

December 13, 1944

Hon. James Forrestal  
Secretary of the Navy  
Washington 25, D. C.

My dear Jim:

Many thanks for the copy of your correspondence with Harold Stassen.

I too read with great interest your article, "Will We Choose Naval Suicide Again?". Half a dozen people around the country sent me copies for comment, so I know it must have created a great deal of the right kind of interest.

I quite thoroughly agree with you that legislation must be passed before the war is over, or you will never get it. One of my few regrets at leaving Congress is that I will not be a member of the Post-War Military Policy Committee and therefore unable to help guide this vital legislation.

Incidentally, the leaders of both parties have volunteered the information to me that should I come back in '46 they will place me on the Post-War Military Policy Committee by special resolution, because then my position on the Naval Affairs Committee would not automatically make me a member. If I do come back to Congress in either the House or Senate, it may very well be in time to assist in the post-war legislation affecting our military establishments.

Cordially yours,

M:c

Congress of the United States  
House of Representatives

Washington, D. C.

December 13, 1944

Commander Harold E. Stassen, USNR  
Staff, Commander Third Fleet  
Fleet Post Office  
San Francisco, California

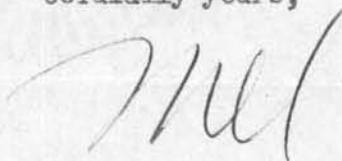
My dear Harold:

I thought you might be interested in  
a letter I have just written to Jim Forrestal.

What my plans will be as to the  
future in politics remain for future developments. I  
am returning to active service in the Marine Corps  
immediately upon termination of my present term in  
Congress. I am going to have an assignment on the  
West Coast for several months and after that have been  
assured of being given command of an advanced Marine  
Air Base in the Pacific. Doubtlessly we will be meeting  
in the not too distant future.

In the meantime, I would like to wish  
you a Merry Christmas and a very Happy New Year.

Cordially yours,



M:c

December 13, 1944

*Answered*

politics in years to come, as out over the nation there were all sorts of statements as to who was responsible, even to the extent that they were charged with having discovered it. Joe made a radio statement on Wednesday night, he made the statement on Friday. He attempted to explain his position but it was a lame duck attempt to justify his statement. I had a talk with Joe that afternoon.

I was most happy to receive your letter of November 4th while in Mexico, and I received your last one just this past week. He came back from our position landing him for his courage and statesmanship. Later he came out and stated he was supporting the

Our state campaign was very successful except, as you know, for Mel Maas and Dick Gale. Dick took it rather easy in the campaign and Mel unfortunately made several speeches concerning Pearl Harbor and who was responsible for that disaster. I would say that was the major issue that brought on his defeat.

Personally I talked with him at the time and I am positive he did not. Joe was in our apartment, he and Betty, leaving me at a quarter to 7 without having told me he was going to give a public press statement 'he could not support Dewey'. Had he confided in Warren, Walter or myself that he was going to make such a press release we would have felt entirely different, but I knew nothing other than that I knew he was bitter towards Dewey and said he couldn't support him in our conversation that evening. I called his attention to the injury he would do to all concerned if it was proven he was sour grapes so far as the national campaign was concerned, but he seemed to think that Dewey was aligned with some of the reactionaries and would be under the influence of the isolationists, which would jeopardize any chance for the establishment of a permanent peace. Joe was sincere. He was acting in accordance with his own convictions but he did not use good judgment. Frankly, I think his feelings were hurt that Dewey hadn't called him and asked him to be active in his behalf in the campaign. I have had a talk with him since November 1st. I told him so and tried to point out

As soon as the press contacted me for comments concerning Joe's stand I called Roy Dunn and George Jones and asked that they make no statement until we had an opportunity for a conference. I tried to hold down any direct criticisms against Joe personally. While we did not share his thoughts or views there was no need to condemn the man for having spoken his convictions, but there was very bitter feeling on the part of all, and there were threats for writing him out of the party. There were cancellations of meetings where Joe was to speak etc. My opposition, of course, was immediately able to say that Ed Thye did not belong in the category of a liberal progressive republican but to the Hoover-Roy Dunn reactionary crowd. This shook me a little, but I don't believe it cost me many votes, but it did injure Dewey's campaign, particularly in St. Louis County and on the range.

