

Reports Planning Action *File*

Why First Talk after Returning From Europe
Should Be on "Domestic Issues."

You have extracted the last possible vote out of the international issue. You have milked that cow dry.

You will win or lose the nomination on "domestic" issues. Right now you are behind because of your popularity with New Deal columnists. (You probably know that Elliott Roosevelt on Mutual's "Meet the Press" last Friday night said he probably would support you against Truman--a statement which lost you several more delegates.)

Therefore, I suggest that you use your return from Europe as a springboard to attack the whole planned economy idea. Using European illustrations, you would tell the value of initiative, the stimulus of the profit motive, the creative values of capitalism.

In Europe you found two kinds of countries.

In one group: Holland and Belgium, both battlefields of the war. In addition, Holland lost 10% of its area by inundation. Both of these countries, which released controls early and encouraged private enterprise, have come back quickly.

The other countries went into planned economies; government approval is needed for everything. The time required to fill out questionnaires and forms, if productively used, would in many cases make the form-filling unnecessary. But because of regimentation, these countries are in a semi-paralyzed condition. You can pick up innumerable personal illustrations and anecdotes.

When you get off the plane, you could announce that your first talk on Europe is to be on how private initiative was rebuilding Holland and Belgium and government regulation--or planned economy--was stifling the rebuilding of other countries--this was your most forcible impression of Europe.

Add that your second talk will be on some phase of the peace question.

If you talk on international relations first, you've shot your wad. Interest will fall off in the second topic.

A talk on Labor Relations built around your visit to Sweden would command attention.

On the other sheet, I amplify my statement that the Republican nomination for 30 years ago ~~past~~ has not always gone to the candidate furthest to the right, never to the one furthest to the left.

Lesson in Nationalization

French State Having Sad Time With Industries It Took Over; Managements Lack Incentive. Costs Run Wild, Talk of Additional Nationalization Hushed

BY CHARLES R. HARGROVE

PARIS—The other day there was offered to the public by the government a document entitled, "Inventory of the Financial Situation 1913-1946." Its purpose was to clear up the mystery of the national finances—show why they have fallen into confusion and how widespread and deep the confusion is.

But the inventory does more than spotlight the confusion in the national accounts. It is also an amazing revelation of the multifarious activities of the state. Before the first world war its business role was limited to the management of mail and wire communications and the supplying and distribution of tobacco, which was a state monopoly.

Between the two world wars the state branched out in many directions as producer, distributor and carrier. It undertook the exploitation of the potash mines which fell into its hands with the recovery of Alsace. It became interested in the oil fields of the Middle East. When the French Line was threatened with financial collapse, the state began to play an active role in merchant shipping. Not long before the second world war broke out it acquired ownership of various plants for the construction of military planes, and at the same time it financed the development of commercial aviation. It set up scientific research institutes of many kinds and financed colonial development schemes. Finally it assumed ownership and operation of the entire French railroad system.

Nationalization Pushed After Liberation

During the second world war state activities were extended to control of imports, exports, production and distribution. After the liberation the government invaded the field of private enterprise with giant strides. In pursuance of a policy of nationalizing key industries, government became owner of the nation's coal fields, all its large branch banking institutions as well as the central bank, all big insurance companies and the entire systems of production and distribution of electricity and gas.

Furthermore its inheritance of German interests in the French dye corporations gives the state a leading role in the chemical industry. It is also a shareholder in a great variety of enterprises which issued stock to it in payment of the levy on wartime increase of wealth. It owns and operates South American cables and also the biggest automobile-manufacturing plant in France, Renault, because Renault was adjudged guilty of collaboration with the enemy. It has assumed a dominating position in the motion picture field, and, as before the war, it has its own publicity and news gathering and distributing organizations.

Tend to Operate at a Loss

All this is shown in the inventory's 671 pages. What is also shown there is that the state is finding it difficult to digest all that it has swallowed. It is significant that none of the three major political parties which backed the nationalization program talks

about more nationalizations. The nationalized concerns tend to run at a loss and become a burden on the treasury. Only the other day one of the state's airplane construction corporations demanded a loan of 600 million francs to save it from insolvency. The operation of the coal fields has piled up a considerable deficit. In general, however, there has been no publicity about the working of the state corporations. Only one, Renault, has produced a report so far.

Finance Minister Schuman, to whom the inventory is due, makes it the occasion for pointing out that several problems arise where the state wholly or partially owns industrial or commercial enterprises. One is how they are to raise capital for current operations or renewals and improvements, especially where they are working at a loss. Another is how to obtain efficient directors and managers with due representation of the state, the workers and the consumers or general public. A third is how to secure some uniformity in their working and accounting and regular publication of their results.

