most people realize that the British government after hurricanes has helped through land and agricultural bank plans, they are almost unanimously critical of the operations of these schemes. Expensive foreclosures are routine after the borrowers have paid for years. They object to an old age pension scheme that forbids any land owner from getting one shilling from government no matter whether ill

and unemployed as long as he owns a piece of real estate. He must be closed out by the bank before he can go on relief. He must be homeless before government will help him even though sick and unemployed. When local financial comptrollers were asked about some rather extravagantly pitiless evictions under foreclosure, they said "It is terrible but we can't help it under the law." When the Poor official of the Parish Board was asked why they did not help keep poor people in their homes, he said that the law was against it and that naturally they personally would rather give a man two shillings a week off the street than on it. And when the educational groups on the Parish level were asked about school attendance, they said that they had to have a regulation that naked school children could not come to school, and that they estimated that 20% of the hill country school children could not come to school because of nakedness. The parents of these children pay petty taxes for school upkeep but just can't quite make it for a clothes budget where food is the ever present fact of life.

Another current criticism is "Where is that hurricane money?" In this Parish where I live, the Parish of St. Ann, there are apparently 120 hurricane demolished houses. The Parochial Board reports that no money has come in to rebuild any because the plans are not ready yet and the financial program is not yet completed. To a man who spent the winter looking at a hurricane wreck and slept with his children somewhere, it is not enough to say that the churches and schools were opened to him the day after the hurricane. Most of the victims are crowded in with their relatives. But they know through reading the island newspaper, The Gleaner, about the relief funds available and what their native legislature argues about the need of hurricane rebuilding that they have a kick coming especially when they turn to the daily report of the relief funds, and they do not know what the million and a half pounds which has been collected from all over the world is being held there for. They have not seen any houses. They are almost as angry as the same number of people would be if they read a daily report of a million and a half pounds of beef being held at Kingston by government which they somehow believe they have title to.

I promised myself as I began to write this that I would not talk about my own petty business. But as tourism is a growing blessing in dollars, he who reads this must forgive me—a youngster of thirty—for being most interested in tourism. To the people, the owners of the hotels are very wealthy people. They read daily of demands by the hotel people that government give them hundreds of thousands of pounds because the hotel owners are making Jamaica prosperous in helping to solve unemployment. But the hotel workers, nagged by high living costs, can't see that the workers are getting three times former wages when the living costs jump three times for houses and clothes. So the Kingston union groups are called in by spontaneous strikes in the hotels in high season. The largest operator, the Issa family, owning Tower Isle on the north shore and The Myrtle Bank at Kingston, have been struck in high season not by labor

agitators but by workers who immediately call in the labor agitators to negotiate for better wages and conditions with the strike bound hotel owner. The usual election for which the union should negotiate, is held under government auspices.

At this moment since the hurricane badly crippled the tourist industry starting the season quite late, the financial condition of the hotel operator is quite bad. Three of four medium hotels in this immediate Ocho Rios area--not counting Tower Isle--are economically bankrupt in spite of a high standard at Shaw Park and much imported individual capital from the United States. No one can conceive how the hotel industry can maintain necessary food and labor excellence and match this present labor unrest. They are prevented from increasing rates because of the high cost of air travel as compared with Bermuda and Nassau, from the United States and Canada. In a meeting with Prime Minister Bustamante last week, Bustamante was conciliatory and promised necessary financial government assistance. He mentioned as a gesture for racial equality that he could not approve of the fact that Shaw Park, within the last two years, had refused him lodging under the unspoken color line custom of the North Shore and Montego Bay during the high season when tourists at \$40 per couple per room is the rule. Automatically the color proposition and practically all Jamaican whites will not apply because of price. But the Bustamante statement is significant. In fact he said in effect, "Why should I help a business which won't let me use it?" Bustamante happens to be a very wealthy person since he became the major political person. His enemies say that "he has gone over." Business confidences in Kingston report that the Issa commercial and hotel group supported him with approximately 25 to 30 thousand pounds in his close race two or three years ago against the Manley group. Cynically these men say that Bustamante is now safe and will pay off to the hotel group with government subsidy.

I believe the hotel industry is very unhealthy though our personal position at our little hotel is pleasingly secure and in its second year making a reasonable profit on its investment. As I write the hotel is full. But three other hotels in this district are without guests. I am not personally complaining. I have tried my own individual approach to my own individual problems.

Our fifty workers are having an opportunity to buy part of the shares of this hotel. They are forbidden tips, but each two weeks our check-off system on the guests of 10% has more than satisfied them. And they have reaffirmed the experiment as a permanent thing. They are particularly pleased that every worker whether in the garden or in the kitchen or at the bar gets his or her part. We are now operating a building and loan savings fund with a provision that the buildings shall be built at cost with no contractor profit. By eliminating outside credit, unnecessary legal fees, and contractors risks, we have current plans for 40% building costs savings to our own employees. On the completed building there is no interest and every shilling goes to construction. As one district labor organizer said, "If Jamaica Inn's staff plan were all over the island there could not be a hotel workers union."

