

# Heard on the Left

By ALBERT SOUTHWICK

**A**ERICAN YOUTH FOR DEMOCRACY, the Communist youth front that's been in a strange trance for almost three years, was officially pronounced dead and buried this week. Founded in 1943, the AYD will now give way to a Marxist-Leninist partisan youth organization.

Actually, since 1946, the AYD has been little more than a screening center and reception room for long-existent, less well-advertised "Marxist-Leninist partisan youth organizations." In the 1943-45 period, it was so effectively exposed on major college campuses that its efforts were limited to highly-vocal "win-the-war" and "get-out-the-vote" campaigns.

A good deal of the credit for exposing AYD at its outset must go to two alert student correspondents at the City College of New York: A. M. Rosenthal, then covering CCNY for the New York Times and now United Nations reporter for that paper, and George L. Sherry, now correspondent for the New York Herald Tribune, now a top UN interpreter.

When leaders of the just-dissolved Young Communist League began setting up committees "to form a new democratic organization," Rosenthal and Sherry obtained strong statements from prominent New York educators blasting these moves. Newspapers across the country picked up the story. Most of the political innocents who had joined the organizing committees promptly resigned, and the CP youths had to set up AYD by themselves.

With the Duclos letter and the switch of the party line, the college Communists resumed infiltration of other organizations (chiefly veterans groups and YPCA chapters), entrusting the key jobs to individuals working independently of AYD and, it would seem, of the CP. At the same time, they devoted more attention to solidifying the out-and-out Communist cells in the schools, usually called "Marxist study clubs."

With the advent of Henry Wallace and the American Pierlinger, the AYD became a vestigial organ. It was replaced as the CP's collegiate recruiting station by Students for Wallace. The various non-AYD "independents" who had achieved power in other student organizations did not hesitate to join Students for Wallace. Of course, the AYD leadership also moved quietly in.

Last summer's reconstitution of Students for Wallace as the Young Progressives sounded taps for the AYD. There was no need for a middle organization between the Young Progressives and already-existing "Marxist-Leninist partisan youth organizations."

G.I.R.-7

*Handwritten signatures and initials*

EX-152

NOT RECORDED  
98 MAR 16 1949

This is a clipping from  
Page 12 of the  
NEW LEADER

Date 2-26-49  
Clipped at the seat of  
Government

5 CLAR 23 1949

## American Youth for Democracy Dissolving As National Group, to Build New Red Set-Up

American Youth for Democracy, young people in a spirit of devotion to the working class, the democratic heritage of our country, and the goal of socialism. A report on the program of the Communist party among the youth of the nation made at the last convention held that the dissolution of the Young Communist League in 1943 and the subsequent formation of American Youth for Democracy was an error and in fact, a product of the revisionism of Earl Browder, former head of the Communist party who unsuccessfully sought readmission to party rank.

The decision followed a referendum in which AYD clubs throughout the nation favored the founding of a Marxist youth organization in line with the program endorsed by the Communist party at its last national convention.

A statement by the national office of AYD said the former AYD clubs are continuing to function individually and are "developing varied organizational forms for Marxist education. They are co-operating locally with youth and student clubs of the Communist party and with a number of individual college and community Marxist societies."

The statement added that the clubs "are prepared to contribute effectively in the coming months toward the building of a new national organization that will lead

young people in a spirit of devotion to the working class, the democratic heritage of our country, and the goal of socialism. A report on the program of the Communist party among the youth of the nation made at the last convention held that the dissolution of the Young Communist League in 1943 and the subsequent formation of American Youth for Democracy was an error and in fact, a product of the revisionism of Earl Browder, former head of the Communist party who unsuccessfully sought readmission to party rank.

The report recommended the organization of a non-party, independent, educational and partisan Marxist youth organization, to be Marxist-Leninist in content and direction, as the best vehicle for "the broadest anti-fascist, anti-imperialist unity" of American youth.

The new program also envisioned alignment with the recently organized Young Progressives of America and eventual assumption of its leadership to weld the group into a vote-getting agency for the Progressive party.

*Scott*

161-777-A  
NOT RECOR.  
76 MAR 16 1'

This is a clipping from  
page 6 of the  
New York Times for

62 MAR 13 1949

221

2-19 1949  
Clipped at the Seat of  
Government

58



Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Clegg	_____
Mr. Glavin	_____
Mr. Ladd	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tracy	_____
Mr. Egan	_____
Mr. Gurnea	_____
Mr. Harbo	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Pennington	_____
Mr. Quinn Tamm	_____
Mr. Nease	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

# **AYD Dissolved, New Pro-Wallace Group Formed**

American Youth for Democracy, frequently under attack as a Communist front organization, was dissolved today and the national office announced plans for a new organization to gather votes for Henry A. Wallace's Progressive Party.

The subject of violent controversy at colleges throughout the United States since its organization in 1943, the A. Y. D. had been listed as subversive by Attorney General Tom Clark.

The new vote-getting group, it was announced, will be a Marxist youth organization in line with a program endorsed by the Communist party at its last national convention.

It will be, it was said, an independent, educational, and partisan league directed to "the broadest anti-Fascist, anti-imperialist unity" of American youth.

The new program, the statement said, envisions alignment with the recently organized Young Progressives of America in order to weld both groups into a vote-getting agency for the Progressive party.

**CLER-7**

**64-277-A**  
**F B I**

**44 MAR 14 1949**

**INDEXED - 69**

**EX-141**

**58 MAR 17 1949**

**CLIPPING FROM THE**

*NY Daily Mirror*  
**FEB 19 1949**

**RECEIVED**  
**RECEIVED BY J. W. BENTON**

# Reds Back Wallace Youth Drive

By FREDERICK WOLTMAN,  
World-Telegram Staff Writer.

A new Youth for Wallace movement will be launched in Philadelphia July 25, at the end of the third party convention. But, somehow or other, Wallace-for-President headquarters got its invitations mixed.

It invited Students for Democratic Action to send delegates, and received a stinging rebuff.

"Your organization," SDA replied to Wallace headquarters, "can serve only as a sounding board and implement for Communist party policy within the United States, until it is abandoned by the disillusioned liberals who gave it strength."

The call for a special youth convention had gone out to scores of labor, farm, Negro, religious and student youth groups throughout the country, signed by Seymour Linfield, Wallace campaign director for youth.

## Have Big Mailing List.

It included a sponsorship list of more than 200 teen-aged and maturing Wallacites, many from Communist-led unions and other groups such as American Youth for Democracy, formerly the Young Communist League.

SDA, which found itself on the Wallace mailing list, is a division of Americans for Democratic Action, which numbers among its leaders Leon Henderson, chairman, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr.

David Dubinsky, James B. Carey, Walter P. Reuther and Ronald Regan.

"Anyone familiar with the history of the youth movement," SDA's chairman William Shore wrote Mr. Linfield, "can trace your origins and sponsorship to the American Student Union and American Youth Congress."

Groups which, when the Communists won control, betrayed the high purpose of thousands of young people from the early '30s to the present day. Many of their leaders now reappear on your Wallace-Taylor organization.

"Your own name is prominent among them. For over a decade, since you attended Columbia University, your allegiances have shifted with the fluctuations of the Communist party here and abroad. You have been openly accused of Communist affiliations and have never denied them."

Although the National Wallace for President Committee is promoting the Philadelphia Youth for Wallace convention, they will not affiliate formally.

## Lend Helping Hand.

Meanwhile, according to the

Daily Worker, the Communist party "has been helping" the new Wallace youth movement and will throw its resources behind the latter for the duration of the election campaign.

In an official statement of party policy, the Worker indicated that American Youth for Democracy is to be scrapped in favor of Youth for Wallace. Then, after the election, "an independent, nonparty, Marxist-Leninist youth organization" is to be formed, presumably built around Youth for Wallace clubs.

The reason for ditching AYD is not apparent except that it seemed to fall as a training and recruiting ground for the Communist party among the nation's young people.

Sponsors of the forthcoming Youth for Wallace convention include pro-Communist State Senator Kenneth S. Harbell (ALP, Kings), James Durkin, president of the United Office Workers, the Rev. John W. Darr Jr., Judy Holliday, the actress, Rayley, the pianist, and Paul Robeson Jr.

Organizations listed "for purpose of identification only" include the Wesley Foundation, Minneapolis, and Junior Achievement, Boston.

Mr. Tolson .....  
Mr. Clegg .....  
Mr. Glavin .....  
Mr. Ladd .....  
Mr. Nichols .....  
Mr. Rosen .....  
Mr. Tracy .....  
Mr. Carson .....  
Mr. Egan .....  
Mr. Gurnea .....  
Mr. Harbo .....  
Mr. Hendon .....  
Mr. Jones .....  
Mr. Quinn Tamm .....  
Mr. Nease .....  
Miss Gandy .....

RECORDED - 40 61-727-A  
INDEXED - 40 71 AUG 6 1948

EX-91

CLIPPING FROM THE

N. Y. World Telegram

DATED JUL 2 1948

FORWARDED BY N. Y. DIVISION

337  
62 AUG 11 1948

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. E. A. Tamm  
Mr. Clegg  
Mr. Glavin  
Mr. Ladd  
Mr. Nichols  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tracy  
Mr. Egan  
Mr. Gurnea  
Mr. Harbo  
Mr. Mohr  
Mr. Pennington  
Mr. Quinn Tamm  
Mr. Nease  
Miss Gandy

# Wallace Group Drafts Students

By HOWARD RUSHMORE

Students in public colleges here are being recruited by the Communist-led "Students for Wallace" group to make a coast-to-coast propaganda tour on behalf of the third party candidate it was learned today.

In a leaflet circulated in colleges here, the Wallace group appeals for "volunteers to tour U. S. for peace" and adds they will work "in key cities and farm areas between May and October."

The students who "volunteer," according to the leaflet, will canvass, put out leaflets, organize meetings, speak, write and sing to elect Wallace.

The "Students for Wallace" is officially recognized in both City and Brooklyn College. It is led largely by members of the American Youth for Democracy, an organization named as subversive by the Justice Department.

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, member

of the Communist party's national committee, has officially approved the Wallace "student tours" and has said:

"It will be a valuable experience for them... students will reach millions through this bold and imaginative plan. They will carry mimeograph machines and loud speakers for meetings. People who can't go are chipping in to help finance this gigantic cross-country crusade."

*Howard*

*7-6*

*Bent*

INDEXED - 38

161-777A

~~SECRET~~  
AUG 2 1948

*ed 29*

AUG 7 1948

61 SEP 2 1948

CLIPPING FROM THE  
N. Y. Journal American  
DATED JUN 19 1948  
FORWARDED BY N. Y. DIVISION

*52*

IMPERIAL CENSORSHIP TRINIDAD

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b6  
b7C

068610

153991

4/1285 TRI. 7703

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS  
San Martin 350,  
Buenos Aires.

Mr. C. ALLAN STEWART.  
The Associated Press,  
Apartado 1015,  
Caracas, Venezuela.

27th July, 1943.

Classified by 20262 NLS/bce  
Declassify on: OADR 7-2-84  
228203

CLASSIFIED BY 60262 NLS/bce  
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 6  
401969

English. Not previously censored.

S.A.

4

8637

P.B./M.Y.

31st July '43

3rd August '43

1. Peruvian Reaction To Henry Wallace's Visit  
2. Coup D'Etat Anticipated Shortly In Peru

The writer, Stanley Ross reports an interview with Haya de la Torre founder of the Party A.P.R.A. (Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana) in Peru. The following extracts are of interest:-

"The Apristas enjoyed Henry Wallace's visit to Peru and considered his speeches a signal victory for them. Haya told me his people did not stage an anti-government demonstration for fear it might be misconstrued as anti-Wallace. However, when Dr. Prado greeted Wallace on the palace balcony, Wallace got huge cheers and Prado's speech was drowned by whistles and cat-calls.

'Wallace left a profound impression here,' Haya de la Torre said. 'No one has done so much for friendship among the American people as he, not even Roosevelt. He is the first man who came here and spoke from the heart.'

Current rumours in Peru hold that Marshal Benavides, now minister to the Argentine, will return to power shortly. Although Benavides was Apra's bitter enemy, it is now thought that his attitude towards Apra, and Apra's attitude towards him have somewhat changed; that they would be strange if willing bedfellows. Neither Haya de la Torre nor Benavides confirmed this; it is just a feeling this correspondent has after talking with both of them. The story of an impending military coup in Peru I not only heard from Haya de la Torre, but from a prominent Peruvian official, from a Latin American diplomat and from a Peruvian writer often accused of being one of Lima's Nazi-sympathiser.

J.D.A./A.C.  
31st July '43.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

INDEXED  
D84

162-63147-2666  
NOT RECORDED  
95 SEP 8 1943

F	B	I
16 AUG 25 1943		
S		

77 OCT

21943

(529)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOI/PA  
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET  
FOI/PA# 1347893-0

Total Deleted Page(s) = 19

Page 187 ~ b3;  
Page 188 ~ b3;  
Page 189 ~ b3;  
Page 190 ~ b3; b6; b7C;  
Page 191 ~ b3; b6; b7C;  
Page 197 ~ b3;  
Page 200 ~ b3;  
Page 201 ~ b3;  
Page 258 ~ b3;  
Page 259 ~ b3;  
Page 260 ~ b3;  
Page 261 ~ b3;  
Page 262 ~ b3;  
Page 263 ~ b3;  
Page 264 ~ b3;  
Page 265 ~ b3;  
Page 266 ~ b3;  
Page 267 ~ b3;  
Page 268 ~ b3;

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX  
X Deleted Page(s) X  
X No Duplication Fee X  
X For this Page X  
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX



ANONYMOUS COMMUNICATION  
KEEP ENVELOPE ATTACHED

We the people of American  
are entitled to a complete and thorough  
investigation of this incident enclosed  
as their <sup>plans</sup> seem to be working out. Many  
of us remember when this came up. Your  
department seemed to be the only  
independent one left.

Henry A. Wallace

ENCLOSURE

By William A. White  
Ollie Barron

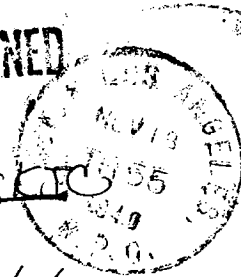
see index card 121

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6/16/83 BY SP105100  
228303

RECORDED & INDEXED

62-71788-X	
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION	
3	NOV 24 1940
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE	
HENRY A. WALLACE	

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/16/83 BY SP8 BSK/CIC



Mr. J. Edgar Hoover  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington  
D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/16/83 BY SP1 RSC/CD

ENCLOSURE

62-71788-X

# **Wallace's** *Daily*

FIVE CENTS

Copyright, 1942, by Field Publications

VOL. III — No. 167

Tuesday, December 29, 1942

☆ COMPLETE EDITION

## **Russians Surge On; Bypass Important Railway Center**

Page 13

### **Other Headline News**

Machines Stand Idle While De-  
troit Plants Build More of  
Them —Page 11

U. S. Ambassador Denies Med-  
dling in Bolivian Affairs —Page 10

Giraud's French Citizenship Is  
Taken Away by Petain —Page 12

Vigorous Allied Patrol Activity  
Marks Tunisian Conflict —Page 12

WLB Leaves Pay Boosts Up to  
State and City Governments  
—Page 10

Japs Try to Supply Troops in  
Southwest Pacific by Parachute  
—Page 16

## **Allies Setting Up Court to Try Nazi**

# **Wallace's Post-War World:**

Pages

2 - 4

● **Jobs for All**

● **World Council to  
Preserve Peace**

**Food Run On Despite**

Pages

# Vice President Wallace Calls for Post-War Council To Insure World Peace and Security for All Nations

## Urges, in Wilson Anniversary Speech, Planning Now for Future

Vice President Henry A. Wallace last night proposed establishment of a post-war World Council to insure peace and called on the American people to lead the world toward a "new democracy"—one in which the common man and returning soldier will be assured of jobs and security.

In an address that may rank with his now-historic "Free World" speech of May 8, he said the task of this generation is "so to organize human affairs that no Adolf Hitler, no power-hungry war-mongers, whatever their nationality, ever again can plunge the whole world into war and bloodshed."

His address was broadcast nationally from Washington in commemoration of the 86th anniversary of the birth of Woodrow Wilson.

Woven through the speech were these themes:

¶ The United States and her Allies must begin now to plan a vigorous and workable world compact to disarm aggressors and insure world peace through economic co-operation. This will necessitate a World Council to settle disputes which otherwise would lead to needless war and bloodshed.

¶ Any such federated world organization, designed to preserve liberty, equality, security, and unity for all, must confine itself to broad principles which affect the entire world, leaving each country or each region the freedom to deal with purely domestic or regional problems. For example, European countries, while concerned with Pan American problems, should not have to be preoccupied with them; conversely, Pan America should not have to be preoccupied with problems of Europe.

¶ The United States cannot afford to delay the preparation of a broad, post-war reconstruction program to speed conversion of industry back to a peacetime basis and thereby make certain that everyone who gave up his job to join the armed forces or go into war work will have a new job when the peace is signed.

Regarding the new League of Nations, with the United States this time an active member, Wallace said that in the period following World War I there were many who said Wilson had failed. But now, he added, "We know it was the world that failed and that the suffering and war of the



Vice-President Henry A. Wallace, who commemorated the anniversary of Woodrow Wilson's birth with a radio speech elaborating the thesis that this is the century of the common man.

last few years is the penalty it is paying for its failure."

He said he believed the United States, aware of its "isolationist folly," is now ready to work with other United Nations in developing a "formula which will give the greatest possible liberty without producing anarchy and at the same time will not give so many rights to each member nation as to jeopardize the security of all."

As conquered territory is regained from the Germans and the Japanese, he said, the Allies must take humanitarian measures of relief and rehabilitation, remembering all the while that "revenge for the sake of revenge would be a sign of barbarism."

Then, he continued, will come the task of building a new and enduring peace, and in this task economic reconstruction will play an all-important role.

"It should be obvious to practically everyone that, without well planned and vigorous action, a series of economic storms will follow this war," he said. "These will take form in inflation and temporary scarcities, followed by surpluses, crashing prices, unemployment bankruptcy, and in some cases violent revolution."

Because jobs-for-all is a prerequisite for a sound economy, he said, the United States must make certain that another period of unemployment does not follow the present conflict.

"This problem," he said, "is well recognized by the average man on the street, who sums it up in a nutshell like this: 'If everybody can be given a job in war work now, why can't everybody have a job in peacetime production later on?'"

The essentials of this job are clear, Wallace said: We must have definite plans for the conversion of key industries to peacetime work: A continuity in the flow of incomes between consumers and industry, and a national system of job placement.

"With this end in view," he continued, "the suggestion has been made that Congress should formally recognize the maintenance of full employment as a declared national policy, just as it now recognizes as national policies the right of farmers to parity of income with other groups and the right of workers to unemployment insurance and old-age annuities."

## 'We Must Avoid Those Blunders Committed After World War I'

The text of the Vice President's speech on America's part in world reconstruction:

For the people of the United States, the war is entering its grimmest phase: At home, we are beginning at last to learn what war privations mean. Abroad, our boys in even greater numbers are coming to grips with the enemy. Yet, even while warfare rages on, and we of the United Nations are redoubling our great drive for victory, there is dawning the hope of that day of peace, however distant, when the lights will go on again, all over the world.

Adolf Hitler's desperate bid for a Nazi world order has reached and passed its highest point, and is on its way to its ultimate downfall. The equally sinister threat of world domination by the Japanese is doomed eventually to fail.

When the Hitler regime finally collapses and the Japanese war lords are smashed, an entirely new generation—the generation which President Roosevelt once said has a "rendezvous with destiny"—is so to organize human affairs that no Adolf Hitler, no power-hungry war mongers, whatever their nationality, can ever again plunge the whole world into war and bloodshed.

### Analogous to Early Days of Our Republic

The situation in the world today is parallel in some ways to that in the United States just before the adoption of the Constitution, when it was realized that the Articles of Confederation had failed and that some stronger union was needed.

Today, measured by travel time, the whole world is actually smaller than was our tiny country then. When George Washington was inaugurated, it took seven days to go by horse-drawn vehicle from Mount Vernon to New York. Now Army bombers are flown from the United States to China and India in less than three days.

It is in this suddenly shrunken world that the United Nations, like our 13 American states in 1787, soon will be faced with a fundamental choice. We know now that the League of Nations, like our own union under the Articles of Confederation, was not strong enough. The League never had American support, and at critical moments it lacked the support of some of its own members.

The League finally disintegrated under the successive blows of world-wide economic depression and a second world war. Soon the nations of the world have to face this question: Shall the world's affairs be so organized as to prevent a repetition of these twin disasters—the bitter woe of depression and the holocaust of war?

### Discussion Now Is Appropriate

It is especially appropriate to discuss this subject on this particular date, because it is the birthday of Woodrow Wilson, who gave up his health, and eventually his life, in the first attempt, a generation ago, to preserve the world's peace through united world action. At that time, there were many

who said that Wilson had failed. Now we know that it was the world that failed, and the suffering and war of the last few years is the penalty it is paying for its failure.

When we think of Woodrow Wilson, we know him not only for his effort to build a permanent peace, but for the progressive leadership he gave our country in the years before that first World War. The "New Freedom" for which Wilson fought was the forerunner of the Roosevelt "New Deal" of 1933 and of the world-wide new democracy which is the goal of the United Nations in this present struggle.

Wilson, like Jefferson and Lincoln before him, was interested first and always in the welfare of the common man. And so the ideals of Wilson and the fight he made for them are an inspiration to us today as we take up the torch he laid down.

### We Must Prepare For the Peace Now

Resolved as we are to fight on to final victory in this world-wide people's war, we are justified in looking ahead to the peace that inevitably will come. Indeed, it would be the height of folly not to prepare for peace just as, in the years prior to Dec. 7, 1941, it would have been the height of folly not to prepare for war.

As territory previously overrun by the Germans and the Japs is reoccupied by the forces of the United Nations, measures of relief and rehabilitation will have to be undertaken. Later, out of the experience of these temporary measures of relief, there will emerge the possibilities and the practicalities of more permanent reconstruction.

We can not now blueprint all the details, but we can begin now to think about some of the guiding principles of this world-wide new democracy we of the United Nations hope to build.

Two of these principles must be liberty and unity, or, in other words, home rule and centralized authority, which for more than 150 years have been foundation stones of our American democracy, and our American Union.

### We Were Unprepared After World War I

When Woodrow Wilson proposed the League of Nations, it became apparent that these same principles of liberty and unity—of home rule and centralized authority—needed to be applied among the nations if a repetition of the first world war was to be prevented. Unfortunately, the people of the United States were not ready. They believed in the doctrine of liberty in international affairs, but they were not willing to give up certain of their international rights and to shoulder certain international duties, even though other nations were ready to take such steps.

They were in the position of a strong, well-armed pioneer citizen who thought he could defend himself against robbers without going to the expense and bother of joining with his neighbors in setting up a police force to uphold civil law.

They stood for decency in international

### IN PM TODAY

	Pages
Picture Magazine	4-9
National News	10-11
News From Abroad	12-16
New York News	17-18
The Scuttles	18
Theaters, Movies, Music	19, 20, 22
Radio	20-21
Barnaby	22
Food	23
Shopping News	24-25
Sports	26-27
Patoruzu	27
Vic Jordan	28



62-71788-X

# Dr. Wirt's Ghost Stalks New Deal

## RECORD PROVES EDUCATOR'S REVELATIONS



HENRY A. WALLACE, New Deal candidate for Vice-President and former Secretary of Agriculture, who, according to Dr.



MISS ALICE BARROWS, educationalist in the Department of the Interior, who entertained "the group" accused by Dr. Wirt.



DR. WILLIAM A. WIRT, former superintendent of schools in Gary, Ind., now deceased, who accused "a group" at the dinner given by Miss Alice Barrows in 1933 of giving voice to "subversive" sentiments.

### Wallace's Writings Called Subversive

By KENT HUNTER

More than seven years have rolled away since seven men and women sat down to dinner at the home of Alice Barrows, educationalist in the Interior Department, in suburban Virginia, near Washington, on the night of Friday, Sept. 1, 1933.

At that time, Henry A. Wallace, Secretary of Agriculture, was "just a Cabinet officer." Certainly no one, unless it happened to be some of the Wallace inner circle, thought of him as a possible Vice-President of the United States, first in line of succession should the President die, resign or otherwise be eliminated.

Much of what was said at that dinner might have been lost to the limbo of forgotten words had not one of the guests later written down his recollections of the conversations, and later, under oath, before a Congressional investigation committee, sworn to the truth of what he wrote.

The guest who did the writing

was Dr. William A. Wirt, former superintendent of Public Schools in Gary, Indiana—a liberal in matters of education—who died March 11, 1938, nearly four years after his sworn testimony had been made a public record by the Congressional committee hearings.

Today, on the eve of what many regard as the most important national election in the history of the United States, that dinner, and what was said there, bounces back to furnish deep food for thought for an electorate heading to the polls on Nov. 3.

In addition to Dr. Wirt, those who attended that dinner—according to his sworn testimony—were:

Alice Barrows, the hostess;

Robert Bruer, then chairman of the Textile Code Authority;

David Cushman Coyte, then a member of the Technical Review Board of the Public Works Administration;

Lawrence Todd, representative



LAWRENCE TODD (standing), representative of Tass Agency (official news agency for Soviet Russia), being quizzed by Rep. Harold McGugin regarding a copy of the Daily Worker, at the Congressional probe of Dr. Wirt's charges.

### What Dr. Wirt Said After That Dinner in 1934

On April 10, 1934, an Investigating Committee of the House of Representatives held sessions in Washington to hear Dr. William A. Wirt, Gary, Ind., educator, explain the text of a mimeographed statement he had, previously sent to a number of American business leaders and which James Rana, Jr., had put into the testimony of another Congressional Committee some weeks previous.

Wirt read into the record portions of that statement, and swore the material in it first came to his attention at a dinner in Virginia, on Friday, Sept. 1, 1933. The statement covered a definite plan which Wirt said was concocted by men and women INSIDE THE GOVERNMENT to radically change our Government.

Salient points of Wirt's statement, as he read it under oath, are given below:

"I was told that they" (the sponsors of the Plan)—"believed by thwarting our then evident recovery they would be able to prolong the country's destitution until they had demonstrated to the American people that the Government must operate industry and commerce."

"I was told that of course commercial banks could not make long term loans and that they would be able to destroy by propaganda the other institutions that had been making

our capital loans. Then we can push Uncle Sam into the position where he must make these capital loans. And, of course, when Uncle Sam becomes our financier, he must also follow his money with control and management."

"The most surprising statement made to me was the following: 'We believe that we have Mr. Roosevelt in the middle of a wolf's trap and the current is so strong that he cannot turn back or escape from it. We believe we can keep Mr. Roosevelt there until we are ready to supplant him with a Stalin. We all think Mr. Roosevelt is only the Kerensky of this revolution.'"

"When I asked why the President would not see through this scheme they replied: 'We are on the inside. We control the avenues of influence. We can make the President believe that he is making decisions for himself.'"

"They said: 'A leader must appear to be a strong man of action. He must make decisions many times and make them quickly, whether good or bad. Soon he will begin to feel a superhuman flow of power from the flow of decisions themselves—good or bad. Eventually he can easily be displaced because of his bad decisions. With Mr. Roosevelt's background we do not expect him to see this revolution through.'"

"They said that (portion of me, deleted): 'Such individuals can be induced to kindle the fires of revolution.

"Miss Kneeland. The answer was that our group takes the quoted Miss Kneeland as saying 'ambly hands' many sacred precedent and doubtless will call for a greatly enlarged police enforcement department of the Federal Government."

"Wirt faced the committee for two days. The others named as having attended the dinner were later called and denied the specific charges made by Wirt. April 26, 1934, saw the charges officially dropped, but with a minority report, submitted by Congressman Lehbach, of New Jersey, and McGugin, of Kansas, both Republicans."

At another point, Dr. Wirt was asked by Congressman Lehbach, of New Jersey, and McGugin, of Kansas, both Republicans, 'What plan will require the lay of the land?'

"Our plan will require the lay of the land? The others named as having attended the dinner were later called and denied the specific charges made by Wirt. April 26, 1934, saw the charges officially dropped, but with a minority report, submitted by Congressman Lehbach, of New Jersey, and McGugin, of Kansas, both Republicans."

At another point, Dr. Wirt was asked by Congressman Lehbach, of New Jersey, and McGugin, of Kansas, both Republicans, 'What plan will require the lay of the land?'

"Our plan will require the lay of the land? The others named as having attended the dinner were later called and denied the specific charges made by Wirt. April 26, 1934, saw the charges officially dropped, but with a minority report, submitted by Congressman Lehbach, of New Jersey, and McGugin, of Kansas, both Republicans."

At another point, Dr. Wirt was asked by Congressman Lehbach, of New Jersey, and McGugin, of Kansas, both Republicans, 'What plan will require the lay of the land?'

"Our plan will require the lay of the land? The others named as having attended the dinner were later called and denied the specific charges made by Wirt. April 26, 1934, saw the charges officially dropped, but with a minority report, submitted by Congressman Lehbach, of New Jersey, and McGugin, of Kansas, both Republicans."

At another point, Dr. Wirt was asked by Congressman Lehbach, of New Jersey, and McGugin, of Kansas, both Republicans, 'What plan will require the lay of the land?'

"Our plan will require the lay of the land? The others named as having attended the dinner were later called and denied the specific charges made by Wirt. April 26, 1934, saw the charges officially dropped, but with a minority report, submitted by Congressman Lehbach, of New Jersey, and McGugin, of Kansas, both Republicans."

But strong men must take their places when once the country is engulfed in flames."

"Thus they, the Brain Trusts, would soon be able to use the police power of the Government and 'crack down' on the opposition with a big stick. In the meantime they would extend the gloved hand and keep the big stick in the background."

"They were sure their propaganda could influence the masses against the old social order and the honest men as well as the crooks that represent that order."

"I asked them what they would do when the Government could no longer dole out relief in the grand manner. By that time, it was answered, the oft repeated exhortation to industry and commerce to make jobs out of confidence, to produce goods and pay wages out of psychology, together with their other propaganda, would have won the people to the idea that the only way out was for Government itself to operate industry and commerce."

"They were certain they did not want to support agriculture for a long time. They were certain the farmers could be won by doles to support the government operation of industry and commerce. Farmers would be delighted to get their hands for once in the history of the country in the public trough. The farmers would be one with the masses—united for redistribution of the wealth of the other fellow. All they would need to do with the opposition would be to ask—

"Well, what is your plan?"

"The charge that leaders of industry and labor would be kept busy by 'doles' in the form of loans and contracts for one and employment for the other might account for charges of tremendous WPA increases prior to the 1934 election—and for many contracts under the New Deal's unprecedented spending programs."

"The Wirt charges that the group hoped to maintain control of the schools and colleges until the 'New Dealers in the schools' were 'rotten'—law over."

"The Wirt charge as to the group's belief in propaganda might account for the unprecedented amount of pamphlets, leaflets, and other material now

"The Wirt charge as to the group's belief in propaganda might account for the unprecedented amount of pamphlets, leaflets, and other material now

"The Wirt charge as to the group's belief in propaganda might account for the unprecedented amount of pamphlets, leaflets, and other material now

"The Wirt charge as to the group's belief in propaganda might account for the unprecedented amount of pamphlets, leaflets, and other material now

"The Wirt charge as to the group's belief in propaganda might account for the unprecedented amount of pamphlets, leaflets, and other material now

"The Wirt charge as to the group's belief in propaganda might account for the unprecedented amount of pamphlets, leaflets, and other material now

"The Wirt charge as to the group's belief in propaganda might account for the unprecedented amount of pamphlets, leaflets, and other material now

"The Wirt charge as to the group's belief in propaganda might account for the unprecedented amount of pamphlets, leaflets, and other material now

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER  
DIRECTOR



JKM:PC  
Call: 10:15 AM  
Typed: 10:25 AM

**Federal Bureau of Investigation**  
**United States Department of Justice**  
**Washington, D. C.**

February 15, 1943

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. D. M. LADD

CC-287

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Coffey \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Kramer \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Beahm \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

*Henry A. Wallace*

SAC Hottel of the Washington Field Office called at this time and advised that he had just received a call from Mr. Hall of the Public Works Administration who has charge of guards in government buildings. He stated that a guard in the Social Security Building noticed in Room 110, which is a Mens Washroom, a notice on the wall which was something like "Notice to Vice-President Wallace. Keep your nose out of South American affairs or we will place a bomb and don't appear in this building and so forth." Hottel stated he has been advised that Vice-President Wallace is due at this building tomorrow for a conference and apparently Mr. Nelson has been advised of this because they have this room locked up. Hottel inquired if he should conduct this investigation or is it up to the Secret Service. I told Hottel that this is a matter for the Secret Service and the local police to handle.

Respectfully,

**ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED**

DATE 5/16/83 BY SP183/00

228303

J. K. Mumford



RECORDED & INDEXED

N129  
EX-4

62-71788-11	
F	B
16 FEB 15 1943	

57 FEB 26 1943



LBN:FML

Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice  
Washington, D. C.

February 16, 1943

3-287

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Coffey \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Kramer \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Beahm \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TOLSON

Fred Mullen of the UP called to advise that the building guard at the Social Security Building was doubled today, the elevator shafts were closed, everybody seemed to be jittery. Vice-President Wallace and Nelson attended a meeting of the WPB. The story gradually leaked out when individuals who were presumed to be Secret Service Agents were seen coming out of the WPB meeting with Wallace.

Nelson finally told some of the reporters off the record that somebody had written a message with soap on one of the mirrors in one of the Men's Rooms to the effect that a bomb will be planted there today to take care of Wallace so he can't mess around South America.

Nelson also stated, according to Mullen, that the FBI had been called about this threat against Wallace's life. Mr. Ladd knows nothing about this nor does Mr. Hottel.

I told Mullen that we had no comment to make and that for his information we definitely were not over there.

Respectfully,

L. B. Nichols

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/16/83 BY SP1 GSK/TC  
228303

RECORDED & INDEXED

N129

EX-4

62-71788-X2

FEB 18 1943



60 FEB 28 1943

MR. TOLSON \_\_\_\_\_ b6  
MR. E.A. TAMM \_\_\_\_\_ b7C  
MR. GLAVIN \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. LADD \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. NICHOLS \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. TRACY \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. ROSEN \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. CARSON \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. HENDON \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. KRAMER \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. MC GUIRE \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. QUINN TAMM \_\_\_\_\_  
MISS GANDY \_\_\_\_\_

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

# F.B.I. RADIOGRAM

[DECODED COPY] (8)

FROM LIMA 3-17-43 NR 193 6:35 PM EWT

DIRECTOR FROM [redacted] PURSUANT TO AMBASSADOR'S REQUEST WE MADE ARRANGEMENTS WITH DIVISION OF INVESTIGATION FOR ASSIGNMENT OF ENGLISH SPEAKING INVESTIGATOR TO SERVE AS AIDE TO GEORGE B. BOOS, CHIEF OF SECRET SERVICE GROUP ACCOMPANYING VICE-PRESIDENT WALLACE. PRESENT PLANS CALL FOR WALLACE SPENDING NIGHT OF MARCH 25 AT HOME OF AMBASSADOR. HE WILL LEAVE LIMA MORNING OF MARCH 26 EN ROUTE CHILE AND RETURN TO LIMA APRIL 10 REMAINING UNTIL MORNING OF APRIL 15. HE WILL RESIDE AT LA PERLA, PRESIDENT'S OFFICIAL SUMMER HOME. THE FOUR SECRET SERVICE MEN WILL RESIDE THERE ALSO. ADVISE IF YOU HAVE ANY SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS FOR THIS OFFICE RE WALLACE'S VISIT.

RECEIVED: 3-18-43 10:46 AM EWT IMR

1-12-87

Classified by 20105 KSC  
Declassify on: OADR  
S-16-83  
228303

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

3/21/86  
Classified by 3042 CWT/PS  
Declassify on: OADR  
1/10/87 83-1423  
appeal

OK - no ans required

CLASSIFIED DECISIONS FINALIZED  
BY DEPARTMENT REVIEW COMMITTEE (DRC)  
DATE: 4-18-87

COPIES DESTROYED  
159 NOV-51964

75 APR 3 1943

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RECORDED  
INDEXED

62-71788-7  
FBI  
MAR 23 1943  
RECEIVED  
FBI  
MAR 23 1943

If the intelligence contained in the above message is to be disseminated outside the Bureau, it is suggested that it be suitably paraphrased in order to protect the Bureau's cryptographic systems.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



NLF:im

Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice  
Washington, D. C.

March 18, 1943

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. LADD

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Coffey \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Kramer \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Piper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Beahm \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

BACKGROUND:

As you know, Vice President Wallace is now making a trip through Central and South America.

FACTS:

The Bureau's representative in Santiago, Chile has advised that numerous reports have been received indicating that a large anti-American demonstration might be staged in Chile during Vice President Wallace's visit to that country.

It is further reported that this demonstration will be financed by Axis money through the ~~Union Nacionalista~~ of Chile.

This information was telephonically furnished to Mr. Dan Hanley of the State Department who advised that the matter appeared to be purely an internal one in Chile but that Ambassador Bowers would undoubtedly keep the Chilean Government advised of the situation.

ACTION:

The Bureau's representative in Santiago, Chile, has been instructed to endeavor to obtain definite information regarding the alleged plans for an anti-American demonstration in Chile and to keep the Bureau fully advised.

Respectfully,

C. H. CARSON

RECORDED  
&  
INDEXED

62-71788-2



52 MAY 6 1943

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/16/83 BY SP-6 [signature]  
228303



NLF: im

Radiogram dated 3/18/43 from Santiago  
Transcribed 3/18/43

PERSONAL AND ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

Date:

62-71788-2

**RECORDED**

To:

Honorable Adolf A. Berle, Jr.  
Assistant Secretary of State

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/16/83 BY SP1GSRJC

228303

From: J. Edgar Hoover - Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

**Subject:**

# ANTI-AMERICAN DEMONSTRATION IN CHILE

This will confirm the information furnished telephonically to Mr. Dan Hanley of your Department this morning with respect to the reported anti-American demonstration allegedly planned to take place in Chile during Vice President Wallace's visit to that country.

It has also been stated that this demonstration is being financed through the Union Nacionalista.

Any information which is subsequently received concerning these alleged plans will be forwarded to you.

cc - Director of Naval Intelligence  
Navy Department  
Washington, D. C.

Major General George V. Strong  
Assistant Chief of Staff  
G-2, War Department  
Washington, D. C.

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION  
MAILED 12  
★ MAY 20 1943 P.M.  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF DECLASS  
DATE 7-23-77

RECEIVED  
FBI  
APR 19 4 07 PM '43  
RECEIVED  
FBI  
APR 19 4 07 PM '43  
RECEIVED  
FBI  
APR 19 4 07 PM '43

*E. J. [Signature]*

51 APR 19 1943

NY 4m

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

62-71788-2

March 18, 1943

VIA BUREAU RADIO

RECORDED

To: COMMUNICATIONS SECTION.

CONF. INFT. 

b7D

Transmit the following message to:

SANTIAGO, CHILE

SPECIAL CIPHER PAD:

RE YOUR RADIOGRAM OF MARCH 18, 1943, CONCERNING  
ANTI-AMERICAN DEMONSTRATION. ENDEAVOR TO OBTAIN  
DEFINITE INFORMATION ON PLANS AND KEEP BUREAU  
FULLY ADVISED.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/16/83 BY SP1RSKTC  
228303

NOTE: After approval, please send to Lab for transmittal

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Coffey \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mumford \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Piper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

2981  
Encoded by MLL Time 1140  
Checked by VEJ Time \_\_\_\_\_  
Filed by \_\_\_\_\_

51 APR 19 1943

SENT VIA

Radio

1016 a M

Per

Radio  
serial # 247  
MAR 23 1943

L-50a

MR. TOLSON \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. E.A. TAMM \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. LADD \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. NICHOLS \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. TRACY \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. ROSEN \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. CARSON \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. COFFEY \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. GARDNER \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. MC GUIRE \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. QUINN TAMM \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. NEASE \_\_\_\_\_  
MISS GANDY \_\_\_\_\_

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

# F.B.I. RADIOGRAM

CLASSIFIED SECTIONS FINALIZED  
BY DEPARTMENTAL LAW COMMITTEE (DRC)

DATE: 4-9-87

Classified by 0010 SKT  
Declassify on: OADR  
S-10-83  
275303

DECODED COPY

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

FROM SANTIAGO 3-18-43 NR 256 3:20 A.M.

NUMEROUS REPORTS INDICATE LARGE ANTI-AMERICAN DEMONSTRATION MIGHT  
TAKE PLACE DURING WALLACE'S VISIT TO CHILE. THIS IS BEING PERPETRATED  
BY AXIS MONEY THROUGH UNION NATIONALISTA COMING VIA A PRO TOTALITARIAN  
CHILEAN ORGANIZATION.

CONF. INFT. [redacted]

RECEIVED: 3-18-43 3:25 A.M. EWT MVK

62-71788-2

b7D

RECORDED

3/17/43  
Telephoned to  
San Francisco  
State Dept.  
N.Y.C.

3/2/86

Classified by 2042  
Declassify on: OADR

Letter to State one, 9-2  
3/18/43 N.Y.C.  
memo in 3/18/43

MAR 23 1943

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

If the intelligence contained in the above message is to be disseminated  
outside the Bureau, it is suggested that it be suitably paraphrased in  
order to protect the Bureau's cryptographic systems.

I-50a

MR. TOLSON \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. E. A. TAMM \_\_\_\_\_  
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
MR. GLAVIN \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. LADD \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. NICHOLS \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. TRACY \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. ROSEN \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. CARSON *CMC up*  
MR. COFFEY \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. QUINN TAMM \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. NEASE \_\_\_\_\_  
MISS GANDY \_\_\_\_\_

# F.B.I. RADIOGRAM

*228303*  
Classified by *ORIG SKJ* BY DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE COMMITTEE (DRG)  
Declassify on: OADR *5-16-83* DATE *4-8-87*  
☒ DECODED COPY *10*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

FROM LIMA 3-24-43 NR 205 12:27 PM EWT

DIRECTOR FROM [redacted] RE OUR RADIOGRAM NUMBER [redacted] IRA BROUGHT  
OF SECRET SERVICE ARRIVED HERE LAST NIGHT TO MAKE ARRANGEMENTS  
FOR ARRIVAL OF VICE PRESIDENT MARCH 25. DISCUSSED PLANS WITH  
EMBASSY OFFICIALS AND DIVISION OF INVESTIGATION. DEPARTED  
TODAY FOR SANTIAGO. CONF. INFT. [redacted]

RECEIVED 3-24-43 1:58 PM EWT MP

75 APR 1 1943

Classified by *3042 Post/100*  
Declassify on: OADR *1-12-87-83-1400; 84-1423*

*62-71788-21*  
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

If the intelligence contained in the above message is to be disseminated  
outside the Bureau, it is suggested that it be suitably paraphrased in  
order to protect the Bureau's cryptographic systems.

*W. Kramolisch*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

*CHC*  
*RJB*

*ADDRESS*  
*EVERCITO STREET*  
*SANTIAGO, Chile*

*501*  
[DECODE OF DOUBLE CODE] MESSAGE NR 279 FROM [ ] DATED MARCH 26, 1943, AT SANTIAGO, CHILE.

b7D

INFORMATION BELIEVED UNRELIABLE HAS ~~BEEN~~ BEEN RECEIVED THAT 12 NAZI CHILEANS WILL THROW BOMBS FROM ROOFS OF 3 ADDRESSES AT VICE-PRESIDENT WALLACE DURING PROCESSION FROM AIRPORT TO CENTER OF SANTIAGO ON MARCH 26. 3 ADDRESSES, ON EJERCITO STREET, ASCERTAINED TO NOT EXIST. INFORMATION GIVEN TO SECRET SERVICE MAN IN CHARGE OF PROTECTION OF WALLACE IMMEDIATELY ON RECEIPT THEREOF. NAMES OF 12 CHILEANS GIVEN TO INFORMANT [ ] FOR APPROPRIATE ACTION.

b7D

NOTE: THE UNDERLINED GROUPS WERE OBTAINED FROM GARBLES.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

[DECODED:] VMP  
MESSAGE # 4641  
3-29-43

62-71788-3	
F	B
15	APR 5 1943
[ ]	

b7D

Classified by *201/RS CJO*  
Declassify on: OADR  
5-16-83  
228303

*3/21/86*  
Classified by *3042 hwt/pb*  
Declassify on: OADR  
*7-12-87*  
EX-39  
*appeal 83-1403*  
*83-1453*

CLASSIFIED DECISIONS FINALIZED  
BY DEPARTMENT REVIEW COMMITTEE (DRG)  
DATE: *4-9-87*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

If the intelligence contained in the above message is to be disseminated outside the Bureau, it is suggested that it be suitably paraphrased in order to protect the Bureau's cryptographic systems.

*13*  
*30 MAY 8*

*10/22*



RDA:HS

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

CC-150.

To: COMMUNICATIONS SECTION.

March 24, 1943

Transmit the following message to:

b7D

RADIOGRAM-VIA BUREAU RADIO

RE: VISIT VICE PRESIDENT WALLACE TO SANTIAGO, INFORMATION RECEIVED  
JAPANESE MAKING MONEY AVAILABLE TO UNION NACIONALISTA FOR ANTI-AMERICAN  
DEMONSTRATION. ENDEAVOR TO OBTAIN DEFINITE INFORMATION REGARDING PLANS.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/16/83 BY SP1 BSG/JC

228303

*Radio 240  
Serial 263*

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Coffey \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mumford \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Piper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Encoded by *Rel* Time \_\_\_\_\_  
Checked by *Rel* Time \_\_\_\_\_  
Filed by \_\_\_\_\_

62-71788-4  
5  
B

SENT VIA *Bureau Radio* 3/27/43 3:36 PM

Per *W G H*

b6  
b7C

# F.B.I. RADIOGRAM

*See President Henry Wallace*

Classified by SP12CCTO DECODED COPY IX  
Declassify on: OADR 5-16-83 228302  
CLASSIFIED DECISIONS FINALIZED  
BY DEPARTMENT REVIEW COMMITTEE (DRC)  
DATE: 4-8-87

CONF. FROM: LIMA 3-25-43 NR 208 8:19 PM EWT  
INFT. [redacted]  
DIREC. [redacted] VICE-PRESIDENT ARRIVED LIMA THIS  
AFTERNOON. DEPARTS TOMORROW MORNING FOR CHILE.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/21/84 BY 3042 PWT/PB  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE  
Classified by 3042 PWT/PB  
Declassify on: OADR  
1-10-87 83-400  
1423

COPIES DESTROYED

75 APR 17 1943 59 NOV 5 1964

If the intelligence contained in the above message is to be disseminated outside the Bureau, it is suggested that it be suitably paraphrased in order to protect the Bureau's cryptographic systems.

MR. TOLSON \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. E.A. TAMM \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. CLEGG \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. GLAVIN \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. LADD \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. NICHOLS \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. TRACY \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. ROSEN \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. CARSON \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. COFFEY \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. HENDON \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. KRAMER \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. MC GUIRE \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. QUINN TAMM \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. NEASE \_\_\_\_\_  
MISS GANDY \_\_\_\_\_

62-71798-5  
F B  
5 APR 3 1943  
[initials]

b7D

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER  
DIRECTOR



EA:rls

**Federal Bureau of Investigation**  
**United States Department of Justice**  
**Washington, D. C.**

March 26, 1943

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Coffey \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Kramer \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Beahm \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. CARSON

RE: MEXICAN LABOR LEADER VICENTE LOMBARDO  
RECOMMENDS ECUADORAN LABOR TO RENDER  
HENRY WALLACE DESERVED HOMAGE

"TELEGRAFO," MARCH 17, 1943

An article gives the news that the labor leader cabled the Ecuadoran labor organizations asking that they pay fitting homage to Vice President Wallace during his visit to Ecuador on April 15, 1943. The article expresses the hope that this cable will do away with the difficulties created by the recent failure of the Fifth Labor Congress.

Respectfully submitted.

CONF. INFT.

b7D

**ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/16/83 BY SP185WPC  
228303**

RECORDED & INDEXED  
80-54  
31

FOR DEFENSE



BUY  
UNITED  
STATES  
SAVINGS  
BONDS  
AND STAMPS

60 APR 15 1943

62-71788-6

9 3 1943

af

*Walter Kramolich*  
CONFIDENTIAL

# F.B.I. RADIOGRAM

- MR. E.A. TAMM
- MR. EGG
- MR. GLAVIN
- MR. LADD
- MR. NICHOLS
- MR. TRACY
- MR. ROSEN
- MR. CARSON
- MR. COFFEY
- MR. HENDON
- MR. KRAMER
- MR. MC GUIRE
- MR. QUINN TAMM
- MR. NEASE
- MISS GANDY

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

DECODED COPY *FX* *CHS*

FROM SANTIAGO 3-27-43 NR 281 3:45 AM EWT  
VICE-PRESIDENT WALLACE ARRIVED SAFELY AND WAS ENTHUSIASTICALLY  
RECEIVED.

RECEIVED 3-27-43 4:04 AM EWT CONF. INFT. HRH

Classified by *5-16-83*  
Declassify on: OADR  
CLASSIFIED DECISIONS FINALIZED  
BY DEPARTMENT REVIEW COMMITTEE (DRC)  
DATE: 4-8-87

CONFIDENTIAL

*62-71788-6X*

*400 228303*  
*3/24/76*  
Classified by *3042*  
Declassify on: OADR  
If the intelligence contained in the above message is to be disseminated outside the Bureau, it is suggested that it be suitably paraphrased in order to protect the Bureau's cryptographic systems

15 APR 1 1943

b7D

Santiago, Chile,  
April 3, 1943.

Director,  
Federal Bureau of Investigation,  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/16/83 BY SP1GSL/J  
228-303

RE: VISIT OF VICE PRESIDENT WALLACE.  
CHILE: ADMINISTRATION.

For your general information I deem it advisable to give you a short resume of Vice President Wallace's visit in Chile and the part played by this office during his stay.

On March 15, 1943, I was called to the office of the Ambassador and advised that Mr. George F. Boos of the United States Secret Service would be in charge of the protection of Vice President Wallace during his visit in Chile. He was to be accompanied by Agents John Campion, Frank Davis, and Herbert Straley and Ira Brought. I was requested to assist these agents as much as possible in their work by acting as interpreter, providing means of transportation, etc.

On March 23 this office received a memorandum from Mr. Clarence Brooks, First Secretary of the Embassy, transmitting a list of approximately 100 employees who would serve in the house to be occupied by the Vice President. This memorandum requested that these names be checked against our files and any recommendations as to the dismissal of any of these individuals be made. This list was checked and two individuals were found to have records with our office. Accordingly they were not permitted to serve in the Vice President's house.

On March 24 this office received a memorandum from Mr. Lester Ziffren of the Coordinator's Office, setting out the individuals who would be utilized by that office in the preparation of radio broadcasts, telephone installations, etc. This list was checked against the files of our office and it was ascertained that three individuals should not be permitted to participate in this program.

During the week prior to the Vice President's visit, numerous reports were received by this office from informants and contacts to the effect that anti-American demonstrations would possibly take place during his stay. You were advised of this on March 17, 1943.

62-71788-7
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
APR 14 1943
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

ENCLOSURE

12-ENC

768

EX-3 PR VV  
RECEIVED

MAY 6

Your attention has been directed to an individual by the name of Rudolfo von Gotschlich, who at one time threatened the lives of [redacted]

b7D

[redacted] This office received a report to the effect that this individual, along with twelve of the members of the Unión Nacionalista, would attempt to kill the Vice President by throwing a bomb into his car. This was reported to you in a cable of March 26, 1943, and it was immediately brought to the attention of Mr. Ira Brought who was in charge of the arrangements for the protection of the Vice President. A request was also made to Confidential Informant [redacted] to have this individual placed in jail during the remainder of the Vice President's visit. This was done.

On March 24 the writer took Mr. Brought to the Director General of Investigaciones and helped make arrangements for the stationing of certain Investigaciones agents at strategic points along the way to be used by the Vice President in coming from the airport. The writer also furnished transportation for Mr. Brought during the effecting of these arrangements.

On March 25 this office received a report from Confidential Informant [redacted] to the effect that certain delegates of the Catholic group who were to have an audience with the Vice President, intended to submit a question as to whether or not the Vice President is prepared to stop Protestant propaganda in South America, especially in Chile, since this Protestant propaganda originates in the United States. In view of the embarrassing nature of this question, it was deemed advisable to immediately call it to the attention of Mr. Donald Heath, Counselor of the Embassy, who in turn advised the Vice President that such a question might be submitted. I do not know whether, in fact, the Catholic representatives asked Mr. Wallace this question.

b7D

On March 29 this office was contacted by Fernando Marin Larraín, a well known "crackpot", who advised that according to the Bible, an attempt at Mr. Wallace's life would be made on March 30. No credence was given this report.

On March 26, at 2:25 p.m., a letter was delivered to this office by the Ambassador's secretary, which was signed by Manuel Prado Fernandez, a retired sergeant of the Carabineros, Dominica 599, telephone 67573, in which a threat against the life of the Vice President was made. A check of the files of this office reveals that a similar letter had been received approximately two months ago, threatening the life of the Ambassador. An investigation of this letter indicated that he is slightly unbalanced. However, the letter was turned over to Confidential Informant [redacted] along with a copy of the other letter contained in our files, and this individual was immediately taken into custody. On being questioned, it was ascertained that the letter was written by another individual residing at the same address, whose name the subject refused to divulge. At the present time an investigation is being conducted by Investigaciones through handwriting comparisons toward ascertaining the writer of this letter, and it is my understanding that he will be prosecuted as a result thereof.

b7D

On March 29 the writer was called to the Vice President's and advised that the Minister of Interior had stated that as a result of the control of telephones, a conversation had been intercepted of an unidentified individual in Buenos Aires talking Roberto Coronado, in which the individual in Buenos Aires stated to Coronado: "Obtain for me a conference with Vice President Wallace at any cost." An immediate investigation was conducted regarding Coronado and it was ascertained that he was an Argentine citizen residing in Santiago, and of a questionable reputation. A memorandum was submitted to the Ambassador setting out the results of the investigation. A copy of this memorandum is included in the report transmitting all memoranda submitted to the Embassy by this office during the week of March 27 - April 3, 1943. A surveillance was subsequently maintained on Coronado, and it was ascertained that he met one, Lucantis Dominguez, at Los Cerillos airport on April 1, 1943. It has been reported that the purpose of Dominguez's visit was to convey a personal message from President Castillo of the Argentine. A full and complete memorandum of the investigation conducted by this office regarding this matter was submitted to Mr. Brooks of the Embassy, who, in turn, called it to the attention of the Vice President. A copy of this memorandum is also included in the report transmitting all memoranda submitted to the Embassy by this office during the week of March 27 - April 3, 1943. It is not known whether or not an audience was granted to Dominguez by the Vice President.

Please find attached hereto a copy of the official program prepared by the Embassy for Vice President Wallace's visit.

Very truly yours,  
CONF. INFT.

b7D

Enclosure.

See  
64-3100-872

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/16/83 BY SP1BSEJCO

228303

ENCLOSURE

62-71788-7



---

62-71788-7

P R O G R A M

O F

VICE PRESIDENT WALLACE'S VISIT, MARCH 26.

- 0 -

March 26

5.30 a.m. Leave Lima by plane for Chile. From the frontier to Santiago the Panagra plane will be escorted successively by military planes of the Arica, Iquique, Antofagasta, et cetera Garrisons.

11.55 a.m. Arrive Arica. Received by Counselor of the Embassy of the United States in Chile, in representation of the American Ambassador, who will present him to the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Enrique GAJARDO Villarroel,<sup>X</sup> and the Vice President's Aides-de-Camp ad-hoc, Brigadier-General Nelson FUENZALIDA O'Ryan,<sup>X</sup> and Comandante de Grupo (Colonel) Oscar HERREROS Walker,<sup>X</sup> At Arica airport the military forces of the Garrison will render military honors; 21 guns.

12.30 p.m. Continue by air to Santiago accompanied by the Counselor of the Embassy of the United States, the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs and military Aides-de-Camp.

5.35 p.m. Arrive Los Cerrillos airport, Santiago. As the plane lands the National Anthem of the United States will be played. He will be received by the Chief of Protocol, Luis RICHARD Valenzuela,<sup>X</sup> who will escort him to the Reception Hall of the airport to the presence of His Excellency the President of the Republic, accompanied by his Cabinet,<sup>XX</sup> and Chiefs of Missions<sup>XXX</sup> accredited to Chile. At this time the Vice President will also be presented to his civil and naval Aides-de-Camp ad-hoc, Anibal JARA Letelier<sup>X</sup> and Rear Admiral Emilio DAROCH Soto,<sup>X</sup> respectively. After greeting His Excellency the President, the National Anthem of Chile will be played.

Military honors will be rendered by the Group of Anti-Aircraft Defense.

Departure in open automobiles of the Government for his ad-hoc quarters at Avenida O'Higgins 1642 by the following route: Melipilla Highway, Avenida Subercaseaux, Avenida Beaucheff, Avenida de la República, and Avenida Bernardo O'Higgins. The first automobile will be occupied by His Excellency the President of the Republic and his guest, the Vice President of the United States. The second automobile will be occupied by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Joaquín FERNÁNDEZ Fernández,<sup>X</sup> and Mr. Duggan. At the door of his ad-hoc residence he will be received by the President of the Military Club, Brigadier-General Oscar FUENTES Pantoja,<sup>X</sup> Dark street clothes. Audience for newspapermen, possibly lasting 20 minutes. Popular demonstration along the route.

8.30 p.m.

The Vice President and Mr. Duggan will dine alone with the Ambassador.

x See biographical sketches.

xx President Rios' Cabinet:

Interior	Raul MORALES Beltrami	Radical
Foreign Affairs	Joaquin FERNANDEZ Fernández	Non-party
Finance	Guillermo DEL PEDREGAL	Non-party
Education	Benjamin CLARO Velasco	Radical
Justice	Oscar GAJARDO Villarroel	Liberal
National Defense	Alfredo DUHALDE Vasquez	Radical
Roads & Public Works	Ricardo BASCUÑAN Stonner	Non-party
Agriculture	Fernando MOLLER Borden	Radical
Lands & Colonization	Osvaldo FUENZALIDA Correa	Radical
Labor	Mariano BUSTOS Lagos	Democrat
Public Health	Jerónimo MENDEZ Arancibia	Radical
Economy & Commerce	Rodolfo JARAMILLO Bruce	Non-party

xxx Missions, in residence, accredited to Chile (in order of precedence).

Holy See	Monsignor Maurilio Silvani	Ambassador
United States	Hon. Claude G. Bowers	"
Brazil	Hon. Samuel de Souza-Leao Gracie	"
Peru	Hon. Antonio García Salazar	"
Great Britain	Hon. Sir Charles Orde	"
Argentina	Hon. Carlos Guiraldes	"
Spain	Hon. Marques de Luca de Tena	"
Bolivia	Hon. Alberto Ostria Gutierrez	"
Colombia	Hon. Agustin Nieto Caballero	"
Ecuador	Hon. Homero Viteri Lafronte	"
Mexico	Hon. Luis I. Rodriguez	"
Uruguay	Hon. Hugo V. de Pena	"
Belgium	Hon. Maxime Gerard	Minister
Guatemala	Hon. Virgilio Rodriguez Beteta	"
Portugal	Hon. Alexandre M. Ferraz de Andrade	"
Switzerland	Hon. Conrad C. Jenny	"
Poland	Hon. Ladislas Mazurkiewicz	"
France	Hon. Comte Paul D'Hybouvillle	"
Paraguay	Hon. José Dahlquist	"
Venezuela	Hon. Carlos Aristimuno Coll	"
Panama	Hon. Octavio Vallarino	"
Yugoslavia	Hon. Djuro Kolombatovic	"
Cuba	Hon. Enrique Pizai de Porras	"
China	Hon. P. C. Chang	"
Dominican Rep.	Hon. Tulio M. Cestero	"
Norway	Hon. Arild Huitfeldt	"
Canada	Hon. Warwick Chipman	"
Netherlands	Hon. H. G. von Oven	Chargé d'Affaires
Denmark	Christian Plaetner-Møller	"
Haiti	Hon. Colonel Gustave Larque	"
Sweden	Hon. Folke Wannerberg	"

March 27

- 10.00 a.m. Protocol visit to His Excellency the President of the Republic with military escort. The troops of the Santiago Garrison will form from his residence to the Palace of the Moneda, the old colonial mint now the President's official residence and housing various ministries including that of Foreign Affairs.
- The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Joaquín FERNÁNDEZ Fernández, accompanied by Under Secretary GAJARDO, the Director of the Diplomatic Department, Fernando GARCIA Oldini<sup>x</sup> and Chief of Protocol RENARD will call for him and will leave him at his residence in open automobiles of the Government, by the following route: Avenida O'Higgins, Morandé, Moneda, Testinos and Avenida O'Higgins. Dress; dark suits. First automobile, Vice President Wallace and Foreign Minister Fernández. Second automobile, Mr. Duggan and Under Secretary Gajardo.
- 11.30 a.m. Reception for the Chiefs of Missions in his residence.  
(List of Missions in residence is annexed)  
(to program for Friday, March 26. )
- 1.00 p.m. Small luncheon (16 persons) offered by His Excellency the President of the Republic at his new suburban residence "La Reina" located on a mountain side overlooking Santiago and the central valley.
- 6.00 p.m. Plenary session of the national legislature in the Salón de Honor of the National Congress, attended by the diplomatic corps. The President of the Senate, Florencio DURAN Bernaldes,<sup>x</sup> will give the welcoming address, which will be replied to by Vice President Wallace.
- 7.30 p.m. Interviews with the active heads of social security organizations.  
to 7.30 - Pedro FREEMAN, Executive Vice President of the Caja de Empleados Particulares.  
8.15 p.m. 7.45 - Moises POBLETE Troncoso, Director General of the Caja de Seguro Obligatorio.  
8.00 - Abraham ALCAINO, Director General of the Caja de Habitación Popular.
- 8.30 p.m. Meeting with American Colony and its leaders at the  
to American Embassy.  
9.15 p.m.
- 9.30 p.m. Small dinner at the American Embassy for United States officials in Santiago.

---

x See biographical sketches.

March 28



SUNDAY, MARCH 28.

- 9 a.m. Visit to the dairy "La Reina" of the Caja de Seguro Obrero (Workmen's Insurance Fund). This dairy is located close to Santiago; there are about 75 head of cattle--Holstein Frisians--including bulls imported from the United States. Probably the most modern dairy in Central Chile. The visiting party will be accompanied by Counselor of Embassy Heath and Agricultural Attaché Wilson. This event may be transferred to Saturday afternoon, March 27, while returning from President's luncheon.
- 1.30 p.m. Luncheon at the Club Hípico, offered by the Directorate of the Club Hípico,<sup>x</sup> and special races in honor of Vice President Wallace during which the Vice President will walk through the crowds with President Ríos.
- 5.30 p.m. Homage by the UNION PARA LA VICTORIA at the National Stadium. Agricultural exposition. This will be an exhibition of Chilean farm products presented in a little park within the Stadium grounds. The public will not be permitted to view the stands until after the act of homage. Speakers at the homage: Minister for Foreign Affairs Joaquín Fernández Fernández, President of the Unión para la Victoria Marcial MORA Miranda,<sup>xx</sup> and the Vice President of the United States.
- 9.30 p.m. Banquet by His Excellency the President of the Republic at the Palace of the Moneda, attended by Cabinet Ministers, Chiefs of Foreign Diplomatic Missions and high public officials. Dress: tuxedo (men only).

---

x Directorate of Club Hípico:

Enrique PEREZ Riesco,	President
Washington BANNEN	Director
Pedro GARCIA DE LA HUERTA	"
Roberto LARRAIN Mancheño	"
Luis Gutierrez Allende	"
Jorge PRIETO Letelier	"
Fernando SANTA CRUZ Wilson	"
Manuel VALDES Sanchez	"
Geoffrey Bushell	"

xx See biographical sketches.

March 29

- 9.00 a.m. Interviews with leaders in the fields of labor, agriculture, commerce, industry, social welfare and politics (Tentative schedule).  
to
- 12.30 p.m. 9.00 a.m. - Graciela Mandujano; liberal, progressive social worker.
- 9.15 a.m. - Edmundo Frei accompanied by Bernardo Leighton and Manuel Garreton; members of the Falange Party composed of young Catholic idealists.
- 9.30 a.m. - Father Weigel, American Jesuit priest; Dean of School of Theology, Catholic University.
- 9.45 a.m. - Gustavo Ross Santa María, economist, financier, presidential candidate in 1938.
- 10.00 am. - Horacio Walker, Conservative; Senator, former president of the Conservative Party.
- 10.15 a.m.- Bernardo Ibañez, President of the Chilean Confederation of Labor accompanied by re-  
to  
10.45 a.m. presentatives of this organization.
- 10.45 a.m.- Eugenio Pereira, Francisco Walker Linares and Domingo Santa Cruz; representing the Chilean North American Cultural Institute.
- 11.00 a.m.- Dr. Cristobal Saenz; former Foreign Minister; used to be one of the ten largest wheat growers in the world.
- 11.15 a.m.- Irma Salas; progressive educator, head of the Liceo Experimental Manuel Salas.
- 11.30 a.m.- Dr. Jerónimo Méndez A., Minister of Public Health and Dr. Eugenio Suarez, Chief of the Department of Sanitation.
- 11.45 a.m.- Dr. Leonardo Guzmán,<sup>x</sup> Vice President of the Unión para la Victoria.
- 12.00 noon- Open.
- 12.15 p.m.- Open.
- 1.00 p.m. Luncheon offered by the Armed Forces of Chile at the Unión Club.
- 3.00 p.m. Visits to the farms (fundos) in and around Pirque, 25 kilometers from Santiago, terminating with a reception offered by the Sociedad Nacional de Agricultura<sup>2x</sup> at its Hacienda "Las Majadas" in Pirque. This Hacienda is a very typical old time Chilean farm with colonial structures. Presentation at Las Majadas of a gold medal  
to  
6.00 p.m.

by the Sociedad Nacional de Agricultura. The Vice President will be accompanied on these visits by the American Ambassador and Agricultural Attaché Wilson.

8.00 p.m. Leave Alameda Station (Santiago) in special train for Concepción. Overnight trip. On the trip south the Vice President will be accompanied by the American Ambassador, Secretary Lyon and Agricultural Attaché. The visiting party will also probably include the Minister of Economy and Commerce, Rodolfo JARAMILLO Bryce<sup>x</sup> and Minister of Agriculture, Fernando MOLLER Borden.<sup>x</sup>

---

x See biographical sketches.

xx Officers and directors of the Sociedad Nacional de Agricultura.

Maximo Valdés Fontecilla, President.  
Manuel Escobar Moreira, Vice President.  
D. Luis Barros Borgoño, Honorary Director.  
René Silva Espejo, Secretary.

Directors:

Carlos Allende N.  
Daniel Armanet F.  
Manuel A. Artaza.  
Jorge Baraona.  
Carlos Cavallero.  
Alfredo Cerda J.  
Luis Correa Vergara.  
Jorge Covarrubias Sanchez.  
Miguel Covarrubias V.  
Juan B'Etigny.  
Francisco Dominguez E.,  
Joaquín Echenique L.  
Javier Errázuriz M.  
Victor García.  
Carlos Haverbeck.  
Salvador Izquierdo.  
Rodolfo Jaramillo.  
Horacio Johnson.  
José Manuel Larrain E.  
Jaime Larrain.  
Jorge Lazcano Valdez.  
Miguel Letelier E.  
Alberto Llona B.  
Manuel Merino E.  
Fernando Moller B.  
Edmundo Moller B.  
Eduardo Moore M.  
Nicolás Moreno F.  
Ramón Noguera F.  
Max Nusser.  
Victor Opazo C.  
Recaredo Ossa U.  
Carlos Rozas Larrain.  
Manuel Rozas A.  
Guillermo Ruiz Tagle.  
Cristobal Sáenz.  
Ismael Tocornal.  
Leoncio Toro.

March 30

TUESDAY, MARCH 20

- 9.00 a.m. Special train reaches Chiquayante Station. The Vice President will be received by the Intendente (Governor) of the Province, Armando ALARCON del Canto and other local authorities. A visit will be made to the textile factories of W. R. Grace & Co.
- 10.30 a.m. Special train arrives at Talcahuano, the principal Chilean Naval Base and site of the largest dry-dock on the West Coast of South America. Chile's largest naval vessel, the Almirante La Torre, will be anchored in the port.
- 11.30 a.m. To Concepción by train. This city, the third most important in the Republic, was severely damaged by the earthquake of 1939 and is being rebuilt. A visit will be made to the University of Concepción.
- 12.00 noon Leave by train for Lota, the nation's principal coal producing area.
- 1.00 p.m. Luncheon at the old Cousiño Mansion in Lota Park followed by a visit to the Lota and Schwager coal mines which extend several miles under the sea.
- 4.00 p.m. Popular demonstration at the Lota Stadium.
- 6.30 p.m. Interviews will be arranged with agriculturists, representatives of social welfare institutions and labor leaders of the region.
- 8.00 p.m. Special train leaves Lota for Pilequén.

March 31

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 31

- 10.00 a.m. Special train reaches "La Rosa" farm at Pelequén, the property of Recaredo OSSA Undurraga and the OSSA family. This "fundo" produces diversified crops; Chilean hemp, fruits, oilseed, vegetables, poultry, etc. Employs approximately 300 workers. More than 1,000 hectares of land are worked under irrigation.
- 1.00 p.m. Luncheon at the "Fundo".
- 4:00 p.m. Return to Santiago by special train.
- 9:30 p.m. Dinner tendered by Vice President Wallace at the Embassy of the United States for His Excellency, the President of the Republic, followed by a large reception.



THURSDAY, APRIL 3.

- 8.00 a.m. Departs on special train for Valparaiso with His Excellency the President of the Republic. The Counselor of Embassy for Economic Affairs Butrick and the American Naval Attaché Rockwell will accompany the visiting party.
- 9.30 a.m. Stop over at Llai-Llai to visit the fruit packing plant and property of the Cia. Frutera Sud-Americana. This concern packs and ships a large part of the fruit entering the export trade.
- 11.00 a.m. Arrive at Valparaiso where the Vice President will be tendered a brief reception by the Intendente (Governor) of Valparaiso Gaston HAMEL B.
- 1.00 p.m. Luncheon at Parque del Salitre del Olivar, Villa del Mar, by the Corporación de ventas de Salitre y Yodo.<sup>x</sup>
- 3.30 p.m. Visit to the Universidad Tecnica "FEDERICO SANTA MARIA", Valparaiso, the country's leading technical school. This institution has a number of European instructors.
- 4.30 p.m. Return to Santiago by automobile via Casablanca and Curacavi.
- 8.00 p.m. Reception by the Directorate<sup>xx</sup> of the Union Club, Santiago.

---

x Officers and directors of the CORPORACION DE VENTAS DE SALITRE Y YODO:

Guillermo del Pedregal  
Jorge Vidal  
Pedro Alvarez Suarez  
Florencio Garcia  
Fernando Mardones R.  
Luis Alamos Barros  
Rolando Merino  
Pedro Alvarez Suarez  
David Blair  
Osvaldo F. de Castro  
Hernace H. Graham  
Alfredo Lagarrigue  
Juan Latorre Inquiardo  
Jorge Vidal  
Madley G. B. Whelpley  
Reginald F. Doublet  
Alejandro Echegoyen  
Fred Low  
R. Paul Miller

President  
1st. Executive Vice President  
2nd. Executive Vice President  
General Manager  
Asst. General Manager  
Director  
Director  
Director  
Director  
Director  
Director  
Director  
Director  
Director  
Director  
Director  
Substitute Director  
Substitute director  
Substitute Director  
Substitute Director

Enrique Valenzuela  
Joaquin Yrarrasaval  
Luis Serrano Arrieta

Substitute Director  
Substitute Director  
Substitute Director

XX Officers and directors of the UNION CLUB, Santiago.

Guillermo Edwards Matte  
Guillermo de Agüero Harboso  
Domingo Amunátegui Lecaros  
Luis Mackenna Ovalle  
Hector Marchant Blanlot  
Hernán Prieto Subercaseaux  
Juan Undurraga Fernández  
Fermín Vergara Figueroa  
Ricardo Yrarrasaval Rojas

President  
Director  
Director  
Director  
Director  
Director  
Director  
Director

April 1

THURSDAY, APRIL 3.

- 8.00 a.m. Departs on special train for Valparaiso with His Excellency the President of the Republic. The Counselor of Embassy for Economic Affairs Butrick and the American Naval Attaché Rockwell will accompany the visiting party.
- 9.30 a.m. Stop over at Llai-Llai to visit the fruit packing plant and property of the Cia. Frutera Sud-Americana. This concern packs and ships a large part of the fruit entering the export trade.
- 11.00 a.m. Arrive at Valparaiso where the Vice President will be tendered a brief reception by the Intendente (Governor) of Valparaiso Gaston HAMEL B.
- 1.00 p.m. Luncheon at Parque del Salitre del Olivar, Villa del Mar, by the Corporación de ventas de Salitre y Yodo.<sup>x</sup>
- 3.30 p.m. Visit to the Universidad Tecnica "FEDERICO SANTA MARIA", Valparaiso, the country's leading technical school. This institution has a number of European instructors.
- 4.30 p.m. Return to Santiago by automobile via Casablanca and Curacavi.
- 6.00 p.m. Reception by the Directorate<sup>xx</sup> of the Union Club, Santiago.

---

x Officers and directors of the CORPORACION DE VENTAS DE SALITRE Y YODO:

Guillermo del Pedregal  
Jorge Vidal  
Pedro Alvarez Suarez  
Florencio Garcia  
Fernando Mardones R.  
Luis Alamos Barros  
Rolando Marino  
Pedro Alvarez Suarez  
David Blair  
Osvaldo F. de Castro  
Horace R. Graham  
Alfredo Lagarrigue  
Juan Latorre Izquierdo  
Jorge Vidal  
Medley G. B. Whelpley  
Reginald F. Doublet  
Alejandro Kehogoyen  
Fred Low  
R. Paul Miller

President  
1st. Executive Vice President  
2nd. Executive Vice President  
General Manager  
Asst. General Manager  
Director  
Director  
Director  
Director  
Director  
Director  
Director  
Director  
Director  
Director  
Director  
Substitute Director  
Substitute director  
Substitute Director  
Substitute Director

**Officers and Directors of the CORPORACION DE VENTAS DE SALITRE Y YODO (Cont'd.):**

Enrique Valenzuela  
Joaquin Yrarrazaval  
Luis Serrano Arrieta

Substitute Director  
Substitute Director  
Substitute Director

**xx Officers and directors of the UNION CLUB, Santiago.**

Guillermo Edwards Matte  
Guillermo de Agüero Herboso  
Domingo Amunátegui Lecaros  
Luis Mackenna Ovalle  
Rector Marchant Blanlot  
Hernán Prieto Subercaseaux  
Juan Undurraga Fernández  
Fermín Vergara Figueroa  
Ricardo Yrarrazaval Rojas

President  
Director  
Director  
Director  
Director  
Director  
Director  
Director  
Director

April 2

FRIDAY, APRIL 2

- 6.45 a.m. Leave Los Cerrillos Airport for Antofagasta by Panagra plane. Counselor of Embassy Heath and an attaché of the Mission will accompany the party on the trip to northern Chile. Minister of Finance del Pedregal may also accompany the Vice President on his visit to the nitrate fields and copper properties.
- 11.20 a.m. Arrive at Antofagasta where the Vice President will be received by the Intendente (Governor) of the Province, Arturo RAMIREZ Baeza, and other provincial authorities. The party will depart immediately by automobile for the nitrate desert and nitrate plants.
- 1.00 p.m. Luncheon at the Maria Elena Nitrate Oficina followed by visits there and to the Pedro de Valdivia Nitrate Oficina, the world's largest plant producing natural nitrate.
- 9.00 p.m. Dinner at the Pedro de Valdivia Nitrate Oficina where the Vice President will spend the night.

April 3 & 4



SATURDAY, APRIL 3

- 7.00 a.m. Leave by automobile for Chuquicamata.
- 8.30 a.m. Arrive at Chuquicamata for visit to the property of the Chile Exploration Company operating open pit mines. This property has the largest copper ore reserves of any concern now producing copper.
- 1.00 p.m. Luncheon at the Chile Exploration Company, Chuquicamata.
- 9.00 p.m. Dinner at the Chile Exploration Company, Chuquicamata.
- 10.30 p.m. Leave Chuquicamata for Calama to take train for return to Antofagasta.
- 11.00 p.m. Leave Calama for Antofagasta by special night train. Overnight trip.

SUNDAY, APRIL 4

- 8.00 a.m. Arrive at Antofagasta, rainless port for nitrate and copper. Visit to the City.
- 10.00 a.m. Farewell reception at the Intendency of Antofagasta. Military honors will be rendered at the airport by the troops of the garrison.
- 11.35 p.m. Leave on Panagra plane for Arica enroute to Arequipa, Peru. The Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, the Counselor of the Embassy of the United States in representation of the American Ambassador and Chilean aides-de-camp ad hoc will accompany the Vice President to Arica. As the plane rises, the United States National Anthem will be played. Salute of 21 guns.
- 1.40 p.m. Arrive at frontier (Arica). Plane departs immediately thereafter for Arequipa, Peru.

OFFICE OF THE LEGAL ATTACHE  
LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES  
SAN JOSE, COSTA RICA  
April 5, 1943.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/16/83 BY SP1GSK/JC  
228303

Hon. John Edgar Hoover,  
Director,  
Federal Bureau of Investigation,  
United States Department of Justice,  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

There is transmitted herewith a translation of a letter written by MANUEL MORA, Leader of the Communist Party, to HENRY A. WALLACE, Vice President of the United States, which appeared in the "Trabajo", local Communist newspaper.

The above translation was obtained by

Very truly yours,

JAW:rpg

Enc.

CONF. INFT.

*No dist. necess.  
as avail. to all  
agencies.  
C. E. Y.*

RECORDED  
&  
INDEXED  
14

62-71788-8	
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION	
A - APR 15 1943	
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE	

EX-304

75 MAY 8 1943

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

San José, Costa Rica,  
April 5, 1943.

DATE 5/16/83 BY SP1GSKJc

Memorandum for the file

228303

There is set out below the contents of a letter written by MANUEL MORA, Leader of the Communist Party and Candidate to the Presidential power, to HENRY A. WALLACE, Vice President of the United States,

"Dear Mr. Wallace;

The Communists of Costa Rica are taking part, with much enthusiasm, in the homage that the people of this country are offering you.

In these moments of international confusion we have great faith in you.

We know very well that your philosophical ideas, as well as many of your points of view in economic matters, are opposite to our convictions, but we know also that you are honest and capable of listening to the voice of conscience and able to understand the basic demands of a period of great changes in the history of humanity and that is the reason for which we believe in you, although you are far from being a Communist.

Mr. WALLACE, will you ever become the President of the U.S.A? Will it be in your destiny to succeed President ROOSEVELT?

If the organized labor of Latin America had voice and were able to vote in the presidential election in the U.S.A. it is probable that they would vote for you.

It is well known, that the Communist Party is anti-imperialistic, and for that reason we are against the monstrous organization of the North American trusts who in their insatiable anxiety to accumulate profits fill our people with misery and do away with all liberty. Mr. WALLACE, is it not true that you are opposed to this cursed machinery of oppression and death?

Are we not right in thinking and stating that HENRY A. WALLACE is at the head of a progressive movement that has its roots in the hearts of American people, and is not in favor of the imperialistic movement that its roots in the vaults of Wall Street?

Mr. WALLACE, we are not so simple minded as to believe that imperialism is a phenomena which can be furthered or held back through of one man, be he a genius or the President of the U. S. A. We understand very well that imperialism is the outcome of mass production in the countries made possible by complete organization, but on the other hand we have not lost sight of the fact that the world is being transformed.

the war which has involved all the continents will not leave things as they were. Regarding this matter, we remember your own words advocating a reorganization of the world with the view to correct, as far as possible, the defects of the present system.

The destiny of the U. S. A. will have to be decided either by the popular forces of democracy or by the retrograde forces of imperialism.

You and Mr. ROOSEVELT stand by the former forces and will be the leaders of the just fight that we are longing for.

We are very glad to know that you are coming here with the determination to inquire into some of our problems. We trust that your desires may be carried out and that the representatives of power that surround you do not succeed in obscuring your vision.

You are going to be with us only few days and in these few days it will not be possible for you to see all that you should be shown; but perhaps you will be able to get an approximate idea of some of the problems internationally associated with the relation of Latin America and the U. S. A.

Have you received any complaints, Mr. WALLACE, of the dreadful manner in which the United Fruit Co. deals with our people?

Are you aware of the fact that this company has created, among the masses of the workers, an atmosphere of distrust towards your country?

This distrust is combatted daily by the organizations of the Communist Party which does not concur in attributing to the people of the U. S. A. the crimes committed by an unfair company; but nevertheless, very often, in the minds of the ignorant laborers, the crimes committed by the former leave a deeper impression than our doctrinal arguments.

The Zones of the United Fruit Company in Costa Rica are breeding places of ill feeling toward your country due to the treatment given by the outstanding men of the company.

In these Zones we have heard many times this saying, "Why should we wish for the triumph of the U. S. A. in this war, if we are exploited and trodden down by trusts?"

Frequently this is to be heard, "The crimes committed by Hitler cannot be worse than those under which we live and die in the hands of the United Fruit Company."

Some of the working men have a feeling of secret joy when the armies of the U. S. A. suffer a reverse. Probably that joy is caused by a resentment

because of the manner in which they have been treated.

It will be well that you should realize the attitude of these masses. To conceal it from you would be to betray the cause and the ideals of democracy.

At one time in the bosom of an anti-totalitarian organization here, we discussed with great alarm this problem which we have just put before you and we made to ourselves the following question: "Should the army of the U. S. A. be beaten in the Pacific and should an invasion of our country by the Germans be imminent; would the masses, victims of the trusts, respond the call of the continental defense?"

The answer unfortunately was not satisfactory. Since then we resolved to double our anti-totalitarian campaign in the territory of the United Fruit Company, but to no avail because of the fear inculcated in the laborers by them.

And now that we are discussing these matters let us digress a bit and advise you as to what happened in Panama. There the situation for the Costa Ricans was appalling. The rough foremen engaged by the Company have succeeded in sowing the seeds of hate for the trusts among the masses of Latin American workers. There they have two categories of men: Those who belong to the silver roll and those who belong to the gold roll.

To the gold roll the North Americans and to the silver roll the Latin Americans and the colored people.

For the former the Canal Zone is a kind of Paradise. For the latter it is more like hell. There the Latin Americans are dogs. They are kicked and humiliated. They are made to feel the racial superiority of the North Americans.

The matter is entirely different with regard to the Costa Ricans, but that does not make matters better. The Costa Ricans who observed the treatment of Latin Americans in that zone, frequently asked us, why do North Americans resent Hitler's theory of racial supremacy while maintaining an equally insolent attitude themselves.

Mr. WALLACE it must not escape your observations that in the very zone of the Canal, the United Fruit Company and the unintelligent foremen are engendering human gun powder.

The U. S. A. is fighting for the triumph of democracy and against the absurd theory of racial supremacy. You and Mr. ROOSEVELT are the outstanding leaders in the eyes of the nations in this dreadful war. Do not let the vested interests nullify your titanic struggle for the success of your ideals. Remember that totalitarianism is due not only to the agents of Hitler.

4-5-43

Remember too that besides the trusts there is another source of totalitarianism. The tyrants who rule in Latin America and who are backed by the U. S. A.

There are many despots recognized by everybody who carry the name of democrats with the approbation of the diplomatic representatives of the government of the States. Perhaps you may reply to us that your country does not intervene in the internal politics of the Latin American countries.

You may be right but you cannot deny that the people of any country where liberty is an empty word and crime is the formula which solves social problems will never understand the meaning of democracy especially when the tyrants and the high class thieves whom they know are those who flaunt the standards of liberty.

Allow us, Mr. WALLACE, to return to the affairs of our own country. We are aware of the fact that you are going to the United Fruit Company. We hope that you profit by this visit, but we fear that you may not be able to do it. Several years ago a kind hearted Costa Rican President took pity on the laborers and went to pay them a visit, but the United Fruit Company succeeded in putting up a show "Ad hoc" in order to give the President an entirely different viewpoint concerning the reality that he should have faced.

It is well that you know that in the Banana Zone, Costa Rica does not have full control of the people who live there. The Government of Costa Rica pays the authorities a very low salary to which the Company adds an almost equal amount in order to make use of their services in the interest of the Company.

Whenever it pleases the company, it throws out a Costa Rican farmer and confiscates his land or takes a group of laborers and sends them to the interior just as Hitler would do when he thinks that a man is undesirable, but does not deserve death.

The Government of Costa Rica could hardly fight a company like the United because in doing so it would find itself opposing the American Legation.

Mr. WALLACE, you have no idea of the way in which human beings of the white race live in the dominion of the United Fruit Company. We assure you that this company deals better with the mules than with our laborers.

If you had been accompanied by a working man in your visit to the Zone of the United Fruit Company, perhaps you would have been able to see some of the things which otherwise will be completely concealed from you.

In Costa Rica, Mr. WALLACE, all the business enterprises of the country have been compelled by law to raise the salaries of the laborers and yet the United Fruit Company and the Electric Light Company have refused to obey and have even made fun of the government.

A short time ago a strike broke out on the Pacific side, the strikers demanding better living conditions. The United Fruit blamed the Communists for it and the President of the Republic, Dr. CALDERON GUARDIA, whom everybody respects and loves because of his sympathy of the poor, went to the Banana Zone and interviewed the leaders in order to settle the matter. He begged them to stop the movement and promised them to appeal to the Company so that the leaders would take into consideration the demands of the laborers.

Shortly after the company dismissed all the leaders and demanded that they leave the Zone immediately. They were then placed on a black list and the simple minded ones of the group were terrorized and intimidated. However, the President of the country did obtain from the Manager of the Company a promise to better the living conditions of the laborers; but time has past and the promise has not yet been fulfilled.

Knowing that you are a man of great integrity, who sincerely wishes for a better understanding between Costa Rica and the U. S. A., we are bringing these facts to your attention in the hope that you will use your influence in behalf of these people whose only hope of salvation is through the democratic way of life.

Truly yours,

Mammal Mora"



b6  
b7C

L-50a

MR. TOLSON \_\_\_\_\_  
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
MR. LADD \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. GLAVIN \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. LADD \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. NICHOLS \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. TRACY \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. ROSEN \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. CARSON \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. COFFEE \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. HENDON \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. KRAMER \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. MC GUIRE \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. QUINN TAMM \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. NEASE \_\_\_\_\_  
MISS GANDY \_\_\_\_\_

# F.B.I. RADIOGRAM

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

*me*  
Classified by 228303 [DECODED COPY] *(X)*  
Declassify on: OADR

FROM LIMA 4-15-43 NR 248 6:04 PM EWT

DIRECTOR FROM   VICE-PRESIDENT WALLACE DEPARTED FOR  
GUAYAQUIL TODAY. CONF. INFT.  

RECEIVED: 4-15-43 7:06 PM EWT

*Miss Kramolich*  
*G. Arsky*  
VMP  
62-71788-9  
F B I  
24 APR 19 1943

*3/21/86*  
Classified by 1628 RFP/PB  
Declassify on: OADR

*30 APR 30 1943*

CLASSIFIED DECISIONS FINALIZED  
BY DPM   (DRC)  
DATE: 4-8-87

  ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
*(X)*

If the intelligence contained in the above message is to  
outside the Bureau, it is suggested that it be suitably paraphrased in  
order to protect the Bureau's cryptographic systems.

L-50a

MR. TOLSON \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. E. A. TAMM \_\_\_\_\_  
**CONFIDENTIAL**  
MR. GLAVIN \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. LADD \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. NICHOLS \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. TRACY \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. ROSEN \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. CARSON \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. COFFEY \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. HENDON \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. KRAMER \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. MC GUIRE \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. QUINN TAMM \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. NEASE \_\_\_\_\_  
MISS GANDY \_\_\_\_\_

# F.B.I. RADIOGRAM

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 4-8-87 BY  

ENCODED COPY **78**

DATE: **4-8-87**

FROM LIMA 4-12-43 NR 244

6:12 PM EWT

DIRECTOR FROM   VICE-PRESIDENT WALLACE ARRIVED LIMA  
4:00 P.M. TODAY.

RECEIVED: 4-12-43 6:13 PM EWT VMP

*Henry A. Wallace*

Classified by *SP-8 JSC*

Declassify on: *OADR 5-16-83 228303*

Classified By *3042 PGT/PB*  
Declassify on: *OADR 1/12/87 appeal 83-1400-1423*

*62-71788-10*

**RECORDED**  
**24 APR 1943**

**CONFIDENTIAL**

If the intelligence contained in the above message is to be disseminated outside the Bureau, it is suggested that it be suitably paraphrased in order to protect the Bureau's cryptographic systems.

b6  
b7C

50a

MR. TOLSON \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. E. A. TAMM \_\_\_\_\_  
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
MR. GLAVIN \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. LADD \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. NICHOLS \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. TRACY \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. ROSEN \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. CARSON \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. KRAMER \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. MC GUIRE \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. QUINN TAMM \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. NEASE \_\_\_\_\_  
MISS GANDY \_\_\_\_\_

# F. B. I. RADIOGRAM

Classified by DD/BSG  
Declassify on: OADR  
5-18-83  
228303

[DECODED COPY] *[initials]*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

FROM LIMA 4-8-43 NR 239 1:24 PM EWT

*By Kim*  
*Mrs. Kramolick*

DIRECTOR FROM [redacted] NUMBER [redacted] ADVISED THAT ALL THE POLITICAL  
APRISTA PRISONERS IN CONCENTRATION CAMPS WILL GO ON A HUNGER  
STRIKE WHILE VICE-PRESIDENT WALLACE IS IN PERU AS A SYMBOL OF  
HOMAGE. CITE. INFT: [redacted]

b7D

3/21/86  
Classified by 3042 BWT/PB  
Declassify on: OADR  
12-87  
*delivered to [illegible]*

RECEIVED 4-8-43 3:29 PM EWT

*HENRY A. WALLACE*

62 71788-11  
F B I

24 APR 19 1943

CLASSIFIED DECISIONS FINALIZED  
BY DEPARTMENTAL REVIEW COMMITTEE (DRC)  
DATE: 4-8-87 appel 83-1400  
-172

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b7D

If the intelligence contained in the above message is  
outside the Bureau, it is suggested that it be suitably paraphrased in  
order to protect the Bureau's cryptographic systems

ml  
ear

PLACE: Quito	DATE: 4/5/43	REPORTED BY: <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 150px; height: 20px;"></div>	b7D
-----------------	-----------------	--	-----

TITLE:  
Visit of Vice President Henry WALLACE

CHARACTER:  
Ecuador - Political

**SYNOPSIS:**

The opposition to Arroyo take three views with reference to the trip of Wallace: The Conservatives want to take part in it and try to make Wallace feel like only the Government is interested in his visit. The parties to the left like Wallace and think that it is a good time to show him that Arroyo does not represent the will of the Ecuadoran people. The other group, who are enemies of the U.S.A., spread rumors that he is coming to further enslave Ecuador and would like to create an embarrassing situation for Wallace if possible. Arroyo has given orders that no one should have a private interview with Wallace who is not a friend of the Government.

COMMENTS: NONE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/16/83 BY SP1 GSK/CO  
228303.

STATUS:

REFERENCE: NONE

Made Available to:

- (X) Embassy (Consulate)  
(X) M. A.  
(X) N. A.  
( ) Other

Copies:

- 1 - Bureau  
2 - Quito

RECORDED

62-71788-12  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
A - APR 21 1943  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

b7D

QUITO ECUADOR  
APRIL 1, 1943

POLITICAL MATTERS IN ECUADOR

Informant [ ] tells me that the opposition to the government of Arroyo takes three different views with reference to the visit to Ecuador of Vice-President of the United States, Henry Wallace.

b7D

The Conservatives and persons to the extreme right have agreed to take no part what ever in the reception of Wallace and try to give Wallace the view that the Ecuadorean people are hostile to him and that only the Government itself is making an effort to entertain him, saying that the government is the one that is receiving money and orders from the United States.

The members of the opposition to the left are admirers of Wallace and want to take advantage of his visit to demonstrate to him that the Government of Arroyo is not the government of the Ecuadorean people, and that it is only a dictatorship under Arroyo.

Another group which is fortunately small are strictly enemies of the USA and are spreading rumors that he is coming to Ecuador for the purpose of further enslaving Ecuador to the Economic whim of the States. They would like to create a situation or do something that would be embarrassing to Wallace.

Informant [ ] tells me that his plans for having a typical Ecuadorean party for Wallace have fallen completely thru because he could not guarantee Arroyo that those invited would not criticize the government of Arroyo. Further, Arroyo has given instructions that none of the leaders of the opposition who want to have private interviews with Wallace should be allowed to do so, and intends to surround him with close friends of the government in an endeavor to prevent any criticism of same.

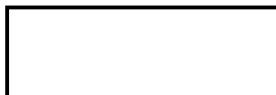
b7D

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/16/83 BY SP16SCC

228303



b7D

me

PLACE:

Quito, Ecuador

DATE:

4-9-43

REPORTED BY:



b7D

TITLE:


Political Activity  
Visit of Vice-President WALLACE  
to Ecuador.

*Henry A. Wallace*

CHARACTER:

Ecuador Political.

SYNOPSIS:

(This information was secured from  through Dr. Vicente TRUJILLO. Dr. TRUJILLO is a local lawyer, professor in the law school at the Guayaquil University, and politician. It has been ascertained through reliable sources that Dr. TRUJILLO is a confident of Pedro SAAD, local labor leader and organizer. He is furthermore credited with being the "brains" of SAAD. This relationship extends back for several years. THIS INFORMATION IS FOR THE USE OF THE BUREAU ONLY. At this time SAAD is being held incommunicado in the local jails, so the unions have not been able to contact him since his imprisonment.)

b7D

The unions principal subject of interest to discuss with WALLACE should they obtain an interview would be the "Procotolo de Rio Janeiro" of January, 1942. As yet there have been no indications that they are interested in the "balsa wood" question.

COMMENTS:

SS 3 SA BN  
CARD-CARSON  
F.B.I.

STATUS: PENDING

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/16/83 BY SP10/LJS  
228303

REFERENCE: Report dated 4-8-43, entitled Political Activity, etc., Character, Ecuador Political.

Made Available to:

Copies:

- (X) Embassy (Consulate)  
(X) M. A.  
(X) N. A.  
( ) Other BI

(5) to Washington  
1 to Quito.  
1 to Guayaquil

COPIES DESTROYED  
159 NOV 13 1964

76 MAY 22 1943

RECORDED  
& INDEXED  
MAY 2 1943

62-71788-13  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
K - APR 28 1943  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

b7D

Guayaquil, Ecuador.  
April 9, 1943.

Re: Political Activity  
Visit of Vice-President WALLACE  
to Ecuador.

Reference is made to report dated 4-8-43, entitled Political Activity, etc., Character, Ecuador Political. That report dealt principally with the efforts of the labor groups in Guayaquil to obtain a recognized part in the reception in Guayaquil for Vice-President WALLACE while he is in this city, the refusal, and the potential possibilities arising out of the refusal which might be embarrassing to the United States.

Through a source of information which is believed to be reliable and which access to the leaders of the labor groups in the city, a request was made to ascertain would be the principal subjects broached to WALLACE should they be able to obtain an interview with him.

It has been ascertained that the group which is most powerful and headed by Pedro SAAD, Union Sindical Guayas, desire to talk with WALLACE about the Protocolo de Rio Janeiro - the settlement of the Ecuadorian-Peruvian Border Dispute in January, 1942, which many here are displeased with.

The ~~next~~ next most powerful group which is known as the Confederación Obrera, have not consulted with the Union Sindical Guayas, but it is believed that it is also interested in the same subject.

The Consul General was particularly interested in whether or not the "balsa wood" subject, with regard to prices and the manner in which it has been handled, would be one of their principal points of discussion. My informant has advised me that at this time there have not been any indications that the labor groups would consider this matter as one of their primary points of discussion.

Should the balsa wood question come into the interviews with WALLACE, it would most likely be advanced by the "Cámara de Comercio".

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
159 NOV 6 1964

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/16/83 BY SP1KSL/GOE  
22803

PROPOSED ACTION

At Guayaquil, Ecuador.

Continue to follow closely the attitude of the labor groups and any action they might take during the visit of Vice-President WALLACE.

Follow up leads set out in report dated 4-8-43



ml  
X

PLACE: Quito	DATE: 4-8-43	REPORTED BY: <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 80px; height: 25px;"></div>
TITLE: Political Activity Visit of Vice-President WALLACE to Ecuador. <i>Henry A. Wallace</i>		CHARACTER: Ecuador Political

b7D

SYNOPSIS:

This information has been secured from  and

b7D

As a result of activities in connection with the CONGRESO OBREROS recently held in Quito, Pedro SAAD, on his return to Guayaquil was arrested. He is director of the largest and strongest syndicate of labor unions in Guayaquil. Numerous telegrams from labor unions have been directed to ARROYO requesting his release. Release has not been granted.

Labor groups seeking to obtain spot on WALLACE reception program have been refused.

COMMENTS: Possibility of incident arising out of this which might be embarrassing.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/16/83 BY SP10SKJC  
228303

STATUS: PENDING

REFERENCE: Report dated 3-20-43 entitled CONGRESO OBREROS, etc., Character Ecuador Political & R. 34

Made Available to:	Copies:	62-71788-14 FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION K - APR 28 1943 U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
(X) Embassy (Consulate) (X) M. A. (X) N. A. 15 NOV 13 1964 ( ) Other: BT	5 to Washington 2 to Quito 1 to Guayaquil	

COPIES DESTROYED  
76 MAY 22 1943

b7D

Guayaquil, Ecuador.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/16/83

BY

SP1GSKJ

228303

Re: Political Activity

Visit of Vice-President WALLACE  
to Ecuador.

Reference is made to report dated 3-20-43 entitled CONGRESO OBREROS, etc. Character, Ecuador Political - R which concerned a workers congress in Quito and the political ramifications.

On the return of Pedro SAAD, Guayaquil labor leader, communist, and member of the local Anti-Nazifascist Committee, he was arrested on orders from Quito and has been in jail since. The date of the arrest was the first part of the week beginning March 21.

This office has intercepted a number of telegrams which have been sent from Guayaquil labor unions and bodies to the President of the Republic in Quito requesting the release of SAAD. As of this date, April 9, he has not been released.

One telegram dated April 3, 1943, from the secretary of the Comité Empresa Trabajadores Fabrica Roma, requested the President to "release SAAD SAAD, Director of the Union Sindical Guayas, as an expression of Ecuadorian Democracy before the Reception Program for WALLACE".

It is understood that some of the labor units under the influence of SAAD have been attempting to secure an interview with WALLACE when he is in Guayaquil, and to give demonstration in the "Huancavilca Area" with some of the labor leaders making speeches in conjunction with representatives of the University and of Guayaquil and the Artists and Writers Society. This demonstration was of course to be in honor of WALLACE.

The principal labor group interested in this program was the "Union Sindical Guayas" of which SAAD is the Director. This group is a confederation of approximately 60 Guayaquil labor unions. Its nearest competitor in the labor field is the Confederacion Obrera which is composed of about 10 labor unions. The proportion of 6 to 1 in strength is approximately correct in both numbers and influence.

The labor groups mentioned above were under the impression that they had secured from the Guayaquil Program

COPIES DESTROYED  
15 JAN 1964

Committee for the Reception of Wallace a permit to give this demonstration in honor of WALLACE, he in turn was to attend the demonstration.

April 7 the labor groups were ~~definitely~~ definitely refused a spot on the program although a day or two previously they had received information indicating they would be unsuccessful in securing permission for the demonstration.

The Governor of the Province of Guayas, Enrique BAQUERIZO/Moreno, in stating his refusal tried to pass the blame to the Reception Committee which has as some of its more influential members Juan X. MARCOS, Augusto DILLON, and Eduardo LOPEZ. MARCOS is thoroughly hated by the labor unions and he will probably receive more of the blame than any of the other members of the committee.

However, the real reason for the refusal is believed to be that ARROYO does not want it to take place and the unions know it.

The ~~purpose~~ purpose of this report is to set forth and call to the attention of the Bureau the possibilities of incidents arising out of the local situation ~~which~~ which might prove ~~embarrassing~~ embarrassing to the Vice-President and to the United States while he is in Guayaquil.

~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ Upon the receipt of the refusal, it is reported that the labor leaders are very disappointed and ~~their~~ their reaction is one of withdrawing all their support from making the arrival of WALLACE a successful demonstration on the part of the Ecuadorian Government.