Disparity With Civil Service

There are still other problems. For instance, in a state corporation the wages are apt to be much higher than those paid in the regular civil service, and this makes the civil service discontented. On the other hand, the state's industrial employees expect the same guarantees as to promotion, stability of employment, etc., as those enjoyed by the civil servants.

Furthermore, the Minister notes that in a period of scarcity like the present, national industrial plants outbid private plants for material needed for their activities and sometimes entice workers away from private plants by offering better wages. Their managements don't keep the same eye on expenses as those of private plants, and the result is that the treasury finds operating costs rising unduly. At the same time it loses revenue from taxation where national factories make little or no profits.

But the Minister's most significant remark concerns the danger of diminution or disappearance of a sense of responsibility on the part of the managements of nationalized concerns. He suggests that regard for the national interest should not exclude the working at a profit of French nationalized or semi-nationalized undertakings. He wants to see the nation's new industrial and commercial assets exploited on a business basis.

For anybody who reads between the lines it is easy to see how putting the state into industry is one thing on paper and another in practice. Something has to replace the profit-motive. Nationalized miners have somehow got to be made to realize that cheap coal is as vital to the nation as high wages are vital to themselves. Nationalized bankers have got to forget that the treasury is not there simply to cover losses incurred by their banks.

Stassen-Arnall debates

Governor Arnall, a couple days after reading my debate outline, said to me: "Jim, that series of Lincoln-Douglas debates staged at mass rallies over the country ought to sweep everybody else out of the picture--for both of us." Meaning that he'd win the Democratic nomination; you'd win the Republican. I'm not so sure about him. Truman can renominate himself. But Arnall can make himself almost a certainty for second place.

If the debate proposal interests you, I suggest that the topics be tentatively selected soon and specialists be put to work now on each.

A series of booklets elaborating your position on the 8, 10 or 13 topics, might be beneficial. Each booklet could be offered without charge over the radio.

This is ^{just} a detail, but if a tentatively favorable decision--subject to change by fall--about the series were made, numerous details like this would come up for acceptance or rejection.

My part in the debate series is solely to put it before you and Arnall. I want no participation, financial or otherwise. Clark Getts probably could promote substantial fees out of the local sponsoring organizations.

I said over the telephone that
the "rightest" candidate always wins the Republican nomination.

- 1920: Hiram Johnson and Lowden hadn't a chance against Leonard Wood and Harding.
- 1924: Hiram Johnson (Ickes managing) ran in one presidential primary against Coolidge. Illinois, I think. Got one-seventh of the Coolidge vote.
- 1928: Hoover because of his work in Commerce had universal business support.
- 1936: Borah "tried" to run against Landon, the budget balancing conservative. After nomination, Landon became a me-tooer, cooled off his own supporters.
- 1940: Willkie won partly on the international issue. But the enthusiasm that carried away Philadelphia was due to his anti-TVA fight, the belief that he was the DIMEHARD ENEMY of the New Deal.
- 1944: Willkie now had become a New Dealer. Thinking the GOP rank-and-file was in his corner, only politicians being opposed, he went into the Wisconsin primaries EXPECTING TO WIN. Wisconsin was the most "progressive" state in the union. Wisconsin had an "open" primary; Evjue and other progressive leaders promised to (and did) urge Democrats and Progressives to go into the Republican primaries to vote for Willkie. The Milwaukee Journal, both Madison newspapers, three Chicago papers, and several smaller Wisconsin papers backed Willkie. Yet, running against three phantom opponents Willkie got only 15% of the rank-and-file vote. 85% rejected the candidate who had just spent three weeks intensively campaigning the state.

Dewey won, because, when nominated, he looked like the most anti-New Deal candidate. His New York state record had been almost "reactionary." (He turned down a *state* FEPC, ~~until after the next year~~); he got a law passed prohibiting suits against corporation officials unless the suing stockholders owned \$50,000 or 5% of the stock at the time the alleged offense took place; and *he backed* other pro-business laws too numerous to list.)

But like Landon in 1936, Willkie in 1940, he out-New Dealed the New Deal after nomination. Fortune's December, 1944 article, reviewing "the press during the 1944 campaign", mentioned that his own party's press support was lukewarm.

Then reversed himself after 1944.

(more)

1948: I am told (but do not guarantee its authenticity) that the Dewey strategy is to prove to the Republican electorate that the New York governor is to the RIGHT of Taft, in the belief that the mood of the country is much more conservative than in any of the years above. In the 1920's, there was an insurgent farm bloc; today outside of Oregon--perhaps--and a couple New England states--perhaps--there is no non-conservative Northern state.

