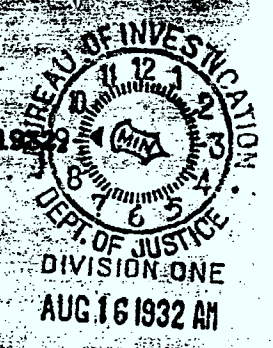


... DIVISION
... referring refer to
P.F. 34141

WAR DEPARTMENT
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF STAFF
WASHINGTON

August 15, 1932



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED
BY ARMY.

ky
Mr. J. E. Hoover,
Director, Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

61-3926

My dear Mr. Hoover:

In compliance with the request contained in your letter of the 11th instant, there are attached hereto copies of the following:

- Telegram addressed to Secretary of War Baker, signed by S. T. Hughes under date of December 30, 1918;
- Letter from Secretary Baker to S. T. Hughes, dated January 14, 1919;
- Letter addressed to Secretary Baker, signed by S. T. Hughes, dated January 29, 1919;
- Letter dated January 28, 1919, beginning "Dear Sam" and signed "Carl."

[Signature]
Wm. H. WILSON,
Colonel, General Staff,
Executive Officer, G-2.

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INDEXED
OCT 25 1932

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BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION	
OCT 22 1932 A.M.	
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE	
DIRECTOR	

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1911-55401-10

P.F. 24141

POP

August 15, 1938.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Mr. J. E. Hoover,
Director, Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Hoover:

In compliance with the request contained in your letter of the 11th instant, there are attached hereto copies of the following:

Telegram addressed to Secretary of War Baker, signed by S. F. Hughes under date of December 22, 1919;

Letter from Secretary Baker to S. F. Hughes, dated January 16, 1919;

Letter addressed to Secretary Baker, signed by S. F. Hughes, dated January 25, 1919;

Letter dated January 28, 1919, beginning "Dear Sam" and signed "S.F.H."

S. F. HUGHES
Colonel, General Staff
Executive Office, A.S.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

COPY

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

RECEIVED AT WAR DEPARTMENT.

B35WCH144 6X

Cleveland, Ohio, Dec. 30, 1918.

Hon. Newton D. Baker,

Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.

Our staff correspondent Carl Sandburg returning from Sweden has been held up by the customs military naval and secret service authorities in New York and all of the property of the Newspaper

Enterprise Association taken from him. This property consisted of

notes books and manuscripts which he had gathered in a neutral country

for this organization. Much of it referred to Finland and to Bolshevism

in Russia and it was gathered for the purpose of publishing such of it

as seemed proper in our judgment. Is it the purpose of the Government

to seize and search a reputable correspondent of a reputable news

organization upon his return to United States from any country on

earth and also to censor and confiscate and prevent publication of news

material brought to this country for a reputable news organization by

a reputable correspondent.

Editor in Chief Newspaper Enterprise Assn.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

100-352978-X1

COPY

January 14, 1919.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Mr. S. T. Hughes,
Newspaper Enterprise Association
Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Mr. Hughes:

There has been an unavoidable delay in answering your telegram of December 30th, due to the necessity of ascertaining facts in the case of Mr. Sandburg.

In reply to your specific inquiry you are advised that the Government has no disposition to subject correspondents to any examinations other than those given to ordinary travelers. It is not understood that you claim for correspondents privileges and immunities superior to those of citizens in general.

Mr. Sandburg, in passing the routine examination, declined to inform the Government of the source of \$10,000 which he carried in drafts, payable to Anteri Nuorteva, the representative in this country of the Finnish revolutionists, and Mr. Nuorteva is equally reticent upon this point.

Mr. Sandburg further has admitted that a large portion of the revolutionary literature contained in his baggage and for which he is unable to furnish translations would, if published in the United States, violate the emergency legislation.

It is clear that these circumstances, created by Mr. Sandburg himself, have delayed the Government in reaching a determination in this case, and caused any inconvenience to which you may have been put.

I feel sure that we may rely on your patriotic co-operation in this matter, as in others, pending the translation of the documents and the decision of the United States Attorney who is handling the case.

Yours very sincerely,

Newton D. Baker

Secretary of War.

ibp

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

100-352-978-X1

COPY

THE NEWSPAPER ENTERPRISE ASSOCIATION

Office of the Editor-in-Chief

West Third St. and Lakeside Ave. . Cleveland, Ohio.

January 27, 1919

Hon. Newton D. Baker,
Secretary of War,
Washington, D. C.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Dear Secretary Baker:-

The enclosed describes a sample of the things our staff correspondent, Carl Sandburg, has to go thru before the Newspaper Enterprise Association can get the material we sent Sandburg after; before we can get our own property.

All I have to say is that I shall instruct Sandburg to write exactly what he thinks proper as our correspondent and I propose then to print what I please of his writings regardless of all the censors in the country and regardless of all the district attorneys in the country.

The trouble is largely that these fellows don't know who Sandburg is. They have learned that he has been a socialist in his earlier days and they think his name is German. He is, in fact, the son of Scandinavian father and mother; he is himself a veteran of the Spanish-American war; he has been a newspaperman for years on Heg Cochran's Chicago Day Book and Victor Lawson's Chicago Daily News and today the best known critics in America such as Amy Lowell, declare in such magazines as The Outlook and Review of Reviews that Carl Sandburg is America's coming poet.

Isn't it fine for the government to treat such a man like a dog of a traitor?