I talked with Joe two days after he had given that press statement and Joe felt very badly and very concerned about the injury his statement had done so far as Minnesota was concerned in national things can happen between now and of 1946.



MINNEAPOLIS  
STAR JOURNAL AND TRIBUNE

GIDEON SEYMOUR  
VICE PRESIDENT  
AND EXECUTIVE EDITOR

*Answer*  
December 14  
1944

Commander Harold Stassen, USNR  
Staff Commander, Third Fleet  
C/o Fleet Post Office  
San Francisco, California

Dear Harold:

Len Welch, who was out in the Pacific for us for about ten months as a staff correspondent, came back a couple of months ago. We are planning on sending another man out very soon and have asked the Navy to accredit Herb Paul, who has been city editor of the Star Journal. Now that the Pacific campaign centers in the Philippines, we hope to send him there and to have him follow and cover the principal action as it moves toward the ultimate objectives. Our hope is that Herb will be cleared and can be on his way by the first of the year, and I hope he will have an early opportunity to see you and convey the regards and good wishes of all of us here.

In briefing him, we are telling him, of course, that anything he can report about you and your activities has high priority as news for us. But I have in mind Welch's report of a conversation with you last January (in New Caledonia, perhaps) in which you said you didn't want any stories filed about you or your activities. I believe Welch wrote a general story about you and submitted it to the censor, who deferred to you on it, with the result that it was not cleared. We don't want to quarrel with this policy at all; I think I entirely understand your reasons for it and agree that it has been wise. But I wish you would indicate to me in confidence, if you can, whether you intend to maintain it indefinitely or whether there might be any alteration in it which would make it feasible for us to have Paul so situated, if possible, that he could keep in closer touch with the Third Fleet and specifically with you. We don't want to be napping if there should be opportunity to have Paul report from time to time on actions in which you are playing a part.

Herb is extremely keen to be a war correspondent: he is an "old soldier" who saw a lot of fighting in France in 1917-18, he is an excellent reporter and writer, he has a lot of guts and he won't be getting homesick and eager to come back after a few months of it, as some younger correspondents are. His wife has a responsible job in the Minneapolis schools and his children are grown so Herb feels that he is more available than most experienced hands for such an assignment, and we agree. I hope it will be possible for him to have a good visit with you early in his Pacific experience.

The recent campaign had its disappointments, of course, but there were also some satisfactions. Ed Thye has carried on splendidly, and a number of people whose political judgment I trust told me that he made the best speeches

for Dewey that were made in Minnesota by anybody with the possible exception of Walter Judd. I had opportunity during the campaign to work closely and get much better acquainted with Walter Rosenberry and Warren Burger, and I was glad of that.

With national and state elections out of the way until 1946 there are a lot of things that need doing on the municipal front in 1945 and some of us are working hard on them. The Minneapolis school situation will be made or broken by the election of three ~~board~~ members six months hence. Goslin, the new superintendent, is a high-class man and an excellent administrator and if Walter Johnson and Dr. Drake, whose terms on the board expire, can be replaced with able and representative people the outlook will be fine. If they aren't, Goslin might as well be on his way, for he is too good a school man to spend the best years of his life butting against a stone wall.

Humphrey will run for mayor again, with a good chance of making it. Marv Kline would like to be re-elected but isn't sure yet whether he will run again, because he would have a very hard race and might lose, and because business is piling up so for architects that he sees a better opportunity now to get back into architecture, if he intends to do so, than is likely to exist if he waits a few years.

Jack Knight of Akron-Miami-Detroit has bought the Chicago Daily News, as you know, and Stuffy, who joined Jack in May, is spending most of his time in Chicago now, putting new life into the Daily News, which had dropped to the foot of the class in circulation among the Chicago evening newspapers. It is a big job but I will wager that Stuffy is equal to it.

