American Committee.

conversations.

Roosevelt's very high opin

THE ROOSEVELT I KNEW, by P Perkins, Viking Press, New York,

"He felt himself on very good per-

sonal terms with Marshall Stalin,"

her when she asked that he press

Stalin for some Soviet action she

A particularly interesting section

impression upon him at Teheran,

their first meeting. Their relations

appeared stiff and formal at first,

until both found common ground in

their mutual sense of humor-in-

The author describes how Roose-

velt, in 1933, expressed a desire to

know more about the Russians, and

of all people, he asked her to find

read in a book by B. H. Sumners

and William Henry Chamberlain,

out what makes them tick."

cidentally, at Churchill's expense.

is the President's story of Stalin's

him extremely interesting."

desired on the ILO.

AT TEHERAN

Roosevelt on Labor as

Reviewed by George Morris

In these days, when Republican Congressmen are vying with each other like vultures Describing how Roosevelt was b to tear to pieces the social gains under Roosevelt, it is useful to have a book like Frances during war years and was often Perkins' The Roosevelt I Knew before us. It relates principally to his work in the field off from people, she writes:

Thomas (alias Fenev) to to he would be social. Thomas (alias Fe ney) is to be hairman of the Republican-run Un-

legislation for which the New Deal is principally noted.

So much of the change that has occurred under Roosevelt is taken for granted, that it is well to have the record clear on much of the history of this legislation.

The story is built around the man who was the architect of this 12year era of progress. But it emerges through some 400 pages of which most are somewhat subjectively devoted to describing the work of Miss Perkins' department in four years under Roosevelt's governorship and 12 years as his Secretary of Labor.

BIG FAULT

There is one big fault with the book; it pictures more the Rooseand his "palace guard" as his opponents liked to call those who surfound him, than Roosevelt and the great movements among America's changing people. As one reads the book, it appears as though everything funnelled to Rooseve through his advisors. The FDR who liked to see for himself and learn directly from those who make America rich, is not so apparent.

Miss Perkins gives far more space to describing disputes between Roosevelt's aides over advice to the President or how to steer his policles, than to the movements of millions that were really decisive.

The author minimizes those great struggles of labor starting with the man be punished for what he thinks, San Francisco waterfront and Gen- for what he believes? That's against eral Strike in 1934, which have been the Constitution. so influential in speeding the Wagner Act, Social Security and Wage-Hour legislation. The big difference in Roosevelt's first and later the Bridges case, she would run to years in the White House isn't explained.

Some sections of the book will be of considerable interest to future hillorians. In one place she de- "It's all nonsense," he said to her



FRANCES PERKINS

to be vice-presidential running mate as a condition for assuring him labor support.

Another section deals with the case of Harry Bridges which was handled in Perkins' department for a while. She describes the President as ridiculing the campaign against Bridges. When told that Bridges did nothing to "overthrow the government" he asked:

"Then why in the world should a

On occasions when Miss Perkins felt uneasy about Dies Committee rantings against her on handling of the President. But she writes, the President continued ridiculing the whole affair in his usual jovial way.

n one eccasion. "Who is this felbed the visit of Dan Tobin to on one occasion. "Who is this fel-White House to ask the Preside of J. Parnell Thomas? I hear his series to run for a third term. Roose real name is Feeney. Why sell he relt told the Cambridge in hor held the Cambridge in hor held the Cambridge in him but him? Don't pay any attention to him. You've done the right thing."

red-baiting columnist of Leader and Wall St. John one or two other authors. aid she made "little digests what she knew for the Presid Apparently, however, FDR die depend solely upon Madame F

"Most of all he missed the la people whom he had been acc tomed to seeing from time to ti in groups to discuss legislation s

The Perkins book is one of growing number by people who w close to the President to write ab-Stalin is stressed in off-the-record him. Trouble is they have a to dency to be too subjective—too mi slanted in describing what "I t e President" and what he thou she writes. "He liked him and found o "my proposal." Some day a C im extremely interesting."

Sandburg will do a rounded out and place Roosevelt in his prokeep on good terms with him," said place in American history. the President on one occasion to

she admits that all she hew 87 JAN 10 1947.

