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ABILENE, KANSAS

LARSON, ARTHUR: Papers, 1932-93

Accession 94-9 & 97-11  
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Date Completed: January 1997

The papers of Arthur Larson were deposited in the Eisenhower Library by his son Lex Larson in March 1994 and January 1997.

Linear feet of shelf space occupied:	13
Approximate number of pages:	23,000
Approximate number of items:	10,000

An instrument of gift for these papers was signed by Mr. Lex Larson on July 7, 1995. Literary rights in the unpublished writings of Arthur Larson in this collection and in all other collections of papers received by the United States are reserved to Lex Larson until his death, and thereafter pass to the public. Under terms of the instrument of gift the following classes of documents are withheld from research use:

1. Papers which constitute an invasion of personal privacy or a libel of a living person.
2. Papers which are required to be kept secret in the interest of national defense or foreign policy and are properly classified.

## SCOPE AND CONTENT NOTE

Arthur Larson, legal scholar and speech writer, was born in South Dakota of Norwegian descent. He attended Augustana College in Sioux Falls, South Dakota, and received a Rhodes scholarship to Pembroke College at Oxford University. He worked as a practicing attorney for a few years in the 1930s, but eventually became a law professor and taught at various law schools from 1939 to 1954, except for a brief period of government service during World War II. His main field of interest was workmen's compensation law, and he compiled a major reference book on the subject which was published in 1952. This brought him to the attention of the U.S. Department of Labor. A friend from law school, John J. Gilhooley, was serving as an assistant to Secretary James Mitchell, and arranged to have Larson appointed Undersecretary of Labor in March 1954.

As undersecretary, Larson represented the Labor Department at cabinet meetings in the absence of the secretary. This brought him into frequent contact with President Eisenhower who was impressed by Larson's speechwriting ability and his internationalist philosophy. In late 1956, after the Suez and Hungarian crises, Eisenhower appointed Larson to head the U.S. Information Agency which was responsible for publicising U.S. policies abroad.

In late 1957, after the Russians launched Sputnik, President Eisenhower transferred Larson to the White House to help write a series of speeches on science and national security policy. Larson's title was Special Assistant to the President. He became one of Eisenhower's main speech writers, and had a major role in developing the 1958 State of the Union message. He was also an avid internationalist and favored strengthening the United Nations and repealing the Connally Amendment which limited U.S. involvement in the World Court. Larson often tried to get Eisenhower to mention these topics in his speeches.

Larson's internationalist philosophy also led him to support international law and the adjudication of disputes between nations. In 1958 several lawyers connected with the American Bar Association proposed the development of a research center to study international law. Larson resigned from the White House staff in July 1958 to head the project, which eventually became the World Rule of Law Research Center at Duke University in Durham, North Carolina. Larson served as director of the Center until his retirement in 1980. However, he also remained in close contact with Eisenhower. He served as Special Consultant to the President from 1958 to 1961 and assisted with some of Eisenhower's speeches during this period. In the late 1960s he wrote a book entitled Eisenhower: The President Nobody Knew, which described Eisenhower as an activist president who was firmly in control of his administration.

The papers of Arthur Larson are a fragmentary collection pertaining primarily to his relationship with President Eisenhower and his service as director of the Rule of Law Center. Most other areas of Larson's career are poorly documented. The collection is divided into four series. The first series contains drafts of speeches which Larson helped prepare for Eisenhower. Many of the drafts bear handwritten notations by Eisenhower and show the care with which he followed the evolution of the text.

The second series consists of copies of speeches, articles and research reports compiled by Larson and the staff of the Rule of Law Center. The material was originally filed in a set of binders in roughly chronological order. The documents during the early and mid-1960s cover a wide range of topics on international law, such as the role of the United Nations and the World Court, the adjudication of international disputes, the codification of international law, and legal practices in underdeveloped countries and non-Western cultures, particularly Hindu and Islamic law. From the late 1960s onward the material pertains mostly to Larson's continuing interest in workmen's compensation law in the U.S.