Before we had any idea that Knight would get the Daily News--in fact, at a time when he was temporarily out of the bidding for it--we got the agreement of Carroll Binder, editor of the Daily News' notable foreign service, that he would join us on January 1, 1945, as editorial editor of the Star Journal (the post I left to take Stuffy's last May) if anybody but Binder's close personal friend, Adlai Stevenson, got the Daily News. So Carroll is coming to us and I think he will be a notable acquisition--for us, and for the city and state. We have added several good men to the staff and have, in my judgment, greatly improved the Morning Tribune, and when we get back our good men who are in the service we will have, I think, one of the best newspaper staffs in the country; and we shall need it, to do our job well, for the challenges are going to be tremendous and newspapers are going to have to do a better job in the ferreting out and interpretation of information and the communication of ideas than they have ever done before.

Agnes and I saw Esther two or three times during the campaign. It is always a pleasure to see her. She looks splendid and is certainly carrying on bravely and confidently.

CONTINUATION - Commander Harold Stassen, USNR  
MINNEAPOLIS  
STAR JOURNAL  
AND TRIBUNE

Perhaps you know that Russ Wiggins is in the process of getting out of the Army--somewhat disillusioned, I am afraid, as is also Charlie Turck who is back in the presidency of Macalester. Russ will be back at the editorial helm of the Pioneer Press and Dispatch in January, and I am glad, for he is a splendid newspaper man, and a splendid fellow to be fighting with--in both senses of the word.

Cordially and sincerely, with heartfelt greetings of the season and every good wish for the New Year.

*J. H.*

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EXECUTIVE OFFICES

*70 Fifth Avenue, New York 11*

December 15, 1944

Com. Harold E. Stassen  
U.S.N.R.  
Staff Commander, 3rd Fleet  
c/o Fleet Post Office  
San Francisco, Calif.

Dear Harold:

Under separate cover, I have sent you a package containing three books: Friedrich Hayek's "The Road to Serfdom," Leopold Schwartzchild's "Primer of the Coming World," and Ludvig Von Mises' "Bureaucracy."

During the late campaign, I was in Albany. I was on Governor Dewey's research staff preparing speech material. We were flooded with letters urging us to read these three books which came out only a few weeks before election.

"The Road to Serfdom" will change the political and economic climate of America during the next four years. If 10,000 leaders of public opinion read it, we'll see a Republican landslide in 1948. No book of equal importance has been written in 50 years.

Most books on bureaucracy are mostly denunciations of New Deal agencies.

Von Mises' book is not a tirade. It shows what bureaucracy is, what functions it can perform, and what functions it can not perform. Above all, it explains why.

Schwartzchild's "Primer of the Coming World" is a sequel to the same author's "World in Trance" which Winston Churchill bought for each member of his cabinet and said they must read.

If nobody throws a monkey wrench, I hope to leave in late February on a round-the-world trip covering Greece, Yugoslavia, Iran, Chungking, Yenan, Moscow, returning through Warsaw to Berlin -- I hope -- just in time to cover the execution of Heinrich Himmler. Perhaps I will be an official wit-

Com. Harold E. Stassen

December 15, 1944

ness. On my return, I'll probably be in the proper mood to write "One AWFUL World" - or -- "Civilization, a Ghastly Error."

Believe you will enjoy the books. Hope the war soon ends so you can get back to political service.

Sincerely,



Jim

JLW:HS

P. S. I find that this letter was not sent air mail, so I am duplicating it herewith by air mail. You will get a copy two or three months from now.

James L. Wick  
Woodward Hotel  
55th St. & Broadway  
New York, N. Y.



COPY

December 15, 1944

Hon. Edw. J. Thye,  
Governor,  
State Capitol,  
St. Paul 1, Minnesota.

My dear Governor:

I just finished reading an account in the daily papers where the Board of Regents of the University of Minnesota had rejected the report of the Investigator, Mr. Gallagher, whom you had appointed to look into that situation.

I know that the members of the Board of Regents will argue that they did not reject the report as a whole, that there are some parts that they had accepted. The fact that they did reject anything in the report that meant much to the employees remains.

At our convention in September a resolution was introduced instructing me to appoint a committee to meet with the Board of Regents for the purpose of negotiating the demands for improvement in wages, working hours and working conditions.

After the convention the report of your Investigator was received by the Regents and by the time the committee was appointed and got into action, the report had already been filed and in the hands of the Union and the Regents.

The Union, after considering the report, although there were many things in it that they could not agree to, voted to accept it, feeling that they were going to be able to get along better in the future than they had in the past, since you had interceded in the dispute.