Raul Clemente HUERTA, a relative of the Ecuadorian Ambassador in Washington, is reported to have secured a place on the Reception ~~Program~~ Program for ~~the~~ a Guayaquil University group which is inclined to the "left". He stated last night, April 7, that as a sign of protest to the Ecuadorian Government, they may withdraw from the program. This action would also be a demonstration of solidarity with regard to the labor unions.

## PROPOSED ACTION

At Guayaquil, Ecuador.

Stay in touch with elements close to the labor unions in order to keep advised of their attitude toward the visit of WALLACE.

Ascertain if any overt action is anticipated by the labor group as a demonstration ~~of~~ against the action preventing them from participating in the reception of WALLACE.

Follow all incidents which might cause ~~f~~ a flare up between labor and the Ecuadorian Government during the visit of WALLACE.

At Quito, Ecuador.

Ascertain if the labor groups in Quito plan any joint action as a demonstration of solidarity with the Guayaquil unions in an attempt to force ARROYO's hand.

Follow as closely as ~~far~~ possible ARROYO's planned course of action with regard to the Guayaquil labor groups.

PLACE:

La Paz, Bolivia

DATE:

4/16/43

REPORTED BY:

No

b7D

TITLE:

VISIT OF VICE PRESIDENT  
WALLACE TO BOLIVIA*Henry A. Wallace*

CHARACTER:

BOLIVIA, POLITICAL

## SYNOPSIS:

Vice President Wallace arrived in La Paz on April 5, 1943, and remained in Bolivia until April 9. Schedule followed during his visit. Greeting received from people in La Paz was enthusiastic. Vice President made aware on number of occasions of Bolivia's demand for a seaport. Speeches made by Mr. Wallace in Spanish and press interviews considered successful and well received. Report Mr. LAZO of the Board of Economic Warfare informed Bolivian officials that war materials needed in United States would not be approved for delivery to Bolivia. Responsibility for Bolivian declaration of State of War avoided by Mr. Wallace. In general, Vice President's visit to Bolivia is considered to have been an outstanding success in furthering the Good Neighbor policy.

COMMENTS: None

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/16/83 BY SP1BSC/CO  
228303

STATUS:

- C -

REFERENCE: None

Made Available to:

- ( ) Embassy (Consulate)
- ( ) M. A.
- ( ) M. A. COPIES DESTROYED
- ( ) Other

15 NOV 13 1964

Copies:

- 5 Bureau
- 3 La Paz

RECORDED  
&  
INDEXED

62-71788-15

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

A - MAY 4 1943

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

b7D

B. L. L. 25 MAY 18 1943

La Paz, Bolivia  
April 16, 1943

Re: VISIT OF VICE PRESIDENT WALLACE  
TO BOLIVIA  
Bolivia, Political

Vice President Wallace and his party, including LAWRENCE DUGGAN, Political Adviser to the State Department, and HECTOR LAZO, Assistant Director of the Board of Economic Warfare, arrived at the La Paz airport from Arequipa on April 5, at 12:45 p. m. Under a special decree signed by the President of Bolivia on March 30, 1943, the Vice President had been declared an honored guest of the Republic and all public and private activities were ordered suspended on the day of his arrival. The official program of visit for Mr. Wallace was changed a number of times prior to his arrival and also during his visit. The schedule actually followed, with the exception of a few minor changes, is the following:

- April 5 - Arrive La Paz 12:45 p.m.  
Informal luncheon at Embassy, 2:30 p.m.  
Formal call on President of Bolivia, 3:30 p.m.  
Reception in Legislative Palace, 4:30 p.m.  
Reception in City Hall, 5:00 p.m.  
Tennis game, 5:30 p.m.  
Return to Embassy, 6:30 p.m.  
Dinner at Presidential Palace, 10:00 p.m.
- April 6 - Reception of visitors  
Visit to American Clinic  
Visit to Military College, 10:00 a.m.  
Buffet luncheon at Embassy, 12:30 p.m.  
Informal call on President, 2:30 p.m.  
Visit to Villa Victoria and American  
Institute, 4 to 5 p.m.  
Leave for Cochabamba by train, 6:00 p.m.
- April 7 - Arrive Cochabamba, 8:00 a.m.  
Visit city by motor, 8 to 9 a.m.  
Leave for Angostura Dam and agricultural lands  
around Cochabamba. Lunch en route, 9:00 a.m.  
Return to Cochabamba, 5:30 p.m.  
Reception at City Hall, 6:00 p.m.  
Leave Cochabamba by train, 8:15 p.m.
- April 8 - Arrive Oruro, 7:00 a.m.  
Arrive La Paz by airplane, 8:00 a.m.

COPIES DESTROYED  
153 NOV 7 1964

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/16/83 BY SP/IGSK/JC  
228323

Leave for Yungas and W. R. Grace mine by  
automobile, 8:30 a.m.  
Arrive Canadian Mission on Lake Titicac, 7:30 p.m.

April 9 - Leave Canadian Mission, 9:00 a.m.  
Arrive Huarisata (Indian School) 9:45 a.m.  
Leave Huarisata, 10:45 p.m.  
Arrive Straits of Tiquina, 1:00 p.m.  
Leave Copacabana, 3:15 p.m.  
Arrive Chuquito, 6:15 p.m.  
Arrive Puno, 8:00 p.m.

It had been planned originally that Mr. Wallace would visit the Hochschild mining properties at Colquiri and Potosí, and it is subject to speculation as to whether these visits were called off in order to avoid offending the Patiño interests, owners of Siglo XX, the largest mine in Bolivia, which is the scene of a call by virtually every visiting personage. Therefore, it is possible that the trip to the W. R. Grace mine in the Yungas was a compromise move permitting the Vice President to see something of the Bolivian lowland country and also visit a mine.

At the La Paz airport a large crowd of people met the Vice President upon his arrival, and he was greeted by members of the Cabinet, the President of the Senate, the American Ambassador, and numerous other officials. After reviewing a guard of honor at the airport the Vice President descended to the city and the Embassy residence in an open car followed by automobiles bearing the various officials. The procession wound through the principal streets of La Paz where Mr. Wallace received a tumultuous greeting. It should be noted that in a despatch sent by the Embassy to the State Department the greeting accorded Mr. Wallace in the drive from the Alto to the Embassy residence was described as "apathetic" and attributed to a general feeling of opposition on the part of the people to the present Bolivian Government as well as to the innate lethargy of the Bolivians. This information is credited by the Embassy to the leaders of the PIR. On the other hand, the writer learned from Secret Service Agents who have accompanied Vice President Wallace throughout his whole trip that far from being apathetic, the greeting accorded Mr. Wallace was adjudged to be the most enthusiastic he had received up to that time. On two occasions the crowds broke through the police lines and stopped the Vice President's car to shower him with flowers.

It is also reported by the Embassy that at two points along

the line of march the procession passed under banners demanding a seaport for Bolivia. The appearance of these banners may be attributed to agitation by "La Noche" and "Ultima Hora," two La Paz newspapers which have for some time been featuring articles demanding an outlet to the sea for Bolivia. "Ultima Hora" of April 6, 1943, published a petition presented by "Bloque Illimani," a nationalist youth organization, to the Vice President, wherein it was requested that the United States create a flag of the democracies. Obviously the petition was a subterfuge for the presentation of a more important request which stated that, "the legitimate geographic right which will give to Bolivia its own exit to the sea" should be publicized to the world and to all America.

In his speeches replying to official words of welcome from the President of the Senate and the Mayor of La Paz, Mr. Wallace dwelled on the importance of winning the peace after this war and the gaining of better living conditions for the common people. He stated that "in the midst of the present struggle America must orient the peace of the future to the true liberty of the people, to the happiness of human beings. We can and must win the bloody battles on distant fields...but we must do even more - we must win the peace, which can only be accomplished if we fulfill our duty toward the people who are supporting this titanic struggle. It is primarily in the houses of representatives of the people of the democracies that the policy of the future world is to be established." Mr. Wallace's statement to the Mayor that upon being named a citizen of La Paz he felt obliged to accept the responsibility of being a good fellow-citizen was acclaimed wildly by the crowd.

After his formal visit to the President of Bolivia and the Congress, Mr. Wallace went to the Tennis Club where he played two sets of tennis. It is reported that this act more than any other endeared him to the Bolivians who greatly admired his physical stamina and ability to shake off any effects of the altitude.

On the afternoon of April 6 Vice President Wallace held a press conference which was attended by the editors of all the La Paz newspapers and representatives of virtually all the other newspapers in the country. "La Razon" reports that in answer to a question regarding post-war tin prices Mr. Wallace stated that in his opinion the prices of minerals, values of principal products, and working conditions could be worked out through cooperation with Great Britain and the United States. Mr. Wallace emphasized that this was a personal opinion. On the question of a seaport for Bolivia, which was directly brought to his attention at this time, the Vice President neatly side-stepped, saying that



he had no opinion on political problems. Mr. Wallace was asked by the editor of the Leftist "La Calle" his views on the incorporation of the native population into Bolivian nationality, and he replied that he had not had an opportunity to study the problem. The Vice President remarked that he was greatly impressed with all that he had seen in Bolivia and that he had noted a common point of view among all political groups regarding the improvement of agriculture, security of markets for principal products, and mineral production.

It is reported in "La Razon" of April 7, 1943, that in his interview with the President of Bolivia Mr. Wallace discussed certain fundamental problems relating to the economy of the country. Other questions concerning commercial exchange and the increase in the extractive production of the country were also discussed. It is reported that the President requested that all possible attention be given to orders for materials which Bolivia has placed with the United States. It is worth noting in this connection that Mr. Lazo of the Board of Economic Warfare is reported to have made quite clear to the Bolivian Cabinet and members of the General Staff that his organization would not expedite delivery of any war materials to Bolivia which might deprive the United States forces of similar materials needed to carry on the war. Since it is generally believed that one of the principal motivations for Bolivia's declaration of a State of War against the Axis was to secure a generous supply of combat materials from the United States, it is questionable whether such a course of action would have been pursued had the Bolivian officials been forewarned of Mr. Lazo's sentiments. On the other hand, it is certain that the Bolivian President in his forthcoming visit to the United States will exert every effort to secure delivery of the war materials Bolivia wants.

With regard to Bolivia's declaration of a State of War against the Axis, nicely timed to coincide with the Vice President's arrival, it is reported that at Mr. Wallace's insistence this action was de-emphasized in order to avoid any interpretation that he (Mr. Wallace) was responsible for the action taken. It is reported that a distinct public opposition has developed against the declaration of the State of War, and there have been assertions that the United States and the Vice President are responsible for the unwanted condition.

The Embassy despatch adequately summarizes the results of Mr. Wallace's visit when it states that, "the Vice President's visit to Bolivia has been completely successful and a distinct

contribution to the furtherance of the Good Neighbor policy. Mr. Wallace made an extremely favorable personal impression on the Bolivians with his simplicity, his obvious sincerity, and his general 'simpatia.' His command of the Spanish language and his ability to conduct interviews without the use of an interpreter were very pleasant surprises to most Bolivians, and his energy and activity in the altitude were subjects for continuing complementary remarks. His public statements were of such a nature that not even the most reactionary of the Bolivians and foreigners could openly dissent and, at the same time, they were such that the Leftist leaders were completely won over. The leaders of both the MNR (Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario) and the PIR, for example, expressed in no uncertain terms to officers of the Embassy their admiration of Mr. Wallace and his political beliefs. At the same time the leaders of the conservative parties were charmed by Mr. Wallace himself and quite willing to applaud some of his statements with which they probably did not entirely agree."

- CLOSED -

LIMA FILE NO. 10-12.

PLACE:

LIMA, PERU.

DATE:

APRIL 21, 1943.

REPORTED BY:

b7D

TITLE:

VISIT OF VICE-PRESIDENT  
HENRY A. WALLACE TO PERU.

CHARACTER:

PERU - POLITICAL.

SYNOPSIS:

Vice-President HENRY A. WALLACE arrived at Lima, Peru, on April 12th, 1943, for an official visit, and departed for Guayaquil, Ecuador, on April 15th. There is set out hereinafter a complete resume of his activities while in Peru.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/16/83 BY SP1 GSK/SC  
228383

COMMENTS:

~~ENCLOSURE~~

STATUS:

CLOSED.

REFERENCE:

Made Available to:

- ( ) Embassy (Consulate)
- ( ) M. A.
- ( ) N. A.
- ( ) Other

COPIES DESTROYED  
159 NOV 51964

Copies:

5-Bureau (Enclosures)  
2-Lima.

RECORDED  
&  
INDEXED

62-71788-16  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
I-MAY 8 1943  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

b7D

RECORDED COPY FILED IN 64-20095-15

Lima, Peru.  
April 21, 1943.

Re: VISIT OF VICE-PRESIDENT  
HENRY A. WALLACE TO PERU.  
PERU - POLITICAL.

DETAILS:

On March 25, 1943, Vice-President WALLACE arrived in Lima, Peru, at the Limatambo Airport, local aviation field of Panagra, Inc., such arrival being at approximately 4:30 p.m.

Mr. WALLACE was greeted by Mr. HENRY NORWEB, the American Ambassador, and the Minister of Aviation, the press, and an aide-de-camp. President PRADO was not at the airport. There were present approximately 2,000 people, Peruvians and Americans, all high officials of the Peruvian Army and Navy, along with the officials of the U. S. Air and Marine Missions in their dress uniforms. Also on hand to greet Mr. WALLACE was the Chief of Protocol. Mr. WALLACE received a twenty-one gun salute fired by the Peruvian Army, and a full troop of mounted full-dress cavalry was present.

From the Limatambo Airport, the Vice-President was driven to the residence of the American Ambassador at Schell 210, in Miraflores. Immediately upon his arrival at Mr. NORWEB's home, Mr. WALLACE held a press conference during which his comments were very general, concerning his small view of South America prior to that time. He commented that he thought Lima was a beautiful city and that he was proud of the reception given him at the airport. He further commented on his twenty-one gun salute, and he stated that if one request were granted it would be to play tennis.

Immediately following this press conference, the Vice-President paid an informal call on President PRADO at the Palace Gobierno. This was in the nature of a social call purely and had no diplomatic weight.

At 8:30 o'clock in the evening, a small dinner was offered by Ambassador NORWEB at his home.

It should be noted that on this occasion Mr. WALLACE was supposedly traveling incognito and was considered in transit, looking forward to his official visit to Peru on April 12th, 1943. However, he received official recognition at Lima and also at Arequipa.

At 6:30 o'clock the following morning, Mr. WALLACE boarded a Panagra plane at Limatambo Airport to continue his journey to Chile.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/16/83 BY SP1 QSG/JD  
228303

It is interesting to note that Mr. WALLACE left both curiosity-seekers and interested newspapermen waiting at the home of the Ambassador when he decided to arise at 4:00 a.m. and walk the three miles to the Limatambo Airport.

Mr. WALLACE proceeded to Chile and then returned to Lima and Arequipa, arriving in Arequipa, Peru, at approximately 2:10 p.m. on Sunday, April 4th, 1943. He traveled by Panagra, and at the Arequipa Airport he was greeted by the Prefect of the Department of Arequipa, Mr. FERRO; the Mayor of Arequipa, Mr. MOSCOSO; and other leading officials.

Driving from the airport to the Plaza de Armas, the Vice-President was warmly greeted, being showered with thousands of flowers as he drove to the City Hall across the Plaza de Armas. Thousands of people welcomed him at the Plaza, many of the people composing large representations of various schools.

At the City Hall, he was welcomed in a short ceremony. Vice-President WALLACE thanked the people for welcoming him. He pointed out in brief that Arequipa, because of its importance in agriculture, plays a large part in victory for the democracies, or words similar in effect.

From the City Hall, Mr. WALLACE went to the Hotel Arequipa for a few moments, then rode through the city to the outskirts, Tingo. On the way back to the city proper he stopped and examined some of the corn crop of the land. He then walked across the street from the corn crop to another land producing this vegetable but apparently of another kind and quality.

On the way into the city from Tingo, Mr. WALLACE visited the milk plant "Leche Gloria" and also viewed a stock show which was held on the lawns of the "Leche Gloria". He was to have been the guest of Club Arequipa; however, in view of the death of MANUEL UGARTECHE, such plans were canceled.

Mr. WALLACE then went to the hotel, rested a short while, informally received a few members of the Rotary Club, and, at approximately 8:30 p.m., visited the home of the Vice Consul, where the American Colony, consisting of approximately thirty members, welcomed him in an informal way. After spending about thirty minutes there, he went to the Prefect's home, at about 9:00 p.m., where he had dinner with a comparatively small party. He left at approximately 11:30 p.m. for the hotel.

It can be stated that he was warmly received by all people, the majority of whom are, of course, poor people. Several admiring remarks were passed to the effect that he was well liked because of his simplicity and because he is a "regular guy" representing the true American. As one individual stated, "He is so well liked by all the people here because he is regular, representing the real American and not the 'Fifth Avenue' American."

On the morning of April 6th, 1943, following his breakfast, Mr. WALLACE played a few games of ping-pong. He then started out for a walk to the market with the Prefect of Arequipa, body guards, and many others, of course. On the way past Quinta Bates, he stopped for a few minutes and chatted with "Tia Bates", whom, incidentally, he had visited on the previous afternoon for a few minutes.

On the way to the market, the plans were changed, and Mr. WALLACE commenced to walk toward the airport, this being about 9:00 a.m. Along the way the people greeted him warmly. He stopped to visit the "Obreros Quarters" on the banks of the River Chili, which is on the way to the airport. On the way up from the river bank, the prefect, now very tired, mentioned that there were other quarters just being built for so-called "employees", and the Vice-President remarked that he would like to see them. He commenced to walk to them, only to be interrupted by the prefect, who suggested that they ride in their cars. The whole party then rode to the new quarters mentioned and thereafter to the airport. Mr. WALLACE left Arequipa, via Panagra, at approximately 10:00 a.m., for La Paz, Bolivia.

It can be stated that Vice-President WALLACE made a fine impression on the people of Arequipa, Peru.

#### APRISTA PARTY

Prior to the return of Mr. WALLACE to Peru, this office received information that the Aprista Party, headed by VICTOR HAYA DE LA TORRE, was planning to stage a mass demonstration in protest against the Peruvian Government during Mr. WALLACE's visit.

HAYA DE LA TORRE was contacted by an intermediary for the Minister of Government, and a political truce was requested during Mr. WALLACE's visit. This intermediary was Dr. ANTENOR FERNANDEZ SOLER, who is a close friend of HAYA DE LA TORRE.

HAYA DE LA TORRE said that his party was ready to cooperate with the government toward a national welcome to the visitor but that they likewise had to have some sort of guarantee. The Minister of Government, Señor MARIO DE LA PUENTE, reported that there would be freedom for everyone during the demonstration, and HAYA DE LA TORRE requested that this be placed in an official communication. The Minister requested that there be no demonstration of white handkerchief waving, as is the Aprista salute, and HAYA DE LA TORRE insisted on this.

HAYA DE LA TORRE stated that at least 40,000 Apristas would be present in the Plaza de Armas for a mass demonstration, and he said, "If the government is going to make trouble, there will be trouble."

A considerable portion of the March 20th, 1943, issue of "La Tribuna" was devoted to criticism of the Peruvian Government. Pursuing a long-standing policy, the newspaper asserted that only Aprism could save Peru; that the present government is a dictatorship; that the only thing it asks is the right to the four liberties of the Atlantic Charter.

Reference was made to the next election for President of Peru. The statement was made that if President PRADO were elected there would be trouble from the Aprista Party. However, the Party stated it did not believe that President PRADO would be re-elected because President ROOSEVELT has said he will not tolerate defrauders in elections anywhere in the world.

There were also received in this office copies of handbills which were secretly distributed by the party:

The first handbill puts words in the mouth of President PRADO when he speaks to the United States to the effect that he is on his knees before that government and ready to do whatever is ordered. At the same time he is saying to the Axis that he was forced to break relations and that he is really a totalitarian and anti-democratic and is betraying Peru. Thus it is stated he is serving both interests.

The second handbill refers to the victorious part played by the Russians in fighting the Germans and urges the Peruvians to be ready for the victorious hour of democracy in Peru.

The third circular refers to the scarcity of food and the high prices. It states that the war is not the cause of this but rather it is a result of the fact the men in the present government are taking advantage of the situation in order to enrich themselves. The reader is urged to assist in dethroning and defeating the tyranny of the son of a traitor.

It was reported indirectly that many more of these circulars were being printed for distribution during the visit of Vice-President WALLACE.

In another copy of La Tribuna, there was an article concerning the trip of Vice-President WALLACE through Peru. In this editorial, Mr. WALLACE was greeted and praised for being one of the most authoritative leaders of the cause of human liberty. It stated that Mr. WALLACE believes in the creation of an international police after the war for the purpose of insuring an enforcement of the four liberties. In conclusion, the Vice-President is cordially welcomed and asked to discover and judge for himself the sorrowful social and political situation in Peru.

This edition of La Tribuna also contained an article dealing with Japanese fifth-column activities, which has no bearing in this report.

Prior to the visit of Mr. WALLACE to Peru, a representative of this office was in conference with Mr. IRA BROUGHT, of the U. S. Secret Service, and Señor MIER Y TERAN, Chief of the Division of Investigations, and it was explained to MIER Y TERAN in detail the protective measures requested during the visit of the Vice-President. He advised that arrangements had been made and that his men had received explicit instructions to cooperate with this office and with the Secret Service in any manner they are asked. Mr. ABRAHAM RUBIO ROLANDO and Mr. JOSE AYANZ MAYO were placed in charge.

It was stated that the services of a troop of the Guardia de Seguridad would be utilized at the airport to form a protective line leading from the Limatambo station to the Vice-President's automobile.

On April 3, 1943, this office received information that the Aprista Party in Arequipa, Peru, was planning a mass demonstration on the visit of Vice-President WALLACE to that city. Our representative in Arequipa was advised of this information, and the Secret Service representatives traveling with Mr. WALLACE were also notified in La Paz, Bolivia. This demonstration never took place.

A number of small handbills were distributed by the members of the Aprista Party immediately before and during the visit of Mr. WALLACE to Peru. Translations of them are as follows:

"Dear Mr. Wallace: In Chile and Bolivia you have seen people with liberty of expression and in which the parties of the left and the right constitute the Democracy. But in Peru, where there are no constitutional rights, you find an oppressed people, camps of concentration, hunger and terror. JUSTICE AND LIBERTY!"

"Henry A. Wallace: You are welcome! The Peruvian people, which struggles against Internal Tyranny and against Nazi-Fascism, greets the Vice-President of the United States and asks him to make known to the people of the United States that the War for the Democracy cannot be gained in alliance with the enemies of Democracy. WE ASK LIBERTY!"

"The Peruvian Aprista People struggle so that the four Rooseveltian Liberties may be realized some time in our country which is oppressed by an Oligarchical Totalitarianism. The People of Peru struggle so that there may be here Constitutional Liberties, Social Justice, Culture and Bread. FOR THIS WE ARE WITH WALLACE! WE WANT RIGHTS!"



"The Vice-President Wallace has said: 'The true Democracy supposes Parties of the Right and Left with full liberties.' And here in Peru the Ruling Totalitarian Oligarchy permits only Speculators. There is no opposition. There are no rights. Prado and his ring are infallible."

"The Totalitarian Oligarchy which denies to the Peruvians Liberties and Bread calls the Aprista People 'Bandits', Marxists, Sectarians, and Gangsters. But so the Reactionaries and Nazi-Fascists called President Roosevelt and Vice-President Wallace and the North American Democrats. WE ARE ALWAYS JOINED TOGETHER WHEN WE STRUGGLE FOR LIBERTY AND JUSTICE."

"A people which has been denied its rights, reacts as a lioness who has been deprived of her cubs. These are words of Vice-President Wallace. Similarly react and struggle the oppressed Aprista People of Peru! WE WANT LIBERTIES!"

"TO THE PEOPLE OF LIMA, CALLAO, and Resorts: The Peruvian Aprista Party, obliged to act clandestinely by the ruling Totalitarian terror, invites all Apristas to express their sympathy to Vice-President Wallace as champion of the rights of man and of the citizen and as a defender of the Democratic liberties of the workers. The Party, threatened by the Minister of Government so that it will not perform Manifestations, makes a call to the people that on this occasion it make an affirmation of its faith in Democracy and protest once more against the Nazi-Fascist methods of the government. - As a symbol of Homage to the visit of the Vice-President, all the Political Aprista Prisoners of the Camps of Concentration WILL MAKE A HUNGER STRIKE WHILE MR. WALLACE IS IN PERU."

"Lima, April, 1943.

"Fe, Union,  
Discipline and  
Action.

By order of the National Committee of Action.

The Secretary National of Organization  
and Propaganda."

"seasap.

In addition to this, information was received that the Aprista Party had sent a message to President PRADO advising him that he must permit the Apra to make a demonstration to Vice-President WALLACE or there would be trouble. The people had been instructed by the Party to use the Aprista salute.

Information was also received that during Mr. WALLACE's visit to Lima he would be presented with a letter signed by fifty-two members of the Aprista Party who are prisoners in El Fronton, Peruvian penitentiary. This letter protests the treatment of the Party by the government and pledges the support of the prisoners to the cause of democracy. A copy of the letter was received by this office.

A rumor was circulated to a rather large extent among social and diplomatic circles that Mr. WALLACE had made the statement that his main purpose in coming to Peru was in order to know and talk with VICTOR HAYA DE LA TORRE. The Peruvians consider such a statement to be an insult to their country and the present government. It has not been possible to ascertain the source of this rumor, but it may have been started by Axis nationals desirous of injuring inter-American relations. On the other hand, it might have originated with members of the Aprista Party.

It was also rumored at this time that Mr. WALLACE is a very good friend of HAYA DE LA TORRE and has been corresponding with him for some time. There appears to be no basis for this latter rumor. However, the Apra periodical La Tribuna published an item several months ago in which it was stated that when MANUEL SEOANE, second in command of the Apra Party, visited the United States, he had a long conversation with Mr. WALLACE and it was intimated that a very close friendship exists between Mr. WALLACE, the Aprista Party, and HAYA DE LA TORRE.

There is set out below a report submitted to this office by No. 237:

HAYA DE LA TORRE, Chief of the Aprista Party, requested the writer to ascertain if an interview with Vice-President HENRY A. WALLACE would be possible. This request was transmitted to the Legal Attaché, who discussed the same with Ambassador HENRY NORWEB. Mr. NORWEB stated that such an interview would be impossible because the Vice-President had agreed not to contact the opposition party. In addition, Mr. NORWEB advised that it would be impossible to give an answer to HAYA DE LA TORRE because no matter what answer was given it would be used for political purposes. The writer was requested to handle the situation with care in view of the possible political consequences.

The writer subsequently advised HAYA DE LA TORRE, through an intermediary, that it was impossible to contact the appropriate persons who had charge of arranging the program for Mr. Wallace and that practically everything was being arranged by the Peruvian Government.

Subsequently HAYA DE LA TORRE left two envelopes at the writer's residence with a note requesting that they be transmitted to Vice-President WALLACE. One of these envelopes contained a letter signed by Aprista prisoners at El Fronton and a portfolio prepared by the prisoners. This booklet was entirely prepared by hand and was devoted to a criticism of the present Peruvian Government for being a "Dictatorship". It also praised Mr. WALLACE and President Roosevelt and the leader of the Apra Party, HAYA DE LA TORRE.

The other envelope contained a letter signed by HAYA DE LA TORRE and addressed to Mr. WALLACE. It extended a welcome to him on behalf of the Party and urged him to report to President Roosevelt that the only country in South America without constitutional liberties is Peru. A translation of this letter is as follows:

"PERUVIAN APRISTA PARTY

"Jefatura

"Honorable Señor Henry A. Wallace  
Vice-President of the United States.

Lima, April 14, 1943.

"Señor:

"The Peruvian Aprista Party, obliged to develop its activities clandestinely by the dictatorial government of Mr. Prado, has taken the resolution to send to you a message of greeting on the occasion of your passing through our country.

"You visit a republic in which constitutional rights do not exist, nor any of the liberties for which the Christian people struggle in this war. You have been a witness, the afternoon of April 12th, to the popular repudiation of the government so clearly manifested in the Plaza de Armas, and, by the character of the program, you will have seen how far you have been kept from the popular masses.

"Among the six IndoAmerican countries which compose the program of your trip, Peru is the only one where Democracy does not exist, where the constitutional rights are abolished, and where there are hundreds of political prisoners, without trial, in the camps of concentration. This is the Peru of the Incas which did not know misery "neither paupers nor rich people" before the conquest and for whose social and political recovery we, the Apristas, are struggling against the prevailing plutocracy.

"We hope that the Peruvian reality has not been hidden from your penetrating and observing judgment, and we trust that on returning to the United States that you will tell President Roosevelt that here there is a people which suffers oppression and scarcity and which aspires, with a just claim, to be free.

"Wishing you a pleasant stay in our country and a happy trip, we express sentiments of our special personal consideration.

"For the National Committee,

/s/ HAYA DE LA TORRE."

Both of the envelopes left at the writer's residence for delivery to Mr. WALLACE were given to the Legal Attaché in Lima for transmittal to Mr. WALLACE through the Ambassador, which was done.

Informant [ ] advised the writer that just previous to the arrival of Mr. WALLACE in Lima, the Minister of Government, RICARDO DE LA PUENTE, sent a go-between to HAYA DE LA TORRE, requesting a political truce during Mr. WALLACE's visit. HAYA DE LA TORRE answered that the Aprista Party was ready to cooperate with the government toward the aim of a "National Welcome" to the visitor but that there had to be a guarantee for the members of the Aprista Party.

b7D

The Minister reported that the only possible guarantee was that there would be freedom for everyone during the celebration. HAYA DE LA TORRE then requested an official "Comunicado" to this effect, but this was refused.

Informant [ ] further advised that the Minister requested that the Apristas refrain from using their salute which consists of waving a white handkerchief. This request was rejected by the Party, and HAYA DE LA TORRE claimed that he ordered between thirty and forty thousand members of the Party to be present in the Plaza de Armas.

b7D

The intermediary in the above negotiations was Dr. ANTONIO FERNANDEZ SOLER.

On the afternoon that Vice-President HENRY A. WALLACE arrived in Lima, April 12th, he was greeted by an unprecedented throng of people in all parts of the city. The greatest gathering was in the Plaza de Armas where Mr. WALLACE and President Prado spoke from the balcony of the Government Palace.

During the demonstration in the Plaza de Armas, it was observed that very few people used the Aprista salute of waving a white handkerchief. Also, the members of the Party had been instructed to raise their right arms as a salute to the visitor. No one was observed by the writer to give this salute. Consequently, it would appear that the organized demonstration of Aprista strength failed. However, it should be noted that when President Prado endeavored to speak in the Plaza de Armas, he was constantly interrupted by whistling and shouting. This condition forced him to cut his speech very short. On the other hand, Mr. WALLACE was listened to with great respect, and when he finished he received tremendous applause.

The disturbance caused during President Prado's speech can not be attributed to the Aprista Party nor can it be taken as an indication of the strength of the Party. This shouting came from the masses of the people, who have been considerably agitated lately by the high prices and the scarcity of food. Due to the low standard of living in Peru, the majority of the people live on meat, rice, and potatoes. In recent months, the prices of these articles have greatly increased, and also they have become harder to obtain. For three or four days every week there is no meat in the markets. There is very little rice available, and, in order to secure it, it becomes necessary in some cities to form in line at four o'clock in the morning. Potatoes are also hard to obtain, and every day in the markets there are scenes of people fighting their way to make their necessary purchases.

The above conditions have become worse in recent weeks, and this is the reason for the popular manifestation against the Government. The literature of the Aprista Party stresses the injustice of having many political prisoners being held without trial, etc. However, this does not appear to be the real reason for the anti-Prado attitude of so many people. They believe that the Aprista Party would also have many political prisoners if it came into power. The same is true with almost any political party that is found in Peru. However, the Aprista Party also takes advantage of the food situation in order to attack the government, and this is the subject matter of some of its propaganda.

In connection with the demonstration in the Plaza de Armas, the writer has been advised that many members of the Aprista Party were arrested as they attempted to enter the Plaza carrying anti-Government banners. It has been impossible to verify this information or to ascertain the number of such arrests.

Enclosed with this report by No.  were leaflets distributed by the Apra Party during Mr. WALLACE's visit to Peru, translated as follows:

b7D

"Left Arm on High. Up with the White Aprista Handkerchief. So the people of the South received Mr. WALLACE in most grand demonstrations of the invincible power of Aprism. So Lima, Callao, and Resorts. With the classic salute of Democracy, Liberty, of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen."

"From 1931. The white handkerchief in the left arm on high is the symbol of the popular faith in the great Peruvian Aprista Party, glorious, indivisible, and strong with the strength which the people and the youth give it. With the arrival of Mr. WALLACE from one boundary of Peru to the other the White Aprista Handkerchief is waved."

OFFICIAL VISIT

On Monday, April 12th, 1943, at approximately 4:00 p.m., Mr. WALLACE arrived at Santa Cruz airport, Lima, Peru, escorted by airplanes of the Peruvian air force. An official and popular welcome to the Vice-President took place at that time on the occasion of his initiating the official portion of his visit to Peru.

The Vice-President was greeted at the airport by President Prado and the diplomatic corps and high Peruvian officials. At this time Vice-President WALLACE was afforded a twenty-one gun salute. He posed for the photographers and then entered the official automobile for a five mile parade to the Palace de Gobierno.

At points on the route to the Palace, school and civic choruses sang the national anthems of Peru and of the United States. At the Plaza de Armas and Plaza San Martin, school children arranged themselves to form large victory "V's" and to form the flags of the two countries. The Vice-President rode in a colonial type open carriage, accompanied by President Prado. They were escorted by the colorful Inca Guard, made up of pure Inca Indians, wearing uniforms of the colonial era.

No.  obtained a photograph of the Vice-President's carriage in the parade, and a print of same is an enclosure with this report.

b7D

At the Plaza San Martin, in the heart of Lima, the parade drew to a stop immediately in front of two large bleachers, same being packed with school children arranged to form two large white "V's". Above one set of bleachers was a large picture of President Roosevelt, while above the other was a picture of President Prado. At this time the official military band played the U. S. National Anthem, while the school children sang the words in English. It should be noted that at this time all persons stood in silence and at strict attention. The members of the official entourage left their cars to stand at attention.

Upon arrival at the Plaza de Armas, on which the Presidential Palace faces, the Vice-President left his carriage and proceeded on foot to the front of the Palace, where he gave a short response to President Prado's welcome. This ceremony was no more than five minutes in length. It should be noted that upon the arrival of the official party to the Palace there were present in the Plaza approximately fifty thousand people. It was noted that there was much hissing and booing during the speech of President Prado. Also, a large percentage of the crowd demonstrated their Aprista sympathies by waving of white handkerchiefs in the Aprista salute. From this it was apparent that the Plaza de Armas and Presidential Palace had been designated by the Aprista Party as the congregating point for Party members. However, upon the response of Vice-President WALLACE to the welcome by President Prado, no signs of antagonism or political difference were made. Mr. WALLACE was received with hearty accord by all present.

On the side of the Plaza de Armas opposite the Presidential Palace, school children were arranged in two huge bleachers so that their colored costumes formed the flags of Peru and the United States. At this time the national anthems of the two countries were played again, and the Star Spangled Banner was sung in English.

Upon his arrival at the Palace, Vice-President WALLACE granted a press conference at which were present approximately forty newspaper and press correspondents from Peru and the United States. At this conference there were present representatives of United Press, Associated Press, Trans-Radio Press Service, New York Times, Baltimore Sun, and El Comercio, La Prensa, La Noche, and other outstanding Peruvian newspapers and periodicals.

*Peru* This conference was very general. Questions asked were mostly personal, and it was apparent that the newspaper correspondents were attempting to cultivate Mr. WALLACE's goodwill by staying away from political and diplomatic questions. There were, however, two questions placed to him of this type. One reminded him of a statement he had made at a Panamanian press conference to the effect that the U. S. Government was thankful for the Communist intervention into the war. The question placed was as to whether or not the United States placed Communism on a basis with Pan-Americanism. To this Mr. WALLACE answered: "At the present time Pan-Americanism is not sufficient. Communism is necessary to effect a world peace." The second question placed to Mr. WALLACE was as to what would be brought to the man on the street by the present Pan-Americanism program, to which Mr. WALLACE responded that he did not understand what was meant by the "man on the street" but that attempt would be made to help everyone, both in the United States and in South America. He stated that any commercial crisis which might arise during or after the war could not be judged or foreseen at this time.

This conference was only twenty to thirty minutes in length. Mr. WALLACE afforded all photographers opportunity to take pictures, and No. 492 is submitting, as an enclosure with this report, the negative and a print of a photograph of this conference.

At 7:00 o'clock, Mr. WALLACE had a fifteen minute reception for the chiefs of the diplomatic missions accredited to Peru. Only about fifty persons were present, and it was very informal, Mr. WALLACE making no statements of a political or diplomatic nature.

At 7:15 p.m., Mr. WALLACE received the Archbishop of Lima. This reception was private in nature for the Archbishop and his associates, and no press releases or publicity were given to it.

At 7:30 p.m., the Mayor of Lima, Sr. LUIS GALLO PORRAS, visited the Vice-President, together with representatives of his Municipal Commission, and presented a parchment scroll naming Mr. WALLACE "An-Illustrious Guest of the City". At this time the Mayor also extended a formal invitation to the Vice-President to attend a dinner that same evening at the Lima Tennis Club. Mr. WALLACE graciously accepted this invitation as well as the scroll naming him an honorary citizen of Lima.

At 8:30 p.m., a formal dinner was offered by the Mayor of Lima at the Exposition Tennis Club, where entertainment and music was presented in order to give the Vice-President an opportunity to hear typical Peruvian music and to witness typical Peruvian dancing. This dinner was in the nature of a pachamanca (Peruvian barbecue). Approximately twelve hundred persons were present at this dinner, and Mr. WALLACE was received heartily by all. He retired to the Palace early in the evening. The entertainment at the tennis club was designated as "Noche Peruana" and was presented by outstanding theatrical and scenic artists of Lima. The evening's souvenir program is an enclosure with this report.

On Tuesday, April 13th, Mr. WALLACE paid a visit to the La Molina agricultural station at 9:00 a.m. This station is approximately four miles from Lima.

Upon returning from the agricultural exhibit, Mr. WALLACE, at 10:00 a.m., visited the botanical gardens connected with the Faculty of Medicine of San Marcos University, which are considered to be the most excellent of their kind and have recently received attention by high medical and botanical officials from the United States. At the gardens, Mr. WALLACE, with due ceremony, planted an Oropel tree from eastern Peru.



At 10:15 p.m. on Tuesday, Dr. MONGE, Dean of the Medical Faculty of San Marcos University, presented to Mr. WALLACE a copy of a declaration of independence signed by Peruvian physicians on July 29, 1821.

At 10:30 p.m., Mr. WALLACE was given opportunity to inspect the Peruvian workmen's hospital, which is indirectly connected with the medical buildings of San Marcos University. It is noted that San Marcos University is the oldest university in the Western Hemisphere.

At 11:30 p.m., Mr. WALLACE visited the Barrio Obrero and Restaurantes Populares (workmen's dwellings and restaurants maintained by the Peruvian Government, which provide wholesome meals at minimum nominal prices).

At 12:30 p.m., the Vice-President played two sets of tennis at the Exposition Tennis Club, at which time he played with the Peruvian champion opposite Lt. Commander WILLIAM E. EMBRY and the Peruvian runner-up. Mr. WALLACE expressed his deep appreciation of being afforded this opportunity to play tennis, advising that one of the things he had personally missed the most was his daily tennis.

At 1:30 p.m., another pachamanca (Peruvian barbecue) was given, this one by the Minister of Agriculture at the Hacienda Maranga. President PRADO was present at this luncheon, along with high diplomatic and military officials of the Peruvian Government.

Following the luncheon, the Vice-President visited the La Magdalena Anthropological Museum to see a special exposition illustrative of the methods of Inca agriculture, same having been arranged by the museum's director, Dr. TELLO. At the museum the Vice-President was received by the Minister of Education.

At 5:00 p.m., the Vice-President held a reception for official and unofficial delegations at the Palace de Gobierno. The guests were delegates from the various Embassies located in Peru, and Mr. WALLACE also received a commission of ladies of the National Council of Women and a Commission of the Peruvian Medical Association.

At 6:00 p.m., Mr. WALLACE set aside an hour and a half for private visits.

At 8:30 p.m., the Vice-President was afforded a formal banquet at the Palace de Gobierno as the official guest of President PRADO. On this occasion President PRADO delivered a formal address, welcoming the Vice-President to Peru, commenting on the rapid increase of Pan-Americanism feeling, and commenting on his own enjoyable visit to the United States some eight months past, stating that he was looking forward to visiting the United States again after the war. President PRADO expressed regret that President Roosevelt was unable to visit Peru, and he concluded by placing his confidence in the Allied cause in the present struggle.

Mr. WALLACE was prepared to reply with a speech of similar character. He was very general in his comments, mostly concerning his appreciation and thanks, the speech lasting approximately five minutes. Approximately three hundred high military, naval, and government officials of Peru were present at this banquet, and the national anthems of both countries were played. After the dinner, a formal reception was held in the Palace chambers, and the dinner guests were joined by officials of all countries represented in Peru. It was estimated that this reception was attended by approximately 2,500 people, stated to be the largest group ever to attend such a function in the Presidential Palace. Print and the negative of a photograph taken by No.  at this banquet are enclosed with Bureau copies of this report.

b7D

On Wednesday, April 14th, Pan-American Day, the first official appearance of Mr. WALLACE was at a flag-raising ceremony at the Rotary Club standard (La Cabaña), where Mr. WALLACE raised the American and Peruvian flags at an annual ceremony of the Rotary Club on Pan-American Day.

At 11:00 o'clock, a military review was held in honor of the Vice-President in the Campo de Marte in Lima, the "West Point" of Peru.

At 1:30 p.m., the Minister of War, General César A. de la Fuente, offered a luncheon in the Círculo Militar, Plaza San Martín, which luncheon was attended by President Prado. High-ranking military, naval, and aviation officials were present, along with diplomatic officials of the U. S. Embassy and the Presidential Palace. There was a total of approximately two hundred guests at this luncheon.

At 2:30 p.m., Mr. WALLACE made a recording in English of his speech to be delivered in Spanish at the Peruvian North American Cultural Institute's celebration of Pan-American Day. This recording was made at the studios of Radio Nacional.

At 3:00 p.m. the Vice-President visited the site of the proposed health center and cancer institute.

At 4:00 o'clock, Mr. WALLACE visited the Ministry of Public Health and Labor, where Peruvian organized labor groups paid their respects and compliments.

At 5:00 p.m. the Vice-President was received by the Rector and professors of San Marcos University at a reception. A short greeting was addressed to the Vice-President by the Rector, and Mr. WALLACE replied in a few words.

At 6:00 p.m. on April 14th, the Senate of Peru officially received Mr. WALLACE at the Palacio Legislativo. The Vice-President responded with very short comment, mostly confined to his enjoying his visit.

At 7:00 p.m., Mr. WALLACE addressed, in Spanish, a meeting of the Peruvian-North American Cultural Institute at the Teatro Municipal, it being the purpose of the meeting to commemorate Pan-American Day. There were short speeches by Dr. CARLOS MONGE, President of the Institute, and Dr. ALFREDO SOLF Y MURO, Minister of Foreign Affairs. President Prado attended this meeting, seated in his official Presidential box in the theater. At this time Mr. WALLACE delivered one of his two official speeches in Peru.

At 8:30 p.m., the Vice-President attended a formal farewell dinner at the home of the U. S. Ambassador, Calle Schell 210, Miraflores. There were present approximately forty outstanding Peruvian and American officials. President Prado was a guest.

On Thursday, April 15th, at 6:30 a.m., the Vice-President boarded a Panagra plane at Limatambo airport and proceeded on his journey, next stop being Guayaquil, Ecuador.

An unofficial interlude of Mr. WALLACE's visit to Lima was an early morning visit, unaccompanied, to several of Lima's large markets where, hatless and with rumpled hair, the Vice-President conducted a one-man inquiry as to how the common people in Lima live. The Lima newspapers and periodicals expressed this as being one of the ways throughout his West Coast tour that Mr. WALLACE has managed to carry away with him a clear-cut view of a cross section of the natural life in the countries he has visited.

In connection with this unofficial interlude of Mr. WALLACE's visit to Lima, the following report was submitted by No.

b7D

The widely circulated story that Vice-President WALLACE slipped out of the Palace unobserved early in the morning to watch the food lines is confirmed. The taxi driver who brought him back, according to Informant BYRD, whose identity is known to the Bureau, was immediately questioned by the police. All he could say was that a Gringo, unknown to him, had gotten out of another taxi, had talked to people waiting in line for rice, and then had taken his (the chauffeur's) taxi to the Palace.

As soon as Mr. WALLACE left Peru, the administration ordered all retail dealers to sell all rice available and also published lists of where rice, theoretically, could be bought. In spite of this, little rice has been available.

The administration has now announced that it will take over the entire 1943 rice crop at fixed prices, the southern provinces excepted. A working class reaction to this was: "Prices will go up if the Banco Popular (controlled by Prado) obtains a monopoly." In other words, if this opinion is typical, the administration seems to be headed for trouble, and any move it makes is suspected.

There is a good deal of justification for this, because the friends and family of President Prado have been permitted to establish food monopolies, especially in meat, fish, and rice, until they have become scarcer and more expensive probably than in the United States. The price of fish is obviously unjustified in view of the great supply available.

Further information was received from No. [ ] that on the night of April 14th, 1943, the Berlin radio announced the fact that Vice-President WALLACE had made an unescorted tour of Lima in the early morning of that date.

b7D

Informant [ ] whose identity is known to the Bureau, discussed this broadcast with Informant [ ] Informant [ ] stated that it was a smart job getting this information to Germany so quickly, and he added that the Germans in Peru are too scared at the moment to take any risks, so he was certain the Spanish Embassy sent the news.

The American Society of Peru, the British Commonwealth Society, the Phoenix Club, and numerous other organizations in Lima expressed to the U. S. Embassy their desire to assist in the entertainment of Mr. WALLACE during his visit to Lima. Owing to the brevity of his visit, however, it was not possible to take advantage of these offers.

#### COMMENTS

During the stay of Vice-President WALLACE in Peru, he was almost constantly surrounded by a crowd of enthusiastic people. These were not only the diplomatic and military persons of Peru but likewise the common man on the street, of the working class. It is the feeling of this office that Vice-President WALLACE was received enthusiastically without exception.

It seemed to be the consensus of people and newspapers that, even though it was impossible for Peru to follow Bolivia's action in declaring war against the Axis, they did not in any way wish the United States to feel that they were not likewise sympathetic, and they apparently set about to show Vice-President WALLACE as enthusiastic a reception as they possibly could.

With the exception of the small Aprista demonstration upon the arrival of President Prado and Mr. WALLACE at the Palace, there were no unpleasant events publicized during his entire visit. At that time it seemed to be the feeling of the people that such demonstration was in protest against President Prado and in no way reflecting upon the U. S. Government.

#### POLITICAL REPERCUSSIONS

In conversation with several sources of information in Lima, it was stated by them that they felt the repercussions of Mr. WALLACE's visit would all be favorable. Without exception they stated that the first was in the government's mandate of April 16th to the effect that rice, which had been scarce and priced at such level as worked a hardship on the working man, would in the future be sold at a standard price of 48 centavos per kilo (approximately eight cents). At the same time the government set forth the places where this rice would be available and where it would be rationed to customers. It should be noted that in Peru the working man subsists on little more than rice, beans, and potatoes.

The individuals interviewed felt that this political action in the rice situation was the result of some of the statements made by Mr. WALLACE in his speeches and comments concerning the hardships placed on the poor man by the war and the current commercial status. It might also be noted that the rice market in Peru is veritably controlled by Japanese nationals and at the present time there is a 50% shortage in the annual crop.

The persons interviewed feel that the U. S. Government can without hesitation be of the opinion that the Peruvian people definitely displayed their desire to cooperate with the American Government, this attitude being very strongly evidenced in their hearty approval of Pan-Americanism and their reception of Vice-President WALLACE.

Under date of April 14th, 1943, Pan-American Day, the Peruvian Government issued the following official announcement:

"On September 22, 1942, the Cuban Senate voted to request the Executive Power of that nation to initiate negotiations with the Latin American Governments and the Dominion of Canada so that each one of them would issue a public declaration of the approval with which their peoples have been observing the efforts of His Excellency, Mr. Franklin D. Roosevelt, and his collaborators in the Government of the United States, in the service of the good neighborliness of the countries of the Western Hemisphere, based on mutual respect and the firm determination to achieve for all of them a more prosperous and satisfactory existence in the present and the future.

"The Government of Peru considers that this is a propitious occasion on Pan-American Day, coinciding with the visit of His Excellency, HENRY A. WALLACE, Vice-President of the United States, on which to reiterate publicly its adhesion to the motion of the Cuban Parliament in homage to the illustrious figure of the North American Executive, who has known how to convert into actuality the noble aspirations of America and with unfaltering steadfastness, to direct his country along the path of victory.

"This homage to the Chief Magistrate of the United States also offers the Peruvian Government the opportunity to reiterate its irrevocable decision to maintain the Americanist ideals which have inspired the Good Neighbor policy, conceived and executed by President Roosevelt, and of also making public its deep sympathy with Cuba, so closely united with this country by a friendship born in the first moment when the noble West Indian people proclaimed their independence, and in which epic struggle there participated with heroic perseverance illustrious sons of Peru."

There is set out below a report by No.   reflecting certain repercussions of the visit to Peru of Vice-President WALLACE:

b7D

Opinions have crystalized concerning Vice-President WALLACE's visit to Peru, which can briefly be summarized as "unfortunate".

A Peruvian friend who arranged part of the official entertainment said to the writer, in effect: "I don't think any more than WALLACE does that we have an ideal government but that does not excuse his bad manners. To slip away in the early morning and visit the working people, while, at the same time being rude to high officials, was not tactful of Mr. WALLACE. Like it or not, this country is run by the present administration and by the type of people who support it. If the United States wants us to be friends, why send a high official who openly disapproves of us?"

On the other hand, there are many people, not necessarily Apristas, who resent President Prado - on account of food monopolies, police graft, general hypocrisy, etc. - and who are privately glad to see his rather smug assumption of complete U. S. backing knocked cockeyed by Mr. WALLACE.

All Peruvians, however, got a laugh out of Mr. WALLACE's speech in Ecuador in which he said that Ecuador reminded him of his home state Iowa many years ago, because of the condition of the roads. Any slur at Ecuador is popular here at present, but the tactlessness of this remark is cited as typical of Mr. WALLACE.

Mr. WALLACE's speech at the Teatro Municipal in Lima has been the subject of much criticism and has aroused a great deal of antagonism. That he praised democratic institutions in the individual countries he had visited but failed to name Peru has jokingly been attributed to the loss of a page from his manuscript. The Ambassador has denied this.

Peruvians were also upset by their own faulty arrangements and lack of protocol. As reported, the Under Secretary of Foreign Affairs and the Minister of Protocol both resigned. After two days, however, President Prado declined to accept the resignations. The only casualty now seems to be Señor LUIS GALLOPORRAS, pro-Axis Mayor of Lima, who closed the Tennis Club to its members in order to give a party for Mr. WALLACE. Outraged members of the Tennis Club have forced GALLO PORRAS to resign as president of the club.

All in all, Peru spent S/800,000.00 (\$123,361.60), plus municipal funds, to entertain Mr. WALLACE. Peruvians regret it.

ENCLOSURES:

1-ENCL. TO THE BUREAU:

Photograph of Vice-President WALLACE in carriage during opening parade on Monday, April 12th, 1943.

Photograph (and negative) of press conference conducted by Mr.

WALLACE at the Palace immediately after the opening parade, April 12th. Souvenir program of "Noche Peruano" in honor of Vice-President WALLACE at the Exposition Tennis Club, April 12th.

Photograph (and negative) of Vice-President WALLACE at the banquet in the Palace on Tuesday, April 13th.

; - C L O S E D - ;

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/16/83 BY SP1 GSC/DJ  
228 303

62-71788-16  
ENCLOSURE



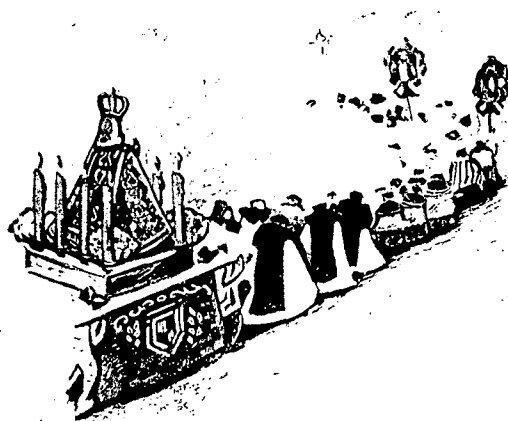
OFFICE OF LEGAL ATTACHE  
EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
LIMA, PERU

Enclosures accompanying the report of No.  dated April 21, 1943, in the case entitled:  
VISIT OF VICE-PRESIDENT HENRY A. WALLACE TO PERU; PERU - POLITICAL.

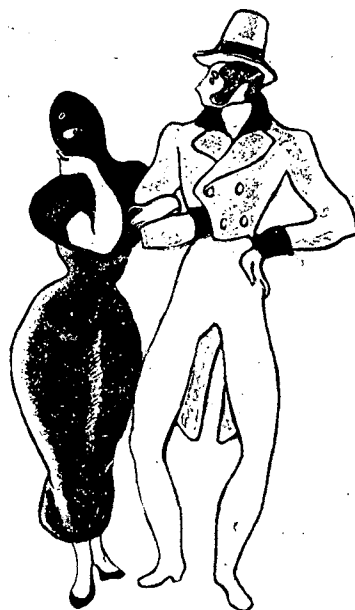
b7D

Photograph of Vice-President WALLACE in carriage during opening parade on  
Monday, April 12th, 1943.  
Photograph (and negative) of press conference conducted by Mr. WALLACE at the  
Palace immediately after the opening parade, April 12th.  
Souvenir program of "Noche Peruano" in honor of Vice-President WALLACE  
at the Exposition Tennis Club, April 12th.  
Photograph (and negative) of Vice-President WALLACE at the banquet in the  
Palace on Tuesday, April 13th.

ПОСЛЕ РЕКЛАМА



PUBLICATION FILE



LIMA, 12 DE ABRIL DE 1943.

62-71788-16

El Concejo Provincial de Lima, con la  
colaboración de la Asociación de Artistas  
Aficionados, ofrece una

## *Noche Peruana*

en honor del señor Henry A. Wallace,  
Vice-Presidente de los Estados Unidos de  
Norteamérica.

# Noche Peruana

## *Dos épocas en una misma plaza*

En nuestras ciudades, la Plaza tiene una importancia trascendental. Porque ella es el espejo, el alma, la médula, de su vida, apacible o revoltosa. En la Plaza se juntan las gentes, para presenciar el paso de una imagen, para comentar los acontecimientos más importantes, para festejar los triunfos y aún para chismorrear de la politiquería de casa.

Pasan los años, cambian las mentalidades, transformanse los pueblos y los nobles perfiles de la Plaza siguen siendo los mismos.

Con su torre, su balcón y su fuente. Con su aire y su color. Con su emoción y su copla. La plaza permanece inalterable mientras los hechos trazan distintos caminos.

Las plásticas escenas que vais a ver transcurren en una ignorada Plaza limeña. Y hay poesía, aroma y música de la Patria porque en la Plaza está emplazada la Historia.....

El Concejo Provincial de Lima agradece el gentil concurso prestado por la Asociación de Artistas Aficionados, la Orquesta Sinfónica Nacional, el Orfeón Claret y la Casa Siam, para la realización de la "Noche Peruana".

*Estampa*  
*Virreynal*



Coreografía . . . . . KAY MAC KINNON  
Música . . . . . LUIS PACHECO DE CESPEDES,  
"La Reja", del Ballet Peruano  
"Niña Lisura", estrenado por  
la A. A. A.  
Procesional interpretada por  
Orfeón Claret que dirige el  
R. P. Sierra.  
Dirección escénica . . . . . JOSE M. LINARES RIVAS  
Dirección General . . . . . ASOCIACION DE ARTISTAS A-  
FICIONADOS.

Los decorados se deben a la gentileza del Arquitecto Sr. Emilio  
Hart Terré.  
Ejecutados por Tolsa.

**L**a escena ocurre en un ignorado atardecer. Doña Isabela, dama de la aristocracia limeña, que vivió en una casona de la Ciudad de los Reyes, desea alcanzar una gracia de Nuestra Señora de las Cabezas. Para ello acude a la casa solariega de los Marqueses de..... por donde ha de pasar y detenerse la venerada imagen, que anualmente recorre las estrechas callejuelas de la villa virreynal.....

Como se ha oído decir que ella ha ofrecido seguirla descalza, en el caso de serle concedida la gracia, la plazuela bulle de tapadas y de comentarios....

#### PERSONAJES

Doña Isabela.  
El Marqués.  
La Marquesa.  
Hija de los Marqueses.  
Tapadas.  
Mistureras.  
Jinetes.

Lacayos.  
Una imagen en andas.  
Curas.  
Sacristanes.  
Indios.  
Pallas.  
Tipos populares costeños.

# *Estampa Republicana*




Coreografía . . . . .  
Música . . . . .

Dirección escénica . . . . .  
Dirección General . . . . .

KAY MAC KINNON  
LUIS PACHECO DE CESPEDES.  
(Paseo de Aguas, del Ballet  
Peruano "Niña Lisura", estre-  
nado por la A. A. A.  
JOSE M. LINARES RIVAS  
ASOCIACION DE ARTISTAS A-  
FICIONADOS.

Los decorados se deben a la gentileza del Arquitecto Sr. Emilio  
Hart Terré.  
Ejecutados por Tolsa.

urre la escena en un claro día inmortal. Un clarín entona el grito de la Independencia. Y tras una celosía asoma la figura de San Martín.

Hay entusiasmo y jolgorio en las gentes. Corren por la plazoleta de un lado al otro. Los lejanos jinetes del norte, del centro y del sur, que oyeron el clarín llegan a la plaza y traen la gracia de sus corceles con las crines enjaezadas.... Y vienen también los galleros y las vivanderas, las chicheras y el pueblo todo que arma una juerga entusiasta. Y hay peleas de gallos.... Y en el aire, como una flor de espuma, se dibuja el pañuelo que está bordando la marinera.

#### PERSONAJES

San Martín.	Vivanderas.
Edecanes.	Chicheras.
Galleros.	Mozas de pueblo.
Jinetes.	Soldados.





APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF *declassification*

New York, N. Y.  
April 23, 1943

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. E. A. Tamm	
Mr. Clegg	
Mr. Coffey	
Mr. Glavin	
Mr. Ladd	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tracy	
Mr. Carson	
Mr. Egan	
Mr. Gurnea	
Mr. Harbo	
Mr. Mumford	
Mr. Piper	
Mr. Starnes	
Mr. Quinn Tamm	
Mr. Nease	
Miss Gandy	

JD:EMC  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/16/83 BY SP-6 GSC/PC

RE: BOLIVIAN COMMUNISTIC INFLUENCE OVER  
VICE PRESIDENT HENRY WALLACE

Dear Sir:

On April 21, 1943, SAC Jerome Doyle was advised confidentially by Countess DU BOURG that Senor ORTIZ-LENAREZ, son-in-law of Senor PATINO of Bolivia, had information which indicated strongly that Vice President Wallace was being influenced by Bolivian Communists. Inasmuch as Mr. Doyle had previously met Senor LENAREZ, an appointment was arranged for that same afternoon at Mr. LENAREZ's suite in the Waldorf Towers, Waldorf Astoria Hotel.

DEFERRED RECORDS

Mr. Doyle indicated to Senor LENAREZ that he understood Senor LENAREZ had come into possession of information which indicated that Vice President Wallace was being influenced by members of the Communist Party who were native Bolivians. Mr. LENAREZ stated that this was so and proceeded to outline information in his possession.

He advised that about a year ago, a Bolivian named LOZAEA had come to the United States and through the friendship of Vice President Wallace, had obtained a position at Williams College as a professor of Spanish and thereafter, LOZAEA left Williams College and came to Washington, D.C. where he is presently located in the office of Vice President Wallace acting mainly as Wallace's Spanish professor. Senor LENAREZ added that LOZAEA is a known Communist from Bolivia.

Thereafter, LOZAEA with the assistance of Vice President Wallace, brought about the entry into the United States of a Bolivian named ARZE who took over LOZAEA's position as professor Spanish at Williams College, Williamstown, Massachusetts. ARZE, in 1940, was Communist Presidential Candidate in Bolivia and received a total of 273 votes.

The third Bolivian Communist who came into the United States through the assistance of LOZAEA and Vice President Wallace is a man from La Paz, Bolivia, one AUGUSTUS CESPEDES. He formerly owned and operated a Communist newspaper in La Paz entitled "La Calla." Through the medium of this paper, CESPEDES started a campaign against the United States relative to concessions obtained by Standard Oil Company with the Bolivian Government. LOZAEA was then reported to have told Vice President Wallace that CESPEDES did not understand the United States and that was the reason for his attacks. LOZAEA then persuaded Vice President Wallace to sponsor CESPEDES' trip to the United States which he did.

COPIES DESTROYED  
16 NOV 1964

*Reclassified  
2040  
6-3-77  
one*

*memo  
5-3-43  
CW*

62-71788-17

INDEXED

MAY 17 1943

Director, FBI

April 23, 1943

Upon his arrival in the United States, CESPEDES is purported to have stated that he had the material for a book describing the working conditions of the Bolivian miners. Vice President Wallace is then supposed to have gotten the motion picture concern Radio-Keith-Orpheum to pay CESPEDES \$600 a month, and the Board of Economic Warfare has subsequently reimbursed RKO for these payments. CESPEDES was sent to Bolivia by Vice President Wallace prior to the Vice President's trip to Latin America and CESPEDES is presently in Bolivia.

LENAREZ then stated that these persons around Vice President Wallace convinced him that the working conditions in the mines of Bolivia were unbearable and something should be done to reform these conditions. LENAREZ states that money was obtained by these individuals from the Board of Economic Warfare's confidential fund and was furnished the Communist agitators in Bolivia who used the fund to precipitate the recent labor trouble in the tin mines of Bolivia. Thereafter, the Bolivian Government, knowing the identities and the personality of the individuals involved in these labor disputes, attempted to have them cease their campaign of preventing the workers from entering the mines. When persuasive methods did not succeed, the Bolivian Army used forceful methods which brought about the death of thirty of the agitators and the expulsion from Bolivia of fourteen leaders.

Mr. LENAREZ states that none of the persons involved in this agitation were regular workers in the tin mines but were all followers of Communism.

Thereafter, a commission was sent by the United States Government to Bolivia to study the conditions in that country. This commission was sponsored by the BEW and upon its arrival in Bolivia, immediately made known that its only interests were the conditions surrounding the labor trouble at the tin mines. The commission was advised by the tin workers that their laboring conditions were ideal and that they made more for their money than any of the tin mine workers of Wyoming or the coal miners of Pennsylvania or West Virginia. In addition, they stated that they had good living quarters and all necessary facilities. The tin miners were all reported by Senor LENAREZ to have stated to this commission that there was no strike in the mines, but that there was only an attempt on the part of agitators to prevent the workers from entering the mines.

When the fact that Vice President Wallace was going to make a trip to Latin America became known to the PATINO interests, they immediately extended an invitation to him to stay at least two days at the Patino mines so that he could see for himself the living conditions and the attitude of the workers. He accepted this invitation and it was the intention of the PATINOs to bring motion picture cameramen from Buenos Aires, Argentina to take pictures of Wallace talking with the Bolivian tin miners. However,

Director, FBI

April 23, 1943

representatives of BEW in Bolivia learned of this plan and one of the members of the United States Commission went to Peru and prevailed upon Vice President Wallace not to go to the Patino mines. He subsequently spent those two days looking over farms in the Cochobomba area of Bolivia.

The foregoing information has been brought to the Bureau's attention so that it may advise the State Department or any other agency of the Government which might be interested in the point of view of the Patino interests who feel very strongly about the adverse publicity received in this country relative to the so-called labor conditions in Bolivia.

Very truly yours,

E. E. Conroy 

E. E. CONROY  
SAC

EAT:DS

typed 5-3-48

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF *declassification*  
DATE *2-23-77* *69H/ra*

*mb*  
*62-71788-17*  
PERSONAL AND  
STRICTLY

RECORD

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED *228303*

DATE *5/16/83* BY *SP18SKSK*

SENT FROM D. O.

TIME *12:50 pm*

DATE *5-3-48*

BY *[signature]*

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

I wanted to advise you of information which has reached me from a confidential source which indicates the possibility that Vice-President Wallace is being unknowingly influenced by Bolivian Communists. I am bringing this information to your attention at this time because I am informed that some Congressional Committees already have this information and may make an open or public issue of it.

*Enriquez de Loyada*  
I am informed that about a year ago a Bolivian named Lozaea came to the United States and through the friendship of Mr. Wallace obtained a position at Williams College as a professor of Spanish. Later, Lozaea left Williams College and came to Washington, D. C., and is presently located in Mr. Wallace's office. I am advised that Lozaea is an active member of the Communist Party in Bolivia. Lozaea induced Mr. Wallace to assist him in bringing to the United States a Bolivian named Arze, who succeeded Lozaea as professor of Spanish at Williams College. Arze in 1940 was the Communist Presidential candidate in Bolivia. Lozaea also is reported to have brought to the United States one Augustus Cespedes, a Bolivian newspaperman who formerly owned and operated a Communist paper in La Paz known as "La Galla". In this newspaper Cespedes conducted a campaign against the United States concerning concessions obtained by the Standard Oil Company with the Bolivian Government. Lozaea is reported to have convinced Mr. Wallace that Cespedes did not understand the United States and that this was the reason for his attacks. Lozaea allegedly persuaded Mr. Wallace to sponsor Cespedes' trip to the United States.

- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. E. A. Tamm
- Mr. Clegg
- Mr. Coffey
- Mr. Glavin
- Mr. Ladd
- Mr. Nichols
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Tracy
- Mr. Carson
- Mr. Hendon
- Mr. McGuire
- Mr. Mumford
- Mr. Harbo
- Mr. Quinn Tamm
- Mr. Nease
- Miss Gandy

It is further alleged that subsequent to Cespedes' arrival in the United States, Mr. Wallace induced the Radio-Keith-Orpheum Company to pay Cespedes \$200.00 a month because of Cespedes' possession of material for a book relating to the working conditions of the Bolivian miners. Through Mr. Wallace's intercession, it is alleged that the Board of Economic Warfare reimbursed Radio-Keith-Orpheum for the payments made to Cespedes. Apparently Cespedes has returned to Bolivia.

It is alleged that the Bolivians named above have furnished Mr. Wallace with improper information concerning working conditions in the Bolivian mines and that Mr. Wallace

*2 JUN 21 1948*

*2046*  
*all 6-3-77* *V*

**Memorandum for the  
Attorney General**

-2-

obtained money from the Board of Economic Warfare's confidential fund which was furnished to the Communist agitators in Bolivia, who used the fund to precipitate the recent labor trouble in the tin mines of Bolivia. The Bolivian Government, knowing the identity and personality of the individuals involved in the labor disputes, attempted to have the campaign discontinued and when persuasive methods did not succeed, the Bolivian Army used forcible methods to quiet the unrest, which methods brought about the death of thirty of the agitators and the expulsion from Bolivia of fourteen of the leaders in the labor trouble. It is alleged further that none of the persons involved in the agitations were regular workers in the tin mines but were all Communists.

**Respectfully,**

J. Edgar Hoover

**John Edgar Hoover  
Director**

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Coffey \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mumford \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Record No. ED-43  
May 13, 1943

RECEPTION OF VICE PRESIDENT WALLACE  
IN LATIN AMERICA  
(Second Report)

SECURITY DIVISION  
-ROUTING-

Mr. Mumford.....  
Mr. Alden.....  
Mr. Clegg.....  
Mr. Cunningham.....  
Mr. Fitch.....  
Mr. Little.....  
Mr. Strickland.....  
Mr. Timm.....  
Mr. Welch.....

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/16/83 BY SP1 GSK/JC  
228303

*Declassified*  
*2040*  
*Jul 6-3-77*

NOTICE

This report is issued for the information of officials of the Government agencies directly concerned. In no case shall its extremely confidential contents be copied, reproduced, widely distributed, or made public in any form without the express consent of the Director of Censorship.

Request for further information relating to items appearing herein should be made to the Editorial Section, Office of Censorship, Executive 3800, Extension 259.

RECORDED

Copy No. 105

62-71788-18  
18 MAY 25 1943  
b7D

7 3 JUN 25 1943 351

RECEPTION OF VICE PRESIDENT WALLACE  
IN LATIN AMERICA  
(Second Report)

This is the second compilation of comments from Latin American countries dealing with the recent visit to that area of Vice President Henry A. Wallace.

A total of 113 letters were reviewed, quotations from 60 of these being used in the report. As in the previous report, most of the comments are favorable. There are some adverse reports, notably from Peru, where several writers refer to the food shortages and demonstrations against the local government. A few others charge that the Vice President's theories are communistic.

The quotations selected for inclusion in the report were so chosen as to present a cross section of the varying shades of opinion in each country in the same ratios as these appear in the total correspondence from that country.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/16/83 BY SP1 BSK/SC

Argentina

Displeased Mr. Wallace Did Not Visit Argentina

American resident of Buenos Aires to New York City: "Also the local press has been giving another big bunch of space to the travels of Mr. Wallace and his addresses to the people of the various countries he is visiting. Of course the local folks have their noses somewhat out of joint because Mr. Wallace passed them up..." (4/7/43)

Bolivia

Great Enthusiasm

Bolivian in La Paz to Honduras: "Mr. Wallace has been received with great enthusiasm. I can say that my democratic country is giving a good example to the Republics of South America." (4/6/43)

Took Country by Storm

American official in La Paz to Texas: "...Vice President Wallace's trip...he is now in Bolivia and has practically taken the country by storm.... I think the one thing that has endeared him most to the Bolivians was the two sets of tennis he played on the afternoon of the day he arrived in La Paz--at 12,000 feet altitude. Even most healthy people usually feel the altitude. The first couple of days but Wallace has taken it completely in his stride. (4/8/43)



### Shower of Flowers

Resident of Cochabamba, writing in English, to Texas: "Wallace does all his speaking here in Spanish, and although it is at best a gringoish sort of Spanish, yet the people really appreciate his effort, which is lamentably greater than that of notable American diplomats of the pre-Hull era. One slightly amusing bestowal of tokens of appreciation occurred on the main plaza. The cars were moving along at a snail's pace when suddenly from the balconies above descended whole showers of roses and bunches of flowers. The Vice President's tiredness vanished in a very sudden duck. And quite understandable, for pro-Axis sentiment is stronger among the army people of Bolivia than almost anywhere." (4/10/43)

### Cool Reception

Bolivian woman in La Paz to woman of Spanish name in Maryland: "The fact is that Wallace's reception has been rather cool as the newspapers stated. The cause of this was the enormous fifth column which operates here. Certain groups which are always antagonistic towards the United States claim that Bolivia is being abused... and finally that this gentleman is a Communist, which is the most odious thing here. However, officialdom did very well, all it could do in such a short time. We really have very bad luck. Bolivia has been the first country to back up the United States at all times, breaking off relations with the Axis, etc. On the other hand, Chile which waited to see who was going to win, in order to break with the Axis... receives greater preferences even in Wallace's visit." (4/20/43)


### Chile

#### Feel Honored by Visit

Chilean in Santiago to Pennsylvania: "In a few more days we will have the honor of receiving, as host, the illustrious Vice President of the U.S., Mr. Wallace, to whom all of Chile is prepared to give a warm welcome. Our government and all the people of Chile, are anxious to shake the hand of such an amiable person, and upon doing it, we wish to say that the hand he takes, will continue to be united to that country by the indissoluble tie of sincere friendship that the Chilean knows how to offer." (3/29/43)

#### Schools Become North American-Minded

American woman in Liberec to California: "Chile has been very North American-minded these days with the visit of Vice President Wallace to this country... Many of the school children have had to write compositions relating to his visit and the United States. Only yesterday the principal of a nearby girl's school was asking for the American national anthem, and just today teachers in a neighboring boys' school sent in ask for a of the U.S. flag as he wanted to draw it to accompany a he had sketched of Mr. Wallace." (3/25/43)



### Called Great Apostle

American woman in Santiago to Tennessee: "Chile is delighted with Mr. Wallace because he speaks Spanish and finds him very simpatico. That is their strongest term and means more than our word 'charming.' More than 100,000 people were in the National Stadium Sunday to hear him and the different colonies gave wonderful programs before he spoke. The most effective one was a big V made of lovely girls bearing the big flags of the United Nations on one side and the defeated nations with their flags lowered on the other side making the V. They then stood at attention while he spoke. He named all the great leaders and then said: 'God protect them and bless them.' That multitude(was) perfectly quiet and our best paper, 'El Mercurio' commented on that prayer today and said he was more a great apostle than statesman. Wallace says Chile has given him his most cordial reception." (3/28/43)

### Wishes Wallace Could Remain to Govern

Chilean in San Jose to Iowa: "The magazine was dedicated to Sr. Wallace. Here they say 'Vayase.' Nevertheless, there is a wild enthusiasm for him. The man seems very simple and frank. He didn't want a special train or dances or anything unusual... That a fine thing it would be if he were to remain here now to govern." (3/31/43)

### No Adverse Criticism in Papers

American in Santiago to Texas: "One of the unofficial members of the Government told me that it was very unusual that Wallace received no adverse criticism in any of the papers here where they tend toward that." (4/3/43)

### Crowd Subdued

American in Antofagasto to Tennessee: "At the Plaza last Sunday we were disappointed not to hear him speak from the balcony of the Intendencia...he only appeared and said a couple words to the waiting crowds. And it was a crowd! But they were sort of subdued--aside from some hand-clapping there was no fervor in the crowd--so different from what he found in other places he visited." (4/10/43)

### Request Reprint of Speech

American in Santiago to Ohio: "Went to the Embassy to greet V.P. Wallace last week. He made a great impression and people are asking everywhere for his Ohio Wesleyan talk which they have printed in Spanish.... He made a great mark for North America and always said the right thing." (4/10/43)

### Huge Crowd at Stadium

Woman resident of Santiago, writing in German, to wife of author: "We had a distinguished visitor from the States--Vice President Wallace. He was given a reception at the Stadium where 30,000

people gathered. Ernst was also there but I went to the Sport Club because I did not care to enter into this mob. I listened to the speeches on the radio and heard the applause." (4/11/43)

Predicts Good Results from Visit

Englishman in Santiago to Michigan: "We are looking forward to seeing your Vice President, Mr. Wallace, in the near future and I feel a lot of good can only come from the visit of this gentleman to Chile." (3/17/43)

Wallace Second in Popularity to Roosevelt

American in Santiago to New York City: "Right now, there are two big headline news in Chile. First, is the coming visit of Vice President Wallace....As regards the visit of Wallace, this is certainly a great event in South America, especially Chilean, relations with Uncle Sam, chiefly because Wallace is second only to Roosevelt in popularity in the South American countries. Firstly, the fact that he speaks Spanish, which is practically unique among U.S. leaders, and secondly because he is a great authority on agriculture, and has always worked for the benefit of the farmer in U.S., (taking into consideration that all these countries are essentially agricultural), and thirdly because he has in recent years taken great interest in South American matters, have all added up to the fact that he is extremely well liked, not only by South American politicians, but by the people themselves..... At any rate, ever since Wallace decided to come to Chile, every move he has made, and every word he has said has appeared in front headlines, and the president and his cabinet are running all around the town preparing the festivities which await Wallace." (3/18/43)

New Chilean Peso Called Wallace Issue

Resident of Santiago, writing in English, to Missouri: ".... Sending you a new Chilean Peso--they are calling it the Wallace issue. They say Wallace is getting all our copper and we get this." (4/20/43)

Communist Welcome Enthusiastic

American businessman in Chuquibambilla to Montana: "Suppose you heard...how we were honored (?) with...Henry Wallace.... Speeches were given, banners flaunted....The Communists had their banner with the sickle and hammer and also Wallace spelled out in very large letters. He certainly grinned when he saw that." (4/22/43)

Beggars Locked Up

Nun in Santiago school, writing in English, to nun in Pennsylvania: "When Mr. Wallace visited Santiago, all the beggars were taken and locked up for the duration of his visit. They did not want him to see that condition." (4/26/43)

## Colombia

### Poor Reception

Englishwoman in Medellin to parents in England: "...Today Wallace, Vice President of the United States, arrived in Medellin for a few hours. He has been to every country in South America except the Argentine. He had a very poor reception here as the people were all too busy with their religion. He could not have chosen a worse day in all the year to come. Anyway I don't think he would have had a much better reception if he had come on another day as the people here do not like the Americans. ..." (4/23/43)

### Only One Discordant Note

Wife of American official in Bogota to California: "Wallace has just paid us a visit...He seems to have made a very good impression... The only discordant note I heard was the painting on our apartment house building and on the auxiliary Embassy quarters across the street (the route down which he came with the President of Colombia on his way from the airport) of notices to the effect: 'Down with Wallace,' 'Down with the Yankees,' 'We have no more Panamas...' However, that sort of thing is to be expected from a disgruntled minority or from German elements trying to stir up trouble." (4/23/43)

### Radicals Blamed for Adverse Signs

American businessman in Puerto Wilches to Texas: "Vice President Wallace arrived here Wednesday and left today. There was quite a celebration here in his honor. Also some radical groups managed to make themselves known by painting a lot of uncomplimentary signs in prominent places around town. The signs said in Spanish: 'Wallace, we have no other Panama. Down with the Yankees!' ...." (4/23/43)

### Call Wallace "Don Enrique"

Resident of Cali, writing in English, to New York City: "Policy of simpatia or liking each other is the name Latin Americans are giving to the kind of diplomacy Vice President Henry A. Wallace used on his tour of seven of their countries, just completed. Everywhere it was the same atmosphere. People seemed to like the Vice President and the Vice President seemed to like them. It was spontaneous and there wasn't a single incident to mar the wave of good feeling.... The natives call Wallace 'Don Enrique.' Don being both respectful and intimate. He was put on public display and paraded through clamoring crowds in several cities. He was showered with gifts but refused to accept anything of value." (4/24/43)

### Varied Public Demonstrations

Colombian in Bogota to Republic of Panama: "During Vice President Wallace's visit many public demonstrations were given. The 'Nazi Criollos' participated, showing many showbills allusive to Panama. One of these bills read 'No Other Panama for Sale.' But as here still these individuals are tolerated, nothing was done to them." (4/26/43)

Wins Friendliness of People

Colombian in Barranquilla to woman in Dominican Republic: "Vice President Wallace visited Colombia lately and was greatly entertained. He is a very nice man, extremely broad-minded; he talked to everybody, played tennis, visited personally all those whom he had met in the States. All this he does for the Unity of the Americas and by doing it he wins the friendliness of the people." (4/26/43)

Received with Affection

Colombian in Bogota to New York: "I wish to inform you Hector that last week the illustrious Vice President of the United States, Mr. Wallace, visited us. He was given much attention, entertained a great deal and received with a lot of affection and left a very favorable impression on the Colombian people." (4/27/43)

Costa Rica

Workers to Give Big Welcome

Woman of Spanish name in San Jose, secretary of group of anti-totalitarian refugees, to son in Minnesota: "Writer states that Mr. Wallace will arrive Thursday the 18th and that the masses of workers are going to give him a big welcome. There will be free trains that day and 10,000 students will form a guard of honor from the airport to the Casa Amarilla. Writer adds that Mr. Wallace wishes to speak directly to the peasants and laboring class in order to find out the real condition of the country." (SA 145842 3/11/43)

Everyone Making Ready for Visit

American in San Jose to Maryland: "Everyone here is making ready for the visit of Vice President Wallace who is to arrive here late this week. The Costa Ricans are almost passionately loyal to Uncle Sam and you see our flag as often as theirs. They are much more U.S. than any other people that I have seen down here." (3/16/43)

Wallace "Just Divine"

American woman in San Jose to Alabama: "Today was a big day in San Jose. Vice President Wallace arrived. Free trains brought people from all the other provinces to San Jose and there was much flag-waving and flower-throwing and confetti entanglements and shouting and singing and all the people thought that Wallace is 'perce divino' (just divine) and the cause of inter-American solidarity marches forward I suppose." (3/18/43)

Fine Speeches in Good Spanish

Doctor of Spanish name in San Jose, writing in English, to doctor of Spanish name in Louisiana: "English is so commonly heard in streets and public places as it is Spanish. For some reason which I don't know, a very low percentage of Americans try to learn Spanish. There have been many American ministers who have lived in this country

[REDACTED]

try several years, and go back to the States without knowing a bit of Spanish. We are used to that. -- That's why we are pleasantly surprised to hear Mr. Henry A. Wallace making fine speeches in 'good Spanish,' when he came to Costa Rica two weeks ago, to set the headstone for the buildings of the 'Instituto Inter-Americano de Ciencias Agricolas,' a huge enterprise for the benefit of all American countries. It was a big event, and we were proud to have him here." (3/31/43)

#### Cuba

##### Arcuses Interest of Labor Circles

American in Matanzas to Nevada: "Mr. Wallace's trip to South America has created considerable interest in labor circles in Cuba. We were asked by one of our labor delegates yesterday if it was true that Mr. Wallace planned to stop at Matanzas en route from South America to Washington." (4/28/43)

#### Ecuador

##### Referred to as Santa Claus

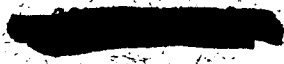
American in Quito to Illinois: "Your good friend V.P. Wallace is coming here in a few days and all the local people are practising their best manners and the old song 'Santa Claus is coming to town' can be heard throughout the land." (4/2/43)

##### Complaints Readied for Wallace on Arrival

Ecuadorean in Guayaquil to Ecuadorean official in New York City: "They are waiting for Wallace here, in order to complain; because even though all facilities have been given to the Americans to establish their military bases in Galapagos and Salinas; and thousands of tons of rubber, balsa wood, etc., have been sent them, the newspaper enterprises are going to close because of the lack of paper, automobiles are going to stop running because of the lack of tires, etc." (4/14/43)

##### Splendid Reception in Midst of Deplorable Conditions

Ecuadorean doctor in Ambato to Ecuadorean official in New York City: "... It seems that the reception is going to be splendid in the midst of our deplorable economic situation. But, nevertheless, it cannot be otherwise for an intelligent and observing person like Mr. Wallace, so that he may understand that before anything else, there is good will and understanding on the part of our country, and he will find an atmosphere of sincerity in all the manifestations. I hope that our sincerity is evident and that his visit may be the motive for him to do for this great country what he has done with the others, who have taken the continental solidarity less to heart, to try to obtain for us the means by which our cooperation may be effective, taking care of the economic situation and supplying us with the means of acquiring



the materials for our industries in decadence and the money to exploit our raw materials of which the United States too has need. There is agreement here for the most efficient co-operation, but this cannot be realized if he does not help us in some effective way.....It looks like the visit of Vice President Wallace has made the politicians put aside somewhat their political activities in homage and proof of respect to so distinguished an American citizen." (4/14/43)

#### Decree Ordered Workers to Parade

Man of Spanish name in Quito, writing in English, to New York City: "I like and admire Wallace; but, the people responsible for running the show, both South Americans and Americans have not been very intelligent about it. For example: the day W. arrived D. went to the San Diego quarry to get the remaining stones for the pergola columns and the Indian concessionaires informed him that the government had ordered them to parade and to forbid, under penalty of a heavy fine, any of their employees from working; D. then tried to buy bread and finally found one bakery open, the owner of which, a friend of his, confided to him that he had two men working 'en cachette,' paying them double wages, and risking the penalty for working and not parading. Everything was paralyzed by government edict. Our enemies could have done little better to sow the seed of resentment." (4/18/43)

#### Affectionate Demonstrations Suppressed

Ecuadorian in Guayaquil to soldier of Spanish name in U.S. Army, California: "Ecuador is honored with the visit of Mr. Wallace, Vice President of that great nation. However, the people of Ecuador feel depressed and ashamed by the restrictions imposed by the government; that has placed them within an iron circle, prohibiting the presence of other elements that are not unconditional and even imposing silence upon the press, so that he may not come to realize the absolute totalitarianism that reigns over the nation, the innumerable citizens that are now imprisoned or persecuted because of their democratic and republican ideas, and that he may not take notice of the contradiction that exists between their phrases and the tyrannical confinement with which it has chained the nation. They have deprived us of all demonstrations of affection, of adherence, of personal sympathy toward one of the most renowned and distinguished citizens of the United States, and of effective Pan-American solidarity." (4/18/43)

#### Peru

#### Wish to Equal Chile's Reception

Peruvian woman in Lima to Peruvian official in New York City: "There are many preparations being made to receive Wallace. He can't be left behind because in Chile they have received and treated him with great pomp. He seems to be a man of talent, judging by his speeches that I have read. I believe he is a possible successor to Roosevelt. In Lima he will remain

CONFIDENTIAL

6 days and will visit Cuzco and Chimbote. The American engineers are doing great work there, establishing the metallurgical plant which will bring much welfare to this country." (3/3/43)

#### Wonderful Reception

Resident of Peru, writing in English, to England: "Here we have just had the visit of Mr. Henry Wallace, the Vice President of the States. I didn't meet him but he seems a very attractive man, and what went so well down here was that he spoke Spanish. We had a wonderful reception, and I think his visit has done a lot of good, but of course when Chile broke with the Axis, they thought they were going to get some special treatment from the States and instead of that they have been told that the States can't ship any more goods than they are doing now, possibly none at all." (4/3/43)

#### Tremendously Popular

Resident of Lima to Cuba: "While I am writing, Mr. Wallace is just arriving on the big square in front of the hotel-- a tremendous enthusiasm, he is tremendously popular, his goodwill tour is a success." (4/4/43)

#### Believe Wallace Will Be Next U.S. President

Peruvian in Lima to man of Spanish name in California: "We are preparing for the reception of the vice president of that country, a person who has captured everyone's sympathy by his pleasant manner and democratic behavior. I believe that Wallace will be the next president of that country and with his election to that position, the U.S. will gain much. The newspapers say that in Chile they have received him enthusiastically..." (4/7/43)

#### Welcome Signs on Walls

Woman in Peru, writing in English, to Massachusetts: "The walls on vacant lots on the way to the city have been painted with big signs which say 'Peruvians greet Mr. Wallace in the Plaza de Armas on ...' He has been a very good-will fellow because he spoke to the people in their own language and told them the very things they wanted to hear. No one who has not lived in So. Am. could believe how easy it would be for the U.S. to have this entire continent eating out of Uncle Sam's hand--provided that the northerners learn how to deal with the southerners." (4/8/43)

#### Apristas Unable to Participate

Letter in English from firm in Lima to New York: "One of the most amusing things about this Wallace business is that Haya de la Torre and the Apristas are out to show Wallace that this is not a democratic country with freedom of speech, since they are unable to join in any manifestation in his honor for fear of being jailed as soon as they come out of hiding. Some people say that they're coming out anyway, and others say that they have written a manifesto to Wallace explaining why they can't come and call on him." (4/9/43)



### German Store Displays Flags and Posters

American woman in Lima to husband in California: "...All the stores are bedecked with flags and posters welcoming Vice President Wallace. One of the largest stores in town is Casa Welch which is definitely German owned. This store had more flags than all the rest and had one huge poster in their window: 'Wallace, El Mensajero de Democracia!' Casa Welch is certainly not patronized by us! (Just heard rumor Peru will declare war in a few days.)" [redacted]

b7D

### "Cupboard Love"

English firm in Lima to London: "... we are at present suffering from an outburst of enthusiasm for the Americans due to the visit of Wallace but I am very much inclined to believe that all those demonstrations smack of 'cupboard love.'" (4/10/43)

### Deceptive Impression Planned

Peruvian woman in Lima to New Jersey: "Tomorrow Wallace arrives and Manolo (President of Peru) is preparing a great reception... It seems that Manolo is scared to death in spite of everything, for he has been jailing all the Apristas for a week in San Lorenzo, and everyone who has a faint aroma of Aprista is one to him. He wants the Panagra plane to land at Fawcett Field so the V.P. will have a better impression on entering the city, so he has had all the fine trees on the golf course cut down (to the fury of all members) so there won't be any danger on landing. .... All these exhibitions and expenses are out of place in these times in which we are living..." (4/11/43)

### Criticism of Social Activities

Peruvian woman in Lima to Florida: "Wallace gets here tomorrow, and because of that there is great enthusiasm in Lima to receive him. Everything is full of flags and great parties are being prepared for him. You know what investors they are here and they're acting as if it were God who is coming. I think they're even going to make it a holiday. In the meantime they don't bother about the food situation. We're having a hard time finding things. There isn't any rice, potatoes, and meat only once a week, and very expensive... Eggs are 40 cents each one and hard to get... I don't understand what's going on when we produce all of that here." (4/11/43)

### Visit Precipitated Closing of German and Japanese Shops

Woman in Peru, writing in Spanish, to parents in Republic of Panama: "During the course of these days the situation of the German and Japanese has been very troublesome (for them of course). It appears that German and Japanese establishments will be allowed to stay open until the 31st of this month; those who have not liquidated their business by this date must close and turn over all merchandise to the Government who will take charge of the liquidation. • The arrival of Vice President Wallace precipitated this train of events." [redacted] 4/12/43

b7D

Reception Marred by Political Demonstration

Peruvian in Lima to Massachusetts: "The reception was magnificent. There were people from the Faucett field to the armament square as never seen before. Wallace has been very much applauded but Prado was whistled every minute by the people asking him for meat, rice, and potatoes. They did not let him speak two words... Later the people tried to enter through the Giron and were confronted by the police who took out their revolvers... Tere and Quique were frightened in spite of the fact that not one shot was fired." (4/13/43)

Received Coldly

Peruvian in Lima to army officer with Spanish name in Washington, D.C.: "Yesterday Wallace arrived in Lima, and a celebration resulted. The reception was somewhat cold, and in the Plaza de Armas there were whistling, shouts of 'hunger,' etc., and white handkerchiefs. The 'Apristas' sounded, as usual, a bad note. I don't know when the government will put an end to these people who are bad citizens, and who take advantage of any opportunity to represent us as savages." (4/13/43)

Wallace Captivates Spontaneous Affection

Peruvian in Arequipa to Peruvian naval officer in Florida: "We have had on the way to Bolivia and on returning from Cuzco Mr. Wallace, Vice President of the United States, who has been paid tribute with great demonstrations of affection, he has been able to captivate the spontaneous and sincere affection of the people of every class of society, his presence and his words exciting fervor for the solidarity of the Americas and for democracy. Mr. Wallace has been the best emissary." (4/14/43)

Made Hit with Laboring Class

Letter in English from cultural institution in Lima to Arizona: "The Great White Father (Henry W. Wallace) has come and gone... His visit was a great success both from the American and Peruvian point of view. I rather think that the Peruvian Government was happy to see him go for he is considered as being too much for the working class. Of course such a viewpoint here is not all popular in the higher circles..... Wallace has made a great hit with the Peruvian laboring class for he does all his talking right down their alley. As the result of this, the Government here has been a little uneasy, for any encouragement to the working class is not counted as the right thing." (4/15/43)

Displeased Authorities

Translation of letter from Lima to Canal Zone: "Wallace's visit to Lima was interesting. He displeased the authorities by his socially-mindedness, interest in mines, Indians, etc. One morning he went out early alone, went to the Central Market, had breakfast in a little store. When he came back, the Peruvian

were greeted him. On the day of his arrival the Plaza de Armas was crowded. But people shouted and whistled and cried for rice and food, so that no one could understand anything. Many of our servants were there, and all told the same story. There was shooting, one man killed...." (4/15/43)

#### Rice on Market after Visit

American in Lima to New York City: "There has been a scarcity of foodstuffs for some time and public discontent was made manifest during the visit of Mr. Wallace. He was enthusiastically received by all classes and his speech from the palace well applauded, but when Prado started to speak many people in the plaza turned their backs and whistled. The reaction was immediate for the day after Wallace's departure the government ordered all peddlers to carry rice and sell it for 18 cents a kilo, forced out from storage hoarded stock, and ordered many sugar haciendas to put part of their land into rice cultivation." (4/16/43)

#### Ministerial Crisis Result of Visit

Peruvian to relative, a Peruvian official, in Florida: "Mr. Wallace's visit has ended. Great honors of every kind have been rendered him, but in a speech at the palace he used a happy phrase: 'It is the duty of the ruler, above all, to see to the welfare of the people.' Since rice is \$1.50 a kilo, eggs 9.40 and so on, this little phrase fell burning on the official ranks and a ministerial crisis is already being planned, for the Executive did not know that the people were starving." (4/17/43)

#### Reception Not Good Enough

Man in Lima, writing in Spanish, to soldier in U.S. Army, Louisiana: "I have had the pleasure of seeing Mr. Wallace who is a very intelligent man and who has great powers for captivating. It seems incredible that the people of Lima have not received him effusively as I had predicted; you know that because of a fortuitous scarcity of foodstuffs, not through any fault of the Government, but of the climate and the scarcity of transports, there was a certain discontent and as the fifth column is ever watchful, they spread the foolish idea that the scarcity of foods was due to the fact that the American boats were carrying them away, and there you have the key to everything. The people are always as idiotic as a flock of sheep." (4/19/43)

#### Felt "Damned with Faint Praise"

American in Lima to California: "... Wallace gave a short speech at the Teatro Municipal in which the Peruvians felt that he damned with with faint praise." (4/19/43)

Working Class Gave Warm Welcome

French resident of Lima to New York City: "I saw Mr. Wallace upon arriving in Lima and here they gave him a warm welcome, as everywhere and especially in the working class; for example, in Chile there were Communist flags and here also, but they were removed afterwards." (4/23/43)

Won Sympathies of People

Peruvian in Lima to New York City: "... He had the visit of Vice President Wallace, who, from the first moment, won the sympathies of the people, for he does seem to be a true friend of the people and his speeches show it; but our friend Dr. Hector Lazo certainly gave us some cold showers as regards exports and he told us very clearly that we should tighten our belts and hold tight on the rope to suffer this state of affairs until after the war." (4/23/43)

Liked by People


American in Lima to Iowa: "Wallace is gone--liked by the people, with whom he mixed a bit and not disliked by the women (Catholic, anti-Communist) and not liked by the ruling classes who see their monopoly endangered by liberals." (4/26/43)

Blow to Inter-American Relations

Peruvian in Lima to New York City: "I am writing this letter with great sadness because I see that all the work which we have done to improve good relations between our two countries has received a severe blow. The visit of Vice-President Wallace, instead of improving our relations, has made them worse. The Vice President has been reserved and discourteous in spite of the magnificent way we received him, and he has wounded everyone.

"You and I have been with the leftist leader in an interview and you know the good relations which exist between us; therefore, I have no personal motive which will keep me from telling the truth. The political party APRA is widespread in Peru, but it does not represent the feelings of all Peruvians. There are very important groups outside of that party. It is not true either that the Government is a tyranny. It is a government respectful of individual rights. The laws of repression are used only against those who go outside of the bounds of those laws. It seems that the Vice President was impressed by the members of that party who exaggerated the situation here and the attitude of the Vice President was one of frank censoring and meddling in our domestic affairs.


"It has turned out that after receiving him so splendidly everyone has cooled off and there is much censuring and resentment at his attitude. I lament this situation and I want you to know it so that things may be understood clearly there. The people believe that he has come here to meddle in our affairs and do us harm instead of good.



14  
"Mr. Roosevelt's policies effectively brought about much sympathy for the United States in Peru, but an attitude in such bad taste as that of the Vice President ruins all the work that has been done. Make this fact known there because for the future policies of the hemisphere it is not well to have a person so little fit as he." (4/26/43)

Criticizes Speeches

Peruvian in Lima to New York City: "In reference to Wallace's visit, there is nothing worth mentioning, only the lamentable disorganization that was noticed in all the ceremonies and entertainments. With regard to the visitor all he did was to talk about 'Democracy,' the 'racial equality,' etc...subjects which he would be doing right in supporting in his own country! 'Division of lands' -- 'half breeds,' etc! ..... It is right to be the friend of the people, to want to improve their conditions, but it is not right to deceive them with utopian ideas, and even less to want to be, not socialistic, but communistic." (4/26/43)



PLACE:

Quito, Ecuador

DATE:

May 5, 1943

REPORTED BY:

b7D

TITLE:

VISIT OF HENRY A. WALLACE

CHARACTER:

ECUADOR - POLITICAL - M

## SYNOPSIS:

On request of U.S. Embassy precautionary measures for the safety of Mr. WALLACE were taken and are set out in detail. WALLACE was in and near Quito from 1:45 PM April 15 to 7:45 AM April 19, and in Guayaquil from 9 AM April 19 to 1:20 PM next day, departing for Cali, Colombia. Program and miscellaneous activities in Quito, Guayaquil and environs set out. Prevailing feeling of populace at all places observed to be favorable towards WALLACE personally as well as to the United States. Very little adverse comment or manifestations were observed or reported. Activities of the vice president included formal and informal receptions, dinners and conferences, a visit to Otavalo, the experimental station at Pichilingue, farms enroute to Otavalo and in the Chillo Valley, as well as visits to balsa and rice mill in Guayaquil. During his movements a moderate amount of enthusiasm was observed among the people, and very little disorder was manifest. The vice president showed interest in all stratas during his visit and through this apparently gained considerable good will.

## COMMENTS:

## STATUS:

---CLOSED---

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/16/83 BY SP1GSK JC

228303

Report of [ ] dated 4/5/43 entitled "Visit of vice president Henry Wallace"  
Report of [ ] dated 4/8/43 entitled "Political Activity visit of Vice  
President Wallace to Ecuador.

b7D

## REFERENCE:

Made Available to:

- ( ) Embassy (Consulate)
- ( ) M.A.
- ( ) N. A.
- ( ) Other

Copies:

Bureau 5  
Quito 2

RECORDED

62-71788-19	
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION	
MAY 20 1943 A.M.	
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE	
	FILE

ON ORIGINAL

61 JUN 5 1943

ORIGINAL FILE IN

VISIT OF HENRY A. WALLACE  
ECUADOR- POLITICAL-M

DETAILS at Quito, Ecuador

On request of ALFRED T. NESTER, Charge d' Affaires a. i. in memorandum dated March 16, 1943 arrangements were made through informant [ ] and AUGUSTO GUERRERO Jefe de Seguridad for Pichincha province for either or both of these parties to accompany the Secret Service Agents and be at their disposal during the entire sojourn of MR WALLACE in Ecuador. At this time arrangements were made through [ ] for suitable automobiles to be constantly at the disposal of the party, with competent drivers.

A memorandum dated April 1 submitted by [ ] advises MR NESTER that a reliable source informs that president DEL RIO has been very cool towards suggestions of friends to have private parties for MR. WALLACE due to the danger of persons not in accord with the present regime having parties for the vice president criticising the administration before WALLACE. Instead DEL RIO through his program committee arranged to have only persons known to be friendly to the administration invited to the functions in honor of WALLACE.

On March 29, 1943 reporting agent, on request of Embassy officials inspected the premises and environs of the MERCADO HOUSE which had been selected as the temporary residence of WALLACE. At this time agent made recommendations for the posting of guards at all approaches to the house, as well as at the entrances to the building. For this purpose Agents from the Seguridad Office, armed Carabineros, and a Guard of Honor at the front entrance composed of Cadets from the Carabineros Officer's Training School were posted, the morning of the scheduled arrival, after having been instructed in their duties.

On this occasion a sketch of the house and environs was made, and the exact locations of the guards was marked by asterisk. A copy of this sketch was furnished informant [ ] and one is being sent in attached to this report. The occupants of the surrounding houses were questioned by [ ] their names obtained and checked against the indices. ONLY one of the neighbors appears in our files RAYMOND MERIGUET, and he is described as a leader in the local Free French movement, and secretary of the Ecuadoran Popular Antitotalitarian Movement, not being regarded as dangerous.

ON April 14, 1943 the advance Secret Service Agent arrived in Quito at 7:00 PM by military plane. He was met by [ ] who furnished him every assistance.

During the morning of the arrival of Mr WALLACE this secret service agent was accompanied by [ ] who gave him every possible assistance.

The program followed in Quito follows:

April 15

- 1:45 PM Arrive Quito. Short official welcome at airport and depart immediately for residence.
- 3:30 PM President Arroyo will receive vice president. At this time the President of the Congress, Ministers of State, and Commander of the armed forces will also be present.
- 4:00 PM Vice President will place wreath on the monument in the Plaza de la Independencia.
- 4:45 PM Vice President will receive Diplomatic Corps.
- 5:30 PM Reception by the municipality when Mr. Wallace will be made guest of honor of the city.
- 8:30 PM State dinner followed by formal reception.