The third series consists of information on Larson's writings. Larson wrote extensively on legal matters and political philosophy but only a small portion of his writings are represented in this series. Apart from a few of his speeches and articles, most of the material pertains to his book on Dwight D. Eisenhower and his memoirs. Larson's memoirs consist of drafts of several chapters on his early life and legal career. This is the only material in the collection on his career before the Eisenhower administration, except for a scrapbook which he kept at Pembroke College in England in the early 1930s. The series also contains the final version of Larson's memoirs as completed by his son Lex Larson after his father's death in 1993.

Larson's book, Eisenhower: The President Nobody Knew, which was published in 1968, was drawn primarily from Larson's personal observations of Eisenhower. Larson had a habit of carrying small notebooks with him in which he recorded jokes and bon mots which came to his attention, notes for articles or speeches on which he was working at the time, and notes on his meetings with important people. These original notebooks are in the Subject Series. However, while working on his Eisenhower book, Larson had his staff go through the notebooks and transcribe all the entries relating to his meetings with Eisenhower and the White House staff. Larson then cut the transcripts into small pieces, usually individual paragraphs, and arranged the pieces by subject matter, apparently as a way of helping to organize his thoughts. The files on the Eisenhower book contain these pieces, arranged by the chapters or subjects to which they pertain. The files also contain a few drafts of portions of the book, although the drafts are fragmentary and incomplete.

The fourth series is a subject file, containing Larson's scrapbooks, notebooks, and a small quantity of correspondence. Of particular importance are Larson's memorandum books which cover his work during the Eisenhower administration. To assist researchers in using the memorandum books, the Eisenhower Library staff made electrostatic copies of the pieces of the transcripts in the Writings Series. The copies were then reassembled in their original order and filed with the books containing the original handwritten entries. While comparing the transcripts with the notebooks it was found that Larson's staff had trouble reading his handwriting. Many transcripts have dashes which indicate illegible words in the notebooks. In a few cases the staff mis-read his entry and used different words than what appear in the notebooks. Researchers are urged to always compare the transcripts with the notebooks in order to determine the correct wording of any passages of interest.

The correspondence in the Subject Series pertains mostly to Dwight D. Eisenhower and George Romney. The Eisenhower correspondence covers the period after Larson left the White House and shows his continuing contacts with the President. The Romney correspondence is from 1967 and shows Larson's efforts to have Romney make a major speech on Vietnam in preparation for the 1968 presidential campaign.

The scrapbooks in the Subject Series mostly cover the period from 1954 to 1971 and consist of news clippings and other publicity material pertaining to Larson's government career and his work at the Rule of Law Center. Of particular importance is an early scrapbook covering his student days at Pembroke College in England from 1932 to 1935.

## CHRONOLOGY

July 4, 1910	Born in Sioux Falls, South Dakota
1932-35	Rhodes scholar at Pembroke College, Oxford University, England
July 30, 1935	Married Florence Newcomb
1935-39	Attorney with Quarles, Spence & Quarles, Milwaukee, Wisconsin
1939-41	Associate professor of law, University of Tennessee, Knoxville
1941-44	Staff member, Office of Price Administration
1944-45	Staff member, Foreign Economic Administration
1945-53	Professor of law, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York
1953-54	Dean, University of Pittsburgh Law School, Pennsylvania
1954-56	Undersecretary of Labor
1956-57	Director, U.S. Information Agency
1957-58	Special Assistant to the President
1958-80	Director, Rule of Law Center, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina
March 1993	Died

## SERIES DESCRIPTION

Box. No.   Series

1-6    I. Presidential Speeches. 1956-61. 5 ½ boxes.

Information on speeches of President Eisenhower which Larson helped prepare. Included are drafts of the speeches, many of which have annotations by Eisenhower, and press releases containing the final version of the speech as given by the President. Arranged chronologically.

6-15   II. Rule of Law Center Office File. 1960-76. 9 boxes.

Copies of speeches, articles and research papers prepared by Larson and the staff of the Rule of Law Center at Duke University. Arranged chronologically.

15-17   III. Writings. 2 ½ boxes.

Copies of articles and speeches by Larson, drafts of his memoirs, and drafts and research notes for his book about Dwight D. Eisenhower. The Eisenhower book material includes extensive transcripts of Larson's memorandum books from the Subject Series.