And then as to government subsidies. I consider them very unhealthy. Certainly a poor little tax payer is worse off than the hotel owner. But any government tourism plan of subsidy and tax exemption will simply build too many hotels too fast and increase the number of unstable institutions. Out rating to get something will follow and inferior service will do the rest to wreck a business built on

the finest water and the finest beaches and the finest scenery in the Caribbean. I prefer instead of government subsidy, a head tax on tourists to go to the unemployment and educational funds of the North Shore Parishes. Tourism will pay it gladly if, as Bustamante remarked, the hotels give the service. Government help is unhealthy help and politically, which is the real reason for writing this, it is a cause and perhaps a just cause for labor unrest within the industry and throughout the island of petty tax payers. We are hearing constantly, "They take the shillings from us and give them to the big rich hotel owners." Nobody is going to refuse a government handout, but I hope the day will come soon when the government takes a "handin" for the distress which is all around us. It will not be very much but it will help. And if the Bauxite severance tax becomes a reality I can see dollars in for Jamaica for the real relief we must have since England can not help us as part of the British Empire with some few millions a year of the hundreds of millions which our people know are being sent from Washington for the economic relief of the British Empire. The whispering talk down here is, "Why doesn't government get our share down here? All we get is a kick in the pants and maybe Kingston is putting up the the cost of living for the Kingston big rich."

This seems to be merely a disjointed recital from one young man who is personally smug financially. But a true note of optimism is my conclusion. Jamaica is better off under the 150 years of British rule. She will continue to improve under British rule. I am patiently, as a young Canadian transplanted here, serving for dollars and to get dollars here, about \$100,000 worth of Canadian and American tourists annually. It used to be when at Shaw Park, practically all British. Now both Ocho Rios and Montego Bay get as intake \$100 minimum into the till for every ten pounds. That is good work and I am proud of it. But we shall be asked to go on our own because there is greater misery than our financial embarrassments.

Meat improvement and a more workable price control is a separate problem which I am perfectly willing to explore. We are solving it in our own way by growing our own meat supply and corn feeding it. The pounds that have to go out of Jamaica for meat are anguish pounds, leaving here. Under proper management plus a regrading of prices for quality meats and adequate refrigeration facilities in the North Shore cattle growing districts with the ending of the present vested interest cattle slaughtering at Kingston, the North Shore would grow an export business of large size as well as feeding good meat at present prices as against the practice of killing one day and cutting up and selling the day following what is called on the island "warm beef." The government employees around this industry must be guilty of either stupidity or collusion with vested interests. An effort was made the other day by a north shore individual to obtain a license to slaughter 600 animals annually. He arranged the finances for the necessary processing plant with refrigeration which also would help increase supplies of hogs and chickens--hogs being the poor man's meat. He engaged a lawyer and was granted the right to slaughter 52 beef annually and at the same time it is reported that the Reynolds Bauxite Company has currently a permit and is operating a 5000 cattle ranch--a good will concession for the continued use of its 50,000 acre arrangement with the DaCosta group of Kingston. To this maze there must be an answer.

Louis F. Gordon and Associates

DAVID STOTT BUILDING

Detroit 26, Michigan

April 9, 1952

Mr. Charles Marsh
Jamaica Inn
Ocho Rios
Jamaica, B.W.I.

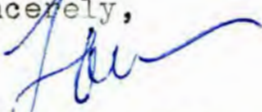
Dear Charles:

It was nice hearing from you and I had been wondering where you were and what you were up to. I didn't think that even that beautiful land of sunshine could keep you away from the boiling cauldron of politics. Re your inquiry, my estimate of the situation in Michigan at this moment is as follows. The entire Michigan delegation will cast a first ballot for the favorite son, Williams. Williams and the C.I.O. leadership will then determine what they do next. The delegation will be about 60% U.A.W. C.I.O. and the balance ward heelers. Russell will not be a consideration. There is talk that a Hicks Griffiths will work closely with Estes in the entire Midwest. Griffiths is the law partner of Mennen Williams and received a gubernatorial appointment from Williams to the Probate Bench in Wayne County about a year and a half ago. He was defeated for reelection for the same job last fall. Griffiths is very close to Williams and Williams's name still appears on the door of Griffiths law office. If Griffiths does go to work for Estes, he should be able to deliver a good part of the delegation on the second or third ballot. At this moment, it is not my impression that Stevenson would be a big factor in Michigan. This thought is predicated on the fact that McKinney indicated on a television program last Sunday that the Administration and the National Committee will take no part in pushing Stevenson. If however, the C.I.O. and the Administration decided to go all out for Stevenson, they may be able to take a good part of the Michigan delegation with them. It is my feeling that the delegation will try and remain in a favorable trading position right up to the time of the convention.

I trust this is the information you desire and that it will be helpful. We have moved past the bulk of one of our selling seasons and I will now be in a position to do some suit case carrying and traveling. I could devote a major part of my time between now and the convention to working with you.

Kindest regards to you and Claudia.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read "LJG", is written over the word "Sincerely,".