April 16

8:00 AM Visit to American School, Quito.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED 228303  
DATE 5/16/83 BY sp/BST/DC

8:30 AM Leave Quito by motor to drive through the Chillo Valley, making several stops at farms enroute where vice president may see agriculture on foot and talk with whom he may desire.

12:00 Noon Arrive Chillogallo for lunch of native dishes, followed by Indian dances and livestock show. Representative groups of farmers, business men, bankers, etc. will also be present.

2:30 PM Leave Chillogallo for Quito.

3:00 to 4:00 PM Visit two factories where there will be an opportunity to talk with workers. One factory to be a quinine processing plant.

4:30 PM Depart for Cayambe enroute to Otavalo spending the night at the hacienda of NEPTALI BONIFAZ.

April 17

5:00 AM Depart for Otavalo and return for lunch at BONIFAZ hacienda enroute to Quito.

5:00 PM Press conference in Quito.

5:30 PM to 8:30 PM Cocktail party offered by Minister of National Defence at Aviation School.

9:15 PM Intimate dinner at the home of President ARROYO.

April 18

8:30 AM Leave Quito for Quevedo by military plane. Thence proceed by boat to Experiment Station at Pichilingue. Lunch at station and leave in time to reach Quito in early afternoon.

Balance of afternoon devoted to receiving various groups.

6:30 to 7:00 PM Bolivarian Society will present medal at vice president's residence.

10:00 PM American Embassy reception.

April 19

7:45 AM Depart for Guayaquil via Panagra.

Prior to the arrival of Mr WALLACE informant  furnished a list of the servants at the CARLOS MERCADO house, and their names were searched against our indices with negative results. Their names are retained in the files of instant case.

On April 9, 1943 this office prepared three lists of Axis Nationals on request of the Charge d'Affaires. Those appearing on list number one were suggested for internment, those on list number two were suggested for confinement to their homes. Those on list number three were suggested as requiring surveillance. This list was submitted to President DEL RIO by the Embassy and it was observed that through the Minister of Government the Jefe de Seguridad in Quito as well as the Jefe in Guayaquil were ordered to effect the desired action as set forth in the memorandum. With reference to the execution of the order it may be said that it was fair. The names on the three lists are being submitted for the Bureau's information:



LIST NUMBER ONE

<u>QUITO</u>	<u>ADDRESS</u>	<u>NATIONALITY</u>
CARLOS AGOSTINI	Quinta Laura, Roca and 9th of Oct. Streets	Italian
PIER ROMOLO ANDRETTA	Olmedo and Flores Sts.	Italian
OTTO WILHELM BALDUS	Calacali ( near Quito)	German
DOMINICO BRUZZONE	not available	Italian
HEINZ GUBITZ	Calle Roca # 17	German
KASPAR ROTHENBACK	9th of Oct. and Veintimilla Sts.	German
ENRICO RAZZINI	Calle Carrion (macaroni factory)	Italian
HEINZ SCHULTE	El Batan Grande	German
DIMITRI KAKABADZE	El Batan rd ( house of W. Moeller)	White Russian with German passport
LUDWIG WEBER	Riobamba, but now in Quito	German
WALTER WOEHLLERMAN	Guapulo, near Quito	German

QUAYAQUIL

WALTER KURT MANASSE	not available	German
HERBERT SAGHS	Rocafuerte no. 644	German
EMILIO STAMER	Chimborazo 1201	German

LIST NUMBER TWO

<u>QUITO</u>	<u>ADDRESS</u>	<u>NATIONALITY</u>
TULLIO T. BOSCHETTI	not available	Italian
EMILIO BRANDT	Espejo #84	German
OTTO HEINRICH SARSTANJEN	Ave. Santa Maria and calle Puerto de Palos	German
JOSE CHLUMSKY	not available	German
WALTER DIENER	12th of Oct. St.	German
FRANCO M. DIRANI	Calle Oriente #152	Italian
GEORGE GEBEL	Calle Espejo # 84	German
STEPHAN HARTL	Loncheria Italiana	German
ALFRED LINZ	Loncheria Italiana	German
JUAN LINZ	Salon Viena	German
HECTOR MELLI	not available	Italian
FEDERICO GUILLERMO MOELLER	El Batan Rd.	German
JUAN FEDERICO PABLO POPPE	Ave. Colon 454	German
ERNESTO AUGUSTO RIDDER	Munoz de Vela	German
MAX RUEFF	House of W. Moeller on Batan Rd. or Spanish Legation	German
COSIMO STORNAIOLO	Carrera Venezuela 60	Italian

LIST TWO continued

<u>QUAYAQUIL</u>	<u>ADDRESS</u>	<u>NATIONALITY</u>
GACOMO BONZI	209 Velez St.	Italian
FILIPPO COSTA	In Quito during April	Italian
HERIBERTO P. EINICKE	Luque and Tungurahua	Chilean-German
LUIGI FOSSATI	Almerini Fossati and Co	Italian
LEO MESTECHELLIN	Hotel Majestic Salinas	Italian
EMILIO PARODI	not available	Italian
LUIGI PARODI	" "	Italian
ENRICO PARODI	" "	Italian
GABRIEL PERNIGOTTI	Pernigotti and Co.	Italian
ERICH PETERS	Not available	German
FRANCISCO PIANA	" "	Italian
TULIO PIERROTTET	Saalman and Co.	Italian
MARIO ROCCA		Italian
FERNANDO SHIMANETZ	Olmedo #206	Hungarian
ARTHUR EMIL SINGER		German
NICOLAS BERTULLO		Italian
MARIO MELONI		Italian
EMILIO MISSALE		Italian
WILL PANKRATZ	Calle P. Icaza	German
ERNESTO PERNIGOTTI	Pernigotti and Co.	Italian
MARIO PRATI	Calle Aguirre 218	Italian
JULIO ADOLFE WICKENHAUSER		German
LUIGI ROTA	Chimborazo 205	Italian

LIST NUMBER THREE

<u>QUITO</u>		
KURT M. GOTTSCHALK		German
PADRE DOMINGO VIANI	Salesian Monastery	Italian
<u>QUAYAQUIL</u>		
GIORGIOVANNI ALMERINI	Almerini Fossati and Co.	Italian
BENITO AVEGNO	Grat. Cordova 1012	Italian
EZIO CURTONI		Italian
CARLOS GEBERT		German
REINHOLD HILSINGER		German
PABLO LADENSACK		German

The enforcement of the order of the Minister of Government was observed to have been excellent. In the majority of cases involving aliens recommended for confinement to their homes it was noted that they were also required to leave the Provinces of Pichincha, Guayas and Imbabura. The surveillances of the individuals listed in list number three, as well as could be determined, was done fairly well by the agents of the Office of Seguridad. During the course of the Vice President's visit in Quito

the Secret Service agents were accompanied most of the time by [redacted] who also accompanied the party to Otavalo on their request. Informant [redacted] was almost constantly with the party. On the party's trip to Quevedo arrangements were made for AUGUSTO GUERRERO, Jefe de Seguridad for Pichincha to accompany the party, due to the fact that [redacted] went to Guayaquil on that day to assist the advance Secret Service agent in making arrangements for the safety of the vice president. IN this connection [redacted] rendered every possible assistance. During the carrying out of the Guayaquil program [redacted] and on most occasions [redacted] were constantly with the vice president, however, staying in the background as much as possible. Adequate police protection was furnished on most occasions by CARLOS M. ROSALES A. Intendente de Policia and CARBO PAREDES, Jefe de Seguridad for Guayas Province. EMILIO STAMER, listed on list number one, remained in Guayaquil through intercession of the Governor FOR THE Local fire department, with which STAMER is connected in a technical capacity. No other exceptions to the Minister of Government's order is known.

b7D

In Guayaquil, the vice president's activities included press conferences, a visit to a rice mill and balsa mill, and a visit to the Hacienda San Miguel, some forty kilometers from Guayaquil on the Quito-Guayaquil Ry. In addition Mr. WALLACE attended a formal reception given by the Governor a session of the Municipal council, and miscellaneous other meetings of various groups and organizations. He arrived in Guayaquil on April 19 at 9:00 Am and departed for Cali, Colombia at 1:20 PM April 20, 1943.

There is enclosed a photostatic copy of a sketch of the house and environs of the temporary residence of Mr WALLACE in Quito.

---CLOSED---

b6  
b7C

Los Angeles 13, California  
February 15, 1944

[redacted] IAL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Director, FBI.

Dear Sir:

RE: RECEPTION AT LOS ANGELES FOR  
VICE PRESIDENT HENRY A. WALLACE

Before the arrival of Vice President HENRY A. WALLACE in Los Angeles, California on February 4, 1944, there was considerable discussion as to the political complexion of the reception committee. It was announced that the reception committee would be in the hands of representatives of a group which called itself the "United Citizens Committee." It is believed that the Bureau will be interested in the proceedings that took place during the recent visit of MR. WALLACE to Los Angeles; therefore, the following is being submitted:

Confidential National Defense Informant [redacted] attended the meeting at the Shrine Auditorium on the evening of February 4, 1944. Informant related the features of the evening in some detail and identified many of the persons who took some active part. It was believed that the Bureau would be interested so informant was requested to write a memorandum covering the meeting. The substance of said memorandum is being set forth herein. MR. WALLACE stated in his speech at the Shrine Auditorium at Los Angeles that his visit to Los Angeles was under the auspices of the three labor unions, the CIO, A.F. of L. and Railroad Brotherhoods, and made no mention of a "United Citizens Committee."

Informant stated that the influence of the Communist Party in this affair was evident on all sides. The general makeup of the audience was of that type which are seen at all Communist gatherings, and the applause groups were definitely of that type. Many well-known Communists were in the audience and all Communist publications were most enthusiastic about the meeting, both before and after the meeting.

Informant stated he was told by RALPH CLARE, secretary of the Studio Drivers Local [redacted] A.F. of L., who was one of the delegates from the A.F. of L. who sat on the platform, that when he, CLARE, arrived to take his seat, he looked over those already there and then turned around and left the platform. His reasons, as stated, were that he did not want to sit on the stage with such a gang of Communists; that in all likelihood a picture would be taken and he did not want to appear

DECLASSIFIED BY SP2 [redacted]  
REASON - FCIM II, 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW 11-4-80  
2040 gnc - 6-5-97  
release not found

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

62-71788-20  
BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FEB 21 1944  
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY SLIP(S) OF  
DATE 1-18-80

b7D

ORIGINAL FILE IN 100-3-23-  
b7D

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Director, FBI  
Re: Reception at Los Angeles  
for Vice President Henry A. Wallace

2/15/44

in a picture with such known Communists as LEW MICHENER, PHILIP M. CONNELLY, OSCAR FUSS and others. He stated that as far as he was concerned the meeting was controlled by Communists and he declined to take part in it from the stage. He then went around and sat in the audience and stated he came to the conclusion that most of them were of that type.

Informant reported that EDWARD G. ROBINSON, motion picture actor, was master of ceremonies; that he read a prepared introduction stating that the meeting was a win-the-war gathering in honor of the Vice President; that the meeting was basically a unity meeting; that the Vice President was a symbol of such unity in that he was the "champion of the common man"; that for the purpose of winning the war all divisions on a political basis should be eliminated and that all forms of partisan politics should be buried for the duration of the war. His opening remarks took about fifteen minutes.

Informant reported that ROBINSON is a well-known follower of the Communist Party line and has taken part as sponsor and supporter of many Communist front organizations in Hollywood, such as the Hollywood Anti-Nazi League, Hollywood Theatre Alliance, Russian War Relief, Motion Picture Democratic Committee, Hollywood Democratic Committee and others. Informant stated that MR. ROBINSON consistently lends himself as a front for Communists in the Hollywood section. He further stated that the following known Communists with outstanding records in that movement were on the reception committee and sat on the stage at the meeting:

PHILIP M. CONNELLY  
OSCAR FUSS  
HERBERT BIBERMAN

LIONEL STANDER  
DR. LEO BIGELMAN  
HERBERT K. SORRELL

Informant stated that following MR. ROBINSON'S introduction a MR. HYATT spoke on the bond campaign, after which a play was produced. It was announced that this skit was sponsored by the Hollywood Democratic Committee, one of the leading Communist front groups in Hollywood.

Informant stated the entire content of the skit was an interpretation of the Communist Party line. The actors, about twenty-five in number, were from a show now running in Hollywood at the Assistants League Playhouse called "Meet the People." This is a play produced by HENRY MEYERS, JAY GORNEY and EDWARD KLISCU, all writers in the Hollywood Studios and on the radio, and are all well-known Communists.

The skit dealt in a satirical manner with all those who opposed those Communist supported projects such as: Anti Poll Tax; National Service

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Director, FBI  
Re: Reception at Los Angeles  
for Vice President Henry A. Wallace

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

2/15/44

Act; Price Subsidies; Teheran Conference. Informant reported that the nature of the presentation was a satire upon the Republican Party, which was portrayed as isolationists and in effect pro-Fascist. The setting was that of the entrance to a sideshow. On banners were displayed caricatures of individuals such as HERBERT HOOVER, THOMAS E. DEWEY; and United States Senators and Congressmen such as NYE, WHEELER, REYNOLDS, FISH and RANKIN; ROBERT MCCORMICK of the Chicago Tribune, and WILLIAM RANDOLPH HEARST. All were caricatured as freaks to be seen for an entrance fee. The book "Under Cover" by ROY CARLSON was mentioned favorably. This book is a "must be read" by all Communists. Russia was classified as the savior of the world. The skit was written by BEN HECHT, a screen writer, and produced by E. Y. HARBURG, a producer at Warner Bros. Both follow the Communist Party line and identify themselves with Communist front organizations. Although ROBINSON in his opening remarks called for a cessation of all partisan politics, this skit was a particularly vicious attack on the Republican Party and Anti-New Deal Democrats.

Informant stated that following this playlet MR. ROBINSON introduced the Attorney General of the State of California, ROBERT W. KENNY, who in turn introduced MR. WALLACE. MR. KENNY was State Senator before becoming Attorney General of the State of California. He has been a constant follower of the Communist Party line and one of the party's staunchest defenders in California. He is the national president of the National Lawyers' Guild, a Communist controlled organization which constitutes the legal arm of the Communist Party. KENNY'S activities cover a period of some seven or eight years and have been such that he has been identified as falling in line with each and every switch in the program of the Communist Party. Informant stated KENNY was active in the American League for Peace and Democracy, the Hollywood Anti-Nazi League, the Motion Picture Democratic Party, which supported the American Peace Mobilization, and now he is the leading figure in the Hollywood Democratic Committee, a Communist front which is the successor to the Motion Picture Democratic Committee, neither of which has ever been recognized as a portion of the regular Democratic Party organization.

Informant stated that following his introduction, the Vice President spoke for about an hour on the future world to come after the present war is over. He also stated the Vice President said in his speech that he was there as the guest of organized labor, the CIO, A.F. of L. and Railroad Brotherhoods. He also stated the Vice President's speech was essentially a labor speech and was very well received.

Informant stated there was no doubt whatever that the Communist

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Director, FBI  
Re: Reception of Los Angeles  
for Vice President Henry A. Wallace

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

2/15/44

element in the Southern California section had so ~~initiated~~ this reception for the Vice President, acting through the Hollywood Democratic Committee, Labors Committee for Political Action and these so-called "minorities groups" as to enable them to secure complete control of the reception in honor of the Vice President of the United States on February 4, 1944.

Very truly yours,

R. B. HOOD,  
SAC.

JGF:MJ

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

VPK:mle  
8/1/44

Honorable Henry A. Wallace  
The Vice President  
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Vice President:

As of possible interest to you, there is transmitted herewith a copy of a monograph prepared concerning Guatemala.

The information contained therein has been compiled from data based on reports received from confidential and reliable sources.

Sincerely yours,

Enclosure

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/16/83 BY SP1BSKJC  
228303

Declassified  
2040  
JMC 6-3-73

RECORDED

62-71788-201  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
AUG 11 1944  
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Coffey \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mumford \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Jones \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION  
AUG 4 4 46 PM '44  
AUG - 3 1944  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
AUG 5 12 25 PM '44



GHA:MLP

May 12, 1944

~~SECRET~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

THE DIRECTOR

~~SECRET~~

RE: VICE PRESIDENT HENRY WALLACE'S TRIP TO  
CHINA AND RUSSIA  
INFORMATION CONCERNING

You will recall that considerable publicity was recently given to the contemplated trip of Vice President Henry Wallace to China. Information was received from a confidential source by the Washington Field Division that Andrei A. Gromyko, the Soviet Ambassador, Washington, D. C., advised Vice President Wallace that Moscow was willing to issue visas to anyone whom Wallace desired to take with him. Wallace stated that in so far as he knew John Carter Vincent, Owen Lattimore and John Hazzard would accompany him. Wallace indicated that they planned to visit China and Siberia. He further advised Gromyko that he was looking forward to seeing him the following Sunday.

For your information the following data concerning these three individuals has been obtained from the files of the Bureau:

CLASSIFIED DECISIONS FINALIZED  
BY DEPARTMENT REVIEW COMMITTEE (DRC)  
DATE: 4-9-87

3/1/86  
Classified by 3042 RWP/PB  
Declassify on: OADR

John Carter Vincent

The files of the Bureau disclose that John Carter Vincent is employed in the Far Eastern Division of the State Department. He resides at 2804 O Street, Washington, D. C., telephone DuPont 7318.

Classified by 581-CSR-JC  
Declassify on: OADR 6-1-83  
228303

Owen Lattimore

Owen Lattimore was appointed as Political Adviser to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek upon the recommendation of President Roosevelt during 1941. Who's Who in America describes Owen Lattimore as an editor and university professor. He was born in Washington, D. C., July 29, 1900, his parents being David and Margaret (Barnes) Lattimore. He attended business school in Cumberland, Maryland, from 1915 to 1919. In 1920 he went to China where he engaged in business for himself. In 1921 he was engaged in newspaper work in Tientsin, China, and from 1922 to 1926 he was in business with Arnhold and Company, Ltd. in Tientsin and Peking, China. Since 1926 he has engaged in travel and writing. He graduated from Harvard University in 1929, and following his graduation did research in Manchuria under the Social Science Research Council until 1930. He was employed by the Harvard-Yenching Institute in Peking during 1931. He worked for the J. S. Guggenheim Memorial Foundation doing field work in Mongolia from 1931 to 1933. In 1934 and 1935 he was Editor-in-Chief of "Pacific Affairs" for the Institute of Pacific Relations. He was subsequently made a Director of the Walter Hines Page School of International Relations at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, Maryland.

- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. E.A. Tamm
- Mr. Clegg
- Mr. Glavin
- Mr. Ladd
- Mr. Nichols
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Tracy
- Mr. Mohr
- Mr. Carson
- Mr. Hendon
- Mr. Mumford
- Mr. Jones
- Mr. Quinn Tamm
- Mr. Nease
- Miss Gandy

~~SECRET~~

Memorandum for the Director

Lattimore is listed as a member of the American Geographic Society, Royal Central Asian Society, American Oriental Society and as the author of "Desert Road To Turkestan" published in 1929, "High Tartary" published in 1930, "Manchuria, Cradle of Conflict" published in 1932, "The Mongols of Manchuria" published in 1934, "Inner Asian Frontiers of China" published in 1940 and "Mongol Journeys" published in 1941. He is also listed as a contributor to "Atlantic Monthly," "Asia," "National Geographic" magazine and others and is noted in Who's Who as a Medallist of the Philadelphia Geographic Society in 1933.

~~SECRET~~

The files of the Bureau disclose that Lattimore is the Vice Chairman of the Maryland Civil Liberties Committee.

(100-206854-1)

On February 12, 1941, he appeared on the same program with Frederick V. Field, Secretary of "Amerasia" and Executive Secretary of the American Peace Mobilization, at a rally held in Washington, D. C., sponsored by the American Peace Mobilization. He is also noted as a member of the National Federation of Constitutional Liberties.

(100-1170-19)

During February of 1941, Lattimore and Frederick V. Field sponsored a meeting of the "Washington Committee to Aid China." In testimony before the Dies Committee in executive hearings, Zola Ardene Clear stated that the Washington Committee to Aid China was a Communist Party front organization. She furnished the Dies Committee with a publication called "China Aid News" for March, 1941, describing a meeting sponsored by Field at which Lattimore said:

"This country, although pledged to become the arsenal of democracy has, in fact, been the arsenal of aggression."

Field, at this same meeting, stated that the United States should aid China but should withdraw aid from England and should give full cooperation with the policy of the Soviet Union. It is to be noted that this statement parallels the policy of the American Peace Mobilization at that time, which was prior to the Soviet-German conflict.

Owen Lattimore has been associated with the "Amerasia" publication. It is noted that Frederick Field is the Executive Secretary of this organ. [redacted] advised the Bureau in 1941 that the "strings behind Amerasia were pulled by the Communist Party." He further stated that Owen Lattimore, Frederick V. Field and others were on the editorial board. (S)

b7D

Owen Lattimore and his wife have been prominent in Russian War Relief activities in the vicinity of Baltimore. Mrs. Lattimore is a sponsor of Russian War Relief in Baltimore and is on the Advisory Board of R.W.R., Inc., a Communist infiltrated group. (100-2782-2397) Robert M stated that Lattimore attended a Russian War Relief dance in New York, which was also attended by many prominent Communists and Ambassador Litvinoff of the U.S.S.R. Robert M stated that Lattimore "plays around with Communists— and has excellent Washington connections."

(61-7566-3299)

~~SECRET~~

Memorandum for the Director

~~SECRET~~

Owen Lattimore is described in a book marked strictly confidential found in the Japanese Consulate General at Honolulu, which describes various authorities on Far Eastern problems and indicates whether they are friendly toward Japan. This book discloses that they regard him as one of the recognized authorities on China, and states that his pet theory is that the Outer Regions such as Manchuria, Tibet, et cetera, are really not part of China proper. It further states:

"He is also of the opinion that following the independence of Manchukuo the portion of territories which are China in name only will become an issue in the future. His other contentions conform with Japan's views on China in most respects, and he was useful in explaining Japan's contentions during the Sino-Japanese incident."

(61-10556-728)

Owen Lattimore is noted in Bureau travel control records as frequently travelling to and from the Orient since December 7, 1941. His employment has been listed as Political Adviser to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, as personal liaison between President Roosevelt and China, as head of the Far Eastern Department of O.W.I. and as Pacific Director of O.W.I.

The "Baltimore American" carried an article dated July 20, 1941, which stated that Owen Lattimore, upon his arrival in China to become special adviser to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, brought with him a petition signed by 358 exiled Manchurians appealing for the liberation of Marshal Chiang Hsueh-liang, former Manchurian and North China War Lord, who had been held prisoner since his forces kidnapped Generalissimo Chiang in 1936. You will recall that during that period there was considerable internal dissension in the Kuo Min Tang, the Chinese Nationalist Party, caused by dissension between the Communist and anti-Communist factions. The files of the Bureau further disclose that Owen Lattimore has been a guest at several receptions held at the Soviet Embassy.

John Newbold Hazzard

John Hazzard is presently in charge of the Soviet Section of the Lend Lease Administration. [He is frequently in communication with members of the Soviet Embassy and the Soviet Government Purchasing Commission. He appears to be very friendly with the Office of the Soviet Military Attache. On December 15, 1941, on the occasion that Louis Rosenstein called at the Soviet Embassy and offered to sell them a copy of the United States military code and the plan of the United States in the event the Panama Canal was destroyed, Colonel Ilia M. Saraev, the Assistant Military Attache, called

~~SECRET~~

Memorandum for the Director

Hazzard and advised him of this fact. Hazzard in turn notified the Bureau and subsequent investigation disclosed that Rosenstein was mentally unbalanced and actually did not have any of the above information. ~~SECRET~~

(100-52799-2)

Hazzard was born January 5, 1909, at Syracuse, New York. He attended Hill School, Pottstown, Pennsylvania, from 1921 to 1926. He received a Bachelor of Arts degree from Yale University in 1930 and an LL.B. from Harvard University in 1934. He went to Russia in September of 1934, where he studied Soviet law until 1937. Upon his return to the United States he attended Chicago University and received a J.S.D. from that institution March 14, 1939. The subject of his thesis was "Soviet Housing Law." During the period of time he attended Chicago University he was a lecturer on the Soviet form of government and Soviet law, and during 1940 to 1941, he was a lecturer at Columbia University on Soviet Political Institutions.

During the summer of 1941, Hazzard taught a class at Cornell University on Russian-American understanding. A number of individuals who have been identified as Communist Party members lectured during these classes.

(100-3-28-126)

Hazzard was admitted to the New York Bar in 1935. He is the author of "Reforming Soviet Criminal Law" published in the "Journal of Criminal Law in Criminology," July, 1938, "House Cleaning in Soviet Law" published in "American Quarterly on Soviet Union" Volume I, 1938 and "Cleansing Soviet International Law of Anti-Marxist Theories" published in the "American Journal of International Law", 1938. In his books Hazzard has stated: "The essential idea of Marxian legal science is that law is a class tool." He was heralded in an article appearing in "New Masses" as the expert on Soviet law.

During Hazzard's study of Soviet law in Moscow at the Moscow Juridical Institute from 1934 to 1937, he was an agent of the Institute of Current World Affairs. The Institute of Current World Affairs is an organization established allegedly for the purpose of gathering unbiased information on foreign countries and disseminating it to its members. They send young men to foreign countries and finance their studies in order that they might learn the conditions of that country for the benefit of the institute in the United States.

(100-9500-6)

During the period of time Hazzard was in Moscow he was friendly with Herman Rollemann Habicht who was Secretary of the American-Soviet Chamber of Commerce. Habicht is presently employed by the Lend Lease Administration and the subject of an Espionage - R investigation. His wife was arrested by the Soviet Secret Intelligence Service (N.K.V.D.) during 1940 and held in prison until 1941. During this period of time the N.K.V.D. allegedly endeavored to recruit her to act as an agent in the United States. Following the arrest of Gaik B. Ovakamian in New York City, during 1941 for Soviet espionage activities, Mrs. Hazzard was one of the three individuals traded by the Soviet Government for the release of Ovakamian prior to prosecution. ~~SECRET~~ 4

William E. White, an employee of the Westinghouse Electric Company who formerly worked for the N.K.V.D. in Russia during 1938 to 1939, stated that he was ~~SECRET~~

Memorandum for the Director

often questioned about John Hazzard by Abalmazov, the N.K.V.D. agent who was directing his activities. He stated that it was his opinion that one of the reasons he was so often questioned about Hazzard was that the N.K.V.D. did not know what he was doing in Russia. 4

Hazzard was interviewed by Agents of the Bureau in 1943 for such information as he might be able to furnish relative to activities of the N.K.V.D. or O.G.P.U., as it was called prior to 1934. Hazzard stated that from 1934 to 1937 while in Moscow he lived at the home of Professor E. E. Krasnushkin, the head psychiatrist of the N.K.V.D. He stated that he believed the reason he was permitted to live there was so that the N.K.V.D. could observe his activities, however, he was never directly approached or contacted by them and could furnish no information concerning them. He stated that Mrs. Krasnushkin was the individual who told him that the professor was head psychiatrist of the N.K.V.D. (S) 4

During the period of time Hazzard was in the U.S.S.R., from 1934 to 1937, he returned to the United States for two or three months each summer during vacation periods. He again visited the U.S.S.R. in 1939, leaving just before the outbreak of war in September. He was formerly associated with the firm of Baldwin, Todd and Lafferts until July 15, 1941, at which time he was given a leave of absence to accept employment with the Lend Lease Administration.

[The files of the Bureau disclose that John Hazzard attended a meeting of the American Council on Soviet Relations May 25, 1940, addressed by a number of prominent Communists, including Dr. Max Yergan, Thomas L. Harris and Vilhjalmur Stefansson. 7(a) 4 Dr. Gerold Robinson, a friend of Hazzard during the period of time he was at Columbia University, stated that Hazzard was not unfriendly toward the Soviet Union and that he did not see the faults of the Soviet system as readily as others did. Robinson stated that as far as he knew Hazzard was not pro-Communist in so far as the United States was concerned. However, he had a great interest in the theories of the Soviet Government.

Confidential sources of the Washington Field Division advised that John Hazzard is well thought of by the Soviet Embassy. He is frequently invited to attend social functions given by them. He appears to be personally acquainted with former Ambassador Litvinoff and present Ambassador Gromyko. He frequently converses with members of the Embassy staff in the Russian language. (S)

During a highly confidential investigation conducted in Moscow of General Philip R. Paymonville while he was in charge of the Lend Lease Administration in that country, Commander Blakesly, the aid to Admiral Duncan, Naval Attache at the American Embassy in Moscow, stated on May 23, 1943, that just before he departed from Washington, John Hazzard of the Lend Lease Office advised him that they felt the Naval representative in Moscow was not sympathetic to Soviet interests and that the Lend Lease would like to get a "sympathetic person" into the Naval Attache's Office. (S) 4

General Paymonville cleared the majority of Lend Lease matters through John Hazzard when he represented that organization in Moscow. You will recall that (S)

~~SECRET~~

Memorandum for the Director

Faymonville was extremely pro-Soviet, refused to cooperate with the Office of the Naval Attache, American Embassy, in Moscow, and was in favor of giving the U.S.S.R. everything and taking nothing. (S) 4

Colonel Faymonville was also the individual who advised William F. Hall not to say anything relative to his employment by the N.K.V.D. in Moscow. (S) 4

ACTION:

In the event additional information comes into the possession of the Bureau regarding the contemplated trip of Vice President Henry Wallace to China and Siberia it will be brought to your attention immediately.

Respectfully,

D. M. Ladd

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Mr. Tolson ✓  
Mr. E. A. Tamm b6  
Mr. Clegg b7C  
Mr. Coffey  
Mr. Glavin  
Mr. Ladd  
Mr. Nichols ✓  
Mr. Rosen ✓  
Mr. Tracy  
Mr. Acers  
Mr. Carson  
Mr. Harbo  
Mr. Hendon  
Mr. Mumford  
Mr. Starke  
Mr. Quinn Tamm  
Tele. Room  
Mr. Nease

**Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice**

**Washington, D. C.**

**May 12, 1944**

*Henry A. Wallace*

**MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR**

**RE: VICE PRESIDENT HENRY WALLACE'S TRIP TO  
CHINA AND RUSSIA  
INFORMATION CONCERNING**

You will recall that considerable publicity was recently given to the contemplated trip of Vice President Henry Wallace to China. Information was received from a confidential source by the Washington Field Division that Andrei A. Gromyko, the Soviet Ambassador, Washington, D. C., advised Vice President Wallace that Moscow was willing to issue visas to anyone whom Wallace desired to take with him. Wallace stated that in so far as he knew John Carter Vincent, Owen Lattimore and John Hazzard would accompany him. Wallace indicated that they planned to visit China and Siberia. He further advised Gromyko that he was looking forward to seeing him the following Sunday.

For your information the following data concerning these three individuals has been obtained from the files of the Bureau: (u)

John Carter Vincent

The files of the Bureau disclose that John Carter Vincent is employed in the Far Eastern Division of the State Department. He resides at 2804 O Street, Washington, D. C., telephone DuPont 7318. (u)

Owen Lattimore

Owen Lattimore was appointed as Political Adviser to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek upon the recommendation of President Roosevelt during 1941. Who's Who in America describes Owen Lattimore as an editor and university professor. He was born in Washington, D. C., July 29, 1900, his parents being David and Margaret (Barnes) Lattimore. He attended business school in Cumberland, Maryland, from 1915 to 1919. In 1920 he went to China where he engaged in business for himself. In 1921 he was engaged in newspaper work in Tientsin, China, and from 1922 to 1926 he was in business with Arnhold and Company, Ltd. in Tientsin and Peking, China. Since 1926 he has engaged in travel and writing. He graduated from Harvard University in 1929, and following his graduation did research in Manchuria under the Social Science Research Council until 1930. He was employed by the Harvard-Yenching Institute in Peking during 1931. He worked for the J. S. Guggenheim Memorial Foundation doing field work in Mongolia from 1931 to 1933. In 1934 and 1935 he was Editor-in-Chief of "Pacific Affairs" for the Institute of Pacific Relations. He was subsequently made a Director of the Walter Hines Page School of International Relations at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, Maryland. (u)



COPIES DESTROYED  
159 NOV 5 1964

Classified by ~~DR~~ GSK-JC  
Declassify on: OADR 6-1-83

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

RECORDED & INDEXED  
62-71788-20X1

**SECRET**

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

CCM:AKR

TO : THE DIRECTOR

DATE: August 24, 1944

FROM : D. M. Ladd

SUBJECT:

Vice President Henry A. Wallace

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Classified by [REDACTED]  
Declassify on: OADR 5-16-83  
228303

It is felt that the following will be of interest to you.

In March, 1943, the Buffalo Office advised that while interviewing Lt. Dana Merriman on another matter he advised that from October to November, 1942, he was an Intelligence Officer in the United States Army at Fort Ontario, New York. He stated that during this time he had been assigned to a case involving Irving Caress, who had been reported as being a member of the Communist Party, U.S.A. Merriman stated that following a speech by Vice President Wallace in the Fall of 1942 Caress' wife, Edith Caress, had addressed a letter to Caress at Fort Ontario in which letter she stated: "Vice President Wallace is one of us and will make himself known when the time comes but his name isn't on the records because of his high position." Merriman stated that Caress' wife at that time resided in Brooklyn, New York. (u)

The New York Office was immediately instructed to ascertain whether Edith Caress or Irving Caress were members of the Communist Party, U.S.A., and, if so, what position they held. This investigation was instigated to ascertain the possible significance of the statement by Edith Caress. Considerable investigation since that time has been conducted both in New York City and Miami, Florida, in an effort to locate Edith Caress. It was finally ascertained that she had resided in Miami and during the time she was there she engaged in such activity as to make persons associated with her feel that she was Communistically inclined. She was later identified in New York City. Investigation by the New York Office of recent date has reflected that Mrs. Irving Caress is a member of the 22nd-23rd Assembly District, Kings County New York Communist Party. Confidential Informants state that at one time in 1942 she was offered a position as secretary to Mother Bloor, who was at that time a national functionary of the Communist Party, U.S.A. (u)

Investigation has also reflected that Irving Caress was formerly Secretary of the Communist Party in the 22nd-23rd Assembly District, Kings County. In his Selective Service questionnaire he listed his employer as the Communist Party. Regarding his occupational experience he remarked that he had been General Manager of the Wholesale Book, Inc., which is known to have been closely allied with the Communist Party and its propaganda machines. (u)

The fact that Irving Caress is a member of the United States Army has been called to the attention of G-2.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
RECORDED  
INDEXED

Mr. Tolson ✓  
Mr. E. A. Tamm ✓  
Mr. Clegg ✓  
Mr. Coffey ✓  
Mr. Glavin ✓  
Mr. Ladd ✓  
Mr. Nichols ✓  
Mr. Rosen ✓  
Mr. Tracy ✓  
Mr. Mohr ✓  
Mr. Carson ✓  
Mr. Hendon ✓  
Mr. Mumford ✓  
Mr. Jones ✓  
Mr. Quinn Tamm ✓  
Tele. Room ✓  
Mr. Nease ✓  
Miss Beahm ✓  
Miss Gandy ✓

32 OCT 26 1944

R-383



843a

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

JHD:DMM

TO : D. M. Ladd

FROM : J. C. Strickland

SUBJECT: HENRY AGARD WALLACE

DATE: January 31, 1945

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. Coffey \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. Mumford \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. Jones \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_

Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_

Miss Beahm \_\_\_\_\_

Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

With further reference to the captioned individual, this is to advise that through the technical surveillance on the Maritime Committee in Washington, D. C., it has been learned that an unidentified woman, who stated that she was Mr. Wallace's secretary, attempted to contact Harriet Bouslog, the legislative representative of Harry Bridges' International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union in Washington, D. C., who was a personal appointee of Bridges, and in Mrs. Bouslog's absence advised Frances Jacobsen who was in the office to tell Harriet "a meeting is being held tonight (1-25-45) at 5:00 p.m. at the Carlton Hotel to coordinate our activities in support of Wallace." Subsequently on the same day Miss Fraber, who identified herself as being from Henry Wallace's office and who may be identical with the individual who called Mrs. Bouslog, contacted Hoyt Haddock, the legislative representative for the NMU in Washington, D. C., who has been reported by numerous sources to be a member of the CPA, and advised Haddock that she was working with a group at the Carlton Hotel, coordinating the material for the Senate fight on the Wallace issue. In addition, she invited Haddock to attend the same meeting mentioned above, which invitation he accepted and said that he would attend if possible, and if not, someone from the Maritime Committee would be there.

Through the same source it was learned that Joe Kelly, President of the American Communications Association, had received a wire from Philip Murray, President of the CIO, in which Murray instructed that the Presidents of all CIO unions should contact their Senator to confirm the appointment of Henry Wallace and to oppose the George Bill which would divorce the Reconstruction Finance Corporation from the Commerce Department.

ACTION: None. This is being written as an informative memorandum only.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/16/83 BY SP1GSKJ  
228303

RECORDED

INDEXED

SD 11

62-71788-22

57 FEB 8 1945

b6  
b7C

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP (S) OF CLEANS  
DATE 6/16/83

**F.B.I. TELETYPE**

- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. Clegg
- Mr. Coffey
- Mr. Glavin
- Mr. Ladd
- Mr. Nichols
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Tracy
- Mr. Carson
- Mr. Egan
- Mr. Hendon
- Mr. Pennington
- Mr. Quinn Tamm
- Mr. Nease
- Miss Gandy

[DECODED COPY]

WASHINGTON FROM CHICAGO 13 25 6-56 P  
DIRECTOR ROUTINE  
DARK.

*Henry A. Wallace*

RE COMMUNIST POLITICAL ASSOCIATION, DISTRICT NUMBER 3 CHICAGO FIELD  
DIVISION, INTERNAL SECURITY - C. [redacted] ADVISED AR  
HAENDLE, TREASURER OF CPA, AND IRWINSTEIN, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY,  
FREIHEIT ASSOCIATION, CHICAGO, REPORTED JEWISH COMMUNIST FRONT, HAD  
CONFERENCE INSTANT DATE RE CPA STRENGTH. IRWIN STATED THROUGH EDUCATION  
OF MASSES THEIR STRENGTH HAS INCREASED AND POWER IS BECOMING MORE AND  
MORE RECOGNIZED BY LEGISLATURE. IRWIN STATED THAT THEY SHOULD GET  
TWELVE OR FIFTEEN LEADING JEWISH AND RABBI TO SEND IN TELEGRAMS ON  
WALLACE SITUATION, ALSO IF THEY COULD GET SEVERAL LEADING PROFESSIONAL  
MEN ALSO IT WOULD SHOW PRESSURE WITHIN CHICAGO AREA. HE SAID THAT  
TELEGRAMS SHOULD BE SENT DIRECTLY TO COMMITTEE HANDLING THIS INVESTIGATION.

b7D

DRAYTON

Classified by DD 103 SCJO  
Declassify on: OADR  
5-16-83  
228303

RECEIVED

[1-25-45] (X) 4

9:15 PM EWT

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

CLASSIFIED DECISIONS FINALIZED  
BY DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE (DRC)  
DATE: 4-8-87

RECORDED  
&  
INDEXED

62-71788-23  
FEB 14 1964

3/21/86 3042 RWT/PB  
Classified by OADR  
Declassify on: OADR  
appeal 83-1423  
-1423

If the intelligence contained in the above message is to be disseminated  
outside the Bureau, it is suggested that it be suitably paraphrased in  
order to protect the Bureau's coding systems.

**CONFIDENTIAL**

RECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-46801-87

TELETYPE

JAN 28 1945

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

WASHINGTON FROM NEW YORK

DIRECTOR URGENT

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/16/83 BY SP1GSC/DO

URGE. CPA DIST NUMBER TWO NY FD INTERNAL SEC-C. CNDI

ADVISED THAT EMERGENCY MEETING NY COUNTRY COMMITTEE C.P.A. WAS HELD  
LATE AFTERNOON SAT JAN TWENTY SEVEN NINETEEN FORTY FIVE. PURPOSE OF  
MEETING WAS TO MOBILIZE CLUB LEADERS TO CALL SPECIAL CLUB MEETINGS  
OR UTILIZE REGULAR TUESDAY MEETINGS TO INSTRUCT MEMBERS TO

IMMEDIATELY WRITE OR ~~WIRE~~ WIRE THEIR SENATORS DEMANDING THEY  
VOTE FOR ~~CONFIRMATION~~ CONFIRMATION OF APPOINTMENT OF HENRY  
WALLACE. IT WAS OPINION OF SEVERAL SOURCES FROM WHICH INFORMANT  
OBTAINED THIS INFO THAT NATIONAL COMMITTEE C.P.A. HAS DIRECTED  
SIMILAR ACTIONS THROUGHOUT ENTIRE U. S.

RECORDED  
INDEXED

162-71788-24

JAN 28 1945

END

FEB 28 1945

- 68

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. E. A. Tamm  
Mr. Clegg  
Mr. Coffey  
Mr. Glavin  
Mr. Ladd  
Mr. Nichols  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tracy  
Mr. Carson  
Mr. Egan  
Mr. Hendon  
Mr. Pennington  
Mr. Quinn Tamm  
Mr. Nease

b7D  
RECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-3-4-1412-1

cc: Mr Ladd

Copy bjw

U

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
New York 7, New York

TCK:FAL  
100-26603

February 10, 1945

**ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED**

**HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED**

**DATE 5/16/83 BY SP188430**  
**228303**

RE: ~~X~~ COMMUNIST POLITICAL ASSOCIATION

DISTRICT #2, NEW YORK FIELD DIVISION  
Internal Security - C

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES

AND FIELD OFFICES

ADVISED BY ROUTING

SLIP(S) OF *declassification*

DATE *7-23-77*

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to teletype to the Bureau from the New York Field Division dated January 28, 1945.

Enclosed herewith are two copies of report of Confidential National Defense Informant [redacted] dated January 26, 1945 regarding an emergency meeting called by the County Committee of the Communist Political Association to mobilize their forces to bring pressure on member of the U.S. Senate to confirm the appointment of Henry Wallace as Secretary of Commerce.

Very truly yours

E. E. CONROY  
SAC

Encl. 2  
cc: 61-730

RECORDED & INDEXED  
176

62-71788-25
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FEB 27 1945
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

ORIGINAL FILED IN 62-71788-25

b7D

Copy bjw

Friday, January 26, 1945

There was an emergency meeting called by the County Committee of the Communist Political Association, to mobilize their forces to bring pressure on members of the U. S. Senate to confirm the appointment of Henry Wallace as Secretary of Commerce. It was decided at this meeting to send directives to all branch and club leaders in New York County, directing them to call special meetings of their members or to get in touch with their membership immediately and urge them to send letters and telegrams to their respective Senators requesting the latter to vote favorably on the nomination of Henry Wallace to the office of Secretary of Commerce. The branch or club executive member was requested to have the members who belong to trade unions and civic organizations use their influence with their co-workers and fellow members to follow the same procedure.

ORIGINAL FILED IN 62-71788-567-

**ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED**

**HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED**

**DATE 8/16/83 BY SP1GSKJC**  
**228303**

RECORDED

ENCLOSURE

62-71788-25
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FEB 27 1945
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

b7D

2929 BENTON PLACE  
WASHINGTON, D. C.



J. Edgar Hoover Esq.  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice  
Personal Washington  
D.C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/6/83 BY SP1GSR/SC

2283 03

ELECTRONIC

62-71788-26

182

FEB 20 1945

# Yardstick of Wallace's Fitness:

## ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/16/83 BY SP1BCK/JO  
228303

Already we see signs of a terrific battle between the Liberals and the Conservatives. Such a battle is personified by the actions of the Conservatives in Congress who are doing everything within their power to prevent the confirmation of the nomination of Henry A. Wallace for the position of Secretary of Commerce.

What is there about Wallace to cause some Senators to fight him with such venom? Mr. Wallace's sin is that he has never knuckled under to special interests. He has been more than fair to them when their interest coincided with the public good, but merciless in his fight against them when they were pushing some measure against the general welfare.

Take the Ever Normal Granary which Mr. Wallace fathered. Some of the grain interests did not like this. But it was an essential step to take on behalf of the farmer and the consumer.

The American people are thankful for the extra 100,000,000 bushels of wheat and 450,000,000 bushels of corn which \* \* \* made the difference between crippling hunger and efficient working and fighting for many millions in England and Russia.

In April of 1939 Mr. Wallace was responsible for initiating the trade with England of 600,000 bales of cotton for 90,500 long tons of rubber \* \* \* enough to make 18 million average automobile tires. Both the automobile user and the war effort were served by this far-visioned action by Henry Wallace.

### Baruch Repeatedly Lauded Wallace

The Wallace farm program in the thirties almost doubled the farm gross income and almost trebled the farmers net income. There was nothing incompetent about the way Wallace got the cooperation of the farmers, the Congress and the administrators in the executive branch of the government to do a difficult job. Mr. Bernard Baruch has repeatedly said that Mr. Wallace as Secretary of Agriculture did a superb job of administration.

Under the Triple A, which became law in May of 1933, Mr. Wallace had to pick the men who would build an organization which would contact county by county and state by state the majority of the 6 million farmers of the United States. The chief responsibility was placed on the county committees elected by the Farmers themselves. This annoyed a few politicians, but

it was sound administration to decentralize what otherwise would have been an impossible task.

Mr. Wallace, as Secretary of Agriculture, was responsible for the Food Stamp Plan. \* \* \* It was almost as difficult an administrative job to come into effective touch with several hundred thousand distributive outlets as it had been to work out the Triple A in cooperation with several million farmers. But the job was done and it was done efficiently and effectively. Said Mr. J. Frank Grimes, President of the Independent Grocers' Alliance—"My experience with him, when chairman of the important food and grocery conference Committee, has earned my deep respect for his ability and integrity."

### He Saved Millions

Take the story of how Mr. Wallace saved \$874,000,000 to the U. S. Treasury, which otherwise would have gone unjustly to enrich certain processors who had done nothing whatever to earn the money. \* \* \* In justice to the processing trades, it should be said that the majority of them recognized the justice of the action taken by the Government under Mr. Wallace's leadership. The courts sustained the Government in 92 per cent of the cases contested. The overwhelming majority of the cases were settled out of court because the justice of the Government's position was so apparent.

Wallace it was who used Presidential backing to force Mr. Jones to give the farmers 4 percent instead of 5 percent money. He it was who insisted on safe storage facilities at reasonable rates. He it was who insisted that the Commodity Credit Corporation be transferred to the Department of Agriculture so that the products could be stored more economically.

The only Vice President who ever did any work in the Executive branch of the government was Mr. Wallace. \* \* \* He was serving as Chairman of both the Board of Economic Warfare and SPAB — later the War Production Board — when Pearl Harbor was struck, and he broke bottle necks which nobody else could have broken except the President.

No wonder the forward looking people of the United States, and the common people of the world, believe in Mr. Wallace.

### AS A PUBLIC SERVICE

*we present this excerpt from the address of Senator Joseph F. Guffey, given at Erie, Pa., February 17, 1945.*

INTERNATIONAL LATEX CORPORATION ★ PLAYTEX PARK ★ DOVER, DELAWARE

PAID ADVERTISEMENT...BUY MORE WAR BONDS

JJP:JAW  
100-28627

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP (S) OF  
DATE 6/16/83

New York 7, New York  
February 24, 1945

Director, FBI

Re: RACON  
INTERNAL SECURITY

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP (S) OF  
DATE 7-23-79

Dear Sir:

The February 17, 1945, issue of the "PEOPLE'S VOICE", copies of which are submitted to the Bureau separately, contain an article entitled "WE WANT WALLACE GROUP ORGANIZED." The article stated in part that "We Want Wallace Committee of Harlem" was organized last week with offices at 307 Lenox Avenue to support the Senate's confirmation of HENRY WALLACE as Secretary of Commerce. The article stated that the Committee gave a luncheon on Saturday, February 10, 1945, at the Y. M. C. A. to organize a national delegation to visit the members of the Senate and plan a "We Want Wallace" rally at the Golden Gate Ballroom on February 25, 1945. Among the members of the group are Dr. CHANNING H. TOBIAS, Councilman ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, Assemblyman HULAN JACK, Councilmen Benjamin J. Davis and Charles E. Collins, and Assemblymen WILLIAM T. ANDREWS, GUY R. BREWER, H. K. CRAFT, RAY JONES, JAMES EOERT ALLENT, LYNDON HENRY, Reverend B. C. ROBESON, Reverend JOHN H. JOHNSON, MABEL K. STANPERO, ADA E. JACKSON, and MORAN WESTON.

Confidential Informant [redacted] whose identity is known to the Bureau, advised that the above-mentioned Committee and the meeting, which is to be held on February 25, 1945, at the Golden Gate Ballroom in Harlem, were organized and are supported by the Communist Political Association. (A)

This information is being submitted to the Bureau for information purposes and any further information received concerning this Committee or its activities will likewise be submitted.

Very truly yours,

E. E. CONROY,  
Special Agent in Charge

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Classified by 2018500  
Declassify on: OADR

5-16-83  
228303

3/2/86

Classified by 2042 Pmt/ps  
Declassify on: OADR

appual 83-1448  
-1423

40

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8-1-86 BY 6136

CLASSIFIED DECISIONS FINALIZED  
BY REPAIR [redacted] NEW COMMITTEE (DRC)  
DATE: 4-8-87

62-71788-27
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
MAR 8 1945
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN 100-135-35-450



~~SECRET~~

b6  
b7c

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

GHA:ka

TO : MR. LADD

DATE: April 3, 1945

FROM : J. C. STRICKLAND

SUBJECT: HENRY AGARD WALLACE  
INFORMATION CONCERNING

Classified by SP16/SLO  
Declassify on: OADR 8-16-83  
228303

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. E. A. Tamm  
Mr. Clegg  
Mr. Coffey  
Mr. Glavin  
Mr. Ladd  
Mr. Nichols  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tracy  
Mr. Carson  
Mr. Hendon  
Mr. Mumford  
Mr. Jones  
Mr. Quinn Tamm  
Tele. Room  
Mr. Nease  
Miss Beahm  
Miss Gandy

I thought you would be interested in the following summary of information appearing in the Bureau's files relative to Henry Agard Wallace, the former Vice President of the United States and present Secretary of Commerce. You will recall that Boris Pregel, the head of the Canadian Radium and Uranium Corporation who also controls the Rare Metals Refining Corporation at Mount Kisco, New York, where the majority of the raw materials for the DSM project are obtained, is a close personal friend of Henry Wallace and has visited his residence on numerous occasions. Pregel allegedly translated Wallace's speeches into the Russian language which were used on his recent trip to China and Soviet Asia. Pregel has been closely associated with Wallace's former secretary, Harold Young, and was reported to have sent \$10,000 to the Democratic Committee in Chicago in an effort to have Wallace renominated as Vice President.

Boris Pregel is the subject of considerable investigation by military authorities at the present time in connection with the DSM project. A review of the Bureau's files has disclosed the following information relative to possible Communist or pro-Soviet connections upon the part of Wallace:

## Background

According to "Who's Who in America," Henry Agard Wallace was born in Adair County, Iowa, October 7, 1888, the son of Henry C. and May (Brodhead) Wallace. He received a Bachelor of Science Degree from Iowa State College in 1910 and an Honorary Master of Science Degree in Agriculture in 1920. He married Ilo Browne of Indianola, Iowa, May 20, 1914. At the present time he has three children: Henry B. Wallace, Robert B. Wallace, and Jean B. Wallace.

Wallace was made the Associate Editor of his father's publication, "Wallace's Farmer," in 1910 and held that position until 1924, at which time he was named Editor. He edited this magazine until 1929 at which time it was merged with the "Iowa Homestead," and he edited the combined magazines until 1933. Following the election of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt as President of the United States and his inauguration on March 4, 1933, he was named Secretary of Agriculture and was subsequently elected Vice President of the United States in 1940. He has been the author of several books including, "Agricultural Prices" published in 1920; "Corn and Corn Growing," 1923; "Correlation and Machine Calculation," 1924; "America Must Choose," 1934; "Statesmanship and Religion," 1934; "Technology Corporations and General Welfare," 1937; "New Frontiers," 1934; "Whose Constitution," 1936; and "Paths to Plenty," 1938.

It is interesting to note that Wallace's brother-in-law, Dr. Charles Bruggmann, is the Swiss Minister to the United States.

Classified by SP16/SLO ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE  
Declassify on: OADR 8-16-83  
EX-220

62-71788-28

~~SECRET~~

CLASSIFIED DECISIONS FOLLOWING BY DEPARTMENT REVIEW COMMITTEE (DRC)  
DATE: 4-8-87

~~SECRET~~

Association with Communist Controlled Organizations and Members of the Communist Political Association or Sympathizers

The files of the Bureau disclose that Wallace was a member of the League of American Writers in 1942. He contributed to a booklet published by this organization during that year. It is to be noted that the Interdepartmental Committee and Special Committee on Un-American Activities classified the League of American Writers as a Communist Party front organization.

During the fall of 1942 information was obtained from Lieutenant Dana Mirriman, a former Intelligence officer, United States Army, Fort Ontario, New York, that Edith Caress, the wife of Irving Caress, a member of the Armed Forces and a known member of the Communist Party, wrote her husband a letter in which she stated: "Vice President Wallace is one of us and will make himself known when the time comes, but his name is not on the records because of his high position." Edith Caress has been identified as a member of the 22-23 AD Kings County, New York, Communist Party. Her husband, Irving Caress, according to his Selective Service file, was an organizer for the Communist Party in this same district.

Wallace was listed as one of the prominent people interested in the American Youth Congress, an organization considered to be under Communist domination and control.

During the period of time Wallace was Vice President of the United States, he frequently made speeches before organizations allegedly subject to Communist or Soviet control. On numerous occasions known members of the Communist Political Association appeared on the same platform with him. At a reception held in Los Angeles February 4, 1944, sponsored by the United Citizens Committee, Ralph Clare, the Secretary of the Studio Drivers Local #399, AF of L, was one of the individuals scheduled to sit on the platform with Wallace. When Clare arrived to take his seat and looked over those present, he turned and left the platform. Clare later stated that his reason for doing so was that he did not want to sit with such a "gang of Communists."

An article appeared in the "People's World" for April 24, 1944, stating that Henry Wallace had sent greetings to Paul Robeson on his 46th birthday. Paul Robeson is considered a key figure in Communist activities on both the East and West Coasts of the United States.

On November 17, 1943, information was obtained through a technical surveillance that George Wilson, the head of the Harry Bridges Victory Committee, advised Harry Bridges that he had seen Wallace relative to the Bridges deportation matter. Wilson said that Wallace told him he and President Roosevelt were not speaking at that time. They also discussed Wallace's forthcoming trip to the West Coast.

Oscar R. Lange, who recently returned from a trip to the Soviet Union and the Polish front, claims to be a personal friend of Henry Wallace. On at least one

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

occasion he has endeavored to communicate with President Roosevelt relative to the Polish question through Wallace. It is to be noted that Lange is extremely pro-Soviet in his lectures and writings.

On July 7, 1943, Eugene P. Connally, the New York Secretary of the American Labor Party and a key figure in Communist activities in the New York area, advised Ferdinand C. Smith, Secretary of the National Maritime Union, he had received a call from David Karr, then Assistant Chief of the Foreign Language Desk of the Office of War Information, that Harold Young, Executive Assistant to Vice President Wallace, wanted to see a few people at the Hotel Essex House. Joseph Curran, "Blackie" Myers, and Ferdinand Smith were invited. It is to be noted that Harold Young is a known contact of Hoyt Haddock, a reported Communist Party member employed by the National Maritime Union in Washington, D. C. On July 1, 1943, Haddock requested Harold Young to obtain confidential information from the Office of the Attorney General as to why President Roosevelt withdrew his nomination of George Payne, Federal Communications Commission member whose appointment expired July 30, 1943. Young promised Haddock that he would obtain this information. David Karr is the subject of a closed Hatch Act investigation. At the time he was interviewed by the Washington Field Division he stated he had formerly been connected with the Communist Party and had worked particularly on the Communist publication, "The Daily Worker," and during that period of time was in intimate contact with all of the high authorities of the Communist Party.

An Impersonation investigation of David Karr in 1944 was conducted for allegedly representing himself as an employee of Vice President Wallace's office. At the time Karr was interviewed he stated he had been closely associated with Wallace since 1943 and had been with him when all his public appearances were made. Karr stated his expenses were paid by Harold Young, Wallace's Secretary.

Wallace was interviewed to determine whether Karr was an employee of his office and stated he had known David Karr for a year and a half and held him in high regard. He stated he liked David Karr personally and frankly admired him because of his continuous action in behalf of liberalism. However, he was not in his employ or attached to his staff. During the course of this interview Wallace advised Special Agent in Charge E. E. Kuhnel that when the war was over "you would likely see the President step out as Commander-in-Chief and go forward in the cause of liberalism."

The National Maritime Union convention was held in New York City July 6 to 10, inclusive, 1943, and a telegram of greetings from Vice President Wallace was read. The Committee later passed a resolution favoring Wallace's position and condemning that of the then Secretary of Commerce, Jesse Jones. You will recall that Jones and Wallace received considerable notoriety at that time relative to their policy disagreements.

During the course of a conversation on January 20, 1944, between Carl Winter, the Executive Secretary of the Los Angeles County Communist Political Association and a member of the National Committee of the Communist Political Association, and Philip M. Connelly, who at that time was Secretary of the Los Angeles

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Industrial Union Council and until recently was President of the California CIO Council, they discussed the coming visit of then Vice President Henry Wallace to the State of California. Connelly mentioned that the list of sponsors for his speech had been pretty well worked out, and stated "I don't know how we are going to control what he says. He will arrive here at noon and he will talk in the evening, and contact is through this guy who is just a big blabbermouth Texan, Young (probably Harold Young, Secretary to Wallace)." Winter indicated that Harold Young was approachable and had been spoken to before. He stated that it was through working on him (apparently referring to Young) that the previous dangerous situation had been overcome. The balance of this conversation indicated that the Communist Party was anxious to control the policies expressed by the Vice President in his speech, and that they desired to arrange a meeting between Wallace and certain prominent figures from Mexico.

Madlyn Ford Mahny, a dispatcher for the National Maritime Union at the Port of New York, a confidential informant of the Bureau, stated that an NMU membership meeting had been held the night of January 25, 1945. Frederick Nelson "Blackie" Myers addressed the meeting "off the record" and during the course of his remarks stated that he, Joseph Curran, and Ferdinand Smith had had dinner with Wallace about six months ago in New York City. Myers stated that during the course of this dinner they had discussed the possible appointment of Wallace as Secretary of Commerce. Myers stated that they were anxious to see Wallace appointed as Secretary of Commerce so that he would be in a position to allocate funds to the Soviet Union and South American countries, in addition to keeping the factories in the United States operating.

You will recall that "Blackie" Myers is the Vice President of the NMU and a known member of the Waterfront Section of the Communist Party. Ferdinand Smith is an alien Negro who was recently forced to resign from his position as Secretary of the NMU following adverse publicity resulting from his status as an alien campaigning on behalf of a Presidential candidate coupled with union requirements that its officers be citizens of the United States. Smith is a known member of the Waterfront Section of the Communist Party. Joseph Curran is President of the National Maritime Union and is closely associated with known members of the Communist Political Association. During his tenure of office, the NMU has followed the "Communist Party line."

Through a technical surveillance on the Maritime Committee in Washington, D. C., during January, 1945, it was ascertained that an unidentified woman who stated she was Mr. Wallace's secretary, attempted to contact Harriet Bouslog, the Legislative Representative of Harry Bridges' International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union in Washington, D. C. Mrs. Bouslog is a personal appointee of Bridges. In her absence this unidentified woman advised Frances Jacobsen to tell Harriet "a meeting is being held tonight (January 25, 1945) at 5:00 P.M., at the Carlton Hotel to coordinate our activities in support of Wallace." Subsequently that same day, a Miss Fraber, who identified herself as being from Henry Wallace's office and who may be identical with the individual noted above who called Mrs. Bouslog, contacted Hoyt Haddock, the Legislative Representative for the NMU in Washington, D. C., who has been reported by numerous sources to be a member of the

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Communist Political Association and stated she was working with a group at the Carlton Hotel coordinating the material for the Senate fight on the Wallace issue. She also invited Haddock to attend the same meeting mentioned above.

On the evening of January 1, 1945, Vice President Henry A. Wallace was the guest news commentator on the program of Johannes Steel. It is to be noted that Johannes Steel was formerly a close associate of well-known European Communists, and allegedly received the majority of his inside information on European political developments through an underground communications system with Willi Muenzenberg, the Soviet agent in charge of Western Europe prior to his assassination. Johannes Steel has followed "party line" to a considerable degree in his news analyses. His latest radio sponsor is the Electronic Corporation of America. The Electronic Corporation of America is a concern manufacturing electronic devices for the Army and the Navy, the president of which is Samuel J. Novick, a heavy contributor to Communist controlled organizations and a close contact of Arthur Alexandrovich Adams, Soviet espionage agent who has used the Electronic Corporation of America as a business cover for his espionage activities.

During the course of this broadcast, Wallace stated that the United States must think more about killing Germans and less about postwar problems. He stated that the time for boundary talks (apparently referring to the Polish question) was not now. He stated that the duty of the United States was to prepare for full postwar employment. He further stated "the common man must educate and organize himself for political and economic responsibility in action, but even more important, he must go beyond the material aspects of power and ask what are the supreme human values."

#### Contacts with Negro Communist Controlled Organizations and Individuals

As noted above, Ferdinand C. Smith, a Negro alien, allegedly had dinner with Wallace during the period of time he was Vice President of the United States in the company of Frederick "Blackie" Myers and Joseph Curran.

According to an article which appeared in the "Michigan Chronicle," a Negro newspaper, Wallace was a sponsor for a win-the-war rally held in August, 1942, by the Negro Youth Council for Victory and Democracy in Detroit, Michigan. Wallace sent his personal endorsement of this rally.

An article which appeared in the "People's Voice," a Negro Communist-controlled publication in New York City, on September 2, 1944, carried this headline: "Henry A. Wallace takes 'People's Voice' staff by surprise." The article continued with a statement that Wallace walked into the "People's Voice" offices the previous Monday afternoon, unannounced, for a friendly chat with his close friend Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., a Congressional candidate who was away on vacation at that time. It further remarked that Wallace asked Powell to report to him on what he considered employment conditions in postwar Harlem would be. It is to be noted that Powell was elected to Congress during the recent elections and it is known that he has closely associated with the members of the Communist Political Association.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Wallace was selected as number two on the Negro honor roll published by the "Chicago Defender," a Negro publication subject to considerable Communist influence, for the year 1943.

Public Appearances and Speeches Before Pro-Communist or Pro-Soviet Groups

Volume No. 7 of the Dies Committee Reports, page 4483, states that Wallace gave the opening speech before the International Congress of American Democracy as well as the Consumers' National Federation in 1939. It is to be noted that both of these groups are considered as subject to Communist control.

On May 8, 1942, in New York City, he addressed the second annual congress of the Free World Association. This speech has been entitled, "The Price of Free World Victory," and was later printed and published by the Office of War Information and disseminated by Government frank. During the course of this speech, Wallace made the statement: "Some have spoken of the 'American century.' I say that the century on which we are entering, the century which will come out of this war, can and must be the century of the common man." This phrase, "the century of the common man," and excerpts from Wallace's speech have received considerable publicity throughout the Communist-controlled press.

During this same speech Wallace referred to the various wars which have been fought during the course of history as revolutions, stating: "The march of freedom of the past 150 years has been a long drawn-out people's revolution." He further stated that the people's revolution aims at peace and not at violence and the people at the present time are on the march toward even fuller freedom than the most fortunate peoples of the earth have hitherto enjoyed. He stated that the people's revolution of the past 150 years has not been completed either here in the United States or in any other nation in the world and that this revolution cannot stop until freedom from want has actually been attained. Wallace further stated: "The people's revolution is on the march and the devil and all his angels cannot prevail against it."

The above-mentioned speech was the theme of a dinner sponsored by the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee at the Astor Hotel on October 27, 1942, sponsored almost in its entirety by known Communists. This dinner was part of a drive to free anti-Fascist fighters held in Vichy, France, who had served in the Loyalist Forces during the Spanish Civil War.

On November 8, 1942, Wallace was the principal speaker before a mass meeting held in Madison Square Garden by the Congress of American-Soviet Friendship. His address was entitled, "Tribute to Russia." Wallace praised the Soviet Union, stating if Russia can continue the progress she has made in the last twenty years, in the next twenty she will surpass the United States. This speech was later printed and a foreword by Corliss Lamont added and it was sold in all Communist bookstores.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Wallace has frequently appeared as a speaker before pro-Soviet and allegedly Communist-controlled organizations, such as his speech "Salute to Our Russian Ally" given before the Congress of American-Soviet Friendship in New York City during the latter part of November, 1942; his speech at the opening of the American-Soviet War Exhibit in New York City January 3, 1943; his speech before the mass meeting held by the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Incorporated, in New York City in November, 1943; and his speech before the New York celebration of the 26th anniversary of the October Red Revolution in 1944. He has frequently sent greetings to meetings of this nature which he was unable to attend personally.

[redacted] who was formerly a confidential informant of the Bureau, has stated that David Karr, mentioned above as a former employee of the "Daily Worker," and a frequent contact of high functionaries of the Communist Party, wrote these speeches given by Wallace, particularly during the years 1943 and 1944.

b7D

On May 18, 1943, at an American Labor Party dinner held at the Hotel Commodore, New York City, according to an article which appeared in the "Daily Worker," Wallace clashed with David Dubinsky of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. This article stated that after Wallace gave his speech Dubinsky followed him with an extremely anti-Soviet talk. When Dubinsky sat down, Wallace told him, "Dave, I believe Russia serves a good cause."

According to an article which appeared in the Washington Post for September 23, 1944, in a speech before the National Citizens Political Action Committee given September 22, Wallace stated that the postwar era needs a liberal program. He said everything in the postwar world depends upon what happens to liberal forces here in the United States and if liberalism goes under, there will be grave danger of more bloodshed. He further stated that the Democratic Party must make itself a truly liberal party or it will be discarded.

In a speech given in Seattle in February, 1944, Wallace reiterated his remarks set forth above relative to the people's revolution now in effect taking place. In addition to the four duties of the people's revolution he previously set forth, he enumerated the three outstanding peacetime responsibilities as he saw them. They are: (1) The responsibility for enlightenment of the people; (2) The responsibility for mobilizing peacetime production for full employment; and (3) The responsibility for planning world cooperation.

The above-mentioned speech was later interpreted by a pro-Communist speaker as stating in effect, "We wish to bring the revolution peacefully and without bloodshed, if possible, but of one thing be assured, the revolution is coming with or without bloodshed." Wallace's remarks were interpreted as in effect stating that the lands of the world were red with the blood of the people's revolution and that the revolution was on the march and with the end of this revolution, apparently referring to the present war, the century of the common man would begin.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Wallace has written several articles which appeared in the "Free World," the publication of the Free World Association, a group in New York City subject to considerable Communist influence. In March, 1942, he wrote "Economic Basis for Inter-American Relations." In August, 1943, he wrote an article entitled, "America Tomorrow." In June, 1942, he wrote an article entitled, "The Price of Free World Victory," which actually was a transcript of his speech before the second annual congress of the Free World Association. This speech was later published in the Carpatho-Russian, Croatian, Czech, Finnish, Greek, Hungarian, Italian, Jewish, Polish, Rumanian, Russian, Serbian, Slovak, Spanish, and Ukrainian languages by the International Workers Order and received wide distribution.

On June 10, 1943, at a meeting of the Victory Youth Club Branch of the Young Communist League in Minneapolis, Minnesota, cards were passed out to those present to be used in corresponding with persons in the USSR. Each card bore printed statements by Vice President Wallace and Joseph W. Davies, the former Ambassador to the Soviet Union, indicating their friendship toward Russia.

b3

Trip to South America and Contacts with South American Communists

Wallace was named a special emissary of the President of the United States to visit the majority of South and Latin American countries for good will purposes. On this trip he was accompanied by Lawrence Duggan, formerly of the State Department, and Hector Lazo, Assistant Director of the Board of Economic Warfare. While in Peru he granted a press conference to representatives of the United States and Peruvian press at which Special Agent George L. Keller was present. One reporter reminded Wallace of a statement he had made at a Pan-American press conference to the effect that the United States Government was thankful for the Communist intervention in the present war and asked whether the United States placed Communism

~~SECRET~~



~~SECRET~~

on a basis with Pan-Americanism. Wallace answered: "At the present time Pan-Americanism is not sufficient; Communism is necessary to effect a world peace."

Lawrence Duggan, one of the individuals who accompanied Wallace on this trip, was formerly chief of the Latin American Division of the United States State Department. Whittaker Chambers, a former member of the Soviet Secret Intelligence Service (NKVD), who was connected with the Communist Government underground in Washington, D. C., stated that Duggan, although not a party member, was believed to be connected with the NKVD. He stated that Hedda Gumperz, an Austrian Communist alien and her husband, Paul Massing, who were both members of the Russian terror apparatus of the OGPU, as the NKVD was termed prior to 1934, were direct contacts of Duggan. Duggan was on the mailing list of the United American-Spanish Aid Committee and his name and address were found in the possession of Joris Ivens, an active Communist Party member from Berlin, Holland, and Moscow, who is a suspected member of the Soviet Secret Intelligence Service (NKVD). Duggan is a friend of Vincente Lombardo Toledano, the left wing Mexican labor leader, and has associated with Enrique de Lozada, a South American Communist.

Information was obtained through [redacted] that Enrique de Lozada, a Bolivian Communist, through his friendship with Wallace, obtained a position at Williams College as a professor of Spanish. He later left Williams College and came to Washington, D. C., where he was employed in Wallace's office. De Lozada induced Wallace to assist him in bringing to the United States the Bolivian Communist Juan Arze. During 1940, Arze was the Communist Presidential candidate in Bolivia. De Lozada is further reported to have brought Augustus Cespedes, Bolivian newspaperman who formerly owned the Communist paper in La Paz known as "La Colla," to the United States. Cespedes at one time conducted a campaign in his newspaper against the United States relative to concessions obtained from the Bolivian Government by the Standard Oil Company. De Lozada allegedly convinced Wallace that Cespedes did not understand the United States and this was the reason for the above-mentioned attack. Wallace reportedly sponsored Cespedes' trip to the United States.

b7D

Following Cespedes' arrival in the United States, Wallace allegedly induced the "Radio-Keith-Orpheum Company" to pay Cespedes \$600 a month because of his possession of material for a book relating to the working conditions of the Bolivian miners. Through Wallace's intercession, the Board of Economic Warfare allegedly reimbursed Radio-Keith-Orpheum for these payments.

Carlos Contreras Labarca, a Chilean Communist who visited the United States in May, 1943, was allegedly friendly with Wallace and was granted an audience by him. At the time Labarca entered the United States he admitted that he was head of the Chilean Communist Party.

#### Trip to China and Soviet Asia

In May, 1944, Wallace was sent to China and Soviet Asia on a special mission for the President. Press releases at that time indicated that the primary purpose of this visit was to induce Chiang Kai-shek to cooperate with the Chinese

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Communists. Wallace was accompanied on this trip by John Carter Vincent, an employee of the Far Eastern Division of the State Department, Owen Lattimore, and John Newbold Hazzard.

Owen Lattimore was appointed Political Advisor to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek in 1941 upon the recommendation of President Roosevelt. He is the Vice Chairman of the Maryland Civil Liberties Committee and on February 12, 1941, appeared on the same program with Frederick V. Field, Executive Secretary of the American Peace Mobilization at a rally held in Washington, D. C., sponsored by that group. It is to be noted that the American Peace Mobilization was one of the organizations designated as subversive by the Special War Policies Unit of the Department of Justice. At this meeting Field advocated that the United States aid China and cooperate with the policy of the Soviet Union by withdrawing all aid to England. It is to be noted that this rally was held prior to the German invasion of the USSR in June, 1941. Lattimore has been closely associated with pre-Communist and Soviet groups on several occasions.

John Newbold Hazzard, presently in charge of the Soviet Section of the Foreign Economic Administration, is very friendly with the Soviet Military Attache in Washington, D. C. Hazzard resided in the Soviet Union from September, 1934, to 1937, allegedly studying Soviet law. While there, he was friendly with Herman Habicht, an unofficial employee of the Soviet Intourist Organization, whose wife was later one of the three individuals exchanged for the Soviet agent, Gaik B. Ovakimian. John White, who cooperated with the NKVD while residing in the Soviet Union, stated he was frequently questioned by them relative to Hazzard. Hazzard on one occasion advised Agents of the Bureau that while in Moscow he lived at the home of Professor E. E. Krasnuskina, a psychiatrist for the NKVD.

ACTION:

The above data are for your information.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

b6  
b7C

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

GEA:FVB

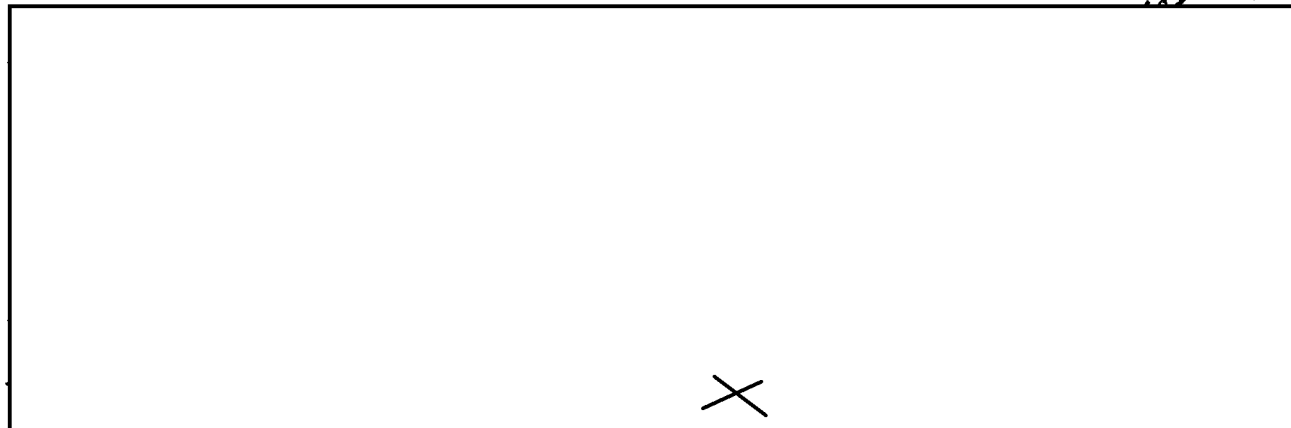
TO : Mr. D. M. Ladd  
FROM : J. C. Strickland  
SUBJECT: HENRY AGARD WALLACE  
INFORMATION CONCERNING

DATE: July 28, 1945

~~TVIN 300 33~~

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. E. A. Tamm	
Mr. Clegg	
Mr. Coffey	
Mr. Glavin	
Mr. Ladd	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tracy	
Mr. Carson	
Mr. Egan	
Mr. Hendon	
Mr. Pennington	
Mr. Quinn Tamm	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Nease	
Miss Gandy	

Reference is made to my memorandum dated April 3, 1945, captioned as above, setting forth a summary of the information appearing in Bureau files relative to Wallace. Another reference to Wallace which was previously unindexed has been found and is set forth for your information.



3/21/80  
Classified by 3042 PWT/PS  
Declassify on: OADR  
1-12-87

Classified by 00103/80  
Declassify on: OADR  
S-16-83  
228303

~~TVIN 300 33~~

2040  
Classified by 2040  
Exempt from Category 2  
Date of Declassification Indefinite  
8/1/80

CLASSIFIED DECISIONS FINALIZED  
BY DEPARTMENT REVIEW COMMITTEE (DRC)  
DATE: 4-8-87  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

RECORDED

62-71788-29  
30 JUL 1945

~~SECRET~~

74 AUG 7 1945

880

b6  
b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Los Angeles 13, California  
October 10, 1945

100-18355

~~APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY SLIP(S) OF DATE 6/16/83~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
~~APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY SLIP(S) OF DATE 7-23-77~~

Director, FBI

~~Classified by 001850  
Declassify on OADR~~

Re: INDEPENDENT CITIZEN'S COMMITTEE  
OF THE ARTS, SCIENCES AND PROFESSIONS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

CLASSIFIED BY: ~~SP-6 BSA/VA~~  
DECLASSIFY ON: OADR

Dear Sir:

On September 24, 1945, Confidential National Defense Informant [redacted] advised the Los Angeles Office that a person believed to be WALDO SALT, screen writer and Communist now employed with the Office of War Information in New York City, contacted JOHN HOWARD LAWSON, leader of the Communists in the motion picture industry in Los Angeles. He advised LAWSON that he was calling at the request of HANNAH DORNER, who is an employee of the ICC in New York City, and told LAWSON that the ICC had a chance to get HENRY WALLACE'S book entitled "Sixty Million Jobs" and had been conducting negotiations with WALLACE for the rights to make a film of this book. He wanted LAWSON to bring it up at the council meeting of the Hollywood Independent Citizen's Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions which was being held that night in Hollywood. He told LAWSON that the film would probably be made in New York for three reasons: (1) WALLACE would be available to assist in the preparation of the script. (2) They have only three months or so to complete same. (3) The most efficient and the best documentary men are in New York.

He also told LAWSON that the help expected from the Hollywood Independent Citizen's Committee would be chiefly financial. He said that WALLACE had given his enthusiastic approval to this idea on that date and he said that the film would be definitely under the auspices of the ICC. He inferred it would be a documentary picture.

Very truly yours,

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE  
R. B. HOOD  
SAC

RECORDED & INDEXED

100-18355  
JRV:CMC  
cc: New York  
100-18862  
100-21198

62-71788-30  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
OCT 22 1945  
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN 100-338892-4

b7D

Office of the Legal Attache  
Buenos Aires, Argentina  
February 18, 1946

~~SECRET~~-AIR COURIER

Director, FBI

Re: COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES  
SECURITY MATTER (C)

Dear Sir:

From time to time the Communist press in Argentina concerns itself with the activities of high North American officials who are in public office. Although information which appears in the press concerning the officials may be of a critical nature, it is noted that Communist newspapers in Argentina always make favorable comments concerning Mr. HENRY A. WALLACE, Secretary of Commerce of the President's cabinet.

In this connection the attached newspaper clipping is being forwarded to the Bureau as of possible interest. This item was taken from the January 24th issue of the Communist daily newspaper "La Hora" in Buenos Aires and was written by LEONIDAS LABANCA who is stated in the article to be the New York correspondent of "La Hora". The newspaper article is entitled "H. Wallace Continues the Tradition of Roosevelt."

Very truly yours,

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/16/83 BY SP10850  
228303

James P. Joice, Jr.  
Legal Attache

WTB/mg  
100-0

(Enclosure)

Enclosure  
detached for  
translation  
MAY 10 1946

ENCLOSURE  
35  
EX-22

RECORDED  
&  
INDEXED

35  
EX-22

62-71788-31

JAN 6 1946

RECORDED  
&  
INDEXED

RECORDED COPY FILED IN 64-200-201-166

escribe Leónidas Lañanca

# H. Wallace

## Sigue la Tradición de Roosevelt

—corresponsal en Nueva York

NUEVA YORK, enero 23. — Henry Wallace sigue la tradición de Roosevelt. Esto es, Wallace confía en el pueblo. El actual secretario de comercio de los Estados Unidos tiene, como uno de sus objetivos principales, el de la obtención de trabajo para 60 millones de ciudadanos de este país. Y para que ese objetivo sea alcanzado, no encuentra nada mejor que desde su puesto en el gabinete del presidente Truman, dirigirse al pueblo para decirle que es el pueblo mismo el que, con su movilización, ha de dar los pasos necesarios para que ese gobierno cumpla la promesa que había hecho Roosevelt, y que seguramente habría cumplido, si viviera. Durante un discurso pronunciado en el



WALLACE

corazón de la región agrícola por excelencia de este país, en la ciudad de Saint Paul, el secretario Wallace manifestó: "Necesitamos que los representantes elegidos por nosotros hagan una declaración sobre la política a seguirse en el orden federal... Todos ustedes saben dónde reposa la responsabilidad final. Esa responsabilidad está en cada circuito electoral, en cada distrito electoral del país." En otras palabras: el pueblo tiene en sus manos el instrumento del voto, que, bien ejercitado, puede darle lo que los gobernantes le niegan.

Wallace ha llamado a los agricultores en apoyo de la Ley de Empleo Total prometida por Roosevelt.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/16/83 BY SP16SIC/JC

228303

roco después de la muerte de Roosevelt, empezaron a aparecer los "revisionistas", los que hablan de "empleo para muchos" o de "todos los empleos posibles", o sea, para decirlo claramente, los encapuchados, enemigos de que el pueblo tenga trabajo. Wallace les dijo a los agricultores que la Ley de Trabajo para todos significará que los obreros podrán ir al mercado a llenar sus canastas con mercaderías, lo que a su vez significará prosperidad para los agricultores, que habrán de ser los principales productores de esas mercaderías. "La amenaza de la desocupación en masa, de carácter crónico —agregó— es tan peligrosa como la amenaza de guerra", y sostuvo que el país no puede permitirse el lujo de otro ciclo de prosperidad y depresión, con lo que, seguramente, se refería a los tiempos de Hoover, en que la gran masa del pueblo debió recurrir a las Hoovervilles, o sea, las Villa Desocupación, para no sucumbir definitivamente.

Según Wallace, la única posibilidad de impedir que vuelva a repetirse el caos de 1930, es presionar sobre los congresales y exigirles acción. Pues, según sus propias palabras, para eso fueron elegidos, para que se hicieran las cosas que el pueblo quiere que se hagan y que no podrían hacerse a título individual o por intermedio de las organizaciones de los agricultores.

Wallace sostiene que debe redactarse una Carta Económica Nacional, en la que debe reconocerse a todo el pueblo "iguales derechos y oportunidades para ganar un salario que permita una vida decente"; que el disponer de esa carta será una simple cuestión de sentido común, y que el que se la tenga no es sino "la voluntad de la gran mayoría del pueblo".

El secretario de comercio de los Estados Unidos indudablemente no tenía sus pensamientos en medidas demagógicas, asegurando aguinaldos o concediendo participación en ganancias, pero, sin quererlo, salió al encuentro de ese tipo de "panaceas" preelectorales cuando manifestó que el problema de asegurar trabajo para todos, con salarios que permitan llevar una vida decente, no habrá de resolverse con uno o dos decretos, sino que "será necesaria toda una serie de medidas y decisiones políticas", para crear ese trabajo, asegurar los buenos salarios y hacer que esas condiciones subsistan, sin la contraparte del aumento del costo de la vida, que caracteriza toda improvisación en este terreno.

LEONIDAS LABANCA

TRANSLATION FROM THE SPANISH

Leonidas Lablanca

H. WALLACE CONTINUES THE TRADITION OF ROOSEVELT

- New York Correspondent -

(From: "LA HORA" of Buenos Aires, Argentina, January 22, 1946)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/16/83 BY SP10SKJC

228303

NEW YORK, January 23. - Henry Wallace continues the tradition of Roosevelt. That is, Wallace confides in the people. The present Secretary of Commerce of the United States has, as one of his principal objectives, that of obtaining work for 60 million citizens of this country. And in order that this objective may be achieved he finds no better way than his position in President Truman's Cabinet in order to address the people themselves telling them that it is the people themselves, with their mobilization, who must take the necessary steps in order that the Government fulfill the promise made by President Roosevelt - a promise which surely would have been fulfilled if he had lived. During an address given in the heart of the Agricultural region par excellence of this country, the City of St. Paul, Secretary Wallace declared: "It is imperative that the representatives elected by us make a statement on their policy to be followed in the Federal service ... All of you know where the final responsibility rests. That responsibility is in each electoral circuit, in each electoral district of the country." In other words: the people have the instrument of the ballot in their hands, which wisely used, can give them whatever their leaders deny them.

Wallace has urged the Farmers to support the Full Employment Law promised them by Roosevelt. Shortly after the death of Roosevelt the "Revisionists" began to appear - those who spoke of "employment for many" or of "all the employment possible" - or clearly speaking, the "hooded ones", enemies of the working people. Wallace told the Farmers that the Employment Law for everyone will mean that the workers will be able to go to market to fill their shopping baskets with commodities. In turn, this will mean prosperity for the Farmers who will be the principal producers of these commodities. "The threat of mass unemployment of a cronic nature - he added - is as great a danger as the threat of war is"; he maintained that the country cannot allow the extravagance of another cycle of prosperity and depression; he undoubtedly was referring to the days of Hoover when the great mass of the people had to resort to the "Hoover-villes", in other words the Unemployment Villas in order not to be completely overcome by the depression.

According to Wallace, the sole possibility of preventing a repetition of the chaos of 1930 is to exert pressure on the Representatives and demand action of them. For that matter, according to his own words, they were elected in order to do the things the people desire them to do and which they could not do themselves by individual title or by intermedium of the Farmers' organizations.

Wallace maintains that a National Economic Charter should be drawn up which would endow all the people with "equal right and opportunities for earning a salary that would allow them a decent life"; that the preparation of that Charter will be a simple question of common sense and that it would represent "the will of the great majority of the people" alone.



The Secretary of Commerce of the United States undoubtedly does not have his thoughts in demagogical measures, in securings gifts or participating in any profits, but without desiring it, he encountered this type of pre-electoral "pancreas" when he declared that the problem of assuring work for everyone with salaries which permit the establishment of a decent life will not be able to be solved with one or two decrees, but that a "whole series of measures and political decisions will be necessary" in order to create that work, to assure good salaries and to make these conditions exist, without the counterpart of an increase in living costs which characterizes every change in this country.

LEONIDAS LABLANCA.

Translated by:

William J. Nolan

July 8, 1946

VDE

OFFICE OF THE LEGAL ATTACHÉ

EMBASSY OF THE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

HABANA, CUBA

April 11, 1946

Director, FBI

RE: EDITORIAL PAGINAS, S. A.,  
aka, Libreria Paginas  
SECURITY MATTER C & R

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to the report of Special Agent C. Lawrence Rice dated April 11, 1946, at Habana, Cuba, in the above-entitled matter, wherein information is set out concerning the advertisements featured by captioned company concerning the book "El Engaño de Las Razas" (The Deceit of the Races), written by FERNANDO ORTIZ, President of the INSTITUTO DE INTERCAMBIO CULTURAL CUBANO-SOVIETICO (CUBAN-SOVIET INSTITUTE OF CULTURAL RELATIONS).

For the Bureau's further information, the Communist daily newspaper "Hoy" has in recent weeks carried advertisements for EDITORIAL PAGINAS, S. A., featuring this book, and also carrying in the advertisement an endorsement of the book by HENRY WALLACE, Secretary of Commerce of the United States. The endorsement is in effect as follows: "FERNANDO ORTIZ, in his book, does away with the racial theories that the Nazi-Fascists have sustained. It is published at an opportune time since despite the defeat of Nazi militarism these theories still infest many parts of the world." Beneath this statement appears, what purports to be, the signature of HENRY A. WALLACE, and below that, Secretary of Commerce of the United States.

Likewise in the magazine, "Cuba y La U.R.S.S.," published by the CUBAN-SOVIET INSTITUTE OF CULTURAL RELATIONS, WALLACE's endorsement is also mentioned in ads carried by EDITORIAL PAGINAS, S. A. for the sale of this book, however, no identification of WALLACE as an official of the U. S. Government is made.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/16/83 BY SP1 QSC/STC  
228303

ELR:MD  
31-19

Very truly yours

RECORDED

LOANE J. RANDALL  
LA

62-71788-31X

FBI  
71 APR 22 1946

INITIALS ON ORIGINAL

59 MAY 13 1946

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-336305-6

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

DATE: April 22, 1946

FROM : Director, FBI

SUBJECT:

I have been advised by my San Francisco office that Henry Wallace, Secretary of Commerce, is scheduled to make an address at San Francisco on the night of April 22, 1946. On April 19, 1946, Mr. Al Ostrow, a reporter for the San Francisco News, telephonically contacted the Special Agent in Charge of the San Francisco office and stated that his office had received a number of telephone calls stating that the FBI was checking on the sponsors of the Wallace meeting. The Special Agent in Charge of the San Francisco office emphatically stated to Mr. Ostrow that there was absolutely no truth in these statements.

I wanted to advise you of this situation and of the fact that this Bureau is not conducting any investigation of Henry Wallace, of his meeting in San Francisco, or of any of the persons sponsoring this meeting. Because of Mr. Wallace's propensity for believing such stories about the FBI, I wanted you to know of this situation in order that if Mr. Wallace speaks to you, you will know that there is no truth in these stories.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

KEEP IN F. B. I. FILES

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/16/83 BY EX-66

RECORDED

INDEXED

62-71788-32

F B I  
MAY 1 1946OFFICE OF THE  
RECEIVED

APR 23 1946

ATTORNEY GENERAL

SPICKER  
228303

70 MAY 20 1946

FROM  
**THE ATTORNEY GENERAL**

TO

Official indicated below by check mark

# 1  
Mr. Tolson ☒  
Mr. E. A. Tamm ☒  
Mr. Clegg ☒  
Mr. Glavin ☒  
Mr. Ladd ☒  
Mr. Nichols ☒  
Mr. Rosen ☒

**MEMORANDUM**

Solicitor General . . . . .	
Assistant to the Attorney General . . . . .	
Assistant Attorney General, Anti-Trust . . . . .	
Assistant Attorney General, Tax . . . . .	
Assistant Attorney General, Claims . . . . .	
Alien Enemy Control Section . . . . .	
Alien Property Section . . . . .	
Assistant Attorney General, Lands . . . . .	
Assistant Attorney General, Criminal . . . . .	
Assistant Solicitor General . . . . .	
Director, FBI . . . . .	
Director of Prisons . . . . .	
Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization . . . . .	
Liaison Officer, Immigration and Naturalization . . . . .	
Administrative Assistant . . . . .	
Division of Accounts . . . . .	
Division of Communications and Records . . . . .	
Division of Supplies . . . . .	
Pardon Attorney . . . . .	
Parole Board . . . . .	
Board of Immigration Appeals . . . . .	
Librarian . . . . .	
Director of Public Information . . . . .	
Mr. Donald Cook . . . . .	
Mr. Morrison . . . . .	
Mr. Ford . . . . .	
Mrs. Stewart . . . . .	
Miss O'Donnell . . . . .	
Miss McCarron . . . . .	
Miss Healy . . . . .	
Mrs. Kroll . . . . .	
Miss Adams . . . . .	
Miss Doyle . . . . .	
Miss Moore . . . . .	
Miss Dennis . . . . .	

Mr. Tracy  
Mr. Carson  
Mr. Egan  
Mr. Gurnea  
Mr. Harbo  
Mr. Hendon  
Mr. Pennington  
Mr. Quinn Tamm  
Mr. Nease  
Miss Gandy

*Director*  
*4-26-46*  
*Thomas*

Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 05-22-2019 BY: [redacted]  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF

DATE 6/16/83

RE: HENRY A. WALLACE  
INFORMATION CONCERNING

DIRECTOR, FBI

Classified by 228303  
Declassify on: OADR 5-16-83

Dear Sir:

On [redacted] advised that he was present during a conference between NEMMY SPARKS, Los Angeles County CP President, and SID BURKE, Los Angeles Editor of the Daily People's World, concerning an interview which the latter had attended as a representative of the Press, with HENRY A. WALLACE, Secretary of Commerce, while WALLACE was in Los Angeles to address a Jackson Day gathering of Southern California Democrats. &

BURKE explained that he had obtained a copy of WALLACE'S address and was preparing a news article concerning the speech for publication in the Daily People's World. He mentioned that during the interview with the Press, WALLACE expressed a "progressive" attitude on a number of issues, including a National FEPC Act; abolition of poll tax laws (both State and Federal); and a loan to the Soviet Union, if other countries, including Great Britain, were granted loans. &

BURKE informed SPARKS that WALLACE expressed himself as being opposed to the establishment of a third political party within the United States at the present time, and, further, praised President TRUMAN'S leadership, commenting that "TRUMAN has been clear-cut in the paths and principles of FDR". In commenting on some of President TRUMAN'S appointments, WALLACE stated that "Every man has his own circle of friends and FDR had a number of Old Deal friends whom he likewise appointed to office". WALLACE also informed the Press that he had supported a third political party when LAFOLETTE ran for the Presidency. He explained that he had done so because he did not feel that the Democratic Party was realistic enough in its approach to political issues involved in that campaign. &

SPARKS inquired concerning any comments which WALLACE may have made concerning the war question, whereupon BURKE responded that no comment had been made on this subject, although WALLACE had expressed himself as being in favor of the United Nations Organization, which he described

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. E. A. Tamm
- Mr. Clegg
- Mr. Glavin
- Mr. Ladd
- Mr. Nichols
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Tracy
- Mr. Carson
- Mr. Egan
- Mr. Gurnea
- Mr. Harbo
- Mr. Hendon
- Mr. Pennington
- Mr. Quinn Tamm
- Mr. Nease



COPIES DESTROYED  
150 NOV 5 1964

RECORDED  
INDEXED  
64

62-71788-33

EX-33 CONFIDENTIAL

52 JUL 1 1946

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b6  
b7c

DIRECTOR

May 24, 1946

RE: HENRY A. WALLACE  
INFORMATION CONCERNING

as being "Democracy at work on an International scale". According to BURKE WALLACE stated that "People are alike when you get past language barriers". &

BURKE explained further that WALLACE was questioned concerning his attitude toward Franco Spain. With regard to this question WALLACE stated that he could not speak for the State Department but that his sympathies were well known as he is a close friend of HENRY G. MORGENTHAU, former Secretary of the Treasury, and shares MORGENTHAU'S expressions concerning the Franco regime in Spain. &

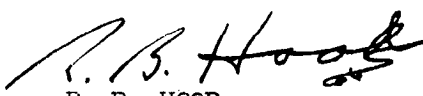
SPARKS advised BURKE to prepare a factual news article for publication in the Daily People's World concerning this interview, mentioning WALLACE'S opposition to a third party. In this regard the CP Press should not, according to SPARKS, take any issue with WALLACE, however, issue should be made in the CP Press of WALLACE'S support of President TRUMAN. SPARKS declared that the CP Press must take direct issue with WALLACE concerning TRUMAN'S appointments and policies and endeavor to force WALLACE to abandon this position. He stated that any news article published by the Communist Press should relate WALLACE'S position politically without making that position the same position as the Communist Party political program. He further explained to BURKE that the Communist Party must fight WALLACE'S efforts to quiet the people concerning TRUMAN'S abandonment of ROOSEVELT'S New Deal policies, and instead endeavor to induce WALLACE to make no comment concerning the TRUMAN Administration. &

According to  this conversation concluded when SPARKS stated that he would desire a copy of WALLACE'S speech to present to WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN, California State CP President in San Francisco, California. &

b7D

This material is being submitted to the Bureau for information in connection with Communist activities.

Very truly yours,

  
R. B. HOOD  
SAC

JMC:JLG  
100-1763

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

# Learning the Hard Way

Secretary of State Jimmy Byrnes comes home from the Paris peace parley moaning that the Russians wrecked it, and the columning brothers, Joseph and Stewart



J. Alsop

Alsop, produce a piece for the May 20 issue of *Life*, groaning that American liberals are so in love with Russia they are "destroying their nation's chances of building a peaceful world order."

The Alsop doctrine runs as follows:



H. Wallace

"The majority of liberals are so preoccupied with foreign policy that they have ceased to think constructively about the pressing problems of the domestic economy. The reason for the confusion is also simple. It is the liberal attitude toward the Soviet Union."

As to who these "liberals" are, the Alsop brothers have as much trouble as anybody else drawing up a general definition that fits all cases, but they elect Secretary of Commerce Henry Wallace the head man of the fellowship of the confused. So it would also seem fair to say that, at least in the present case, "liberals" are Henry Wallace and friends. The Alsops continue:

"When the war ended an idealized picture of the Soviet state had formed in the minds of American liberals. Unfortunately, the tough, brilliant leaders of the Soviet state are not liberal idealists. They are realists and, unlike most liberals, they fully understand that power is the basic unit of all politics.

"When the war ended, they embarked upon an experiment in imperialism as bold as it was novel. In blunt truth, all the methods which were condemned most bitterly when employed by the new imperialism of Germany now began to be used to extend the sphere of Soviet domination . . .

"One can only admire the Soviet leaders' iron nerve and precision of execution, but one must also wonder whether they will ultimately be satisfied with less than domination over Europe and Asia.

"No such critical judgment has been possible for the American liberals, however. They have had to relate the reality of Soviet policy to the ideal picture of the Soviet Union which they cherish in their minds."

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/16/83 BY

SP1GSKJC  
228303

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Egan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gurnea \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Pennington \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

And what sort of thing are the liberals doing? The Alsops report one performance of Wallace's that sums up the record for all of them.

## How 'Liberals' Injure the U. S.

According to the Alsops, our State Department negotiators had just about worked out a deal by March of this year in which we would be allowed to keep air bases in Iceland on a 99-year lease, as a guard to our North Atlantic frontiers.

But just as the Icelanders were about to sign, up pops Wallace to condemn the presence of U. S. troops in Iceland and to declare that the Russians must naturally assume the purpose is to threaten them.

His line is repeated by Senators Pepper of Florida and Kilgore of West Virginia, and Representative Helen Gahagan Douglas, of California—all Democrats—until now the Icelanders are backing down on the whole thing.

## Conclude the Alsops:

"By an irresponsible intervention in a matter of great delicacy and seriousness, Wallace defeated his own Government's policy. He had a right to his opinion, but if he could not make his opinion prevail at Cabinet meetings, his only alternatives were to resign or remain silent."

Of course, Wallace is not the silent type, nor has he resigned. He stays on in Truman's Cabinet, hostile to Truman's policies, and Truman has not got up the nerve to fire him. Yet.

But just as Truman and Jimmy Byrnes learned the hard way that the Russians are as aggressive as Hitler ever was, so will Truman have to learn—the hard way if need be—that he can never succeed in running a truly American administration with characters like Wallace around him.

## Wallace Should Be Kicked Out

WASHINGTON TIMES HERALD  
MORNING EDITION  
DATE 7/1/46

62-71788-A  
JUL 31 1946

These self-deceived people have a fixed idea of the way the world ought to be and they invariably cut the facts to fit their fixations. It has been plain since early in 1920 that the Russian people by their revolution of 1918 had not escaped from oppression to liberty. They merely swapped one gang of oppressors for an even tougher gang of oppressors.

If the Russian people like to have it that way at home, it's their business, not ours. And if the Russian government goes on slugging other nations around, let's try our best to stay out of any trouble that develops.

But in any case let us not neglect our own security as a minimum item for survival in a warlike world.

The Wallace kind simply cannot understand the American first principle of self-defense. They will go on, if allowed, until they blunder us into war again, with results that will be disastrous by any standard.

Truman had better start NOW to put the quietus on these babies in every practical way. The first and best step would be to fire Wallace. Today.



# Wallace Is Holding Hands More These Days With Leftist Groups

By NED BROOKS Scripps-Howard Staff Writer

Left-wing political groups are seeing more and more of Secretary Wallace. Business organizations are seeing him less and less.

Since Jan. 1, Mr. Wallace's political addresses have outnumbered his appearances before businessmen by about two to one.

Six of his 10 speeches on political topics have been delivered under auspices of labor-affiliated organizations, the remainder under regular Democratic sponsorship.

Some observers view the Secretary's emphasis on political speechmaking as an effort to cement alliances with elements of the party which supported him unsuccessfully for the vice presidential nomination in 1944.

## LOOKING TO 1948

They foresee another bid on Mr. Wallace's behalf in the 1948 convention, possibly for the presidential nomination, but more probably for the vice presidency. If the latter move succeeds, Mr. Wallace would be groomed for the top spot in 1952.

But friends of Mr. Wallace say his sole interest at present is in carrying forward the Roosevelt New Deal ideals.

This campaign, Wallace associates say, has the warm support of President Truman. On June 14, Mr. Wallace will visit the President's home state for a speech before the St. Louis Liberal Voters League. His next speech is Friday night before a New York American Labor Party rally in New York.

Meanwhile, Mr. Wallace's open flirtation with left-wing groups has pro-

duced reactions on Capitol Hill, where the House recently trimmed his 1947 Commerce Department appropriations \$30 million below Budget Bureau estimates. The bill is now awaiting Senate Committee action.

The pruning dealt a blow to Mr. Wallace's plans for expanding his Department's functions, particularly in the field of aid to small business.

Reports reaching businessmen that Mr. Wallace is losing interest in trade development functions of his department have met prompt rebuttal. One story of poor relations between the Secretary and his Business Advisory Council brought George M. Humphrey from Cleveland to assure Mr. Wallace of the group's confidence.

