

My Dear General:

The nation-wide interest in the possibility of your nomination as the Republican candidate for President is a very great - and equally deserved - compliment to you. I want to discuss the matter with you with complete candor. I have talked at considerable length with General Willouby. I am putting this down in black and white simply to supplement what he can orally report. \* \* First: you may be very sure that I shall do nothing to embarrass your military status or your wholly right attitude in having nothing to say except that you would "get on with the war". I shall do the best I can to curb premature enthusiasts who might unwittingly, in their zeal, force your hand. One of the chief sources of your strength in this equation will continue to be your total aloofness on the movement - assuming (and hoping) that you may find it possible to let "nature take its course" without the necessity of publicly foreclosing the efforts of your friends. If the situation here becomes at any time involved in domestic factors which might be embarrassing to you - (and there is always danger in such situations from unwelcome "bandwagon jumpers") - I shall immediately take the liberty of advising you to announce that you are irrevocably "out". But I shall hope that your friends here may be able to hold things sufficiently level so that you can safely "ignore" all continental politics, sit tight, and see what happens. But, as I have said to our mutual friend, I should like names of three or four of your friends here in the States in whom you have complete confidence so that we might confer from time to time upon the situation as it affects your personal interests. I decline to take that responsibility alone - just as I am constantly declining to permit the press to say that I am "running your campaign". \* \* \* Of course the whole thing is "an arrow in the night". We must all frankly recognize that this is a gambler's "long chance". But I personally believe that it is the best "long chance" I ever saw. It seems to me that the logic of the situation is irresistible. In 1944, with the war still on (as seems inevitable), I believe the American people will be electing a new COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF rather than a "new President". None of our civilian rivals for the Republican nomination have any qualifications whatever to become COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF. Against any of them, the fourth-termer will have a perfect opportunity to advise against "swopping horses etc." YOU are the only possible candid-

ate against whom this persuasive appeal becomes a "dud". (Let's admit that events in the next twelve months may alter this monopoly). The Republican convention is going to want a winnér above all else. It MUST NOMINATE A WINNER or "the American way of life" is gone for-keeps. It is the most important single decision ever made in the history of white-men. I count upon the progressively growing conviction that YOU are the surest (if not the only) "winner" in sight - plus a growing realization that you are totally worthy of this tremendous assignment, not only as a soldier but as an administrator. \* \* \* Of course, it is a unique and perplexing "campaign" in your behalf - first because you can have nothing whatever to do with it - second because even your name cannot be entered in any of the pre-convention presidential primaries - third because your friends must constantly protect you against any of the usual political methods lest your military status and responsibilities be embarrassed. But I should count upon enough "uninstructed delegates" ultimately to sweep the convention. (After all, Willkie did it in 1940 - and his appeal was, and is, nothing compared to yours.) We already have a strong under-current swinging toward you. I attach hereto the latest "Gallup Poll". You are running "third" in the country-at-large (which, as a practical proposition, is better than running first at this stage of the game). Even more significantly, you are running a strong second among Congressional leaders (who have a helluva lot to say about "conventions"). This, furthermore, is entirely a reflection of our own inherent strength - since no organized work has been done for you as yet. Whether it ever goes any farther or not, you are entitled to feel tremendously complimented by this showing. I hope your public showing does not move ahead too soon - because we all know what the "fourth termers" will try to do to you in proportion as you become more menacing to them (and I am already told by one of the "palace guards" that you are the only Republican nominee whom THE BIG SHOT fears). \* \* \* While we must largely depend upon general psychology for ultimate success in this "gambler's chance", we are not entirely fore-closed from "helping things along". For example, your home state of Wisconsin is already in full swing for its "favorite son". Under the leadership of Mr. Lansing Hoyt (a very able person) of Milwaukee, the "Wisconsin MacArthur-For-President Club" has been incorporated. It is already launched on a ship-shape job. In order to keep you out of any entanglements,

it will enter a high-grade slate of "uninstructed delegates" in the Wisconsin primaries (to comply with the law) but they will make their campaign for YOU, when the time comes. \* \*

\* There is also particular activity in Missouri where Mr. Edgar Queeny (one of our top-flight Republicans) is for you, and where another "MacArthur-For-President Club" has been announced with a prominent Circuit Judge (Judge Rose) at the head. \* \* One of the most important trade journals of the South - "The Cotton Grower" - came out for you last week with a ringing announcement. This southern situation is particularly significant. The old-fashioned southern Democrats are totally fed-up on the "fourth term". But they have no place to go if our Republican nominee is just one more orthodox Republican politician. Your nomination would make it easy for them because you have never been politically identified. You could represent a "coalition" in your own personality. (Yes; and good, old Tennessee might be greatly interested in contributing a new "First Lady" to The White House - which is just one more of those unspoken factors that can count tremendously). \* \* \* In speaking of Wisconsin, I neglected to say that the LaFollettes are registering highly helpful interest - and you have no sturdier friend than "Lt-Col. Phil" at your own headquarters. \* \* \* Jim Farley, conferring with twelve dissident Democratic Senators last week, told them that their best hope is to have you nominated by the Republicans - and Farley's influence often reaches over into our own Republican circles. \* \* \* Mr. Hoover spoke of your nomination with greatest sympathy in my last confidential talk with him. \* \* \* So it goes. These are just straws in the wind. It is impossible for me to canvass the whole situation within the necessary limits of this memorandum. I do not want to appear over-enthusiastic - although I admit that I am greatly encouraged. But I want to repeat that it is a "long chance" - yet a "long chance" which we owe to the Republic. There will be "downs" as well as "ups". Some of your most intimate and influential friends here are torn between their love for you and their ties to Willkie. Our mutual friend, the General, can enlarge upon that warning. If we can just keep things rolling - without any untoward events which force you to separate yourself irrevocably from ultimate availability - the future will at least be "interesting".

\* \* \* This leads to one further comment. Manifestly you cannot participate in the election campaign even if you are nominated. You must still stick to "getting on with the war". If nominated, as I see the thing, you would need only to make one brief and

final statement in your own inimitable way - accepting the nomination as one more call to duty and endorsing the Republican platform and putting yourself once more at the service of your country. NOTHING MORE - until you come home to be sworn in! \* \* \* I shall see General Wood in Chicago early in July to discuss whatever word he may have brought back from Australia. \* \* \* I shall hope to keep in touch with you from time to time. I have the complete conviction that you are the "man of destiny" who has been provided to lead in saving America. It remains to be seen whether the sheer logic of your nomination can overcome all the "practical politics" which will be played up and down the country in the traditional method by the active candidates. I admit that our victory, under such circumstances, would be a miracle. BUT THERE ALWAYS HAVE BEEN AND THERE ALWAYS WILL BE MIRACLES. In conclusion let me say again that I constantly realize that you are in a position where you must not be involved and must not be embarrassed - and I shall continue to make every effort, so far as lies within my power, to protect you upon this score. If I could end my own public career by greeting you just once as "MR. PRESIDENT" I should feel that I had earned my pew in Heaven. Good luck - win, lose or draw!

Cordially and Faithfully Yours,

A.H.V.

P I suggest that at a later date , you send Gen W , to confer with me and the "regional counselors "for a more precise outline of your views and instructions and our own opinions , as dictated by the course of events, at the time. A propos , Gen W. has created the most favourable impression amongst the "politicos" and I understand that he has become well liked in the Pentagon .