LOUIS J. GORDON

LJG/pg

April 30 1952

Memo for Helen Fuller

MIAMI, Florida:

Russell talked last night to 4000 as against 5500 for Kefauver (same estimator). Talk reported well received but most in attendance from the "Little Georgia" section of Miami. Smathers introduced.

Russell talked before Labor Council of Miami in morning and in afternoon the Council endorsed Kefauver.

April 29, 1952

Telephone Memo to C.E.M.

From: Bob Haskell

First source of information is Wilson McGee of the Miami Herald. You may remember he worked in Orlando and I think he is one of the best reporters in the State. He is going to cover the Russell speech tonight and call me tomorrow morning to give me the reaction to this speech -- so if there is any other information wanted, it can be covered first thing in the morning.

McGee says Kefauver is definitely ahead in Miami. He would say he is well ahead from Orlando South in the central part of the State and on both Coasts -- the resort areas. He also got hold of the Herald's political reporter and he said Kefauver is definitely ahead at Miami and is strong on both Coasts and in the southern part of the State.

McGee said MARK WILSON, former Florida Congressman, is handling Russell's campaign. This was given to McGee off the record. He said Russell will carry all of the North but he himself (Russell's campaign manager) admits they are in trouble in the South and on both coasts. He said Russell has no money and is having definite financial trouble. A committee has been organized in Miami under Wilson's direction to raise money for the campaign and McGee says there is a hell of a lot of money represented on this committee.

Kefauver's campaign is being managed by KATZENSTINE, former Mayor of Miami Beach and owner of Radio Station WKAT in Miami. He admits that North Florida is strong for Russell. He says he has just received from Kefauver's manager in Jacksonville a very optimistic report for Jacksonville. It may go for Kefauver because of the fact of increased industrialization there and the heavy labor vote. Katzenstine says they are solid throughout the State and claims both Coasts and South Florida.

Talked to Wally Zschach in Clearwater. He said the relative groups that have come out to hear both politicians speak are: 600 for Kefauver and 400 for Russell.

Wally called the Publisher of the Tallahassee paper and was told by him that that portion of Florida and all the way up to Jacksonville was strong for Russell.

He called the General Manager of the Times Union in Jacksonville -- a very conservative paper which never takes a very active part in politics -- and he too said Jacksonville was strong for Russell.

Welch, Managing Editor of the Miami Daily News, says Kefauver is ahead in Miami, due most likely to the Senate Crime Investigations.

It seems to be the consensus that Kefauver is ahead at the moment and even Russell's own campaign manager, speaking off the record, is not a damn bit optimistic.

R.H.

MAY 1, 1952

RESULTS OF TELEPHONE POLL

	<u>FOR</u> <u>KEFAUVER</u>	<u>FOR RUSSELL</u>	<u>NO CHOICE</u>
SPARTANBURG.....	60	169	
BRISTOL	169	31	17
TUSCAL OOSA.	83	71	46
GADSDEN	107	93	

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Spart Kefau 60 Russel 169

Bristol Ref 169 - Russel 31
no char 17

Luscal Ref 83 - Russ 71
no char 46

Goose Ref 107 - Russel 93

April 23, 1952

Memorandum to C.E.M.

From George Reynolds

Radio - TV Address By Senator Kefauver
Just Before Democratic Convention.

You asked that I remind you to try to work out for Senator Kefauver radio and TV time of about fifteen minutes just before the Democratic Convention, the idea being that it would be a direct appeal to uninstructed delegates and to thank the voters who in primaries selected Kefauver as their candidate. He should remind the voters and the delegates that although he won all the primaries, the nomination will be decided at the Convention largely by uninstructed delegations which frequently are under the control of political bosses. His speech should be a direct appeal to these delegates on behalf of his candidacy.

I will try to find out what fifteen minutes radio-TV time will cost and let you know. NATHAN STRAUSS is national President of the Kefauver-For-President Clubs. He lives in New York and is the owner, I think, of one of the big radio stations in New York. His office number is Circle 6-2200. You may remember him as Roosevelt's Housing Administrator. I should think if he liked the idea and knowing radio and TV, he might help plan the thing. I do not know him personally but was asked by Kefauver to talk to him while I was in New York. I find he is now in Florida and will not be back for a week.

G.R.

April 8, 1952

OPERATION:

Florida, with Pepper up for Russell, Orlando should be easy. I should ask Andy for advice as to whether Russell or Kefauver is the best southerner to win against the policeman. He might decide that Stevenson is it, but if I ask Andy to check the rumor that Stevenson is hand in glove with Acheson on Hiss, perhaps Stevenson may be the man that Andy must shoot and may be I can tell him that Russell can't shoot Stevenson and then Andy may say, "I guess its Kefauver after all." The work sheet which will obviously be for all southern states including Arkansas, Texas, Alabama, North Carolina, and Florida with a side-swipe at Virginia, can be written from the above after the work out on Andersen's mind. Since I shall work in detail almost entirely on southern mentalities I feel that we have a real break with Truman out and Russell impossible.