Mr. Humphrey, president of the M. A. Hanna Co., mining and steamship firm, is chairman of the 45-member council.

## SPEECH SPONSORSHIP

The National Citizens Political Action Committee, ally of CIO's PAC, has sponsored speeches by Mr. Wallace since Jan. 1 in New Haven, New York and San Francisco.

He also has appeared before the convention of the United Office and Professional Workers (CIO) in Cleve-

ers Association in Boston and Michigan Citizens Committee, non-partisan political action group in Detroit.

His appearances under regular party sponsorship have been before the Women's Democratic Club of Washington, Jackson Day dinners in Washington and Los Angeles and a Jackson-Jefferson dinner in York, Pa.

## HIS ENDORSEMENTS

At York, Mr. Wallace endorsed "my very good friend" Sen. Guffey (D., Pa.) for re-election. In other speeches he has espoused universal social security coverage, industrialization of undeveloped areas of the South and West, abolition of Southern poll taxes, creation of a permanent Fair Employment Practices Committee and passage of the loan to Britain.

As proof that Mr. Wallace has not given the cold shoulder to business in his capacity as a Cabinet member, associates cite his appearances this year before the Farm Institute in Des Moines, World Trade Conference in Chicago, American Retail Federation in Washington, Chamber of Commerce in Miami, Retail Grocers and Provisioners in Boston. Late last year he addressed the National Manufacturers Association in New York.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/16/83 BY SP1QSK80  
228303

Mr. Tolson .....  
Mr. E. A. Tamm .....  
Mr. Clegg .....  
Mr. Glavin .....  
Mr. Ladd .....  
Mr. Nichols .....  
Mr. Rosen .....  
Mr. Tracy .....  
Mr. Carson .....  
Mr. Egan .....  
Mr. Gurnea .....  
Mr. Harbo .....  
Mr. Hendon .....  
Mr. Pennington .....  
Mr. Quinn Tamm .....  
Mr. Nease .....

WASHINGTON DAILY NEWS

MAY 22 1946

162-71788 sub A

JUL 31 1946

53408 1946

Waters

b6  
b7C

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

~~SECRET~~

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : The Director  
FROM : D. M. Ladd  
SUBJECT: HENRY A. WALLACE

~~SECRET~~

DATE: July 9, 1946

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

I thought you would be interested in the following information

[redacted]

[redacted]

- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. E. A. Tamm
- Mr. Clegg
- Mr. Coffey
- Mr. Glavin
- Mr. Ladd
- Mr. Nichols
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Tracy
- Mr. Carson
- Mr. Egan
- Mr. Gurnea
- Mr. Hendon
- Mr. Pennington
- Mr. Quinn Tamm
- Tele. Room
- Mr. Nease
- Miss Beahm
- Miss Gandy

b3

BY DEPARTMENT REVIEW COMMITTEE (DRC)  
DATE: 4-8-87

FLJ:TD

Classified by 2640  
on: Exempt from GDS Category 2a3  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

RECORDED & INDEXED

62-71788-34

Classified by 2013SK30  
Declassify on: OADR 5-16-83  
228303

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

RECORDED COPY FILED

AUG 19 1946

RECORDED

62-71788-37 September 20, 1946

Honorable George E. Allen  
Director  
The Reconstruction Finance Corporation  
Washington, D. C.

BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

Dear George:

I thought you might be interested to know that the speech of Secretary of Commerce Wallace on Thursday, September 12, 1946, as well as press comments concerning the speech was given extensive publicity in Communist publications of Buenos Aires, Argentina. The attitude of the Buenos Aires Communist newspaper "La Hora" is exemplified by an editorial of September 14, 1946, claiming that the speech contained several fundamental contradictions and that its reactionary aspects clashed with its obvious intent to secure peaceful collaboration with the Soviet Union.

It was pointed out that Secretary Wallace failed to mention so-called monopolistic interests of the United States which have been causing a world-wide diplomatic, economic and military offensive against the Soviet Union. "La Hora" indicated that he should also have mentioned the activities of the United States Foreign Service against Russia; the speech of United States Ambassador George Messersmith before an American Legion group in Buenos Aires in which he allegedly invited Latin American countries to join the United States in an "inevitable war" against Russia; the maintenance of United States Air Bases abroad; and monopolization by this country of the secret of the atomic bomb.

Other points which the editorial claimed should have been raised included a purported anti-Soviet campaign by the American press; anti-Communist statements of General Douglas MacArthur in Japan; the support by the United States of the government of Chiang Kai-shek in China; United States "defense" of the Franco regime in Spain; and "sabotage" of the Potsdam Agreement. The editorial concluded that the United States had failed to uphold Big Four Agreements; had advocated a plan of unified military organization and equipment for the Western Hemisphere which threatened the sovereignty of all Latin American countries; and had condoned anti-Soviet statements of high military and government functionaries. According to the article, all these items should likewise have been discussed by Mr. Wallace.

Since that time this Communist paper has not commented on the speech but has merely reprinted despatches from Moscow concerning the matter but neither specifically supporting nor attacking Mr. Wallace's stand.

With best wishes and kind regards,

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/6/83 BY SP/RS/ST/ST

Sincerely yours,

- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. E. A. Tamm
- Mr. Clegg
- Mr. Glavin
- Mr. Ladd
- Mr. Nichols
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Tracy
- Mr. Carson
- Mr. Egan
- Mr. Gurnea
- Mr. Harbo
- Mr. Hendon
- Mr. Pennington
- Mr. Quinn Tamm
- Mr. Nease
- Miss Gandy

WHD:AM

56 OCT 10 1946 228303

39  
JUS  
00  
20  
6-4-77

13

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Coffey \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Egan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Pennington \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

# F.B.I. RADIOGRAM

DECODED COPY *for*

*Arg. - Int. Sec. C*

FROM BUENOS AIRES 9-18-46 NR 86 4:32 PM EST

COMMUNIST REACTION TO WALLACE SPEECH. INTERNATIONAL PRESS COMMENTS RE SPEECH GIVEN WIDE PUBLICITY. EDITORIAL DAILY LA HORA SEPTEMBER FOURTEEN CLAIMED FUNDAMENTAL CONTRADICTIONS AND SAID REACTIONARY ASPECTS CLASHED WITH INTEDNT TO OBTAIN PEACEFUL COLLABORATION WITH SOVIET UNION. POINTED OUT WALLACE FAILED TO MENTION MONOPOLISTIC INTERESTS OF UNITED STATES CAUSING WORLD WIDE DIPLOMATIC, ECONOMIC AND MILITARY OFFENSIVE AGAINST USSR: ACTIVITIES OF UNITED STATES FOREIGN SERVICE: MESSERSMITHS SPEECH: AMERICAN AIRBASES ABROAD: ATOMIC BOMB MONOPOLY: ANTI SOVIET CAMPAIGN OF AMERICAN PRESS: MAC ARTHUR IN JAPAN: SUPPORT OF REACTIONARY GOVERNMENT IN CHINA: DEFENSE OF FRANCO REGIME: SABOTAGE OF POTSDAM AGREEMENT: FAILURE UPHOLD BIG FOUR CONCORDS: TRUMAN PLAN WHICH THREATENS SOVEREIGNTY ALL LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES: ANTI SOVIET STATEMENTS OF MILITARY AND GOVERNMENT FUNCTIONARIES QUOTE ETC. ETC. UNQUOTE. SUBSEQUENTLY THIS PAPER HAS NOT COMMENTED ON SPEECH BUT REPRINTED MOSCOW DESPATCHES INDICATING WALLACE OBLIGED TO MAKE SIGNIFICANT CONFESSIONS BUT WHICH NEITHER SPECIFICALLY SUPPORT NOR ATTACK HIM.

*Henry A. Wallace*

RECEIVED 9-18-46 4:45 PM EST

*Let George Allen  
VAB 9-20-46*



Classified by *SP1/STC*  
Declassify on: OADR  
*5-16-83*  
*228303*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

RECORDED  
&  
INDEXED

*62-71288-37*

*3/21/86*  
Classified by *3042 RUT/PB*  
Declassify on: OADR  
*7-10-87*

CLASSIFIED DECISIONS FINALIZED  
BY DEPARTMENT REVIEW COMMITTEE (DRC)  
DATE: *4-8-87*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

If the intelligence contained in the above message is to be disseminated outside the Bureau, it is suggested that it be suitably paraphrased in order to protect the Bureau's cryptographic systems. *for*

b7D

Mr. Tolson ✓  
Mr. E. A. Tamm  
Mr. Clegg  
Mr. Coffey  
Mr. Glavin  
Mr. Ladd  
Mr. Nichols ✓  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tracy  
Mr. Carson  
Mr. Egan  
Mr. Gurnea  
Mr. Hendon  
Mr. Pennington  
Mr. Quinn Tamm  
Mr. Nease  
Miss Gandy

September 30, 1946

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/16/83 BY SP-6 GSK

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR

Speech of Henry A. Wallace at  
Madison Square Garden,  
September 12, 1946

A paid confidential informant, [redacted]

advised that on September 14, 1946, Hal Simon, Trade Union Director of the Communist Party in New York State, advised several local members of the Communist Party, including the informant, that the speech given by Secretary of Commerce Henry A. Wallace was extemporaneous and not the prepared one which had previously been read and approved by President Truman. Simon stated that when Wallace began his speech he started to read from his prepared script but after noting the type of audience he faced he laid the script aside and spoke extemporaneously. Hal Simon further stated that he himself had a copy of Wallace's prepared speech and that it was entirely different from the speech actually given by Wallace.

Paid confidential informant [redacted]

Division attended the above rally at Madison Square Garden, and a paragraph from his report reads as follows:

"When his (Wallace's) first unfavorable remarks toward Russia drew hisses, Wallace apparently became unnerved. It is my impression that he then departed from his prepared text to avoid drawing any further unfavorable audience reaction. The remainder of his speech was characterized by extreme pussyfooting, which left the audience as to what he actually meant. Many of the comrades were so confused by his remarks that they did not know whether to applaud or hiss. On more than one occasion his comments were simultaneously hissed and applauded. Wallace urged, for example, independence for Indonesia and Greece, as well as for Poland and Bulgaria. This was expressed in such a manner that the comrades thought he was setting up Bulgaria and Poland as examples for the independence of the other two countries. They applauded, of course, but Wallace made no attempt to clarify his remarks."

The informant further stated that most of Wallace's speech was reported accurately in the New York Times newspaper.

Action: The above is being furnished for your information.

Respectfully,

HQB:MR  
OCT 23 1946

D. M. Ladd

THIS MEMORANDUM IS FOR ADMINISTRATIVE PURPOSES  
TO BE DESTROYED AFTER ACTION IS TAKEN AND NOT SENT TO FILES

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. LADD

FROM : MR. STRICKLAND

SUBJECT: HENRY A. WALLACE  
INTERNAL SECURITY - R

DATE: 10/31/46

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. E. A. Tamm	
Mr. Clegg	
Mr. Coffey	
Mr. Glavin	
Mr. Ladd	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tracy	
Mr. Carson	
Mr. Egan	
Mr. Hendon	
Mr. Pennington	
Mr. Quinn Tamm	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Nease	
Miss Beahm	
Miss Gandy	

Your attention is directed to the attached clipping from the Washington Post for October 31, 1946, in which Wallace is quoted as saying, "I refuse to think that Secretary Byrnes and the State Department would have gone so far in risking war with Russia if they had not been needled into it by Vandenberg and the Military."

Your attention is directed to the attached copy of "Political Affairs" for October, 1946 and specifically to page 879 containing an article entitled "The Policy of Anti-Soviet Encirclement" by James S. Allen.

Allen's article in discussing the "Get Tough Policy" states, "The initiative was taken largely by the British, with the support of the United States, while Vandenberg and other forces were needling the Administration to assume active leadership in organizing a new *hostile* encirclement of the USSR."

ACTION: You may wish to call this issue of "Political Affairs" to the attention of Mr. Nichols for his assistance at this time.

Attachment  
LW/dm

59 DEC 10 1946

RECORDED 62-71788-38X  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/16/83 BY SP1GSEJC

228303

## Army, Navy Needle Byrnes, Wallace Says

Minneapolis, Oct. 30 (U.P.).—Henry A. Wallace, former Vice President and Cabinet member, charged tonight that Secretary of State James F. Byrnes has been "needled" into risking war with Russia by Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg and the War and Navy Departments.

In a speech prepared for delivery at a political rally for Democratic-Farmer - Labor candidates here, Wallace said he "refused to believe that Secretary Byrnes is happy with the way in which Senator Vandenberg, the Army and Navy are making our foreign policy."

Earlier, in a luncheon speech at Macalester College in St. Paul, Wallace charged former British Prime Minister Winston Churchill with leading the "mischief making," and of being the world's "greatest Red baiter."

"Since I left the Government, a trend towards modifying our position has been evident. However, discordant voices such as that of Winston Churchill still speak up."

### Admiral Halsey Criticized

In his speech tonight, Wallace said that "certainly Secretary Byrnes was not responsible for Navy fliers writing the initials F. D. R. over the skies of Royalist Greece," he said.

"Certainly Secretary Byrnes did not authorize Admiral Halsey to say that our Navy would go wherever it damned pleased.

"It is hard to believe that Secretary Byrnes is pressing for outright U. S. ownership and fortification of the Ryukyu Islands in such a way as to be a definite and distinct threat to the free access to the seas by the Russians from their only warm-water Pacific port."

### Problem More Complicated

The military necessarily think and prepare to meet the "next possible enemy," Wallace said, while the State Department plans for peaceful relations.

"I refuse to think that Secretary Byrnes and the State Department would have gone so far in risking war with Russia if they had not been needled into it by Vandenberg and the military," he said.

The problem of carrying on successful relations with Russia, Wallace said, "is not as simple as I presumed it last September 12," the date of his New York speech that led to his ouster from the Cabinet by President Truman.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/16/83 BY SP18SKJ/S  
228303

WASHINGTON POST  
10/31/46  
PAGE 2

2)  
*McGraw-Hill*  
*Baumgardner*  
PORTAL TO PORTAL PAY

**ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED**  
DATE 5/16/83 BY SP1GSCJTC

Pittsburgh, Pa.,

January 5, 1947.

The ~~New~~ Republic, of which Henry Wallace recently became editor, in the January 6th, 1947 issue chides corporation lawyers.

The column on Labor - Portal to Portal in speaking about corporation lawyers states,

"The highest paid corporation lawyers in the country have converged upon Washington to prepare a common defense against Labor's billion-dollar claims for retroactive portal-to-portal wages. Labor lawyers are amazed that industry's big legal brains have been so slow on the draw----. The Corporation lawyers were doing last June. They paid no mind to the Mount Clemens decision, allowed the C.I.O. lawyers to push the case through and made no move at all to participate in the motion for reconsideration offered by the counsel for the pottery company.

The C.I.O. lawyers debated from June until September over what to do with the powerful weapon they had been handed.

The Corporation lawyers have decided that their best chance of curbing the suits at this late date is by legislation. The legal staffs of N.A.M. and the U. S. Chamber of Commerce have been busy drafting bills and advising sympathetic congressmen on how best to do the job. A few of the more impetuous attorneys favor drastic legislation that would bar all back claims, including those for which suits have already been filed. Soberer counsel generally believe that such action would be unconstitutional and in the long run would only further complicate industry's position. These strategists prefer a bill similar to one introduced by Representative John Swynn (R. Iowa) in last session, setting a time limit for future suits of this nature.

62-71788-40  
JAN 16 1947

58 JAN 20 1947

71



Meanwhile the federal government is a most interested onlooker. The federal treasury will be the loser if industry settles the claims and seeks proportionate tax rebates. Renegotiated and cost-plus war contracts may have to be re-examined, with financial loss to the government virtually assured in advance."

97 et Ave. No. Arlington N.J.  
April 15-1947

Mr. Edgar Hoover  
Washington D.C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/16/83 BY SP13K00  
228303

Dear Sir: <sup>Henry Wallace</sup>  
Henry Wallace was one of the  
heartaches that helped kill our late  
President Franklin D. Roosevelt. When  
President Roosevelt found out his partner  
was leaning toward the Reds he tossed  
him out and took Harry Truman as  
Vice President. Knowing his health  
was failing, because of the heart aches  
his own party was giving him, men he  
once trusted turning traitors, he put  
Harry Truman <sup>62-11788-43</sup> <sup>APR 16 1947</sup> to take over  
when he died, because <sup>EX-81</sup> <sup>no more deals</sup>  
and <sup>no more deals</sup>  
the American people has a mind of

58 MAY 1 1947

his own. Regardless of politics and I am  
a Republican, Harry Truman puts  
America first. My country may she  
always be right but my country  
right or wrong. Both my husband  
and my ancestors came here in 1615,  
and I will not stand for a man  
like Henry Wallace, who is suffering  
from halitosis of the intellect, to go  
abroad in the year 1947 and de-  
nounce our Government. I am only  
one of one hundred and thirty million  
Americans, but I demand you  
Mr Hoover, to have Henry Wallace  
court-martialed and shot for treason  
the same as you would have done to  
any one of our enlisted men. I think  
it is high time for the public who are  
caught in the middle of everything  
lately to start striking back.

Respectfully, Mrs Howard Belknap

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : D. M. LADD

FROM : J. C. STRICKLAND

SUBJECT: "NEW REPUBLIC"

DATE: April 11, 1947

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. E. A. Tamm  
Mr. Clegg  
Mr. Glavin  
Mr. Ladd  
Mr. Nichols  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tracy  
Mr. Carson  
Mr. Egan  
Mr. Gurnea  
Mr. Harbo  
Mr. Hendon  
Mr. Pennington  
Mr. Quinn Tamm  
Tele. Room  
Mr. Nease  
Miss Beahm  
Miss Gandy

Assistant SAC Belmont advised that the "New Republic" for April 14, 1947, on page 12, carries an article written by Henry Wallace entitled "A Bad Case of Fever." This article attacks the President's Executive Order on Loyalty Investigations and, according to Mr. Belmont, explains that the statistics previously mentioned by the Director to the effect that there is one Communist in the United States for every 1,314 persons are misleading.

A copy of this article is being transmitted to us by the New York Office.

JCS:mjj

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5-16-83 BY SP1GSC/C

228303

RECORDED  
&

INDEXED

162-71788-44

32 APR 19 1947

50 APR 30 1947

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/16/83 BY SP1 RSKJU

228303

62-71788-44

# New Republic

---



APR. 14, 1947 ★

## Franklin D. Roosevelt

*by Henry Wallace*

---

## John Lewis' Mine Workers

*by Dale Kramer*

---

**15 CENTS**

**VETS' STORY CONTEST WINNERS ANNOUNCED PAGE 4**

Two  
distinguished  
new volumes  
for the  
connoisseur...

Her name implies subtlety and wit—her new book has both.

SYLVIA TOWNSEND WARNER

Twenty-two short stories by the author of *Mr. Fortune's Maggot*, which will be a rich and endless pleasure to all admirers of her unique prose style, and her delicate, acid humor. \$2.50

THE MUSEUM  
OF CHEATS

Now in book form—her companion play to *The Little Foxes*!

LILLIAN HELLMAN

"Surpasses all of Miss Hellman's earlier plays in sheer, overwhelming intensity of interest. ... a brilliant, distinguished work, of enormous power and impact."  
—RICHARD WATTS, JR. *N.Y. Post* \$2.00

ANOTHER PART  
OF THE FOREST

...and a new  
outstanding  
non-fiction  
work...

"One of the gayest, least pretentious, most un-doctrinaire books ever written by a philosopher."

—ORVILLE PRESCOTT, *N. Y. Times*

by IRWIN EDMAN

"If any teacher of our time has awakened students to a love for the best possessions of the mind, Irwin Edman has done so," says Edgar Johnson in *PM*. "He has not been primarily a logician, a moralist, or a metaphysician, but a human being talking to human beings." It is this essentially human quality that makes his latest volume

such delightful reading, and his philosophic reminiscences so warmly personal. You will find here no ready-made beliefs, no eternal answers, but new and tempting guide posts on the questing road. "A 'must' book. One to be read eagerly. One to be remembered with fond gratitude."

—JAMES O. SUPPLE, *Chicago Sun* \$3.00

*Philosopher's Quest*

...join  
these current  
Viking  
successes

BALZAC

by Stefan Zweig

Zweig recreates the vast, lusty, tragic figure of Balzac in his final masterwork. *Illus.* \$3.75

THE ROOSEVELT  
I KNEW

by Frances Perkins

With warmth and critical affection she writes of her friend and political associate. *Illus.* \$3.75

THE WAYWARD BUS

by John Steinbeck

A top national best-seller—the novel of nine men and women and their dramatic hours together. \$2.75

BRANDEIS

by Alpheus Thomas Mason

This inspiring record of a free man's life is "biography with a larger meaning."—*N.Y. Times* *Illus.* \$5.00

The STRANGE  
ALLIANCE

by John R. Deane

An invaluable report on his years as head of our military mission in Russia. \$3.75



THE VIKING PRESS At all booksellers

L  
E

A

"

"

"

"

"

"

"

"

"

"

"

"

"

"

"

"

"

"

"

"

"

"

"

# New Republic

CONTENTS FOR APRIL 14, 1947

News in Focus	5	Vandenberg's Triumph
	8	Coal Facts
	9	Static on FM
Washington Wire	11	Dewey v. Truman in '48
Henry Wallace	12	A Bad Case of Fever
General Articles	14	Franklin D. Roosevelt: by Henry Wallace
	16	Report from Athens: by Constantine Poulos
	17	Corporation Statements: by Harold Wolff
	21	Report from Chicago: by Herman Kogan
	22	United Mine Workers: by Dale Kramer
	27	A Trust Is Dented: by Donald W. Craig
Books in Review	31	Sins of the Fathers
	34	Fiction Parade
	35	Crime and Punishment
United Nations News	36	Peace on the Defensive
Farm	37	Our International OPA
Radio	38	Battle of the Books
Movies	40	Farmers and Gangsters
Music	42	Jazz, Pure and Simple
Labor	44	Cutthroat Economy
Etcetera	3	Letter of the Week
	45	Bandwagon

EDITOR: Henry A. Wallace  
 PUBLISHER: Michael Straight  
 ASSOCIATE PUBLISHER: William D. Patterson  
 EDITORIAL DIRECTOR: Bruce Bliven  
 EXECUTIVE EDITOR: Francis Brennan  
 MANAGING EDITOR: Norman Grieser  
 SENIOR EDITORS: Helen Fuller, William Harlan Hale, Robert Hatch, Penn Kimball, James R. Newman, Theodore H. White  
 ASSOCIATE EDITORS: George Mayberry, Nathan Robertson

ASSISTANT EDITORS: Jane Bedell, Graham Hovey, Elizabeth Huling, Thomas Whiteside  
 STAFF CONTRIBUTORS: Tris Coffin, Malcolm Cowley, Ralph G. Martin, Angus McDonald, Thomas F. Reynolds, Vincent Sheean, Willard Shelton, Stark Young  
 TREASURER: Daniel Mebane  
 ADVERTISING MANAGER: E. G. Wood  
 CIRCULATION MANAGER: Eric Shumway  
 PRODUCTION MANAGER: Anthony J. Ballo

PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1947, IN THE U.S.A. BY EDITORIAL PUBLICATIONS, INC., 40 EAST 49 ST., NEW YORK 17, N. Y. ENTERED AS SECOND CLASS MATTER, NOVEMBER 6, 1914, AT THE POST OFFICE AT NEW YORK, N. Y., UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879. SINGLE COPY, 15¢; YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, SIX DOLLARS; CANADA AND FOREIGN, SEVEN DOLLARS. PRINTED IN THE U.S.A.

## Letter of the Week

### Tropical Isle

*Jules France was a master sergeant in the Army Air Corps (Pacific) and at the same time an accredited correspondent to a number of American magazines. He was in Samoa, the islands of the South Pacific and Australia. After demobilization, he returned to Samoa to finish a writing assignment, and left there last June. France now lives in Connecticut.*

THE Honorable Mariota T. Tuisasosopo is an earnest, self-educated admirer of American democracy. He likes the whole idea so much that he's been trying to get more of it for his people in American Samoa.

As official orator for the Samoan Assembly, and a "high talking chief" of the Eastern District, Tuisasosopo has refused to be discouraged by the peculiar fact that you can apparently live under the American flag without enjoying the heritage of self-government.

Ever since 1900, when the United States Navy assumed dominion over 16,000 souls in the Samoan Islands, the thought currents of Broadway, Main Street and Pennsylvania Avenue have rippled the waters of Pago Pago harbor, ten days by boat from San Francisco.

A peace-loving, gracious and hospitable people, Samoans have welcomed and cooperated with our Navy administration. And they freely count the blessings they have received under the American aegis. But as honest men, they find these not unmixed, and too many are missing. The Samoans, unfortunately for our peace of mind, have read our Constitution and Bill of Rights.

The government of American Samoa consists of one man—the Commander of the US Naval Base. A benevolent dictator, he will listen to the wishes, complaints and advice of Samoa's chiefs, who achieve their rank through inheritance. But the Commander's word is final, and there is no court of appeal.

This autocratic rule—despite its American trademark—has been patiently tried by the islanders, and found wanting. In April of last year the Samoan

(Continued on page 46)



# Announcing the Winners of the New Republic Short Story Contest for War Veterans Now Attending College

Aiming at the discovery of fresh, authentic voices among World War II veterans, the editors of the New Republic went to the college campuses of America. War veterans there, students under the GI Bill of Rights, submitted over 2,000 manuscripts to the New Republic Short Story Contest.

**Judges:** Marshall Best, *Editor of Viking Press*; Frank Taylor, *recently Editor of Reynal & Hitchcock*; Otis Wiese, *Editor of McCall's*.

**First Prize (\$500 Award):** Ashur Baizer, *Columbia University, N.Y.*

**Second Prize (\$250 Award):** Jesse McCracken, *Guilford College, North Carolina.*

**Third—Seventh Prizes (\$50 Awards):** Donald McInnis, *Stanford University, California*; Richard Seaver, *University of North Carolina*; Elvin Albaum, *Brooklyn College, New York*; Emmett Robinson, *University of Texas*; Jerry Bick, *Columbia University, N. Y.*

**Honorable Mention Awards** (*One-Year Subscriptions to the New Republic*):

Bernard Aurentz, *Hershey Junior College, Pennsylvania*; Milton Bass, *Amherst College, Massachusetts*; John Birmingham, *Hartford, Connecticut*; Frederick Brainin, *National School for Speech Disorders, New York*; Martin Bressler, *City College of New York*; Bradley Burch, *New York University*; Charles Caldwell, *University of Alabama*; Art Casey (2), *Los Angeles, California*; S. R. Curran, *Cornell University, New York*; Robert L. Fraissinet, *Yale University, Connecticut*; Alexander Frazer, *Northwestern University, Illinois*; William Garvin, *Pennsylvania State College*; William A. Gold, *University of Virginia*; Herb Gould (2), *Columbia University, New York*; Jay Haley (3), *Los Angeles, California*; Daniel Kushner, *New School for Social Research, New York*; Ray Lapica, *New York City*; Jerome Lipman, *University of Pennsylvania*; Norman Michie, *Ripon, Wisconsin*; Warren Miller, *University of Iowa*; John Orr, *University of Alabama*; Leo E. Persselin, *University of Illinois*; Shane Riorden, *Harvard University, Massachusetts*; Joseph H. Satin, *Columbia University, New York*; Paul Selvin, *University of Connecticut*; Jack C. Werner, *Columbia University, New York*.

Watch forthcoming issues of the New Republic for publication of winning stories



## News in Focus

### Greatest Victory

*Congress*

It was a great victory for David E. Lilienthal, but perhaps an even greater one for Arthur Hendrick Vandenberg. Surely, it was Vandenberg's greatest hour in 19 years as Senator from Michigan when he delivered his powerful appeal last week for confirmation of Lilienthal as chairman of the US Atomic Energy Commission.

The crucial Senate test on Lilienthal's nomination came an hour after Vandenberg had finished. Seventeen other Republicans defied GOP floor leadership support Vandenberg: with 34 Democrats they voted down (52 to 38) an attempt to send the Atomic Commission appointments back to committee. The final vote actually to confirm Lilienthal and four other commission members could be an anti-climax.

Thus, despite 10 solid weeks of bitter, bridled assaults on his ability, character and origin, Lilienthal had won the stupendous job of directing this country's atomic-development program—for peace or war. This program had floundered during the long Lilienthal debate. His victory would be the signal for full speed ahead.

But Vandenberg had won many victories, too, in this fight:

He had proved beyond doubt that what his many had said he lacked; he had fought himself vigorously against the four other members of the Senate's Republican "Big Five"—Taft (Ohio); White (Maine); Wherry (Nebr.); and Bridges (N. H.)—and had beaten them all.

In his undeclared, disavowed race for the 1948 GOP presidential nomination, he had gained much ground at the expense of his chief congressional rival, Bob Taft.

But his greatest victory was won over himself. Last week's performance provided fresh evidence of the distance Vandenberg had traveled from his pre-war, pro-isolationist, strongly anti-New Deal position.

Now his raspy, gravel voice, never so effective before, seemed to represent the good conscience of conservative Americans willing, on some issues at least, to confront the stubborn realities of an atom-splitting world.

There were many dramatic moments in the final two days of bitter debate before the Senate's test vote, but none so dramatic as the 35 minutes consumed by the 63-year-old Michigander. The chamber was crowded. Most Senators were at their desks. Members of Senate staffs and a few favored friends occupied chairs or stood at the sides and rear of the floor. Not even standing room was left in the galleries.

Vandenberg rested his big frame heavily against a speech rack atop his mahogany desk in the center of the chamber. With his left hand, he gripped the stand. With his right, he executed his familiar salute-like gesture as he hunched over and thundered home his

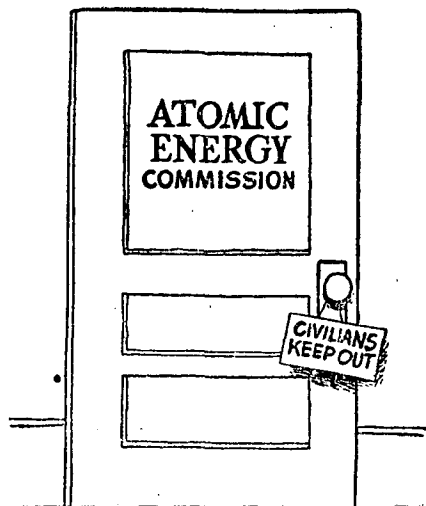
arguments. Republicans and some Southern Democrats had hammered incessantly on the line that Lilienthal had Communist sympathies or was "soft" toward Russia. Said Vandenberg:

After weeks of testimony, I find no basis for this charge. . . . I do not want to emulate the intolerance of communism itself by condemning to some sort of Siberia all persons who do not happen totally to subscribe to my own view as to how America ought to be run. . . . It is the opinion of our [atomic-energy] committee that Mr. Lilienthal is no part of a Communist by any stretch of the imagination. . . .

Taft had stunned even some of his Republican colleagues by urging that the US withdraw its international atomic-control plan from the United Nations "until the world is in a more peaceful state." He wanted domestic control taken out of civilian hands and returned to the Army. Vandenberg pointed out that the Senate Atomic Energy Committee had struggled with that problem for many months: Said he: ". . . if we found out one thing truer than another, it is that in peacetime we cannot drive science into its laboratories with bayonets."

To arguments that Lilienthal—former head of the Tennessee Valley Authority—is "such a devotee of public ownership that he will endanger free enterprise," Vandenberg recalled that Congress had made control of atomic energy "the tightest government monopoly ever set up in the United States. . . ." He declared:

You all voted for it. It passed the Senate unanimously. We . . . decreed that government ownership and management . . . is an indispensable public necessity for the sake of national security in respect to the control of atomic energy . . . therefore, one of the most available men to run it is the successful manager of the greatest existing comparable example of



public ownership and management. Whether we like it or him or the TVA, this sequence leads logically to David Lilienthal's door. His liability under other circumstances thus becomes an asset for the time being.

Vandenberg branded as "irrelevant, incompetent and immaterial" the criticism by Taft and others of the so-called Acheson-Lilienthal report on atomic-energy control—the document which provided the basis for the plan submitted to the UN by Bernard M. Baruch. He pointed out that the report was produced by others than Lilienthal and Undersecretary of State Dean Acheson, and declared: "Prominently among those consultants who put their stamp of integrity upon this report . . . was the very man who is the idol of all the speeches I have heard here against the Lilienthal confirmation. It is signed by Major General Leslie R. Groves. . . ." (Groves was wartime director of the Army's Manhattan Project which produced the atom bomb.)

Vandenberg cited a list of scientists who had endorsed Lilienthal and demanded: "Where are the comparable witnesses against him, Senators? I ask that again. Where are the comparable witnesses against him?"

There was no answer. Crotchety old Kenneth McKellar, the Tennessee Democrat who had started the fight against Lilienthal and produced half a dozen disgruntled former TVA employees as opposition witnesses, stared moodily at his thumbs.

A few more minutes and Vandenberg was concluding: ". . . for myself . . . I have no alternative. . . . I have no doubt that in the interest of the national welfare and for the sake of a square deal, Mr. Lilienthal is entitled to be confirmed."

Applause swept the galleries in violation of Senate rules. Liberal Republican Senators Charles W. Tobey (N. H.) and George D. Aiken (Vt.) stepped forward to congratulate Vandenberg. As Vandenberg headed for the corridors, Senator Irving M. Ives (R, N. Y.) clasped his hand.

Looking like a man who knew he was beaten, Taft went through the final motions of debate. After the vote the Ohio Senator hurried from the chamber.

Three newspaper reporters were waiting at the door. "Any of you fellows waiting to see me?" asked Taft, briskly. All shook their heads, "No." They were waiting for Vandenberg.

## Revitalized UN

### Foreign Policy

TO the people of Greece events on their own doorstep—the death of George II, the accession of his brother, Paul I, and the UN investigation of border warfare—were overshadowed by happenings in a far-off land. Greeks knew that their immediate future was being shaped less in Athens than in Washington where both Senate and House Foreign Affairs Committees held hearings on the Administration proposal for "anti-Communist" loans to Greece and Turkey.

Impatiently the Greeks read reports of testimony that promised to extend the House hearings another week, maybe more, before Congress could open its great foreign-policy debate. Most of the testimony was anti-Communist bombast, but from Senate President Arthur Vandenberg, in a continuing mood of statesmanship (see above), came a proposal that was far from bombast.

Maybe after all, the Senator agreed, the UN should not be by-passed. He proposed, and his committee adopted, an amendment promising that the US

would abandon its Greek program if either the Security Council or the UN Assembly voted disapproval and provided the UN itself was ready with a substitute Greek plan. As evidence of good faith, the US would yield its own veto right in the Security Council. In realistic terms, the UN Assembly was never likely to take such action, entailing vast expenditures for an alternative program, but the true importance of the Vandenberg amendment was its author's acknowledgement that the UN, unless it is to become totally devitalized, must be kept in on such vital problems as political loans to member states.

If Vandenberg had carried his concessions one big step further, by separating the Turkish proposal from the Greek loan, it would have fulfilled most of the Liberal conditions for non-military loans to Greece, a matter sure to get a thorough airing in congressional debate.

The anxious Greek government read with more interest, however, that the committee had by-passed proposals by Senator Henry Cabot Lodge (R, Mass.) which would have required taxation and fiscal reforms before the Greeks could qualify for US aid. After talks with Premier Demetrios Maximos and Foreign Minister Constantine Tsaldaris in Athens, Raymond Daniell of the *New York Times* rediscovered what Constantine Poulos had reported nearly a month ago (March 17) in a dispatch to the *New Republic*. Daniell concluded that the Greek government had no intention of embarking on any reform program and hoped, instead, that the US would act only in an advisory capacity on loan expenditure.

Other items in correspondent Daniell's dispassionate account did not draw a very pretty picture of the nation to which a loan is proposed:

¶ Tsaldaris said "the Greek army of 100,000 should be doubled immediately."

¶ "The US may be financing a future military dictatorship" since the premier's political debts are chiefly to rightist army officers' leagues, rich industrialists and bankers.

¶ "It is worth a man's life to be seen reading a liberal daily in the provinces.

## FDR Today

TWO years ago this Saturday, April 12, President Franklin D. Roosevelt died at Warm Springs, Georgia.

Last week Mrs. Roosevelt spoke the thoughts of millions: "You know, I think he gave people a sense of security. They felt he had a pretty complete understanding of their own problems and the problems they must face in the rest of the world. Hearing his voice they were inclined to feel they were part of what was going on. Now they feel left out."

For another recollection see "The Roosevelt We Remember," by Henry Wallace, page 14.

wage offers, similar refusals to arbitrate the union shop, similar advertisements in local newspapers all over the country.

Asking for a general \$12-a-week—roughly 25-percent—wage increase, the NFTW argued that telephone wages had lagged behind those in other industries. Another kick came from the union over wage differentials. Starting rates for operators varied from \$22 a week in a small Southern town to \$31 in Detroit.

The employees asked that vacations and pensions be liberalized. Employees with 15 years of service had been given a three-week vacation. Under the new contract they wanted four weeks' vacation after 20 years of service.

The telephone workers found the rungs from the bottom to the top of the ladder too far apart. The length of time required for a worker to go from the starting wage to the top wage for his job was eight years. The NFTW wanted it reduced to five years, except in the case of technical workers. To most of these grievances the AT&T offered to extend existing provisions, which they considered "fair and liberal."

Labor Department negotiators were not aided, in seeking settlement of the conflict, by the appearance of Representative Fred A. Hartley Jr.'s (R, N. J.) bill to authorize the Attorney General, on direction of the President, to halt a strike by obtaining an injunction. The effect, when coupled with other congressional moves tending toward outlawry of the closed shop and against industrywide bargaining, was to intervene in collective bargaining on the side of the AT&T. Last year a nationwide telephone strike was averted 25 minutes before deadline through a wage agreement between the union of long-distance operators and the AT&T, which employs long-distance workers directly, with the understanding that the wage increase would also go to other unions. This year the AT&T had shown signs of preferring a showdown fight.

## Tall Price

*Illinois*

THE lives of Centralia's 111 mine victims seemed a tall price for the information that the much heralded government "seizure" of US coal mines

had bordered on fiction. The investigations and controversies over the calamitous blast in the Illinois coal fields last week bathed federal powers over mine safety in an unflattering glare. The feeble reflection of government control was in pale contrast to the noble light shed by the Supreme Court when it upheld the contempt proceedings against the United Mine Workers and John L. Lewis.

Senator Guy Cordon (R, Ore.), head of the special subcommittee which rushed to the scene of the blast, concluded that "if there has been one thing shown to this committee, it has been that there was gross negligence in the handling of safety conditions." Representative Gerald W. Landis (R, Ind.), a former miner, introduced a bill in the House "to put some teeth in our Federal Mine Inspection Act." Ordinarily, enforcement of safety codes, as Interior Secretary J. A. Krug conceded last week, depends on "widely varying state laws." The emergency powers acquired by the government when it "took over" the mines last year contained no specific provisions for closing down unsafe workings. Captain N. H. Collisson, US Coal Mines Administrator, had written five times to the management of Centralia No. 5 to complain about viola-

tions discovered by US inspectors. His temporary power, however, to "discipline or replace the operating manager" had not been exercised.

In the absence of federal authority, the breakdown of state regulation was all the more catastrophic. Robert M. Medill, director of the Illinois Department of Mines and Minerals, took full responsibility for orders which had diverted state inspectors to the extra-curricular task of dunning coal operators for contributions to the Republican mayoralty campaign in Chicago. Last week Medill resigned "for the good of the service." Governor Dwight H. Green, to whom Centralia miners had addressed a plea "to please save our lives," weakly explained that "the letter arrived at a time when I was away. I never saw it."

The pathetic conditions in Illinois were no relief to the heavy drama in Washington. The Bureau of Mines supplied the tardy intelligence that although it had conducted 3,345 mine inspections in 1946, only two mines—worked by the Union Pacific Railroad in Wyoming—had been found free of safety violations. Secretary Krug ordered that 518 of the 2,531 government-operated mines shut down by Lewis for an Easter Week "mourning" period be kept closed until union safety committees decided they were no longer dangerous. In rebuttal Lewis requested that all mines except the pair in Wyoming remain empty until approved by federal inspectors.

The maneuvers to shift responsibility for declaring the nation's mines fit to work in pitched another climax into the Krug-Lewis melodrama. Lewis, playing to the hilt, repeated the charge that Krug was solely responsible for the Centralia disaster. Krug thrust back figures to show that fatalities in the mines had dropped during the 10 months of federal operation. John L. was scornful: "This modern Hercules with the No. 12 shoes and No. 5 hat has reduced deaths from 95 a month to 85 and then he rests from his labors."

This week, as the miners' mourning period expired, Lewis indicated a stubborn intent to keep the pits idle until the federal government assumed the full responsibilities for mine operation and inspection.

## Argentine Atom

ARGENTINE experiments in atomic physics have definitely been conducted under the direction of Dr. Guido Beck, Czech-born scientist, according to a Buenos Aires dispatch by Virginia Prewett, correspondent for the *Chicago Sun*. Beck had protested that the *New Republic* linked him unjustly with the Peron government's military program of atomic development and, in a letter to this magazine (the *NR*, March 31), denied any connection. Records now uncovered by Prewett show that Beck "personally suggested and directed" experiments in atom-splitting between 1943 and 1945. Some of the results were recently published in *Revista Astronomica*, Argentine science journal.

APRIL 14, 1947

Q "Recently in Athens 560 persons were outed from bed by security police at night and whisked to Aegean Islands, Gestapo-style."

Q "Greece is beginning to take on some aspects of a police state."

## Phone Strike

*Labor*

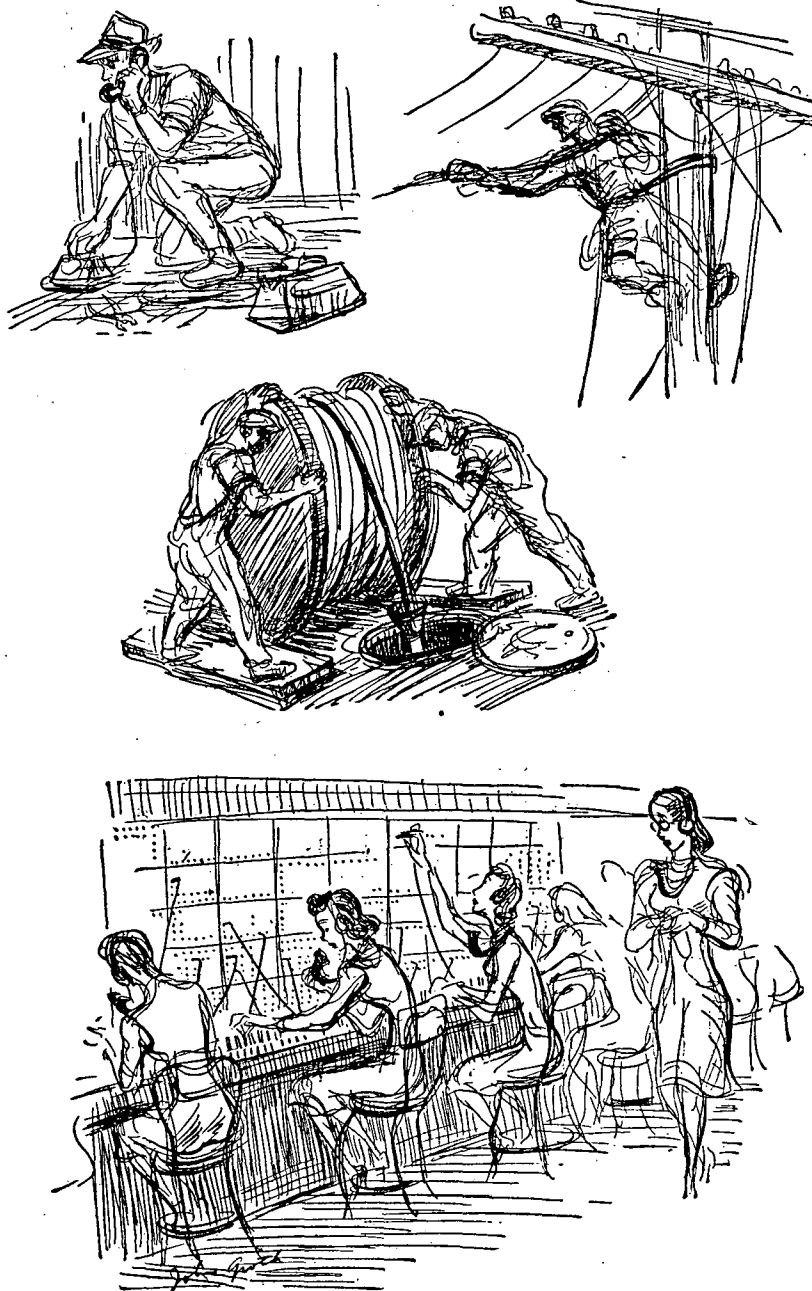
AS THE six a.m. deadline jumped across the country Monday morning, operators pulled the plugs from their boards, left company property and took their places on the picket lines. The first nationwide telephone strike was under way. Long-distance lines went out immediately; dial systems were expected to deteriorate gradually as breakdowns remained unrepaired.

Negotiations had continued up to the last minute in Washington. Secretary of Labor Lewis B. Schwellenbach took charge in the pre-dawn hours. But the zero hour came and went with no agreement in sight. Joseph A. Bierne, president of the National Federation of Telephone Workers, pledged some 342,000 workers to accept local collective bargaining or nationwide arbitration of all issues. The AT&T let the strike begin without comment. But talks went on in Washington while Labor Department conciliators sought solutions throughout the country.

The basic dispute between the NFTW and the AT&T centered on the issue of industrywide bargaining. The parent company, insisting that its regional operating subsidiaries were subject to state regulation and local cost factors, argued that wages must also be governed by these factors. An AT&T vice-president, Cleo Frank Craig, was quietly present in Washington last week, but he never entered direct negotiations. He reiterated that each regional operating company had real autonomy in dealing with the 39 unions loosely confederated in the NFTW—a claim at which the unions scoffed.

The NFTW did not demand uniform wages but it insisted on centralized bargaining to bring wages in different areas into closer relationship. It pointed out that the operating companies' activities bore the imprint of unified direction—similar local arbitration offers, similar

## The Men and Women of AT&T



THE men and women of telephone were once the showpiece of US industry: in December, 1939, they got an average of \$32.46 weekly compared to a national manufacturing average of \$25.23. By December, 1946, their wage was up to \$42.98, but the manufacturing average had risen to \$46.86. Light and power workers were averaging \$54.58; railway and bus workers, \$55.26. Telephone workers' position has deteriorated even more seriously in terms of purchasing power. From April, 1945, to January, 1947, their average earn-

ings rose 15.2 percent. Over the same period the cost of living was up 20.5 percent; food prices had risen 34.5 percent.

Here is what the workers sketched above are being paid, according to the American Union of Telephone Workers: installation man, average weekly starting wage \$27, average top wage \$65; lineman, same average starting wage, average top wage \$58; cable layer (construction worker), same as lineman; switchboard operator, average wage \$33; switchboard supervisor, average wage \$40 to \$50.

The UMW president remarked vengefully that safety supervision by union committees had been undermined by "intimidation" stemming from federal anti-strike injunctions. He ordered UMW districts not to pass on the removal of hazards. The government, as far as "Old" John L. Lewis (see page 22) was concerned, could clean up its own mess.

## No Answer

### Prices

ON March 26 President Truman made a public plea to US industry to heed "the handwriting on the wall" and cut prices. He implied that current negotiations for wage increases could be completed successfully without raising prices.

The text of the handwriting on the wall was spelled out once again by Robert R. Nathan, CIO economist. His report last fall demonstrated that industry could afford wage boosts without price increases and is the basis of current CIO demands in major industries. Last week Nathan found the wage-price-profit structure "even more unsound than four months ago." Said he: "Prices have continued to reach for new high levels, the pay envelope continues to buy less and less, consumer resistance is growing and inventories are starting to back up."

As industry's 1946 statements and 1947 indications continued almost unanimous in recording unprecedented profits, there was equal agreement not to pass on any of the increase to labor. There were a handful of exceptions: International Harvester cut list prices of some items; Plymouth prices were shaved; Ford, with appropriate to-do, gave the consumer a spoonful of the top cream. Example: the de-luxe business coupe was cut \$20 last week to \$1,150 (f.o.b. New York), still 85.4 percent higher than 1939 and seven percent higher than 1945.

More typical of US industry was the case of US Steel, where negotiations for a wage increase have been dragging since January. US Steel's report for 1946 showed a profit after taxes of \$88.6 million, the highest since 1941 despite the steel and coal strikes. Nathan recently issued a little Nathan Report for

## Static on FM

### Pennsylvania

ALLENTOWN is one of the 114 towns in the United States where the only newspaper and the only radio station are owned in common. A year ago, five young veterans decided to throw some competition into Allentown. From the Federal Communications Commission they got a license to broadcast to the two million people in the Allentown area over radio's static-free wonder medium—FM (the NR, February 17). Last week, as the vets pushed construction of their station, interference was crackling through the Allentown air, the kind of interference which recently moved the Commission on Freedom of the Press to urge the government to press "in every way short of subsidy the creation of new units in the [communications] industry."

Under their corporate name, the Penn-Allen Broadcasting Company, the vets had been selling the \$75,000 of stock necessary to put them on the air. Sales were going well. Then suddenly they stopped. Through anonymous phone calls and inside tips, the vets began to learn why:

Residents were being told that the veterans were broke, that they wouldn't last the year. A whispering campaign warned prospective stockholders that the company was backed by Jewish money. ("If we were Jewish, which none of us are, we'd be as proud of that blood as we are of the

blood we have," said Raymond F. Kohn, Penn-Allen's president.) Residents were told that the vets had no channel assigned to them by the FCC. In the country clubs it was whispered that the transmitting power would endanger surrounding property because it might fall.

The five partners had hired the city's leading law firm to represent them and handle their stock issue. This firm, which also represents the existing newspaper and radio station, said it was "advised" to drop the new FM organization. Reluctantly, the law firm pulled out, withdrew its name from all promotion literature. The vets' bricklayer contractor was warned to lay off the job—that he'd never be paid anyway. In regard to these developments, Kohn said:

"Well, we're learning what it's like to start up in a monopoly town. We called a meeting of our stockholders and offered to buy back their stock. Not one accepted; they're backing us to the finish. We need \$30,000 to get on the air.

"Senator O. J. Tallman, majority leader of the Pennsylvania state senate, has agreed to represent us as counsel from here on in, although he risks losing newspaper publicity in his district by standing with us. The five of us did not spend five years each fighting corruption on a global scale only to find it snuffing us out in our own backyard."

steel showing that wages could be upped 21 cents per hour without a price increase. There were rumors that the CIO and Big Steel would get together on some such figure as this. But last week, as the April 30 contract deadline neared, Benjamin Fairless, president of US Steel, put an abrupt end to the hopes of President Truman and others who thought industry might heed the handwriting on the wall. "One of the demands of the union is for a substantial wage increase," said Fairless. "Other demands of the union, if granted, would add materially to our already heavy costs. Until these demands are disposed of in the pending negotiations, no real consideration can be given by us to the adequacy or inadequacy of our present steel prices."

Macy's, New York department store, whose motto is "It's Smart to Be

Thrifty," found so many of its customers being thrifty in the face of current prices that it took a full-page ad to warn that costs must come down. Its thrifty solution: technological advances and higher labor productivity will do the trick.

## Preliminaries

### Spain

THE only remaining European ruler to side openly with the late Axis was trying hard to keep his job in an almost friendless world. Last December, Generalissimo Francisco Franco made an offer to Don Juan de Bourbon, waiting since 1935 to fill the Spanish throne deserted by his father. The offer: to train Juan's nine-year-old son for the job under Franco's regency. Franco got an angry reply: "I am not prepared to

be treated by General Franco as if I were the Sultan of Morocco."

Last week, Franco tried another move. He sent a law of succession to his puppet parliament. It set up a Council of the Kingdom. If Franco died or became incapacitated, the council would select a chief of state who would uphold the basic laws of Spain—for the record still a monarchy.

At home, for once, all opposition circles (including the monarchists) were agreed: the lofty promise to restore the monarchy was obviously a hedge to strengthen Franco's wavering grip on the country. But Franco's words also set off a revived jockeying for top position among his opponents. The monarchists seemed to have the edge. As long ago as last January they had brought together all opposition elements except the Communists to work for a refurbishing of the throne. A number of Spanish generals and colonels of the Falange who looked to the monarchy to save their jobs and necks were among that number.

It was no secret that Britain's Foreign Office had long cultivated friends among high Spanish army officers, Catholic church leaders, aristocrats and businessmen in a quiet effort to achieve a constitutional monarchy—lest communism emerge as Franco's heir in the western Mediterranean. The British had looked coldly at the republican government-in-exile of anti-monarchist José Giral. But he was out now and Rodolfo Llopiá, his successor in Paris, hinted that Britain might regard his cabinet with favor if he could agree with some rightists and monarchists.

The US was also about to take an active part in the cozy game. It would offer financial encouragement to those non-Communist Spaniards the State Department judged capable of bringing about a peaceful new regime.

A tip-off came in the appointment of the new US chargé d'affaires in Madrid. Careerman Paul T. Culbertson, outspoken chief of the State Department's Western European division, is opposed to an outright return of the monarchy but would be guided by the American-British-French statement of last year urging the people to set up a caretaker government in place of Franco.

## Worst Seller

ONE of the US Government Printing Office's fastest moving items is "Communism in Action," a pamphlet produced last year by the Library of Congress staff which is directed by Representative Everett M. Dirksen (R, Ill.). Dirksen encountered no difficulty recently in getting authorization for a second printing of 500,000 copies.

Representative Wright Patman (D, Tex.) got the library staff to produce a companion pamphlet of 150 pages entitled "Fascism in Action." Early in this session he introduced a resolution to have it, too, printed as a public document. So far, he has not even been able to get a sample copy. He has said that if the House Administration Committee does not report on his measure this week, he will circulate a petition for the 218 signatures needed to by-pass the committee. "It will be interesting to see who refuses," said Patman.

## Bugaboo

### Civil Liberties

PRESIDENT TRUMAN's executive order of March 22 directing that government service be rechecked for disloyal persons spoke of "a threat to our democratic processes." The threat, undefined by the President beyond the adjective "subversive," has been freely explained since by newspaper allusions to Washington's "Red Purge." The White House kept mum. Last week ex-Governor George H. Earle of Pennsylvania made public a letter, written on February 28, which made the silence seem louder:

Dear Governor:

I appreciate very much your note of February 26 and I am very happy to be informed of your decision with regard to the American Anti-Communist Association. [Earle had resigned.]

People are very much wrought up about the "Communist bugaboo," but I am of the opinion that the country is perfectly safe so far as communism is

concerned—we have too many sane people. Our government is made for the welfare of the people, and I don't believe there will come a time when any one will really want to overturn it.

[Signed] Harry Truman

## Wanderlust

### New York

DURING his 16-year grind as a bus driver, Bill Cimillo appeared to have tuned himself to life's even monotone. He was a model employee of New York's Surface Transportation Corporation. Fourteen times a day he shuttled doggedly across the Bronx, making change, replying to the inevitable questions, relentlessly imploring the crush of commuters to step to the rear. He was a good father to his kids—born to the family in a similar methodical sequence. Like the Bronx, Bill Cimillo's horizon was steady if somewhat repetitious.

Except for a tinge of spring, there was nothing eventful about the morning when, at 7 a.m., Bill wheeled out the familiar 44-passenger Diesel to begin his daily chore. But, unaccountably, something prompted him to turn the snout of No. 1310 away from the beaten trail. On the other side of the Hudson, a company superintendent driving in to work was startled to see the shiny red-and-buff vehicle purring southward. Before the superintendent recovered sufficiently to phone an alarm, the runaway and its lone occupant had disappeared down the open road. Police in 11 states were alerted in vain to intercept the \$18,000, vagabond omnibus.

Three days later Western Union delivered a cryptic communiqué to the Bronx: "In Hollywood, Florida. Wire money to come back with. Need money for fuel oil. Will drive back. [Signed] Bill Cimillo." It was all up. Police closed in and clapped the truant into the Hollywood jail, next to the cell of a man who insisted his name was really J. Edgar Hoover. A grand jury quickly returned an indictment for first-degree grand larceny. A New York detective was dispatched to bring back the defendant. Bill Cimillo remained philosophical:

"The fellows at the bus company will understand, I'm sure."



# Washington Wire



## Dewey v. Truman in '48

THE political prospect in brief is: Dewey will run against Truman in 1948, and win. The qualifications are: Taft may deadlock the convention, when he or a dark horse might be nominated; and Truman might beat Dewey. Neither of these chances seems very likely now.

Truman's Jefferson Day dinner speech indicates his campaign platform. His popularity has been increasing. Short of death, he will be the Democratic candidate. Undoubtedly his position has improved, but Washington observers still think Dewey would have the edge. However, the Republicans seem bent on rocking themselves out, and we must never underestimate their capacities in that direction. More seriously, Truman can't win without the independent voters. Democratic advisers know this. Liberals probably hold the balance of power.

Dewey is an opportunist. Neither GOP politicians nor correspondents like him much. But he is hard, efficient, effective. He didn't get far against Roosevelt; Truman might be easier.

Taft, of course, is a possibility. As Taft introduces his new labor bill he will share the Washington spotlight. At the Lilienthal fight really showed Taft up. Call it what you will, his opposition to internationalizing the atom bomb, his attack on the Acheson-Lilienthal-Baruch program, are really isolationism. It's hard to conceive of the public taking him.

Does Vandenberg have a chance? His development is fascinating. Three years ago he was an isolationist, as conservative as Taft. Then something happened. Vandenberg grew; Taft didn't. But again it's hard to see the GOP picking Vandenberg. Take the Lilienthal fight: most Republicans (31) voted for recommitment with Taft; only 18 supported Vandenberg. Taft still has pretty much a mortgage on the Senate Republicans. In Chicago a Democratic reform can-

didate for mayor, Martin H. Kennelly, has beaten the GOP party hack put up by Colonel McCormick. Observers have long wondered when the improvement in municipal politics that struck New York a quarter-century ago would finally reach Chicago. Kennelly may help it along if the Kelly Democratic machine isn't too powerful. Meanwhile the state GOP is further weakened by the apparent participation of Republican Governor Green in the shakedown of coal operators prior to the Centralia explosion. These are not decisive political factors. But they all illustrate two things: the '48 presidential race may be closer than anybody expected and the power of the independent, progressive vote is thereby tremendously enhanced.

It isn't considered polite to mention corporation profits in Washington news dispatches, and we approach the delicate subject with natural hesitation. As the *Wall Street Journal* noted in a modest paragraph last week:

Corporation profits climbed to an annual rate of \$15 billion in 1947's first quarter, the Commerce Department calculates. That's \$3 billion above 1946 profits. Field offices report businessmen are worried about public reaction to these profits and continued high prices.

You can see that the whole thing is pretty darn embarrassing. First of all, Congress knocked off the excess-profits tax. That was almost its first reconversion measure. It meant billions for corporations. Then the OPA and the price-control system went overboard. That meant present high prices and more billions. Meanwhile generous tax refunds from the Treasury (intended to help business reconvert to peace) were paid out to corporations and actually met a large share of their 1946 strike losses. Now comes the new House tax bill to aid millionaires. More billions here. And all this time the richest market in the world, and profits never before known in war or peace! Well, the thing

can't last. A new wage-price-profits relationship must come. The Easter sales weren't up to expectations, some goods are piling up and retailers like Macy's are swinging over to support consumers against exorbitant manufacturers' prices. What comes next? A big shake-out. How big we don't know, but certainly some unemployment.

Don't think, however, that conservative congressmen are licked. One genial GOP leader in a relaxed moment explained to us all about it. It's going to be a "stabilizing recession," he said. (Isn't that a cute phrase?) There will be maybe eight million unemployed, and that will make labor behave. The real crack-up, however, won't come for five or ten years. And when it does—why, it will be high time to think of increased tariffs. Working men must be taught the danger of foreign goods flooding American markets. Our man seemed quite chipper about the whole affair. And why shouldn't he be, with most newspapers still attacking labor and as blushing timorous about the word "profits" as a Sunday-school teacher is of the word "sex"?

NOTES.—Truman's first veto is likely to be the phony portal-pay legislation, which is actually an attack on the wage-hour law. . . . GOP appropriation-bill slashes, reckless as they are, come nowhere near meeting the proposed cuts in the Truman budget; what may save the Republican's bacon is the Treasury tax surplus still piling up. . . . Western Republicans are in violent revolt against the bill for proposed cuts in the Interior Department; proposed GOP cuts in Army-Navy appropriations are being quietly dropped. . . . All the suits against the OPA chisellers and black-marketeers would be ended under a pending resolution by Representative Dirksen (R, Ill.); this amnesty of course would not extend to conscientious objectors.

Washington

T. R. B.



# Henry Wallace

## A Bad Case of Fever

**W** E AMERICANS are not a calm and reflective people. The same traits which built a great nation—youth, vigor, enthusiasm—can be dangerous when turned to evil purpose. Americans, since the foundation of the Republic, have been overready to see Jacobins, Bolsheviks or Communists under the bed. Such hallucinations unbalanced us following World War I, but after a few years, our sanity began to reassert itself. Now the disease has returned. The shrieking of the press, the war whoops in Congress, the foaming of professional patriots, the awful dangers which are hinted at in the recent presidential executive order requiring federal employees to be screened for loyalty—all these are designed to give the average American a fever, a bad case of Red fever. If a man's fever goes high enough, unless you watch him carefully there is no telling what he may do.

Several ways are open to treat the disease. One is to discover its causes, to remove them wherever possible and to offset their damaging effects. The loud noises, for example, made by the press and Congress are clearly continuing to make the patient's condition worse. Admittedly, the noise is difficult to stop, but it might be offset partially by a few intelligible words of common reason.

Another therapy is to pretend to the patient that his hallucinations are justified, that these are real, concrete causes which have made him ill. This is the technique of the witch doctor exorcising evil spirits. To make it more plausible, a few innocent victims are hunted down, flayed and boiled. Presumably, the patient then gets better. This would appear to be what the Administration considers a rational and scientific approach.

To many others, the testing operation, the litmus paper for loyalty which is proposed in the President's executive order, appears manifestly absurd. For one thing, the operation bears no relation to the size of the real problem. J. Edgar Hoover says that when Russia was taken over by the Communists, the country contained one Communist for each 2,227 persons, while today in the United States there is one Communist for each 1,814—the inference being clearly that the US is in more danger now than Russia was in 1917. Even if Hoover's statistics were true—and I do not know where he gets them—he is overlooking other factors which are of overriding impor-

tance. Russia in 1917 was not and never had been a democracy. Her despotic government had been smashed by a great war and the nation was utterly prostrate and helpless. To suggest that 77,000 Communists—on the basis of Hoover's statistics—could take over an American nation of 140 million people is too fantastic to deserve serious consideration.

I share the confusion of many other people in interpreting the President's formula for smelling out Reds in the government. It appears that from now on the Attorney General will form all final judgments on this subject for the American people. We are told that disloyal persons will no longer be tolerated in the government; so far, so good, though there is no clear definition of what is meant by the word "disloyal" either in the President's order or anywhere else. Among the conclusive bases for evidence is to be "membership in, affiliation with or sympathetic association with any foreign or domestic association . . . designated by the Attorney General as totalitarian, fascist, Communist or subversive. . . ." (Italics mine. — H. W.) Now it becomes a little clearer what the President means. The way to determine whether or not a man is loyal is to let the Attorney General declare whether or not he is disloyal. If he is declared disloyal, that shows he is not loyal. Q. E. D.

**I** S THERE any reason to believe that our witch hunt will be successful? Many thoughtful students of history have already warned us that the best way to make the Communists a real threat is to drive them underground. To this I would add that one sure way to unsettle the faith of non-Communists in their government is for that government to badger and bait innocent men.

Certainly there can be no doubt that every government executive should have the right to dispense with subordinates who have shown themselves incapable of giving undivided, unqualified allegiance and fealty to the oath which they took on becoming public servants. I would not want as a colleague on the *New Republic* one who in his off-hours preached the sermons of reaction; I would not want the contents of the paper leaked in advance to some daily scribbler for another sheet. I have the right to demand that my co-workers be with me, and our government has the right to know that its servants

are members of the same team and are neither scouting nor stooging for another.

In 1798, this country went through a Red scare similar in some respects to the one we are experiencing today. The French Revolution which had recently taken place frightened conservatives in this country quite as much as the Russian Revolution frightens them now. The Alien and Sedition Laws of 1798 were designed to have substantially the same effect as the recent presidential executive order, except that they affected people in private life as well as those working for the government. They prescribed fines and imprisonment for those who combined to oppose any measure of the government, impeded the operation of any law, intimidated any officer of the United States in the discharge of his duty, or uttered or published false, scandalous and malicious statements tending to bring the government of the United States or its officers into disrepute, or to excite the hatred of the people for that government.

In so far as President Truman's executive order tends to punish people for their beliefs and not for their acts, it goes even farther than the laws of 1798; but what was done under those laws remains a shameful blot on our national history. Editors of papers supporting the political party out of power were jailed, or ruined with heavy fines, for writing editorials critical of the Administration. People were sent to prison for heckling pro-Administration speakers at public meetings. Among those who protested these laws were Marshall, Hamilton and Jefferson; and it is probable that the existence of these statutes contributed to the overthrow, at the national election two years later, of the party that had been in power.

**J**UST after World War I, we had another period of hysteria which, in retrospect, seems to have been equally inexcusable. A group of Socialist members of the New York State Assembly were expelled solely on the ground of their party affiliation. Magazines were held up in the Post Office; others had their mailing privileges revoked entirely. Teachers and ministers were muzzled. Under federal or state laws, people got long prison terms for belonging to "seditious" organizations even though it was proved in court that the individual in question was not aware of the "seditious" purpose of the group. The situation was well described by Katharine Fullerton Gerould in *Harper's* in 1922:

America is no longer a free country, in the old sense; and liberty is, increasingly, a mere rhetorical figure. . . . No thinking citizen, I venture to say, can express in freedom more than a part of his honest convictions. . . . Everywhere, on every hand, free speech is choked off in one direction or another. The only way in which an American citizen who is really interested in all the social and political problems of his country can preserve any freedom of expression is to

choose the mob that is most sympathetic to him and to abide under the shadow of that mob.

In our present welter of fear and confusion there are a few propositions to keep before us—propositions as indisputable in the science of social behavior as those of Euclid in geometry.

We must not forfeit our democracy in the effort to preserve it. Aristotle knew that the way to offset any quality is by the use of its opposite. Hunger is fought by food, cold by heat, intolerance by tolerance, hysteria by calm, totalitarianism by democracy. One cannot abolish the ideas of terror and secret police by the use of terror and secret police.

**T**HE President's executive order seems to me a violation of the fundamental safeguards of Anglo-Saxon justice in that it provides for no hearing in a regularly constituted court, no trial by jury, or review or appeal to the existing higher courts. On the contrary, the execution of this inquisitorial mandate is placed in the hands of people who, on a basis of past record and public utterance, have certainly not been conspicuous for their sympathy with the ideals of freedom of thought and expression.

All past history supports the prediction that any Red hunt which receives official blessing such as is given in the President's executive order is bound to injure many innocent victims. It is undesirable not only from the standpoint of fundamental American ideals of fair play, but on the narrowest grounds of self-interest. If the security of the nation is in danger, if our welfare is at stake, we need more good public servants, not fewer. How many self-respecting men of ability, however deep their love of country, will suffer the risk of being besmirched by individuals like some of those now most active in the effort to separate sheep from goats?

The current witch hunt will tend to drive from public service the man who has ever read a book, had an idea, supported the ideals of Roosevelt or fought fascism. If the President and his advisers are right, it will not keep out of public service the Communists, who are, we are told, so sly and devilish that they can elude detection. It will work against the non-Communist liberal; he will think twice, and more than twice, before he risks being caught in the net which is flung so widely. The new witch hunt will inhibit the free flow of thought and interchange of ideas which are so vital to national security and progress in a rapidly changing world.

We have little to fear from communism if we make our democracy work, if we keep our country fully employed, prosperous and at peace. This is not an easy task; perhaps that is why so many men find it more to their taste to spread hatred, fear and dissension. But easy or not, it is our task. Let us get to it.

H. W.



# The Man We Remember

by Henry Wallace

**N**OW, two years after Franklin D. Roosevelt's death, there keeps returning to me the memory of those great qualities which he had in so large a measure and which today are so lacking in our national leadership. He had, first of all, a surpassing talent for improvisation, an ability to call forth genius to flesh out his dreams. He had, secondly, an overwhelmingly infectious humanity, a quality of affection that radiated from him to his countrymen and was returned with the same intensity. He had, lastly, that huge sense of destiny which grew and grew over the years until it almost completely obscured his human faults and failings and made him, while he still lived, part of the American legend.

Roosevelt was a masterful improviser. He caught at ideas like an artist, absorbed them, implemented them, rejected them as soon as his imagination caught a fresher note that served his broad purposes better. He came to Washington in the spring of 1933, to a city paralyzed by the dead hand of custom and habit. He destroyed the paralysis by rejecting all the patterns of convention and throwing the doors of Washington open to the men whom the "practical" world called crackpots. He arrived with no inflexible code of ideas; within a month he had made our Capital the most powerful center of fresh thought in the Western world. Dreamers and planners, schemers and

politicians, poured in, all of them magnetized by the man in the White House whose eyes sparkled when he heard them talk.

My first conversation with Roosevelt was in the summer of 1932 when he first broached the shelter-belt idea to me. Roosevelt was a great lover of trees; the concept of a belt of trees stretching across the continent and sheltering the arid plains had long intrigued him. He thought the shelter-belt might even change the climate of the continent. Though experts disagreed with him on his concept of climatology, it bothered Roosevelt but little. He wanted a continental shelter-belt and a year later men were planting it. His detailed planning, his mastery of the hard facts that went into grand schemes was sometimes faulty—but the grand schemes themselves were his domain. In a city of small-minded men, he collected them like a connoisseur.

Other ideas came to him similarly from all quarters. He knew that something had to be done quickly to reverse the spiral of deflation. The actual technique was a matter for experts to work out. Homer Cummings, several others and myself were convinced very early that the point of attack on deflation was the price of gold. We felt it must be raised. I suggested that the President call in Professor George A. Warren and James Harvey Rogers (author of *America Weighs Her Gold*). Roose-

velt received them, listened to them and installed them immediately in an office in the Department of Commerce. There he put them to work on the technique of a new gold program and almost overnight the Administration had a new gold policy.

The times were such as to make broad and sweeping acts permissible, and this was the nature of his own temperament. He thrived on sweeping new concepts. It was suggested to Roosevelt that he set up a Commodity Credit Corporation as a possible mechanism for handling gold purchase. We set up a corporation with sweeping powers under the laws of Delaware. It was never used for gold purchase—but it served a dozen other purposes; Roosevelt heartily applauded as we used it to issue farm loans on cotton, corn, wheat. Later it traded extra cotton for rubber and the American people had 20 million extra automobile tires as a result.

## *The trail-blazer*

**P**EOPLE forget the hard times of the early thirties. Those were the days when farmers in northern Iowa jerked a judge off the bench in a foreclosure case, when a physical revolt of our farming population was going on not only against misery and failure, but against law and order, too. We used the Commodity Credit Corporation to double corn prices with four-percent, non-recourse loans. Roosevelt gave us the green

light and off we went. When Jesse Jones objected to an interest rate as low as four percent, Roosevelt said to me, "Tell Jesse not to be a chiseler."

All ideas were grist for Roosevelt's mind—reciprocal-trade pacts, youth projects, conservation camps, labor-relations boards, agricultural-assistance schemes. As the Supreme Court would invalidate them or as they became outmoded by the passage of a crisis, Franklin Roosevelt would pass on to more dynamic concepts. His enthusiasm for ideas continued to the very end. He delighted in the term "United Nations," which he coined. He zestfully discussed with Winston Churchill the creation of a new world currency the unit of which was to be a "dimo."

### *The human being*

THERE was a radiant warmth about Roosevelt's personality. It touched all who worked with him directly, and reached further to touch the millions who voted for him term after term. He conducted his cabinet meetings with a spirit of joy and irreverence; sometimes I wonder what they would have been like without Madame Secretary.

The Roosevelt charm was a tool of which he was fully aware; he used it consciously. He believed he could talk any man into loyalty, into continuing to work for him despite the bitterness of outside attacks. Sometimes he failed; more often he succeeded. In January, 1945, Madame Perkins was ready to resign her post as Secretary of Labor; she had cleaned out her desk and wound up her affairs. But on inauguration day Franklin Roosevelt turned the full charm of his personality on her and she stayed.

He absorbed his ideas usually in conversation, for he loved good talk. At the end of a day he delighted to sit down with a drink, surrounded by sparkling talkers, and let conversation ripple around him. He loved to ramble himself—about his boyhood, about his travels abroad in his youth, about personal adventures and speculations. From the talk of others Roosevelt would pick choice nuggets of information, well turned phrases, novel suggestions that he would incorporate into his own speeches and thinking.

His mind, like a curiosity shop, stored

up odd items—of fact, history and folklore. Its diversity astonished some of the more plodding and pedestrian politicians, who would stand wrapped in wonder while Roosevelt aired his enormous fund of accumulated knowledge.

His geniality and warmth knew no self-consciousness. I remember accompanying him on a trip to the drought area in 1936. His entourage would stop its inspections from time to time to talk to the stricken farmers and Roosevelt would speak to them in his polished Harvard accent. Never for a moment did he seem to suspect that this was not the authentic idiom of the plains, nor was there ever a hint of patronizing or a trace of self-consciousness. And the farmers loved him for it.

Perhaps the most startling of all the intimate qualities of his mind was his spectacular spatial memory. He could remember strange streets, bays, oceans, harbors, countrysides with almost total visual recall. During the war his knowledge of maps, distances and physical barriers was invaluable. (Usually, he was right, but sometimes he was wrong.) He remembered the depths of waters on marine charts, the heights of mountains, the quality of roads and highways. He loved to draw plans of buildings; he drew rough ones for the construction and placing of many a new building in Washington. Some he loved; others, like the Pentagon, he loathed.

This quality he extended to his vision of America, as a country. No man saw the nation more clearly as a geographic whole than Roosevelt did. He thought of it in terms of watersheds and rivers rather than in terms of states. He could catch great geophysical ideas quicker than any other man with whom I worked in the government. I remember bringing to him the original program of the soil-conservation districts. He grasped the idea instantly and the next day we had his letter, setting forth our ideas as to a state law, on its way to each of the 48 Governors.

### *His conviction of destiny*

ROOSEVELT always had with him, too, the special conviction of destiny—that his was a great age of history, and that he was born to act in and dominate these times.

The world beyond America closed on Roosevelt gradually. For years he toyed with the idea that Italy was friendly, that the fascists in Europe did not mean to fight for keeps. It was only by degrees that the conviction grew on him that this was a struggle which must eventually strike at American security and American destiny. And as the conviction entered his thinking, it gradually stole from him his lightheartedness.

It was not until the spring of 1938 and the Austrian crisis that Roosevelt realized that this was a time of war that might sweep America with it. From then on, with the conviction of struggle to come, Roosevelt maneuvered deftly to make ready his people. Hitler and Mussolini were mad dogs susceptible to force alone, but the American people were unaware of it. It was true that Roosevelt did not force through appropriations heavy enough to meet the dangers that were clearly developing, that he did not stockpile sufficient materials to meet inescapable demands. But Roosevelt had the politician's master sense of what was possible. He stood between the reality of the outside world, whose dangers he understood, and a people who lived in blithe ignorance of all these dangers. His great consideration was to create public opinion that would tolerate even a minimum of preparedness.

### *Free men in a free society*

THE war itself oppressed him. He disliked the easy bandying about of the word "victory" in government drives. At times he seemed moved by a feeling that America might possibly fail in her goals. "This is going to take everything we've got, and even then we may not win," he said soon after war broke out.

Perhaps not even during the war did Roosevelt evolve a complete philosophy. He played by ear, conscious of all the conflicting elements he led, seeking to reconcile them in each new crisis by new ideas and fresh thinking. I believe that any other approach to the problems of his times would probably have failed. His unending search for an ever new equilibrium in men and affairs beyond the confines of a doctrinaire philosophy may, I think, in itself have been the approach to a philosophy for free men in a free society.

# Report from Athens

by Constantine Poulos

Copyright by Overseas News Agency

**T**HE sudden death of King George II will have no immediate effect on the internal situation in Greece. In the long view, the ascendance of Prince Paul to the throne is bound to aggravate civil strife here.

King George enjoyed the full confidence of the British Conservatives and of the British Foreign Office. Prince Paul does not. The late King more or less kept himself quietly in the background of the current Greek political scene, adding nothing except a passive acquiescence to the extreme policies of the royalist right-wing government which acted in his name. The new King is not likely to stay out of the picture.

Whereas King George tried to maintain the fiction that he was the Chief of State and not the leader of a political party, it is believed that Prince Paul will openly and actively support the Royalist Popular Party and will strongly encourage the continuation of the present Royalist government's "dynamic policy" which seeks to outlaw the Republican Left and most of the Center. This conclusion is based on Paul's past record.

Although he need not have taken an active role in the prewar dictatorship, Paul was the willing leader of the fascist National Organization of Youth which had been established by General John Metaxas, the dictator, in 1936.

His advisers at that time, during the war and after the liberation of Greece, have been the leftover extremist elements of the Metaxas dictatorship, most of whom the Premier of the Greek Government-in-Exile, Emanuel Tsouderos, eventually removed from office.

The greatest influence on Paul, who is not noted for his ability to make up his own mind, is his pretty little wife, the German-born Princess Frederika,

whom he married during the pro-German dictatorship. She is clever, capable and an extremely ambitious woman. A centrist newspaper once characterized her as a "strange mixture of the Hohenzollerns and Hitler." In Egypt, during the occupation of Greece, she kept herself in the limelight organizing relief activities and social benefits, while, in the background, she actively mixed in the bitter Greek politics.

Back in Greece, following the plebiscite last September, the Princess led Paul all over Greece on public appearances. Anxious to eradicate the German stigma, she went out of her way to wear the national costumes of the various provinces they visited. In Athens, she has cleverly cultivated all foreign diplomatic circles and was particularly useful in impressing important foreign visitors with the justice of the Royalist cause.

Liberal Party circles are already indicating their increased uneasiness over Paul's ascension to the throne and are insisting that their opposition to the Royal House of Greece, all of which they consider implicated in the establishment of the Metaxas dictatorship, will continue unabated.

By fate the royal succession took place in a week which was also a turning point of British ascendancy over its historical Balkan outpost. For the first time since mid-October, 1944, there were no British sentries standing guard before the various buildings in Athens housing British military units—a sign marking the end of Great Britain's political, military and economic prominence in Greek affairs and the failure of British policy in Greece.

British policy was based on Winston Churchill's insistence that only the Greek Royalist right wing could hold Greece within the British sphere of influence. The acquiescence by the British Embassy here and, by the British military to the policies of the Greek right wing has always been taken in Greece as a positive endorsement of these policies and as an encouragement to go further. In time, the Greek monarchists, who had practically no mass following left when the liberation took place, were strong enough to ignore their British patrons.

**T**HE new King, who has no Greek blood and has spent less than seven of the last 24 years inside the country, faces a nation divided and impoverished and a weary people who are cynical and bitter. Upon him now rests a great deal of the responsibility of whether that division and the poverty

and misery are to be continued. Besides the Royalist right wing, the King will also have most of the army and the gendarmerie officers, who are themselves a state within a state, on his side.

This is a government which, by its refusal to exercise any internal controls or to concern itself with economic planning, has indicated a complete ignorance and indifference to the needs of the Greek people, and has driven thousands of them into the ranks of the extreme Left.

The Greek Left, full of plans and a program for the economic reconstruction of the nation, is now on the outside looking in, and its supporters are naturally prepared to use the help of the "north" (the guerrilla movement in the mountains) to get on the inside. That is a strong, well-disciplined movement whose Socialist proposals are gaining additional support daily; and the government's negative policy of attempting to ignore or annihilate its members only succeeds in making them stronger.

The ascension to the throne of Paul will not slow down the unswerving campaign of the Left against the monarchist Right. Today, most of the Greek people would follow a moderate Socialist policy if any strong party could break through the morass of the present political scene. But virtually every Greek feels that in this day of big-power politics he must go along with the parties that have the wholehearted support of either the Eastern or the Western powers.

Inevitably this weakens the moderate and liberal parties and their leaders.

**I**NTO this picture now steps King Paul, a headstrong but not particularly bright young man who has been preparing himself all his life for this hour. Very few people in Athens are hopeful today that he will take the sanest course of action, which would be that of leading a bloodless solution to the problems of Greece.

Although fretful over the immediate future, these observers say that the ascension of Paul to the throne may have significant results in that his anticipated reactionary policies will bring matters to a head much sooner than if King George II had lived. Paul's background would appear to bear out their predictions that he will take a much more active part in the government than his brother did, and that he will press for strong-arm handling of affairs, and that this may lead to more oppression and to further reductions of civil liberties.

# How Much Did We Make This Time?

by Harold Wolff

*Patience, a degree in accounting, and a cynical nature are needed to pry the truth out of annual corporate reports*

**T**HIS YEAR, about twenty million "see-how-wonderful-we-are" gems, otherwise known as Annual Reports, will wend their way to the owners of United States corporate business. How many avoid the quick road from mailbox to wastebasket, no one will ever know. But these documents, the products of some of America's brightest business brains, deserve something more than the indifference with which they are often rewarded.

So great a degree of care, ingenuity and pure art is lavished in the preparation of most annual reports that by now their appearance has become as fiercely competitive as Hollywood. Each year the *Financial World* offers awards for the best reports in each industry, and the boys vie for them as producers do for Oscars.

Some reports, to be sure, are pretty dull stuff. The American Agricultural Chemical Company takes only four prim pages of figures to tell its stockholders its 43-million-dollar story. On the other hand, the Diamond Match Company once went to the length of 272 pages of lushly illustrated text to tell its tale of the great north woods and the lore of the lumberman. General Mills this year produced a supplementary report in the form of a Technicolor short.

*Harold Wolff served in the Overseas Branch of the OWI during the war and is now an economist for a large national corporation. As a free-lance writer he has contributed to Life, Liberty, Coronet and other magazines.*

Pepsi-Cola's president, Walter Mack, invited stockholders to a series of "Pepsi-Cola family parties" at which the annual report was discussed and sandwiches and Pepsi-Cola were served to all.

The annual report is supposed to tell the stockholders, with appropriate figures, how well or ill the business they own has fared and what its prospects appear to be. But in setting out to do this it finds itself caught in a dilemma over how much or how little to tell. On one hand there is the older close-fisted business tradition, nurtured in the front office, of telling little or nothing. On the other there is the newer approach of the public-relations chief, who has a story to sell and wants to make the whole world share his enthusiasm for the ins and outs of his business.

After all, the public-relations man tells the corporation, every firm listed on the exchange has to file with the Securities and Exchange Commission a form, 10K, that must make a lot of relevant information available to the public. Why not, then, let the president take down his corporate hair and tell the folks something about the company? About the outlook for next year? About the new plants? About the new products? Why not let the president make a statement about how taxes are stifling business? Why not dress the whole thing up pretty? Reproduce a George Inness on the front cover in full color, like General Foods. Or maybe both Technicolor like General Mills and sandwiches à la Pepsi-Cola.

But the difficulty is that you cannot tell five, 10 or 100,000 stockholders just how you are managing their business without making the same information available to the curious eyes of labor leaders, consumers and competitors, all of whom are constantly trying to learn everything they can about how you do things. Can National Dairy tell how much it is making from its textiles-from-milk Aralac operations without whetting the appetites of other milk companies? Should Coca-Cola discuss with its stockholders the runs, hits and errors of the Atlanta baseball team which the company owns? Should General Tire discuss the plans for its six radio stations? Is silence really golden, or is it wiser to talk?

All the ultimate answers that appear



Drawings by  
Robert Osborn

ONE SELF-PORTRAIT FOR THE TAX PEOPLE—ANOTHER FOR THE INVESTOR

in the reports the mailman brings are whipped into final shape in the public-relations office of the corporation. There, during annual-report season, one of the classic rites of American business is consummated. Behind an array of paper cups and butt-littered ashtrays cowers the director of public relations. Through the haze he hoarsely argues with himself about the net figures. "It's too much. I can just see the headlines: 'All Time Profit Record Topped Again By. . . .' No, we've got to bury it somewhere. . . ." By now his assembled staff is feeble from weeks of this same procedure, but not too weak for someone to remind: "Yeah, but the boss says we got to show a better earnings ratio than. . . . Yeah, I know. . . . But, God, when the goddam union sees. . . . And the League of Women Shoppers called again today. . . . Yeah, I know. . . . Oh, what the hell, pour me another, Harry."

Behind those dull columns of "Assets" and "Liabilities" there are drama, blood and sweat—and many a stomach ulcer. Usually the making of the annual report starts with a memorandum addressed to each of the company officers, asking for suggestions. Then the fur starts flying. Smith, with an eye on that soon-to-be-vacant first-vice-presidency, wants it proclaimed to the world that his new synthetic-girdle operation is doing 12.6 percent of the gross but earning 17.2 of the profit. Jones, whose corset operation is going the way of all flesh, would just as soon keep the details unpublished. Brown, whom the boys call familiarly "vice-president in charge of finger waving," mutters something about "why tell the bastards anything?"—the epithet including broadly the stockholders, the competition and, of course, the union wage negotiators.

### *A product of artistry*

**O**CCASIONALLY, there emerges from this miasma a real triumph of public relations over the hush-hush, or ostrich, attitude. The annual report of the Caterpillar Tractor Company is frankly

addressed to both stockholders and employees. Assuming a normal interest and IQ, it can be read without the aid of slide rule or logarithmic tables. It shows how Caterpillar business is related to national trends in business volume, in employment, in wages. The same high standards are to be found in the current Borden report, which, in addition, offers the most informative breakdown of sales in the history of large corporation reporting.

But these are exceptions. The reader who plows through an average report is dealing with the product of artistry rather than of factual technique. A group of extremely shrewd men have tried to arrive at a compromise which will satisfy the stockholders' curiosity while revealing no information of vital importance. This practice has led the dean of the American accounting profession, George O. May of Price, Waterhouse and Company, an outstanding firm in this field, to warn that one of the great dangers of our present financial setup under the SEC is the mistaken idea that stockholders are now necessarily better informed than they used to be. Another highly successful public accountant, Kenneth MacNeal, writes that, "The publication of a profit-

and-loss statement which is complete and truthful in the economic sense must be a rare accident." And the American Institute of Accountants has urged the New York Stock Exchange to "bring about a better recognition by the investing public of the fact that the balance sheet of a large corpora-

tion does not and should not be expected to show the present values of the assets and liabilities of the corporation."

For those who want to learn how to read annual reports, a guide is offered by H. A. Finney, Ph.B., CPA, a noted accountant and teacher with long experience in the preparation of these documents. He says, "Read them with a grain of salt," and adds these warnings:

1. Some men are liars.
2. Two equally able and equally honest accountants may differ widely.



### *WHICH PAGE DO YOU READ?*

First, as to the ugly matter of lying. Every annual report bears some kind of "certification." This is a sort of invocation by the accountants who audit the report, and, on the surface, sounds like a promise to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help them God.

### *Once over lightly*

**O**N close examination, the letter of certification often reveals what the auditors do not wish to be held responsible for. Thus in the current GE report the auditor's letter says: "We have examined the balance sheet of the General Electric Company . . . without making a detailed audit of the transactions." This rather frank statement points up the fact that the independent auditors who prepare the annual report often merely review the company's figures and see to it that they have made no mistakes in arithmetic. And, at that—in the case of GE—they want it known that they did not confirm the details; they saw only the gross totals after the corporation's high-level accountants had finished setting the figures.

To take an extreme case of what "certification" may actually mean, remember the famous McKesson and Robbins swindle which came to light in 1938. Over a period of many years the firm's president, an ex-convict operating under an alias, had defrauded his





firm of millions of dollars and had manipulated accounts so as to conceal his thefts. But in 1938 Price, Waterhouse had declared to the stockholders that the firm's accounts "fairly present, in accordance with accepted principles of accounting . . . the position of the combined companies. . . ." This is, actually, no reflection on the honesty or brightness of the Price, Waterhouse accountants. It merely dramatizes just how little the auditor's certification may mean on the annual report you got in the mail this morning.

### Who's right?

AND how much should you rely on the glowing statement in which the company's president invariably damns government interference with business, but always promises—even in spite of such interference—to turn up a good profit next year? On that touchy subject, Arthur Stone Dewing, one-time professor at the Harvard Business School, writes in his classic *Financial Policy of Corporations*: "Financial literature abounds with well authenticated cases in which the same directors, who were outwardly seeking to support the company's credit by persistent reassurances to the stockholder, were at the very same time selling their own shares and even hastening the inevitable catastrophe by selling stock short." Fortunately for your peace of mind, though, the most flagrant examples of such practices belong to the days before Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal.

So much for Dr. Finney's warning

that "some men are liars." But outright dishonesty is not the major obstacle in the path of an eager annual-report reader.

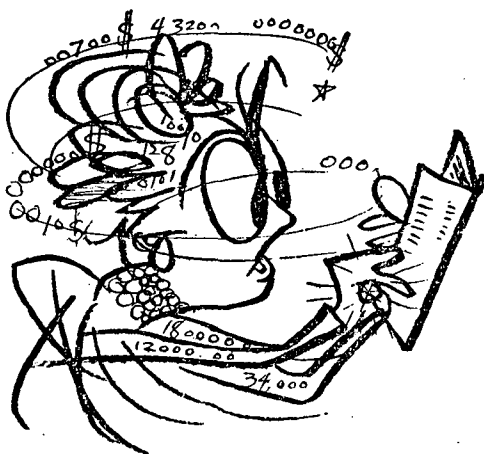
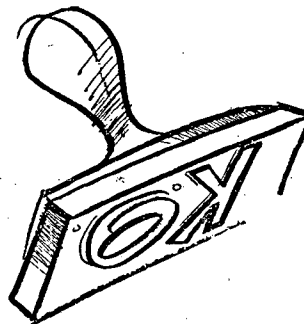
Of much more concern is the caution that even honest men differ widely on accounting practices. The varying techniques make presentation of figures to suit the purpose at hand surprisingly easy. This appears most clearly when a corporation wants to develop two different figures for two different purposes. In 1940, for example, Western Union, in order to show a high profit to its stockholders, told them in the main body of its annual report that only \$8.2 million had to be set aside for depreciation. In the less well read tax section of the same report, however, Western Union admitted it had reported a depreciation reserve of more than \$11 million to the government in order to lessen taxable income. The contradictory figures were developed by equally legitimate accounting practices. Only Western Union knows which, if either, figure was correct.

Or take the case of Amerada Petroleum, a small but definitely blue-chip oil company. Its annual report is a thing of beauty, and—on second glance—of wonder. It lists splendid earnings and handsome profits. The company has not missed a dividend since 1922; and

in 1944, with gross profits of \$17 million and a net of \$5 million, it raised its dividend from \$2 to \$3 a share. But its stockholders' report for that year showed no item for taxes on income or surplus profits. This caught the eye of one keen investment analyst, who looked into the detailed report which the company had filed with the SEC. There he found that Amerada actually had paid \$200,000 in taxes, but this was less than it had paid in previous years when its income was lower. And it had paid no excess-profits tax at all.

The answer to this is another study in accounting legerdemain. It so happens that each year, any oil company can claim that its oil properties have been depleted by 27.5 percent of its gross income. The fact that after four years, this figure of depletion comes to 110 percent has never seemed to bother Congress, solicitous for the future of the oil companies. In addition, by law Amerada is permitted to charge off costs of developing new wells as operating expenses, though the rest of us would have to list such expenses as capital outlays. So, by these perfectly legitimate deductions, Amerada was able to show a pitiable state of affairs to the government. But to its stockholders, everything was rosy. But what if its report to the government is nearer the truth? What if it is really depleting its oil reserves? What if its extensive drilling operations strike nothing of value? *Fortune*, after analyzing Amerada's success with a not unfriendly eye, added that "Amerada's present affluence and serenity are also due to luck." If luck should run out, those annual reports are going to look awfully silly.

But these are special cases, each with its own peculiarities. What can be said in general about the figures presented in the ordinary annual report? As George O. May puts it, they are "the reflections of opinions subject to a wide margin of error." And accountants differ furiously among themselves in their opinions. Suppose, for example,



TRY FIGURING IT OUT FOR YOURSELF



you look down the column of figures in an annual report and note that a dividend was paid out of capital surplus. An innocuous enough item, you might think. William Wrentz, an SEC accountant writing in the authoritative *Journal of Accountancy*, not only gives the practice his blessing, but adds that "no one will dispute the arguments in favor of dividends from paid-in surplus." But if you asked Colonel Robert Montgomery, another noted accountant and author, his opinion of this practice, he would say, "It comes close to moral turpitude." W. A. Paton, an outstanding teacher of accounting, would tell you that "such a dividend deserves the general condemnation accorded it by accountants," and that "it is deplorable that it is given legal sanction."



V.P. FOR GIRDLES

Any accountant can take you on a guided tour of an annual report and kick each figure around for hours, if you can follow the intricacies involved.

Some of these items are of such importance that a variation in accounting procedure can change the entire impression of the report. Consider, for instance, the innocent item marked "surplus." Using one method of accounting this item, the Radio Corporation of America reported a net income of \$95 million in the 14 years from 1922 to 1935, an annual average of \$6.8 million. But if they had followed a more conservative and more orthodox procedure in handling their surplus account, their average net income for the period would have appeared as \$700,000 a year, or about one-tenth of what they actually showed in their annual report.

#### *Light for the layman*

**T**HIS is, of course, highly technical stuff. But it has wide implications. The stock of RCA—thanks to its annual-report policy—was one of the leaders in the market speculations of the late twenties, and also one of the leaders in the pell-mell collapse that followed.

But, if annual reports are so full of intricacies, is there any point in looking at them or studying them at all? The answer, gleaned from talking to a cross section of accounting professors and public accountants, is—yes and no. Professor Edwin Frickey of Harvard, one of the country's outstanding teachers of the subject, gives a famous course in which students spend months analyzing just a few corporation reports. And an investment analyst will take weeks or even months to reach any conclusion on the meaning of a single annual report. What about the rest of us?—T. H. Sanders speaks for the professional accountants when he cautions: "As for the man in the street or 'the casual investor,' no sensible person will assume the responsibility for proposing any

accounting procedure whatever on the ground that it will place these financial dilettantes on an equal footing with serious students of the subject."

In case you don't want to be on an equal footing, but would just like to get some idea as to how your pet corporation is doing, what then? In the first place, never look at one year's figures alone. It is the comparison with

past figures that sheds some light on what the company may do in the future. Then if you are really to understand any one company, you must first have some idea of the entire industry in which it functions. So get the reports of other firms that are in the same or a similar business. A little study of the over-all problems and prospects of the industry will help, too. For example, the present crop of rubber-company reports will make little sense to you unless you are well up on the debate now going on in Washington over future government policy in the buying of raw rubber and the development of synthetics.

And when you have done all this, there is one more thing to remember: a company's earnings may have no relation to the strange behavior of its stock in the market. Otherwise, all accountants would have retired long ago as a result of successful speculations. The fact that most of them still work for a living should prove to you that not even a professional understanding of annual reports will enable you automatically to pick a winner.

And, finally, remember that the public-relations director who prepared the annual report had you in mind. For in the last analysis, the annual report is a public-relations device whose theme song is "love that corporation." And as Dr. Frickey puts it to his students, no annual report ever took the place of an extra dividend.



NOW YOU SEE IT, NOW YOU DON'T

# Report from Chicago

by Herman Kogan

**A**PRIL 1 was April Fool's Day for the Republicans in Chicago. Having grabbed important Cook County offices from the Democrats in last November's election, a combination of over-confidence and dizziness tripped them up in the contest for the key city's mayoralty, with the result that Democrat Martin J. Kennelly came through with a plurality of 275,000 over his bumbling Republican opponent, Russell W. Root.

Although some Democratic observers were quick to detect a trend in the Republican defeat, actually Kennelly's election has more significance locally than nationally.

Last winter McCormick and Governor Dwight H. Green had handpicked Root because he was ready to respond to the slightest crooking of a big shot's finger. An unknown precinct captain in an upper-middle-class South Side ward three years ago, Root had held minor state jobs; and whenever he opened his wide mouth he seemed to be reciting the latest *Tribune* editorial. Believing that old Boss Ed Kelly, or at least one of his protégés, would be Root's foe, the Republicans had prepared for another slaughter in April.

But that political wise man, Colonel Jack Arvey, Kelly's successor as boss of the Cook County Central Democratic Committee (see the *NR*, March 24), crossed them up. It was time, he said, to pick a non-machine man, free from the taint of professional politics as practiced in Chicago. And he chose Kennelly.

*A Chicago newspaperman for 15 years, Herman Kogan is the co-author of *Lords of the Levee*, a political biography of Bathhouse John Coughlin and Hinky Dink Kenna, Chicago's famed First Ward aldermen. During the war he served as a Marine combat correspondent.*

The Republicans, caught off-guard, were bewildered. Here was a foe who had actually fought the Kelly machine in previous elections; a genial, silver-haired bachelor of 59 with lots of sincerity, ideas and audience appeal; a successful, wealthy, conventional businessman; a candidate who said firmly, in accepting the nomination: "I have not made nor will I make any commitments to anybody. We must get away from the idea that the government belongs to a party and realize that it belongs to the people."

As a result Root rode off in a dozen directions. He called Kennelly a "political faker" and a "sham independent." He insisted that Kennelly discuss the "issue of the hour—the clouds of World War III." Before Negro voters the Republican speakers blamed—the local Democrats for the Bilbos and Rankins. Representative Alvin O'Konski, the Wisconsin spellbinder, was imported to advise the Polish constituency that a vote for Martin Kennelly would make Joseph Stalin very happy. In Jewish neighborhoods Root spoke for a "free Palestine." "Curly" Brooks, McCormick's Senator, hustled in from Washington to let the people know that Kennelly's election would be the signal for a third World War.

Root did manage to discuss local issues. But a good deal of his oratorical fire was concentrated on American foreign policy, a matter in which many Chicagoans have a deep interest except when they are looking for someone to clean up the streets and alleys, solve the traction mess, improve the woeful schools, reduce taxes and build houses.

**A**s amateur politicians often do, Kennelly waged a clean, intelligent campaign. He stayed away from official party headquarters, had no manager, and came forth with concrete proposals for stimulating home building, solving the traction tie-up, constructing super-highways and subways and strengthening the civil-service system.

In the closing days of the campaign, a tragedy in downstate Illinois put the torch to Republican hopes—if any still existed. An explosion in a Centralia mine trapped 111 men. GOP Governor Green's appointees were charged with negligence in enforcing safety rules; a pathetic letter from miners before the blast had been sent by Green into laborious "official channels"; the papers started yelling for Green's impeachment.

"The whole god-damned house of cards is falling in," grumbled a Republican press agent a few days before the election.

Kennelly's was a personal triumph rather than a victory for the Democratic machine. His running mates, city clerk Ludwig Schreiber and city treasurer Joe Baran, both regular party men, had pluralities of little more than 100,000. In the wards, Democratic aldermen were mowed down in two's and three's. In heavy Democratic sections, there was little difference between Kennelly's vote percentage and those of Kelly in earlier elections; but in Republican wards the Kennelly percentages had leaped from six to 12 points higher than Kelly's had ever been.

An old-timer from the city's rollicking First Ward put it this way: "You can't win with just any guy. Them days are over when you can put up some stooge. Maybe the people are gettin' smarter."

**B**UT it would be an error on the part of national Democratic leaders to think that the Kennelly triumph was a complete repudiation of McCormick isolationism. Certainly, thousands switched allegiance on Election Day. That does not mean, however, that these thousands would refuse to vote for an isolationist Republican Senator or Representative—or even a President.

It does mean that on strictly local issues the McCormick cry of nationalism amounts to but a whisper. It does mean that the hackneyed technique of dragging in red herrings at mayoralty elections doesn't always work in Chicago.

Just as the election shoved Governor "Pete" Green out of the running as a vice-presidential possibility and surely damaged McCormick's standing with the Republican hierarchy, so has it suddenly brought Kennelly to the attention of the Big Democrats.

Already there is talk of grooming him for "bigger things." "A natural," the boys call him. At the moment, Kennelly is neither ready nor willing to yield to such temptations.

For he has carved himself a mighty job of building a "Chicago whose greatness will be unchallenged throughout the world." Unless he is very naïve, he must realize that one of the hardest parts of that job will be to convince the remaining members of the Democratic machine that he meant what he said about "no favors" and "no commitments" and of being "the people's mayor."