This is a clipping from DAILY WORKER

Date_ Clipped at **Government**

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : The Director

FROM

. M. Ladd

SUBJECT:

DATE: March 25, 1947

This memorandum is submitted in line with your inquiry concerning was newspaper comment of Miss Frances Perkins wherein she indicated she was present opposed to the wholesale investigation of federal employees. The article to which you apparently had reference was one appearing in the Evening Star for November 17, 1946, and it was entitled, "Miss Perkins Opposes Fleming on Issue of Personal Freedom for U. S. Employees." A photostatic copy of this article is being obtained for the Bureau files. However, inasmuch as it may take several days to obtain the same, there is set forth below a summary of the information appearing in this article.

In the article it is reported that Miss Perkins thinks the government is too inquisitive about the private lives of its employees. In a recent chat, according to the article, she charged the government with prying into the personal lives of federal employees. She said they should be allowed to do what they like after working hours and expressed disapproval of after-hours recreational programs. The article stated that both Miss Perkins and Mr. Fleming were in agreement that there is no place in the government for Communists, Fascists, or other disloyal elements. They also agree that government employees do not have the right to strike against the government.

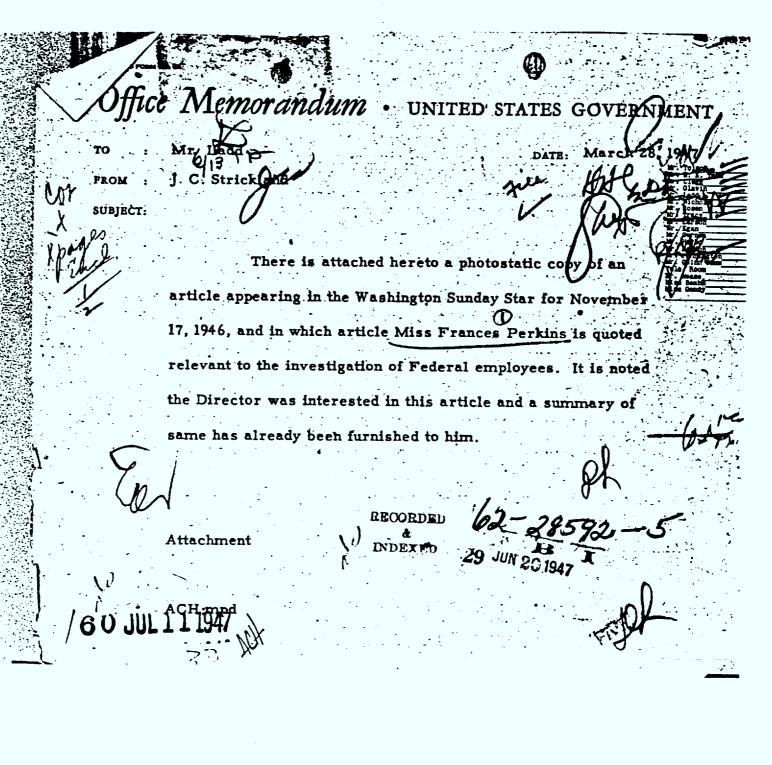
According to the article, Miss Perkins has not expressed herself against the Hatch Act, whatever her personal feelings may be, and she is quoted as saying, "The law is the law and we must enforce it." According to the article, Miss Perkins has accused the civil Service Commission of asking impertinent and uncalled for questions on its application blanks, particularly about physical defects. The article states, further, that she is also opposed to "snooping" investigators checking up on federal officeholders and job applicants and she is quoted as commenting, "What does it matter if a man entertains ladies in his room?"

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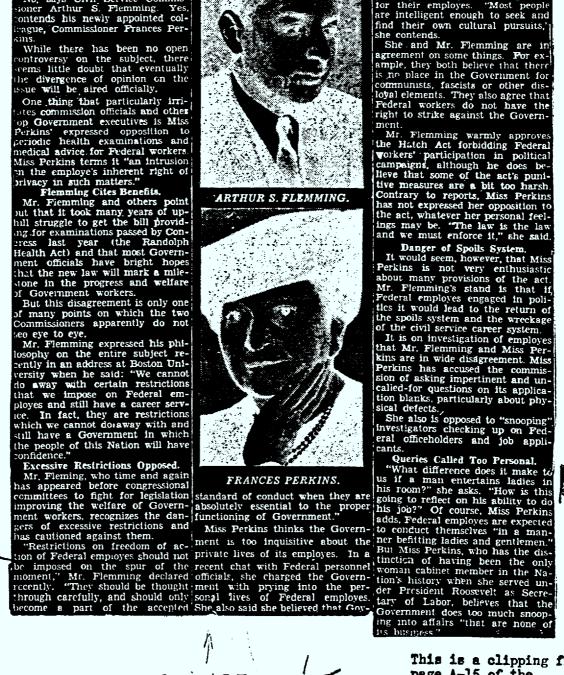
D. C., NOVEMBER• 17, 1946

Miss Perkins Opposes Flemming on Issue Of Personal Freedom for U. S. Employes

By Joseph Young
Do Federal employes have the right to conduct their lives with as much personal freedom as other

No, says Civil Service Commissioner Arthur S. Flemming. Yes, contends his newly appointed colinague, Commissioner Frances Per-





ernment workers should be allowed to do what they like after working hours, within reason.

hours, within reason.