Kefauver has beaten Truman in a fair fight after shaking hands at the White House. Stevenson may have the Truman kiss of death as well as a preponderance of city machines. His outright written endorsement of Hiss puts him in bed with Acheson. His recent divorce does not help him with devout Catholics and some mean fellow is going to print a cartoon from Hiss in jail holding a telephone, thanking Stevenson for his loyalty. But any attack on Stevenson is impossible should it come from any Kefauver headquarters anywhere, even Piggy in Nashville. The Stevenson errors are merely signs of his final unavailability at the convention and will come out into the open at that time without and factional battle, and thank God I really believe Kefauver has political sense enough to know of this.

It is an axiom in top politics that most candidates become unavailable by something they have written. No Kefauver researcher need go into the Stevenson past. If somebody wanted to he would have to go back five years into the Bloomington Pantograph picking up what Stevenson wrote there as an editor. This picking in the garbage dump would have to be left to the Republicans. I personally believe the divorce plus the Hiss endorsement will finish Stevenson after his boom of "Draft Stevenson" has matured (not too far, of course.) At present Stevenson is in the lead for victory at the Democratic Convention practically because the Democratic professionals and city bosses have no other spot to beat Kefauver.

The Truman withdrawal has eliminated Russell and the Byrnes plan for a rump Convention working with the Republican set-up to throw the election into the Congress. In a final decision the city bosses have to have a vot getter for President even if they hate and are afraid of him. Witness Grover Cleveland in 1888 and Franklin Roosevelt in 1932. Witness even the decision of Jake Arvey, the corrupt but smart braintrust which carried Kelley into midwest Democratic control from his seat as Mayor of Chicago. With Kelley out Arvey revamped and sent two damn good men into national prominence-- Senator Douglas and Governor Stevens. This was an Arvey job pure and simple. He told his organization that a good Governor and a Senator could not hurt his Chicago machine and would keep it so because virtue was a vote getter south of Chicago. Lucas was out. Curly Brooks was no longer possible. The Chicago Tribune mack was getting gaga and had gone MacArthur, so the Chicago

Tribune McCormack (Republican) and Jake Arvey (Democrat) set-up to rule what McCormack called his Chicago-land, has gone to pieces and works no longer together. Politically Chicago-land was a reality. Publisher McCormack drew up the map showing Tribune dominance in Wisconsin including Milwaukee, Racine, Springfield, Illinois, through Dubuque and eastern Catholic Iowa, and then into the great industrial belt of Indiana including Hammond, and Gary where the Catholic domination gave Arvey, the Jew, a line-up through Kelley the Mayor and a Catholic, the Mendelein Cardinal set-up. The Truman open movements with Stevenson were premature whether Arvey negotiated this one trying to make a President, or not. There is now no chance to pick Senator Douglas of Illinois though the Senator is drooling at the mouth feeling that Stevenson is the front runner but that Douglas has the national political virtue approval. Douglas is simply too old and too late and it is hardly probable that the Democratic people want a compromise candidate of that type to beat the rushing Eisenhower. They want somebody who really carries a ball and Kefauver has got that one. He is now emerging as Jack the Giant Killer WITHIN the Democratic Party. The people believe that he has done more to clean up Democratic corruption single handed than all others together. The dramatic defeat of Democratic leader Lucas was attributed to "The Kefauver Circus" at Chicago, before the big show at New York. A transcription of what Lucas' poker-playing set-up in the Senatorial set would reveal is beyond belief. What Truman said in the Presidential poker set is beyond belief. It was practically all profanity interspersed with a base note "Get Kefauver quick." The trouble is they tried it by Parliamentary manoeuvres and the people simply missed the point. For ten days they worked feverishly and failed when Kefauver finessed. Kefauver simply said that he had done enough and threw the ball right into their lap. He went right back into his Senate job and said that he was very sorry about Lucas who was a nice fellow. And that as he had spent a year barnstorming for virtue he wanted to get back and clean up his neglected work as Senator from Tennessee and to visit his family. So when they put O'Connor of Maryland as head of the vice probe continuation, Kefauver simply was not there at the climax. He wisely quit at the New York television. As Kefauver himself said at the time before he won the battle of the Senate cloakrooms, "Anything more that I do would be taking the show on the road to the tank towns. I must catch up with national and international and Tennessee affairs. I can't play the vice probe any longer without being over-tired and over-tiring the American people." He officially said as he went into his victory over the Senate conspiracy, "I promised you Senators that I would take this committee for one year only and that I would not ask for any money to continue. I am not a liar to my fellow Senators."