Kennelly is no Fiorello H. LaGuardia, but he is the most hopeful, encouraging thing that has hit the rough, tough town in many decades. Even if he fulfills only half his promises, he probably can stay in City Hall as long as he wants to.

# Follow the Leader

by Dale Kramer

*Big John Lewis' mine workers have followed him unquestioningly through ups and downs, but their patriarch is aging fast*

WHEN John L. Lewis climbs out of his limousine these days he comes down hind first, gripping the door jambs and distributing his sagging weight carefully between the heels and balls of his feet. If there are no photographers at whom gayly or threateningly to flourish his heavy cane, he uses it for what it was made. The auburn mane has turned a lank gray and the full cheeks hang in ashen, seamy pouches.

This slow and creeping change is reflected in the conversation of political and labor insiders when they sit around discussing the future. They used to speak of Big John Lewis. Now it's Old John.

He is a patriarch, and the 500,000 miners over whom he rules are his family. Again on April 1 they showed how closely they hang together when they quit work for six days in mourning for the 111 members of their clan who died in the Centralia mine. And once more they also demonstrated their unquestioning obedience to the aging lord who tells them when and when not to work.

If anything, age has increased the regal quality of Old John's passage through the hushed and lofty halls of the Mine Workers' Building in Washington. For anyone to halt his stately

promenade would be a disastrous breach of etiquette. Men who called him "John" or "Jack" are mostly either in the ranks of the hated CIO or too old for duty. Those remaining address him as "Mr. Lewis," and they maintain the respectful title when talking about him, perhaps even in their secret thoughts. An official in the same building may spend two or three days obtaining an appointment. When one showed up on a hot day dressed in slacks, word came down through channels that Lewis considered such garb undignified.

Insiders refer to Lewis' vast office on the fifth floor as the Throne Room. He is not opposed to the analogy. "Why, gentlemen," he once told a convention,

"there isn't any mincing, lackadaisical, lace-pantied gigolo going to dethrone John L. Lewis in his own organization and in his own convention."

To labor leaders the term "king" is not exact. Neither is "boss." Nor the "sacred leader" of miners' convention resolutions. After three decades, Old John is the United Mine Workers of America.

The dutiful dispatches of newspaper reporters during every strike telling of cracking miners' support are therefore looked upon as old jokes. Labor men are not impressed by the view of the Supreme Court's decision as a stunning blow necessarily breaking Lewis' grip. What they know—and the reasons for their conclusions are set down herein—after—is that the miners will do his bidding.

And so, the terrible pride of Old John being well known, labor men see the miners' union in peril. The danger will not pass with the resolution of this crisis or one or two more. Lewis is 67. No medical report is necessary to reveal his failing health—the camera does it.

The death of Lewis and the attendant confusion among palace sycophants, coupled with widespread unemployment and enemy attacks, could, even without a disastrous strike, destroy the union which for almost half a century was the vanguard of American labor. Maybe it still is.

The plumed figure of Old John largely obscures the fact that the



HOME LIFE: THERE ARE THOUSANDS OF SUCH MINERS' SHACKS

*As a correspondent for Yank, Dale Kramer covered the Pacific and the surrender of Japan. He is now a free-lance writer and has contributed to Harper's, Esquire and the Nation.*

coal miners are still third or fourth-class economic citizens. The soft-coal miner's average daily wage is \$11.85 for nine hours. That is for a five-day week; the sixth day, if worked, calls for time-and-a-half. Since miners want to pile up cash and the operators coal, most pits have been working a six-day week. The average steelworker's pay for nine hours figures \$12.44. Auto workers get \$13.01.

### *Sudden death*

WAGE comparisons tell only a part of the story. Working conditions in the mines—floating coal dust, water often knee deep—are dismal enough. In addition, the miner faces startling dangers. Big mine disasters get headlines, but scattered fatalities escape notice outside the mining camps. Consequently, when Old John thundered during war-time that coal digging was more dangerous than armed service, most people thought he was only beating his gums again.

He was not. In the years 1942-45 inclusive, 5,295 men were killed in the mines and 259,408 more were injured. That averages a little more than one dead or injured for every two miners. Armed-forces battle casualties over roughly the same period were a little less than one per 14 men. By entering the service a young miner thus greatly reduced his chances of getting hurt.

Auto workers suffer only about one-fifth as many accidents as miners, and severity figured in man hours lost is roughly one-fifteenth as great. The miner is also a major sufferer from occupational diseases. His working days are made miserable and his life shortened by lung afflictions (he calls them all asthma) and by cramps and rheumatism resulting from floor water and damp air.

A medical survey of conditions in mine towns was part of the welfare program negotiated by Lewis last year in his famous "agreement" with Interior Secretary Krug. The Navy sent medical officers, engineers and social workers throughout the mine fields. Advance reports indicate that conditions have improved little since 1923, when the last survey was made.

The demand for a welfare program was something new for Lewis. The only such program he ever had was a large



THE COMPANY STORE OFFERS A PLACE TO MEET AFTER WORK

cash box which he kept near him. If someone turned up with a hard-luck story, or a moving letter from a widow came in, he reached munificently into the box and hauled out a \$10 bill.

The survey doubtless will pay dividends, but cash is something Lewis understands better, and he insisted on getting some placed at once in a welfare fund. It is still there, most of it lying in a New York bank.

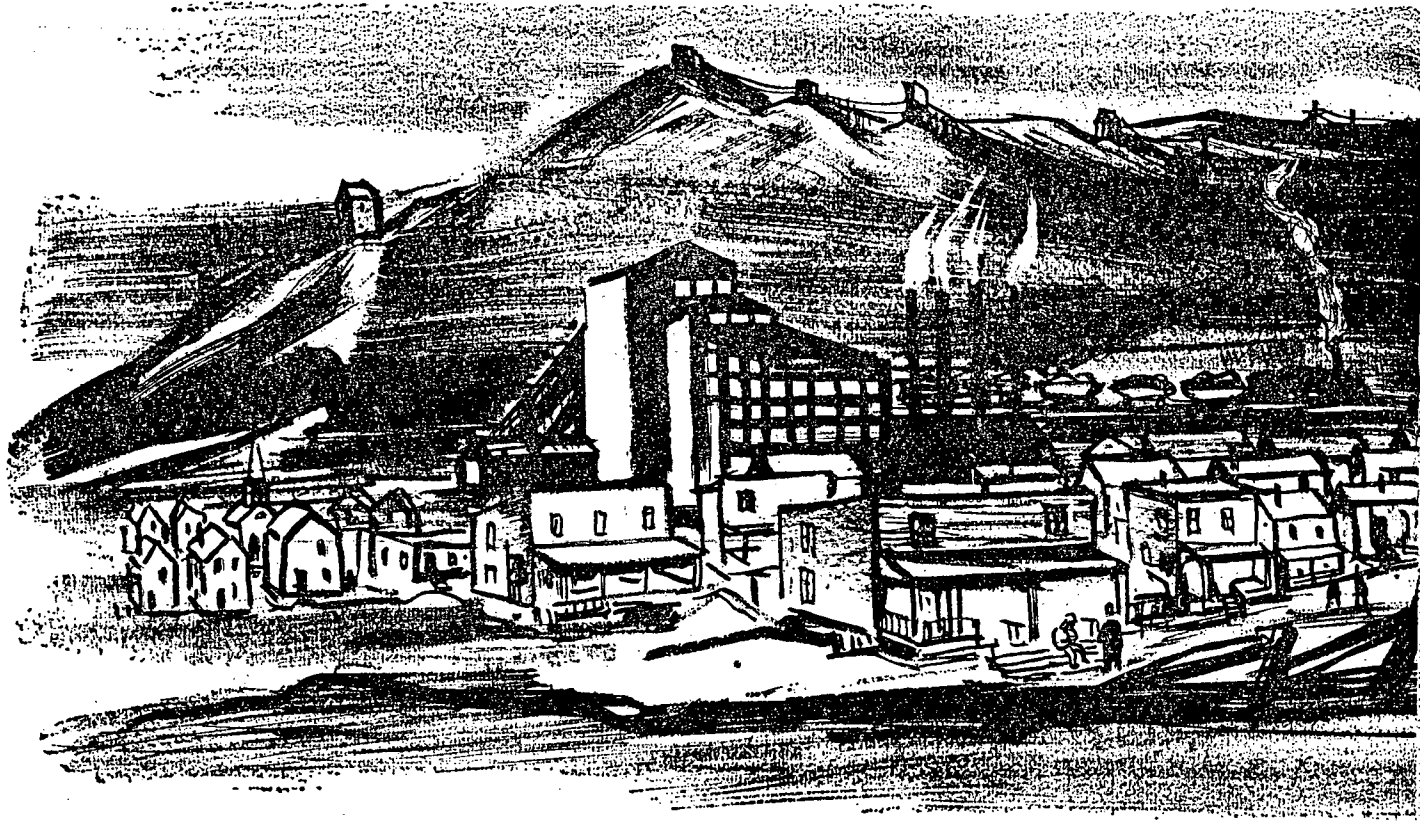
Operators are required to contribute five cents for each ton of coal mined. The welfare fund will receive roughly \$30 million a year if production holds up. Considering the thousands of disabled and decrepit miners in the fields and the high accident rate, that amount will not go far.

Miners hailed the agreement (which included a vacation clause worth \$100 a year), but, with the cost of living shooting up, they were none too happy. Besides, they had begun to worry over

the future of the coal industry. Layoffs in the hard-coal fields were commencing and they wondered if only the threat of strike held up employment in the bituminous mines. The early thirties, when two working days made a good week, are fresh in memory.

There is, too, the fear of increased mechanization. Strip-mining, which employs great earth-moving machines and requires comparatively few men, accounted in 1945 for 19 percent of bituminous production compared with 6.4 percent in 1935. The portion of underground output cut by machines rather than with hand picks rose from 84.2 percent in 1935 to 90.8 percent in 1945. The increase in mechanical coal loaders was greater—from 13.5 to 56.1 percent. All together, net production per man per day went up from 4.5 to 5.78 tons in the 10-year period.

Increased use of coal substitutes causes additional worry. In 1935 coal supplied



TYPICAL PENNSYLVANIA ANTHRACITE TOWN: FLARING FURNACES, COMPANY SHACKS. HUDDLE

51.7 percent of all US energy requirements. Ten years later it provided only 46.4 percent. Goose-pimpling talk of big and little-inch pipelines for carrying oil and gas is therefore understandable. Some petroleum companies are experimenting with extraction of oil and gas from coal, believing the process may be cheaper than piping them out of the ground. But no one knows whether it will work, and if so, when.

#### *The making of a dictator*

How did it come to pass that half a million coal miners obey the orders and often the whims of a single man? Lewis has headed the UMW—in fact, if not at first by title—for 29 years, more than half its lifetime. But men have held long tenure in other unions without approaching his power. Part of the answer can be found in the century-long struggle of miners to hold their unions in the face of merciless and devious onslaughts.

The mine owners set one part of the pattern as early as 1849, when they bought out John Bates, leader of Bates's

Union, the first US miners' organization. They set another in the middle seventies by putting the law on John Siney, head of the National Union. The prosecutor thundered: "John Siney . . . did assist in this combination of miners for the purpose of raising wages, and it is your bounden duty under the provision of the law to bring in a verdict of guilty."

Another area of the pattern was stamped a few years later when Pinkerton detectives were sent as labor spies into the Molly Maguires, a secret band of direct actionists. The calculated violence of private-company armies and bribed officials was used against the National Federation of Miners, organized in 1885, and it was stepped up after 1890 when the miners' faction of the Knights of Labor joined with the National Federation to found the present United Mine Workers of America.

Solidarity was the miners' major counterweapon. When an able, incorruptible leader arose, they had a tendency to idolize him. They did it with John Mitchell, who even yet is given a

"day." And even that sensitive, mild leader stepped out in 1908 after only a decade to accept a better-paying job with a semi-employer group—though he quit when the miners objected. John L. Lewis has been accused of taking power, but never bribes.

The miner's way of life was, and is, another compulsion for allegiance to personal leadership. What man could labor 12 to 16 hours a day, six days a week, often on his knees swinging a pick, and have time for analyzing complicated issues? In nearly half of the miners' homes the official *Journal*, a powerful advocate of Old John, is still the chief reading fare. At the same time the "operator-dominated" public press is distrusted.

But the greatest factors in the present organization of the UMW are the personal qualities, character and ability of John L. Lewis. The general public's simple view of him as a combination bruiser and ham actor is not shared even by enemies who know him well. They have seen the Lewis ruthlessness and the Lewis theatricals. But they have



Drawings by Elizabeth Olds

#### AR THE MINE SHAFT AND HUGE, BLACK SLAG HEAPS TOWERING ABOVE HOUSES AND PEOPLE

seen, too, an extraordinarily subtle mind and a vast personal force and charm usually concealed from the public.

One former close associate said recently, "John Lewis' native qualities of leadership have been surpassed by few of his contemporaries in America or anywhere else. But not many have so loved to drive rather than lead."

#### *The key to power*

**A**DO up all these factors—the history of miners' struggles, the nature of coal digging, the character of John L. Lewis—and the whys of lack of democracy in the UMW become clear. The union's constitution gives the hows. Here is the key to power:

Charters of districts, subdistricts and local unions may be revoked by the international president, who shall have authority to create a provisional government for the subordinate branch whose charter has been revoked

The climb back from provisionalism, once Lewis has substituted his appointees for elected officials, is next to impossible. Of the UMW's 30 districts, 20 are

provisional or semi-provisional. Some have held no election in a decade and a half.

In a recent courtroom tussle, Lewis self-righteously apprised the court of the fact that his expenses are passed on by the union's executive board. He did not add that as ruler of the provisional districts he appoints a majority of the board—and holds power to remove even the few who are elected. The board has one member for each district.

Appointment of subordinate officers is one of the few things which still causes fireworks in the conventions. Some locals regularly instruct their delegates to ask for home rule—autonomy is the customary term—for their districts. Debate is usually perfunctory. The 1944 gathering, however, saw some excitement because Ray Edmundson of Illinois (District 12), was fighting Lewis. For years Edmundson has been looked on as a crown prince—not a healthy reputation to have. Lewis was poking into the financial affairs of District 12 when Edmundson resigned, promising to beat the old man. Though

an appointive district president for nearly a dozen years, he tied his hopes to the home-rule issue.

Edmundson couldn't get into the convention. The rump session he called drew less than a baker's dozen, and later when he sought to contest for the presidency he couldn't get on the ballot. But Lewis took enough notice to speak on home rule. The agitation for union democracy, it turned out, was a trick of the mine owners. "I know, of course," Lewis told the convention, "that coal operators' agents have gone about encouraging this propaganda, enlisting men to come here and fight John L. Lewis on this question." He had kicked many a dastard out of office "on the toe of my boot." As he proceeded with the tale of carnage, his followers came out of their chairs shouting hosannahs.

In a milder mood he has told a story out of his boyhood to illustrate his position on union democracy:

When one of the boys would come home and would tell the other that in some of the neighbors' houses the sons had more autonomy than we had in our



house, and we would hold a caucus on it, we used to get along fine until Mother intervened and made the decision. In the light of the greater knowledge that comes with increasing years . . . I can look back now and see that Mother was right every time. . . .

UMW officialdom, as a matter of fact, is referred to reverently as the "family." The ambition of all local miner politicians is to get into the family. Most locals are allowed to elect their own officers, who receive per-diem pay besides wages lost while on official duty. A man who is able to win local elections regularly catches the eye of district officials, is brought to the attention of Lewis and eventually gets a chance to move up. Unswerving devotion to Old John, head of the family, is the top requirement.

The family is important enough to warrant a pension system, which the miners themselves still lack. Employees pay a sum into the pension fund which is matched out of the union treasury. At 65, a \$6,000-a-year man (a medium-grade field executive) can figure on somewhere between \$150 and \$200 a month for the rest of his life. If fired, he loses pension rights, though he gets back his own contributions. An aging subleader, with a good-sized equity above his own donations, thinks twice before displeasing Lewis.

The allocation of dues also helps to center power at the top. The national treasury gets 90 cents of the \$1.50 monthly total. The Auto Workers take only 65 cents for the national office; the Steelworkers 75 cents out of an equal sum.

Critics of Old John heaved out of the UMW cast an especially fishy eye on this section of the constitution:

Any member guilty of slandering or circulating, or causing to be circulated, false statements . . . wrongfully condemning any decision rendered by any officer of the organization shall, upon conviction, be suspended from membership for a period of six months and shall not be eligible to hold office in any branch of the organization for two years thereafter. . . .

The Lewis-appointed executive board decides whether an officer has been "wrongfully" condemned. When Lewis went out to beat Pat Fagan in the Pittsburgh district after Fagan refused to go

along in the 1940 campaign against Roosevelt, several miners were hauled into the Washington headquarters and convicted, in effect, of circulating campaign literature in Fagan's behalf. The literature implied that Fagan might be right, Lewis wrong. Fagan's popularity was so great that many observers thought him unbeatable. But Old John drove him out of the herd.

### *Solidarity against the world*

MINERS expect to strike. The press can gloat over what it calls a resounding whipping given John L. Lewis, but the coal diggers see it the way Lewis said—the government black-jacked them. Of course, the miners are not sure they will strike. Old John will decide that. But the man in the pits, angry himself and understanding well the pride of Old John, at the moment sees no other way out.

But not even Lewis' worst enemies—at least those who know him—predict that he will call a strike for the hell of it, without trying other means of getting victory or something resembling it. Labor men are of the opinion that if the government won't bargain, Lewis will send envoys to the operators, perhaps secretly.

The operators have not signed the Krug-Lewis agreement. When the gov-

ernment hands back the mines on June 30—which it must do unless there is new legislation—the operators may try to knock out the welfare fund and other gains. Their hand will be greatly strengthened, of course, by Lewis' bogeyman reputation with the public. According to Gallup pollsters, President Truman's popularity jumped sharply after his wrestle with Lewis. Congress could find no easier way of passing restrictive labor legislation than under the guise of "curbing" the mine leader.

And so the prospect of Old John riding forth to protect what he calls the "defenseless breasts" of his members brings shudders to other leaders of labor. If he and the miners are brought down, can the breach be filled in time?

### *Lewis' possible successors*

WHO is heir apparent in the UMW should Lewis die—or, perhaps worse, undergo a long illness? No one, remembering the case of Ray Edmondson, is likely to step forward as a candidate. Rumors went around not long ago that Lewis would like to name his younger brother, Denny, as acting president and devote himself to the AFL and making war on the CIO. (The miners did not return to the AFL; the AFL aligned itself with the UMW, according to the *Journal*.)



IN SPITE OF MACHINE AIDS, SOFT-COAL MINERS STILL WORK ON THEIR KNEES

But even Denny's friends sometimes refer to him as "John with the brains knocked out." Denny has been more of an order-carrier than director of big affairs. The dozen-odd other Lewis blood relatives and in-laws on the payroll have shown no greater capacity. John's only son, John L. Jr., is practising medicine. His daughter Kathryn still holds title as secretary-treasurer of the catch-all District 50. But her labor interests have lately been subordinated to studies in Oriental religion and philosophy.

The old-timers who remain have lived in Lewis' shade for so long that even their desire to head the union is doubtful. Thomas Kennedy, the secretary-treasurer, is aging and tired and said to be anxious for rest. The vice-president, John O'Leary, is an old wheelhorse who has never been known for initiative or knowledge of the coal industry.

Others might fill in: Ora Gassaway of Indiana, John Jones of Maryland, John Owens of Ohio. All spend much time around the throne. But they also have taken orders for too many years. K. C. Adams, *Journal* editor, pleases Lewis by making up such terms as "New Deal burrocrats." But he lacks a solid mining background. John Kmetz, present head of District 50, is middle-aged and personable. But the younger men brought up through the "family" are also short on initiative.

### *Trouble ahead*

THERE remain the men thrown out by Lewis. It was generally believed that Phil Murray, long-time UMW vice-president, could have fought Lewis effectively had he been willing to take a chance on splitting the union. Van A. Bittner, Allan Haywood, John Brophy and many other CIO officials are former miners' leaders. But whether the miners would turn back to them in the event of Lewis' death is more than anyone wants to speculate about.

There is no lack of unanimity of opinion on one point: trouble lies ahead for the miners, and plenty of it. They may or may not avoid a long and bitter strike. But they must inevitably face chaos among the sycophants when Old John passes on.

# A Trust Is Dented

By Donald W. Craig

*Thanks to a Philadelphia theatre owner,  
Hollywood's tight-fisted grip on motion-  
picture bookings has been loosened*

AS YOU come out of the Fifteenth Street exit of Broad Street Station in Philadelphia, the name GOLDMAN, spelled in gigantic, illuminated letters of many colors, smacks you in the eye from a vertical sign a hundred yards away.

The sign, and the theatre behind it, symbolize the beginning of what may be an epochal change in one of America's largest industries—the movies. The change is from monopoly to free competition. Its importance is indicated by the fact that the movies' power to influence man's manners, morals and values is perhaps unrivaled even by the press or radio.

The Goldman Theatre, opened last August 15, was America's first major postwar movie house. For William Goldman, veteran showman and theatre operator, the opening marked the climax of a dramatic and bitter struggle. Its story is partly national, partly local; but the details of it could apply to any metropolis.

Fourteen years ago, after repeated clashes of judgment with his superior, William Goldman quit a \$78,000-a-year job as general manager of Warner Brothers theatres in the Philadelphia area. During the next few years, as he tried to develop his own chain of theatres, he often suffered from the heavy

hand of the system he had formerly operated. A growing rage at methods he had once accepted and employed caused him to say one day to a friend, "Some day I'm going to bust that monopoly, and bust it good!"

This was the kind of thing friends pass off with a deprecating smile. "Busting" Warners' monopoly in Philadelphia was then on a par with kicking over the Empire State Building. Yet Goldman did "bust" it, in just the way he intended.

In 1941, Philadelphia had eight first-run picture theatres and Warners operated all of them. Today there are ten first-run houses in Philadelphia, and Warners' tally has dropped to seven. Goldman owns two (one bought out from under Warners), and Twentieth Century-Fox has another, repossessed after many years of Warner operation. Goldman has two more top-flight houses ready for first-run pictures as soon as they come on the market. The Warner monopoly has been cracked.

Goldman's achievement is considered by theatre people as one of the most extraordinary feats ever performed in their extraordinary industry. To appreciate it, one must know something about the position Warner Brothers once held in the city, and something about film distributing in general.

In Philadelphia—the system varies slightly in different cities—there are a number of "first-run downtown" houses, a larger number of "key-run" houses and many "subsequent-run" houses. The

*Donald W. Craig, a former teacher of English, was on the staff of the Philadelphia Record for two years until the paper shut down. He is now free-lancing.*



key-runs are located in the business or shopping centers of outlying districts. Each stands at the head of a line of subsequent-run places in a geographical zone. The key-run is without exception the largest and most profitable theatre in its zone.

A feature picture plays first in the downtown area. After this run is completed, it may go to a "moveover," or second-run downtown, for a week or two, or it may be put out of circulation for 28 days of "clearance." This clearance period is to keep the price up by preventing neighborhood competition with first-run houses.

After the 28 days, a number of prints of the picture are shown in many key-run houses at the same time, usually for a week. After another week of clearance, they open for three or four-day runs at the first subsequent-run house in each zone. And so on, until the final house is reached.

Before the war, Warners operated, besides all Philadelphia's first-runs, two of the three moveover houses and 15 of the 18 key-run theatres. Warners decided what pictures to play in its first-run houses, when to play them and how long they were to play there. No

"A" picture could enter the city without first being shown by Warners. If this meant holding up important pictures for a month or a year, that was too bad.

No subsequent-run exhibitor could touch a picture that Warners was interested in until Warners got through with it—that is, until the best profits had been skimmed off by the downtown houses, and the next best profits by a Warner first-run neighborhood.

Film rentals were also weighted in favor of the Warner monopoly. Several independent exhibitors paid higher fees for pictures than did Warner houses getting the pictures ahead of them. For many films the percentage taken by the distributors from a small end-of-the-run theatre was the same as that charged for a first-run downtown.

The effect was like putting the president of a corporation and his stenographer in the same tax bracket. Moreover, in each rental contract the distributor of the picture stipulated the minimum admission fee to be charged. Admissions were heavily influenced by those charged at Warner houses. Price-cutting by an uppity exhibitor would mean relegation to a later and less profit-

able run. A new exhibitor desiring to compete on equal terms with a Warner house anywhere along the line was through before he started.

Warners' omnipotence in the area, arising from the buying and withholding power of its theatres, worked against the exchanges of the other big producers as well as against the exhibitors.

### *The "gang"*

WARNERS was not the only villain in this game, however. The producer-exhibitors work together, allotting one another different areas as their special bailiwicks wherein their theatre chains can monopolize profits and keep down competition.

Thus Paramount is solid in the solid South—so solid that, according to a trade anecdote, an isolated house owned by a Warner relative in Jacksonville, Florida, once paid more for a single feature than the same picture cost 41 theatres of a Paramount chain (Sparks). Loew's, which, with RKO, controls much of the picture circulation in New York City, during an internecine squabble once held Paramount pictures away from most of New York's neighborhood theatres for almost a year. Warners is currently banning all Universal and Eagle-Lion pictures from any of its theatres, according to *Variety*, in retaliation for an alleged raid on its studio personnel by these two producers. These are minor ripples, however, on the smooth surface of trust relationships. Internal differences are generally subordinated in the interest of presenting a solid front against the independents.

The essence of monopoly is that it can restrict distribution and exhibition, and, in the resulting sellers' market, fix and maintain high prices. The independent exhibitor in Philadelphia—or in any city—could not and still cannot buy pictures in quantity except from the established film-distributing agencies of the producers (the "Big Five" consisting of Warners, Loew's-M-G-M, Twentieth Century-Fox, Paramount, RKO, plus Columbia, Universal and United Artists). These exchanges distribute films of producers outside the "gang"—on their own terms. Consequently the exhibitor has to depend on their pictures or go without.

## Picture's Progress

HERE'S how the system discussed in the accompanying article worked with a specific picture, as recently as last year.

"The Bells of St. Mary's" moved into downtown Philadelphia February 13, 1946. After a very good first week's run, the rental was set at 40 to 50 percent of the gross.

Twenty-eight days after its first run was completed, it opened at the key-run houses—for instance, at the Orpheum, a big Warner house. Here it grossed possibly \$8,000, of which 50 percent went back to the distributor, leaving Warners \$4,000.

After hopping from theatre to theatre in the Orpheum zone, it played the Wayne, a small independent. By now most people had seen it; it had been milked dry of profit.

The Wayne might gross \$300 on it, of which it could keep at most \$180. And the picture had to be carried on "preferred time"—Saturday or Sunday—if the exhibitor wanted to stay in the good graces of the exchanges.

The result of this rental system is that good pictures are frequently not so profitable as poor ones, and lose out often in the small theatres.

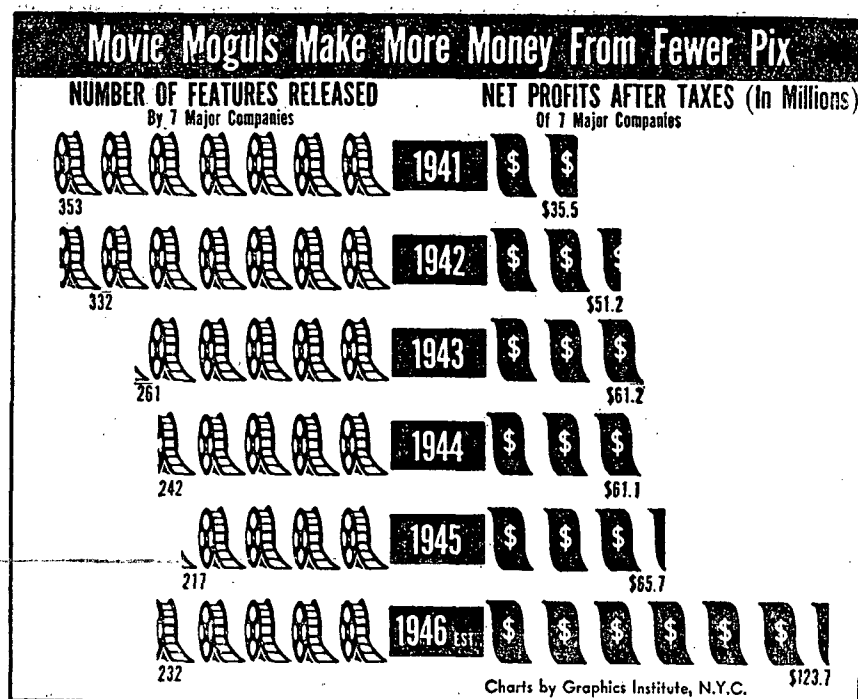
"Suppose I buy 'Blue Skies,'" explained one exhibitor, "It's being sold at 45 percent. Suppose I do a capacity business on it, and gross \$500. I pay out 45 percent, and I'm left with \$275. I'm better off if I take a "B" picture. I could get one for \$30, take in \$350, and clear more than I could on 'Blue Skies.' After all, I'm in business."

There is big money in the system. The movie companies have found profits can go up even when the number of pictures is cut down. In 1941, 353 features were released by seven of the eight major companies and the net profit after taxes for all operations—production, distribution and exhibition—totaled \$35,491,000. In 1946, the total annual output of the seven had dwindled to 232 pictures, and estimated net profits, with booming theatre attendance, had climbed to \$123.7 million. It pays to starve the market. And since the market itself was controlled as outlined above, the exhibitor used to have no recourse to fresh sources of supply. He still doesn't—but relief is in sight.

### *The opening gun*

IT WAS this system that William I. Goldman tackled, with full knowledge of what he was getting into. He prepared for it by building up a small chain of neighborhood houses in Philadelphia and outlying towns, which together supplied him with a tidy kitty running into six figures annually. He had one advantage in the projected struggle—he knew, as an associate said, "where all the bodies were buried." Six years as head of the Warner circuit in eastern Pennsylvania had given him a clear understanding of how the other side worked. In St. Louis, before coming to Philadelphia in 1928, he had built up two successive theatre chains, had fought against and then worked with the Skouras brothers (Spyros Skouras now heads Twentieth Century-Fox), and had put in some time as chain manager for Paramount. He was a seasoned warrior.

The kickoff came in 1940. At that time, Warner Brothers was having one of its periodic spats with Paramount Pictures over treatment of Paramount's product in Philadelphia. Paramount then had a backlog of almost a year's unplayed pictures waiting to get into the area. Goldman extracted a promise from Neil Agnew, Paramount executive, that Goldman could get Paramount features first-run if he could find a good theatre for them. Goldman forthwith started negotiations for the Erlanger, a vast and luxurious amusement hall closed during most of the depression.



But in the meantime Warner Brothers had got wind of the deal. According to Goldman's testimony in the subsequent trial, Harry Warner got into a huddle with Barney Balaban, president of Paramount, and told him a break in Philadelphia would mean a break throughout the United States. As a result, Goldman testified, Paramount and Warners patched up their differences, leaving Goldman with a theatre and no pictures.

During 1941 and most of 1942 Goldman bombarded the distributors with letters, telegrams, phone calls and visits in an effort to get first-run shows for the Erlanger. He was consistently turned down by all the exchanges.

"As you know," wrote Charles Zagrans, RKO's branch manager, in a typical refusal on October 28, 1941, "Warner Brothers has been our established customer for the exhibition of our pictures first-run downtown Philadelphia." He went on to say that therefore RKO would continue to deal with Warner Brothers "as in the past."

Earlier, and less formally, Zagrans put it in a nutshell for Goldman during a luncheon conversation, according to Goldman's testimony. "Well, Bill," he said, "there is no use kidding you. You know what the setup is. If we make a deal with you, Warners will penalize us in the subsequent-run theatres, and

that will be very harmful to our interests."

Goldman treasured all these things in his heart—and in his files—and on December 8, 1942, sprang his big play. He filed suit against the eight big producer-distributors and their exhibitor affiliates in the Philadelphia area, asking \$1,350,000 in triple damages for loss of profits at the Erlanger during two years. The suit charged that the Erlanger had been refused permission to exhibit first-run pictures "by reason of an illegal combination and conspiracy to monopolize the entire motion-picture industry, particularly in the Philadelphia district."

Goldman's extensive, if unproductive, letter writing of the previous two years now showed its value. He was able to produce in court almost identical letters from local representatives of the big producer-distributors, denying him films at a time when there were films to burn, films drying up in the vaults because of the first-run bottleneck maintained and enforced by Warner Brothers.

On April 8, 1944, Federal Judge William H. Kirkpatrick of the US District Court dismissed the case. "While Warner Brothers undoubtedly has a monopoly in the Philadelphia area in the showing of first-run pictures," he ruled, "the monopoly is not illegal."

Goldman appealed—but he was not

the only party to feel the blow. The US Government was then in the thick of its own anti-trust suit against the industry, and regarded the Goldman case as a testing ground for its own campaign. The Department of Justice hustled into the fray, and a brief was filed on behalf of the government as "amicus curiae," claiming that the public had a direct interest in the number of first-run theatres, that it was to the public's

benefit to have as many as possible, and that "the District Court's approval of the pattern of distribution disclosed . . . is a threat to free competition in any business."

On August 2, 1945, the Circuit Court of Appeals reversed the District Court. After a long delay, the final judgment was delivered and Goldman was awarded \$375,000, about a quarter of his original request, on last December 19. Eleven

days later he sued again, this time for \$8.4 million for profits lost at the Erlanger between the time his first suit started and the end of 1946. The defendants appealed the original suit back to the Circuit Court. But the battle was won.

Six months before the award, however, the attention of theatre people everywhere was drawn away to the decision rendered in the crucial "New York Case" of the government against the industry. This judgment finally outlawed any kind of block booking; forbade chain contracts for any pictures; barred price fixing; opened the picture market to free competitive bidding; and forbade the acquisition of new theatres by any of the producer affiliates.

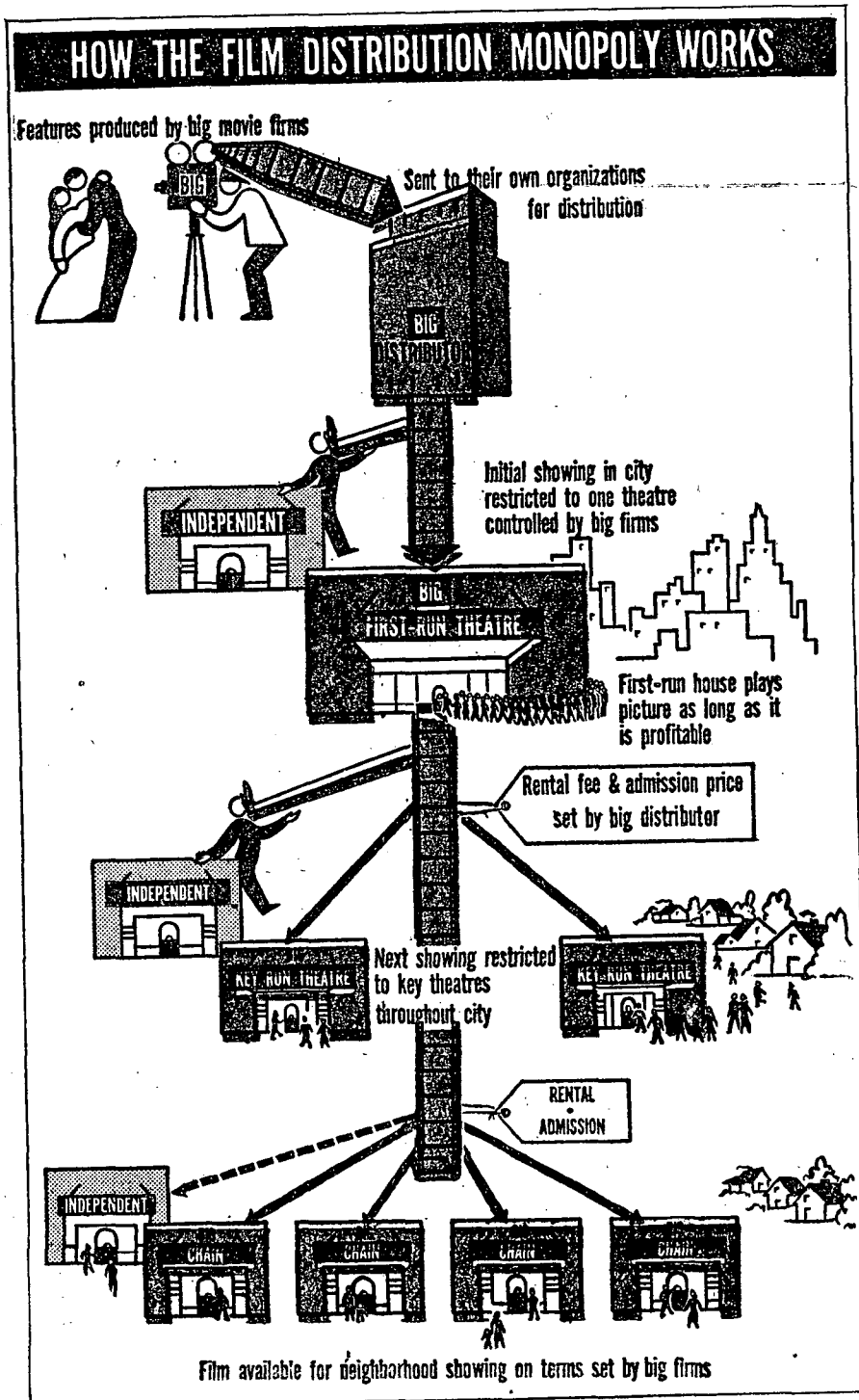
The basic threat to freedom in the industry—producer-owned theatre chains—has not been scotched. But the government is carrying the case to the Supreme Court with a request for complete divorcement. A final decision will probably be rendered sometime next winter.

### Anybody's guess

As this is being written, the Supreme Court is considering a motion to stay the provisions of the decree until it sees the case. But the producers already are testing out the competitive-bidding item and finding to their delight that it yields more money than ever, during the present picture scarcity. As a result, independent exhibitors all over the land have set up a howl that the decision meant to free them is actually going to destroy them.

Goldman is one independent who is not howling. Having forced his way to the top of his local heap against terrific odds, he is getting all the first-run pictures he wants and making big profits on them.

The able Philadelphian has demonstrated once for all that the big boys can be licked and that competition is possible. Under the logic of the competitive system, an open market and unrestricted buyers can ultimately bring more producers, selective buying and a better, less expensive product. The movie business, however, is not noted for logic; and how this will all end is anybody's guess.





## Books in Review



### *Sins of the Fathers*

!; *Palestine: Black, White and Gray*

**I**N A WORLD of violent and impassioned controversies there is no issue more packed with emotional dynamite or more capable of evoking an instinctively sympathetic response from generous spirits than the matter of a homeland in Palestine for the small number of European Jews who escaped the Nazi holocaust. In terms of decent human feeling the case seems plain. The tragic survivors of the Hitler terror are doomed exiles in Europe, and Palestine looms as the country of their dreams. Furthermore, it was promised to them by the famous Balfour Declaration.

But divorced of emotion, the Palestine issue is perhaps not so open and shut. The Arabs, one recalls, are a large majority in the country and have been there for centuries. Is it proper democratic procedure to force them into a minority and turn their country over to foreigners without their consent? It is true that the Jews would bring unheard-of material progress to Palestine, but wasn't this what Mussolini said about the Italian occupation of Ethiopia? The struggle of the Jewish underground against the British is often compared to the Sinn Fein revolution in Ireland, but wasn't the Irish battle for control of their own country and against the domination of the half-alien Anglo-Irish ascendancy more like the rise of Arab nationalism in Palestine? Why should tiny Palestine and not the vast United States provide a new home for the refugees from Europe? Would not the establishment of a Jewish nation merely make for additional anti-Semitism?

To one who, like this reviewer, has long been deeply disturbed by the conflict between the emotional appeal of the case for a Jewish national state and the less moving but persuasive claim of the Arabs to the country, the almost simultaneous publication of the English Richard Crossman's *Palestine Mission* (Har-

per's, \$2.75) and the American Bartley C. Crum's *Behind the Silken Curtain* (Simon and Schuster, \$3) is most welcome. As prominent and influential liberals and members of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry Regarding the Problems of European Jewry and Palestine, appointed by Truman and Attlee late in 1945, the two men—the former a Labor MP favorably known for his skepticism about his party's foreign policy, and the latter an independent Republican Catholic who has supported both Roosevelt and the Spanish Loyalists—were in an excellent position to observe, to understand and to interpret their findings for us.

**H**AVING served on the same committee, the authors naturally cover much of the same ground and supplement each other. In many ways they have a lot in common. They are of the same generation; they are equally independent and progressive in their thinking; they are apparently of a similar kind of sanguine temperament; and they at times stood alone against the rest of the committee. It is apparent that they have considerable respect for each other and, after reading their books, one feels that the respect is entirely justified and that Crossman and Crum were excellent choices for a difficult, important and

thankless job. Yet, while they have so much in common and reached many of the same conclusions, their reports are strikingly different in method and manner, and I must confess that I found the Englishman's book the more interesting and valuable.

**T**HAT, however, is an entirely personal matter. Having, as I have said, somewhat conflicting emotions about Palestine, I found Crossman's questioning more persuasive than Crum's certainties. From the beginning the American seems to have had few doubts. He tends to see things in terms of British duplicity and Arab guile. The issue is comfortably black and white, and any opposition to the Jewish case is dismissed with considerable scorn. *Behind the Silken Curtain* is a vigorous and outspoken presentation of the Jewish case and it has a short way with dissenters. The Englishman, on the other hand, gives the impression of being less cocksure and superficial. He sees fewer villains than the American and more honest differences of opinion. You feel that his investigations in Palestine and among the tragic refugee camps of Europe were made, not to justify a position already held, but in an honest effort to reach a thoughtful and intelligent solution of a complex problem. The only time



*The New Palestine*

he gets really angry is when he objects to "the self-righteousness of American support for a cause for which America was not prepared to assume responsibility."

Although our propensity to give pious advice without doing anything to back it up irritates him, he understands why Americans are less impressed than are the British by the Arab claim to the country. It is, he believes, because, as a pioneer people who won our country from the Indians, we look upon the Jewish settler in Palestine as a pioneer and the Arab "as the aboriginal who must go down before the march of progress." The English, on the contrary, are "the offspring of the families which did not emigrate, inheritors of unbroken traditions going back for hundreds of years" and thus tend to appreciate the Arab position. He is certainly no defender of British colonial policy or of the pro-Nazi wartime activities of the Grand Mufti, but he doesn't believe that Arab nationalism is a British invention, either, or that it is without its progressive elements.

**B**ECAUSE he has a way of seeing both sides and sympathizing with Arab as well as Jew, it is all the more impressive to find in the end that he is just as convinced of the necessity for a Jewish state as is his more volatile American colleague. Appreciating all the points the Arabs make and admitting that a choice must be made between "two injustices," he advocates the immediate admission of 100,000 immigrants, a partition of Palestine to form a Jewish and an Arab state, and Anglo-American assistance to both the Jewish commonwealth and the Arab state in the construction of a Jordan Valley Authority and an irrigation scheme for the Euphrates. He believes that this Jewish nation will eventually become part of a Middle Eastern confederation, chiefly Arab in culture and numbers. "Because it is a socialist community," he adds, "this small nation will have an influence on its backward neighbors disproportionate to its size, bringing to them the ideas and techniques of Western civilization and accelerating the downfall of the present medieval social order. But in doing so it will grow into the life of

the Middle East and grow away from its present dependence on the West." The future this suggests is highly provocative.

RICHARD WATTS JR.

## II: From Vichy to Athens

**W**ILLIAM L. LANGER'S *Our Vichy Gamble* (Knopf, \$3.75) is a book which tries to do two quite different, often conflicting, things at the same time. It sets out to give the full "inside" story of America's official policy toward France from the collapse in June, 1940, to the death of Darlan in December, 1942, based in large measure on hitherto unavailable official material furnished by the men responsible for the policy. At the same time it seeks to provide an impartial, dispassionate "outside" evaluation of that policy. Langer has two different, often conflicting, viewpoints. As Coolidge Professor of History at Harvard, he is an authentic professional of scholarly interpretation. As a wartime member of the high command of the Office of Strategic Services, an intimate of the top-flight statesmen and soldiers who made the Vichy policy, he is an amateur of practical policy-making with a personal and partisan attitude. Thus, Cordell Hull wasn't gambling when he picked Langer as the right man "to make a detailed and altogether independent study" and broke precedent to make available to him relevant material of the kind the public normally wouldn't have been given for many years. For though Langer consented to do the job on condition that he "could serve only as a dispassionate scholar, not as an apologist," it was inevitable that his attitude as a partisan amateur would play a part in his judgments as an aloof professional.

As an inside story, the book is extraordinarily timely, since it reveals that "our Vichy gamble" was the first of a series in which the present Athens gamble seems likely to take an even more important place. It gives a factual account, readable, entertaining, exciting, frequently depressing, of how and why Washington chose and clung

obstinately to Pétain, Darlan and the Vichy fascists instead of to de Gaulle and those Frenchmen for whom freedom meant emancipation from fascism as well as from the Germans. As narrative, the book has the virtues of excellent polemical journalism and the defects of partisan propaganda, since the author, while using much new material, omits or subordinates much old material. *Our Vichy Gamble* takes the reader behind the scenes as has no other book thus far published about a crucial period in the history of American policy-making. The first portion, describing the collapse of France, the armistice and the first few months of the Vichy regime, is particularly fascinating. The reader is given a day-by-day, sometimes an hour-by-hour, account of what each of the major participants was doing, saying, thinking, even feeling in those confused and dreadful days.

**M**ORE than any other individual, Langer reveals, Ambassador William C. Bullitt was responsible for the Vichy policy. In retrospect, his decision to remain in Paris instead of going to Bordeaux—a decision which Roosevelt approved despite the objection of Hull—seems to have been the first step on the road which led to an American connection with Pétain instead of de

Gaulle. Langer arranges and interprets the facts to make Laval the villain of the piece and Pétain the hero. Thanks to Pétain, he says, "France was actually able to play both ends against the middle." And in his evaluation both of Vichy's policies and our policy toward Vichy, Langer pulls no punches in an aggressive justification of the utmost opportunism and expediency. He goes so far

in his defense of Pétain as to say that the Marshal's conviction by a French court of law was a political act and not an act of justice. There is no effort to deny that Pétain was a reactionary, a fascist, a man who feared communism and hated democracy so much that he was willing to connive with the Germans. Still, in Langer's



PÉTAIN

A  
vic  
wl  
ha  
th  
wa  
m  
wl  
W  
Ar  
me  
the  
str  
sal  
his  
of  
cor  
the  
wa  
ole  
na  
tat  
me  
ill  
det  
Jur  
Ad  
on  
tio  
tio  
thi  
bili  
ma  
Ad  
nea  
pol  
fee  
rea  
Cor  
anti  
I  
mar  
the  
you  
Eur  
He

view, Pétain was and still is a patriot who did better than de Gaulle could have done.

On July 1, 1940, Bullitt cabled that the hope of Pétain and his associates was "that France may become Germany's favorite province—a new 'Gaul' which would develop into a new Gaul." When Bullitt returned to America at the end of the month, he said, "Pétain is thoroughly honest and straightforward . . . universally respected . . . doing his best to bring order out of desperate chaos." Langer comments "What concerned the American government was not the question of ideology, but the question of national interest." Two quotations on which Langer doesn't comment are particularly striking as oblique illuminations of the question of a definition of national interest. On June 26, 1941, Roosevelt wrote to Admiral Leahy about the Nazi attack on Russia, "It will mean the liberation of Europe from Nazi domination . . . and at the same time I do not think we need worry about any possibility of Russian domination." Langer makes plain that Ambassador Bullitt, Admiral Leahy, Robert D. Murphy and nearly all the others responsible for our policy disagreed with the President, feeling that ideology coincided with real national interest when it was anti-Communist, but not when it was anti-Fascist.

Langer quotes Laval as having remarked to Hitler, "You want to win the war in order to organize Europe; you would do better to organize Europe in order to win the war." He calls the remark discerning but

doesn't note that the criticism of Hitler's policy applied just as forcibly to our Vichy policy.

THE second and most important phase of the Vichy policy began in the autumn and winter of 1940 when, again after Bullitt's personal intervention with the President, Murphy was sent to North Africa to conclude the economic deal with Weygand. Although this part of the book only scratches the surface, it is vitally important because it suggests the role of powerful American interests in favoring a connection with such "safe" elements as those represented by Pétain. Names like A. G.

Reed of Socony-Vacuum and Wallace Phillips, a wealthy American industrialist in England, crop up. Phillips "had much to do with the selection" of the team of Murphy's "technical assistants," who later helped him make it seem that the policy of political and economic expediency which had been launched in 1940 had been decided upon two years later and only for military reasons. At this point and a dozen others when the reader begins to want to know more, Langer throws in such phrases as, "It would be both tedious and unnecessary to pursue in all detail the working out of the plans."

Langer dwells lovingly for many pages on de Gaulle's blunder at St. Pierre and Miquelon, and dismisses in a phrase the fact that we wasted a year on "the idea that Weygand could be made into another de Gaulle." At the start of 1942 when the British were accurately estimating de Gaulle's strength, Hull was telling the President that "some 95 percent of the entire French people are anti-Hitler, whereas more than 95 percent of this latter number are not de Gaullists and would not follow him." Langer finds it "extremely difficult and fortunately not really necessary" to describe the Resistance movement and then goes on to give details about the reactionaries with

whom Murphy chose to work. The Worms Bank collaborators get many pages, the de Gaullist resisters a few grudging paragraphs. The misstatement of the facts about de Gaulle is understandable, but it is astonishing to find Langer even now defending our link with Laval's regime in Vichy in the summer of 1942 as "our only connection with the mass of the French people."

EXCEPT in its account of the Colonel Solborg affair, which is grossly unfair, the final portion of the book, on the preparations for the North African invasion and the landings themselves, makes fast, exciting reading in the best cloak-and-dagger tradition. It appears that Bullitt also was primarily responsible for this, the third phase of the Vichy policy. In Cairo in December, 1941, he worked out with General Catroux a plan for an invasion of North Africa and sent it back to the President. Naturally Langer defends not only the exclusion of de Gaulle from the enterprise but neglects to mention adequately the role of the non-reactionary elements participating in support of the invading Americans. The authentic French Resistance leaders are quoted as wanting de Gaulle, but Murphy cabled General Donovan on September 5, 1942, that de Gaulle might "be capable of treachery." So de Gaulle was excluded. The Darlan portion of the book is another whitewash which adds little to the previous apologies. But it sounds

odd, after Langer has described the inception of expediency and the role of Murphy, to read that the "State Department had nothing to do with" the arrangements with Darlan. And it is nothing less than shameful that Langer should dismiss the large number of known facts about the political background of the assassination of Darlan with a few obscure phrases such as "there were curious circumstances."

As evaluation of history, the key to the book is Langer's view that "considerations of an ideological character are dangerous if they are made



DARLAN



LAVAL



BULLITT



MURPHY

the basis for foreign policy" and that they "have validity only if they can be made to coincide with real national interests." Since he breaks his narrative in December, 1942, he elects to define these interests exclusively in the short-term sense of winning the war with

practically no attention to the long-term sense of paving the way for a just and durable peace. Thus he falsifies the historical perspective. He admits that with the death of Darlan "the French problem merely entered upon a new and if anything more bitter phase, which even at the time of the invasion of Normandy, eighteen months later, was far from resolution."

Yet he says of the Vichy gamble that "we followed a sensible, purely opportunistic policy [which] always was a substantially sound one even though it may have been an unattractive one," and that it was "completely justified . . . an unqualified success." His conception of the policy as a "gamble" implies that he chooses as his criteria exclusively the calculated risks of military strategy. His understanding of the stake wholly ignores the humane and moral principles involved in the permanent problems of a world order. "At no time," says Langer, "were we willing to stake much on de Gaulle. We were not partial to the fascism of Vichy and we were not unsympathetic to French aspirations. Our objective was to safeguard our own interests, among which were the liberation and reestablishment of France. No doubt there were different conceptions of how this might be done. But we could choose only one."

We chose the Leahy-Bullitt-Murphy policy of expediency, or "We'd better go easy with the Fascists." Again, in April, 1947, we can choose only one conception of safeguarding our "real national interests." And again we are choosing a gamble. It is the policy of "necessity" or "We'd better get tough with the Communists." The greatest value of Professor Langer's book is that it provides "unofficial official" confirmation that the "new" Leahy-Dulles-Murphy policy is a continuation of the

road we took in June, 1940, when Bullitt convinced the President that Pétain was the arch enemy of "chaos" and in January, 1941, when Leahy transformed a prejudice into a policy. Murphy's role is more important than ever; he is the man in the shadows be-

hind Marshall. Leahy more than ever is the power behind the presidential throne. Indeed, there is evidence that a five-star admiral was responsible for the selection of a five-star general as Secretary of State because James F. Byrnes, though a proponent of a "tough" policy, wanted toughness to stop short of a new and more dangerous form of saber-rattling.

To those who welcome our "Athens gamble," Langer's book will seem proof of the sage, far-sightedness of Leahy and those men in and close to the State Department who plumped for Pétain and "order" against the French "lower classes" and chaos. To those who have doubts, the book will reveal that both gambles rest on the same dangerous assumption—that "real national interests" entail winning economic and military wars rather than finding the means of achieving progress and security by the methods of peace. PERCY WINNER

*Percy Winner spent fourteen years in Western Europe as a foreign correspondent and was for three years an OWI Deputy Director for Field Operations, serving in North Africa. His novel Dario was recently published by Harcourt, Brace.*

### Fiction Parade

**H**ENRY Morton Robinson's *The Great Snow* (Simon and Schuster, \$2.75) is a twenty-day blizzard that covers the northeastern United States and threatens to destroy all life in the area. The publishers announce that the story "can be read on several levels of meaning," but on the usual level it is the account of one household during the storm: Ruston Cobb, a successful patent lawyer, his family and several guests, marooned in a New York country house. The cast is the conventional expensive variety, smoking and drinking the advertised brands. Under the strain of the

blizzard and its pressure on "those loftier structures . . . definitions of morality and convention," they set about behaving in a way we are to suppose is not habitual to them in normal circumstances. But since they foregathered in the first place for intoxication and adultery, it is not clear how the great snow modified their intentions. Anyway, Ruston Cobb proves himself the Whole Man, archetype of the energy and resourcefulness that builds and maintains civilizations. His ingenuity is described in detail.

The author includes directions to "fact-bound readers" who "in . . . their literal-minded way" may fail to regard "parts of my story as symbols" which have been "previously used with some success by the authors of *Genesis*, *Oedipus Rex* and *Finnegans Wake*." At least it can be granted that Robinson's good intentions have paved the road to a Hades frequented by distinguished shades.

**T**HE STATE OF MIND (Houghton Mifflin, \$3) is a collection of thirty-two short stories Mark Schorer has written over a period of ten years. There is considerable variety among the tales, but all deal, more or less directly, with that state of mind which the author feels is peculiar to modern life: anxiety. It is the state of the badgered, the bewildered and the exhausted. Add its companion state, boredom. In this book these conditions express themselves mainly through callousness or loneliness, and Schorer is adept at tricky disclosures of trivial mentalities and unmotivated meanness. The characters in the stories resemble the readers for whom they were written, the prosperous public of the slick magazines, and while few of the stories exceed the level of high competence, they are an unpretentious and exact report of certain prevalent symptoms of emotional and moral bankruptcy.

**R**OGER Vercel's *Madman's Memory* (Random, \$2.50), a translation from the French, includes in its slight 213 pages a prodigious allowance of madness, seduction, suicide, incest and terror. But these attractions are so deftly controlled that the story never escapes



LEAHY



the range of a young woman perfectly normal except for a scrupulous conscience and a vivid imagination. Francoise is left, after her husband's death at sea, to the almost exclusive company of his fanatically devoted mother and to the enforced occupation of morbid reminiscence. The old lady becomes obsessed with the idea that her son is still alive and tries to impose this faith on her daughter-in-law. In rejecting it, Francoise is forced to admit that she doesn't want her husband to be alive and upon the guilt of her unfaithfulness depends the motivation of the story.

**T**HIS IS THE YEAR (Doubleday, \$3) contains detailed maps, a prose-poetic prelude and postlude and a glossary. The author, Feike Feikema, has remained faithful to all available data on the weather every day from 1918 to 1936 in the western Iowa prairie land which is the setting of his novel. He has studied the dialects, habits, amusements and traditions of the people he writes about, and even attests to an exact veracity on rocks, weeds and trees. All this supports, even intensifies, the simplicity of the theme: man against nature, a particular farmer's boastful and hazardous life in subduing the soil and the elements for his use and his glory. As is usual in these agricultural epics, the soil and the elements win at least an esthetic victory, for the tradition of the garrulously taciturn yokel-hero has become formalized by now, and the reader's attitude to him depends on a sympathetic response to that tradition. Whatever his response, he will admit that *This Is the Year* is a large, expansive, pretentious and sincere novel.

**H**ERMANN Kesten's *Happy Man* (Wyn, \$3), now published for the first time in America, has been translated into fourteen languages and enjoys a substantial reputation in German literature between the world wars. It is the story of Max Blattner and his fiancée, Else, who represent Berlin's bankrupt middle class—physically and emotionally exhausted, "holding life to be a misfortune." Max has no money and no job and in the panic of desperation continually muffs his chances to se-

cure one. Else has been pledged by her father to a prosperous marriage, as a last resort to save the family from accumulated debt and threatened disgrace. These circumstances propel them through the bizarre after-dark plot which decides their fates.

The crux of the story is in the opening lines: "But we could still kill ourselves," she said. He was becoming impatient. He couldn't stand much more of this sort of talk." Else is young and logical and sentimental. Since her life is so devoid of everything but Max's affection that she has exchanged all life for his love, there is nothing left to do with her lover but to die with him. Max, however, is another case. In the poverty of his life, he was sheltered under Else's love, but when her affection threatens to overwhelm him, he refuses to follow her into tragedy and shrewdly abandons her. For Max's ambition is not to give himself to the wheels of an express train, but to become the Happy Man, the anonymous bourgeois hero of a conventional success. By his ennui, his poverty, his envy of money, he is forced temporarily into an apparently opposing role; as the self-announced and self-pitied victim of society, he supports the shabby dignity of the anarchist hero. But as soon as he can escape this anomalous position he entrenches him-

self in the wisdom of his own dictum that "unhappiness is a flaw in a man's character."

The novel is superbly illustrated by George Grosz; the text and the pictures are so complementary that one feels that if the writer and the artist had exchanged mediums they would have produced the same volume.

**H**ALF the stories in Sylvia Townsend Warner's *The Museum of Cheats* (Viking, \$2.50) appeared in the *New Yorker* during the last four years, and all are superior examples of that genre. Some of them are about English civilian life during the war; some are exercises in fantasy. Miss Warner writes with grace (which sometimes becomes cute), with a vitality (occasionally boisterous), an irony (just curdling into sarcasm), but her very real skill usually manages to balance these qualities and she is never boring.

JOHN FARRELLY

## Crime and Punishment

*Deadline*, by Alexander Irving (Dodd, Mead, \$2.50), is a fairly neat item dealing with the murder of a young and beautiful advertising copywriter in Westchester County's most conservative department store. Personalities are cleverly played off against one another and over all broods the sophisticated figure of police lieutenant Ben Sinclair, who, in the words of one of his minions, "don't like for nobody to try to make a fool of him." Nobody does.

*Murder Miscellany*.—Three recent better-than-average jobs have a California setting. Mary Collins' *Death Warmed Over* (Scribner's, \$2.50) concerns murder in a genteel "guest home" and provides some good dialogue and suspense, while Lenore Glen Offord's *My True Love Lies* (Duell, Sloan and Pearce, \$2.50) gets right down to the problem of who put the corpse—her husband's, as it turns out—inside the wrappings of an unfinished sculpture by the belle of a San Francisco artists' colony. M. S. Marble's *Die by Night* (Rinehart, \$2) is a lively and literate account of the lethal goings-on of the members of a phony Greek cult in Los Angeles.

E. H.

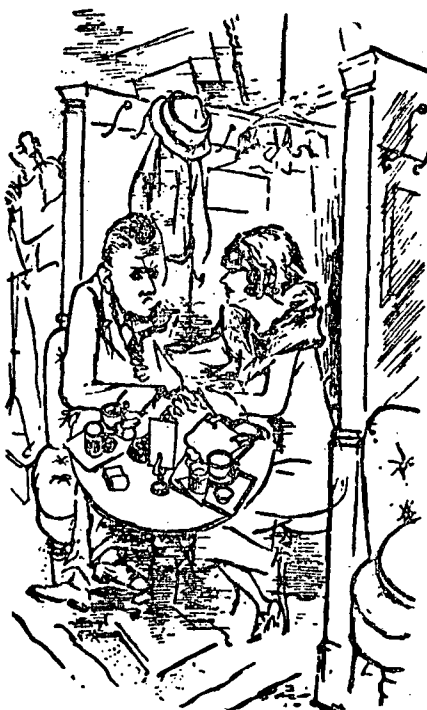


Illustration by George Grosz from *Happy Man*





## United Nations News



### Peace on the Defensive

WHEN Warren R. Austin walked into the Security Council to present a justification of our aims and methods in regard to Greece and Turkey, he faced the largest audience the Council sessions had ever drawn. UN meetings in other parts of the building were virtually at a standstill. Lights blazed down on the delegates and cameras ground out the scene for posterity. It was unfortunate that the leading actor muffed his lines.

Two seats to the right of Austin, Andrei Gromyko raised his pencil and was recognized. He announced that, in his opinion, Austin should present the Greek-aid program as an entirely new question—not as part of the border dispute. Would Austin state his views on this procedure?

Austin was recognized to answer the question, but began reading his speech instead. The chairman stopped him. Austin turned crimson, sarcastically commented that he thought the point of order had been decided. The chair supported Austin, but Gromyko, not to be outdone, said he would consider the matter as a new question anyhow. Again Austin was recognized and again he started to read his speech—this time before the interpreter had translated the remarks of the previous speaker.

Somewhat ruffled, Austin finally got beyond the first paragraph and sailed through a six-page speech which explained how the US was acting in the interests of the Greek people, the Greek government, the world and the UN—all at the same time. There was no reference to Middle East strategy or oil, and the red flag that Truman had waved so enthusiastically was somewhat lowered.

If the beginnings had been unpropitious, the final outcome was unconvincing. Everyone knew that the speech had been scheduled only after public reaction demanded some gesture to the

United Nations. On merit alone it was unsatisfying. Its omissions were as noticeable as its over-enthusiastic tributes to the UN.

It is clear that after the Council debate between Gromyko and Austin there will be more to say. In the meantime one can predict what will happen. If you ask someone close to the American delegation about the Greek policy, the conversation will go like this:



AUSTIN

Q. Is there any possibility that Austin can or will make concessions to certain objections the USSR might raise?

A. Of course. The United States is always willing to make concessions.

Q. What kind of concessions could be made?

A. Well, we don't know what points will be raised, but if, as we suspect, the Russians raise the point that they do not favor any American loans for military purposes, that in itself is suspicious. After all, if we don't send military aid to the Greek government, the Russians will send it to the guerrillas.

IF THIS is the opinion of "sources close to the American delegation," then the press cannot be held solely responsible for its campaign to support Truman by attacking the UN. The attacks have ranged from mild criticism of the UN's weakness to outright disapproval of the Secretary-General and some of his associates. A syndicated column by Joseph Alsop was probably the most blatant of these attacks—and the least factual. Alsop began with a reference to the Greek program and the suggestion that the UN, its Secretary-General and, above all, its Balkan investigating commission were entirely too far left to be trusted.

First there is Colonel A. Roscher Lund (whom Alsop refers to as "a certain Colonel Lund, a Norwegian close to Lie and believed . . . to have intimate Soviet connections"). According to those who know the Colonel, Alsop is

correct on two counts: Roscher Lund is a Norwegian and he is close to Lie—he is listed in the organization as a "special adviser to the Secretary-General." If he has Soviet connections they are obscure. His record shows that he was director of Norway's intelligence service during World War II, kept the Allied High Command informed about the 45 secret radio stations operating in occupied Norway, was decorated by Britain, France and the US, had previously served in Norway's regular army and joined the UN shortly after Lie became its Secretary-General.

Next there is Gustav Gottesman, a Polish citizen serving as Roscher Lund's assistant. Gottesman is referred to as "a certain Pole, as to whose affiliations and sympathies there was even less doubt. . . ." Factually speaking, Gottesman is a Polish Socialist who escaped from Poland in 1940, worked for the Americans during the war, has been associated with the Polish Government-in-Exile since 1941, throughout its various changes, and is married to a British citizen. He was sent to the Balkans as a representative of the UN's Department of Security Council Affairs.

ALSOP's third attack on the Secretariat staff was leveled against the commission's press officer, Stanley Ryan, "who either shared the same affiliations or suffered from a severe case of incompetence." Ryan is a Russian-born Canadian citizen with experience on papers in Europe, South America and North America. Over the past year he has covered the controversial meetings of the Atomic Energy Commission and the Security Council for the UN press division and there have been no attacks on either his competence or his objectivity.

Some time ago the Greek government publicly, but unofficially, questioned Ryan's sympathies. Stories appeared in the American press, but the UN received no formal complaint. Alsop's charges echo the attacks initiated by the Greek royalist government. Friends of the Truman Doctrine and of the Greek government are developing these attacks into a holy crusade against the United Nations and its Secretary-General.

JANE BEDELL

reali:  
that  
fello  
in y  
thing  
So y  
of o  
cour  
for t  
ized  
Pow  
alloc  
port  
port:

B:  
Rob-  
eyes  
ente  
if o  
hanc  
strai  
shor  
thou  
land  
wou  
scare  
You  
wou  
acco  
Mid  
not  
eno:

S

III

whi

intr

Thi

on c

cho

and

thes

F

Aik

fin

fer

cluc

por

194

sior



## Farm



### Our International OPA

WHEN there is not enough to go around, you try, if you are a realist, to divide it fairly. You know that if you try to hog everything, the fellow across the sea or even the fellow in your own country will grab something you need and jack up the price. So you study your needs and the needs of others and plan accordingly. And of course you have to have such authority for this planning as the controls authorized by Title III of the Second War Powers Act (which regulates imports, allocations and priorities) and the Export Control Act (which covers exports).

But if you are a fellow like Senator Robert Taft (R, Ohio) you close your eyes and go to sleep and dream of free enterprise. You wake up feeling that if only the government would take its hands off, everything would eventually straighten itself out. Although we have shortages in our own country and although people are starving in other lands, you think that if the government would stop allocating and channeling scarce commodities all would be well. You think that the boxcar problem would solve itself. Boxcars of their own accord would find their way into the Middle West to carry wheat which cannot be transported because there are not enough boxcars to go around.

Senator Taft was all set to kill Title III of the Second War Powers Act, which was to expire March 31, and he introduced a bill, S. 931, to that effect. This bill would have removed controls on everything except tin, antimony, cinchona bark, alkaloids and streptomycin, and would have extended control on these items to March 31, 1948.

Happily, by the efforts of Senator Aiken (R, Vt.) and others, the bill as finally reported out of the joint conference committee was amended to include the control of cordage, tractor exports and transportation until June 30, 1947. There was also a general provision which may be interpreted to cover

the import control of fats and oils. Apparently Taft had to back down, because he did not oppose his amended bill on the Senate floor.

Aiken pointed out to the Senate what would happen if the government took off controls:

There would be competitive bidding and contracting for available supplies, and prices would rise sharply, imposing added privations upon the countries in most urgent need of help, while setting in motion inflationary price spirals in our own country, where a steady rise in living costs is already causing grave concern.

While such price increases might benefit some speculators, they would not greatly benefit our agricultural producers, because the major portion of our grain crops which are sold off farms has already moved into trade channels, and also because of inflationary production costs.

Now that the law has been extended until June 30, when the Export Control Act expires, the next job is to get both laws further extended. If they are not, and if everything is turned over to the speculators and private traders, people who need food most will get the least. The farmers also will suffer because they will not be able to get binder twine to harvest their crops, boxcars in which to put their grain or tin cans in which to put their vegetables. Crops will rot in the fields. Prices will go as high as a cat's back and the American farmer,

already suffering from inflation like the rest of us, will be left holding the bag.

The effect on binder twine alone, of which there is a worldwide shortage, would ruin many wheat farmers. The US is the world's largest importer of hard fibers, from which binder twine is made. None is produced domestically. The hard fibers important to agriculture are abaca, known as "Manila," agave, sisal and henequen. Removal of controls would mean they would be diverted from farm use into the production of more profitable items, such as wrapping twine, padding for bedding, furniture, carpet yarns and paper.

Or take tin. The US normally consumes one-half of the world's total output of tin and is entirely dependent on imports. The tin supply will not exceed 75,000 tons; there will be a demand for approximately 120,000 tons. Under present controls, consumption can be held to 90,000, but that amount will exhaust our stocks. Controls are exercised to assure maximum production of tin plate with minimum quantities of tin.

THE Second War Powers Act also controls tractor exports. American farmers still can't get the tractors they need. In some areas the price of a second-hand tractor is higher than that of a new one. But if the government didn't control the export of tractors, foreign countries could come into the US market and bid up the price so high that a poor farmer couldn't buy one. And the countries that needed tractors most might not be able to get them at all.

The US is a net importer of fats and oils. It will import this year about 806 million pounds of industrial oils and export 628 million pounds (mostly edible). Part of our fats and oils are set aside for needy countries. But if the import law is allowed to expire, the rich American market would suck the world dry of fats and oils and widen the nutrition gap between starving Europe and the United States.

Europe is in an even worse condition than it was last year. Although world production has gone up seven percent, demand is away ahead of supply. Undersecretary of Agriculture



N. E. Dodd estimates there is a 36-million-ton grain demand for the current fiscal year and that there are only 26.5 million tons of export supplies. Without government control, wheat will not go where it is needed. Private traders and governments would come into our market and undoubtedly bid the price up so that our people would have an enormous sum added to their already excessively high food bill. This is not mere idle speculation. At the present time Sweden has placed an order for 20,000 tons of wheat for July 1, the date of expiration of the Export Act. In other words, Sweden is betting that the law will expire. Sweden, not being a "starvation" country, was not allocated wheat, but because she has money she plans to buy it as soon as control is lifted. If we were to remove export controls, other countries would undoubtedly set them up. And inevitably we would be unable to get what we wanted and needed from them, while they could come into our market and buy what they pleased.

**R**EMOVING controls would mean the end of the International Emergency Food Council and would be equivalent to by-passing the United Nations. The function of the IEFC is to channel commodities which are in short supply into areas where they are needed. Member nations exchange information about their food and other commodity needs. They also exchange information about production, capacity and supplies in the various countries. Then a general plan is worked out so that each country can get what it needs.

Senator Taft is finding out that it is not so easy to get rid of controls. And he may be beginning to see that unilateral and selfish action by the US will hurt his own country. He may even be beginning to suspect that we are not self-sufficient; and, in fact, in the long run are more dependent on the rest of the world than it is on us. This admittedly is a rosy view of Taft.

At any rate, whether Taft likes it or not, he lives in one world, as do the rest of us. And he will inevitably find out that he can't sink the international boat without drowning a lot of good Republicans.

ANGUS McDONALD



## Radio



### Battle of the Books

**J**UST a year ago, two justices of the New York State Supreme Court enjoyed a lesson in the language of radio criticism as practised by the entertainment industry's "bible," *Variety*. At issue were an injunction suit; then a four-day trial, in which the contestants were Martin Stone, Plaintiff, and Station WHN, New York, Defendant. Plaintiff alleged that Defendant, by putting on a program called "Books on Trial," was engaging in unfair competition as well as violating the law of confidential relationship. Over a six-year period, Stone had built a program called "The Author Meets the Critics," which he had just moved from WHN to a competing station in New York City; and WHN had promptly come out with another version of literary radio called "Books on Trial."

Mr. Justice Eder, who denied the injunction suit, ruled that "time is of the essence" and remanded the case for speedy trial. Mr. Justice Botein listened for four days, and dismissed the action. In both instances, a prominent role was played by *Variety's* verdict, which had already weighed both shows critically. *Variety's* judgment that "a guy's hep" was relevant became a matter for juridical determination. The court had to rule, with a straight face, on the competence and materiality of a *Variety* decision that "with the plug cut down to kneepants, show should move smoothly to well earned Hooper."

The case is about to pay off as far as radio, and radio's relationship to literature, are concerned. For next month, "The Author Meets the Critics" moves into the big time. Up to now, it has been heard only in New York (for the last year on WQXR) and over one-third of the Mutual network's string of one-lung transmitters. In May the show goes to NBC. At a very good time for this type of show (Sundays, 4:30-5 p.m.), large blocs of listeners will be able to hear prominent authors battle toe-to-toe with their critical peers. And,

because of the lessons learned in *Stone v. WHN* a year ago, Stone and NBC are preparing to make this new big-league book show an exciting package.

Stone had lost the WHN action because, among other considerations, the court had accepted the trade reviewer's judgment that "The Author Meets the Critics" was "essentially a round-table discussion, while 'Books on Trial' [was] a dramatization." Now the new show will combine the forum and drama techniques. Some scenes out of the book under consideration will be dramatized, so that the listener may have his appetite whetted and at the same time know what the shooting is about. Then the critics will shoot. The critics will be not only from New York, as has mainly been the case until now, but from anywhere NBC's lines can reach—and that's most of the USA.

**A**LISTING of some of the people and books that have appeared on both New York shows in the last year may give you a better idea of what's in store. Stone's show has featured author Eleanor Roosevelt (*If You Ask Me*), John Roy Carlson (*The Plotters*), Theodore White and Annalee Jacoby (*Thunder Out of China*), and Charles Jackson (*The Fall of Valor*). Among the critics have been John Mason Brown, Lewis Gannett, Irwin Edman and Bennett Cerf. "Books on Trial" has tackled Howard Fast's *The American*, with Hamilton Fish attacking and Louis Nizer defending; Louis Fischer's *The Great Challenge*; with Earl Browder lined up against Edgar Ansel Mowrer; and Russell Lord's *The Wallaces of Iowa*, which was attacked by Washington *Times-Herald* editor Frank C. Waldrop and defended by Stetson (*Southern Exposure*) Kennedy.

If the new show jells (they don't always sound as planned, alas!) this one should be as exciting as "Information Please" was some nine years ago when its cock first crowed to sloganize, "Wake Up, America!"

I do  
Drew  
gone c  
I migl  
W  
grams  
done v  
will be  
to the  
Greate  
work,  
haven'  
Mo  
what t  
develo  
tally,  
childre  
produc  
\$1,000  
June 1  
221 V  
York  
as an  
Award  
thousa  
oped t  
"Super

I don't want to take the bread out of Drew Pearson's mouth. But having gone out on a limb with one prediction, I might as well risk a few others:

¶ Watch for further broadcast programs based on religious themes but done with superb showmanship. There will be a slew of them soon, due largely to the enthusiastic reception given "The Greatest Story Ever Told" (ABC network, Sundays, 6:30-7 p.m.). If you haven't yet heard that one, it's a must.

¶ More and more, shows aimed for what the trade calls "the moppets" will develop social consciousness. Incidentally, if you have a good idea for a children's program, you may earn fame, production on the Mutual network and \$1,000 in cold cash—send it before June 1 to the Child Study Association, 221 West Fifty-seventh Street, New York 19, New York. Identify your idea as an entry for the "Robert Maxwell Award." Maxwell, who anted up the thousand bucks, is the man who developed the two best kid shows on the air, "Superman" and "House of Mystery."

¶ "Information Please," if it stays on the air (its Hooper slip has been showing of late, with the rating down to 6.2) will see that it gets a time that does not conflict with the Henry Morgan show. Both appeal to the same audience; neither is happy with the competition.

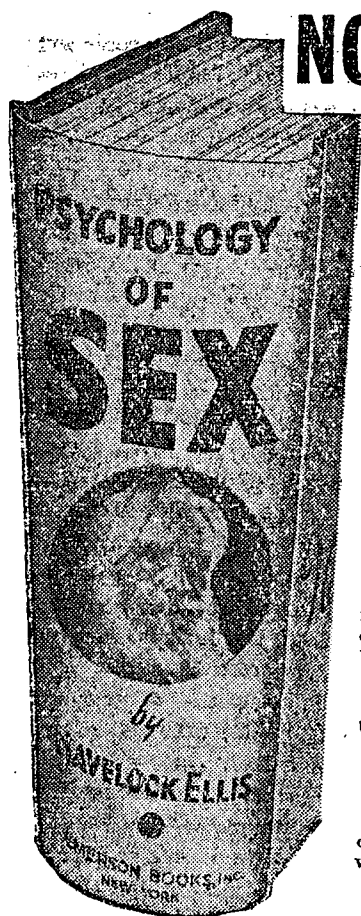
¶ By the time this piece is in type, the writers of every top show on the air will have voted to strike. There's hardly a radio writer worth his salt who is not a member of the Radio Writers' Guild. The men and women who do the scripts for everybody from Fred Allen and Bob Hope to "Ma Perkins," "Pepper Young's Family," "Big Sister" or "Young Widder Brown" are tired of being pushed around by advertising agencies, networks and sponsors. They met April 7 to take a strike vote. The newspapers will have informed you by this time whether this prediction of an overwhelming vote to strike has materialized. One reason they are itching to strike is that, every time a writer presents an idea for a program, he must

sign what's called a "release" form. There are many versions of this form, but essentially they all require the writer to give away every conceivable right he may have to the product of his brain. If you were a writer, how would you like to be forced to sign, before your idea was even considered, the following document? This "release" is copied verbatim from the form furnished me by one of the biggest advertising agencies handling radio:

I wish to present, for your consideration, the idea attached hereto, which I guarantee is entirely original and the product of my own individual labor and research. Disclosure of this idea to you is made on the basis that such disclosure is gratuitous, unsolicited, without restriction and involves no confidential or trust relationship between us.

I submit this suggestion with the definite understanding that the use to be made of it by you, and the compensation to be paid me therefor, if any, if you use it, are matters resting entirely in your sole discretion. This understanding applies also to any use that may be made of this suggestion by, or on behalf of, any client of yours.

SAUL CARSON



## NOW EVERY ADULT CAN STUDY this BASIC BOOK on SEX

### "Best of All"

"The best of all available books on this subject."  
—Hygieia (Published by the American Medical Association)

"The best one-volume treatment of sex in the English language."  
—Carl Van Doren

"Few books on the subject of sex can be so confidently recommended as this truly admirable volume."  
—Bertrand Russell

"There is probably no better introduction to contemporary theories about the physiology, psychology and hygiene of sex."  
—The Nation

"Best book yet published on the subject."  
—Mail and Empire

### "The Art and Technique of Love"

"Dr. Ellis deals in detail with the technique of love and the necessity of converting it into an art if marriage is to be saved from many of its present frustrations and failures. Never sensational, but always scientific... a sex classic of our age."  
—The Observer

"Ellis knows his husbands! He does not hesitate to ascribe to them the 'frigidity' of so many wives."  
—Alexander Goldenweiser

"Art in love is defended and described."  
—Journal of Public Health Reviews

"Another chapter, perhaps the best in the book, deals with marriage and with the difficulties which are so often encountered."  
—Journal of Mental Science

"Packed with most interesting and significant facts concerning sex life."  
—Mental Hygiene

### "Sexual Difficulty"

"Should prove a certain help to any one perplexed with sexual difficulty."  
—The Churchman (Oldest Religious Journal in the English-Speaking World)

"The best place to go to get straightened out on the sex business."  
—Cincinnati Inquirer

### "Sexual Joy"

"Sexual joy is neither immoral nor unmoral. It is a positive good... The finest art can only grow out of knowledge and understanding; hence the need for a science of sexual behavior."  
—Marriage Hygiene

"The section on coitus is full of detail skilfully welded together, nearly every line containing information invaluable to doctors whose advice is asked by nervous young couples."  
—British Journal of Medical Psychology

### "Fearless and Direct"

"His approach is fearless and direct; yet he never gives offense."  
—The Lancet (Leading English Medical Journal)

## READ FREE —

Mail this coupon now to your bookseller or to  
EMERSON BOOKS, Inc., Dept. 852-C,  
251 West 19th Street, New York 11, N. Y.  
Send me a copy of Havelock Ellis' PSYCHOLOGY OF  
SEX in plain wrapper marked "Personal." I will pay \$2.00  
and few cents postage on delivery. I MUST BE SATIS-  
FIED or I will return book within 5 days and you will  
refund purchase price. (I am over 21 years old.)

Name.....

Address.....

☐ CHECK HERE if you wish to enclose only \$3.00 with coupon, thus saving delivery charges. (Same money-back guarantee of course.)



## Movies



### Farmers and Gangsters

THE TITLE of "The Farmer's Daughter" has made it the butt of the saddest of reviewers' jokes, and the advertising blurbs have made it sound a dreary business. Yet the film itself is a political fantasy with some funny dialogue, grown-up direction and good performance. It's almost a relief to find a good film that puts its worst foot forward.

In this fairy story, politics are glossed with a clear candy coating, but the confection is produced with practically none of the usual stupidity. There is throughout the movie a tendency toward liberalism; just the broader aspects, of course, since this is a box-office commodity and care has been taken not to be specific or militant and to offend no one with the price of a ticket or the ear of a congressman. Out-and-out fascism, however, is still a sitting duck, and there are some satisfying digs at a Bundist organization with America First overtones. There is even a lusty fight in which the liver is beaten out of a whole lodgeful of these creatures.

In this picture my favorite movie mansion, which is authentic in contrast to the silly house in "The Late George Apley," is run by a Mr. Clancy, the butler and cherished friend of the Morleys, a prominent family of Capitol City, somewhere in the Middle West. He is played by Charles Bickford, who gives a valid characterization of great charm. How chic is simplicity! Clancy runs the house for the widow of a beloved senator of the state, wittily played by Ethel Barrymore, who seems to enjoy this dowager role, and for her son, Representative Morley. This Prince Charming is Joseph Cotten, who looks like a man and invariably makes sense.

Loretta Young, as Katie, is starred as a cute Swedish farm girl of decided opinions and countless capabilities. She looks as though she could not only call

a hog, but butcher it when it came trustingly up to her, smoke it, pickle it, and very likely make shoes of it. She leaves her stalwart, attractive family—the backbone, and in this case, the heart and head of the nation—to study nursing in town, and there has a nasty experience with one of the villains of the piece, a slick sign painter played pretty heavily by Rhys Williams. Williams, who was fine with Ethel Barrymore in "The Corn Is Green" and with Helen Hayes in "Harriet," seems a little nervous as the drunk who has to get the taste of paint out of his mouth. She loses her savings, gets a job as a waitress in the Morley house, is a hit the first day and is invited to stay as long as she will.

In no time, Katie is deep in the political activities of the Morleys and their assorted party bosses. She has her own ideas about candidates, entrances the assemblage with her knowledge of machine methods and soon wins the heart of the congressman and heir. There is a scene in which Mrs. Morley and Clancy place modest bets on the romance between the waitress and the scion. As the fantasy becomes more fantastic, Katie swings a big political meeting, is herself nominated in opposition to the Morley candidate and rides handsomely into office. In the last scene, the only stupid one, the hero and heroine (they could as well have strolled through a field of wheat into the setting sun) walk up the steps of the Capitol hand in hand.

"The Farmer's Daughter" is the first picture in which Loretta Young has made a good, positive impression on me as an actress. She gives an appealing, sustained performance that should mean for her, in comedy, a new lease on life. It is worth noting that Katie's mother is a bit part played by Anna Q. Nilsson, a star of the old silent pictures.

H. C. Potter, a young director with the play, "A Bell for Adano," and several good movies to his credit, directs a script adapted by Allen Rivkin and Laura Kerr. They have made from what could have been a run-of-the-mill affair a fable of political integrity and kindness which wouldn't happen this side of heaven, but is fun to watch.

HAVING been breathlessly assured by the elevator boy that "The Devil Thumbs a Ride" was a hot, great, terrific movie showing the most deadly of our new screen desperados, Lawrence Tierney, and destined to be a surprise hit, I gathered up my spectacles and headed for the theatre. The boy exaggerated, but the picture isn't bad.

It has some good chase scenes and one wonderful police poker game in which a kid, the gas-station attendant who can identify the criminal, is reluctantly allowed to sit in. His math teacher has taught him all the percentages, he handles his cards like a high-class sharp, and takes the whole night shift at the station house to the cleaners. Tierney, whom I praised in "San Quentin," is now getting a little too iron-faced. That cold calm has stood many a movie murderer in good stead, but it is wise to break the mask occasionally, lest the effect be that of dummy dressed in bolts of gabardine.

DICK POWELL, who used to be a sweet-singing type, never caught my attention until he distinguished himself in "Murder, My Sweet," one of the best of the whodunits. "Johnny O'Clock," his latest, is not the picture the Chandler story was, but it is good in comparison to the last few Bogart efforts or to any of the other recent gangster stuff. Lee J. Cobb, who gave a beautiful performance as the chief of police in "Boomerang," is the police inspector of "Johnny O'Clock" and up to his usual standard. The combination of Powell, as the smart, self-contained gambling-joint proprietor, Cobb and the actor who plays Powell's partner, S. Thomas Gomez, is easily worth two hours of watching.



DICK POWELL



ETHEL BARRYMORE

Evelyn Keyes plays a chorus girl. For blonde in a movie to fall hard and fast for a guy who hasn't much on, and make you believe it, takes more than looks and more than a director can blueprint for her. I doubt whether anything will be done with this mess, who has appeared in a musical about Jolson and another about Brazil, but with the proper story and attention it just might do something special out of the song-and-dance-girl casting. The scenes between Gomez and his puppet wife are, for the screen, remarkable, since sadism is rarely given in a play. Gomez is really sinister and a girl's life is a nightmare. Ellen Drew and Nina Foch are in the cast, and Robb Rossen is the director.

SHIRLEY O'HARA

### WORTH SEEING

**SMASH-UP**—Not so good as "The Lost Weekend," but an interesting movie on the disconcerting properties of drink. With Susan Hayward and Lee Bowman.

**THE SEA OF GRASS**—Spencer Tracy and Katharine Hepburn, a little too self-consciously noble, in a prairie saga you might like very much.

**BOOMERANG**—Dana Andrews and Jane Wyatt in a good story made like a documentary.

**CHILDREN OF PARADISE** (*Les Enfants du Paradis*; French film, English titles)—The movie medium used intelligently and with feeling.

**THE BEST YEARS OF OUR LIVES**—Excellent cast headed by Fredric March. The year's big Oscar winner. Veterans' problems.

**HENRY THE FIFTH**—Superb English film. Don't miss it.

### SAVE YOUR EYES

**BE YOURS**—Only for the violent Deanna Durbin fans who are willing to forgive her pictures wholesale.

**RANGE WOMAN**—A good story and Hedy Lamarr acts some, as well as looking luscious, but it was badly muffed and turns out tiresome.

**NG OF THE SOUTH**—Disney gone offensive in a big way.

**LIFORNIA**—Ray Milland, Barbara Stanwyck and Barry Fitzgerald in a movie that's so bad the audience makes strange noises.

**DELIA**—Another Margaret Lockwood and, unhappily enough, as bad as "The Wicked Lady."

"The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of their country, but he who stands it now deserves the love and thanks of man and woman."

—Tom Paine, "The Crisis"

## FOR FIGHTING LIBERALS

The witch hunt is on. Reaction rides unchecked. War talk fills the air. Citizens with democratic ideas and tongues are frightened, fired, intimidated or smeared into submission. One of the main targets of the renegades, rascals and reactionaries is



# In fact

The exciting weekly newsletter edited by

GEORGE SELDES

Why In Fact? In Fact has the largest liberal circulation in the U. S. (180,000). In the words of its enemies, its readers consist mainly of "teachers, preachers, writers, doctors and the like—opinion makers and opinion carriers." It is the only publication in America devoted exclusively to exposing falsehoods in the press. Each week, In Fact names names, points out suppressions, distortions, falsehoods. Its facts are documented. It prints the news the reactionaries want suppressed.

Today, as part of the master plan to suppress civil liberties, outlaw minority views, cripple the labor movement, and squash effective opposition to the new policy which Henry Wallace warns "will lead to war," the forces of reaction are out to get In Fact.

## NOW IS THE TIME FOR FIGHTING LIBERALS TO ACT

To keep alive a fearless paper that refuses to be frightened or intimidated, that reaches "opinion makers and opinion carriers" in 48 States, that will continue to expose native fascism and the men, money and real issues behind the current crisis, that will fight anti-Semitism and will print the news you can't find elsewhere, support In Fact! Subscribe now for yourself and friends!

ACT TODAY!

DON'T DELAY!

In Fact—52 issues for \$2 (Less than 4¢ a copy)

A Small Price for the Truth

"In fact" 280 Lafayette Street, New York 12, N. Y.

Here is \$..... for ..... subscriptions. Send them to the following:  
(Use separate sheet for additional names)

Name.....

Address.....

NR-4-14

### CAMP

#### STAMMERERS SUMMER CAMP

Daily corrective work combined with planned recreation in a new, stimulating environment is speech therapy at its best. Treatment results in poise and fluent speech.

CHILDREN—ADULTS. SPECIAL SECTION  
Send for Booklet.

CHARLES PELLMAN

78 West 55th St. Room 5 New York City  
CI 6-3321—IF NO ANSWER CI 7-2559

### VERMONT VACATION

ETHAN ALLEN FARM offers simple living in beautiful countryside to a few guests. \$35 a week. Write Roland Gray, RFD-2, Chester, Vermont.

+ Give to the RED CROSS +

### RESORTS

**PLUM POINT**  
Vacation Inn, Year-round  
on the majestic Hudson

- seasonal sports
- delicious food
- gay informality

55 MILES FROM NYC • NEW WINDSOR, NY • NEWBURGH 4270

### MERRIEWOODE

A Camp for Adults Stoddard, N. Y.  
FOR YOUR ENJOYMENT: Beautiful Highland Lake, 10 miles long, with good fishing and free use of boats and canoes; interesting hiking objectives thru woodland trails; fine tennis and handball courts, badminton, shuffleboard, archery, riflery, croquet, ping-pong, square dancing. Until May 15th address 237 Beach 141st St., Rockaway Beach, New York.

OLIVE H. G. BARON, Dir.





## Music



### *Jazz, Pure and Simple*

WHAT with getting rid of Upton Close and abolishing the unwritten law which forbids mentioning another network by name, the Mutual Broadcasting System would appear to be on something of a progressive kick. And the fact that Mutual is the only major web to give a half-hour show of pure jazz from coast to coast doesn't in any way diminish this effect. The program is called "This Is Jazz," and I mentioned it a few weeks ago when it auditioned on "For Your Approval," a show which presents new ideas and lets listener response determine whether or not the idea remains on the air.

"This Is Jazz" has been in business for nearly two months now, and everyone, including the network, the listeners, the musicians and producer-director-writer Rudi Blesh, seems quite happy. The other night I went to Mutual to see and hear the show in the studio, and had a relaxed half-hour. I heard a small New Orleans band which featured Muggsy Spanier, Georg Brunis, Albert Nicholas, Pops Foster, Joe Sullivan and Baby Dodds. They put their teeth into about five numbers, including a slow blues not recommended for listeners who were expecting maybe the Champagne music of Lawrence Welk. The old team of Spanier and Brunis brought back memories of the things they did on the Bluebird label back in 1940. It's been a long time since I've heard Muggsy play that way. But enough of this love-making—the show was good all the way through.

I bearded Rudi Blesh right after it and asked him if he had any complaints. He said no, except that he looks forward to the time when Mutual will give the program a regular spot. (At this writing it's been jumping back and forth between Saturday and Monday. It will be more than worth your while to keep an eye on your local radio page for the day and time.) He told me that he intends to preserve his present band intact, breaking the nucleus only occasionally

to make room for a guest. In addition, he plans to stick very closely to the New Orleans-early Chicago idiom, because it represents to him the best in undefiled jazz.

This is too bad. Blesh, in other words, represents a school in a field that needs anything but schools to stimulate its development. The attention given to New Orleans music creates a situation not unlike the result of a hypothetical symphony conductor's decision to perform nothing but Palestrina. I respect the work Blesh has done on his show, and his taste, but I point out that jazz is bigger than one style. I'm very fond of the exciting music that came from New Orleans before the First World War. Yet I'm equally fond of the stuff that Count Basie brought from Kansas City. And of the music of Benny Goodman and Jess Stacy and Jack Teagarden and Bobby Hackett and a dozen other jazz artists who don't play the New Orleans style. It occurs to me that in being the only producer selling pure jazz to American listeners, it's almost Blesh's duty to let the other styles be heard. However, I'm not panning the show. Finer hot music can't be heard on any network today, and Blesh is entitled to say, "I told you so" to the skeptics who thought that non-commercial jazz couldn't go over on a nationwide scale.

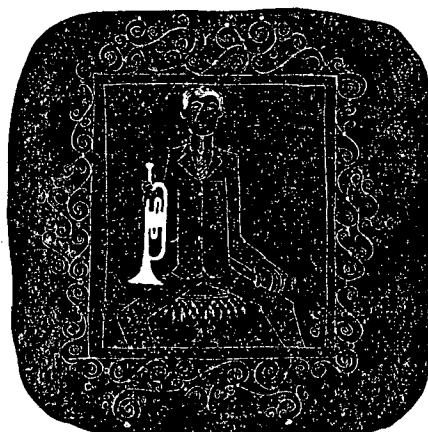
THE patrons of New York's Ruban Bleu are as boorish a collection of nudnicks as ever assembled in a pub-

lic place. I've seen floor shows in my time, but never has it been so difficult to hear as it was the night I dropped in here to throw away some expense-account money. The only time the cream of New York society closed its collective yap was when a stunning girl named Marian Bruce came out and sang with the warmth of Billie Holiday and the subtlety of Mildred Bailey and just a touch of the extrovert that was in Bessie Smith. Miss Bruce is relatively new in the business, but with a little training in mike technique, she should become one of the best girl singers in the country. She hasn't recorded yet.

ONE of the most satisfying of the current albums is a Commodore showcase featuring the clarinet of Edmond Hall and the piano of Teddy Wilson. They're backed by bass, guitar and drums, and the result is a collection of numbers which are ideal for non-jazz people who like to dance and for jazz people who wouldn't be caught dead rolling up the rug. Teddy Wilson's delicate, imaginative work is fairly familiar to most listeners, but the album should be a particular treat for those unacquainted with the unusually rhythmic clarinet which makes Hall's work so distinctive.

BACK in the early thirties, Wingy Manone, a wild man with a trumpet and a voice that frequently made one think of Louis Armstrong, turned out some of the best small-band jazz ever recorded. Most of these sides were for the Vocalion and Bluebird labels, and the band was the nucleus of the great Bob Crosby outfit, including Eddie Miller (tenor sax), Matty Matlock (clarinet), Nappy Lamar (guitar), and Ray Bauduc (drums). These records have become almost impossible to find, but they're worth the trouble. People without the time or inclination can listen to Manone in a new album put out by Davis. There's a lot of the old Wingy in these offerings, and although the supporting band isn't too impressive—particularly in the rhythm—the album is worth buying for those interested in hearing a real jazz artist who never got the recognition he deserves.

CHARLES MILLER



don't miss!

# HENRY WALLACE'S SPECIAL EUROPEAN REPORTS EXCLUSIVELY IN NEW REPUBLIC!

Wallace talks with government leaders on ways of strengthening U.N. Sounds reaction of "man in street" to American foreign policy.

## from London

Henry Wallace is there *now*. Look for his reports giving you first-hand information on Britain's economic situation direct from Attlee and other leaders as well as the *average* Britisher.

## from Stockholm

... *Oslo* ... *Copenhagen*—next on Wallace's itinerary. You will be given the *latest* data on today's European situation straight from these democratic centers.

## from Paris

The next stop. Wallace goes at the invitation of leaders of the four major political parties there—Herriot . . . Blum . . . Schumann . . . Duclos.

Read the New Republic regularly each week. Get your friends and acquaintances to join you so they won't miss a single Wallace European Report, as well as other regular features and NR news coverage.

*Sign. Mail coupon below today. No money now if you wish, we can bill you later.*

# New Republic

## NEW REPUBLIC

10 East 49th Street, New York 17, N. Y.

Please enter my subscription. I enclose  
] \$6 for one year. ☐ \$2 for special 24-week  
introductory offer.

(Canadian and Foreign \$7 a year, 24 weeks, \$2.50)

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City and Zone \_\_\_\_\_

State \_\_\_\_\_

52 issues for \$6



## Henry Wallace

AN UNAUTHORIZED BIOGRAPHY

by Dwight Macdonald in the next two issues of **POLITICS**, America's hard-hitting radical magazine, PLUS:

- Ethel Goldwater: Wilhelm Reich's Sexual Theories
- Georg Mann: War and the Scientists
- THE SOVIET UNION TODAY. Documents, Articles, Bibliography
- FBI—Gestapo in Knee Pants
- Paul Goodman: Occasional Poetry

**politics** Dept. 1 NEXT TWO ISSUES  
15 Astor Place **\$1.00**  
New York 3, N. Y.

### HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

**SCIENTIFIC HANDWRITING ANALYSIS**  
Alfred Kanfer, 62 Leroy St., N. Y. C. Tel. WA 5-0956  
Recognized by hospitals, doctors, psychologists, schools; employed by firms and industries. Lessons by appointment only. Marital, educational, vocational, psychological problems. Fee \$5.00.

### LANGUAGES

## How the Russians learn Russian

Russians learn their language as you learnt English; not by studying it, but by living with and using it. That is nature's way. The Linguaphone Method is so successful because it employs that natural, effortless method. Instead of formally "studying" the language, you hear it spoken by the voices of expert native teachers. You follow their conversation in the text book, you listen and understand. Soon you yourself begin to speak and then to write the language easily and fluently. Thousands of people who thought they had no gift for languages have learned to speak Spanish, French, German, Russian, or any of 25 other languages, by this simple method in an amazingly short time. So can you.

Send for the **FREE** Linguaphone Book which reveals many little-known facts about mastering a language in your own home.

### LINGUAPHONE INSTITUTE

87 RCA Building, New York 20, N.Y.  
Without cost or obligation, send me the illustrated Linguaphone Book.

Name.....  
Address.....  
City..... Zone.....  
Language you want to speak.....  
Are you a veteran?.....

If you are a veteran, you can take a Linguaphone Course under the G. I. Bill of Rights



## Labor



### Cutthroat Economy

**T**HIS WEEK a Senate Appropriations subcommittee is conducting hearings on Labor Department and National Labor Relations Board appropriations. The hearings are open and public, in striking contrast to the policy of secrecy followed by a House subcommittee, and the probability is that the Senate group will vote to restore many services knocked out two weeks ago by the House. What the House did is nevertheless instructive in revealing the antagonism of the Republican "economy bloc."

The House voted, at the recommendation of its Appropriations Committee, to cut \$13,714,000 from the \$31,850,000 proposed by President Truman for operating expenses of the Labor Department. This represented a 43-percent reduction. The House also voted a virtual 50-percent cut in funds for the NLRB—a reduction which provoked expressions of disbelief and despair from Republican Senators with intimate knowledge of industrial relations. A bureau-by-bureau breakdown is sufficient to show the homicidal spirit in which the "economy bloc" functioned.

**T**HE NLRB. — The NLRB, which has the duty of administering the Wagner Act, asked \$10 million from the Bureau of the Budget. The agency already is struggling under a backlog of 5,500 cases and strikes have occurred because the overburdened staff cannot process these cases with reasonable promptness. The Budget Bureau cut the NLRB figure to \$8 million and the House cut it to \$4 million.

The effect of this cut, if sustained, would be to force the NLRB to reduce its staff from the 1,000 employed last June to 675. The cases going to the NLRB jumped enormously after the War Labor Board was jettisoned by President Truman and the agency's funds for the current year were inadequate to carry the new load. Bills now pending in both Houses would expand

the NLRB's function to cover jurisdictional strikes and some kinds of secondary boycotts. How the Board can augment its services and cut down its backlog of cases with reduced funds is a mystery not explained by the House.

**L**ABOR DEPARTMENT. — The services most drastically attacked by the House were the US Employment Service, the Wage-Hour Division, the Division of Labor Standards, the Bureau of Labor Statistics and the US Conciliation Service.

The Employment Service was ridiculed and berated in the secret hearings of the Appropriations subcommittee. A requested \$3,913,000 was slashed to \$900,000, leaving only enough money to do the bookkeeping on grants of \$72 million to the several states.

Eliminated by the House were the Bureau's functions in coordinating state practices in employment agencies, in maintaining a national list of job opportunities for scientific personnel, in furnishing 1,800 state agencies with information on job opportunities, demand and supply. Also eliminated was the dictionary of occupational titles—a classification of occupations and job titles used by management and labor in bargaining and by state employment offices.

