



TRUMAN



CLIFFORD



SNYDER



BYRNES



MARSHALL

THE 64 WHO RUN AMERICA

New wielders of power have replaced Ambassador Gerard's famous list of tycoons, says the author of *Inside U.S.A.*

by John Gunther

IN 1930, OR JUST seventeen years ago, James W. Gerard, former American Ambassador to Germany and a prominent New York lawyer and financier for well over a generation, wrote a pamphlet published in England which said "the forty men who rule America could do wonders with the British Empire." Upon his return to the United States, he reeled off the forty names in response to questions of reporters, and later expanded the list to 64 (see next page). It made a national and international sensation.

One of the things that made this list so provocative was the conspicuous absence of any political leaders. Not even the President of

the United States, Mr. Hoover, was included. Mr. Gerard listed only one cabinet minister (Mellon) and not a single senator, congressman, or governor. It is above all a list of tycoons. In fact, the two labor leaders at the end were added as an afterthought.

Mr. Gerard, defending his selections, simply said that these 64 personages, even though they held no elective office of any kind, were the powers that really ruled the United States. Though they did not run for office themselves, they had the final word in determining who did run—and who was elected—because they held the purse strings of the nation.

In other words, Mr. Gerard,



YINSOW



LEAHY



H. A. TAFT



VANDERBERG



BARKLEY



MORSE



McCARRAN



GEORGE



MARTIN



BAYBURN

along with many others, was convinced that the United States of America was at that time a financial oligarchy—nothing more, nothing less.

Has the situation changed, and in what ways? When I saw Mr. Gerard recently, and he began reminiscing about his list, that was the question I put to him.

"What kind of list would you have made in the middle thirties or early forties?" I asked.

"It would have shrunk to one man—Roosevelt," he answered.

"What kind of list would you make today?"

"I would limit it to half a dozen men, all of them partners in J. P. Morgan & Co."

• Ambassador Gerard's List of America's "Rulers" (A.D. 1930)

John D. Rockefeller, Jr.
 Andrew W. Mellon
 J. P. Morgan
 George F. Baker
 John D. Ryan
 Walter C. Teagle
 Henry Ford
 Frederick E. Weyerhaeuser
 Myron C. Taylor
 James A. Farrell
 Charles M. Schwab
 Eugene G. Grace
 Harry M. Warner
 Adolph Zukor
 William H. Crocker
 O. P. & M. J. Van Sweringen
 W. W. Atterbury

Arthur Curtiss James
 Charles Hayden
 Daniel C. Jackling
 Arthur V. Davis
 P. G. Gosler
 R. C. Holmes
 John J. Raskob
 Seven duPonts
 Edward J. Berwind
 Daniel Willard
 Sothebys Behn
 Walter S. Gifford
 Owen D. Young
 Gerard Swope
 Thomas W. Lamont
 Albert H. Wiggin
 Charles E. Mitchell

Samuel Insull
 Seven Fisher brothers
 Daniel Guggenheim
 William Loeb
 George Washington Hill
 Adolph S. Ochs
 William Randolph Hearst
 Robert R. McCormick
 Joseph M. Patterson
 Julius Rosenwald
 Cyrus H. K. Curtis
 Roy W. Howard
 Sidney Z. Mitchell
 Walter Edwin Free
 A. P. Giannini
 William Green
 Matthew Wall

leaders. Not even the President of In other words, Mr. Gerard,



TABER



WALLACE



O'NEAL



BUNTING



SPELLMAN



C. P. TAFT



WISE



WHITE



LEWIS



MURRAY

So Mr. Gerard sticks close to his original thesis. I have been thinking this over ever since we talked, and with due respect for Mr. Gerard's vast and intimate knowledge of such matters, I disagree.

Mr. Gerard is a capitalist of capitalists, but it seems to me that he takes altogether too Marxist a view. Certainly I would not deny the importance of wealth and vested interests in our politics and economy; but to assert that the entire United States, with its vast proliferation of complex and interlocked forces, is nothing more than a colony of J. P. Morgan & Co., is a fantastic exaggeration. One could give many reasons why Wall Street has lost the position it held in the 1920's and will never regain it—the crash, the depression, the social agencies set up

by the New Deal, and various regulatory devices like the Securities and Exchange Commission.

In addition to such forces, time has had its effect on Mr. Gerard's original list. Many who were on it have died—Mellon, Ford, Adolph Ochs, the Van Sweringens, Atterbury, Insull, George Washington Hill, Joseph M. Patterson, Cyrus H. K. Curtis, J. P. Morgan himself, and Julius Rosenwald among them. And a good many others—Owen D. Young, Charles E. Mitchell, the Fisher brothers, John J. Raskob, to name a few—are much less active than they were seventeen years ago.