Nobody knew at that time who would win the American public. Well, the returns are now in. The Lyndon Johnson-McFarlane leaders of the Democratic Senate simply took a one man licking and then Truman took a one man licking in New Hampshire which may not have been conclusive but the second blow of the write-ins in Wisconsin-18,000 for Kefauver and 3,000 for Truman-was the one after which Truman could not get off the floor and was counted out practically unconscious at the end of ten. And then with Kefauver luck, Truman counted himself a week too soon. This ended the build up for the Oklahoman Kerr. As a Democrat simply said since Kerr is running on a Truman tail and the coat-tail ain't here, why not strike a blow for '64 against Kerr. Kerr had arranged with the entire personal machine of Nebraska Democrats with the Truman blessing,

and missed it. Had Truman held his mouth for ten days, Kerr would still be in there. So we must give 100% at Chicago, New York, and Washington, as well as New Hampshire, Nebraska, Wisconsin and now California and possibly some effect from his certain victory in his Illinois Primaries.

He now faces Ohio, New Jersey, and Florida. Whether he wins or loses against the Ohio Democratic machine, he is certain to make a terrific showing in New Jersey and a respectable outcome in Florida against Russell now that the discredited Pepper machine is out for Russell.

The real trouble with Russell is that the man he was to fight (Truman) has withdrawn and thus Russell has no one to fight with or for. Even Jimmy Byrnes, the Maestro in the Russell corner, can't dramatize an opponent now. Byrnes is 74 and Byrd of Virginia 70. They are in real trouble in their plan for the new Dixiecrat formula. They can't beat Kefauver with Russell. They can't break up the Party because Truman, their issue, has disappeared. The whole Byrnes-Byrd plan was to take over southern Democracy with Russell and then put it in Congress, after Russell, their sacrifice hitter of a fly, had put their issue on a second base. With Truman an active candidate or dominating the leading candidate, Russell would have gone in with perhaps 250 votes at the Convention. These would have been Byrnes-Byrd votes for the Congressional election plan. But it is now doubtful whether Russell can beat Kefauver as a southern leader even in Florida. After all there is a fine block of southern men who are traditionally and conscientiously Democratic. These wise people did beat the Dixiecrat movement dominated by General Motors through Dupont at Wilmington and working daily and closely with the Farley Coca-Cola distributor set-up, their lawyers and political associates.

It is possible that there has been too much dramatic stuff in the past year for the usual combination of the economic New York set-up with Baruch-Byrnes Democratic Senatorial set-up in Washington, to coalesce for anything now. It is more than possible that the entire New York political financial crowd which dominates in both Parties in the Senate can not remain open Republicrats. It is probable that the New York crowd is now saying "Eisenhower or else" and saying it 100%. But the Baruch-Byrnes-Byrd block with the Jesse Jones on the side can't make it. They have lost Tennessee with McKellar, Crump, and Hull out of the window. Probably Alabama with Hill and Sparkman regular Democrats always, will straighten out in spite of Birmingham steel and big business.

As to Florida, a survey of the next ten days will find that Kefauver can beat Russell. This is due to several hundred thousand small citizens Democratic-minded, who have relocated in Florida from Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, Tennessee, and North Carolina. These people are not nationally politically minded except once in four years and except on state issues. Kefauver's dramatic Miami vice probe has carried on as a real issue and is now the hottest state fight because the present Governor was in the middle of the muck and every Democrat seeking to upset Governor Warren has to emphasize Warren's vice and corruption in order to campaign. And since Smathers t Pepper dramatically on the communist issue and since Pepper is out for Russell, these little people are now making up their mind that Russell can not make a Democratic President and that

Kefauver can and that both are from the south.

In Louisiana there has always been a big Protestant small man's distaste for the Catholic corrupt New Orleans machine. This goes clear back to when Parker of New Orleans in the Roosevelt the first days ran as a Bull Moose with Teddy. Huey Long in the early days beat this crowd from northern Louisiana. Since the death of Long, the Long machine has creaked badly and was up-set on the Governor race by the man from Lake Charles. It is now getting into as bad a shape as the La Follette machine. Some two weeks ago Phil La Follette as campaign manager for Warren of California and tied in to the Eisenhower coat tail, made a respectable voteshowing, and Stassen was on Eisenhower's coat tail and also made a bid. But they merely opened the way for Taft through the split.

April 6, 1952

HELEN;

Charles asked me to give you the exact detail of his movement from Jamaica to you and said it was up to you to tune in as the first contact according to your movements and Kefauver's.

We arrive in New York BOAC, Idlewild, April 18th at 8:30 p.m.. We will be at 6 East 92nd Street waiting contact from you. His best time as you know is when you wake up in the morning of the 19th for a brief time decision before he takes on a multitude of business. Charles will fill in with this business until politics take him and is in no hurry. What he said when he went to dress, "I hope Helen decides to hold all papers until the 19th when she calls me as she wakes up" and then he added as an afterthought, "She might want to write me airmail here hot thoughts which are not in her mind at once after reading this."

April 6, 1952

HELEN:

I am back on your track. I still don't think the Tennessee surprise can make it. Actually what sparked me was the thought of Bevan in England and Kefauver in the United States and some unknown in Russia in 1956.

Bevan is making his way. Kefauver must this year sink or swim toward a rocky coast and Stalin has never fought an offensive war, beating Trotsky who wanted to once. I was around when Stalin won. Striking Trotsky down first he called an all Russia Moscow meeting and told why. In effect he said, "We are now ready to beat an offense either in the Far East or in the West or any combination of East and West." He struck out at once and fearlessly against the Japanese, German and Polish combination way back in '35-'36. And fundamentally seeking self peace he said to Hitler, "Yes, we want you to turn west while we get stronger every day."