The Wage-Hour Division, which enforces the Fair Labor Standards Act and the Walsh-Healey Act, was cut 25 percent in the House bill. Regional offices would have to be cut from 13 to nine and the inspection service of the division reduced 25 percent. If such cuts in funds are coupled with enactment of the pending drastic portal-pay bills, administration of the wage-hour law will be out the window. Its repeal would be a more honest alternative.

The Division of Labor Standards, which compiles information on safety regulations, state labor and workmen's compensation laws and collective-bargaining practices, would be wiped out by the House bill. A program in workers' education—designed to give training for collective bargaining—would be transferred to the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

"Federalization of education," said Frank B. Keefe (R, Wis.) in the House debate, "was adopted in England. That's how they got a Socialist government."

The Bureau of Labor Statistics suffered a 60-percent cut in funds in the House. "I ask you," said Keefe, "aren't you getting a little tired of statistics?"

The BLS statistics are widely used by labor and management in day-to-day wage negotiations; they are, in fact, indispensable for collective bargaining and no substitute is available from any private agency.

WHEN the House debated funds for the US Conciliation Service, the homicidal atmosphere on the floor changed to one suitable only to a lynching bee. Representative Keefe does not like Edgar L. Warren, director of the service, and the House voted to cut out salaries for Warren and 101 other Conciliation Service employees in order to force Warren's ouster.

The Conciliation Service is the only federal agency now engaged in efforts to reduce industrial conflict. President Truman's labor-management conference in November, 1945, unanimously recommended expansion of conciliation functions, and Warren's administration has been in line with this recommendation.

Warren was charged with Communist sympathies by Representative Keefe. His "communism" consisted of prewar membership in a cooperative Washington bookshop and the American League Against War and Fascism. The House committee did not even attempt to show that Warren followed the Communist Party line wanderings of the League after the Hitler-Stalin pact; testimony showed, in fact, that he had no connection with "front" groups under such circumstances. But the House, laughing and cheering at Keefe's sallies, uttered under congressional immunity, voted to knock out his job. Senate Republicans, to their credit, show signs of developing a strong aversion to pure smear tactics.

Upon the Senate's general attitude toward the NLRB and Labor Department appropriations, however, depends the answer to the real question—whether, after Congress finishes, there will be any federal labor functions worthy of the name.

WILLARD SHELTON

## The Bandwagon

### *Open-Door Policy (assist by camel)*

SENATOR KNOWLAND: . . . I should like to ask the distinguished Senator from Texas if this one instance is allowed, will it become a case of the camel getting his nose in under the tent, and thus open the door to a whole field of similar requests? — *From the Congressional Record.*

### *Straw in the Wind*

Alvord & Alvord—Tax matters, \$36,327.85.

Cahill, Gordon, Zachry & Reindel—Anti-trust matters, \$33,000.00.

Fish, Richardson & Neave—Patent and anti-trust matters, \$229,979.70.

Simpson, Thacher & Bartlett—Anti-trust matters, \$338,000.00. — *From the April 15, 1947, Proxy Statement of the only disbursements for legal services by General Electric.*

### *American Century a-Coming*

Henry R. Luce, editor-in-chief of *Life* magazine, presented a colossal and heart-warming pictorial sales talk on the strength, beauty and potentials of this country and people—"The New America." On a screen 40 feet wide and 12 feet high, a succession of colored still photographs—marvelously synchronized on five panels—were thrown, while an impressive narrator and symphonic music helped to impress the theme of an illimitable national future. The bearing on the foreign-policy issue was oblique, but many felt that it was there. — *Arthur Krock in the New York Times.*

### *A Little Child Shall Lead Them*

Fear that "Communists" might flock in among the orphan adoptees [European war orphans permitted to enter the US] was expressed by Representatives Leonard R. Dickinson, Bemidji, and John J. Kinzer, Cold Spring. — *From the Minneapolis Star.*

Our readers are invited to contribute; \$2 will be paid for each item used. Address *Bandwagon*, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. — THE EDITORS

## WAR OR PEACE with RUSSIA?

by Earl Browder

AMERICA is getting tough with Russia. If you're a business man, you're faced with increased taxes. If you're a parent, you're chilled by fears for your family's safety. You're shaken by the implications of Soviet-American misunderstanding.

Is there an alternative? Mr. Browder says "Yes." From his intimate knowledge of the Teheran Conference, Mr. Browder tells how Roosevelt was able to forge and maintain war-time unity with Russia and how he laid the basis for peacetime cooperation between the two government powers. Browder's clear and brilliant book tells how Roosevelt's policy can still be carried out. It is a guidepost to understanding and peace. It makes heartening reading for every thinking man and woman who knows that the stakes today are life and death.

Available at all bookstores • \$2.50

A. A. WYN, Inc. • NEW YORK

## RUSSELL CHENEY

1881—1945

### A Record of His Work

Prepared by

F. O. Matthiessen

This book of reproductions of the work of a distinguished New England painter and the artist's own commentaries on his art gives a remarkably complete record of his career from 1916 to 1945. It has been prepared by the friend most closely in touch with Cheney's work.

With 65 half-tone plates, a frontispiece, and several text illustrations.

\$3.00 at all bookstores

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS  
114 Fifth Avenue  
New York 11



## BOOKS

### THE MODERN CASE FOR SOCIALISM

By John Putnam

175 PAGES, CLOTH

REVISED EDITION • \$1.50 pp

MEADOR PUBLISHING COMPANY  
324 Newbury Street Boston 15, Mass.

BOOKS: USED, RARE OR OUT-OF-PRINT  
TAAB, 529 S. Melville St., Philadelphia 43, Pa.

### POSITIONS WANTED

**YOUNG MAN**, writer, intellectual. Seeks position as companion, tutor, driver; anywhere. Will travel. References. Box 912, The New Republic.

**LIBERAL** college English teacher, 22, ex-Marine, leaving August 1 for 2 years' study in London. Wishes to represent American firm, preferably literary, or seeks some kind of commission. Box 915, The New Republic.

### SCHOOL

#### LAKEWOOD MODERN SCHOOL

115 Carey Street Lakewood, New Jersey  
Phone Lakewood 0-1007

Progressive boarding school. Boys and Girls 7-12. Non-sectarian. Small study groups. Intimate, home-like atmosphere. Personal supervision. Good food. Healthy surroundings. Situated in the Pine Belt of New Jersey. Outdoor activities. Beach trips. All sports. Booklet. Write James & Nellie Dick, Directors

N. B. Reservations are now in order for camp season. (July and August)

### LANGUAGES

**29 LANGUAGES** by Linguaphone, Russian, Spanish, Portuguese — Direct conversational method of mastering any language quickly, easily, correctly at home. Available under GI Bill of Rights. Send for FREE book. LINGUAPHONE INSTITUTE, 88 RCA Bldg., New York, CI 7-0830.

**ITALIAN**, Spanish. 27 other language courses. All makes. Sold, bought, rented. A. Alin, 475 5th Ave., MU 3-1093.

### RESEARCH

**SOCIOLOGY, HISTORY:** You name the problem; I do the research for you and prepare your speech, publication, bibliography. European-American background. Fee or share of profit. Box 867, The New Republic.

### STENOTYPE REPORTING

**VETERAN**—Conferences, Conventions, Legal. Harry Birnbaum, OLinville 2-5827.

### FARMS & ACREAGE

**IMMEDIATE POSSESSION.** Former home of famous artist in the Tanglewood Country, 8-room colonial; two baths; two fireplaces; four-car garage; pool site; pines; perennials; 15 acres; view. Only \$7,000. Berkshire Farm Agency, East Chatham, N. Y.

### PORTRAIT-PAINTER

**PORTRAIT-PAINTER**, veteran war-artist, very experienced, is available for portrait commissions, in or outside New York City. Anxious to establish progressive clientele. Reproductions and price-list on request. No obligations. Box 885, The New Republic.

### ADULT BOOKS

**FREE!** Send for free list of world's finest books! Marriage, Love, Sex, Hygiene, Divorce, Slimming, Alcoholism, Cancer, Sinus, Psychology, Philosophy. Absolutely no obligation. Daniel S. Mead Co., 200 West 20th Street, New York City 11, N. Y.

### CIGARETTES

**CIGARETTES**—Popular brands; minimum 3 cartons. Price \$1.45 per carton; postpaid. Send check or money order. Ace Mail Order Co., East Orange B, N. J.

**BONDED MESSENGERS**  
Courteous, fast, reasonable. Specializing in PUBLISHING, ADVERTISING, TRAVEL PUBLICITY. Since 1930. Allied Messenger Service, Main Office, 9 Rockefeller Plaza, Columbus 5-4324-5-6.

## Letter of the Week

(Continued from page 3)

Assembly met and passed a series of resolutions which were forwarded to "His Excellency, the Governor" by Chief Tuisasosopo.

In his last-minute answer five months later, the home-bound Governor dealt so hastily and summarily with the Assembly's resolutions that the usually mild Tuisasosopo was provoked to complain, "The Governor's reply was not fitting of the spirit and willingness of the Samoan people. Besides, these resolutions should have been forwarded to Washington for comment. Evidently the petition went as far as the Governor's desk in the Naval Station of Tutuila."

Such negligence, or perhaps willful disdain, is cited by the Samoan fathers as an example of the failure of one-man government. They are a little tired, after 46 years, of holding their collective breath each time a new Governor is installed (Navy procedure is to replace governors every 18 months)—wondering whether the occasion called for cheers or tears. So they are now petitioning Uncle Sam for the transfer of authority over American Samoa from the Navy to a native legislature.

AMERICAN SAMOA is divided into three districts—the eastern, Pago Pago; the western, Tutuila; and the Manua island group. Each district has an advisory council consisting of approximately 15 high chiefs and high talking chiefs. The difference between ranks, according to Tuisasosopo, is that the former "sit upon the throne," while the latter are the "power behind the throne."

But the throne, as Samoans are sadly aware, is purely illusory. The chiefs have no real powers other than those of "recommendation," or as appointees of the Governor's officer aides. If truth be told, we "use" them, much as other imperialist powers we criticize "use" their colonies' native leaders. The legal elevator carries only orders going down, only suggestions coming up.

At the last annual Samoan Assembly,

the chiefs unanimously recommended that "a Legislative Body consisting of accredited Representatives of Samoa be established." Confronted with this request for some American-style democracy, the Governor replied evasively:

"The resolution concerning the legislative body is not exactly clear. It is my understanding that matters of legislation have in the past been discussed at the annual *fono* (Samoan chieftains' powwow with Navy officialdom) and that there was close coöperation between the *fono* and the Governor in the consideration and enactment of legislation."

Then apparently realizing that this official double-talk might result in some pins being stuck in his image, he added hopefully, "It is my present thought that the annual *fono* should consider the advice of the creation of a legislative committee of three to discuss with the Governor matters which arise between annual *fonos*."

SAMOANS realized, of course, that the Governor himself had no power to grant their demand for self-government. Navy regulations and orders for the government of American Samoa state bluntly: "The Governor, for the time being, of American Samoa, is the head of the government. He is the maker of all laws, and he shall make and control all appointments."

But they had clearly indicated their desire that this resolution be forwarded for consideration to Washington. That this was not done indicates either that the Governor feared it would be construed at the Capitol as a reflection upon his rule or that he honestly considered it his duty to reject their request.

Other resolutions presented by the Assembly to the Governor have been kicked back in their resigned faces with a resounding, if circumlocutory, "No!" The Samoans had asked that three natives, one to each district, sit with the committee investigating property damage caused by military occupation.

"Claims against the United States," replied the Governor, "for occupation of land or damage to property must be considered and decided by a commission of officers of the naval service. No provision is made by the law for the appointment of civilian members. However,

to  
pul  
Wi  
3.

## STAGE PLAYS

### 2 PERFECT COMEDY TREATS MAX GORDON productions

"A completely satisfying and enjoyable comedy." —Chapman, News

FREDRIC MARCH FLORENCE ELDRIDGE

In the new smash hit

### YEARS AGO

by RUTH GORDON

Staged by GARSON KANIN  
MANSFIELD THEATRE

"A very funny play, brilliantly written, acted & staged." —Garland, Jour.-Am.

### BORN YESTERDAY

The  
Hilarious  
Comedy Smash

by GARSON KANIN

LYCEUM THEATRE, NEW YORK  
ERLANGER THEATRE, CHICAGO

## MOTION PICTURES

**BOB HOPE**  
**DOROTHY LAMOUR**  
in **PARAMOUNT'S**  
*"My Favorite Brunette"*  
Directed by **ELLIOTT NUGENT**  
Produced by **DANIEL GARE**  
in Person!  
**JIMMY DORSEY** AND HIS ORCHESTRA  
**PAT HENNING** • **LYN SHIRLEY**  
**LOUIS JORDAN** AND HIS TEMPTATION FIVE  
**PARAMOUNT**  
TIMES SQUARE • Midnight Feature Nightly  
55¢ TO 12 P.M. (incl. tax)  
Mon. to Fri. inclusive

"MAGNIFICENT!" N.Y. Times, Trib., P.M., Cuel

ARTKINO presents **EISENSTEIN'S**  
**IVAN**  
**THE TERRIBLE**  
Stanley 7th Ave. bet.  
DOORS OPEN 8:45 A.M. 42 & 41 STS.

## Cut me out

Become a "Henry Wallace Subscription Agent." Earn extra money selling *New Republic* subscriptions. Write now for details.

Dept. LA

**The NEW REPUBLIC**  
40 E. 49 St., N. Y. 17, N. Y.

APRIL 14, 1947

47

any claimant may submit evidence, etc."

The Assembly had also requested the Governor to "take into consideration the present salaries now received by Samoan nurses and male employees of the Health Department whether it be necessary to have an increase in salaries."

In substance the Governor's incredible reply was, "It is my recommendation that this present-day schedule be continued in effect as long as it is possible, in order to give it the test of time." In the United States if any fact-finding board, let alone an employer, dared to insult labor with an answer as foolish as that, a walkout would be inevitable.

IN ALL fairness, however, it must be stated that some of the Samoan Assembly's resolutions received reasonable, if tardy, consideration. The Governor gave an assurance that excesses by servicemen would be dealt with summarily; and that in laying off Samoans from war jobs, priorities would be observed. Moreover, Tuisasosopo himself would be the first to admit that he regards his people as more fortunate than his cousins and aunts under the Union Jack in British Samoa. He is thoroughly opposed to the arbitrary national schism of one small people like the Samoans into two camps, and would like to see all Samoa under the Stars and Stripes.

At the last *fono*, in the address he wrote and delivered to the new Governor and his staff, Tuisasosopo declared: "It seems as if Freedom and Happiness were first manifested to Samoans through the kind countenance of Your Honors. Congratulations on your justice and righteousness! . . . You have been with us for a very short while but your laudable doings and your ever smiling faces have served to show us a true picture of that great and free republic, the USA."

But such sweetness and light have prevailed at many *fonos* before. Governors have come and gone—some good, some bad, some indifferent. And still Samoa has one-man rule. Beside their beautiful harbor, the islanders wait for the greatest American Governor of all, the one who will bring them their most priceless gifts—citizenship and self-government.

JULES FRANCE

## MOTION PICTURES

### RIKO NOW

MANHATTAN  
ALHAMBRA  
COLISEUM  
81st ST.  
86th ST.  
88th ST.

Bet. Lex. & 3rd  
HAMILTON  
125th ST.  
REGENCY  
RIVERSIDE  
23rd ST.

BRONX  
CASTLE HILL  
CHESTER  
FORDHAM  
FRANKLIN  
MARBLE HILL  
PELHAM  
ROYAL

WESTCHESTER  
MT. VERNON  
NEW ROCH.  
WH. PLAINS  
YONKERS

"INTENSELY MOVING."  
—N. Y. Post

**JIMMY STEWART**  
**DONA REED**

in FRANK CAPRA'S

### 'It's A Wonderful Life'

— AND —

### 'STEP BY STEP'

LAWRENCE TIERNEY  
ANNE JEFFREYS

BROOKLYN  
BUSHWICK  
DYKER  
GREENPOINT  
KENMORE  
MADISON  
ORPHEUM  
PROSPECT  
REPUBLIC  
TILYU  
Coney Island

QUEENS  
MIDWAY  
Forest Hills  
Keith's  
FLUSHING  
Keith's  
RICH. HILL  
STRAND  
Far Rockaway

MANHATTAN  
COLONIAL  
B'way & 62 St.

"GREAT PICTURE! ABSORBING ENTERTAINMENT!"—N. Y. Post  
DARRYL F. ZANUCK Presents

### DANA ANDREWS 'Boomerang!'

JANE WYATT • LEE J. COBB  
Directed by ELIA KAZAN

— AND —

### 'RENDEZVOUS WITH ANNIE'

Eddie ALBERT • Faye MARLOWE

### ALBEE FULTON & DeKALB BROOKLYN NOW

"LUXURIOUSLY ROMANTIC FILM."—N. Y. Times

**DOUGLAS FAIRBANKS Jr.**  
Maureen O'HARA • Walter SLEZAK

### 'Sinbad the Sailor'

— AND —

### 'DANGEROUS MILLIONS'

KENT TAYLOR • DONA DRAKE

## CONCERT

WILLIAM MORRIS presents  
MIIHAL

### KUSEVITSKY

CANTOR OF WARSAW  
INTERNATIONAL TENOR

Awarded the Stalin Medal of Merit  
Programme includes operatic, Hebrew, Russian, Polish and Jewish Music.  
SYMPHONY HALL — BOSTON, MASS.

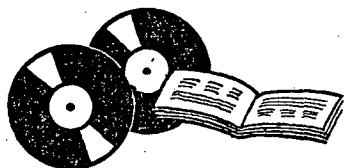
APRIL 20 — SUN. 8:30 P.M.  
other performances immediately following Boston are:  
LYRIC THEATRE — Baltimore, Md.  
APRIL 22 — TUESDAY

KLEINMAN'S MUSIC HALL — Buffalo, N. Y.  
APRIL 27 — SUNDAY

MUSIC HALL — Cleveland, Ohio  
APRIL 30 — WEDNESDAY

all concerts begin at 8:30 P.M.  
Prices \$1.20 to \$3.60, tax included  
Mail orders accepted. Reserved seats on sale.  
Baldwin Piano

# Here are the **ARMY LANGUAGE COURSES** recorded on Vinylite



These are the identical books and records used in the language training programs of the Army to teach soldiers and civilians in foreign service to speak and to understand the language of the country in which they are stationed. They have now been licensed to HOLT for civilian distribution by the American Council of Learned Societies, which developed them for the United States Armed Forces Institute,

BURMESE  
CHINESE  
DANISH  
DUTCH  
FRENCH  
GERMAN  
GREEK  
HINDUSTANI  
HUNGARIAN  
ITALIAN  
JAPANESE  
KOREAN  
MALAY  
NORWEGIAN  
PORTUGUESE  
RUSSIAN  
SERBO-CROATIAN  
SPANISH  
THAI  
TURKISH

## **HOLT SPOKEN LANGUAGE SERIES**

**Henry Holt and Company**  
**257 Fourth Avenue**  
**New York 10, N. Y.**

Please send free, descriptive booklet.

Enclosed is check or money order for \$50.00 for the course

In SPOKEN \_\_\_\_\_  
f.o.b. New York. I understand that if I am not satisfied with the course, my money will be refunded if I return the course undamaged within seven days.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Street \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_

Textbook, Key, Recordings — 24  
12-inch, double-faced (48 sides),  
on Vinylite

**\$50**



VERNER ALLEN  
156 MONTGOMERY ST.  
SAN FRANCISCO 4, CALIFORNIA  
TELEPHONE SUTTER 8458

Mr. Tolson .....  
Mr. E. A. Tamm .....  
Mr. Clegg .....  
Mr. Glavin .....  
Mr. Ladd .....  
Mr. Nichols .....  
Mr. Rosen .....  
Mr. Tracy .....  
Mr. Carson .....  
Mr. Egan .....  
Mr. Gurnea .....  
Mr. Harbo .....  
Mr. Hendon .....  
Mr. Pennington .....  
Mr. Quinn Tamm .....  
Mr. Nease .....  
Miss Gandy .....

April 23 1947

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover,  
F. B. I.,  
Washington, D. C.

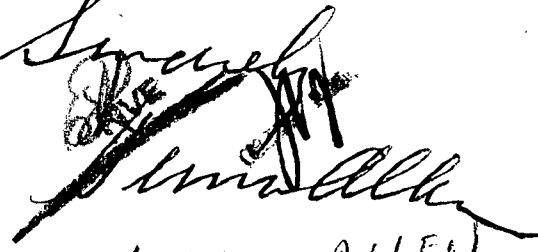
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/16/83 BY SP1GSK/J  
228303

Dear Mr. Hoover,

Your definition of  
how to identify a communist  
fits Mr. Henry A. Wallace perfectly.  
What are you going to do  
about it?

All talk? - or some  
action!

RECORDED  
& INDEXED  
62-71788-45  
FBI

31  
Sincerely,  
  
VERNER ALLEN

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Egan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Gurnea \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Pennington \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
 Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

April 28, 1947

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. NICHOLS

Mr. Verner Allen  
 165 Montgomery Street  
 San Francisco 4, California

Reference is made to the letter dated April 23, 1947, from the captioned individual.

File [ ] reflects that Allen, who claimed he was in the financial business and interested in producing manganese and chrome, contacted the San Francisco Office to complain against the subject of investigation, James Strohm, who was suspected of being a German sympathizer. The information furnished by Allen was nonspecific in nature and his name also appears in Serial 12 of the same file.

Due to the tone of the incoming letter it is suggested that no reply be prepared as it does not really call for an answer.

RECOMMENDATION: That the incoming from Allen be filed without reply.

Respectfully,

M. A. Jones

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 5/16/83 BY SP1 GSK/JC

228 003

INDEXED  
 354  
 RECORDED

62-71788-46

31 MAY 1 1947

LJL:eh

THIS MEMORANDUM IS FOR ADMINISTRATIVE PURPOSES  
 TO BE DESTROYED AFTER ACTION IS TAKEN AND NOT SENT TO FILES



April 18, 1947

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL  
BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

Major General Harry Hawkins Vaughan  
Military Aide to the President  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

RECORDED

62-71788-47  
Dear General Vaughan:

Classified by ADP/UCSC  
Declassify on: OADR

I thought the President and you would be interested in the following information which has been received from a highly confidential source of a reliable character relative to the French Ambassador's reaction to the visit of Mr. Henry Wallace to France.

The source reported that in a discussion concerning the matter with Mr. William Bullitt, former Ambassador to France and Russia, Mr. Henri Bonnet, French Ambassador to the United States, said that the invitation granted to Henry A. Wallace to pay a visit to France, as publicized in "P.M." gave an erroneous impression to the American public. Mr. Bullitt stated that the story in "P.M." is harmful inasmuch as it implies that the greatest opponent of President Truman is being invited by the four major parties of France. Bullitt reportedly said that certainly Leon Blum, Vincent Auriol and Maurice Schumann were not aware of what they were doing when they officially invited a man who is presently attacking, in a most violent manner, the President of the United States.

The informant said that Ambassador Bonnet explained that the truth is much more simple than such a conclusion. He said that Wallace had previously been received by the labor party in England and that it was a French tradition to receive prominent Americans and give them a welcoming committee, especially for someone who was previously associated with the late President Roosevelt. Ambassador Bonnet reportedly averred that there was absolutely nothing political in the invitation received by Wallace. The informant further said that Bullitt re-emphasized his personal understanding of the whole affair, but pointed out the possible ill effects on the Truman administration. It was further stated that Bonnet agreed that the situation was bad, but that it was too late at this time to withdraw the invitation. The source also indicated that Bullitt made known his intention to pay a visit to France, it being said that he would leave about April 15, 1947.

Subsequently, the same source reported that Ambassador Bonnet discussed the matter with a local newspaper correspondent. The source indicated

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. E. A. Tamm  
Mr. Clegg  
Mr. Glavin  
Mr. Ladd  
Mr. Nichols  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tracy  
Mr. Carson  
Mr. Egan  
Mr. Gurnea  
Mr. Harbo  
Mr. Hendon  
Mr. Pennington  
Mr. Quinn Tamm  
Tele. Room  
Mr. Nease  
Miss Beahm  
Miss Gandy

MAILED 5

APR 23 1947 P.M.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

that Bonnet insisted that the invitation tendered to Wallace had no political significance whatsoever and that Wallace was being received by the French as <sup>they receive</sup> ~~would any other~~ prominent American. Bonnet further commented that since Wallace's <sup>contemplated</sup> trip has been known for approximately a month, the French, with the best possible intention, simply made sure that Wallace would not be received in any way which would reflect partisan politics; hence, he was invited by representatives of the four major parties in France. The newspaper correspondent, according to the source, explained that no matter how innocent this reception of Wallace actually is, it will cost the French dearly inasmuch as it will influence Congress and the World Bank. The newspaper correspondent was reportedly of the opinion that the Bank will not grant the French loan of \$500,000,000 now being asked. *B*

The informant concluded with a remark that Ambassador Bonnet is extremely sorry and extremely annoyed that Wallace's visit to France was resulting in a feeling of animosity on the part of the American public. *B*

With expressions of my highest esteem and best regards.

Sincerely yours,

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

62-71788-50

CHANGED TO

62-94330-1

1 APR 20 1951

C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/16/83 BY SP1 GSK/JC  
228303

EX-79

32 OCT 18 1947

OCT 18 1947

7345

62-71788-507

## TRUMAN'S PLAN 'WOULD DIVIDE AMERICA'

Moscow, TASS, Soviet Overseas Service, in English Morse to North America, Apr. 3, 1947, 7:05 a.m. EST--W

(Text)

"New York--Former Vice President Wallace, at a mass meeting in Madison Square Garden, declared: 'We are here tonight because we want peace, because we intend to have peace. The Truman doctrine endangers peace. Peace requires that Americans reject the Truman doctrine and reaffirm their faith in a strong United Nations Organization. The world is hungry. The world does not cry for American tanks and guns to destroy more lives and leave more hunger, but for American plows and food to fulfill the promise of peace.'

"Pointing out that Americans at present must think calmly and well, Wallace said: 'Nineteen days ago the President of the United States told Congress that the Greek people were hungry and needed American help. Was this news to the President or to the State Department which advises him? Every responsible member of the Government has known since the war ended that Greece lay in ruins, while famine was at her people's throats.'

### Exploitation Charged

"And every member of Congress knows that 70 percent of Poland's livestock has been destroyed, that the children of Italy and Yugoslavia wear rags for clothing, that millions of Central European people do not possess shoes, that 10 million of people in the Ukraine are homeless. The welfare of all peoples is our concern. Famine anywhere endangers plenty everywhere. Progress anywhere helps progress everywhere. Action aimed at helping the world must help America but not action like the President proposes.

"The needs of desperate people are being exploited, like the generosity of the Americans is being exploited, for other ends. The truth is that the President and his Republican supporters are less concerned with the Greeks' need for food than with the American Navy's need for oil. The plan to contain Communism is second to that need. America is rich in oil, but thinks that she needs more for the greatest Navy and Air Force in the world.

### UNRRA's Death World Tragedy

"Saying that the United Nations Organization cannot be by-passed, Wallace continued: 'America and Britain have divided the Middle East oil as though we were conquerors or lord protectors of the realm. At Yalta we solemnly agreed that Turkey's grip upon the Dardanelles would be loosed by mutual consultation after victory. At Potsdam we reaffirmed that agreement. But not one single action has been taken during the 18 months of peace.'

Foreign Radio Broadcast #30 - April 4, 1947

"During the long bitter winter of 1947, the world agency which could have saved lives and prevented misery was killed. Almost all the United Nations except the United States and Britain supported former UNRRA Director LaGuardia's plan to save UNRRA. The defeat of that plan was a world tragedy. Through months of inaction Congress strangled UNRRA. President Truman countersigned its death warrant.

#### Appeasement and Betrayal

"At present we are told that America must act alone in Greece and in Turkey because there is not sufficient time to create a United Nations agency for relief and rehabilitation. In the United Nations Assembly, Senators Vandenberg and Connally said that nothing could be done to free the Spanish people because the United Nations lacked the right to interfere in the internal affairs of any Nation. By what right do these same Americans justify unilateral interference in the affairs of Greece and Turkey?

"Administration and Republican supporters argue that we must intervene alone in Greece because the United Nations Organization is too weak to act. I have not forgotten about the appeasement of Hitler. I remember every betrayal of world solidarity against Hitler by Daladier and Chamberlain which was made in name of the weakness of the League of Nations. Let us not betray the future. Let the world refrain from destroying the United Nations Organization, as once it destroyed the League of Nations!

#### Greece a World Problem

"Dealing with the question as to who makes the UNO weak, Wallace recalled that in December Senator Vandenberg was willing to spend only 11 million dollars for the United Nations Organization and 'today he is ready to spend untold millions to prop up anti-Soviet regimes. There is only one hope for the world peace, the United Nations Organization,' he said. 'The Greek problem is a world problem, and it must be settled by the United Nations. If the Turkish problem exists, that also is the concern of all the members of the United Nations. That is the spirit in which the United Nations Charter was signed.'

#### Freedom Catch-word for Reaction

"Wallace said that sooner or later Truman's program of unconditional aid to anti-Soviet Governments will unite the world against America and divide America against herself. The Truman program must turn the world against America. 'At our command freedom, in whose name Americans died, will become a catch-word for reaction.'

"Once we grant unconditional loans to the nondemocratic Governments of Greece and Turkey then "in the name of freedom" every fascist dictator will know he has credit in our bank. Today it is the Governments of Greece and Turkey. Tomorrow it may be Peron and Chiang Kai-shek. Our banks will give dollars, our arsenals weapons. When that is insufficient, our people will be asked to give their sons.

### Intolerance at Home

"The Truman program must turn Americans against each other. Intolerance is aroused. Suspicion is engendered. Men of the highest integrity in public life are besmirched.

"The President's executive order (on checking the loyalty of Government employees) creates a master index of public servants. From janitor in the village post office to Cabinet member, they are to be sifted, tested, watched. Their past and present, their neighbors' tattle and prattle, all will be recorded.

"But more Americans than these are in danger of prosecution. If this drive continues it will condemn every American who reads the "wrong" books, thinks the "wrong" thoughts, every American who means liberty when he says liberty, every American who defends civil rights, who speaks out for one world, everyone who believed in Willkie, who supported Roosevelt.

"Hatred and Violence abroad will be the fruits of the Truman doctrine. A strong United Nations Organization can bring peace. Which do we choose, because America must choose? The whole world waits for the American people. Where are the millions who supported Roosevelt's ideals? Where are the inheritors of our great traditions? Under conditions of weariness and confusion many Americans have abandoned political action. They must resume it immediately. Their country needs them. Americans of all parties and creeds at present must speak out in a great voice for peace and freedom."

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : THE DIRECTOR  
FROM : D. M. LADD  
SUBJECT: Henry A. Wallace

DATE: May 12, 1947

Mr. Tolson ✓  
Mr. E. A. Tamm ✓  
Mr. Clegg ✓  
Mr. Coffey ✓  
Mr. Glavin ✓  
Mr. Ladd ✓  
Mr. Nichols ✓  
Mr. Rosen ✓  
Mr. Tracy ✓  
Mr. Carson ✓  
Mr. Egan ✓  
Mr. Gurnea ✓  
Mr. Harbo ✓  
Mr. Hendon ✓  
Mr. Quinn Tamm ✓  
Tele. Room ✓  
Mr. Nease ✓  
Miss Gandy ✓

7041800

The following information was obtained from Mr. Elbridge Durbrow, Counselor, United States Embassy, Moscow, U.S.S.R. by Special Agent John M. Matter on February 28, 1947, while the latter was enroute to Moscow on a special assignment. Durbrow obtained the information from two State Department employees who were members of the group that accompanied Henry A. Wallace on his visit to Russia in 1945.

Wallace told these two men that when they went to Russia they would undoubtedly see conditions and phases of Russian life of which they did not approve. As a condition to taking them along as members of his party, Wallace made them take an oral pledge to the effect that they would not, on their return, mention or discuss those things of which they disapproved. These men have kept their pledge as far as any public utterances are concerned, but have discussed all of their experiences on their Russian trip with other State Department personnel.

RECORDED & INDEXED

62-71788-51

*This is rank deception.*

JMM:MCS

58 MAY 26 1947

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/6/83 BY SP1GSE/TC  
228303



F. B. I.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 4/19/83 BY SP/ASB/br

228303



Henry A. Wallace

ARE WALLACE'S VIEWS FOOLING SOME

CONGRESSMEN?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

of

HON. HOWARD H. BUFFETT  
of Nebraska

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Tuesday, April 29, 1947

INFORMATION CONTAINED

THIS DOCUMENT IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 1/16/83 BY SP18SKC

228303

G. I. R. - 5

Mr. BUFFETT. Mr. Speaker, are Henry Wallace's views fooling some Congressmen on the Greek-Turkey deal? Is his opposition to that scheme causing a number of Congressmen to favor it- afraid to vote against it, regardless of its booby-trap aspects.

Is the Wallace hallaballoo carefully staged to divert attention from the fact that the New Deal crowd is overwhelmingly backing the Truman scheme?

If conversation in the House and around the cloakrooms is an accurate criterion, the answer is "Yes!" That verdict is hard to swallow- that Members of Congress would let the position of Henry Wallace warp their vote on the most dangerous scheme ever considered by an American Congress.

For there is no surer way to destroy America than commit this country to underwriting the combined budget deficits of all non-Russian nations on earth.

That impossible task, Mr. Speaker, is what the so-called Truman doctrine proposes. Under this scheme every nation in the world- tyrannical, despotic, or what not- can be enabled to balance its finances by drafts on the United States Treasury.

If an easier or more certain method can be shown to destroy America by bankruptcy, I hope someone will explain it.

MOST NEW DEALERS ARE FOR TRUMAN SCHEME

If it were not tragic, the attention given the Wallace side-show would be an amazing demonstration of the use of counterirritant. The focus on Wallace has completely blacked out the factual truth that the New Deal radical crowd is overwhelmingly for the Truman scheme.

The propaganda drive has carefully directed the attention of Congressmen away from the New Deal gang licking their chops at the prospect of a world-wide WPA program all dressed up in the lily-white robes of anticommunism.

Let us call at least part of the roll on the New Deal crowd on the deal.

First is the ADA- Americans for Democratic Action. The ADA in its own words "committed itself to the broad objective of proposed for aiding Greece and Turkey."

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt was chairman of a committee which recently selected the executive board of the ADA officials.

RECORDED 14

INDEXED

62-717

# Only Radica Back Truman, Reece Charges

PROVIDENCE, May 12 (AP). Republican National Chairman Reece said tonight "the radicals will be in the saddle" if the Democrats win the 1948 presidential election.

"He declared President Truman 'personally may not like the radicals' but that 'he is a good enough politician to realize his only chance for election next year, even though a remote chance, rests upon a thorough-going mobilization of radical votes on his behalf.'"

## Appraises Truman Policies

In a speech for a Republican rally, Reece said that "since the top ranking officials of the Democrat party have announced that Mr. Truman is their choice for the Democrat nomination next year, and since Mr. Truman has maintained a loud silence when afforded opportunities to deny such announcements, it is fair to devote some time to an appraisal of the President's personal record on this subject."

Reece went on to say that while the President "has made some commendable appointments to top level governmental positions," he has "refrained from disturbing the bureaucrats" who "support the left wing theories of government."

The G.O.P. chairman also said that "six weeks after the issuance" of the President's order for a purge of disloyal government employees "there has been no evidence of any action to carry it into effect."

## U. S. Loyalty Check-up

### Assailed by Wallace

MINNEAPOLIS, May 12 (UP). Henry A. Wallace said today the nation's anti-Communist talk is a "disgrace" and denounced President Truman's loyalty test for governmental employees as a \$25,000,000 witch hunt.

Addressing a luncheon sponsored by the Independent Voters of Minnesota, the former Vice President said he believed "Communists should be treated as human beings rather than people who should be put in jail."

Wallace said that in countries he visited on his recent European tour he found "they had a healthy political climate where everything was out in the open."

"I believe that is the way it should be in the United States," he said.

Wallace spoke after a news conference in which he said he would be willing to run for the presidency if it would help the liberal cause.

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Egan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gurnea \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Jones \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Leonard \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Pennington \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/16/83 BY SP/IGS/KJL  
228303

RECORDED

62-71788-52  
FBI  
69 MAY 19 1947

- would he have us like  
France!

id.

MAY 13 1947

Times Herald  
age 7

99

MAY 19 1947

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. J. C. STRICKLAND

FROM : Mr. L. Whitson

SUBJECT: HENRY A. WALLACE

DATE: 5/22/47

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. E. A. Tamm	_____
Mr. Clegg	_____
Mr. Coffey	_____
Mr. Glavin	_____
Mr. Ladd	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tracy	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Carson	_____
Mr. Hendon	_____
Mr. Mumford	_____
Mr. Jones	_____
Mr. Quinn Tamm	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Nease	_____
Miss Beahn	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Attached is a photostatic copy of pages 29 and 30 of "Newsweek" for May 12, 1947, containing the photograph of the subject and comments regarding favorable remarks made of him in "Pravda."

Attachment

LW:edm

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

RECORDED

DATE 5/16/83 BY SP1G/STW  
228303

62-71788-53

F B I

31 MAY 24 1947

EX-74

MAY 29 1947



Pravda is gratified: Russia has so many warm friends in the United States

most members regarded it as primarily a gesture reflecting the prevailing economic unhappiness of the Congress. They believe that if the Senate restores the status quo, the House probably will agree to a compromise—adding \$300,000,000.

E. Davies, Paul Robeson, "and many others," including Mollie Lieber.

Of all Russia's blessings, only Mollie Lieber had earned Pravda's accolade the hard way. Mrs. Lieber made no bones about it: She was an old-time Communist-party member and organizer. Born in Poland 30 years ago, she came to America when she was 12. "I was disillusioned shortly after arriving here," she declared last week. At 17, she was taking part in radical activities. She helped to organize the Young Communist League, in Illinois and nationally. She also helped to organize its successor, American Youth for Democracy, and is now co-chairman of the Illinois division.

Wallace, Pepper, and Elliott Roosevelt earned Pravda's accolade by their attacks on American foreign policy, and especially on the Truman Doctrine. The others earned it, however, primarily by lending their names to scores of Communist-front organizations, including the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, which was first organized in 1920 as the Friends of the Soviet Union. During the war, the organization temporarily achieved considerable esteem and succeeded in enticing many anti-Communists to join. Since then, its propaganda against United States foreign policy has driven most of them out.\*

The record:

**The Rev. William Howard Melish**, associate rector of the Holy Trinity Protestant Episcopal Church in Brooklyn, is chairman of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. Has been affiliated with the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, the Citizens Com-

mittee for Harry Bridges, and the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. Has written for Communist publications, including *New Masses* and *Soviet Russia Today*.

**Johannes Steel**: Dropped as radio commentator by station WHN, he now publishes the pro-Soviet newsletter, *Johannes Steel Report on World Affairs*, and is foreign editor of the sympathetic *Reader's Scope*. As candidate for Congress of Communist-dominated American Labor party, he was endorsed by *The Daily Worker* and supported by 1,000 Communist doorbell-pushers.

**Prof. Ralph Barton Perry**, a sponsor of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. Sponsored call to Congress of American-Soviet Friendship, dinner honoring Red Army, and Southern Conference for Human Welfare. Contributor to *Soviet Russia Today*. Worked closely with American Student Union and American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom.

**Robert W. Kenny**, former State Attorney General of California: Affiliated with Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo, American League for Peace and Democracy, Council for Pan American Democracy, Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, National Lawyers Guild, League of American Writers, and Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee. Counsel for William Schneiderman, California state secretary of the Communist party.

**Albert Einstein**: Affiliated with American Friends of the Chinese People, Committee for Peace Through World Cooperation, Congress of American-Soviet Friendship, Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, International Labor Defense, Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, League of American Writers, Medical Bureau and North American

## Paeon From Pravda

Pravda last week counted Soviet Russia's many blessings one by one, and the results were gratifying. There was so much the Russians could be thankful for, the Moscow daily exulted, particularly their American friends. Pravda named them:

❑ Henry A. Wallace, Democratic Sen. Claude Pepper of Florida, and Elliott Roosevelt, whose pro-Soviet stand indicated "the mood of the broad masses of Americans."

❑ The National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, "headed by the Protestant clergyman Melish."

❑ "Politicians like Melish [who] express the mood of many simple Americans."

❑ Johannes Steel, "the famous radio commentator."

❑ Prof. Ralph Barton Perry, Robert W. Kenny, Albert Einstein, former United States Ambassador to Moscow Joseph

\* Among those who quit: Sens. Leverett Saltonstall and Arthur Capper, President Karl T. Compton of M. I. T., Judge Learned Hand, and Harold L. Ickes.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/16/83 BY SP/CSK

LEFT: Sprinter

228303

Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, Soviet Russia Today, the Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign, and the American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born.

**Joseph E. Davies:** Affiliated with National Council of American-Soviet Friendship and Congress of American-Soviet Friendship. Sent greetings to New Masses. Signed statement of National Federation for Constitutional Liberties hailing War Department order permitting Communists to become Army officers. Author of "Mission to Moscow," which glorified Soviet regime and justified totalitarianism.

**Paul Robeson:** Affiliated with American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom, China Aid Council, American League for Peace and Democracy, American Peace Mobilization, Artists' Front to Win the War, Citizens' Committee for Harry Bridges, Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, National Negro Congress, New Masses, New Theatre League, New Dance League, New Theatre, Southern Conference for Human Welfare, Soviet Russia Today, Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, American Youth for Democracy, International Labor Defense, the Abraham Lincoln School, and the Washington Committee for Aid to China.

To Pravda, the activities of Russia's friends proved that "foreign democratic intellectuals have become more and more convinced that only by following the principles which the USSR is defending in the field of international relations can the leaders of science and culture be set free from the fate of the servants of imperialism."

Unfortunately, Pravda added, the "friends of the USSR do not have freedom of speech on the pages of newspapers, magazines, and books with great circulations, and sometimes these persons are even persecuted."

### May Party Line

The party line stretched long and thin down Eighth Avenue in New York's swarming garment district. Sometimes there were embarrassing gaps in it. Sometimes there seemed to be fewer paraders than police—2,800 uniformed cops and a small army of detectives had been assigned to the route. At Union Square, the reviewing stand looked like a Sunday picnic. A mother rocked her baby carriage in the spring sunshine. Two small boys scrambled over the bleachers, whacking at each other with rolled-up banners. Girls posed for snapshots. It was May Day, 1947.

Thus last Thursday, before police, newsmen, including two correspondents

from Tass, the official Soviet news agency, and thousands of office and factory workers en route to the 5 p.m. homeward subway crush, New York Communists and pro-Communist organizations marched in their annual show of strength. What The Daily Worker heralded as "united labor" turned out to be the old standbys—the National Maritime Union, the United Electrical Workers, and the International Fur and Leather Workers Union—all CIO and Communist-infiltrated. Only a few left-wing AFL contingents marched and they paid the price—by nightfall, the AFL ordered the three leaders who had sponsored participation in the parade suspended.

By far the greatest triumph of the day belonged to the Communist party itself. It ordered into the parade about 700 veterans, in uniform and wearing military decorations. They marched in perfect ranks chanting: "One-two-three-four. We don't want another war."

On placards, banners, and floats, the marchers announced where they stood:

¶ They were against military use of the atomic bomb, imperialism, the Taft-Hartley "slave" labor bill, Representatives Rankin and J. Parnell Thomas, Senators Taft and Bilbo, war talk, Red baiting, J. Edgar Hoover, President Truman's foreign policy, loans to Greece and

Turkey, Wall Street, and the House Un-American Activities Committee.

¶ They were for peace, independence of Puerto Rico, a Federal theater, the 35-hour week, housing, Soviet-American friendship, Gerhard Eisler, Henry A. Wallace, the Negro ballplayer Jackie Robinson, and the return of "one-cent bubble gum."

Communist spokesmen vied with each other in trying to cover up an all too apparent fact—May Day, 1947, was a flop compared with other years. Blatantly, Ben Gold, Communist president of the Fur and Leather Workers Union, pronounced the parade the "best ever." William Z. Foster, national chairman of the Communist party, added: "This great demonstration is but a foretaste of the great demonstrations to come." The Daily Worker announced that 80,000 had marched. The police count: 27,500.

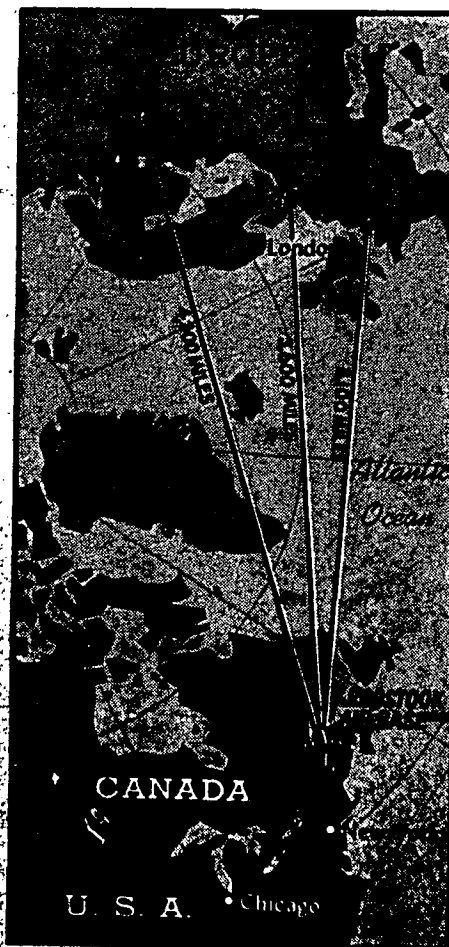
### ARMY: Potato Air Base

Agriculturally, Aroostook County in Northern Maine could brag about its smooth-skinned potatoes that make it the nation's No. 1 spud producer. Commercially, it could boast of the astounding 355 bushels per acre which it converts into starch, alcohol, dehydrated potatoes, seed potatoes or fertilizer, or just lets rot under the government's price-support program. Botanically, the county—bigger than Connecticut and Rhode Island combined—had also been famous for its forests of magnificent white pines.

Militarily, it was another matter. Because Aroostook County is the closest spot in the United States to Europe, the Army Air Forces last week revealed it would build a \$14,000,000 base there for its longest-range bombers—the six-engined Consolidated B-36, the Boeing B-50, the Northrop B-35 Flying Wing, and its jet-powered version, the B-49. Their 5,000-mile radius would put Europe within six- to seven-hour range of the new Aroostook base.

The chosen site on Aroostook's fog-free plateau was 7,200 rolling acres of potato and pine lands outside Limestone Village, only 4 miles from the Canadian border and 30 from the wartime air-ferry hub at Presque Isle. Because of the immense weight of the new super-bombers, the AAF figured it was easier to build the mammoth new 10,000-foot runway from scratch than to convert Presque Isle or any other field.

The AAF planned to break ground June 15, as soon as the spring thaws are over. Since Aroostook has a virtually sub-arctic climate, it would take two summers, perhaps three, to complete work. Only then would the field be ready to base two air groups of perhaps 30 bombers each. Presumably, a twin base for the AAF's over-the-Arctic air strategy would be built in the northwestern part of the country to match Aroostook's hot-test potato.



Newsweek Map by James Gutter  
Aroostook: Six bomber hours to Europe

SAC, St. Paul

July 9, 1947

Director, FBI

F. W. GSCHLECHT  
SECURITY MATTER - C

For your information only, there are forwarded copies of a letter from the subject to an unidentified newspaper. This correspondence was received anonymously in an envelope postmarked Minneapolis, Minnesota, 6 p.m., June 5, 1947.

Enclosure

RECORDED

HR:FM

EX-56

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Egan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gurnea \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Pennington \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION  
MAILED 4  
JUL 9 - 1947 P.M.  
INVESTIGATION

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/16/93 BY SP10SKJC  
228303

*Calder*  
*[Signature]*  
*[Signature]*



Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington D.C.

ANONYMOUS COMMUNICATION  
BEEP ENVELOPE ATTACHED

statements, contain malicious remarks, defame any person or if they are not signed by the writer.

## m For Readers

### Doesn't Like Republicans

Sir:—All this peace drive of Harold E. Stassen, and his so-called love for labor is one the workers should watch out for. Now we have two men back from Europe. To make long story real short, one stands for the common man. His name is Henry Wallace, and the other is Harold E. Stassen, who stands for the bankers.

Stassen, and the rest of the Republicans know for one thing that '48 is the year when the fight is on between the bankers and the workers. What do they do to try to fool the workers to run Stassen to try to save the bankers so-called democracy. What they mean by democracy, they mean democracy for themselves.

Yes, Communism is misery to the bankers. What to ask who are the people? Who is enjoying democracy? It is not the workers for sure. It is about time the people are coming to. With all the Stassen, they won't get any place. What have the Republicans done for the workers? Not one thing. All over the land people are going Wallace ways. Election in California, Washington, and down East, they want Wallace. Vital problems are facing the people.

F. W. GSCHLECHT.  
175 1/2 E. Congress.

*St. Paul Minn*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/16/83 BY SP1 RSB/TC  
228303

RECORDED **FBI**  
34 JUN 7 1947

162-71788-55

7/9/47  
H. R.  
H. R.

*Ranstad*

*Anonymous - no ack. by*



Officers: Wilson W. Wyatt, national chairman; Leon Henderson, chairman of the executive committee; Louis Harris, national treasurer; Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., national vice-chairman; Mator Hubert Humphrey, of Minneapolis, national vice chairman; Joseph Loeb, Jr., executive secretary.

Board members: Harvey Brown, Melvyn Douglas, David Dubinsky, George Edwards, Ethel S. Epstein, Hugo Ernst, William Evjue, David Ginsburg, Lester G. Ganger, Sal B. Hoffman, James Killen, Frank McCullough, B.F. McLaurin, Othoer J. Mischo, Reinhold Neibuhr, Mrs. Gifford Pinchot, Edward P. Pritchard, Right Rev. William Scarlett, Arthur M. Schelsinger, Jr., Monroe Sweetland, Barney Taylor, Mrs. M.E. Tilly.

Other prominent new dealers include Chas. Bolte, chairman of the AVC; Andrew Biechiller, former Milwaukee Congressman; and Herbert Lehman, former UNRRA head.

#### NEW YORK LIBERAL PARTY

The Liberal Party of New York State has gone on record in favor of the Truman intervention scheme. A recent official party statement declared:

The Liberal Party greet's President Truman's message to Congress proposing immediate and adequate aid to Greece and Turkey.

Vice chairmen of the New York Liberal Party include George S. Counts, Alex Rose, and Reinhold Neibuhr. The executive director is Ben Davidson.

#### ANOTHER NEW DEAL CROWD ON THE BANDWAGON

Another New Deal crowd that is quietly promoting the Truman scheme is Freedom House, Inc.

The board of directors of Freedom House have voted overwhelmingly to support the President's program. This fact is announced in the April issue of Freedom House News Letter, and it is based on a poll of their board of directors.

The following directors of Freedom House are specifically in favor of the Truman intervention program:

Dr. Harry D. Gideonse, Thomas K. Finletter, Leo Cherne, "ev. Geo. B. Ford, Elmo Roper, Herbert Bayard Swope, Bishop Henry W. Hobson, Newbold Morris, Spyros P. Skouras, Rex Stout, George Field, Herbert Agar, Cass Canfield, Norman Cousins, George Fielding Elliot, Christopher T. Emmet, Jr., Mrs. Henry Gale, Arthur J. Goldsmith, Harold K. Ginzburg, Mrs. Andrew Jackson, Rev. William C. Kiernan, Edgar Ansel Mowrer, Eliz. M. Riley, Nathaniel Singer, Frederick F. Umhey.

This new letter did not report the views of Freedom House Director Chester Bowles, although his OPA associate, Paul Porter, is a leading ball carrier on the Greek deal.

#### NEW DEALERS 95 PER CENT FOR TRUMAN DOCTRINE

Mr. Speaker, the foregoing evidence seems to indicate that 95 percent of the leaders of the New Deal socialistic crowd in America are for the new handout venture.

The fact that administration propaganda seems to have been able to magnify Henry Wallace's opposition into confusing the thinking of some Congressmen bespeaks the power of modern political hypnosis.

"I do not want to be on the same side as Henry Wallace is the wall that goes up among conservative Democrats and Republicans. And so they may play right into the hands of the New Deal by voting for the Turko-Greek scheme.

by setting that scheme into motion they may enable Stalin to sit on his front porch and watch America bleed to death.

Mr. Speaker, I pointed out the foregoing danger to an able member of Congress recently. His answer was, "Howard, I think you are giving Stalin credit for being smarter than he really is." Now the question I want to ask is, "Will Stalin have to take every trick from America for 14 more years before Congress will concede the cleverness of his strategy?"

How long must we be fooled?

SAC, Washington Field

June 3, 1947

Director, FBI

YOUNG PROGRESSIVE CITIZENS OF AMERICA  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

A review of the Daily Worker at the Seat of Government for May 27, 1947, reflects that the Young Progressive Citizens of America are to hold in Washington, D. C. on June 16 a National Youth lobby for two days. Some 500 young leaders are, according to the Daily Worker, expected to take part in this lobby and will speak to Senators and Representatives on behalf of Federal aid to education, increased veterans' subsistence, the FEPC, the Taft-Ellender-Wagner Housing program, and on-the-job training. These young lobbyists were also reported to be in opposition to peacetime conscriptions.

Henry A. Wallace is to give an address which will climax this two-day lobby in which he will outline a program for youth. Headquarters of the lobby in Washington, D. C. will be the Washington Office of the Young Progressive Citizens of America at 1916 Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

The Bureau desires that your office arrange for informant coverage of the activities of this group while in Washington, D. C. Other offices receiving a copy of this letter are to report the activities of the Young Progressive Citizens of America within their Field Divisions in preparation for this meeting by letter to the Bureau promptly.

G. I. R. -5

As you are undoubtedly aware, the Progressive Citizens of America is a new front organization which is propagating the Communists' political aims for 1948. According to reports received to date, the Communists were active in the formation of this organization, and its program and activities not only have been supported and propagated by the Communist press, but have also closely paralleled that of the Communist Party. The Young Progressive Citizens of America is the youth group attached to the Progressive Citizens of America. An unconfirmed report has been received indicating that possibly the American Youth for Democracy will go out of existence and this Young Progressive Citizens of America organization will take its place. Consequently, all offices receiving a copy of this communication should be on the alert to report on the activities of this group while it is still in the embryonic stage.

cc New York

Baltimore

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

Newark

Boston

MAILED 10

JUN 4 1947 P.M.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. E. A. Tamm  
Mr. Clegg  
Mr. Glavin  
Mr. Ladd  
Mr. Nichols  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tracy  
Mr. Carson  
Mr. Egan  
Mr. Gurnea  
Mr. Harbo  
Mr. Mohr  
Mr. Pennington  
Mr. Quinn Tamm  
Tele. Room  
Mr. Nease

RECORDED

EX-43

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 4-29-80 BY SP2 TAP/IRM/RWS

#84,351

RECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-1349050-3

## Wallace to Talk At Youth Lobby

*file*

Henry A. Wallace will outline a program for youth in an address to a National Youth lobby in Washington June 16, the Young Progressive Citizens of America initiators of the event, announced yesterday.

Wallace's address will climax a two-day lobby by some 500 youth leaders, who will speak to Senators and representatives on behalf of federal aid to education, the 18-year-old vote, increased veterans' subsistence, the FEPC, the Taft-Ellender-Wagner Housing program and on-the-job training.

The young lobbyists will oppose peacetime conscriptions.

Headquarters of the lobby will be the Washington office of YPCA, 1916 St., N. W., Washington.

*[Handwritten signature]*

This is a clipping from  
Page 4 of the  
DAILY WORKER

Date 5-27-47  
Clipped at the Seat of  
Government.

*[Handwritten signature]*

ENCLOSURE

62-71788-56

73A-5 - distributed at P.H.C. Conference - Dated 5-25-45

THE NEW REPUBLIC  
40 East 49th Street  
New York, 17, N. Y.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/16/83 BY SP1GSK JC

file  
Text of address on  
AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY  
by Henry A. Wallace, Editor of the New Republic  
over the coast to coast network of the National Broadcasting Co.  
6:15 to 6:30 P.M., Thursday evening, March 13, 1947

Yesterday March 12, 1947, marked a turning point in American history. Fellow Americans, it is not a Greek crisis that we face, it is an American crisis. It is a crisis in the American spirit. That which I feared when I wrote President Truman last July has come upon us. Only the American people fully aroused and promptly acting can prevent disaster.

Yesterday President Truman, in the name of democracy and humanitarianism, proposed a military lend-lease program. He proposed a loan of \$400 million to Greece and Turkey as a down payment on an unlimited expenditure aimed at opposing communist expansion. He proposed, in effect, that America police Russia's every border. There is no regime too reactionary for us provided it stands in Russia's expansionist path. There is no country too remote to serve as the scene of a contest which may widen until it becomes a world war.

President Truman calls for action to combat a crisis. What is this crisis that necessitates Truman going to Capitol Hill as though a Pearl Harbor had suddenly hit us? How many more of these Pearl Harbors will there be? How can they be foreseen? What will they cost?

President Truman says that the people of Greece are homeless, hungry and ravaged by the losses of war. We all know this. It is not only the Greek people who are suffering from the war. It is the peoples of all Europe, of Russia, of China and of many lands.

Americans agree with President Truman that we must aid the people beside whom we fought. Americans ask: If aid to the people of the world is our objective, why did the President and the Congress allow the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration to die? Why are we doing nothing to help the million displaced persons without homes in Europe? Why are we speaking of only \$400 million when the need is far greater? Why is \$150 million of those \$400 million to

- more -

be given to Turkey which was no ally of ours and which is in no urgent need of food and supplies?

All Americans agree with President Truman that freedom is the most cherished of human goals, and should be helped to grow in all countries. These same Americans ask: How does support given to the undemocratic governments of Greece and Turkey aid the cause of freedom?

Turkey is a nation which fought against us in the first World War and which in this war refused to help the United Nations. Turkey fattened herself off the Germans and the Allies by offering her vital supplies of chrome to the highest bidder. Out of these sales she built up a gold reserve of a quarter of a billion dollars. Turkish neutrality lengthened the war by months. Turkey was a haven for Nazi leaders at the war's end. It is utter nonsense to assert today that the Turkish government is representative or democratic. Turkish sources state that the \$150 million that President Truman proposes to give Turkey is to be used to maintain her army of a million men, -- equivalent to 7 million men in terms of the United States. In what sense is this an army of freedom? Many allied divisions were immobilized throughout the war because we never knew on whose side this same Turkish army was preparing to fight.

Everyone admires the Greek people who fought on our side. They urgently need economic aid. I would be strongly for economic aid to Greece. As Secretary of Commerce I was for a Greek loan for such purposes when most of the administration was against it. But President Truman has made it clear that very little of the \$250 million loan to Greece is for economic reconstruction. It is a military subsidy to the Greek government to continue its efforts to stamp out all opposition. It is utter nonsense to suggest that the present Greek government is a democratic one. Three weeks ago our Secretary of State General Marshall condemned many aspects of that government. He called for a political amnesty, substantial unity and many reforms in the government as the conditions of American aid to Greece. Why did President Truman abandon the conditions set by his own Secretary of State? The President asks only that American civilian and military personnel supervise the use made of American supplies. What do the activities of American Army officers in Greece have to do with peaceful reconstruction?

One year ago at Fulton, Missouri, Winston Churchill called for a diplomatic offensive

against Soviet Russia. By sanctioning that speech Truman committed us to a policy of combating Russia with British resources. That policy proved to be so bankrupt that Britain can no longer maintain it. Now President Truman proposes we take over Britain's hopeless task. Today Americans are asked to support the governments of Greece and Turkey. Tomorrow we shall be asked to support the governments of China and Argentina.

I say that this policy is utterly futile. No people can be bought. America cannot afford to spend billions and billions of dollars for unproductive purposes. The world is hungry and insecure, and the peoples of all lands demand change. American loans for military purposes won't stop them. President Truman cannot prevent change in the world any more than he can prevent the tide from coming in or the sun from setting. But once America stands for opposition to change we are lost. America will become the most hated nation in the world.

Russia may be poor and unprepared for war but she knows very well how to reply to Truman's declaration of economic and financial pressure. All over the world Russia and her ally poverty will increase the pressure against us. Who among us is ready to predict that in this struggle American dollars will outlast the grievances that lead to communism? I certainly don't want to see communism spread. I predict that Truman's policy will spread communism in Europe and Asia. You can't fight something with nothing. When Truman offers unconditional aid to King George of Greece, he is acting as the best salesman communism ever had. In proposing this reckless adventure Truman is betraying the great tradition of America and the leadership of the great American who preceded him.

Coming two days after the opening of the Moscow Conference, President Truman's speech has undermined General Marshall's assignment of cooperating with Great Britain, France and Russia in writing the peace. The United Nations, our great hope for peace, rests on the continued cooperation of these nations and will be gravely weakened if America follows the course that Truman recommends. The United Nations Commission is now in Greece investigating the threat to Greek security. If Greece is in danger let the United Nations tell us the facts and recommend action. America will do what the United Nations recommends. Why should President Truman undercut its action? How can

we wage a war of nerves against Russia and expect her to take in good faith our proposals to the United Nations on atomic energy? When President Truman proclaims the world-wide conflict between East and West, he is telling the Soviet leaders that we are preparing for eventual war. They will reply by measures to strengthen their position in the event of war. Then the task of keeping the world at peace will pass beyond the power of the common people everywhere who want peace. Certainly it will not be freedom that will be victorious in this struggle. Psychological and spiritual preparation for war will follow financial preparation; civil liberties will be restricted; standards of living will be forced downward; families will be divided against each other; none of the values that we hold worth fighting for will be secure.

Most Americans fear that the actions proposed by President Truman will lead to disaster. That is why congressional leaders were prepared in advance for the President's message. That is why the program was presented piece by piece, and not as an overall program that Americans could look at and judge as a whole. No hypocritical appeal to the generosity and decency of the American people should be permitted to draw us into a commitment for which there is no end in sight. Americans are for democracy and for economic reconstruction. As one American citizen I say: No loan to undemocratic and well-fed Turkey: No loan to Greece until a representative Greek government is formed and can assure America that our funds will be used for the welfare of the Greek people.

To authorize the loans proposed by President Truman will bring the world nearer to war. To defeat these loans will not bring peace. I recognize that there is grave danger of eventual war in our present policy of drift. All nations are responsible for this drift to war; all nations must work together for peace.

No one wants war. If war comes one day, it will be because we have failed to think on the scale required for peace. Roosevelt thought on that scale. He foresaw generations of peace and plenty. Two years later President Truman asks us to look forward to generations of want and war. President Truman has summoned in a Century of Fear. I say this can be the century of the fulfillment of the American dream.

This is the time for an all-out world-wide reconstruction program for peace. This is



America's opportunity. The peoples of all lands say to America: Send us plows for our fields instead of tanks and guns to be used against us. The United Nations is waiting, ready to do the job. We should start with an economic plan for the Near East financed by the International Bank and backed by the United Nations. The dollars that are spent will be spent for the production of goods and will come back to us in a thousand different ways. Our program will be based on service instead of the outworn ideas of imperialism and power politics. It is a fundamental law of life that a strong idea is merely strengthened by persecution. The way to handle communism is by what William James called "the replacing power of the higher affection." In other words, we must give the common man all over the world something better than communism. I believe we have something better than communism here in America. But President Truman has not spoken for the American ideal. It is now the turn of the American people to speak.

Common sense is required of all of us in realizing that helping militarism never brings peace. Courage is required of all of us in carrying out a program that can bring peace. Courage and common sense are the qualities that made America great. Let's keep those qualities now.

####

*THE NEW REPUBLIC*  
40 East 49th Street  
New York, 17, N. Y.

SAC, New York

June 19, 1947

Director, FBI

HENRY AGARD WALLACE  
INFORMATION CONCERNING

RECORDED

62-71788-58

EX-65

RECORDED There is being submitted herewith a photostatic copy of a memorandum dated May 22, 1947, setting forth information concerning the wide speaking tour of the captioned individual. This memorandum was furnished to the Bureau by an unknown outside source and it is being furnished to the New York Office for its information.

Attachment

HOB:mjp

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/16/83 BY SP1GSK/SC  
228303

G. I. R. -5

Mr. Tolson	COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
Mr. E. A. Tamm	
Mr. Clegg	
Mr. Glavin	MAILED 6
Mr. Ladd	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tracy	JUN 19 1947 P.M.
Mr. Carson	
Mr. Egan	
Mr. Gurnea	
Mr. Harbo	
Mr. Hendon	
Mr. Pennington	FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Mr. Quinn Tamm	U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
Mr. Nease	
Miss Gandy	

31 JUN 21 1947 49

Handwritten signature

New York City  
May 22, 1947.

REPORT ON HENRY WALLACE'S

TOUR.

Henry Wallace, making a coast-to-coast speaking tour, has been greeted by "standing room only" audiences, The New Republic, of which Wallace is titular editor, reported May 21.

"It is interesting to note that Wallace, in previous speaking tours as Vice President and Cabinet member, appeared in all of these cities, but was never previously received with as great interest and enthusiasm," the magazine says in a statement.

The magazine summarizes speaking dates and attendances;

Cleveland, O., May 2: Capacity audience of 4,000. Unable to obtain tickets, were another 1,500, according to local newspapers.

Minneapolis, May 12: Six thousand paid admittance fees, to fill hall to capacity. "This was the first time the hall had been filled for a political rally since the days of Floyd Olsen, at which time there was no admission charge."

U. of Minnesota, May 13: One thousand students turned away after 2,500 had crowded Campus Hall.

Chicago, May 14: Twenty thousand paid from \$.60 to \$2.40, filling Chicago Stadium for the first time in political history. Overflow, 2,000.

U. of Chicago, May 14: Two thousand students bought \$.30 tickets within four hours of announcement of sale; 1,000 turned away.

U. of Michigan, May 15: Five thousand crowded Masonic Auditorium, 1,000 more heard Wallace over basement loudspeakers, and 2,000 to 3,000 listened to public address system in Cadillac Sq.

U. of Michigan, May 15: Five thousand, third of student body, went without lunch to jam Hill Auditorium.

Los Angeles, May 19: Gilmore Stadium's 27,000 seats sold out.

\* \* \*

Speaking in San Francisco at the Opera House on May 21, Wallace drew a crowd of 3,250, at capacity, with 2,500 on the outside listening thru a loud speaker.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/16/83 BY SP-8/SCC  
228303

RECORDED  
EX-65

71788-58

See New York  
6/19/47

ANONYMOUS COMMUNICATION  
KEEP ENVELOPE ATTACHED

dh

1-2/04

THIS IS A SAMPLE OF COMMIE  
CARLTON

PROPAGANDA. THEY WERE SURE OF  
A SAVAGE VICTORY, CONSEQUENTLY  
WANTED CREDIT FOR THIS VICTORY OWING  
TO THE FACT THAT HE ENDORSED  
WALLACE. I DON'T MEAN TO IMPLY THAT SAVAGE  
ENDORSED AND WANTED THE BACKING OF THE  
COMMITTEES, ON THE CONTRARY HE DID NOT WANT  
THEM TO BE SO OBVIOUS.

HENRY A.

57 JUN 26 1947

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

JUN 19 1947

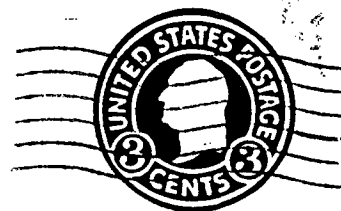
ENCL. ATTACHED

EX-64

DATE 3/16/83 BY SPICER

U.S. G.I.R.-5

PROGRESSIVE COMMUNIST OF AMERICA  
228303



Mr. HOOVER

CHIEF OF F.B.I.

WASHINGTON

D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/16/83 BY SP1A SK JC

ENCLOSURE



62-71788-59

ENCLOSURE

62-71788-59  
CALLING ALL DEMOCRATS

WALLACE IS WARNING YOU

"A Vote For MACK is a Vote for War"

**Forget Smith Troy**

Stick To The Party "LINE"

**WIN WITH THE COMMUNISTS**

ELECT **SAVAGE** ELECT

**ON THE DEMOCRATIC TICKET**

**UNITED WE STAND**

ACCELERATE THE REVOLUTION

**SAFE WITH SAVAGE**

READ

**"TOWARDS A SOVIET AMERICA"**

W. Z. FOSTER, CHAIRMAN OF THE C. P. A. COMMUNIST PARTY U.S.A.

**- REPUDIATE THE TRUMAN DOCTRINE -**

**Stop All Aid to Greece Outlaw the Atom Bomb**

**VOTE WITH THE COMMUNISTS**

**SAVAGE**

**YOUR NEXT CONGRESSMAN and OURS**

FINAL ELECTION

JUNE 7th 1947

**a vote for Mack is a vote for Truman**

**SUPPORT THE P.C.A.**

**DEFEND THE SOVIET UNION**

Published by the Progressive Communists of America (P.C.A.)

**MACK IS NOT THE MAN**

**WE WANT WALLACE**

DATE 05-14-2019

BY:  

JUL 24, 1947.

NO: 449

RECEIVED FROM THE STATE DEPARTMENT  
THROUGH   ON CHANNELS~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DATE 6-27-47

RRR

Subject: Visit of Mr. Henry A. Wallace to Stockholm.

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,  
Washington.*Sweden - Col.*

I. R. 5

RECD TEL

May 27, 1947 air:

10227 a. m.

ACTION:

EUR

INFO:

OCD

FC

DCR

OIC

EUR/X

ITP

SPA

NAVY

POE

G-3-16-10

With reference to the Legation's confidential telegram No. 343 of April 19, 1947, I have the honor to submit herewith a summary account of the speech made by Mr. Henry A. Wallace before a gathering of some 1,000 people at the Stockholm University on April 18, 1947. This summary is based on notes taken by members of the Legation who attended the meeting, as well as on the relatively brief accounts of the speech published in the Stockholm press on April 19.

Mr. Wallace's arrival in Sweden had been preceded by considerable advance publicity featuring his personal idealism and political career, with special stress laid on his time as Vice President and his close teamwork with President Franklin D. Roosevelt. Simultaneously, the Swedish press had devoted much editorial space to Mr. Wallace's recent speeches in England and his campaign against current American foreign policy. On the whole, these press comments expressed much sympathy with his idealistic motives as such, but most commentators were strongly skeptical as to the wisdom of his campaign and doubted that his theories could ever be carried out in practice. It was thus felt that he was making himself the victim of wishful thinking. Swedish observers found it difficult to understand just what he wanted for achieving greater international understanding, but the gist of his speeches was felt to be a recommendation for a conciliatory attitude toward the Soviet Union and a strong limitation in America's foreign undertakings and commitments.

Apart from the Communist press and a few Social Democratic papers which seemed to subscribe to Mr. Wallace's policy of "engagement" toward Russia, Swedish observers in general felt that he was in effect counteracting his own purposes by picturing American foreign policy as being "aggressive", "imperialistic" and "hostile to the Soviet Union". While paying due tribute to his personal integrity, righteousness and idealism, Swedish commentators maintained that he was blind to the chief cause of the present international tension, namely Russia's own intractableness, and it was felt that he could not convince realistic people that one-sided concessions, tolerance and "ostrich tactics" were the right means for preserving peace.

On the other hand, even those Swedish observers who thus expressed most strident criticism about the result of Mr. Wallace's

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RECORDED

44 &amp;

INDEXED

31 JUL 3 1947

EX-74

EX-74

RECORDED

162 - 71788 - 60  
F B I "Mission"

63 JUL 14 1947

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~*File  
JCS*

b6

b7c



Stockholm, Sweden  
April 24, 1947.  
Despatch NO. 449

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"mission" failed to understand how his present campaign could cause any real difficulties to Washington's official foreign policy, and they reacted against the suggestions that he be muzzleed through having his passport withdrawn.

The Swedish Democratic press mainly confined itself to publishing articles featuring Mr. Wallace's achievements in American domestic politics, while it preferred to take a non-committal stand to his theses on international policy.

Mr. Wallace arrived in Stockholm in the evening of April 17 as the guest of an idealist-pacifist organization called the Society for International Cooperation for Peace ("Föreningen Mellanfolkligt Samarbete för Fred"). Co-sponsors of his lecture in Stockholm were the Swedish Cooperative Union, the Federation of Labor, the Swedish Committee of the World Federation of Democratic Youth, various women's organizations, and a newly established pacifist organ called *Världshorisont* ("World Horizon"). Aside from the Federation of Labor and the Cooperative Union, the sponsors of Mr. Wallace's visit were thus politically insignificant societies embracing mainly radicals and idealists.

Mr. Wallace was met at the Stockholm airport by, among others, Mr. Olof Aschberg, an old Swedish banker known to have helped finance the Swedish labor movement in the days when it lacked funds and who is also understood to have been one of the financiers of the Bolsheviks at the time of the Russian revolution. Mr. Aschberg, who is now the owner of *Finlandstidningen*, made Mr. Wallace welcome in a short speech, whereupon the Stockholm Workers' Men's Choir sang the American national anthem. At a press conference following these ceremonies, Mr. Wallace said, in part, that he had extended his tour to include the Scandinavian countries partly because he believed that there was a real public latency in the United Nations here, partly because he had relatives in Sweden, and partly because he was interested in the economic situation here. He declined to discuss American foreign policy but disclosed that he was opposed to the aid to Greece and Turkey in the form proposed. During his visit to England he had gained the impression that 99 per cent of the British people desired understanding with Russia, while the percentage for the United States was "substantially less". A friendly Russian posture, for example if the score of Russian women married to British subjects were granted exit permits from the Soviet Union, would probably improve Anglo-Russian relations. Mr. Wallace said in reply to special questions that he had no intention to form any political party of his own for the 1948 elections; a third party would be necessary only, if it proved that the Democratic Party was developing in an ultra-conservative direction. He believed that Sweden would probably in the future be facing very difficult times in the economic field.

SA 1147

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

similar to those in the United States since both countries had had their productive capacity increased during the war and were therefore confronted with difficulties in the world markets. He expressed the hope for universal disarmaments, saying that all countries were in need of reduced armaments to speed up their recovery after the war; the Soviet Union needed this more than perhaps any other country. He hoped for more intimate relations between the Soviet Union and the Anglo-Saxon Powers and declared that the Scandinavian countries, holding a key position in this respect, would be able to make a great contribution as intermediaries. He concluded with the statement that if he were to receive an invitation to visit the Soviet Union and if he were convinced that a visit there would serve the cause of peace, he could gladly make the journey.

The arrival of Mr. Wallace and his press interview were prominently featured by the Stockholm morning papers on April 13, and the sponsors of his visit added to the publicity by inserting advertisements announcing free admission to the meeting at the Stockholm University where he was to make his only public appearance during his brief visit.

Mr. Wallace was the guest of honor at a luncheon given at the Grand Hotel in Stockholm on April 13 by Mr. Olof Aschberg in his capacity as the proprietor of the United Nations magazine. Some 250 guests were present, all of whom had apparently been invited at Mr. Aschberg's expense. The latter presided; at his right sat Mr. Wallace and at his left Social Minister Gustav Miller. Next to them were seated the Soviet Minister Mr. G. M. Malenkov, Mrs. Miller, and two of Sweden's leading champions of women's rights, novelist Larika Sjoberg and Dr. Hanne Ribb. Among the guests were representatives of all prominent sectors of Swedish life, right wing as well as left wing journalists, leaders of various political parties, heads of leading associations, artists, musicians, scientists, public officials, and others.

Mr. Aschberg introduced Mr. Wallace in a short speech; Mr. Wallace then spoke for about forty minutes, after first having told the luncheon guests that he had not intended to make a speech. The major themes of his remarks were: (1) the need for a "Fitting United Nations"; (2) the need for understanding between the United States and the Soviet Union; and (3) "a new deal for a new world". He spoke of the extreme danger of war and reiterated that he had said in his earlier interview that whereas in Great Britain he was assured that 99 per cent of the population was opposed to war with Russia, he thought the percentage was by no means so high in the United States. He was certain that there was no one in Sweden who believed that Russia was a very dangerous

CONFIDENTIAL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Stockholm, Sweden  
April 24, 1947.  
Despatch No. 449

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

-4-

Scandinavian territory. In order to avoid any misunderstanding, he made it clear that he was a "capitalist" and that he was neither a Socialist nor a Communist. On the other hand, he sincerely hoped that Communism would be successful in the Soviet Union, just as he hoped that "capitalist democracy" would be successful in the United States. By "successful" he meant the achievement of maximal production. Referring to the press criticism in the United States of his speeches abroad on American foreign policy, he stoutly defended his right "as a citizen of the world" to speak in favor of peace wherever he chose to do so. He emphatically denounced the "mentality" which advocated the lifting of his passport on account of his speeches abroad, and he declared that he would have something to say about this publicly when he returned to the United States.

On the whole, Mr. Wallace's speech was a fervent plea for the United Nations and for peace, and while it was at times critical of opinions in the United States and elsewhere--which he interpreted as hostile to his ideals--he made no direct attack on American foreign policy and was thus much more moderate in his expressions than he appears to have been in England. The applause was not overly enthusiastic and seemed to come from certain sections of the audience only. His talk seemed too long for a luncheon speech and became obviously boring at the end for many listeners. On the other hand, he impressed a great many of them by his zeal for his fitting liberalism.

Mr. Wallace was the guest of Social Minister and Mrs. Gustav Uller at a small informal dinner on April 16 in a private dining room at a Stockholm restaurant. There were only twelve persons at the table, including Mrs. Karin KOCH-LI BOM (the newly appointed Minister without Portfolio and Sweden's first woman Cabinet Minister), Mr. Sven LINDBLAD (the Chief of the Press Division of the Foreign Office) and several undersecretaries of various Ministries. Mr. Uller welcomed Mr. Wallace with a prepared speech in which he paid his respects to an ex-Vice-President of the United States, a former holder of an important Cabinet post, and a great American, and he stressed the strong ties linking Sweden and the United States. He praised Mr. Wallace's humanitarian idealism and his work for peace through the United Nations, and Mr. Wallace responded with thanks for the warm reception given him in Sweden and with complimentary remarks about the high level of civilization in this country. In the course of the dinner, Mr. Wallace made inquiries about the political party set-up in Sweden and was particularly interested in the Liberal Party, whose leader is Professor Bertil OHLIN. Although most of the guests present were Social Democrats and thus opposed to Professor Ohlin's party, Mr. Wallace observed that if Professor Ohlin were the kind of Liberal they described, "he

could

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

could hardly be a very dangerous man"--i.e., hardly dangerous to progressive movements generally or "to the world". Mr. Wallace then inquired about the possibility of a strong peace movement in Sweden and at one point asked Social Minister Ekblom whether he agreed with his (Wallace's) general plan for preserving peace. Mr. Ekblom replied that he thought the general idea was good but that he did not know for certain whether war could be avoided. Mr. Wallace said: "Well, if you are not willing to be a prophet, are you willing to be an evangelist, to fight for peace?" to which Mr. Ekblom replied that he naturally could. Mr. Wallace said that he was impressed with the fact that the Scandinavians, although they had once been a most warlike race, had finally settled down to establish an admirable and peaceable way of life. "If the Scandinavians with their background can do that, I guess there's some hope for the rest of us", he concluded.

As far as the Legation has been able to find out, Mr. Wallace did not discuss during the dinner party the foreign policy of the United States with Swedish officials, nor did the Russian problem arise except at one point. Mr. Ekblom said that he thought the traditional anti-Russian sentiment in Sweden was not nearly so widespread among the labor class as it used to be. Even in pre-Soviet days, he said, the Swedish labor movement had made an effort to dispel the anti-Russian feelings among the workers. He declared that the bitterness on the part of Social Democratic labor leaders against decisive Communist tactics within the Swedish labor movement was purely a domestic issue and had nothing of the anti-Soviet flavor in it. Parenthetically, at his lecture the same evening Mr. Wallace made use of this observation in saying that here in Sweden, as elsewhere, he had found that anti-Communism was underlining the "liberal" movement by splitting it up into opposing camps.

The dinner party broke up shortly before eight o'clock, and Mr. Wallace left for the Stockholm University where he was to lecture. The sponsors of the meeting had apparently not reckoned with as large an audience as actually turned up, and all advance arrangements had to be cancelled and new ones improvised instead. The lecture hall originally booked accommodated only some 400 persons and was packed to the limit long before seating hour, while a huge throng of some 300 more people was waiting outside, blocking the doors. The result was that when Mr. Wallace arrived he was unable to enter the hall. The organizers of the meeting then decided to have the lecture moved to a larger hall nearby accommodating some 1,000 listeners, and a great tumult developed when the crowd surged through the streets to fill the new place to the brim. The audience consisted mainly of intellectuals, just about as many women as there were men, and there were many young scientists, including Americans now studying at the university. The American Colony in Stockholm, of course, well represented at the meetings when Mr. Wallace finally came to

Speak

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CONFIDENTIAL

speak before this crowd, it was clear that he was enormously pleased; the turnout was undoubtedly far better than he had hoped for.

Mr. Wallace was introduced to the audience by Miss Kerstin HESSELGREN, the "grand old lady" of Swedish politics and the first woman to become a member of the Riksdag, representing the Liberal Party; Miss Hesselgren is at the present time the Chairman of the Society for International Cooperation for Peace, and it was in that capacity she made Mr. Wallace welcome.

In his speech, the contents of which are summarized in the enclosed memorandum, Mr. Wallace paid great and flattering tribute to Sweden for its achievements in the social and economic fields and in peaceful pursuits in general, and he stressed the important role reserved for the Scandinavians as intermediaries and moderators between the Communist East and the Capitalist West. Otherwise, Mr. Wallace added nothing new to what he had said on earlier occasions in recent weeks, although he appeared to be more moderate in his criticism of the foreign policy of the United States and advocated a middle-way policy within the framework of the United Nations rather than a policy of appeasement vis-a-vis Russia. He warned against continued armaments and appealed to what he described as the non-belligerent Right to exercise its great influence in favor of peace, for "a few well-to-do people who want peace can neutralize the warlike forces much more effectively than thousands of aggressive left-wingers". He had come to Sweden not to appeal to the intellectual Left but to the pacifist Right, because in Scandinavia the employers had given so many demonstrations of their understanding and willingness to cooperate with trade unions and cooperatives in order to increase the prosperity of the common people. Mr. Wallace expressed his satisfaction with the interest in the United Nations which he believed he had found in Sweden and hoped that the Swedes would be able to activate the work within the Economic and Social Councils of the U. N., whose important tasks had come to be overshadowed by the Security Council and its strifes.

The one-hour speech was interrupted by applause on several points and Mr. Wallace was cheered by an enthusiastic audience when he had finished.

Compared with the great publicity given Mr. Wallace in the Swedish press prior to his arrival in Stockholm, the coverage given his speech by the Stockholm morning papers on April 19 was relatively meager, many papers devoting most of the space to dramatic descriptions of the tumult which preceded the meeting. The Liberal-Radical ~~EXPRESSEN~~ (April 19) in this connection took the sponsors of the meeting strongly to task for having misjudged so completely the public interest in hearing Mr. Wallace

speak.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Stockholm, Sweden  
April 24, 1947.  
Despatch No. 449

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

speak. This paper wrote that nothing short of a regular mass meeting ought to have been arranged: "The interest in that 'other America' which Wallace represents so admirably is not confined to a small clique of radicals and Liberal intellectuals. Thousands of friends of peace in Stockholm missed this unique opportunity to see and listen to America's peace evangelist number one."

Otherwise, there were very few editorial comments on Mr. Wallace's speech. It appeared to be felt that he had added but little to his earlier declarations which had already been extensively commented on by the Swedish press. However, the Liberal-Christian SVENSKA MORGENBLADET, which from its own ethical standpoint had previously expressed much admiration for Henry Wallace because of his personal chastity and idealism, in a leading article on April 19 took a very critical attitude toward Mr. Wallace's foreign-political theses, saying in part:

"It is totally absurd to maintain that the Truman regime and the Congress Foreign Relations Committees are bent on war. They want to safeguard peace, but they believe, like Roosevelt did, that this will not be possible by incessant complaisance and pacifist paroles. The leaders of American foreign policy surely also want to make the United Nations a strong instrument of peace, but the U.N. does not have that strong position as yet. Wallace's eager citing of that internationale appears rather an empty phrase if it right now came to solving quickly a practical difficulty for a small nation. Wallace's appearance before the meeting in Stockholm gave the impression of obscure judgment. For example, what is one to say about his phrase: 'I refuse to believe that all people with money want war with Russia'. Such is nonsense."

Another Liberal newspaper, UPSALA NYA TIDNING, one of the very few Swedish press organs to take a truly factual interest in the work of the United Nations, wholeheartedly subscribed to Mr. Wallace's appeal for increased support of the U.N., but added the following reservations in a leading article on April 22:

"Wallace is touring those countries where he believes he will find some response. He does not address himself to the governments, he has no diplomatic mission. He speaks to the peoples, he is seeking to arouse public movements. His words would carry greater weight, however, were he not in many quarters looked upon as being partial in Russian favor, something for which he has himself to blame because of certain earlier, less reliable statements."

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The Conservative SVENSKA DAGBLADET on April 22 published the following open letter from one of its readers addressed to Mr. Henry A. Wallace:

"Sir:

"Would it not be appropriate for you to consider the following question: If you had been a Russian and had spoken about Stalin in the same way as you have now criticized Truman's policy, what would then have happened upon your return to Russia?"

Although this letter may not be representative of the average Swedish attitude toward Mr. Wallace's "mission", it does express what many Swedes appear to have considered to be the truly weak spot in his campaign; namely, his disavowal of his own country's policy and his seeming partiality in Russia's favor. On the whole, Mr. Wallace's appearance in Stockholm gave the impression that he had overestimated the public interest in world affairs in general and in the tasks of the United Nations in particular. The idealistic but quite influential people who sponsored his visit here are hardly representative of the average Swede, who although definitely peace-loving is relatively indifferent to international politics. Seen in that light, it seems unlikely that Mr. Wallace's propaganda lecture in Stockholm found any response outside those circles which were won for his cause already.

Respectfully yours,

For the Minister:

Willard Quincy Stanton  
First Secretary of Legation

Enclosure:

Summary of speech.

Copies to:

Office of Military Attaché, Stockholm.  
American Embassy, London.  
American Embassy, Oslo.  
American Embassy, Copenhagen.  
American Embassy, Moscow.  
American Legation, Helsinki.

Original and hectograph to Department.

File No. 030

WQStanton:WES:ljh

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Lecture of Speech No. 445, from the American Legation, Stockholm, Sweden, dated April 24, 1947, on the subject of Henry A. Wallace's visit to Sweden, April 18-19, 1947.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SUMMARY OF SPEECH MADE BY HENRY A. WALLACE  
AT STOCKHOLM UNIVERSITY ON APRIL 18, 1947.

Mr. Wallace began by paying high tribute to Sweden and the Swedes, "the most highly civilized nation on earth", saying, inter alia:

Scandinavians have always known that there is no substitute for hard work, for thrift, for a sense of responsibility. That is why they enjoy such universally high esteem in every section of the United States. For 100 years the Scandinavians have not had placed upon them the same responsibility for world leadership as have England, France, Russia, and the United States. They have avoided large military expenditures, avoided the danger of throwing their weight around in power politics. They have perfected their internal economy. They have specialized in those exports and imports which should best raise their standards of living. They have evolved the theory of mixed economy. They realize that they are still subject to serious difficulties resulting from depressions in the United States and misunderstanding between the Great Powers. Scandinavia more than any other part of the world except possibly New Zealand and Australia, has lowered illiteracy, increased longevity and taken care of fundamental economic rights. Methods have sometimes been socialistic, shown greater concern for the man at the bottom of the pile than for the man at the top, sometimes taxed private property so heavily as to stifle private initiative.

There will never be full peace in the world until Scandinavians play a highly progressive role in serving as moderators between the Germanic peoples of northern Europe, the Slavs and the Anglo-Saxons. You are concerned with the danger of Russia expanding, but you are equally concerned with the danger of a fear-dominated United States abandoning the principles of world cooperation and helping to create a situation which would result in a war in which Scandinavia might serve as one of the first battlegrounds. One gentleman said today that he scarcely knew whether he preferred Scandinavia occupied by Russia and liberated by the United States, or occupied by the United States and liberated by Russia. In any event he would probably find himself in the resistance movement.

I remember my surprise about a year ago just after the Russians had evacuated Bornholm and a Swedish correspondent asked me when the Americans intended to leave Iceland. I asked him whether the Scandinavians did not want the Americans to remain in Iceland as a protection against Russia, but the correspondent replied: "Absolutely not!" Whereupon I declared that in that case I felt that the American ought to leave. When this came out in the press, the American feelings against Russia were so much stronger than their respect for Scandinavian sovereignty that I was accused of sabotaging American foreign policy.

Even

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Even more than most people who want peace and security you are seriously disturbed as you contemplate the way in which both Russia and the United States are behaving. American capitalism, if it continues to be managed in the future as it has in the past, will inevitably produce world-shaking depressions which can easily result in dictatorships in many countries and eventually war for the whole world.

I have come to Scandinavia because it is time to build up a middle path of international feeling, not against Russian communism nor against American capitalism, but for a practical common man's democracy based on a suitable development of cooperatives, of small business, of river valley and atomic energy authorities with over-all monetary and fiscal policies managed according to the principles worked out by your foremost economists. Such a democracy will find its first perfect manifestation in northwestern Europe, Switzerland, Australia, or New Zealand. Such a democracy cannot be safe until the capitalistic democracy of the United States controls depressions, finds a basis for labor peace and eliminates the possibility of a war with Russia.

The common man in the United States and Sweden looks with horror on the continuous drive toward war which is being carried on in certain circles. I have come to Sweden not to appeal to the intellectual Left but to the non-belligerent, to the pacifist, Right. The reason why I am appealing particularly in Sweden to the non-belligerent Right is because in the Scandinavian countries the employers have given so many demonstrations of their understanding and willingness to cooperate with trade unions and cooperatives in order to increase the prosperity of the common people.

I refuse to believe that all people with money want war with Russia. On the contrary I am certain that many wealthy businessmen are convinced that it is possible to work out a system for living at peace in the same world with a nonimperialistic capitalistic United States and a nonimperialistic communistic Russia. The people of both countries desperately want peace, but the people unfortunately are being inflamed by propaganda. The leaders of both countries are certain that they can get advantages by pressure methods short of war. Unfortunately these pressure methods run the risk of war. Also these methods require huge investments in armaments by the United States, Russia, and Britain. Also these methods require political loans and indirect financing, as for example the British and American financing of the Turkish and Greek arsenals.

This is a delicate subject here in Sweden, which aside from the aforementioned three Great Powers is one of the few arms producing countries in the world today. I hope that everybody holding an interest in the Swedish armaments industry is entertaining

the

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

-3-  
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

the same high ideals as Alfred Nobel--who is more widely known for his philanthropic deeds and for his Peace Prize than as the inventor of dynamite. The world needs more ploughs and tractors and less tanks and air fortresses. We need more development of world trade and fewer atomic bombs, more cooperation between the United States and Russia, and fewer angry words. We need more action by the United Nations. We need more talk about international justice and less chauvinistic talk about "my country right or wrong." I am beginning to think that in the western world the non-belligerent Right is of very great importance. A few well-to-do people who want peace can neutralize this warlike force much more effectively than thousands of aggressive left-wingers. I want a program so broad on behalf of peace that no man of good will is shut out, no man even though he may have millions of dollars. Why shut him out from peace if his heart is for peace? Why shut him out by calling him a capitalist if we can help it?

A great British leader to whom we all owe a great debt of gratitude has honored me with the name of crypto-communist. It suggests that in some hidden and secret way I am maneuvering against the general welfare of the world. I refuse to be disturbed by any name-calling of this sort, no matter how distinguished may be the source from which the name-calling comes because I know that the cause of peace has never been served by name-calling. The cause of peace is never served by hatred. By love greater things can be achieved than by hatred.

When I appeared before a conservative group of the British Parliament I described myself as a "progressive Tory". I don't want to shock the people of Sweden by saying I am not a Socialist, and I am not a Communist. I have always refused in the US to say that I am not a Communist, because in the US they have used methods so utterly unfair against the Communists that it has tended to make them grow by process of persecution. Thus I have always refused in the US to say that I am not a Communist. These progressive Tories--and most of the liberal people in the US are not more progressive than the progressive Tories--these progressive Tories of whom I count myself one, would in the US be continually pushed from one position to another, and no matter how far they proceeded to the Right would still be on the run.

I am convinced that 99 per cent of the wealthy people of Sweden want peace and that they would be happy to cooperate with their opposite numbers in France, England, and the United States on behalf of peace. I have been so glad to learn here in Sweden of this newborn movement on behalf of the United Nations.

The days of imperialism are numbered. The nations which seek expansion and power will destroy themselves. The nations which seek to serve will profit enormously. Those are fundamental laws of life which the future will verify. I am sure that Sweden is in

a

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Enclosure  
Stockholm, Sweden.  
April 24, 1947.  
Despatch No. 449.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

a fine position to serve the world in a truly great way. Her scientists, her technologists, her economists and her businessmen stand at the forefront of knowledge. Untouched by war, Sweden can give dispassionate advice to both the US and Russia.

One of your foremost economists, Professor Gunnar Myrdal, has done much for us Americans, and we have been very much interested in his efforts to promote trade with Russia. I know that he is not so popular here right now, but I pay tribute to men of insight and courage no matter what their standing may be at the moment.

I was told in England that in the Secretariat of the United Nations there were employed 250 Americans, 150 Britishers, 60 to 70 Frenchmen but only 4 Russians. Speaking to the Russian Ambassador to Sweden I asked him: "Why doesn't Russia get more men into the United Nations' Secretariat? Why doesn't Russia come in wholeheartedly into the International Bank for Reconstruction, or into the UNESCO?"

(The speaker then expressed the hope that some time in future there would be a string of airports and roadways connecting North and South America with Siberia and the Eastern Hemisphere, and that there would be free travel to Moscow, yes, even to Stockholm. He said that he had mentioned this once to Molotov, who had replied: "The day will come". Added Mr. Wallace: "An apocalyptic vision long delayed".)

We hope that Sweden on political problems will be a source of conciliation. Sweden, standing midway in the path of any possible Third World War, cannot afford in any way to be lukewarm in any United Nations in which Russia and the United States are members. Only in one world and a strong United Nations can peace be found, but peace can never again be negative or passive. Peace must be positive, more exciting than war. Those who serve the United Nations should be looked on as the foremost citizens of the world, giving their lives and their careers to the cause of peace.

There are those who say that the world cannot continue to be one-third capitalistic, one-third socialistic, and one-third communistic, and that therefore there must be war. I have expressed my indignation over this criminal conception in such a way that my fellow citizens have asked whether there was no means for having my passport recalled. It may be that I will return home to reply to them sooner than they wish.

I hope that the Swedes in the United Nations may accelerate the work within the Economic and Social Councils, whose important tasks have come to be overshadowed by the strifes within the Security Council. The next General Assembly ought to make avail-

able

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Enclosure  
- Stockholm, Sweden.  
- April 24, 1947.  
Despatch No. 449.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

able tens of millions of dollars for vital research in economic and social world questions. Peace must be more positive, more exciting than war.

I find in Scandinavia people of tolerance and with a sincere wish for peace. You merely ask for the privilege of being allowed to work hard and with determination to foster your children in peace and prosperity. It is my dream that one day the people of the United States may follow your example in this respect.

NI/FA/IEL/AAN

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WALLACE GETS GROWING POPULAR SUPPORT

Moscow, Soviet Home Service, May 28, 1947, 3:30 p.m. EST--P

(Text)

New York--According to a correspondent of the UNITED PRESS, 3,600 persons attended a meeting at which former Vice President of the United States Wallace spoke. For Portland this is an unusually high figure of attendance at political meetings.

"The success attending the speech-making tour of Wallace and the large numbers of people who come to hear him, continue to evoke considerable comment in the press.

"The commentators of the (right), who until now endeavored to ignore Wallace, considering him an insignificant factor on the American political scene, are admitting that Wallace is enjoying extensive popular support, which may turn out to be an important factor in the elections next year. Thus, for example, the Washington correspondent of the UNITED PRESS, Wilson, who adheres to rightist views, writes that Wallace's tour has shown that he has active and enthusiastic followers, and that the National Committee of the Democratic Party is compelled to recognize the political strength of Wallace, (even though it dislikes him).

"Pointing out that Wallace drew large audiences, particularly in Chicago and Los Angeles, Wilson declares that the Democratic Party will be in great need of Wallace's support if it seeks victory in the Presidential elections next year. "

*Foreign Radio Broadcast #69 5/29/47*

RECORDED

62-71788-61

Grand Junction, Colorado  
June 27th, 1947.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Am addressing you at this time in regard to the activities and recent statements of <sup>HENRY HOWARD WALLACE</sup> Henry A. Wallace, who, from the tone of his recent utterances is willing to sacrifice the people of this country to a foreign form of government, in order to further his obvious campaign for the Presidency!

His connections are quite clear to those who know him as I have known him for 18 years, but many people, deceived by his <sup>RECORDED</sup> ~~hypocritical~~ <sup>62-81788-67</sup> squalls for peace, believe his ravings!

With World conditions as they are, this is no time to have a loud-mouthed agitator running around the country trying to turn people against our government which he is clearly doing.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/16/83 BY SP1 QSK/JC

It is about time to shut this fellow up, before he does too much damage!

No doubt you have covered all his meetings and noted his contacts!

While Wallace was in Denver on a recent date, he was contacted by Walter Walker, Publisher of the Grand Junction Sentinel, who has continually refused to publish anything critical of Wallace. There are, as you of course know, many times when a chain of contacts made by such as Wallace, form a very clear pattern, and I believe that his contacts, plus the character of the organizations that have sponsored his meetings have made a pattern bearing quite clearly the impression of the Hammer and Sickle! I have no personal interest in political

Yours. Sincerely.

B.W. Reynolds

Grand Junction  
Colorado.

Gen. Del.



June 20, 1947

Mr. B. W. Reynolds  
General Delivery  
Grand Junction, Colorado

Dear Mr. Reynolds:

Your letter dated June 7, 1947, has been received. Your thoughtfulness in writing and bringing your views to my attention is indeed appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/16/82 BY SP1GSK/CB  
228303

G.I.R. 5

NOTE: Correspondent complains in general about Liberals and Communists and particularly about Henry Wallace, whom he regards as a dangerous individual.

FEC:bjh

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Egan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gurnea \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Pennington \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

JUN 21 3 25 PM '47  
RECEIVED

Proctor H. June 1942

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover  
F. B. I.

Washington

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/16/83 BY SP1GSKJC

Dear Mr. Hoover

Some of the statements in the  
enclosed letter seem so very  
un-American to me that I  
felt it should be sent to you  
to inspect. H. June 1942

I have never come in contact  
with the man who wrote it but  
I have been informed that he  
served in our Intelligence Department,

in the last war, as an interpreter.

He wrote it in response to  
a question I put to the readers of

our local paper, the Rutland Herald,

in an open letter regarding their  
attitude about Mr. Henry Wallace

Detroit speech and it is not through  
FIVE

ack.  
7/2/49  
WVC

RECORDED  
INDEXED

62-71788-63

EX-40

EX-40

JUL 14 1949

one that Mr. Woshinsky has written  
in defense of Russia and her aims.

He may be just a very vociferous  
person but on the other hand a  
person with such definite feeling  
might easily become a dangerous  
alien enemy - and I felt it my  
duty - to report the case to you.

Very truly yours,  
— W. L. A. Collins —

(Mrs. Henry A. )

Mr. A. ~~W. L. A. Collins~~

Mrs. Henry A. ~~W. L. A. Collins~~

July 2, 1947

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/16/83 BY SP1GSKJC

228303

Mrs. Henry A. Collin  
Proctor, Vermont

Dear Mrs. Collin:

I wish to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated June 21, 1947, together with the enclosed letter received by you from Mr. Harry J. Woshinsky.

The information contained in these letters has been carefully reviewed and is being made a matter of permanent record in the files of this Bureau. Your interest in bringing this matter to my attention is greatly appreciated.

Should you have additional information in the future concerning this or any other matter which you feel should be brought to the attention of this Bureau, you may find it convenient to communicate directly with the Special Agent in Charge of our Albany Office located at 707 National Savings Bank Building, Albany 7, New York.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

CC: Albany

No information could be located in the Bureau's files concerning Harry J. Woshinsky or the writer of this letter. Enclosures

WVC:bb

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. E. A. Tamm  
Mr. Clegg  
Mr. Glavin  
Mr. Ladd  
Mr. Nichols  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tracy  
Mr. Egan  
Mr. Gurnea  
Mr. Harbo  
Mr. Mohr  
Mr. Pennington  
Mr. Quinn Tamm  
Mr. Nease  
Miss Gandy

RECEIVED HEADINGS  
JUL 3 4 44 PM '47

Proctor Vt. June 21, 1947

COPY

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover  
F.B.I.  
Washington D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover,

Some of the statements in the enclosed letter seem so very un-American to me that I felt it should be sent to you to inspect.