Recreation Program Hit.

Miss Perkins disapproves the after-office-hours recreation programs planned by Federal agencies for their employes. "Most people are intelligent enough to seek and find their own cultural pursuits," she contends.

She and Mr. Flemming are in agreement on some things. For example, they both believe that there is no place in the Government for communists, fascists or other disloyal elements. They also agree that Federal workers do not have the right to strike against the Government.

62-285-92.

This is a clipping from page A-15 of the Sunday Star for 11-17-46 Clipped at the Seat of Government_

thereough investigations are needed to weed out Pascists. Communists and fellow-travelers who seek to infiltrate into the Government.

The people of the United States have a right to demand that the Government be free of subvernate elements." Mr. Flemming said. He is concerned whenever investigators to beyond their prerogatives in making inquiries, but he believes that there are few such instances.

Further Restrictions Urged.

Mr. Flemming also believes that the Federal employe's freedom nutting the restricted further "by those principles which are an integral part of a developing code of ethics in the Federal service." For example, Mr. Flemming says that a Government employe cannot substitute his views for those who, at a particular moment, are charged by the American people to formulate policy.

"His freedom of action is restricted to the extent that he must subordinate his own views to do the best of the extent that he must subordinate his own views to do the best of the extent that he must subordinate his own views to do the best of the extent that he must subordinate his own views to do the best of the extent that he must subordinate his own views to do the best of the extent that he must subordinate his own views to do the best of the extent that he must subordinate his own views to do the best of the extent that he must subordinate his own views to do the best of the extent that he must subordinate his own views to do the best of the extent has a requirement that possible job of administering a policy with which he may be in complete disagreement," Mr. Flemming said.

Another thing that Mr. Flemming said.

Another thing that Mr. Flemming said.

For example, the mist subordinate his open of the first of the continuate his own views to do the best of the policy of the policy of the policy of the continuation of the first of the continuation of the law the his constitutional right to talk policy of the continuation of the c

THE ATTORIKY CHEMPAL

BIRECTOR, FEE

PRANCES PERSONAL VILSON

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN 125/15 EY PL byatte

Beforence is made to the call of Mrs. Frances Erell of your Office on lugact 4. 1948, requesting information concerning Frances Perkins. Set that below is a summary of information relating to her. For your information this Barean has Mil conducted a legalty investigation or any other type of largestigation in connection with Frances Perkins.

L. Beckgroup

Frances Perkins was born in Boston, Massachusetts, en April 10, 1882, the daughter of Frederick V. and Susan Perkins. She received an A.B. Dagree at Mount Molyoke College in 1902, studied at the University of Pennsylvania, received an A.M. Degree from Columbia University in 1910, and received haperery M.B. Degrees from the University of Visconsin and Amberst College in 1933 and 1934, respectively. She married Paul Caldwell Vilsen on September 26, 1913. They have one daughter, Suranne.

Hiss Perkins has held the following positions:

Executive Secretary, Consumers League, New York, 1910-1912.

Lecturer in Socielegy, Adelphi College, 1911.

Executive Secretary, Commission on Safety, New York, 1912-1917.

Director Investigations, New York State Factory Commission, 1912-1913.

Executive Director, New York Council of Organization for War Service.

1917-1919.

Commissioner, New York State Industrial Commission, 1919-1921.

Director of Council on Immigrant Minostion, 1921-1925.

Hember of State Industrial Beard, New York, 1923-1938; Chairman, 1926-1929; Industrial Commissioner, State of New York, 1929-1938.

She was appointed Secretary of Labor on March 4, 1933, and resigned in May of 1945. At the present time she is a member of the Civil Service Commission and resides in Washington, D. C. Who's who 1947 - Current Bire

II. Critician Concerning Hendling of Departation Matters

Mr. Harper L. Knowles, Chairman of the Radical Research Committee of Tolson Abe American Legion. Department of California, on October 25, 1938, made a Clar that the House Committee on Un-American Activities. The following ladd Recommits excerpts from this statement:

TIME 1 20 PM DATE 8-11-05
BY BY BUX

Strand

HOTO NO

"In presenting to the Committee statements and substantiating evidence with respect to the operations of the Department of Immigration and Maturalization, under the centrel of Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins, it is definitely and specifically charged that Madam Perkins has been guilty of develoction of duty in her failure to carry out the laws of the country which in her assumption of office she colemnly assumed and swere to fulfill."