He is going to feel so happy over it the rest of his life and it also makes N.E.A. so very sweet-tempered.

Sincerely,

(Signed) S. J. Hughes

STH-H

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

100-352978-X1

COPY

THE NEWSPAPER ENTERPRISE ASSOCIATION

THE NEW YORK BUREAU
F. M. Kerby, Manager
110 West Fertieth Street
Bryant 1290

Jan. 24, 1919

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Dear Sam:

The authorities have given me one suit case of stuff that they still hold all Swedish and Norwegian socialist and labor papers, and a mass of Russ pamphlets, books, newspapers, and all my written notes. I'm planning to get back to Cleveland this week and spill all I've got and then see about the rest of the stuff. I have some live ones on hand. A letter of the czarina to her man, her last words to him while he was czar. I will watch it for human interest with the wildest confessions of a wife you ever ran.

American and British intelligence officers and an assistant district attorney spent three hours asking questions. Sample interrogations and replies:

"Which group do you personally favor, the Liebknecht-Luxemburg Spartacans or the Ebert-Scheidemann government?"

"Well, I can't say I favor either of them."

"Well, who do you favor? Why are you so reluctant to tell us?"

"If I favor -- as you put it -- if I favor any one group, it is the Haase-Lebedour Independent Socialist group."

"That is not answering our questions strictly. As between the Ebert-Scheidemann group and the Liebknecht-Luxemburg group, which do you favor?"

"I would answer that question by saying I regard Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg as honest fanatics while they lived and martyrs now that they are dead. And I have no other opinion than that Ebert and Scheidemann are the worst kind of crooks in the present government that they were in the government of the Kaiser."

So it goes.

(Signed) Carl

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

100-352978 X1


~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Letter to Director
NY 62-0

The New York Office has never conducted any investigation of CARL SANDBURG, however, there are numerous references to him in the files. According to the "Daily Worker," SANDBURG was a speaker at a Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee dinner held during December, 1944, honoring BILL GROPPER. According to House Committee on Un-American Activity records, SANDBURG was listed as a sponsor in 1938 of the "Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade." In January, 1944, according to the "Daily Worker," SANDBURG was a sponsor of a meeting sponsored by the "New Masses" to honor the cartoonist ART YOUNG.

b7c

b7D

The "World Telegram" of June 6, 1948, listed certain "big name" non-Communists who had been roped in by American reds to aid the World Youth Festival in Prague. CARL SANDBURG was listed as such an individual together with Mrs. WENDELL WILKIE, SINCLAIR LEWIS and others.

The foregoing is being submitted for the Bureau's information. No further action recommended by New York.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

June 25, 1964

CARL SANDBURG
Born: January 6, 1878
Galesburg, Illinois

*fb
cc*

In addition to the enclosed memorandum, our files disclose that

[REDACTED]

b7D

[REDACTED]

b7D

Enclosure

Original & 1-CSC
Request Received-6-23-64

[REDACTED]

oss b7c
(8)

ON 11/23/88 3042 *lwt/PB*

cmp #234,838
Classified by *SPM/llf*
Declassify on: OADR *5/10/84*

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[REDACTED]

3042 332978-10

12 JUN 30 1964

ENCLOSURE

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI, and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency. This is in answer to your request for a check of FBI files.

64 JUL 7 1964

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Report Form 7-73 (2-15-59)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~SECRET~~

REPORTING OFFICE WASHINGTON FIELD	OFFICE OF ORIGIN WASHINGTON FIELD	DATE JUN 12 1959	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 2/23/59 - 5/1/59
TITLE OF CASE [REDACTED] (S) b1 aka.		REPORT MADE BY [REDACTED] b7c	TYPED BY [REDACTED]
CHARACTER OF CASE INTERNAL SECURITY [R] (u)			

REFERENCE

Report of SA [REDACTED] 4/6/59.

CLASSIFIED DECISIONS FINALIZED BY DEPARTMENT REVIEW COMMITTEE (DRG) DATE: 6/23/89 7/10/89 PB

ALL INFORMATION ON THIS PAGE IS CLASSIFIED UNLESS INDICATED OTHERWISE

SURVEILLANCE COVERAGE

Subject was under physical surveillance on the following dates: 2/20, 24; 3/12, 18, 20; 4/7, 16, 27; 5/14/59.

The identities of Special Agents conducting fisurs of which subject was the primary object are contained in WFO file [REDACTED]. The identities of Special Agents who conducted fisurs in which subject figured but was not of prime interest are contained in the following files: [REDACTED]

Classified by sp-scib/...
Declassify on: OADR 5/2/80, 281, 58

APPROVED	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW
COPIES MADE: 5-Bureau 2-New York 3-Washington	[REDACTED] (S) b1	[REDACTED] b1
AGENCY	REQ. REC'D	REC-76
DATE FORW.	15 JUN 1959	EX-15

COPIES DESTROYED

50 JUN 22 1959

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WFO

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The "New York Times," a NYC daily newspaper, carried an article in its August 8, 1955, edition on page 9, which read in part under the caption, "73 ASK NEW VIEW IN TRIALS OF REDS. President Eisenhower was asked to reconsider the prosecution of alleged communists under the Smith Act, particularly prosecution for mere membership in the Party. (u)

"73 American intellectuals, consisting mostly of universal scholars and clergymen, made public an open letter to the President and Attorney General HERBERT BROWNELL, JR. citing their 'increasing concern' at recent Smith Act prosecutions." (u)

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They said their concern "derived from the fact that the indictments and testimony point to the painful conclusion that the trials are not for 'conspiracy to teach and advocate the overthrow of the government by force and violence,' but for opinions; not for overt actions, but for political thoughts." (u)

b7c

[REDACTED]

CARL SANDBURG

[REDACTED]

b1



WFO

b1

[REDACTED]

~~SECRET~~

(S)

[REDACTED]

b1

ALL INFORMATION ON THIS
PAGE IS CLASSIFIED UNLESS
OTHERWISE INDICATED

[REDACTED]

The 1958-1959 edition of "Who's Who in America" reflects CARL SANDBURG to be a noted and honored poet and author. His home address is Flat Rock, North Carolina.