18-30   IV. Subject File. 1932-92. 13 boxes.

Miscellaneous material pertaining to Larson's career, including his appointment books, memorandum books, scrapbooks, and a small quantity of correspondence. Arranged alphabetically.

## CONTAINER LIST

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1	Series I: Presidential Speeches Proposed Campaign Speeches 1956 Campaign Speeches 1956 (1)-(3) Acceptance Speech Oct. 1, 1956 (1)-(8) Lexington Campaign Speech Oct. 1, 1956 (1)-(4) Carpenters Diamond Jubilee Oct. 23, 1956
2	Voice of America Anniversary Feb. 25, 1957 Republican Rally June 7, 1957 (1)-(5) Science & Security Nov. 7, 1957 (1)-(4) Future Security, Oklahoma City Nov. 13, 1957 (1)-(4) Mutual Aid Nov. 1957 (1)-(5) State of Union 1958 Agency Ideas (1)(2)
3	State of Union 1958 CP 58-76 (1)-(3) State of Union 1958 Draft #1 State of Union 1958 Draft #2 State of Union 1958 Draft #3 State of Union 1958 Draft #4 (1)-(3) State of Union 1958 Draft #5 State of Union 1958 Draft #6 State of Union 1958 Draft #7 (1)-(3) State of Union 1958 Draft #8 (1)-(3) State of Union 1958 Draft #9 (1)-(3) State of Union 1958 Draft #10

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4	<p>State of Union 1958 Draft #11 (1)-(3)</p> <p>State of Union 1958 Draft #12 (1)-(3)</p> <p>State of Union 1958 Draft #13 (1)-(3)</p> <p>State of Union 1958 Draft #14 (1)-(3)</p> <p>State of Union 1958 Draft #15 (1)-(3)</p> <p>State of Union 1958 Draft #16 (1)-(3)</p> <p>State of Union 1958 Draft #17</p> <p>State of Union 1958 Early Drafts</p> <p>State of Union 1958 Memoranda (1)-(3) [notes of staff meetings analyzing various drafts of speech]</p> <p>State of Union 1958 Miscellaneous Drafts (1)(2)</p> <p>State of Union 1958 Press Releases</p>
5	<p>Republican Dinner Speech Jan. 20, 1958 (1)-(3)</p> <p>R.N.C. Remarks Jan. 31, 1958</p> <p>Security &amp; Peace Feb. 25, 1958</p> <p>Republican Women's Meeting Mar. 18, 1958 (1)-(5)</p> <p>American Society of Newspaper Editors Apr. 17, 1958</p> <p>Republican Dinner May 6, 1958 (1)(2)</p> <p>Economic Mobilization Conference May 20, 1958 (1)-(3)</p> <p>State of Union 1959</p> <p>Proposed Message on Rule of Law Aug. 1959 (1)(2)</p>
6	<p>Proposed Message on Rule of Law Aug. 1959 (3)(4)</p> <p>New Delhi Speech Dec. 11, 1959</p> <p>American Bar Association Aug. 29, 1960 (1)(2)</p> <p>Miscellaneous Speeches 1956-61 (1)(2)</p>