The fight against Lilienthal's confirmation is ~~simple~~ ^{very} dramatic. Every person attacking Lilienthal admits that he is one of the outstanding public administrators in the nation's history. Every critic admits he is not a Communist or pro-Communist. The case against him is simply that he has been tolerant of sympathizers and fellow-travellers. In the present near-hysteria ^{anti-red} mood, the American people have reached the point where they will not tolerate in any important public office--certainly not of atomic control--any person who has been guilty of laxity or carelessness even in the remote past in the employment of Communists or near-Communists.

I make no prediction here that Lilienthal will be turned down. But, considering his remarkable administrative record, it is almost incredible that there should be any question raised.

Dear Harold:

The main immediate danger, as I see it, is that you will be concentrating now, as you have in Europe, upon international affairs and their effect; thus you may lose or miss contact with the practical political matters here. These need attention.

A great deal of detail must be attended to and well handled in order to have delegates; therefore, there must be some organization to attend to these details while you are working on the broad problems of the country.

There is no question but that Dewey is going to be awfully hard to stop, and this, of course, appears to be more definite in view of the last Gallup poll, which shows him back to 51%, while you have dropped to 15%. Vic, who attended the national committee meeting at Kansas City, says that among the committee members and the press they figure that you have no chance. Some of the articles recently have been omitting your name. There is no very positive strength for Dewey. Politicians don't like him but they feel he is going to win. There is quite a general feeling among the people that you are the best choice, but the negative type of Dewey support is not decreasing. People do not know why they are for Dewey. Most of those who are for you have a reason.

If we are really going out after delegates, we have got to have an organization to get them - AND RIGHT AWAY. If it is a proposition of playing for the breaks based on general publicity and pressure at the end, such as was used in the Willkie campaign of 1940, then a lot of the things which I discuss herein are not important.

The more I think of it the less inclined I am to think that the single national chairman or campaign manager will ever work out in your case. I think that control should be established on the purely delegate side on a regional basis. I say this because I do not think that you will ever delegate enough power and authority in the making of political decisions to any chairman. I also am coming to believe that the problems and personalities of the political picture in the country are so varied from section to section that they may be best dealt with by an area or regional set-up. There is no similarity between the southern situation and that of the Pacific states, for instance.

If a regional set-up is adopted, there must be a careful and thorough liaison from you to the regional chairmen and from them to you. By liaison I mean an individual - an individual who knows the regional men and has access and understanding to them and to you. He should be constantly busy channeling things back and forth with no barriers to his information either way. This is essential; if you do not or cannot work out contact between the regional leaders and yourself through a single individual, it probably would be better to appoint a national chairman even if that doesn't work out so well. The regional deal will work only if it can be closely followed through by a coordinator with you yourself doing the directing that would otherwise be done by a chairman.

I think that immediately after your return you should see Dewey, Taft and Vandenburg separately and at some length. I think you are a better negotiator than any of them and if you see them all and they do not see each other, you have a friendly feeling from each of them toward you on which you can capitalize and you perhaps learn in that way more than any of them know. Thereafter, I think that as constant a liaison should be maintained with each, as possible. A recent poll by the Chicago Daily News of national committee members and state committee chairmen and vice-chairmen showed Dewey first in their judgment as to convention votes, Taft second, you third and Vandenburg fourth. You lead in the Midwest with Taft second and Dewey fifth. State chairmen and vice-chairmen put you second, Vandenburg third, Bricker fourth and Taft fifth.

I have been to Mississippi and have made a full liaison report. I will not go into detail, but they have had contesting delegations in 1928, 1932, 1936, 1940 and 1944 and have been running two sets of presidential electors. The one group is led by Perry Howard and the other by George Sheldon. To make a fight on it we would have to support the group that is out - the Sheldon (Lily White) group and carry the contest through the national committee to the credentials committee and probably to the floor. From what I gather this would be directly opposed to Republican tradition,

although Hoover once repudiated Howard after the latter had been indicted. The Willkie forces let Mississippi alone. The tradition is that they seat the negro delegation from Mississippi claiming that it shows tolerance and has an effect upon the negroes in the large cities of the north. I doubt that there is any truth in this theory.

