

MINNEAPOLIS
STAR JOURNAL AND TRIBUNE

JOHN COWLES
PRESIDENT

January 22
1945

Mr. Lewis H. Brown
22 East 40th Street
New York 16, New York

Dear Lew:

Your letter of January 2nd and the enclosure, which arrived in my absence from Minneapolis, interest me greatly.

Answering some of the questions that you asked, I am inclined to think that the most important thing for the Republican party, and for people who believe in individualism, to do is to carry on as widespread a popular educational campaign as is possible to inform the public as to the dangers of a planned economy. We are moving toward statism at an alarming rate, and we must make the people realize the ultimate implications of the successive steps. Through our various publications, my brother Mike and I are going to do everything we can along many different lines to teach the public basic economic and governmental facts. The current issue of LOOK magazine, for example, carries a double page pictorial review summarizing Hayek's "The Road to Serfdom". I would appreciate it if you would look at it and give me your reaction. While this particular LOOK feature falls short of perfection, it serves to illustrate the kind of thing that we are going to try to keep doing to help educate LOOK readers.

Again using "The Road to Serfdom" as an illustration, we are going to run another kind of condensation of it in the Minneapolis Sunday Tribune January 28th. We have more than 400,000 Sunday circulation, and periodically are going to summarize various current books and articles dealing with economics and government in a popular way to try to give the ideas they contain a much wider readership than they have in their original form.

The more other magazines and newspapers could be persuaded to carry on long range popular educational programs dealing with the dangers of a planned economy, the better. Public education is a slow process, but in the final analysis, the public has to be made to realize the dangers of the road ahead if we are going to be successful in persuading the country to change its destination.

Some weeks ago, Stanley Resor mentioned to me that he was having some of the smart young people in his agency try to boil down "The Road to Serfdom" and put it out in a popular form for possible distribution by business organizations to their employees or customers. The more that sort of thing can be encouraged, the better.

You are completely right in emphasizing that the Republican party should try vigorously to secure several hundred thousand contributors and build the organization from the precincts up. The Republican party should, in my opinion, make a far greater effort to attract so-called independents. Several times between the date when Tom Dewey was nominated and Labor Day, I tried to convince both Dewey and Herb Brownell of the wisdom and importance of creating "Independents For Dewey Clubs", but without much success. The whole Dewey campaign was too closely confined, in my opinion, to the regular organization, and the set-up seemed to exclude rather than to attract independents. From my personal knowledge of the Wilkie campaign in

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1940, I feel positive that the Willkie clubs, net, did infinitely more good than harm. The Republican old guard underestimated the extra votes these Willkie clubs attracted in 1940. Dewey could, in my opinion, have avoided the mistakes that Willkie made with the clubs in 1940 and could have gained several hundred thousand votes if he had really appreciated the importance of creating ways by which the independents could have devoted their energies to the Dewey cause outside of the regular party organization. This error should be avoided in 1948.

Although many of the Republican leaders in congress are good personal friends of mine, I frequently feel that the greatest single obstacle to Republican success is the attitude of some of its congressional leaders. Possibly, as a practical matter, seniority cannot be or should not be done away with, but it seems to me that seniority is venerated to an excessive degree. The exclusion of some of the younger, more appealing Republicans from committee places of prominence or power hurts the whole party. For example, Congressman Walter Judd of Minneapolis clearly should have been named a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee, but a weak nonentity from Wisconsin was elected in his place because he had slightly more seniority.

As far as national public appeal is concerned, Judd is one of the half-dozen top Republicans in the House. If the Republican party is to win in 1946 or 1948, fellows like Judd have to be put in places of more prominence and influence.

Senator Vandenberg's recent speech on foreign affairs was superb, I thought. If the Republican members of congress would sincerely and affirmatively follow the Vandenberg line, they could erase from the public's memories some of the stupid positions that have marred the Republican record on international questions in the last five years. However, the election of Senator Wiley of Wisconsin to fill a vacancy on the Foreign Affairs Committee seems to me asinine beyond comprehension, and it probably will lose the Republicans more votes than Vandenberg's speech made.

I don't know how it can be accomplished, but making the Republicans in congress see the light and realize how some of their actions produce a negative or adverse effect upon the voting public would be one of the most important things that could be done to help clear the way for the election of a Republican president in 1948. Possibly the people can be educated and made to understand the necessity of reversing the present trend toward statism even though they may be disgusted by the attitude of some of the Republicans in congress.

I am writing you with complete frankness because I think the situation is graver than most people comprehend. The elections in 1946 and 1948 may be the last chances that we of this generation will have to save the country from statism.

With warm regards and best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

John Cowles

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THE NATURE OF BUREAUCRACY

BUREAUCRACY, by Ludwig von Mises. New Haven: Yale University Press, 125 pp., \$2.00.

Despite much talk concerning the great danger of bureaucracy there have been but few analyses of what is the real significance of bureaucracy. The discussion is often premised on the assumption that bureaucratic institutions exist only in government. Can they exist in a non-governmental organization? What are the social and political implications of such institutions? Until this book was published the literature of politics did not include a real analysis of bureaucracy.

The Author

Ludwig von Mises is an Austrian economist. For a quarter of a century he was a professor at the University of Vienna. At the same time he was economic adviser to the Austrian Chamber of Commerce. Subsequently he taught at Geneva and the University of Mexico. Among the books he has written are: Theory of Money and Credit; Socialism, an Economic and Sociological Analysis; and Omnipotent Government.

Character and Method

This work is a theoretical study of bureaucracy and its implications. Its author as an economist approaches the problem from the viewpoint of economic theory rather than from the standpoint of an analysis of the actual operation of government institutions. By contrasting bureaucratic management with business management he attempts to discover the nature of bureaucracy. The book is simply written and easy to read: although the discussion is on a theoretical plane, it is not abstruse.

Summary

Profit Management

The nature of bureaucracy can be understood only by comparing it with profit management in private industry. Where a free market exists, the consumer, by his purchases, controls what is to be produced. "The capitalistic system of production is an economic democracy in which every penny gives a right to vote." "Profit and loss are instruments by means of which the consumers keep a tight reign on all business activities." The great merit of capitalism is that it is the only system of social co-operation and the division of labor that offers a method of computation on which to base the planning of new enterprises as well as the appraisal of the utility of those enterprises already in operation. The ultimate basis of such calculations is the valuation of goods by the consumer. This takes place in the market and the relative desirability of different goods to the consumer is evidenced by the prices that he is willing to pay for them. As a consequence of consumer willingness to pay the prices asked, the production of goods results in a profit or a loss. "Economic calculation makes it possible for business to adjust production to the demands of the consumers." Under a socialist system "there would be neither discernible profits nor discernible losses." Consequently economic calculation would not be possible, and it would be impossible to discover whether given types of production actually meet the needs of consumers.

