

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOI/PA
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET
FOI/PA# 1276115-1

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EAT:RLG

June 25, 1936.

RECORDED

62-44664-1
The Honorable,
The Postmaster General,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Postmaster General:

For any attention deemed appropriate by you, I am transmitting herewith a photostatic copy of an anonymous letter addressed to me under date of June 24, 1936, together with a photostatic copy of the envelope in which this letter was mailed. It will be noted from this anonymous communication that two persons are reported to be contemplating an attempt to kill you through the use of nitroglycerin bombs.

The original of this letter has been transmitted to Mr. W. H. Moran, Chief of the Secret Service, and a copy of the letter has also been furnished to Mr. Tugwell for his information.

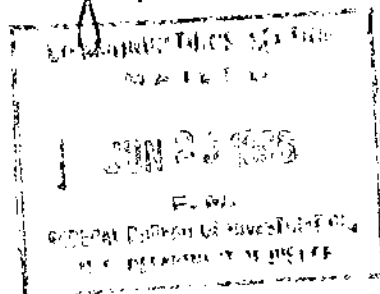
Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover,
Director.

Enclosure #363235

By messenger.

Eaton



EAT:RLG

June 29, 1936.

RECORDED

62-44664-1

Mr. Rexford Guy Tugwell,
Administrator,
Resettlement Administration,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Tugwell:

I am transmitting herewith a photostatic copy of an anonymous letter addressed to me under date of June 24, 1936, and mailed in Butte, Montana, on June 25, 1936, in which is contained an allegation that two individuals contemplate attempting to kill you by the use of nitro-glycerin bombs. Copies of this letter have been transmitted to Mr. W. H. Moran, Chief of the Secret Service, and to the Postmaster General.

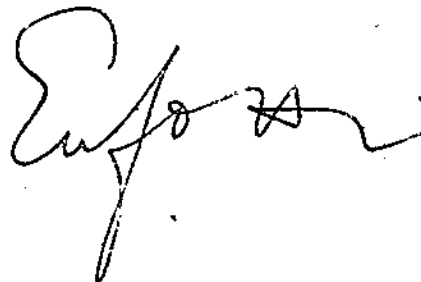
This communication is transmitted to you for any attention that you deem appropriate.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover,
Director.

Enclosure #863236

By messenger -



Mr. Tolson	
Mr. E. A. Tamm	
Mr. Clegg	
Mr. Glavin	
Mr. Ladd	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tracy	
Mr. Carson	
Mr. Coffey	
Mr. Hendon	
Mr. Jones	
Mr. Quinn	
Mr. Nease	
Miss Gandy	

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
JUN 29 1936
P. M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

EAT:RLG

June 29, 1936.

RECORDED

62-44664-1

Mr. W. H. Moran, Chief,
Secret Service Division,
Treasury Department,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

Confirming the information which was furnished you by telephone today by Mr. Tamm of this Bureau, I am transmitting herewith an original anonymous letter addressed to me under date of June 24, 1936, and mailed in Butte, Montana, on June 25, 1936, together with the original envelope in which this communication was mailed. You will note in this letter an allegation that two unnamed individuals contemplate attempting to kill the President and Messrs. Tugwell and Farley by the use of bombs.

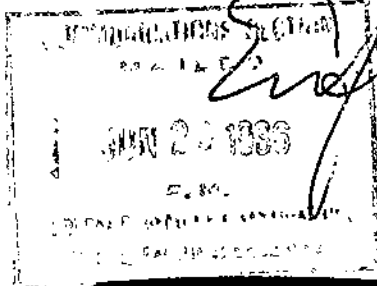
This letter is transmitted to you for any attention that you deem appropriate, copies thereof having been sent to Mr. Tugwell and Mr. Farley.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover,
Director.

Enclosure #863234

Messenger



COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
ENVELOPE AND



JUL 10 1936

RECORDED

62-44664-1

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

JUN 30 1936 P.M.

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

RECORDED
ONE

FILE



OFFICE OF DIRECTOR
 FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
 U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

*Anonymous communication
 against President Franklin
 D. Roosevelt
 Richard S. Inguell
 James Farley*

Anonymous letter advises that 2 men plan to destroy with bombs - Tugwell-Roosevelt and Farley.

States they have already left Billings Mont. by car for the east; that they expect to meet another brother in Iowa.

*copy of
 N
 st
 219*

62-44664-1
 FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
 JUN 30 1936 P.M.
 DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

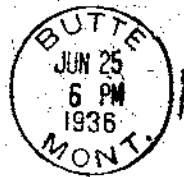
RECORDED
 &
 INDEXED

- Mr. Nathan
- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. Baughman
- Chief Clerk
- Mr. Clegg
- Mr. Coffey
- Mr. Edwards
- Mr. Egan
- Mr. Foxworth
- Mr. Harbo
- Mr. Joseph
- Mr. Keith
- Mr. Lester
- Mr. Quinn
- Mr. Schilder
- Mr. Tamm
- Mr. Tracy
- Miss Gandy

*FILE
 notify secret service
 at once. Mr. Farley &
 Mr. Inguell by
 letter delivered by
 messenger.*

JUL 1 1936

*Letter W H Moran 6-29-36
 Postmaster General
 Rufus Guy Inguell Ent*



J. Edgar Hoover,
Department of Justice,
Washington,
Dist. of Columbia

June 24 1936

J. Edgar Hoover,
Washington D C

Dear Sir:

Last Friday two brothers left Billings by car for the east. They expect to meet another brother in Iowa. The two that left have settled all their business matters and know that they will die in what they are going to try to do. It is their plan to take all the time they need and to watch for weeks for an opportunity to destroy with nitroglycerin bombs Tagwell, Roosevelt and Farley. One of the brothers is an expert with dynamite and nitroglycerin and they have been making and practicing throwing them for over two months. Both are war veterans and American born, years before the war they came west from near I think a place called Fancy Gap in either Virginia or West Virginia. I am pulling out of the country as fast as I know how, I could not talk them out of it. Will mail this somewhere west. You can take this tip as a crank proposition or not, it is off my mind anyhow. These men are hard working good men but they believe it is their patriotic duty to give their lives to save their country.

EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR

EAT:CDW

Federal Bureau of Investigation
U. S. Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

June 29, 1936.

Time - 11:00 A.M.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR

With reference to the anonymous, typewritten letter received this morning from Montana in which the writer furnished certain information concerning a plot by two brothers to kill by means of nitro-glycerin bombs the President of the United States and Messrs. Tugwell and Farley, I telephoned Chief Moran at the Secret Service and read to him pertinent excerpts from this letter, informing him that while we would send over the original by special messenger as soon as possible, you wanted him to have the advance information as soon as possible.

Subsequently, the original of this communication was sent to the Secret Service, and photostatic copies were sent to Messrs. Tugwell and Farley.

Respectfully,


E. A. TAMM.

Mr. Nathan	.....
Mr. Tolson	.....
Mr. Baughman	.....
Chief Clerk	.....
Mr. Clegg	.....
Mr. Coffey	.....
Mr. Edwards	.....
Mr. Egan	.....
Mr. Foxworth	.....
Mr. Harbo	.....
Mr. Joseph	.....
Mr. Keith	.....
Mr. Lester	.....
Mr. Quinn	.....
Mr. Schilder	.....
Mr. Tamm	.....
Mr. Tracy	.....
Miss Gandy	.....
.....
.....

*President Franklin D. Roosevelt
Referred by Tugwell
James Farley*

RECORDED
&
INDEXED

JUL 8 1936

62-44664-2
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
JUL 1 1936 P. M.
U. S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE
TOLSON
EWING

TAMM



TREASURY DEPARTMENT

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

WASHINGTON
July 2 1936 L

8

SECRET SERVICE DIVISION

7

Mr. J. E. Hoover,
Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:

Accept our thanks for your letter of June 29, 1936 confirming Mr. Tamm's telephonic advice concerning an anonymous letter received by you under date of June 24, 1936 from Butte, Mont., stating that a plot had been formed to kill the President and Messrs. Tugwell and Farley, which letter you also inclosed with its original envelope.

Very truly yours,

H. H. Moran
Chief

*Reppard G. Tugwell
President Franklin D. Roosevelt
James Farley*

RECORDED

JUL 8 1936

62-44664-3	
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION	
JUL 6 1936 P. M.	
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE	
TAMM <i>[Signature]</i>	FILE

[Handwritten mark]

▷ TUGWELL TO PUERTO RICO — Rumors that Puerto Rico's Governor Guy J. Swope may soon resign to become Director of the Division of Territories and Island Possessions in the Department of the Interior, as a stepping stone toward running for Governor of Pennsylvania this fall, have set Puerto Ricans guessing at the identity of his possible successor. Most frequently mentioned name is that of Rexford Guy Tugwell, who recently conducted public hearings on the Law Forbidding land holdings of more than 500 acres and is favored by Luis Muñoz Marín's Popular Party.

2

WILLIAM H. HARRIS



Office of the Postmaster General
Washington, D. C.

RECEIVED
JUL 14 1936
July 13, 1936.
ATTORNEY GENERAL

*President Franklin D. Roosevelt
a
7/10*

The Honorable
The Attorney General.

W. J. ...

My dear Mr. Cummings:

I desire to express my appreciation of the action of the Bureau of Investigation of your Department in transmitting to me an anonymous communication postmarked Butte, Montana, June 25, 1936, in which it is stated that an attempt is being made to harm the President, Mr. O'Connell and myself.

Very truly yours,

James H. ...
Postmaster General.

RECORDED & INDEXED

JUL 23 1936

62-44664-4	
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION	
JUL 22 1936 A. M.	
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE	
31MM EWO	FILE

W. J. ...

- Mr. Tolson _____
- Mr. E. A. Tamm _____
- Mr. Clegg _____
- Mr. Glavin _____
- Mr. Ladd _____
- Mr. Nichols _____
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Tracy _____
- Mr. Carson _____
- Mr. Coffey _____
- Mr. Hendon _____
- Mr. Kramer _____
- Mr. McGuire _____
- Mr. Harbo _____
- Mr. Quinn Tamm _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Mr. Nease _____
- Miss Beahm _____
- Miss Gandy _____



Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

EAT:GEG
Call: 10:08 A.M.
Typed: 11:02 A.M.

June 10, 1942

Ladd

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR

Mr. Carusi called and inquired whether in talking with SAC Gleason of San Juan we had learned anything about the political situation in Puerto Rico, that is, whether the Governor is getting along all right, and is liked by the people. Carusi stated he understands that the Governor is antagonizing quite a few people and that there is considerable unrest in San Juan.

*Mr. Ladd's copy
Mr. Tamm's copy*

I told him we received information two or three weeks ago indicating that a petition signed by a fabulous number of people, something like 250,000, had been circulated calling for the Governor's removal. I told him that apparently a former member of Congress named Henning who had gone into the Navy and who had been assigned to Puerto Rico as the Governor's Naval Aide was very popular; that Mrs. Henning and Mrs. Tugwell, the Governor's wife, did not get along; that their differences apparently spread to their husbands with the result that Governor Tugwell and Henning had considerable friction between them; and that Henning, consequently, had been removed. I expressed the belief that Henning had been sent to the Hawaiian Islands and stated that Henning's removal had been most unpopular with a great many Puerto Ricans.

DEFERRED
Respectfully,
EAT
Edward A. Tamm

cc-Mr. Ladd
Mr. Wacks

RECORDED

INDEXED

SE

62-41154-5

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

9 JUN 11 1942

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FOR DEFENSE



BUY
UNITED STATES
SAVINGS
BONDS
AND STAMPS

sent to [unclear] [unclear]
Mrs. George Megyew
142 HINCKLEY ROAD
MILTON, MASSACHUSETTS

June 4 '42

To to Hoover MRS. GEORGE MEGYEW

My Dear Mr. Whitchell:

You may have had many notes about Mr. Rex Tugwell but I've felt for years that there has been a squeeze to this country. Rex Tugwell

Can't he be properly watched. Porto Rico is such a bad place for Nazi infiltration especially as for years Mr. Tugwell has been so long with

62-44664-6
RECORDED & INDEXED
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
JUN 15 1942
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

EX-2
It's only a suggestion - but I feel so careerly here at the time
Louise G. Megyew
He is - Sincerely Louise G. Megyew.

RECEIVED
JUN 15 1942
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Copy to Mr. Rex Tugwell



Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

- Mr. Tolson _____
- Mr. E.A. Tamm _____
- Mr. Clegg _____
- Mr. Glavin _____
- Mr. Ladd _____
- Mr. Nichols _____
- Mr. Rosen _____
- Mr. Tracy _____
- Mr. Carson _____
- Mr. Coffey _____
- Mr. Hendon _____
- Mr. Kramer _____
- Mr. McGuire _____
- Mr. Harbo _____
- Mr. Quinn Tamm _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Mr. Nease _____
- Miss Beahm _____
- Miss Gandy _____

EAT:GEG
Call: 10:05 A.M.
Typed: 10:20 A.M.

June 11, 1942

MEMORANDUM FOR ~~THE DIRECTOR~~

W. Tamm
[Signature]

I called SAC Madigan at Boston and instructed him to contact and obtain from SAC Gleason as soon as possible a memorandum concerning Governor Tugwell of Puerto Rico. I told Mr. Madigan that the Department has inquired how Tugwell is generally regarded in Puerto Rico, whether he has been a satisfactory Governor, whether his administration has been weak or strong, whether he is popular or unpopular, etc. Mr. Madigan will forward Gleason's memorandum air mail today.

[Handwritten initials]
[Handwritten initials]

Respectfully,

Edward A. Tamm

cc-Mr. Wacks

Copy to [unclear]

*follow
this
EW*

*Mem Director
6-16-42
EGM*



RECORDED

62-4-1-1

JUN 19 1942

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

[Signature]

LJM:EE
62-44664 - 8
100-5745

JUN 17 1942

6-16-42

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

Re: **ROXFORD GUY TUGWELL,**
Governor of Puerto Rico.

In accordance with the request made by Mr. Ugo Carusi of Mr. E. A. Tamm of the Bureau on June 10, 1942, there is attached a memorandum reflecting information and comments concerning Roxford Guy Tugwell, Governor of Puerto Rico, as furnished by the San Juan Office of this Bureau.

Respectfully,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Attachment

- Mr. Tolson _____
- Mr. E. A. Tamm _____
- Mr. Clegg _____
- Mr. Glavin _____
- Mr. Ladd _____
- Mr. Nichols _____
- Mr. Tracy _____
- Mr. Rosen _____
- Mr. Carson _____
- Mr. Coffey _____
- Mr. Hendon _____
- Mr. Holloman _____
- Mr. Quinn Tamm _____
- Mr. Nease _____
- Miss Gandy _____

SEARCHED
SERIALIZED
INDEXED
FILED
JUN 17 1942
FBI - NEW YORK

215
JUN 17 1942

Handwritten notes and signatures in the bottom right corner.

LJM:EE
62-44664
100-5745

6-16-42

MEMORANDUM

Re: REX GUY TUGWELL,
Governor of Puerto Rico.

When Rex Guy Tugwell first came to Puerto Rico after hearings before the Senate Committee in the early Fall of 1941, information was being disseminated in San Juan to the effect that Tugwell was going to assume two offices, one the chancellorship of the University of Puerto Rico and secondly, the governorship of the island. According to rumors this was for the purpose of providing him with a salary of fifteen thousand dollars a year for the chancellorship from which he would obtain a leave of absence to serve as Governor. This arrangement was said to have been handled by Luis Munoz Marin who had just been elected President of the Senate of Puerto Rico as leader of the Popular Party. Marin is the son of Luis Munoz Rivera, a respected and honored patriot of Puerto Rico, who died in 1916. Marin is said to be a political opportunist supported by radical politicians who desire Puerto Rico's independence from the United States. Marin and Tugwell are reported to be old friends.

At the time Tugwell went to Puerto Rico, a high ranking Army officer expressed some concern over the appointment due to the tie-up with Marin of whom many people in Puerto Rico were skeptical. Tugwell's testimony before the Senate Committee created gossip in the island which tended to be unfavorable and this was fanned into a rather tense situation because the Governor was on the island several weeks before he made any definite move regarding the governorship and the chancellorship of the University. The press at that time was distinctly unfavorable and there was a great deal of agitation among the leaders and the students themselves regarding the possibility that Tugwell might become chancellor. Finally, Tugwell said that he would not assume the duties of a chancellorship, but would be inaugurated as Governor. The opinion was expressed that the chancellorship is still open to Tugwell if he should desire to take it as the University is controlled by Marin's connections. Following the Governor's inauguration, he met with tremendous amount of opposition in all his acts as Governor. Various sources believe this is partly due to the fact that for the first time in many years the Republican Party in Puerto Rico was dislodged by the Popular Party in the elections last year. The Popular Party under Marin's direction have a one vote control in the House and Senate. The usual upsets of a new party taking over were occurring as the Governor assumed his duties. It is common knowledge in Puerto Rico among the better class of people that Tugwell was previously associated with Marin some years ago in an economic mission regarding sugar lands and it is a general feeling that Tugwell is going hand in hand with Marin in all the aims of the Popular

RECORDED

INDEXED

62-44664-5
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
JUL 13 1942
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Party. This has created a great deal of bitterness in the opposition and political flaroups have been numerous during the present governorship. Tugwell has antagonized the press in many ways and through hostility to some of the papers has received reciprocal treatment at their hands. There is some opinion to the effect that Tugwell is a theorist attempting to revise the economic structure of the island without any practical background and this causes dissatisfaction among those sharing this belief. One of the newspapers in Puerto Rico severely criticizes Tugwell accusing him of activities in the Popular Party rather than taking an unbiased opinion in political activities on the island. One newspaperman expressed the belief that Tugwell would be removed as Governor before July the first, not giving any reasons for his statement. No direct information has been received indicating a definite tie-up between Tugwell and Communist activities in Puerto Rico. There have been several strike situations since he was appointed and there have been accusations made that the Labor Department in Puerto Rico has been controlled by them, it being alleged that the Labor Department has been influenced by known Communists on the island.

Within the past six weeks or two months there has been a great deal of political bickering on the island with regard to oil taxation which involved four million dollars in back payments supposedly owed to the Government by oil companies. This controversy was started by Marin. Hearings were held on this matter over a period of weeks and there was a constant demand for Tugwell to testify, but he did not appear. In this same connection, there was evidence of a general unfriendly feeling among the upper classes in Puerto Rico when the legislature convened; members of the legislature belonging to the Republican Party threatening to walk out on the Governor while he was delivering his message. However, he did not personally appear before the legislature and his message was read. The Governor is reported to have signed the several oil bills which were passed by the present legislature taxing reshipment of oil and these bills have been generally disfavored in the United States and on the island except by the Popular Party which was pushing the bills through. When Tugwell was appointed, Lieutenant Commander Thomas C. Hennings went with him to Puerto Rico as his Naval Aide. Because of the various matters which he handled, Hennings was highly respected by the Puerto Rican people. It is reported that at the time Navy wives were to be evacuated out of Puerto Rico, some sort of a jealousy arose between Mrs. Hennings and Mrs. Tugwell when certain pressure was placed on Mrs. Hennings to get her to leave, which she refused to do and in which Commander Hennings supported her. Shortly thereafter, Hennings was transferred to Pearl Harbor. Some of the newspapers and outstanding Puerto Ricans took up the defense of Commander Hennings and were disgusted with his transfer. Individuals who requested that their identities

not be revealed have indicated that Tugwell is going hand in hand with Marin and is definitely tied up with the platform and activities of the Popular Party. There are also rumors that Tugwell is not satisfied with his present position and would like to get out without being run out. Some people on the island have expressed dissatisfaction at the manner in which the Civilian Defense Program has been handled.

The World Journal in May 1942 published a story to the effect that Tugwell had a "purge" list. It was said to include the Attorney General of the island; Lieutenant Commander Thomas C. Hennings; Major General James D. Collins and Paul Edwards, Head of the W.P.A. Exactly what happened after the publication of this story is not known, but it was indicated that it no doubt caused tremendous repercussions among the Puerto Rican people. It has been indicated that because of Tugwell's reported associations with Marin, which more or less identified him with one political party as against another; because of his criticism by the press; because of his being considered a Communist and a theorist, rather than a hard, practical thinker, and further because of general talk on the island that Marin aspires to the governorship by working through Tugwell, the Governor's administration could be generally termed unpopular at the present time.

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice

Post Office Box 2344
Boston, Massachusetts

June 12, 1942

Mr. Tolson.....
Mr. E. A. Tamm.....
Mr. Clegg.....
Mr. Glavin.....
Mr. Ladd.....
Mr. Nichols.....
Mr. Rosen.....
Mr. Tracy.....
Mr. Carson.....
Mr. Coffey.....
Mr. Hendon.....
Mr. Kramer.....
Mr. McGuire.....
Mr. Quinn Tamm.....
Mr. Nease.....
Miss Gandy.....

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: ATTENTION MR. TAMM

Reference is made to telephone conversation with Mr. Tamm at which time he requested that contact be made with Special Agent in Charge Roger Gleason of the San Juan Division to obtain a memorandum on the general activities under the governorship of Rexford Guy Tugwell at Puerto Rico.

The memorandum prepared by Special Agent Gleason is attached hereto.

Very truly yours,

J. T. Madigan
J. T. MADIGAN
Special Agent in Charge

RFG:FGL
ENCLOSURE

AIR MAIL - SPECIAL DELIVERY

27
25
ENCLOSURE
[Handwritten initials]

RECORDED
&
INDEXED
[Handwritten initials]

62-44664
JUN 19 1942
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
[Handwritten signatures]

2 JUN 21 1942

EX-2

June 13, 1942

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR

Re: REXFORD GUY TUGWELL
Governor of Puerto Rico

With regard to the request of Mr. Tamm on information available concerning the governorship of Puerto Rico at the present time the following information is submitted.

When Rexford Guy Tugwell first came to Puerto Rico after hearings before the Senate Committee in the early fall of 1941, there was a great deal of talk in San Juan regarding the expected arrival of Mr. Tugwell and particularly about the hearing before the Senate Committee. Information was being disseminated in San Juan to the effect that Tugwell was going to assume two offices, one the chancellorship of the University of Puerto Rico and secondly, the governorship of the island. This dual role, according to this talk, was for the purpose of providing Governor Tugwell with the salary of the chancellorship which was \$15,000 a year and a leave of absence to handle the governorship, giving up the salary of \$10,000 a year which went with that office. It was alleged that this arrangement was handled by Louis Munoz Marin who had just been elected President of the Senate of Puerto Rico as Leader of the Popular Party. Considerable background is available in the Bureau of the connection of the governor and Munoz Marin which is reported in two reports of Special Agent J. O. PARKER in the case entitled, 'Louis Munoz Marin, Internal security,' San Juan origin.

I recall that at the time Governor Tugwell came to the island I had an opportunity to talk with [redacted]

[redacted] at which time he was concerned over the coming of Governor Tugwell, I believe, due to the fact that Army Intelligence had developed information concerning Communistic tendencies, and of course, the tie-up with Louis Munoz Marin of whom many people in Puerto Rico were skeptical. With that background Governor Tugwell arrived on the island after being called back to Washington from Florida for further testimony before the Senate Committee. Accordingly, there was a generous amount of general gossip which tended to be unfavorable. This gossip was fanned into a rather tense situation as the Governor arrived in Puerto Rico before he took office due to the fact that he was on the island several weeks before he made any move with regard to the two positions. During this period the newspapers set up a clamor for the Governor to assume one or the other position and the

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62-1114-8

COPIES DESTROYED
68 OCT 15 1964

SURE

comment in the press at that time was distinctly unfavorable. I recall that one of the newspapers, El Imparcial, carried a story regarding the Bureau Office in Puerto Rico investigating the Nationalists at the University of Puerto Rico in connection with their opposition to Governor Tugwell assuming the chancellorship and the governorship. The Bureau has rather extensive information on this angle in letters, the dates of which I do not recall, but which went into the Bureau in the fall, regarding the Nationalist situation at the University of Puerto Rico.

Finally, after quite a bit of turmoil Governor Tugwell came forward with a statement that he would not assume the duties of the chancellorship at the University but would be inaugurated as Governor and the salary of the governorship would be his remuneration. It is my belief, although I am not sure, that the chancellorship is still open to Governor Tugwell if he should decide to take it, as the University is controlled by Louis Munoz Marin's connections.

With this very unfavorable controversy raging, the Governor was inaugurated and I would say that since that time he has met with a tremendous amount of opposition in all his acts as Governor. I believe, fundamentally, it is based on the following. For the first time in many years the Republican Party in Puerto Rico was dislodged by the Popular Party in the elections of last year. The Populars, under the direction of Louis Munoz Marin, have a one vote control in the House and Senate and the usual upsets of a new Party taking over were coming forward as the Governor assumed his duties. However, it is common knowledge in Puerto Rico among the better class people that Governor Tugwell was previously associated with Munoz Marin at the time he was in Puerto Rico several years back on an economic mission regarding sugar lands and the general run of people feel that Governor Tugwell is going hand-in-hand with Munoz Marin in all the aims of the Popular Party. This has created a great deal of bitterness in the opposition and political flareups have been very numerous during the present governorship.

* BOLIVAR PAGAN, who is resident commissioner for Puerto Rico and Washington, has continuously attacked the Governor and I believe this is probably due to his affiliation with the opposition party rather than on any fundamentally sound basis. Pagan, according to general rumors around Puerto Rico, is not regarded very highly or considered of any importance.

However, Governor Tugwell has antagonized the press in many ways since he has been Governor and through conversation with him personally I got the impression that he has been hostile to the papers El Mundo and The World Journal, due to his belief that they are controlled by monied interests, particularly Spanish. This is true with regard to both papers

[REDACTED]

With regard to the Communistic charges against Governor Tugwell I do not know of any direct evidence, speaking from memory, which would definitely tie him to Communistic activities in Puerto Rico. However, there have been several strike situations developed down there since he has been Governor and there have been accusations made that the Labor Department in Puerto Rico has been controlled by them and that department has been influenced very greatly by known Communists on the island.

An individual by the name of GORDIANY whose first name I cannot recall, was accused of being a Communist or at least of favoring the activities of strikes directed by Communists. This individual's name has been mentioned in reports emanating from Puerto Rico. There is no question in my mind that the Communists in Puerto Rico are taking advantage of each labor dispute and that they control to a great extent labor activities on the island at the present time, but I do not know of any tieups on the present activities of Governor Tugwell which would identify him with the Communist Party there. I do recall specifically that [REDACTED] in Puerto Rico, informed me one day that a strike among WPA workers was instigated or at least influenced a great deal by a woman in the Department of Labor who is a known Communist. Likewise, a

rather violent strike at the Central Aguirre resulted in the death of one or two pickets and caused a great deal of disturbance. Communists were mixed up in this strike and Governor Tugwell arranged mediation finally. However, an interesting angle of this particular strike was the fact that Louis Munoz Marin was tied up with this affair with the idea in mind that he was attempting to take control of the labor situation on the island through the formation of another union other than the one functioned in the sugar industry for years. Marin attended the funeral of one of the strikers and spoke at the burial which was in all probability merely another one of his political moves as he tends toward that type of public display of feeling for the masses.

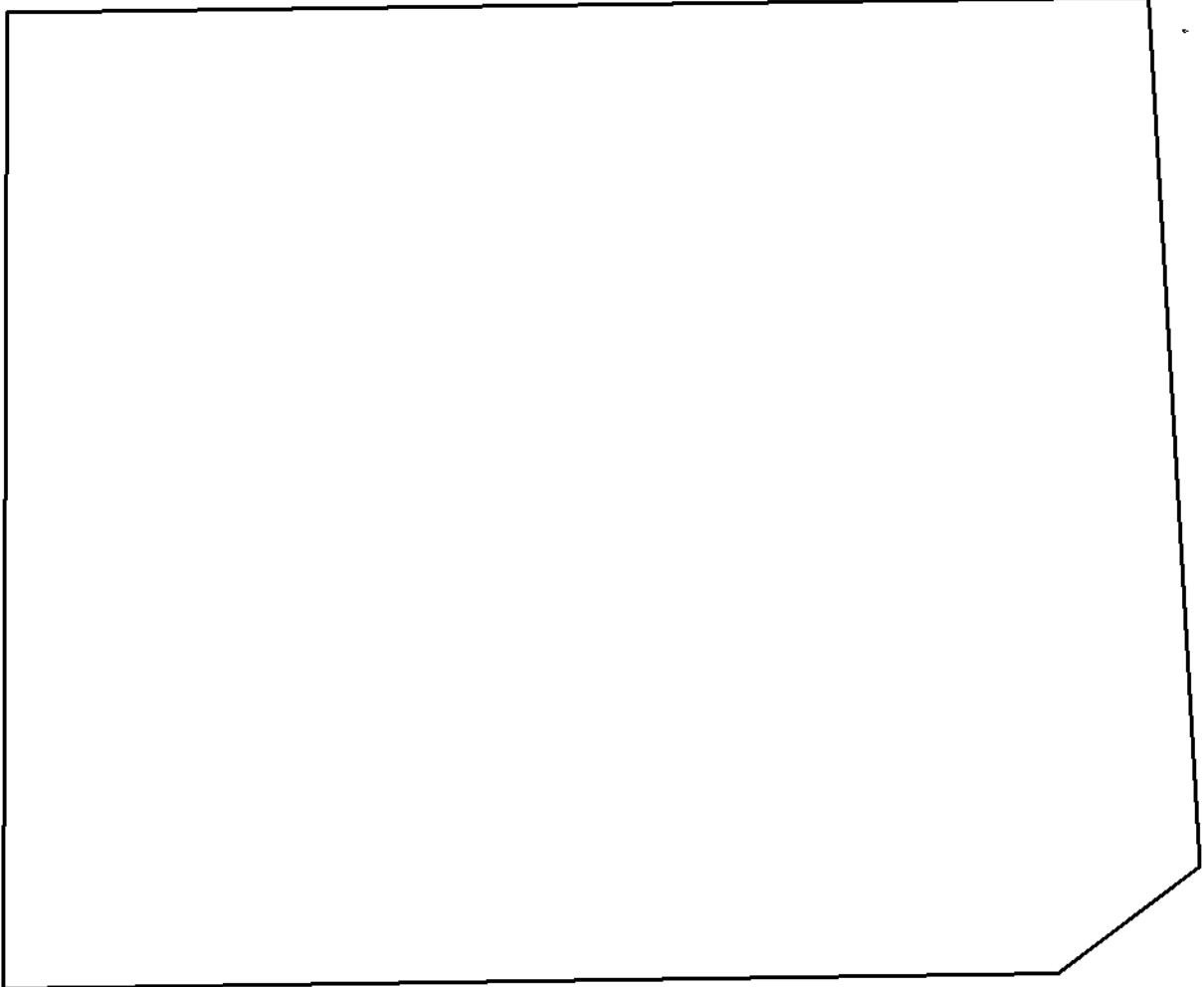
Within the past six weeks or two months there has been a great deal of political bickering on the island with regard to oil taxation which involved \$4,000,000 in back payments supposedly owed to the Government by oil companies. This controversy was started by Louis Munoz Marin who made a very flowery and dramatic accusation of criminal activities on the part of legislators of his own party claiming that they had swindled the Government out of \$4,000,000.

It appears that when Governor SWOPE was in the Chair at Puerto Rico he signed several bills which would have resulted in taxes on re-shipped oil through Puerto Rico. This tax had never been collected and there was quite a controversy over whether the bill had ever been altered. The newspapers were full of this hearing over a period of weeks and there was constant demand for Governor Tugwell to testify but he did not appear. In this same connection there was evidence of the general unfriendly feeling among the upper classes in Puerto Rico when the Legislature convened and members of the Legislature belonging to the Republican Party threatened to walk out on the Governor while he was delivering his message. Tugwell, however, did not personally appear before the Legislature and his message was read.

I understand that the Governor signed several oil bills which were passed by the present Legislature taxing re-shipment of oil which had been generally disfavored in the United States and on the island except by the Popular Party which was pushing the bills through although this angle had not been developed to any degree at the time I left Puerto Rico.

There is another angle which developed during the last several months which has caused a great deal of discontent.

b7D



b7D

[redacted] with the Governor; however, from talking to him in confidence I have gathered the impression that he believes Governor Tugwell is going hand in hand with Louis Munoz Marin and that he definitely is tied up with the platform and activities of the Popular Party. [redacted] mentioned to me that the Governor was playing ball with Marin and was being lead around by the nose. He did not say this vindictively and I believe that it was his sincere opinion. I also gathered from conversation with [redacted] that Governor Tugwell is not a bit satisfied with the position he presently holds and would like very much to get out of it if possible without being run out. It appears that he is apparently sick of the whole mess but does not want to get ousted. I have not gained that impression from talking to the Governor but from [redacted] comments.

b7D

The handling of Civilian Defense in Puerto Rico was another sore spot. There is a great deal of money spent there and there has been constant shifting of responsibility and not much action. There are, of course, a tremendous number of difficulties in the field and a lot of politics attached to this problem. One particular incident which I remember was a time when a Mrs. ROGERS came down from Washington to participate in Civilian Defense and she was on the island several months at which time she made herself very unpopular among the general public who had come in contact with her so that she finally left. I believe that she was brought down by Mrs. Tugwell although I have no definite facts on it.

With regard to our Civilian Defense program and training of police, Governor Tugwell was very cooperative. He appeared at the opening of the Civilian Defense School in San Juan, spoke and generally backed up the program. Those schools came at the time Governor Tugwell had removed Enrique Orbeta as Chief of Police and installed Colonel ANTONIO SILVA as Chief and Louis Ramirez Brau as Assistant Chief. Unfortunately, Colonel Silva finally returned to the Red Cross and Brau is presently acting Chief. He is unfavorable to the Bureau and lacks any type of administrative ability. He is an X- New York Police officer and I have furnished the Bureau extensive information on his activities. Governor Tugwell expressed to Special Agent A. W. Miller the idea that Brau would never become Chief of Police; however, Brau has been following up political connections in the Popular Party and it is possible that if Marin desires him as Chief he might be so appointed.

Finally evidence of dissatisfaction and trouble with regard to the present governorship developed just before my leaving Puerto Rico. The World Journal came out with a sensational story on that day which was May 27, 1942, to the effect that Governor Tugwell had a purge list. This list included the attorney general of the island, Mr. Malcolm, Walter Cope, who has been Secretary at the Fortaleza for a number of years; Lieutenant Commander Thomas C. Hennings; Major General James E. Collins and Paul Edwards, Head of the WPA. This story, I believe, was based on information obtained by the reporters at the Fortaleza which was in a rather upset state, due to the fact that there were a great number of rumors around concerning attempts to remove certain of these men. It is a known fact that the Governor signed several bills passed by the legislature during the last session against the advice of the Attorney General, and that the Governor was dissatisfied with the attitude of the Attorney General regarding the legislation of the Popular Party. The rumors were at that time that a man named CURRIE, who had come to Puerto Rico about the time the Governor did, who had been a close friend of his, was being groomed for the position of Attorney General. This man is very young and inexperienced but evidently has been an associate of the Governor's and an advisor.

Special Agent WILLIAM RYAN. What developed after the sensational article I do not know. However, I am sure that there were tremendous repercussions among the Puerto Rican people because of the character of the story.

b7D

In general I would say that the Governor's activities since he assumed the office have been the subject of a tremendous amount of controversy among the people of the island. Generally his administration is disliked but this dislike must be discounted by the fact that it comes at a transition period when one political Party has been ousted and is fighting to hold on to what it has while the other party is attempting to take over. I believe that a great deal of the trouble with the Governor's administration might be attributed to the fact that he was designated in the minds of Puerto Rican people as being connected with Louis Marin prior to ever assuming the governorship. This ties him up to one political party as against the other and even though it might not be true, is sufficient to cause rather constant turmoil.

From general conversation with outstanding Puerto Ricans and other people on the island I believe that it might be said that the general opinion was that the governor was an Economist and a Theorist, given to that type of thinking rather than to hard, practical thinking. There is no question in my mind that his present antagonism with the press has brought about a great deal of his difficulty as the every day reporter is suspicious of his activities. I believe that the Governor himself would like to get out from under if it were possible without having the reputation of being run out. Furthermore, general talk on the island leans to the theory that Menoz Marin aspires to the governorship and is working through Governor Tugwell to build the situation to a favorable point for the transition from an American to a Puerto Rican Governor. This theory, however, is not backed by any facts now in my possession. The Governor's administration would be generally termed unpopular at the present time.

A great deal of the information furnished above has been obtained by me through very personal and close confidential contacts with various people on the island. Accordingly, care should be used to see to it that no inkling could be gained as to where the information came from.

Respectfully submitted,


ROGER F. GLEASON

RFG:FGL

JON:JEA
7-7-42

9

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ASSISTANT GENERAL

This is to advise that the following was received by the Federal Bureau of Investigation from a confidential source:

In a letter dated June 9, 1942, on the stationery of Behn Brothers, Incorporated, San Juan, Puerto Rico, (signature illegible) to Mrs. Dorothy Martin, 52 West 57th Street, New York City, the writer, in an otherwise personal letter, says, "...Our political situation remains unchanged and Rex is as strong as ever with the boys in Washington and weaker than ever here so I guess he won't be removed, at least for the time being..."

It is believed that the reference "Rex" refers to Rexford Tugwell, Governor of Puerto Rico. The above is being submitted for your information at this time.

Respectfully,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. E.A. Tamm
- Mr. Clegg
- Mr. Glavin
- Mr. Ladd
- Mr. Nichols
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Tracy
- Mr. Carson
- Mr. Coffey
- Mr. Hendon
- Mr. Kramer
- Mr. McGuire
- Mr. Quinn Tamm
- Mr. Nease
- Mr. Gandy

6-10-42
RECEIVED
JUL 8 1942

RECEIVED-DIRECTOR
F B I
U. S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE
JUL 8 4 46 PM '42

[Handwritten signature]

by:

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
1300 Biscayne Building
Miami, Florida

June 17, 1942

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Re: REXFORD TUGWELL,
GOVERNOR OF PUERTO RICO

In a letter dated June 9, 1942 on the stationery of Behn Bros., Inc., San Juan, Puerto Rico (signature inelligible) to Mrs. DOROTHY MARTIN, 52 West 57th Street, New York City, the writer, in otherwise personal letter, says, "...Our political situation remains unchanged and REX is as strong as ever with the boys in Washington and weaker than ever here so I guess he won't be removed, at least for the time being...."

The above is submitted for the general information of the Bureau.

Very truly yours,

R. G. Danner
R. G. DANNER,
Special Agent in Charge

HLA:EVS
66-745-a

*Memo AG
7-7-42
JCM*

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COPIES DESTROYED
63 OCT 15 1964 *ml*

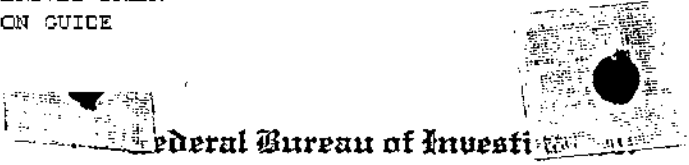
62-44664-
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
3 JUN 22 1942
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FIVE

- Mr. Tolson.....
- Mr. E. A. Tamm.....
- Mr. Clegg..... b6
- Mr. Glavin..... b7c
- Mr. Ladd.....
- Mr. Nichols.....
- Mr. Rosen.....
- Mr. Tracy.....
- Mr. Carson.....
- Mr. Coffey.....
- Mr. Hendon.....
- Mr. Kramer.....
- Mr. McGuire.....
- Mr. Quinn Tamm.....
- Miss Gandy.....

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Handwritten signatures and initials

COPY IN FILE



Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice

1300 Biscayne Building
Miami, Florida

July 28, 1942

Mr. Tolson.....	
Mr. E. A. Tamm.....	b6
Mr. Clegg.....	b7C
Mr. Glavin.....	
Mr. Ladd.....	
Mr. Nichols.....	
Mr. Rosen.....	
Mr. Tracy.....	
Mr. Carson.....	
Mr. Coffey.....	
Mr. Hendon.....	
Mr. Kramer.....	
Mr. McGuire.....	
Mr. Quinn Tamm.....	
Mr. Nease.....	
Miss Gandy.....	
Files.....	

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Re: REXFORD TUGWELL -
Governor of Puerto Rico;

[redacted]

MISCELLANEOUS

b7E

Dear Sir:

There are attached hereto in triplicate photostatic copies of a letter dated July 11, 1942 from Mr. J. BERNARD FRISBIE, Officer in Charge, United States Department of Agriculture, Post Office Box 4349, San Juan, Puerto Rico to Mr. ALLAN SPROUL, President, Federal Reserve Bank of New York, New York City, which was intercepted at the Postal Censorship Station in Miami, Florida.

Mr. FRISBIE in this letter is writing to Mr. SPROUL asking for his suggestions as to positions in which his, FRISBIE'S, experience and knowledge might be used to advantage.

In this letter Mr. FRISBIE makes the following statement:
"..... we are languishing under the present Governor and his regime, which is extremely distasteful to so many of us here. I'm a fixture in the L. A. service but crave a new field in an honest-to-goodness autonomous L. A. country."

The above information relative to the subject is forwarded to the Bureau for its general information for whatever disposition it might deem appropriate.

Very truly yours,

R. G. DANNER
Special Agent in Charge

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3 attached

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66-756a
Encls.

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63 Jul 15 1964

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68 OCT 15 1964



FRANSON

62-44664 (L) 70

RE: J. EDWARD FRISBIE

STATEMENT OF BACKGROUND AND EXPERIENCE

June 23, 1942

4924

BIRTH - Redding, California - October 5, 1893

EDUCATION - University of California - B. S. 1916 (Major in Economics, Banking and Foreign Trade)

BUSINESS AND AGRICULTURAL EXPERIENCE -

Place	Dates	Employer	Annual Salary	Position and Description of Duties
New York, N. Y.	June 1916	National City Bank of New York	\$ 600	Training in all Dept's. of Nat'l. Banking practice with after hour & evening study classes in banking theory, foreign languages, etc.
Buenos Aires (Argentina)	Mar. 1917	" "	1500	Rem cable & letter transfer window. Out & their a/es books, cable copy. & made commercial investigations.
New York, N. Y.	Apr. 1920	" "	2600	Provisionally working in Head Office awaiting another foreign assignment.
Havana, (Cuba)	Sept. 1920	" "	5000	In charge of 1/3 of Island Credits.
Santiago, (Cuba)	July 1921	" "	6000	Branch Bank Manager
Havana (Cuba)	July 1923	" "	6000	Island Credit Department
Havana (Cuba)	Jan. 1924	American Member of Commerce of Cuba	6000 7300 (plus perquisites)	Managing Secretary; usual assignment plus work of a Secretary of an American Chamber of Commerce abroad covering the country, his members, the Board of Directors, and working closely with the American Embassy and Consulate.
Washington, D.C.	Dec. 1927	Member of Commerce of U.S.A.	5700 to 6000	Assistant Director of Foreign Commerce Dept., which was covering letters for affairs of all (35) American Chambers of Commerce in Foreign Countries, and of Foreign Investment Bureau. Working closely with U.S. Dept. of State Dept. in Washington.

J. Edward Frisbie - Statement of Background and Experience

Business and Agricultural Experience - (Cont.)

Place	Dates	Employer	Annual Salary	Position and Description of Duties
Washington, D.C.	Sept. 1932	Federal Home Loan Bank and Home Owners Loan Corporation	\$3800 to 4800	Assistant Secretary and Manager of special Home Loan Dept. in the Dept. of Agriculture and Home Loan Administration, U. S. Dept. of Agriculture. Working with the Secretary of the Dept. of Agriculture and Home Loan Administration, U. S. Dept. of Agriculture. Working with the Secretary of the Dept. of Agriculture and Home Loan Administration, U. S. Dept. of Agriculture.
Washington, D.C.	June 1934	Agricultural Adjustment Administration	\$4000 to 6000	Principal Agricultural Specialist in the Dept. of Agriculture and Home Loan Administration, U. S. Dept. of Agriculture. Working with the Secretary of the Dept. of Agriculture and Home Loan Administration, U. S. Dept. of Agriculture.

I certify that this is a true photostatic copy
of a document given me by an authorized
Censorship Official on JUL 15 1942


Photostat Operator, CPMI

67-414664-10

4343

...in Washington...
...New York...
...Puerto Rico...

...I have just written Mr. J. H. ...
...about the urgent rubber procurement ...
...task ahead of us in administrative parts of L. A. ...
...country to be ...
...I am sure you will be ...
...liberty of including ...
...in my list of references. It is just possible that ...
...will write you. I appreciate that probably you know little about ...
...and the attached statement may help in case he inquires.

The picture of this would be that I have a good job here, and so I have ...
...the family and I have put in eight good years of our lives in ...
...area (mostly in the Caribbean area). I'm not getting any ...
...higher in the U. S. Department of Agriculture ...
...of Washington, and we are languishing under the present Governor ...
...and his regime which is extremely distasteful to so many of us here. ...
...I'm a fixer in the U. S. service but crave a new field in an honest- ...
...country. Possibly you could offer either ...
...and there I could carry on and be of most service to our ...
...country of this time.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely yours,
J. Bernard Frisbie
J. Bernard Frisbie
Officer in Charge

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT ADMINISTRATION
WASHINGTON, D. C.
P. O. BOX 4349
SAN JUAN, P. R.

AIRMAIL

Mr. Allan Sproul
First Vice President
Federal Reserve Bank of New York
New York, N. Y.

...of my background and experience.
...to enter the Latin-American field, I took ...
...instruction in the Spanish ...

...Argentina (1919), an Anglo-Argentine,
...bi-lingual, an ...
...the Latin-American field. Our first ...
...the older buried there, the younger ...
...New York. Our younger two were born in ...
...and live with us in Puerto Rico.

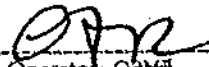
...married daughter of General Vallojo (for whom the ...
...California belonged to ...
...known as General Frisbie (John D.) was preeminently ...
...throughout the administration of ...
...as dean of the American ...
...until his death in 1908. These family ...
...accounted for my adolescent interest in Latin- ...
...to which I have devoted most of my adult life.

I have outlined these details to emphasize my special preparation ...
...and to concentrate my past and continuing ...
...and residing in that field.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

PENALTY FOR PRIVATE USE TO AVOID
PAYMENT OF POSTAGE \$300
SAN JUAN, P. R.
JUL 11 1942
AIR MAIL

I certify that this is a true photostatic copy
of a document given me by an authorized
Censorship Official on JUL 15 1942



Photostat Operator, GMM

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THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR
WASHINGTON

My dear Mr. Attorney General:

I will take up at once with Governor Fugwell the situation that seems to have developed in Puerto Rico between the present Acting Chief of Insular Police at San Juan, Luis Ramirez Brau, and the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Sincerely yours,

s/Harold L. Ickes
Secretary of the Interior

RECORDED & INDEXED
mhb

62-444-11
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
AUG 5 1942
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

227

August 15, 1942

The Honorable,
The Secretary of the Interior,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Secretary:

Reference is made to your letter of August 4, 1942, with which you transmitted a copy of a letter addressed to you by Governor Tugwell of Puerto Rico, and to previous correspondence relative to the relationship existing between the San Juan, Puerto Rico, office of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Insular Police Department.

I have been advised by Director Hoover that at the instigation of Governor Tugwell, conferences have been held between Acting Special Agent in Charge A. M. Miller, Governor Tugwell, and Chief Luis Ramirez Brau. Governor Tugwell has instructed Chief Brau to cooperate fully with the Federal Bureau of Investigation in national defense matters, and has definitely advised him that he will not tolerate a continuance of the attitude previously displayed by Brau.

From this it would appear that the situation, at least for the present, has clarified, and I want you to know that I appreciate your interest and assistance in this matter. Should there be any further developments which would be of interest to you, I shall be pleased to keep you advised.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) Francis Biddle

Attorney General.

BUREAU COPY

- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. E. A. Tamm
- Mr. Clegg
- Mr. Glavin
- Mr. Ladd
- Mr. Nichols
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Tracy
- Mr. Carson
- Mr. Egan
- Mr. Gurnea
- Mr. Hendon
- Mr. Pennington
- Mr. Quinn
- Mr. Nease
- Miss Gandy

12 AUG 15 1942

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AUG 15 1942
DIVISION OF RECORDS
H. J. D.

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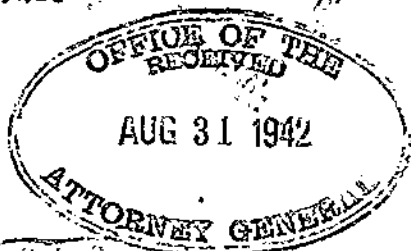
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GENERAL INVESTIGATIVE
DIVISION
AUG 15 1942
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UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON

August 29, 1942.

Hon. Francis Biddle,
Attorney General,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.



My dear Mr. Biddle:

Your August 15 reply to Secretary Ickes' letter of August 4 was not received until after he had left Washington for a vacation, from which he will not return prior to September 2. I will be glad to see that it is called to the Secretary's attention promptly upon his return to the office.

Sincerely yours,
RECORDED

W. H. McGrillis
Special Assistant to the Secretary.

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mrw

THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR

WASHINGTON

September 2, 1942

My dear Mr. Attorney General:

Thank you for your letter of August 15, telling me of the understanding arrived at the conference held by Governor Tugwell, Acting Special Agent in Charge A.W. Miller, and Chief Luiz Ramirez Brau.

I hope that from now on there will be full cooperation among all parties involved.

Sincerely yours,

s/ Harold L. Ickes
Secretary of the Interior.