I have arranged to see McKnight, Wilson Williams and Dick Tullis the latter part of this month at Washington to discuss the southern situation generally. McKnight volunteered the thought that there ought to be a southern section headed by me. He mentioned Haines and funds. This would be in line with some of your early thoughts as to my place in this picture. I AM NOT A CANDIDATE FOR THE POSITION. To do this I would probably have to move back to Washington. Perhaps it would be best that I do that anyhow to best be effective. Incidentally, Henry appears to be sick of the Forums and I think is more or less wasted there. Whether we should concentrate on the south depends, of course, on how many delegates we might take from Taft. I can better judge this after talking with Tullis, McKnight and Williams. A fight there would undoubtedly involve contests which would have to be taken to the credentials committee. With the present Taft control of the national committee, I do not know what success could be had. The credentials committee, of course, would not be directly dominated by the national committee, being comprised, I understand, of two delegates from each state.

Bernhard had four men from Iowa here, and Dana Stone, Golling, Ancker Nelsen and I met with them. He will report to you fully on this. They want you to attend a large community meeting in central Iowa where they will have a large part of the Iowa Legislature and other politicians. They claim that York will go out as chairman and that Governor Blue will also be going out - probably to run for Senator.

It is extremely important that you get into Wisconsin for speeches soon and at every opportunity. It would be my impression that Tom Coleman is for you in his heart but is inclined to follow his natural conservative tendency and be neutral. He expressed great resentment in a letter which he wrote to Max Murphy, Chicago Tribune reporter, concerning a story that Tom had given his blessing to an organizer of a Dewey club. Tom sent me a copy of his letter in which he took Murphy apart. It seemed to me that he protested a trifle too loudly. Tom favors VanPelt as your Wisconsin leader. Vic favors a man named Thielman and one or two others who are officials of the County Board organization of Wisconsin. As you know, every county in Wisconsin has a county board of a large number of members who serve without pay, and according to Vic this is the most potent political organization in the state. I believe Vic is right. McCarthy went out strongly for you on a Meet the Press broadcast at Washington, at which I was present. Coleman was very put out about your statement concerning Lilienthal but I think has cooled off on that now. Helen Horr and Mrs. Gale wanted to go into Wisconsin and said that you had cleared their so doing. Vic and I definitely opposed this and got them to await your return. Vic says there is great danger in letting people from the outside go in before any committee or organization is formed by Wisconsin people. He thinks that the first step would be for McCarthy to meet with people in Wisconsin who he names and set up an organization and then perhaps have them set up Neighbors groups with advice from here and from Mrs. Gale, Miss Horr, etc.

I think that the Chicago election opened the door for moves there. Whether there should be a big speech in Chicago or whether the move should take the form of organization of clubs among the young business men, I do not know. The situation is ripe, however. There is great disgust with McCormick and Root. The result exemplifies the necessity for having a candidate who can attract former Democratic voters. It would almost seem essential that someone be put in charge in Chicago. Moving of the national convention to Philadelphia probably was partly caused by the poor showing of Mr. Root.

Milton Rue, North Dakota Chairman and State Senator, was in town and received very good entertainment, spoke to the Senate, praised you, contributed \$100.00 to your funds and is an all-out Stassen supporter. He was very impressed with the way you answered questions with the North Dakota politicians, and I think he is thoroughly on our team. Also had very favorable reports on the South Dakota and Phoenix meetings. Dan Gainey was quite "het up" because Gilstad in the Minnesota letter made some comment about Kelland's statement concerning you at Phoenix. Kelland raised hell about it.

There has been tremendous publicity about Truman gaining strength. This, I think, should lead us to put out the story that you are the only Republican who can attract the younger voters, veterans, labor, former Democrats and independents sufficiently to win. In bolstering this propaganda the Fortune poll showing that Truman would defeat you 2 to 1 among former Democratic voters, would defeat Dewey 3 to 1, Taft 4 to 1, is significant. Constant predictions from Democratic headquarters that you will not be nominated should be mentioned as an indication of Democratic fear and realization of your vote getting appeal. Coupled with this publicity should be the claim that you are doing much to build the party by attracting young people in, etc. The college polls would bolster this claim. The only trouble with this claim is that the polls still show Dewey beating Truman worse than you do.

Another form of possible publicity would be publicity indirectly connected with you against a "controlled" convention. In other words your candidacy might become synonymous with opposition to controlled conventions, smoke-filled rooms, etc. There has been quite a bit of publicity along this line from Drummond, Pearson and others. Pearson discusses Taft's buying delegates. Drummond has written articles and debated on Town Hall with Senator Aiken against Senator Spartman and Elmer Davis. Drummond and Aiken being for a national presidential primary and against the electoral college.