Under capitalism all management is appraised from the viewpoint of its capacity to make a profit. In producing a good not for direct sale in the market, the test is: Can we buy it cheaper than we can make it? Under the profit system the discretion of the manager of a plant need not be limited by detailed regulations, because a sufficient guide to his efficiency exists in his capacity to make a profit or a loss in the market. In view of the continued flexibility required by the market, it is not even advantageous to impose rigid regulations on him.

Bureaucratic Management

Now in turning to a definition of bureaucratic management, the crucial problem is to determine what constitutes the public interest in any field where the free market does not operate. Since there is generally no calculable profit or loss we cannot determine what actually gives public satisfaction. This is especially true in the case of government action. Nevertheless there still is a need to determine what is a useful public service, and it is desirable to ascertain that the service is properly performed. But the author points out, "The objectives of public administration cannot be measured in money terms and cannot be checked by accounting methods." In private enterprise the behavior of the public in the market is the guide; in public service not run for a profit, something must take its place. A series of rules is developed to determine the goals of public service as well as the methods of attaining those goals. Then the author proceeds to indicate the real nature of bureaucracy.

Bureaucratic management is management bound to comply with detailed rules and regulations fixed by the authority of a superior body. The task of the bureaucrat is to perform what these rules and regulations order him to do. His discretion to act according to his own best conviction is seriously restricted by them.

Bureaucratic management is the method applied in the conduct of administrative affairs the result of which has no cash value on the market.

Bureaucracy in Private Enterprise

Bureaucratic management can occur in private enterprise. Any form of government control of profits either by taxation or other means breeds bureaucratism in business. But "no private enterprise will ever fall prey to bureaucratic methods of management if it is operated with the sole aim of making a profit." In a large part of Europe, the author asserts that:

With the increasing government interference with business it became necessary to appoint executives whose main duty it was to smooth away difficulties with the authorities. First it was only one vice-president in charge of "affairs referring to government administration." Later the main requirement for the president and for all vice-presidents was to be in good standing with the government and the political parties. Finally no corporation could afford the "luxury" of an executive unpopular with the administration, the labor-unions, and the great political parties

Such executives did not care a whit for the company's prosperity. They were accustomed to bureaucratic management and they accordingly altered the conduct of the corporation's business. Why bother about bringing out better and cheaper products if one can rely on support on the part of the government? For them government contracts, more effective tariff protection, and other government favors were the main concern

Social and Political Implications

Bureaucrats tend generally to identify themselves with the state. They consider themselves above the law, not bound by it. Thus they consider themselves as above the citizens and not responsible to anyone for their acts.

Complacency is another outgrowth of the system. Bureaucrats identify themselves with whatever is good in society and they feel that the citizens should be grateful to them for bringing it about.

In a democracy the bureaucrat is also a voter and thus he has a voice in choosing the government. Above anything else he is primarily interested in increasing his own rewards and in keeping the existing government in power. He thus tends to utilize his power and authority to keep his regime in office.

He is also interested in developing a given state of mind in the public--that the profit motive is not desirable or possible. Therefore more government action is required.

Psychological Aspects

The youth of the country have a hard time getting ahead in a bureaucratic society since advancement depends primarily on seniority. A sense of frustration follows and a special youth movement develops.

Because of the rigidities of bureaucracy it stultifies progress. This rigidity comes inevitably from the need for following rules and regulations. In social life rigidity amounts to petrification and death.

Another consequence is a decline of the critical sense. In a dictatorship, adulation of the "leader" is the rule, in a democratic bureaucracy the "common man" receives adulation. The people are led to believe that the bureaucrat always does exactly what they would want him to do, if they were in a position to know what should be done, and thus criticism is avoided.

WHERE "PLANNED CONTROL" LEADS

THE ROAD TO SERFDOM, by Friedrich A. Hayek, with a Foreword by John Chamberlain.
Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 250 pp., \$2.75.

Here is a provocative analysis of and warning against the trend toward statism. Have Great Britain and the United States been traveling the wrong road for the past quarter century? Are they being led astray by the same siren calls which wrecked Germany and Italy on the reefs of collectivism? To most of us nazism and fascism are haunting terrors. We dread them as we would the plague. We see no necessary connection between them and our interest in full employment, social security, or freedom from want. But, in our impatience to reach desirable ends, have we been committing ourselves to a course which means turning our backs upon individual freedom and political democracy? Viewing the complexities of modern society, some economists believe that monopoly, administered prices, and widely pervasive rigidities are inevitable, that competition will become more and more restricted in area, and that as a result deliberate planning must take on ever-increasing scope. Can such a belief be reconciled with our traditional freedoms? Are not those who entertain it already traveling the wrong road—the road that leads away from individual opportunity and liberalism to collectivist serfdom? These challenging queries become particularly pertinent as we look to postwar America.

The Author

Friedrich A. Hayek is an Austrian economist who has recently become a British citizen. Formerly Director of the Austrian Institute for Economic Research, he is now Professor of Economics at the University of London. Among his writings are Collective Economic Planning, published in 1935, and Freedom and the Economic System, published in 1939.

Character and Scope

The present book is frankly a political essay, written by an economist who has turned aside to voice certain compelling apprehensions. Mr. Hayek witnessed the fast-moving nazi penetration at close range and states that he has twice watched a "very similar evolution of ideas"—in Germany and Austria during and after the last World War and now again in Great Britain and the United States. At present he sees "the same contempt for nineteenth-century liberalism, the same spurious 'realism' and even cynicism, the same fatalistic acceptance of 'inevitable trends'". He feels all the more fearful for two reasons: first, well-meaning leaders of British and American thought who abhor dictatorship are nevertheless advocating the same measures which led to fascism and nazism. Second, the democracies seem to be on the defensive and uncertain of aim in attempts to explain their own ideals.

Materials for the book are drawn mainly from German and British sources. Its primary purpose is to sound a warning, not to set forth what the British or American economies should be after the war. It proffers an interpretation of developments in Germany and Italy "very different from that given by most foreign observers and by the majority of exiles from those countries."

Summary

We here present the most pertinent aspects of Mr. Hayek's argument as it pertains to national affairs, rather than a recapitulation of the whole book. The chapter on internationalism is omitted.

From Liberalism to Totalitarianism

Between the last war and this, nineteenth-century liberalism was already being abandoned everywhere, says the author. Since then the movement has become accelerated.