Hon. Francis Biddle,
Attorney General
Washington

Copy to Mr. Biddle

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62-44664-14
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
OCT 5 1942
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
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ORIGINAL FILE IN 62-44664-14

393

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR

287



Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. E. A. Tamm _____
Mr. Clegg _____
Mr. Glavin _____
Mr. Ladd _____
Mr. Nichols _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tracy _____
Mr. Carson _____
Mr. Coffey _____
Mr. Hendon _____
Mr. Kramer _____
Mr. McGuire _____
Mr. Harbo _____
Mr. Quinn Tamm _____
Tele. Room _____
Mr. Nease _____
Miss Beahm _____
Miss Gandy _____

KRM:alo'd

Date: October 12, 1942

KRM

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. MUMFORD

RE: REXFORD G. TUGWELL

ls
X
AD

Attached hereto is photostatic material concern-
ing the captioned matter obtained by the Washington Field
Office from the files of Walter Steele of the National
Republic Magazine. This material was made available gratu-
itously by Mr. Steele and was forwarded to the Bureau by
letter from the Washington Field Office dated August 27,
1942.

Respectfully,

K. R. McIntire
K. R. McIntire

File

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

Enclosures



I ENCLOSURE

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"WRECKS" TUGWELL

PERSONAL

(For Your Scrap Book)

October 14, 1936.

TUGWELL, REXFORD GUY—

Roosevelt appointee as the Under Secretary of Agriculture, formerly assistant secretary of Agriculture. Born Sinclairville, N.Y., July 10, 1891; son of Charles Henry and Dessie (Rexford) Tugwell. His mother of pioneerstock—relations in Cattaraugus County. Graduated from the Masten High School, Buffalo, N.Y., 1911. Received his B.S. in economics at the Wharton School of Finance and Commerce, Univ. of Penna., 1915 and his A.M. a year later. He was made a Doctor of Philosophy in 1922. He married Florence E. Arnold on June 7, 1914; they have two children, Tanis and Marcia. Manager University Union, Europe, 1918. Instructor in economics, Univ. of Penna., 1915-17; asst. professor of economics, Univ. of Washington, 1917-18; instructor in economics at Columbia, 1920-22; asst. professor, 1922-26; assoc. professor, 1926-31; Professor since 1931; asst. secretary U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1933; under secretary since 1934. He was a contributing editor of The New Republic (well known radical left-wing magazine), member of the American Economic Association and the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Delta Upsilon. Director of the MANUMIT SCHOOL, Pawling, N.Y. He has written many books beside his magazine articles, among them The Economic Basis of Public Interest, 1922; The Trend of Economics (with various Economists, also editor), 1924; American Economic Life, (with Thomas Munro and R.E. Stryker), 1925 and 1930; Industry's Coming of

Age, 1927; Soviet Russia in the Second Decade, (with various Economists, also editor), 1928; The Industrial Discipline, 1933. Contributes to the Saturday Review of Literature and the Political Science Quarterly. Home 1511 33rd Street Washington, D.C. and Wilson, N.Y.—Address Department of Agriculture, Washington D.C.

The above is a composite of the facts as found in the "Who's Who in America" volumes XVII and XVIII for the years 1932-33 and 1934-35.

Tugwell was bitten early by the 'revolution germ', his radical ambitions were expressed by himself, while still a student at the University of Pennsylvania in 1915 and later republished on page 22 of the April 1934 number of New Outlook. With typical Tugwellian modesty he wrote:

"I am strong.
I am big and well-made.
I am muscled lean and nervous. . . .
I am sick of nation's stench
I am sick of propertied Czars. . . .
We begin to see richness as poorness; we begin to dignify toil;
I have dreamed my great dream of their passing.
I have gathered my tools and my charts;
My plans are fashioned and practical;
I shall roll up my sleeves — make America over!"

Tugwell was an instructor of economics at the University of Pennsylvania under the notorious Communist Scott Nearing, and substituted at lectures for him on several occasions. He was then regarded by members of his class as having strong pink leanings,

but not being as openly extreme at the time as Nearing.

He was a lecturer at the radical and disloyal Rand School, which was raided during the War.

One of Tugwell's radical proteges at Columbia University was Donald Henderson, instructor in economics and one of the leaders of the Columbia Social Problems Club. Due to his activities in behalf of Communists' interests in the mining region of Kentucky and in the Scottsboro case, Henderson was forced out of his position at Columbia. Tugwell offered him a fellowship in the form of a job as research assistant at a salary \$700.00 less than his former salary. The one condition attached to the offer was that the time be spent in the Soviet Union.

The name of Prof. R.G. Tugwell appears with those of Stuart Chase (radical), Donald Richberg, Jane Addams, Ruth Morgan, Anns Stronley Walling, Prof. Harry F. Ward, and about 80 other socialistic sympathizers as sponsor to the Brookwood Building and Endowment Fund Drive in 1927. Brookwood College was disavowed by the AF of L as "Communist." A pamphlet, "As Others See Us," was issued by this drive fund group. The pamphlet outlined the needs of Brookwood Labor College and was used to solicit money in the drive. It was signed by A.J. Maste, Chairman of the Faculty. Tugwell was among those who lauded the efforts of the faculty in making the drive. His remarks heading the appeal were:

"When I think what could be done with a fund of \$2,000,000 devoted to the purposes you serve at Brookwood, vistas open up which seem

(Continued on page 2)

"WRECKS" TUGWELL

(Continued from page 1)

greater than any others which I can conceive. If only your work there can be more permanent in some such way, you will have established one of the most hopeful institutions of our contemporary life."

An Associated Press dispatch from Washington, in the "Boston Globe" of January 13, 1928, names Professor Tugwell and Prof. Philip Jessup as representing Columbia University among the 900 delegates assembled at the Conference on the Cause and Cure of War. Carrie Chapman Catt was general chairman of this conference.

Tugwell together with Paul H. Douglas of the University of Chicago visited Soviet Russia as one of the unofficial "trade union" delegation which Albert Coyle conducted in 1927. This was the delegation which was repudiated as pro-communist by the A.F. of L. On the return of this delegation they wrote a report of their experiences which was published by John Day Company, New York, 1928, as the

"Soviet Russia in the Second Decade." The authors of the book are Melinda Alexander, John Bartlett Brebner, Stuart Chase, Alanda Comstock, George S. Counts, Jerome Davis, Paul H. Douglas, Robert W. Dunn, Arthur Fisher, J.A.H. Hopkins, Carlos L. Jernale, REXFORD GUY TUGWELL, and Carleton Washburne. The Editors are Stuart Chase, Robert W. Dunn, and REXFORD GUY TUGWELL. On page 26 he wrote:

".....When Lenin in 1927 with the words 'peace and the land' began the red reign in Russia, he started something neither he nor any other man has been able to finish; or

in fact to swerve from a determined course.... Witness for instance the behavior of the peasants in the years when the Bolshevists attempted the requisitioning of crops. When one crop disappeared in the tax-collectors' bins they simply refused to raise another.... Russia is 82 percent rural; there are as many peasants on that vast plain as there are inhabitants in the United States."

and on page 59:

"Low-yielding fields and miserable stock have reduced the whole peasantry to a standard of life so mean as to be almost beyond the American comprehension (specifically about 25 percent of our rural standard). There are poor farmers in America, but there are not 100,000,000 of them who live in houses little more than huts; in villages without paving, water, sewage, or lights, who exist on a diet of home-grown foods, who have never ridden in an automobile, whose women work regularly in the fields, whose clothing is inadequate and shabby, and of whom a large percentage are illiterate.... In spite of the accuracy of this as description, it is no key to Russia's potentialities."

In his expressions on the 'more abundant life' for the farmers of this country via the Communists' plan of reorganization, he said in his book, "Our Economic Society and Its Problems," Copyrighted in 1934:

"Russia has silenced forever the notion that economic affairs are governed by adamant laws. She has demonstrated that men have it in their power to set up the system they want and to make it obedient to their wishes."

The self-confessed accurate description of conditions in the Soviet Union, which he saw, surely cannot be the system the peasants wanted and used their power to set up and make obedient to their wishes. Yet from his testimony before the Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, June 11, 1934, he said,

"There has been a good deal of loose talk about planning. I pointed out in a technical speech made before a group of scientists the steps that would have to be taken if we followed planning, as I mean it in the sense, a blueprint conforming to the Russian plan."

In his article, "The Purpose of the New Deal" published in The New America, of June, 1934, he shows why he favors a system which has proven a failure, when he says:

"In any such process of social experimentation a good deal depends on who does the experimenting and what it is done for."

And from his 1931 speech taken from the New York American of June 12, 1934 comes further evidence as to who he wants to do the experimenting:

"The interest of the liberals among us in the institutions of the new Russia of the Soviets has created wide popular interest in planning as a possible refuge from persistent insecurity."

In this same speech he makes an amazing and revolutionary declaration in regard to the Soviet system:

"It is a logical impossibility to have planned economy and to have business operating its industries, just as it is also impossible to have one within our present constitutional and statutory structure. Modifications in both, so serious as to mean destruction and re-beginning are required."

Three years after making the above statement as to the impossibility of such a system under the Constitution and advocating its abolishment in order to make it possible, he proved his completely Communistic trend of thought when he said in a radio broadcast over the Columbia Broadcasting System, July 31, 1934:

"Putting the thing in the simplest possible terms, it has been our assigned task to persuade the American farmers to work together so as to cultivate the soil of the United States as though it were one single farm."

Tugwell contributed to a symposium "Socialist Planning and A Socialist Program," published by the Falcon Press in 1932. It was edited by Socialist Harry W. Laidler, for the League for Industrial Democracy, with the introduction by Norman Thomas. Therein he wrote:

"The universal confidence in profits, still unshaken in the Western World is quite likely to hinder measurably the advance of planning."



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Speaking before the American Economic Association in Washington, D.C. in December 1933, before he went on the Federal payroll, he outlined the procedure to put the planned economy into operation:

"The first series of changes will have to do with statistics, with constitutions, and with government. The intention of the 17th and 19th century law was to install and protect the principle of conflict; this, if we begin to plan, we shall be changing once for all, and it will require the laying of rough, unfeeling hands on many a sacred precedent, doubtless calling on an enlarged and nationalized police power for enforcement."

It was in that same speech that Tugwell also said:

"Business will logically be required to disappear. This is not an overstatement for the sake of emphasis; it is literally meant."

Tugwell had gone so far along the line of Marxism that he came out unqualifiedly for the Socialist Presidential candidate, Norman Thomas, in the 1928 election. So it is not surprising that in the above speech he said:

"THE FUTURE IS BECOMING VISIBLE IN RUSSIA."

Heywood Brown, chieftain of the left-wing 'American Newspaper Guild,' which suppresses free speech that it demands for itself, and an extreme left-winger, has said of Tugwell:

"As a matter of fact, Professor Tugwell is probably the most radical member of the Brain Trust."

Tugwell is not satisfied with confining his efforts to the regimentation of the citizens of this country into one vast collective farm. He also promotes the most vicious kind of class hatred. In his address at the Los Angeles Olympic Auditorium on October 28, 1935, he made some very treasonable remarks and at the same time issued a stern warning to citizens of the country as to just how much of a "breathing spell" to expect from the planned economy of the New Deal. Referring to the farmers and the laborers of the country, he said:

"What I have to say to you is of this sort: We must draw together nursing the sources of that anger which has driven us forward and making more and more clear the great hopes which pall us in the same direction. How deep are the sources of your indignation? Do they lie on the sur-

face...? Or do they lie deeper so that your wrath may sustain a genuine reconstruction of American life?"

With revolutionary candor, Tugwell warns America what to expect:

"The nation is witnessing the death-struggle of industrial autocracy and the birth of democratic discipline. These historic changes are never pleasant.

"We are establishing a farmer-worker alliance which will carry all before it. Our best strategy is to surge forward with the workers and the farmers, trusting to the genius of our leader for the disposition of our forces and the timing of our attack.

"The movement will go on in any case. It lies in the brains and blood of a people bringing into substance the stuff of old racial dreams."

Part of this warning has already been carried out in the form of the "Labor's Non-Partisan League," "The Good Neighbor League," and on the part of the radicals and progressives, the Farmer-Labor Party, for which F.D.R. recently ordered the so-called Democratic candidates of the State of Minnesota to withdraw.

The formation of the Labor's Non-Partisan League was the result of the efforts of Tugwell's friend John L. Lewis and his communistic pals, Sidney Hillman and David Dubinsky, all of the Committee for Industrial Organization, the group recently expelled by the A.F. of L. and extremely left-wing. John L. Lewis is the chairman of the board of this vote-catching setup and Sidney Hillman is the treasurer. Major George L. Berry another New Dealer is very active in this outfit.

The Committee on Industrial Organization, with its many communistic aides, among these the Communist's 1927 candidate for president of the United Mine Workers, John Brophy, who was Lewis' bitter rival, are now all together under the Tugwellian-conceived idea, as has been noted, urging the farmers and the laborers to surge forward to a complete victory of the New Deal in the coming election, however, only as a forerunner for their taking over the country under a Communistic setup in 1940, with John L. Lewis as their apparent to the Presidency.

The gross inefficiency of the spending orgy indulged in by the Roosevelt Administration under Tugwell

has been too well publicized in the daily press of the country, to need detailed mention here.

Recent reports from the press would tend to indicate that Tugwell is at least temporarily "benched" for political reasons and that his successor has been named, but Tugwell is still drawing his Federal pay-check at this writing and there is no definite proof of his having been cashiered. It seems to be another "Farley Vacation." He has been an annoying and embarrassing obstacle to the President's recent assertion that he did not want Communist support. His "vacation" seems to be merely another Roosevelt "breathing spell." For although F.D.R. has disavowed Communist support, he has not openly disclaimed communistic intent, and until Tugwell and all his satellites are turned out he cannot truthfully make such a claim. As we said over 18 months ago —

"TURN THE RASCALS OUT."

In order to further carry out his "youthful dream" of "making America over" Tugwell of course could not confine himself merely to the farmer and the laborer. He had to reach out and find some means of helping the white collar class and the business man to accept his idea of a new America. He is credited with writing the original bill drawn to reform the Food and Drug Act, later known as the Copeland Bill, S. 1944, which was defeated and introduced in the next session as S. 2000. The main object behind these two measures was to regiment the Advertising Industry, as well as the Patent Medicine manufacturers. Speaking of advertising Tugwell has said that it is a parasite on legitimate business. In his article "The Purpose of the New Deal," in *The New America* of June 1934, he said:

"The battle for the new deal is not yet over; indeed, I suspect it has just begun."

"At the most optimistic estimate we shall end the year with millions of unemployed. There will be millions, even, who will not have a steady job for three years or perhaps more. And this is spite of all our work and ingenuity."

His contempt for the vast industrial progress made by the individual efforts of American citizens for a period of over a century, was shown in a speech he made in 1931. Quoting from the *New York American* of June 12, 1934) (Continued on page 4)

(Copy of letter)

Dear . . . :

It was well that the TRIUNE exposed, in its yesterday's issue, the inspiration back of the Administration's farm program.

The TRIUNE mentions Assistant Secretary Tugwell. That gentleman is none other than Rexford Guy Tugwell, former associate professor of economics in Columbia College and director of the Columbia Honors Courses. He is the author of "The Economic Basis of Public Interest. Industry's Coming of Age;" co-author of "American Economic Life;" co-author and editor of "The Trend of Economics," editor of Simon Nelson Patten's "Essays in Economic Theory;" contributing editor of "The New Republic;" and has written numerous articles and monographs.

"The New Republic," to which Assistant Secretary Tugwell contributed, is, of course, the acknowledged semi-official organ of the Socialist Party of America.

Stranger perhaps is the background of Professor Tugwell, since he, too, visited the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and is quoted in the January 1930 issue of "The Communist," official monthly magazine of the Communist Party of the U. S. A., as having advanced the idea "it is necessary to study a planned system not at a conference of New York and Philadelphia engineers and economists, but in the Moscow Gosplan (State Planning Commission), where it is actually functioning." (Page 65).

Tugwell, along with Stuart Chase, the author of "A New Deal" (see attached memorandum for excerpts from his book) and Robert W. Dunn, the leading communist in the United States - in fact, Wm. Z. Foster's boss - was co-author of the book, "Soviet Russia in the Second Decade," published by the John Day Company, which is most laudatory of the Soviet regime, and in which can be found a complete chapter on Russian agriculture.

Thus we have the new Economic Adviser to Secretary of
Agriculture Wallace - Professor Mordecai Ezekiel (exposed by the TRIBUNE) -
proposing the farm program for our country, and sitting back of the scenery,
an Assistant Secretary - Tagwell - who is associated with another protagonist -
Stuart Chase - and an actual communist leader - Robert W. Dunn.

A fine business, I say!

All these facts are available to your Editorial Department.

Sincerely yours,

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Washington Post, 3/22/35.

HART HITS TUGWELL
AS FRIMER OF THE REDS

Michigan Democrat Insults
Economist as Framer
of Farm Relief.

A vigorous denunciation of the alleged communist sympathies of Prof. Maxford C. Tugwell, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, marked the House debate yesterday on the farm bill.

Representative Hart, of Michigan, a Democrat, said Mr. Tugwell had been influential in framing the bill, in conference with farm leaders. He then recited the Record from a Communist magazine words of praise for the professor's earlier interest in economic rational planning.

Hordecai Eschiel, who was described as an economic adviser of the Department of Agriculture, also was charged by Representative Hart with having helped frame the farm relief measure now before the House.

"Let us see who collaborated in the writing of this bill," Mr. Hart said. "Prof. Tugwell, of Columbia University, is the Assistant Secretary of Agriculture. Another professor or economist, Hordecai Eschiel, was the economist who steered the farm bill through to its so-called successful conclusion. He is another one of the gentlemen who collaborated in the writing of this bill.

"Let us see who Tugwell is. He is a member of the advisory committee of the People's Lobby. He is a member of a committee of the American Civil Liberties Union. This is the organization which defends

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anarchists when they shoot somebody. He is one of the ten contributors to Socialistic Planning and Socialistic Progress. This is Mr. Tagwell's history. He spent two years, I am told, in Russia. Herbert Mackin, I am told, spent another year in Russia. Now let me quote from the Communist of January, 1930, quoting Mr. Tagwell:

This eminent professor of the University of Pennsylvania believes the only escape from the blind alley of growing unemployment is the creation of a national planning commission. To this, Prof. Tagwell, of Columbia University, who has been in the U. S. S. R., replied that, when it is necessary to study a planned system, not at a conference of New York and Philadelphia engineers and economists, but in the Moscow-Caspian (State Planning Commission), where it is actually functioning. But even that does not help, since the competitive system cannot be reconciled with a planned system.

This is from the Communist of January, 1930. Representative Hart continued: "I am not going to follow Communism. This bill bears all the evidence of a brainstorm. That is the only way I can account for it."

Earlier in his five-minute address, Representative Hart had explained he is generally disposed to support the party program in Congress. He is serving his second term, having been elected in the by-elections in November, 1928, which gave the Democrats control of the House in the Seventy-Second Congress.

"This measure will be passed under the cry of 'Back the President,'" Representative Hart said. "I am one of those who started backing our President my back in 1920. I backed him on his banking legislation; I voted for it. I backed him again on his currency measure."

After denouncing the activities of the Sun lobby, he added: "I can not go along with any program of this kind."

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Earlier in the debate Representative Clarke, of New York, ranking Republican member of the Agriculture Committee, had told the House, "If you read that book by Tagwell, you will find where the Soviet ideas and Socialistic tendencies of this bill come from."

Mr. Tagwell is author of a number of works on economics, including two on the Russian system of economic dictatorship.

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DARTMOUTH FILE: 42 -- Legal

PRINTERS' INK

Second U.S. Post Office
A JOURNAL FOR ADVERTISERS
Founded 1881 by George F. Bostick
Published by the Printers' Ink Co., Inc.

- Executive Office, 110 Wall Street, New York
- Editorial Office, 110 Wall Street, New York
- Advertising Office, 110 Wall Street, New York
- Subscription Office, 110 Wall Street, New York
- Business Office, 110 Wall Street, New York
- Printing Office, 110 Wall Street, New York
- Post Office, 110 Wall Street, New York
- Telephone, 110 Wall Street, New York
- Teletype, 110 Wall Street, New York
- Radio, 110 Wall Street, New York
- Telegraph, 110 Wall Street, New York
- Mail, 110 Wall Street, New York
- Express, 110 Wall Street, New York
- Freight, 110 Wall Street, New York
- Insurance, 110 Wall Street, New York
- Legal, 110 Wall Street, New York
- Medical, 110 Wall Street, New York
- Pharmaceutical, 110 Wall Street, New York
- Chemical, 110 Wall Street, New York
- Mining, 110 Wall Street, New York
- Manufacturing, 110 Wall Street, New York
- Transportation, 110 Wall Street, New York
- Communication, 110 Wall Street, New York
- Energy, 110 Wall Street, New York
- Construction, 110 Wall Street, New York
- Real Estate, 110 Wall Street, New York
- Finance, 110 Wall Street, New York
- Banking, 110 Wall Street, New York
- Insurance, 110 Wall Street, New York
- Investment, 110 Wall Street, New York
- Trust, 110 Wall Street, New York
- Agency, 110 Wall Street, New York
- Public Relations, 110 Wall Street, New York
- Advertising, 110 Wall Street, New York
- Marketing, 110 Wall Street, New York
- Sales, 110 Wall Street, New York
- Distribution, 110 Wall Street, New York
- Logistics, 110 Wall Street, New York
- Supply Chain, 110 Wall Street, New York
- Procurement, 110 Wall Street, New York
- Operations, 110 Wall Street, New York
- Production, 110 Wall Street, New York
- Quality Control, 110 Wall Street, New York
- Research and Development, 110 Wall Street, New York
- Innovation, 110 Wall Street, New York
- Technology, 110 Wall Street, New York
- Software, 110 Wall Street, New York
- Hardware, 110 Wall Street, New York
- Services, 110 Wall Street, New York
- Consulting, 110 Wall Street, New York
- Education, 110 Wall Street, New York
- Healthcare, 110 Wall Street, New York
- Government, 110 Wall Street, New York
- Non-Profit, 110 Wall Street, New York
- Academia, 110 Wall Street, New York
- Media, 110 Wall Street, New York
- Journalism, 110 Wall Street, New York
- Arts and Entertainment, 110 Wall Street, New York
- Sports, 110 Wall Street, New York
- Travel, 110 Wall Street, New York
- Food and Beverage, 110 Wall Street, New York
- Retail, 110 Wall Street, New York
- Wholesale, 110 Wall Street, New York
- Manufacturing, 110 Wall Street, New York
- Construction, 110 Wall Street, New York
- Energy, 110 Wall Street, New York
- Transportation, 110 Wall Street, New York
- Communication, 110 Wall Street, New York
- Energy, 110 Wall Street, New York
- Construction, 110 Wall Street, New York
- Transportation, 110 Wall Street, New York
- Communication, 110 Wall Street, New York

New York, June 8, 1933

Advertising Last week the Ownership revised Food Sanction and Drugs Act, Congress muddled with refer- ence to "in- ference" and "ambiguity," was sub- mitted to Congress. The bill, one of the most ponderous promulgations of the last decade, is a last minute version of it headed by Profes- sor [Name], is in direct conflict at many points with the Copper Bill, which has received such hearty en- dorsement from advertising leaders.

The basic difference between the
two bills is this: The Copper Bill
steps at misstatements of fact, the
Tagwell Bill adds "or opinion."
Particularly disturbing is that
part of Section 15 of the bill which
authorizes the conduct of examina-
tions through "officers and em-
ployees of the Department of Agri-
culture or through any health, food
or drug officer or employee of any

State, territory or political sub-
division thereof."

What a chance this offers for
the harrying of advertisers by
clerks in Government employ!
What an opportunity it gives them
to run riot in the legs of "ambi-
guity" and "inference"! Anyone
familiar with the caliber of thought
and meager powers of discrimina-
tion shown by many Government
employees will look at this portion
of the bill in dismay.

After all, how many Govern-
ment employees are intelligent
enough to decide what "ambiguity"
and "inference" in advertising
mean? Just how far can these
terms be carried?

With a simple statement of op-
portunity to be interpreted by infer-
ence to mean that all competitive
advertising is misleading and un-
true? Are we perhaps being sub-
verted into an era where the only
advertising that will cut vicious
bureaucrats will be such
phrases as "United States Trust
Are Good Trust" or "Whose White-
ley--That's All?"

The Federal Trade Commission
has attempted frequently to set it-
self up as a judge of advertising
and the record of reversals of its
dicta by the courts is evidence
enough of the dangers inherent in
the Tagwell Bill. It is well to re-
member that each reversed com-
plaint has cost an honest advertiser
thousands of dollars in legal fees
to say nothing of months of time
spent in litigation.

In Section 5 of the proposed bill
there is more than a hint that "the
general agreement of medical opin-
ion" will be an important criterion
in determining the truth or falsity
of statements in food and drug ad-
vertising. Anyone familiar with the
various conflicting schools of thought
in the medical profession will ask,
"Is there such a thing
as 'general agreement' of medical
opinion except on some of the most
fundamental facts of medicine?"

PRINTERS' INK

One section of the bill makes a
careful distinction between adver-
tising in general publications and
that in medical or other profes-
sional journals. Why should an
advertisement in a newspaper be
wicked and in a medical journal
all right?

If cases are brought to court
who is to pay all the medical ex-
perts testifying on both sides?
Who is to decide what is "general
agreement" among doctors when
so often the doctors themselves
cannot decide?

Evidence Tagwell showed a
glaring lack of understanding of ac-
counting when he had inserted the
clause releasing publishers and ad-
vertising agents from responsibil-
ity. One publisher, however, on
reading the bill in its entirety, said
he believed that the publishers
would be "in deeper" than ever--
meaning the huge loss in volume of
advertising that the publishing in-
dustry would suffer. The bill
would make even concern of the
highest repute afraid to advertise.

After all, what will it profit a
publisher to be released from re-
sponsibility if the general effect of
the bill is to reduce his revenues
drastically, which will be one of
the inevitable results if the bill is
passed as now written?

The Tagwell Bill, as it stands,
is dubious and susceptible of many
interpretations. It will frighten
the honest advertiser and cut down
the revenues of media. It will
make lots of work for lawyers,
courts and medical experts, but ad-
vertising agents, advertising man-
agers and copy writers will go
crazy trying to make their ad-
vertisements conform to the new law. Even
when their best judgment tells
them that they are within the law
they will stand a good chance of
having some petty bureaucrat sub-
mit them to petty writs to defend
their judgment.

If there is any cheer to be found
in the bill, it comes from the pos-

sibility of offering lots of jobs to
the unemployed as courtiers and
readers of advertisements in 20,000
publications.

Opposed to the Tagwell Bill is
the Copper Bill.

One leading advertiser tells
PRINTERS' INK that he believes
that the Tagwell Bill, in itself
vicious and absurd, paves the way
for the enactment of the Copper
Bill.

This latter measure is direct,
simple and understandable. It is
based on the PRINTERS' INK
Model Statute, which has proved
its soundness and value in twenty-
five States.

It does not waver in the face
of "opinion," "ambiguity" and
"inference." It applies with equal
force to all advertising and not to
that of foods and drugs alone.

Already tremendous opposition
is being generated against the Tag-
well Bill. There is every indica-
tion that Washington will soon be
flooded with indignant protests.

It is the duty of all who believe
in advertising to tell Congress in
no uncertain terms what they
think of the "ambiguity" and
"inference" of the latest produc-
tion of the brain trust.

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~~SECRET~~

**Background and Policies of the
Head of the "Brain Trust"**

Since the withdrawal of Professor Raymond Moley as one of the official advisors of the Roosevelt Administration, the mantle of authority as head of the "Brain Trust" has descended upon the shoulders of Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, Dorford Guy Sugrill. Invested as he is with a power for good or evil that has rarely come to a single individual in the history of our Republic, all American citizens are entitled to know something of the origin and background of one who looms so large in the shaping of "The New Deal."

Springing full-panoplied from a minor professorship in Columbia University, with his fellow-professor Raymond Moley, to a secondary place in the cabinet of Franklin D. Roosevelt, he is credited with possessing the full confidence of the President who drew him from scholastic obscurity.

The Evening Star of Washington, D. C., on March 7, 1933, gives an illuminating sketch of his career to that time:

"Sugrill, a native of Sinclairville, N. Y., was born July 10, 1891, the son of Charles Henry and Bessie Dorford Sugrill. After attending high school in Buffalo, N. Y., he matriculated at the University of Pennsylvania, graduating from the Wharton School of Finance with the degree of Bachelor of Science in 1913. A year later he received his Master's degree, and in 1922 was made a Doctor of Philosophy.

"Meanwhile, June 7, 1914, he had married Miss Florence Arnold, from which union two children were born--Doris and Marcia. A year after his marriage he became an instructor in economics at his alma mater. In 1917, however, he left to become assistant professor at the University of Washington. In 1918, he was manager of the American University Union and in 1920 became instructor in economics at Columbia University, rising to assistant professor in 1922, associate professor in 1926 and professor in 1931.

"An author, Prof. Sugrill has written, or assisted in the writing of 'The Economic Basis of Public Interest,' 'The Front of Economics,' 'American Economic Life,' 'Industry's Coming of Age,' and 'Soviet Russia in the Second Decade.' He has been a contributing editor to the New Republic, and a contributor to the Saturday Review of Literature and the Political Science Quarterly."

Some additional facts regarding his career, just prior to his appointment to the post of Assistant Secretary of Agriculture in the Roosevelt Cabinet, are contained in the paragraphs below:

("The's The in America," Vol. XVII, 1928-1933, page 2310)

SUGRILL, Dorford Guy, prof. economics; b. Sinclairville, N. Y., July 10, 1891; s. Charles Henry and Bessie (Dorford) Sugrill; grad. Eastern Park High Sch., Buffalo, N. Y., 1911; B. S. in Economics, Wharton Sch. of Finance and Commerce,

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U. of Pa., 1915, A. M. 1916, Ph.D., 1920; m. Florence E. Arnold, June 7, 1914; children--Evelyn, Marcia. Instr. in economics, U. of Pa., 1915-17; asst. prof. economics, U. of Wash., 1917-18; mgr. Am. Univ. Union, Europe, 1918; instr. in economics, Columbia, 1920-22, asst. prof. 1922-24, asss. prof., 1924-25, prof. since 1925. Contg. editor The New Republic. Dir. Mammot Sola., Pawling, N. Y. Mem. Amer. Econ. Assn., Am. Acad. Polit. and Social Science, Delta Upsilon. Author: The Economic Basis of Public Interest, 1925; The Freed of Economics (with various economists, also editor), 1924; American Economic Life (with Thomas Moore and E. E. Stryker), 1925 and 1926; Industry's Coming of Age, 1927; Soviet Russia in the Second Decade (with various economists, also editor) 1928; Contrib. to Saturday Review of Literature, Political Science Quarterly. Home: 25 Claremont Ave., New York, N. Y., and Wilson, N. Y.

The above sketches were compiled from questionnaires submitted to Prof. Tagwell by the publishers, and returned by him in due course, with such data as he saw fit to contribute to his own biography. But there are many items that belong in the picture, which have to be constructed from his fraternal associations, his published works, and his printed words and activities, as recorded in the public press.

He is a native of the fruit-growing section of western New York, where his father, Charles Henry Tagwell, was a farmer. His first name is the surname of his mother's family, and his own family name is of English origin, a placename in the British Isles. There is seemingly no published record of his family origin, but the name "Tagwell" is found in early Colonial annals. A Thomas Tagwell with wife, Mary, appears on the parish register of Christ Church, Middlesex Co., Va., as early as 1688. The family seems to have been resident there until 1771, at least, the name also being given as "Taggle" and "Tagle," under which names they are shown in the Virginia state censuses of 1782 and 1788, in Amherst, Middlesex, Prince Edward, Pittsylvania and other counties (Middlesex, Va., Parish Register, Newberry Library, Chicago, 1907). A James Tagwell is revealed as living in Menton Dist., Gates Co., N. C. in the Federal Census of 1790, and individuals of this name served in the North Carolina State troops from 1861 to 1865, in the Civil War. Whether any of these individuals were among the adherents of Benford Gay Tagwell does not appear from published records.

In scanning the pages of history for a character that most closely fits the pattern of Tagwell, one instinctively turns to Robespierre. Not that the instigator and victim of the French Reign of Terror is a counterpart of the present head of the "Brain Trust," but they have much in common in their philosophies.

Both are strong in their professions of solicitude for exploited humanity--both are equally impersonal in their application of measures calculated to offer relief; both subscribe to the Jesuitical formula that "the end justifies the means." Robespierre in the French "revolution set into motion forces that he could not control, and which eventually sent him to the guillotine to which he had consigned scores of political antagonists. For the good of America and humanity, let us hope that the parallel extends no further.

At Seattle, Wash., on his informal tour of inspection for the Department of Agriculture, and his removal of old acquaintance at the University of Washington, last summer, he made an astonishing observation that qualifies him for the sobriquet of Robespierre. We quote the "Seattle Times" of August 24, 1933, thus:

"The plan to buy up millions of hogs and to take them off the market is part of the emergency program and is tied up with the general scheme of

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falling production of corn, wheat and cotton. The price of pork is now 50 per cent below the general level of prices." (He thought, apparently, of the hungry stomachs of millions of destitute that these hogs would relieve through a "planned economy" that regarded the humanities.)

"The cost of living has advanced approximately 8 per cent, while the general wage increase has been 7 per cent. We hope to prevent a considerable spread between the cost of living and the schedule of wages, but it is inevitable that some must suffer hardships. In the end, the prospects of everybody will be improved, but during the transition from hard to prosperous times, many individuals in the so-called middle class will be simply out of luck."

A shrewd observer, Representative Harold McGugin of the 3rd Kansas District, while he does not like Prof. Sugwell's ideas and activities, concedes that the professor "is the dominant personality in the Agriculture Department; I have a high regard for his forceful personality; I pay him the compliment of being the mastermind in the administration's agricultural program."

After reading the printed references to Prof. Sugwell's words and deeds, which follow, the reader will be able to make his own estimate of the personality of the man. However, it might not be amiss to offer here some observations along that line, from the pens of commentators on Washington people and affairs.

Craze Hendrick Rustia in the Cashin ton Star for June 6, 1933, says in part:

"He is 41, quiet in manner. He is far more attractive looking than his photographs would indicate, not having the goldfish eye which seems so prominent in pictures of him. His mind is smooth and fluid. It encompasses objections and flows on regardless. . . . Secretary Sugwell's manner is gracious and detached. Critics probably could not bother him. Haughty he has. . . . He has a way of sliding on a poker face imperceptibly so that the only change in his expression is a curious blankness in his eyes."

Paul Mallon, columnist for the Washington Star credits Prof. Sugwell with first having put the skids under George H. Peck, and ransavored him out of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, when their programs clashed, and then exercised his influence with the Administration to extend Peck's powers so that he may use Government money to finance exports to Cuba in addition to Soviet Russia. He says, "Insiders say Prof. Sugwell is the smartest manipulator in the inner circle." On May 2, 1934, Mallon says: "Certain of Prof. Sugwell's enemies have been whispering around that he is on his way back to private life because Mr. Roosevelt is sending him to Puerto Rico on the farm problem. The truth seems to be that Prof. Sugwell promoted the trip as a little winter vacation. He took a similar summer vacation last year, traveling through the National Parks."

Francis Dalton Welsh, in a bulletin on Rexford C. Sugwell says:

"In 1914 the Communist Scott Hearing was a professor of Economics at the University of Pennsylvania and was indulging in his usual Communist propaganda. When one man resigned from his class on account of it, Scott Hearing pursued him, gave him pamphlets, etc., and tried to convert him to Communism. At that time Rexford C. Sugwell was an instructor in economics under Hearing and substituted in lecturing for him on several occasions.

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He was then regarded by members of his class as having strong pink leanings but not being as openly extreme at the time as Hearings. Since then, of course, Tagwell has gone in for extremes and is one of the American Civil Liberties Union crowd and is in a number of American Civil Liberties Union crowd affairs."

In a letter to William Fraw Long, Cleveland, Ohio, April 6, 1932, Mr. Welsh says:

"Tagwell is on the advisory committee of the People's Lobby in Washington, which should be called the Communist People's Lobby. He was a lecturer at the red and disloyal Sand School which puts over Communist and Left-Wing Socialist propaganda, and was raided during war times. He is a director of the Hammit Association, which is an affair akin to Brookwood College. He signed a protest against the expulsion of a red from the College of the City of New York. He was one of the ACLU crowd. I note further that he stated in his lecture under the auspices of the National Advisory Council on Radio in Discussion that Russia's planning will be held up as an example for us to follow. The Communists are doing that now.

Referring to the American Civil Liberties Union crowd, of which Prof. Tagwell is a conspicuous member, Francis Malcolm Welsh states that they get up the American Civil Liberties Union, the People's Council of America, the Civil Liberties Bureau, Anarchist Berkeson's League for Amnesty of Political Prisoners, the League for Industrial Democracy, the Yellowship of Reconciliation, the Foreign Policy Association and other things of the sort, all subversive organizations.

"The Communist," official organ of the Communist Party of the United States, January 1930 issue, page 83, says:

"Among the American professors there can be recently observed a strong current toward 'plannedness.' At the conference of the well-known Taylor Society, the liberal Professor Brooks gave a report on the 'necessity of planned prosperity' [we quote from Edoardo Rubinstein's book, 'The Contradictions of American Capitalism']. This eminent Professor of the University of Pennsylvania believes the only escape from the blind-alley of growing unemployment is the creation of a national planning commission. To this Professor Tagwell, Professor of Columbia University, who has been in the U.S.S.R., replied that then it is necessary to study a planned system, not at a conference of New York and Philadelphia engineers and economists, but in the Moscow Gosplan [State Planning Commission, where it is actually functioning]."

One of Prof. Tagwell's radical proteges at Columbia University was Donald Henderson, instructor in economics and one of the leaders of the Columbia Social Problems Club. He was active with Mrs. Henderson with the Kentucky student delegation in fomenting trouble in Communist interest in the Kentucky mining region in the summer of 1932; also in the Coatsboro Case. Yielding to a flood of letters from prominent alumni, demanding his removal, Prof. Maxford G. Tagwell informed Henderson that he would not be reappointed.

The New York Times of April 5, 1933, quotes Henderson on the aftermath as follows:

"Professor Tagwell suggested that in view of the fact that I would have

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difficulty in getting a position at another university, he would attempt to secure a fellowship for me. Following this 'suggestion,' Professor Tagwell recently offered me an appointment by the university as research assistant for one year at a salary \$700 less than my present one. The one condition attached to this offer was that the year be spent in the Soviet Union.

"After due consideration, and in view of all the issues involved in the situation, I feel compelled to decline the offer. The offer is clearly a maneuver to ease me out of the university without raising the question of academic freedom."

Raymond Brown in his syndicated column, "It Seems To Me," in the Washington Daily News of March 24, 1933, evaluates Tagwell thus: "As a matter of fact, Prof. Tagwell is probably the most radical member of the Brain Trust."--an opinion of importance from such a recognized left-winger as Brown.

The name of Prof. E. C. Tagwell appears along with those of Stuart Chase (red communist), Donald B. Eichberg, Jane Addams, Ruth Morgan, Anna Straneky Malling, Prof. Harry W. Kirk and about 60 other socialistic sympathizers as sponsor to the Brookwood Building and Endowment Fund Drive in 1927.

Brookwood College, Katonah, N. Y., the object of his solicitude, is a part of the Trade Union Educational League (Soviet-organized, Soviet-directed and Soviet-financed) which Congressman William E. Borah said "proposes to develop trade unions from their present antiquated and stagnant conditions into modern, powerful labor organizations capable of waging successful war against Capital." (Report of Borah Committee, U. S. Senate, 68th Congress)

Edward C. Tagwell in November 1931 was a member of the Committee on Economics of the self-styled National Advisory Council on Radio in Education, in which he was associated with Robert A. Milliken, the scientist, and Harry W. Laidler, and other radicals of varying degrees of pink and red tints.

With Paul H. Douglas, who was later appointed to the Consumers Advisory Board of the N. E. A., Tagwell was enrolled as one of the professors on the National Committee on Labor Injunctions (organized by the American Civil Liberties Union), 100 Fifth Avenue, New York City, in January 1931. Donald B. Eichberg, law partner of Harold Ickes, now Secretary of the Interior, was listed as one of the attorneys on the Committee. They issued a primer on the subject of Labor Injunctions, entitled, "Even Adam Had a Hearing."

From a pamphlet, "As Others See Us," issued by Brookwood Building and Endowment Fund Drive, Room 303, Bible House, Astor Place, New York City, 1927:

"Brookwood, situated at Katonah, N. Y., is the only resident school in the United States and Canada where men and women of the Labor Movement may pursue courses in History, Economics, Public Speaking, Parliamentary Law, Trade Union Administration, Trade Union Organization Methods, Labor Legislation, Statistics, Psychology, Dramatics, and other subjects, so that they may become more intelligent and efficient members of their unions. The school is now in its sixth year. . . ."

"A Building and Endowment Fund drive has now been launched. We are raising two

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million dollars for three purposes: (1) In order to erect additional dormitories as well as a library and academic building so that we may house 100 students instead of the present limit 40; (2) to underwrite 50 per cent of our annual budget and so place the school on a secure basis leaving the staff free to concentrate on the educational work; (3) to endow research, summer institutes, and extension work."

The call went out under the signature of A. J. Hirst, Chairman of Faculty. Among those who lauded the efforts of the faculty in making the drive, were Prof. Rexford Guy Tagwell, whose remarks, heading the appeal were:

"When I think what could be done with a fund of \$2,000,000 devoted to the purposes you serve at Brookwood, vistas open up which seem greater than any others I can conceive. If only your work there can be made more permanent in some way, you will have established one of the most hopeful institutions of our contemporary life."

Princess Alexandra Krepotkin in her page, "To the Ladies" in "Liberty" of December 9, 1933, says: "I learned, by the way, that BrainTrusters Moley, Berle and Tagwell were Industrial Democracy Leaguers during their bright college years." She quotes Opton Sinclair as saying of the League for Industrial Democracy: "We founded it in 1905. The League has chapters now in one hundred colleges. It helps young men and women understand what Socialism really means as applied to government and economics."

An Associated Press dispatch from Washington, in the "Boston Globe" of Jan. 15, 1933 names Prof. Rexford Tagwell and Prof. Philip Jessup as representing Columbia University among the 230 delegates assembled at the third conference of the Cause and Cure of War.

Carrie Chapman Catt, general chairman of the conference, announced that the discussion would embrace among other subjects America's foreign policy, particularly with regard to Nicaragua and China, international efforts to outlaw war and the policy of the Russian Soviet toward arbitration. The conference will seek to formulate a peace program for adoption by groups of men and women throughout the country.

Those designated to preside over the meetings were: Mrs. John E. Sherman of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, Mrs. Robert E. Spear of the Y. W. C. A., Mrs. William Edgar Gell of the Mission Boards, Miss Dolie Sherwin of the League of Women Voters, Miss Rose Schneiderman of the Women's Trade Union League, Mrs. Nellie S. Burger of the W. C. T. U., Dr. Mary E. Holley of the American Association of University Women, and Mrs. William Dick Sporburg of the National Council of Jewish Women.

"Time," the news magazine, in its issue of May 8, 1933, gives this estimate of Prof. Tagwell: "Dr. Moley is viewed with alarm, is not distrust by most of the Democratic politicians at the Capitol. So are the other members of the 'Brain Trust', Rexford Guy Tagwell in the Department of Agriculture and Adolf Augustus Berle, Jr., in the W. C. C., Columbia professors both. Senators and Representatives privately denounce them as "second raters" who command no wide-spread academic respect, flag them as radical theorists who are about to strangle the U. S. government to death."

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In the second of a series of articles on "Tom Around Roosevelt," in the "Maker" of New York, January 1, 1934, is this analysis of the character and performance of the Assistant Secretary of Agriculture:

"Box G. Tagwell is fast taking his place as the 'enfant terrible' of the Administration. Older and wiser men may attempt to entangle his footsteps as he steadily mounts to dissier eminence. So far, youth has been unfailingly triumphant. His latest tour de force has been no less a feat than the annihilation of George H. Peck himself.

"The Unexpectedness of his triumphs has been their most thrilling quality. Few would have doubted a few weeks ago that any attempt by the erstwhile Columbia professor to fall afoul of the mighty Baruch-Johnson-Peck triumvirate could have any other outcome than to send him reeling to the oblivion which had already engulfed a Raymond Moley. But events have proven that a Tagwell is most decidedly not a Moley. Some of his admirers are even whispering hopefully that Tagwell may well be a Tallyrand.

"Unfortunately for this hope, Mr. Tagwell is a talker, who believes, unlike his prototype, that words are made not to conceal, but to reveal thought. The thought that he has revealed monotonously through his meteoric career has been the thought that Socialism is inevitable for America. As he mounts nearer the Presidential throne, trailing poor Henry C. Wallace in his wake, his lifelong Socialism becomes more and more a national issue. Is it possible, Washington is asking, that the Marxian apparition is already casting Tagwellian shadows over the hite House?

"Other Brain Trusters have carried with them into power backgrounds which were daily suspect of Socialism. But of Mr. Tagwell's Jacobinism there can be no lingering shadow of doubt.

"Ever since his accession to power, his name has continued to appear regularly as one of the editors of the New Republic, whose Socialism is of so militant a hue that it is questioned gravely. During the last Presidential campaign, whether the American comrades should not vote for William B. Foster rather than for that Bourbon conservative, Norman Thomas. He appeared conspicuously recently as one of the Committee sponsoring the Land School, the Socialist Party headquarters in New York, where he has been an official lecturer.

"On Russia, also, Mr. Tagwell is regular. While it was still unpopular to advocate Soviet recognition, Mr. Tagwell, together with Earl H. Douglas, who is also one of the commissars in Washington, visited Soviet Russia as one of the unofficial 'trade union' delegation which Albert Coyle conducted in 1927. This was the delegation which was repudiated as pro-Communist by the American Federation of Labor. Upon its return it published a report which was circulated widely, extolling the virtues of Sovietland and calling stridently for American recognition. Evidently, the Columbia professor was impressed, for in the June, 1930 issue of 'The Communist', official magazine of the Communist Party of the U. S., he is credited with stating that it is necessary 'to study a planned system, not at a conference of New York and Philadelphia engineers and economists, but in the Moscow Kremlin.'

"But certainly Mr. Tagwell's most dazzling contribution to Socialism, before his current appearance in Washington, was his authorship of 'The Industrial Discipline.'

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"We will spare the reader the advice to wade through the lengthy and purified conversations of this much-heralded book. It is not an assignment for neophytes. But whether read or merely perused, the thesis of the book is unmistakable. It is an unqualified repudiation of capitalism. It pictures the kind of a world which Mr. Tagwell would like to build—a world without profits and without liberty. It is a world of technocrats in which each citizen would fit mechanically into the post which the experts had chosen for him.

"Such a world may seem seductive, as Mr. Tagwell plans it. Utopias are always preferable in their paper form. But as we re-read the Democratic platform of 1932, we find no hint of such a program in the mandate which the people gave to Mr. Roosevelt. We recall no campaign speeches about expertocracy. Somehow, we wonder, as we contemplate the spectacle of Mr. Tagwell grooving, if he does not sometimes bring disturbing propositions to the equanimity of his great commander."

These radical tendencies of the Brain Trusters, and their origins do not fool all Democrats. Representative Hart of Michigan, in the House debate on the farm bill, as reported by the Washington Post of March 22, 1932, said:

"Let us see who Tagwell is. He is a member of the advisory committee of the People's Lobby. He is a member of a committee of the American Civil Liberties Union. This is the organization which defends anarchists when they shoot somebody. . . . He spent two years, I am told, in Russia. Mordecai Ezekiel, I am told, spent another year in Russia."

In the New York Times of April 27, 1933, a Washington despatch headed, "Brain Trust's Visions Astound the French," speaks of the personnel of that group, as then constituted, thus:

"The 'brain trust' is an interesting as well as confident group. Its members almost completely occupy the inner chamber of the President's ear.

"They produced the farm relief bill and the Thomas amendment. They worked out the currency devaloring and stabilization formula, which has been the basis of discussion among the experts. They sponsor the bill for the stimulation of private industry under government supervision of wages, hours of labor and production.

"The Muscle Shoals plan, with its bright picture of the whole Tennessee Valley as a pastoral Pittsburgh, is theirs. . . .

"The 'brain trust' by unanimous vote is headed by Raymond Hoey, Assistant Secretary of State. He is miles ahead of his fellow-colleagues in influence and mental fertility. To him come all the schemes he does not himself invent, and he passes on them. When his thumbs go down, the scheme usually goes down also. . . . Associated with Mr. Hoey in the 'brain trust' are Rex Tagwell, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture; Dr. Mordecai Ezekiel, economist for the same department; A. A. Berle of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation; E. A. Seligman of the Federal Reserve Board; Herbert Davis, economist of the State Department; and William I. Myers of the Farm Board. Working closely with these, but with a pragmatic background they all lack, is the Secretary of Labor, Miss Frances Perkins."

