

INTERVIEW WITH
Glenn W. Sutton

by

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on

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for

Dwight D. Eisenhower Library



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Glenn W. Sutton

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This interview is being conducted with Dr. Glenn W. Sutton in his office in Athens, Georgia on May 25, 1976. The interviewer is Dr. Thomas F. Soapes of the Eisenhower Library. Present for the interview are Dr. Sutton and Dr. Soapes.

DR. SOAPES: First of all Dr. Sutton would you tell me where and when you were born and where you had your formal education?

DR. SUTTON: Yes. I was born in the small southern Indiana town, Milan, Ripley County, southeastern Indiana on July 25, 1904. I attended the public schools of Indiana and a business college and I received my B.S. degree from Indiana University in 1926, the A.M. degree from Indiana University in 1927, and the Ph.D. degree from Ohio State University in 1938. For two years prior to entering college I worked as an accountant for a wholesale grocery and a grain elevator in Seymour, Indiana.

DR. SOAPES: And in what field were you?

DR. SUTTON: I was in the field of economics and finance all the way.

DR. SOAPES: Did you have a specialty within that field?

DR. SUTTON: Yes, money and banking, investments.

DR. SOAPES: Do you remember from your study, particularly at the doctoral level, of professors who were particularly influential or significant to you?



SUTTON: Yes. Dr. Charles A. Dice at Ohio State University. He was my major professor at Ohio State. And Dr. [Harold] Maynard, chairman of the marketing division at Ohio State; both of them were very influential in my thinking. And at Indiana University I was very fortunate to have as my major professor Dr. Lionel Danforth Edie, who went on to specialize in the investment field.

SOAPES: Now most fields at the advanced level have varying schools of thought and varying points of view. Could you describe for me what schools of thought these men belonged to.



SUTTON: I would say that it would be the classical school of economics, and another professor that was very outstanding in my field at Ohio State was Dr. [Matthew] Hammond who was what we called the conservative type of economist. He'd been educated in Germany when it was popular for economists to study over there. In both Indiana and Ohio I would characterize my training as being conservative.

SOAPES: This was pre-John Maynard Keynes?

SUTTON: Well, yes. John Maynard Keynes, I believe, was in the '30s.

SOAPES: Right.

SUTTON: John Maynard Keynes of course was writing when I was getting my doctorate. That is true. But on the undergraduate and master's level it was not so much Keynes.

SOAPES: As soon as you finished the Ph.D program where did you go?

SUTTON: I went someplace before I finished the Ph.D. program. You see there was quite a gap between 1927 and 1938. After I got my master's degree I accepted a position at the University of Idaho, where I was instructor of economics and editor of the Idaho Economic Bulletin. I stayed at the university for two years, having gone there in 1927. I left in 1929 and came to the University of Georgia in Athens as associate professor of finance. During my tenure at the University of Georgia I served as Professor of Finance; chairman of the Finance Division; Editor Georgia Business Review; Director Bureau of Business Research; Director of the Veterans Affairs Office; Director of the Savannah Division; and Director Graduate Division, College of Business Administration. I taught here and during summer sessions I went to Ohio State to work on my doctorate. As you know, the depression was on in a big way starting about 1929 on through '32 and '33 and I didn't



feel it would be wise to leave my duties here and go off in pursuit of higher education. So I did it as I could, and completed it in August of 1938. And, after that came right back to the university.

SOAPES: In the finance department?

SUTTON: Oh, yes. All the way in finance.

SOAPES: And how long did you stay with that department?

SUTTON: At the University of Georgia?

SOAPES: Yes.



SUTTON: Well, in and out from 1929 to 1954, twenty-five years. I was often away and worked with the Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor. In 1936 I had the southeastern states, I was director of a study called "The Urban Studies of Consumer Purchases and Income." And in 1937 I went to Chicago as the national director of the tabulation office. Then I returned to the university and in 1939 I went back with the Bureau of Labor Statistics and was regional and national director of "The Survey of State, County and Municipal Employment and Payrolls." While I was national director of this study my office was in Philadelphia.

I came back to the University of Georgia in '41 just about the time the war was declared. I signed up immediately for duty with the U.S. Navy and I was away on active duty until 1945. Came back and stayed here one year in Athens and then the university sent me to Savannah to open up a school for veterans at the Hunter Army Air Base. I stayed as director there for two years, then came back to the university in Athens where I stayed until 1954, in September.

SOAPES: Sounds like a very varied and interesting career.

SUTTON: I've had a good time.

SOAPES: My boss, who is a military historian, would chastise me greatly if I didn't ask you where you served in the navy during the war.