Our Committee went through the formality of meeting with the Regents, urging them to accept the report as it was.

I presume you have a copy of their action in the matter.

Hon. Edw. J. Thye,  
Dec. 15, 1944 -2-

I am deeply concerned over the outcome of this, not only because of the deplorable conditions that exist in this House of Higher Education, but because of the repercussions that will be felt by every branch of public employment in the State of Minnesota.

I do not know what the Building Service Employees are going to do, but I do not believe that they are going to take the matter laying down. I have heard some ominous threats coming from some of the legislators about what they are going to do to the public employees. They used the basis for their argument that something must be done to stop the public employees from exercising the same rights that other employees do; the strikes that had been held at the University, grain weighers, and Moorhead.

I presume that the State Legislature can pass a law that will put handcuffs on every public employee in the State of Minnesota, but that is not my idea of the proper way to handle the situation.

I know that when you appointed this Investigator you did it in good faith, with the thought that he would be able to get both parties together and that they would both come reasonably near to following his suggestions. The Union accepted in good faith. In my opinion, the Board of Regents did not.

I have talked to several members of the Board of Regents and they stress particularly the clause pertaining to union recognition, arguing that neither the State of Minnesota nor any of its subdivisions recognizes the Union as the sole bargaining agency for any group, and until the State does adopt such a policy that the Board of Regents will not consider it.

My personal belief in the matter is that the State should adopt this policy. I feel that if they are going to be at all consistent, they must adopt it. If I ran a plant and employed a hundred people, and had a labor dispute arise, the state law tells me that I must recognize the majority of the employees in a union as the collective bargaining agency, but the State reserves the right to tell the individual that their union means nothing, that they have a perfect right to come up and talk for themselves at any time. And it has been pointed out that in many cases the non-union man gets more consideration than the men that are represented by their union.

Hon. Edw. J. Thye,  
Dec. 15, 1944 -3-

We attempted in previous sessions of the Legislature to give the public employees the same protection that the Labor Relations Laws give the employees in private industry, with limitations, however. That limitation being that while the Conciliator had the authority to take jurisdiction in a dispute, that there was no right granted either by implication or otherwise to the employee to strike. This, however, was not strong enough so the Legislature, as they termed it, put some teeth into the law with the result that it was vetoed by the Governor.

I believe that the State of Minnesota should do one of two things. They should either adopt a policy recognizing the majority of the employees in whatever union they may join as the sole bargaining agency or else they should be consistent and repeal the Labor Relations Law, applying to private industry.

I believe that in most respects you feel the same as I do, and I know of no one better to start such a movement than your own Honorable self.

I trust that you will give this matter very serious consideration and let me know what is your own good judgment. I am very much afraid of what might happen if the present attitude of some of our employing authorities in public employment are continued.

Anxiously awaiting your reply, I am

Very truly yours,

R. A. Olson  
President  
Minnesota State Federation of Labor



15 Dec '44

MEMO HES:

Think you should have text of reply I received to a letter, a summary of which I send you few days ago: he says:

"Dear Stowe:

"Thanks a lot for yours of Dec. 8+ Incidentally, you did a swell job of camouflage+ As you surmised, Betty saw the letter but could not figure it out+ Naturally, I did+

"I don't think you need to worry too much because our friend has generally stayed on the beam+

"Congrats on wisdom in turning down CPA+ You would have been unhappy there+ We rejoice with you in finally getting full story as to George+

"Affectionately+Y"

You'll better understand the 2nd paragraph than I+ Do I read a bit of superciliousness in his wordage; or is it just his

way of expressing calm confidence+ Finger it out for yourself+

Winds blowing, snow is snowing and Boss remains in Washington+ Lacking some "yes" and "No" answers to crucial questions of policy, I'm going on annual leave again this PM.