(S)

B. APPROX

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[REDACTED]

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~~SECRET~~

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Section 552

Section 552a

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(d)(5)

(b)(2)

(b)(7)(B)

(j)(2)

(b)(3)

(b)(7)(C)

(k)(1)

(b)(7)(D)

(k)(2)

(b)(7)(E)

(k)(3)

(b)(7)(F)

(k)(4)

(b)(4)

(b)(8)

(k)(5)

(b)(5)

(b)(9)

(k)(6)

(b)(6)

(k)(7)

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Moscow Conversation . . . By Roscoe Drummond

Distinguished Americans Ready to Talk

WHEN THE American exhibition opens in Moscow this fall, a panel of distinguished U. S. citizens will set out to prove that the art of conversation has not been lost — if the Russian visitors are willing to question and to listen.



We don't yet know whether or how much the Russians will feel free to question and to listen, but we are going to find out by giving Soviet citizens an unexampled opportunity to ask anything they want of Americans qualified to answer. These Americans will not be government officials.

What the U. S. Information Agency is arranging is to have about 20 well-known figures from the arts, industry, journalism, science, and the professions available during the six-week period of the exhibition—and ready to submit themselves to cross-examination from their Soviet counterparts or from other visitors.

The thing that would make the interviews perhaps not too agreeable to the Soviet officials is that they would be public. These conversations would go on live, closed-circuit color television (the Russians do not yet have color TV) and could be seen and heard on 25 TV viewing screens throughout the exhibition grounds.

Wouldn't it be fun to listen to a real good "conversation" on literary freedom between Thomas Mann, John Galsworthy, and the Russians? Or to hear the Russians' views on the American Bar Association, which might stir up a little Soviet support—or, at least curiosity—for his crusade for world peace through law? Dedicated to put the World Court on better use than President Roosevelt's family name is esteemed in Russia, and Young Men's Party of Chicago, Hall and Howell would be excellent industrial representatives.

The USIA has not yet filled the roster of conversationalists it hopes to have in Moscow. Several have already arranged to be there and they include Carl Sandburg, the poet and Lincoln biographer; Edward Steichen, the dean of all photographers, whose famous exhibit "The Family Man" will be on view; Edwin D. Canham, who, as president of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce and editor of the Christian Science Monitor, will deal with both business and newspaper questions; Walt Disney, who will be showing his updated Russian dialogue "Toby Across the U. S.," in cirarama, a 360-degree movie in the round; and Buckminster Fuller, the architect-engineer whose geodesic dome 79 feet high, 200 feet in diameter

will be the focal point of the exhibition.

It is easy to think of others who would interest and intrigue the fair-goers. David McDonald, president of the Steel Workers of America, has said he would like to attend—and that would be good. Since two Soviet cartoonists attended the annual convention of U. S. editorial cartoonists last year, it would be highly appropriate for The Washington Post's Herblock to be on-hand explaining how and why he can be pointedly critical of President Eisenhower and Premier Khrushchev at the same time. Lawyer Joseph Welch of Boston would be a good representative of the legal profession. Charles S. Rhyme, past president of the American Bar Association, might stir up a little Soviet support—or, at least curiosity—for his crusade for world peace through law. Dedicated to put the World Court on better use than President Roosevelt's family name is esteemed in Russia, and Young Men's Party of Chicago, Hall and Howell would be excellent industrial representatives.

their own spokesmen. They won't even get their fare paid to Moscow.

UNLESS, as a result of acrimony at the Geneva conference, a new chill closes around Soviet-U. S. relations, the American exhibition will enable many thousands of Russians to get a closer view of America and Americans.

U. S. teachers and students who have been studying in Moscow and Leningrad report intensive Soviet interest in learning about America from Americans. If the Moscow exhibition is not too risky a public exposure of this interest on the part of the Soviet public, it should pay good dividends in a new kind of people-to-people contact. This won't solve the cold war, but it can mope it.

UNLESS, as a result of acrimony at the Geneva conference, a new chill closes around Soviet-U. S. relations, the American exhibition will enable many thousands of Russians to get a closer view of America and Americans.