SUTTON: Well I had many different assignments. I don't know whether you're interested in all of them. For example, I was head of the essentials of naval service and aerology division; and director of the academic division of the U.S. Navy pre-



flight school, which was here in Athens, Georgia. I was a staff member of the U.S. Navy Manpower Commission 6th Naval District; and personnel officer at Whiting Field in Florida; administrative officer of a PB-4Y2 OTU4 squadron; administrative officer of Fasron 152; administrative-personnel officer, aviation technical training officer and assistant commander of Aviation Wing Staff 67. I was the commanding officer of Air Task Group 671; I was a member of the U.S. Naval Reserve Line Selection Board Bureau of Naval Personnel in Washington, D.C. And of course, attended the national defense resources conferences of the Industrial College of the Armed Forces and took the senior officers' course at the Naval War College in Newport, Rhode Island. I was a participant in the sixteenth and seventeenth global strategy discussions at the Naval War College.

SOAPES: Sounds like your military career, as brief as it was, was a varied as your academic.

SUTTON: Well I stayed active until, that is active in the reserve, naval air station in Atlanta, until 1964 when I retired with the rank of captain.



SOAPES: I hate to ask if you did anything else during this period, but did you ever have any contact with politics or work in politics?

SUTTON: No, I never did.

SOAPES: Now I believe it was 1954 when your appointment to the Tariff Commission came about. Could you tell us something about the way in which that appointment came through?

SUTTON: I was teaching here at the university and I had students, of course, who were constantly seeking outlets for their talents. Mr. Robert Snodgrass, a man who was engaged in financial business in Atlanta, needed some recruits for his employment. He came to the university and I helped him to get future employees. It seemed that Mr. Snodgrass was impressed with the work that I was doing here and he hired many of my students that had majored with me, and these students spoke very highly of me to him after they went to work and we kept up this contact. I would recommend students to Mr. Snodgrass for his employment. He was, I believe, chairman of the Republican party in Georgia at the time. And President Eisenhower had this vacancy coming up on the Tariff



Commission and he was looking for a conservative Democrat, and immediately Mr. Snodgrass thought of me in Athens, Georgia. He conferred with a mutual friend, Mr. Malcolm H. Bryan, who was president of the Federal Reserve Bank in Atlanta and a former colleague of mine, and almost between the two of them they decided that I would be a good candidate for this vacancy. Other students who had majored with me apparently contacted Mr. Bryan and told him what they thought, and Mr. Snodgrass sent my recommendation to President Eisenhower along with--I believe he conferred also with Judge Elbert Tuttle of the 5th Circuit Court of Appeals, and they sent my recommendation up. And shortly thereafter, I guess perhaps a week, I got a call from the White House asking me if I could come to Washington to have an interview with the President. Of course I could and did and had my interview with President Eisenhower. And at that interview he told his assistants to send my nomination up to the Senate.



SOAPES: You remember who it was who called you?

SUTTON: Yes, I do, it was Dr. Gabriel Hauge. He was the chief economic assistant to the President.

SOAPES: Had you ever known Hauge or any of the White House people before?

SUTTON: No, I had not.

SOAPES: Now I want to ask you a little bit about the job of being a member of the Tariff Commission. This was a full-time job.

SUTTON: Correct.

SOAPES: Required you to move from Athens to Washington?

SUTTON: Well, it was a full-time job and I did live in Washington, but I maintained my home in Athens, Georgia. My wife was a professor at the university in Athens and she continued her duties here and kept our home open. I kept my navy duty going at the naval air station in Atlanta and commuted to see her and she came up to Washington to see me.

SOAPES: What field was she in?

SUTTON: She was chairman of the elementary education division of the University of Georgia.



SOAPES: I see. Could you describe something to me about the staff you had to work with at the Tariff Commission?

SUTTON: Yes. I was most impressed when I arrived in Washington with the staff. It was a most competent and outstanding staff. Many Ph.D.s from Harvard, Princeton, University of California and so on. They had the ability to analyze a problem; they were good economic thinkers; they were good technicians; they wrote excellent reports. The legal staff was outstanding, the lawyers that were there. And I was greatly impressed--in fact I felt very much at home because it reminded me so much of a very efficient, well organized research staff that you might find at a reputable university. And the staff is really what makes an organization like the Tariff Commission.



SOAPES: Were any of these people that you saw, the young Ph.D.s, attorneys, people who later became prominent in their own right?