Yesterday, the director got a letter from the regional director, telling him we were off base, on a Rosemont story I released on my own initiative last week+ And so, I am officially slapped on wrist+ But what I can't say to any one is that afore this story went out, I had an off record talk with this same Regional Director and he told me that "if I was in your boots, I would throw hooks into our manpower situation at every opportunity; we need somebody who has guts over there--but if you ever tell any body I gave you any such advice, I'll see that you pay the penalty+" And then, after the deed is done and other agencies yowl about our grabbing the line light, as they are always doing to us, the record shows a slap on wrist+ But I just stand my ground, say that I used my best judgement, have no apologies, and would not change my course a bit if the identical circumstances should come up again+ And the Regional Director raises an eye brow when he finds no buck passing+ He don't know Hank any too well; but in time he'll learn+

Di, I tell you that Verne Joslin used CPA to sorta club Chet a bit, into moving with respect to Vic Johnson's job+ Well, he did. And Verne thanked me a lot, for having made an announcement as to my interest which gave him an inside track, and this made his prime motive more effective. But any good that accrued to him was a side issue, so far as I am concerned+ I can't tell yet, but Starkie may feel that he was slighted in filling the vacancy pending return of of Major Ferio, or however you spell it+ He's one guy I don't like--and neither should you+ No backbone; and entirely selfish in a pinch+ Wait and see+

Anyway, now I gotta go paint+

If you want a dam good yoeman, look into L+ A+ Newton, CY, USNR, Comdr Escort Div 64, He's a kid from Hackensack that grew up with my kids and pretty much like John. One of those fellows who despite many adverse circumstances, always comes up, right side up+ He writes to me every now and then, looking for fatherly advice, and no letter I get from anybody, compares with his for accuracy, diction, punctuation, lack of erasures, etc+ And if he should get within ear shot of you, don't be surprised if he says something remindful of The Elliots+ I first ran into him when he was a very young young'un and was having difficulties at school because on his way, he had had encounter with a Mother Skunk+ Boy, did "Bunny" smell--and was the school in an uproar+ I think that story was one of my funniest; and, to some extent, factual, at that+

Are you worried about the cigarette shortage+ Well, neither am I, for I'm a pipe sucker now--and the match situation is growing serious+

3 Bye, HANK.

U.S.S. PERIDOT (PYc18)

c/o FLEET POST OFFICE  
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

15 December 1944

Dear Commander -

If my good faith in the efficacy of the navy's mail delivery system is well placed, then this should reach you despite my feeble attempts to address the envelope. I have no idea of your correct address and so I'm just taking a shot in the dark that this will make it. I hope it does.

It has been my real pleasure to run into some of the fellows who were a part of that acme of comfort and good living - A-8 - and I thought you too might be interested to know of the places these lads have found for themselves in the navy since leaving Schuyler.

Remember Bob Kistler? Well, one day I returned aboard my ship, and hearing somewhat familiar and heavy laughter, looked in the wardroom to see Bob awaiting my return. At that time he was the Executive Officer of an LC/G.

U.S.S. PERIDOT (PYc18)

c/o FLEET POST OFFICE  
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

and had seen action at Eniwetok, Tarawa, Saipan, Tinian, and Guam. In fact he'd had a most exciting time of it in all respects, including an incident in which his ship lost a few men by a hit upon it. Bob was still the same lad though, and his spirits far from dampened. I went aboard his ship and he seemed to be very, very well acquainted with every single thing aboard and a most efficient and popular officer. I haven't seen him again <sup>lately</sup> but it's my guess he's somewhere "dishing it out."

Another day I ran into Jack Stevens. He was then the skipper of an LCT and, having spent a pretty good length of time in the states, was then heading west. I met Kistler again later and he told me of having seen Stevens again at Guam. I spent some time aboard his ship too, and, although small, it seemed to be very well run and Jack a very excellent skipper.

You may remember, also, Fred Fermer. Met him one day and he was then aboard



U.S.S. PERIDOT (PYc18)

c/o FLEET POST OFFICE  
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

a merchantman in the armed guard. Said he liked it a lot.

Don Collins, I understand, is not far from my usual operating base and has a "Crash Boat." Haven't been in my usual area for sometime and so haven't been able to see him.

Gerry Rotz is aboard a converted yacht - and I see him quite frequently as he does work similar to that which my ship does.

"Junior" Mapes, whom you will remember, went to Miami (SCTC), and from there got a crash boat. If I'm not mistaken, he is also in the Pacific area.