I had a kind of a funny conversation with Earl Hart. He told me of getting on a train and meeting some lawyer, whose name I do not recall, who is a supposed intimate and manager in Ohio of Bob Taft. This man is supposed to have told Earl the story of the rivalry between Taft and Bricker and wanted to know whether you were coming into Ohio. He is supposed to have said that if you did that it would give Bricker an excuse to break his agreement to support Taft and told Earl that he (Earl) would not want that to happen, and therefore he asked Earl ~~and~~ if Earl would let him know if you were coming into Ohio, and Earl is supposed to have said that he could agree to let him know. This sounded kind of funny to me. McKnight and Lindly are quite critical of Earl and think him undiplomatic, etc. Vic thinks the newsmen don't like Hart and consider him dumb.

Many people ask where Jay Cooke fits into the picture in Pennsylvania.

Our friends are trying to get some support for Frank Collins for Mayor of Minneapolis. Considerable effort was made to get a veteran of this war to run but it was not done. Collins will make a fight and probably some effective criticism of Humphrey.

Taft and Cooper of Kentucky got into quite a heated argument when Taft overtook to poll Cooper out for voting without Democrats upon a budget amendment. Ed Thye heard the whole exchange and Cooper was very angry. I note that Pearson reports that Taft sent considerable money into Kentucky for Cooper.

The Pearson story of Taft's contributions said Taft sent \$4,000 into Kentucky for Cooper, \$3,000 into Washington, Idaho and Montana for Dworshak, Kain and Ecton, also funds for 3 or 4 Congressmen in Washington state and one Congressman in Chicago.

The Cleveland Plaindealer, of which I have a copy, had a big headline, "Stassen Republicans back Greek Aid". This quotes a very innocuous statement by Ed Thye and looks as though the paper wanted to write a big headline on Republican support for Truman proposal. Whether they are trying to help you or help Truman, I don't know. The story did not justify the headline. Earl Hart says it was all for you.

Quite a constant comment concerning you is that you are "a little too liberal". The most recent Minnesota poll shows that the voters class you as a liberal. I am assuming that you will see these poll clippings.

Maud Whittaker is working without much direction and does not know just what she is supposed to do and is rather unhappy.

Al Lindley reports a long favorable talk with Senator Lodge and regards him as a possibility as a leader for you.

Vic, Lindley and Whitney determined to abandon the Willard Hotel rooms. Vic had been worried about the expense and apparently they were not being used very much.

Vic's wife and little girl are now in Washington, and, of course, he had to rent a house. I understand that the contributions to Vic will be about \$500. a month, which will be contributed by Whitney to Lindley.

I understand that contributions have fallen off very badly in the state since you left and it is ascribed to various things, such as if you can travel in Europe you don't need contributions, Youngdahl's crusade, etc., etc. There is no question but that Youngdahl has hurt among those interested in state affairs. Mostly, they are selfish but he didn't need to make them mad. He will come out of the Session with not much accomplished and quite a few enemies from fighting with Senators individually, collectively, etc. However, he will be looked upon as an honest man, opposed to all rackets and such things. Whether they will offset the damage remains to be seen.

Incidentally, it is reported that Humphrey has made statements of admiration for you, that he is going to see you when you return, etc. It probably would not be wise for you to see him. A meeting can be arranged and his story ascertained without you seeing him, if you wish.

Great emphasis **MUST** be placed upon the primary states. The Neighbors should be compelled, and I am working to bring this about, to concentrate on the primary states.

The following is a chart which sets out the problem somewhat:

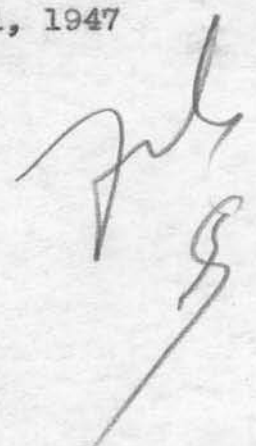
RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Either establish regional set-ups now, developing a regular channeling procedure between you and them hinging on one individual, or else name a national manager SOON.
2. Place responsibility for early primaries on an individual in each state (or a liaison man where you have a good one) and require regular follow-through and regular reports on the progress of delegate petitions, etc.
3. Extend and develop publicity for an uncontrolled convention and on your wide-spread appeal to the people generally.
4. See to it that a timing schedule for each primary state is developed. Develop early a more or less general campaign piece for production in large quantities for final and Paul Revere delivery in each primary state.

Last and most important, if this is a campaign for delegates, give more attention directly to the political situations and to getting delegates. THIS MEANS STUDY AND CONSULTATION ABOUT INDIVIDUALS AND DELEGATES AND ABOUT MONEY. This last thought goes regardless of what happens to the world or the atom bomb.