SUTTON: Well, yes they were all prominent in their own right whether they were publishing anything or not. The Tariff

Commission more or less operated on the basis of a team effort and they thought it was rather difficult to assign credit to any one individual in preparing the report, and it worked very well, that team effort. But there were many fine persons that were on that staff. For example, the general counsel was Mr. Paul Kaplowitz. He later became chairman of the Tariff Commission. Mr. Ben Dorfman was chief of the economics division; he later became chairman. Mr. Russell Shewmaker is an outstanding legal authority in all aspects of tariff law and the technical aspects of it. Many of them did very well in their field. But one thing at the Tariff Commission as I knew it, was that turnover was very low. People came in as young men and women, they made a career out of it, and they retired pretty much after long years of service. And that, to my way of thinking, is what gave it its great stability and its esprit de corps and its productiveness that it demonstrated time and time again.

SOAPES: It certainly is different than what happens frequently in some of the executive agencies.

SUTTON: I'm sure it is.



SOAPES: Could you tell me something about your routine that you followed--what your day was like as a member of the Tariff Commission? What generally would you do when you showed up for work in the morning?

SUTTON: It was quite varied. I put in long hours. Many times we spent, of course, having hearings with the public-- industry would come in and present their case that they were being injured by competition from abroad. Many hours were spent, of course, in the meeting with your fellow commissioners, in formal meetings and informal, deciding cases. Many hours were spent in writing the reports, getting them ready to be published. You had to operate against deadlines as the law required that the reports be out within a certain period of time, and quite a bit of time was spent on preparing and writing the reports that were put out to the public, and personnel matters, of course, things of that sort.

SOAPES: Was there a tendency to have various members of the Commission specialize in certain fields, or was it a generalist approach?



SUTTON: It was a generalist approach. Everything was operated, of course, on majority decision. The Commission was organized in rather a unique manner compared with other agencies in that no more than three members could be of any one political party and it had an even number of members, usually three Democrats, three Republicans and so on. So all decisions were made within the Commission conference room. It was not an individual matter, although if you didn't agree with your colleagues you could write a minority report of course. And many, many did.

SOAPES: That leads me to my next question. You said that you had had a basically conservative background, traditionalist approach. I assume there were people on the Commission who had differing points of view.

SUTTON: Yes. There were.

SOAPES: Did this lead to problems? Was it very difficult to resolve? Did you find with the three Democrats, the three Republicans a conservative-liberal balance problem developing?



SUTTON: No, it really didn't. It was sort of a matter of input and output and every case had to be argued around the table. And each commissioner had to state for the benefit of his fellow commissioners what he saw in a case and why he arrived at the decision that he did. So you see each one would have to give some thought--it couldn't just be an arbitrary I find you guilty, or I will not give you aid. You had to justify it, orderly, among your fellow commissioners. And really it didn't break down by political party at all. Sometimes the Democrats would be with the Republicans and vice versa and it would, of course, sometimes split according to party. But the party really had nothing to do with it; it was just their economic philosophy or the facts of the case. And being a factual agency and one devoted to finding what the facts were in this dispute or argument that was being presented to us, there wasn't much room for your individual background philosophy as such, although some of the commissioners were certainly more conservative than others. And on my arrival in Washington I was indeed fortunate in that President Eisenhower had just a short time ahead appointed as chairman, Dr. Edgar B. Crossard of Salt Lake City, Utah as the



chairman. And Dr. Brossard was noted for his conservatism. And it was very fortunate for me that he was chairman because I will never forget the welcome that I was given by Dr. Brossard at the Commission, and in Washington. And he and I are still in close contact with each other. Unfortunately he just lost his wife in December.

SOAPES: Did you find that the holdovers from the Truman period, the Democrats, were more liberal than the Eisenhower appointees?

SUTTON: Yes.

SOAPES: In a radical way or was this a--

SUTTON: No, no. In their discussion they would be perhaps a little bit more liberally oriented than the ones that I found that Mr. Eisenhower had appointed upon my immediate arrival in Washington. Of course there were only two Democrats and, of course, three Republicans, and the three Republicans that were there when I arrived were all Mr. Eisenhower's appointees. However, Dr. Brossard had been on the Commission for years and years; he came in as a young man in his twenties, I think,



and left when he was seventy. No one had the longevity that Dr. Brossard had there.

SOAPES: Were you appointed for a specific term and then you had to be reappointed?

SUTTON: Yes.

SOAPES: Was it a six-year--

SUTTON: It was a six-year term.

SOAPES: Did you find Eisenhower's appointees to be consistently conservative?

SUTTON: No, no. It would vary. Varied a lot.



SOAPES: How much? Can you give me some example about how they might vary?

SUTTON: It was very difficult in that field to say how they would vary. It would be that some might take a more liberal point of view, say, on finding peril points for the trade negotiations. We had the duty of saying that the trade negotiators could not cut duty on a given commodity below a

certain point. Well maybe some of the old-line commissioners would say, "Well we can only cut it this far," and some of the perhaps Truman or later appointees would say, "Well you can cut it a little more." They would be more apt to give a little more than perhaps others.