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- Tolson _____
- Belmont _____
- DeLoach _____
- McGuire _____
- Mohr _____
- Parsons _____
- Rosen _____
- Tamm _____
- Trotter _____
- W.C. Sullivan _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holloman _____
- Gandy _____

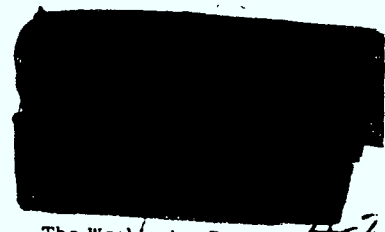
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105-77346-A

NOT RECORDED
126 JUN 1 1959

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- The Washington Post and Times Herald _____
- The Washington Daily News _____
- The Evening Star _____
- New York Herald Tribune _____
- New York Journal-American _____
- New York Mirror _____
- New York Daily News _____
- New York Post _____
- The New York Times _____
- The Worker _____
- The New Leader _____
- The Wall Street Journal _____
- Date 5/27/59

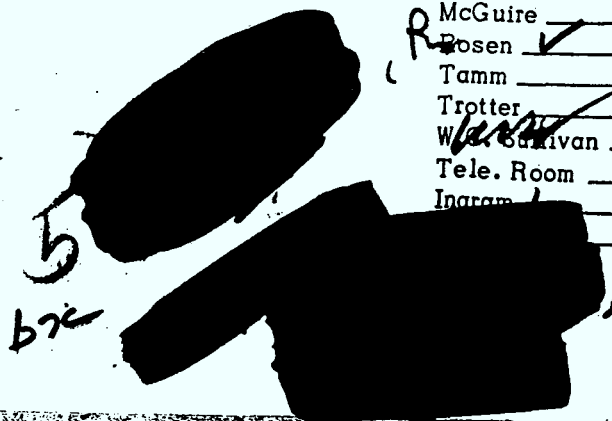
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6 JUN 5 1959

VISIT OF AMERICAN EXHIBITION COMMITTEE TO U.S.S.R.
JULY 4 - OCT. 4, 1959

105-77346
file 5-748

Tolson ✓
 Mohr ✓
 Parsons ✓
 Belmont ✓
 Callahan ✓
 DeLoach ✓
 Malone ✓
 McGuire ✓
 Rosen ✓
 Tamm ✓
 Trotter ✓
 W.C. Sullivan ✓
 Tele. Room
 Ingram

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 DATE 12/21/82 BY 30850/dld



API-84 (CUBA)

A NEW GROUP WHICH HARSHLY CRITICIZED U.S. NEWS COVERAGE OF THE FIDEL CASTRO REGIME WAS ORGANIZED WITH HELP OF CUBAN CONSULAR OFFICIALS IN NEW YORK, DIPLOMATIC SOURCES SAID HERE TODAY.

THE GROUP, WHICH CALLS ITSELF THE FAIR PLAY FOR CUBA COMMITTEE AND IS HEADED BY AUTHOR WALDO FRANK, PLACED AN ADVERTISEMENT IN THE NEW YORK TIMES YESTERDAY. IT DENIED CASTRO'S GOVERNMENT HAS COMMUNIST TIES AND THAT AMERICAN PROPERTY HAD BEEN CONFISCATED IN CUBA. IT ACCUSED THE U.S. PRESS OF "SOPHISTRY OF JOURNALISTIC FACTS WHICH DISTORT THE TRUTH."

DIPLOMATIC SOURCES HERE SAID OFFICIALS OF THE CUBAN CONSULATE IN NEW YORK MET WITH A SMALL GROUP OF INDIVIDUALS THE WEEKEND OF MARCH 19. THEY SAID IT WAS DECIDED THEN TO FORM A PRO-CUBAN GROUP IN THIS COUNTRY TO BE CALLED "AMERICAN FRIENDS OF CUBA."

A FEW DAYS LATER, SOURCES SAID, A LARGER GROUP WAS INVITED TO ATTEND A SECOND MEETING AT THE CONSULATE ON APRIL 1.

THERE WAS NO INFORMATION HERE WHETHER IT ACTUALLY TOOK PLACE. FRANK WAS AMONG THOSE SAID TO HAVE BEEN INVITED.

A CUBAN CONSULAR OFFICIAL WAS QUOTED AS SAYING THE CUBAN GOVERNMENT PLANNED TO TAKE "A NEW APPROACH" IN ITS RELATIONS WITH THIS COUNTRY BY FORMING A GROUP HERE WHICH WOULD TELL CUBA'S SIDE OF THE STORY.

MEANWHILE, IT WAS LEARNED THE FAIR PLAY COMMITTEE HAD ASKED A GROUP OF PROMINENT AMERICANS, INCLUDING MRS. ELEANOR ROOSEVELT AND FORMER U.S. SENATOR HERMAN CANNAN OF NEW YORK TO SIGN THEIR NAMES TO YESTERDAY'S ADVERTISEMENT, BUT THEY REFUSED.

OTHERS SOLICITED FOR USE OF THEIR NAMES, BUT WHO REFUSED, WERE PUERTO RICAN GOV. LUIS MUNOZ MARIN, AUTHOR VAN NICK BROOKS, EDWARD WILSON, CARL SANDBURG, ERNEST HEMMINGWAY, LEWIS HUNFORD AND NERVO THE LANEYTON RUCKER.