"As further evidence of her failure to discharge the duties of her effice the attention of the Committee is here directed to the fact that for the past five years Secretary of Labor Perkins has withheld the deportation of 2,862 aliens in the expectation that Congress will revise our Insignation and Maturalization laws."

(61-7582 Vol. 3, Copy C, p. 2001).

By letter dated Nevember 15, 1938, Stephen F. Chadwick, at that time Mational Commander of the American Legion, advised Monorable Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor, that the American Legion at its convention held in Los Angeles, California, September 19-22, 1938, had adopted two resolutions. The following are excerpts from these two resolutions:

"Be it resolved by the Entional Convention of the American Legien in convention assembled. That we demand the immediate trial and deportation of Harry Bridges and like undesirable aliens.

"khereas certain efficials of the Department of Labor have failed miserably in the enforcement of laws relative to immigration and deportation;"

"Resolved the American Legion in National Convention at Les Angeles demands that the Congress of the United States investigate the failure of these officials to comply with the existing immigration laws and take such steps as may be necessary to correct this unwarranted failure of duty."

(61-7582 Vol. 4, Copy A, p. 2957).

In an article in the New York "Times" dated July 29, 1940, captioned "Aid to Aliens Laid to Miss Perkins", it was stated that the Matienal Small Businessmen's Association had charged that more than 700 sliens, guilty of deportable affenses, had been granted examption from deportation by Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins. (94-1-7451-A).

There is transmitted herewith as an enclosure to instant memorandum, a copy of a pamphlet entitled "The Impeachment of Frances Perkins". The material in this pamphlet was taken from the Congressional Record for January 1939. It concerns the charge of Mr. Thomas, member of the House of

Representatives from New Jersey, that Frances Perkins, James L. Houghteling and Gerard D. Reilly failed to enforce the immigration laws of the United States engainst Alfred Benton Bryant (Harry) Bridges. It also concerns Hr. Thomas' charge that these individuals unlawfully conspired together to commit offenses against the United States by comming the Strecker case to be appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States. (61-7587-2-10).

III. Miscellaneous

The "Daily Worker" for October 18, 1935, in an article by Seymour Waldman, Washington Bureau of the "Daily Worker", refers to Secretary Perkins having been a member of the Socialist Party fifteen years previous to that time.

(101-255-2 "Daily Worker" for

In an article in the Boston "Evening American" for Movember 3, 1936, it was stated that Percy C. Pryor, Vice President of the International Seamen's Union, charged that the support of Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins was directly responsible for the rise to power of Joseph Curran, Mastern head of the Communist-dominated left-wing faction of the International Seamen's Union. Pryor claimed that Madam Perkins had made Curran a "big shot" in the International Seamen's Union and he referred to a telephone conversation between Curran and Miss Perkins in the spring of 1936 when Curran, in San Pedro, received Miss Perkins' assurance that members of the California's crew would be protected from charges of mutiny growing out of their "walk-off" after they had signed aboard the vessel. Miss Perkins, a few days later, ruled that the action of the crew was not mutiny since it occurred in pert, and that the man had a right to strike in defense of maritime law.

Walter S. Steele of the "Mational Republic", testifying before the House Committee on Un-inerican Activities concerning the American League for Peace and Democracy, stated. The late Henri Barbusse, French Communist, was the founder of this international movement who came to the United States with the permission of Secretary of Labor Perkins to assist in launching the American section."

(21-7582 Copy A, Vol. 1, p. 153).

Mr. Steele submitted to the Committee a memorandum in connection with the Werkers Alliance of America. Contained in this was the following statement:

"With the permission of Secretary of Labor Perkins, Communists and Socialists met in a four-day session in the Labor Department Duilding on Constitution Avenue in Washington, B. C. in 1935. Approximately 900 delegates arrived in the city via trains, busses and automobiles. They stated they were duly elected delegates representing 500,000 or more dues-paying members of the Socialist Workers Alliance of America, the Communist Mational Unemployed Councils, the Estimal Unemployment League (Trotsky Communist movement).