The process of freeing the individual from political and economic thralldom spread rapidly until 1870. The most important outcome of this process in the economic world was the realization that freedom of enterprise, through the spontaneous and uncontrolled efforts of individuals, could create a complex competitive market system to which each individual adjusted himself in one way or another. The development of the anonymous market mechanism was a slow process, and its early defects loomed large. At the same time, by 1870 a new system of ideas was being perfected in Germany, from which center it advanced west and east and came to be embraced by impatient reformers in England. Socialism had risen to challenge liberalism.

Among the first effects of the new ideas had been the coinage of the term "democratic socialism." Later this was changed to the "new freedom" by reformers who were making sincere if misguided efforts to correct certain very apparent social and economic maladjustments. But, as Max Eastman, W. H. Chamberlain, and Walter Lippmann have recently pointed out very emphatically, democracy and socialism cannot be combined. The road to the great socialistic "utopia" is not the road to freedom. It was exactly the promises of this new road which in Italy and Germany led, not to democracy, but to fascism and nazism. And today there is not much difference between these and communism.

If socialism meant merely greater social justice, equality, and security, it would be one thing. But it also means the abolition of private enterprise, private property, and the profits system, together with the substitution of a "planned economy" for the competitive market mechanism. Where such planned control implies the central direction of all activities according to some deliberately constructed blueprint, it can lead to nothing short of complete regimentation and serfdom.

Are there circumstances beyond our command which compel us to substitute central planning for competition? Is there no choice left except "between control of production by private monopolies and direction by the government"? It is not disputed that there has been a rapid growth of monopoly in the past half century and an increasing contraction of the area in which competition is operative. But, as the final report of the Temporary National Economic Committee emphasized, there is no reason to believe that these are inevitable tendencies and not chiefly the result of deliberate policy, both in the United States and England.

There is some truth in the idea which connects the growth of monopoly with technological progress. But it does not follow that we must abandon competition instead of finding ways and means of making it more effective. The deliberate planning for the whole of economic society is no alternative unless we are prepared to go the way of Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, or Communist Russia.

Some economic planners like Stuart Chase believe that political democracy can be retained even though we have a dictator for economic affairs. Such a belief is erroneous. Our freedom of choice as consumers under a competitive system means that if one merchant fails to satisfy our wishes we can turn to another. Control over what we consume means control over what businessmen produce, over the terms of employment, and over what the people receive in income. From all this it is but a step to the control of how we must vote if the over-all planners are to achieve what they regard as proper for society. In short, political democracy cannot be preserved if economic matters come under the conscious control of the state.

The socialist road leads naturally to totalitarian nationalism, or national socialism as it came to be called in Germany. In England and America there is of course the feeling that "it cannot happen here". But it is not the present Germany that we are imitating; it is the Germany of twenty to thirty years ago--a socialistic Germany which led inexorably to nazism. The alarming fact is that most of the English writings which

are preparing for a totalitarian course in the democracies are the product of sincere idealists and often of men of considerable intellectual distinction". Fearing the results of what they regard as an inevitable drift toward monopoly on the part of organized capital and labor (both of them building up enormous aggregations of power), such writers embrace, if not a complete totalitarianism, at least a corporative society in which the organized industries would appear as semi-independent and self-governing estates.

This is, however, merely a fascist variant of totalitarian nationalism. The program of the Labour Party in England is now committed completely to the creation of a "planned society", which Professor Laski is convinced should replace the "competitive laissez-faire order". All such tendencies in Great Britain and the United States mean turning our backs on liberalism, democracy, and freedom. They all lead in the opposite direction.

Democracy and the Rule of Law

While all collectivist systems have a definite and all-embracing social goal, a democracy can have no unitary purpose or single end, says Mr. Hayek. We talk of a common purpose such as the general welfare but this is quite different from the conception of a complete social design or blueprint. On many questions people in a democratic society have no definite or conflicting views simply because there is no occasion to form common opinions about them. The essence of the democratic position is that the individual is the ultimate judge of his ends and that for the most part his own views govern his actions.

Comprehensive planning always requires more agreement than actually exists. The delegation of legislative powers is not objectionable so long as such delegation covers merely the making of general rules. This is not always understood and as a result arbitrary power is delegated which can be guided only "by the whims and fancies of irresponsible individuals." Hence confusion and dissatisfaction follow and the cry for an economic dictator is heard. Democracy and freedom require that whatever rules are laid down represent common agreement and that such agreement cover but a small area of the whole of social life.

The rule of law in a democracy means that within the recognized general code the individual is free to pursue his personal ends and desires unhampered. Such a rule is the opposite of arbitrary power in that it is no respecter of persons. All are treated alike. At the same time, since the formal laws of a liberal system apply only to general situations, the particular adaptations of people will vary considerably. This rule of law was "consciously evolved only during the liberal age and is one of its greatest achievements, not only as a safeguard but as the legal embodiment of freedom."

The rule of law under liberalism thus implies limits to the scope of legislation, whether laid down in a bill of rights, a constitutional code, or merely as a firmly established tradition. These recognized limitations guarantee the inalienable and inviolable rights of the individual. In time of crisis, as during a war, it is inevitable that some individual rights be temporarily restricted. But unless there is a return to the rule of law as soon as the crisis is past, liberalism is being abandoned.

Impatience with material conditions over which we have no control has often led well-meaning men to attempt impossible or dangerous solutions. In a complex civilization like ours, it is always necessary for the individual to adjust himself to conditions and changes over which no one can have any rational control.

It was man's submission to the impersonal and seemingly irrational forces of the market which made possible the growth of a liberal economic society, and the only ultimate alternative to such submission is a subjection to the equally irrational and, in

addition, arbitrary power of other men. Submission to the market does not imply laissez faire. A carefully worked-out legal framework is urgently needed to make competition effective today. "Neither the existing nor the past legal rules are free from grave defects." But the development of suitable general rules for an effective competitive system had not proceeded very far before states began to turn to methods which meant the complete displacement of competition. This tendency must now be reversed. "Planning and competition can be combined only by planning for competition but not by planning against competition. . . . Within the scope of this book, we cannot enter into a discussion of the very necessary planning which is required to make competition as effective and beneficial as possible."

In general, the main point of the book is that, in a peacetime democracy, "planned control" over large areas of economic life must not be undertaken. Minimum standards guided by the libertarian rule of law should of course be worked out, says the author--with respect to conditions of living, social security, and, particularly, with respect to the preservation and effective application of the competitive market mechanism. But beyond the establishment of such general standards lie vast areas of material conditions to which each individual must continue to adapt himself in his own particular way if democracy and freedom are to survive.

DEWEY RACES HANDICAP IN A SECOND CAMPAIGN

He Must Meet Party Opposition and First Be Re-elected Governor

By JAMES A. HAGERTY

While Republican leaders throughout the country are not inclined to hold Gov. Thomas E. Dewey personally responsible for their party's defeat, the question of his position in the party has already been raised.