REC-78 97-4196-A
 NOT RECORDED
 167 APR 14 1960

APR 18 1960

WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Grit

Check 62-5-9127

REC-20 62-5-9127

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19 Referred
20 to
21 another
22 agency
24

Classified by *226 WFB/JO*
Declassify on: *OADP 7-30-84*
#244-541

SECRET

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Evans
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- Name Check Section

September 5, 1961

BY COURIER SERVICE

CC TO: [REDACTED]
 REQ. REC'D: [REDACTED]
 APR 14 1966
 ANS. BY: *Oak 1/10/77*

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

My dear [REDACTED]

there were furnished to you the results of the reviews of FBI files concerning sixty-nine of these persons. The file reviews concerning the remaining eleven individuals have been completed and there are attached memoranda regarding the following persons:

[REDACTED]

Carl Sandburg

[REDACTED]

BY COURIER SVC.
 5 6 SEP - 5
 COMM - FBI

Upon removal of the classified enclosure, this communication may be declassified.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

- Tolson
- Belmont
- Mohr
- Callahan
- Conrad
- DeLoach
- Evans
- Malone
- Rosen
- Sullivan
- Tavel
- Trotter
- Tele. Room
- Holmes
- Gandy

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Enclosures

DATE 8/23/84 BY 91NS WFB/JO
#244-541
Per Release

SECRET

55 SEP 18 1961

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 OTHERWISE

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
 - 1 - Mr. Evans
 - 1 - Mr. Rosen
 - 1 - Name Check Section
- September 1, 1961

Summary

CARL SANDBURG

D.C.

Albert Eugene Kahn, a writer who has been active in communist activities since the early 1940's, has completed a new book entitled, "Notes On A National Scandal," which he is currently seeking to publish in the United States. This book is aimed primarily at discrediting and condemning the use by the Government of "informer-witnesses." Information was received by this Bureau that Carl Sandburg, internationally known American writer, poet and a Pulitzer Prize winner in 1950, reportedly would write the introduction to Kahn's new book. No additional information has been received identifying the actual writer of this introduction.

The files of this Bureau reveal that the name of Carl Sandburg was listed in 1939 as a sponsor of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade (VALB).

In 1942 and 1944 Carl Sandburg reportedly was a speaker or guest of several affairs sponsored by the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee (JAFRC).

The VALB and JAFRC have been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

In 1945 Carl Sandburg was listed as a sponsor of the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions (ICCASP), Midwest Division.

The ICCASP has been cited as a communist front organization by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. (62-5-section 60 serial 3234)

Referred to another agency

b7c

[Redacted] 9-5-61 [Redacted] fjb.

- Tolson _____
- Belmont _____
- Mohr _____
- Callahan _____
- Conrad _____
- DeLoach _____
- Malone _____
- Rosen _____
- Sullivan _____
- Tavel _____
- Trotter _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holmes _____
- Gandy _____

b7c fjb

1 cc to CSC 6/25/64 [Redacted] b7c

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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- Deleted under exemption(s) b1 with no segregable material available for release to you.
- Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
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Report dated 6/12/59.

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: March 9, 1961

FROM : SAC, DETROIT [REDACTED] b7c

SUBJECT: [REDACTED] b7c
INFORMATION CONCERNING

#281,584
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/29/87 BY Sp-Sci/STP

Re Detroit letter to Bureau dated February 7, 1961, captioned, [REDACTED] SM - C, and Bureau letter to Detroit dated February 27, 1961, captioned as above. b7c

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are five copies of a letterhead memorandum captioned, [REDACTED] INFORMATION CONCERNING". b7c

The sources utilized in attached letterhead memorandum are as follows: b7c

[REDACTED] SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR ADD. DISSEMINATION. b7c

[REDACTED]

Since the submission of referenced Detroit letter, additional information has been received in this case in the form of a letter to the editor of the Battle Creek, Michigan, "Enquirer and News" submitted by WALTER H. MC ELDOWNEY. b7c

This information has been included in attached letterhead memorandum along with pertinent information extracted from referenced Detroit letter. b7c

No further investigation is being conducted at Detroit at this time.

- 2 - Bureau (Encls. 10)
- 1 - Detroit (RM)

ENCLOSURE

MCT-19

REC-54

13 MAR 13 1961

62 MAR 31 1961 SEE REVERSE SIDE

Handwritten notes:
02/11/61
p
b7c

UNREC COPY AND

Re: [REDACTED] b7c

Calif "Asked about the FBI findings, that Douglas Wachter, a University of California student, was a Communist, the couple seemed to attach no significance to that fact. Wachter was one of the uncooperative witnesses called by the House committee. The California student newspaper, in an inflammatory report of the 'rally' against the committee the day before the hearings started, made no mention of the FBI findings that the 19-year-old Wachter belonged to the Communist party as does his father.

"'Operation Abolition' is the name given by the Communist party to its attempts to have the House Committee abolished, to weaken the FBI, to discredit J. Edgar Hoover and to undermine the nation's security laws. The PTSA panel members took some of their material from Hoover's report 'Communist Target-Youth,' in which the FBI director said, 'Channeled into proper outlets, this force (youth) can accomplish immeasurable good for a peace-loving world. Manipulated into destructive channels, this force can create chaos.'"

The U of M "The Michigan Daily", January 20, 1961 edition, on page four, columns three and five, contained an article captioned, "The Anti-Liberal Sentiment: Fear of Being Different Exists", carrying the byline, "Kenneth McEldowney, Associate City Editor". This article is as follows:

"McCarthyism is not dead; there still exists in the minds of people an irrational fear of un-Americanism, of Communism. It is still not accepted, or even safe, for one to speak out against the actions of J. Edgar Hoover, head of the FBI, or the House Un-American Activities Committee. If he dares to, he will be branded at best as a Communist dupe.

"This was all brought to light quite clearly on Tuesday night when I and a friend traveled to Battle Creek to speak out against the film 'Operation Abolition' which deals with the demonstrations against the May HUAC hearings in San Francisco. I wished to speak at the program being sponsored by the PTA.