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Representative Hamilton Fish, Jr., of New York, in the House of Representatives, Tuesday, May 2, 1938, pays this tribute to Tagwell and Mackiel:

"Professor Tagwell is quite a book agriculturist. He has made a study of agriculture and knows all about the farmers' plight, so he says. He is especially infamed on the Russian Gosplan, and if the Communist publications are correct, as early as January, 1930, Mr. Tagwell advocated the Kelshovik plan for the United States. We have only to read the reports from Moscow to know how effectively this plan works in Russia at the point of the bayonet. . . . Mr. Tagwell is co-author with Stuart Chase (another Socialist) and Robert Dunn (a Communist) of the book 'Soviet Russia in the Second Decade,' and this same Stuart Chase (Socialist friend of Tagwell) is the author of the book, 'A New Deal' in which he says that 'in a way it is a pity that the road to revolution is temporarily closed.' We find that Professor Tagwell has for years trained with the Socialists of the Nation. He was professor of economics at Columbia University; contributing editor to the socialistic 'New Republic' magazine, more or less a semi-official organ of the Socialist Party; a member of the advisory board of the People's Lobby, a socialistic movement set up by John Dewey, another Socialist professor of Columbia University; and is on the board of directors of Manunit Associates, Inc., a medical enterprise partially supported by the American Fund for Public Service (Garland Fund), the spending of which fund was in the hands of a committee of Socialists and Communists, who doled it out for Socialist and Communist activities. Tagwell has been a member of several committees of the American Civil Liberties Union, an organization specializing in the defense of Communists and radicals of all types. He has written on socialism, having collaborated in 'Socialist Planning and a Socialist Program' while he wrote 'Experimental Control of Russian Industry,' and 'Soviet Russia in the Second Decade.' He believes there is 'no difference between Russians and Americans.'

"Tagwell has opposed such farm-relief plans as the McNary-Maugan bill, and tariffs which he says lead to 'isolated nationalism.' With Prof. Horaceal Mackiel he is accredited with preparing the newly proposed farm bill, which grants powers of a dictator. It requires a dictator and the red army to force a similar program down the throats of the peasant farmers of Russia. Perhaps that is why a dictator of agriculture is required here. The control of acreage, of production, of markets, of earnings, of what the farmer may grow, and how much, how he shall spend his money and how much he shall have are only the powers granted a dictator. . . .

"Prof. Horaceal Mackiel, the economic advisor to the Secretary of Agriculture, is a real shadow of Professor Tagwell, so far as the Russian farm plan is concerned. He appears to be the Professor Einstein of the Administration, and carefully elaborates the workings of the 'new deal' to Congress by the use of logarithms, letting a hog equal X, the equal equal Y, and the price equal Z. If it works out 'everything will be all right.' Professor Mackiel has visited Russia, where he made considerable study of the Gosplan."

In June 1938, Prof. Tagwell aroused the anger of the Advertising Federation of America by declaring that advertising is a parasite, and has no place in the New Deal. This parading of a pet Socialist sophistry has flung a challenge to a large section of American brains, who are dealing practically with everyday problems that the "brain trusters" of the Tagwell school are trying to cope with by theory and experimentation. The issue raised promises to be fraught with great future embarrassment to Tagwell.

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The Washington Post of July 22, 1933 has an article by Raymond Clapper entitled:

"BRAIN TRUST'S VICTORY HERE IN BLANKET CODE"

Dr. Tagwell Mapped Plan in 1929; It Goes Farther Than Once Wanted"

The article states:

"On the whole, however, the NRA is the full blossoming of a plan which had long germinated in the brilliant minds of the 'brain trust,' including Dr. Rexford Tagwell, now Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, and Adolph A. Berle, now adviser to the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, and to a lesser extent to Dr. Raymond Moley, Assistant Secretary of State. . . . No one man was the exclusive author of the specific act. It was the product of many minds. Brig. Gen. Hugh C. Johnson was especially active in drafting the act, drawing on his experience with the War Industries Board. . . . Year or five years ago, Dr. Tagwell, not 42, sharp-featured, with a razor-blade mind, was looking beyond the big board of the New York Stock Exchange, where steel was hitting 100. His recent book, 'The Industrial Discipline and the Governmental Arts' was written five years ago. It was published early this year." (The article credits the Tagwell book with suggesting the ground-plan for the National Recovery Act. The book, published by the Columbia University Press, is reviewed in the "New York Times Book Review" of May 14, 1929, the critic R. L. Buffas making the observation, "When the Assistant Secretary happens to be one of the little group of serious thinkers who are helping to form a historical Presidential policy, the gentle reader should sit up and take notice.")

The basic philosophy behind the vast experiment going on in Washington, is discussed by Prof. Tagwell in an article in the New York Times Magazine for July 16, 1933. His position as one of the leading spirits of the Brain Trust enables him to write with authority on "The Ideas Behind the New Deal." As a preliminary, he observes that "there can be no fixed form of government. Its patterns, like those of industry, are inescapably dynamic, mutable; the design follows the event. There is, I know, a stubborn legal fiction of permanence."

He takes a subtle fling at the Constitutionalists: "We have in the field of political economy a similar fiction and a similar tendency to justify all that happens by appeal to precedent. The need of mortal man to attach his destiny to safely holy documents seems difficult to amend." (Tagwell's school of philosophy apparently would have the world in a state of flux.)

He goes on to say: "The consciousness of great events is stirring the whole nation. . . . The reckless individualistic expansion of the nineteenth century is a closed era; we have come to the end of a prodigal childhood. We are learning to accept the limitations of maturity and discovering that even though we cannot be childishly anarchistic, life is still worth while. . . . Even the hard-boiled American industrialists and bankers are for the moment repentant. They have begun to ask anxiously for direction. . . . Consider how in unguided allegiance to the eighteenth-century dogma of free competition, they nearly wrecked and possibly you will find cause to wonder at industry's sudden change of heart. . . . And we now have to devise a different scheme of things."

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He says the new plan must succeed, and further that "I hesitate to predict the consequences of such a failure. But I do not think it is too much to say that on March 4, we were confronted with a choice between an orderly revolution, a peaceful and basic departure from past concepts—and a violent and disorderly overthrow of the whole constitutional structure. The program which has now been announced by the Congress cannot be detailed here. In general it aims at a restored farm buying power and a regained industrial activity, accompanied by a rising price level, so that the burden of debt will be maintained. . . . Here, the effort is not to destroy our institutions, but to save them from the poison of unlimited greed. . . . What does such a program do to the Constitution? It is, I know, a common saying in the streets that this country was taken off the Constitution even before it got off the gold standard. There may be a certain rude sagacity in that remark, a recognition that, after all, what the judge says is more important than what the law says, and that even our most cherished carriers of government are subject, necessarily, to growth." And he rather naively adds, "Congress generously transferred to the President large powers, which Congress had usually kept for itself. . . . If the thing works out all right, the power may be resumed. Otherwise it will be withdrawn."

Illustrating upon the powers given to the Chief Executive, Prof. Fagrell says:

"He is not bound by precedent or by partisan hickering to fixed and rigid action. . . . It becomes possible for him to proceed as an administrator in a tentative, experimental way. The experimental attitude distinguished above all others, the present administration from its predecessors."

As to the economic conquest of the soil by the pioneer, along individual lines, Mr. Fagrell, of the trusts, the principle of which he defends by the observation that the American legend is "that a little man is a better man than a big one—that is not so, but how we loved to believe it."

As to the conditions that brought about the enactment of the Sherman Anti-Trust act of 1890, he says this regarding inferential compliance to our great charters: "The broad, humanitarian provisions of the Constitution were evaded and the most pitiless measures of crushing weak competitors employed; but in comparison with the English Constitution, which he says American legal authorities scornfully say is "written upon water," finds that "in that very fluidity lies much of the strength of the English governmental system, which, after all, has lasted longer, and ordered more, than our own."

(This is a fair illustration of Prof. Fagrell's mental equilibrium, which takes a pro or con attitude from now to then, as best suits the cause he pleads.)

Prof. Fagrell's conspicuous public position makes him "live copy" for the magazines and newspapers. He apparently allows no opportunity to "crash" their columns. Likewise he enhances the opportunity afforded him to air his views over the radio, and on a lecture platform.

In a radio broadcast entitled "Our Lands In Order," delivered over the NBC network from Washington, D. C., at 10:30 P. M., on May 4, 1933, he said in part:

"More people should not be brought out into the country with the expectation that they will earn a living there as farmers. There are more than enough farmers as it is. It has been estimated that when lands now waste to till are removed from cultivation, something around two million persons who now farm will have to be absorbed by other occupations."

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"Toward the end of a White House press conference the other day, the President made an announcement which may in time be recognized as the most important departure in American land policy since the Homestead Act. He said that as fast as good new lands were brought into cultivation by drainage or irrigation projects, a corresponding productive unit of bad or marginal lands will be taken out of cultivation, and kept out. That does not mean an attempt to put and take, acre for acre. One acre of rich farm land brought in may mean three or more acres of poor farm land retired to other uses."

Berford Tugwell opened the ninth season of the Chicago Forum on October 27, 1933, with an address on "The Prospect for the Future," heralded in the advance literature of that body as "one of the greatest single meetings in the Chicago Forum ever held. Chicago's opportunity to get inside information about NRA and the administration's whole program of economic reconstruction" from the "intimate economic adviser of President Roosevelt (brain trust); Assistant Secretary of Agriculture; Prof. of Economics, Columbia University; author of current notable book, 'The Industrial Discipline'; contributing editor, 'The New Republic.'"

Speakers scheduled to follow him during the period, Nov. 5 - Feb. 25, included: Dr. Cyril James, Prof. of Finance, Univ. of Pa.; Paul L. Dangler of Vienna on "Austria's Struggle Against Hitler"; James Gordon Johnson, famous Negro publicist, poet and author; John Strachey of England (former U. S., hailed as "possibly another Scott Nearing") and George D. Sokolsky of New York, in a debate: "Is World Communism Inevitable?"; Dorothy Thompson (Mrs. Sinclair Lewis) speaking on "What I Saw of Hitlerism"; Anna Louise Strong of Moscow giving "My Twelve Years in the Soviet Union"; Norman Thomas, leading American Socialist, in "A Socialist's Appraisal of NRA"; Walter B. Pitkin, Prof. of Journalism at Columbia University; Ernest Gruening, now editor of "The Nation"; John D. Flynn; Stuart Chase (author of "A New Deal"); and Sherwood Eddy (announced as the World's Champion Social Explorer) in "Is War Around the Corner?"

(The Chicago Forum, as it is observed, is a hook-up of the Adult Education Association, whose subversive activities as propagandist for the League of Nations, the discharge of the war debts, and similar international activities are familiar to all alert Americans.)

In his Chicago speech, Prof. Tugwell gave utterance to views on "sound money" and profit-taking that brought much criticism from business men and the financial press. A wireless despatch from London to the New York Times of Oct. 31, 1933 says that Prof. A. A. Perls's article, "Social Economics of the New Deal," and Prof. Tugwell's speech "were considered the most surprising that have emanated from the United States since 1776."

Commenting upon Prof. Tugwell's Chicago speech, the New York Herald-Tribune in an editorial on Nov. 4, 1933, says:

"The one fact made clear is that in his program he puts social revolution first and recovery second. So, in fact, do all the left-wingers who surround the President. There is method in their madness. So long as they can keep recovery waiting around the corner they feel that they have a better chance of stampeding the President and the country into a truly radical experiment with governmentally controlled industry. Once a measure of prosperity returns, their chance to effect a social revolution in the name of emergency relief is gone for, they feel."

Further commenting, the Boston News Bureau of Nov. 1, 1933, says:

"Today the government has a finger in almost every business pie. It is in the

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banking business, the grain business, cotton, hogs, and now a giant housing cooperation is about to be formed under Secretary of the Interior Ickes. . . . Has industry virtually abdicated? The field of its operation and initiative is certainly narrowing. Even salaries are seemingly to be regulated from Washington. . . . Assistant Secretary Tagwell flatly reminds the business world that profits must be solely contingent on "new efficiencies," and that ranking profit first is putting cart before horse. Yet won't it also occur to many of us that most "efficiencies" hitherto have come through labor-saving machinery and displacement of manual effort, and these seem largely frowned upon under the New Deal?"

Prof. Tagwell, as one must realize from such of his speeches as we have quoted, is something of a "wordsmith." He delights in turning euphemistic, if euphemistic, phrases. In an address before the Institute of Arts and Sciences delivered at Columbia University, and reported by the "Wall Street Journal" of Nov. 17, 1933, the Secretary says that the general objective of the Administration in its recovery program is to restore a "workable exchangeability" among the separate parts of our economic machine and to set it functioning again. He cites that "while the cash incomes of farmers as a body and that of wage workers as a body have fallen off to an almost equal degree, one has fallen because of a fall in prices, and the other because of a fall in production. . . . Restoration of balance would require a lowering of production and a lifting of prices in agriculture, but a lifting of production and in some cases even a lowering of prices in industry." The program he outlined was to raise farm income, even at the expense of the urban population. This would increase the purchasing power of the farmer, and offset the decreased purchasing power of the industrial population. A net gain in total purchases would arise only as the increased prices for farm products induced a more rapid expenditure of the 40 billions of dollars involved. He cites another element in the recovery program: "the effort to remove some forty million acres of land from cultivation, an effort which has beneficial-incidentals results, such as the arrest of erosion and the conservation of the soil."

Of the program, Prof. Tagwell concludes:

"There is no reason to suppose that our measures are unsound or that any of the experimental procedures have yet failed. They have not achieved Utopia, but no one who was intimately concerned with their fashioning supposed that they could. (And how is this for some consciousness?) Only the hangers-on (outside the inner circle of the brain trust) and those whose hopes outran their intelligence, believed that results would be seen before the course of those results had become operative."

In an article in the American Magazine for December, 1933, Rexford G. Tagwell comments on the heavy obligations the government has assumed in carrying out its recovery program. He defends the expenditure of the five billions already allocated by stating:

"In short, if by spending 5 billions we can cause the national machine to increase its income 40 billions, the repayment of the 5 billions is a minor matter. . . . At any rate, 5 billions of dollars is not a great price to pay for recovery. We cheerfully and without criticism raised some 33 billions of dollars in two years to fight a war in 1917-1918, and no one ever questioned its repayment." (An astounding statement in view of the persistent efforts that have been made by internationalists of the Foreign Policy Association stripe, to have the post war debts, a part of the 33 billions—over one-half, to be exact—

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forgiven in the alleged interest of world amity. One of the chief propagandists to this end is Walter Lippman, former editor of the New Republic, of which E. G. Tagwell is a contributing editor.)

Further loose promises are made in the article, Prof. Tagwell stating that "in addition immense revenue is expected from liquors, with the repeal of the eighteenth amendment, and from increased customs duties as international trade revives. It would not be extravagant to expect that with a 50 per cent revival, our total revenue might be 5 billions for the year." (But Prof. Tagwell does not explain how we may expect increased customs revenues, with the tariff walls leveled and reciprocity agreements in force, under the powers that the President is seeking from Congress. Secretary Wallace, Tagwell's chief, as it noted, expects that \$1,000,000 worth of foreign goods must be admitted over the 1929 imports figures, if we are to complete our national recovery plan.—See article written by Secretary Wallace for the Foreign Policy Association, and analyzed in an A. E. despatch of Feb. 10, 1934.)

Arthur Krock, in a Washington special to the New York Times, Dec. 10, 1933, says of Prof. Tagwell:

"By a skillful mixture of discernment and tactics he finally maneuvered the blunt administrator of the AIA, George E. Peck, into a position where the President had to choose between him and Secretary of Agriculture Wallace. . . . Friends of Prof. Tagwell say that a slight tinge of alarm is now mixed with his natural pride in his achievement. This does credit to his intelligence and observation. He was long a close associate and co-worker with Prof. Raymond Moley, and well realizes what happened to that economist and why. . . . It is explained that for this reason he induced Secretary Wallace to make the argument at the Capitol for the proposed new Pure Food and Drugs Act, which is largely the handiwork of Mr. Tagwell himself. . . . The hero of the contest, Mr. Tagwell, is a brilliant, engaging and good-looking young man. . . . some ascribe his assurance to personal conceit. He, himself, expresses his sole ambition to be his return to Columbia after his work is done, and that he wants to make sure that government has provided for every American dweller 'a more abundant life.'"

Clark Callivan, who has been apologist for many "Key men" under Ciro, including ex-President Herbert Hoover, performs a similar service for George E. Peck in the New York Herald Tribune of Dec. 12, 1933. He says that George E. Peck, while radical in his application of economic remedies for the farm situation, wanted to accomplish his objects by remaining within the American form of government, while Prof. Tagwell leans toward the Russian system. However, Tagwell would bring this about by "gradualness, quietness, 'peaceful revolution', by a process as painless as it can be made," according to his book, "The Industrial Discipline."

Drew Pearson and Robert S. Allen, in their newsy column, "The Daily Washington Merry-Go-Round," in the Kansas City Journal Post of Dec. 29, 1933, say:

"The barrage of big business against Max Tagwell, now leading member of the Brain trust is continuing. . . The strategy is to brand him a Red, and in the end it may work. . . The fact is, however, that Tagwell is no soldier than his chief, Secretary of Agriculture Wallace, or any others to whom Roosevelt chiefly turns for advice."

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Harford C. Sugrill, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, in an article entitled, "Resettling America. . . A New Land Program" in the Sunday Magazine Section of the New York Times, Jan. 14, 1934 explains that "through the Surplus Relief Corporation there has been lately appropriated a fund of \$23,000,000 for the selective retirement of marginal land, not piecemeal, patch by patch, but by whole farms, tracts and areas. This is our first definite step in the new direction of long-time land adjustments throughout the country," he says.

The article is illustrated with a portrait entitled: "Planning for the Better Use of the Nation's Land," showing Assistant Secretary Sugrill, Secretary of Agriculture Wallace, and Hordacal Ezekiel, economic adviser, conferring on farming problems.

Sugrill spoke before a joint meeting of the American Economic Association, American Statistical Association and Farm Economic Association in Philadelphia, on Feb. 29, 1933, reported in the New York Sun of that date. He envisioned "a commercial agriculture made up of the most efficient farmers operating the best of our lands." Contrary to the desired trend, 8,000,000 persons have returned to farms during the depression, he said. (One cannot resist the impulse to inquire, "Why was this contrary to the desired trend when 'back to the land' has been the traditional remedy for urban distress in America, and has been the salvation of the misplaced worker heretofore?" It was a cardinal principle in Tolstoy's philosophy, and it was upon this yearning for land, by the Bolsheviks, that the Bolsheviks were able to win the Russian peasantry to their desperate scheme for the seizure of the land that once was Russia. Prof. Sugrill's "planned economy" is of proven Soviet origin, and the dispersal of American farmers from the marginal lands in the light of his frequent statements that "it is inevitable that some must suffer hardships" in making the experiment, could invest him and his confederates with an enormous power for evil. Is the experiment worth the price?)

Special interest attaches to any utterance of Sugrill's chief, Secretary Wallace, in this connection, as Sugrill is credited by those who are in a position to judge, with a large part in framing all of the agricultural policies of the administration. An Associated Press despatch in the Los Angeles Times of Feb. 19, 1934, analyzes an article written for the Foreign Policy Association and the World Peace Foundation by Mr. Wallace. He predicted compulsory control of farming, under a quota system unless American tariffs are lowered, and what he described as a growing trend toward nationalism checked. He listed three courses open to the United States:

- (1) A policy of self-containment requiring the "permanent retirement of from 40,000,000 to 100,000,000 acres of crop land from cultivation" and "the shifting of millions of people from the farms of the South."
- (2) An international policy based on regaining world-trade, which would require a radical scaling down on tariff walls, acceptance of (1,000,000,000 more goods from abroad than we received in 1929 and the recognition of protected industries.
- (3) A "planned middle course" midway between these two extremes.

As before stated, Harford C. Sugrill, from his key position in the Roosevelt administration is "live copy" for editors of magazines of comment. He plays them all from the "American Legion Monthly" to "Liberty," and above and below these grades of citizen appeal.

In the October 1933 number of the former publication, in an interview reported by Frederick C. Vinton, he airs some of his views in "The Farmer Comes Into His Own."

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His keynote is: "The return of a just share of income to the farmer is the law of the new industrial age which we must obey to survive. And the sooner we acknowledge it the better." His chief anxiety seems to be to get across the idea that there is a chasm between "capital" on the one hand, and the "worker" and the farmer on the other, and that "capital" does not earn. He says: "Farmers feeling the injustice of their position, fought the law that would dispossess them from their land. The empty belly of America began to rattle." (Whoever heard of farmers with empty bellies?) And with an anxious attempt to make his point to justify the experiments of the New Deal, he faults the intelligence of his readers with the statement: "The inevitable consequence was revolution, a return to the deeper meaning of Americanism—the acceptance of responsibility for the common welfare, and the devising of ingenious ways to ensure it. . . . We began a New Deal in which the farmer is entitled to a job, to a fair share of the national income, to a higher standard of living and reasonable security. A New Deal in which the farmer may expect to receive his just share of the nation's income."

His concluding paragraphs contain the statement:

"It has cost millions of the public credit to get this machinery started; it will cost millions more to pay the processing taxes and the increased costs of labor. These costs inevitably will be aped on to the consumer (the American "earner," so it observed). How will they eventually be paid? How, eventually, will the terrific load of city, state and national debt be paid, as paid it must be?" (How, indeed, with the evident intention of the Washington bureaucrats to discharge our foreign debtors by letting them pay in "token" payments, and by letting them meet actual payments in goods in competition with our American labor and farmers?)

In "Liberty," Dec. 2, 1933, Sanford G. Duggell has an article headed, "What the New Deal Means to You." therein he makes the statement:

"Our economic troubles are not in the least mysterious, and cannot be laid on Nature's doorstep. They are not the product of human contrivance. What man do here and now can help or hinder the progress of recovery, and we already know some things that will help and some which will hinder. We know that if we have the brains and the courage we can master our problem. (save platitudes.) The country got a lucky break when our clumsy method of political selection gave us a man with the President's special talent for flexible administration. . . . When the work on the inside at Washington realizes this fact. . . . Impossible price relationships brought about the depression; their correction will be the first proof that recovery is at hand. . . . The process of recovery includes three elements: first, to raise wages and farm incomes; second, to hold certain prices down; and, third, to speed up and spread our (\$3,300,000,000 program of public works. Through the Public Works Administration, the federal government is printing the pulp of purchasing power. . . . This is going to give industry a break. Within a year it ought to put several million men to work at jobs which are really worth while."

As previously stated, Sanford G. Duggell in the summer of 1937 spent some time in the Soviet Union. He was one of a delegation of "American trade unionists," the first American group to visit the U.S.S.R. According to the preface to "Soviet Russia in the Second Decade" (John Day Company, N. Y., 1928, subtitled, "A Joint Survey by the Technical Staff of the First American Trade Union Delegation") this was a voluntary group, without official credentials, but with "a liberal sprinkling of economists and trained observers to accompany the union group." (Duggell got in

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under the former category). This delegation, as it observed, was disavowed by the American Federation of Labor. The profcon continued: "On each contributor's head rests responsibility for what he says, although there was a natural pooling of information. . . . Some of us were in Russia for over two months; one or two remained only a fortnight. The average for the group was probably close to six weeks. We visited Moscow, Leningrad, and then split into five small parties, going severally to (1) the Donets Basin, (2) the Volga and the Urals, (3) the Ukraine, (4) the Caucasus and the oil fields, and (5) the Crimea. Collectively, we traveled many thousands of miles, spreading at least a tenuous network over the face of European Russia; collectively we interviewed the most important figures of the country, including Stalin, Khrushchov, Malin, Gikharin, Lunacharsky, Schmidt, Trotsky, as well as hundreds of non-official common citizens. . . . Our trains were optimum; our food, our shelter, provision for our comfort, were adequate."

The authors of "Soviet Russia in the Second Decade" are Melinda Alexander, John Harold Brothman, Stuart Chase, Alveda Comstock, George G. Counts, Jerome Davis, Paul H. Douglas, Robert V. Dunn, Arthur Fisher, J. A. H. Hopkins, Carlos L. Israels, Rowford Coy Sigwell, and Carleton Washburne.

The editors are Stuart Chase, Robert V. Dunn and Rowford Coy Sigwell. The book itself, gives these sketches of their careers:

STUART CHASE is a Certified Public Accountant and a Director of the Labor Bureau, Inc. He served for some years on the staff of the Federal Trade Commission. He is the author of 'The Tragedy of Waste,' and co-author of 'Year Day's Worth,' and a frequent contributor to periodicals.

ROBERT V. DUNN has done research and organizing work for American trade unions, and writes for the Federated Press (Socialist-Communist press service) and labor journals. He was at one time acting director of the American Civil Liberties Union, and was later connected with the Russian-American Industrial Corporation. He is the author of 'American Foreign Investments,' 'Company Unions' and 'The Americanization of Labor.' He is also co-author with Sidney Howard of 'The Labor Spy.' His recent book in the Vanguard Press series on Russia is entitled 'Soviet Trade Unions.'

ROWFORD COY SIGWELL is Associate Professor of Economics in Columbia College and director of the Columbia Honors Course. He is the author of 'The Economic Basis of Public Interest,' 'Industry's Coming of Age'; co-author and editor of 'The Great of Economics,' editor of Simon Nelson Patten's 'Essays in Economic Theory'; contributing editor of 'The New Republic' (unofficial organ of the Socialist Party); and has written numerous articles and monographs."

Rowford C. Sigwell's personal contribution to this symposium is Chapter III, devoted to "Russian Agriculture" covering 67 pages. Page 66:

"The government of Russia is a dictatorship of the proletariat; and all the recent talk about 'united workers and peasants' cannot alter the fundamental fact of institutions managed, so far as is expedient, for the enhancement of the proletarian power. . . . Then Lenin in 1917, with the words 'peace and the land' began the red reign in Russia, he started something neither he nor any other man has been able to finish; or in fact to swerve from a determined course. . . . Witness, for instance, the behavior of the peasants in the years when the bolchevists attempted the requisitioning of

crops. When one crop disappeared in the tax-collectors' bins, they simply refused to raise another. . . . Russia is 82 per cent rural; there are as many peasants on that vast plain as there are inhabitants in the United States." (Tagwell admits that his personal survey of one month was supplemented by the assistance of "several local agronomes, the Commissars in Moscow, and Messrs. Kizmitieff and Goshinsky, heads respectively of the Conjectures Institute and the Central Bureau of Statistics. None sought to influence opinion.")

Page 59:

"Low-yielding fields and miserable stock have reduced the whole peasantry to a standard of life so mean as to be almost beyond the American comprehension [specifically about 88 per cent of our own rural standard.] There are poor farmers in America, but there are not 100,000,000 of them who live in houses little more than huts; in villages without paving, water, sewage, or lights, who exist on a diet of home-grown foods, who have never ridden in an automobile, whose women work regularly in the fields, whose clothing is inadequate and shabby, and of whom a large percentage are illiterate. . . . In spite of the accuracy of this as description, it is no key to Russia's potentialities."

Page 60:

"Referring to the future policy of the Soviets in regard to the land, he states that "as rapidly as the manure can be organized, the land is re-surveyed, and new family allotments made--in fields rather than in strips. The differences which are bound to arise, are settled by the authorities of the local Soviet so far as possible." In a note, he says: "The resistance of American farmers to the admitted gains to be got through cooperation may be a result of home-stead organization. . . . The notion that American farmers might learn something in Russia does not seem so outlandish to one who has seen and tried to understand the possible changes which may be overlaid upon the present system."

Page 61:

"In all Russia there are some 15,000 state farms, which are practically experiment stations, to set an example for the stubborn peasant farmers to guide them in the Moscow policies, reorganization of the land system. Supervising this system are local agronomes. These agents also "have to prepare, by whatever devices they can command, the program of production which is assigned to them--the Gosplan quota which is everywhere in Russia the standard of effort. He has an interest in the taxes laid on the peasants."

Page 62:

"There were in 1928, 211 agricultural banks in the U.S.S.R.; also 280 mutual credit societies, nucleus of the machinery whereby it is hoped, the productive efforts of the peasants can be financed, even stimulated. Interest rates are from 8 to 10 per cent. The penalties against non-payment of debt can only take the form of capital equipment; the land itself cannot be alienated." (a euphemism for the abolition of all private title to land.)

Page 74:

"Even the most casual analysis of the Soviet economic reforms leads one to the

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conclusion that they have been the foundation for many of the N.R.A. policies, especially of price fixing (through the coöps).

Tagwell says: "Instead of being lowered, the price of manufactured goods, it was contended, ought to be raised. This would give industry more capital. With more capital, production could be increased, per-unit costs lowered, and so selling prices in time could also be reduced with no artificial disturbance. This view of the matter did not prevail." (Hence the "experiment" was unsatisfactory to the theorists, and the clinically-minded Tagwell passes the discarded plan on to the New Dealers, to see how it might react in America.)

Page 88:

"It has been indicated, the effect of arbitrarily fixed prices is, if they are too low, to induce a goods famine; and if they are too high, to create a goods surplus. In ordinary circumstances, these situations would correct themselves by stimulating or retarding production. In Russia, this cannot happen. Correction has to come as a part of state policy, if at all."

At all times Tagwell seems to be aware of the vast gulf, in education, cultural standards and free expression, that separates the Russian Muszhik from the farming class of the United States. However, he is never commendatory of our established and tried system, and always apologetic of the conditions that he is obliged to recognize in the U.S.S.R. This is apparent in the following random passages from his chapters:

Page 90:

"From the point of view of sheer human welfare, some 120,000,000 people are involved who have always lived very close to the line of subsistence; and who have again and again suffered famine and utter destitution merely because of the local failure of one season's crop. The building up of a surplus to guard against this recurring distress is a matter of major importance, to say nothing of the obvious gain in culture which would certainly result from a higher living level. But the problem of determining whether there has been a rise in standards is one which, for various reasons, does not lend itself to exact statistical determination. . . . If standards have risen, a large part of the gain would consist in the use of more of the products which peasants themselves grow or make, and exchange, if at all, in local markets among themselves. . . . It is not possible to determine how great the gains have been from the acquisition of land and the liquidation of debt which resulted from the revolution."

Page 93:

"Not much has been said concerning the sharing by the peasants in the public goods of the Union. The greatest benefits undoubtedly have gone to city workers so far. But they are gradually being extended to peasants. Rural education has cut down illiteracy remarkably. There are some few peasant rest-houses to compare with the many for urban folk. Recently the government has announced a comprehensive scheme for old-age pensions for the peasants, and has allocated 25,000,000 of next year's budget for this purpose. (Comment: Five million dollars spread among 120,000,000 peasants, would afford scant relief.) Movies in the villages, notes, adult lectures and classes through the winter and many other features of the new life in Russia touch or will touch peasant life with new impulses."

Page 91:

"Russian costs are low and her grain can compete with any in the world." (Truly food for thought when we see the American agriculturist lured into a haze of "export markets" by adherence to the Wallace-Tugwell-Brethal schemes.)

Page 92:

"Indeed, it is intended that Bolshevik Russia shall rival America as a rich and powerful nation with a prosperous agriculture, a sufficient industrial production, highly mechanized and maintained, and a standard of living so high as to exit the socialist state by its works rather than--as is necessary at present--by its professions." (Surely a frank, even naive, acknowledgement of what sound-thinking Americans have suspected from the first.)

Page 96:

"It may be taken as a fixed plan of the present regime to build up industry to make the U.S.S.R. a region wholly independent of the rest of the world, and not by forcing her population back to the consuming standards of a generation ago, but by bringing them forward even to the present American standard.

Page 100:

"The artificial support of costly industries is a burden to consumers; it is paid for in a lowered standard of living. Those in charge of Soviet policy believe themselves justified in this policy for two reasons: (1) because they are attempting to set up a socialist state in a capitalistic world; and (2) because they believe it necessary to become self-sufficient. This last receives added impetus from the hostility of other governments which, they believe, are constantly on the aggressive toward the Soviets. This aggressiveness may, they feel, turn to active war at any moment.

Page 100:

"In the meantime, it cannot be disguised that heavy burdens are borne in the service of the socialistic ideal. It would seem, also, in the face of it, that they are borne most heavily by the peasants. . . . Probably, on the whole, they only suffer along with others, not more.

Page 101:

"The [the peasant] suffers a price-disadvantage, it is true; but so also do farmers all over the world. And his own disadvantage in this respect is the subject of genuine governmental controversy. There is a disposition to do something about it. Can this be said of the American government? (This query he makes and then expatiates upon what the Soviet intends to do for the peasant.) There is a far-reaching movement afoot for land reorganization, for the provision of cheap capital equipment, for expert advice in production and for a lifting of cultural levels. These have none of them gone far as yet; but it must be remembered that these policies have not just been concretely formulated; there has not yet been time for their results to be registered."

(In reviewing the 47 pages that constitute Prof. Tugwell's chapter on "Russian Agriculture," the reader is struck by his easy endorsement of everything that is offered as beneficial by the Soviets, and caustic criticism of the existing American

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system. Nor does he find any integrity in endorsing the Bolshevik ambition to make peasant living standards approximate those of the United States. Hundred per cent Americans acknowledge that much may yet be done in raising the rural standard of living among the poor-white and negroes of the South, for example; but this will come from the example and cooperation of the farming communities of our country, who have achieved the world's highest living-standards under the security offered by the Constitution of the United States and our individualistic system.)

In 1932, long before the national Presidential conventions were held, Maxford Guy Turvell lined himself up, definitely and politically, with the socialists of the United States by contributing a chapter to the book, "Socialist Planning and A Socialist Program" (Falcon Press, New York).

He thus stepped over the line, taking his place with deliberation in the arena of radicalism. He had anticipated the implied criticisms of the Socialist Presidential candidate, Norman Thomas. The latter in his Introduction to this work, page xii, says:

"In this connection there is a tendency among certain of our intellectuals to which I hope this book may be a modest corrective. One can scarcely tell--they hardly can themselves--whether they are 'new' capitalists or near communists, fearful only of openly submitting to the rigors of communist discipline. They often criticize socialism and socialists like men possessed of the general soundness of the communist postulate of inevitable violent revolution and then support a Smith in 1928 or even--perhaps--a Roosevelt in 1932. This indecision enables them to support no logical line for the redemption of political action at a time when faith in it, as Americans have commonly understood it, grows less and less."

This commitment of Maxford G. Turvell is especially significant in view of his choice as a secondary member of the Cabinet by President Roosevelt, a position in which he has full opportunity to apply the socialistic doctrines that he advocates. As to whether such an appointment, outside the mandate of the American electorate, constitutes a usurpation of authority, involves a nice problem in ethics.)

Murry W. Lafolier of the Communist-inspired League for Industrial Democracy, edited the symposium, and every one of the 29 co-authors have been active in the spreading of socialistic doctrines among Americans. Outstanding are Morris Hillquit, then chairman of the executive committee of the Socialist Party, now dead; Daniel V. Hoan, Socialist Mayor of Milwaukee; James H. Maurer, twice vice-presidential candidate of the Socialist Party, and Louis Waldman, thrice candidate for Governor of New York State on the Socialist ticket.

Turvell's chapter is called, "Planning and the Profit Motive," and was published at greater length in the March, 1932 number of the "American Economic Review." The author describes the idea that the hope of profit is necessary to commercial and industrial enterprise, and says: "The question is whether we cannot well afford to dispense with it. It seems credible that we can." He pays a tribute to the Bolsheviks, as "planned economists," thus:

"Most of us ought not to have been quite so free in our predictions that the institutions of Soviet Russia would break down from a failure of motive. Yet some of us have gone on saying that even in the face of evidence. . . . There are numerous difficulties there, plenty of chances for failure; but the failure of non-commercial motives cannot honestly be said to be one of

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them. . . . It ought rather to be a source of wonder that a society could operate at all when profits are allowed to be earned and disposed of as we do it. . . . The universal confidence in profits, still unshaken in the Western world, is quite likely to hinder measurably the advance of planning."

The latest produce of the facile typewriter of Daxford C. Sugwell is "Our Economic Society and Its Problems," a work which he wrote in collaboration with Howard C. Hill, a socialistic teacher in the Lewis Institute, Chicago. As the Chicago Daily News says in an editorial of March 1, 1934, "it is important, if for no other reason, because it claims to be 'the factual background and the economic framework for the New Deal'." . . . Although a notorious advocate of honest labels in commerce, Prof. Sugwell carefully avoids taking a clear and definite stand in politics. Yet under cover of innocuous-sounding technical phrases like "experimental attitude," "national planning" and "social control," his book is in reality instinct with socialism—socialism as taught by Marx and Engels, as preached by European radicals, and as instituted and maintained by force in Soviet Russia. . . . What we are told, and told unctuously, is that "Russia has silenced forever the notion that economic affairs are governed by adamant natural laws. . . . The profit motive has been subordinated to social welfare. . . . Accumulated wealth is readily directed toward social welfare. . . . The coordinated discipline and enthusiasm of sovietism is certain to raise levels of living immeasurably. . . . If we have done nothing in the meantime to remedy the obvious defects in our own system, we shall be subject to real dangers." . . . He suggests that we "may choose some other plan less radical (than communism) in character, because we believe it more practical to fulfill reasonably soon." "These are dark words. What can this other plan be, which is "less radical" than violent revolution, yet will lead to socialism "reasonably soon"? What but the New Deal as understood and propounded by Prof. Daxford Guy Sugwell, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture."

The most recent major activity of Professor Sugwell, which has brought a nest of hornets about his ears, has been his essay into the realm of drug and food regulation. Let the Washington Herald of Dec. 4, 1935, tell it:

"Dr. Rex Sugwell, No. 1 man of the Brain Trust, is embarked on a labor of love. Food and drug law reform wasn't just a problem which fell into his lap when Mr. Roosevelt made him Assistant Secretary of Agriculture. Sugwell reached out and embraced it.

"He had an active, studious interest in protection of consumers from physical harm or sinole by dishonest makers of patent medicines, foods and cosmetics. He was a friend of E. J. Schlink, co-author of the sensational, "100,000,000 Guinea Pigs," and a backer of the Schlink-directed Consumers' Research, which informs folks on how to get their money's worth—if any—in everything they buy, from pink pills to automobiles.

"The Food and Drug Administration here had sought curbs on misleading claims for years. No support came from higher up.

"Sugwell promptly worked out the pure food and drug bill sponsored by Sen. Cuyler of New York. Under his inspiration, the Agriculture Department, against opposition from many medicine makers, began an extraordinary intensive campaign for the legislation.

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"Publicity was next sought. Tagwell's best break came when he induced Mrs. Roosevelt to view his exhibit of horrible examples. She discussed dangerous cosmetics at her press conference, and public interest since has been stirred increasingly.

"Tagwell made a sound-wave speech, reproduced locally, and referred to an eyelash dye alleged to have blinded people. Dozens of Washington beauty parlor operators wrote for information. Many were using that dye on their customers.

"The department, held under Tagwell, promptly issued a press release calling the preparation by name."

The opening gun in this campaign was fired early last June by the introduction by Senator Royal Copeland of New York in the Senate of Bill S. 1944, which has since won notoriety as the first Tagwell Bill. It was met with a wave of opposition and criticism from all shades of American opinion. That came as an unpleasant awakening to the "brain trusters," who had come to regard as authentic the Samuel Untermyer libel of the American people as being divided as between "demagogues and ignorances." In this battle Prof. Tagwell met foemen worthy of his steel, in the persons of the American advertising fraternity. "Printer's Ink" for June 8, 1933, gives a particularly clear estimate of the Tagwell Bill (number one) under the caption, "Advertising Censorship Reaches Congress":

"Last week the revised Food and Drugs Act, studded with references to 'ambiguity' and 'inference,' was submitted to Congress. This bill, one of the much-pondered promulgations of the brain trust, or at least that section of it headed by Professor Tagwell, is in direct conflict at many points with the Capper Bill, which has received such hearty endorsement from advertising leaders.

"The basic difference between the two bills is this: The Capper bill stops at misstatements of fact, the Tagwell Bill adds 'or opinion.'

"Particularly disturbing is that part of Section 18 of the bill which authorizes the conduct of examinations through 'officers and employees of the Department of Agriculture or through any health, food or drug officer or employee of any State, territory or political sub-division thereof'.

"What a chance this offers for the harassing of advertisers by clerks in government employ! What an opportunity it gives them to run riot in the fogs of 'ambiguity' and 'inference'! Anyone familiar with the caliber of thought and meager powers of discrimination shown by many government employees will look at this portion of the bill in dismay.

"After all, how many government employees are intelligent enough to decide what 'ambiguity' and 'inference' in advertising mean? Just how far can these terms be carried?

- o "Will a simple statement of superiority be interpreted by inference to mean that all competitive advertising is misleading and untrue? Are we perhaps being ushered into an ear where the only advertising that will suit meticulous bureaucrats will be such phrases as 'United States Tires are Good Tires' or 'Wilson Whiskey--That's All'?"

"The Federal Trade Commission has attempted frequently to set itself up as a judge of advertising and the record of reversals of its dicta by the courts is evidence enough of the dangers inherent in the Tagwell Bill. It is well to remember that each reversed complaint has cost an honest advertiser thousands of dollars in legal fees to say nothing of months spent in litigation.

"In Section 8 of the proposed bill there is more than a hint that 'the general agreement of medical opinion' will be an important criterion in determining the truth or falsity of statements in food and drug advertising. Anyone familiar with the various conflicting schools of thought in the medical profession will ask, 'Is there such a thing as 'general agreement' of medical opinion except on some of the most fundamental facts of medicine?'

"One section of the bill makes a curious distinction between advertising in general publications and that in medical or other professional journals. Why should an advertisement in a newspaper be wicked and in a medical journal all right? . . . If there is any cheer to be found in the bill, it comes from the possibility of affording lots of jobs to the unemployed as censors and readers of advertisements in 20,000 publications. . . .

"It is the duty of all who believe in advertising to tell Congress in no uncertain terms what they think of the 'ambiguities' and 'inferences' of the latest production of the brain trust."

Popular clamor became so intense against Bill S. 1944, that it was withdrawn by its Senatorial sponsor, and Senate Bill S. 2000 substituted by Senator Copeland on January 4, 1934, in the second session of the 73rd Congress. Of this later bill, Foley & Company, manufacturers of medicinals, Chicago, Ill., in a letter to their customers in the drug trade, make this estimate:

"The new Tagwell Bill, presented in the Senate No. S 2000, called the Copeland Bill, contains as much dynamite for the destruction of essential and reputable business in the food, drug and cosmetic lines as the previous bill. It is proposed by winged fanatic who intend to rush it through the two national houses, and they believe no opposition will be strong enough to stop it as long as everybody lies down and thinks that President Roosevelt is pushing this reform legislation as an integral part of his New Deal.

"The Tagwell Bills are actually very hostile to the New Deal, as they are anti-NRA. They will cause widespread unemployment not only in the food, drug and cosmetic lines, but allied lines consisting of bottle manufacturers, printers, carton makers, box factories, agricultural courses of chemicals, such as honey, tar, mint, etc. It is a Red Bolshevik attack on all business that depends on advertising to create consumer acceptance for their standard quality products. The socialistic backers of this bill want business to make no profits, want business to do no advertising. They want no cosmetic sold. Cosmetics are not being sold today, we understand, in Russia and Germany. It is hard to believe that such un-American fantastic legislation has almost a certain chance of becoming a law of this land."

One of the most militant of the opponents of the Tagwell Bills is Morris A. Bealle, publisher of the magazine called "Plain Talk," published in Washington,

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B. C. In article called, "Boetleg Medicine," by Henry Victor Clay, in the January, 1924 number of this magazine says of the bill:

"This bill, in substance, was introduced in the Senate last June by Senator-Doctor Royal G. Copeland of New York—affable, agreeable, amiable medic-politician who is the paid propagandist of tea, candy, patent and drug manufacturers to be an acceptable authority on health matters. It was introduced in the House by Congressman-Doctor Girovich of the same Tammany stronghold. A careful analysis of the bill shows that it can accomplish nothing more nor less than the following:

- (1) Inaugurate an era of boetleg medicine which, for fatal results and injury to the public health, obviously will make the late, lamented 18th Amendment look like a harmless board of trade resolution.
- (2) Make criminals out of parents who decide that their baby is crying for a popular brand of colic remedy, or of free-born American citizens who diagnose a headache and resort to tried and proven means to correct it.
- (3) Give the American Medical Association temporal power over the packaged medicine industry and raise the 'stake' of the 37 'co-operative' state medical journals.
- (4) Pave the way for the medical chamber of commerce to declare drugless healers 'without the law' or have supplementary legislation passed denying citizens their God-given right to get well in the way best adapted to their condition.
- (5) Make it unlawful for people in the rural sections, far removed from a physician to go to their medicine cabinet for tried and proven remedies in emergencies."

The author in the February number of the same publication, under the caption, "Medical Journals and the 'Tigwell' Bill," lays the finger more specifically upon the ill-fated back of the bill. He says:

"It would have been much better for the American Medical Association not to have instigated this bill. . . . Because it brings out the fact that the American Medical Association through its 'Committee on Foods' and its 'Council on Pharmacy and Chemistry' and its 'Co-operative Medical Advertising Bureau,' all of which are nothing more nor less than Morris Fishbein, general manager and czar of the American Medical Association, and which exists only on letter-heads and in dummy 'committees' named by the imperial wizard of the A. M. A., is making big money.

"For years Fishbein has been having trouble with independent and small manufacturers and distributors of pharmaceutical products which actually refused to advertise in the Journal of the American Medical Association and in those of the 31 state medical journals."

In interjecting a note of humor in this tragic situation, "Plain Talk" is

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160 March 1933 under Order 113 regarding "Constitutional Amendment, which the Colorado sub-committee should recommend as a substitute measure for the 'new' Copeland Bill." It was written . . . by Dr. Arthur C. Rame of Minneapolis;

PROFESSIONAL AMENDMENT

"Congress shall make no laws prohibiting or curtailing the rights of its citizens to select or choose their own doctor or physician.

"So it further enacted as a part of this Constitution, that no doctor, physician or group of physicians from any school of thought or practice shall have the right to compel any individual to submit to any mode of treatment or medication against the patient's own wishes, except in cases of great calamities or national crises, such as war, floods, earthquakes, and epidemics, and then only sanitary measures to prevent the spread of disease by such means as quarantine, strict sanitation to preserve pure water, pure food, and to prevent filthy and unhealthy conditions.

"And no person who is found to be in normal health, unless he has been recently exposed to some contagious disease, shall be considered a menace to the health of others solely because he refuses to be vaccinated or inoculated by so-called sanitizing measures. Any teaching, to the contrary in the public schools shall be deemed a violation of this amendment."

The barrage of opposition to the Sigall Bill knew no bounds of geography or party affiliations. In a survey conducted by the New York Board of State in 1931 by cities of the country, it was revealed that there was no public demand for a change in the pure food and drug laws at present in force. James E. Connolly of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association said, "No demand of this character has come to my attention." (Washington Herald, December 7, 1933).

The Chicago Association of Commerce took a vigorous stand against the proposed bill in December, 1933, officials declaring that under the proposed legislation beer could be defined as a food and liquor as a drug, thus making it possible for regulations which would effectively establish another Volstead act. A statement was issued saying:

"Passage of the new act would practically nullify the codes already adopted, would lower living standards, increase medical costs and promote the growth of bureaucracy." (Chicago Dispatch in "Washington Herald," Dec. 9, 1933).

Before the Senate Commerce Committee on Feb. 6, 1933, as reported by the "Washington Herald," Feb. 9, 1933, C. C. Parkin, spokesman for the National Publishers' Association said: "This bill would eliminate a big proportion of newspaper advertisements on which newspapers depend for their very existence. While thousands would suffer, nobody would be benefited by such a statute. This is the most violent bill that was ever connected, from the advertisers' standpoint."

William L. Foley, representing the National Editorial Association, a body of 12,000 newspapers, mostly country towns and small cities, made similar criticism.

With the dispatch sent to Mrs. Ellen W. Arburg, chairman of the

Anti-Grain Grange of New York, protested vigorously against "the excesses of power given to one man"—the Secretary of Agriculture—under the Suggell bill. She said, drawing loud applause: "If the administrator of this measure—no matter how sincere and intelligent he might be—accomplished one-tenth of the duties placed upon him, he would indeed be a superman."

Quoting further:

"Roy G. Schlottner, representing the New York Board of Trade, told the committee the measure would defeat the purpose of the NIRA by robbing industries with \$17,000,000,000 invested capital of a fair chance to operate under NIRA and AAA codes. He said: "In this period of emergency when Congress will be loaded with monetary legislation there will be no time to waste on such a bill as this." (Here is a practical man's evaluation of Suggell's mental acrobatics that he has been practicing under the guise of assisting in national recovery.)

Anton Lobb, of the United Medicine Manufacturers of America, asserted enactment of the bill with its manifold restrictions would ruin his industry. He deplored the giving of such dictatorial powers to the Secretary of Agriculture."

Even Prof. Suggell's alma mater, Columbia University, added its note of criticism. H. H. Busby, M. D., of that institution of learning sending a letter on January 8, 1933, to the New York Times denouncing the "union of medicine and foods and politics in the administration of the proposed bill. He lauded no adequate the present Food and Drug Law, initiated by Dr. Wiley, and reiterated the charge that has frequently been made by defenders of that statute, and concluded with the observations:

"It is not too much to say that the general attitude of the Federal Food and Drug Administration, since the retirement of Dr. Wiley, has been likewise when not absolutely antagonistic. At the present time the percentage of prosecutions for violations has dwindled to about 7 per cent, with a growing contempt for the law."

Criticism from another unexpected source came in the form of an editorial on "The Suggell Bill," from the pen of former Governor Alfred P. Smith in the January 1933 issue of the "New Outlook." It says:

"The Suggell bill, however, goes a long way beyond simply amending and putting teeth in present laws. The author himself has stated with considerable frankness that what he aims at in his bill is not just reform, but a revolution in the whole theory governing this field. He regards advertising as largely waste, and he thinks that the government should take a hand in limiting costs to the ultimate consumer by putting out the advertising middleman. He also believes that government control of industry will inevitably take the place of mere regulation, that the government is competent to exercise such control, and that it will be in the interest of the average citizen."