SOAPES: So it would be incorrect to say that Eisenhower appointed all conservatives to--

SUTTON: Oh, yes. He didn't do that. Fact of the matter is Mr. Eisenhower was such a fair man that he leaned over backwards to be fair to domestic producers, domestic consumers, domestic labor, but also to be fair to the foreign producer and to the foreign labor. There was no appointee sent to hold any lines or anything like that. In fact they didn't even ask me what my philosophy was except I guess I had been recommended as a conservative Democrat. But that didn't always mean that you voted conservative. Senator Paul Douglas thought some of my decisions were really good; he was the most liberal senator from Illinois, as you know.



SOAPES: Yes, I do. That brings me to another question I had and that is the role of Congress and the relationship you might have with the appropriate committees of Congress. Was there some sort of give and take, a communication between the Commission and the Congress?

SUTTON: Oh, yes. We were responsible to the senate finance committee, and they were the ones that you might say would oversee you and so on. They would send you certain studies to do and execute for them and so on. So there was a close relationship between the chairman of the finance committee and, usually, the chairman of the Tariff Commission. A very friendly, professional type of relationship.

SOAPES: Who was the chairman at the time you went on the commission? Do you recall?

SUTTON: I believe Senator Walter George from Georgia, and he was followed by Senator, I think, Russell Long of Louisiana.

SOAPES: You said it was a professional relationship. Was there any conflict of any significance that you remember between the Congress and the Commission?



SUTTON: There never was any during my time that I knew about. It was always very cordial. Sometimes you'd get a commissioner who would be a little critical and speak out, but usually it was very friendly and very cordial, each being motivated by the desire to do a good job for the country and the nation.

SOAPES: You have a letter there--

SUTTON: Well you were asking about the relationship, that's a letter that Senator Long sent to me when I left. It sort of gives some idea as to what went on between commissioners and and the chairman of a powerful committee like the senate finance committee.

SOAPES: Do you mind if I read this into the record?

SUTTON: No, no, I don't mind.

SOAPES: This letter is dated April 4, 1972.

"Dear Mr. Sutton: I have just learned of your decision to retire from the Tariff Commission. When I look back over the many trying years you served and the great job you did, I know that the Tariff Commission will not be the same after you leave. There is no doubt in my mind but that you, with your quiet competence and tremendous leadership, held the Tariff Commission



together when its very existence was being threatened. Your grand cooperation with the committee on many difficult trade matters we have had to deal with is a recollection I shall treasure. Congratulations to you for a job well done and our best wishes to you and your wife in your retirement. With every good wish, I am, sincerely, Russell Long, Chairman of the Committee on Finance."

It's a very fine letter.

SUTTON: Well it shows that the governmental agency did work with the Congress and we tried to always get along with each other. I didn't mean that we were ever asked to do anything as a favor for the committee or anything of that kind.

SOAPES: What about other agencies of the executive branch that you would deal with?

SUTTON: Well frankly we didn't have too many relationships-- the State Department occasionally and sometimes the Commerce Department, Treasury Department on the Anti-Dumping Act--it was a dual responsibility. Treasury would find that a nation was guilty of dumping but it would be up to the Tariff Commission to determine whether the dumping that had occurred had injured a domestic industry. So there was some contact there. But the Tariff Commission always prided itself on



the fact that it was an independent agency and it went about its own business in its own way. The relationships were cordial. We did have contact with a special trade representative that was appointed by the President to be his adviser on trade matters and to conduct negotiations abroad. But, day in and day out, the Tariff Commission just followed the law and did its assigned duty.

SOAPES: There weren't phone calls from the White House, or from other commissions suggesting anything? It was your decision.

SUTTON: No. It was our decision.

SOAPES: That does raise the question of the problem of possible conflict of policy, whether or not there was a true policy with one head. Was there a problem in that regard at any time?

SUTTON: Are you referring to the tariff commission itself not having a single head?

SOAPES: No, I'm referring to the overall foreign economic



policy of the country. You're an independent agency dealing with trade.

SUTTON: Yes, it could be, there could be, but many of our decisions were not final. They were sent to the President with a recommendation that he pursue a certain action, that he exclude the product from importation or that he raise the duties on it. And if the President didn't want to do that, he didn't have to. So his policy was maintained intact.

SOAPES: So there wasn't really a lot of opportunity for conflicting policies.

SUTTON: That is right.



SOAPES: You served on the commission primarily as to give recommendations--

SUTTON: That is correct. And to get the facts.

SOAPES: You mentioned earlier the holding of hearings. Would those be initiated by various industries or interest groups?