And in the Far East his play is to expend the Unlimited resources of men against our Limited resources of men and manufacture. He is conserving his war strength and from his standpoint has sucked Truman into a vortex. Everything goes well with him. Both Korea and Truman are sacrifice flies with no one really on base.

But since no one advances in a world championship struggle without showing his stuff, this pinch-hitter from Tennessee comes on with two out. He has got to make a home run or nothing and it is at least the eighth inning with a score of nothing to nothing. Everybody is watching Shoeless Joe Jackson who might do anything with that bat. And after all this Estes is a personality from any angle. He has that very great asset of a new and hard name. A nobody from no where who looks like somebody and has a new swing at the bat. He is just that rocky that people look for in an emergency. Even Eisenhower has been a long time on front pages and nobody feels he is quite the big shot with the political batting average he had four years ago.

So what I am trying to say in this cynic-statesman memorandum is that it is a home run or nothing in the world of statesmanship where people don't want a three bagger.

Can Kefauver see this? Personally I don't think so because he is very tired from the mental and physical exertion of a too long but certainly very necessary personal build-up. He has done exactly what a cynic believes is the best campaigning of all--the "press the flesh" technic. Every pleasing handshake means much more than one vote. It means one man passing by work of mouth an impression to twenty others if time enough is given to create a kinetic wave of thought. I would rather have a word of mouth approval even for Jamaica Inn Hotel than all of the money that could be spent in all of the papers in America. What you say about yourself amounts to about the same thing. Only all the people can say anything worth saying about one person for a top spot. The papers are suspect. A man seeks to know from a man like himself. It is mouth to ear business and in Estes' case he was the first to grab the eye to the face business through Television. In a way he has trade-marked the world statesman on Television because there must be much in an

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Alexis Percle

April 21, 2022

work shining out to assist Jarvis you are my telepresence fairer than a SA
American statesman or the bellicose strong enough to fight vice with
with virtue, for peace. So if a cynic sees now the possibility of
a miracle, he believes the script calls for a broadening of the
Common Man theme in a 1954 telecast. He tried to get this over with
Wallace by selling Hollywood and Roosevelt on a talkie script he
obtained. It got buried in the war rush. He merely wanted a world
wide distribution quickly but missed the play. The thought is still
sound. Both the world and man wants to get together with other world men to
save the lives of himself and his family and keep everybody on the
ground for peace and prosperity.

The peace and prosperity theme finds Ike at a disadvantage. All he
can say is, "We will spend fifty billion a year forever to fence up the
potato field." While we get so broke that we can not buy fertilizer
and clay soil ends the potato growing business. So Ike has not the
real answer for permanence since he does represent war and violence,
good or bad according to the place you are standing. War through
peace is after all not a permanently sensible method.

And naturally Estes can not say, "Peace is priceless" and at the same
time say, "We can have peace without paying for it." The people have
decided that they can't march to Moscow with a palm leaf. They
think that Wallace would have turned the other cheek after he had
been slapped down. Any suspicion that Estes would not back Ike
would probably cost him the votes that make the difference.

But since I truly believe there is the making of a miracle should
five million people vote Ike in front and Estes at the switchboard
of civilian GHQ, I am for the effort all out even though the cynic
believes 1956 even in a changing world, is more likely to win. I.e.
A Kefauver-Sevan break after the communist fears of McCarthyism lose
their freshness. For we must remember FEAR NEVER LASTS FOREVER. It
is too uncomfortable. It is truly a sickness burning up humanity
both materially and spiritually. And while it may take four years
before Russia--the most hysterically fearful of all of the so-called
backward people--reaches up toward the sun of world peace, the cynic--
now turned eternal optimist--sees through his cynical realism toward
an unseen realism. As Benjamin Franklin would say it, "Time marches
on; the sun still shines; Eventually speaking, all is bright with the
world." So with these bromides I carry on in thought this morning
looking out at a perfect Jamaican Sunday sea morning.

May you read this in equal pajama and slipper comfort.

You may hold everything I have written intact until the twentieth. As
Claudia says, you will get a hold of the spirit of this jumbled Write
Talk. It is really a poor jitney Greek walky-talky of a Plato or an
Aristotle. It may be boiled down or built up. But anyway it is the
best I have this morning and I thought it well to make an outline of
many things for a boil down to One Thing: This is Kefauver ahead.

If you want to you can show both of these items at once to the man
for whom the concentration has caused this diffusion.

It is the paints and the easel and the brush of what I have been using
for a picture for him. But of course others--many others and many
thoughts--will work and sweat. But if there is material in this the

matter of its timing and reception by Kefauver is in your hands.