I have never come in contact with the man who wrote it but I have been informed that he served in our Intelligence Department, in the last War, as an interpreter.

He wrote it in response to a question I put to the readers of our local paper, The Rutland Herald, in an open letter, regarding their attitude about Mr. Henry Wallace Detroit speech and it is not the only one that Mr. Woshinsky has written in defense of Russia and her aims.

He may be just a very vociferous person but on the other hand a person with such definite feeling might easily become a dangerous alien enemy - and I felt it my duty to report the case to you.

Very truly yours,

Mila A. Collin

(Mrs. Henry A.)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/16/83 BY SP12500  
228303

Rutland, Vermont  
1947  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED 228303  
DATE 5/16/83 BY SP1GSKT/C

Dear Mrs. Collin;

I have read your letter to the editor of the Herald and found it very boring, and that of a narrow-minded intolerant ignoramus which are thickly-populated ~~now~~ nowadays, especially among the followers of the Catholic Hierarchy. When a catholic speaks of "love your neighbour as yourself", and "forgive your enemies", he means the Catholic neighbour, and even at that he is not very sincere. The teachings of Christ (unless the man himself is a myth) <sup>perhaps</sup> are too perfect for human practice. To me the whole Christian cult, but especially the Catholic cult, is the biggest historical fraud in human history, that have befuddled and darkened the minds of humanity for the past two thousand years. So many sins, persecutions, wars and enslavements have been perpetrated, all in the name of Christ and God.

Perhaps you have read of the Catholic Inquisition of the 15th and 16th centuries when thousands were tortured, burned and slaughtered; The Protestant Reformation and the religious wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries came when the princes of Germany made up their minds to keep for themselves the money that was pouring from the pockets of their people into the coffers of the Vatican; and the "Holy" Crusades were an attempt to recapture a trade route from the "infidel" Moslems. All these, under the name of Christianity, were nothing but a shrewdly-disguised propaganda from Rome, to enrich the privileged clerical Catholic oligarchies by exploiting the ignorance and poverty and prey on the superstitions of the suffering masses.

In the present times we have the Catholic blessings of fascist ~~Spain~~ Spain, Portugal, Argentina and several other countries right in our own hemisphere. The Pope even made secret business with Shintoist Japan during the War. He blessed the Italian "volunteers" in St. Peter's square before leaving for Spain to fight their ~~fellow~~ fellow-Catholic brothers. He glossed over the news every time the Nazi and Fasist planes murdered thousands of innocent men, women and children. He shook hands with Franco after the victory was won, all thanks to his "holy" blessings.

My main point is this: I intollerate those individuals, creeds, societies and concepts that tolerate race prejudice, pogroms, religious hatreds and bigotries, class antagonisms, the spreading nationalistic hatred in a people of one country against another and suppression of freedom of speech and assembly. We are a long shot yet from those principles that were preached by the great humanitarians of ~~history~~ history of many lands. Christianity, and especially Catholicism, from your point of view, does not have the monopoly of right and

ENCLOSURE

62-71788-63

3  
wrong, and that Christianity alone is <sup>not</sup> the sole salvation of humanity. Christ was not the originator of his philosophy.

People talk about Communists and fascists and other "ists" as being agents of a foreign country, I say, that I would classify Catholicism in this country or any country as an agent of the Vatican and its dictator, the Pope. Most of the Orthodox Catholic homes have the picture of the Pope hanging on the wall. The Catholic's first duty and obedience, therefore is to the Pope and the Vatican. The Popes through the centuries have been the most ruthless and the shrewdest and the sinisterest politicians whose intrigues were behind every major bloody war. Anti-semitism has been their favorite sport.

About the Wallace affair. You are as untruthful about him as you are ignorant. He is one of the few honest and great humanitarians in this hypocritical world of ours. He is hated by his enemies because he stands for peace. Our current hysterical atmosphere can be traced to a subconscious, but nevertheless overwhelming desire for another war; for the simple reason that the last war is indelibly linked in our minds with prosperity, more money, better clothes, better food, better living in general and last but certainly not the least-- more excitement.

Our losses were comparatively slight; (for every ~~Russian~~ American soldier 14 Russian soldiers died in battle); our physical gains were tremendous. Now that the war is over, and we are beginning to feel the pinch resulting from shortcomings of our peacetime economy, we have cast about for a potential enemy, and naturally we seized upon Russia.

It takes little difference to point out that the next war will probably destroy all of us. It didn't the last time, did it? We won, didn't we? We have the atomic bomb, haven't we.

We have subconsciously been drawn to the ~~only~~ sole alternative of peace with breadlines, or war and the abundant life that proceeds from it. As far as I am concerned, three years in the Army with twice overseas, will do me for a lifetime. I am a conscientious objector as far as violence and war is concerned. I am indoctrinating my son along these lines.

Calling Wallace a Communist is another ignorant remark, because it has become a great past-time of "patriotic" Americans to foul a man's good name. Reactionaries who have been saturated in the anti-Russian hate gospel, naturally feel it their duty to belittle a man like Wallace who knows that peace is possible only if there is a little more of the Golden Rule practiced and a little less of nationalism.

Wallace represents the hope of the World for peace. In him is a chance, perhaps the only chance-- for the little people of the world to work out their problems so that a better life, not premature death in an atomic-bacteriologic war, is achieved.

Because he is so completely honest, because he is so tolerant of the rights of others, he is gaining daily, in prestige among the ordinary folks.

Regardless of ~~what~~ what "Official Spokesmen" say-- editorially or otherwise-- there are thousands and thousands of voters in the country today who think and <sup>feel</sup> exactly as Henry Wallace does, who feel that he <sup>exactly</sup> expresses their sentiments. This vast number of voters and followers must be supplied a vehicle, a home wherein they can exercise their right of Freedom of Conscience in casting their ballots. This might call for a new party, a party wherein no one will dare raise his voice in defense of "Man's inhumanity to man"-- and Henry Wallace is the man to lead it.

Please do not accept this letter as an attack on your person; I do not indulge in such practices, but I ~~do~~ believe in the right of criticising and pitting one's ideas against another's

Yours Sincerely

*Harry S. Washinsky*

Harry J. ~~X~~ Washinsky



Rutland, Vermont

May 24, 1947

COPY

Dear Mrs. Collin;

I have read your letter to the editor of the Herald and found it very boring, and that of a narrow-minded intolerant ignoramus which are thickly-populated nowadays especially among the followers of the Catholic Hierarchy. "When a catholic speaks of "love your neighbour as yourself," and "forgive your enemies", he means the Catholic neighbour, and even at that he is not very sincere. The teachings of Christ (unless the man himself is a myth) perhaps are too perfect for human practice. To me the whole Christian cult, but especially the Catholic cult, is the biggest historical fraud in human history, that have befuddled and darkened the minds of humanity for the past two thousand years. So many sins, persecutions, wars and enslavements have been perpetrated, all in the name of Christ and God.

Perhaps you have read of the Catholic Inquisition of the 15th and 16th centuries when thousands were tortured, burned and slaughtered; The Protestant Reformation and the religious wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries came when the princes of Germany made up their minds to keep for themselves the money that was pouring from the pockets of their people into the coffers of the Vatican; and the "Holy" Crusades were an attempt to recapture a trade route from the "infidel" Moslems. All these, under the name of Christianity, were nothing but a shrewdly-disguised propaganda from Rome, to enrich the privileged clerical Catholic oligarchies by exploiting the ignorance and poverty and prey on the superstitions of the suffering masses.

In the present times we have the Catholic blessings of fascist Spain, Portugal, Argentina and several other countries right in our own hemisphere. The Pope even made secret business with Shintoist Japan during the War. He blessed the Italian "volunteers" in St. Peter's square before leaving for Spain to fight their fellow-Catholic brothers. He glossed over the news every time the Nazi and Fascist planes murdered thousands of innocent men, women and children. He shook hands with Franco after the victory was won, all thanks to his "holy" blessings.

My main point is this: I intollerate those individuals, creeds, societies and concepts that tolerate race prejudice, pogroms, religious hatreds and bigotries, class antagonisms, the spreading nationalistic hatred in a people of one country against another and suppression of freedom of speech and assembly. We are a long shot yet from those principles that were preached by the great humanitarians of history of many lands. Christianity, and especially Catholicism, from your point of view, does not have the monopoly of right and wrong; and that Christianity alone is not the sole salvation of humanity. Christ was not the originator of his philosophy.

People talk about Communists and fascists and other "ists" as being agents of a foreign country, I say, that I would classify Catholicism in this country or any country as an agent of the Vatican and its dictator, the Pope. Most of the Orthodox Catholic homes have the picture of the Pope hanging on the wall. The Catholic's first duty and obedience, therefore is to the Pope and the Vatican. The Popes through the centuries have been the most ruthless and the shrewdest and the sinisterest politicians whose intrigues were behind every major bloody war. Anti-semitism has been their favorite sport.

**ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED**

**HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED**

**DATE 5/16/83 BY SP1G/STC**

**528303**

**ENCLOSURE**

About the Wallace affair. You are as untruthful about him as you are ignorant. He is one of the few honest and great humanitarians in this hypocritical world of ours. He is hated by his enemies because he stands for peace. Our current hysterical atmosphere can be traced to a subconscious, but nevertheless overwhelming desire for another war: for the simple reason that the last war is indelibly linked in our minds with prosperity, more money, better clothes, better food, better living in general and last but certainly not the least--more excitement.

Our losses were comparatively slight; (for every American soldier 14 Russian soldiers died in battle); our physical gains were tremendous. Now that the war is over, and we are beginning to feel the pinch resulting from shortcomings of our peacetime economy, we have cast about for a potential enemy, and naturally we seized upon Russia.

It takes little difference to point out that the next war will probably destroy all of us. It didn't the last time, did it? We won, didn't we? We have the atomic bomb, haven't we.

We have subconsciously been drawn to the sole alternative of peace with breadlines, or war and the abundant life that proceeds from it. As far as I am concerned, three years in the Army with twice overseas, will do me for a lifetime. I am a conscientious objector as far as violence and war is concerned. I am indoctrinating my son along these lines.

Calling Wallace a Communist is another ignorant remark, because it has become a great past-time of "patriotic" Americans to foul a man's good name. Reactionaries who have been saturated in the anti-Russian hate gospel, naturally feel it their duty to belittle a man like Wallace who knows that peace is possible only if there is a little more of the Golden Rule practiced and a little less of nationalism.

Wallace represents the hope of the World for peace. In him is a chance, perhaps the only chance-- for the little people of the world to work out their problems so that a better life, not premature death in an atomic-bacteriologic war, is achieved.

Because he is so completely honest, because he is so tolerant of the rights of others, he is gaining daily, in prestige among the ordinary folks.

Regardless of what "Official Spokesmen" say-- editorially or otherwise-- there are thousands and thousands of voters in the country today who think and feel exactly as Henry Wallace does, who feel that he exactly expresses their sentiments. This vast number of voters and followers must be supplied a vehicle, a home wherein they can exercise their right of Freedom of Conscience in casting their ballots. This might call for a new party, a party wherein no one will dare raise his voice in defense of "Man's inhumanity to man"-- and Henry Wallace is the man to lead it.

Please do not accept this letter as an attack on your person; I do not indulge in such practices, but I do believe in the right of criticising and pitting one's ideas against another's.

Yours Sincerely

Harry J. Woshinsky

cc Mr. Ladd  
Mr. Floyd L. Jones

August 18, 1947

BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

Major General Harry Hawkins Vaughan  
Military Aide to the President  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/16/83 BY SP1GSKTC  
228303

Dear General Vaughan:

I thought the President and you would be interested in the following information which was obtained from a source regarded as completely reliable.

On June 11, 1947, Henry A. Wallace spoke at the Norwalk High School, Norwalk, Connecticut, under the auspices of the Progressive Citizens of America, Norwalk Chapter. Prior to his address a reception was held in his honor at the Westover Inn, Westport, Connecticut. While at the reception, Mr. Wallace stated that he prefers to run on a liberal Democratic ticket and he has hopes that such a ticket will materialize. He said that if the Democratic Party fails to develop a liberal ticket, he would head a third party of independent voters. Wallace also made the following statement: "Let's not worry about Communism, let's make democracy work; and you can do that by practicing Christianity. The life of Christ is strangely parallel to the doctrines of Communism. Something new has been added to the old Yankee strain, and, while it has improved the old Yankee strain, we must never forget the worth of the old Yankee strain. It is what made America out of a wilderness of savages."

With expressions of my highest esteem and best regards,

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

EX-64 FLJ:LMH  
RECORDED 62-71788-64

Declassified  
2040  
JRC 6-4-77

8/18/47  
JRC/b  
20

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. E. A. Tamm  
Mr. Clegg  
Mr. Glavin  
Mr. Ladd  
Mr. Nichols  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tracy  
Mr. Egan  
Mr. Gurnea  
Mr. Harbo  
Mr. Mohr  
Mr. Pennington  
Mr. Quinn Tamm  
Tele. Room  
Mr. Nease  
Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION  
MAILED 4  
★ AUG 18 1947 P.M.  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

259

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: July 28, 1947

JCM

FROM : SAC, NEW HAVEN

SUBJECT: INFORMATION RECEIVED FROM ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
INFORMANT [redacted] CONCERNING HENRY A. WALLACE  
PLANS FOR A THIRD PARTY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b7D

On June 11, 1947, HENRY A. WALLACE spoke at the Norwalk High School, Norwalk, Connecticut, under the auspices of the Progressive Citizens of America, Norwalk Chapter. Prior to the address of WALLACE a reception was given for him at the Westover Inn, Westport, Connecticut.

b7D

Confidential Informant [redacted] was present at the reception and advised that she had a discussion with HENRY A. WALLACE concerning his plans for the organization of a third party. According to the Informant, WALLACE stated that he prefers to run on a liberal Democratic ticket and that he has hopes that such a ticket will materialize. The Informant further stated that WALLACE advised her that if the Democratic Party fails to develop a liberal ticket he would head a third party of independent voters.

In addition, the Informant stated that WALLACE advised as follows: - "Let's not worry about Communism, let's make democracy work; and you can do that by practising christianity. The life of Christ is strangely parallel to the doctrines of Communism. Something new has been added to the old Yankee strain and, while it has improved the old Yankee strain, we must never forget the worth of the old Yankee strain. It is what made America out of a wilderness of savages."

This information is being furnished to the Bureau for its attention.

Classified by ~~DP/SS/JO~~  
Declassify on: OADR 5-16-83  
228 303

JCM/clb

ltc. To White  
8-18-47  
7/2

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-29-83 BY 1293

RECORDED 62-71788-64  
INDEXED 34 JUL 30 1947

3/21/86  
Classified by 3042 PWT/PB  
Declassify on: OADR

CLASSIFIED DECISIONS FINALIZED  
BY DEPARTMENTAL REVIEW COMMITTEE (DRC)  
DATE: 4-8-87

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

cc - Mr. Ladd

July 31, 1947

~~SECRET~~

RECORDED

62-71788-65

Major General Harry Hawkins Vaughan  
Military Aide to the President  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

Dear General Vaughan:

I thought the President and you would be interested in the following information which has been received from a reliable confidential informant.

It is reported that the Communist Party in the Harlem Section of New York City is planning a so-called "whispering campaign" for the purpose of securing support for Henry Wallace and a Third Party in the 1948 elections. Each Communist Party group chairman is to designate the most diligent workers in his group and these workers are to canvass various workers in Harlem. Communist Party members who are also members of unions have been instructed to institute the "whispering campaign" in their respective unions.

With expressions of my highest esteem and best regards,

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

cc - Liaison Section

SEP 5 1947

AGJ:mm

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/17/83 BY SP1GSK/JR  
228303

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN 100-3-4-5881

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUL 25 1947

TELETYPE

WASH FROM NEW YORK

5 25 3-56

DIRECTOR ROUTINE

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. E. A. Tamm  
Mr. Clegg  
Mr. Glavin  
Mr. Ladd  
Mr. Nichols  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tracy  
Mr. Egan  
Mr. Gurnea  
Mr. Harbo  
Mr. Mohr  
Mr. Pennington  
Mr. Quinn Tamm  
Miss Gandy

228303  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6/12/83 BY SP1GSK/JO

CP, USA, DISTRICT NUMBER TWO, HARLEM SECTION, ISC. CI [REDACTED]

b7D

[REDACTED] ADVISED AS FOLLOWS. THE CP IS PLANNING A SERIES OF SOUND TRUCK STREET MEETINGS WHICH ARE TO BE CONDUCTED UNDER THE SPONSORSHIP OF THE AMERICAN LABOR PARTY. ONE SUCH MEETING HAS BEEN HELD IN THE BRONX, NY. THE PURPOSE OF THE MEETINGS IS TO REQUEST PEOPLE NOT TO SIGN LEASES WHICH PROVIDE FOR INCREASES IN RENT AND TO ADVISE THEM THAT LEGAL AID WILL BE PROVIDED SHOULD THEY BE DISPOSSESSED. ALL COMPLAINTS WITH RESPECT TO LEASES, RENT INCREASES AND DISPOSSESSES ARE TO BE REFERRED EITHER TO THE AMERICAN LABOR PARTY OFFICES OR TO THE OFFICE OF THE UNITED TENANTS AND CONSUMERS ORGANIZATION, A COMMUNIST DOMINATED GROUP WITH OFFICES AT TEN NAUGHT SIX EAST ONE SIXTY THIRD ST, NYC. THE MEETINGS ARE BEING SPONSORED BY THE ALP ALLEGEDLY FOR "PARTY REASONS." THE CP IN HARLEM IS PLANNING A SO-CALLED "WHISPERING CAMPAIGN" TO SECURE SUPPORT FOR HENRY WALLACE AND A THIRD PARTY IN THE NINETEEN FORTY EIGHT ELECTION. EACH CP CLUB CHAIRMAN WILL DESIGNATE THE MOST DILIGENT WORKERS IN HIS CLUB TO CANVASS VARIOUS NEIGHBORHOODS IN HARLEM. CP MEMBERS WHO ARE ALSO MEMBERS OF UNIONS HAVE BEEN INSTRUCTED TO INSTITUTE THE "WHISPERING CAMPAIGN" IN THEIR RESPECTIVE UNIONS.

SCHEIDT

HOLD

RECORDED

62-71788-65

48

ORIGINAL

EX-30

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN 100-3-4-5881

1306

R-c'd DC/L  
July 8, 1947

ACTION  
SA/M  
FE

Shanghai, June 24, 1947

UNRESTRICTED

INFO  
DCR  
OIC  
ITP  
OCD  
FC

SUBJECT: Wallace Interview with  
Ta Kung Pao

THE HONORABLE

THE SECRETARY OF STATE

WASHINGTON, D.C.

NAVY  
CIG

POL.M-0-0-0

SIR:

I have the honor to transmit herewith a translation of an interview granted Ta Kung Pao correspondents by Henry Wallace in New York on June 18. The interview was published in the Ta Kung Pao at Shanghai on June 21. There was no editorial comment on the interview.

Respectfully yours

For the Consul General

Bradley Connors  
Chief Public Affairs Officer

ENCLOSURE

EX-25

RECORDED & INDEXED 36 AUG 11 1947

EX-25

G. I. R. 3

891

EC:FS

To the Department in original and encloid  
Enclosures

1. Translation of Wallace Interview in  
Ta Kung Pao, Shanghai, June 21, 1947  
Copy for the Embassy

*[Handwritten signature]*  
115

Enclosure to Despatch No. 1398

**Wallace Gives Exclusive Interview to  
Ta Kung Pao Reporters in New York**

Ta Kung Pao (Independent Political Science Group), Shanghai  
June 21, 1947

New York, June 18 (Ta Kung Pao special correspondent) --- In an exclusive interview with Ta Kung Pao reporters Yang Wang and Chu Ching-ping on June 18, ex-Vice-President Henry Wallace, leader of American liberal progressive movement, made the following statements:

"The Chinese Government which promotes peace and stability in the Far East must not only be democratic politically but must also strive to adopt a genuinely friendly policy towards the U.S. and Soviet Russia. China's basic problem is naturally quite similar to those of other countries in the world, which have emerged from a feudal system. That is to say, it is not enough to resolve the problems exclusively by political means, but that agricultural and industrial technique should be simultaneously applied so as to raise the people's standard of living two or three times higher than the existing one within the next 10 years."

"The U.S. policy toward China as announced by Sec. George G. Marshall this spring, is a sound one. However, I wish to emphasize one more point. That is, granted that the Chinese Government has truly achieved democracy and, moreover, that she is friendly toward both the United States and Soviet Russia, there is still need for her to adopt a firm policy calling for the improvement of agricultural and industrial technique."

Mr. Wallace also pointed out that he was deeply impressed by the statement made by Mr. Nelson upon the latter's return from an industrial inspection in China, to the effect that he believed that simple methods could be used to effect great improvement in industry. In future, when the Chinese Government really becomes democratic, Mr. Wallace added, he hoped that China would adopt the plans drawn up by Nelson's Industrial Mission, for the development of agriculture and industry.

Mr. Wallace termed Marshall's recent plan for extending aid to Europe as the "strategic withdrawal" of the Truman Doctrine. However he continued:

"I doubt whether this plan will be successful because it failed to endorse the support of Congress. In order to carry out this plan there must be a new Congress in 1948. But to elect such a Congress the Democrat Government should make special efforts in the shaping of public opinion. So far, however, there are no indications for the Democrats making such an effort. If the press, radio, cinema and church could inform the American people of the world reconstruction plan, in which Soviet Russia is included, then they will surely rally to its support."

Mr. Wallace also expressed deep concern over the illegal arrests of 9 Ta Kung Pao reporters.

62-71788-66  
ENCLOSURE



110  
0  
August 21, 1947

Mr. A. F. Hoessel  
2445 Berenice Avenue  
Chicago 18, Illinois

RECORDED

EX-64

62-71788-67  
Dear Mr. Hoessel:

Your letter dated August 18, 1947, has been received and I do want to thank you for making available to me your views on the subject you mention.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

FRY:mjo

mjo

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/16/83 BY SP1B.S.KJW

228303

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAILED 4

AUG 21 1947 P.M.

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. E. A. Tamm  
Mr. Clegg  
Mr. Glavin  
Mr. Ladd  
Mr. Nichols  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tracy  
Mr. Egan  
Mr. Gurnea  
Mr. Harbo  
Mr. Mohr  
Mr. Pennington  
Mr. Quinn Tamm  
Tele. Room  
Mr. Nease  
Miss Gandy

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

181

m

mm

no

Mon 1, Aug. 18, 1947

Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D.C.

Attn. J. E. Hoover  
Chief in charge

Sir, -

Today's "Chicago Herald American"  
carries an article re investigation of disloyal  
federal employees.

This is insufficient, the Dept. should  
also investigate certain potential nominees for  
political office.

①  
A. Wallace Your first target should be Henry  
Wallace.

Why use a pistol, when you have  
a cannon, so to speak, at hand.

Let's keep America for Americans,  
and get rid of the scum.

67-71788-67

EX-64

AUG 28 1947

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/16/83 BY SP1GSL/PC

228303

Good hunting

A. F. Hoessel

2445 Bernice Ave

Chicago, Ill.

①

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Coffey \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Egan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Pennington \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
 Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

EEB

August 21, 1947

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. HARBO *RS*

RE: Laboratory Examination of the  
 Attached Envelope Addressed to  
 Mr. Henry Wallace.

Reference is made to the memorandum from Mr.  
 E. G. Fitch, dated August 19, 1947, submitting the above  
 item, which in turn was referred to the Laboratory on  
 August 20, 1947.

The requested examination was made, and there is  
 being returned herewith the evidence, together with two  
 photographic copies each of the envelope and the contents  
 thereof.

Respectfully,

J. A. Sizoo

G. I. R. -1

INDEXED  
 &  
 RECORDED  
 81

162-71788-68

37 SEP 18 1947

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 5/16/83 BY SP1 QSC/8  
 228303

EX-108

FILED

38 SEP 11 1947

THIS MEMORANDUM IS FOR ADMINISTRATIVE PURPOSES  
 TO BE DESTROYED AFTER ACTION IS TAKEN AND NOT SENT TO FILES

*Original returned  
 to Fitch kept  
 with copy of  
 contents 8/22/47*

Attachment

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Egan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Gurnea \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Pennington \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
 Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

no  
 August 19, 1947

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. LADD

RE: Laboratory Examination of the  
 Attached Envelope addressed to  
 Mr. Henry Wallace

Mr. Jack Neal of the State Department inquired of Mr. Roach whether the Bureau was in a position to determine the contents of the attached envelope addressed to Mr. Henry Wallace as referred to the State Department from the White House.

As can be noted this letter originates with one C. F. Roth-Seefrid of Berchtesgaden, Bavaria, Germany. The State Department has asked that the contents of this envelope be examined and photostatic copies be made for their use. The envelope should be restored to its present condition and returned to the State Department with copies of its contents.

RECOMMENDATION

It is recommended that after the Laboratory has examined this envelope and appropriate photostatic copies of the contents made, it be returned to the Liaison Section for personal delivery to the State Department.

Respectfully,

Attachment  
 RRR:mr

8/20/47  
 ENCLOSURE BEHIND FILE

E. J. Fitch

62-71788-69  
 37 SEP 1947

EX-108 ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/16/83 BY SP/CSK/JC

228303

THIS MEMORANDUM IS FOR ADMINISTRATIVE PURPOSES  
 TO BE DESTROYED AFTER ACTION IS TAKEN AND NOT SENT TO FILES

To the

former American Vicepresident      Henry Wallace



C.Fr. Roth-Seeфрид,  
13b Berchtesgaden,  
Gmundberg 5.  
Germany, Bavaria,  
American Zone.

June 26.1947.

Dear Mr. Wallace,

Reading much of you and your good intentions in English and American papers, I want to write you. My father was a naturalized American /Philadelphia/, I was born in London and until 1915 an English subject. Formerly a textile manufacturer in Vienna, Austria, I moved before world-war I to Germany, Munich and Berchtesgaden, and began studying religion, philosophy and the social question. In 1919 my wife was healed from a fatal illness by Christian Science, later on we came to Unity School of Christianity in Kansas City and spread their teachings here in Germany.

For years I wrote books and hold lectures concerning the wrong economical situation in the whole world and that it can only be solved in a spiritual way. Here an extract of a critic written in a wellknown Swiss paper of a book of me: "Right Thinking in economical Work and its Value for Business," published in 1925.

Technische Industrie und Schweizer Chemiker Zeitung, Zürich, 1925."

" Like a red threat the knowledge extends through the whole book, that one considers in his last modern economics only as a means to lead mankind to a higher cultural platform to an universal opinion that not this one is the strongest who attains the highest material success, the best guns and the most poisonous gas, but that one, who has won the highest step of humanity." That is now 22 years later still the same question !!

During the nazi time I was prevented to continue my work /I was persecuted by the gestapo and nearly came to a concentration camp/ and now there are many difficulties: no paper for writing, everywhere hindrances to begin again and nothing to eat. The brain dries out, being not properly nourished.

But I don't give up. Since 27 years I am thinking and planning ,as a former economist and business-man, what one can do to help them, being in bankruptcy in the whole world, in contrast to the technicians who are still on the top.

I am sending you included an extract of a manuscript, / in bad English, but I hope you will understand it !/ hoping you can employ these ideas in your paper "The New Republic". The aim of my life is to spread everywhere the truth in this absolute wrong world.

Excuse me for taking of your time, as you are a very busy gentleman, but it serves the good. May I ask you a favor ? You know we are not allowed to send money abroad, but I am very interested in American newspapers. Do you see a possibility of sending me regularly one of the following papers :

The Literary Digest or

Ladies Home Journal or

Life or

The New Republic.

Thanking you in advance for your kindness,

I remain,

Yours respectfully,

What's to do now ?

-----

In seeking a way out of all the difficulties and hardships of our time, we must look at the cause of them, not intellectually but spiritually. Although Goethe said it is useless to ask "why?" because there are always so many reasons that you can leave this question aside, I think when a building collapsed and we are seeing so many ruins as now in Europe and especially in Germany we are obliged and forced to look for the reasons of that plight. This short account may show forth them. It contains the principle points which may be combined and formed to a small book for publication.

First of all we must understand that with the beginning of the 20th century the material revolutions were in their deeper sense not really material but only the outer demonstrations of spiritual thoughts. Because they were spiritual they could not be perceived by the five senses.

We became fools in believing to be able to save ourselves and trusted only the power of money. The last logical consequence of this self-glorifying unfolding was the total annihilation, at first by the own people one against the other, than by the unchaining of a second world-war. Are we willing now after being tried so severely to return to a new ordre of life and a true evolution? The way for it is shown quite clearly but there will only be peace under the European - Christian - white mankind when it is established in the heart of everyone of us.

There is one thing to be understood, that the afflictions of our time are the work and the results of a higher spiritual compensating justice.

We have now the impression there is in the world no more aim to struggle after, but we are forced by the cruel matters of fact of life to get a new point of view of the World - Life - Nature - and Man. That's for the sake of the large desperate mass of men, created by the industrial mechanism and all the machines and engines who had otherwise no more any possibility to lead a normal healthy life as men and men!

The point in question is: to be or not to be of the European -



Christian - white nations and people !

Oswald Spengler, well-known German writer and philosopher, author of "~~Der~~ Untergang des Abendlandes" /Ruin of the Occident/ wrote in a small book published later on : "The 20th century will be a century of wars and revolutions and they will go on into the 21st century." Sorry to say that will be true if the European - Christian - white mankind in the West will not change their mind and get spiritually enlightened!

Most of the most honourable statesmen are using in their far-reaching plans the motto: "In the name of God!" Where, what and who is this God in whose name they are making so many wars, to whom they are serving with words but act just to the contrary?? The word God is still used very often in the 20th century but most of the people have no clear realisation of Him anymore. He is farer away from us than ever! One may better say we are living in an antireligious age. In two world-wars the white Christians kill one another by millions and destroyed and devastated mutually their countries.

To find a solution for all the problems we must begin with ourselves. "Know yourself!" "Charity begins at home!" The greatest need in the world is not want of money but want of love!

What has love to do with economy? Everything and all! Love is the key for the solution of all material problems. But not love of self, love of money and sex-love. "Love thy neighbor/ the workman/ as thyself."

Problems and difficulties, need and want are not sent by an oldfashioned, angry, revengeful God but human people are themselves responsible for them. What they call "fate" is the logical effect of their wrong thoughts, words and acts. You can only get free by knowing Truth and following her rules, laws and standards.

Why do you study mathematics? To become a good engineer or scientist! Do the same with Truth, as a Truth-seeker. Begin with setting aright your consciousness, acquiring positive, upbuilding thoughts, eliminating negative ones. We distinguish 3 sorts of consciousness:

- a. the subconsciousness
- b. the consciousness
- c. the upperconsciousness /spiritual/

The church speaks usually of heaven and earth or heaven and

hell. In the future an indispensable commonplace saying will be:  
Life and Spirit.

Hell is our own wrong human consciousness or subconsciousness. Most modern people are suffering with a break, a division of their consciousness which may be called "Schizophrenie" and when it is worse "Schizothimie", what is almost insanity. It is the fighting of good and evil powers in the interior of man. Therefore only a new name for a very old meaning.

Before being able to change our life, we must know what it is all about from a higher point of view, the spiritual one. Prof. Alexis Carrell wrote a book 1930: "Man the Unknown." After many years of research as medical scientist at the Rockefeller Institute in U.S. he said in his book, "we know or at least believe to know very much, but concerning the human being, we scarcely know anything."

In the future man must be put in the center of daily life - work - economics - and technics, but we must first learn to know him. All responsible managers have to do that! Man has generally to work hard to make a living for himself and his family, he has to educate children etc. but what's about his body? Does he consider it a subtle engine, the finest there is, a temple of soul and spirit?

Especially the Germans suffer on one side with an inferiority complex, missing civil courage and on the other side with an exaggerated idea of their I, which brought them so much suffering in the past 30 years and earlier. English people speak more of "we". We the English! - - -

#### Human spirit versus God's Spirit.

- - - - -

Living in a technical age with so many social revolutions the aim must be to make man the center of life in place of the machine the capital and interest. The latter led us to bankruptcy. Of course man must not be overestimated but receive the right position in economics. As Goethe said: "You must recognize what holds the world together in its interior." Here is dawning the fundamental idea of socialism and communism, the idea of unity in a spiritual sense.

Man is suffering with his many-sidedness. He is a Microkosm in the Macrokosm. He has an individuality and a personality which

we can perceive in daily life, but we must be ruled by his higher spiritual Self, his true Self, to accomplish great works and acts. Most of us live only following our 5 material senses but deep in us is embedded a sixth sense, the spiritual sense which we must awake. In the middle ages many had it and followed its guidance but in the following centuries it got lost and people became ever more materially minded.

Modern psychology teaches us very much but it must be used in practical life not only studied. We must see quite distinctly our nearer and farther surroundings. Mr. Lansborough said before his last year in the House of Commons: "We must study greater maps." All the revolutions of the last years were the result of men's wrong human thinking, putting matter and money at the first place.

If we learn to know ourselves better we see our inner and our outer man, spirit and soul and the body, in the true right way. We can compare it with the catholic church: in the outer much pomp, dogma, organisation and customs, in the inner, hidden behind the surface the real spiritual church, that governs all. (I am no catholic.)

Then we have the idea of - Life! Nobody can explain what it is really. The same as Edison could not explain electricity but showed by his manifold inventions how it could be used without harming anybody. Life is also an immense power, the greatest there is and we must learn to use it aright. Health, illness, sickness, overwork, nervous breakdown etc. get a new meaning for us. Most important for those who will run a business with success. May be as it will: we know that we live!

The old "Society for Psychological Research" in London and many new ones in other countries have done a good job but we are still missing in the world "used psychology" for common people and daily life!

Further on we must learn to understand better the connection /Unity/ of Life and Nature. Everywhere in daily life we have to do with nature. What does it mean to us? Natural science has failed in the last 150 years in spite of her wonderful knowledge and progress. People say: Technical science is the devil of mankind. It could only advance so much in the last 50 years with the help of the great discernments of the natural science. Most of the scien-

tists believe only what they can observe with their five senses and prove with their knowledge and intellect. What they can't prove in their laboratories doesn't exist for them. They are called the mechanics. The lesser part of the scientists, the vitalists, agree that there may be a spiritual reality, the absolute sphere of activity, behind matter, but they don't understand it and can't prove it.

In the whole world - efficiency - is now the most important quality following the immense losses through the war.

Economy, technics, organisation in theory and practice will become the most important matter of fact.

Three parts of organisation will be needed in the future:

a. spiritual, b. commercial, c. technical organisation. The general standard of life, the greater wellbeing of the people depends on it.

Since 150 years we are living in the technical age. It began with Mr. James Watt, born 1736 in Greenock in Scotland, who invented and improved in 1765 the steam-engine and inaugurated with it at first the technical age in England. The English are proud of course that nearly all sort of manufacturing began in England. During the 19th century a lot of inventions were made, their number and speed became faster and faster until the two world-wars in 30 years showed us that something must be absolutely wrong in the working and thinking of the people in all the economical countries. Is it wisdom, nay is it common sense to destroy all the human works with the same means you have built and constructed them?

Well known scientists like Prof. Eddington, Janes, Millikan, Blank etc. say that when natural science and spiritual science will work together and agree in all sorts of practical questions, the real technical age with most marvelous inventions used for the benefit of mankind will come richer blessings for all than ever!

• Atom - theory as a new power. Menetekel!

What is then seemingly the draw-back of technics as people mean? Technics created with the machine the possibility of limitless production and capitalism enjoyed it but saw only the greater turnover. The consumer was only an object for making profit. So the technical man, the engineer didn't work for a higher ideal, a better idea but for greedy capitalists and profiteers. The businessman walked at the head, the engineer behind him, fulfilling his orders. The future must alter this, a beginning was made already with the year 1925. Till there was only a commercial book-

keeping by double entry and when there was no profit engineers and businessmen quarrelled who was wrong. Thus they established a Betriebsbuchhaltung /management bookkeeping/ for the technical part. By this division they got an exact detailed calculation and saw clearly who failed: the engineer or the merchant?

Now we will have in the future a third bookkeeping, i.e. concerning the human beings. The socialism of the world will enforce it with arguments or with power /further revolutions/! To succeed with this difficult task we must begin studying a "Technic of Life", a new most important so to speak science!

In all the countries, in all climates, with white, black and brown people, on the earth and in the air, by day and by night the engineer is following certain exact laws and rules. Everywhere the mathematician counts  $2 + 2 = 4$ , in all languages.

In the new Technics of Life man is the most important point, the center. Around him are revolving like satellites capitalism, economics and technics.

He is the most important part, his human and spiritual qualities decide the issue of his work.

Like the Chartists in England 1830 - 40 destroyed the machines hoping to get a better life, thus the European people fought now in two world-wars against each other destroying most of the constructions of technical progress, hoping to become free and prosperous. But that is a wrong way! We need machines, engines and all technical constructions in future more than ever, but they must be the servant of the men and not their master.

We need technics to produce all the daily wants of humanity, especially food, clothing and shelter. The merchant failed in the past 40 years, but not technics. It stands higher than ever in a most honoured position, while economics is in one way bankrupt in many of the economical countries.

The technical engineer is the greatest dogmatist you can imagine, the same as a fanatic in religion. In all his working, planning and thinking he follows exactly the prescribed laws and rules. Only by doing this he can accomplish his marvelous deeds.

Why did I use the expression "Technical Science of Life"? Some people may be shocked by this combination. Let me explain.

Technical science requires the best qualities of its raw materials, its machines and the skill of its workers for the production of perfect objects and goods.

The technical science of life asks for the expression of a great number of good qualities by the human beings, may be 200 -

250 ones, all linked together reciproc. for the progress of human life. How to get them I shall explain near the end of my account.

Technicists must never again be the slaves of the capitalists, but must be treated by them in a human manner. Spiritual inspired technical engineers must come to the top. It was a great error to separate universities and technical high-schools. Thus the technical students became one-sided and short-sided, they became specialised and had no knowledge of religion, philosophy etc. There must be found a way to bring them together again.

Technicists and economists must cooperate under the guidance of a higher spirit to whom they have to surrender their human will. Not because a reverend or a doctor of divinity or the Pope say it but for the attainment of understanding and reason /logic/.

Now we will explain what spiritual work means and does. Let us first see and hear what the enlightest men of history in the world said about thinking:

Dhaumapada /Buddhism/

All what we are is the result of what we have thought. It is established in our thoughts, it consists of our thoughts.

Hindu Upanishad.

What a man thinks - he will be.

King Salomo 993 - 953 a. Chr.

What a man thinks - he is.

Marc Aurel 83 a. Chr.

The happiness of your life depends of the qualities of your thoughts, therefore take care.

Shakespeare 1564 - 1616.

Nothing is either good nor bad, but thinking makes it so.

Paracelsus 1493 - 1541.

The power of the will and the tension of your soul is the principal point in magic as in witchcraft. A man who wishes good for everybody will obtain good results. Another one who envies all good to everybody and hates himself will experience the effects of his poisonous thoughts at his own person.

Immanuel Kant 1724 - 1804.

Recommends the diet of thinking.

Geibel 1815 - 1884.

Small be your fate and narrow its limits,  
But your mind may be great and wide your thoughts.

Feshenko 1815 - 1

Paskale 1623 - 1662.

Our dignity consists in the thought. We must work to think well, that's the principle of morals.

Lamartine 1790 - 1869.

Human thoughts, the same as God, make the world by their imagination.

Goethe 1749 - 1832.

Great thoughts and a pure heart that's it what we ought to ask from God.

Goethe.

Each productivity of highest kind, each experience, each great thought which bears fruit and has consequences, is in nobody's power and is raised over all human power. Such a thing man should look at as an unexpected present from above which he has to receive with joyful thanks and adore it. In such events man has often to be looked at as a tool, a vessel found worthy of the reception of divine influence.

Schopenhauer 1766 - 1838.

How few are thinking right of those who think little. How many never think, who mean they are thinking.

Carlyle 1795 - 1837.

The thought of man is the real miraculous virtue by which man works. All what he does and advances is the cover of a thought.

Tennyson 1809 - 1892.

Think rightly. A good day is following the thought.

Clifford Harrison 1831.

A thought which seized roots is like a living plant and will grow like a plant.

Trine Ralph Waldo 1890 - 1920.

May all evil flee the good

And all weakness yield the power.

For the thought benefits the human mind

If finally it gets in unity with God.

Jesus Christ.

"As Jesus saw their thoughts".

"Jesus perceived their thoughts."

"In the heart there arise bad thoughts."

"What are you thinking in your heart?"

You see here clearly that all these well-known men recommended

right thinking, i.e. thinking following spiritual lines. Thought is a great power, but we can use it for good and bad. Right spiritual thinking will bring good results for everybody, but human wrong thinking will have destructive effects.

Since about 50 years power of thought became better known, especially in U.S. and in England through different religious sects and movements and many good books. Science of Thought /Hamblin/ Christian Science, Unity School of Christianity /Kansas City/, suggestion, autosuggestion /Coue/ silence, concentration etc. New Thought.

It would be very important for business-men to know much more about this all. /Rotary clubs./

Technical engineers who are daily and hourly working with a power they don't know will learn that it is in the last a spiritual power. That is very important in the technical age! It has a farreaching meaning, think of the atom power which may be a blessing for mankind or a fearful destroying weapon.

Surely men, especially scientists have thought much and deeply in the past 50 years but it was human, intellectual thinking and therefore often wrong. They didn't know anything of the subtle power of thought in the spiritual sense. Only this true sense creates the desired positive matters of fact.

A lot of books and lectures contain this truth and we must remember them. We have it all and we may get aware of it now in our dire need.

The modern religious movements preach the power of thought for getting health and prosperity. You can use it for every human problem, there are no exceptions. It is the only remedy for healing humanity, especially the working classes of need, want, bad housing conditions and all the human ills.

Since 30 years I make propaganda for a mechanical help in mental work and referred to it as an indispensable remedy. I called it: "Geisteskartei" /Spiritual Card Index/. It is necessary to discharge the overstrained human brain of all mechanical customary thinking. The memory is awfully ill-treated which is a gross misconduct. This disposition will help not to crystalize out in a spare subjective thought-atmosphere. A responsible economist must handle and know so different works and duties that he can't manage it



without the best and most modern help, or he will suffer a nervous breakdown.

Here the end of a long critique written in 1925 in a well-known Swiss paper: Technik und Industrie und Schweizer Chemiker Zeitung, concerning my book "Richtiges Denken in der Berufsarbeit und sein Geschäftswert" /Right Thinking in the professional Work and its Value for the Business/:

"Like a read thread the knowledge extends throughout the whole book that one can consider in the last the whole modern economy only as a means to lead mankind to a higher cultural platform to an universal opinion that not this one is the strongest who reaches the highest material success, the best guns and most poisonous gas but that one who has won the highest step of humanity!"

Consider that was written in 1925!!

Today we notice the awakening and uprising of the people in the East, in India and China, short in all the five continents! It is the result of the two world-wars, when they saw the white men fighting and destroying each other. They possess a very old culture and much wisdom, while we have only civilisation and human intellect. What is more valuable, seen from a higher platform? Have we anymore culture??.

The late count Hermann Keyserling, + 1946, a European wise man and philosopher, said: "With the spirit across the matter." That means we must bring spirit in all the material channels. Life must become the highest art and technics. We have to learn that God is Divine Law, the Spiritual Principle, in, around and above nature and man. He is not a person, but the creative power, life being active everywhere. We learn that all through Spiritual Science.

Men may kill and destroy millions and millions, still the population of the world is growing every year regularly like an alarm-clock. Now we have 2200 milliards of men. Behind the visible material world and facts there is the invisible spiritual reality which sets the material world going and keeps it so. God is unchangeable. He is eternal quitness but the human beings, His tools and expressions, don't resemble Him. They are always changing and in a hurry. But why? Nobody can tell us; perhaps because the other fool is in a hurry. Ofcourse the mechanic scientist says that is all hypothetical. Well it seems to me that the only practical result from the past

50 years is an absolute bankruptcy!!

The word spirit is used, abused and misused the same as the word God. Generally the European, Christian, white people understand falsely human spirit by it and think it is the most valuable and important over all. But what are its results? Look at the 50 greatest political economies in the world - they all have more or less at the bottom the same unsolved troubles and needs.

You can't explain in human language what Spirit is, may I say, an invisible power like electricity? But that can't disturb us. Ethics, Metaphysics, Psychology, soul culture and so forth become more important in this time and we must get acquainted and in touch with them. Of course that's nothing for mass-meetings but only for individuals and persons in leading and responsible positions in politics, economics and technics.

They must work for getting a clearer understanding of all the problems concerning man - life - and nature with the innumerable details of capital - money - ground - estate - house and home, property and so forth, and they will find a solution in the social question. There will never be a 100 % solution because it is a merry-go-round, but much can be done and must be done following the two world-wars, if the world shall not go to pieces.

Just before I spoke of a "Spiritual Principle" setting the word to go and keeping it moving.

The idea of God - operating as Spiritual Principle - seems to be in its deeper meaning a most dry conception, especially for sensible persons. People may be shocked by it, but don't judge too quickly and wait till the end of this.

Unfortunately we are not able to explain satisfactory spiritual laws with human words, but nevertheless they remain unchangeable and unfailing, you also may say Principle is not an expression worthy of God because it is used so often for human conceptions.

Spiritual Principle is the absolute ever creating and working cause of all. He is the beginning, the source, the energy, the working power, the primal cause and law of life, the whole material world is grounded and established on it. The word "law" is mentioned in the Bible, the book over all books 400 times.

Just because technics brought the idea of lawfulness close to us, we should find it easy to get in connection with the Spiritual Principle. The mathematician, the musician, the painter, the

sculptor can't miss the conception of lawfulness.

Unfortunately we have learned since childhood to see God as a person, thus everyone who needs symbols may use them. There is in the universe only one great power - the absolute power - God the good, Spiritual Principle and He comprehends all the up-building positive spiritual qualities and attributes in their reciprocal connection. Don't laugh, dear reader. He who laughs at the end am I and not you!!

God is not a personal being possessing all good qualities, He is Himself the Good that comprehends all the supreme beings. They are all radiating and once radiated they don't come back to us.

What does quality mean here? Quality is a speciality, a characteristic, what belongs to a being or is natural for it. The more we are thinking in tune with God, the more we will express divine qualities.

Spiritual Principle is, acts and operates through us, the same as in the works of the technician. He subordinates willingly in the interest of a successful work. We have the responsible task to be the open channel of His will. It doesn't take away our freedom but we get it by working with the Spiritual Principle. Thus absolute obedience must be shown, an idea which the technician adopts without hesitation, knowing that without it his constructions would fail.

All the mischief in the christian world arises from the separation of God and the world, taught by the organized forms of the christian religion. God - wide away somewhere in the nebulous next world - the ~~poor~~ man here on earth alone with his seemingly insoluble problems, instead of acknowledging the unity, the connection, the intimate relation between God - world - and man, nature and life. Everyone can see these connexions in his life.

One practical example for many. A musician enters an orchestra with the resolution no more to follow his own ideas in playing but to subordinate. All the members doing the same, a wonderful music is produced by the conductor with his orchestra. The single musician does no more hear the sound of his own instrument in the general melodious sounding.

The same is with the Spiritual Principle. Following His directions we go with Life. But a law becomes senseless and useless when not put into action.

You may ask: Does it really work? Yes, it does! Everyone can

prove it in his own life.

How can we picture this Principle to ourselves? There are as I said 200 - 250 positive upbuilding qualities which man is able, nay is obliged to express, the same as the technician must express all the qualities he needs in his field of activity to be successful in his work. Mankind can only rise higher by following higher ideals, without them she will stay on the level of animals. Remember all the atrocities and crimes committed during the world-war! I think we Europeans can and must learn of the far East!

What's about the evil? We can't deny its existence, it is the antithesis of the good. Everywhere in the material world we find a polarity. Having a free will we may chose to which side we will turn. At least evil is the absence of good like darkness is the absence of light. You mustn't fight darkness but bring light into it, thus darkness will disappear. Bring the good in and bad will vanish!

This leads at the end to religion. Can we live without it? Socialists, bolchewists and communists say: "Yes, religion is opium for the people." I doubt it. Of course you can take your work for religion but is it sufficient for your whole life, especially for your soul-life? Doesn't it starve? Russians are doing it since 30 years but are they all content and happy with it?

European people had for many centuries christendom as the foundation of their living and working, but have they been real Christians?? We can't say christendom failed because very few of its adherents followed its teachings and laws.

Who are the representatives of the christendom? The churches with their priests and clergymen. They must be the kind shepherd and by their good example and spiritual teaching lead the people the right way to heaven, that is a better consciousness. But! Is the majority of them able to do that??

Compare the position of Christendom - Mohammedanism - Buddhism - following two world-wars! Is Christendom at the top?? I doubt it!!

Take Catholicism and Protestantism in their eternal fight one against the other, both in the name of Jesus Christ! What are other believers thinking about that? In the last war the churches and cathedrals of both were outbombed. Why didn't God protect and save them?

Do I mean by that Christendom is wrong? Although we mustn't mix

christendom and churchwork. Jesus Christ didn't found a church, she is made by men. His church is purely spiritual and invisible. People should read again older books like Prof. Henry Drummonds: "The Law of Nature in the World of the Spirit"/1891/.

Christendom has not failed but the men who didn't understand and live it really. It has a spiritual foundation till now not understood by most of the people but the modern religious movements are trying hard to explain it to earnest truth-seekers. People of the 20th century demand other explanations and interpretations than people of the middle-ages. Give them the daily spiritual food, the bread they are seeking. Pure symbolism doesn't feed a hungry man.

Here we see the only possibility to get out of the rut. We have already more of it in us than we know. If all religious books in the world would be burned in one day, the men wouldn't be worse.

All the professional men and women have the duty to think about religion in a new way and how to bring its rules and laws into their daily life and work. Philosophy isn't sufficient any more because it is changeable. What is true in one century is laughed at in another.

Time is passing very fast so we must begin directly to get a clear point of view concerning religion. Don't forget there are as many religions as there are men. /2200 millions./

It is the only remedy for the suffering humanity. Turning up the radio-or going in a movy may give you joy and happiness for some hours but afterwards it is the same plight as before. Exactly as if you would believe 6 glasses of wine or stout could eliminate your sorrows. That can't give an answer to all the questions which arise in thoughtful human beings after 2 world-wars!

Let us consider the whole matter. Getting a clear conception of the necessary suppositions for a happy life and successful work, we recognise the law of cause and effect or the compensating justice /ausgleichende Gerechtigkeit/. It works everywhere in the whole world with all the countries, states and people and in the life of each single human being. May be it takes sometimes a rather long time, too long for our impatience, but we can be quite sure: it works!! What man sows he will reap. We see now the effect at the German people! But there may follow others.

Some readers may think the author of this book is an idealist secluded from the world, knowing little of the practical economical and industrial life. Keep cool, dear reader! Had you the power of

judgment and foresight in the last 30 - 50 years or came everything quite different as you imagined?

I have been working long years in business-life but changed my profession in the middle of my life and studied spiritual science and Life during the last 25 years. I tried to find out if there is no solution for a better living and working for humanity in economics. My dear friends in economics, did you fulfill the meaning of the sentence "economical" in your work in the last decades? Technicians did!

Let us remember: In 1930 there started in Berlin a World - Power - Conference. Technicians - inventors - constructors from all the world /4000/ discussed their combined problems and tasks of technics in well-behaviour and ease. One representative cried out under the thunder applause of the participators: "technicians must become economists!" At the next conference we must talk of the requirements and the wishes of the consumers."

Afterwards they made a genial plan to distribute the electrical power over all Europe, in vertical and horizontal manner. Two years later, when I am right, at a conference in Japan, they asked for women entering technics, because they know best what is practical for the household and for daily life.

Henry Ford the famous motor car manufacturer /+ April 1947/ wrote in his book: "My Life and Work" twenty years ago:

"People with a kind of foresight who are called fools live very often long enough to see the proof that they were right and the others wrong."

And further on: "What we need are artists that are master of the art of industrial combinations. We want masters of the industrial methods from the point of view of the producer and the products. We need men who remodel the formless mass in political-social-industrial-and ethical directions to a soundwellfound wholeness. We have lost too much the creative ability and abused it for only trivial intentions."

Ford was not understood in the beginning with the use of the flowing band /fliessendes Band/ in his mass-production of typisized motorcars. Taylorism - Standardwork - Fordism etc. And today?? Think only of the massproduction of aeroplanes!!

The same happened to the author who foretold exactly before 25 years what will happen in our days.

Now draw your conclusion of this short account. All the problems we are facing now, political, economical, industrial, educational

can only be solved from the religious - spiritual side, because everything else has failed. Think only of the innumerable conferences at home and abroad with seemingly no results or at least very little ones.

When life, work, politics etc. in daily human life are so far away from any common sense, when everything has failed, as there were two worldwars and many revolutions, we are absolutely sure the only solution may come by a religious leader or reformer, who is no doubt still alive under us somewhere!! Well, I mentioned before that we are living in an anti-religious age, how can that be combined? I think very well!

In good times as we had them before the two world-wars, most people didn't need God, all was well without Him. By this well-being they became careless concerning religion and church service. At present the need cries to heaven in most European countries, humanity is suffering with hunger, cold and dire want and thus they have the opportunity to find back to God. "Man's calamity, is God's opportunity!" In spite of living in an anti-religious century, such a reformer may find willing people to follow him.

The solution for the economical world-crisis.

How often we make the experience in this modern world of strenuous living and extra demands of finding that something seemingly impossible to perform, has to be done. In the language of the magician we "to pull out of the hat" ways and means to perform the task, we have to look beyond the usual resources to find the solution for our problems. Such is the case in the present time after the two world-wars. "Out of the hat" adapted to metaphysical language becomes for us "out of our metaphysical and spiritual resources."

There will be few ones now who have not the opinion that only a wonder can bring us out of the rut. It may be an event in the material world which cannot be explained by our five senses. It is something that takes place in an invisible and indifinable manner and the ordinary standards of man's life can't be applied to it. We must know that the real world is the spiritual world, which has been always and is unchangeable.

Thinking of miracles helps us to bring them forth. The metaphysician understands its laws. It is the law of the Spiritual Principle in operation, working beyond the understanding of human mind. But after having experienced it and looking back, you will find it

was something you could have imagined beforehand.

"Everyone wants to live happily, but he doesn't know what belongs to a happy life."

Lucius Annäus Seneca.

"Why did I look for the way so long if I were not to show it to my brother."

Johann Wolfgang Goethe.





WASHINGTON.

### Source of His b Figures

"In the present planning of our agency's postwar activities, what assumptions, if any, have been made with regard to the postwar level of the gross national product, the national income and employment?"

# How Wallace Got His 60 Million Job Figure

"The national income which would be associated with this gross national product would de-

Wallace, on the other hand recognizes that the road to full employment does not lie in encouraging the great trusts. His job program depends on encouragement to little business, whose existence depends on expanding



HENRY A. WALLACE

They must be fought for by the people against the monopolists, who habitually seek bigger and better profits by raising prices and restricting production, while beating down workers' wages.

## How Department Works

We'll hear much more of the ~~Common~~ Man's friend as reconversion gets further under way and Wallace is given, as there is some reason to hope, more power to deal with the problems that arise.

*Henry A. Wallace*

U.S. PRESS ATTACKS ON WALLACE ASSAILED

Moscow, in Polish to Europe, June 11, 1947, 2:00 p.m. EST--L

(Excerpt)

"The Committee for the Investigation of Anti-American Activities, which persecutes progressive Americans and American organizations, has recently instituted a subcommittee for the investigation of Communist penetration into the American film industry.

"The organizers of the anti-USSR, anti-Communist comedy at Hollywood specially connect it with Roosevelt's name. This is only part of the anti-Roosevelt campaign which U.S. reaction conducted clandestinely also during his life and which has grown after his death, especially in connection with the proclamation of the so-called Truman doctrine.

"Fulfilling the demands of Wall Street, the U.S. reactionary press began a campaign against Roosevelt's close collaborator and friend, Wallace. Wallace's open protest against the new doctrine, his speeches both in the United States and in Europe against dollar support for reactionary Governments, against war psychosis, and counting on a split between Nations greatly displeased U.S. reaction. The whole of the U.S. monopolist press attacked Wallace, accusing him of anti-Americanism and even of secret Communism.

Anti-U.S. Campaign

"This attack is the key to the present anti-USSR and anti-Communist hysteria in the United States. Wallace is a definite supporter of the capitalist system, and yet his declaration that U.S.-USSR collaboration was possible and advisable proved enough for the monopolists, U.S. expansionists, and warmongers to accuse them of undermining the principles of capitalism and notorious American democracy. In contemporary America you can belong to the lynching mob, you can be an I.G. Farben shareholder, a propagator of fascist cannibalistic ideas, and so forth, and go unpunished. But to be Roosevelt's follower is not very safe.

"The attempts at discrediting Roosevelt's collaborators reflect Washington's new policy, which is a complete abrogation of Roosevelt's program. The anti-Roosevelt campaign is part of the real anti-U.S. campaign of the U.S. reaction, which is determined by extreme social egotism, expansionist greed, and hatred of democracy.

Foreign Radio Broadcast #

EX-30

RECORDED  
INDEXED

62-71788-70  
6/13/47

"Denouncing Roosevelt's policy U.S. reaction pushes the United States on to the road of aggression, oppression, suppression of democratic freedom both at home and abroad. Under Roosevelt's leadership the Americans, in alliance with the Russians and English, liberated the Nations of Europe and Asia from German fascism and Japanese imperialism. The dollar conquistadores want to make the Americans forget Roosevelt's policy and to become gendarmes. It is self-evident that such a policy is not only contrary to the interests of the Nations throughout the world but also to the interests of the United States herself."

WALLACE SUCCESS STARTS THIRD PARTY TALK

Moscow, TASS, Soviet Home Service, in Russian at Dictation Speed for the Provincial Press, June 13, 1947, 10:15 a.m. EST--L

(Text)

"New York--The success of Wallace's trip in the United States has aroused great interest in U.S. political circles and stimulated discussion of the question of a third party.

"Speeches made by Wallace attracted large audiences everywhere and were met with enthusiasm. The correspondent of the NORTH AMERICAN NEWSPAPER ALLIANCE writes that 'the success of the trip helps distinguish him as the only person in the United States who enjoys true popularity among the people and who has loyal followers.' The CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR correspondent, Drummond, commenting on the fact that in many towns many people paid money for the right to hear Wallace, stated: 'Although Presidential candidates attract large crowds, I have never seen that the propagandatrips prior to the election of the last Congress and even those undertaken by Willkie or Dewey would have attracted so many people even in cases when the admission was free.'

Dissatisfaction with the Truman Policy

"Trying to explain Wallace's success, former Interior Secretary Ickes, who does not share Wallace's opinions, writes in the NEW YORK POST: 'The success is the result of the fact that Americans are feeling the effect of courageous leadership.' Other U.S. observers are of a similar opinion and in addition some of them interpret Wallace's success as testimony to the increase of dissatisfaction with Truman's foreign policy. The BALTIMORE SUN observer stated that the great audience which attended the meetings is one of the signs that 'there is no complacency in the mind of the people and that Wallace's speeches aroused their interest, something not noticeable as regards the announcement of the Truman Doctrine.'

"It is also clear that Wallace's trip constitutes not only a personal success but an important demonstration against the leadership of the Democratic and Republican Parties.

Wallace's Intentions Not Yet Revealed

"In the opinion of observers this trip has also strengthened the PCA which organized the major part of the (meetings). In addition this organization attracts followers of Roosevelt's New Deal within the Democratic Party.

"The PROGRESSIVE CITIZEN writes: 'We have found general dissatisfaction with the leadership of the party within the ranks and are impressed by the

Foreign Radio Broadcast # 801 - June 16, 1947

65

51 OCT 2 1947

70X  
6 MW

Re: Henry A. Wallace

John

realization of the fact that if the party does not again follow Roosevelt's course it is doomed to failure.' The author declared further that in various towns many members of the party welcomed Wallace.

#### Undisclosed Intentions

"Wallace has not disclosed his intentions as yet. In his recent speeches he declared he will not support the Democratic Party if it remains a reactionary and warmongers' party. In his speech at Denver he said: 'If we are in a position to make out of the Democratic Party a liberal one, we shall be compelled to take the necessary measures.' This remark is interpreted as a threat to create a third party if Truman's Government does not revise its policy.

"Some facts indicate that Wallace enjoys the support of some of the leaders of the Democratic Party. However, none of the observers suggest that Wallace would receive sufficient support at the national convention of the Democratic Party in 1948. The Washington correspondent of the OVERSEAS NEWS AGENCY predicts that the western States, California, Colorado, Oregon and Washington, will support Wallace although it is not considered possible that Wallace will be able to obtain the support of the majority.

"The possibility of Wallace organizing a third party arouses great anxiety in leading political circles and it has become the subject of open discussion among politicians in Washington. Senator Pepper stated that he supports Wallace's demand that the Democratic Party adopt a liberal policy but he stated that at present he does not intend to follow the example of Wallace and to join the third party."

10M

DO-7

OFFICE OF DIRECTOR, FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

TO

OFFICIAL INDICATED BELOW BY CHECK MARK

Mr. Tolson ☒ *EAH*  
Mr. E. A. Tamm ☒  
Mr. Clegg ☒  
Mr. Glavin ☒  
Mr. Ladd ☒  
Mr. Nichols ☒  
Mr. Rosen ☒  
Mr. Tracy ☒  
Mr. Gurnea ☒  
Mr. Harbo ☒  
Mr. Mohr ☒  
Mr. Nease ☒  
Miss Gandy ☒  
☐

See Me ☐  
Note and Return ☐  
For Your Recommendation ☐  
What are the facts? ☐

Remarks:

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

INDEXED

RECORDED

22

62-71788-70X1

15



*memo*

*file*

ATTEMPTS TO PREVENT WALLACE TALK NOTED

Moscow, TASS, Soviet Overseas Service, in English Morse to North America, June 15, 1947, 9:10 p.m. EST--P

(Text)

"New York--The progressive organization 'The Southern Conference for Human Welfare' planned to hold a mass meeting on June 16 in the large Washington 'Watergate Amphitheater' (which is under the control of the Interior Department--TASS), at which former Vice President Wallace was scheduled to speak. *Henry*

*Re: Henry Wallace*

"American reactionary circles, alarmed by the success of the Wallace tour throughout the United States, are attempting to interfere with his forthcoming speech before an audience at the Washington meeting. The unofficial reactionary organization, the 'American Anti-Communist Association,' headed by Republican Congressman O'Konski of Wisconsin, petitioned the U.S. District Court on June 13 to issue a court order directing Secretary of the Interior Krug to deny Wallace the right to utilize the Interior Department's amphitheater, upon the grounds that Wallace's methods 'incite human emotions toward riot and insurrection.'

"Moreover, the petition points out that the sponsor of the meeting, 'The Southern Conference for Human Welfare' had been called a 'Communist front' organization by the House of Representatives Committee for the Investigation of Un-American Activities. It is expected that the court will hold a hearing on this matter on June 16.

"As reported by the Washington correspondent of FM, the Chairman of the House of Representatives Committee for the Investigation of Un-American Activities Thomas (Republican from New Jersey--TASS) announced that the committee will send to Washington, to attend the Wallace meeting scheduled for June 16, 'several observers,' in order to check upon the persons who appear upon the speaker's platform and to analyze any literature which may be distributed at the meeting.

"FM says Wallace, who is now in New York commented: 'Thomas' real purpose is to frighten Government employees, in order that they will not attend the meeting.' Thomas announced that the Un-American Activities Committee is preparing to publish June 15, one day prior to the Wallace meeting, a new 'report' upon 'The Southern Conference For Human Welfare,' in which this organization is accused of an alliance with the 'Communist Front.'

"Speaking in the House of Representatives several days ago Congressman Meyer, Republican from Kansas, demanded that the Attorney General indict Wallace on charges of treason."

Foreign Radio Broadcast # 80 - June 16, 1947

*61 R-10*

*61 W*

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. D. M. LADD *DL*

FROM : E. G. Fitch *EGF*

SUBJECT: <sup>①</sup> HENRY WALLACE  
INFORMATION CONCERNING

DATE: September 8, 1947

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. E. A. Tamm	_____
Mr. Clegg	_____
Mr. Glavin	_____
Mr. Ladd	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tracy	_____
Mr. Carson	_____
Mr. Egan	_____
Mr. Gurnea	_____
Mr. Harbo	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Pennington	_____
Mr. Quinn Tamm	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Nease	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Reference is made to a letter to the Director in the above captioned matter dated August 12, 1947, from the SAC at San Diego, California. The communication sets forth information obtained from a Colonel Fisher, presently Director of the Museum of Natural History in San Diego. The information deals with an individual by the name of Roarick who allegedly was a known Communist and known Russian intelligence agent.

Pursuant to a request from Mr. W. V. Cleveland of the Internal Security Section, this matter was checked by Special Agent S. W. Reynolds of the Liaison Section with the Intelligence Division of the War Department. Mr. Ruppert Guenther has advised Mr. Reynolds that a check in the files of the Intelligence Division failed to reveal any information on any individual who could possibly be identified with Roarick.

RECOMMENDATION

It is recommended this memorandum be forwarded to the Internal Security Section for the attention of Mr. Cleveland for his information.

SWR:mrh

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/18/83 BY SP1RST/OC  
228303

162-71788-71  
15 SEP 30 1947

Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice

San Diego, California  
August 12, 1947

Director, FBI

Re: HENRY WALLACE  
INFORMATION CONCERNING

Dear Sir:

The following information concerning HENRY WALLACE was disclosed to an Agent today by Colonel FISHER, presently Director of the Museum of Natural History in San Diego, who, prior to the war, was for thirty years Director of the Bureau of Forestry in the Philippine Islands, and an advisor to President Quezon. He also worked closely with G-2 in the Philippines and is an intimate friend of years standing of General Van Deman.

Colonel FISHER related that in prewar Manila, in 1936, two of the ranking Japanese in the Islands approached him with the query of whether WALLACE, the then Secretary of Agriculture, was a Communist and Russian. According to the Japanese, WALLACE had appointed a man named ROARICK, a known Communist and Russian intelligence agent, to the official post of the head of an official mission then on a tour of Manchuria and Korea, studying what was being done in forestry.

The two Japanese, who were pro-American, said that the members of this commission under ROARICK's direction were caught mapping installations, taking pictures of airfields, etc. It was Colonel FISHER's reaction that as a result of this the United States was playing right into the hands of the militarists and Jingoists, who used this as an excuse to tie up the United States and Russia in a "squeeze" play on them.

Colonel FISHER took the information to KNOWLES RYERSON, then a high departmental official of the United States Government in Manila, and now Dean of the College of Agriculture, University of California, Berkeley. RYERSON, although indignant at the appointment, said that his hands were tied as it came originally from Mrs. ELEANOR ROOSEVELT.

ENCLOSURE

ROARICK is now thought to be in Russia although he was last heard of in India.

RECORDED

INDEXED

114 15 SEP 30 1947

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED 228303

COPIES DESTROYED

205 NOV 4 1964

DATE 6/18/83 BY SP1 GSK JC



Director

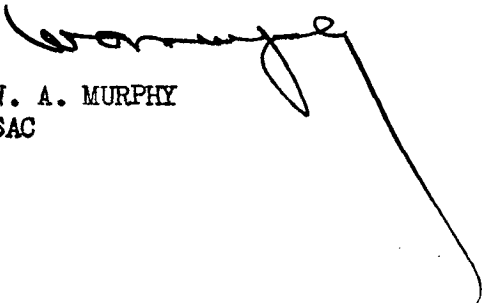
August 12, 1947

Re: HENRY WALLACE  
INFORMATION CONCERNING

With the WALLACE campaign under way, Colonel FISHER passed on this information to ROY BENNETT, former well-known editor in the Far East, and presently Editor of the Valley Times, Magnolia Boulevard, North Hollywood, California. Part of this story was published last month in this paper and FISHER is trying to get RYERSON to tell the complete details.

Bureau advice is requested if any further action should be taken in this regard.

Very truly yours,

  
W. A. MURPHY  
SAC

WAM:HB  
100-0

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson ✓

DATE: 9-20-47

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT:

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. E. A. Tamm	
Mr. Clegg	
Mr. Glavin	
Mr. Ladd	
Mr. Nichols	✓
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tracy	
Mr. Carson	
Mr. Egan	
Mr. Gurnea	
Mr. Harbo	
Mr. Hendon	
Mr. Pennington	
Mr. Quinn Tamm	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Nease	
Miss Beahm	
Miss Gandy	

At 10:15 a.m. today, Joe Young of The Evening Star advised Mr. McGuire that The Baltimore Sun, page 1, today carries a report of Henry Wallace's speech last night at Convention Hall in Philadelphia under the auspices of the Eastern Pennsylvania Chapter of Progressive Citizens of America wherein Wallace makes the charge that the FBI is conducting a campaign of terror against liberal Government employees that is reminiscent of the early days of Adolf Hitler; that old friends and co-workers of Wallace's over the years in Washington report to him that Agents of the FBI are conducting a campaign of terror unequalled in our history; "They are awakening liberal Government employees in the middle of the night and interrogating them at great length. These actions are being kept quiet. We must demand an end to this silent reign of terror. We must return to American principles."

Mr. Young stated in view of the seriousness of these charges against the Bureau Mr. Hoover probably would want to make an immediate reply. He was told we would call him back. We are sending out for a copy of the text as the local papers have not carried the story so far.

JJMcG:MP

20 Say

Hoover says he does  
not intend to dignify  
the statement with any  
comment.

C.I.R.-2

RECORDED  
&  
INDEXED

162-71788-72

SEP 27 1947

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/16/03 BY SP/BJK/JC  
228303

69 OCT 9 - 1947

EX-83

COPIES DESTROYED

80 3 1964

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/16/83 BY SP1 QSK/CE  
228303



PAID CIRCULATION AUGUST  
 NG. 171,734 357,844  
 NG. 186,110 SUNDAY 295,602

BALTIMORE, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 20, 1947

Entered as second-class matter  
 at Baltimore Post Office

## Surplus ine Tools To to Stock Pile

in, Sept. 19 (P)—Up to  
 us machine tools will  
 or stock pile starting  
 s a "reserve against a  
 urgency," the War As-  
 stration announced to-

, approved by the Joint  
 Machine Tool Commit-  
 on the shelf the bulk  
 tire remaining stock  
 machine tools, which  
 erment \$500,000,000.  
 xt month, Robert M.  
 AA administrator, re-  
 will not advertise or  
 chine tools for sale  
 permitting the joint  
 inspect and tag them.  
 m is part of the stock-  
 uthorized by Congress  
 s of the session, WAA  
 wo thousand is the  
 ch may be frozen for  
 reserve.

## ERS HELD ) MENACE

rts Discuss Ques-  
 1 Roanoke

, Sept. 19 (P)—Mo-  
 whizzer bikes" and  
 small motorized ve-  
 by teen-agers who  
 s toys, present one  
 ous traffic menaces  
 ted States today,  
 greed this morning  
 te.  
 s brought out at a  
 on current traffic  
 twenty-second an-  
 of the Virginia  
 chiefs of Police.  
 mit Speed  
 major of the traf-  
 hamond Police De-  
 ned he recently  
 ngy efficiency of a  
 ized bicycles. He  
 the brakes func-  
 y at speeds of 25  
 nd less, but that  
 in catching at  
 e suggested that  
 en to limit the  
 icles by mechani-  
 siles per hour.

## GRAIN PRICES CRASH IN ALL MAJOR MARTS

Declines Continue As De-  
 mand For High-Cost  
 Foods Shows Slump

Chicago, Sept. 19 (P)—All grain  
 prices crashed today in the major  
 American markets and livestock  
 prices drifted slightly lower or  
 held barely steady at the twelve  
 principal markets in the United  
 States.

The declines, continuing a week-  
 long trend in the United States,  
 came at a time when wholesale food  
 prices reached all-time peaks and  
 demand for high-priced food items  
 was slumping somewhat in the na-  
 tion's retail stores.

The high-cost-of-living problem  
 aroused fears of some retailers  
 that surging food costs might hurt  
 sales of nonfood items.

Second Break In Two Days  
 The grain-price break, second in  
 two days, was started by an agri-  
 culture Department report that half  
 the American corn crop was safe  
 from frost damage and by increased  
 offerings of cash corn by farmers  
 and country elevators.

Clinton P. Anderson, Secretary  
 of Agriculture, said the break in  
 American grain prices had oc-  
 curred "because the people are be-  
 ginning to realize that the wheat  
 crop is there" and that there is no  
 real shortage of the bread cereal.  
 In a train stopover at Chicago, he  
 expressed the hope the grain-mar-  
 ket decline would "start a down-  
 ward trend" in the cost of living.

At the Chicago Board of Trade,  
 world's largest grain exchange,  
 wheat, corn, oats and soybeans  
 dropped the permissible limit un-  
 der exchange rules—corn for the  
 second successive day.

Peaks Reached Last Week  
 September wheat closed at \$2.61  
 a bushel, 10 cents lower than yes-  
 terday for a two-day price drop of  
 16 to 18 3/4 cents. September corn  
 dropped the 8-cent limit to \$2.46 a  
 bushel for a two-day drop of 18  
 cents. Oats lost the 6-cent daily  
 limit, September closing at \$1.11 3/4,  
 and soybeans fell the 8-cent maxi-  
 mum, November, \$3.26.

The latest of several grain-price

## Wallace And Taft Assail Administration Policies

Former Charges 'Campaign Of Terror' By FBI;  
 Latter Attacks 'Planned Inflation'

Henry A. Wallace and Senator Robert A. Taft (R.,  
 Ohio) yesterday assailed policies of the Truman Ad-  
 ministration, the former Vice President charging the  
 FBI is conducting a Hitler-like "campaign of terror"  
 against "liberal" Government employes and the Senator  
 attacking what he called the Administration's policy of  
 "planned inflation."

### Wallace

By HOWARD NORTON  
 [Sun Staff Correspondent]  
 Philadelphia, Sept. 19—Henry  
 A. Wallace charged here tonight  
 that the FBI is conducting a "cam-  
 paign of terror against 'liberal'  
 Government employes (the is  
 "reminiscent of the early days of  
 Adolf Hitler."

Warning an audience of more  
 than 13,000 at Convention Hall that  
 Americans are in danger of losing  
 their political liberties, the former  
 Vice President declared:

"Old friends and co-workers from  
 my years in Washington report to  
 me that agents of the FBI are con-  
 ducting a campaign of terror un-  
 equalled in our history."

'Awakened At Night'  
 "They are awakening liberal  
 Government employes in the mid-  
 dle of the night and interrogating  
 them at great length."

These actions are being kept  
 quiet, he continued.

"We must demand an end to this  
 silent reign of terror. We must  
 return to American principles."

Wallace accused President Tru-  
 man of fostering war hysteria in  
 ordering the immediate swearing  
 in of James V. Forrestal as De-  
 fense Secretary a week ahead of  
 schedule.

He repeated the charge he made  
 last week in Madison Square Gar-  
 den that Wall street and the Army  
 are running the country. He rei-  
 terated the threat to organize a  
 third party if the Democratic party  
 refuses to adopt "liberal" prin-  
 ciples.

Wallace spoke tonight under the  
 auspices of the Eastern Pennsylv-  
 (Continued on Page 9, Column 2)

### Taft

By DEWEY L. FLEMING  
 [Chief of Washington Bureau]  
 San Francisco, Sept. 19—Senator  
 Robert A. Taft tonight closed eight  
 days of presidential soundings in  
 California and headed eastward to  
 Nevada.

The climax of the visit was the  
 Senator's attack on what he calls  
 the Truman Administration's policy  
 of "planned inflation," and the ten-  
 dering of his own program for halt-  
 ing runaway prices—in an address  
 before San Francisco's Common-  
 wealth Club.

Outstanding Proposals  
 Outstanding among his pro-  
 posals were:

1. Stabilization of wages and  
 prices at some new level, perhaps  
 fifty or sixty per cent above the  
 1939 level.

2. An increase of the minimum  
 wage from the present 40 cents an  
 hour to "at least" 60 cents.

Tells Of Oversight

Actually the Senator did not give  
 voice to his minimum wage boost  
 proposal in his address, although  
 it appeared in the advance texts of  
 the address and already was in  
 print in local newspapers before  
 he spoke.

At a press conference held im-  
 mediately after the speech the  
 Senator said it was an oversight  
 that he failed to read the recom-  
 mendation.

"I must have lost my place in  
 reading my manuscript," he ex-  
 plained. "I now reaffirm the state-  
 ment made in the text. My failure  
 to read that part was purely acci-  
 dental."

When the Senator, who is chair-  
 (Continued on Page 9, Column 3)

## MACEDONIAN GUERRILLAS GROW BOLDER

Attacks In Area Of Major  
 Towns Seen As Move To  
 Cut Communications

Guerrillas in Macedonia and  
 Thrace grow bolder as attacks  
 are made on major towns. Page 3

By PHILIP POTTER

[Sun Staff Correspondent]

Drama, Greece, Sept. 19—British  
 and Greek military men in Mace-  
 donia and Thrace, admitting the  
 deterioration in the security situa-  
 tion in this narrow strip between  
 the Aegean sea and the mountains  
 of Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, see in  
 stepped-up guerrilla activity a move  
 to cut the communications between  
 Greece and Turkey.

The Communist-led bandit forces,  
 which formerly confined their op-  
 erations to raids on communities  
 nestling close to the mountains, are  
 boldly moving down into the plains  
 for attacks on villages at the very  
 outskirts of major towns such as  
 Xanthi, Komotini and Alexandrou-  
 polis.

Bandit Activity Increasing

A British officer with the training  
 missions which have recently been  
 ordered to withdraw to Salonika  
 from Alexandroupolis and Drama  
 said today that bandit activity had  
 been "increasing daily" in the area  
 close to the Turkish border in  
 Thrace.

So active have the guerrillas  
 been in the Alexandroupolis region  
 that the commander of the training  
 camp of 3,000 recruits felt it was  
 too hazardous to take them to a  
 point 2 miles from the city for a  
 problem on which they were  
 engaged.

Alexandroupolis is also the head-  
 quarters for a brigade of the Greek  
 army, one of four guarding the line  
 of communications along the rail-  
 road from Salonika to the Turkish  
 border.

Rail Operations Slowed

Even this heavy concentration of  
 troops has not prevented heavy  
 sabotage to the vital rail line with  
 the result that its operations have  
 been badly slowed and curtailed.

In agreement with many of the  
 Greek military men with whom I  
 have talked during the trip along  
 the frontier, the British major said

U. N.  
 A.

Mac  
 'F

F  
 chance  
 United  
 told ti  
 that it  
 It  
 and c

RU

Argen  
 U. N.

Evatt  
 sal fo  
 bly" i  
 New  
 lost ti  
 battle  
 sembly  
 Russ  
 meetin  
 steerin  
 bly co  
 propos  
 tions  
 gentin  
 the gr  
 Russ  
 The  
 the pr  
 by a  
 Polanc  
 China  
 This  
 definit  
 Assem  
 Comm  
 comes  
 And  
 gate v  
 twenty

## WALLACE CHARGES FBI 'TERROR' DRIVE

'Liberal' U.S. Employees Waked  
At Night, Quizzed, He Says

By HOWARD NORTON  
(Continued from Page 1)

vanian Chapter of the Progressive Citizens of America.

More than 9,000 tickets were sold in advance, at prices ranging from 60 cents to \$3.60. The proceeds, after paying for the hall, will go into the P.C.A. political war chest.

Wallace talked on the eve of the departure from Philadelphia of the Freedom Train, which has been on exhibit here for the last three days, and he took as his theme "The Encroachments On Our Fundamental Political Liberty."

He charged that the "monopoly capitalists" are undermining civil liberties at home and abroad "in the name of stopping communism and defending democracy."

"The Americans most dominated by Moscow are the monopoly capitalists and their agents in the Administration and the Congress," Wallace said.

"They Fear Democracy"

"They are those who let any Russian action determine a counteraction regardless of its violation of American principles."

"They do not fear communism," Wallace shouted. "They fear democracy."

Predicting it will be said he is giving ammunition to the Communists by criticizing the inconsistency of policies at home and abroad, the former Vice President added:

"Let it be clearly understood that the ammunition is not the criticism, but the condition which is criticized."

Wallace pointed a finger at Mr. Truman as one of the chief breeders of war hysteria.

"Speaking of the campaign to breed hysteria," he declared, "I know of no recent incident quite as shocking to me as President Truman's instructions from the battleship Missouri that James Forrestal be sworn in immediately as Defense Secretary because of an international emergency."

"Method Of Breeding War"

Pointing out that the President refused to discuss the "emergency," Wallace continued:

"I insist that if there is a genuine emergency the people have the right to an explanation."

"If there is no emergency, this action rates as the very lowest method of breeding fear."

"It is not a technique which will melt Russian stubbornness. It will certainly not endear us to peace-loving people anywhere in the world."

(Editor's Note—The dispatch which disclosed President Truman's order for the swearing in of the new Secretary of Defense made no mention of the word "emergency." Mr. Truman's reason for the act was said to be the "general international situation.")

Wallace predicted that another depression is now "almost inevitable."

To avoid it or cushion its effects, he said, "we must return to the necessary nuisance of rationing."

He urged his audience to send copies of their grocery bills to the White House to help the President understand the simple "bread-and-butter issue that is troubling most Americans."

Assails Congress

He accused Congress of failing to attack any fundamental problems in the past session.

"It contented itself with framing measures to sap the strength of the trade-unions, to weaken rent controls and to appropriate billions to the Army and Navy," he said.

"And I warn you," he continued, "that the threatening depression can mean war. Frightened and greedy men, fearing the chaos of domestic depression, doubting our ability to have full production and full employment in peace, may drive us to war on the slightest pretext."

"It will not be a war of freedom, but a war for the salvation of entrenched greed."

## Taft Ends California Tour, Scores 'Planned Inflation'

By DEWEY L. FLEMING  
(Continued from Page 1)

man of the Republican Policy Committee in the Senate, was asked why his party had not introduced legislation at the last session of Congress to authorize such an increase, he replied it was because the body was "too busy" with other urgent matters, to take up such a "controversial" subject.

Intimating the project would be started at the next session, he remarked it probably would precipitate lengthy hearings and extended debate.

In a day full of political activities which attracted unusual attention by reason of the ever-present CIO pickets—more than 1,000 paraded around the Palace Hotel during delivery of the Commonwealth speech—the aspirant to the GOP presidential nomination also conferred with a number of local party leaders, held an afternoon reception for Republican workers, and made an off-the-record talk to the San Francisco Press Club.

Favorite Tryout Audience

The Commonwealth Club, whose membership includes the cream of the Golden Gate business and professional community, has been a favorite tryout audience for presidential candidates over a long period of years.

Here the late Franklin D. Roosevelt first enunciated the cardinal features of his New Deal in 1932, even as candidates before and after him hawked the war chest.

Like his predecessors in this forum, the Ohio senator obviously put his best foot forward.

The speech clearly was the most forceful and the most thoughtful public utterance of his tour. It also contained more fighting language than any of the others.

"The left-wingers are trying to put the burden of these (high) prices on the Republicans," he asserted angrily at the outset of the speech. Then proceeded to enunciate the "truth" about the situation.

"High prices are no sudden emergency," he declared. "They are the inevitable result of the Roosevelt-Truman policies since the beginning of the war."

"As long ago as November 23, 1945, I pointed out that the acts and real policies of the Administration contradicted its promises to prevent inflation and constituted a policy of planned inflation."

Eight-Point Indictment

The Senator delivered an eight-point indictment of the Truman Administration as the progenitor of the inflationary spiral. Beginning with the charge that it terminated price control too soon and did it solely for the purpose of influencing the outcome of the Congressional elections of 1946.

He criticized the Truman handling of the housing situation and his "capitulation" to the theory that wages could be increased without corresponding increases of prices.

He assailed the President for his vetoes of tax reduction bills and for his "lavish" extension of dollar credits to foreign nations.

The Senator then followed through with his own six-point alternative to the Truman method.

Elaborate Proposal

In elaboration of his proposal for a new high level of wages and prices, along with his advocacy of a 60-cent minimum wage. The Ohio Senator told his San Francisco audience:

"Since both wages and prices have risen, wages on the whole more than prices, we had better work toward a stabilization of wages and prices at some new level, perhaps 50 or 60 per cent over 1939."

"Increase in supply and some decrease in abnormal demand should bring prices back to that level from the present level of 80 to 100 per cent increase."

"The excess increase in wages over 50 or 60 per cent can probably be compensated in numerous industries by an increase in productivity."

"If we set 50 or 60 per cent as the goal, we should then encourage the increase of all subnormal wages and salaries to that point compared to prewar. If prewar wages in any

industry or profession were subnormal, the increase might well be larger."

"In this connection, I think the minimum wage should be increased from 40 cents to at least 60 cents."

"I do not believe that such increases in subnormal wages, or increases to white-collar groups, or to the ranks of unorganized labor, will tend to increase prices, but it will ease the burden of high prices for millions."

"We should insist upon the vital necessity of increasing the productivity of workmen by better machinery, better methods and better co-operation."

Calls For Tax Cut

Continuing his outline of affirmative steps in the situation, he said:

"Second, there should be a further reduction of Governmental expenses and a corresponding reduction in taxes, and we should have it at once in order to head off the inflationary effect of further increases in wages in the higher wage brackets."

"Third, we should restrict exports of those products where supply is short, as in the case of corn, and restrict the total volume of exports more than we do today."

"Fourth, much can be accomplished by a campaign of education. There have undoubtedly been some excessive profits and the President has been right in urging a reduction in their price."

"If extra funds are available, it is far better from an economic standpoint for corporations to reduce prices rather than increase wages or dividends further."

Urges Saving On Food

"Fifth, further wage increases should be discouraged to the extent that they mean increases in prices."

"Sixth, it may be desirable to undertake campaigns for the voluntary rationing of products like meat where excessive prices show that there is a shortage compared to the demand."

"The country as a whole is eating more than they ever ate before and, therefore, many people are in a position to save on food without harm to themselves."

"If they do, they reduce the demand and they should reduce the price for the benefit of those who are not so favored by higher incomes."

Such campaigns were successful under the Food Administration, I believe they can have a material effect on prices in the current emergency."

Seeks More Productivity

In conclusion, the Senator declared that in his opinion no workman had ever been paid "too much" for a day's work "well done," but he added:

"There is a limit to the total productive capacity of the country, and therefore to his share of goods made available. We cannot divide up more than we make."

"The great problem is to tune up our economic machine and increase production."

"On the whole, a good job has been done in the United States, but we want to find the means of doing a better job, of raising the standard of living and increasing wages without increasing prices. That can only be done by more productivity per man."

Largest Picket Line

The picket line here, organized by the San Francisco CIO council, was by far the largest of any which the Taft party has encountered. Like all the others, it was entirely orderly.

The demonstration was restricted to a display of placards heralding labor's hostility to the Taft-Hartley Act, of which the Senator is a co-author.

W. J. Kenney Becomes Under Secretary Of Navy

Washington, Sept. 19 (AP)—W. J. Kenney was sworn in today as Under Secretary of the Navy.

He succeeds John L. Sullivan who became Secretary yesterday after elevation of Secretary Forrestal to the post of Secretary of Defense.

## TAFT TALK DRAWS FIRE OF DEMOCRATS

GOP Pictured As Forestalling  
On Social Legislation

By ROBERT W. RUTH  
(Washington Bureau of The Sun)

Washington, Sept. 19 — The Democratic National Committee today charged that the GOP-dominated Eightieth Congress is bent on forestalling any social legislation until 1949 when it hopes a Republican will be installed in the White House.

What sent the committee's blood pressure to the boiling point was the recent remark of Senator Taft (R., Ohio) that Congress has been handicapped in welfare legislation because it cannot trust the democratic executive branch to set up the administrative machinery.

"Rule-Or-Ruin Philosophy"

Many Republicans therefore prefer to wait until their own President is in the White House, said the Senate leader who is now sounding out the West on chances for his party's nomination.

If Senator Taft was trying to get a rise out of the Democrats, it came today, Gael Sullivan, executive director of the Democratic National Committee, exhibited a fine feeling of indignation over what he called the "Republican rule-or-ruin philosophy revealed in the ransom note Senator Taft delivered to the nation in his Los Angeles speech."

In order to "have at" the Ohioan, Mr. Sullivan came out with the National Committee's publication, "Capital Comment, a day early."

"Pander To The Lobbyists"

Senator Taft, he alleged, "spelled out what he meant. His heartless program was revealed by his own words with an arrogance not matched since Hitler took over the Reichstag."

"The boss of the Republican-controlled Eightieth Congress made it plain that the GOP board of strategy has decided to do nothing about housing, health or education before 1949."

Nothing has been done, continued Mr. Sullivan, except to pander to the lobbyists."

The committee director, charging the Republicans with a legislative sit-down strike, added:

"At first it appeared the Republicans would act on housing, health and education in the second session as a last-minute sop to the voters."

"Would Stop The Clock"

"But Taft, who cultivates a reputation for forthright bluntness, jumped the gun in his own personal campaign for the Republican presidential nomination."

"In his hands—or possibly because of a change of strategy by the Republican National committee—this sop to the voters was turned into a transparently veiled threat."

"He would padlock the calendar and stop the clock."

"He would ignore the pressing problems of domestic welfare that face the nation and blackmail the people."

On the whole, a good job has been done in the United States, but we want to find the means of doing a better job, of raising the standard of living and increasing wages without increasing prices. That can only be done by more productivity per man."

The demonstration was restricted to a display of placards heralding labor's hostility to the Taft-Hartley Act, of which the Senator is a co-author.

W. J. Kenney Becomes Under Secretary Of Navy

Washington, Sept. 19 (AP)—W. J. Kenney was sworn in today as Under Secretary of the Navy.

He succeeds John L. Sullivan who became Secretary yesterday after elevation of Secretary Forrestal to the post of Secretary of Defense.

On the whole, a good job has been done in the United States, but we want to find the means of doing a better job, of raising the standard of living and increasing wages without increasing prices. That can only be done by more productivity per man."

The demonstration was restricted to a display of placards heralding labor's hostility to the Taft-Hartley Act, of which the Senator is a co-author.

W. J. Kenney Becomes Under Secretary Of Navy

Washington, Sept. 19 (AP)—W. J. Kenney was sworn in today as Under Secretary of the Navy.

He succeeds John L. Sullivan who became Secretary yesterday after elevation of Secretary Forrestal to the post of Secretary of Defense.

On the whole, a good job has been done in the United States, but we want to find the means of doing a better job, of raising the standard of living and increasing wages without increasing prices. That can only be done by more productivity per man."

The demonstration was restricted to a display of placards heralding labor's hostility to the Taft-Hartley Act, of which the Senator is a co-author.

W. J. Kenney Becomes Under Secretary Of Navy

Washington, Sept. 19 (AP)—W. J. Kenney was sworn in today as Under Secretary of the Navy.

He succeeds John L. Sullivan who became Secretary yesterday after elevation of Secretary Forrestal to the post of Secretary of Defense.

On the whole, a good job has been done in the United States, but we want to find the means of doing a better job, of raising the standard of living and increasing wages without increasing prices. That can only be done by more productivity per man."

The demonstration was restricted to a display of placards heralding labor's hostility to the Taft-Hartley Act, of which the Senator is a co-author.

W. J. Kenney Becomes Under Secretary Of Navy

Washington, Sept. 19 (AP)—W. J. Kenney was sworn in today as Under Secretary of the Navy.

He succeeds John L. Sullivan who became Secretary yesterday after elevation of Secretary Forrestal to the post of Secretary of Defense.

On the whole, a good job has been done in the United States, but we want to find the means of doing a better job, of raising the standard of living and increasing wages without increasing prices. That can only be done by more productivity per man."

The demonstration was restricted to a display of placards heralding labor's hostility to the Taft-Hartley Act, of which the Senator is a co-author.

W. J. Kenney Becomes Under Secretary Of Navy



## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

ATTN: CRIME RECORDS

DATE: September 26, 1947

FROM : SAC, Baltimore

SUBJECT: HENRY A. WALLACE  
MISCELLANEOUS

I am attaching hereto a copy of an article appearing in the Baltimore "Morning Sun" of September 20, 1947, captioned, "Wallace and Taft Assail Administration Policies." The Bureau will note that Mr. WALLACE criticized the Bureau in connection with its investigation of Government employees.

Enclosure

FH:meh

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

RECORDED 15 OCT 1 1947  
DATE 5/16/83 BY SP1 GSK  
228303 EX-30

162-71788-1773  
FBI  
6-11-47

WV  
GWF  
WV  
eh hold

3-30  
51 OCT 15 1947

# Wallace And Taft Assail Administration Policies

Former Charges 'Campaign Of Terror' By FBI;  
Latter Attacks 'Planned Inflation'

Henry A. Wallace and Senator Robert A. Taft (R., Ohio) yesterday assailed policies of the Truman Administration, the former Vice President charging the FBI is conducting a Hitler-like "campaign of terror" against "liberal" Government employes and the Senator attacking what he called the Administration's policy of planned inflation."

## Wallace

By HOWARD NORTON

[Sun Staff Correspondent]

Philadelphia, Sept. 19—Henry A. Wallace charged here tonight that the FBI is conducting a campaign of terror against "liberal" Government employes that is "reminiscent of the early days of Adolf Hitler."

Warning an audience of more than 13,000 at Convention Hall that Americans are in danger of losing their political liberties, the former Vice President declared:

"Old friends and coworkers from my years in Washington report to me that agents of the FBI are conducting a campaign of terror unequalled in our history

'Awakened At Night'

"They are awakening liberal Government employes in the middle of the night and interrogating them at great length."

These actions are being kept quiet, he continued, adding:

"We must demand an end to this silent reign of terror. We must return to American principles."

Wallace accused President Truman of fostering war hysteria in ordering the immediate swearing in of James V. Forrestal as Defense Secretary a week ahead of schedule.

He repeated the charge he made last week in Madison Square Garden that Wall Street and the Army are running the country. He reiterated the threat to organize a third party if the Democratic party refuses to adopt "liberal" principles.

Wallace spoke tonight under the auspices of the Eastern Pennsylv. (Continued on Page 9, Column 2)

## Taft

By DEWEY L. FLEMING

[Chief of Washington Bureau]

San Francisco, Sept. 19—Senator Robert A. Taft tonight closed eight days of presidential soundings in California and headed eastward to Nevada.

The climax of the visit was the Senator's attack on what he calls the Truman Administration's policy of "planned inflation," and the tendering of his own program for halting runaway prices—in an address before San Francisco's Commonwealth Club.

Outstanding Proposals

Outstanding among his proposals were:

1. Stabilization of wages and prices at some new level, perhaps 50 or 60 per cent above the 1939 level.

2. An increase of the minimum wage from the present 40 cents an hour to "at least" 60 cents.

Tells Of Oversight

Actually the Senator did not give voice to his minimum wage boost proposal in his address, although it appeared in the advance texts of the address and already was in print in local newspapers before he spoke.

At a press conference held immediately after the speech the Senator said it was an oversight that he failed to read the recommendation.

"I must have lost my place in reading my manuscript," he explained. "I now reaffirm the statement made in the text. My failure to read that part was purely accidental."

When the Senator, who is chair- (Continued on Page 9, Column 3)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/16/83 BY SP165 CFC

228303

RECORDED

EX-30

62-71788-73

CLIPPING FROM THE

BALTIMORE MORNING SUN

SEPTEMBER 20, 1947

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION	
U. S. D.	JUSTICE
SEP 24 1947	
BALTI	OFFICE
ROUTED TO	FILE

## WALLACE CHARGES FBI 'TERROR' DRIVE

'Liberal' U.S. Employees Waked  
At Night, Quizzed, He Says

By HOWARD NORTON  
(Continued from Page 1)

phia Chapter of the Progressive Citizens of America.

More than 9,000 tickets were sold in advance, at prices ranging from 60 cents to \$3.60. The proceeds, after paying for the hall, will go into the P.C.A. political war chest.

Wallace talked on the eve of the departure from Philadelphia of the Freedom Train, which has been on exhibit here for the last three days, and he took as his theme "The Encroachments On Our Fundamental Political Liberties."

He said that the "monopoly liberties at home and abroad" in the name of stopping communism and defending democracy.

"The Americans most dominated by Moscow are the monopoly capitalists and their agents in the Administration and the Congress," Wallace said.

"They Fear Democracy"

"They are those who let any Russian action determine a counteraction regardless of its violation of American principles."

"They do not fear communism," Wallace shouted. "They fear democracy."

Predicting it will be said he is living ammunition to the Communists by criticizing the inconsistency of policies at home and abroad, the former Vice President added: "Let it be clearly understood that the ammunition is not the criticism, but the condition which is criticized."

Wallace pointed a finger at Mr. Truman as one of the chief breeders of war hysteria.

"Speaking of the campaign to breed hysteria," he declared, "I know of no recent incident quite as shocking to me as President Truman's instructions from the battleship Missouri that James Forrestal be sworn in immediately as Defense Secretary because of an international emergency."

"Method Of Breeding War"

Pointing out that the President refused to discuss the "emergency," Wallace continued:

"I insist that if there is a genuine emergency the people have the right to an explanation."

"If there is no emergency, this action rates as the very lowest method of breeding fear."

"It is not a technique which will melt Russian stubbornness. It will certainly not endear us to peace-loving people anywhere in the world."

(Editor's Note—The dispatch which disclosed President Truman's order for the swearing in of the new Secretary of Defense made no mention of the word "emergency." Mr. Truman's reason for the act was said to be the "general international situation.")

Wallace predicted that another depression is now "almost inevitable."

To avoid it or cushion its effects, he said, "we must return to the necessary nuisance of rationing."

He urged his audience to send copies of their grocery bills to the White House to help the President understand the simple "bread-and-butter issue that is troubling most Americans."

Tonight's crowd is claimed to be the biggest to attend a political rally here in recent years, and by far the biggest on record at any such meeting where admission was charged. All seats in the great Convention Hall were taken, and hundreds of persons were standing.

Zero Mostel Speaks

Before Wallace appeared, preliminary speakers and entertainers harangued the crowd for more than two hours.

Zero Mostel, night club comedian, made an imaginary telephone call to Moscow. He told the crowd so many people had accused him of being a Russian agent that he thought he would demonstrate how he did it.

Paul Robeson sang a song en-

## Taft Ends California Tour, Scores 'Planned Inflation'

By DEWEY L. FLEMING  
(Continued from Page 1)

man of the Republican Policy Committee in the Senate, was asked why his party had not introduced legislation at the last session of Congress to authorize such an increase, he replied it was because the body was "too busy" with other urgent matters to take up such a "controversial" subject.

Intimating the project would be started at the next session, he remarked it probably would precipitate lengthy hearings and extended debate.

In a day full of political activities which attracted unusual attention by reason of the ever-present CIO pickets—more than 1,000 paraded around the Palace Hotel during delivery of the Commonwealth speech—the aspirant to the GOP presidential nomination also received with a number of local party leaders, held an afternoon reception for Republican workers, and made an off-the-record talk to the San Francisco Press Club.

Favorite Tryout Audience

The Commonwealth Club, whose membership includes the cream of the Golden Gate business and professional community, has been a favorite tryout audience for presidential candidates over a long period of years.

Here the late Franklin D. Roosevelt first enunciated the cardinal features of his New Deal in 1932, even as candidates before and after him hawked their wares.

Like his predecessors in this forum, the Ohio senator obviously put his best foot forward.

The speech clearly was the most forceful and the most thoughtful public utterance of his tour. It also contained more fighting language than any of the others.

"The left-wingers are trying to put the burden of these (high) prices on the Republicans," he asserted angrily at the outset of the speech. Then proceeded to enunciate the "truth" about the situation.

"High prices are no sudden emergency," he declared. "They are the inevitable result of the Roosevelt-Truman policies since the beginning of the war."

"As long ago as November 23, 1945, I pointed out that the acts and real policies of the Administration contradicted its promises to prevent inflation and constituted a policy of planned inflation."

Eight-Point Indictment

The Senator delivered an eight-point indictment of the Truman Administration as the progenitor of the inflationary spiral. Beginning with the charge that it terminated price control too soon and did it solely for the purpose of influencing the outcome of the Congressional elections of 1946.

He criticized the Truman handling of the housing situation and his "capitulation" to the theory that wages could be increased without corresponding increases of prices.

He assailed the President for his vetoes of tax reduction bills and for his "lavish" extension of dollar credits to foreign nations.

The Senator then followed through with his own six-point alternative to the Truman method. In elaboration of his proposal for

titled "The Purest Kind of a Guy," dedicated to Henry Wallace, "Old Man River," "Joe Hill," and several others.