They used to say in the Democratic cloakroom that to save the world or be a statesman, a man first has to get himself nominated.

April 21, 1947



Mr. Daniel C. Gainey
President
Josten's
Owatonna, Minnesota

Dear Dan:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of April 15, 1947 addressed to Governor Stassen, with which you enclose copy of your letter of that same date to Governor Vanderbilt.

This will be brought to the personal attention of Governor Stassen when he returns to this office. He was due back in New York Thursday of this week but according to newspaper reports, he was delayed getting out of Russia because of bad weather and it now appears he will not get back until until on or about the first of May.

Cordially yours,

EARL E. HART
Secretary

EEH:kh

DANIEL C. GAINNEY
PRESIDENT



TREASURE-CRAFT JEWELRY
AND STATIONERY

April 15
1947

Mr. Harold Stassen
Room 900
1028 Connecticut Avenue N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Harold:

Attached you will find copy of a letter addressed to Bill Vanderbilt which probably should have been addressed directly to you. If time permits, I wish you would take seven or eight minutes to read the attached.

Very important. You are dated for Texas all day May 19, 20 and 21, or May 26, 27 and 28. Please verify at the earliest possible moment.

In general things are coming great; you and your gang are sure doing a swell job.

Cordially,

Daniel C. Gainney

April 15
1947

Mr. William Vanderbilt
Williamstown, Mass.

Dear Mr. Vanderbilt:

Your note of April 9 has just come to my attention and the following is prompted by it:

1. Might I suggest that Governor Stassen tighten up substantially on his organization at the earliest possible moment. His campaign needs an over-all general manager to give more pointed direction to the organizational leadership, etc.
2. Gene Pulliam, Indianapolis Publisher and also substantial owner in the Arizona Republic, Phoenix, has volunteered to give a luncheon or dinner for Stassen in Indiana at which the twelve or fourteen fellows who will control the Indiana delegation will be invited. Mr. Pulliam would like to have Harold come to Indiana in June. Will you please call this to Harold's attention.
3. Dan Whetstone, Cut Bank Montana publisher and National Committeeman from that state, was our luncheon and dinner guest at Phoenix in February. For the time being, at least, he seems to have been partially capsized for Stassen and I have a letter offering to arrange to have some of Stassen's friends invite him to Montana for a meeting with the political leaders of the state, and possibly for a speech.

What's my next move? I have replied to Whetstone in a vague way that I feel sure Harold would very much enjoy seeing Montana in either July or August and that he would be delighted to get better acquainted with those fine Republicans out there.

4. I think Stassen should write a short note to Clarence Buddington Kelland just sort of saying "hello" and paying him a little deference. Bud was all set as a very friendly neutral when Stassen and I left Arizona, but a paragraph in the Minnesota Letter, which unfortunately did not accurately convey Kelland's position, sort of has Bud off the reservation again. Personal attention and deference are very important to Kelland. A letter or a short personal visit, if that is convenient, are really important.
5. Stassen is the greatest "on display" public leader now living! Four times during the sixty days before he departed for Europe I saw him in small meetings of from fifty to sixty important political and/or financial personages. In each instance the group contained very, very many who were at least moderately opposed to him and so far as I know, every person left each of the meetings pretty thoroughly sold that Stassen had the caliber, the ability and the policies that he wanted for his President of the United States.

So, I think it is tremendously important that Harold have a total of at least another hundred small meetings with the men of means and the Party workers with power during the next ten months.

We must continue to develop a great groundswell from the people as a whole, but it is also tremendously important that we have the same sort of a swell from the folks who have a more direct important bearing on the convention conclusion.

6. I believe that all of Governor Stassen's junkets or trips should be more sagaciously managed in the future than in the past. Although I don't know just who is the man with the tact and insight to manage them. Here is the sort of thing that we should improve upon:
 - (a) We had a fine luncheon and also a good dinner meeting at Camelback Inn, Phoenix, in February. By and large, it was a great day --

BUT, we could have done an additional amount of good for the Cause had we invited all of the guests of the hotel, 126 in number, to walk down a receiving line and shake hands with the Governor. There was some criticism from some of the guest because we did not do that. This minus sign could have easily been a double plus, but those of us who were handling the deal were not quite bright enough to play the situation for quite all it was worth, and in addition to that, Harold does not place himself too completely in anyone's charge on such instances.