SUTTON: That is correct. They would send in a petition for

relief and the data would be secured through the hearing process, crossexamination of witnesses. It was also secured by questionnaire. Questionnaires would be prepared to get information as to profit and loss of company, the importation of goods and so forth. And, in addition to that, our field agents would be sent into the field to gather data directly from industry, including going over their books, their profit and loss statements and so on. Accountants would join our teams that would go into the field. But we had in those days a reputation that we guarded any information that was given us most carefully. We would not reveal anything that was marked confidential. Of course it was against the law to give confidential material to other people, but businessmen, labor unions, and others had great confidence in the Tariff Commission-- that whatever they told us we would use it and arrive at our decision, but we would not give it to their competitors or any unauthorized persons.

SOAPES: So you never felt you had difficulty getting the information you needed.



SUTTON: No. We always got all the information we ever needed in abundance.

SOAPES: The big agreement I'm aware of in the tariff field is what's known as the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Some of the background reading I've been trying to do on this subject raised the theme that the United States' goal after World War II was to see that non-tariff barriers were abolished and that other tariffs were reduced through negotiations. Does that square with your recollection on what policy was.

SUTTON: I think so, yes. I think that's correct. I was U.S. delegate to the 1956 Tariff Negotiations by the contracting parties to GATT in Geneva and in 1965 I served as Advisor to the U.S. delegation to the Kennedy round of tariff negotiations, GATT, held in Geneva.

[Interruption]

SOAPES: Could you explain to me, a layman in this, what the role of the GATT was, how it was important to the trade policy, how you utilized it on the commission.

SUTTON: Well it was a meeting, of course, of the various nations that were interested in trading. It was to arrive at a way which each one could make certain concessions to the



other party so as to enhance and increase the volume of trade. And I think it was largely successful in accomplishing that. Of course it's impossible to abolish, always certain barriers that exist, and you can't do it overnight. But great strides, I think, were made in each of the nations to reduce tariffs where they could and to encourage importation of the other nation's goods.

SOAPES: One writer that I have read on this subject was critical of GATT by saying that it was trying to develop sort of a code of conduct I suppose, I think is how he was characterizing it, and saying that it was weak, that it wasn't strong enough. How do you react to that type of judgment?

SUTTON: Well my impression was that it was sufficiently strong. You wouldn't want an international organization with too much power or you would get opposition to it and it wouldn't work at all. You have to be moderate in your approach to these matters. You cannot reduce tariffs and immediately do an industry in if it's located in a country because of the social repercussions, investment problems, labor problems, and so forth. The only thing you can do is to be gradual in it and hope to improve as you go along. You have to take the world as it is; you're not starting a whole new world.



SOAPES: Wasn't there a general review of GATT about 1955?

SUTTON: I think so. I believe that's correct.

SOAPES: Do you recall anything about what the result of that was?

SUTTON: Not offhand.

SOAPES: The Organization for Trade Cooperation was something that President Eisenhower in his memoirs says he was very interested in. Is that something that rings a bell with you?

SUTTON: I don't recall exactly what the President had in mind.

SOAPES: Okay. We'll go on to something else. He wasn't too specific in his memoirs either. Did you know Clarence Randall? He was a major advisor to the President in foreign economic policy; he headed a commission that--

SUTTON: Oh, yes. I didn't know him, but of course I knew of his work and so on. He was instrumental in trying to reorganize the entire government as I recall.



SOAPES: The thing, in terms of trade, that I recall with him is the Trade Agreements Act that came out in 1954 was, in part, a result of his actions, and of course it was a very controversial thing. Do you recall if the Tariff Commission got involved in that debate?

SUTTON: Well not in the debate; we were always involved in providing data for those who were debating and for those who were negotiating, as I mentioned a moment ago, in peril pointing commodities, what could be done and so forth. We always furnished every agency, the President, the Congress-- if they wanted to order a study done on something, a voluminous study, we would do it. And in that way we were involved; but not in a policy matter. We were not a policy-making organization and steered away from it very effectively.



SOAPES: I want to get into some more specific things that came up. One of the changes, of course, that came about in the international scene, especially in the late 1950s, was the emergence of the new nations, particularly in Africa. Do you remember how the Commission dealt with that scene?

SUTTON: We really wouldn't have any problem with it because it would have to come to us as a matter of importation. For example, the commodities would have to be interfering with an industry in this nation before we would have had any problem with it. We didn't have very much to do with it.

SOAPES: What about the Common Market, again, was that a similar situation or were you involved?

SUTTON: That is correct. We would keep up with the Common Market and the various problems and so on that they would have. But if the commodity was coming from France that was causing injury to an American industry, it would be France that would be the one that would be considered. Common Market as such wouldn't enter into it.



SOAPES: So you don't recall that the Common Market had any impact at all on--

SUTTON: Oh, yes it had an impact of course, but nothing from our day-to-day work.