Mr. Dewey's conference here on Thursday with Republican Congressional leaders and Herbert Brownell Jr., Republican National Chairman, has been accepted by Republicans in Washington as an indication that he intends to be active in his role as "titular leader" of the party and to leave the way open for a second try for the Presidential nomination.

Mr. Brownell's action in calling the national committee to meet in Indianapolis on Jan. 22 to authorize the establishment of a vigorous, continually functioning opposition party, with a reinforced and improved staff at the headquarters in Washington, also was seen not only as an indication that Mr. Brownell, whom Mr. Dewey picked for the chairmanship, will continue in that post, but as a sign of the possibility of the Governor making a second try for the Presidency. Should he do so, difficulties, not necessarily insuperable, will confront him.

Stand Attacked

The stand he took during the campaign has been attacked by The Chicago Tribune, which represents the isolationist point of view in the party. At the same time, Republicans whose views on foreign policy coincide with those of the late Wendell L. Willkie would hardly support Mr. Dewey for another Presidential nomination. Some of them, like Russell Davenport and Senator Joseph H. Ball of Minnesota, even opposed him for election. Mr. Dewey's support in the Republican party is confined to those who, like him, take a middle position on the part the United States should take in a post-war effort to maintain peace.

Mr. Dewey has few close personal ties with the national committee members and the State chairmen, who, much more than the Republican Senators and Representatives in Washington, usually control the selection of delegates to the party's national convention. Moreover, during the eighty-four years of its existence the Republican party, unlike the Democratic party, has never nominated for President a man previously de-

feated for that office. Should Mr. Dewey decide to be a candidate for the Presidential nomination again he would have to face that handicap.

Governor Dewey was nominated for President for only one reason. He had been elected Governor of New York in 1942 by a plurality of 647,395 and a majority of 243,786 and was regarded as having the best chance of any of the aspirants of winning the forty-seven electoral votes of the Empire State. This made Governor Dewey the logical nominee of the Republican convention, just as Mr. Roosevelt's re-election as Governor in 1930 by a plurality of 725,000 made him the logical Democratic nominee for President in 1932.

Looking to 1946

To remain in the Presidential picture in 1948 Mr. Dewey must run again for Governor in 1946 and be re-elected. Even if he should win re-election he probably would not be in as favorable a position as he was in Chicago last June. There will be other aspirants for the Republican nomination for President, among whom almost certainly will be Lieut. Comdr. Harold E. Stassen, formerly Governor of Minnesota, and Gov. Leverett Saltonstall of Massachusetts.

Should he seek re-election, Governor Dewey is sure to face stronger opposition than he did when he defeated Col. John J. Bennett Jr., former Attorney General, in 1942. The Democratic candidate for Governor is expected to be United States Senator James M. Mead, whom Colonel Bennett, with the help of James A. Farley, defeated for the gubernatorial nomination. Senator Mead (assuming that he will be nominated) is certain of nomination also by the American Labor and Liberal parties, which together polled 825,640 votes for President Roosevelt at the last election. The Labor party, which is the political arm of the PAC in this State, would go all out against Governor Dewey and for Senator Mead if they should be the opposing candidates for Governor.

Decision Can Wait

Governor Dewey, of course, need make no immediate decision on whether to run for re-election. A decision to run again for Governor would be accepted throughout the country as indication of his desire

CALLING ALL PARTIES



Carmack in The Christian Science Monitor

again to be a candidate for President. His defeat for Governor undoubtedly would end his Presidential aspirations. Re-election would make him a possibility for the Presidential nomination, but only a possibility, for he has few personal friendships among the party leaders strong enough to bring about his nomination unless he appeared to them to be the candidate with the best chance of winning.

At this time no one can tell who is likely to be the Republican Presidential nominee in 1948. As a World War veteran, Lieutenant Commander Stassen might be in a good position.

Other Prospects

Governor Saltonstall, who was elected to the Senate while Governor Dewey lost his State, also is regarded as a strong possibility as the party standard bearer in 1948. Both Lieutenant Commander Stassen and Governor Saltonstall are sincerely in favor of an international organization to maintain peace, and their views on foreign policy are regarded as extending farther toward all-out international cooperation than those of Governor Dewey.

The members of the Republican party, as was shown during the recent campaign, are not united on foreign policy. They include both isolationists and internationalists, but the bulk of the party, particularly in the Middle West, is made

up of nationalists, who favor some measure of international cooperation but are for proceeding with caution in setting up an international organization.

Further developments in Europe of the nature of the present difficulties in Greece, Italy, Belgium and Poland might increase the nationalistic feeling among Republicans, and the 1948 convention of the party might refuse to nominate for President a candidate holding the views expressed by Lieutenant Commander Stassen and Governor Saltonstall and leave the way open for the nomination of someone not under consideration at present.

Governor Dewey is confronted with a political problem in his own State in the selection of a State chairman to succeed Edwin F. Jaekle, who resigned soon after the election. So far there has been no agreement on a successor, and the lack of leadership in the Republican party is illustrated by the fact that a survey of the members of the State committee and the county chairmen has disclosed no outstanding man willing to take the post or especially qualified for it. The selection of a new State chairman apparently will await a meeting of the revised State committee, to be held late in January.

READ

The Hundred Neediest.

A Protest From Senator Joseph Ball

To the Editor: My respect for the editorial integrity of the Star Journal and Tribune sank pretty low during the recent campaign when you rehashed and printed all the various and conflicting smear stories concerning me, dreamed up in the editorial sanctums of the McCormick-Patterson press. But it dropped another notch when I read the story in the Sunday Tribune, Dec. 17, under Nat Finney's byline, purporting to give a new "inside" story on my conference with Roosevelt, which story appears to be a rehash of Drew Pearson's column for the same day.

After all, there is not even the heat of the campaign now to justify the bald inaccuracies of the story, inaccuracies which Finney at least was in a position to check easily. Therefore, I am asking you to print these few corrections of fact.

Your story is that President Roosevelt persuaded me to pose the three questions on foreign policy for all candidates, both presidential and congressional. Fact is the three questions were made public by me Oct. 12. I did not see the President until Sunday, Oct. 15. The decision to reduce the issues as I saw them to questions was made before I left St. Paul, Oct. 8, and the first rough draft made then. Obviously the President knew nothing about it.

2 I spent approximately one hour with the President and Harry Hopkins, not three hours as the story states. It so happens this was my second conference with President Roosevelt, the first having been on the B2H2 resolution in March, 1943. Hopkins was present at both conferences, the only two times I have ever met him.