- (b) On the junket to speak to the South Dakota legislature in February, a world of good was done — HOWEVER, a meal served in the Methodist Church resulted in the criticism, justified or not, that all the Methodists had a chance to meet the Governor but the rest of the folks did not. Also at least two or three of the very conservative old time Republicans didn't get a chance to shake hands with him. The rumor I get is that these fellows are very powerful and they really want to be for Stassen, and I guess we will have them for Stassen, but they felt, and several other folks in South Dakota felt that for the efforted expended we did not get as much good as we could have.

6. At our Steering Committee meeting of Neighbors for Stassen Saturday we emphasized the point that Stassen is far and away the best prepared man in America to be the next President of the United States. We plan to push that idea during the next few months. I hope that squares with general policies.

Please pardon a perfectionist. We are going to win that nomination, of course, but I am for playing as perfect a game as possible — get all the plus elements out of every move — don't permit the minus incidents to occur.

The folks who are really carrying the ball on the Neighbors for Stassen deal seem to be doing a fine job: Mark Forgette, Mrs. Richard Gale, Helen Horr, Millie Coleman and Miss Mitchell. It seems to me that the women are doing a little

better rifle-fire job than the men, but I think that difference is probably very natural -- all are working industriously and enthusiastically.

Sincerely,

Daniel C. Gainey

April 21, 1947



Mr. Earl E. Hart,
1028 Connecticut Avenue N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hart:

At Bill Vanderbilt's suggestion I am sending you this report
on the Women's Division of the Neighbors for Stassen.
Hope it meets with your approval.

Sincerely,


Mrs. Richard P. Gale

IG/mc
Enc.

REPORT OF THE WOMEN'S DIVISION

OF THE

NEIGHBORS FOR STASSEN

April 21, 1947

Mrs. Richard P. Gale, Chairman
Miss Ruth Mitchell, Vice Chairman
Miss Helen Horr, Vice Chairman
Mrs. W. Howard Bovey, In charge of Groups in City of Minneapolis
Mrs. C. Edward Howard, In charge of Groups in State of Minnesota
outside of Minneapolis, St. Paul and Duluth.
Mrs. John S. Dalrymple, In charge of Women's Groups and Organizations
Mrs. Reuel D. Harmon, In charge of Groups in St. Paul.
Mrs. John Scott, In charge of Groups in St. Paul
Mrs. Phillip Duff, Assistant to Mrs. Gale
Mrs. Arthur Zierold, Assistant to Mrs. Gale
Mrs. Francis D. Butler, Assistant to Mrs. Gale
Miss Isabel Warren, Volunteer Chairman for Office Assistants.
Mrs. Mildred J. Coleman, Secretary.

LIST OF WOMEN IN CHARGE OF NEIGHBORS FOR STASSEN
IN CITIES IN MINNESOTA

Miss Julia Marshall, Duluth	Mrs. R. N. Soufel, Owatonna
Mrs. A. C. Ott, Duluth	Mrs. Nadine Fleming, Red Wing
Mrs. E. M. Hammes, Jr., Rochester	Mrs. A. G. Anderson, St. Cloud
Mrs. M. Ted Evans, Pipestone	Mrs. Hugh Robards, Alexandria
Miss Gertrude Banfield, Austin	Mrs. H. David Smith, Anoka
Mrs. Russell Olson, New Richland	Miss Dina Bremness, Glenwood
Mrs. Jasper Toutges, Jackson	Mrs. Lola Sheppard, Hutchinson

(Plans are going forward now for the organization of approximately 12 other groups in various towns in Minnesota.)

NUMBER OF GROUPS OF NEIGHBORS FOR STASSEN NOW
OPERATING IN THE STATE OF MINNESOTA..... 94

NUMBER OF NEIGHBORS (WOMEN)
WRITING LETTERS IN MINNESOTA..... 1,315

NUMBER (Approximate but minimum) OF
LETTERS WRITTEN TO DATE..... 26,500

(Answers to these letters have been received from every State in the Union, the greatest number from California, Illinois, Iowa, Massachusetts, New York, Washington and Wisconsin.)

The Women's Division of the NEIGHBORS FOR STASSEN has been growing so fast it has been necessary to allocate responsibility. To take care of this problem, at each meeting the women of the group choose a Group Director. There have been 94 meetings - there are 94 Group Directors. These Directors are responsible for the following:

1. Contact each member of her group every two weeks for the number of letters written and the number of answers received.
2. Get names, addresses and comments from answers.
3. Help each letter-writer to answer difficult problems which occur in letters. This is done in personal conferences or by a report meeting of the original group.
4. Report once a month to NEIGHBORS FOR STASSEN office on report sheet giving names of all people she has discovered are for Harold Stassen.