Re: [REDACTED] b7c

"The person in charge of the program feared that my presence on the panel, which was to comment on Communism, would cause disorder and demonstrations. My representative, August Johansen (R-Mich) a member of HUAC, said that if I appeared on the panel that he would fly down from Washington to speak against me.

"Finally the PTA decided against having me appear on the panel, but assured me that the panel would present fairly both sides of the problem of public safety as opposed to private rights in regards to the Communist threat and HUAC.

"After the movie was shown, the four panelists said, as do Hoover and the Committee, that the students involved were either Communists or Communist dupes and that the Communist threat must be combated at all costs. One panelist even advocated a preventative war to save the world for democracy. The side of the students, who believe they were demonstrating against a force in the United States, HUAC, that is detrimental to true democracy and freedom of speech, was not given.

"Following the panel discussions the chairman asked if there were any questions from the audience. I stood up and gave the student's argument against the film that has been repeated by the Washington Post, the Reporter and other national publications. The first response I received from the audience was a highly indignant man rising to shout, 'I don't have to listen to this kind of stuff.' He then stalked from the room followed closely by approximately 20 others.

"After giving panel members and one member of the audience a chance to praise HUAC, cite the threat of Communism and ridicule the period of time I have had to read of the Communist threat the chairman closed the meeting.

"Following the meeting, I was subjected to comments such as 'Why don't you go to Russia and talk to Khrushchev. He'll take your side,' or, 'We should run you out of town on a rail,' or 'This is democracy, you can't talk that way.' These comments combined with the wondering stares

Re: [REDACTED] b7c

"of all those in the audience who wished to be able to tell their grandchildren what a 'Communist' looked like were very disquieting.

"It's very easy to live for nine months a year in a University community and voice your ideas, all the time believing that others understand and agree with you. But once you remove yourself from the artificially well-informed community and transport yourself to a typical medium-sized Michigan town the situation is radically different.

"In a town such as Battle Creek there is only one newspaper, most of the citizens are either men who work in one of the factories or wives of factory workers. Their access to information includes their newspaper and maybe one or two picture magazines.

"Unfortunately, many of the other citizens of perhaps higher education and social position appear to have the same lack of information.

"For them the Communist threat becomes very real as they near someone who is better educated or in a position of some influence assures them that there is a very real danger. They do not question what they are told by either these people or statements issued by the government.

"For these reasons such a movie as 'Operation Abolition' commands great attention and an almost reverent respect. After all, this is a film that was approved by a committee of our government, how could it not tell the entire truth?

"When they hear statements counter to their accepted belief their automatic reaction is to assert that these were spoken by either a Communist or his dupe. They do not attempt to listen to the reasoning or the facts as presented. Their conditioning forces them to disbelieve totally.

Re: [REDACTED] b7c

"In such an atmosphere films such as 'Operation Abolition' thrive. They are either believed or else those who can see through them so greatly fear being branded a subversive they refuse to voice their convictions.

"At the meeting I received no support publically. After the meeting a student-teacher from Michigan State University came up and said that she agreed. Other open-minded citizens showed interest the next day through conversations and phone calls. This is very encouraging.

"However, the great majority of the country still remains in the dark both on the issue of the conflict between the private and the public. There is too great a tendency on the part of most to forget the rights of the individual in the wake of supposed dangers to the safety of the nation. For them, it is desirable to restrict liberties in the face of danger. This is something that few will deny. The issue is whether or not there is sufficient danger to justify the abridgement of liberties. I believe there is not.

"'Operation Abolition' and publications such as the Hoover Report and others are designed to persuade the public that such a situation does exist.

"As long as people remain uninformed, it will be possible for personal liberties to be removed in the name of freedom."

The Battle Creek "Enquirer & News", February 1, 1961 edition, on page six in the Letters to the Editor column contained the following:

"Editor, Enquirer and News:

"As the father of Kenneth McEldowney, the University of Michigan student who was involved in the controversy arising out of the recent showing of the film 'Operation Abolition' before a local PTA group, may I be granted sufficient space to try to put the whole matter in what I think is its proper perspective?

Re: [REDACTED] b7c

"In the first place, what is primarily at issue here is the fundamental American principle of free speech. Under our Constitution, any citizen has the right to express his views, however unpopular, short of those that are slanderous, affect the public safety, offend public decency, or constitute 'a clear and present danger' to the country. This is probably the most significant difference between the American and Russian political systems. To the extent this difference is narrowed -- to the extent we adopt the very tactics that are so repugnant to us -- we weaken to that extent the fight to maintain our freedom.

"Beyond this, American fair play dictates that we give even to those with whom we may violently disagree, the courtesy of attention and, unless the evidence to the contrary is overwhelming, not to impugn either their intelligence or motives. Indeed, to do otherwise inhibits the exercise of free speech, whereas to remain a vigorous and domestic society we must encourage it.

"In this context I would like to review what happened at the meeting in question. My son had asked but was denied permission to appear on the program. However, although comments were not directly solicited by the chairman, Kenneth was permitted to ask a question from the floor. When he indicated that some respectable publications had reported that this film, sponsored by the House Un-American Activities Committee, did not show the true picture of the demonstration against the committee hearings in California, a member of the audience (as you reported) shouted: 'We don't have to listen to that stuff' and left the room, followed by others. After the meeting, remarks such as 'Why don't you go to Russia?' 'We should run you out of town on a rail!' and 'This is a democracy, you can't talk like that!' were directed at my son.