Another angle of the situation, not so apparent to the lay public, is presented

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by "Advertising and Selling." In its Nov. 9, 1933 issue it says, editorially:

"... none will deny that there are at present abuses that should be stopped. It is, moreover, fairly certain that some form of regulation, such as the Cagwell Bill embodies in principle, will be passed in the next session of Congress. 'Advertising and Selling' believes that this is not only essential for the adequate protection of consumers, but that it will also be immensely beneficial to reputable business and advertising.

"It is noteworthy, we believe, that Richard H. Aldo, president of the HoShure Newspaper Syndicate and the originator of the Good Housekeeping Institute (then he was advertising solicitor and manager of the magazine), has enthusiastically endorsed the purpose of the Cagwell Bill. To him it represents 'regulation which spells control for the exploiter and a fuller freedom for the advertiser with clean hands.' With such regulation no one can quarrel."

Cooky and self-care in his new field of conquest, reassured by the profitable criticisms of Morris Nichols and W. J. Schlink of the Consumers' Research, Assistant Secretary Cagwell found with indignation at an article criticizing his bill, that appeared in the "Drug Trade News" of July 24, 1933. Determined to rebuke such tenacity, he sent the following telegram to its author, a Mississippi editor:

Washington, D. C. July 27, 1933

Frederick Sullivan,
Editor Daily News,
Jackson, Miss.

"Will you please let me know by wire whether you are correctly quoted in the Drug Trade News for July 23, and if so, what reason you care to offer for such inaccurate interpretation of the proposed revision of the Food and Drugs Act; also whether you are willing, as the quotations indicate, to sacrifice public health to advertising profit.

Benford C. Cagwell
Assistant Secretary of Agriculture"

To this Editor Sullivan replied, with admirable restraint, the letter and answer being published in the August 24th, 1933, issue of the "Drug Trade News":

Jackson, Miss., July 28, 1933.

Prof. Benford C. Cagwell
Assistant Secretary of Agriculture
Washington, D.C.

"The inclination is strong to tell you to go to hell but I won't. Some college professors can't understand rough language, but they should. I have not seen the article in the Drug Trade News to which you refer. Just now I was correctly quoted.

"The article was evidently based on a letter I wrote several months ago to

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members of the Microbiological Delegation in Congress relative to a bill then pending, authored by the medical trust, and seeking to revise the Pure Food and Drug Act. The article has since been rather widely quoted. I am reliably informed that it got a quotation on some of the machinations of the Medical Trust today in Washington.

For more than thirty years I have consistently opposed any form of Federal or state legislation requiring manufacturers of proprietary remedies to print formulas on bottles, and will keep on doing so.

Physicians prescribing for public do not write in understandable language. Why should the users of proprietary remedies be required to do so?

Winton, Professor Duggell, listens politely and attentively.

"Revenue derived by the 'Daily News' from proprietary medicine advertising represents a vast sum to our Government. Therefore, when you insist that the 'Daily News,' or any other decent newspaper is 'seeking to sacrifice public health to advertising profits,' then you are—well, I could call you a liar, but I'm afraid you wouldn't understand so much a word.

"As viewed from this distance, you look like a little man coddling around in a pair of large boots.

"Frederick Pillsbury,
Editor 'Daily News'

Prof. Duggell coddles was much surprised at this rebuff, but that did not deter him in the least from enlisting all governmental forces at his command to propagandize the bill. Through the American Public Health Association he arranged various "Chambers of Horrors" to illustrate the danger of pernicious use of cosmetics and drugs. One of these exhibits had a place in the U. S. Government exhibit at the Century of Progress Exposition in Chicago. It followed this up with local exhibits under the auspices of various groups of citizens. He even called the police to his aid.

Parliament News Book No. 23 (according to "Advertising Age," Nov. 10, 1933) presented Professor Duggell's collection of photographs of women, who have been blinded by the use of "Oxaloch Eyes," as well as death certificates of many persons who had been "cured" by diabetes remedies. Duggell's blighted exhibition of oxaloch beautifiers brought a widespread protest from one of the largest firms in that line to both the Assistant Secretary of Agriculture and the President of the United States. The Professor replied that in a great move and such as that originated by him, some innocent manufacturers will inevitably suffer. (A heartless paraphrase of his earlier statement that the great middle class would necessarily be "out of luck" during the "IRA adjustments.") "The Advertising Age" of above date is authority for the statement that the Oxaloch Company has been forced to spend \$10,000 in two weeks in an effort to repair damage to its business by Prof. Duggell's indiscriminate action.

"Business Week" in its issue of Oct. 23, 1933, gives a further picture of the

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methods of Prof. Sargoll and the proponents of the bill in trying to influence public opinion in its behalf:

The champion of the bill is fighting against powerful odds. First of all is the Department of Agriculture and (it is claimed) the administration. Recently this latter inference was strengthened when the ubiquitous Mrs. Roosevelt visited the Sargoll chamber of patent medicine horrors and registered her criticisms thereof. The prize exhibit displays an alleged cure for diabetes, each (12 per bottle. There is a column of testimonials from persons who declare the drug cured them of diabetes--and beside each testimonial a certificate attesting that this person died of diabetes. An exhibit at the Chicago Exposition shows how persons are injured by nostrums which falsely profess to be cures.

There is a broad thrust as the resulting clamor of the medicine manufacturers prove. Each exhibits move from place to place. They are dramatized by Professor Sargoll in print, in movie, and otherwise. Also by the personnel of the Food and Drug Administration. They charge up and down the land, addressing (clever Professor Sargoll!) gatherings of ladies who respond emotionally to the plea of protection for their home against dangerous foods, drugs, and cosmetics. Women's clubs circulate petitions which are used to beset Congress."

One of the titles that Prof. Sargoll employed to get expressions of technical and public opinion so that he might make his program for the bill effective, was the use of Department of Agriculture personnel in lectures in its behalf. One of these speakers, Dr. Walter E. Fricke, Fellow American Public Health Association, Chief in Charge of Cooperation, Food and Drug Administration, U. S. Department of Agriculture, made an address before the Food and Nutrition Section of the A.P.H.A. at the Sixty-Second Annual Meeting in Indianapolis, Ind., Oct. 11, 1933. His address was on the "Proposed Federal Food and Drug Act--Its Public Health Features." Issued as a pamphlet at the expense of a pharmaceutical manufacturer of Evansville, Ind., it embodies a plea for the cooperation of the individual reader in giving "the administration the benefit of his opinion, criticism and commend on this measure and what it purports to accomplish.

Representing a cross-section of Middle West opinion, that may be said to be typical of what Americans in general are thinking about this kind of proposed legislation, the editorial evaluation of the Rockford, Ill. "Register-Republic" of Nov. 2, 1933, is important:

"Prof. Sargoll's name is attached to a bill introduced at the last session of congress to supplant the present Federal food and drugs act and placed for consideration at the coming session. Not legislation to supplement the food and drugs act, but to supplant. The Sargoll bill is an exhaustive experiment in summary legislation granting to political appointees sweeping control over scientific standards and professional ethics, with power to interpret for every activity in manufacturing and processing foods, cosmetics and drugs. It is wordily inclusive and packed with enough ambiguous phrases to stultify all industrial initiative in the employments covered, while providing dictatorial powers to a new bureaucracy.

"Analysis of so complicated a measure is impossible here. In fact there are several bills pending in House and Senate, differing little and all apparently approved by the energetic assistant secretary. Among the provisions most

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dangerous to business are those requiring disclosure of trade secrets and formulas, placing authority over medicinal preparations with "the general agreement of medical opinion," which does not and never did exist; making scientific periodicals an exempted class as to claims of manufacturers, and setting up dictatorship of politics and medicine over three major industries with the ultimate probability of forcing a quarter billion chilled workers out of employment. There has been no apparent necessity for alteration of the food and drug act of 1936 which is accomplishing its purpose admirably. The Sugwell bill appears to be merely another involved and unworkable effort to impose the impracticable theories of professional scholars upon American industry. The effect upon the retail druggist might be even more disastrous."

"Ninety-nine per cent of the patent medicines exhibited in a 'chamber of horrors' prepared by the federal department of agriculture as a part of its propaganda campaign for the Sugwell bill, have been off the market for 10 or 15 years, it was charged yesterday (Jan. 29) by George F. Carroll, secretary of a group of Chicago drug, food and cosmetic concerns, whose representatives met yesterday at the Palmer House to organize opposition to the bill," says the Chicago Tribune of Jan. 31, 1934. The article goes on to state:

"The speakers charged that the meeting of the Cook County League of Women Voters, held at the Palmer House on Saturday (Jan. 27, 1934), before which Prof. Charles E. Morrison of the University of Chicago and others spoke, was 'dressed up' by Sugwell aids. The 'chamber of horrors' was exhibited in an adjoining room on the representation that the bill seeks to prevent such evils as were exhibited there.

"George E. Madritch, president of the Marins Company, was chairman of the meeting. Carroll gave three reasons why the industries affected are opposing the bill:

"The existing food and drug bill has served the public well for 15 years, and only the wild-eyed experimental theories of Dr. Sugwell could ever bring such legislation as he has drafted into the picture.

"Under the bill the formulas of private remedies must be disclosed, and many of the men here have built up their business on secret remedies. Moreover, Sugwell is set up as the sole arbiter, although the bill sets up a commission of five members for the food industry and another of the same number for the drug and cosmetic industries. The bill will result in one of the greatest black-mails ever perpetrated on the public.

"Mr. Sugwell, with his commission, can go into any factory and look over the processes and formulas. The bill would lead to the creation of at least 8,000 political jobs, since several hundreds of thousands of factories are affected, and no relief for the industry is set up in the bill."

In an article in behalf of his bill in the September number of "Writer and Publisher," Prof. Sugwell accuses the religious press of fake advertising. As

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reported in the "Chicago Tribune" of Sept. 16, 1933, as follows:

"While national magazines, good metropolitan dailies, and radio networks carry many fraudulent and misleading advertisements, by far the most flagrant abuses are found in movie magazines, mail order catalogs, educational and religious journals, cheap fiction or 'pulp' magazines, small dailies, country weeklies, and on small independent stations, as well as in direct mail advertising."

The Proprietary Association that includes 93 per cent of the producers of packaged medicines in the United States, held a meeting of protest against the Fugwell Bill at the Hotel Diltmore, New York City, on Oct. 11, 1933. The "Times" of the day following stated that Frank A. Blair of New York presided over the meeting that was attended by 200 delegates from various parts of the country. It quotes William S. Green, head of the Thompson-Roch Advertising Company of Cincinnati as saying that the current bill was "only an experiment, only the first step, probably, in Professor Fugwell's complete plan to reduce all advertising to the 10 per cent of present volume, which he considers legitimate."

Dr. J. H. Deale of Florida spoke for the Drug Trade Conference, before the Senate commerce sub-committee, conducting the hearings on the Fugwell Bill in January, 1934. The Washington Herald of current date quoted him as saying:

"This bill introduces a new principle: That citizens are not to have what they want, but what the Secretary of Agriculture wants them to have."

"It is a skeleton measure, which will be filled out by regulations the Secretary of Agriculture will draw up. If it becomes a law it will bring turmoil in the drug trade for years."

Senate Bill S. 2000, which was substituted for the original Bill S. 1944, met its better reception than its predecessor. In short, the campaign of "education" passed by Prof. Fugwell worked inversely. People who at first had taken them at face value as "A bill to prevent the manufacture, shipment and sale of adulterated or misbranded food, drugs, and cosmetics, and to regulate traffic therein; to prevent the false advertisement of food, drugs and cosmetics; and for other purposes," began to see the names of the various "jokers" in the proposed measures. "E. Fugwell patently 'washed his hands' of the mess he had created, and refused to lead his name further to the second substitute and third bill, known as S. 2000, introduced by Senator Copeland in the Senate of the United States, Feb. 6, 1934. In administration circles it is to be henceforth known, or understood, as the Copeland Bill. But it is the same old Fugwell Bill, modified, of course, in some particulars by the pressure of an outraged public opinion. However, as 'somebody' says: 'O good, the dare to name thee?'"

Of this last bill, the Chicago Tribune said editorially, on Oct. 16, 1934:

"The propaganda demanding the enactment of the Fugwell bill without important amendments calls for intelligent discrimination on the part of Congress and the public. In spite of self-righteous assertion of noble motive, it is unscrupulous and reckless of the public good. It overrides moral turpitude to any critics or dissenters and attempts to cover the deficiencies of the measure or overcome objections by this means. Dis-sincere Americans will resent this effort to discredit national criticism and legitimate objection

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by a process of ~~legislation~~ which has been employed before ~~bring about~~ ineffective or ~~ineffective~~ legislation. Generally speaking, the bill even in its moderately amended form provides for bread and wages policies which no government bureau should have. . . . If there are loopholes in the existing food and drug laws which endanger life, health and safe dealing, they should be closed by appropriate and direct, advertising and legitimate business control laws, not by a patchwork of bills. But Congress should show more care in proportion between the existing evils and the means of correction. There is at Washington at this time an unlimited enthusiasm for the increase of the power of Federal government and the extension of its activities throughout the life of the nation. If this the Suggall bill is an outstanding exception. But the disposal of the prohibition amendment does not indicate that this enthusiasm is shared by a substantial majority of the American people."

At present the revised, modified, revamped Suggall Bill is undergoing a hearing before the Senate Committee on Commerce. Everybody concerned is being given a chance to be heard, the testimony talking into over 1,000 pages of testimony. It is anybody's guess as to whether it will be reported at this session of Congress.

A committee in the House of Representatives has under consideration a similar bill, introduced by Mr. [Name], Congressman from New York, a substitute for his three previous bills. It likewise is illustrated by a "chamber of horrors."

In an editorial published in the "Justice" of March 7, 1934, headed "Review of Suggall's Bill No. 1," the present status of the bill is touched on thus: "In the original bill for the regulation of the food, drug and cosmetic industries, as it came from the hands of its authors, Mr. Suggall and [Name] (Chief Campbell), there was no provision for a review of the decisions of the secretary, save such as might remain with the courts. No litigation is both expensive and tardy, representatives of the industries concerned asked that some provision for prior review be made in the proposed law, and the sub-committee of the Senate in charge of the bill included among other changes as a provision for the establishment of a committee on public health consisting of five members designated by the President, with a view to their election based upon public attainment and interest in public health and without regard to their political affiliation," and a committee on a set standards consisting of seven members, three of them to be selected from the public, two from the food processing, processing and manufacturing industries, and two from the food and drug administration. . . . The extensions of regulation proposed by the Suggall measure are interference and restriction of private rights and should be drastically reduced, but even the better advised grants of administrative authority now proposed require the enactment of adequate review."

Provisions of the Bill S. 3033, that seem wild and barbarous at first glance, upon analysis open up endless vistas of raids on national and private property. The Proprietary Association which is fighting the Suggall Bill, has 3 local regional groups of its members. John J. Hill is chairman of the Chicago regional group, which objects to the recent amendments to the bill on the following grounds:

It repeals the present law and drug law, and thus renders null and void all court decisions under same, & starts irreparable litigation involving the expenditure of millions of dollars in fees to lawyers and court sanctions.



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It will require all states to make new legislation to conform to S. 2400, a particularly onerous financial burden to add to the problems of national recovery.

It requires the manufacturers of proprietary remedies to designate them as specifics or palliatives, and makes it necessary to indicate on the label affixed to the latter package "how the palliation is effected." (This vague requirement seems impossible of fulfillment. As well expect a physician to map out in advance, each systematic change in his patient.)

Its ambiguous and tricky language regarding seizures for infractions of the bill, which might be made to apply to all articles of food, drugs or cosmetics for alleged misbranding or adulteration, or manufactured, processed or packed by an operator not holding a valid permit. "The article shall be liable to seizure," says Section 14 of the bill, "by process pursuant to the label, or if a chief of station or other officer of the Food and Drug Administration, duly designated by the Secretary (of Agriculture) has probable cause to believe that the article is so adulterated as to be immediately dangerous to health," etc.

Section 12, places a tremendous power in the hands of the Secretary of Agriculture, whereby he holds complete domination over every maker, processor or manufacturer of foods, drugs and cosmetics, through his system of licenses or permits to engage in interstate commerce. This gives any officer or employee designated by the Secretary, access to any factory or establishment, the operator of which is so licensed, and denial of access for inspection shall be ground for suspension of the permit.

The provisions for factory inspection are covered by Section 13, that "in order adequately to regulate interstate commerce in food, drugs and cosmetics, and enforce the provisions of this Act, officers of employees duly designated by the Secretary, after first making reasonable request and obtaining permission of the owner, operator, or custodian thereof, are authorized (1) to enter any factory, warehouse, or establishment in which food, drugs, or cosmetics are manufactured, processed, packed, or held for shipment in interstate commerce or are held after such shipment, or to enter any vehicle being used to transport such food, drugs, or cosmetics, in interstate commerce; and (2) inspect such factory, warehouse, establishment, or vehicle and all equipment, finished and unfinished materials, containers, and labels there used or stored."

To enforce these provisions, the threat of injunction by the several district courts of the United States, and corollary threats of contempt of court for violations of this injunction, are used as weapons to keep the registrants in line.

Section 22, dealing with general administrative provisions states that: "The authority to make regulations for the efficient enforcement of this Act, except as otherwise provided in this act, is hereby vested in the Secretary."

To aid and advise the Secretary, a Committee on Public Health is provided, consisting of five members designated by the President with a view to their distinguished scientific attainment and interest in public health and without regard to their political affiliation. To aid and advise the Secretary on food regulations, a Committee on Food Standards is provided. Of the seven members, three shall be selected from the public and two from the food-processing, producing

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the manufacturing industry (appointed by the President) and two selected from the Food and Drug Administration, by the Secretary. Under the provisions of the Bill, it is optional with the Secretary when he shall advise the appropriate committee when any regulation is contemplated.

The general feeling in the food, drug and economic trades, affected by the proposed bill, is that it would be infinitely better to amend the present Wiley law, so as to include economic and content regulations for advertising, and thus avoid the wide-spread confusion and costly litigation that would ensue if the court decisions under the Wiley law were disturbed.

The "upset" of the radical Mr. Taggart is traced up to date in "The House of Recovery—That the New Deal Means" by William MacDonald (The MacMillan Company, New York, 1933). In his chapter, "The Grain Trust," on page 84, Mr. MacDonald says:

"Columbia University furnished two other prominent members of the first advisory group (R. G. Taggart and Adolf A. Reyle, Jr.). Harford C. Taggart, a member of the economic department of the university since 1920 and a professor since 1931, was the author or editor of several books on economic subjects and reputed to be an economist of radical views. His special function during the campaign appears to have been to develop his own and Mr. Roosevelt's ideas of a planned agriculture. In that enterprise he was assisted by Professor W. L. Wilson of the Montana State Agricultural College, and in connection with it made the acquaintance of Henry A. Wallace, later Secretary of Agriculture.

"His official opportunity came with an appointment as assistant Secretary of Agriculture, and the extraordinary program of agricultural recovery to which the Administration presently became committed was in considerable measure an embodiment of his radical ideas."

On page 114, Mr. MacDonald states that the Agricultural Adjustment Act was "undertaken to embody the economic ideas of Professor Harford C. Taggart . . . but which Secretary Wallace and others of the President's official advisers had a part in formulating."

Page 220: "A Central Statistical Board (C. S. B.) to 'formulate standards for and to effect coordination of the statistical services' of the government under the E. A. C. was added on July 27, the members representing the departments of the Interior, Agriculture, Commerce and Labor, the Federal Reserve Board, the N. A. A., and the Federal Commission on Government Statistics and Information Service, together with such others as the President might designate for permanent or temporary service. Among the first appointments, named by Professor Taggart, was Dr. Richard S. Sneath, economic adviser to the Secretary of Agriculture.

Page 226: "On June 27, with wheat selling at 1 1/2 bushel in the Chicago Exchange, Frederick Taggart, acting secretary of Agriculture, announced a pro-cessing tax, effective July 9 (1933), of 30 cents a bushel on wheat milling. It was expected, apparently, that a part of the tax would be absorbed by processors and manufacturers, prices of bread and flour at the time being thought to be too high [Washington dispatch, New York Times]. A licensing provision of the Agricultural Act could be used to check an excessive rise in prices.

With the foregoing evidence, the reader will be able to place his own

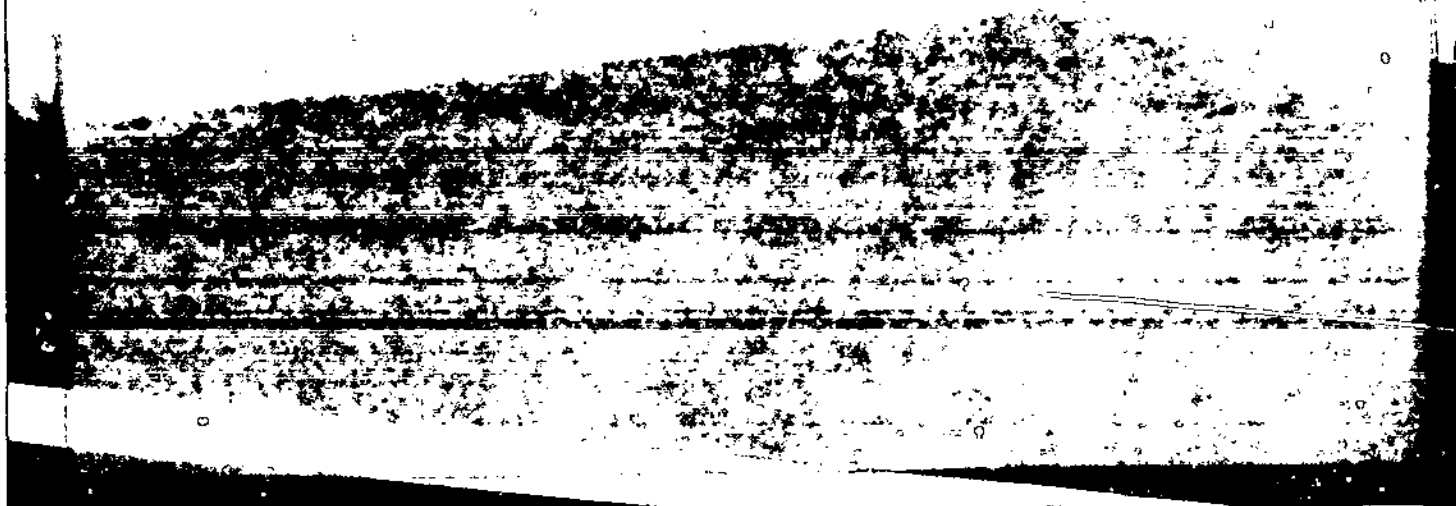
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valuation of Professor Harford Day Tagwell, as a man, as an economist, as a politician, as a political theorist, as a humanitarian, and as an actor in the great human drama that is absorbing the attention of the world.

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From "The Communist", January 1932 issue, page 63.

"Among the American professors there can be recently observed a strong current toward 'plannedness.' At the conference of the well-known Taylor Society, the liberal Professor Brown, gave a report on the 'necessity of planned prosperity' (we quote from Ladeste Rubinstein's book 'The Contradictions of American Capitalism'). This eminent Professor of the University of Pennsylvania believes the only escape from the blind-alley of growing unemployment is the creation of a national planning commission. To this Professor Taggart, Professor of Columbia University, who has been in the U.S.S.R., replied that then it is necessary to study a planned system not at a conference of New York and Philadelphia engineers and economists, but in the Moscow Gosplan (State Planning Commission), where it is actually functioning. But even that does not help, since the competitive system cannot be reconciled with a planned system."



BERNARD GUY TAGGELL

Assistant Secretary of Agriculture Taggell is none other than Bernard Guy Taggell, former associate professor of economics in Columbia University and director of the Columbia Honors Courses. He is the author of "The Economic Basis of Public Interest, Industry's Control of Agriculture"; co-author of "American Economic Life"; co-author and editor of "The Trend of Economics"; editor of Simon Nelson Patten's "Essays in Economic Theory"; contributing editor of "The New Republic"; and has written numerous articles and monographs.

"The New Republic", to which Assistant Secretary Taggell contributed is, of course, the acknowledged semi-official organ of the Socialist Party of America.

Stranger perhaps is the background of Professor Taggell, since he, too, visited the bloc of Soviet Socialist Republics and is quoted in the January 1930 issue of "The Communist", official monthly magazine of the Communist Party of the U. S. A., as having advanced the idea that "it is necessary to study a planned system not at a conference of New York and Philadelphia engineers and economists, but in the Moscow Council (State Planning Commission), where it is actually functioning." (Page 65).

Taggell, along with Stuart Chase, author of "A New Deal" (see attached memorandum for review of this book) and Robert E. Gunn, the leading communist in the United States (as a matter of fact, William L. Foster's boss), was co-author of the book, "Soviet Russia in the Second decade," published by the John Day Company, which is most laudatory of the Soviet regime, and in which can be found a complete chapter on Russian agriculture.

Thus we have the new Economic Advisor to Secretary of Agriculture

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Wallace; Professor Norwood Eschel (exposed by the Tribune), proposing the farm program for our country and sitting back of the scenery; and Assistant Secretary Tagwell, who is associated with another protagonist, Stuart Chase, and an actual communist leader, Robert W. Dunn.

Tagwell is a member of the American Civil Liberties Union, which organization, according to its director, Roger Baldwin (ex-convict), upholds the right of any citizen or alien to advocate murder, assassination, or to overthrow the United States government by force and violence. This testimony was given by Baldwin before a Congressional Committee in 1951. The American Civil Liberties Union has consistently given legal defense to communists, I. W. W.'s and slackers.

Tagwell is co-author with many socialists and radicals of "Socialist Planning and a Socialist Program," published for the radical socialist League for Industrial Democracy, which organization advocates revolution among college and high school students and has planted radical clubs in over one hundred and twenty colleges and universities.

Assistant Secretary Tagwell is also a member of the advisory committee of the Peoples Lobby, operated by strong socialistic elements under the leadership of Professor John Dewey who advocated a third party to defeat both Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Hoover.

Prof. Norwood Eschel, who it is reported has steered the Tagwell Farm Bill through to its present position in Congress, is also said to have spent a year in Russia studying the Soviet farm plan.

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HARFORD S. TAYLOR

Assistant Secretary of Agriculture

In 1914 the Communist, Scott Haring, was a professor of economics at the University of Pennsylvania and was indulging in his usual Communist propaganda. When one was resigned from his class on account of it, Scott Haring pursued him, gave him pamphlets, etc., and tried to convert him to communism.

At that time Harford S. Taylor was an instructor in economics under Haring and substituted in lecturing for him on several occasions. He was then regarded by members of his class as having strong pink leanings but not being as openly extreme at the time as Haring. Since then, of course, Taylor has gone in for extreme and is one of the American Civil Liberties Union crowd and is in a number of American Civil Liberties Union crowd affairs.

November 2, 1955.

40 315

April 6, 1952.

Dear Mr. —:

Your favor of the 5th has been duly received. I have not followed the lectures of the National Advisory Council on Radio in Education.

Dr. Sanford G. Fugwell is professor of economics at Columbia University where there are no many reds and rotters. He was a speaker at Labor Institute with the Brookwood crowd, which you know is a communist gang. Stuart Chase is an old hanger-on of the German anarchist crowd and treasurer of the League for Industrial Democracy, etc., etc. Robert F. Dunn is one of the American Civil Liberties Union National Committee and supposed to be a direct representative of the Moscow communists in this country. These two and Fugwell were authors of a book called "Soviet Russia in the Second Decade," which is communist propaganda. Fugwell is on the advisory committee of the People's Lobby in Washington which should be called the Communist People's Lobby. He was a lecturer at the red and disloyal Rand School which puts over communist and left-wing socialist propaganda and was raided during war time. He is a director of Summit Associates, which is an affair akin to Brookwood College. He signed a protest against the expulsion of a red from the College of the City of New York. He was one of the American Civil Liberties Union crowd. I note further that he stated in his lecture under the auspices of the National Advisory Council on Radio in Education that Stalin's planning will be held up as an example for us to follow. The communists are doing that now.

Sincerely:

F. R. Walsh

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Columbia University recently released a statement made by Professor Donald Henderson in April 1953, revealing that Professor Sanford S. Sagvold, former head of the Economics department, and now assistant secretary of agriculture, had offered him a research fellowship provided he would do his research in the Soviet Union.

Henderson is the head of the communist National Students League in the United States, a movement formed to organize the youth in American colleges.

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THE FACE BEHIND THE MASK

What is this face behind the mask that is more powerful than all America? Who is it that can pull the string and make the supposed leaders of the American people perform like puppets? These are questions that all America is asking and pondering over.

Have the people of America been sold out or taken over body and soul? Do they any longer have a voice in the government? Was the "new deal" promised, a "new deal" for other than Americans?

In a copyrighted article in leading newspapers is set forth the President-elect's program as outlined by Professor Sugrill of Columbia University who with Professor Holey, also of Columbia, has sat in practically every conference held up to this time as an advisor to the President-elect. Dr. Sugrill ~~has been one of the leaders for~~ the American Civil Liberties Union, which organization gives legal defense to I. W. U.'s, communists, socialists and alien revolutionists who come in collision with the laws of our land. Its director testified before a Congressional Committee not so many months ago to the effect that the American Civil Liberties Union upholds the right of individuals (alien or native born) to advocate murder, assassination or the overthrow of the United States government by force and violence.

Sugrill announces that incorporated in the President-elect's program is a deal with Russia which would open the gates of America to a new force of highly trained revolutionists.

This man Sugrill appears to be one of the Roosevelt dictators, but who he represents is the question? Certainly not the millions of voters of the United States.

The daily press recently ~~announced~~ the appointment and the acceptance

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of Senator Thomas P. Walsh as Attorney General of the United States to serve under the President-elect. This Montana radical has been striving for several years, under the direction of the American Civil Liberties Union, to engineer the repeal of the Federal sedition laws of our country which give the United States government the power to deal with revolutionists who become too violent. And this is the man that is appointed in control of the Department of Justice.

It is reliably reported that P. Walsh will appoint Professor Felix Frankfurter of Harvard, another official of the American Civil Liberties Union, as Solicitor General of the United States, in which position he will have jurisdiction over all sedition cases if they are to be tried. Frankfurter was scored by former President Theodore Roosevelt for his activities in behalf of the anarchists, Wexley and Billings, and he took a prominent part in the defense of the two alien murderers, Sacco and Vanzetti.

What chance has America against such a "New Deal" as this minority radical bloc has set up against her? A flood of protests is reaching the Senate, which must confirm these appointments, and the President-elect, who has made them, and who, if Professor Roosevelt is right, intends to form a "New Deal" with Russia.

40 319

Dear Mr.

It is stated in the papers that Governor Roosevelt will take with him as an advisor Professor Raymond Hooley, of Columbia University. Professor Hooley has been one of the lecturers at the red and disloyal Rand School, which was raided during war times. The lecturers there are habitual communists or extreme radicals, pacifists who put pacifism before patriotism, and those of pink leanings. He is in the Foreign Language Information Service of the American Civil Liberties Union crowd. After a number of communists had been arrested in New York for blatant and deliberate offenses against law and against police regulations, the American Civil Liberties Union called a meeting to aid these communists, in which Roger Bush Baldwin was the leading spirit. Arthur Garfield Hays, of the American Civil Liberties Union, presided. Among those attending the meeting were Professor Raymond Hooley, Morris L. Ernst, counsel and on the American Civil Liberties Union national committee; Henry W. Hunt, the former socialistic mayor of Cincinnati, and others of the American Civil Liberties Union crowd, including Dorothy Kenyon. Baldwin said their sole object was to stop abuses of power by the police, but Baldwin himself is in various communist organizations and his ideas of "abuses" of power by the police have apparently been any check by the police on communist agitation and disorder.

Governor Roosevelt is also stated to have consulted with Professor E. G. Taggart, Dr. H. Parker Willis, and Lindsay Rogers. The last has been a lecturer at the New School for Social Research, which as a rule stages pink professors, communists, et cetera, as its lecturers. It is classed as one of the American Civil Liberties Union crowd affairs.

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H. Parker Willis is very much in favor of recognition of communist Russia. The Chase National Bank has catered to Communist Russia, and its relations with Antorg have been very friendly. Dr. Willis was on the Chase Bank tour of Russia. Dr. Willis was editor of the Journal of Commerce of New York and was rather friendly with the Antorg Trading Company. He seems to have been a close friend of Ezra W. Carver, who had rather intimate relations with various financial institutions that were backing Russian trade. Willis' visit to Russia was specifically endorsed by the Antorg Trading Company, and the Antorg Trading Company endorsed the Journal of Commerce campaign for the recognition of Russia under Willis' editorship. Antorg stated in advance of their publication that everyone should read the articles that he was going to write. The Antorg Trading Company is well known to be a creature of the Soviet Government and interested in the cancellation of foreign debts because that could help Soviet Russia to get rid of the stigma of not paying its debts.

Professor Oxford B. Sargell is the author, with Stuart Chase and Robert E. Mann, of "Soviet Russia in the Second World." The book was a suggestion by a number of men who were called the American Trade Union delegation to Soviet Russia and went there on the invitation of the Soviet Government and were regarded as representing trade unions by the American Federation of Labor. Stuart Chase was an old hanger-on of the Boston anarchist gang and is now treasurer of the League for Industrial Democracy, the first name of which was Intercollegiate Socialist Society. Robert E. Mann is looked upon as the successor to William E. Foster on the American Civil Liberties Union national committee as being the right-hand man on that committee of the Soviet Government. The committee and the book were Soviet propaganda. Sargell is also on the advisory committee of the People's Lobby with all sorts of reds, pinks and yellows. He also was a lecturer at the red and disloyal Rand School with various communists, etc. He is a director of Summit Associates, which is a pink educational affair.

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Then a communist was expelled from the City College of New York for raising Communist disturbances, Tagwell was one of the red-aiding crowd who protested publicly. He was one of those urging a Federal investigation of Harlan and Bell Counties, Kentucky, in aid of the communist disturbances there. He is quoted as saying in the early part of this year that "Russia's planning will be held up as a sample for us to follow." He is a professor at Columbia, which seems to harbor more pink and red professors than even the University of Wisconsin.

Governor Roosevelt is looked upon with favor by many of the reds, and when the State of Massachusetts asked for the extradition of the notorious communist, Fred Biedenkapp, on account of the crimes committed in Massachusetts, Roosevelt refused extradition. . . .

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HENRY C. FUSTAL

The Latest Near-Communism From the Brain Trust

On page 4 of the late city edition of the "New York Times" for October 18, 1933, is a special dispatch from Chicago headed, "Taggart Defines 'Soundest Money'" which quotes Assistant Secretary of Agriculture Richard G. Taggart's outgivings before the Chicago Forum the day before. Taggart declared that "sound money" was a phrase which meant different things to different persons. He apparently wished to stretch it to cover his pet, unusual money. He stated that the soundest money was that defined by President Roosevelt as one having substantial equality of purchasing and debt-paying power from one generation to another. There has been no such thing in the past and it is no likely that there will be no such thing in the future, and the financial antics of those who are foolish to try to make it so will bring, as they are bringing now, uncertainty, lack of confidence, instability and trouble. He speaks of the old gold standard and talks about its meaning "Chylock's relation from debtors." The thrifty man who has laid by a little something to protect his wife and children from starvation; the working man and woman who have providently laid out something in savings funds; those who have provided for their families' future by life insurance; those who have joined fraternal and mutual benefit associations that lay by some of the dues for insurance, and all other provident people are apparently to be robbed under the Taggart plan in order to cater to the votes of the unscrupulous. He preps about "sketching certain sterile goals" in sure or less unambiguous Spanish, and about "islands of safety" "designated for the protection of the gains which are got from the sabotage of recovery." Just at present the gains from the sabotage of recovery seem to be going almost entirely to those labor unions, largely Socialist and Communist, which are encouraged in their striking and in their preventing, by force and violence, others from working, by the attitude of the Roosevelt and Finckel Administrations, which subsidize them in so doing by a dolo. From the taxpayers.

Taggart seems to think that business men should be willing to plunge in as his hobby even though they made a certain loss and wasted their capital. He talks about the profits of business men to be solted down in bonds redeemable in gold. He talks about business men desiring the abandonment of the program of higher wages and farm income, which of course is the direct opposite of the truth, but the business men have intelligence enough to know that prosperity brings higher wages and not the reverse and that in times of depression suddenly enforced higher wages stall the game and that prosperity must come gradually. He says the election was a mandate of repudiation. He overlooks the fact that President Roosevelt's promises to win the election were in many respects the direct opposite of his performances, and if the public had realized that such men as Taggart, Holey, Berlo, Fredonia G. Ross, Sidney Hillman, etc., etc., were to be put in office and some of the most serious of the Roosevelt promises deliberately repudiated after election, the mandate would probably never have been given. He calls this all "a thoroughly sensible mass revolution." He has evidently had a speaking from the Communist point of view and disingenuously pretending that the public know what was coming. He talks about crawling back to older and simpler ideas and the "intelligence" of the present government. He is dumb when talking of the Brain Trust when he talks about this "intelligence" because he is a member of it, but the public are coming to call that he terms "intelligence" by some opposite term. He talks about income. "Stacked in sterile hoards of capital." He does not seem to be aware that capital works and that without capital our very civilization would be impossible and that it is capital employing wage slaves which makes for high wages, and that the more capital, the more competition for wage earners and the higher wages. But then he seems to have abandoned all facts in favor of vaporing Communist theories. He talks about higher wages and farm income, so doing to think that the Administration has people will be supplied with the means of buying higher wages, and that the profits will have to follow from the efficiency. He also is independent for the new of- ficiencies and how can the present government be practiced.

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fore buyers for the product are found? He accuses those who do not agree with his foolish and impracticable theories of putting the cart before the horse, which is just what he himself is doing. He talks about the preservation of purchasing power before the purchasing power itself exists, and he winds up with one of his favorite Communist-Socialist theories, the management of prices. Honesty, logic, soundness and common sense are nowhere apparent in Professor Sugwell's outgivings.

He is just one of the Brain Trust, and like other members of the Brain Trust, is one of the American Civil Liberties Union crowd - one of the crowd prominent members of which got up the American Civil Liberties Union, the rotten People's Council of America, the Civil Liberties Bureau, anarchist Berkman's League for Amnesty of Political Prisoners, the League for Industrial Democracy, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Foreign Policy Association, and other things of the sort. Only Sugwell is perhaps a little more so than the majority of the members of the Brain Trust.

Stuart Chase was one of the associates of the Berkman anarchist crowd some years ago. Robert W. Dunn is the Communist member of the American Civil Liberties Union who helps to keep it in contact with Moscow. Chase too and Sugwell collaborated in "Soviet Russia in the Second Decade," Sugwell was lecturer at the red and disloyal Rand School, which puts over Communism and Left Wing Socialism. He was in with members of the American Civil Liberties Union crowd and on the People's Lobby advisory committee, a red affair which wishes to turn things topsy-turvy. He signed a protest against the expulsion of a red from the City College of New York, though that red was expelled for good cause. When the Communists were urging a Federal investigation at Madison and Bell County, Kentucky, he joined in and yapped with the Communists. He stated about March 1931 that Russia's planning will be held up as a sample for us to follow. He accompanied a body of men to Russia, which camouflaged as the American Trade Union delegation, but which was promptly repudiated as a trade union delegation and exposed by the American Federation of Labor. It was this handicked delegation going at the Soviet back that joined in the afroscoff back. He went in for higher income taxes, which have been so richly put up in the higher brackets to the point where they are less productive than they were; reduction of public utility rates without much regard for the damage done; the farmers' allotment bill, which was a wild socialist scheme, etc. He was a contributor to the book, "Socialist Planning and Socialist Program." He seems to favor that sort of thing. He goes in for industrial reorganization under Federal authority, seeming to believe that the Government is somewhat more omniscient and that Government agents can know more and plan better for all sorts of industries than people experienced and engaged in those industries, which is very obvious folly. His penchant for a Communist program seems to rest largely on his ignorance in practical matters. Sugwell seems to think that all property should be subjected to autocratic Government here as in Russia. Perhaps the ex-bank robber V. L. Linn alias Luchman alias Harrison alias Winkelstein and now camouflaged as Litvinov, has been invited over to show the Brain Trust how.

October 23, 1931.

WALTER HARRISON STEIN

Enclosed is the clipping referred to, also a clipping about the foolish Curtis Bok's appointed committee on Soviet Recognition headed by Thomas W. Lamont, of J. P. Morgan and Company, and with a recent member of the firm of Brock and Company also on it. Both are in the Foreign Policy Association. Several others are members of the American Civil Liberties Union crowd. Hugh L. Conroy, one of the high paid employees of the Soviet government, constant propagandist for it, is also on it. Allen Gardiner is also there, as might be expected, and several others who would profit by Soviet recognition. Years ago the Soviet government boasted that it would gain recognition through the Gro & Fur profits of American business men. Another clipping tells of the election of Leo Hayashi, of the Seattle and Clothing Workers and noted labor agitator and former chief of the Mine County, as National Chairman of the Communist Party to succeed the late Charles Milligan. -- No more of these clippings available.

40 324

CLASS AGAINST CLASS

The Third International of Russia should award Assistant Secretary of Agriculture its medal "The Order of Lenin" for his recent address in Los Angeles, for none of their communist soap box orators could have put over a better address on the subject, "Class Against Class". With the regular communist eloquence, the Columbia University adjunct to the United States Government put over a real attempt to place the "workers against the capitalists. He sympathized with the poor farmer and condemned the capitalistic packers, millers, milk distributors, cannors and food distributors in general. He played his appeal to the tune of the Communist International, to the "sweating and downtrodden farmers, wage earners and consumers", charging it with the "trickery" and "exploiting" of the workers to the capitalists.

Moscow could not have done better in its game of pitting worker against capitalist. But how many farmers fell for the red bait is questionable. The Middle Westerners have recently had their stomachs filled with this communist "bunk" which resulted in uprisings of the minority farm interests the professor was playing to. If Taggart is attempting to fan the flames of civil warfare in a section where such warfare has recently taken its toll, there must be an object in mind. It may be bullets for the party. If so, its a pretty dangerous political policy. If it is bullets, then the protected his communistic leanings were not so wrong after all. If Taggart's address is a sample of the campaign plans of the Administration, the future of the Nation is at stake and loyal Americans had better take keen notice.

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Agnew, who while awaiting his confirmation by a hostile Congress, contended that he was a peaceful American upholding the constitution and that the Administration is not attempting to socialize private and individual enterprise that the government is just an arbitrator between business and labor. He changed his tune in New Orleans when he remarked that the government is no "silent partner" and that it intends to live up against business and remain silent no longer. In other words, now that his confirmation has been "backed" the public finds that the government is not a mere "arbitrator" but a "partner". This was the contention of many before and now the "E. I. DuPont-Stratton" has verified it. Senator J. Easton Lewis, Chairman of the Economic Territorial Committee, has also recently admitted that the government is "regimenting" business and workers.

The voters will retreat from Hoover in November, and "Agnewism" will rapidly go by the boards.

40-326 .

"Our industrial structures are reminiscent of weeds grown in the dark."

In this same address he said of planning:

"Planning will necessarily become a function of the Federal Government; either that or the planning agency will supersede that government."

Also in the same address, he points out that the idea of planning the welfare of a people has been going on for a number of years, to use his own words:

"It is perhaps no accident that planning has recently become a center of discussion in economic affairs in substitution for laissez faire. Changes in contemporary philosophy have prepared the way."

Speaking before the International Institute of Agriculture in Rome, Italy, where he spent his 1934 "campaign period vacation" representing the United States at its sessions, he showed how absolutely theoretical his ideas on economic planning really are, and to what extent he recognizes the human avarices that must be considered in any scheme that tends to drag down the thrifty to the level of the shiftless in order to redistribute the wealth of a nation and make everyone equal. He said:

"We shall have to assess the resources we need or can furnish, decide what our efforts can best be devoted to and what we can best let others do, and try to establish these conditions in which fact and fancy are mixed as little as may be humanly possible."

Recent and ancient histories of conferences for the negotiation and compromise of differences all show that in the end some one was the loser. Never has there been an amicable settlement that was permanent.

In this same address he showed just where his true concern for labor lay, and also exposed some of the theory which lies behind the later "Reciprocal Trade Treaties":

"We cannot expect to exploit each other's markets to favor our producers and we cannot expect cheap goods through the wastage of other's resources or injuries to foreign labor."

Those who doubt the close connection between the Industrial and Social Security legislation, which the present administration has just loaded on the

backs of the people, and the ultimate aim thereof, will find their doubts dispelled by a statement made by Tugwell in an address before the Iowa State Bankers' Association at Des Moines, Iowa, in June 1934:

"Social management would therefore involve the social organization of the process of production and distribution, taking advantage of ordinary and useful motives—as well as existing machinery and methods—to achieve first a wider distribution of goods, and later whatever further aims seem desirable."

Notice that he does not say ADVISABLE, but desirable. Desirable by whom, may we ask? The planners?

In his article, "The Purpose of the New Deal," in The New America, of June, 1934, he expressed the warning quoted above from his later Los Angeles speech, in different words. The meaning, in the light of his Los Angeles utterances, now becomes clear:

"It seems to me ironic that measures which are taken to assure the democratic process through our industry and our agriculture should be said to be regimentation."

"They cannot be judged by the men, who, for the moment, happen to be administering them. If these men misconceive their mandates, or if they are inefficient or arrogant, they will disappear and others will take their places."

Were General Hugh Johnson, George Peck, James Warburg, Raymond Moley, Donald Richberg and the many others who have, for one reason or another, left or been forced out of the New Deal inefficient or arrogant? Or did they misconceive their mandates? These gentlemen were not elected officials! Where did they get their mandates?

Business is again warned by Tugwell in an article by Chealy Manly in the Chicago Tribune of Sunday, September 27, 1936, entitled "Why Reds Back Roosevelt Told By His Own Aids":

"The future is becoming visible in Russia; the present is bitterly in contrast—politicians, theorists and vested interests seem to conspire ideally for the provocation of violence of a long patient people...."

"We have no reason to expect that the disestablishing of our plutocracy will be pleasant."

Tugwell wrote an article entitled, "The Farmer Comes Into His Own,"

published in The American Legion Monthly of October 1933, wherein he states his ideas on the 1932 election and its meaning to business:

"A revolution may be disorderly, accomplished with violence and bloodshed, or it may be brought about by the ballot. WE achieved revolution last November with the ballot. It was, in my opinion, the greatest revolution since the founding of our nation; for we departed then, I think for good, from the dogmas of free competition and the theory that the least government is the best."

And in regard to business he wrote in the same article:

"Under the New Deal Big Business is recognized as a natural economic growth and the anti-trust laws have been suspended"

"But it is now recognized that Big Business is clothed with a public interest, and will never again be permitted to enter the anarchistic state that led us to the present debacle."

"Fortune" magazine for October, 1936, contains a article written by Tugwell entitled "Grass Did Not Grow," in which he writes as an apologist for the Administration and attempts to sell Roosevelt to the readers. Tugwell's attitude toward business, makes his selection of this medium rather ridiculous in view of the fact that single copies cost one dollar, making it rather difficult for the so-called down-trodden farmers and laborers to obtain his message.

Here are some high-lights:

"The steady support of the LaFollettes underwrote solidly the progressive intertion of all that was done."

Answering charges of waste and inefficiency he wrote:

"Attempts to hamstring by the imposition of impossible procedures sometimes seemed sufficient to stop nearly everything, but for once the government had lawyers devoted to finding ways of doing things instead of not doing them."

Of Roosevelt finances, he says:

"He chose to borrow by issuing bonds, thus securing funds which were turned into current claims on production and issued to relief workers. Thus people were fed and clothed and the factories started."

To be prepared for war is one of the most effective means of preserving peace.

—Washington.

40 329

- Mr. Tolson _____
- Mr. E. A. Tamm _____
- Mr. Clegg _____
- Mr. Glavin _____
- Mr. Ladd _____
- Mr. Nichols _____
- Mr. Rosen _____
- Mr. Tracy _____
- Mr. Carson _____
- Mr. Coffee _____
- Mr. Hendon _____
- Mr. Kramer _____
- Mr. McGuire _____
- Mr. Harbo _____
- Mr. Quinn Tamm _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Mr. Nease _____
- Miss Beahm _____
- Miss Gandy _____



Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

KRM:alo'd

Date: October 16, 1942

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. MUMFORD

RE: TUGWELL BILL

Attached hereto is photostatic material concern-
ing the captioned matter obtained by the Washington Field
Office from the files of Walter Steele of the National
Republic Magazine. This material was made available gratu-
itously by Mr. Steele and was forwarded to the Bureau by
letter from the Washington Field Office dated August 27,
1942.

Respectfully,

K. R. McIntire
K. R. McIntire

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

COPIES DESTROYED
63 OCT 15 1964

Enclosures

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EX-31

Handwritten notes:
A copy of this will be
to Spence Bill #2000
P. Mumford & J. J. J. J.

J. J. J.

THE ELECTRO THERMAL COMPANY, STEUBENVILLE, OHIO

DATA-SENATE BILL 2000 FEDERAL FOOD AND DRUG ACT.

If legislation is enacted embodying the text of Senate Bill 2000 the following will happen -

The definition of "Drugs" will be broadened to include devices of all kinds used for the amelioration of human ailments; which will include the THERMALAID appliance sold by the Electro Thermal Company, Steubenville, Ohio, for the treatment of Prostate Gland Disorders. The language used in Senate Bill 2000, Sect 2(b) Page 2, Lines 1 to 9 is as follows:

The term "drug" includes (1) all substances and preparations recognized in the United States Pharmacopoeia, Homeopathic Pharmacopoeia of the United States, or National Formulary or supplements thereto; and (2) all substances, preparations, and devices intended for use in the cure, mitigation, treatment, or prevention of disease in man or other animals; and (3) all substances and preparations, other than food, and all devices intended to effect the structure or any function of the body.