3 Your story states an advance copy of Roosevelt's Oct. 21 foreign policy speech was on my desk Oct. 12, the day the three questions were made public. Fact is I never saw an advance copy of the speech and heard it for the first time on the radio when it was given.

4 Finney's story of what was discussed at the conference is singularly at variance with my own recollection, but I suppose he was hiding in the wallpaper and my own memory is at fault.

I cannot pass on the accuracy of the flat statement in the story that Russell Davenport wrote the basic text for Roosevelt's speech, but knowing Davenport and his talent, I suspect it is a gross libel on his speech-writing ability.

May I humbly suggest that with great news and issues crowding newspapers for space, it is a shame to waste over a column and a half on the kind of journalistic tripe this story represents.

Washington, D. C.

—Joseph H. Ball,
U. S. Senator.

Editor's Note: The Star Journal and Tribune have repeatedly expressed the highest regard for Senator Ball's sincerity of purpose, and have always advocated the fundamental principles of foreign policy which he espouses. So little good can come from keeping alive the incidental differences of a political campaign about tactics.

The Star Journal and Tribune aim to publish what is being said about newsworthy Minnesotans by people or periodicals in other parts of the country. To this end we have reprinted scores of commendatory articles and editorials from other newspapers and magazines about Senator Ball. Likewise, as a matter of news, we printed in the Sunday Tribune Oct. 17 assertions which were widely current about Ball's possible motives for supporting Roosevelt—but we did so with Senator Ball's own comment on such stories featured under the headline: "Ball Denies 1948 'Offer' by New Deal." And we repeatedly made plain editorially our own conviction that Senator Ball's motives were unimpeachable—even if, as we believed, his methods were mistaken. So the senator's complaint that our "editorial integrity" is involved is nonsense, and the senator, as a former newspaperman, must know it.

Five weeks after election, the interesting but frequently unreliable Drew Pearson wrote a Sunday column saying the Democratic high command regarded Ball's indorsement of Roosevelt as its shrewdest coup of the campaign. Since this was a story of special Minnesota interest, we sought to check its accuracy and directed our own Washington bureau to go after the facts. The story by Staff Correspondent Nat Finney, to which Senator Ball now takes exception, was the result. It was similar in many respects to Pearson's, but it was the result of independent digging. It came from sources high in the Democratic inner circle. Senator Ball himself was away from Washington and efforts to reach him by long distance telephone were unsuccessful.

As to the points the senator raises:

1. Our story did not say nor imply that Senator Ball's three questions to the candidates were the President's and not Ball's, or that they were propounded only after his talk with the President.

2. Whether Senator Ball spent one hour with the President or three, he was in the White House grounds approximately three hours; some of that time may have been spent waiting in an ante-room.

4. Senator Ball himself has said he and the President discussed foreign policy. Our information about the details came from a trustworthy source; but of course Senator Ball himself would be the best authority, if he wishes to be explicit.

Here's a fair question: What did influence Senator Ball to come out for Roosevelt if it was not his satisfaction with Roosevelt's foreign policy speech, of which he now speaks so slightly?

The Democratic high command's belief that the Ball shift was their No. 1 campaign coup was news, and the Star Journal and Tribune printed the facts about it as accurately and completely as we could get them with the best facilities at our command. We will continue to report the senator's newsworthy activities as adequately and accurately as we can get the facts, and with no purpose but to tell the news.

MINNEAPOLIS
STAR JOURNAL AND TRIBUNE

Stassen

JOHN COWLES
PRESIDENT

January 5
1945

Senator Joseph H. Ball
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Joe:

In your letter to the editor of the Sunday Tribune, which I read with great interest, I sensed, or thought I sensed, a note of bitterness toward us which I was sorry to find. When you first batted Dewey, I frankly thought, in view of the speech you had made at the Chicago convention, that you were, from various angles, making a mistake. My present feeling is the same as my initial reaction. Therefore, there is apparently a difference of opinion between us as to whether or not that particular action of yours was wise or was not.

At no time, however, have either I, personally, or the Star Journal and Tribune, to the best of my knowledge, expressed an opinion indicating a belief that your action resulted from anything other than your sincere and conscientious convictions.

No one's judgment is infallible. I willingly concede that I have been guilty of hundreds of errors of judgment, and of sins both of omission and commission. Undoubtedly I shall make many more. Possibly you will.

I hope I was mistaken in reading into your letter to the editor that feeling of personal bitterness to us that I sensed in it. To find that a man who, after a heated campaign, has been elected to high office, and who had, moreover, been a newspaper political writer himself, would take it as a personal matter because a newspaper that had enthusiastically supported his candidacy for office should subsequently criticize a political action of his, would be disappointing.

Knowing you as I do, I assume that possibly the explanation is that you think that we must be extremely sore at you. Certainly that is not an accurate statement of my feeling toward you. It is as friendly as ever. I simply think that you made a mistake. I hope for your sake that time will prove that my current judgment is wrong, and that events will prove that you did not make a mistake. Whether time eventually vindicates your judgment or mine seems to me immaterial and irrelevant so far as our personal relationship is concerned. You don't expect me to do your political thinking for you. I don't expect you to do my political thinking for me. Because we happen to disagree on something in the heat of a political campaign, should that fact interfere with a friendly personal relationship?

With best wishes to you and Betty, I am

Sincerely,

John Cowles

COPY

C O P Y

January 9, 1945

Mr. John Cowles, President
Minneapolis Star Journal and Tribune
Minneapolis, Minnesota

Dear John:

Sure I was sore at the Star Journal and Tribune. Not at your editorials, which were much fairer than those in the Pioneer Press, and anyhow as a newspaperman I'd be the last to take issue with your right to take any kind of an editorial position you wanted to take. But I did get sore at the O'Donnell smear stories which the Star Journal picked up and reprinted as news, when you certainly are familiar enough with Washington to know how reliable O'Donnell is. Also, I hope you know me well enough to know how much stock to put in such stories.

But I want to assure both you and Gid that there was nothing personal in my letter at all, and certainly nothing to interfere with our friendship. I think you would agree that when I as a politician and a former newspaperman figure that it is necessary to correct charges that are printed, it is my obligation to do so in the most effective manner possible.

Sincerely

JOE

Joseph H. Ball

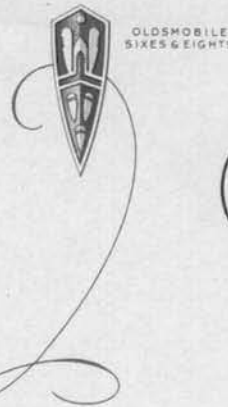
JHB:S

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RECAPPING
VULCANIZING

January 24, 1945

Commander Harold E. Stassen
3rd Fleet, % Fleet Post Office
San Francisco, California

Dear Harold:

The news reports we get of Admiral Halsey and the rest of your group show that you are really laying it on and making excellent progress. I hope that the turn of events will be such that your stay will not be too long in the Pacific.