This memorandum indicated that "Mother" Ella Reeve Bleer, "Communist agitator and organizer" and "Herbert Bonjamin (Communist) and David Lasser (Socialist)" were among the speakers who appeared before this group.

The following appeared in an article from the Saturday Evening Post dated July 27, 1940, by Benjamin Stolberg concerning Frances Perkins and her tenure of effice as Secretary of Labor. Stolberg was referring to the Communist penetration into the Department of Labor.

"One of the most astonishing cases of such Communist penetration was that of Mrs. Transes Dallant who became Miss Perkins' confidential file clerk. Mrs. Dallant was born Frances Davis, grandfaughter of President Jefferson Davis of the Confederacy. Dallant is a pseudonym of her husband, Michelas Dozenberg, a member of the Soviet Military Intelligence who has been sentenced to a Federal prison for the use of a false passport."

The article later reflects that Mrs. Dallant filed suit on June 7.
1940, to annul the marriage at which time "she asserted that she did not know that Dozenberg was a Soviet spy". Mear the conclusion of this article Stolberg states:

"Miss Perkins is not a Communist, ner even remotely a Communist sympathiser. She is as true a Democrat in her convictions as I have ever known. But she represents the classic type of soft-minded liberals whom the Stalinists behind the scenes know how to expleit for their ewn purpose. Completely lacking in political astuteness she is incapable of recognizing the protean forms and deviens airhilism of totalitarian technique, or, for that matter, of any oblique strategy."

(39-915 Serial 96 X5 and Saturday Evening Post, July 27, 1940).

"Redam Perkins, Department of Labor, Vashington, D. C.", appeared as a reference on the application dated January 22, 1942, of Dr. Theodere Schmidt which was filed by him for a position with Howard University. It is noted that Dr. Schmidt pleaded guilty to a violation of the Registration Act of 1917, and on Hovember 19, 1943, was sentenced in the United States District Court in Vashington, D. C. to serve from sixteen menths to four years. The sentence was later reduced making him eligible for parele on September 1, 1944. (65-39300-732 and 733).

In an article captioned "Dies Links CIO Sroup to High Federal Aides", appearing in the Washington "Daily Hews" for July 29, 1944, Chairman Dies of the Dies Committee charged "seventy-two Federal employees with being 'in frequent communication' with CIO Felitical Action Committee efficials during recent campaigns." Labor Secretary Frances Perkins was included in this group. (57-407-A)

An article published in the "Berchester Record" on October 19, 1944, revealed that the Homorable Frances Perkins would speak at the Community Church of Besten on October 22, 1944. The article stated that a question period would be held at the close of the service conducted by Boverend Donald Lethrep, Minister of the Community Church. If is noted that considerable data has been made available to you concerning the pro-Communist activities of Reverend Lethrep in reports concerning him and his activities with the Community Church. (100-29870-21).

The "Sunday Star" for November 17, 1946, sarried an article on page 4-15 by Jeseph Toung captioned "Miss Perkins Opposes Florming on Issue of Personal Freedom for U. S. Employees". The article indicates that Miss Perkins (newly appointed to the Civil Service Commission) "thinks the Severament is too inquisitive about the private life of its employees". Young also states that "she also is epposed to "smooping" investigators checking up on Federal office holders and job applicants". (62-28592-5)

Note: It is noted that the Bureau files contain numerous references to Frances Perkins. These largely relate to her activities as Secretary of Labor. The material in instant memorandum has been limited to derogatory information or criticism of Mrs. Perkins.

ر. در سار پاکستان هندورد

OFFICE OF DIRECTOR FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

August 4, 1948

Mr. Tolson_

Mr. Clegg_

Mr. Glavin Mr. Ladd_

Mr. Nichols_ Mr. Rosen_

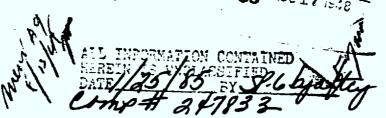
Mr. Tracy Mrs. Frances Kroll in the Mr. Egan Attorney General's Office Mr. Gurnea called to advise that the Mr. Harbo Attorney General desires to Mr. Jones know whether or not we ever Mr. Mohr conducted a loyalty investi-Mr. Pennington_ gation on Frances Perkins.