Sale of "Drugs" which will include "Appliances" will be prohibited and advertising be absolutely outlawed if it mentions any of a long list of ailments including Prostate Gland Disorders, which is the outstanding ailment the THERMALAID appliance is designed to treat. (Sec. 9 (c), Page 18, Line 2.)

The Electro Thermal Company takes the following position -

The definition of "Drugs" should not include appliances, devices, etc., because they are not such, and do not have generally the possibility of harm that many drugs have. The THERMALAID appliance sold by the Electro Thermal Company, is absolutely harmless and yet amazingly beneficial, and should not be classed as a "drug". THERMALAID is an official heating appliance and relies entirely upon heat for its therapeutic effect.

Further, The Electro Thermal Company, Steubenville, Ohio, will be put out of business. Forty employees will be thrown out of work. Business property at 627 Franklin Avenue, Steubenville, Ohio, will be made vacant. One of the largest patrons of the Steubenville Post Office will be outlawed. The Electro Thermal Company expended for postage during the last five years, \$184,917.79, or \$36,983.66 annually.

The Electro Thermal Company, Steubenville, Ohio, is an Ohio Corporation.

Officers: W. J. Kirk, President.
Claude Stratford, Secretary-Treasurer.

7 369

SUBJECT: Pure Food and Drug Act/Senate Bill 2000.

Dear Senator (or Congressman) -

We write to urge that you take whatever action is necessary to defeat Senate Bill 2000, the new Food and Drug Act.

Legislation of this type is extreme and harmful and we are opposed to the measure in its entirety.

The bill proposes to restrict a few alleged harmful acts at the expense of the many long established and reputable businesses. We cannot long survive in the face of such extreme bureaucratic control. What we want is the opportunity to carry on business in a normal and regular manner.

Particularly obnoxious is the definition of devices as "drugs". By no stretch of the imagination can the rules applying to potent and dangerous medicines be made to apply to trusses, foot braces, crutches or hot water bottles. Yet in the attempt to make the measure all-inclusive, such an inconsistency occurs.

Our interest in this matter is so vital that we will ask you to promptly advise us to your views.

Respectfully yours,

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TORONTO CANADA
CONVENT 82

TELEPHONE 610

The Thermalaids

LOS ANGELES CALIF
CLUBBING PLACE

CABLE THERMO
BYCUMBERVILLE

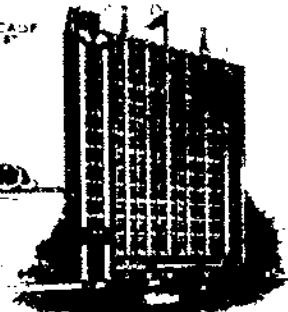
The Electro-Thermal Co.

(INCORPORATED IN THE STATE OF OHIO, U.S.A.)

FRANKLIN AND MORRIS AVES

Stuyvesant, Ohio, U.S.A.

February 20, 1934.



500 FOX BLDG
LOS ANGELES CALIF

National Republic,
511 - 11th St.
Washington, D.C.

Gentlemen:

There is pending in Congress, Senate Bill 2000. It is known as the Pure Food and Drug Bill.

In an effort to prevent sale of adulterated foods and worthless drugs, the Bill as drafted prohibits the sale of appliances such as Thermalaids.

No doubt you feel a business interest in keeping Thermalaids on sale, and with this presumption in mind I am taking the liberty of requesting that you measure your "interest" by very definite and specific action. There is no time to lose and a spade must be called a spade. This Congress works fast.

My suggestion is that you write your two Senators and your Congressman and in your letter make the three definite points, viz -

- First - That you are opposed to the Bill as a whole.
- Second - That you are especially interested in the definition and radically opposed to including the word "devices" in the drug definition.
- Third - That your interest in this legislation is so vital that you feel constrained to request that you be assured of active opposition to the measure.

To be helpful along this line I am enclosing five copies of a "Data Sheet" we have prepared. If one is enclosed with each letter you write, it will better identify the subject. I am also enclosing draft of a suggested letter you may or may not wish to use either as is or with variations.

Thinking the Bill would probably never come out of "committee", I have refrained from asking you for this cooperation, but as matters unfold it seems essential that every ounce of opposition we can muster be registered and registered quickly. Accordingly, I will appreciate your taking definite steps to prevent this iniquitous legislation. We are registering a very determined opposition direct with all in authority and hope you will add your weight. If you can use more "Data Sheets" will be glad to send them. A similar letter to Senator Stephens, chairman of the Senate Committee on Commerce, the committee now considering the Bill, will reach the fountain head and have weight.

Respectfully yours,

W. J. Kirk

7 367

CABLE ADDRESS 80800

The Knox Company

MODERN HOME MEDICINES

CHOCOLATE
Liquor Candy
COFFEE
For All Purposes
ADDICIS
Tea
MOLASS
For Purposes
Candy

DUBLIN IRELAND
BUFFALO NEW YORK



LONDON ENGLAND
TORONTO CANADA

SAN ANGELO
San Antonio Texas
WISCONSIN
For The U.S.A.
CHINA
Peking
QUEEN
London England

KANSAS CITY.

MO., U. S. A.

February 17, 1934.

Dear Mr. Steele:

Heck! Pahaw, Fiddlesticks, and Dam!

Here I am, back from England, full of ozone and optimism -- but the Fugwell situation is worse than ever.

The opposition appears to have taken a huge dose of "pap" or soothing syrup and to have gone to sleep on the job.

Apparently the multiplicity of bills has everybody guessing and the danger is greater than ever before, because the newest and latest Copeland-Fugwell bill apparently has administration approval and contains nearly all of the drastic features of the original measure.

This newest Copeland-Fugwell copy is about ready to be introduced in the Senate and will take the place of the present S. 2309, and likely will be known as the new S. 2300. I think you can get the dope on this new bill by reading the February 16th issue of Printers Ink or the February 21st issue of The Nation, or you can write or wire the Oil, Paint & Drug Reporter, 12 Gold St., New York City.

I have read this newest of bills and can tell you that it is packed full of trouble for you, as well as for the food and drug industry. It contains much of the bureaucratic power of the Secretary, as contained in the original bill, much of the formula disclosures, much of the restrictions of the power of the law and court. Trouble concerning factory permits and factory inspection. Impossible label requirements as to "Palliation" and how "Palliation is Effected." Standards and advertising control are covered in much the same way.

The dope from those who are on the job in Washington and New York is to the effect that this bill is to be railroaded through if possible. Therefore, the need for immediate and convincing opposition. Do believe that one of the principal things to object to is the department control over general advertising in any form.

All of us must move quickly and state our opposition now before it is too late. We suggest that you wire, not only your Senators and Congressmen, but also all members of the Senate Committee on Commerce, to whom we understand the bill will be referred. Please advise me of your action. There is no time for dilly-dallying.

Cordially yours,

THE KNOX COMPANY

Warren Burgess
President.

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DEC 8 1942

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

On November 23, 1942, Honorable Rexford Guy Tugwell, Governor of Puerto Rico, advised an Agent of the San Juan Field Division of this Bureau that in view of the fact there is no investigative body in the Insular Government at his disposal, and there are a number of situations relative to the conditions in some of the Insular Government departments which he desires investigated, he would appreciate it if the San Juan Field Division of the Federal Bureau of Investigation could conduct these inquiries for him.

There is attached hereto for your information a copy of a letter which Governor Tugwell addressed to Special Agent L. Dunham of the San Juan office of this Bureau, confirming his request. You will note from a review of this letter that Governor Tugwell desires this Bureau to investigate such matters as conditions in the Department of Health and in the Bureau of Supplies, Transportation, and Printing, as well as those pertaining to garbage collection and water service.

I have instructed the San Juan Field Division of this Bureau that since the investigations requested by Governor Tugwell do not indicate violations of any Federal Statutes which are under the jurisdiction of this Bureau, Governor Tugwell should be informed that it will not be possible for the San Juan office to comply with his request.

I wanted to call this matter to your attention so that you may be familiar with the action taken by me.

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. E. A. Tamm _____
Mr. Clegg _____
Mr. Glavin _____
Mr. Ladd _____
Mr. Nichols _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tracy _____
Mr. Carson _____
Mr. Coffey _____
Mr. Hendon _____
Mr. Kramer _____
Mr. McGuire _____
Mr. Quinn Tamm _____
Mr. Nease _____
Miss Gandy _____

Attachment

Respectfully,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

10:40 am
12-8-42
1942

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DEC 9 1942

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December 4, 1942

SAC, San Juan

Dear Sir:

Re: INVESTIGATION REQUESTED OF SAN JUAN OFFICE BY GOVERNOR REXFORD GUY TUGWELL

Reference is made to your letter dated November 24, 1942, concerning the above-captioned matter, wherein you advise that Governor Tugwell has requested the assistance of the San Juan office in investigating certain irregularities within the Insular Government departments.

Since the matters which Governor Tugwell desires investigated do not constitute violations of any Federal Statute over which the Bureau has jurisdiction, you are instructed to advise Governor Tugwell that the Bureau will be unable to comply with his request.

Yours truly,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

COPIES DESTROYED
63 OCT 15 1964

- Mr. Tolson _____
- Mr. E. A. Tamm _____
- Mr. Clegg _____
- Mr. Glavin _____
- Mr. Ladd _____
- Mr. Nichols _____
- Mr. Rosen _____
- Mr. Tracy _____
- Mr. Carson _____
- Mr. Coffey _____
- Mr. Hendon _____
- Mr. Kramer _____
- Mr. McGuire _____
- Mr. Quinn Tamm _____
- Mr. Nease _____
- Miss Gandy _____

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
 DEC 8 1942 P.M.
 FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
 U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

DEC 7 4 44 PM '42
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~~Federal Bureau of Investigation~~
United States Department of Justice
 San Juan, Puerto Rico
 November 24, 1942

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. E. A. Tamm	✓
Mr. Clegg	
Mr. Glavin	
Mr. Ladd	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tracy	
Mr. Carson	
Mr. Coffey	
Mr. Hendon	
Mr. Kramer	
Mr. McGuire	
Mr. Quinn Tamm	
Mr. Nease	
Miss Gandy	
Miss	

~~Personal and Confidential~~

Director
 Federal Bureau of Investigation
 Washington, D. C.

Re: Investigation Requested of San Juan
 Office by Governor Rexford Guy Tugwell

Dear Sir:

Mr. THOMAS HAYES, Secretary to the Honorable Rexford Guy Tugwell, Governor of Puerto Rico, contacted this office by telephone on November 23, 1942, and requested that Special Agent LOWELL DUNHAM call at the Governor's Office for a conference with Governor Tugwell.

Special Agent Dunham, at the request of Mr. Hayes, appeared at the Governor's Office and was introduced to Governor Tugwell. The Governor stated he had several matters he wished to discuss with this office and that he had called on Special Agent Dunham inasmuch as Acting Special Agent in Charge A. W. MILLER was away from the Island. He stated he had no investigative body in the Insular Government and that there were a number of things he desired to have investigated relative to the conditions in some of the Insular Government Departments. The Governor stated he would like to know if these investigations could be conducted by this office.

~~DEFERRED TO BUREAU~~ (with handwritten '72')

The Governor was advised by Special Agent Dunham that such matters did not come within the jurisdiction of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and that if a request should be made by the Governor's Office that his request to this office would be in turn forwarded to the Bureau at Washington for its final decision. He was likewise advised that even in matters in which the United States Attorney asked the Bureau to investigate which do not come within its primary jurisdiction, such matters have to be submitted to Washington for approval. He was further advised that if he would submit the exact kind of investigation that he needed in writing that that request in turn would be immediately submitted to Washington for a decision; that, of course, if the Bureau came back with the decision that such investigation could not be conducted the answer would be no.

Governor Tugwell agreed that no doubt, the investigation that he would request would be outside the primary jurisdiction of this service, but that he would request it anyway.

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San Juan
 memo by
 JGG
 11/24/42

Letter to the Director

November 24, 1942

He was told that such requests as that, including requests from Governmental Agencies such as the Office of Price Administration, for instance, where information was desired from our files, must also be referred to Washington for authorization to even make information in the Bureau files available to them.

Later in the day the following letter was received by this office and is being set out hereinafter.

"La Fortaleza
Puerto Rico

"November 23, 1942

"Mr. L. Dunham
Federal Bureau of Investigation
San Juan, Puerto Rico

"Dear Mr. Dunham:

"There are several situations in the Insular Government which need investigation. As you are aware, there is no investigation service. Consequently, although I am aware that it is beyond your usual scope, I should be indebted to you for assistance.

"First, I have recently made a change in the Commissionership of Health. Following this change, some very bad conditions were found in a sanatorium. It seems reasonable to think that this was not an isolated instance and that there may be others.

"Second, I have had an administrative study made of the Bureau of Supplies, Transportation and Printing with a view to asking new legislation at the regular session of the Legislature. What actuated this study was slowness of action and red tape. There have been stories, however, of favoritism in purchasing and the like. None of these have been definite enough for action. But it would seem that an investigation might be valuable since it would also assist in formulating the new legislation which is contemplated.

Letter to the Director

November 24, 1942

"Third, the City Government of San Juan, which is, of course, chartered by the Insular Government, is so inefficient in certain of its operations as to suggest at least that more service ought to be produced for the moneys spent. Specifically in garbage collection and in water service there are expenditures which compare per capita with normal United States cities; but conditions exist which seem to me a definite menace to health. Unless an investigation is made it will be impossible to bring about improvement. I need not point out that in this case the war effort is definitely involved, since our armed forces center in the city.

"I shall deeply appreciate any assistance you can give me in these instances.

~~"Sincerely yours,~~

~~R. G. Tugwell
Governor"~~

For the information of the Bureau it is thought that there will be no difficulty on the part of this office in handling this matter should the Bureau advise that it cannot conduct such investigations.

The Governor then asked how the relations were between this Office and the Insular Police Department and he was told that relations were quite cordial; that the work with the Internal Security Squad was going on quite smoothly and that this office had nothing to complain of at present.

He asked the opinion of Special Agent Dunham as to what kind of man he considered Acting Chief of Police LUIS RAMIREZ BRAU. The Governor was advised by Agent Dunham that what few contacts he had had with BRAU had been cordial, but that he was not in a position to state any one way or the other as to his qualifications for a Police Officer, inasmuch as he had not been connected with the administrative contacts that had been made between this Office and BRAU.

The Governor stated that the whole question of appointing a Chief of Police had been a headache for him and that it was coming to a point where he was going to have to do something inasmuch as BRAU had been Acting Chief of Police for so long that he was either going to appoint him or dismiss him completely.

Letter to the Director

November 24, 1942

The Governor appeared very pleased that relations with the Police Department and this Office were running smoothly and that the Internal Security Squad work was going along in a like manner.

The Governor was extremely courteous and the entire interview was on the most cordial of terms.

Very truly yours,

A. W. Miller

A. W. MILLER *L.S.*

Acting Special Agent in Charge

LD:JMD

EPM:AKR:shr
12/23/42
12/26/42

JAN 1 1943

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

At the apparent instance of Mr. Bolivar Pagan, Resident Commissioner of Puerto Rico to the United States, [redacted]

[redacted] called at this Bureau on December 18, 1942, to supply information regarding the Honorable Sanford Tugwell, Governor of Puerto Rico. [redacted] appeared very much disturbed over Governor Tugwell's administration of Puerto Rican affairs, explaining that the Governor had aligned himself with the Popular Party, the outstanding leaders of which, according to [redacted] are anti-American.

In this letter regard he observed that the leaders of the Popular Party in Puerto Rico have been securing economic assistance from Spaniards, the latter allegedly being definitely pro-Nazi. [redacted] advised that, in his opinion, Governor Tugwell, through his backing of the measure, was responsible for the passing of a salt tax favorable to a Spanish company, in the 1941 session of the Legislature of Puerto Rico. Continuing, [redacted] advised that some of the appointments of Governor Tugwell were responsible for the assassination of a former Chief of Police in San Juan, and that later Mr. Tugwell caused the removal as Chief of Police of San Juan, one Orbata, who was, according to [redacted] entirely pro-American. He said that Mr. Tugwell then appointed to this office one [redacted] who is said to be anti-American and to be working strenuously for the independence of Puerto Rico. In this connection [redacted] observed that the majority of Puerto Ricans do not desire independence but would prefer to be recognized as a State.

- Mr Tolson _____
- Mr E. A. Tamm _____
- Mr Clegg _____
- Mr Glavin _____
- Mr Ladd _____
- Mr Nichols _____
- Mr Rosen _____
- Mr Tracy _____
- Mr Carson _____
- Mr Coffey _____
- Mr Hendon _____
- Mr Kramer _____
- Mr McGuire _____
- Mr Harbo _____
- Mr Quinn Tamm _____
- Mr Nease _____
- Miss Gandy _____

He advised that Governor Tugwell has associated with a man named Toussig, who holds large sugar interests and who allegedly is desirous of eliminating the Puerto Rican sugar trade. [redacted] further advised that the Governor appears to favor Toussig in connection with various measures affecting Puerto Rico.

In a similar vein, [redacted] stated that every step taken by Governor Tugwell leads toward creation of an anti-American feeling. The Governor, so it is said by the informant, has increased the expense of operating the Puerto Rican Government, the appropriation for the Governor's office having been increased to \$197,000. In this letter regard the informant has advised that Mr. Tugwell has 22 cars assigned to his office.

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Fuerto Ricans are afraid to talk with the police, according to [redacted] inasmuch as they feel the police talk too freely, thereby subjecting them, the people of Puerto Rico, to retaliatory measures prompted by any criticism which they may make of the Administration or the Spanish Falangists. Relative to the promiscuity of Puerto Rican police, [redacted] has stated that at the time one Selbrino Henrique, a leading Falangist, was being investigated the investigating officer told him, [redacted] the results of all inquiries that had been made. The informant cited this as typical of the actions of the Puerto Rican police.

[redacted] has advised that he intends to communicate with the President concerning the foregoing, inasmuch as he feels that the Tugwell Administration is decidedly bad for Puerto Rico.

b7D

In view of its character, I wanted you to have the benefit of the foregoing information.

As you will note the afore-mentioned information was furnished voluntarily by [redacted] and I am not able to vouch for its authenticity. The Federal Bureau of Investigation is conducting no investigation of these matters.

Respectfully,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

LW:IS

December 26, 1942

The Honorable
The Secretary of the Interior
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Secretary:

On December 18, 1942, [redacted]

[redacted] called at this Bureau at the apparent instance of Mr. Dolivar Fagan, Resident Commissioner of Puerto Rico to the United States, and volunteered the following information regarding the Honorable Rosford Tugwell, Governor of Puerto Rico. [redacted] appeared very much disturbed over Governor Tugwell's administration of Puerto Rican affairs, explaining that the Governor had aligned himself with the Popular Party, the outstanding leaders of which, according to [redacted] are anti-American.

In this letter regard he observed that the leaders of the Popular Party in Puerto Rico have been securing economic assistance from Spaniards, the latter allegedly being definitely pro-Nazi. [redacted] advised that, in his opinion, Governor Tugwell, through his backing of the measure, was responsible for the passing of a salt tax favorable to a Spanish company, in the 1941 session of the Legislature of Puerto Rico. Continuing, [redacted]

[redacted] Grbeta, who was, according to [redacted] entirely pro-American. He said that Mr. Tugwell then appointed to this office one Frau, who is said to be anti-American and to be working strenuously for the independence of Puerto Rico. In this connection [redacted] observed that the majority of Puerto Ricans do not desire independence but would prefer to be recognized as a State.

He advised that Governor Tugwell has associated with [redacted] a man named Tousseig, who holds large sugar interests and who allegedly is [redacted] of eliminating the Puerto Rican sugar trade. [redacted] further advised that the Governor appears to favor Tousseig in connection with various measures affecting Puerto Rico.

- Mr. Tolson _____
- Mr. E. A. Tamm _____
- Mr. Clegg _____
- Mr. Glavin _____
- Mr. Ladd _____
- Mr. Nichols _____
- Mr. Rosen _____
- Mr. Traction _____
- Mr. Carson _____
- Mr. Coffey _____
- Mr. Hendon _____
- Mr. Kramer _____
- Mr. McGuire _____
- Mr. Harbo _____
- Mr. Quinn Tamm _____
- Mr. Nease _____
- Miss Gandy _____

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The Secretary of the Interior

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In a similar vein, [redacted] stated that every step taken by Governor Sagwell leads toward creation of an anti-American feeling. The Governor, so it is said by the informant, has increased the expense of operating the Puerto Rican Government, the appropriation for the Governor's office having been increased to \$197,000. In this latter regard the informant has advised that Mr. Sagwell has 22 cars assigned to his office.

b7D

Puerto Ricans are afraid to talk with the police, according to [redacted] inasmuch as they feel the police talk too freely, thereby subjecting them, the people of Puerto Rico, to retaliatory measures prompted by any criticism which they may make of the Administration or the Spanish Palangists. Relative to the promiscuity of Puerto Rican police, [redacted] has stated that at the time one Seitrino Janrique, a leading Palangist, was being investigated the investigating officer told him, [redacted] the results of all inquiries that had been made. The informant cited this as typical of the actions of the Puerto Rican police.

[redacted] has advised that he intends to communicate with the President concerning the foregoing, inasmuch as he feels that the Sagwell Administration is decidedly bad for Puerto Rico.

b7D

In view of its character, I wanted you to have the benefit of the foregoing information.

As you will note the afore-mentioned information was furnished voluntarily by [redacted] and I am not able to vouch for its authenticity. The Federal Bureau of Investigation is conducting no investigation of these matters.

Sincerely yours,

Dr. L. J. ...



GCC:ems

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

December 31, 1942

- Mr. Tolson _____
- Mr. E. A. Tamm ✓
- Mr. Clegg _____
- Mr. Glavin _____
- Mr. Ladd _____
- Mr. Nichols _____
- Mr. Rosen _____
- Mr. Tracy _____
- Mr. Carson _____
- Mr. Coffey _____
- Mr. Hendon _____
- Mr. Kramer _____
- Mr. McGuire _____
- Mr. Harbo _____
- Mr. Quinn Tamm _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Mr. Nease _____
- Miss Beahm _____
- Miss Gandy _____

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. LADD

RE: REXFORD G. TUGWELL

Mr. A. W. Miller, Special Agent in Charge of the San Juan Office, advised Supervisor G. C. Callan in my absence that he desired to leave the following information at the Bureau and had inadvertently forgotten to do so and inasmuch as he was leaving for San Juan the following day, he wished to report it to Mr. Callan.

He advised that the day before he left Puerto Rico to come to Washington for In-Service school, Mr. James R. Beverley, a prominent attorney of San Juan who is former Governor of Puerto Rico, had stated that Governor Tugwell has confidential informants in the Office of Censorship and Insular Cable Company, which is an intra-island cable system. These confidential informants keep the Governor posted of everything that clears through Censorship which might conceivably involve the Governor or be of assistance to him. Through these sources the Governor keeps constantly advised of all communications emanating from Puerto Rico as indicative of feeling against the Governor.

Mr. Miller left with Agent Callan a copy of a letter sent to the President of the United States on June 8, 1942. This copy had just come into Mr. Miller's possession. It was sent by the Chamber of Commerce of Puerto Rico and urged the President to recall Tugwell from the Governorship. Mr. Miller also furnished a newspaper clipping of a speech given by Attorney General George A. Malcolm on November 11, 1942, from the World Journal of San Juan, Puerto Rico. Miller advised that the Attorney General is a very reliable individual, a man who knew Puerto Rico well and that his speech was a factual presentation of the present situation in Puerto Rico. Mr. Miller advised that shortly after making the speech, the Attorney General resigned under duress.

RECOMMENDATION:

It is recommended that the letter and the newspaper clipping be placed in the files of the Bureau for possible future reference.

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Respectfully,

R. H. Cunningham



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MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

You will recall that the press recently published an article having to do with the management of the Puerto Rican Government by its present Governor, Rosford G. Tugwell.

The Special Agent in Charge of the San Juan, Puerto Rico Field Division of this Bureau recently received a copy of the draft of a letter prepared by the Chamber of Commerce of Puerto Rico addressed to the President and dated June 5, 1942. A copy of this draft is being forwarded herewith for your perusal. This draft only recently came into the possession of our San Juan Office and it is not known if it was forwarded to the President. Our Special Agent in Charge of the San Juan Office further advised that he was informed that Governor Tugwell has confidential informants in the Office of Censorship and the Inlander Cable Company, which is an intra-island cable system. It was also stated that these confidential informants keep the Governor posted on everything that pleases through censorship which might conceivably involve the Governor or be of assistance to him, and through these sources the Governor keeps constantly advised of all communications emanating from Puerto Rico which are indicative of the feeling against the Governor.

In connection with the criticism of the Tugwell administration, the World Journal, a newspaper published in Puerto Rico, in its November 11, 1942 issue carried a press release setting forth a talk given by George W. Malcolm, former Attorney General of Puerto Rico. In this talk, Mr. Malcolm criticizes the Puerto Rican administration under Governor Tugwell and points out that Puerto Rico is maintaining the most expensive government under the United States flag. This article was three or four columns in length and was written under banner headlines. Another article was published in the Puerto Rico Journal for September 11, 1942 consisting of three columns in which the actions of the Puerto Rican administration were criticized, particularly from the standpoint of the creation of various bureaus and the large amount of money which were spent for purposes other than for the forwarding of the war effort.

The above facts are being set forth for your information.

Sincerely,
John Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. E. A. Tamm
- Mr. Clegg
- Mr. Glavin
- Mr. Ladd
- Mr. Nichols
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Tracy
- Mr. Carson
- Mr. Coffey
- Mr. Hendon
- Mr. Kramer
- Mr. McGuire
- Mr. Harbo
- Mr. Quinn Tamm
- Mr. Nease
- Miss Gandy

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Handwritten signatures and initials, including a large signature that appears to be "John Edgar Hoover".

Draft of letter to the President (June 5, 1944): -

The Chamber of Commerce of Puerto Rico composed of over 500 business and professional men in Puerto Rico, respectfully makes use of the right of free men everywhere to petition their government, and respectfully but urgently requests that the President recall Rexford G. Tugwell from the Governorship of Puerto Rico for the following reasons.

1. He has become involved in local party politics. The American governor of this Island should be impartial as representing the Nation and the President. Mr. Tugwell is under the political domination and control of a single local group.

2. He has refused to hear legitimate business men, industrialists and farmers on matters of vital interest to them and to the Island, maintaining the general attitude that he already knows everything and that citizens are not entitled to be heard in their own interests.

3. He has failed and refused to cooperate with federal and non-governmental agencies in matters vital to the war effort in Puerto Rico.

4. For months he delayed taking measures for Civil Defense and displayed a lack of administrative ability and confusion in the matter and interjected political questions into Civil Defense until public opinion forced him to act otherwise.

5. He has repeatedly ignored the advice of the Attorney General of Puerto Rico, who is by Congressional statute the legal advisor of the Governor and who is a Presidential appointee. He has approved against the legal advice of his Attorney General unconstitutional and dangerous bills, knowing them to be unconstitutional.

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6. He has consistently ignored the Auditor of Puerto Rico (a Presidential appointee) in financial and governmental matters pertinent to the office of the Auditor.

7. In the midst of war, he has greatly increased the Insular civil budget for totally unnecessary purposes not even remotely connected with war purposes, and has burdened the Island with other great and unnecessary appropriations of public funds.

8. He has encouraged and brought about great increases in taxation, not one cent of which goes for aiding the war effort of the United States.

9. He has created a multitude of new bureaus and offices without reason.

10. He has countenanced and approved the so-called "reorganization" of departments and offices of the Insular Government, the only real object of which was to avoid the Civil Service Law in the discharge of reduction in category of competent civil servants.

11. He has divided the people of the Island and has set group against group in internecine political strife at a time when even a mediocre leadership could have united the people in the war effort.

12. He has fomented labor disturbances inimical to the war efforts of the United States.

13. He has shown himself capricious and unstable and irresponsible. In a fit of personal pique he has threatened people with Martial Law at a time when no reason for such existed.

14. By his lack of manners, common courtesy and tact, he has alienated the vast majority of all intelligent people in the Island, not directly dependent upon his favor for their livelihood.

15. He has encouraged and brought about the concentration of executive instruments of civil power in his hands which will effectively destroy a great part of our system of representative government, instrumentalities financed by public moneys but removed from the control of the Auditor of Puerto Rico and from the other regular offices of the Government, to destroy the functions of the Departments as given them by Act of Congress.

16. He has appointed and maintained in high public offices persons known to be inimical to the United States.

17. In the face of local petitions and petitions over a period of months he has failed and refused to take any steps for the proper rationing of petroleum products in the Island, a vital necessity to the welfare of Puerto Rico.

18. He has shown himself innately incapable of the difficult and delicate problems of territorial administration in a time of danger and crisis to the nation, and his actions have had a deleterious effect upon the normal relations between the United States and this territory, the effect of which will inevitably be echoed in relations with the countries of South and Central America.

These things we offer to prove to any impartial investigator.

Were we independent, we could at least rebel in arms against this maladministration. Being a possession of the United States and deeply loyal to our Nation, we have only the recourse of petition.

Being weak does not make us wrong.

Puerto Rico resents the sending of Governors from the continent who are failures, theorists and second-rate political office seekers, and who surround themselves with the same type of men. We have a moral right,

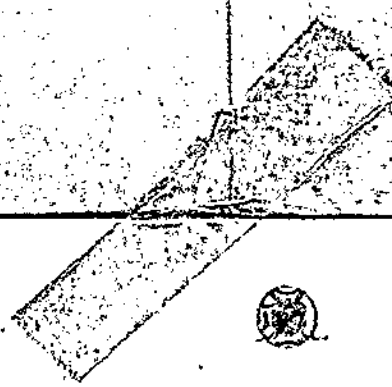
though not a legal one, to demand that the National Administration send to the difficult task in this Island, high-minded, intelligent and impartial administrators, fit representatives of our great Nation. We had such a man in Admiral William D. Leahy, but unfortunately for us he was called to larger duties. We have now competent, high-type career men in the offices of Attorney General and Auditor. Cannot you send us another man of the caliber of Admiral Leahy? Surely impartial intelligent administrative ability is not so rare that this Island of Two million American citizens must be denied that type of Governor.

Courageous and impartial Governors have been all too rare in our history.

If Mr. Tugwell continues as Governor he will be supported only by the clique which is using him for their own purposes. The majority will receive him with sullen and helpless resentment. The main effort of all citizens must be to win this dangerous war. Puerto Rico with the best will in the world, cannot make its proper contribution to this effort so long as the present Governor continues to keep the Island in a bitter uproar of warring factions.

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ENCLOSURE

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Attorney General Malcolm Tugwell Spending; 'Removed'

Addresses Civic Clubs At Condado; Renews \$10,000,000 Appropriated Without Approval Of Auditor

The long-smoldering conflict between the Attorney General's office and Governor Rexford G. Tugwell flared into the open yesterday when Attorney General George A. Malcolm, speaking before a combined meeting of civic clubs, in San Juan, charged Tugwell with extravagance and took direct issue with "an executive who would dump a whole series of half-baked projects on to a people in war time to divide and confuse them and to divert time, energy, and money from what should be our sole object—to win the war."

AUDITOR OVER-RULED

The Attorney General declared a large number of important measures had been approved by Tugwell in the face of adverse legal reports, and that Tugwell has approved bills creating no less than 23 authorities, services, and offices, in addition to various advisors and coordinators, including a "coordinator of information."

Appropriations in 1942, he disclosed, have been increased by \$14,500,000 over 1941, and he referred to the Organic Act of Puerto Rico, which empowers the Auditor to call attention to extravagant and unnecessary expenditures.

"Nevertheless, the Auditor was afforded no opportunity to make reports on bills involving appropriations totaling \$10,000,000," said Malcolm. "Of the bills forwarded to the Auditor for reports, 20 were approved by the Governor against the opposition of the Auditor."

Most Expensive Government

Malcolm included figures to demonstrate that notwithstanding the poor economy of the island, Puerto Rico is maintaining the most expensive government under the United States flag.

He quoted a letter that Tugwell wrote him last December in criticism of a now historic speech made on the 150th anniversary of the American Bill of Rights. In this speech Malcolm mentioned government inefficiencies, the growing Puerto Rican bureaucracy, and asked that the "spotlight of public opinion" be turned on unessential offices and bureaus in order that something tangible be accomplished for the welfare of the people, and in order to make all officials and employees remember a public office is a public trust.

Malcolm's December, 1941, speech was subsequently quoted editorially by the WORLD JOURNAL, and accompanying publicity drew Governor Tugwell's wrath upon the Attorney General.

"My hours as your Attorney General are numbered," said Malcolm, in closing. "But while I remain in office and afterwards as a humble citizen, I shall do everything within my power to assure a democratic government. Let's remain Americans."

Sold \$1,000,000 In Bonds

The Attorney General, who has gained the title of George "Sell-Bore-Bonds" Malcolm for his spectacular success in promoting rallies that have sold over \$1,000,000 in War Bonds since October, was given a special mention in the Puerto Rican and continental audience.

The full text of Malcolm's speech is as follows:

On the meeting date nearest to the one-hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the American Bill of Rights, I was privileged to address the members of the Lions Club of San Juan on this theme. The title of the speech was "Democracy at the Crossroads" and it was divided into four parts, namely: (1) a general description of the Bill of Rights; (2) observations on freedom of speech and press; (3) observations on the right of trial by jury and (4) a peroration with a toast to the President. What was most desired was to encourage civic mindedness in my listeners and to help in the formation of public opinion to act as a brake on governmental activities. That the



George A. Malcolm

speech was well received by those present can be recalled with pleasure and as described by Secretary Mariano H. Ramirez, appears in the archives of the Lions Club as follows:

"The orator of the day, Hon. George Malcolm, made an eloquent speech commemorating the 150th anniversary of the American Bill of Rights. The orator also made brief reference to present times, based on his knowledge of the Philippines. He offered a toast to the victory of the democracies and the members of the Club rose and rendered an ovation joining him in his statements. The Lions' President thanked him on behalf of the Lions Club of San Juan and on motion of one of the members, it was resolved that his speech should be included in the records of the Club."

The speech was written up in the issue of the Puerto Rico World Journal of December 18, 1941, which picked out three sentences for quotation, as follows:

"Speaking before the Lions Club of San Juan in observance of the 150th anniversary of the American Bill of Rights, Attorney General Malcolm declared:

"There is existent in Puerto Rico a mighty bureaucracy made up of countless departments, bureaus, divisions, commissions, and what not, crowding and overlapping each other in jurisdiction, but all dependent for existence on public funds.

"On them, the spotlight of public opinion, in order to cause the weeding out of unnecessary officers and employees; in order to be sure that something tangible is accomplished for the welfare of the people, and in order to make all officials and employees remember that a public office is a public trust."

"HITS PETTY GRAFT"

"The Attorney General struck at officials who tolerate petty or major graft and who fail to compare the waste of a dollar with what it might accomplish to better the conditions of his less fortunate fellowmen and women."

The newspaper likewise included in the same issue and editorial entitled "Public Trust" and reading as follows:

"Attorney General George A. Malcolm hit upon one of the

chief reasons why our civilian defense preparations are lagging when he told a gathering of Lions Club members that unnecessary officers and employees in the bureaucratic set-up of Puerto Rico's government should be 'weeded out.' "Countless departments, bureaus, divisions, commissions, and what not, to which the Attorney General referred are what our defense set-up lacks one leader with authority to crack the whip and get things done without wasting time on the normal red tape procedure."

"Mr. Malcolm's charge might

seem to imply that only government in Puerto Rico is hampered by crowding and overlapping each other in jurisdiction," but in fact, the charge must be taken to cover those agencies for the sole purpose of civilian defense. Without the cooperation and smooth functioning of the government bureaus, all efforts toward rapid correction of our inadequate defense set-up must suffer from that same inefficiency.

"The spotlight of public opinion should be played on them (unnecessary officers) in order to be sure that something tangible is accomplished for the welfare of the people, and in order to make all officials and employees remember that a public office is a public trust. In that statement the Attorney General earned the distinction of being the first public official, Federal or Insular, with courage enough to speak up and denounce those individuals who maintain their political obligations at the expense of the public welfare, even in times of national emergency."

"There can be no early attainment of the many needed adjuncts to island defense for the civilian population until every government agency, involved in one way or another, is made to toe the mark and carry out its obligations to the people without other consideration than that of fulfilling its public trust."

"We congratulate Mr. Malcolm on his speech. Other influential public figures might aid in the campaign of 'spotlighting' governmental inefficiency by following his example."

Received from "La Fortaleza" a communication signed by the Governor, and inscribed by the Governor, couched in the following language:

"LA FORTALEZA Puerto Rico

December 19, 1941.

"Hon. George A. Malcolm, Attorney General of Puerto Rico,

San Juan, P. R.

"My dear Mr. Malcolm:

"I suppose the speech you made the other day at the Lions Club was intended to center attention on one sentence in which you said, by implication at least, that vast inefficiencies exist in the Government of Puerto Rico. If that was your intention, it had the correct reaction, because that was the part played up in the press. And you received the editorial approval, which always results from denunciations of bureaucracy."

"Whether or not that was your intention, you have put all of us in the position of being a part of countless departments, bureaus, divisions, commissions and what not, crowding and overlapping each other, such as were mentioned in your speech."

"I have an idea that the added duties of government will in the future require additional agencies and added personnel. This provides a certain opening

for criticisms which may apply to the inept and uninformed. But members of the government ought to be cautious, seems to me, about taking advantage of this opportunity."

"Since you have brought the matter up in such a public way it seems to me not unreasonable to request that you supply me with the information, which your statement is based. I shall be glad to bring the matter to the attention of the Legislature and ask for action."

Sincerely yours,
(Sgd.) R. G. Tugwell
Governor

To this letter a fairly extensive answer was made on December 19, 1941, in which, among other things, it was said that every word in particular sentences was readily demonstrable. An offer was made to assist in obtaining correct legislative action. Then there was added the remark, "Notwithstanding the above considerations, I finally recall that the subject I was discussing in my speech public opinion and the point endeavoring to make was the spotlight of public opinion should play on governmental activities. Surely any democratic government should be able to stand that test."

Presents the Facts

With your permission, and without any desire to enter into a controversial discussion, I would like to present the facts related to three sentences of my address regarding the American Bill of Rights.

The main features of the executive administration are undoubtedly known to you. At the same time I am confident that even leading citizens as well informed as you are, would be surprised to learn just how many officials are considered essential to govern the million people. What I wish to point out to you now is the extent to which additions have been made to the Government of Puerto Rico on executive initiative within recent months.

Names Authorities

During the Special Session of the Legislature, beginning on October 28, 1941, and during the Regular Session of the Legislature, beginning on February 10, 1942, bills created executive approval which created, among others, the following Authorities, Services and Offices: Food and General Supplies Commission; Bureau of Classification of Nepotism in the Civil Service Commission; Office of Statistics in the Office of the Governor; Insular Sewerage Service; College of Public Administration in the Uni-

versity of Puerto Rico; Office of Legal Assistance in the Department of Labor; Institute of Tropical Agriculture; Tax Division; Office of the Attorney General; Reorganization of the Department of Finance; Amended Water Resources Authority; Park Service; Insular Fire Service; Reorganized University of Puerto Rico; Tobacco Institute; General Supplies Office; District Court of Caguas; Bureau of the Budget in the Office of the Governor; Transportation Authority; Communications Authority; Puerto Rico Development Company; Development Bank of Puerto Rico; the Planning Commission; numerous offices created in the general budget and other other assistants, technicians and advisers, and a coordinator of information added to the administrative set-up of the Government.

Increased Budget

The total amount appropriated during the Special Session of 1941 was \$3,048,930.93, and during the Regular Session of 1942 was \$3,415,262.17. The budget for the present fiscal year exceeds the budget for the last fiscal year by \$366,331.24. The total appropriations of the Special Session of November, 1941, and the Regular Session of 1942, as compared with the appropriations of the Regular Session of 1941, were increased by \$14,500,000. \$8,388,000 of dollars of bonds were also authorized.

ENCLOSURE

62-44-664-51

62-44-664-51

The 400 and more bills received in the Office of the Attorney General following the conclusion of the Regular Session, with but a few days in which to take action thereon, reports were made except as to three bills, namely, the ones amendatory of the Puerto Rico Water Resources Authority Act, creating the Puerto Rico Transportation Authority and reorganizing the University of Puerto Rico, which were recalled by the executive office and approved by the Governor before reports could be made. Of the remaining bills, a number of important measures were approved by the Governor in the face of adverse legal reports thereon by the Attorney General. On the other hand, a bill entitled: "An Act to declare a public offense every act performed in violation of civil rights and liberties; to impose penalties for such violations, and for other purposes," was vetoed, notwithstanding the report on this bill, prepared by the representative in Puerto Rico of the Civil Liberties League, found in effect that the measure sought to protect the citizen in the enjoyment of civil rights and liberties and that it was consonant with the democratic process, which led the Attorney General to conclude that the said bill ought to merit the Governor's approval. Another bill similarly vetoed was that creating an additional District Court of Arecibo, which the Attorney General recommended be approved because this court was overburdened with work, in contrast to the bill creating a new District Court in Caguas, which was found fatally defective, but which the Chief Executive approved.

Auditor Not Consulted

The Organic Act grants vast powers to the Auditor, including the duty to bring to the attention of the proper administrative officer expenditures of funds or property which, in his opinion, are extravagant, excessive, unnecessary or irregular. Nevertheless, the Auditor was afforded no opportunity to make reports on a number of bills involving appropriations amounting to \$10,000,000. Of the bills forwarded to the Auditor for reports, twenty were approved by the Governor against the opposition of the Auditor.

Of the measures placed on the statute books, in the face of adverse reports thereon by the legal adviser of the Chief Executive and the Auditor, one, the Act creating the District Court of Caguas, has already been declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of Puerto Rico. Two other of these measures are now in the courts, thus limiting reference to them. It is probable that others will follow the same process, with what result cannot now be anticipated.

States Admitted Facts

The foregoing are some of the admitted facts. They disclose that instead of any effort having been made to eliminate unnecessary offices in the interest of economy and efficiency, the "additional agencies and added personnel" to which the Governor referred in his letter to me have been brought into being with corresponding outlays of public funds. According to investigators, the figures demonstrate that Puerto Rico, notwithstanding the poor economy of the island, is maintaining the most expensive government under the United States flag. In contrast, Dr. Henry M. Winston, President of Brown University, who is Chairman of the Citizens' Emergency Committee on Non-Defense Expenditures, has well said: "Extravagance in any form by citizens or by government, imperils the war effort."

That similar governmental crowding and administrative overlapping occur elsewhere is undeniable. However, this state of confusion constitutes no excuse for emulation in war time by Puerto Rico.

Bureaucracy Defined

Lawrence Sullivan, a well known journalist and magazine correspondent in Washington in a recent book on "The Dead Hand of Bureaucracy" has defined "Bureaucracy" as "representative government suffering a nervous breakdown." He emphasizes that to check the crippling influence of runaway bureaucracy is our foremost problem, and its solution depends the survival of the American way of life.

He traces the development of the jungle of the law and describes the techniques of tyranny. Referring to the numerous government agencies, he quotes the Senate Committee on the Judiciary in 1939 as saying: "Unless this country is to become a totalitarian government these agencies must be required to observe the terms of the statutes and to exercise good faith in their administration." He brings out that citizens in one year returned to Federal Bureaus 135,500,000 reports, questionnaires, accounting forms, tax schedules and inspection sheets. Mr. Sullivan concludes as follows:

"America wants to be American again — robust, venturesome, confident—but bureaucracy rides our necks like the old man of the sea. In our consequent bewilderment we are prone to forget that government is not an end in itself, but only a means to a richer, more secure life for individuals. Representative government is merely that system of ordered social arrangements which releases the energies and genius of the people for living, building, working, growing for invention and discovery; for the development of mind and enrichment of spirit."

Quotes Bromfield

Louis Bromfield, an eminent novelist and observer, in a recent magazine article, after confessing that he is "a good deal of a New Dealer, largely because the New Deal has been the only comprehensive program offered to meet the grave problems of this revolutionary and changing world in which we live," continues:

"I am not unaware, however, of the faults and mistakes of the program nor of the idiosyncrasies of some of those involved in it. Nor am I deceived about the dangers to democracy which can grow out of it. One of the worst of the dangers is a top-heavy bureaucracy..."

"There is another element of a dangerous character involved, and that is the tendency of a bureaucracy to denounce any criticism of itself as treasonable, as disloyalty..."

"The common sense of the common people is becoming articulate once more, and what the common people are saying is, 'This is all-out total war. The time of experiment and extravagance is past. We no longer like being scolded and lectured to. Let us participate as citizens instead of being held at arm's length by the bureaucrats. Now is the time for consolidation, economy, efficiency, and a rebirth of our own democracy through the assertion of the people's will. Let's really get down to business. No more theories, no more theorists, no more experiments until we have finished this job!'"

Monstrosity

Senator Millard Tydings, who not long ago concluded a survey of the Federal Government, confirms the above quoted conclusions. In the words of the distinguished Senator:

"This government is an overgrown monstrosity from top to bottom—an extravagant, wasteful bureaucracy in the midst of the whole war effort; and every Senator knows it!"

This is one point of view. Others as insistently and conscientiously will point to the need for social betterment and for instrumentalities to bring about that betterment. Thus our Governor, one of the pioneer leaders in this movement, is quoted by Senator Robert A. Taft as once having stated: "The difficulty in attaining the experimental habit of mind toward social or economic arrangements arises largely from a confusion of ends with means and from an emotional attachment to the instruments of social life. An illustration of such feeling is the unreasoning, almost hysterical attachment of certain Americans to the Constitution." Again Dr. Tugwell, in his book "The Principle of Planning," has stated:

"Most of those who say so easily that this is our way out do not. I am convinced, understand that fundamental changes of attitude, new disciplines, revised legal structures unaccustomed limitations on activity, are all necessary if we are to

plan. This amounts, in fact, to the abandonment finally of 'laissez faire. It amounts practically to the abolition of 'business'. . . I believe that the world awaits a great outpouring of energy so soon as we shall have removed the dead hand of competitive enterprise. When industry is government and government is industry, the dual conflict deepest in our modern institutions will be abated. This is one of the basic reasons why the prospect of a planned economy is so congenial to every hope and belief I have."

Democracy In Action

At this point I have to recall that I am addressing members of service clubs. That signifies that you have within you a personal interest in the welfare of the community, of the Island and of the nation. Naturally, not all will think alike and either in your meetings or elsewhere will take divergent positions. But that is democracy in action, for as Water Lippmann has well said: "Where all think alike, no one thinks very much." As I urged in my remarks on the Bill of Rights nearly a year ago, it is for you as leading citizens to develop an informed public opinion and, with such a force behind you, to demand a clean, economical and efficient government.

I engage in no argument on the nature of the agencies added to our governmental structure that I have mentioned. Such a discussion would be inappropriate. You are each entitled to your point of view. Nor do I make any effort to prove either the constitutionality or unconstitutionality of the various measures authorizing these agencies, for such questions as in the Caguas Court case can be left to the courts for decision. And certainly I do not impugn the motives of those responsible for the laws creating the Agencies. But anyone is privileged to propound pertinent questions. I confine myself to the following: Was timely and effective action taken with regard to the implementation of civilian and national defense and the protection of the necessities of life of the people? Was it wise to increase public expenditures to such an extent and to spend public funds so lavishly when it must have been realized that income could be expected steadily to diminish, instead of retaining funds to alleviate distress and to cushion the post war situation? Was wartime an appropriate occasion to devote so much energy and money to the establishment of numerous new offices and entities?

Proper Setting

Before we attempt to formulate answers to these questions let us fit them into their proper setting. In the first place, all of you, I am sure, favor social betterment for Puerto Rico. I know I do, for I come from the masses. My sympathies are with the undernourished and underprivileged. Nevertheless, in attempting to help these deserving people it could well be argued that even under normal conditions the creation of so many agencies and offices at one time could not be justified and that they would not alleviate the distress of our less fortunate brethren. But let us pass that by. Where I take direct issue is with an Executive who would dump a whole series of half-baked projects on to a people in war time, to divide and confuse them and to divert time, energy and money from what should be

our sole object—to win the war.

I question the propriety and the wisdom of diverting attention from anything but defense and emergency matters; and of appropriating funds for any but the routine and emergency expenses of the government, leaving the surplus available for appropriation to meet the needs of the people and to uphold our economy after peace shall come. Let us forget we are American citizens, living in an integral part of the United States of America engaged with other citizens, and our allies in the greatest war of history in defense of law and liberty. It therefore behooves all of us from the highest official to the ordinary citizen, to nail these facts to the mastheads of our policies and to insist on corresponding patriotic action.

The Four Freedoms

The four freedoms proclaimed in the Atlantic Charter were freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want and freedom from fear. In the words of the President, they constitute something to live by and fight for. Each freedom has vital importance. In my former address I dwelt on the first and again I direct attention to freedom of speech, and with it the right to assemble and petition. Stand steadfast for freedom of speech and of the press, for fear that in losing it, you lose the other freedoms. Exemplify this privilege by expressing yourselves courageously on public questions. Free speech, at once the instrument and the guaranty, and the bright consummate flower of all liberty. "Public opinion... the great source of power, the master of servants who tremble before it."—These constitute the pillars of democracy.

My friends—and I am confident every man in this room is my friend, as are thousands of others of my fellow countrymen in the Island who believe as I do in the maintenance of a decent and stable government; who believe as I do that instead of abolishing business competitive enterprise should be encouraged and who have as I have an attachment to the Constitution—my day (I correct myself, my hours) as your Attorney General are numbered, but while I remain in office and afterwards as a humble citizen, I shall do everything within my power to assure a democratic government. Let's remain Americans.