The other day I talked to Harold Seavy and he stated that the Teamster's union had a meeting in Indianapolis and quite a bit of the discussion was about yourself regarding 1946 and 1948. The conservative members of the organizations seem to be quite concerned about the possibilities that the Democrats in 1948 will nominate a "reactionary" probably from the South or the border states. This being the case labor will be in a very bad position especially if Republicans do likewise. With this in mind the Teamster's union have decided to try building you up for the Senate in 1946. If this fails their efforts will not be wasted in that it will be a running start as far as they are concerned for 1948.

I thought you would be interested in this and will try to keep on top of it and forward information to you so that you will be advised as to developments.

The reaction on Joe is better than it has been previously and he is getting along in pretty good shape. I have had several business people stop me at Rotary and other meetings and ask me for further information as to reasons why Joe took the stand he did. They say that probably Joe was right. Many of the old guards, such as Roy Dunn and others, still "hate his guts" and will do their best to "crucify" him.

It seems quite likely that Hubert Humphrey will file for mayor in Minneapolis and that his opponet will be Mayor Kline. If I bet right I say that Kline will take a "cleaning". This will be one way to get rid of two bad eggs at the same time.

Good luck to you, Harold! As things develop I will write you.

Yours truly,

LAM/vm

It's Quality Built to Last

January 24, 1945

Commander Harold E. Stassen
C/o Commander, 3rd Fleet
C/o Fleet Postmaster
San Francisco, California

Dear Harold:

I have just returned from a trip to the East and to the National Committee meeting at Indianapolis, and want to tell you of some of my experiences.

It is the desire of our organization here to correlate the work of the state group with the Congressional delegation in Washington and we plan to be down there at intervals to hold meetings with them and assist them in any way we can to make records for themselves. (We hold a weekly dinner meeting with the members of our legislature here.)

In accordance with this plan, last week Mr. Coleman and I went to Washington and spent two days there. During this time there were about 20 or 25 of the leading Washington newspaper men who came up to our room and with whom I had a chance to talk. These are all fellows of the Washington news staff that I have gotten to know quite intimately during the past year and a half. We also had considerable time with Joe Martin and Charlie Halleck and had occasion to talk to several other Congressmen. From these conversations I got the following impression:

There is considerable dissatisfaction in Congressional circles on the conduct of the last campaign. This does not necessarily mean that the criticism is justified, but it does exist to a very large extent. There was quite a lot of dissatisfaction down there with the seniority system as it applies to committee assignments. New Congressmen complain that they have no chance to get on good committees and that the energy and the ideas that they have are rebuffed. It is hard to tell just how much of this is justified. Certainly the seniority system does keep a lot of young men back. However, Martin does quite a job of trying to keep everybody as happy as possible.

The National Committee headquarters at Washington certainly is far from being effective. They have practically no facilities there for getting information and there is no plan to get it before the public. There is no concentrated action to play up the mistakes of the New Deal and have them publicized and kept before the people.

I deliberately avoided trying to see Joe Ball because feeling as I do at present I do not want to meet him. Joe has, however, slipped very badly from the limelight down there. Vandenberg, in outlining his ideas on foreign policy, has become the Republican spokesman and is receiving a great many compliments and this has relegated Joe back, almost to obscurity.

Herb Brownell was down there a couple of weeks ago and put on a cocktail party for the Republican members of both houses. Joe came to the party, but took a very bad beating from those who made it

their purpose to ignore him. Herb, however, greeted him cordially and shook hands with him. I will talk more about Joe later on.

Leaving Washington we went to New York and spent three days there. Mr. Coleman had business to transact and I took advantage of the opportunity to renew and keep alive acquaintances made there last spring. I saw all of the political editors of the New York papers and the wire services there. I got to know them quite well last spring and enjoy friendly relationships with them.

The New York state situation is badly demoralized. Ed Jaeckle, who was state chairman, resigned that position after the campaign. He resigned because of a feeling that Dewey was making his position look ridiculous by dealing around him and appointing other men to do his work. Ed Jaeckle is a hard-boiled politician. He ruled his state organization very efficiently and was well respected by it. Naturally, his resignation has caused a great deal of dissension in the state organization ranks. Jaeckle has been replaced by a Dewey man who is at present holding a state job, from which he will resign.

The situation in Albany is also very bad in the relations between Dewey and the legislature. There is apt to be a blow-up there before spring. It is hard, of course, to get to the bottom of the thing and to know just who to blame, but generally speaking, it seems that the super-efficiency of Dewey and his immediate associates is quite distasteful to many others. For example: At Albany the legislators wanting to see the Governor must fill out a form that has been recently devised. This form must state the purpose of the visit, what they intend to discuss, etc. Also, where they can be reached and full information about many things that they feel unnecessary. Another thing that is causing dissatisfaction, of course, is the dual position that Dewey finds himself in. To be a national figure he must speak in national terms, but to remain a national figure he must also keep the support of his own state and be re-elected in 1946. In this connection he runs into trouble. For example: In favoring the St. Lawrence Waterway his remarks met with favor in Wisconsin and Minnesota and the entire middle-west, but were very distasteful to the people of his own state. He is also on record as very strongly against racial discrimination and urges different bills to this end. He is, of course, to be admired for this stand, but it is one that is going to cause him some trouble in his own state.

In New York we spent several hours with Herb Brownell, who was very friendly to us. I also saw several of the people that I worked with last spring, particularly Mrs. John Cross and Mrs. Noyes. I called up the Ridders and several other people. I didn't call or see Arthur Goldsmith.

Joe Ball has been in New York several times on speaking engagements and draws large crowds. I spent some time with Bob Coughlan, an editor of Life Magazine, and he, of course, thinks Joe Ball is wonderful. He thought the stand was very well taken and he admires him a great deal. This is true of many other people like him who I met there last spring. For example: There was a group of about 40 people whom I met, writers and editors of different magazines around New York such as Vogue, Life, Time and other magazines.

January 24, 1945

They are a group about 30 to 40 years of age who believe themselves to be quite liberal in their views. They were all born of Republican parentage but have questioned the Republican Party of late years. They were all very friendly toward you and were quite helpful to me when I was in New York last spring. They did not, however, support Dewey, and during the fall campaign most of them were associated with the P. A. C. This group, of course, thinks that Joe Ball did a very courageous thing.