It is to be remembered that each WOMAN NEIGHBOR has been personally contacted and instructed as to the method and policy of this letter-writing program. Help is given to all letter-writers in answering the questions which come up in their letters. This involves much patience and education but we feel is definitely worth while.

Three complete card files are kept in the office of all records:

- WHITE CARDS - Names turned into office of people enthusiastic about Harold Stassen. All information possible is put on these cards, - state, city, name, address, thumb-nail sketch of person, his or her business and ability to work in that state when proper time comes and the contact, ie. the person from Minnesota who first approached her. (These cards should prove of great assistance to the various state campaign managers when the proper time comes.)
- PINK CARDS - All Women NEIGHBORS, what group they belong to, what material goes out to them and how many names they turn in.
- BLUE CARDS - People who have been written to who are still luke warm and want to know more about NES before committing themselves. These names are being followed through by the individual NEIGHBOR who first contacted them.

VOLUNTEER SERVICE IN THE NEIGHBORS FOR STASSEN OFFICE

On January 1, because of the tremendous number of records to be kept in the office and the work getting behind, Mrs. Gale appointed Miss Isabel Warren as Volunteer Chairman to assist Mrs. Coleman in lining up office assistants.

To date we have 79 office assistants who spend from a few hours to two days a week in the NEIGHBORS office. We have booked now at least two volunteer secretaries every day (including Saturdays) and 16 other women (general clerical) who come on regular days each week. The others come when called by Miss Warren.

We are now averaging 150 to 175 volunteer hours of service per week, just from office assistants.

Early in April Mrs. Gale entertained all office assistants at a tea at her home in Minneapolis at which Mrs. Harold E. Stassen spoke, and Miss Ruth Mitchell outlined to these volunteers the importance of their service in the NEIGHBORS office. It has been considerably easier to secure the volunteers for work in the office since this party!

NOTES

On file in the NEIGHBORS office is a folder containing unusual quotations from letters received from all over the country pertaining to Harold Stassen. Some of these quotations have already been sent direct to him.

A Scrap Book of clippings pertaining to Mr. Stassen which are being sent in by correspondents from all over the country.

A Clipping Book has also been kept since November 16th of all articles in the Minneapolis papers pertaining to Mr. Stassen.

A record is being kept in the office of unusual and original ways of working for Mr. Stassen sent in by NEIGHBORS in Minnesota and other states.

The names sent over by Bernhard W. LeVander of contributors and the names sent over from Mr. Stassen's St. Paul and Washington offices of interested people have not been put in the Women's file unless they have been personally approached. The contributors from all over the State have been turned over to Mrs. Howard and when groups meet in that particular locality these people are invited to participate. As to the names from Mr. Stassen's offices, these are being taken care of by a personal letter from Mrs. Gale at a later date or included in groups now being organized in the neighboring states, - Wisconsin, North and South Dakota, Iowa and Nebraska.

MEMORANDUM AS TO FUTURE ACTIVITIES

We have worked hard thus far to make Minnesota strong and put all work responsibility in capable hands. There are over 100 women in such responsible positions.

Regarding the immediate future of NEIGHBORS FOR STASSEN, our plans for moving into the neighboring states are being completed.

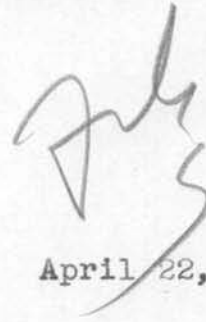
We have been asked to come to meetings in Wisconsin at Madison, Milwaukee, La Crosse and Wausau. Others are in the offing. We await the o. k. of Vic Johnson on April 23rd before we move in. This last on the advice of Al Lindley and Elmer Ryan. Vic Johnson to get Tom Coleman's sanction. Everything is progressing for us to be asked to Dakota meetings. How long we can keep up this letter-writing project is unknown. Maybe until the Convention but the NEIGHBORS so far have been a work group. However, they will be the most powerful nucleus for a selling job when we really begin to campaign. Eventually someone is going to start Stassen Clubs in every state in the Union and the names of Stassen enthusiasts accumulated by NEIGHBORS will be invaluable.

Respectfully submitted,

Isabel Gale

Mrs. Richard P. Gale

IG/mc



April 22, 1947

Memorandum to: Harold E. Stassen

From: Mark A. Forgette

SUBJECT: A suggested Plan of Action for future
contact activity.

1. To help give our present and future NEIGHBORS contact activity maximum unity, direction and effectiveness, I prepared the enclosed plan and submitted it to Dan Gainey.
2. After reviewing it, he asked that I send copies to you and to William F. Vanderbilt.

Mark A Forgette



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