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6 (cont.)	<p>Series II: Rule of Law Center Office File</p> <p>Volume I 1961-April 1962 (1)-(7) [USSR; legal conference at Lagos, Nigeria; UN &amp; Africa; Congo; Red China; legal aspects of Bay of Pigs invasion]</p>
7	<p>Volume II May-November 1962 (1)-(9) [Cuba; UN armed forces; history of Rule of Law Center, 1959-62; space law; social security]</p> <p>Volume III September 1962-May 1963 (1)-(4) [arms in space; UN operations]</p>
8	<p>Volume III September 1962-May 1963 (5)-(9) [workmen's compensation; Cuban missile crisis]</p> <p>Volume IV May 1963-January 1964 (1)-(7) [Republican politics; social security; employment of older workers; test ban treaty; arms control; Cuba; analysis of Barry Goldwater's book <u>Conscience of a Conservative</u>]</p>
9	<p>Volume IV May 1963-January 1964 (8)(9) [codification of international law; India]</p> <p>Volume V February-July 1964 (1)-(9) [proposed research projects; workmen's compensation; codification of international law; social security; Asian &amp; African attitudes toward international law; liberal Republicanism; peripheral conflicts]</p>
10	<p>Volume VI August-December 1964 (1)-(10) [foreign views of US civil rights problems; Soviet criminal law; communist legislation in Eastern Europe; legal impact of disarmament agreements; International Law Commission; UNESCO; UN &amp; human rights; US &amp; World Court; workmen's compensation &amp; social security laws]</p> <p>Volume VII January-August 1965 (1)(2) [Southeast Asia; UN peacekeeping forces; codification of international law; International Labor Organization]</p>
11	<p>Volume VII January-August 1965 (3)-(9) [Hindu law; Islamic law; UN &amp; the Congo; Mexico City conference on international law; International Law Commission; UNESCO; Poland]</p> <p>Volume VIII September 1965-June 1967 (1)-(4) [UN &amp; Rhodesia; disarmament after Khrushchev; law of propaganda; population control in Korea]</p>
12	<p>Volume VIII September 1965-June 1967 (5)-(9) [Vietnam; Berlin; Kashmir; Soviet inheritance cases in US courts; workmen's compensation]</p> <p>Volume IX August 1967-December 1968 (1)-(6) [race relations; Southwest Africa; Palestine; Rhodesia]</p>

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14	<p>Volume XI April 1970-December 1972 (3)-(6) [workmen's compensation]</p> <p>Volume XII January 1973-September 1975 (1)-(8) [sex discrimination &amp; maternity benefits; workmen's compensation]</p>
15	<p>Volume XIII September 1975-September 1976 (1)-(4) [workmen's compensation]</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">Series III: Writings</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">List of Publications</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">Articles 1955-58 (1)-(3) [USIA policy; labor; Republican philosophy]</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">Article "The Heart of the Matter" [Cuba]</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">Articles Reprints</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">Articles <u>Saturday Review</u></p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">Booklet "The United Nations Crisis"</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">Booklet "The World Court and the United States"</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">Editorials</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">Eisenhower Book Introduction (1)(2)</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">Eisenhower Book I. Principles (1)(2)</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">Eisenhower Book II. The Presidency (1)(2)</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">Eisenhower Book III. Politics</p>
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- Lectures
- Memorandum Book Labor Department [notes of Labor Dept staff meetings, Dec. 28, 1955-July 27, 1956]
- 22            Memorandum Book #1 May 1956 [notes for DDE's Panama speech; meeting with DDE May 19 re Republican national convention speech, Adlai Stevenson, middle-of-road philosophy; notes for convention speech]
- Memorandum Book #2 July 1956 [notes on history of Republican party; anecdotes re Cabinet meeting July 25; James Mitchell's work to settle strikes, his meeting with Harry Bridges, 1956 steel strike; Stassen's support of Herter for vice president; meeting with DDE July 26 re Republican convention speech, Robert Taft, mutual security, Emmett Hughes & Kevin McCann]
- Memorandum Book #3 July 1956 [notes on economy; meeting with DDE July 20 re Republican convention speech, 1956 campaign issues; notes on history of Republican party]
- Memorandum Book #4 July 1956 [meeting with DDE Aug. 6 re Republican convention speech, 1956 campaign issues, international tensions; meetings with DDE Aug. 7 & 9 re Republican convention speech; notes re political philosophy; meeting with DDE Aug. 14 re speeches at Democratic convention, Eleanor Roosevelt, Winston Churchill, FDR]
- Memorandum Book #5 August 1956 [notes re Democratic convention, political philosophy; meetings with DDE, Sept. 24, 27, 28 & 29 re upcoming speeches, Adlai Stevenson, Suez, Somoza of Nicaragua, Winston Churchill, Admiral King; notes on economy; Larson's comparison of DDE & Stevenson]
- Memorandum Book #6 USIA [1957 budget; meeting with DDE, Jan 8, 1957, re USIA; analysis of 9/17/55 Saturday Review article re USIA mission; use of radio & TV; Andrew Berding re budget, books, publicity in Iron Curtain countries, Hungary & Suez crises; meeting with DDE, Nov 9, 1956, re appointment to USIA; meetings with staff re USIA projects, morale; OCB meetings; OCB-NSC relationship; planning for inspection trip]