"Secondly, let us consider the substance of my son's remarks: They were limited to those that have been expressed by responsible, patriotic organizations and publications. Among these are the American Civil Liberties Union, to which both President Kennedy and former Vice-President Nixon have addressed statements firmly approving its broad objectives; the Washington

Re: [REDACTED] b7c

"Post, recognized as the most influential newspaper in the nation's capital, and hence possibly in the world; and Reporter magazine, which numbers among its subscribers Secretary of Defense McNamara and Secretary of State Rusk, and for which President Kennedy has written at least one article.

"Only last week the syndicated columnist Marquis Childs raised questions about the propriety of this controversial film being shown to military personnel. He stated that although the film is strongly supported in the information and education office of the Department of Defense, 'a report on the film prepared by the general counsel's office in (the Department of) Defense said that the House committee seemed to have encouraged the riots with the apparent end of showing how grave the opposition to the committee hearings was.' Mr. Childs also reported that 'after looking into the circumstances, State Department officials said they were uninterested' in showing the film to their employes.

"In the light of these questions about the film from reputable sources, there would appear to be some doubt about whether your account of the meeting at Central High School met the highest journalistic standards from the standpoint of objectivity, since almost one-third of your news item was devoted to quotations from an FBI report tending to support the film and the committee, with no indication being given of the nature and substance of the adverse criticisms."

250 }
* "The Washington Post has gone so far as to urge that the House Committee on Un-American Activities be abolished. Hundreds of well-known citizens signed a petition recently also calling for abolition of the committee. The signers included prominent persons from all areas of American life, such as Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, the eminent theologians Harry Emerson Fosdick and Reinhold Niebuhr, and the Pulitzer prize-winning poet and Lincoln scholar, Carl Sandburg. Whether they are right or wrong, these critics of the committee consider that some individuals summoned before it have in effect been put on trial without the judicial safeguards prescribed by the Constitution.

Re: [REDACTED] b7c

"These critics contend that if such individuals are in fact guilty and yet cannot successfully be brought to trial, the laws should be changed and that the making of such legislative recommendations is the true function of the committee.

"Your editorial of Jan. 19 on the subject of the PTA meeting deplored the failure of the University of Michigan to provide guidance that would keep students such as my son from becoming misled and hence involved in such 'risky political flirtations.' On this point I might mention that Kenneth is a senior majoring in political science, and is associate city editor of the Michigan Daily. I have found that, regardless of his youth (to which the PTA panel seemed to attach significance), he is very well informed about Communist front organizations and their machinations, and I think is as concerned about the over-all Communist menace as any person in Battle Creek. In any event, in view of the authorities which support his side of the controversy, the soundness of your editorial conclusions would seem to open to some question.

"I do not think any of us, or the government itself, has the complete answer as to the best methods of fighting the Soviet threat in all of its manifestations. The complexity of the problem demands informed opinion and the clearest possible understanding of the people. This can only be achieved by reading and listening to all sides of the issues, and by intelligent discussion and debate.

"Let us not become so obsessed with our fears that we equate honest criticisms of some of the methods being used to meet the threat, with aid and comfort to the enemy. Let us never reach the point in this country where, as is the case in the Soviet Union, any element or agency of government is immune from informed criticism by the people it serves, and this applies even to a congressional committee or the FBI. Let us remember that these agencies, after all, are made up of human beings, who, like the rest of us, are not always infallible. --
WALTER H. McELDOWNEY, Route 4, Box 815."

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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*encl
#27*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 11, 1959

Personal and Confidential

Handwritten scribbles

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Will you please run rush name checks on the individuals listed below

[Redacted]

b5 per White House

Biographical information is enclosed.

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Carl Sandberg -

[Redacted]

b7c

b7c

*34 cds
3/26*

Sincerely,

Henry Roemer McPhee
Associate Special Counsel
to the President

Handwritten mark

ENCLOSURE

The Honorable J. Edgar Hoover
Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

REC-76

62-5-3234

20 MAR 24 1959

EX-136

NAME CHECK

190-55701-8

*See memo
White House
3/16/59 GUB*

ENCLOSURE

CARL SANDBURG

N.J.
Mass.
conv 1304
ny
pa.
D.C.
H.

Born: January 6, 1878, Galesburg, Illinois

Education: Student Lombard College, Galesburg, 1898-1902; Litt. D., 1928; Litt. D., Knox College, 1929, Northwestern University, 1931, Harvard University, Yale University, New York University, Wesleyan University and Lafayette College, 1940, Syracuse University and Dartmouth College, 1941; LL. D., Rollins College, 1941, Augustana College, 1948, University of Illinois, 1953; Ph. D., Uppsala University, 1950

Marital Status: Married

Acres in Rico
Philippine Islands

Experience:
1910-12 - Secretary to mayor of Milwaukee, Wisconsin
1913- Associate editor System Magazine, Chicago
1918- Newspaper Enterprise Association, Stockholm correspondence
Editorial writer, Chicago Daily News
1928- P. B. K. poet, Harvard
1943- P. B. K. poet, William & Mary College
1934- Lecturer University of Hawaii
1940- Six lectures Walgreen Foundation, University of Chicago
1942- Made Office War Information foreign broadcasts; wrote captions for Road to Victory mural photograph show
Home in Flat Rock, North Carolina

Author: Chicago Poems, 1915; Corn Huskers, 1918; The Chicago Race Riots, 1919; Smoke and Steel, 1920; Slabs of the Sunburnt West, 1922; Rootabaga Stories, 1922; Rootabaga Pigeons, 1923; Abraham Lincoln - The Prairie Years, 1926; The American Songbag, 1927; Good Morning, America, 1928; Steichen the Photographer, 1929; Potato Face, 1930; Early Moon, 1930; The People, Yes, 1926; Abraham Lincoln: The War Years (four volumes), 1939; One volume edition of Abraham Lincoln, The Prairie Years (new material), 1954; Prairie Town Boy (juvenile), 1955. Co-author: (with Paul M. Angle) Mary Lincoln, Wife and Widow; (with Frederick Hill Meserve) The Photographs of Abraham Lincoln, 1944
And many others.