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Journal

AGENCY ★ ★ ★ ACME PHOTOS

1942

THREE CENTS
 San Juan City and Island



Stalingrad Completely Cut Off; Its Dusseldorf

LINEA

Destroy Bridges, Boats;
 Retreat Now Impossible

BY THE UNITED PRESS

There is no road back from Stalingrad today. Russia's mighty steel city has become an island fighting alone—either to death or victory—from which no man, woman or child can escape.

Every bridge across the protecting Volga River has been blown up by the Russians and every boat destroyed, meaning the defenders have no choice except to fight to the death.

The newspaper Red Star revealed this today and added that Stalingrad's danger left the Soviet's no alternative, "the same as there was no choice in 1918." Added the paper, "The defenders knew this when Stalin ordered all means of crossing the Volga removed, and the army grimly approves."

The Red Army has been ordered to hold Stalingrad at any cost and fight to the last street, house and man.

Describing Stalingrad as "the Soviet Verdun," the newspaper warned there would be no mercy shown upwards or those who become panicky.

The amount of men, materiel and especially aircraft thrown against the city was described as unheard of, "even for the tremendous scale of this war."

Exploiting momentary successes at the utmost speed, the Germans have concentrated their heaviest armored units behind wedge-forming spearheads and are sending big

Losses Heavy On Both Sides, Says MacArthur

No Further Progress
 Made By Enemy Forces
 Since Yesterday

MACARTHUR'S HEADQUARTERS, Australia, September 11. (U. P.)—The Jap drive to Port Moresby has been definitely halted after weeks of skirmishing and maneuvering in which the invaders pushed up the north side of the Owen Stanley mountain range, finally crossing the gap and starting down the jungle trail within 44 miles of Moresby.

A communique from Gen. Douglas MacArthur's Headquarters yesterday declared the Japanese push had been stopped at the mountain range, after bitter fighting and heavy casualties on both sides. Allied bombers are harassing Japanese supply lines. It was revealed, and enemy patrols were said to be active south of Mubo.

The Japanese, however, are gradually leaving the worst terrain behind them, bank of the area, not

Leaders Favor FDR Authority To Set Prices

House Group Meeting
 Today To Study Anti-
 Inflation Program

WASHINGTON, September 11 (U. P.)—A simple joint resolution giving President Roosevelt authority

ed plains. The Ballahé River and Fnuhli Creek, crossing the direct route to Moresby, will not provide serious obstacles for the enemy who crossed the Owen Stanley Range.

An army officer, recently in New Guinea, described the area within 50 miles of Moresby as suitable for tank operations.

He said it would be a mistake for the Allies to assume the Jap supply position would become set. (Continued on page 2, col. 5.)

Allies Sink Two Jap Transports

Each Carrying 2,000 Japanese Soldiers

CHUNGKING, September 11 (U.P.)—Allied submarines sank two Japanese transports off the mouth of the Min River at Fukien August 27, the Central China News Agency declared yesterday, quoting reliable sources.

The bureau declared the two transports were steaming south when attacked, each carrying 2,000 men and their supplies.

The nationality of the underwater craft which attacked the Japanese vessels was not disclosed.

Other Central Agency dispatches revealed that Allied aircraft shot down two Jap scouting planes Tuesday in South Yunan.

One of the scouts was from Indo-China, it was said.

cent ultimately demanding action by October 1, 1941.

According to Congressional sources, the President is granted this authority he may then cut law all wage and salary increases that exceed the "little steel" formula in war industries. According to this reported plan, the President would prohibit war contractors from increasing wages of any employee more than 15 percent of what the job paid on January 1, 1941.

Such a scheme is based on the premise that the great increase in national purchasing power which threatens inflation is centered in workers in industries which are the direct recipients of war spending—and war spending is expected to reach 100 million dollars a year soon.

Millions of store clerks and ordinary civilians would be exempted from the provisions because they are not engaged in war industries.

Regarding farm price controls, the measure would establish ceilings at 100 per cent of parity or at market levels prevailing on September 1, 1942, whichever is higher.

German Plane Again Reported Off Iceland

REYKJAVIK, Sept. 11 (U.P.)—U. S. Army headquarters yesterday issued a communique stating that a German plane was off the east coast of Iceland yesterday morning. Two houses and two fishing trawlers were machine-gunned by the raiders but there were no casualties and no military damage.

three additional inhabited places near the city failed to change the general strategic character of the battle. The Germans, however, are trying to carry on positions regardless of losses, said Red Star.

The midnight communique of the Soviet High Command said last night reported intense battles west of Stalingrad. In one sector "Russian troops, after heavy defensive fighting, abandoned three inhabited localities." More than 50 Nazi tanks and two infantry regiments advanced against the position which one Red Army unit held. Seven enemy tanks were destroyed and up to 400 German troops killed.

German tanks also broke into the (Continued on page 3, col. 3.)

Brazil Preparing In Case Of Raids

RIO DE JANEIRO, Sept. 11 (U.P.)

The Government issued an announcement yesterday stating that air-raids on Rio de Janeiro and other Brazilian cities would be announced by sirens to be installed on the top of high buildings and also by the tolling of church bells, while gas attacks would be announced by police cars intermittently screaming sirens.

During the past two months, the Government has been posting notices throughout the city instructing the population how to act in the event of air attack.

Nehru's Daughter Arrested In India

LONDON, Sept. 11 (From Broadcasts Originating in India) (U.P.)—All India Congress leader Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's daughter and her husband were arrested in Allahabad Thursday evening, according to the All India radio.

Police dispersed a meeting which they planned to address and then detained both relatives of Congress leader Nehru, who is second in importance to Mohandas K. Gandhi, jailed Indian freedom leader.

Irish Fire Volleys But No One Hurt

BELEAST, Sept. 11 (U.P.)—A volley of shots were fired at a policeman yesterday as he approached a house at 463 Crumlin Road.

Following the shooting, the area was cordoned off by police and fire returned. Reinforcements were rushed to the district in tram cars, while other traffic was halted. Two men inside the house finally were arrested and police seized six revolvers and a considerable quantity of literature. No one was injured.

Portuguese To Be A 'Must' In Argentine

BUENOS AIRES, Sept. 11 (U.P.)—A bill providing for compulsory high school study of Portuguese was passed in the Argentine chamber and Senate and now awaits only executive promulgation.

Powerful Bureaucracy Seen In Seven Boards And Authorities

By OLIVER READLAND

Puerto Rico today is faced with two of the greatest dangers that have befallen the island since it became an American dependency in 1898. Confronted like the rest of the hemisphere with the menace of Axis warfare from without, the Puerto Rican people must now also contend with a powerful bureaucracy within the insular Government that is already threatening the very privileges the nation is struggling to preserve in a life and death war.

This unusual situation, which so conceivably force democracy into a siesta on these Caribbean shores, has come about, unrealized by most Islanders, through the establishment of seven formidable Boards or Authorities. All are lavishly imbursed with funds for operating expenses. Bristling with power, these sensational seven have been given the mailed fist; they can break the backbone of all private enterprise, while they themselves remain unrestrained.

Although partially intended to bridge grave inequalities among Puerto Rico's populace, of which ap-

proximately half, or nearly 1,000,000, are on what amounts to relief status, the arbitrary powers of this bureaucratic maze appear to overshadow their mark, and the Attorney General of Puerto Rico has opined that some of their working rules and regulations are unconstitutional.

Each agency, like a miniature kingdom, draws up its own operating budget within the original legislative appropriation, subject to no approval by either the governor or the Legislature. High salaried directors are chosen by the governor and approved by the Legislature for terms extending up to six years.

Approved By Bare Majority

With the exception of the Land and the Water Resources Authorities, which are older, each of these agencies has been set up in recent months by a bare majority of the Legislature, technically an control.

First and among the best known is the Water Resources Authority, irresistibly drawing every important water, irrigation, electric, heat, light, power, or equipment works on the island into its expanding dominion. This Authority

recently took over the Mayaguez Light and Power Company and the efficiently-managed Puerto Rican Railway Light and Power Company. The latter organization was especially well known for a long period of good public service. Restricted by law and the orders of the Public Service Commission to a reasonable margin of profit, it always operated even its small streetcar line something of a traffic nuisance in peace time, but a blessing in war on a regular five-cent fare basis.

The director of the WRA, Antonio Lucchetti, recently sought a \$6,000,000 RFC loan in the United States for "refinancing, extension lines, and other purposes." Also, though by no means incidentally, this costly corporation is on record for obtaining a \$500,000 Insular Treasury allotment earlier this year.

As in most cases involving enormous expenditures, Authority directors themselves have not remained unfavored. When the W. R. A. operated in connection with the Insular Department of the Interior as the Utilization of Water Resources, Lucchetti was paid \$9,000 yearly. (Continued on page 2, col. 1.)

Powerful Bureaucracy Seen...

(Continued from page 1)

After the agency joined ranks with the authoritarian seven, Lucchetti's salary sky-rocketed to \$15,000, or \$5,000 more than Sumner Welles receives for being Under-Secretary of State, and \$5,000 more than J. Edgar Hoover is paid for heading the FBI.

Nationally, this director's salary is equal to that of Vice President Henry A. Wallace, Secretary of State Cordell Hull, and the rest of the Cabinet members.

It is exactly such unbridled expenditures of public funds that has gained for Puerto Rico—which can ill afford it—the reputation of maintaining the most spendthrift government of all the states and territorial possessions.

The Land Authority

Second, the Land Authority, with a multi-million dollar appropriation, is busily chopping up the big sugar estates of the Island. Its actions are based on provisions of the Organic Act, and the 500-Acre Law, and appear sincerely calculated to help the indigent farmer support himself by selling him the necessary property for what amounts to a fee.

Yet, however, efficiently Jose Acosta Velarde may manage this authority, there remains the ever-present danger that the expensive experiment may backfire and ruin the local sugar industry, which has done much to build up the Island, and which is Puerto Rico's bread and butter.

While the war has increased the Island's need for greater self-sufficiency, geographical circumstances and an unproportionately large population have made sugar of high value as a cash crop both imperative and practical for the Puerto Rican economy. It is a physical impossibility to raise locally all or nearly all the food necessary for the Island, and the high cash value crops provide a purchasing lever to import necessities.

The Island's limited area, about 3,435 squares miles, sometimes called a strong point in favor of the Land Authority program, is offset by the dense population. With approximately 540 people to the square mile, there isn't enough arable farming land on the entire Island to offer every farmer so small a plot as five acres.

Governor Rexford G. Tugwell has been quoted as estimating the total cost of the land experiment program at \$175,000,000, or close to two-thirds Puerto Rico's entire property evaluation. This great price, weighed against the possibility of failure, does not seem an optimistic outlook for the time being after the war.

Mr. Tugwell started land division back in the 1920's, only to find the political deal in those impractical

have been greatly complicated by bilingualism and the vast influx of war workers, is nevertheless continuing work on a new \$100,000 telephone building in Santurce, headquarters for a modern dial phone system.

Political control of all communications is obviously a further step toward interfering with free speech and a free press, especially since untampered communications here in Puerto Rico, far separated from the continents, will always remain a vital necessity.

The press has for some time been affected by the establishment of an expensive Coordinator of Information's office at La Fortaleza. This unique institution, unknown in other states or territories, seeks to control the circulation of all insular government news.

Newsman visiting government offices in search of routine news are now frequently met by government officials who fear to reveal any information unless it comes through the coordinator's office.

"I'm sorry I can't give you any news," one official said. "I have been warned not to, and if I did, I might lose my job."

Free speech and a free press are still being championed in other parts of the world, if not in Puerto Rico. In blood-stained England, Winston Churchill has proclaimed: "We have succeeded in preserving our free institutions... free speech, full and active parliamentary government, a free press. We have done that under conditions which at times were more strained and convulsive than have ever beset a civilized state."

But quite the opposite in Puerto Rico, Governor Tugwell last February declared to a legislature that must have been astonished to hear it: "Our system (democracy) has its faults. Our cares for a free press and free assembly open us to abuses which sometimes seem intolerable, almost treasonable."

Surely, the people in the occupied countries of Europe, deprived of the hallowed freedoms of a free press and free speech, would have something to say about that, if they could but speak.

White Star Bus Purchase

Fourth, is the Transportation Authority, with a million dollar appropriation and power to expropriate, without limitation, any and all systems and properties connected with transportation service in the Island. Negotiations to the extent of half a million dollars are now going on for assimilating the White Star Bus Line of San Juan, a costly, but more or less "dead horse" proposition. Certain official circles have expressed doubt as to the wisdom of spending hundreds of thousands of dollars in buying the dilapidated White Star Busses, when after the war if not sooner, serviceable equipment can be se-

ment Company, seventh member, the grand power combination.

This final flabbergasting agency can use its accumulated funds to engage in any kind of enterprise in competition with private business or industry.

Private enterprise, of course, is helplessly obligated to pay the tax all these bureaucratic Frankenstein can use to drive this same private enterprise to economic ruin.

The Development Company, like the Water Resources Authority, the Communications Authority, and the Transportation Authority, is empowered to issue and sell up to \$5,000,000 worth of bonds, but a prodigal parent, the government assumes no responsibility in case of default.

Lack of Capable Personnel

One of the biggest weaknesses of all these governmental draughts designed to regiment individuals as employees of a government-controlled and owned enterprise, is a lack of leadership.

Governor Tugwell sensed this predicament last February when he declared:

"It is tragic that our government is so ill prepared to assume these responsibilities... we must proceed with a basically untrained personnel into a future in no way adequately planned."

Even so, the advice of experts has in the past often been lightly regarded. When the auditor, who like the attorney general, is no mere political puppet, opposed exorbitant expenditures amounting to millions of dollars, his recommendations were largely disregarded.

The auditor is nothing but glorified bookkeeper, anyway," one legislator said the other day. "If he and the attorney general can't agree with our ideologies, they should get out; it's the only gentlemanly thing for them to do."

Another high apostle of bureaucracy admitted that under the emergency it has been possible in some cases to gain control of properties probably difficult to obtain in peacetime.

"I suppose it is hypocrisy of a sort," he said cheerfully. "But then, it's good hypocrisy."

"Our side is the right side," he added. "If you aren't with us, you're against us—and if you're against us, you're a Jesus to the noblest cause that ever came to Puerto Rico."

GOP Sure Of 6 Big States

Martin Confident Of Gains In November

WASHINGTON, September 11. (U. P.)—Republican National Chair-

Although partially intended to state that the population of which the state has the highest number of itself remains unincorporated. private enterprise, while they can break the backbone of all been given the mailed fist; they these sensational seven have expenses. Betting with power, hired with funds for operating hurdles. All are lavishly financed through the establishment of several formidable Boards of Advisors, the establishment of which is not shared by most islands, been shores, has come about into a state on these earth can conceivably force democracy This unusual situation, which

aim to preserve in a life and death struggle the nation is struggling very hard to preserve the things that is already threatening the country within the Insular Government contend with a powerful bureaucracy. Puerto Rican people must now step out of axis warfare from without and hemisphere with the message of the hemisphere, like the rest of the world, is an American dependency. It has been the Island since it became one of the greatest dangers that Puerto Rico today is faced with.

BY OLIVER HEADLAND

Powerful B Seven Boas

in application. She is now attempting to place her farming communities in a large scale operation so as to coordinate with the war effort, and increase the yield.

With typical authoritarian, but illogical inconsistency, the Land Authority director receives an \$8,000 salary, while the head of the Insular Department of Agriculture is paid \$6,000.

Control of all Communications

Third is the Communications Authority, which was set up last May to give the Insular Government power to control all communications "in, to, and from the Island," including telephone, telegraph, radio, cable, and all connecting systems and plants, "without limitation."

The Insular Telegraph, now transferred to the Communications Authority, gives the authority a bad starting point. For with its greatly abused privilege of free service to the government it has operated at an average annual deficit of over \$67,000 for the last ten years.

Notorious for inefficiency and poor management, it is not possible to send a message at night because the telegraph doesn't operate after 10 P.M. Individuals have been known to send messages to distant island points arranging for business appointments, only to arrive ahead of the telegram.

The Porto Rico Telephone Company appears to be next on the expropriation list, and notice has already been served that it may be taken over in the future. This company, whose operating problems

cutted from the long as the government is bound to go into the guage business.

Master Plan

Fifth is the expensive Planning, Urbanizing, and Zoning Board, whose regulations have been declared unconstitutional in part by the attorney general. This Board's far-reaching functions seek to control building and the sale or change of land use in Puerto Rico. So comprehensive are the powers of this board that they extend to the minutest details of construction of all types. Part of the law contains provisions for a so-called "Master Plan" for the regimentation of industry and life in general, and also a connecting "Six Year Financial Plan."

Fines and imprisonment await citizen violators of the Planning Board code. In some cases "each and every day" during which a violation continues "shall be deemed a separate offense."

Called the costliest in the entire nation, Puerto Rico's Planning Board operates with a \$100,000 fiscal budget. Also something of a high spot in big finance, the Board chairman receives \$8,000 yearly, and his two assistants, themselves planning board innovations, \$6,000 yearly, or more than paid most state governors.

Development Bank: Development Company

Sixth, the Development Bank, as the most potentially dangerous and the focal point of all these assorted bureaus. The entire income of the Insular Government may, if desired, be deposited in this "bank to end all banks," to help as the law states, in the "realization of the complete development of the human and economic resources of Puerto Rico, by engaging in the general banking business."

Although being prepared for action with a \$500,000 legislative appropriation, debts and obligations of the bank are not held responsibilities of the government. In case the bank should become insolvent, preference is provided for the Development Bank to syphon off its golden flood into the Develop-

man Joseph Martin predicted yesterday the Republicans definitely will carry the big six states — Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, and California — in the November congressional, senatorial and gubernatorial elections.

Martin declined to prophesy whether the Republicans would win control of the House.

That chamber now has 262 Democrats and 166 Republicans. The Senate divides 65 to 23, but there is small prospect of a shift there, since many of the seats to be filled are in the Democratic South.

Martin declared "the war course between now and November will have some determination of the extent of these gains. There is a general feeling the war effort is not being handled by Washington as efficiently as it might be. And there's widespread belief it will be safer to have strong opposition."

To Press Demand For Forced Saving

WASHINGTON, Sept. 11 (UP)—Henry Morgenthau, Jr., Secretary of the Treasury, told his press conference yesterday that forced savings would be necessary to supplement the present voluntary purchasing of war bonds.

He said that if the tax bill now under consideration in Congress does not provide for such savings that he will go to Congress and "ask for it with all the power I have got." He said such a measure was necessary to battle inflation.

Prolong Parliament

LONDON, Sept. 11 (U.P.)—A bill prolonging Parliament was introduced by the government yesterday, thus killing rumors that a general election was to be held.

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...ed at Magdeburg on August 28. The cause of the officer's death was not revealed.

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Representative: HERMAN G. FLORES, San Juan, P. R.

March 8, 1943

OWR/ms

THE DIRECTOR

RE: REXFORD GUY TUGWELL

With reference to the Bureau conducting an investigation of Mr. Robert Morse Lovett, pursuant to instructions received from the Attorney General and under purview of Public Law No. 644, 77th Congress, the question arises as to the scope of the Attorney General's instruction as it relates to Mr. Rexford Guy Tugwell.

In the Congressional Record for February 1, 1943 which contained the allegations then made public by Congressman Martin Dies, the following mention was made of Mr. Tugwell as quoted from the Congressional Record:

"For many years one of the New Republic's contributing editors has been Rexford Guy Tugwell, original "brain trust", whose current administration of the affairs of Puerto Rico reflects no credit upon himself or those who appointed him to the position of Governor of the island. The outstanding feature of Tugwell's administration has been a complete and undisguised contempt for the legislative branch of the Puerto Rican Government. While holding his important post in our overseas island possession, Tugwell has maintained his official connection with the New Republic, and his name appears on the masthead of the very issue in which the vicious assault upon members of this House was made last May."

To effect a clarification of the Attorney General's ruling that all persons who have been referred to by Congressman Dies be investigated, Mr. Ugo Tolson, Executive Assistant to the Attorney General, advised in his memorandum of February 15, 1943 in part as follows:

- Mr. Clegg _____
- Mr. Coffey _____
- Mr. Glavin _____
- Mr. Ladd _____
- Mr. Nichols _____
- Mr. Rosen _____
- Mr. Tracy _____
- Mr. Carson _____

- Mr. Hendon _____
- Mr. McGuire _____
- Mr. Mumford _____
- Mr. Harbo _____
- Mr. Quinn Tamm _____
- Mr. Nease _____
- Miss Gandy _____

mt H
400

EX-55 RECORDED

62-47614-22

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

JPC
Y.M.N.

ORIGINAL FILED IN 66-6288-101-11

In this connection and on my instruction, Special Agent Galen H. Willis discussed this informally with Mr. Edwin G. Dickinson of the Interdepartmental Committee on March 6, 1943. Mr. Dickinson stated that he considered the remarks made of Mr. Fugwell by Dies as being preliminary in nature to the specific charges he thereafter made in his address concerning other named employees of the Federal Government. Pursuant to Agent Willis's suggestion, Mr. Dickinson stated he would discuss this with Mr. Carusi and would advise the Bureau whether it was intended that the case of Fugwell be investigated. It is noted that, though Mr. Carusi used the figure of 39 (which figure was likewise used in all press releases), the Dies address did, in fact, refer to several more than 39. Mr. Dickinson advised that should his comment be requested by Mr. Carusi, he would certainly call attention to the undesirability of making such an investigation of Mr. Fugwell. He indicated such an inquiry would be purely political in nature and would be "a wild goose chase for the FBI".

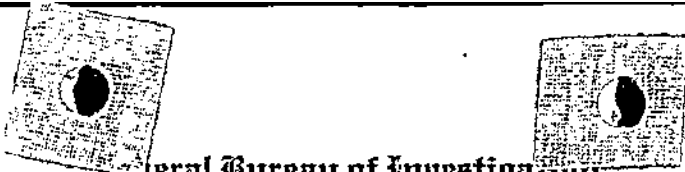
In this regard Mr. Dickinson called Agent Willis on March 9, 1943 to advise that he had prepared a memorandum to Mr. Carusi giving a detailed analysis of the Dies speech and requested his advice whether Mr. Fugwell, and others so referred to in the preliminary remarks of the address, be investigated by the Bureau. Mr. Dickinson stated he had now been advised by Mr. Carusi that the persons referred to in the preliminary portion of the address were to be considered separately from those concerning whom specific charges were made by Congressman Dies. Mr. Dickinson advised that a memorandum was being prepared for you by Mr. Carusi concerning this matter.

Respectfully,

D. E. Ladd

- Mr. Tolson _____
- Mr. E.A. Tamm _____
- Mr. Clegg _____
- Mr. Coffey _____
- Mr. Glavin _____
- Mr. Ladd _____
- Mr. Nichols _____
- Mr. Rosen _____
- Mr. Tracy _____
- Mr. Carson _____
- Mr. Harbo _____
- Mr. Hendon _____
- Mr. McGuire _____
- Mr. Mumford _____
- Mr. Piper _____
- Mr. Quinn Tamm _____
- Mr. Nease _____
- Miss Gandy _____

*"Please get in touch with respect
 to the Dies speech - this is
 if this ruling stands it
 will have to be no again.
 H."*



Federal Bureau of Investigation

United States Department of Justice
Box 4312, San Juan, Puerto Rico
May 15, 1943

Handwritten scribble

Director, FBI

Re: CONTACTS

Dear Sir:

On May 4, 1943 the writer, accompanied by former Special Agent in Charge A. W. MILLER, contacted RECFORD GUY TUGWELL, Governor of Puerto Rico.

Governor Tugwell expressed his regret at Mr. Miller's departure from Puerto Rico in view of the cordial relations which have existed between Mr. Miller and his office. He stated that he felt certain that such cordial relations would continue both on the part of his office and the San Juan Field Division. He stated that at any time he could be of assistance the writer should contact him without hesitation.

Matters of a very general nature were discussed and Governor Tugwell was assured by the writer of the continued cooperation of the San Juan Division in all matters of mutual interest.

Very truly yours

J. M. Lopez
J. M. Lopez
Special Agent in Charge

JML:GEH

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CRIMINAL DIV.

not

CCM:AKR

November 22, 1943

~~PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL~~

Special Agent in Charge
San Juan, Puerto Rico

Re: Governor Roxford Guy Tugwell

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to your letter dated November 16, 1943, in the above-entitled matter wherein you make available information concerning the recent conference you had with Governor Tugwell. Your letter states that at the conclusion of the conference with Governor Tugwell he advised you that he was somewhat concerned over the fact that prior to the appointment of Eugenio Font-Suarez to the Insular Civil Service Commission this Bureau had not furnished information directly to Governor Tugwell concerning his sympathetic attitude toward the Communist cause.

Your letter reflects that information available to your office is to the effect that Font-Suarez furnished information to Mr. E. D. Brown, Executive Secretary of Governor Tugwell, concerning his Communistic sympathies prior to his actual appointment to the Insular Civil Service Commission. It is also noted that the information was not available to your office until after the appointment of Font-Suarez to this position.

In view of the fact that you advised the Governor that you would ascertain the true facts of the situation, I desire that you re-contact him in connection with this matter. You should advise him that the information was not available to this Bureau until after the actual appointment of Font-Suarez and that since Font-Suarez had personally made his Communist sympathies known to the Governor's Executive Secretary it was assumed that the information had been previously made available to him.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Tolson	
E. A. Tamm	
Clegg	
Coffey	
Glavin	
Ladd	
Nichols	
Rosen	
Tracy	
Acers	
Carson	
Harbo	
Hendon	
Mumford	
Starks	
Quinn Tamm	
Nease	
Gandy	

Handwritten notes and signatures:
 - A large handwritten "V" or checkmark above the name John Edgar Hoover.
 - Several large, illegible handwritten signatures and initials at the bottom of the page, including what appears to be "Gandy" and "W.H.H."



Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. E. A. Tamm	✓
Mr. Clegg	✓
Mr. Glavin	✓
Mr. Ladd	✓
Mr. Nichols	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Tracy	✓
Mr. Carson	✓
Mr. Egan	✓
Mr. Gurnea	✓
Mr. Hendon	✓
Mr. Pennington	✓
Mr. Quinn	✓
Mr. Nease	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

**Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice**

Post Office Box #4312
San Juan, 21, Puerto Rico
November 16, 1943

Director, FBI

~~PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: GOVERNOR REXFORD GUY TUGWELL

Dear Sir:

On November 15, 1943, the writer, upon request of Governor TUGWELL, discussed matters relating to the Internal Security Squad of the Insular Police Department.

Upon conclusion of this phase of the conference, Governor TUGWELL stated that another matter had come to his attention about which he was "really sore". In explanation he stated that he had recently received through appropriate channels information originating from the FBI concerning EUGENIO FONT SUAREZ, who is presently a member of the Insular Civil Service Commission. Governor TUGWELL stated that this information was to the effect that while SUAREZ was not actually a registered member of the Communist Party, he was undoubtedly very sympathetic toward the Communist cause.

The Governor prefaced these remarks by stating that he realized that the incident to which he referred had occurred prior to the arrival of the writer in San Juan. He stated, however, that while he did not know the Bureau's policies as to furnishing information to his office, he felt that if the San Juan Office had been in possession of such information concerning SUAREZ he should have been "unofficially" advised of the facts when it became known that he was considering SUAREZ for appointment to a position in the Insular Government. He stated that unquestionably had he known the true facts at the time he would never have appointed SUAREZ, whereas now he is in the embarrassing position of probably having a Communist sympathizer in an important government post whom he will probably not be able to remove because SUAREZ is not actually a member of the Communist Party. Governor TUGWELL stated that he did not know what he could do about the matter, but that he felt that he should have been advised of the facts prior to his making the appointment. The Governor discussed the matter in an amicable manner and stated that he hoped that in similar instances in the future he would be advised of such matters.

The writer informed the Governor that he did not personally recall the case to which he referred, but that he would definitely check to ascertain the true facts of the case.

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M. J. [Signature]
[Signature]

Quaestio
11-19-45
Alfred N. Kibler

Letter to Director, 11-16-43
Re: Governor Rexford Guy Tugwell

A file check of this office reflects that the Bureau was advised of this matter in the case entitled EUGENIO FONT-SUAREZ, WITH ALIASES; SECURITY MATTER - C, San Juan File 100-404, in which several investigative reports were furnished to the Bureau. By San Juan letter dated August 7, 1943, the Bureau was advised that [redacted]

[redacted] furnished information to an agent of this office that FONT-SUAREZ, upon learning that he was being considered for appointment to the Insular Civil Service Commission, called Mr. E. D. BROWN, Executive Secretary of the Governor, and requested an interview outside of the Governor's residence; that BROWN agreed to meet FONT-SUAREZ, and the meeting was held in [redacted]. This interview was held in the latter part of November, 1942; and after it was concluded FONT-SUAREZ told [redacted] that he had stated to BROWN as follows:

b7D

"I want to make it clear that I am a Communist. I want that understood from the beginning. If you appoint me, you do it knowing my position. I am telling you this because I do not want any trouble on that score after I have been appointed."

FONT-SUAREZ told [redacted] that Mr. BROWN had stated he would be given the position any way.

This meeting occurred in the latter half of November, 1942, according to the informant. A check of the records of the Insular Government discloses that FONT-SUAREZ was appointed a member of the Insular Civil Service Commission on November 16, 1942. The information which is set out above first reached the attention of this office on December 12, 1942. Therefore, by the time the pertinent information actually reached this office FONT-SUAREZ had actually been appointed to his present position for a period of almost one month.

It is believed probable that Governor TUGWELL's reference to his receipt of FBI information is in all likelihood based upon a memorandum to the Department which memorandum was probably referred to Secretary ICKES, HAROLD L., who in turn transmitted the same to Governor TUGWELL. Despite the fact that Governor TUGWELL's comments to the writer were on a very amicable plane, it is believed quite possible that in the Governor's answer to Secretary ICKES he may complain of the FBI not having advised him of the facts of this case at the time appointment was being considered. I feel that for this reason the Bureau should be advised of the circumstances in the event that any question arises through Secretary ICKES at some future time.

Letter to Director, 11-16-43
Re: Governor Rexford Guy Tugwell

The writer does not plan upon specifically advising Governor TUGWELL of the fact that the appointment of FONT-SUAREZ had already been made prior to the receipt of the above information. However, in the event that Governor TUGWELL makes additional inquiry at any forthcoming meeting, it is planned to advise him of that pertinent fact.

Very truly yours,

J. M. Lopez
J. M. LOPEZ
SAC

JML:DG

cc: 62-136
100-404

I think the SAC should advise Tugwell of the facts pointing out particularly that since Font-Suarez told Tugwell's Executive Secretary that he was a Communist we had right to assume the Secretary informed Tugwell.
H.

CCM:rb

RECORDED

25
December 7, 1943

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

SAC, San Juan

RE: Governor RUFORD GUY TUGWELL

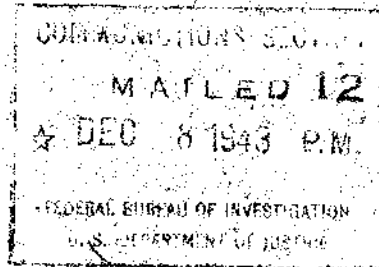
Dear Sir:

Reference is made to your letter dated November 30, 1943, in the above-entitled matter wherein you state that while contacting Governor Tugwell on other matters pursuant to Bureau instructions, he indicated a desire to obtain unofficially from the San Juan Office information available concerning persons being considered for positions in the Insular Government. Your letter requests that you be advised as to what, if any, information should be made available to Governor Tugwell or persons connected with his office in the event such a request is made in the future.

In this connection it is desired that you advise Governor Tugwell, or any individual connected with his office making such an inquiry, that the same should be made through the Department of Interior in Washington, D. C., which Department could obtain the desired information from this Bureau in Washington. You should advise anyone making such an inquiry that this procedure is based on the theory that the files maintained by the Bureau in Washington, D. C., are more complete and may contain information of a derogatory nature, which information is not available to your office.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director



Tolson _____
E. A. Tamm _____
Clegg _____
Glavin _____
Ladd _____
Nichols _____
Rosen _____
Tracy _____
Acers _____
Carson _____
Harbo _____
Hendon _____
Hoxford _____
Starks _____
Quinn Tamm _____
Nease _____
Gandy _____

59 DEC 14 1943

[Handwritten signatures and initials]



Federal Bureau of Investigation
 United States Department of Justice
 San Juan, 21, Puerto Rico
 November 30, 1943

Mr. Tolson	.....
Mr. E. A. Tamm	.....
Mr. Clegg	.....
Mr. Coffey	.....
Mr. Glavin	.....
Mr. Ladd	.....
Mr. Nichols	.....
Mr. Rosen	.....
Mr. Tracy	.....
Mr. Acers	.....
Mr. Carson	.....
Mr. Hopdon	.....
Mr. Mumford	.....
Mr. Starke	.....
Mr. Quinn Tamm	.....
Mr. Nease	.....
Miss Gandy	.....

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

Director, FBI

Re: Governor REXFORD GUY TUGWELL

Dear Sir:

In accordance with Bureau letter of November 22, 1943, the writer, accompanied by Assistant SAC DUNHAM, met with Governor TUGWELL on November 30, to acquaint the Governor with chronological details of the receipt of information concerning EUGENIO FONT-SUAREZ, member of the Insular Civil Service Commission.

The Governor was informed that the information concerning the employment of FONT-SUAREZ by the Insular Government was first received at this office on December 12, 1942, whereas FONT-SUAREZ had been appointed to the Civil Service Commission on November 16, 1942. It was further called to the Governor's attention that the information received reflected that FONT-SUAREZ had personally advised E. D. BROWN, Executive Secretary of the Governor, concerning his having been a Communist and that therefore it was assumed that the Governor had been aware of the matter.

Governor TUGWELL expressed his appreciation for being advised of the facts in this case, stating that the information furnished him from the Interior Department had not indicated any dates on which the information had been received and therefore he had assumed that the information was available prior to the appointment of FONT-SUAREZ. The Governor stated that the Department had informed him of the alleged conversation of SUAREZ with Mr. E. D. BROWN, but that Mr. BROWN emphatically denies that FONT-SUAREZ had ever made such statements to him. The Governor stated that Mr. BROWN had executed an affidavit to this effect, which affidavit was being transmitted to the Department of Interior. Governor TUGWELL stated that undoubtedly FONT-SUAREZ is Communistically inclined, but that he doubts that he will be able to displace SUAREZ due to the fact that apparently he is not an official member of the Communist Party.

~~DEFERRED RECORDING~~

Governor TUGWELL reiterated his wish that in matters of this type in the future his office could be able to ascertain unofficially from the San Juan Office whether or not any derogatory information was available concerning persons being considered for Insular appointments. He stated



*let to SAC - San Juan
12/7/43 CEM*

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Director

- 2 -

November 30, 1943

Re: Governor REXFORD GUY TUGWELL.

that at the present time he had another individual in mind for an Insular appointment, and that possibly considerable embarrassment could be saved him if it could be ascertained through this office if any record was available concerning this individual. The Governor did not furnish the name of this person, stating that he had given it to JOSHUA HETTINGER, Special Investigator assigned to the Executive Secretary's office of the Governor. Mr. TUGWELL stated that in all probability Mr. HETTINGER would make inquiry of the San Juan Office in due course.

In view of the above it is requested that the Bureau specifically advise as to what, if any, information available in this office should be furnished upon request of Governor TUGWELL or his special investigator. It is believed that if the practice is inaugurated of freely furnishing such information, it will result in a routine name check procedure for all persons who are of interest to the Governor's office. Despite the fact that Governor TUGWELL mentioned that such inquiries would be unofficial it is possible that if information were furnished, such information might eventually be attributed to the FBI in the event that any controversy subsequently arose with regard to the derogatory information.

To date no such requests for name checks have been received from the Governor's office; however, in view of the fact that possibly such requests will be forthcoming, it will be appreciated if the Bureau advise as to what action should be taken.

Very truly yours,

J. M. LOPEZ,
SAC

JML:rf
62-136
cc: 100-404

RECORDED

4-11-44-26

Mr. D. M. Ladd
Mr. J. P. Coyne

The Attorney General

J. Edgar Hoover - Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

Your attention is invited to the recent memorandum which I transmitted to you together with the two communications dated March 27 and April 1, 1944, which were received in this Bureau by reference from your office and which were prepared on the indicated dates by Mr. Abe Fortas, Acting Secretary of the Interior.

You will recall that in the aforementioned letters Mr. Fortas requested this Bureau to inaugurate inquiries concerning a situation in Puerto Rico which is of a purely political nature on the one hand and which is concerned with Puerto Rican labor problems on the other.

You will likewise recall that in response to Dr. Carusi's request for my recommendation in this matter, I indicated that because of its nature it was my considered opinion that no investigative activity should be undertaken by this Bureau with respect to the matters discussed in Mr. Fortas' letters.

Since the preparation of my recent memorandum, the following data have been received and are brought to your attention at this time in the belief that they will be of interest to you.

The high-ranking officials of the Offices of Military and Naval Intelligence in Puerto Rico have recently informed a representative of this Bureau in confidence that in their opinion the entire political situation in Puerto Rico is becoming more serious as the November, 1944, elections approach. One of these individuals has intimated that there is present on the island a fear on the part of the authorities that actual violence might break out. This same individual has advised that "this was the first instance in the history of American Governors in Puerto Rico in which the Governor has taken sides with political parties instead of acting as a mediator and as a protector of American sovereignty in Puerto Rico". He likewise opined that "the Governor's life is in grave danger".

The aforementioned representative of the Office of Military Intelligence has indicated that his agency is not desirous of participating in any manner in this affair since such participation would undoubtedly result in criticism to the effect that it is intervening in local politics.

The information outlined hereinbefore is of such a highly confidential character that I deem it advisable to request that every effort be made to protect the sources in question in the event any action is taken by the Department with respect to the instant matter.

Although no action is contemplated by this Bureau concerning the material outlined above, I will continue to furnish you with any relevant information that is received concerning the subject discussed herein.

2 1944

Mr. D. M. Ladd

April 19, 1944

Mr. J. F. Buckley

PUERTO RICAN LABOR

Your attention is invited to the memorandum which I transmitted to you on April 5, 1944, in reference to the two communications emanating from the Office of the Secretary of Interior wherein the Attorney General was requested by that Department to instruct this Bureau to inaugurate inquiries concerning the Coalition and related elements in Puerto Rico on the grounds that these "certain political groups" are fostering a program which "contemplates the use of force and violence in order to gain political ends".

After thoroughly examining the communications emanating from the Department of Interior as well as correlative information appearing in the files of the Bureau, the Attorney General was advised that, in the opinion of the Bureau, it would be most inadvisable for us to inaugurate inquiries in pursuance of Interior's request inasmuch as the matter is concerned on the one hand with the Puerto Rican labor situation and on the other with purely Puerto Rican political problems.

In the referenced communication, your attention was invited to the fact that the Department of Interior was actually making complaints about the political groups in Puerto Rico which are anti-Tugwell, anti-Communist, anti-Nationalist and anti-C.G.T. (a Communist controlled labor organization on the Island). It was likewise noted therein that the information in the Bureau's possession would lend considerable credence to the belief that Tugwell, who as Governor of Puerto Rico is supposed to administer the affairs of the Island in a non-partisan manner, has actually thrown in his lot with the Popular Party, the Communist Party of Puerto Rico, the C.G.T. and other questionable elements on the Island.

In reference to the foregoing, I thought you would be interested in the additional information which has recently been received and which is set forth in the attached letter from San Juan dated March 8, 1944, entitled "Weekly Conference, ONI, MIS, PFI". At this Conference, Commander Raymond Baines of ONI stated that the entire political situation in Puerto Rico is becoming more serious as the 1944 elections in November approach. Colonel Francisco J. Parra of MIS intimated that there is present a fear on the part of the authorities that actual violence might break out in Puerto Rico.

RECORDED

62-7721-106

In the course of this Conference, Colonel Parra advised that "this was the first instance in the history of American governors in Puerto Rico in which the Governor had taken sides with political parties instead of acting as a mediator and as a protector of American sovereignty in Puerto Rico". The Colonel continued by pointing out that in view of the partisan action taken by Tugwell in this situation, "the Governor's life was in grave danger". It is significant to note

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 Mumford _____
 Starke _____
 Quinn Tamm _____
 Nease _____
 Gandy _____

ENCLOSURE

INITIALS ON ORIGINAL - 2

also that at this time Colonel Parra stated that the Army wants no part in this affair in order that there can be no criticism to the effect that the Army is intervening in local politics.

ACTION

No action is recommended. This memorandum has been prepared solely for informative purposes and to acquaint you with the additional information set forth herein. The Bureau has previously indicated in the aforementioned memorandum to the Attorney General that its attitude in this matter is the same as the position now taken by the Military, namely that the Bureau will not interject itself into this political and labor controversy which, it appears, has its origin in the Governor of Puerto Rico and his ultra-liberal affiliates.

SAN JUAN, PUERTO RICO

March 8, 1944

Director, FBI

RE: WEEKLY CONFERENCE, ONI, MIS, FBI;
SAN JUAN FIELD DIVISION

Dear Sir:-

The weekly conference was held in the San Juan Field Division Office on March 7, 1944. Those in attendance were Colonel FRANCISCO J. PARRA, MIS; Lt. Commanders JACKSON B. HANCOCK and RAYMOND RAINES, ONI., and Assistant Special Agent in Charge, LOWELL DUNHAM.

Col. FRANCISCO J. PARRA advised that henceforth, MIS would no longer forward copies of C. I. R.-1, Investigative Reports, blue covers, to the Seat of Government in Washington. He stated that two copies of each report submitted to the FBI will be sent in each case to the appropriate Field Division. This is to confirm Section "I", Bureau Bulletin #17, Series 1944, dated 3-1-44.

He then requested information as to whether the FBI would assist in the guarding of Mrs. ELEANOR ROOSEVELT during her stay in Puerto Rico. Mrs. ROOSEVELT is scheduled to arrive on 3-8-44. Col. PARRA advised that headquarters of MIS had received official notification that the protection of Mrs. ROOSEVELT'S person during her trip in the Caribbean area would be the responsibility of the Caribbean Frontier, and that the Army had received instructions to give Navy any possible cooperation they might need. He said that her plans were to spend three days visiting Army posts and that while on Army bases, her protection would be entirely under the supervision of Army. Commander HANCOCK advised that they had received no notification that Navy was to be responsible for her protection.

Colonel PARRA was advised that the FBI had not been requested to assist in guarding Mrs. ROOSEVELT and that it was not a specific duty of this service to furnish protection to the President or his family, but rather the duty belonged to Secret Service, and that only under special requests made of the Department, the Bureau ever provides protection to Government officials.

Commander RAINES commented on the proposed "March on San Juan" set for Tuesday, March 14th.

It should be pointed out that this is a march in the form of a protest against the situation which has arisen in the Lower House of Representatives, Insular Government, blocking all legislation which has been proposed by the Popular Democratic Party of Puerto Rico. The march is sponsored by the Popular partisans.

RECORDED

ENCLOSURE

62-2441-1
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
MAR 8 1944
OFFICE

San Juan, Puerto Rico
3-8-44

Director, FBI

Re: WEEKLY CONFERENCE, ONI, MIS, FBI;
SAN JUAN FIELD DIVISION

Commandor RAINES stated that the entire political situation was becoming more serious as the 1944 elections in November approached. Colonel PARRA said that it was feared actual violence might break out during this proposed march, since the demonstrators intended to march through San Juan; appear at the Governor's Palace and then picket the lower house of representatives at the Insular Capitol. He said the opposing faction which holds the majority in the house of representatives, the coalitionists, were also planning to have a "march" on the capitol and that they intended to picket the Fortaleza in protest against the Governor's support of the Popular Party. They further planned to picket the home of the Popular Democratic leader, LUIS MUÑOZ-MARRIN.

Colonel PARRA advised that this was the first instance in the history of American governors in Puerto Rico in which the Governor had taken sides with political parties instead of acting as a mediator and as a protector of American sovereignty in Puerto Rico. He advised that in view of this situation, the Governor's life was in grave danger, and that if some small incident should occur during the march on San Juan, there would, no doubt, be bloodshed and trouble. He stated that the Army wanted no part in the affair, in order that there could be no criticism that the Army was intervening in local politics.

Commander HANCOCK discussed the case of SIMON DA CRUZ, with aliases, Chief Fireman on the Argentine ship, "Rio Grande" which is now in port at San Juan. This individual admitted on a previous visit to San Juan that he had acted as a courier, and he recently admitted to Censorship officials that he had carried mail from Lisbon to Argentina. The Chief Engineer of the "Rio Grande" voluntarily advised Censorship that SIMON DA CRUZ carried messages on waxed matches and that he had seen one of the messages written in a foreign language. The engineer further advised that messages could also be written on the Argentine paper matches, when unravelled. This brand of matches is known as Livadavia. The Bureau is being furnished specimens of the latter type match.

Colonel PARRA was then requested as to whether he had made the necessary arrangement for ALONZO AGUILAR Jr. to discuss his dismissal from employment with the Inspector General. It should be pointed out that AGUILAR was discharged allegedly by U. S. D. P., as a result of an investigation conducted by MIS, based upon information furnished this office by AGUILAR. Colonel PARRA stated that the investigation had been made by Assistant Department Inspector, Major LACFANLARD, into the discharge of AGUILAR, and that the investigation was an administrative one. He stated that AGUILAR'S discharge was made, not upon the

Director, FBI

San Juan, Puerto Rico
March 8, 1944

RE: WEEKLY CONFERENCE, OMI, MIS, FBI;
SAN JUAN FIELD DIVISION

basis of information he had furnished this office, but it was made because of the folding up of Camp Tortuguero. He stated that the discharge was without prejudice. Col. PARRA stated that the investigation made by the Inspector General had disclosed there was an unhealthy situation existing at Camp Tortuguero; that there is a feud between Major TORRES, who is the immediate superior of AGUILLAR, who was not a graduate engineer, while AGUILLAR himself was a graduate. As a result of the investigation, the recommendation was made by Army that AGUILLAR was not to be discharged, but that Major TORRES and AGUILLAR should not be stationed in the future at the same base. Colonel PARRA said that AGUILLAR was afraid that the investigation would prejudice his obtaining future employment with the U. S. E. D.; that he knew that the results of the investigation made by Army had cleared him. AGUILLAR advised Colonel PARRA that he had been promised employment by the U.S.E.D. as soon as a position was available.

Other matters of a general routine nature were discussed.

Very truly yours,

J. M. LOPEZ
SAC

ID ocb
#66-116

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
 Box 4312, San Juan, Puerto Rico
 May 12, 1944

Mr. Tolson.....
Mr. E. A. Tamm.....
Mr. Clegg.....
Mr. Coffey.....
Mr. Glavin.....
Mr. Ladd.....
Mr. Nichols.....
Mr. Rosen.....
Mr. Tracy.....
Mr. Egan.....
Mr. Gurnea.....
Mr. Harbo.....
Mr. Hendon.....
Mr. Mumford.....
Mr. Starnes.....
Mr. Quinn Tamm.....
Mr. Nease.....
Miss Gandy.....

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

Director, FBI

Re: POLICE CONDITIONS IN PUERTO RICO
 GOVERNOR REXFORD GUY TUGWELL

Dear Sir:

On May 11, 1944, in response to a call from La Fortaleza, Assistant Special Agent in Charge LOWELL DUNHAM and the writer called on Governor REXFORD GUY TUGWELL.

At that time the Governor stated that in view of the forthcoming general elections in Puerto Rico in November, 1944 and in view of the turbulent political situation which was developing, he felt it necessary to organize and maintain a sort of "Anti Violence" squad of Insular Police officers. He stated that as a result of recent statements to the press by Resident Commissioner BOLIVAR PAGAN in Washington, D. C., many persons in Puerto Rico expect some form of violence to develop at any time during the next six months preceding the general elections. He also commented to the effect that with the recent formation of a number of new political parties further accusations and counter-accusations of a political nature could be expected, any of which might result in violence or bloodshed.

The Governor went on to state that the formation of such a police squad would require the best type of police available and he desired to know if it would be possible for him to secure, for an indefinite period preceding the elections, the services of the members of the Internal Security Squad of the Insular Police who had been assigned on a full time basis to investigate cases for the FBI. The Governor also pointed out that the experience and training had by members of this Squad under the supervision of the FBI would be invaluable to them as investigators on his "Anti Violence" Squad. He stated that he contemplated that the squad would work throughout the Island of Puerto Rico and should consist of approximately 25 men at the start and could be enlarged later if necessary.

It is rather apparent to the writer that the "Anti Violence" squad would really operate as a sort of political or secret

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WOM
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Op. 17

Letter to the Director
Re: Police Conditions in Puerto Rico
Governor Rexford Guy Tugwell

5/12/44

under the direct orders of Governor Tugwell and would secure and furnish him with any particular type of information which he desired. The Bureau is aware that on several occasions the Governor has endeavored to secure an appropriation through the insular legislature for the purpose of maintaining a staff of investigators directly under his supervision. He has been unsuccessful in this up to the present time. He has also, through the Department of Interior, made several requests to the Bureau for the San Juan Field Office to conduct various types of investigations for him.

I pointed out to Governor Tugwell that the present Internal Security Squad, consisting of 27 men, is handling approximately 280 cases of a security nature, and that in view of this volume of work it did not appear possible that these men could be turned over as members of the new "Anti Violence" squad. I pointed out that there had been several reductions in the membership of this squad and further that during the past year there had been some turn-over in this membership, and that as a result there are at least 25 former members of the Internal Security Squad presently assigned to regular police duties elsewhere. I indicated that these former members of the Internal Security Squad had received identical training and experience in this office and should serve the Governor's purpose satisfactorily. The Governor agreed with this and requested to be furnished a list of names of former members of the Internal Security Squad assigned to this office.