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Memorandum Book USIA #3 [inspection trip, Feb 1957. Iraq: press; film; radio; education; libraries; VOA; aid programs; military aid; meetings with Iraqi leaders re TV, radio. Lebanon: meetings re Mid East radio, VOA, Cyprus; meetings with Lebanese leaders re Soviet aid to Mid East. Egypt: library; films; press; meeting with Nasser re US press, UK, Russia, Arab unity, Baghdad Pact; story of how Nasser signaled takeover of Suez Canal. Conclusions re Mid East: Arab reaction to Eisenhower Doctrine; fear of Israel; need for USIA educational programs; effectiveness of VOA; Russian gains; Cyprus; Nasser]

Memorandum Book USIA #4 [inspection trip, Feb 1957. Italy: political parties; private enterprise; labor unions; Communists; Prime Minister Segni; education; People-to-People. General conclusions about trip. Meetings with DDE, Feb 21 & 23, 1957, re VOA speech. Notes for Larson's political speeches: Democratic & Republican philosophies; books & propaganda]

Memorandum Book March 1957 [notes re politics; meeting with DDE June 6-7 re missile tests, Harold Stassen; meeting with DDE Apr 5 re People-to-People Foundation, USIA budget; meeting with DDE June 25 re VOA; Larson's trip to Hawaii; army & navy public relations; meeting with DDE May 4 re George Humphrey; meeting with DDE June 5 re politics; notes for DDE's June 7 speeches; House & Senate budget hearings; USIA & women; meeting with DDE May 22 re politics & big business; seniority system & conservatism; meeting with DDE May 28 re William Knowland]

Memorandum Book October 1957 #1 [USIA briefing re political conditions in Asia; meeting with DDE Oct 1 re Little Rock & school integration, Larson's problems with senators, moving Larson to White House to be speech writer, finding successor at USIA; NSC meeting Oct 10 re publicity for satellite program; meeting with DDE Oct 10 re funding for People-to-People Foundation; USIA budget]

Memorandum Book October 1957 #2 [notes for speech re science & space program; Larson's move to White House; meeting with Sherman Adams Oct 28 re planning presidential speeches; Cabinet meeting Oct 18 re economy; notes for proposed speeches; meetings with DDE Oct 18 & 22 re upcoming speeches, Robert Cutler]

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22            Memorandum Book November 1957 #1 [notes for science speech; meetings with  
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                  Advisory Committee; notes for speeches re foreign policy, economy; meeting with  
                  Sherman Adams Nov 8 re Larson's work; meeting with DDE Nov 5 re science  
                  speech]

                  Memorandum Book November 1957 #2 [meeting with DDE Nov 11 re mutual  
                  security speech; notes re mutual security speech; reaction at White House to news of  
                  DDE's illness, Nov 26; notes re social security; meeting with DDE Nov 13 re  
                  speeches, France & Tunisia]

23            Memorandum Book December 1957 [planning 1958 State of Union speech;  
                  meetings with Sherman Adams & DDE re State of Union; Cabinet meeting Jan 10;  
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                  Memorandum Book January 1958 [DDE re Nixon; Bryce Harlow; notes for  
                  speeches; meeting with DDE Feb 10 re foreign aid speech; meeting with DDE Jan 20  
                  re Chicago speech, Mamie on trips, defense reorganization; meeting with DDE Jan 29  
                  re trip to Arthur Eisenhower's funeral, South Dakota politics; Ambassador Thompson  
                  re Khrushchev & USSR]

                  Memorandum Book March 1958 [meetings with DDE, Mar 6 & 8 re student  
                  exchange program, upcoming speeches; notes for speeches; Clarence Randall re sub-  
                  saharan Africa; Joseph Alsop re foreign policy; meeting with DDE Mar 26 re foreign  
                  policy speech; Marion Folsom re social security; Carl Sandburg; Segovia concert;  
                  Cabinet meetings of May 2 & 20 re economy]