John Clark, when I had last heard from him, was the Exec. on a YP out of some Australian port, or island near there. He told me he had run into a few fellows down that way, too.

For myself, I'm aboard the "Peridot" - a converted yacht of the class which are just a bit bigger than YP's but seem to be just a rough. My jobs are watch officer, radar, and gunnery. At

U.S.S. PERIDOT (PYc18)

c/o FLEET POST OFFICE

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

the moment I'm 3<sup>rd</sup> Officer and supposedly in training for Exec. Our captain is a Lieutenant who graduated from Schuyler in the class after ours, and so there are two of us aboard who are "Academy" men. We have six officers aboard, and they are a fine bunch.

You may remember the little girl who arrived to bless the lives of my wife and myself one week after my arrival at Schuyler. She's now a rolly-polly healthy little thing. And, if I may say so, pretty as a picture.

I read in the papers some word of an experience you had, although it gave no real details. I hope it wasn't too bad.

I know you must be very busy and hope you won't feel you have to answer this letter. If you can't get the time, I shall well understand. If you can however, I would be most happy to hear from you indeed.

Well, there's to an early victory, and Christmas and New Year's greetings! Sincerely  
Jack Snydman

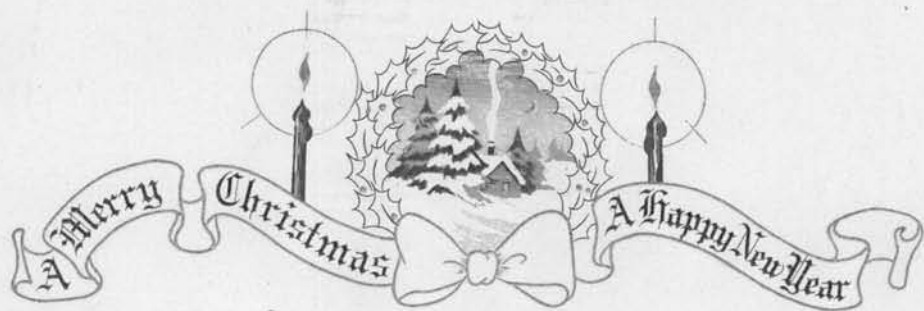
Mrs. F. Peavey Heffelfinger  
Wayzata, Minnesota

Dec 16  
[1944]

Dear Harold -

Midst your  
winning in medals  
& that a travel of  
all minor politics  
might amuse you  
I'm not alone yet  
but will be soon  
old age & you don't  
finish up this war  
to get here again  
many Xmas & best  
love to you always  
Bye dear H -





Muller Hospital  
December 16, 1944

Dear Harold —

You will have another little niece to greet you on your next trip home. Ann Carol Jean arrived just a week ago today -- just one day before Marion's second birthday, so you see we will have a very eventful December from now on. We are both feeling fine and anxious to get home. Marion has been waiting so long for her Mommy to go "shopping to the hospital for a baby". Now she calls me in the morning and say, "How's Carol Jean?". She's putting the LeMay family thru their paces and I'm afraid may be a bit spoiled with so much attention.

Elmer has been busy as usual and this week he, Ida and their crew put up a tree in the store and packed 7 tons candy and nuts. Business has been excellent and Elmer has been quite lucky to get enough candy and other holiday items which are generally short. We don't have the time or ambition to do much aside from store work but we must keep up with OPA. ARA and many others who keep our mail box full of orders, restrictions, rules and regulations. Last Friday night I was working on the trial balance and thought I would finish it Saturday (over)

but Carol Jean changed those plans. She'll have to be good now for a few weeks until we get caught up with our work.

Mrs. Knapp will be with us until Vi starts work in the Legislature, which I suppose will be early in January. She has been assigned to the Game and Fish Committee and is quite pleased.

We had such a nice time at Bill and Martha's Thanksgiving on your folks wedding anniversary.