SOAPES: This is something that is, I suppose, more of a speculative and academic type of argument; it won't go

directly to things that you were involved with. In the 1950s there was a lot of debate over foreign aid, and there was that catch phrase of "Trade, Not Aid." Was that a realistic dichotomy?

SUTTON: Well, it was used all the time. The argument was presented that foreign nations had to have some way of getting dollars in order to buy goods from America. And one way for them to get the dollars was for us to buy Japanese goods or Belgian goods or German goods and so on. Of course that's all changed now hasn't it?

SOAPES: So it was a case of providing some sort of funds where they could buy.

SUTTON: That was the idea; that was the argument that the attorneys and the economists were making who were appearing before the Commission--that it's better to engage in trade; please buy our pineapples or our automobiles, that will give us dollars and then we can buy your cotton and your wheat and so on. You won't have to just give us dollars to get it. And it was a very effective argument.



SOAPES: Did the Commission accept that?

SUTTON: Some of them did; some of them didn't

SOAPES: What would be the counter argument?

SUTTON: Well, the counter argument was that if we needed it, we would buy it, but just to let it in and to hurt American industry for the sake of giving them dollars to buy with, they didn't go that way. Many commissioners would think that you wouldn't want to hurt the lead and zinc industry no matter what. And the law was rather specific that we were operating under, that if an industry was being injured by imports, it didn't matter what the over-all picture was.



SOAPES: Would it be possible, and again I'm asking this question out of ignorance of the technical matters here, would it be possible to characterize the commission, particularly during the Eisenhower years, the 1950s, in terms of a protectionist-free trade continuum? Where would you place it on that continuum?

SUTTON: I would say about the middle, that some decisions were made that various people might interpret as protectionist

but others were made that would be interpreted as free trade. I think it was a well balanced commission that President Eisenhower appointed. He took great effort to get the people that he wanted. For example, he didn't appoint anyone to these commissions without a personal interview. You don't find very many Presidents, maybe of big corporations, doing that. But he interviewed me, for example. So he knew that he was getting a certain type of person, or at least he thought so, and he had it well balanced. It was not stacked in any one direction. He tried to get people who would weigh the facts and make a fair and just decision. So I don't think you could call it either one. Now some commissioners might be a little more protectionist than others, but when it got voted into six different equal persons, you came out with a rather nice balance.



SCAPES: So you would say, in this field, as some historians have argued, that Eisenhower's administration is very much of a middle of the road, holding-the-line type of administration.

SUTTON: I would say it was middle of the road on its trade policy, which I would say would be just excellent. Be the

thing to do.

SOAPES: Of course, as you said earlier, you were in an advisory capacity to the President. Did he generally accept your recommendations; or did you see a tendency on his part to move one way or the other on this continuum?

SUTTON: No. He, too, was well balanced and he took many, many of them. Occasionally he would override one and go the other way. But you couldn't say that he was going one way or the other. It was, again, on the justice and the merits of the case. Each individual case was decided on its merits.

SOAPES: You mentioned earlier, of course, Gabriel Hauge was in the White House. Was there contact with Hauge by people from the commission?



SUTTON: Yes. That was one of the great things, I think, about the Eisenhower administration was that he was an excellent administrator. And he didn't interfere with your work in any way. And in answer to the question, was a person that you could contact with, you always knew the person in the White House that you could contact and that you could get an answer

to the question that you had. And our contact was with Dr. Gabriel Hauge. And Mr. Eisenhower always had highly professional, competent persons in that. And when, as I recall, when Mr. Hauge wasn't there, then it was Dr. Don Paarlberg. So that if you contacted either one of these gentlemen, you got an intelligent, efficient, quick answer. And it was a pleasure to do business with them.

SOAPES: What types of things would you have to ask of these people?

SUTTON: Well, not very much to tell you the truth. I can't recall any specific thing. Sometimes when a case was going to come over or if it was coming or if the President should know or anything they might call you and ask you if you'd received a certain one, a complaint on this matter or that matter. But really the contacts were far and few between.



SOAPES: Both before a case was heard and after it had gone to the President?

SUTTON: Oh, yes, yes, I recall now, occasionally sometimes, we couldn't release a report until the President gave his

okay. The report would go to the President and the various embassies would be very anxious to get a copy of the report. Well, you could call Dr. Hauge and find out when the time would be available for the ambassadors to pick up their copies. We were never given the run around. They would say, "Well, we're not going to release it." Or "It will be released at 6:00 p.m. tomorrow." Matters of that type. Nothing fundamental that would worry anybody. No policy matter. They never asked for any consideration that you go one way or the other, never. Oh, no. Strictly above board.