                  Memorandum Book May 1958 [notes for speeches; Nixon re importance of  
                  intellectuals in South America; Charles Rhyne re World Law Institute; notes on goals  
                  of Institute; DDE re Coty of France; Cabinet meeting June 6 re social security;  
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                  Memorandum Book July 1958 [meeting with DDE July 3 re Larson's departure for  
                  Duke; NSC meeting Aug 7 re African independence; Cabinet meeting Aug 8 re  
                  drought relief; meeting with Nixon July 9 re Larson's departure for Duke, Goldfine  
                  scandal; meetings with Thomas Dewey & Henry Luce re law center; meetings with  
                  DDE July 18, 25 & Aug 1 re international law, Henry Luce, Thomas Dewey, Charles  
                  Wilson, need to consult with JF Dulles; meeting with William Rogers re international  
                  law; notes re social security; NSC meeting July 24 re Near East situation]

                  Memorandum Book September 1958 [planning for Rule of Law Center; research on  
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- Memorandum Book    November 1958 [foreign broadcasting; sources of funds for  
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- Memorandum Book    December 1958 [planning for Rule of Law Center; meeting  
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- Memorandum Book    February-March 1959 [plans for study of international law;  
notes for proposed book on philosophy of government and political parties; notes re  
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- Memorandum Book    May 1959 [Ann Whitman re DDE's speech trips, forgetting his  
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- Memorandum Book    November 1959 [meetings with DDE, Nov 25, and Nixon,  
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international treaties, Connally amendment; research on international law; sources of  
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- 24    Memorandum Book    March 1960 [conference on resolving international tensions;  
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- Memorandum Book    August 1960 [conferences on international adjudication;  
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- Memorandum Book    January 1961 [notes re philosophy of government; division of  
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- Memorandum Book    January 1962 [proposed research projects for Rule of Law  
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- Memorandum Book    April 1962 [conference on international law, Rome, Italy: role  
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- Memorandum Book    December 1962 [proposed research projects; U Thant; conference on health insurance, Dec 19; research on peace; notes for speech re UN and Congo, Jan 22, 1963]
- Memorandum Book    1963-64 [notes re Republican philosophy; Texas oil property; meeting with DDE, Mar. 9, 1964, re 1964 campaign, Goldwater, Scranton, Nixon, Lodge, Romney, LBJ, Nelson Rockefeller; notes re effect of industrialization on underdeveloped countries]
- Memorandum Book    Fall 1964 [opposition to extremist groups; 1964 campaign]
- Memorandum Book    Undated (1) [mid-1960s; notes re Southeast Asia, Communism]
- Memorandum Book    Undated (2) [notes re workmens compensation & insurance]
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- Oral History Interview    Dulles Project [USIA-State relations; Hungarian crisis; Larson's duties as Special Assistant to the President; Dulles' interest in world law; Suez crisis]
- Photographs
- Presidential Consultant 1958-60 (1)-(3) [Rule of Law Center; proposed conference on international law; World Court; Amos J. Peaslee; US drafting of Swiss nationals; Connally Amendment; proposed advisory committee on rule of law]
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26	<p>President's Speeches 1956-57 (3)(4)</p> <p>President's Speeches 1958 (1)-(3)</p> <p>Printed Material (1)(2)</p> <p>Republican National Committee</p> <p>Retirement 1980</p> <p>Rockefeller, Nelson A.</p> <p>Romney, George (1)(2)</p> <p>Romney Speeches (1)(2) [meetings with Romney, Feb 1967, re proposed foreign policy speeches]</p> <p>Romney - Vietnam Speech 1967 (1)-(3)</p>
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28      Tidmarsh, Ruth (1)(2)  
(cont.)

Trip to Russia 1961 (1)(2) [notes of Larson's impressions of USSR; notes of July 1961 conference on arms control at Burgenstock, Switz, re disarmament, space, NATO, Germany]

Washington Cathedral

White House [Cabinet briefing re USIA programs, Jan 18, 1957; National Federation of Lutheran Clubs meeting]

29      Scrapbook 1954-55  
(half-suit)

Scrapbook 1956

30      Scrapbook 1958-63  
(half-suit)

Scrapbook 1970-71