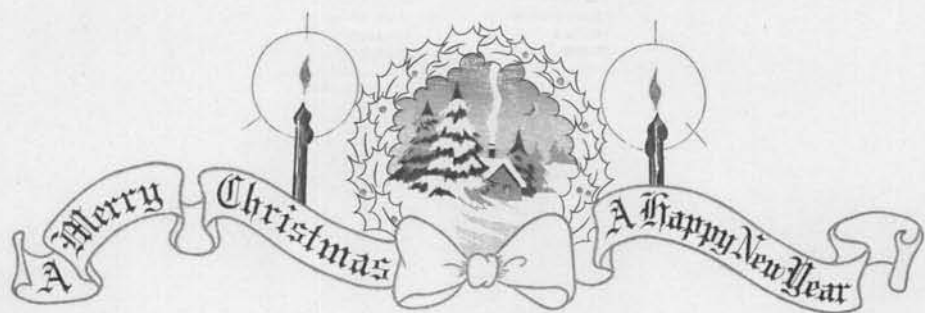
George Bryan was home for two weeks from Danagut where he has been for over a year in the War Bond Dept. He is looking fine and makes a good sailor.

Little Mary Stasson (related to Smiley's) has joined the U. S. State Dept Foreign Service and I have a letter from her for Xmas from Sofia. Iris Harrod (one of the crowd we used to skate and hike with) is also in this service and is with the American Legation in Beirut, Lebanon. They both report interesting experiences and are enjoying their work.

Lucille Ford Macmillan has a new baby boy. Her husband is an F.B.I. agent.

Just got a letter from Bull's. They would like to have us send them some bacon, cheese, etc so when I get home will pack a little box. It is much more difficult to get some of those things on the Coast than it is here, I guess.

Ether drove to town with me a week ago and when we got home she had a letter from you in the mailbox. She is looking fine and is busy getting ready for Xmas too. I've been too lazy to do much this year and rather enjoy having an alibi to just sit back and watch everyone else rush around.



- 2 -

Elmer and Marian are planning to make the rounds together this year and I know it will be fun for them both. When Elmer is home I can't do anything for Marian. Every suggestion gets the same reply "No - Daddy do it!". They build with blocks, ride pickaback, go walking and a million other things together and she says "my, Daddy's sugarplum!".

We had our pictures taken about a month ago and I am enclosing one. It seems as tho I know of no news except babies and grocery stores and so will close. We hope you are well and that next Christmas you will be with us all for good. Each nite Marian says "Jesus, let Uncle Harold come home to Glen and Kathleen". -

Love from us all,

Elmer, Venice

Marian and Carol Jean



GEO. W. LAWSON  
416 NO. AUDITORIUM ST.  
ST. PAUL, MINN.



Dec. 18, 1944.

Dear Harold:

I certainly appreciated and enjoyed hearing from you under date of December 3rd.

You start out by asking how the year 1944 has been treating me. In the main it has been somewhat rough. Since February 1st I have been spending two days a week in Chicago, sitting as a member of the Sixth Regional War Labor Board. I am still serving on the Appeal Committee on Selective Service; also, the State War Finance Committee, the Regents, and half a dozen other things. So there has been very little time for anything else.

Thank you for your congratulations on the celebration of my thirtieth anniversary. It was a very nice affair and I am sorry you could not be there.

I think you are right in being proud of the record of Minnesota labor in war production. Of course, we have had our troubles but these have never as yet interfered with the war production in any way. Right now we are in what is called a tight labor market. We feel that, however, there has been too much of draining of labor out of Minnesota for other sections of the country, but in spite of this, reports come to me that we are filling the needs in pretty good shape.

We still have the University troubles with us and Bob and I thought you might be interested in a letter that Bob sent to Governor Thye, so I am enclosing a copy. Probably you get some information on the subject through the newspapers that are no doubt sent to you. This will be a very live issue in the forthcoming session of the Legislature. I am advised that there is considerable feeling throughout the state.

Groner and Mienz were in the other day and Groner also had had a letter from you.

My son is now somewhere in England.

Good luck and best wishes.

STANLEY HIGH  
475 FIFTH AVENUE  
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

December 21, 1944

Dear Harold:

Well, even the aftermath of the election is past. Mrs. High and I have just returned from a month of recuperation in California and -- strangely enough -- I found, in Washington last week, that the Monument still stands.

During the campaign I took leave from my job and served as a member of the so-called strategy board that met daily with Brownell to plan the campaign. My own additional contribution, if any, was in the speech-writing area -- and I turned out, for good or ill, between 50 and 60 of them. (On the day after election my wife cheered me up by pointing out a study made by some professors which "proved" that speeches make no difference.)