On the following day I personally delivered such a list consisting of 25 names. Governor Tugwell expressed his appreciation and stated he would immediately instruct these men to report to him. He contemplated that the new squad would be under the direct supervision of JACINTO ALVAREZ, present Dean of the Insular Police Academy in San Juan.

It appears, therefore, that there will be no necessity for further reduction in the Internal Security Squad working for this office. However, I do feel that as the political tempo increases in Puerto Rico with the approach of the November elections, Governor Tugwell will, in all probability, decide to further enlarge this new police squad and will quite likely be rather insistent that some of the present members of the Internal Security Squad be transferred to the "Anti Violence" Squad.

After completion of the above matter, Governor Tugwell then brought up the subject of the position of Chief of Police. He stated that the thirty days sick leave granted to Chief RAMIREZ BRAU had not

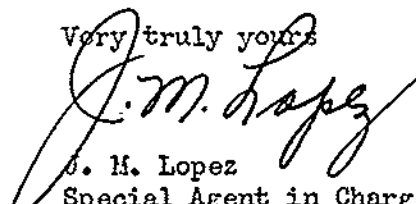
Letter to the Director
Re: Police Conditions in Puerto Rico

5/12/44

yet expired, but that continued investigation of the Chief's administration had thus far failed to disclose any specific graft or un-ethical activities on his part. The Governor stated that his investigator would find persons who would furnish affidavits setting out certain questionable activities, and that on the following day the investigator would locate additional persons who would furnish affidavits alleging exactly the opposite set of circumstances. As a result he stated that he was still undetermined as to the final disposition to be made of Chief RAMIREZ BRAU and whether or not a new chief would be designated.

In this connection he stated that it appeared impossible to secure a competent man who would be willing to accept the position at its present salary of \$5,000 per annum. He pointed out that it is strictly a political job and that with the forthcoming elections would undoubtedly be of a delicate and ticklish nature. The Governor would prefer to appoint an outside Continental to the position so that charges of prejudice or favoritism could not be levied against him. He indicated that he has tried unsuccessfully through the Army and Navy and also through several Chiefs of Police in the States to secure the names of several persons who could be considered for the position. The Governor stated that he would be most happy to receive any suggestions from the Bureau concerning any persons who might be interested in the position of Chief of Police of Puerto Rico. I advised him that if any such persons came to my attention he would be given the information for whatever it was worth.

Very truly yours


J. M. Lopez
Special Agent in Charge

JML:GEH
94-17
62-136

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
WASHINGTON



MAY - 3 1944

*Declassified on 10/21/77
per Mr. Kallman
of Interior Dept.
gvc*

~~Confidential~~

Hon. Francis Biddle,
Attorney General.

Dear Francis:

Since receiving your letter of April 8, Governor Fugwell has renewed his plea that the FBI make a comprehensive investigation of various matters in Puerto Rico. Governor Fugwell's argument is as follows:

After all, the Governor of Puerto Rico is the President's representative there. He has no investigating service, and the Legislature has refused to give him one because it has no intention of letting an appointed governor investigate Puerto Rican affairs. Unless the Governor has assistance from a Federal agency, he is helpless. He will be unable to inform the Federal Government in detail and with complete objectivity upon matters that may burst into flame any day with consequent risk to lives and property. It is alarming that there have been several recent cases in which gunmen known to be connected with political leaders have been apprehended carrying firearms. In these circumstances, the Governor cannot fully perform his duties and advise officials in Washington as to what is best for the national interest unless he has complete information about such matters and their ramifications. Governor Fugwell has repeatedly sought legislation that would take their police department out of politics and make it responsive to the Governor rather than responsible to political leaders. So, too, the Legislature has refused to reform the Civil Service and to control gambling establishments in Puerto Rico. These factors and the low salary offered make it almost impossible to get a satisfactory chief of police who would be free to do a decent job. A man of integrity would hardly undertake the thankless work.

The Governor further states that he has reason to believe that there is corruption in the police force closely connected with both gambling and the numbers racket, and that is not a matter that can be looked on with tolerance. Yet without aid from the FBI the Government is obstructed in its efforts to correct these conditions. In a year such as the present one high morale is needed in the police department, and it is absent. Mr. Lopez, who is in charge of the FBI office in Puerto Rico, confirms the Governor's suspicions that there are matters that badly need investigation.

Sincerely yours,

(SGD.) ABE FORTAS *109 11/1/44 28*

Under Secretary. *35 MAY 16 1944*

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EX-25

ABF
GREENLAND
Tracy

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*Mr. Clegg
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personally*

*Rec'd by
5/16/44*

*Received by
5/16/44*

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM : SAC, SAN JUAN

SUBJECT: POLICE CONDITIONS IN PUERTO RICO;
GOVERNOR REXFORD GUY TUGWELL

DATE: May 17, 1944

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. E. A. Tamm	✓
Mr. Clegg	
Mr. Glavin	
Mr. Ladd	✓
Mr. Nichols	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Tracy	
Mr. Egan	
Mr. Gurnea	
Mr. Harbo	
Mr. Mumford	
Mr. Starke	
Mr. Quinn Tamm	
Mr. Nease	
Miss Gandy	

Reference is made to my personal and confidential letter to the Director dated May 12, 1944, captioned as above, which related to Governor Tugwell's plan for immediately organizing an "Anti-Violence" squad, made up of police officers who had at one time or another formerly been members of the Internal Security Squad working with the San Juan Field Office.

On May 16, 1944 Acting Chief of Police EDUARDO URRUTIA-MARTORELL, requested an appointment for himself, FRANCISCO RIVERA-HERNANDEZ, Superintendent of the Criminal Identification Division, and Mr. JOSHUA HELLINGER, Special Investigator for Governor Tugwell.

At this meeting Chief Urrutia explained that Governor Tugwell had instructed him to immediately organize a squad such as described above. He stated that in forming this squad the question had arisen in his mind as to its organization, the manner of its administration, and the general supervision to be accorded it. Urrutia then stated that in view of the fact that the Internal Security Squad had been in existence for several years and was very well established and organized, he wondered if there would be any objection on the part of this office if the members of the newly formed squad would actually be attached to the present Internal Security Squad. He explained that if this could be done there would be no publicity resulting from the formation of a new squad and that the new squad could function as originally intended, but to all intents and purposes would be an integral part of the Internal Security Squad, and that all reports emanating from it would be routed in the usual manner to police headquarters, the FBI office, and in pertinent cases also directly to Governor Tugwell. Chief Urrutia pointed out that probably this office would be interested in the types of investigations to be conducted by this new squad in that probably many of the statements resulting from the forthcoming political campaigns would be construed to be of a subversive nature.

Chief Urrutia concluded by asking if there would be any objection to the contemplated procedure of attaching the new special squad to the present Internal Security Squad.

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22 MAY 20 1944

EX-10

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To: DIRECTOR, FBI
Re: POLICE CONDITIONS IN P. R.
GOV. REXFORD GUY TUGWELL

May 17, 1944

As I previously advised the Bureau, it is obvious that the new "Anti-Violence" squad will be used by Governor Tugwell as a secret political police squad to furnish him information concerning activities arising in connection with the forthcoming political campaign. I am convinced that many of its investigations would be strictly of a political nature, which if they became public, would be labeled "gestapo" investigations.

In view of this fact, I tactfully but emphatically pointed out to Chief Urrutia the objections to attaching the new squad to the present Internal Security Squad. I stated that the present Internal Security Squad was ample to conduct all investigations falling within the jurisdiction of the FBI, and that violations of any federal laws which might occur during the course of the forthcoming elections would fall within the investigative jurisdiction of the Bureau and would be afforded prompt and vigorous investigative attention with the present available facilities.

I pointed out that therefore insofar as this office is concerned there was no need of adding additional members to the Internal Security Squad at this time. I further pointed out that the investigations to be conducted by the new members were apparently to be made upon instructions from Governor Tugwell, and that obviously the squad could not function efficiently under a split administration. I also tactfully indicated that inasmuch as apparently any insular investigations requested by Governor Tugwell would not fall within the investigative jurisdiction of this office, it appeared inadvisable to include such investigations as a part of the Internal Security Squad, which has long been well known as affiliated with the FBI.

Mr. Hellinger readily agreed with my comments stating that he had informed Chief Urrutia that in his opinion I could not agree to the contemplated procedure. Chief Urrutia readily saw the objections as set forth above and agreed that he no longer felt the procedure advisable. He stated that he would quietly attach the new members of the proposed squad as additional detectives and would not formally organize this squad as a separate unit. He stated that if any publicity resulted by opposing political forces he would justify the action by pointing out the increased criminal work which required additional detectives.

The entire discussion was conducted upon a very amicable plane and I do not believe that any further attempts will be made to utilize the Internal Security Squad for purposes such as the above. I thought, however, that you would be interested in knowing of these developments because apparently there will be a type of secret political police functioning directly under the Governor, and that the Governor did wish to clothe this squad with the good reputation which has been acquired by the Internal Security Squad because of its association with this office.



Federal Bureau of Investigation
 United States Department of Justice
 Post Office Box 4312, San Juan 21, Puerto Rico
 March 1, 1945

Ext. III
[Handwritten initials]
 Mr. Tolson
 Mr. E. A. Tamm
 Mr. Clegg
 Mr. Glavin
 Mr. Ladd
 Mr. Nichols
 Mr. Rosen
 Mr. Tracy
 Mr. Carson
 Mr. Egan
 Mr. Gurnea
 Mr. Hendon
 Mr. Pennington
 Mr. Quinn
 Mr. Nease
 Miss Gandy

~~PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL~~

Director, FBI

Re: REXFORD GUY TUGWELL
 GOVERNOR OF PUERTO RICO

Dear Sir:

For the Bureau's information, this is to advise that on Saturday, February 24, 1945, Inspector R. T. HARBO and the writer, during lunch with the United States Attorney for Puerto Rico, PHILIP HERRICK, were informed by Mr. HERRICK that some time ago he was invited to dinner at La Fortaleza, the Governor's Palace in San Juan, Puerto Rico, and during the course of the evening Governor TUGWELL had made the statement to the group gathered, that HENRY WALLACE was really a capable man and the man with the brains, and that President ROOSEVELT was only mediocre.

This is being furnished to the Bureau for its information.

Mr. HERRICK did not indicate that this was confidential and openly spoke of it without solicitation on the part of either Inspector HARBO or the writer.

Very truly yours,

[Handwritten signature: G. R. McSwain]

G. R. McSWAIN,
 SAC.

GRM:PH

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MAR 9 1945



48 MAR 23 1945

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
DIVISION OF TERRITORIES AND ISLAND POSSESSIONS
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

April 17, 1945

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice.

My dear Mr. Hoover:

Complying with Governor Fugwell's wishes I am forwarding his letter of April 9 to you.

It is gratifying to know that the Federal Bureau of Investigation has made such a wise selection of personnel for its field office in Puerto Rico.

Sincerely yours,

D. W. Thoron,
Director

Enclosure

SE 19

RECORDED & INDEXED

EX-66

50 MAY 31 1945 47

LA FORTALEZA
SAN JUAN, PUERTO RICO

April 9, 1945

through: Department of
the Interior
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

From time to time there comes to my attention a Federal employee whose service is so outstanding as to deserve comment. Mr. Lowell Dunham, of the Puerto Rico office of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, merits this kind of recognition.

Mr. Dunham has been assistant director of the local F.B.I. office during the tenure of three directors to my knowledge. He is in charge of the internal security squad of the Insular Police, and through his ability, tact, and knowledge of Spanish he has succeeded in building up an enviable relationship between the F.B.I. and the Insular Police. In addition to other excellent qualities of which you are doubtless aware, Mr. Dunham has the happy faculty of friendliness which has been particularly helpful here. I should like you to know that I feel we in Puerto Rico are fortunate in having the services of a man like Mr. Dunham.

Sincerely yours,

H. G. Turwell
Governor

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

44-31

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INDEXED
EX-51

CC: MR. TAMM
MR. LADD

The Attorney General

November 20, 1945

John Edgar Hoover - Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

PICKETING OF GOVERNOR'S OFFICE, SAN JUAN Puerto Rico

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0

A communication has been received from our San Juan Office advising that the Governor's Office in San Juan, Puerto Rico, was picketed for five hours on November 13, 1945, beginning at 10:30 A. M., in protest against a speech made by Governor Rexford G. Tugwell on October 29, 1945, at the University of Puerto Rico in which he allegedly defended his importation of United States technical experts for work in Puerto Rico. The impetus behind the picketing was allegedly derived from student organizations of the University, Federation of Insular employees, numerous labor unions, several lawyers, and members of the legislature, all of whom were represented at the picketing.

The occasion for the picketing reportedly was a Governor's luncheon honoring officers of the returned 65th Regiment and the pickets verbally protested the entrance of the guests. Several invitees declined to enter, including some military officers, although it was observed that General William Grimes, Antilles Commander, was present at the luncheon. The report from the San Juan Office concerning this matter advised that no known physical disturbance occurred.

In the event any additional data with respect to the above are received they will be furnished to you.

NOV 21 1945
NOV 21 1945

11-20-45
200/1

- Mr. Tolson _____
- Mr. E. A. Tamm _____
- Mr. Clegg _____
- Mr. Coffey _____
- Mr. Glavin _____
- Mr. Ladd _____
- Mr. Nichols _____
- Mr. Rosen _____
- Mr. Tracy _____
- Mr. Carson _____
- Mr. Egan _____
- Mr. Gurnea _____
- Mr. Pennington _____
- Mr. Quinn Tamm _____
- Mr. Nease _____
- Miss Gandy _____

EJP:MRH

[Handwritten signatures and initials]
EJP
MRH
COA
EJP

- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. E. A. Tamm
- Mr. Clegg
- Mr. Coffey
- Mr. Glavin
- Mr. Ladd
- Mr. Nichols
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Tracy
- Mr. Carson
- Mr. Egan
- Mr. Hendon
- Mr. Pennington
- Mr. Quinn Tamm
- Mr. Nease
- Miss Gandy

F. B. I. RADIOGRAM

DECODED COPY

Power

FROM SAN JUAN 11-14-45 NR 141733 12:55 PM EST
DIRECTOR

RE PICKETING OF GOVERNOR'S OFFICE, SAN JUAN, NOVEMBER 13, 1945, IN PROTEST AGAINST OCTOBER 29, 1945, SPEECH AT UNIVERSITY OF PUERTO RICO WHEREIN GOVERNOR REXFORD GUTUWELL DEFENDED HIS IMPORTATION OF UNITED STATES TECHNICAL EXPERTS FOR WORK IN PUERTO RICO INDICATING THE LACK OF SUFFICIENT TALENT IN PUERTO RICO, HIS OFFICES WERE PICKETED FOR 5 HOURS BEGINNING 10:30 A.M. NOVEMBER 13, 1945. IMPETUS BEHIND AND LARGEST ELEMENT PRESENT WERE STUDENTS ORGANIZATIONS OF UNIVERSITY, FEDERATION OF INSULAR EMPLOYEES, NUMEROUS LABOR UNIONS, SEVERAL LAWYERS AND MEMBERS OF THE LEGISLATURE JOINED THE PICKETS. OCCASION WAS GOVERNOR'S LUNCHEON HONORING OFFICERS OF RETURNED 65TH REGIMENT. PICKETS VERBALLY PROTESTED ENTRANCE OF GUESTS. SEVERAL INVITEES TURNED AWAY DECLINING TO ENTER INCLUDING SOME MILITARY OFFICERS ALTHOUGH GENERAL WILLIAM GRIMES, ANTILLES COMMANDER, WAS PRESENT AT LUNCHEON. NO PHYSICAL DISORDER KNOWN. ANY FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS WILL FOLLOW.

NOTE: UNDERLINED PORTIONS OBTAINED FROM GARBLES. AWAITING CONFIRMATION.

RECEIVED 11-14-45 4:40 PM EST MET

RECORDED & INDEXED

177

EX-11

62-44607-327

Memo 11-14-45

cc: Mr. Ladd

If the intelligence contained in the above message is to be disseminated outside the Bureau, it is suggested that it be suitably paraphrased in order to protect the Bureau's cryptographic systems.

Post Office Box 4312, San Juan 21, Puerto Rico

April 2, 1946

Director, FBI

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

RE: RALPH G. TUGWELL, Governor
of Puerto Rico
SELECTIVE SERVICE MATTERS

Dear Sir:

I have been informed by Mr. Philip F. Herrick, United States Attorney, that Governor Tugwell has expressed an intention of recommending the pardon and release from prison of all Puerto Ricans convicted and serving sentences for a violation of the Selective Training and Service Act. Mr. Herrick states that the Governor's Aide, when calling the office of the United States Attorney to secure statistics on individuals convicted under the Act referred several times in his conversation to those convicted individuals as "Political Prisoners." It appears that the Governor has adopted the attitude that in view of the end of the war the sentences being served by any of these individuals should be ended and the convicted persons pardoned.

Mr. Herrick is disturbed by this action of the Governor and states that he will oppose any such action and has already communicated with the Attorney General.

I consider it unfortunate that the Governor should look upon these individuals or even refer to them as "Political Prisoners." I do not know by what method of reasoning he reaches such a conclusion. It is true that the majority of persons convicted for Selective Service violations have been Nationalists who have refused to register or comply with orders for induction on the theory that they owe no allegiance to the United States government. It has of course been the consistent contention of the Nationalists that their leader, PEDRO ALBIZU CAMPOS, and other members serving terms in Federal institutions for efforts to overthrow the government of the United States as well as failure to obey the Selective Service statute are "Political Prisoners." It seems to me that for the Governor to agree, if he actually does, that these men are political prisoners that it places the government of the United States in a rather awkward position. Certainly if the Governor should publicly refer to Puerto Ricans convicted under the Selective Service Act as "Political Prisoners," it would place the Federal investigative and prosecutive agencies in a most unfavorable light.

52 MAY 1 1946

33
MAY 1 1946
RECEIVED

Letter to Director, FBI
RE: REXFORD GUY TUGKELL,
Governor of Puerto Rico
SELECTIVE SERVICE MATTERS

P & e

4/2/46

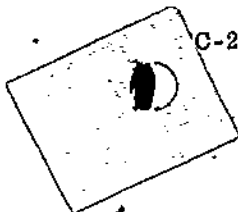
Sometime ago the Governor did release from the Insular Penitentiary five men, all Nationalists, who had been convicted several years ago of participation in attempted assassination of former Governor Winship and the killing of a National Guard officer. This action of the Governor was deplored by most of the prominent Puerto Ricans who do not entertain sympathy with the Nationalist cause. It is even more deplorable in my opinion that the Governor should give any aid and comfort to the radical adherents of a discredited cause and to give support to individuals who openly defy the United States Government of which the Governor is, of course, the outstanding representative on the Island.

Any further information obtained in this matter will be furnished to the Bureau.

Very truly yours,

A. C. Schlenker
SAC

ACS:JAM



C-247

Mr. Tolson _____
 Mr. E. A. Tamm _____
 Mr. Clegg _____
 Mr. Glavin _____
 Mr. Ladd _____
 Mr. Nichols _____
 Mr. Rosen _____
 Mr. Tracy _____
 Mr. Carson _____
 Mr. Egan _____
 Mr. Gurnea _____
 Mr. Harbo _____
 Mr. Hendon _____
 Mr. Pennington _____
 Mr. Quinn Tamm _____
 Mr. Nease _____
 Miss Gandy _____

File

February 6, 1947

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. *TOLSON*

Mr. Coyne's memorandum of January 27th, regarding Rez Tugwell's recent book, recommends that I plant stories regarding our investigation of Falange activities in Puerto Rico which will offset the statements made by Tugwell in his book. In order to plant the stories it will be necessary to develop specific facts. In doing so, the story would probably bring in Tugwell's book and I have the feeling that very shortly a controversy would develop resulting in considerable publicity for Tugwell's book, which might help him even though the inaccuracies would be pointed out.

If we are going to take issue I think the best way would be to write a letter to Tugwell, pointing out the inaccuracies in the book and then informally release a copy of the letter to the Public Relations Office and the press.

Respectfully,

L. B. Nichols

LBN:RC

I agree
I concur in Tolson's views
 RECORDED 62-44664-34
 FEB 17 1947
 EX-33

58 FEB 24 1947

- Mr. Tolson ✓
- Mr. E. A. Tamm
- Mr. Clegg
- Mr. Glavin
- Mr. Ladd
- Mr. Nichols ✓
- Mr. Rosen ✓
- Mr. Tracy
- Mr. Carson
- Mr. Egan
- Mr. Gurnea
- Mr. Harbo
- Mr. Hendon
- Mr. Pennington
- Mr. Quinn Tamm
- Mr. Nease
- Miss Gandy

January 7, 1947

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR

Arthur Quinn

Mr. Arthur Quinn telephoned and stated that the Bureau would probably be interested in obtaining a copy of Tugwell's new book entitled, "The Stricken Land." Mr. Quinn stated that there are six or seven references in the book to the FBI. He referred specifically to page 371, in which Tugwell makes a reference to the practice of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in maintaining a list of respectable citizens who are interviewed in connection with matters under investigation. He points out that these people are leading citizens who deplore change and states that, as a result of the investigative procedure followed by the Bureau, "the investigations of the naive young men of the FBI are prejudiced on the side of conservatism and actually worthless in fact."

A copy of this memorandum is being designated for Mr. Nichols in order that the Library Section may obtain a copy of this book and submit an appropriate review to you upon the references in the book to the Bureau.

Respectfully,

Edw. A. Tamm

review the book.

CC-Mr. Nichols

EAT:DMG

done. 1-21-47

RECORDED

62-1701-35

EX-51

311 FEB 17 1947

59 FEB 24 1947

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

BMS:SL

TO : Mr. Nichols

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: Book Review, "The Stricken Land"
by Rexford G. Tugwell

DATE: 1/21/47

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. E. A. Tamm	
Mr. Clegg	
Mr. Glavin	
Mr. Ladd	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tracy	
Mr. Carson	
Mr. Egan	
Mr. Gurnea	
Mr. Harbo	
Mr. Hendon	
Mr. Pennington	
Mr. Quinn Tamm	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Nease	
Miss Gandy	

Pursuant to the Director's request the above-titled book has been reviewed in Crime Records by Agent Suttler.

It can hardly be called a book. It is an atrociously written, 700-page, ponderous, disjointed and confusing conglomeration of words and sentences, placed together for the odious and obvious task of defending Tugwell. It is an attempt to vindicate his actions as Governor of Puerto Rico during the war years. In his effort to accomplish this, he makes himself out a martyr, a victim of circumstances and a public servant who has sacrificed his all on the altar of service to mankind.

To further impress the reader he slaps the President, Congress, the FBI, Army, Navy, WPB, democracy and makes very strong statements against men in public life, who fail to see as he does, to the point where some of his statements border on the verge of libelous remarks.

In Tugwell's sight, however, he, Tugwell, can do no wrong. He takes credit at every opportunity.

The author opens his book with a long 31-page "Introduction" which says pretty much of nothing. It appears to be an attempt to impress the reader with Tugwell's close association to Roosevelt, his memories of the early New Deal, his first impression of President Truman when he states on page X, "The dry Missouri voice, it was sad to say, was a disastrous declination from the Roosevelt oratory...." His opinion changed, however, when on August 25, 1945, he went to the White House to offer his resignation as Governor of Puerto Rico and President Truman said, "There should be no discussion of such a thing." (P. XVIII) He says the President complimented him on his good work. Further he says the President "went on to say some extremely kind things about my attitudes and my work which I should not have thought he would have known about at all." He then quotes the President as saying, "I must insist and you must yield" to continuing as Governor. He seemed far more pleased with President Truman at this point than he did on page X when he stated that President Truman needed more time to develop "Roosevelt" prestige than he had yet had, more time, perhaps, than he would have, if he kept on choosing the kind of assistants he had so far chosen." That was before Mr. Truman "chose" Mr. Tugwell to continue on as Governor of Puerto Rico.

COPIES DESTROYED

EX-53

68 OCT 15 1964

62 FEB 27 1947

Tugwell almost
out of "Is" 31 FEB 17 1947

CRIME RECORDS

1-19
1-20

1/21/47

His remarks concerning the FBI are as follows.

Page 162: "And even the FBI took too long in realizing that the Falange and not the comunistas were the practical enemies we had to fight in our community."

Page 243: "They must have been well aware that the FBI was now taking a somewhat belated survey of the situation and modifying its former concentration on our pretentious little band of comunistas."

Page 296: "New offices of intelligence and censorship were settling down in our midst and throwing their weight about. Both Hoover (Admiral Hoover of the U. S. Navy) and Collins began to grumble at the fresh young lawyers and brokers who were sent them in unmanageable numbers for 'intelligence.' The Admiral could positively sneer the word, and I suppose they were a nuisance. The FBI, which was closer at home to me, was still unable to understand that, at the moment, a falangista was more dangerous than a comunista."

Page 370: "The FBI office in Puerto Rico which was asked to investigate invariably found something against even the best of them. If it did not appear that they had once been independentistas it could always be claimed of a Latin that he had ideas of personal morality which departed somewhat from those of Mr. Edgar Hoover." The author is at this time speaking of the investigation of the "Populares" for Federal positions.

Page 603: "For a long time I thought something must surely burst. So did the FBI. They were confused, alarmed and full of warnings. But nothing did burst. It simply went on and on...."

Page 610: "Some time ago the FBI made a report on the Falange in Puerto Rico. It took them some time and some prodding on my part to discover that in this war not communists but Falangistas are the practical problem here. But they have done a good deal lately. Mr. Biddle could furnish you with that report.our people (FBI and other officials) tend to be confused by their conservatism and respectability."

The quotations above were allegedly contained in a letter to Mr. Ickes.

1/21/47

The author's conceit and his overwhelming lack of modesty are clearly shown in the following quotations where he continually takes credit for certain things, notwithstanding the fact that he continually blasts everything and everybody throughout his book and gives no one else credit with the exception of Abe Fortas, which will be shown subsequently.

Page 162: "About this I was correct, except that, again, I was to have new revelations of depth beyond depth of unprincipled opposition."

He was here speaking of his deductions as to the dangerous group which had attacked his two immediate predecessors.

Page 250: "At the climax of the crusade what would have been thought to be the most unlikely persons began to come to me privately with assurances of confidence, with messages of shame for their affiliates, with offers of public collaboration. Sometimes they came straight out of the enemy camp. Gradually the number became so large that generalization was no longer possible and I was unable to say that it was the businessmen, the employers, the big farmers who were against us.....This did not happen at once; and I must take credit, such as it is, for the right strategy in fostering it."

Page 258: In speaking of the Puerto Ricans the author states, "They demanded an uncritical conformity which no Spanish folk were ever going to yield. Governors had thus by implication held up the expatriates to Puerto Ricans as models, a position in society much enjoyed by those who had not always been so favorably situated in their home communities. My wife and I not only did not do that but we found our Puerto Rican friends, not among those who were professional pitiyanquis, but among others who were working with us in what we had to do.....One measure for which I was largely responsible was the Planning Act."

Page 266: "One of these which I borrowed from Mr. La-Guardia was to forbid the filling of vacancies except with my personal approval. In the first year I reduced expenditures in this way by one twentieth of the total."

Page 317: "I might have a little more credit than he seemed disposed to award for (1) keeping the dominant elements in Puerto Rican life loyal to our cause and (2) for having got through a remarkable program of legislation."

He was here lamenting the fact that he received a very cool reception from Secretary Ickes upon his return to Washington from Puerto Rico and he was at a loss to understand it, thinking that Mr. Ickes should have met him with open arms and given him credit for the two things cited on the previous page.

Page 343: "Mine, of course, was altogether too high a line, and if Munoz had been willing to meet me halfway we might have improved government and still have been sufficiently political to satisfy the worst hunger."

Page 387: "On the day I left for Washington early in September, moreover, he (Munoz) presented me with a petition of faith, signed by the incredible number of 314,000 citizens."

Page 398: "The Coalicion members walked out in a body as I came in. But the gallery was Popular and I was received with an ovation which succeeded cat-calls for the departing Senators and Representatives."

Page 498: "General Collins afterward told me that his subsequent assignment was 'more responsible' than it would otherwise have been because of my letter...."

Page 674: In speaking of the victory of President Munoz during the elections in Puerto Rico, Mr. Tugwell states, "And there was no hiding the fact that I was involved in the victory too -- not that I had taken part in the campaign, but that I had been consistently praised by one side and vilified by the other. Those who had been with and for me had won; the others had lost. My behavior had been correct...."

Page 678: In speaking of the effect of the death of President Roosevelt in Puerto Rico the author states, "Everywhere in Puerto Rico I was granted a new tolerance, a new affection, because I was known to have been his friend."

It is interesting, after reading the above quotations from Tugwell's book showing how he did not fail to heap credit upon himself, to see his reaction to other individuals and various wartime agencies and armed services in comparison with his own egotism. His opinions of various individuals sometimes border on the verge of libel.

Page 39: "I found General Winship, as Governor, not having had an opportunity to observe colonial governors before, an interesting study. What were the mental processes which led Mr. Roosevelt to the selection, I could not for the life of me imagine. I could understand the choice of Mr. Gore, who had preceded him and who in many ways had been far less suited for the office. That had been a political appointment pure and simple."

Page 81: "For the empty honor which General Winship had been thick-skinned enough to hold onto for five years had grown so empty by now as to approach the ridiculous."

Page 143: "Mr. Taft did not expect to prevent my confirmation. He only meant to discredit another Roosevelt appointee....Mr. Taft would be a little embarrassed, I think, when he became acquainted with me later, about this uninformed diatribe....But up to now he had been, along with Mr. Vandenberg, merely one of our more thoughtless enemies, wholly partisan in approach."

Page 161: "Puerto Rico was like the states in one respect -- it seemed easier to send the nation's sons out to die than to sacrifice the nation's businesses for the same cause. This was the reason, I think, that there was a group of expatriates, mostly lawyers, who represented absentee interests, and of whom at first I took little account. They served the concerns they represented with an enthusiasm which carried them into activities which, if I actually represented my country as Governor -- and this they could not quite bring themselves to admit -- were just short of treasonable."

Page 175: "The already announced Caribbean Office of the State Department was held to be significant and the traditional suspicions of Puerto Ricans concerning that Department were elaborated on. It had begun to get about too that there was to be an Anglo-American Commission. The paper claimed this to be confirmation of all its suspicions."

Page 212: "Then came our greatest struggle. The submarines invaded our sea and, through the Navy's most disastrous failure, we were made helpless against their attack."

Page 218: "I refer to this old -- and, as I feel, unjustified -- criticism merely for the contrast with the War Production Board, which, excepting perhaps the city of San Juan, reached the highest standard for governmental inefficiency I had ever observed."

Page 240: "It was to be expected, of course, that the good brains of the Navy had not been paralyzed and that somewhere in the Washington bureaus the plans were being made and the blueprints drawn for proper opposition to our enemy. But it was difficult to maintain confidence in Puerto Rico in the spring of '42...."

Page 247: "We find men like A. Mitchell Palmer, or Mr. Martin Dies -- we always find one of this sort easily -- to be our executioners."

Page 264: "I never said publicly what I thought of Mr. Fitzsimmons but perhaps he guessed. His insufficiency as an Auditor lay in his restricted talent for bookkeeping."

Page 271: "Finally, after the agitated legislature had passed a resolution of confidence in me and one withdrawing confidence from Mr. Bolivar Pagan, who was serving as stooge at the Washington end, the President sent a letter to Munoz in response to the legislature's message, indicating warm support."

He slaps Pagan on a number of occasions throughout the book, claiming that he was the lobbyist for the sugar interests in Washington.

Page 336: "But I was disappointed to have the request go to Congress, there to be at the mercy of the sugar lobby, of Mr. Bolivar Pagan, of the deployed forces of the Farm Bureau and of all the enemies of the New Deal who desired to embarrass the President whenever possible...."

Page 409: "The question grew in my mind whether an executioner would not be sent to Puerto Rico presently to carry out a similar mandate from the Republicans."

He was speaking of General Leonard Wood as the executioner of the Filipinos back in the early 1920's. This is brought out more clearly on page 413 where he states, "General Wood was sent to put these socialists in their place; he was to be the hatchet man for the American reactionaries."

Page 418: He takes a slap at President Coolidge when he states, "President Coolidge replied to him on 21 February 1924 with characteristic smugness."

Page 432: Tugwell takes a smack at Congress when he says, "The disparity between the inferior intellectual level of the proceedings and the magnificent physical surroundings there confuses the better sorts of people."

This referred to a Congressional Committee hearing.

Page 446: Regardless of his alleged affections for Mr. Roosevelt in other parts of the book, on this page he cannot resist the opportunity to express an adverse opinion of President Roosevelt when he states: "Mr. Roosevelt may have been governed by hidden considerations; his course seemed to me, however, something to be expected of the leader of a military state, rather than of a democracy.....The developing policy seemed wholly out of character for Mr. Roosevelt; but also it seemed downright unwise."

Page 468: The author does not hesitate to refer to people as reactionaries in statements such as the following: "Mr. Bosch lent himself to this attempt in a kind of bungling way because he was vaguely reactionary."

Page 512: While Governor Tugwell seemed to resent no end the committees sent down by the Senate and the House to investigate the conditions in Puerto Rico, on this page he states with regard to the head of the Bell Committee of the House of Representatives the following: "Mr. Bell, it has to be said in all honesty, was biased. It must also be said that during the hearings he led -- and permitted others to lead -- witnesses throughout their testimony, asking prejudicial questions, seeking categorical answers, suggesting trains of reasoning. The prize performer of this sort was, however, not the Chairman but Mr. McGehee of Mississippi, 'Smiling Dan McGehee,' who made anti-Roosevelt declarations in the hotel lobby to any and all who cared to listen.....Judge Bell's own methods were different, that is to say he was not brutal. His caliber is perhaps best revealed by the remark made later by the President when I told him of the Committee's attitude. He cocked his head and inquired who the Chairman was: 'Bell?' he asked, 'Bell? Who's he?' At that time the Congressman was serving his fifth term; but evidently he had not made much impression at the White House."

Page 567: "If anything was needed to turn the tide of favor in Puerto Rico, this maneuver of Messrs. Cole, Bell, Crawford, et al, was sufficient. These were the allies in the Congress of the Puerto Rican reactionaries. People with friends of this kind were considered dangerous."

Page 616: Although the author continues to paint a picture of gloom concerning "The Stricken Land" of Puerto Rico throughout his entire book, he

paints a very vivid picture of gloom on page 616 when he states, "Young men were dying before Cassino and on the beachhead at Anzio, and since it came to nothing, all of us at home became lay strategists. It was discouraging because there seemed inevitably to be too little for so much.....We heard from the press only about strikes and the wickedness of labor, not about the miracle of its loyalty and productiveness. And when our Generals spoke they either seemed so foolishly optimistic as to be disregarded or, if it was General Somervell, for instance, to be professionally pessimistic in the interest of enormous stores of everything without discrimination. No one spoke in a clear voice to still our fears or to encourage our effort."

The author defends the Loyalists of Spain on page 247 when he states, "It was notorious that those who had fought on the Loyalist side in Spain were given a bad time by officialdom at every opportunity; and that those who had been on the other side were favored. I myself knew men and boys who had followed an ideal into danger and hardship, coming out badly broken, and who had lived thenceforth -- in our own United States -- a life hardly more free than they might have had if they had stayed in Vichy France on their way home.....They were scum of the earth in America too, we must in all shame admit. Men for whom banners should have been put out and flowers strewn -- because they had expiated, a little at least, mankind's infamy -- were, like criminals, subjected to every kind of humiliation."

The author does not seem to think a great deal of democracies as shown in the following pages:

Page 291: "During this period of 1942, I had reason to be grateful to Munoz for his development of a strong party organization although I feared that it might tear itself apart as American Democrats were doing --it had so many diverse, even hostile, elements."

Page 442: "He knew too that our form of government made it easy for the sovereign people to create policy blindly and then to resent the consequences." He was speaking of President Roosevelt.

On several occasions Tugwell expresses his dislike for Washington, D. C.

Page 106: "I wanted more and more to be at work in national service as tension rose. That was a

simple and powerful impulse; but what I was offered was something less than that; and I had no stomach for Washington intrigue."

Page 316: "On 21 May 1942, Moscoso and I landed in a wartime capital -- and almost at once I fled to New York. The stories I had been told when in 1933 the new administration had moved down to the Potomac came back to me now.....Now I, who had helped in that transformation, was suffering from the same unease. It was no longer possible to feel at home in the capital."

Page 541: "I had some opportunity to observe the Washington scene after a long absence. Never within my memory had the weaknesses of democracy been so apparent.This settled the surface but left a worse quarrel underneath, for the basic disloyalty in Washington, which overshadowed all others, was the disaffection of the reactionary South. I found many belligerents among Southerners as unrestrained as Mr. McGehee."

Page 653: "I had not been in Washington now for nearly a year, mostly because of my growing sense of confusion whenever I went."

Page 677: "Of course only the grand strategy, the great decisions, were proved good. (He was speaking of President Roosevelt's strategy.) In all the minor matters, even some which were crucial, there was confusion to the point of administrative madness. (He was still speaking of President Roosevelt.) Washington was a battlefield in which Generals, Admirals, and businessmen, suddenly become bureaucrats, fought for profits and power."

The author is apparently a great admirer of Abe Fortas. He praises Fortas on a number of occasions.

Page 347: "Mr. Abe Fortas looked like a boy. A good many people had at various times presumed on this appearance and had had rude shocks. They had found that he not only possessed a talent for governmental management....but a stubborn will."

The author then states that he is at a loss to understand how Abe Fortas had been confirmed as Undersecretary without protest.

"How he did it none of us knew; and a person like myself, to whose most innocent actions there was always violent opposition, could only marvel. The more pains I took to keep out of trouble, the less success I had. Yet here was Abe, a mere boy, carrying on the most outrageous activities apparently without any opposition at all."

Page 381: "For Abe, as I have said, may have been young, and may have had a policy of appeasement, but he also had humor, perspective, loyalty and generosity."

Page 546: "No one among the Continentals except Abe seemed to understand that a clear definition of sovereignty was as important to the Puerto Ricans as to us."

There are numerous other references to Abe Fortas throughout the book but the above were merely cited to give some indication that Abe Fortas is one of the few who did not come in for censorship under the pen of Rexford Tugwell.

In the following quotations the author apparently tries to arouse the reader's sympathy by showing how he has been persecuted time after time by various groups and individuals over the years. These quotations certainly appear to the reviewer that the author is attempting to make himself out as a martyr.

Page 110: "If the Senate was determined enough to keep me out of public service, I could do no better than come to the University."

Page 136: "It was getting a build-up, however, and I could see that if the delay persisted I was likely to become again, as I had in other years, an involuntary cause celebre."

Page 140: "Still with all the news thus provided, there was room for a front-page story about my distressing situation. It looked again as though the thing might be worked up into a politically embarrassing incident."

Page 164: "At an early press conference, in an effort to embarrass me, a stock question was asked: 'What was my attitude toward independence?'"

Page 216: "'Tugwell is a Quisling, betraying Puerto Rico.' Several hundred newspapers liked that, and editorialized on the strength of it. 'Remove Tugwell' became the focus of the movement, and the Republicans cocked an eye, always interested in embarrassing the President."

Page 238: "It was hard to bear this cross in wartime and with a reform movement dependent on my cooperation. I naturally took steps to be relieved of it."

Page 295: "The heat which came on so quickly about the middle of that April was not confined to the weather. All the other affairs in which I was involved became hotter too."

Page 429: "Time delivered a nasty indirect slap at my wife; so, incidentally, did Mr. Drew Pearson. This seemed a little extreme even for the purpose in hand; but by now she had done so noble a job that she, too, had to be encompassed in the smearing lest her good reputation should mitigate the bad one so successfully being fitted to me."

Page 459: "He (Vandenberg) proposed an amendment to the Organic Act declaring the governorship vacant and fixing a new term of office. The object of this was not so much to force my resignation as to bring me before the Senate for reconfirmation, thus giving all my embattled enemies a chance at me through their favorite representatives."

Page 472: "This was neither the first nor the last I should hear of this conspiratorial fantasy."

He was speaking of the Vandenberg Bill mentioned above.

Page 494: "I persisted a little but got nowhere. Of course, I was in a poor position. The sentiment against me in the Congress was by now so formidable as to be embarrassing."

Page 531: "In spite of the plain facts in the case, witnesses were led into representations that it was I who was responsible for its breakdown and that this had been managed so that another socialistic enterprise might be set up."

He was speaking of the appointment of a Transportation Authority which he had set up to manage the bus line in San Juan previously.

Page 600: "The Chavez hearings were a compendium of interferences disguised as freedoms; and the bill which resulted was quite representative of its origin."

Page 640: Here Tugwell refers to a resolution which "Mr. McGehee" introduced in the House. "Whereas Rexford Guy Tugwell has shown a disinclination to uphold the dignity of the Government of the United States through his tacit consent to the appointment of one Robert Morss Lovett, whom the Congress had voted from the United States pay rolls of the Department of the Interior, to a position of trust and importance with the University of Puerto Rico where Lovett would be in a position to indoctrinate the youth of Puerto Rico with the subversive and un-American theories he holds, et cetera....

"Resolved, That the continued service of Rexford Guy Tugwell as Governor of Puerto Rico is considered

obnoxious and detrimental to the best interests of the island....and the President of the United States is hereby requested to remove Tugwell from the governorship of Puerto Rico so that he may appoint in his stead a Governor who would be more able and capable and willing to conduct an impartial and fair election in the island, et cetera."

The author winds up his book in the last paragraph by stating: "As to this I thought that our work in Puerto Rico was on a far frontier. We were trying to find the reserves of generosity and decency we believed to exist in human nature. It might be socialism -- what we were trying to do -- but it was at least a practical attempt to meet a desperate situation. And look how politicians, administrators, and all the others were finding expression in it. It was becoming a unique demonstration. Others might take a good look to their own benefit."

The reviewer feels that the author missed a golden opportunity to really write a good book based upon his wartime experiences in Puerto Rico. If he had reduced his remarks from 700 pages to approximately 250 pages, inculcating factual data on the various crises that existed in Puerto Rico during the war and had given vivid illustrations of occurrences there, it might have been a good book. But to have accomplished this it is felt he would have had to have a ghost writer prepare the data for him.

✓ [Handwritten signature]

- Mr. Tolson _____
- Mr. E. A. Tamm _____
- Mr. Clegg _____
- Mr. Glavin _____
- Mr. Ladd _____
- Mr. Nichols _____
- Mr. Rosen _____
- Mr. Tracy _____
- Mr. Carson _____
- Mr. Egan _____
- Mr. Gurnea _____
- Mr. Harbo _____
- Mr. Hendon _____
- Mr. Pennington _____
- Mr. Quinn Tamm _____
- Mr. Nease _____
- Miss Gandy _____

January 27, 1947

*File
1-28*

*File
1-28*

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TAMM

RE: REXFORD G. TUGWELL
Former Governor of Puerto Rico

You will note from a review of the attached memorandum prepared on the basis of an examination of Tugwell's book "The Stricken Land" that he has been quite critical of the FBI, particularly as regards the Spanish Falange and related groups in Puerto Rico.

For the sake of the record if for no other reason, the following data should be noted for they clearly indicate that Tugwell has been malicious in his castigation of the FBI. Further, he is not aware of the true facts surrounding several of the items he discusses or if he is aware of these facts, then he is guilty of downright falsehoods.

On Page 162, Tugwell states, "And even the FBI took too long in realizing that the Falange and not the Communistas were the practical enemies we had to fight in our community." In this connection it is significant to note that Tugwell became Governor of Puerto Rico in 1941; that the FBI initiated its investigation of the Spanish Falange in Puerto Rico on August 27, 1940; and that our files are replete with information which indicates beyond all doubt that the FBI was well aware of the importance of Falangist activities long before the man Tugwell took over the Governorship of the Island. The only other comment worth making as regards the above-quoted portion of Tugwell's book is the fact that the Bureau feels now as it did during and prior to the regime of Tugwell that the adherents to both Communism and Fascism are our "practical enemies."

Tugwell speaks of the FBI making "a somewhat belated survey of the situation and modifying its former concentration on our pretentious little band of Communistas." Again Tugwell is misinformed for our survey was not belated and we most certainly ^{had} not modified our concentration on Stalin's stooges on the Island which he refers to as "our pretentious little band of Communistas."

SE 32 162-4466-37

On Page 296 of his book, Tugwell asserts, "The FBI, which was closer at home to me, (than Army and Navy Intelligence) was still unable to understand that at the moment a Falangista was more dangerous than a Comunista." In respect to this assertion it need merely be noted, with all due credit to the FBI, that the FBI was never close to Mr. Tugwell and, as a matter of fact, that we are still unable to understand that a Falangista is more dangerous than a Comunista.

68 FEB 24 1947
JPC/ak

MEMO FOR MR. TAMM

On Page 370, Tugwell speaks of the investigation of the "Populists" for Federal positions and he states that, "The FBI office in Puerto Rico which was asked to investigate invariably found something against even the best of them." Says he, "If it did not appear that they had once been Independentistas (adherents of the Independence Movement on the Island) it could always be claimed of a Latin that he had ideas of personal morality which departed somewhat from those of Mr. Edgar Hoover." Obviously Tugwell doesn't appreciate the fact that the FBI is a fact-finding, nonpartisan organization which records information developed regarding the affiliations of these people without regard for the political sentiments of those who endorse subjects under investigation. The charge made by Tugwell about the FBI's claims concerning the personal morality of the Latins is not worth being dignified by a response.

On Page 603, in discussing the general situation in Puerto Rico during the course of the war, Tugwell asserts, "For a long time I thought something must surely burst. So did the FBI. They were confused, alarmed and full of warnings, etc." It appears quite obvious from a reading of Tugwell's mouthings that it was Tugwell who was and still is confused.

On Page 610, the author states, "Some time ago the FBI made a report on the Falange in Puerto Rico. It took them some time and some prodding on my part to discover that in this war not Communists but Falangistas are the practical problem here. But they have done a good deal lately. Mr. Biddle could furnish you with that report.our people (FBI and other officials) tend to be confused by their conservatism and respectability." As repeated above, the FBI did investigate and make a report on the Falange in Puerto Rico but it did not take us "some time and some prodding" on the part of Tugwell for we were reporting on the Falange in Puerto Rico before this nondescript became Governor there. As regards the "prodding" assertion, despite the impression that Tugwell endeavors to leave with his readers that he is "Mr. Big," a review of our files will most certainly reflect that Tugwell has never been big enough to prod the FBI.

Since Mr. Tugwell endeavors to make much of his unsubstantiated and utterly false claim that the FBI did not do its duty as regards the Spanish Falange in Puerto Rico, the following information is noted for the purpose of clarifying this matter.

In addition to the fact that we initiated our investigation of the Falange in the summer of 1940, it is to be noted that the Bureau directed numerous communications to the Department concerning Falangist activities on the Island calling the attention of the Department to the potential dangerousness of this group. Furthermore -- and Tugwell conveniently overlooks this point -- the Spanish Falange in Puerto Rico was

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. E. A. Tamm _____
Mr. Clegg _____
Mr. Glavin _____
Mr. Ladd _____
Mr. Nichols _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tracy _____
Mr. Carson _____
Mr. Egan _____
Mr. Gurnea _____
Mr. Harbo _____
Mr. Hendon _____
Mr. Pennington _____
Mr. Quinn Tamm _____
Mr. Nease _____
Miss Gandy _____

MEMORANDUM FOR

MEMO FOR MR. TAMM

dissolved in January, 1941, prior to the time when Tugwell became Governor and I strongly suspect that the dissolution of the Falange in Puerto Rico was due in no small measure to the fact that the FBI was investigating this organization. Furthermore, in March of 1942 when the Bureau received information indicating that 19 members of the Falange in San Juan were to be naturalized in the Federal Court there, we repeatedly entered objections to the Department claiming that the adherents to the principles of Falangism should not be granted naturalization. After 23 months the Department on February 21, 1944, completely altered its viewpoint with respect to the Falange and saw fit to adopt the viewpoint of the Bureau when it announced that it would proceed against any former members of the defunct Falange in Puerto Rico who were naturalized with a view to effecting their denaturalization.

The Criminal Division, upon receiving one memorandum of protest from the Bureau regarding the naturalization of these Falangistas, advised, "There was nothing to indicate the Falangistas were un-American or subversive in their actions." In reply, a memorandum was sent to the Department stating in part, "I consider the Spanish Falange as a dangerous element to the internal security of this country as it is the official party for the Franco Government, which is a dictatorship Government and closely resembles the German and Italian Fascist forms of Government." This was done without any prodding on the part of Mr. Tugwell and in fact was done long before Mr. Tugwell saw fit to interest himself in the Falange.

In speaking of the FBI and other officials on the Island, Tugwell states, "Our people tend to be confused by their conservatism and respectability." In keeping with the policies of the Bureau and in keeping with our Americanism, we protested the Falangistas in our midst but at the same time we investigated the Red Fascists here and, consequently, the very illogical Tugwell concludes that we were confused by our conservatism and respectability. I think if Mr. Tugwell were as American, conservative and respectable as the FBI has endeavored to be, he would never have compiled the 704 pages of corruption appearing between the covers of his book "The Stricken Land."