SOAPES: And would have probably been resented by the Commission had it--

SUTTON: Well, it probably would have been, yes. Because they did take great pride in their independence. I suppose it was probably the most independent of all independent agencies.

SOAPES: The most independent of the independents--some were more independent than others.

SUTTON: Right.



SOAPES: You mentioned foreign nations and foreign embassies. Did they try to lobby with the Commission frequently?

SUTTON: No, they didn't. I found everybody in Washington when I was there were gentlemen and above board, friendly and cordial. Might invite you to tea or the emperor's birthday party, but never asked you for anything, never.

SOAPES: What about your contacts with the state department? Was there a person in the state department you dealt with?

SUTTON: Usually, in late years--I've forgotten how it was in the original years--we went through what they call the special trade representative, and he would handle everything I sent to the state department. But again, you see, we were very jealous that the state department not try to influence us because of their over-all policy. And we tried to stay clear, clear of everybody.

SOAPES: You were on the Commission for a long time, from '54 to '72. One question, of course, that historians are always interested in is the question of change and continuity. Over that span of time, do you see as you look back on it essentially



a continuity in terms of trade policy or were there major points of change from the Eisenhower years through the Kennedy and Johnson and Nixon years?

SUTTON: No, it stayed about the same. I could not see any great change or shift. In fact I think my own case exemplified that they weren't looking for people of certain philosophy or background. I was appointed by President Eisenhower in 1954 and again in 1960. But in 1966 President Lyndon Johnson reappointed me to my third term. President Johnson appointed me vice chairman three times, and President Nixon appointed me chairman. And Mr. Kennedy was, of course, in there, but he was in a short period of time. Among all of those different types of Presidents, one individual, I was going right along with all four of them--Mr. Eisenhower, Mr. Kennedy, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Nixon. So there was no great shift in emphasis that I could see.

SOAPES: And the other members had long tenures, too?

SUTTON: Well no, not all. Dr. Brossard, of course, had the longest and he reached age seventy, and Mr. Eisenhower is the



one who put in the rule that you had to retire at age seventy. Mr. [Joseph E.] Talbot, who was one of the original Eisenhower appointees, had two full terms and I think he was appointed to his third, but he died. Mr. [Walter R.] Schreiber, another Republican from Oregon, had twelve years. Some of the others were one term, six, so on. But usually they didn't run to eighteen and twenty, twenty-five, like Dr. Brossard did.

SOAPES: You mentioned to me before we started taping that you did know President Eisenhower, but you said you didn't know him intimately. What type of contact did you have with him?

SUTTON: The contacts that I had, of course, were when he called me to come to Washington to see him for the position. However, one thing that struck me with the President and his wife, Mrs. Eisenhower, was that they always invited agency personnel to the White House social occasions, receptions, concerts, things of that type. Wives were invited by Mrs. Eisenhower to lunches, teas at Fort Leslie McNair. The President and his wife were a team that worked at building staff morale and I don't mean just the staff of the White House. I'm talking about the staff say of all the independent agencies.



Many, many social events you were invited to by the President. And he always made one feel at home, at ease. He was a great leader, in my opinion, and of course not only a great leader, but a very considerate person in that--we mentioned he never interfered with your work--but if you attended a social function at the White House you were likewise at ease.

I recall one occasion early in the administration. Mr. and Mrs. Eisenhower invited us to a social event, and it was in the early days. And of course the President, being a military man, he was always concerned, I'm sure, with dress, how people looked. And my wife wore, it was early evening or late afternoon I've forgotten, her dress wasn't completely long, sort of a short dress; she did have gloves. She was a little bit concerned as to whether she had on the right kind of a dress that would meet with the President's approval. Of course there were many other dresses just like that at the party. But for some reason during the course of the social event my wife and I took a stroll down through one of the passageways of the White House. And to our great astonishment there all alone, walking by himself, came President Eisenhower



right toward us. And my wife said she thought immediately, "I wonder if my skirt is long enough." But the President stopped, shook hands with her, and smiled and made her feel reassured her skirt was all right. So he was that type of person, put you immediately at ease. Well that's what I meant when I said I knew him but I didn't know him well. I knew how people reacted to him and how I reacted to him and how much I admired him and how much other people admired him.

SOAPES: Were there personalities in Washington whose names would be recognizable to a general student of the period that you did socialize with, that you did know intimately, the White House staff or cabinet-type people?

SUTTON: Well frankly, Doctor, I didn't do a whole lot of socializing.

SOAPES: Your wife was back here in Athens.

SUTTON: She was back here and I was and am a member of the Cosmos Club in Washington, D.C., and when I felt the need for a social relaxing dinner I went there. And I always maintained my membership at the Bolling Air Force Officers Club, which was a very nice place.