I think Dewey made an excellent campaign in many respects. I also believe he would have been -- for the times immediately ahead of us -- an excellent, even a great President. God knows we need someone in the White House now whose yea is yea and whose nay is nay; and likewise someone who has some basic regard for the erstwhile virtue of honesty.

Looking back on it -- and after talking with many people -- I'm convinced there were at least two major mistakes in the campaign. The first was that we relied too exclusively on the Republican organization. I don't belittle what an organization can do. But I think the tendency was to underestimate the number of voters who have no attachment to party whatsoever and who can only be appealed to by quasi-independent organizations. The Democrats had - in addition to the PAC - all sorts of groups aimed to corral the independent vote. Save the Democrats for Dewey -- a not very well led outfit, we had none. Certainly, we've got to get together, soon, an organization designed to interest particularly the middle-class, independent-minded, small-town-gearred citizen. Only such an organization can be an effective off-set to the PAC -- which reputedly, aims to spend \$500,000 a month to win the Congressional elections in 1946.

The second major mistake was one which I had a part in. I felt Roosevelt ought to be knocked down and stamped on -- that Dewey's speeches ought all to be fighting, anti-Roosevelt speeches. After the Teamsters' Speech of FDR, we had little

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difficulty selling that idea to Dewey. With all the eloquence I could muster I helped to sell it. But we were wrong. I find -- after talking to men like Governor Warren, Ray Baldwin, Ed Thye, John Cowles, Wayne Morse, Ralph Cake and numerous others that our mistake was in failing to recognize that the voters we had to win to our side were voters who had been on Roosevelt's side; that they still had for him considerable attachment, even affection and that -- when we laid it on so hard -- their backs were put up. Baldwin, Thye, Morse, Saltonstall -- and numerous others won -- not by lambasting Roosevelt, and not by outpromising him -- but by talking, in friendly, constructive fashion about a better way.

What Dewey's long-time future is, I don't know. He is due to have an extremely difficult time being elected in New York in '46. The Liberal and ALP parties, between them, polled 800,000 votes -- which, in New York, is what makes the difference. The Democrats are likely to nominate either Senator Mead or Jim Farley. I'm inclined to think both the ALP and the Liberals would support Jim; I'm sure they would support Mead.

It seems to me that if Dewey is smart, he'll forget about '48 for the next two years and concentrate on: a) getting re-elected in New York and b) putting the party in shape nationally. Herb Brownell, I think, did an excellent job as chairman. I think he will continue. It would, however, be an act of smart politics if he were to step out and Dewey engineer the election of Sen. Ken Wherry of Nebraska as chairman (whom, I'm told, would resign from the Senate to accept). Sinclair Weeks would like to be Secretary of the Committee -- which would mean a western chairman and an eastern Secretary. Then Herb -- since Ed Jaeckle has resigned -- could take over the N Y Chairmanship. But I don't think that's likely to happen. And I know that, if he gives full time to it, Herb will do a bang-up job as National Chairman in the next period.

But no organization will save the party -- unless the party, first, makes up its mind what it believes and stands for, and begins to give those beliefs concrete implementation in Congress and the country. There is no such thing -- at



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present -- as a Republican platform. The party is a welter of confusion and contradictions. Unless, soon, some of those Republicans who have the capacity to think long thoughts are brought together and empowered to make a liberal statement of the GOP philosophy for the period ahead of us -- nationally and internationally -- we might as well kiss the 1948 election goodbye -- and the party with it. And unless the party has vision enough to do that job, then I think it will deserve the fate it gets.

I've heard reports of your interest in organizing a veterans organization. God knows something like that ought to be started by somebody like you -- and right away. The alternatives are: to let the American Legion gather the veterans of this war to its sterile bosom or to turn the veterans over to the hands of the wrong kind of veteran leadership. But such an enterprise can't wait until the end of the war. The American Legion didn't. And I don't know anyone so well situated as you are to get it going.

This has been too long a letter. But I'd like to hear from you and, from time to time, I'll try and report on what I'm seeing, hearing and thinking.

As ever yours,





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