All of which has lured me into making a list of my own in terms of the nation today. My entries have not necessarily been put down in order of importance. But

leaders. Not even the President of In other words, Mr. Gerard,



GREEN



REUTHER



BRIDGES



KROLL



DUBINSKY



CAREY



DEWEY



CRUMP



CREAGER



BRADFORD

I have tried to organize them by groups.

First, there is the Government. Mr. Gerard to the contrary notwithstanding, I do not see how any list of this kind can exclude the President of the United States, if only because this country is distinguished from almost all others in that the office of Chief Executive is greater than any man who happens to occupy it. Consider also that a dominant factor in the history of the past two decades is the immense growth in the power of the Federal Government of which the President is head. So:

I. HARRY S. TRUMAN

Parenthetically, we may note that this list can be expanded indefinitely, like a nest of boxes, if we undertake to decide who, or

what, "runs" each person. For example, who or what runs Truman aside from Truman? But unless we want to embark on a book, and a big book, I'm afraid we must exclude such considerations.

If Roosevelt were still President, my Number Two and Number Three choices would be Jesse H. Jones and Harry L. Hopkins. Each had enormous power of a very concrete kind; also, as it happened, they represented sharply opposed philosophies. When we turn to the Truman circle we do not find anyone dominating quite so obviously. Up to November, 1946, my choice for Number Two to Truman would have been Leslie Biffle, who was then clerk of the Senate. He is still close to Truman, but his pivotal importance, for example in putting legislation



CURLEY



KENNELLY



STASSEN



ROBERTS



KNOWLAND



ROCKEFELLER



LAMONT



LEFFINGWELL



WATSON



GRACE

through Congress, has diminished. As of today—perhaps I am sticking my neck out—I would suggest:

2. CLARK CLIFFORD, executive assistant to the President.

3. JOHN M. SNYDER, Secretary of the Treasury

4. JAMES F. BYRNES — even though he is out of office at the moment.

Under Roosevelt I would have included one cabinet minister above all, Harold L. Ickes. Under Truman, I would name:

5. GEORGE C. MARSHALL, Secretary of State.

The Washington scene includes so many people with spoons in the pot of power that it is difficult to proceed. But I do not see how anybody could omit:

6. FRED M. VINSON, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

Again, if Roosevelt were President, I should have named at least one other Supreme Court Justice, Felix Frankfurter.

7. ADMIRAL WILLIAM D. LEAHY, Chief of Staff to the President.

Let's turn to the Senate. Since in the last analysis they control the fate of legislation once it has reached the congressional stage, we must include men like:

8. ROBERT A. TAFT, Senator from Ohio.

9. ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG, Senator from Michigan.

10. ALBEN W. BARKLEY, Senator from Kentucky. The great services of this adroit operator are often neglected.

11. WAYNE MORSE of Oregon —as an example of a dissident Republican liberal. George Aiken of Vermont or Charles Tobey of



WILSON



FORD



SHANKS



BOETTCHER



GIFFORD

New Hampshire might also be named.

I would then include two men of a totally different type, the first as the best example available of a senator representing a special interest, the second because he speaks for extreme conservatism:

12. PAT McCARRAN of Nevada.

13. WALTER F. GEORGE of Georgia.

Power, it is hardly necessary to explain, can be negative as well as positive. The silver bloc, of which McCarran is spokesman (I might just as well have chosen a senator representing sugar, cotton, or some other vested interest) has tremendous veto power. As to George (I might have named Byrd or any of a dozen other Southern senators), all that need be said is that the Southern wing of conservative Democrats, operating in conjunction with Tory Republicans, has been for years and still is the chief brake on our national progress.

Among Representatives I would limit myself to three:

14. JOSEPH W. MARTIN, JR.

Speaker of the House—who has importance only by reason of his job.

15. SAM RAYBURN of Texas.

16. JOHN TABER of New York, Chairman of the Appropriations Committee. He is in a position to starve any public service, and his proclivity for doing so is notorious.

In still another public field:

17. HENRY A. WALLACE

If this choice is puzzling, reflect simply that if Mr. Wallace should decide to form a third party between now and 1948, he can ruin completely whatever chance Mr. Truman may have for re-election.

Let's now go outside the actual structure of government and into the chokingly thick underbrush of the various pressure groups:

18. EDWARD A. O'NEAL, President of the American Farm Bureau Federation.

19. EARL BUNTING, current president of the National Association of Manufacturers. Mr. Bunting has no importance in himself; he serves, however, as a symbol of the



ALDRICH



SCHRAM



PEW



BULLES



ECCLES

big business interests represented by NAM generally.

Also, because they so manifestly symbolize special communities of great power and influence:

20. CARDINAL SPELLMAN

21. CHARLES P. TAFT, President of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America.

22. RABBI STEPHEN S. WISE
And:

23. WALTER F. WHITE, Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. What "power" has Mr. White? Reflect simply that the balance of power in no fewer than seventeen states depends on the Negro vote.