When we left New York for the meeting of the National Committee at Indianapolis, the car we were in was practically entirely filled with people going to the national convention. Included in this group were Herb Brownell, Russell Sprague and Ken Bradley. Sprague is, without question, a very dominant type of a politician. He has always been very friendly to me, but I know that he is always a politician and always working at his job, which, for the present, is keeping control of the National Committee for Dewey, and in this he does a good job.

At Indianapolis, there was much dissatisfaction below the surface. Here is the situation. Herb Brownell is personally very well liked. He is very affable and gets along with people well. There is one exception to this and it is difficult for me to understand. He does not get along well with the newspaper men. Principally, I believe, because he is too evasive with them at all times and gives them very little news to work on. Aside from this, however, Herb is popular. There was a feeling, however, that some parts of the campaign had not been handled rightly. There were differences of opinion as to how attacks should have been made. But there was a general feeling everywhere that something must be done. Herb proposed setting up a permanent organization and asked for \$1,000,000 a year to finance it. He wants to set up research and publicity bureaus and really go after the Congressional elections in 1946. So far as we could discover, he hasn't any specific plans beyond the general outline and there is some dissatisfaction that these plans are lacking. Herb also wants to retain his law practice in New York City and it was his original idea that he would spend three days a week with the Committee. There was much feeling that this could not be done and that the National Chairman should be a full-time man. He countered by saying that he would hire capable assistants. However, the feeling still prevailed in many minds that people coming in from the nation would want to see the chairman and no matter how capable the assistant might be they would not want to discuss matters with him. There also lies below the surface that Brownell is a Dewey man and that Dewey seeks to be the candidate again. Then, of course, we come back to the same thing that existed at Chicago. The fact that Dewey, for some reason or other, cannot personally inspire people the way some other political leaders can. They have respect for his ability and his honesty, but he does not inspire them personally.

All of these things, of course, stayed more or less below the surface. There was no other candidate for Herb's job. There had been some talk about Charlie Halleck, which Charlie promptly stopped by saying that he would not resign from Congress. It was also the desire to have as harmonious a meeting as possible, and in the absence of any leader to stir it up everything went off fairly smooth. There was only one exception to this. Roy Dunn gave Art Nelson his proxy and

Art made a speech. I was outside the Committee room with the newspaper men when the speech was made because the committee was in executive session, but Art really made a terrific scene. In the first place, he spoke in a very loud voice, and laid out on the table all the objections there were to Brownell continuing in his job. It was a very embarrassing situation to many people there, I understand, particularly to Mrs. Chris Carlson. But Art really poured it on. He said that he wanted it understood that despite the fact that he was from Minnesota he was not doing this because he was "a Stassen man". He said he knew Stassen and admired him, etc., but that his remarks had nothing to do with the presidential plans of Stassen. I was rather sorry that Art had seen fit to inject this remark, because I don't believe it would have come out otherwise, and it did bring your name into the discussion quite prominently. The newspaper reporters immediately got hold of me and wanted to know what connection Art had with you and I told them absolutely none, that while he had undoubtedly voted for you in several elections that he wasn't "a Stassen man". The only paper that really connected him up with you at all with the Chicago Tribune, which, of course, misses no opportunity to keep on slugging you every chance it gets. I am sending you the clippings on this. There is no doubt that Art's remarks were the thoughts of many of the delegates, but his actions made it quite embarrassing for the Committee. In the first place, of course, the fact that he was a proxy was commented on by other members who felt that he had no right, because of this position, to talk as he did. Art also probably would have made his case a little stronger if he had not been quite so oratorical and if he had not spent so much time telling about himself and his law practice in Chicago and St. Paul and the fact that he had been a United States Senator. Art left right after his remarks and a unanimous vote of confidence was given Herb Brownell and he was given a free hand to go ahead and formulate his plans.

My observation in Indianapolis leads me to believe that there is much that has to be done with the actual setup of the National Committee. A large percentage of the members certainly have no political effectiveness. They are members because of their social position or the money that they have contributed. Most of them could not control votes anywhere, in my opinion, and are not the representatives of the working political machines in their states. It seems to me that the National Chairman of the Republican Party should be dealing with one organization in each state and that one should be the one carrying on the actual campaigning. We are fortunate in Wisconsin that the National Committeeman, Cy Philipo, and Mr. Coleman, the State Chairman, are personal friends and work very closely together. Such is not the case, however, in many states, and we will never have an effective national party until we have this matter straightened out.

Another bad thing about the national committee, of course, is the age of its members, and certainly no young person would be inspired by their leadership. Certainly the female members of the committee, with only a very few exceptions, would drive even the voters of their own sex away from the party.

Your name comes into speculation in every political gathering. When I run into newspaper men in the East I am always asked about your

January 24, 1945

setup and my stock answer has been that your political future is entirely your own and that no one is authorized to speak for you in any respect. That it is my belief that you would engage in no political activity until the war is over and you are discharged. The fact remains, however, that you are still a matter of comment.


The Joe Ball incident is a very difficult one to figure out. Among the party regulars, of course, Joe Ball's name is anathema, and any recognition you give of him or any chance they have connecting you with him will be very detrimental to you so far as they are concerned. On the other hand, it's true that there is a large number of so-called liberals, the people who flaunt party organization and ideas, who think Joe is wonderful. My own personal views of Joe, of course, have been solely on the basis that I think that he had no right to put you in the position that he did, and I think he was a plain fool to have thrown away an opportunity which he would now have of being the leader in rejuvenating the Republican party along the lines all of us would like to see it. He has thrown this opportunity away.

I am awfully sorry to see Minnesota slipping back from the position it held a few years ago in political circles. I don't know just whose fault this is, but Minnesota is a subject for some derision again when you get in the national field. Mrs. Carlson told me in Indianapolis that she was quite embarrassed by people jumping all over her for losing two Congressional seats in the last election, for Joe Ball's actions, for losing the state for Dewey, and, currently, the actions of Art Nelson. I can see something to her points, but for my own observation, I regret mostly seeing the state slipping back to the same condition that it was in before 1938.

I enclose some clippings that may interest you.

With kindest regards, I remain

Very truly yours,



Victor A. Johnston

VAJ:chs

Enclosures

P. S. The efficiency of the Dewey organization is the efficiency of a well organized business office. Actually, they are quite naive in political matters. The only two practical politicians in the outfit are Jaeckle and Sprague. With Jaeckle out, Sprague is the only one, and the large part of his political action is in terms of New York and methods applicable there.

W St Paul Minn.
Jan 27 - 45

Dear Harold.

Have been wanting to write to you for some time, but it is so easy to let the time slide by. The folks here are all quite well and getting along nicely. Mother a little spell of Lumbago & a cold but she is OK again now. The boys are going to school & getting along fairly well. You will hardly believe your eyes when you see them again. Ray is 6'-1½ Bill is 6'-½ & Pat is 5'-11. Pat was a little restless when Milton left for the Merchant Marine. He went to the Navy recruiting office & did a bit of engineering.