SOAPES: I've been there. It is very nice.

SUTTON: Have lunch or to have dinner, to the strolling strings.

SOAPES: Yes.

SUTTON: So there was not, and I didn't think it desirable to do too much socializing as you mentioned. Dinners among commissioners now and then with each other and have staff members of our commission. I entertained them at Bolling, entertained them at the Cosmos Club, things of that sort. But as far as socializing other than to the formal ones that the Presidents would invite you to--. Mr. Eisenhower used to like to have musicals. Well they were very delightful occasions. And he would invite you to them. But over and above that I didn't do a great deal of social contacts, other than what I mentioned--Cosmos Club, Bolling Air Force Base, and the Navy Officers Club there.

SOAPES: We've talked at some length about your actual work on the Commission and have, I think, a good impression of the Commission's work. I notice that you have some notes of some



things that you were interested in. Why don't you just give us some of the reminiscences that we haven't touched on that you would like to put into the record.

SUTTON: Well I think that we have covered it very well. I could re-emphasize that I thought President Eisenhower exemplified a man of great fairness and justice in his role as a leader. He was considerate of the problems of all producers in this country, the importers, the foreign manufacturers, the personnel, the people that he worked with. You never felt ill at ease, and I've heard others say that they never did either. He discouraged waste of all kinds. You would occasionally get a memorandum, the agency would, an order to not waste any assets. He was not a man who believed in spending money. Of course, the Tariff Commission in my day never spent any anyhow. It kept a very frugal and austere posture. And when you couple the great man that he was, in my opinion, having had command of all of the armies that he had commanded, been head of a great university, and President, and then with being a man that you could approach and talk with and not feel awed by it, it was quite a recommendation to me. And



I think everybody else had that. You always had confidence, at least I did. Let me summarize it in closing saying this. I always had confidence in his judgment and the decisions that he made. If he vetoed some advice that I gave him, it never caused me a second's concern, because I thought he'd done the right thing.

SOAPES: You mentioned something about his concern for producers. Let me ask the other side of that coin, about the concern for the consumer. Was this topic or this theme brought up frequently at the Commission?

SUTTON: Toward the latter days of my tenure there it was beginning to creep in, but the way the law was written there was nothing in it about the consumer. If you are a Belgian and you are bringing goods into my territory and taking away my customers and causing me to fail as a producer, that was the issue. It wasn't whether the consumer could buy a Belgian dish cheaper than he could buy a Georgia dish; that wasn't the issue. It's becoming that way somewhat now and the consumer, of course, is playing a more and bigger and bigger role. But the law wasn't written in such a way that you tried to run it for the consumer; it was run as to whether you were putting a



businessman out of business or not. Now it's possible, you see, for you to get cheap textiles from certain countries that may be produced with labor that is paid less or works longer hours, and for the consumer it would be maybe to his advantage to buy a shirt. But if a textile mill in Athens closes, then that's not to his advantage either, because he loses his job.

SOAPES: So that the way the Commission is structured, or in terms of the law, its concern has to be with the producer and with foreign policy implications and--

SUTTON: Well that's the way it was. You see they passed a new trade bill in 1974 and that's been somewhat changed. But during the years that we've been talking about, the consumer was not in as much concern in those days as he is now.

SOAPES: That letter that we read in the record from Senator Long, he made a reference to some problems that the Commission had. Could you tell me something about that, what he was referring to?

SUTTON: Oh, occasionally you get certain commissioners who may want to, you know, go off on a tangent somehow or other and you

SUTTON: Day-to-day operating it. The budget of the Tariff Commission has varied up and down quite a bit. At one time it was a very small, and still is, agency, but you didn't hardly have enough money to deliver the mail around to the various offices in time. Well that would be a problem. And someone on the committee, appropriations committee or otherwise, might say, "Well, you didn't take care of my tile. I'd just as soon see you not get quite so much money." I'm just using that as an example--the tile business is put out by imports from Portugal or some such place.



try to keep them together. Or you may get a certain period of time where some group gets angry, either be they importers or producers and they think that perhaps you aren't doing your work well and would like to cut your appropriation. [Laughter] Various things of that sort. Nothing fundamental or--

SOAPES: It was one of those continuous--

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SOAPES: Well is there anything else that we haven't covered?

SUTTON: No, except that I've enjoyed this conversation with you and appreciate your visit and wish you could stay longer

Dr. Glenn W. Sutton, 5-25-76

Page 45

in Georgia than you've indicated that you're going to be able to. We've got mighty fine sights around here for you to see.

SOAPES: Right. The federal government is still as frugal as it was under Eisenhower.

SUTTON: Well I'm glad to hear that!

SOAPES: Well, thank you very much for this afternoon.