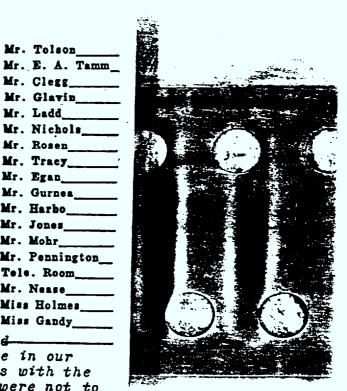
I told her that I felt sure we had not but that I would check Tele. Room. Mr. Nesse Miss Holmes and advise her. She then stated that the Attorney Miss Gandy General would like to be advised

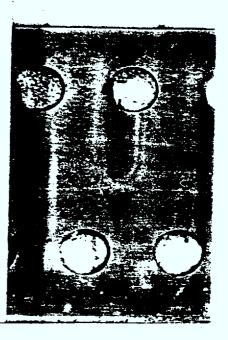
of any information we might have in our files concerning Frances Perkins with the specific understanding that we were not to conduct any investigation concerning her in order to ascertain the information.

Mr. Fletcher has been advised.

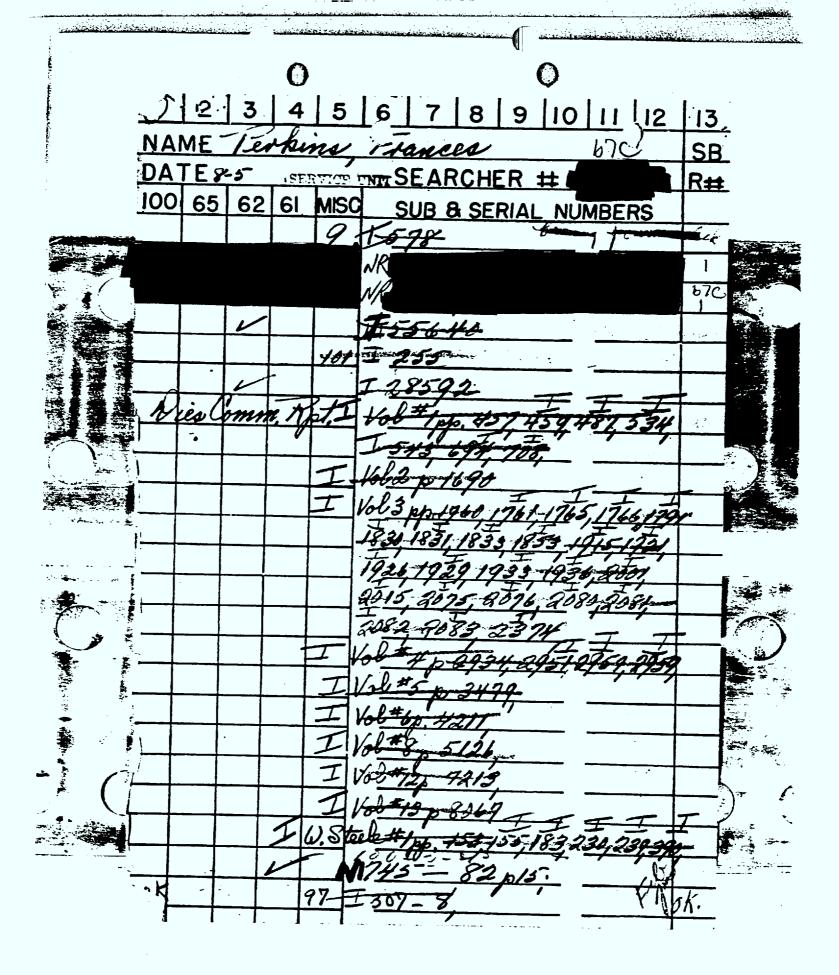
cc - Mr. Fletcher







ice Memorandum UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT MR. D. M. LADD DATE: April 24, 1952 FROM: A. H. Belmon# SUBJECT: URS. FRANCES PERKINS SPECIAL INQUIRY WHITE HOUSE (NAME CHECK) Mr. Donald S. Dawson, Administrative Assistant to the President, called Mr. Roach today and stated that he desired the Bureau files to be checked for subversive derogatory information only on Wrs. Frances Perkins, presently a member of the Civil Service Commission and past Secretary of Labor. <u>Ur. Dawson gave no indication that he had received any derogatory information on Urs. Perkins but indicated that perhaps</u> someone had so stated. Dawson advised that just to make sure that any derogatory information the Bureau may have was in the possession of the White House, he desired this check be made. Wr. Dawson further advised that he desired to see a note from the Bureau indicating the results of the file check. The files of the Bureau are being checked to determine information available in our files suitable for dissemination to the White House. RRR 1100 5 MAY 1 1 1952 90:01



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