American statesman or the policeman strong enough to fight vice with virtue, for peace. So if a cynic sees now the possibility of a miracle, he believes the script calls for a broadening of the Common Man theme in a 1952 telecast. He tried to get this over with Wallace by selling Hollywood and Roosevelt on a radio script, he maintained. It got buried in the war rush. He merely wrote a world wide distribution quickly but missed the play. The thought is still sound. The world man wants to get together with other world men to save the lives of himself and his family and keep everybody on the ground for peace and prosperity.

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Alexis Percle

April 21, 2022

As a material assembler you are my first critic of the paints now that Claudia has said the stuff for a picture is in the making.

I have no right of authorship because Kefauver has to paint his own picture. I am merely suggesting that I will bring the paints and the brushes and a palette and a good deal of the twentieth century I see you say "Impossible." "Let's have everything material for 1956 and let the Harding Truman type of thing get a bit of a preview and let the Baptist before the Kefauver-Johnson and unknown Moncovite.

The peace and prosperity theme finds like at a disadvantage. All he says is "We will spend fifty billion a year forever to fence up the potato field." While we put so much that we can not pay fertilizer and clay soil ends the potato growing business. So like has not the real answer for permanence since he does represent war and violence, good or bad according to the place you are standing. War through peace is after all not a permanently sensible method.

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But since I truly believe there is the making of a miracle should five million people vote like in front and Kates at the switchboard of civilian GND, I am for the effort all out even though the cynic believes 1956 even in a changing world, is more likely to win. I.e. A Kefauver-Brown break after the communist fears of McCarthyism lose their freshness. For we must remember FEAR NEVER LASTS FOREVER. It is too uncomfortable. It is truly a sickness burning up humanity both materially and spiritually. And while it may take four years before Russia--the most hysterically fearful of all of the so-called backward people--reaches up toward the sun of world peace, the cynic now turned eternal optimist--says through his cynical realism toward an unseen realm. As Benjamin Franklin would say it, "Time marches on; the sun still shines; eventually speaking, all is bright with the world." So with these promises I carry on in thought this morning looking out at a perfect Jamaican Sunday see morning.

May you read this in equal pajamas and slipper comfort.

You may hold everything I have written instant until the twentieth. As Claudia says, you will get a hold of the spirit of this jumbled write talk. It is really a poor literary Greek wally-tally of a jingo or an Aristotelian. It may be boiled down or built up. But anyway it is the best I have this morning and I thought it well to make an outline of many things for a ball down to one thing: This is Kefauver ahead.

If you want to you can show both of these items at once to the man for whom the concentration has caused this dilemma.

It is the paints and the easel and the brush of what I have been using for a picture for him. But of course others--many others and many thoughts--will work and sweat. But if there is material in this the

matter of its timing and reception by Kefauver is in your hands.

As a material assembler you are my first critic of the paints now that Plawia has said the stuff for a picture is in the making.

I have no pride of authorship because Kefauver has to paint his own pictures. I am merely suggesting that I will bring the paints and the brushes and perhaps a little money along on the twentieth if when I see you we do not say "impossible." Let's save everything material for 1956 and let the Harding Truman type of thing get a bit of improvement as the John the Baptist before the Kefauver-Sevan and an unknown Moscowite.

The peace and prosperity these times like at a disadvantage. All he says is "I will spend fifty billion a year forever to force up the potato yield." While we get no better than we can not buy fertilizer and clay and the potato growing business. To like has not the real answer for permanence since he soon represents war and violence, good or bad according to the place you are standing. For through peace is after all not a permanently sensible method.

The naturally false can not say, "Peace is priceless" and at the same time say, "We can have peace without paying for it." The people have decided that they can't march to Moscow with a gain-loss. They think that "alliance" would have turned the other cheek after he had been slapped down. Any suspicion that states would not look like would probably cost him the votes that make the difference.

But since I truly believe there is the making of a miracle should five million people vote like in front and later at the switchboard of civilian GND, I am for the effort all out even though the cynic believes 1956 even in a changing world, is more likely to win. I.e. a Kefauver-Sevan boom after the communist theme of "clarifying loss their freedom." For we must remember 1954 was a year of loss. It is too uncomfortable. It is truly a sickness burning up humanity both materially and spiritually. And while it may take four years before Russia--the most hysterically fearful of all of the so-called backward people--reaches up toward the sun of world peace, the cynic now turned eternal optimist--sees through his cynical position toward us unseen reality. As George in Franklin's world says it, "The seraphs on the sun still shine; eventually speaking, all is bright with the world." So with these promises I carry on in thought this morning looking out at a perfect Jamaican Sunday see morning.

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April 6, 1952

HELEN:

I am back on your track. I still don't think the Tennessee surprise can make it. Actually what sparked me was the thought of Bevan in England and Kefauver in the United States and some unknown in Russia in 1956.

Bevan is making his way. Kefauver must this year sink or swim toward a rocky coast and Stalin has never fought an offensive war, beating Trotsky who wanted to once. I was around when Stalin won. Striking Trotsky down first he called an all Russia Moscow meeting and told why. In effect he said, "We are now ready to beat an offense either in the Far East or in the West or any combination of East and West." He struck out at once and fearlessly against the Japanese, German and Polish combination way back in '35-'36. And fundamentally seeking self peace he said to Hitler, "Yes, we want you to turn west while we get stronger every day."