Contributor weekly column to newspapers of Chicago Times Syndicate during World War II. Narrator "Cavalcade of America" and other radio programs.

62-5-3234
ENCLOSURE

(21)

91305

CARL SANDBURG continued

Awards:

- 1914 - Awarded Levinson's Prize, Poetry Magazine
- 1919-21 - Shared half Poetry Society of America prize
- 1950- Recipient of the Pulitzer Prize for poetry
- 1952-53 - Gold medal for history, American Academy of Arts and Letters
- 1953- Gold medal for poetry, Poetry Letters Society of America
- 1954- Silver medal, New York Civil War Round Table
- 1955- Award of Merit, University Louisville
- 1953- Tamiment Institute award for Always the Young Strangers

Military experience: Served as private Co. C., 6th Illinois Volunteers, 1898, active service Puerto Rico

Political Affiliations:

Home: Flat Rock, North Carolina

PRESENT POSITION: Writer

Gri
ST

62-5-9127

EX-105

19 Released
20
21 per
22 white
23 House
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b5

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Evans
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- Name Check Section

~~SECRET~~

September 5, 1961

BY COURIER SERVICE

Classified by *WAB/JSW*
Declassify on: *OADR 7-30-84*
#244-541

Honorable P. Kenneth O'Donnell
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

CC TO: [redacted]
REQ. REC'D. *0-5-66*
APR 14 1966
ANS. *Jak 1/10*
BY: [redacted]

My dear Mr. O'Donnell:

Reference is made to your letter of August 25, 1961, requesting name checks concerning eighty individuals in connection with [redacted] letters dated August 30, August 31 and September 1, 1961. There were furnished to you the results of the reviews of FBI files concerning sixty-nine of these persons. The file reviews concerning the remaining eleven individuals have been completed and there are attached memoranda regarding the following persons:

[redacted]
Carl Sandburg

DECLASSIFIED ON *7/30/84*
5269 WAB/JSW
#244-541
SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

BY COURIER SVC.
56 SEP - 5
COMM-FBI

Upon removal of the classified enclosure, this communication may be declassified.

- Tolson
- Belmont *25*
- Mohr
- Callahan
- Conrad
- DeLoach
- Evans
- Malone
- Rosen
- Sullivan
- Tavel
- Trotter
- Tele. Room
- Gandy

ENCLOSURE ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE *8/23/84* BY *91NS WAB/JSW*

Enclosures (7)

Per Release

~~SECRET~~

SEP 16 1961

TELETYPE UNIT CONFIDENTIAL

b7c

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Evans
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Name Check Section

September 1, 1961

Summary

CARL SANDBURG

B.C.

b7c

Albert Eugene Kahn, a writer who has been active in communist activities since the early 1940's, has completed a new book entitled, "Notes On A National Scandal," which he is currently seeking to publish in the United States. This book is aimed primarily at discrediting and condemning the use by the Government of "informer-witnesses." Information was received by this Bureau that Carl Sandburg, internationally known American writer, poet and a Pulitzer Prize winner in 1950, reportedly would write the introduction to Kahn's new book. No additional information has been received identifying the actual writer of this introduction.

The files of this Bureau reveal that the name of Carl Sandburg was listed in 1939 as a sponsor of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade (VALB).

In 1942 and 1944 Carl Sandburg reportedly was a speaker or guest of several affairs sponsored by the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee (JAFRC).

The VALB and JAFRC have been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

In 1945 Carl Sandburg was listed as a sponsor of the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions (ICCASP), Midwest Division.

The ICCASP has been cited as a communist front organization by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. (62-5-section 60 serial 3234)

Released per White House

Enclosure to letter to White House 9-5-61 [redacted] fjb.

- Tolson _____
- Belmont _____
- Mohr _____
- Callahan _____
- Parad _____
- Roach _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Nease _____
- Gandy _____

b7c [redacted] fjb

1 cc to CSC 6/25/64 [redacted] *b7c*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 2/1/82 BY SP4 BT
9127 7/30/84 8269WF
#244-51

19
MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

62-5

8 3
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 25, 1961

Dear Courtney:

Name Checks

Attached is a list of people on whom we would like name checks. Is there any possibility of getting them by Wednesday, August 30th?

Many thanks for your consideration.

Sincerely,



Kenneth O'Donnell

Mr. Courtney Evans
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

*Released
per
White
House*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-24-89 BY SP-9A/9516

REC-20

*See LT 8/30, 8/31
9/1, 9/5 DRR: jyk
9/27*

MW

ENCLOSURE

22 SEP 12 1961

(Handwritten initials and marks)

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b5 per White House

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b5 per White House

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Mr. Carl Sandburg
(Poet)
Flat Rock, North Carolina

BA

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b7c

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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b7c

b5
per
White House.