Among labor leaders I would choose at least eight:

24. JOHN L. LEWIS

25. PHILIP MURRAY

26. WILLIAM GREEN

27. WALTER REUTHER

28. HARRY BRIDGES

29. JACK KROLL, head of the C.I.O. Political Action Committee.

30. DAVID DURINSKY

31. JAMES B. CAREY, secretary of the C.I.O.

Now we turn to men who are prominent regionally as well as nationally:

32. THOMAS E. DEWEY, Governor of New York.

33. ED CRUMP of Tennessee—as an example of the old-style boss who gets out the vote.

34. R. B. CREAGER of Texas—as an example of a *Republican* boss in the South.

35. ROBERT F. BRADFORD, Governor of Massachusetts.

36. JAMES MICHAEL CURLEY, Mayor of Boston (a political power even in prison).

37. MARTIN H. KENNELLY, the new Mayor of Chicago, plus whatever remains of the old Kelly-Nash machine.

Also, because of his broad enlivening influence and steady growth in national stature, though he holds no office:

38. HAROLD E. STASSEN of Minnesota.

I would risk putting in here two newspaper men who have profound influence in two vital states:

39. ROY A. ROBERTS of the *Kansas City (Missouri) Star*.



MCCORMACK



HEARST



GALLUP



KAMPOFF



LUCE

40. JOSEPH R. KNOWLAND of the *Oakland (California) Tribune*.

I have said that Mr. Gerard overemphasizes the importance of tycoons, yet for the plainest reasons at least a dozen must go in:

41. JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER

42. THOMAS W. LAMONT

43. RUSSELL LEFFINGWELL, of J. P. Morgan & Co.

44. THOMAS J. WATSON of International Business Machines.

45. EUGENE G. GRACE of Bethlehem Steel Corporation.

46. CHARLES E. WILSON of General Motors Corporation.

47. HENRY FORD II

48. CARROLL M. SHANKS, president of the Prudential Insurance Co. Oddly enough, Mr. Gerard included no insurance man on his list, though the importance of insurance in the national economy is obvious and tremendous.

49. CLAUDE K. BOETTCHER, Denver sugar magnate.

50. WALTER S. GIFFORD of A.T. & T.

51. WINTHROP W. ALDRICH

52. EMIL SCHRAM, president of the New York Stock Exchange.

And, because of his direct financial relation to politics:

53. JOSEPH N. PEW, JR., of Pennsylvania and the Sun Oil Co.

In another special category, because he represents big-money law as well as anyone, and because of his influence on Republican concepts of foreign policy:

54. JOHN FOSTER DULLES

Now let us recollect that the New Deal governed this country for thirteen years and had a lasting effect on its political, social, and economic structure. This is still an age where the more predatory magnates can be curbed, and still a country with a highly effective system of controls, even though they are not always used. Consider such agencies—some of them were, of course, in existence before the New Deal—as the Securities and Exchange Commission, the Federal Reserve Board, the Civil Aeronautics Authority, the Federal Power Commission (with its regulatory authority over private power rates), the Federal Trade Commission, the Farm Security Administration, the For-



LILIENTHAL



CONANT



EINSTEIN



STIMSON

istry Service, the Indian Bureau, the Department of Interior officials who run Bonneville and Grand Coulee, the Social Security Administration, the Commodity Credit Corporation. All these we may lump in one category:

55. The long-suffering, underpaid, overworked, public-spirited, conscientious, all-but-anonymous WASHINGTON BUREAUCRAT without whom the wheels of this country would not turn. [Pictured is MARRINER S. ECCLES, chairman of the Federal Reserve Board.]

As long as it remains a democracy, the United States is run in the last analysis by opinion. Basically the determinant of all political behavior is the intellectual climate. The temptation here is to include names ranging from that of the editor of the *New York Times* to Archibald MacLeish, from Walter Lippmann to Eleanor Roosevelt to Raymond Swing. I limit myself to the following. You may not like one or two, but they cannot be ignored:

56. COLONEL ROBERT R. MCCORMICK of the *Chicago Tribune*.

57. WILLIAM RANDOLPH HEARST

58. GEORGE H. GALLUP—as a representative of something new since Mr. Gerard's time, the cult of the poll.

59. DAVID SARNOFF, president of the Radio Corporation of America.

60. HENRY R. LUCK

Let's not forget that this is the atomic age. Not only for his work on TVA, a monument which should last as long as America, but because he is chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, I name:

61. DAVID E. LILIENTHAL

And because the future of the United States and the world may well depend on science in the abstract as well as in the concrete:

62. JAMES BRYANT CONANT of Harvard University.

63. ALBERT EINSTEIN

Finally we approach Mr. Gerard's total of 64. Only seven of his list survive. Let us conclude with an elder statesman:

64. HENRY L. STIMSON, former Secretary of War. **END**