And in the Far East his play is to expend the Unlimited resources of men against our Limited resources of men and manufacture. He is conserving his war strength and from his standpoint has sucked Truman into a vortex. Everything goes well with him. Both Korea and Truman are sacrifice flies with no one really on base.

But since no one advances in a world championship struggle without showing his stuff, this pinch-hitter from Tennessee comes on with two out. He has got to make a home run or nothing and it is at least the eighth inning with a score of nothing to nothing. Everybody is watching Shoeless Joe Jackson who might do anything with that bat. And after all this Estes is a personality from any angle. He has that very great asset of a new and hard name. A nobody from no where who looks like somebody and has a new swing at the bat. He is just that rocky that people look for in an emergency. Even Eisenhower has been a long time on front pages and nobody feels he is quite the big shot with the political batting average he had four years ago.

So what I am trying to say in this cynic-statesman memorandum is that it is a home run or nothing in the world of statesmanship where people don't want a three bagger.

Can Kefauver see this? Personally I don't think so because he is very tired from the mental and physical exertion of a too long but certainly very necessary personal build-up. He has done exactly what a cynic believes is the best campaigning of all--the "press the flesh" technic. Every pleasing handshake means much more than one vote. It means one man passing by work of mouth an impression to twenty others if time enough is given to create a kinetic wave of thought. I would rather have a word of mouth approval even for Jamaica Inn Hotel than all of the money that could be spent in all of the papers in America. What you say about yourself amounts to about the same thing. Only all the people can say anything worth saying about one person for a top spot. The papers are suspect. A man seeks to know from a man like himself. It is mouth to ear business and in Estes' case he was the first to grab the eye to the face business through Television. In a way he has trade-marked the world statesman on Television because there must be much in an

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Alexis Percle

April 21, 2022

As a material assembler you are my first critic of the picture now American statesman of the policeman strong enough to fight vice with with virtue, for peace. So if a cynic sees now the possibility of a miracle, he believes the script is a broadening of the evad I Common Man theme is a 1952 telecast, and tried to get this over with Wallace by selling Hollywood and Roosevelt on a talkie script as outlined. It got buried in the war rush. He merely wanted a world wide distribution quickly but missed the play. The thought is still sound. The world man wants to get together with other world men to save the lives of himself and his family and keep everybody on the ground for peace and prosperity.

The peace and prosperity theme finds Ike at a disadvantage. All he say is, "We will spend fifty billion a year forever to fence up the potato field." While we get so broke that we can not buy fertilizer and clay soil ends the potato growing business. So Ike has not the real answer for permanence since he does represent war and violence, good or bad according to the place you are standing. War through peace is after all not a permanently sensible method.

And naturally Estes can not say, "Peace is priceless" and at the same time say, "We can have peace without paying for it." The people have decided that they can't march to Moscow with a palm leaf. They think that Wallace would have turned the other cheek after he had been slapped down. Any suspicion that Estes would not back Ike would probably cost him the votes that make the difference.

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If you want to you can show both of these items at once to the man for whom the concentration has caused this diffusion.

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April 6, 1952

HELEN:

Charles asked me to give you the exact detail of his movement from Jamaica to you and said it was up to you to tune in as the first contact according to your movements and Kefauver's.

We arrive in New York BOAC, Idlewild, April 18th at 8:30 p.m.. We will be at 6 East 92nd Street waiting contact from you. His best time as you know is when you wake up in the morning of the 19th for a brief time decision before he takes on a multitude of business. Charles will fill in with this business until politics take him and is in no hurry. What he said when he went to dress, "I hope Helen decides to hold all papers until the 19th when she calls me as she wakes up" and then he added as an afterthought, "She might want to write me airmail here her thoughts which are not in her mind at once after reading this."

January 2, 1952

C E M's Predictions on Presidential Candidates

Eisenhower will announce definitely he is available within ten days. He probably will mention the name "Republican" but it is possible he will not.

Whichever way Eisenhower speaks, provided he does speak within ten days, the Republicans will have to say, in effect "We are delighted" and the Taft faction will have to say "Let the Democrats take him." This will split the Republican Party wide open temporarily giving them the spotlight while Truman sits back.

But it is certain that Kefauver, already saying Truman can have it if he wants to but any other American has the right to have his name before the States, the march of events will force Truman's hand with six weeks.

Kefauver is showing unusual strength in the grass roots to the same extent that Taft is not showing strength in the grass roots, will mean that Truman must strengthen himself not through his friends in the Supreme Court but with the public in general. So Vinson will not finally be selected for Vice President and there is no other Democrat who can be selected other than Kefauver for President.

The pressure on Truman not to let Kefauver be president will be so great that the gang that really has much at stake in Washington will insist on Truman's having the good guts and good health and good wife to run.

And then there is the final statement that no one except Coolidge and Washington has ever left the White House except by being dragged out of it.