In connection with the general subject matter discussed above, you will recall that in the course of our Departmental survey in 1945 we secured confidentially from the Department a letter which was sent to the then Attorney General Biddle in November, 1943, by the then Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes regarding the Bureau's report on Falangist activities in Puerto Rico. We know that Tugwell was in contact with Ickes on this particular subject matter and consequently Ickes' letter to Biddle is of significance in considering Tugwell's political orientation, for in that letter Ickes alleges that the writer of the summary on the Puerto Rican Falange had a tendency to minimize the purposes of the activities of the Falange and to portray the Falange in a most favorable light. Because of the statements appearing in the Bureau's report, Ickes was led to comment, "This made me wonder whether

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MEMORANDUM FOR

MEMO FOR MR. TAMM

the writer of the report has approached his subject with a point of view that all of those who constituted and supported the Loyalist Government in Spain are Communists. If so, he very naturally would have written a biased report." A review of that summary discloses that Ickes' fear -- which was undoubtedly based upon Tugwell's fear -- of bias was unfounded and his criticism unwarranted. The author of the Bureau's summary well knew that all Loyalists are not Communists and in fact that many of the Loyalists are vehemently opposed to the Communists. Apparently Tugwell used Ickes as the avenue or media to relay to the attention of the Attorney General his feeling that the Bureau was prejudiced in favor of the Falangistas and prejudiced against the Communists.

One other item of significance is, I think, worth noting in connection with Tugwell's general administration in Puerto Rico. It is the duty and responsibility of the Governor of Puerto Rico to act as a mediator and as a protector of American sovereignty in Puerto Rico. It is his responsibility to refrain from taking sides on political issues in Puerto Rico. In his book, however, Mr. Tugwell indicates that he acted in derision of his responsibilities and duties in that he did take sides on many political issues and in that he did not act as a nonpartisan mediator nor as a protector of American sovereignty in Puerto Rico. This is borne out by many developments but one which is, I think, of particular note. In 1940 Tugwell endeavored to bring pressure to bear on the Offices of the Secretary of the Interior and the Attorney General to bring about a Bureau investigation concerning the Coalition and related elements in Puerto Rico on the grounds that the Coalition and its affiliates were fostering a program which "contemplates the use of force and violence in order to gain political ends." The Bureau refused to conduct that investigation inasmuch as the matter was concerned on the one hand with Puerto Rican labor and on the other with purely Puerto Rican political problems.

The information in the possession of the Bureau at the time Tugwell endeavored to engineer this investigation afforded considerable credence to the belief that Tugwell had actually thrown in his lot with the Popular Party, the Communist Party of Puerto Rico, and CGP and other questionable elements on the Island in an endeavor to defeat the political objectives of the Coalicion. Incidentally, at that particular time, we were informed by Colonel Francisco J. Parra of the Military Intelligence Service in San Juan at a weekly conference of FBI, ONI and MIS that, "This was the first instance in the history of American Governors of Puerto Rico in which the Governor had taken sides with political parties instead of acting as a mediator and as a protector of American sovereignty in Puerto Rico."

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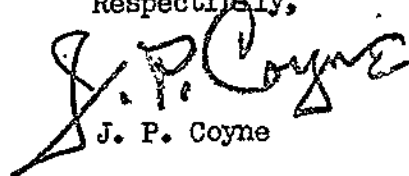
MEMORANDUM FOR

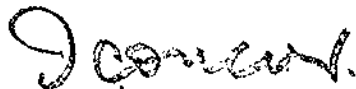
MEMO FOR MR. TAMM

The purpose of this memorandum is to treat solely of the statements appearing in Tugwell's book dealing with the FBI. Those statements have been answered and clarified hereinbefore. I think it is readily apparent that this clarification clearly demonstrates the fact that Tugwell is mendacious; that he is partisan and prejudiced in so far as the Bureau is concerned; that he is either ideologically naive or wilfully ultra-Leftist in orientation and that he has little or no regard for the truth.

I don't know whether it can be done effectively but if it can and the Director concurs, it might be well to refer this memorandum to Mr. Nichols with the idea in mind of planting with reliable representatives of the press the accurate facts pertaining to Mr. Tugwell's discussion of the FBI and the Falange in Puerto Rico. A great many people will read Tugwell's book and will obviously be led to believe that we are prejudiced as regards our investigations unless they in turn through some media are informed of the true facts in these situations. Consequently, it appears to me to be in order to make discreet contact with some of our trusted newspaper sources so that, for the benefit of their readers, they can tab the man Tugwell properly.

Respectfully,


J. P. Coyne



Attachment

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. E. A. Tamm _____
Mr. Clegg _____
Mr. Coffey _____
Mr. Glavin _____
Mr. Ladd _____
Mr. Nichols _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tracy _____
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Mr. Gurnea _____
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Mr. Pennington _____
Mr. Quinn Tamm _____
Mr. Nease _____
Miss Gandy _____

MEMORANDUM FOR

Assistant Attorney General T. L. Candler

Evans July 22, 1947

Director, FBI

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RECORDED

EX-43

Certain public accusations alleging that Rowford Guy Tugwell, former Governor of Puerto Rico, illegally removed to the United States several thousand dollars worth of furniture, said to be the property of the Insular Government, have been brought to the attention of the San Juan Division of this Bureau. It is further alleged that the furniture was constructed for use in a residence at the University of Puerto Rico which was occupied by Tugwell while he served as Governor.

Further information has been received indicating that Insular Senator Iriarte requested investigation of this incident by a Senate Committee, the exact identity of which is unknown. This request was not approved.

Iriarte has made a request of the United States Attorney at San Juan for an investigation of these alleged facts under the National Stolen Property Act. The San Juan Division of this Bureau has advised that no request for such an investigation has been received from the United States Attorney there but that he has informally discussed the situation with the Special Agent in Charge of our division there. It does not appear from the information so far made available by Iriarte, who is said to be a political enemy of Tugwell, that a violation of the National Stolen Property Act is indicated.

The alleged facts in this situation are being furnished to you for your information. If further details are received, they will be made available to you. No investigation has been conducted by this Bureau nor will any such investigation be conducted on the basis of the allegations so far made unless, of course, instructions to the contrary are received from the Department.

- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. E. A. Tamm
- Mr. Clegg
- Mr. Glavin
- Mr. Ladd
- Mr. Nichols
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Tracy
- Mr. Egan
- Mr. Gurnea
- Mr. Harbo
- Mr. Mohr
- Mr. Pennington
- Mr. Quinn Tamm
- Mr. Nease
- Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
 MAILED 8
 JUL 23 1947 P.M.
 FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
 U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

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FOR

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Mr. Tolson ✓
 Mr. E. A. Tamm ✓
 Mr. Clegg ✓
 Mr. Coffey ✓
 Mr. Glavin ✓
 Mr. Ladd ✓
 Mr. Nichols ✓
 Mr. Rosen ✓
 Mr. Tracy ✓
 Mr. Carson _____
 Mr. Egan _____
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 Mr. Quinn Tamm _____
 Mr. Nease _____
 Miss Gandy _____

F. B. I. RADIOGRAM

DECODED COPY

FROM SAN JUAN 7-21-47 NR 211800 3:10 PM EDST

DIRECTOR

RE REXFORD GUY TUGWELL, NSPA. TUGWELL, FORMER GOVERNOR PUERTO RICO, HAS BEEN PUBLICLY ACCUSED OF ILLEGALLY REMOVING TO UNITED STATES SEVERAL THOUSAND DOLLARS WORTH OF FURNITURE ALLEGED TO BE PROPERTY OF INSULAR GOVERNMENT AND WHICH WAS CONSTRUCTED FOR USE IN HOME AT UNIVERSITY OF PUERTO RICO OCCUPIED BY TUGWELL WHILE GOVERNOR. INSULAR SENATOR IRIARTE REQUESTED INVESTIGATION BY SENATE COMMITTEE WHICH WAS NOT APPROVED. IRIARTE BITTER POLITICAL ENEMY OF TUGWELL. IRIARTE HAS NOW REQUESTED UNITED STATES ATTORNEY TO INVESTIGATE UNDER NATIONAL STOLEN PROPERTY ACT. UNITED STATES ATTORNEY DISCUSSED BUT DID NOT REQUEST FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION INVESTIGATION. I RECOMMENDED TO UNITED STATES ATTORNEY THAT COMPLAINANT BE REQUESTED TO PROVIDE, FIRST, EVIDENCE THAT ANY FURNITURE TAKEN BY TUGWELL WAS PROPERTY OF INSULAR GOVERNMENT AND, SECOND, THAT IT WAS TAKEN TO UNITED STATES. IN MY OPINION THIS IS PRIMARILY PROBLEM FOR UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT, THAT FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION SHOULD NOT CONDUCT INVESTIGATION WITHOUT SUBMISSION CLEAR EVIDENCE OF VIOLATION. THIS ENTIRE SITUATION HAS CHARACTER OF POLITICAL AND PERSONAL ANIMOSITY IN WHICH THIS OFFICE SHOULD NOT BE INVOLVED WITHOUT AMPLE JURISDICTIONAL JUSTIFICATION. LETTER FOLLOWS.

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Handwritten: to Mr. Clegg
 7/22/47
 case 1/1/47

EX-43 RECORDED & INDEXED 36 JUL 24 1947
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If the intelligence contained in the above message is to be disseminated outside the Bureau; it is suggested that it be suitably paraphrased in order to protect the Bureau's cryptographic systems.

Handwritten: cc Mr. Rosen

SAC, San Juan

August 12, 1947

Director, FBI

BERNARD JAY TUGWELL
NATIONAL STOLEN PROPERTY ACT

Reurlet July 29, 1947.

For your information, the facts as set forth in reference letter forwarded by the Bureau to the Department of Justice on July 21, 1947, were advised that no investigation in this matter would be conducted by the Bureau in the absence of specific instructions to this effect. No request for such an investigation has been received from the Department.

Accordingly, no investigation in this regard should be conducted by you without prior Bureau approval.

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EX-66

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED 4
★ AUG 12 1947 P.M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. E. A. Tamm
- Mr. Clegg
- Mr. Glavin
- Mr. Ladd
- Mr. Nichols
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Tracy
- Mr. Egan
- Mr. Gurnea
- Mr. Harbo
- Mr. Mohr
- Mr. Pennington
- Mr. Quinn Tamm
- Tele. Room
- Mr. Nease
- Miss Gandy

Carton
WR

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: 7/29/47

FROM : SAC, San Juan

SUBJECT: REXFORD GUY TUGWELL
NATIONAL STOLEN PROPERTY ACT

reference San Juan radiogram dated 7/21/47. As advised in instant radiogram U. S. Attorney PHILIP F. HERRICK informed me he had received a complaint from SEBASTIANO IRIARTE, member of the Insular Senate, alleging that former Governor TUGWELL, upon his departure from Puerto Rico after resigning as Governor, had removed a large amount of furniture which was actually property of the Insular Government. This furniture is alleged to have been made especially for a home turned over to Governor TUGWELL on the campus of the University of Puerto Rico in Rio Piedras.

Recently on the floor of the senate Senator IRIARTE had made similar charges and requested an investigation by an Insular legislative committee. However, this motion was voted down and no further action by the Insular Government has apparently been taken. Several items concerning this matter have appeared in the local newspapers and have also appeared in continental newspapers. The latter news items indicate that both former Governor TUGWELL and Mrs. Tugwell were approached by news reporters concerning this matter and both denied the allegations and insisted that among the effects removed from Puerto Rico was nothing belonging to any of the official residences occupied by the TUGWELLS while in Puerto Rico.

In discussing with Mr. HERRICK the action he should take on the complaint of Senator IRIARTE I pointed out the known fact that Senator IRIARTE was a bitter personal and political enemy of TUGWELL and that this entire matter had an atmosphere of animosity that would warrant considerable caution in accepting for investigation the allegation made by IRIARTE. I expressed the opinion that this was primarily a matter for the Insular Government and that there was no indication that the Insular authorities were not competent to handle the matter. I suggested that before any investigation was requested of this Bureau that Mr. HERRICK request IRIARTE to furnish clear evidence that TUGWELL had in fact taken from Puerto Rico furniture or property of the Insular Government and that he submit adequate proof that any such furniture or property in question was property of the Insular Government to which Mr. TUGWELL had no proprietary right.

I indicated that unless contrary instructions were received by me I should not accept for investigation the allegation in question unless it were supported as I recommended.

As additional background in this situation the Bureau is advised that while Governor, TUGWELL occupied a residence on the campus of the University of

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Puerto Rico as well as having available to him the official governor's palace. It is generally understood that the residence at the University was especially furnished for TUGWELL with furniture designed and constructed at considerable cost. Around this fact alone has centered some controversies and criticisms of TUGWELL. TUGWELL of course made a great many personal and political enemies while he was Governor. He is presently being sued by CHESTER SIEGMUND for approximately \$2,000 to cover the cost of the suit and approximately \$1,500 due SIEGMUND for packing the TUGWELLS' household goods and personal equipment at the time they departed from Puerto Rico. Some 13,000 pounds of personal effects, furnishings, etc., were crated and shipped to the United States aboard an Army vessel. TUGWELL has disputed the charges made by SIEGMUND for his services. Senator IRIARTE is one of the attorneys for SIEGMUND.

I am confidentially informed by [redacted] a reliable individual at the [redacted] that TUGWELL did not take any furniture belonging to the University or to the government. [redacted] states that when IRIARTE's charges were made public TUGWELL designated Mr. JAIME MENITEZ, Chancellor of the University, to immediately institute libel proceedings against anyone stating publicly that TUGWELL had removed any government property. The charges by Senator IRIARTE were, of course, privileged since they were made on the floor of the Senate. Without going into further detail it seems quite clear that TUGWELL was quite cautious at the time he removed his personal effects and it is at least reasonably doubtful, if not certain, that he did not take government owned furniture.

As of the date this letter was dictated Mr. HERRICK had not yet made a final decision on the action he would take on Senator IRIARTE's complaint. Unless advised to the contrary I shall not accept for investigation this matter as it now stands. Should evidence be submitted to support the allegation made by Senator IRIARTE the Bureau will be advised.

ACS:mfc

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Mr. Tolson ✓
 Mr. E. A. Tamm ✓
 Mr. Clegg ✓
 Mr. Glavin ✓
 Mr. Ladd _____
 Mr. Nichols ✓
 Mr. Rosen _____
 Mr. Carson _____
 Mr. Dreyton _____
 Mr. Quinn Tamm _____
 Mr. Hendon _____
 Mr. Tracy _____
 Miss Gandy _____

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Tugwell Named For Governorship Of Puerto Rico

Rexford G. Tugwell, of New York, one of the original New Deal advisers in the Agriculture Administration, was nominated by President Roosevelt yesterday to be Governor of Puerto Rico.

Tugwell will succeed Guy Swepe, of Harrisburg, Pa., who resigned yesterday to become director of the division of territories and island possessions in the Interior Department.

Appointment of Tugwell as chancellor of the University of Puerto Rico was announced last week in New York, and a spokesman for the Interior Department, which supervises insular affairs, said today he could hold both jobs. It was explained that the governorship was by executive appointment, subject to confirmation by the Senate, while the chancellor is selected by the university trustees.

to Puerto Rico

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JUL 31 1973

WASHINGTON CITY NEWS SERVICE

Mr. Tolson.....
Mr. E. A. Tamm.....
Mr. Clegg.....
Mr. Foxworth.....
Mr. Glavin.....
Mr. Ladd.....
Mr. Nichols.....
Mr. Rosen.....
Mr. Carson.....
Mr. Drayton.....
Mr. Quinn Tamm.....
Mr. Hendon.....
Mr. Tracy.....
Miss Gandy.....

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THE SENATE INSULAR AFFAIRS COMMITTEE APPROVED NOMINATION OF REXFORD GUY TUGWELL TO BE GOVERNOR OF PUERTO RICO AFTER QUESTIONING HIM EXTENSIVELY ABOUT HIS SOCIAL AND POLITICAL VIEWS.

8/18--S1219P

ADD TUGWELL NOMINATION

CHAIRMAN TYDINGS, SAID THE VOTE WAS BY "OVERWHELMING MAJORITY." HE SAID THAT HE HIMSELF DID NOT VOTE.

TUGWELL SAID HE WOULD LEAVE SHORTLY FOR PUERTO RICO TO ASSUME CHANCELLORSHIP OF THE INSULAR UNIVERSITY, PENDING FINAL ACTION OF THE SENATE ON THE GOVERNORSHIP. HE SAID HE WOULD TAKE A LEAVE OF ABSENCE FROM THE CHANCELLORSHIP TO SERVE AS GOVERNOR, IF CONFIRMED.

TUGWELL, IN A SHARP EXCHANGE WITH SENATOR MCKELLAR, SAID "SOMETHING WILL HAVE TO BE DONE" ABOUT LAND REDISTRIBUTION IN PUERTO RICO BUT SAID HE DID NOT BELIEVE THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE THE ULTIMATE LANDLORD OR THAT ANYTHING SHOULD BE DONE "WHICH WOULD REDUCE PRODUCTIVITY."

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WASHINGTON CITY NEWS SERVICE

Mr. Tolson.....
Mr. E. A. Tamm.....
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Mr. Tracy.....
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SENATOR TAFT ATTACKED REXFORD G. TUGWELL, NOMINEE AS GOVERNOR OF PUERTO RICO, AS AN INCOMPETENT ADMINISTRATOR INCAPABLE OF REPRESENTING AMERICAN IDEALS IN THE ISLAND.

IN A SENATE SPEECH OPPOSING TUGWELL'S CONFIRMATION, TAFT ALSO CHARGED THAT HE IS "INTIMATELY ALLIED" WITH ONE PUERTO RICAN POLITICAL PARTY AND OPPOSED TO THE OTHER. TAFT MAINTAINED THAT AN AMERICAN GOVERNOR SHOULD BE ABOVE LOCAL DIFFERENCES.

TAFT CITED NUMEROUS PASSAGES IN TUGWELL'S SPEECHES AND WRITINGS TO PROVE THAT "TUGWELL IS EXTREMELY FOND OF RUSSIA ALTHOUGH HE HAS NEVER COMPLETELY COMMITTED HIMSELF TO THE COMMUNIST PRINCIPLE."

"FOR A POSITION OF VERY DIFFICULT ADMINISTRATION A MAN IS HERE SELECTED WHOSE RECORD AS ADMINISTRATOR IS ONE OF COMPLETE FAILURE," TAFT SAID. "SINCE HE CAME WITH OTHER MEMBERS OF THE BRAIN TRUST INTO POLITICS IN 1933, HE HAS MOVED FROM ONE JOB TO ANOTHER, AND I CHALLENGE ANYONE TO POINT TO ANY SUCCESSFUL ACCOMPLISHMENT."

HE SAID THAT THE \$278,000,000 GIVEN TUGWELL AS HEAD OF THE RESETTLEMENT ADMINISTRATION "MIGHT JUST AS WELL HAVE BEEN THROWN DOWN THE SEWER." THE "TUGWELLTOWN" HOUSING DEVELOPMENTS, TAFT ASSERTED, WERE "PROBABLY THE GREATEST FLOP OF THE SPENDING YEARS."

8/25--S1217P

AUG 17 1973

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WASHINGTON CITY NEWS SERVICE

Mr. Tolson.....	
Mr. E. A. Tamm.....	✓
Mr. Clegg.....	✓
Mr. Foxworth.....	✓
Mr. Glavin.....	
Mr. Ladd.....	
Mr. Nichols.....	
Mr. Rosen.....	
Mr. Carson.....	
Mr. [unclear].....	✓
Mr. Quinn Tamm.....	
Mr. Hendon.....	
Mr. Tracy.....	
Miss Gandy.....	

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SENATOR TAFT HAS PREPARED A SENATE SPEECH OPPOSING CONFIRMATION OF
REXFORD TUGWELL AS GOVERNOR OF PUERTO RICO.
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WASHINGTON CITY NEWS SERVICE

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
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Mr. Tracy
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COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
AUG 27 1941

SAN JUAN, P. R.--GOVERNOR TUGWELL TOLD STUDENTS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PUERTO RICO TODAY TO KEEP "A WARY EYE ON THE ENEMIES OF FREEDOM."
 TUGWELL, ADDRESSING THE FIRST STUDENT ASSEMBLY OF THE NEW ACADEMIC YEAR, IN HIS CAPACITY AS CHANCELLOR, SAID THAT UNIVERSITIES HAVE DEVELOPED INTO ACADEMIES UNDER TOTALITARIAN REGIMES. HE SAID THAT SUCH INSTITUTIONS ARE MIGHTY IN TECHNIQUE, "BUT IT IS A TECHNIQUE WHICH MASTERS AND DESTROYS, NOT ONE WHICH IS MADE TO SERVE."

8/27--S1039A

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AUG 17 1973

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FILE

ASKS TUGWELL'S REMOVAL

Puerto Rican Commissioner Calls
Him 'a Quisling'

WASHINGTON, Jan. 21 (AP)—
Removal of Rexford G. Tugwell as
Governor of Puerto Rico was de-
manded today by the island's Res-
ident Commissioner, Bolivar Pa-
gan, who called him "an American
Quisling."

Mr. Pagan said that the Ameri-
can people should know that Gov-
ernor Tugwell was disregarding in
Puerto Rico "all the principles that
the United States forces and demo-
cratic peoples are fighting for
throughout the world."

He declared that the Governor
had threatened to declare martial
law in Puerto Rico, "to quench the
protest of the people against him
for his outrages and abuses."

"Governor Tugwell is an Ameri-
can Quisling in Puerto Rico, since
he is doing everything so that
loyal American citizens in Puerto
Rico become sore and disunited,
and he is trying to make Puerto
Ricans feel disgust and distrust to-
ward American institutions," Mr.
Pagan said. "In this way Gover-
nor Tugwell, as an American Quis-
ling, is doing a good job for the
Axis Powers."

He asserted that Governor Tug-
well was a "puppet" in the hands
of a minority party in Puerto Rico.

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AUG 17 1973

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XEROXED ORIGINAL-RETAIN

This is a clipping from
page 10 of the
New York Times for
JAN 21 1952

Clipped at the Seat of
Government.

WASHINGTON CITY NEWS SERVICE

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PUERTO RICAN RESIDENT COMMISSIONER BOLIVAR PAGAN DEMANDED REMOVAL OF GOV. REXFORD G. TUGWELL OF PUERTO RICO AND CHARGED THAT HE IS "PROVOKING A REVOLUTION" IN THE TERRITORY.

"GOV. TUGWELL," THE COMMISSIONER SAID IN A STATEMENT, "IS FRAMING A DESPOTIC CONSPIRACY IN COMPLICITY WITH THE ISLAND'S COMMUNISTIC AND INDEPENDENTISTIC DEMAGOGUE. THE PEOPLE OF PUERTO RICO URGE THE PROMPT REMOVAL OF GOV. TUGWELL AS THE ONLY WAY TO RESTORE TRANQUILITY AND CONFIDENCE IN AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS IN PUERTO RICO."

PAGAN DID NOT IDENTIFY THE "DEMAGOGUE."

"THE ISLAND IS ON THE VERGE OF ANARCHY AND CHAOS," PAGAN DECLARED.
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G-Men Niegan Estén Investigando Tugwell ni Gobierno Insular

Por Ramón M. DIAZ

Que "la oficina en Puerto Rico del Negociado Federal de Investigaciones no ha practicado ni está practicando ninguna investigación relacionada con el gobernador Rexford Guy Tugwell ni con el Gobierno de Puerto Rico", nos dijo anoche el Jefe de los G-Men en Puerto Rico, Lcdo. Roger F. Gleason, en un cambio de impresiones alrededor de una información que

apareció publicada en un diario de la tarde, en la cual se conecta al doctor Tugwell con "un supuesto complot revolucionario, apoyado por falangistas y elementos pro fascistas".

El Lcdo. Gleason, en el cambio de impresiones que sostuvo con nosotros anoche, rehusó hacer otros comentarios para la publicidad alrededor de la noticia enviada desde Washington a un periódico en Puerto Rico.

Preguntado el señor Gleason si sus agentes estaban practicando alguna investigación de supuestos complots, contestó que "no puedo hacer comentarios alrededor de ninguna investigación hasta tanto no esté terminada". Gleason nos recordó que una de las misiones esenciales de los agentes especiales del Gobierno Federal es la de velar por la seguridad interna de la Nación.

"That the Puerto Rico office has not made nor is not making any investigation in connection with Gov. Tugwell nor with the Government of Puerto Rico," we were told by Mr. Roger F. Gleason, chief of the G-men in Puerto Rico, last night, in an exchange of opinion about information published in an afternoon paper, in which Gov. Tugwell was connected with a supposed revolutionary plot abetted by falangists and pro-Nazi elements.

Mr. Gleason refused to make other comments upon news sent from Washington to a newspaper in P.R. Upon being asked if his agents were making any investigation of supposed plots, Mr. Gleason answered that "I can make no comments about any investigation until it is finished." Mr. Gleason reminded us that one of the essentials of F. B. I. work is to help guard the internal safety of the Nation.

El Imparcial
San Juan, P.R.

February 7, 1942

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Tugwell to Resign Puerto Rico Post

Rexford Guy Tugwell, Governor of Puerto Rico and an original "Brain-Truster," soon will step down from his gubernatorial post after a short but hectic term in office and will be succeeded by a native Puerto Rican, high quarters disclosed last night.

The change in the governorship is part of a program to give Puerto Rico greater political autonomy. It will place a native, probably Supreme Court Judge Martin Travieso, in the governorship for the first time in history.

The timing of the move—it is expected within the next month—is aimed at providing a political "truce" in the island which is sharply split over Tugwell's policies and activities. The "truce" probably will embrace a drastic adjustment of insular economy. The long-range program of greater political autonomy for Puerto Rico is said to envision a presidential recommendation to Congress to change the island governorship into an elective instead of an appointive post. Tugwell's resignation—which had not been expected so soon—has been agreed to by Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes, who has jurisdiction over Puerto Rico, and by President Roosevelt. Tugwell will come to Washington shortly on "official business," and he probably will accept another Federal post.

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AUG 17 1973

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Tugwell Held Likely To Get Job With Ickes

Recall as Puerto Rico Governor Hinted Because of Political Turmoil Ruling There

By GEORGE RILEY

THAT man Rex Tugwell, the professor, is a problem again. His efforts to carry out his social reforms in Puerto Rico—he first tried them out here—have thrown the island into political turmoil at a time when Uncle Sam is having enough trouble as it is, and the hope is that he is to be recalled. What to do with him? He may be made Assistant Secretary of the Interior in the event Oscar Chapman definitely decides to run for the Senate from Colorado.



George Ickes

It is a commentary on the hold the New Deal has on the Senate, that notwithstanding the trouble Tugwell caused here, notwithstanding the fact he told the Senate Judiciary Committee what he intended to do in Puerto Rico, it went right ahead and confirmed him as governor.

Mr. Roosevelt, a very patient man, got pretty tired of Rex at one time and he was farmed out, as they say of baseball players, to a molasses firm. In an exuberant mood after his third-term election, however, the President acceded to the importunities of Rex's friends to give him another chance.

Fortunately for the enterprises which he has sought to reform, our way of living, the Puerto Ricans' way of living, etc., he lacks administrative ability.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Boardman
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Egan
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Quinn
Mr. Nease
Mr. Gandy

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L. B. King*

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Tugwell's Dismissal Demanded

Poor Administration In Puerto Rico

Puerto Rican Commissioner Bolivar Pagan and 27 members of the territorial legislature yesterday asked President Roosevelt to order immediate dismissal of Rexford G. Tugwell, veteran New Dealer, as Governor of Puerto Rico.

The legislators, including nine senators and 18 representatives, denounced Tugwell's "poor administration" in a cablegram transmitted to the President by Pagan, who said the ouster request had his indorsement.

In an accompanying letter to the President, Pagan said:

"Allow me to remind you that the Puerto Rican representatives and senators who are sending this message represent the majority of votes cast in the last election in Puerto Rico. As the chosen representative of Puerto Rico, I join with members of the Puerto Rican legislature in requesting removal of Governor Tugwell.

"I hope you may find a way to heed the democratic voice of Puerto Rico and do justice to my people."

The legislators showed their hostility to Tugwell openly Monday at the opening session of the legislature which was attended by 27 representatives and 17 senators. When Tugwell arrived unexpectedly the petitioners, according to their cablegram, "turned their backs to him and walked out of the house chamber in order to evidence their protest against Tugwell's poor administration of Puerto Rico which does violence to the rights of the majority."

Tugwell has been under steady fire in Puerto Rico since he was appointed governor late in 1941.

- Mr. Tolson ✓
- Mr. E. A. Tamm ✓
- Mr. Clegg ✓
- Mr. Glavin ✓
- Mr. Ladd ✓
- Mr. Nichols ✓
- Mr. Rosen ✓
- Mr. Tracy ✓
- Mr. Coffey ✓
- Mr. Hendon ✓
- Mr. Kramer ✓
- Mr. McGuire ✓
- Mr. Quinn Tamm ✓
- Mr. Nease ✓
- Miss Gandy ✓

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WASHINGTON TIMES HERALD
October 28, 1942

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WASHINGTON CITY NEWS SERVICE

- Mr. Tolson _____
- Mr. E. A. Tamm _____
- Mr. Clegg _____
- Mr. Glavin _____
- Mr. Ladd _____
- Mr. Nichols _____
- Mr. Rosen _____
- Mr. Tracy _____
- Mr. Carson _____
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- Mr. McGuire _____
- Mr. Quinn Tamm _____
- Mr. Nease _____
- Miss Gandy _____

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PUERTO RICAN COMMISSIONER EOLIVAR PAGAN AND 27 MEMBERS OF THE TERRITORIAL LEGISLATURE CRITICIZED THE "POOR ADMINISTRATION" OF GOVERNOR TUGWELL AND ASKED PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT TO DISMISS HIM.

A CABLEGRAM SIGNED BY THE LEGISLATORS, NINE SENATORS AND 18 REPRESENTATIVES, WAS SENT TO MR. ROOSEVELT BY PAGAN, WHO SAID THE REQUEST HAD HIS ENDORSEMENT.

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Mr. Tolson _____
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 Miss Gandy _____

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CHAIRMAN HARRY F. LYRD OF THE JOINT COMMITTEE ON REDUCTION OF NON-ESSENTIAL FEDERAL EXPENDITURES, WAS SAID TO BE PLANNING AN INVESTIGATION OF FEDERAL EXPENDITURES IN PUERTO RICO UNDER GOV. REXFORD G. TUGWELL'S ADMINISTRATION.

PUERTO RICAN RESIDENT COMMISSIONER BOLIVAR PAGAN SAID HE HAS RECEIVED A LETTER FROM LYRD IN WHICH THE SENATOR SAID THAT "IT HAS JUST COME TO MY ATTENTION THAT YOU AND 27 MEMBERS OF THE TERRITORIAL LEGISLATURE HAVE ASKED PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT TO ORDER THE IMMEDIATE DISMISSAL OF ...TUGWELL AS GOVERNOR..."

"I WILL BE VERY GLAD INDEED IF YOU WILL GIVE ME FULL DETAILS REGARDING THE ADMINISTRATION OF GOVERNOR TUGWELL AS THE JOINT COMMITTEE OF WHICH I AM CHAIRMAN INTENDS TO CONDUCT AN INVESTIGATION OF THIS".

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 Mr. Rosen _____
 Mr. Tracy _____
 Mr. Carson _____
 Mr. Coffey _____
 Mr. Hendon _____
 Mr. Kramer _____
 Mr. McGuire _____
 Mr. Quinn Tamm _____
 Mr. Nease _____
 Miss Gandy _____

Nov 20 9 28 AM '42

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PUERTO RICAN PRESIDENT COMMISSIONER BOLIVAR PAGAN TOLD THE U.P. HE IS PREPARING MATERIAL TO PRESENT IMPEACHMENT PROCEEDINGS AGAINST GOVERNOR REXFORD C. TUGWELL IN THE NEXT SESSION OF CONGRESS. PAGAN DID NOT DETAIL HIS CHARGES AGAINST TUGWELL, BEYOND SAYING HE "IS DISCREDITING DEMOCRACY AGAINST THE WILL OF THE MAJORITY OF PUERTO RICANS."

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OFFICE OF THE
DIRECTOR
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
WASHINGTON, D.C.

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XEROXED ORIGINAL-RETAIN

Guide

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Puerto Ricans Oppose Bill to Oust Tugwell

(Daily Worker Foreign Department)

Republican Senator Arthur H. Vandenburg of Michigan is introducing a bill in the new Congress asking for the immediate removal of the New Deal governor of Puerto Rico, Rexford Guy Tugwell, Washington reports declare.

The New York Herald Tribune, in a front page story yesterday, quoted at length from the anti-Administration Senator, particularly his remark about Tugwell's "pattern of things"—meaning progressive New Deal legislation on behalf of labor and the common people—"which failed so dismally at home," obviously a crack at the war administration.

No wonder the Council for Pan American Democracy in its Dec. 23 issue of The Americans was obliged to say that "The American press . . . has ill served both the Puerto Rican people and the war effort of our own country" by its biased reporting of the present economic and political crisis in this island country.

DISTORTED FACTS

Vandenberg's line of argument is based on the assumption — or, rather, the assertion—that the majority of people want Tugwell out.

Nothing can be further from the truth.

Vandenberg lists among the opponents of Tugwell the Union Republican, Socialist and Unification parties.

But these are all minority parties, and the Union Republican is notoriously the party of the sugar interests.

Largest political party in the island, according to the vote returns in the 1940 elections, is the Popular Democratic Party, generally called the Popular Party, and this party supports Tugwell.

Its leader, Senator Luis Munoz Marin, told President Roosevelt and Congress shortly before Christmas that the big majority of the Puerto Rican people are back of Tugwell and want to keep him in office.

~~MAJORITY BACK TUGWELL~~
Same thing was said by Sr. J. Ramirez Santibanez, president of the Liberal Party, Puerto Rico's second largest party, who also testified in Washington.

The Popular and Liberal parties together control close to three-fourths of the island's voting strength.

Furthermore, as the Council for Pan American Democracy points out, Puerto Rican labor is back of Tugwell.

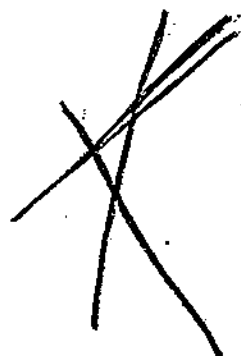
Vandenberg refers to the "Free Federation of Labor" of Puerto Rico as joining with the sugar barons against Tugwell, but makes no reference to the main trade union organization, the General Confederation of Puerto Rican Workers.

Francisco Colon Gordiany, president of the General Confederation of Puerto Rican Workers, stated in New York press interview about a month ago that the "workers in the island support the policy and administration of Governor Tugwell because he has shown more sympathy for the working people of Puerto Rico than any governor in the forty years since civil government was established in Puerto Rico."

OPPOSED BY WEALTHY

According to Colon Gordiany, the "great corporative interests as well as the public service corporations and certain wealthy individuals oppose Tugwell because he has obliged them to pay taxes which they formerly evaded, and thus help the public expenditures which in part are alleviating the economic misery of the people."

The realistic program for meeting the immediate needs of the islanders advanced by Senator ~~Munoz~~ Marin and Governor Tugwell, and backed in this country by Congressman ~~Vito~~ Marcantonio, has received "virtually no publicity" in the commercial press of the United States, the Council for Pan American Democracy states.



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AUG 17 1973

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This is a clipping from page 2 of the Daily Worker for

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Clipped at the Seat of Government.

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- Mr. E. A. Tamm
- Mr. Clegg
- Mr. Glavin
- Mr. Ladd
- Mr. Nichols
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Tracy
- Mr. Carson
- Mr. Coffey
- Mr. Hendon
- Mr. Kramer
- Mr. McGuire
- Mr. Quinn Tamm
- Mr. Nease
- Miss Gandy

House Group Quizzes Tugwell On Puerto Rico

By W. F. O'REILLY

SAN JUAN, Puerto Rico, June 2 (C.T.P.S.) The House Insular Affairs Committee today questioned Puerto Rico's leading opponents of the Insular New Deal, Gov. Rexford Guy Tugwell and Senate President Luis Munoz Marin, on what the committee men, particularly Representative Fred L. Crawford (R.) of Michigan considered shocking economic measures and practices.

Tugwell faced a barrage of questions based on his two-hour statement of yesterday. Tugwell, when statistics or specific data were involved, invariably referred Crawford to an agency head qualified to answer.

Crawford demanded that Munoz Marin make it clear whether he favored governmental control of industry. When the Senator hedged, Crawford pinned him down and finally got a reply that he (Munoz Merin) favored private ownership when human welfare was accepted as limiting profits, but considered government subsidization was frequently necessary.

Representative Jasper Bell (D.) of Missouri, chairman, said the time has come for Puerto Rico to do everything possible to create conditions to encourage private in-

vestments, since the island could not expect the Federal Government to continue to pour in money here.

The Puerto Rican Senate leader told the committee Puerto Rico had outgrown the present "colonial system," but he did not say what future form he personally preferred. He said he wanted liberty, regardless of what name it came under, but asserted that he was against statehood because the island is economically unable to support such status.

Tugwell explained that the pur-

pose of the legislatively-created Puerto Rican Development Bank was to encourage the establishment of new industries, which private capital had been unwilling to finance.

Crawford later questioned Munoz Marin on whether it is the government's purpose to take control of the sugar trade, the island's biggest industry. The Senator denied this and said that the government's only purpose was to regulate the relations of the farmers and the laborers.

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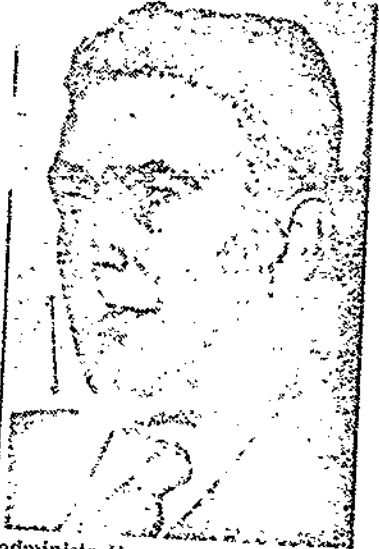
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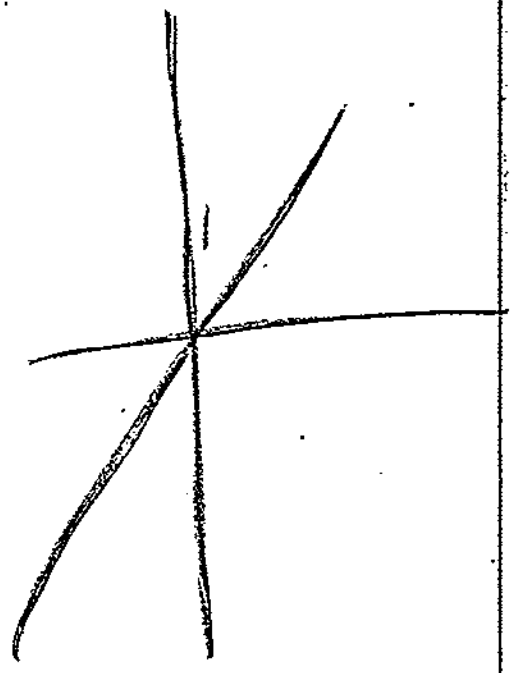
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Tugwell Answers Opponents' Charge

Gov. Rexford Guy Tugwell of Puerto Rico this week assailed "irresponsible" charges against his



administration made by Bolivar Pagan, the island's resident commissioner in Washington. "Mr. Pagan has perhaps lost touch with the real Puerto Rico," the Roosevelt-appointed governor declared and added that the island's Socialist Party head "is certainly ignorant of the people's feelings and activities."



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DAILY WORKER PAGE 8

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Dated May 5, 1944

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Puerto Rico War Effort Sapped By His Enemies

By JUAN SANTOS RIVERA
President of Communist Party
of Puerto Rico

SANTURCE, Puerto Rico, May 7.—Governor Rexford Guy Tugwell of Puerto Rico has the support of 95 per cent of the people here, despite slanderous allegations in Washington by Bolívar Pagan, the island's resident commissioner in the U. S. Congress.

(Pagan said that "what the Puerto Rican people want right now is the immediate removal of Governor Tugwell . . . whose dictatorial attitude can be matched only by Hitler's and Mussolini's tactics" and that the people were "almost on the verge of revolution.")

Pagan, a member of the Socialist Party, is known here as an enemy of Puerto Rico's independence. His party, in association with the Republicans and Liberals, has sabotaged win-the-war legislation.

POPULAR PARTY LEADS

In the primaries held here in January, 190,000 votes for the patriotic Popular Party, and only 80,000 supported all other parties, including Pagan's Socialist Party.

Pagan—who should have been in Washington earning his \$10,000 salary—spent the last few months here trying to stir up opposition to the Popular Party, which backs Governor Tugwell.

The truth is that Puerto Rico's war effort is jeopardized not by Tugwell, under whose administration the island has obtained many needed reforms, but by his political opponents.

These opponents are:

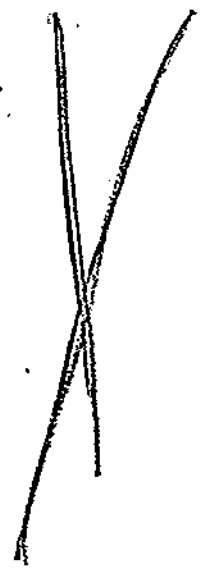
1.—The House of Representatives, controlled by the Republican-Socialist-Liberal coalition, which failed to approve over 150 Senate-adopted bills providing better conditions for the people and increasing the island's sadly-deficient budget.

2.—Spanish Falangists, who have been granted American citizenship by a U. S. appointed federal judge, Robert A. Cooper.

Among those naturalized, despite opposition from U. S. District Attorney Phillip H. Herrick, is the notorious Falangist Jose Rodriguez Alvarez, who admits his connection with Franco's pro-Hitler organization and has contributed money to it.

The reactionary bloc in the House of Representatives rejected legislation which would have established decent minimum wages, controlled rents, removed taxes

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page 2 of the
Peoples world for

5-8-44
Clipped at the Seat
of Government.

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MAY 28 1944

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Tugwell Bars Strike Right in Puerto Rico

By JUAN ANTONIO CORRAJER

Governor Rexford Tugwell of Puerto Rico used his powers last week to veto a bill establishing the eight-hour day. But he signed an anti-labor "Labor Relations Act" which,

in the words of the General Confederations of Workers (CGT), "is an instrument to serve the interests of the capitalists and a negation of all the rights and all the conquests achieved by the workers of Puerto Rico during the past 25 years."

The workers' statement is signed by Francisco Colon Gordiano, president, and Juan Saez Corales, secretary, of the CGT. The CGT officially adds that "the Labor Relations Act is an anti-democratic, inefficient measure taken against the fundamental right of the workers to strike. In fact, it renders the right to strike illegal."

The eight-hour day bill vetoed by Tugwell also provided for over-time pay. This law had been passed to fill the gap created by Justice Snyder's decision in the Cardona vs. Curte case, which nullified the eight-hour day law of Aug. 7, 1935.

Justice Snyder was the prosecuting attorney in the frame-up in which several independence leaders were railroaded to prison in 1935. He is now Justice of the Supreme Court of Puerto Rico, a colonial star-chamber that is neither "supreme" nor "Puerto Rican." Its "justices" are appointed from Washington and its decisions can be appealed to Boston and Washington.

Evidently, Tugwell's policy of concessions to Puerto Rico was only appeasement for the dark days of



TUGWELL

war crisis. Now he seems to be showing his true self.

U. S. progressives and labor movement must take notice of what is happening in Puerto Rico and join us in a unified demand—Hands off Puerto Rico!

M. Drake

This is a clipping from page 8 of the DAILY WORKER

Date 6-23-45

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AUG 17 1945
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REMOVED ORIGINAL RETURN

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***PUERTO RICO STRIKE
AIMED AT TUGWELL**

**Professional Men to Idle Today
Because He Said Island Lacks
Experts, Must Import Them**

SAN JUAN, P. R., Nov. 12 (UP) —About 500 Puerto Rican professional men will go on strike tomorrow as protest against Gov. Rexford G. Tugwell's recent assertion that he had to bring experts from the United States to direct industrial and agricultural development because adequate professional and administrative talent was lacking here.

The Puerto Rico Chemists Society announced today that it would join the Puerto Rico Engineers Society in the twenty-four-hour stoppage ordered by the latter on Nov. 5.

Disruption of public utility services is expected to result. There will be public demonstrations also as students of the University of Puerto Rico announced they will picket the Governor's mansion.

Some labor organizations may join the partial stoppage at the last moment and members of the insular Legislature have expressed sympathy with the demonstrators.

In a speech Oct. 29 before a University of Puerto Rico administration forum Mr. Tugwell sought to justify the appointment of Thomas A. Fennell as director of the Puerto Rico Agriculture Company with a \$15,000-a-year salary with the assertion that the island lacked men of his caliber.

Local newspapers and other groups have countered with the charge that Mr. Fennell had no qualifications for the post and that his salary here would triple what he was getting from the United States Department of Agriculture in Washington.

- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. E. A. Tamm
- Mr. Clegg
- Mr. Coffey
- Mr. Glavin
- Mr. Ladd
- Mr. Nichols
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Tracy
- Mr. Carson
- Mr. Egan
- Mr. Gurnea
- Mr. Hendon
- Mr. Pennington
- Mr. Quinn Tamm
- Mr. Nease
- Miss Gandy

- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. E. A. Tamm
- Mr. Clegg
- Mr. Coffey
- Mr. Glavin
- Mr. Ladd
- Mr. Nichols
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Tracy
- Mr. Carson
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- Mr. Hendon
- Mr. Pennington
- Mr. Quinn Tamm
- Mr. Nease
- Miss Gandy

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AUG 17 1973

XEROXED ORIGINAL-RETAIN

This is a clipping from page 14 of the

New York Times for

11-13-45

Clipped at the Seat of Government

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INDEXED RECORDED 87 NOV 30 1945

58 DEC 6 1945

Spanish and reluctance to adopt English is something he can't quite fathom.

Puerto Rico has been for almost fifty years a colonial, raw material appendage to the U. S. Tugwell points out that simply to cast the island adrift would bring economic disaster on its people.

One sound conclusion from that would be that the United States has an obligation to these people whom we have subjugated—a responsibility that must be met. The decision as to the island's future status is one that they should be permitted to make. The obligation to help and assist them—whatever decision they make—is still ours.

But Tugwell draws a quite different conclusion. He can see no other way out than that Puerto Rico should remain a U. S. colony—with a different legal status, be it a "dominion" or some other form—and receive U. S. aid on that basis.

The reactionaries have denounced Tugwell for almost fifteen years as a "Socialist," a "Communist," "red" and "un-American." They have maligned him as a mischief maker, bungler, bureaucrat, as an enemy of the

American way of life. Even his personal integrity has been questioned. He, who has fought back against these attacks, should know the stuff of which red-baiting is made.

But, despite that he makes the same kind of charges against the Communists of Puerto Rico. He says the Communists were guided not by the interests of Puerto Rico but by the "party line of international communism." (The Communists in the U. S., he describes as one variety of "anti-American pledgee.")

One must wonder if Tugwell were never struck by the similarity between the epithets he uses against the Communists and those that the Hearst and Scripps-Howard press have hurled at the Communists—and at himself.

And then Tugwell lauds "those singularly pure-spirited lads in Puerto Rico (as in the United States) who had thought it their duty to fight on the loyalist side against Franco." He knew some of these "men and boys who had followed an ideal into danger and hardship, coming out badly broken." It's no secret that many of these "premature anti-fascists" were Communists.

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Tugwell's Book on Puerto Rico Pulls Punches on U. S. Policy

The Stricken Land by Rexford Guy Tugwell
 Doubleday & Company, Inc.
 Garden City, New York 14.50.

By **ERIK BERT**

IN The Stricken Land Rexford Guy Tugwell, wartime governor of Puerto Rico, gives an account of his stewardship from 1941 through the first half of 1946. During the first war years Puerto Rico was our furthest outpost in the Caribbean, often cut off for weeks at a time from mainland shipping by the Nazi sub campaign.

Tugwell, tried, he says, "to understand her (Puerto Rico's) problems and to be helpful to her people." In this he had the persistent and malicious opposition of the big U. S. and Canadian corporations holding investments in the island, the officials of an almost defunct AFL organization, the reactionary Farmers Association, the Hearst and Scripps Howard press, a whole coterie of Federal officials and, last but not least, the reactionary Republicans and Tory Democrats in the U.S. Those on the mainland were the same gang who had been out to cut his throat ever since he joined the New Deal in 1933.

The main fact in the war years was the tremendous upsurge of the democratic forces, resulting in the great electoral victory of the Popular party in November 1944. This development is reflected only obliquely in Tugwell's book which is concerned mainly with the harassments to which the governor was subjected and the battles he conducted.

The book is mainly interesting for what Tugwell says about American imperialism and about the Puerto Rican nation. He, a New Dealer, was colonial governor over an oppressed nation. Though Tugwell is by profession an economist one finds little enlightenment about either imperialism or the colonial movement for independence.

He condemns American colonial policy as "confused" and ineffective, thinks we should have a "colonial office" in the federal government instead of conflicting agencies and that the Puerto Ricans should elect their own



Some of the world's worst slums are in Puerto Rico. This slum settlement is in Comerio, near the edge of the town.

—Photo by Office of Information for Puerto Rico

governor. He even speculates about an all-Caribbean government which would embrace the colonies of the U. S., England, France and Holland, and perhaps even Cuba, Haiti and Santo Domingo. He thinks this would be better administratively and forgets that it could mean extending Wall Street domination.

He dismisses Puerto Rican patriotism as an "obsession" which they should dispense with since they are, after all, citizens of the United States. Their addiction to

R. Ramirez

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