They wanted him to take a night course in Radar, but when they heard he was taking six subjects in High School they advised him to finish school first. So he has settled down to school work again.

I have a navy lad working for me at New Brighton, who served in Halsey's fleet and took part in some of the battles, and he has told me of some of his experiences.

He says he saw you out there & didn't think then that some day he would have a brother of yours for a foreman. We have been working 12 hrs a day & Sundays to get production up to a new high.

Most every body would like to hear that the war is over, but the attitude that prevailed, some time back, namely that things were about over, over there

has changed.

The news from Europe sounds better now since the Russians have been going places again. They must be some fighters.

The Temp. is dropping here to night expect 0° by morning & a cold snap for a few days. Just had a slight thaw the past week, the weather was nice for outside work.

Aunt Carrie had an operation last week, she is doing o.k. Rodney is still at St. Thomas. Catherine Wathland was married to a service man last week.

I suppose you have heard that Doc. Marks is over in the Pacific Area now, as is Harry Tubbsing.

A news commentator just now is telling of some telling strikes at the Japs the figures sound big & should soon show some results that will help end things over there.

Well its 11 o'clock & I must get to bed so I can work tomorrow.

With lots of love & Best wishes
May God be with you.

Bill S.

Sunday Jan 28, 1945

Dear Harold,

It took the discovery of the sheet on which I write to prod me to write the letter I should long since have sent. With its finding came a feeling of pardonable pride which the years have tended to strengthen. It was the beginning of a high adventure which, come another day I hope will be rekindled in other areas and which I hope will afford the chance for further participation by some of us small fry. I think we might, with slight modification use the quote at the head of the sheet as a goal for a sorely tried world. It looks to me Harold as though it will be tough to talk and fight for principle in the face of the tremendous demand for "practical thinking" which seems to me to be in the ascendancy now. There is the general assumption that the two are mutually exclusive rather than complimentary. With the practical problems about which we all wondered actually upon the United Nations in widespread areas of the earth the need for machinery about which you wrote just before leaving, comes in full focus. England in Greece and Russia in her orbit continue to irk America. Criticism and suggestion unmixed with the moderation of responsibility continues to be our policy. Vandenberg struck a real vital when he said that much of the unilateral action comes from the other countries' doubt of the attitude we would actually take. This has seemed apparent all along that with the actual cooperative association no better guaranteed the only rational course for each country was to look after itself.

Ed is getting along well. I'm sure you heard of his proposal to tap the income tax surplus for University and Teachers College expenses and reduce the general state tax to that extent. It is his way of countering the demand for lower State Income Taxes. My observation has been that the suggestion has been well received except for the expected opposition. He is in the middle of a nasty fight in re the University labor trouble. It seems that he has his back up a bit on the high handed manner of Middlebrook's operations. Nothing in the Regent's handling of this problem gives any justification to the move to prohibit strikes at the University. If public employees are not given a status at least equal to that of private employees surely they should not be deprived of this right to strike. This a local manifestation of the kind of thinking we are up against on a national scale. De Voto in a sizzling review in January Harpers discusses the difference in the party and after paying his respects to Willkie, Joe Saltonstall and yourself says the choice must be made between this kind of thinking and that of the Pews etc, "but they cannot choose the latter and win. Since 1929, when it became necessary to face the facts of life, the Old Guard has lost every election." What some seem to forget is that the total of the last four is just 18 electoral votes short of one victory.

Joe had the lead article in last Sunday's N.Y. Times magazine section. There is no ivory tower for us, is its title. He points up the problems forcibly and says they must be considered against the background of 3 facts: 1 political objectives aren't achieved at a single jump 2- another war will finish western civilization, 3- Dumbarton Oaks and its proposals weak and imperfect, are the best and the only starting point we have. "The only alternative to joining whatever comes out of Dumbarton Oaks beginnings is to retire to our ivory tower of isolation that V-1 and V-2 have turned into rubble. It just isn't there any more. The alternative to the best kind of collective security we can achieve is increasing militarization of the nation, Universal military conscription, ever mounting taxes more and more governmental control of industry, so basic in modern was, and at the end of the road almost certain war. That is not an alternative to a democratic people. It is suicide." He has announced he will support the nomination of Wallace. I do not agree with him on this but I am unwilling to ascribe to him all the ambitions which some of my friends credit him with.

Of late I've been busy with a project of vital interest to us. You remember our trouble with our little fellow, Brian. The Franciscan home near Milwaukee where we had hoped to place him has no room. Bishop Busch is starting a Diocesan Home here on a small scale. The Benedictine nuns from St. Joe are to be in charge. I have arranged for the rental for a

period of years of a former Hotel in Avon (remember your speech). It will be a wonderful thing to have the assurance that our little fellow is in such kind and understanding hands. Things have become complicated to some degree here and naturally he is quite a drain, physically and mentally on Valeria.

Bob Herberger's wife has been seriously ill with some strange trouble involving her entire right side. Recovery can be had from this trouble but no assurance is given that recurrences will not come. Warren Stewart's mother died recently. Hims~~l~~ is scheduled to resign and the woods are full of prospective judges. Harrison no longer feels the necessity of divorcing politics from law. While I hope to be judicious, the things I have in mind for the future do not call for a particularly judicial impartiality. Harvey Hoshour is back in St. Paul with the Morgan Chase Etc. firm.

Saw Esther for a little visit the day of the message to the Legislature. She looked very well and seemed to be in good spirits. Just as modest and unassuming as ever. I can't help thinking Harold that that attitude, on the part of the world in general, and her leaders in particular, is as necessary as any other single factor in the challenging years ahead.

Hope you are well when this reaches you, wherever that may be. Valeria's kid brother was thrilled to bump into you such a long way from home. May God continue to attend you and your efforts, now and always.

Sincerely
Fred

Hello Mr. Lt. Com. -

Have a big piece of pie
awaiting your return -

Valeria



GEORGE O. ORR,
ST. PAUL,
CHAIRMAN
FRED HUGHES,
ST. CLOUD,
ORGANIZATION DIRECTOR
RICHARD A. GOLLING,
ST. PAUL,
SECRETARY

"Let us stop stirring up
class hatreds and dissen-
sion. Instead of tearing
down, let us unite our
energies and work to-
gether to build a greater
Minnesota."

Harold E.
STASSEN:

STASSEN ALL-PARTY VOLUNTEERS

State Headquarters

365 ROBERT STREET " " ST. PAUL, MINN.

The New Leader Minnesota Needs!

Hope this brings back memories and maybe a
needed laugh too.



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