Then he made a speech in which he called on the Negro people to "quit scrambling for crumbs and start to fight for their rights."

a new high level of wages and prices, along with his advocacy of a 60-cent minimum wage. The Ohio Senator told his San Francisco audience:

"Since both wages and prices have risen, wages on the whole more than prices, we had better work toward a stabilization of wages and prices at some new level, perhaps 50 or 60 per cent over 1939."

"Increase in supply and some decrease in abnormal demand should bring prices back to that level from the present level of 80 to 100 per cent increase."

Refers To Wage Increases

"The excess increase in wages over 50 or 60 per cent can probably be compensated in numerous industries by an increase in productivity."

"If we set 50 or 60 per cent as the goal, we should then encourage the increase of all subnormal wages and salaries to that point compared to prewar. If prewar wages in any industry or profession were subnormal, the increase might well be larger."

"In this connection, I think the minimum wage should be increased from 40 cents to at least 60 cents."

"I do not believe that such increases in subnormal wages, or increases to white-collar groups, or to the ranks of unorganized labor, will tend to increase prices, but it will ease the burden of high prices for millions."

"We should insist upon the vital necessity of increasing the productivity of workmen by better machinery, better methods and better co-operation."

Calls For Tax Cut

Continuing his outline of affirmative steps in the situation, he said:

"Second, there should be a further reduction of Government expenses and a corresponding reduction in taxes, and we should have it at once in order to head off the inflationary effect of further increases in wages in the higher wage brackets."

"Third, we should restrict exports of those products where supply is short, as in the case of corn, and restrict the total volume of exports more than we do today."

"Fourth, much can be accomplished by a campaign of education. There have undoubtedly been some excessive profits and the President has been right in urging upon those who have such profits a reduction in their prices."

"If extra funds are available, it is far better from an economic standpoint for corporations to reduce prices rather than increase wages or dividends further."

Urges Saving On Food

"Fifth, further wage increases should be discouraged to the extent that they mean increases in prices."

"Sixth, it may be desirable to undertake campaigns for the voluntary rationing of products like meat where excessive prices show that there is a shortage compared to the demand."

"The country as a whole is eating more than they ever ate before and, therefore, many people are in a position to save on food without harm to themselves."

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: October 11, 1947

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT:

Baltimore, Maryland ✓

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. E. A. Tamm	
Mr. Clegg	
Mr. Glavin	
Mr. Ladd	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tracy	
Mr. Carson	
Mr. Egan	
Mr. Gurnea	
Mr. Harbo	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Pennington	
Mr. Quinn Tamm	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Nease	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

For record purposes, I am attaching hereto the clipping from the Baltimore Sun for September 20 containing Henry A. Wallace's denunciation of the Bureau. In response to the several press inquiries which we had I replied with the following: "Mr. Hoover says he does not intend to dignify Mr. Wallace's statement with any comment."

Attachment

LBN:hmc

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11/16/83 BY SP-6 GSK/STP

EX-25

RECORDED  
INDEXED

100-71788-74

F B I  
32 OCT 14 1947

OCT 21 1947

ORIGINAL

ALTIMORE, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 20, 1947

# Wallace And Taft Assail Administration Policies

Former Charges 'Campaign Of Terror' By FBI;  
Latter Attacks 'Planned Inflation'

Henry A. Wallace and Senator Robert A. Taft (R., Ohio) yesterday assailed policies of the Truman Administration, the former Vice President charging the FBI is conducting a Hitler-like "campaign of terror" against "liberal" Government employees and the Senator attacking what he called the Administration's policy of "planned inflation."

## Wallace

By HOWARD NORTON

(Sun Staff Correspondent)

Philadelphia, Sept. 19—Henry A. Wallace charged here tonight that the FBI is conducting a campaign of terror against "liberal" Government employees that is "reminiscent of the early days of Adolf Hitler."

Warning an audience of more than 13,000 at Convention Hall that Americans are in danger of losing their political liberties, the former Vice President declared:

"Old friends and co-workers from my years in Washington report to me that agents of the FBI are conducting a campaign of terror unequalled in our history."

### 'Awakened At Night'

"They are awakening liberal Government employees in the middle of the night and interrogating them at great length."

These actions are being kept quiet, he continued.

"We must demand an end to this silent reign of terror. We must return to American principles."

Wallace accused President Truman of fostering war hysteria in ordering the immediate swearing in of James V. Forrestal as Defense Secretary a week ahead of schedule.

He repeated the charge he made last week in Madison Square Garden that Wall street and the Army are running the country. He reiterated the threat to organize a third party if the Democratic party refuses to adopt "liberal" principles.

Wallace spoke tonight under the auspices of the Eastern Pennsylv. (Continued on Page 9, Column 2)

## WALLACE CHARGES FBI 'TERROR' DRIVE

'Liberal' U.S. Employees Waked At Night, Quizzed, He Says

By HOWARD NORTON

(Continued from Page 1)

vania Chapter of the Progressive Citizens of America.

More than 9,000 tickets were sold in advance, at prices ranging from 60 cents to \$3.60. The proceeds, after paying for the hall, will go into the P.C.A. political war chest.

Wallace talked on the eve of the departure from Philadelphia of the Freedom Train, which has been on exhibit here for the last three days, and he took as his theme "The Encroachments On Our Fundamental Political Liberty."

He charged that the "monopoly capitalists" are undermining civil liberties at home and abroad "in the name of stopping communism and defending democracy."

"The Americans most dominated by Moscow are the monopoly capitalists and their agents in the Administration and the Congress," Wallace said.

### 'They Fear Democracy'

"They are those who let any Russian action determine a counteraction regardless of its violation of American principles."

"They do not fear communism," Wallace shouted. "They fear democracy."

Predicting it will be said he is giving ammunition to the Communists by criticizing the inconsistency of policies at home and abroad, the former Vice President added:

"Let it be clearly understood that the ammunition is not the criticism, but the condition which is criticized."

Wallace pointed a finger at Mr. Truman as one of the chief breeders of war hysteria.

"Speaking of the campaign to breed hysteria," he declared, "I know of no recent incident quite as shocking to me as President Truman's instructions from the battleship Missouri that James Forrestal be sworn in immediately as Defense Secretary because of an international emergency."

### 'Method Of Breeding War'

Pointing out that the President refused to discuss the "emergency," Wallace continued:

"I insist that if there is a genuine emergency the people have the right to an explanation."

"If there is no emergency, this action rates as the very lowest method of breeding fear."

"It is not a technique which will melt Russian stubbornness. It will certainly not endear us to peace-loving people anywhere in the world."

[Editor's Note—The dispatch which disclosed President Truman's order for the swearing in of the new Secretary of Defense made no mention of the word "emergency." Mr. Truman's reason for the act was said to be the "general international situation."]

Wallace predicted that another depression is now "almost inevitable."

To avoid it or cushion its effects, he said, "we must return to the necessary nuisance of rationing."

He urged his audience to send copies of their grocery bills to the White House to help the President understand the simple "bread-and-butter issue that is troubling most Americans."

### Assails Congress

He accused Congress of failing to attack any fundamental problems in the past session.

"It contented itself with framing measures to sap the strength of the trade-unions, to weaken rent controls and to appropriate billions to the Army and Navy," he said.

"And I warn you," he continued, "that the threatening depression can mean war. Frightened and greedy men, fearing the chaos of domestic depression, doubting our ability to have full production and full employment in peace, may drive us to war on the slightest pretext."

"It will not be a war of freedom but a war for the salvation of entrenched greed."

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

BY

5/16/83

2P1GSKPC  
228303

62-71788-74

EX-25

Director, FBI

ATTN: CRIME RECORDS

October 4, 1947

SAC, Baltimore

HENRY A. WALLACE

MISCELLANEOUS

I am attaching hereto a copy of an editorial appearing in the Baltimore "Morning Sun" of September 30, 1947, pertaining to the speech of Mr. WALLACE in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, at which time he made a number of comments in regard to the Bureau.

I thought the comments contained in this editorial would be of interest to the Bureau.

Enclosure  
FH:meb

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/9/83 BY ~~SP5 RJG/PAB~~  
228303

9-17-88  
3042 PWT-JAA

CA75-1121 EX-4

RECORDED

62-71288-75  
F B I  
44 OCT 28 1947

52 NOV 10 1947

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE BY

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN 65-56402-2881

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES

~~PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL~~

Director, FBI

DATE

October 9, 1947

SAC, New Haven

PROGRESSIVE CITIZENS OF AMERICA  
SECURITY MATTER - C

DECLASSIFIED BY DDA RSK/SC  
ON 5-16-83  
228303

RE: HENRY WALLACE SPEECH - NEW HAVEN ARENA  
OCTOBER 8, 1947

Special Agents JAMES T. HAVERTY and ARTHUR R. WADE attended a rally in the New Haven Arena on Wednesday, October 8, 1947, at 8:30 P.M., sponsored by the PCA Connecticut Chapter. The attendance was nearly fifty five hundred persons, who paid from sixty five cents to two dollars and fifty cents admission. The purpose of the rally, according to Dr. FRANK KINGDON, co-Chairman of the National PCA, was to recommend WALLACE for President on a Democratic or Third Party Ticket, depending on how events developed in 1948.

The program of events was opened by the singing of the National Anthem and then the lights in the Arena were turned out and a voice on the public address system introduced each speaker in the darkened auditorium. As the speakers mounted the platform, spotlights were trained on them. The unidentified voice claimed he was the voice of the PCA. The speakers were -

Professor THOMAS EMERSON, professor of Law at Yale University, who stated the political aims of the PCA, including the repeal of the TAFT-HARTLEY bill and any other legislation unfavorable to the Labor Unions.

Dr. ALLAN HICKERSON, head of New Haven State Teachers College, who described briefly the history of the PCA in Connecticut, concluding that it was the only progressive political party in the country at the present time.

PAUL ROBESON, well known Negro singer sang four songs including "Ol' Man River" and "Joe Hill". These were critical of the present social distinctions made in this country between the colored race and the white. ROBESON concluded his appearance by a recitation of the poem called "Freedom Train", which also derided the racial distinctions drawn between the colored and white persons traveling on trains in the South.

Dr. FRANK KINGDON, co-Chairman of the National PCA, gave a vigorous talk lasting thirty minutes to introduce HENRY A. WALLACE, former Vice President, who was the principal speaker. KINGDON criticized the present high price levels, the condition of the National Building Program, the condition of the Jewish question, particularly with regard to Palestine and the establishment of aid for Greece and Turkey, punctuating each section of his remarks by the slogan that it was time for the people to do something about it and to "come out fighting". KINGDON stated that he was against universal military training in the United States and then made

ARW:FCM

N.E. 100-11035

RECORDED

162-71788-76  
FBI  
49 OCT 28 1947

R-250

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-11035

a few remarks on each of the following persons whom he considered presidential candidates for the 1948 presidential elections: Senator ROBERT A. TAFT; Governor THOMAS E. DEWEY; JOSEPH MARTIN, Leader of the House of Representatives; Senator RAYMOND BALDWIN of Connecticut, and concluded that the only real candidate worth considering was HENRY A. WALLACE and that he wanted WALLACE to run for the Presidency. At this point KINGDON stated that they needed not only courage but money to carry on the program to nominate WALLACE for the presidency. To obtain this money he stated that the PCA could not contact any wealthy persons in the country, such as, DUPONT, as the Republican Party would do, because there were no wealthy members in the PCA. Further, they could not contact any corporations with the threat of adverse legislation as the Democratic Party would do and consequently they must call on the people to contribute to the campaign fund. From the platform KINGDON called for donations starting off with the request for one thousand dollar donations, then requesting five hundred dollars, two hundred fifty dollars, one hundred dollars, fifty dollars, twenty-five dollars, ten dollars, five dollars and then any amount that anyone desired to contribute. As these pledges were made to the ushers, the names were called by KINGDON over the public address system and it was noted that RALPH POMERANCE was the only person to donate one thousand dollars. POMERANCE is Chairman of the Greenwich Chapter of the PCA and has acted in all PCA sponsored rallies and programs in Connecticut. A rough tally kept by the Agents indicated that \$8,465 was pledged exclusive of the miscellaneous amounts under five dollars. Local newspapers indicated the total collected was approximately twelve thousand dollars.

Mr. WALLACE opened his speech by stating that since Connecticut had established the three per cent sales tax, his wife seldom shopped in Connecticut although they live just over the line. He remarked that special mention should be made of the work of Chester A. Bowles in his attempt to continue price controls. He described the late Fiorela LaGuardia as a great humanitarian, whose death had been the biggest loss to the United States since the death of the late President Roosevelt. He then described the wheat crops in the United States and the European countries and criticized the State Department for playing politics with the food situation in Europe. WALLACE advocated aid to Europe and recommended the passage of the bill for eight billion dollars to furnish this aid. He stated, however, that the aid should be granted freely and there should be no attempt to dictate the internal politics of any country in which the people were starving. WALLACE remarked that the MARSHALL Plan had appeared good to him at first, but stated that the State Department with its policies had undermined this Plan to such an extent that it was now valueless. WALLACE mentioned the fact that the publicly announced formation of an international "clearing house for the exchange of information" by the Communist parties of the countries of Eastern Europe had been branded a new Comintern by the press. WALLACE stated that it was merely an indication to him of the split which has developed between the United States and Russia in their attempt to establish world peace. He made the remark that this was merely a symptom of the split and not the cause. WALLACE stated that while both the United States and Russia had won the peace they were preparing for war. He called upon the State Department of the United States to issue a clear statement on the differences which exist between the United States



and Russia and desired the Kremlin to make a similar statement. As a further method of establishing lasting peace he stated that President TRUMAN and Secretary MARSHALL should invite STALIN and MOLOTOV to a conference and at this conference they should establish the differences between their governments so that suitable adjustments could be made. On the Palestine question, WALLACE remarked that we were double-crossing the Jews to protect the interests of two oil companies which control ninety per cent of the oil resources of the Near East exclusive of the oil resources of Russia. He stated that it appeared that the foreign policy of the State Department seemed to be based on this view. In conclusion, WALLACE stated that his major consideration was to establish a permanent peace.

It was noted that the New Haven Arena was practically filled but that there were available a few seats although the rally was stated to be a sell out. PAUL ROBESON received the most acclaim from the audience and it was noted that several people began to leave the building in the middle of WALLACE'S speech which lasted approximately forty-five minutes.

A number of those present had difficulty in understanding the speakers due to malfunctioning of the public address system. Another factor which tended to mar the reception was the loud noise made by a poorly functioning spotlight.

Informants covering "C" affairs advise that the rally was wholeheartedly supported by members of the "C.P." and that these members were most active in selling tickets to the affair. These same informants advise that local C.P. officials were pleased with the success of the meeting and with WALLACE'S speech.

ARW:FCM

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

FROM : SAC, Boston

SUBJECT: HENRY A. WALLACE  
INFORMATION CONCERNING

DATE: October 18, 1947

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/16/83 BY SP1GSK/JC

The Boston Globe on October 18, 1947, carried the following local news item:

"U. S. Is Drifting Into 'Police State,'  
Wallace Says Here

"A 'rapid drift' towards a police state has been evident in this country during the past six months, former Vice President Henry A. Wallace told reporters here last night during a half-hour layover at Logan Airport on his air journey to Palestine.

"Communism, he declared, is no threat whatsoever to America. It is being used, he said, merely as a weapon for political purposes.

"England has managed to preserve its civil liberties more than we have since the war," Wallace said.

"In this country, we are in almost the same situation that existed when the Alien and Sedition Act was passed in 1789."

"An alleged probe of the Treasury Department involving the dragging of past and present treasury officials from their beds by FBI agents, was cited by Wallace as evidence for the drift to the 'police state.'"

"I suppose these treasury workers are supposed to be helping Russia," said the former Vice President sarcastically.

"Morgenthau 'worried'"

Wallace said he had talked with former Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau on the probe and that Morgenthau was 'worried' about it, although he had not been questioned personally.

Wallace, who recently completed a vigorous cross-country speaking tour, is bound for Palestine for a first-hand investigation of the situation there. His New York-to-Cairo TWA Starliner

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. E. A. Tamm	✓
Mr. Clegg	✓
Mr. Ladd	✓
Mr. Nichols	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Tracy	✓
Mr. Egan	✓
Mr. Gurnea	✓
Mr. Harbo	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Pennington	✓
Mr. Quinn Tamm	✓
Mr. Nease	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

COPIES DESTROYED

20 5 NOV 1 1964

Director, FBI

'Shalimar' landed at Logan Airport last night for a routine refueling stop.

"In answer to questions on the food situation, Wallace hit at present measures to save grains as 'laughable' and urged that the percentage of wheat going to make flour be increased. At present, he said, 30 per cent of all grain harvested is used for other purposes than flour.

"He called as well for a return of price control, rationing, and other controls to save grain 'if we mean business.'"

The above information is being provided the Bureau for the completion of its files.

100-20574

TFM:rol

RECORDED

62-71788-78

EX-1

November 8, 1947

Miss Geraldine Jewell  
Apartment 6  
1060A American Avenue  
Long Beach, California

Dear Miss Jewell:

Your letter of November 3, 1947, has been received. I do want to thank you for making your information and the clippings you enclosed available to me. The patriotic motives prompting your communication are indeed appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

NOTE: There is no record on correspondent in general files.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/16/83 BY SP1GSKJ  
228303

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. E. A. Tamm  
Mr. Clegg  
Mr. Glavin  
Mr. Ladd  
Mr. Nichols  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tracy  
Mr. Egan  
Mr. Gurnea  
Mr. Harbo  
Mr. Mohr  
Mr. Pennington  
Mr. Quinn Tamm  
Tele. Room  
Mr. Nease  
Miss Gandy

WN:mc  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION  
MAILED 3  
NOV 8 - 1947 P.M.  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Handwritten signature

Long Beach, Calif.  
Nov. 3, 1947

FBI...

Mr. Hoover;

Dear Sir:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/16/83 BY SP1GSKJC  
228303

Two incidents have happened in the past month which should be watched. First, this is a word for word account of the conversation as it happened in a cleaning shop:

A man of about thirty speaking with a heavy accent walked into the shop where I had taken a sweater to be cleaned, in the presence of the cleaner, another woman and myself this is what happened:

"Are you folks registered voters?" He asked us.

"Yes. Why?" We replied.

"I want you to sign this petition," he said.

"What kind of a petition?" I asked.

"To start a PROGRESSIVE INTERNATIONAL PARTY in the U.S.," he said.

"What are you planning on doing with the two we have?" I asked.

"They are out-moded and old-fashioned," he said.

"Who are you running for president?" the cleaner then asked.

"Henry Wallace of course," he replied proudly.

"I wouldn't vote for Henry Wallace if we never had a president," I exploded.

He turned upon me arrogantly and said, "You are

HENRY A. WALLACE

ack 11/18/47

62-71788-78

not informed."

I replied, "I read two newspapers a day, listen to most of the commentators, see a newsreel everyday and read books and magazines."

"That stuff is all put out by wall street for people like you who are to dumb to realize the facts," he snorted.

"And where do you get your information," I shot back, "From Russia?"

"Russia, Russia, why are you so afraid of Russia."

"We are not afraid of Russia. But we know war means death. Besides I do not think the Bill of Rights and the Constitution can be improved upon. Any fault lies with dishonest individuals seeking to destroy it."

He scoffed at us for saying that.

Then he brazenly threatened in measured words, "You are very shortly going to lose that Constitution and that Bill of Rights." He turned quickly and walked out of the shop leaving us angry at having to be insulted by people who are seeking and bragging about it, to overthrow the government. And those people are using our First Amendment to sanction their infamous cause.

Un-American people hiding behind the Bill of Rights is like a coward hiding behind the skirts of a woman and if the men who wrote those "Rights " hould have foreseen that people born within the borders of America could be so low as to use it to hide behind I KNOW THEY WOULD HAVE WORDED IT FAR DIFFERENTLY.

THE OTHER THING WHICH IS GOING ON HERE IN LONG BEACH...AND WHICH WERE HANDED OUT BY THE THOUSANDS ON DOWNTOWN STREETS NOV. 1st. IS THE ENCLOSED PAMPHLET.

I believe that the Socialist are really Communists and that they will use the other parties as a guise or cover-up for the Communists activities and to put over their aims.

I BELIEVE HENRY WALACE IS A COMMUNIST MASKING UNDER <sup>The</sup> ~~THE~~ GUISE OF A DEMOCRAT-IF NOT, THEN WHY DID THE MAN SAY-THAT THEY WISHED TO START UP A PROGRESSIVE INTERNATIONAL(which is communist) AND RUN HIM FOR PRESIDENT. IF HE SHOULD RUN IN THE FUTURE ON A DEMOCRATIC TICKET...PEOPLE WILL BE MISLED. SHOULD HE WIN, HE WILL SELL THIS COUNTRY SHORT. HE SHOULD BE KEPT UNDER CONSTANT SURVEILLANCE. Then the people who think and believe him to be an honest idealist could and should be informed as to his true color. I BELIEVE THE SAME IS TRUE OF SENATOR ~~REPPER~~.

CLAUDE

Sincerely,

*Geraldine Jewell* NR  
Geraldine Jewell  
1060A-American Ave.  
Apt. 6  
Long Beach, Calif.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/16/83 BY SP1GSKJC  
228303

ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE

62-71788-78



I DO NOT LIKE THE THREAT AND TONE OF THESE.  
I BELIEVE DR. RUTH ALEXANDER IS RIGHT IN THIS  
INCLOSED CLIPPING.

**SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY**

**DO WE HAVE A DEMOCRACY?**  
A STRAIGHTFORWARD ANSWER  
TO A BURNING QUESTION

FROM THE CRADLE ON, YOU'VE HAD IT POUNDED INTO YOU THAT "OUR WAY OF LIFE" IS A NEARLY PERFECT DEMOCRACY. LET'S BE SKEPTICS FOR A MINUTE -- AND PUT IT TO A TEST...

**1**  
**WHAT IS IT?**

FORGET THE PHRASES OF LAWYERS AND POLITICIANS. THERE'S NO MYSTERY...

DEMOCRACY MEANS ONLY ONE THING:

**RULE BY  
& FOR THE  
PEOPLE**

NOW APPLY THAT ACID TEST TO THE U.S. HOW DOES IT MEASURE UP? IS IT THE REAL THING -- OR HAVE WE BEEN SOLD A GOLD BRICK?

REMEMBER--  
"RULE BY  
AND FOR THE  
PEOPLE" THE  
QUESTION  
IS.

**2**  
**DO WE  
HAVE  
IT?**

**WE DO HAVE POLITICAL DEMOCRACY**

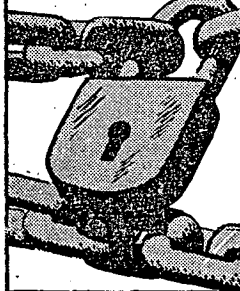
FOR ONE THING, YOU MAY VOTE... EVERY YEAR OR SO, YOU CAN GO TO THE POLLS AND PICK SOME NAMES.

AND THERE'S FREEDOM OF SPEECH. YOU CAN SIGN PETITIONS-- DISTRIBUTE LITERATURE -- AND EXPRESS YOUR VIEWS IN PUBLIC.

ALL THIS IS FINE--**BUT...**

I BELIEVE THIS IS A COMMUNIST ORGANIZING  
UNDER THE SOCIALIST BANNER.

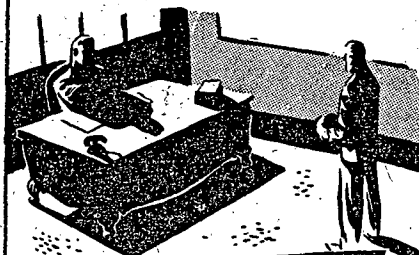
A VAST, UNLIMITED  
**DESPOTISM**  
CASTS A SHADOW  
ACROSS THE LAND...



**THIS IS CAPITALISM.** UNDER IT THE  
CAPITALIST CLASS HOLDS TERRIFYING POWER  
OVER THE JOBS AND LIVES OF MILLIONS,  
BECAUSE THEY OWN INDUSTRY.



THE WORKERS ARE REDUCED TO  
THE STATUS OF COMMODITIES--  
COMPELLED TO SELL THEIR  
LABOR POWER TO THE FEW  
IN THE LABOR MARKET.

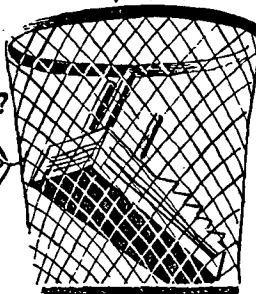


**RULE BY THE PEOPLE?**

A PLANT RUNS OR IS SHUT DOWN  
AS BENEFITS THE FEW. PROFIT,  
NOT HUMAN NEED, CASTS THE  
VOTE!

REMEMBER  
THE LAST  
DEPRESSION?

IMPORTABLE

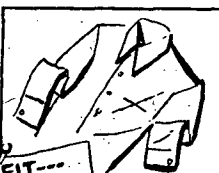


**RULE FOR THE PEOPLE?**

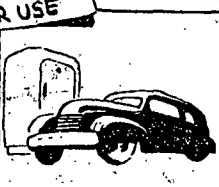
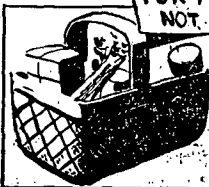
COMPARE OUR  
ENORMOUS  
WARTIME  
PRODUCTION...



WITH THE AMERICAN WORKERS'  
LOW STANDARD OF LIVING.



FOR PROFIT---  
NOT FOR USE

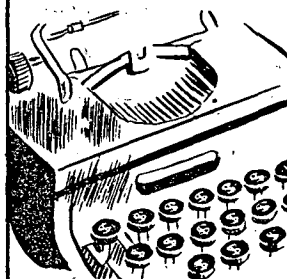


IS THIS  
DEMOCRACY FOR  
THE PEOPLE?

FROM WHERE  
WE STAND, IT  
LOOKS LIKE  
DEMOCRACY  
FOR THE  
CAPITALIST  
CLASS!

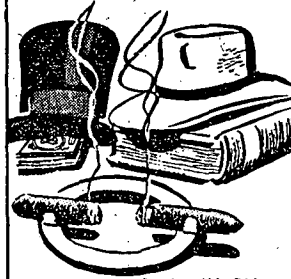
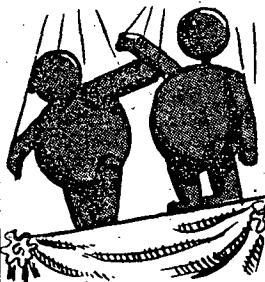
**BUT- MORE  
THAN THAT....**

# ECONOMIC DESPOTISM WIPES OUT POLITICAL DEMOCRACY...



NEWSPAPERS & RADIO  
ARE CAPITALIST-OWN-  
ED... THEY MOLD YOUR  
THINKING.

AND URGE YOU TO  
VOTE FOR HAND-  
PICKED CANDIDATES.



...WHO KNOW WHICH  
SIDE TO PROTECT IN  
THE LEGISLATURES  
OF THE LAND.

**LISTEN** TO WHAT WOODROW WILSON  
SAID ON THE SUBJECT:



THE MASTERS OF THE GOVERNMENT  
...ARE THE COMBINED CAPITALISTS  
AND MANUFACTURERS OF THE UNITED  
STATES. IT IS WRITTEN OVER EVERY  
INTIMATE PAGE OF THE RECORDS  
OF CONGRESS...  
...THE MEN REALLY CONSULTED  
ARE THE MEN WHO HAVE THE BIG-  
GEST STAKE--THE BIG BANKERS,  
THE BIG MANUFACTURERS, THE BIG  
MASTERS OF COMMERCE...  
THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED  
STATES IS A FOSTER-CHILD OF  
THE SPECIAL INTERESTS...

---"THE NEW FREEDOM"

RULE BY AND FOR  
THE PEOPLE?!!



CAPITALISM USES  
THE FORMS OF  
DEMOCRACY--TO  
CLOAK CLASS RULE!

WHAT THE  
WORKERS  
NEED IS  
DEMOCRACY  
IN THE  
INDUSTRIES

**3**  
**HOW  
CAN WE  
GET IT?**



THE ANSWER IS  
SHOCKINGLY SIMPLE



INDUSTRY MUST BE OWNED AND  
MANAGED -- NOT PRIVATELY, OR  
BY THE POLITICAL STATE....



...BUT BY THE WORKERS WHO RUN  
INDUSTRY--BY SOCIETY ITSELF

THIS, AND  
NOTHING  
ELSE, IS  
SOCIALISM--  
THIS IS REAL  
DEMOCRACY!



# THE DEMOCRACY OF SOCIALISM

If you DO want a real democracy, a democracy based on economic security, then study the program of the Socialist Labor Party. The goal of the Socialist Labor Party is—

1. The capture of the capitalist political state with the view of abolishing it since the machinery of the state can only be used as an instrument of the ruling class to keep the wage workers of the land in continuous subjection.

2. Collective ownership of all the means of wealth production and distribution—that is, ownership of industry by all the people.

3. Production of goods and services for use instead of for sale and profit.

4. Democratic management of industry through Socialist Industrial Union councils, the members of which would be elected by the workers in each industry.

5. The Socialist Labor Party is the ONLY organization WHICH HAS A PROGRAM for achieving Socialism. Write now for free literature. Learn HOW to build the most complete democracy civilized man has ever known.

---

For further information and for free 48-page booklet on Socialism, send the coupon below.

---

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY  
1337 1/2 West 52nd Street—Los Angeles 37, Calif.

I am interested in Socialism. Without obligation please send me information and free literature.

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

Please send me without charge.....copies of this leaflet,  
(Indicate Number Desired)

for distribution among my friends and fellow workers.

D.W.H.A.D 50 M 9-47

(May be pasted on back of postcard)

---

86-24416-27

# Our America

By Dr. Ruth Alexander

**I**T IS SLOWLY DAWNING upon us that FASCISM, NAZISM (national Socialism) and COMMUNISM are the same breed of cats. All three are forms of Socialism and Marx used the terms Socialism and Communism interchangeably. Communism represents merely the FINAL MILESTONE or "terminal concept" of Socialism according to the teachings of "dialectic materialism."

For some years the SOCIALISTS have tried to dissociate themselves from the Communists and both have disclaimed any kinship with FASCISM. BUT THEY DIFFER IN DEGREE AND NAME ONLY, FOR A COMMUNIST TO CALL HIS OPPONENT A "FASCIST" AS A SMEAR WORD IS THE POT CALLING THE KETTLE BLACK.

★ ★ ★

**T**HE WORD Fascism stems from the Latin, "fasces," meaning the bundle of rods with an ax which was symbolic of authority in ancient Rome. The Fascism of modern Rome represents the syndicalist branch of Socialism. The word syndicalism stems from the French word for trades union—"syndicat."

Syndicalism was PROLETARIAN SOCIALISM in its purest form. It was the Socialism of the working class as opposed to the Socialism of the intelligentsia, in Germany, or the Socialism of the aristocratic anarchists, in Czarist Russia. (Soviet Socialism is a combination of these latter two.)

The syndicalists shared the common creed of Socialism—that capitalism was inherently unjust and that to overthrow it was the manifest destiny of the working class.

*They believed that class warfare should be "WAGED RELENTLESSLY" until a complete REVOLUTION, or overturning, of society was accomplished.*

10:15AM

November 24, 1947

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TOLSON  
MR. TAMM  
MR. LADD  
MR. NICHOLS

Mr. David K. Niles called me with reference to the Burt Andrews' article in the Washington Post, Sunday November, 16th. He indicated that he was quiet happy that his article was published to counteract the adverse publicity which has recently come out concerning the Bureau.

I gave Mr. Niles the background concerning the Andrews' story and also advised him of the unfavorable speeches concerning the FBI given by Mr. Durr of the Federal Communications Commission in Chicago recently and the one by Mr. Henry Wallace last night.

Mr. Niles inquired as to what we are doing about publicizing the Andrews' story. I advised him that we had the article entered into the Congressional Record, and the Bureau is also having a small pamphlet published of Mr. Andrews' article combined with an editorial a few days later on the same matter. Mr. Niles requested that a group of these pamphlets be forwarded to him. I told him that I would be happy to send him a group as soon as they were available.

truly yours,

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/16/83 BY

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

SP1QSKJC  
228303

JEH:rjp

cc Mr. Nease  
Tele Rm

RECORDED

62-71788-80  
F B I  
55 NOV 29 1947

SERIAL 79 SNIF

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN

62-40185-1103

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/16/83 BY SP1BCK/PC

FBI NORFOLK 228303 11-23-47

7-31 PM

JAG

DIRECTOR

U R G E N T

HENRY A. WALLACE, INFORMATION CONCERNING. AT MEETING NOVEMBER

TWENTYTHREE AT NORFOLK, VIRGINIA SPONSORED BY SCHW. AND ~~XXXXXX~~ AV

ATTENDED BY ABOUT SIXTEEN HUNDRED, HENRY A. WALLACE CRITICIZED THE FBI  
FOR FURNISHING UNSOLICITED REPORTS CONCERNING AMATEUR ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ RADIO  
OPERATORS TO FCC CONTAINING NOTHING BUT GOSSIP AND STATED THAT THIS IS  
ONLY ONE STEP FROM CENSORSHIP OF RADIO AND PRESS. HE SUGGESTED THAT  
THEY READ NEW YORK HERALD-TRIBUNE OF THREE WEEKS AGO CONCERNING  
THE UNDEMOCRATIC DISMISSAL OF FEDERAL EMPLOYEES. LETTER FOLLOWS.

ROBEY

END SCHW = SOUTHERN CONFERENCE FOR HUMAN WELFARE  
AVC = AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE

7-33 PM OK FBI WASH DC VH

60 DEC 2-1947 R335

RECORDED

INDEXED

EX-14

Mr. Tolson ✓  
Mr. E. A. Tamm ✓  
Mr. Clegg ✓  
Mr. Glavin ✓  
Mr. Ladd ✓  
Mr. Nichols ✓  
Mr. Rosen ✓  
Mr. Tracy ✓  
Mr. Egan ✓  
Mr. Gurnea ✓  
Mr. Harbo ✓  
Mr. Hendon ✓  
Mr. Pennington ✓  
Mr. Quinn Tamm ✓  
Mr. Nease ✓

Cory JAG  
Cory JAG

62-71788-81  
NOV 26 1947  
101

COPY NS

RECORDED 162-71788-82

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

cc - Mr. Ladd

December 8, 1947

RECORDED DIRECTOR, FBI

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE FOR HUMAN WELFARE  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reference is made to previous memoranda to you, the last which was dated November 15, 1947, concerning the appearance of former Vice-President Henry A. Wallace in Atlanta, Georgia at a meeting to be held at the Wheat Street Baptist Church.

Mr. Wallace appeared at the meeting in Atlanta held at the Wheat Street Baptist Church with between 3,000 and 4,000 persons in attendance. It was estimated that approximately 40% of the persons present were white with the remainder being negroes. The races were not segregated.

Mr. Wallace spoke for about an hour and a half during which time he attacked the present foreign policy of the United States and universal military training as being policies which would lead us to war. He also said that America has nothing to fear from Communism but does face a danger from those who would violate the Bill of Rights in seeking out Communists and those who brand every liberal movement as Communist inspired. He criticized Congressional Investigating Committees and the present loyalty check program as being violations of the Bill of Rights and stated that the present administration and big business are trying to undermine traditional American rights to free debate by using the cry of "red" to suppress those who do not think as they believe they should. He also said that racial segregation and racial discrimination must be eliminated.

As you were previously advised, there was the possibility of some racial disorder resulting from this meeting as segregation of the races in attendance was not going to be tolerated. However, this meeting was held without any unusual disturbances or disorder.

This data is furnished to you for the completion of your files in connection with the appearance of Mr. Wallace at Atlanta, Georgia.

CBH:wma

100-10355

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/16/83 BY SP1GSKJC  
228303

12/31/85 9145JPE/AG/RBG #248,237

89 DEC 13 1947

ORIGINAL COPIES FILED IN 100-10355-270



b6  
b7C

Director, FBI  
SAC, Atlanta

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF Class  
DATE 6/16/83

Nov. 24, 1947

1872  
SOUTHERN CONFERENCE FOR HUMAN WELFARE;  
SPEAKING ENGAGEMENT OF FORMER VICE PRESIDENT  
HENRY A. WALLACE IN ATLANTA;  
INTERNAL SECURITY-C.  
(Bureau file #100-10355).

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Reamlet 11/19/47 concerning the speaking engagement of former Vice President HENRY A. WALLACE on November 20, 1947, in Atlanta.

Mr. WALLACE and CLARK FOREMAN, president of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, arrived in Atlanta at about 9:00 A.M. on November 19, 1947, from New Orleans. Through Informant [redacted] it has been learned that they were met at the station by WILLIAM STAFFORD, head of the UPWA-CIO in Atlanta, and DONALD L. WEST, a professor at Oglethorpe University, Atlanta, and top functionary of the Communist Party in Atlanta. *OK u*

b7D

Mr. WALLACE was driven to Macon, Georgia, in the car of WILLIAM STAFFORD. CLARK FOREMAN, DONALD L. WEST, Rev. JOSEPH RABUN, and Mr. WALLACE's secretary, LEW FRANK, were also in the car. WILLIAM STAFFORD and DONALD L. WEST returned to Atlanta on the afternoon of November 19, 1947. That night Mr. WALLACE made an address at the Civic Auditorium. *OK u*

On the afternoon of November 20 WALLACE spoke briefly at a regular business meeting of the SCHW which was held in the Chamber of Commerce Building in Atlanta. He also attended a reception at Clark University (Negro) where he addressed a group of students, professors, and members of the SCHW. On the same afternoon he visited the Fulton County jail to see HORACE WHITE, a CIO textile union organizer, who in 1946 was convicted of assaulting a textile worker who crossed a picket line during a strike at Whittier Mills in Atlanta. [redacted] advised that on November 23, 1947, DONALD L. WEST told HOMER B. CHASE, organizer for district #31 of the Communist Party, that the visit to WHITE had been suggested to Mr. WALLACE while they were en route to Macon on November 19). *OK u*

b7D

The Wallace meeting in Atlanta was held at the Wheat Street Baptist Church (Negro), with between 3000 and 4000 persons present. Tickets had been sold by the SCHW at \$1.20 each for general admission and \$2.40 for reserved seats. The races were not segregated and it was

Classified by DMR/KJC  
Declassify on: OADP  
5-17-83  
228803

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

RECORDED

63-1788-82  
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED BY 9145 JFE/AG/RBG  
ON 12/31/85  
# 248,281

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

estimated that about 40% of the persons present were white and the remainder were Negroes. On the platform with Mr. WALLACE were CLARK FOREMAN, president of the SCHW, EDMONIA GRANT, administrator of the SCHW, Rev. I. J. DOMAS, co-chairman of the meeting, A. T. WALDEN, Negro lawyer, co-chairman of the meeting, AUBREY WILLIAMS, editor of the "Southern Farmer," from Alabama, Dr. BENJAMIN J. MAYS, president of Morehouse College (Negro), Dr. FORRESTER WASHINGTON, head of the Atlanta School of Social Service (Negro), and NATHAN KATZ. The latter is active in the Ruthenberg Branch of the Communist Party in Atlanta and is a Security Index subject.

Talks were made by A. T. WALDEN, EDMONIA GRANT, AUBREY WILLIAMS, and CLARK FOREMAN. AUBREY WILLIAMS lauded the SCHW and stressed the need for funds by the organization in order that it might carry on its work. He asked for pledges or contributions and there followed a period where persons present were given an opportunity to make a pledge or donation. It was noted that Dr. ELWOOD GRANT BODDIE, Negro dentist, and Security Index subject, was one of two persons pledging \$100.00 to the SCHW.

Mr. WALLACE spoke for about an hour and a half, during which time he attacked the present foreign policy of the United States and universal military training as being policies which would lead us to war. He also said that America has nothing to fear from Communism but does face a danger from those who would violate the Bill of Rights in seeking out Communists and those who brand every liberal movement as Communist-inspired. He criticized Congressional investigating committees and the present loyalty check program as being violations of the Bill of Rights and stated that the present administration and big business are trying to undermine traditional American rights to free debate by using the cry of "red" to suppress those who do not think as they believe they should. He also said that racial segregation and racial discrimination must be eliminated.

It had previously been reported that, as set out in my letter of November 19 and my teletype of November 20, there might be serious disorders during the WALLACE meeting. However, there were no disturbances and the meeting was orderly.

According to Informant  on November 21, 1947, EDMONIA GRANT told DONALD L. WEST that ticket sales for the meeting had brought in around \$2,000 and that the collections made during the meeting raised a little over \$1,000. Informant added that WEST had asked EDMONIA GRANT about the possibility of obtaining the services of BRANSON PRICE, SCHW XU

b7D

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

AT 100-301

organizer, as secretary for the Committee for Georgia. EDMONIA GRANT stated she thought it would be a good idea but that WEST <sup>should</sup> write a letter to BRANSON PRICE, CLARK FOREMAN, and to WEST's "brother-in-law" about securing the services of PRICE. NATHAN ROSS, Southern organizer for the Communist Party, is the brother-in-law of DONALD L. WEST. *qu*

As reported in my letter of November 19, 1947, officials of the SCHW were incensed at a column of Mr. RALPH MCGILL, Editor of the Atlanta Constitution, which appeared in that paper on the morning of November 15. Mr. MCGILL in his column mentioned the possibility of their being disorder during the WALLACE meeting, and he also made lightly veiled allegations that the SCHW was following the Communist Party line in the manner in which the WALLACE meeting had been arranged. According to   on the afternoon of November 15, 1947, CLARK FOREMAN told DONALD L. WEST that he had already talked to THOMAS W. JOHNSON, an attorney in Macon, about the possibility of entering a suit for criminal libel against MCGILL and the Atlanta Constitution. FOREMAN said that a telegram and letters had been sent to the Constitution demanding a retraction of MCGILL's article and an apology. There was also contained in the letters a threat for suit for criminal libel. *TQU*

During the talks preceding the address of Mr. WALLACE on November 20, CLARK FOREMAN and others made a number of derogatory references to Mr. MCGILL and the Atlanta Constitution. It was noted that the Atlanta Constitution gave no publicity whatever to the appearance of Mr. WALLACE in Macon or Atlanta.

DBC:CM  
100-301

cc: New Orleans

AT files 100-559  
100-873  
100-4010

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



United States Department of Justice  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
633 Federal Building  
Louisville, Kentucky



IN REPLY, PLEASE REFER TO

FILE NO. \_\_\_\_\_

November 22, 1947

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES

AND FIELD OFFICES

ADVISED BY SLIP(S) OF

DATE 7-23-77

Director, FBI

Re: HENRY A. WALLACE

Dear Sir:

- Under the sponsorship of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, former Vice President Henry A. Wallace spoke to approximately sixteen hundred whites and negroes in the Armory at Louisville, Kentucky November 21, 1947.

During his talk, it is reported that Wallace stated that the Chairman of the Federal Communications Commission had been given "unsolicited" (I could not ascertain exactly which word was used) reports prepared by the Federal Bureau of Investigation under John Edgar Hoover on people in the entertainment field. He left the inference that you were attempting to influence the licensing of radio stations by the Federal Communications Commission through calling their attention to persons broadcasting over those stations whose ideas did not conform to your own.

He also referred to "thought police"; that is, the policing of the thoughts of the people in this country, and placed the Federal Bureau of Investigation in that category.

There was no mention made in the local press concerning these remarks, however, a great deal of space was given by the press to his talk.

I am endeavoring to obtain discreetly a complete transcript of Mr. Wallace's talk, which I will forward to the Bureau as being of possible interest.

Very truly yours,

M. W. McFarlin  
Special Agent in Charge

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8-27-81

BY SP-2 JH/EX-109

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. E. A. Tamm	✓
Mr. Clegg	✓
Mr. Glavin	✓
Mr. Ladd	✓
Mr. Nichols	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Tracy	✓
Mr. Egan	✓
Mr. Gurnea	✓
Mr. Harbo	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Pennington	✓
Mr. Quinn Tamm	✓
Mr. Nease	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

RECORDED COPY FILED IN 101-1710-14

62-71788-83

cc-101-1710  
71 JAN 2 1948 R99

Director, FBI

SAC, Atlanta

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE~~

November 18, 1947

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE FOR HUMAN WELFARE,  
SPEAKING ENGAGEMENT OF FORMER VICE-PRESIDENT  
HENRY A. WALLACE, IN ATLANTA, GEORGIA  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C  
(Bureau file 100-10355)

Classified by ~~228303~~  
Declassify on: ~~OADR~~

5-17-83

Remylet 10-31-47 concerning plans being made in Atlanta  
for the Southern Conference for Human Welfare to sponsor a speak-  
ing engagement by former Vice-President HENRY A. WALLACE on  
November 20 next.

There is being transmitted herewith the column of Mr.  
RALPH MCGILL, editor of the Atlanta Constitution which appeared  
in that paper on the morning of November 15. It will be noted  
that Mr. MCGILL mentioned the possibility of there being dis-  
order during the WALLACE meeting and that he also made rather lightly  
veiled allegations that the Southern Conference for Human Welfare  
is following the Communist Party line in the manner in which the  
WALLACE meeting has been arranged.

Through informant [REDACTED] whose identity is known to the  
Bureau, it has been learned that the MCGILL column created con-  
siderable consternation among the ranks of the Southern Confer-  
ence for Human Welfare. *Ku*

b7D

[REDACTED] advised that on the afternoon of November 15,  
there was held a meeting at the home of Reverend I. J. DOMAS  
who is co-chairman of the WALLACE meeting. CLARK FOREMAN,  
President of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, EDMONIA  
GRANT, an official of the SCHW from New Orleans, and EUDICE TONTAK,  
acting secretary of the Atlanta chapter of the SCHW met with Rev-  
erend DOMAS to discuss the action taken to combat the MCGILL article. *Ku*

During the course of the meeting, CLARK FOREMAN talked to  
DONALD L. WEST, a top functionary of the C.P. in the Atlanta Div-  
ision, about the MCGILL article. They both were very vehement in  
criticizing the article, agreeing that it was "yellow journalism"  
of the lowest degree and "outright provocation" intended to sug-  
gest that the Ku Klux Klan take action to break up the WALLACE  
meeting. *Ku*

According to the informant FOREMAN told DONALD L. WEST  
that he had already talked to THOMAS W. JOHNSON, Attorney in Macon,  
Georgia, about the possibility of entering a suit for criminal

DECLASSIFIED BY  
CN 12/16/85

9145 JFE/AG/RBG

#248,237

RECORDED

EX-93

62-71788-84

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP (S) OF  
DATE 12/16/85

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
CONFIDENTIAL

ATL 100-301

libel against MCGILL and the Atlanta Constitution. FOREMAN said that a telegram and a letter had been sent to the Constitution demanding a retraction of MCGILL's article and an apology. There was also contained in the latter a threat to sue for criminal libel. *Xu*

On November 17, [ ] advised that Reverend I. J. DOMAS told DONALD LEE WEST that a group of prominent white and colored persons, led by negro lawyer A. T. WALDEN, had visited the office of Mayor WILLIAM B. HARTSFIELD and had advised the mayor that they hoped the reputation of Atlanta would not be blackened by any disorders on the night of the WALLACE meeting. The mayor was said to have assured the group that they need not have any concern because city officials would be prepared for any emergency. *Xu*

b7D

[ ] further stated that Chief of Police HERBERT JENKINS had called Reverend I. J. DOMAS and had promised to furnish all of the policemen needed to keep order at the meeting. Reverend DOMAS made an appointment to see Chief JENKINS on November 18 to discuss the matter of police protection fully. *Xu*

It was also learned through [ ] that ticket sales for the WALLACE meeting have been sluggish but that persons connected with the meeting are optimistic and believe that sufficient tickets will be sold by November 20 to fill the Wheat Street Baptist Church where the meeting will be held. *Xu*

b7D

100-301  
DBC:aej

cc: 100-559

Enc. -1 (2)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
CONFIDENTIAL

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

FROM : SAC, Norfolk

SUBJECT: HENRY A. WALLACE  
INFORMATION CONCERNING

DATE: November 25, 1947

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/16/83 BY SP-8 BJS/SLJ

Retel to Bureau from Norfolk, November 23, 1947.

At a public meeting held at 3:00 p.m., on November 23, 1947, at Norfolk, Virginia, sponsored by the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, the American Veterans' Committee, the Tidewater Industrial Union Council - CIO, and the International Relations Club, a student organization of the Norfolk Division, College of William and Mary, HENRY A. WALLACE was the principal speaker. This meeting was opened by Dr. CLARK FOREMAN, President of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, who criticized the segregation laws of Virginia and stated that they would not accept race segregation, and also stated "if the officers of the law will not allow us to continue our meeting here we will walk into the streets and hold our meeting." It was observed that with the exception of JERRY O. GILLIAM, President of the NAACP, and a few other colored men who sat on the right-hand side of the City Auditorium, which was occupied by white people and ALICE BURKE, President, CP, USA, District 26, Reverend CHARLES C. WEBBER, President of Virginia State CIO, and a few other white people who sat on the other side of the auditorium with the Negroes, the crowd was segregated according to race.

This meeting was opened by short talks by Dr. CLARK FOREMAN; Mrs. CLIFFORD DURR of Alexandria, Vice-President of the SCHW; GEORGE ELWOOD, a known active Communist Party member who is Chairman of the Norfolk Chapter of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, active in the American Veterans' Committee, and the CIO Political Action Director for this area, as well as being Business Representative for Local 26 of the FTAAWA; and Mrs. VIVIAN CARTER JASON, a leader among Negro women who has traveled extensively in Europe including Russia.

In his speech, HENRY A. WALLACE declared that he was not a radical but was a liberal. He stated that he was frequently accused of being a radical and he was tired of good people being called Communists—that Communism does not deserve that much credit. He stated that we had nothing to fear from Communism in this country unless there would be a severe depression. He accused the United States of following the pattern of the early Hitler era and said the Un-American Committee is a key part of the gigantic conspiracy against the American people. Mr. WALLACE mentioned the FBI and stated that Mr. HOOVER had said that he would not dignify a remark of Mr. WALLACE's even by a denial. He went on to state, "I wonder if Mr. HOOVER will comment on this." He further stated the FBI is furnishing unsolicited reports to the FCC containing nothing but gossip about the activities of private radio operators. He stated this information had come to him directly from Mr. DURR, employed by the FCC, who is the husband of Mrs. VIRGINIA DURR, Vice-President of the SCHW. He had previously indicated that Mrs. DURR's brother-in-law, whose name was not mentioned, was a member of the Supreme Court. Mr. WALLACE stated that the next step is the censorship of the radio and the press.

RECORDED  
INDEXED

62-71788-85

52-11115

R99

64

Letter to Director, FBI  
Re: HENRY A. WALLACE  
INFORMATION CONCERNING  
November 25, 1947

In connection with FBI reports, Mr. WALLACE stated that he had been in the Government and has read these reports and they contained nothing but gossip, and you cannot find out where the gossip originated as the reports reflect that they came from [ ] and you cannot find out who that is. He further stated that the next thing they will be inquiring as to what your neighbor was doing if he comes in as late as 11:00 in the evening. He criticized President TRUMAN's loyalty order and the discharge of State Department employees dismissed by Secretary MARSHALL without hearings and without the presentation of charges, and stated that if they wanted to read about the way employees are being dismissed they should read the "New York Herald Tribune" of about three weeks ago concerning an employee of the State Department who was dismissed and no reasons whatsoever given for his dismissal. Mr. WALLACE advocated price controls and stated that he was glad the President had again changed his mind and now agrees with him that controls democratically legislated are necessary. WALLACE spoke harshly against universal military training.

b7D

The "Norfolk Virginian Pilot" for Monday morning, November 24, 1947, in an article appearing on the back page, reflected substantially the information set forth above with the exception that no mention was made of WALLACE's remarks concerning the FBI.

The above meeting was attended by approximately 1,640 persons, 1,440 who paid admission of 99 cents each. A collection was also taken up during this meeting for the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, and it was claimed that WALLACE was donating his time for these speeches. The following known active Communist leaders in this area were observed in attendance at this meeting:

ALICE BURKE, President, District 26, CP, USA, who arrived in Norfolk just prior to the meeting and departed shortly thereafter;  
IRENE WHITLEDGE, Chairman, Norfolk Section;  
JOE BARON, Chairman, Ocean View Section;  
STEVE PAUKOVITS, Co-chairman, Brambleton Section;  
FANNIE SPRATLEY, Chairman, Newport News Section;  
SANFORD BERLIN, known member;  
GEORGE ELWOOD, known member.

Through Confidential Informant [ ] it was ascertained that IRENE WHITLEDGE, JOSEPH BARON, FANNIE SPRATLEY, GEORGE ELWOOD, and STEVE PAUKOVITS were active in passing out leaflets and selling tickets for WALLACE's appearance in Norfolk.

b7D

The "Norfolk Virginian Pilot" also reflected that WALLACE had spoken to the faculty and student body at Hampton Institute, a Negro college at Hampton, Virginia, prior to his address in Norfolk.

MES, JSS:lab  
62-0



Letter to Director, FBI  
Re: HENRY A. WALLACE  
INFORMATION CONCERNING  
November 25, 1947

cc: Richmond  
Norfolk File 100-215  
Norfolk File 100-4260

AIR MAIL - SPECIAL DELIVERY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b6  
b7c

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

FROM : SAC, Norfolk

SUBJECT: HENRY A. WALLACE

CLASSIFIED INFORMATION CONCERNING

BY DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE (DRC)

DATE: 4-8-87

DATE: December 1947

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. E. A. Tamm  
Mr. Clegg  
Mr. Glavin  
Mr. Ladd  
Mr. Nichols  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tracy  
Mr. Egan  
Mr. Gurnea  
Mr. Harbo  
Mr. Mohr  
Mr. Pennington  
Mr. Quinn Tamm  
Mr. Nease  
Miss Gandy

Re letter to Bureau from Norfolk, dated 11-23-47  
and letter from Norfolk, dated 11-25-47.

Mr. CALVIN H. DALBY, Director of Public Safety, Norfolk, Virginia, advised that a Mrs. SHOLES, believed to be Mrs. F. M. SHOLES, Jr., 1329 West 38th St., Secretary of The Norfolk Housewife's League, home phone number 49072, contacted Mr. DALBY by telephone on November 24, 1947, at which time she criticized the Norfolk Authorities concerning their not enforcing strictly the race segregation laws at WALLACE's speech in the city auditorium, and stated that a Mrs. HOLLAND, President of the Norfolk Housewife's League, who was supposed to attend a dinner for WALLACE on Sunday night, November 23, 1947, was unable to attend and therefore requested Mrs. SHOLES to go in her place. Mrs. SHOLES stated that this dinner was held at the Commodore Restaurant at Ocean View, Virginia, and that the shades were pulled and the doors locked. She stated that the group there consisted of about half negroes, and that most of this group did considerable drinking, and numerous speeches were given criticizing many public officials in the Federal, State, and City of Norfolk Government.

~~DEFERRED RECORDING~~

According to Mrs. SHOLES, HENRY A. WALLACE, during his talk at this closed dinner, referred to General SMEDLEY BUTLER, and stated that when BUTLER had planned to take over the Government, FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT had found out about these plans and had "nipped them in the bud". Mr. DALBY stated that, according to Mrs. SHOLES, HENRY A. WALLACE followed the above remark by stating "now my friends we must get so well organized that, when the time comes, we will be able to take over." Mr. DALBY asked Mrs. SHOLES if the above-mentioned remark referred to taking over by legitimate elections or by force. Mrs. SHOLES stated that she did not know, but it was her impression that it was implied that they would take over any way they could.

It should be noted that the Commodore Restaurant is managed by JIMMY AUGUSTINE, and that ALICE BURKE, DAVE BENNETT, and JOSEPH BARON were recently observed going to the Commodore Restaurant and the Candlelight Supper Club, which is also operated by JIMMY AUGUSTINE and is above the restaurant.

COPIES DESTROYED

205 NOV 4 1964

RECORDED

62-71788-86

68 JAN 9 1948

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Director, FBI  
Re: Henry A. Wallace  
December 8, 1947

b7D

~~Confidential~~ Informant [ ] advised that he attended the dinner for HENRY A. WALLACE, given at the Commodore Restaurant on November 23, 1947. He advised that this dinner was paid for by Dr. DUDLEY SCOOPER, by what was supposed to be an anonymous contribution. He stated that Dr. CLARK FOREMAN spoke for a few minutes at this meeting, and that he introduced the following speakers:

WILLIAM A. LAWRENCE, recently elected to the Nansemond County Board of Supervisors.

GEORGE ELWOOD, a known Communist Party member.

A Rabbi, whose name the informant did not recall (believed to be a Rabbi, named ARIEL GOLDBERG).

Professor LADD, Instructor at William and Mary Extension, Norfolk, Virginia.

A woman, named PRICE, who came to Norfolk with the WALLACE party, and is active in the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

DISBROW, a teacher at William and Mary Extension.

SANFORD BERLIN, a known Communist Party member, who is at the present a student at William and Mary.

This informant stated that all of these speeches were critical in nature, and that he could not recall anything constructive that was said. He advised that he did not recall General BUTLER's name being mentioned and that he did not recall any remarks, which he interpreted to indicate any overthrow of the U.S. Government.

According to this informant, this meeting was attended by Mr. and Mrs. JOSEPH E. BARON, active Communist Party

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Director, FBI  
Re: Henry A. Wallace  
December 8, 1947

members, and that JOSEPH BARON was keeping the books and figuring up the finances concerning WALLACE's speech in Norfolk. The informant stated that at the speech, given in the afternoon of November 23, 1947, about 14,000 tickets at \$.99 each were sold, and that at the collection taken up during the meeting over \$1,000.00 was obtained. ~~C~~

No efforts is being made to interview Mrs. SHOLES, who furnished information to Mr. DALBY concerning this meeting.

MES:jsh  
62-0

cc: 100-4307  
100-4357  
100-4260  
100-3454

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

OF SERVICE

s is a full-rate telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

# STEAM UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN  
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter  
NL = Night Letter  
LC = Deferred Cable  
NLT = Cable Night Letter  
Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

NL PD=LOSANGELES CALIF 11

WALTER WINCHELL= DAILY MIRROR NYK

CARE JERGENS LOTION NYK=

1948 JAN 12 AM 1 24 b7D  
7007 11/12/48

INVESTIGATE A N~~X~~SPANEL INTERNATIONAL LATEX CORPORATION IN  
CONNECTION WITH WALLACE=

WILLIAM G MAHU 901 FOURTH AVE LOS ANGELES 6 CALIFORNIA.

HENRY A WALLACE

RECORDED EX-49

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/11/83 BY SP/BSKJR

62-71788-87

JAN 20 1948

R-647  
5 901 26 2148

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

DIRECTOR, FBI

February 11, 1948

SAC, Cincinnati

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
DISTRICT #6, CINCINNATI DIVISION  
POLITICAL ACTIVITIES  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C.  
Bureau file #100-3-72

For your information there is being enclosed herewith a copy of the complete text of the speech delivered by HENRY A. WALLACE on February 1, 1948, at Central High School, Columbus, Ohio, as found in the Ohio State News dated February 7, 1948.

Enclosure  
RHH:wml  
100-8227

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 9/17/83 BY SP1 RSK/STO  
228303

ENCLOSURE

RECORDED

EX-31

62-71788-88  
FEB 10 1948

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN 100-3-72-3045-25

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/16/13 BY 228303

ENCLOSURE

62-71788-88

# Complete Text Of Henry Wallace's Speech At Columbus

The following is the complete text of a speech delivered by Henry A. Wallace, independent candidate for U. S. President, Sunday, Feb. 1, at Central High School, Columbus, Ohio:

I have come here to talk politics—practical politics.

There has been a lot of talk lately about what is and what is not practical in politics. Since some of this talk has involved my name I have decided to air my thoughts on the subject.

I decided that this was a good place to do it because—and please don't feel insulted—because this is an assembly of highly "impractical" politicians.

I know you are "impractical," because I have the evidence. I have clippings—newspapers clippings—evidence in black and white.

Most of you are here, I think, because you support the idea of an independent candidacy and the newspapers say that anyone who supports the independent ticket is impractical. Furthermore, it is quite obvious that you here have never accepted bribes for the performance of public services; that you have never sold your votes; and that you believe that you believe in democracy, a system which the self-accepted practical men insist is just schoolboy nonsense.

Even so, you haven't a thing on me.

I can beat the most impractical one among you by at least 100 clippings to one.

My secretary has a file drawer full of clippings—real testimonials from the most celebrated political analysts. These astute gentlemen have decided that I am lacking in the essential attributes of a practical politician. I am not of them, however, by their findings. From long observation have concluded that the essential properties to win their seal of approval are a taste for Bourbon whiskey and Bourbon philosophy.

So as one impractical politician to some extent I want to talk practical politics.

First off, I think we should examine this word "politics."

To the professional practitioner of this art, politics consists of climbing aboard what has come to be known as the "gray train." If you can get into office against some other politician, then you are eligible for certain payments. This is the gray.

The stories of American political machines and their corruption have filled tons of thousands of newspaper pages, dozens of books, and they have been told only in part.

Yes, to the professionals, politics is strictly business, and we have been told many times what business is—"business is business."

When it has suited their purposes, the newspapers have played up corruption. They have not done any thorough, searching exhaustive job to show real roots of corruption. What they have managed is to give millions of citizens a thorough distaste for the very word "politics."

The average citizen, after reading an expose of political corruption or suffering some personally bitter experience because of political corruption, is disgusted with the politicians who are in office.

If he can master enough energy to get to the polls, he votes another group into office. Sometimes for his effort he gets a decent, though temporary, reform administration but then he finds that he has only substituted one donkey for another donkey, or a donkey for a donkey, or an elephant for another elephant. When he finds that he has done little more than alter the balance in the menagerie and that things haven't really improved, he gets pretty sour.

This is not only highly discouraging to the individual—it is very dangerous to the community and the country.

Some three or four years ago one of the public opinion outfits took a poll. While I don't have too much confidence in such polls in general, they mean something. This poll showed that an overwhelming percentage of parents didn't want their children to get involved in politics. It strikes me as tragically sad that a far greater number of parents

approve compulsory military training than approve of politics. This is dangerous.

Politics is a matter of life or death, peace or war, bread and butter or starvation.

Politics determine whether our people will buy enough groceries to feed the children; whether the sale of crops will bring enough for shoes and a spare part for the tractor; whether the fees charged by the doctor and dentist will be worth as much when he collects them as when he first sent the bill.

Politics in good measure determine what kind of lives we lead. Politics determine the kind of education we get, the value of our dollars, the amount of taxes we pay, the stability of our employment, and whether we can enjoy our old age free from want and fear. In truth politics can determine how well and how long we live.

MANY GOOD AMERICANS say that decent people must remain aloof from politics. It is a notion which the press cultivates. Men or women who are "above politics"—partisan politics—are shown a reverence which dissuades other capable people from soiling their hands in the job of making democracy work.

For my part, I can think of no more practical activity for the citizen than political participation to the fullest measure that his time and resources permit.

Many people who are so absorbed in their own struggles for security—personal security and family security—fail to understand the direct relationship of politics to their personal welfare. The huge industrialists and financiers understand. They never let up on the political front. They know that a functioning democracy would greatly curb their excesses.

There are workers and farmers and independent businessmen who will tell you, as they have told me, that they just don't have time for politics. These are the people who must be made to understand that using their time for politics they are only changing rails in their pursuit of security.

Some of them will tell that they have savings accounts and war bonds and life insurance and that they are building personal security. But while they have worked hard and long for their savings, huge financial and industrial interests have used politics to reduce the value of those savings.

You can and must spell this story for many of your neighbors. Show them with facts and figures how their political indifference has cost them hard-earned cash. Spell out for them just how much cash—real cash—they can save with a little thoughtful political action.

Take me, man next door who had \$2000 in his savings account in June of 1946. Since then prices have soared so high that he has not been able to add to his account but he has felt some satisfaction in having that \$2000 set aside for a rainy day. If he is one of the politically indifferent citizens he may not realize that since June, 1946 that savings account has dwindled. The purchasing value of his two thousand 1946 dollars has shrunk to \$1600. He has had his security cut by 20 percent.

This change is a result of political action—political action by big business.

The Federal government has been used by the big business to profit from inflation—by the huge monopoly interests—to confiscate a large portion of individual savings in the United States. This is taxation without recognition. If the proposed tax on personal savings they would commit political suicide. They have achieved quiet by the same objective by unleashing a little mounting inflation.

The men who plan the propaganda campaigns about keeping government out of business make a good business out of government.

Their onslaught against the great mass of American workers, farmers, and independent businessmen began in 1945 when the Administration removed its controls over industrial operations. Then Wall Street, operating through its bi-partisan coalition in Congress, managed to destroy price controls, which were and are desperately needed to control inflation.

I can't think of a more important, more practical job in this country of ours, if it is to continue to be a democracy—than



HENRY A. WALLACE

to restore the fair name of "politics."

I think of it as a practical job, because the bad reputation of the word "politics" has bred millions of cynical, lethargic, and inactive citizens. If we don't take action to restore their faith in the democratic process, then democracy won't survive. After what we call the democratic process has no meaning without politics.

Some self-proclaimed practical men and women, who agree that the fullest participation in politics is desirable, disagree with the idea of a new party.

One of these people gave me a personal lecture, neatly typewritten, which declared that those of us who are building a new party are too rigid, too inflexible. He said, quite rightly, that "if there is one thing history illustrates it is that compromise and willingness to fight for limited advances are essential to progress."

What this gentleman overlooks is that today there is no "will- ingness to fight" for even "limited advances" on the part of either major party. The choice they offer is between degrees of retreat, degrees of reaction, not degrees of progress and advancement.

For a dozen years I was a member of an administration which fought for progressive politics and was forced time and time again to compromise with the organized strength of reaction. But we had leadership which fought for progress and used its bargaining power to bring advancements for the people when it was forced to compromise.

The compromises of the past two years represent a series of retreats.

The Wagner Labor Relations Act has been nullified by the Taft-Hartley law, which the Administration has pledged to administer without any demand for repeal.

The social security and unemployment compensation benefits established by New Deal laws have been reduced 20 percent in real value since June 1946.

The all-too-limited advancements in economic opportunity and towards full justice for the Negro people made during the thirties and in wartime have stopped.

Successful compromise—compromise resulting in advancement—requires bargaining power.

In the New Deal administration the people had an instrument which gave them bargaining power. Those administrations were dedicated to serving the general welfare. They were forced to compromise with organized reaction, but organized reaction was outside. Today it is those who are dedicated to serving the general welfare who are outside and they are virtually powerless. Some 170 military men and an almost incalculable number of representatives of big business have moved into key positions in Washington since the end of the war.

SOME WALL STREET liberals and practical liberals are counseling their listeners against joining a new political party—a new party—to do battle against the militarized Wall Street—dominated administration in Washington.

They say the times are not propitious. They admit to a certain alarm over the administration's kowtow to financiers.

They say they don't like the encroachments on civil liberties. Some of them even admit to a skepticism about the "get tough"

foreign policy.

But with a very sensitive stethoscope, unknown to medical science, they listen long and hard and find "vibrant impulses" in the present administration. From this they conclude that it is wrong to organize effective opposition and that it is impractical to do so.

I imagine that there were good people, self-styled practical people in the Nazi-occupied countries during the war who counseled against the formation of a resistance movement. But the impractical Maquis in France and partisans in Yugoslavia and the guerrillas in a dozen other countries went ahead just the same. Against this advice they split with the "practical liberals" and organized for action.

They achieved—these impractical men and women—some very practical results.

So shall we.

As we organize against on-rushing fascism, we are fortunate that we can still build above-ground. We shall heed the practical counsel which advises that the formation of a new party must wait on a severe economic crisis, a depression, a time when more people will be aroused.

We are not waiting to capitalize on catastrophe; we are working to avoid catastrophe.

Some of these have attacked the movement for a new party are men and women with records of "liberalism." They say they agree with our objectives but only question our approach.

It is curious that none of these critics has offered in the past—not offered in the past—any method for combating the political dominance of Wall Street and the military.

I think of them as the most impractical people of all. Rather than reserving judgment, they have attacked the new party progressives and thrown away their own bargaining power as liberal leaders. They have, indeed, encouraged an Administration of which they pretend to be critical. Their "practical" judgment amounts to the unwarranted conclusion that the machinery of democracy is corroded and corrupted beyond repair.

We can't accept that judgment.

As you encounter these critics, I suggest that you ask them for their practical alternatives to the course we are set upon.

Ask them for their practical plans to give a people a chance to vote for policies of peace.

Ask them for their practical plans to restore confidence in the democratic process.

Ask them for their plans which could bring out a sufficiently large vote to elect a progressive Congress.

Ask them for their practical plans to combat the big city machines and the southern reactionaries in the Democratic Party.

Ask them for a better way to demonstrate to the people of the world that this nation is not unambiguously committed to a policy of Generalissimo's cents out of each tax dollar for war of preparation for war.

These are the questions we had to ask ourselves before we decided on the course we have taken. The answer was clear. The bargaining power of the people can be restored by a new party, speaking a language politicians understand, the language of votes.

I have spent this time discussing the practicality of our criticism because it is a matter of importance to all of us as we work to build our movement.

MANY PEOPLE who have built an immunity to other labels—who are not troubled by the red-baiting and smearing, because they know their own consciences are troubled by this word "impractical."

Tell them that there is nothing practical about surrender to war and depression.

Tell them that there is nothing practical about suicide.

Assure them that the only way to make democracy work is to preserve the meaning of the ballot—a chance for the voter to have a legitimate choice between programs, not a choice restricted to personalities and language.

Convince them that we need not limit our choices between evils, that we have a right—and a chance—to vote for the greatest good for the greatest number.

In this discussion of practical politics, I think it is important

for me to touch on the single, most practical and despicable political tactic of those who oppose us—the tactic of red-baiting.

This is the tactic used by all of our opponents. It is used by the Communists, by the Republicans, by the Democrats. It is used by some independent intellectuals who write long dissertations for newspapers and magazines.

It is the single most effective political weapon in the country today and its effectiveness is a measurement of a political immaturity which we must conquer, if democracy is to live.

With many millions of Americans already victimized by anti-Communist propaganda, we cannot lightly dismiss the question of red-baiting.

Blind, fearful responses to the words "Red," "Communist," and "Russia" are actually the greatest menace to our freedom. The conditioned responses to the word "Communism" which hysterical propaganda brings forth cannot be the basis of a philosophy and practices of the Communists, the greatest asset of the reactionaries.

Red-baiting has paid—and is paying—great dividends. While masses of people have been distracted by carefully planned red menaces, the reactionaries have taken control of the government, inflation has continued its spiral upwards, and our major social and economical problems have intensified.

In arguing that any large section of the population of the most powerful nation in the world should tremble at a word, a very intelligent comment on this lamentable state of affairs was made at a United Nations committee meeting on freedom of the press by Professor Zechariah Chafee of the Harvard Law School. Professor Chafee was debating with the Russian representative when he said: "I have got to spend a good deal of time trying to persuade people to allow Communism to be put into print and to be put in oral discussion, and even to be discussed in educational institutions." And Professor Chafee might have added that he had been unsuccessful. There aren't many American schools or publications where Communism is intelligently discussed.

Intelligent opposition to Communist proposals is not possible in the absence of such proposals is limited by fear.

Intelligent opposition is impossible when Communism is presented in the form of inflammatory anti-Communist slogans, grossly distorted facts and caricatures. Personally, I am sick and tired of having the Communists receive credit for every progressive idea. And that is the end result of the kind of red-baiting campaigns we have had here in the United States.

In the campaign ahead, we shall see the most intensive use of red-baiting in all history, with the possible exception of Adolf Hitler's use of this political weapon.

It will be used against us, because we are Communists, but because we are attacking entrenched interests; because we believe that it is possible to make peace with Russia; and because we shall refuse to engage in the indiscriminate red-baiting which breeds fear in place of understanding.

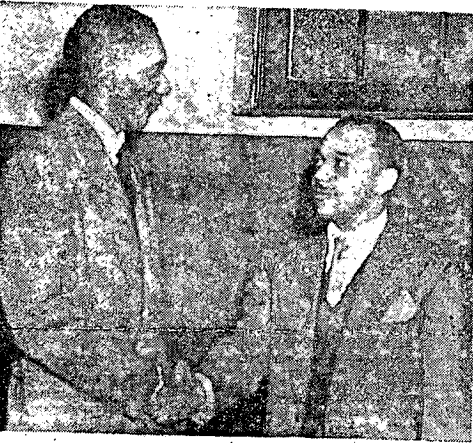
To stop the red-baiting which will be directed at us, we would have to parrot the most extreme statements of our opponents. Further than that, we would have to accept the idea that war Russians refuse to accept the Wall Street approach to world problems. This we shall not do. The most frequent charge made against the American Communists is that they advocate the violent overthrow of the government of the United States. I have not seen evidence to substantiate the charge, and so I find a Supreme Court decision that this conclusion is unwarranted. But if this is the Communist program, it is most certainly not ours. The simple, unmistakable fact is that we are organizing a new political party to advance our program for peace and abundance.

ANY COMMUNISTS who support the independent ticket will be supporting our program, not the Communist program. I am





**PASTOR AT DINNER.** — Rev. R. F. Hairston Jr., youngest pastor in Columbus, his wife and children were guests at dinner last Sunday prepared by Mrs. Louzetta Bosley of 1484 Dell Ave. Other guests included Rev. and Mrs. Shellie Dowdy and his two sons, Mrs. Viola Ross, Mrs. Hazel Miller, Mrs. Mattie Jefferson and Mrs. Annie Morrison. — West Photo.



**NEWLY ELECTED.** — Les Shaw is shown receiving congratulations from retiring basileus Curtis Parker at annual election ceremonies held last week by the Iota Psi Chapter of the Omega Psi Phi Fraternity in Columbus. Other officers elected were John Pullins, vice basileus; Samuel Smeak, keeper of records and seals; Edward Martin, keeper of finance; Joseph Coleman, fraternity editor; Leonard Napper, keeper of peace, and John Francis, chaplain.

## Henry Wallace Speech Continued From Page 14

not a Communist or Socialist or Marxist of any description, but I find nothing criminal in the advocacy of differing economic and social ideas, however much I may differ with them. A strong, vital democracy cannot limit the flow of ideas. It need have no fear of ideas.

We shall not be provoked into mimicking our opponents or into engendering blind hatred. I urge all the candidates for public office, including Mr. Truman, to join me in the following pledge:

"I shall not knowingly accept the support of any individual or group advocating the limitation of democratic action for any other individual or group; nor the support of any individual or group which would restrict the civil liberties of others for reasons of race, color or creed; nor the support of any individual or group advocating the violent overthrow of the government of the United States."

Candidates who support the Taft-Hartley Act and other measures to curb the legitimate, democratic political actions of trade unions cannot

take this pledge.

Candidates who accept the support of parties or individuals who advocate "white supremacy" cannot take this pledge.

Candidates who would limit the free flow of ideas in this democracy through loyalty orders, intimidating devices such as the un-American Committee, and legislative proposals to outlaw groups seeking places on the ballot, cannot take this pledge.

And candidates who cannot take the pledge should not go unchallenged. If they use the words "democracy" and "freedom" and "justice" in the course of campaign oratory.

In discussing this question of practical politics I want to warn you against discouragement. Some of you may feel discouraged that we do not receive open, vocal support from many of the prominent people—the artists, actors, businessmen, politicians and even trade union leaders—you have had reason to expect in our camp.

Many of these people have spoken to me and have privately pledged their support

## Photos In The NEWS



**AKRON MAN HONORED.** — Prominent figures from all over Ohio gathered in Akron last week to pay tribute to Attorney Luther R. Johnson. The young lawyer had recently been appointed assistant law director for the City of Akron. He is the first Negro to hold the post. Pictured above are, in the usual order, Paul Shearer, Ohio CIO-PAC representative; Jean Murrell Capers, assistant city prosecutor of Cleveland; Attorney Howard Fort, formerly of Columbus, and Johnson.



**SHOW SPONSORS.** — The Columbus Victory Matrons Club sponsored their annual "Rhumboogie Supper Club" show last Saturday night at the Spring St. YMCA. Members of the group are pictured above shortly before they went to work decorating for the occasion. Standing in the usual order are Mrs. Evelyn Leon, Mrs. Camille Williams, Mrs. Mae Bentley, Mrs. Estelle Giles, Mrs. Eleanor Carter, Mrs. Julia Brooks and Bertha May. Seated are Telitha Williams, Lila Mae Smith, Mary Reynolds and Harriet Dickerson. The two young ladies squatting in foreground are Clarice Smith and Sue Kent. — Photo By Chester Gray.

They have explained the terrifying pressures and threats which have been used to keep them silent. Economic blackjacking—threats of losses of contracts and jobs, and the ruination of careers—will continue to silence some important people.

It is a sad commentary on the state of political freedom in America two and a half years after World War II against fascism.

These pressures—the campaigns of abuse and vilification I have already made the public opinion polls practically meaningless in this campaign. But we should not be discouraged. We must remember that the ballot is the most effective means of free speech. We have every reason to believe that in the privacy of voting booths next November the people will record their true sentiments. In the voting booth they can be free of the economic and social pressures which will be exerted against them in the next nine months. Those of you who are taking the personally impractical but courageous jobs of carrying the campaign will, I

am convinced, find your reward in the election returns next November.

Some of you here in Ohio have expressed considerable concern as to whether we shall have an independent candidacy to present to the voters. You are worried about an unclear election law. While I am fully aware that reaction's favorite son, Robert Taft, has a commanding voice in this state, and while I am fully aware that the Republican and Democratic bosses of the city of Cleveland are law partners, I have confidence that the courts of justice of the state of Ohio will not let an ambiguous election law deprive the people of an opportunity to vote for an independent candidate.

There is great and difficult and spiritually rewarding work to do in the months ahead. I urge your continued courage as you face the task, and I pledge you my every bit of strength as we fight together for the world of peace and plenty we know is possible.

## Sandy Ray To Address NAACP Kickoff Meeting

The 1948 membership drive of the Columbus NAACP will kick-off with a bang Feb. 22, at Second Baptist Church.

Speaker for the occasion is Rev. Sandy Ray, now of Brooklyn, N. Y. Residents of Columbus will remember him as pastor of Shiloh Baptist Church and a former member of the Ohio legislature.

Rev. James Parrish, pastor of Shiloh Baptist Church, will be general chairman of the drive this year, with Edward L. Nix as vice chairman.

## Man Removed From Bus

Marion Smith, 22, of London, was removed to Mt. Carmel Hospital during the week when he became ill while riding a Great Lakes Greyhound bus in downtown Columbus.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b6  
b7c

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

MAT:HS  
100-0

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: February 7, 1948

FROM : GUY HOTTEL, SAC WASHINGTON FIELD DIVISION

SUBJECT: INFORMATION CONCERNING ALLEGED  
INVESTIGATION ACTIVITIES OF HENRY  
WALLACE SUPPORTERS BY METROPOLITAN  
POLICE DEPARTMENT

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE~~

228303  
5-17-83  
200103530

Declassify on: OADR

For the information of the Bureau there is set forth hereafter a summary of a conversation between DON ROTHENBERG, local Communist presently connected with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and SELMA REIN, wife of DAVID REIN who was of counsel in the recent defense of GERHARDT EISLER. SELMA REIN is very active in Communist front organization activity in this district in her own right. (u)

On February 4, 1948, the Washington Daily news carried an article captioned "DC Cops Probing Wallace Supporters". This article indicated members of Lt. HARRY C. BLACKMAN's Special Investigations Squad which has probed questionable gatherings and organizations in the past will probe into the political leanings of everyone attending recent organizing meetings of HENRY WALLACE supporters here. It was indicated investigation will include PCA members and also such groups as Georgetown Progressive Citizens Association.

Upon the evening of February 4th Confidential Informant [REDACTED] advised that DON ROTH contacted SELMA REIN discussing the above article and SELMA commented ERIC SEVEREID had indicated on the air that the Police Department had disclaimed it. SELMA stated she wanted the matter called to the attention of the National Lawyers Guild and felt that members of the Bar should go down in a delegation. She also wondered whether the possibility existed of interesting the District Bar Association. (u)

ROTH stated "we" contacted WALLACE in New York and he has put out a statement through ELMER BENSON in the form of a telegram to TRUMAN asking "What the Hell is this". ROTH stated it was a very good statement and he also almost said it would appear in the news the following day. ROTH added a number of people had suggested that they ask the Consumer Protection Committee if they would have a delegation of consumers see the Commissioners and the Police Commissioner and find out whether it is subversive to oppose the high cost of living and then secure a group of organizations like the Southern Conference and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to find out whether it is subversive to oppose racial discrimination. (u)

PROPRIETARY AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF [REDACTED]  
6/16/83 or

b7D

COPIES DESTROYED  
20 - NOV 4 1964

RECORDED  
INDEXED

62-71788-89

F B I  
19 FEB 9 1948

EX-47

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

2 ENCL  
62 FEB 25 1948

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Letter to Director, FBI  
WFO 100-0

SELMA who is a member of the Consumer Protection Committee stated she would have to speak to some of the people on the Steering Committee. SELMA advanced a further idea that when people testify on Home Rule (in the District of Columbia) they could bring up this little subversive list again making reference to the files of the Police Subversive Squad. ROTHENBERG commented that CLARK FOREMAN will do this for us. SELMA indicated she would see what she could do on the Consumer end and also endeavor to get the Lawyers Guild into action on it. (u)

ROTHENBERG said the News did this on purpose just to expose it. He stated he has a contact on The News who guarantees him that they intend to fight it. ROTHENBERG said "unless Scripps Howard really puts the screws on it we can have one hell of a good time." (u)

On the following day February 5th the Daily News carried another news item reflecting that ELMER A. BENSON, Chairman of the Wallace for President Committee had stated today that he has asked President TRUMAN to investigate the intimidating procedure of the Washington Police who have planned a check of local Wallace backers for Communist activities.

Copies of both news articles are enclosed herewith for further information of the Bureau.

End.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

# Probe of Wallaceites Protested to Truman

Elmer A. Benson, chairman of the National Wallace for President Committee, today said he has asked President Truman to investigate the "intimidating procedure" of Washington police who have planned a check of local Wallace backers for Communist activities.

Mr. Benson wired the President that such an investigation, revealed yesterday in The News, "means that the equivalent of a Gestapo is now policing the capital of our nation. . . .

"We expect that you will demand of the Commissioners of the District of Columbia and the Senate District Committee an immediate investigation of this intimidating procedure and its threat to fundamental civil liberties."

Police Chief Robert J. Barrett late yesterday declared he has had nothing to do with the plan to investigate local Wallace supporters.

## NO AUTHORITY

Maj. Barrett said no one has authority to make such an investigation and he did not know one was planned.

"I'd like to find anyone who is making such an investigation," he said.

Maj. Barrett said he called a conference of detective bureau heads yesterday immediately after reading in The News that an investigation was planned by Lieut. Harry Blackman's special investigations squad.

He said he met with Lieut. Blackman, Inspector Floyd Truscott, acting detective officer and Detective Bureau chief, and Capt. Robert Bryant, acting detective chief. He said they told him they had made no announcement about the investigation.

## FILE EXISTS

The police chief did admit that police "have had a file since before the war." In the file are lists of questionable gatherings and groups, persons attending their meetings and speakers at meetings.

On the list of speakers, it is understood, are the names of the late President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Mrs. Roosevelt, former Police Chief Ernest W. Brown, and several members of Congress, in addition to local ministers, business men and labor leaders and other respectable citizens.

Maj. Barrett said he was "embarrassed" to read in The News that members of his department were investigating ministers and business men.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/17/93 BY SP1GSS/DO  
228303

62-71788-89  
FEB 10 1960

# D. C. Cops Probing *News 7/4/48* Wallace Supporters

Washington police are planning to investigate local supporters of Henry Wallace for Communist activities, The News learned today.

Members of Lieut. Harry C. Blackman's special investigation squad, who have checked all "questionable" gatherings and organizations here since before the war, will probe into the political leanings of everyone attending recent organizing meetings of Wallace supporters here.

Their investigation will include local members of Progressive Citizens of America, one of the principal national organizations backing the former Vice-President and Cabinet officer for President. They also will look into such groups as Georgetown Progressive Citizens Association, it was said.

Police have devoted considerable time in recent months to their "red" list, gathering names of people attending meetings—including persons who rally to protest the high cost of living or racial discrimination.

The list includes the names of prominent Washington ministers, businessmen, labor leaders, public officials and other respectable citizens, many of whom have traditionally conservative political backgrounds.

Names of speakers at "subversive" meetings and persons attending the meetings—with copies of speeches—are in the file.

Police use the file to check the "loyalty" of potential employees for public utilities and Civil Service jobs. Tho it is not open to the public, employers—in most cases—may check the names of prospective employees against information in the police loyalty file.

The "red" list also is open to the FBI.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/17/83 BY SP1 BSE/SC  
228303

ENCLOSURE

62-71788-89  
19 FEB 10 1948

TD-3

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 7/71 1948

Director	Mr. McCabe
✓ Mr. Tolson	Mr. Hince
✓ Mr. E. A. Tamm	Mr. Rogers
Mr. Clegg	Mr. Duke
Mr. Glavin	Mr. Feeney
Mr. Harbo	Mr. Meyers
✓ Mr. Ladd	Mr. Page
✓ Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Rosen	Mr. Carlson
Mr. Tracy	Mr. Egan
Miss Gandy	Mr. Gurnea
Mr. McGuire	Mr. Long
Mr. Mohr	Mr. McIntire
Mr. Jones	Mr. Mobley
Mr. Pennington	Mr. Naughten
Mr. Renneberger	
	Mr. Newby
	Mr. Sloan

Chief Clerk's Office	Miss Dunaway
Records Section	Miss Barton
Mail Room	Miss Broyhill
Mechanical Sec.	Miss Godwin
Personnel Files	Mrs. Griggs
Washington field	Miss Hyer
	Miss Jordan
Quantico	Miss Kerst
✓ Room	Miss Kussmann
	Miss B. Wolfe

Send File  
 Place on Record  
 Place on Record  
 and Return  
 Phone me  
 See me  
 Note and return  
 Please handle  
 File our files

H. H. CLEGG  
 Room 5256, Ext. 484

Distributed at G. W.

hd

# WALLACE ?

## HOW ABOUT — PEACE ?

### LET'S FACE FACTS!

We have three alternatives:

1. Immediate war.
2. An armaments race
3. Peace thru a REAL United Nations and International Cooperation.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/17/83 BY SP/RS/WD  
228303

## PROSPERITY ?

1. Prices — roll them back and restore price control.
2. Jobs — full employment and raise the minimum wage.
3. Housing — pass the Taft-Ellender-Wagner Act for a long range low cost housing program.

## CIVIL RIGHTS ?

1. Racial discrimination — pass the anti-lynch law and restore the F.E.P.C.
2. Freedom of thought — abolish the un-American Activities Committee.
3. Restore the Rights of Labor — repeal the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Law.

YOU ARE INVITED TO A —

## MEETING

COME, LISTEN, EXPRESS YOUR OPINION.

PLACE —

McKEE's RESTAURANT, 29th and G St., N.W.

TIME —

8:30 P.M., TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 24, 1948. 62-71788

SPEAKERS: Martin Pepper — Vice President of the National Lawyer's Guild.  
Don Rothenberg — G.W.U. Alumnus; Director of Organization, Wash. 1948  
Comm. Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

277 STUDENTS FOR WALLACE



# On the Record

## Wallace's 'Gideon's Army' Has Started To Confuse America on Soviet Issues

By Dorothy Thompson

"We have assembled a Gideon's army," said Henry Wallace.

Mr. Wallace's reference to the Biblical story was not inappropriate.

Gideon gave each of his 300 unarmed men a trumpet, a torch, a clay vessel. On signal, in darkness, the blare of the trumpets, flare of the torches, and smashing of the vessels deceived the Midianites into the illusion they were being attacked by immense hosts. In the chaos that



Dorothy Thompson.

ensued, Midianites slaughtered each other and Gideon's handful seized victory.

Mr. Wallace's brain-trusters hope for a similar outcome—a campaign which will confuse all issues, until in the end nobody will know who's who or what's what.

He made a good start. Like all demagogues, he put up a straw man to excite fears—the anonymous "evil" men—Democrats, Republicans, "monopolists," and everybody else except Mr. Wallace and his backers. He promised the moon without coming to grips with a single problem. Every one wants peace and prosperity, and at the moment the United States has both. It also has inflation; a world in the doldrums which contributes to it, and fear of war, since civil wars already rage in many parts of the globe. But Mr. Wallace has the cure. What? Elect Mr. Wallace.

### Has Program of Words.

What does he offer? Well, a "youth" program "for abundance and security." But what program? "We can prevent a depression if only we organize for peace in the same comprehensive way we organize for war." What does that mean? In war you have conscription of manpower, restrictions on consumption, priorities on materials, immense bureaucracies, forced savings and gigantic deficits endured because there is an external enemy and all desires are subservient to victory. You cannot organize for peace as you organize for war because peace and war are antitheses.

The part of Mr. Wallace's speech dealing with Russia might have been written in the Daily Worker.

We—not the Soviets—have partitioned Europe.

We—not the Soviets—are war-makers.

We—not the Soviets—have balked international control of atomic energy.

There is, of course, a mild rebuke to the Soviets. They should "restrain their extremists." What ex-

tremists? Is Premier Stalin not a Bolshevik? Or Mr. Molotov? Or Mr. Vishinsky—prosecutor of the purges? And does Bolshevism mean peace? Do Communists, "like the Quakers and Methodists," as Mr. Wallace said in Milwaukee, "want peace?" Here are a few statements:

"The Communist International has declared decisive war against the entire bourgeois world."

"The fundamental principle of the Third International is the recognition of \* \* \* Soviet power."

"Victory cannot be achieved by the policy of folded arms. The masses must resort to armed uprising."

"Parliamentarianism is a form of the bourgeois state. The task of the proletariat consists in blowing up the whole machinery and all parliamentary institutions."

### Program of Violence.

"The conquest of power does not mean 'peacefully' capturing the state. The state is captured for the purpose of the violent overthrow of bourgeois power, destruction of the state apparatus—armies, police, bureaucracy, judiciary, parliaments."

"The Soviet State is the armed proletarian state."

Are the above quotations from "spreaders of hate and falsehood against Russia"—against whom Mr. Wallace warns?

No. They are direct quotations from the programs, statutes and theses of Communist International congresses, whose policies are those of the Soviet Union.

Mr. Wallace asked people to let him know that "they have come out fighting against the powers of evil."

What "powers of evil?" There is a power of evil that is using Mr. Wallace, to divide America and deliver it over to its sworn enemies. Its growth points the way, not to peace, but to dreadful civil strife—which the Soviets are instigating wherever they do not yet have power—and which the Communist International has repeatedly affirmed is the "only" and "inevitable" way to "peace."

(Released by the Bell Syndicate, Inc.)

Mr. Tolson ✓  
Mr. E. A. Tamm ✓  
Mr. Clegg ✓  
Mr. Glavin ✓  
Mr. Ladd ✓  
Mr. Nichols ✓  
Mr. Rosen ✓  
Mr. Tracy ✓  
Mr. Carson ✓  
Mr. Egan ✓  
Mr. Gurnea ✓  
Mr. Harbo ✓  
Mr. Hendon ✓  
Mr. Jones ✓  
Mr. Leonard ✓  
Mr. Pennington ✓  
Mr. Quinn Tamm ✓  
Mr. Nease ✓  
Miss Gandy ✓

62-71788-90

F B I

80 FEB 28 1948

EX-25  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/12/83 BY SP1RS/STC

228303

*Director*  
*8/18/47*

Original of this letter sent direct to  
Director at La Jolla.

**ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/16/83 BY SP1 RST/CD  
228303**

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/17/83 BY SP1 RSTW

228303

ANONYMOUS COMMUNICATION  
KEEP ENVELOPE ATTACHED

Why has Congress not been checked for and the communists ousted? No wonder it is so hard to get worthwhile bills through.

*Henry A.*  
Wallace and Taylor should be indicted for treason instead of permitting them to form a third party which will eventually overthrow the U. S. government.

You will note from the enclosures that there are approximately 500,000 communists in California alone.

ENCL

141

RECORDED  
&  
INDEXED

141

162-71788-91  
FBI  
10 MAR 12 1948

MAR 17 1948 299

## Witness Declares Reds Have Illegal Party In U. S.

SAN FRANCISCO, March 2.—(UP)—The Communist Party maintains an "underground illegal" organization in the United States. A Portland, Ore., policeman who joined the party to get information about it, gave this testimony today at the deportation hearing of Nate Yanish, 38, advertising manager for the Daily People's World.

Merriell R. Bacon, who said he joined the party in 1930 and who was described by Yanish's attorney as a "labor spy," testified the Communists had both a legal and an illegal party in the United States.

"You're on probation during your first few months in the party," he testified. "You have to be in the party a year before you can be a delegate to the national convention. You have to be a member five years to be a member of the underground illegal."

Yanish, an admitted member of the Communist Party, faces deportation to his native Russia if the immigration department finds he belongs to an organization advocating overthrow of the United States Government by force.

Immigration Inspector Lloyd E. Gowan overruled Gladstein's motion to disqualify Bacon's testimony because it was gathered 18 years ago. Gladstein also lost in an effort to prove Bacon "habitually associated over a period of years with anti labor and union busting organizations" and was "entirely unreliable" as a witness.

## Wallace Supporters File 482,499 Names

SAN FRANCISCO, Feb. 24.—(AP)—Henry Wallace supporters today filed 482,499 names with county clerks in 52 counties of the state in an effort to qualify the Independent Progressive Party.

About 300,000 valid signatures of voters are necessary to place the party and Wallace on the ballot.

Elinor Kahn, state secretary of the party, said the state figure includes 278,500 names filed in Los Angeles County, and 56,668 in San Francisco.

## First Wallace Petitions Are Filed With State

The first certified petitions to qualify the Henry Wallace Independent Progressive Party for the June primary election reached the secretary of state's office today.

Charles J. Hagerty, deputy secretary of state, announced county clerks have certified signatures as follows: San Luis Obispo, 233; Inyo, 118; Mariposa, 40.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/17/83 BY SP1 QSC/CR  
228 302



Senator Glen H. Taylor, Democrat of Idaho (left), and Henry Wallace are shown in Washington, D. C., after Taylor last night announced for the No. 2 position on Wallace's third party ticket. The senator wears a button, Wallace '48. (AP Wirephoto) (Story on Page 4.)

ENCLOSURE

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : The Director

DATE: March 5, 1948

FROM : D. M. Ladd

SUBJECT: HENRY A. WALLACE  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Your attention is directed to Henry Wallace's column on page 11 of the March 8, 1948, issue of the "New Republic," and to the attached clipping from page 4 of "PM" newspaper for Friday, March 5, 1948, in which it is stated by Wallace that he is organizing a "Freedom League" to combat "the subtle terrorism" that he claims is being spread through the country by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

Wallace calls on "everyone who has a specific instance of how the federal government or businessmen have abridged our freedom to write in to the Freedom League at Room 1405, 40 East Forty-ninth Street, New York 17" (the offices of the "New Republic"). Wallace continues:

"... Give the name of the man who put pressure on you or who asked an un-American question.

"Did the investigator ask whether you read the 'New Republic,' the 'Nation,' 'PM' or 'Reader's Scope'? Did he ask if you knew Henry Wallace or Glen Taylor or Jo Davidson or Albert Einstein? What other questions were asked designed to make you feel like a criminal if you entertained a progressive idea or knew a progressive American?"

ACTION:

None. This is for your information. We will, however, keep you advised concerning any further items regarding the Freedom League.

Attachment

*Shouldn't we get out  
an SAC letter on this*

2 ENCL

LW:WMJ

3/8/46

Proposed SAC

letter typed

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/17/83 BY SP2 RSC/CO  
228303

RECORDED MAR 22 1948

INDEXED

71 APR 7-1948

62-71788-92

F B I

J. L. R. G.

## Wallace Sets Up 'Freedom League' To Fight 'Subtle Terrorism' of FBI

Henry Wallace announced he was organizing a "Freedom League" to combat "the subtle terrorism" he said was being spread through the country by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

Proposing an "informal" league with headquarters at the *New Republic's* offices, 40 E. 49th St., Wallace urged "everyone who has a specific instance of how the Federal Government or businessmen have abridged our freedom to write" to the League.

"Give the name of the man who put pressure on you or who

asked an un-American question," he said.

The Third Party candidate for President said in his column in the *New Republic* that he knew of instances where "young men have been fired because an employer saw them wearing a Wallace button." Businessmen have kept donations to his campaign anonymous because they feared retaliation from their associates, he said.

"Stealthily, over the United States black fear is creeping," Wallace wrote. "So far it doesn't shoot people. Its method is to stifle every progressive thought by subtle terrorism."

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/17/83 BY SP1ASD/JO  
228303

ENCLOSURE

162-71788-92  
F B I  
21 MAR 31 1948

"PM"

March 5, 1948

Page 4

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/17/83 BY SP1 QSF/SC  
228303



ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE

62-71788-92

62-71788-92

**New**



MARCH 8, 1948

**Republic**

ANG

# **SOUTH**



**THE BACKGROUND**

By THOMAS SANCTON



**DEMOCRATS DIVIDE**

By HELEN FULLER



**THE PRESIDENT'S PROGRAM**

By MICHAEL STRAIGHT

**CZECHOSLOVAKIA:**

**THE COMMUNISTS ADVANCE**

**15¢**

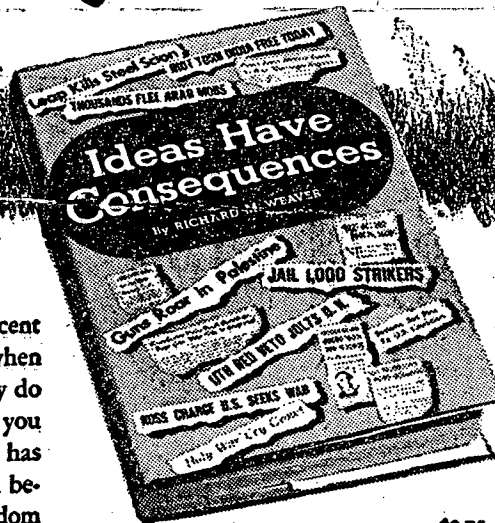
62-71788-92



*A calm, quiet, courageous book!*

*A shocking, infuriating, revolutionary book!*

*It may shatter your  
strongest convictions!*



SECOND LARGE PRINTING \$2.75

**Y**OU believe that men are decent and reasonable and that when they act like barbarians they do so because of their environment... you believe that Western civilization has made tremendous progress... you believe that man's chief hope for freedom and peace lies in education... you believe that in the accumulation of facts, more and more hard facts, the world can find answers to its problems.

Mr. Weaver's book will start you asking yourself some questions:

- Have the facts of atomic energy helped the world solve its problems?
- Did education bring freedom and peace to modern Germany, "the one totally literate nation"?
- Are bomb-shattered cities, stricken faiths, whole nations turned into penal camps, half of mankind looking on the other half as criminal—are these signs of progress?

After you have read IDEAS HAVE CONSEQUENCES you may be asking yourself with Mr. Weaver, is modern man a moral idiot, the maker of his own misery?

"This book will be hated and attacked... Brilliantly written, daring and radical... It will shock, and philosophical shock is the beginning of wisdom."

—Paul Tillich.

"A profound diagnosis of the sickness of our culture, it will be shocking to many moderns."—Reinhold Niebuhr.

## IDEAS HAVE CONSEQUENCES

By RICHARD M. WEAVER

AT ALL BOOKSTORES

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS, 5750 Ellis Avenue, Chicago 37, Illinois



Other  
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS  
books

### Economic Policy For A Free Society

By HENRY SIMONS. "The source of a stream of thought to which we shall owe the preservation of a free society."—Friedrich A. Hayek \$3.75

### Kingship And The Gods

By HENRI FRANKFORT. Can an authoritarian government rule with the consent of the governed? How the ancient Egyptians, Mesopotamians, and Hebrews answered this question. Illustrated, \$5.00

### Rage For Order: ESSAYS IN CRITICISM

By AUSTIN WARREN. A study of nine metaphysical poets and novelists and their search for meaning in the universe. \$3.00

### The Intellectual Adventure Of Ancient Man

By H. FRANKFORT and others. "Most searching book yet published on the thought of the Near East, background of our own culture."—N. Y. Times \$4.00

### The Works Of The Mind

Edited by ROBERT B. HEYWOOD. "The most exciting exposition of creative expression that has ever been assembled in one book."—Chi. Sun \$4.00

### The Great Elector

By FERDINAND SCHEVILL. "Should take a distinguished place among books that have sought to explain Germany and the German problem."—N. Y. Herald Tribune Illustrated, \$5.00

### Art And The Social Order

By D. W. GOTSHALK. "A searching and thought-provoking exploration of art from the standpoint of philosophy."—Washington Star Illustrated, \$3.75

### Scientific Man vs. Power Politics

By HANS J. MORGENTHAU. "Should have the widest possible reading. Will dispel many dangerous illusions of our contemporary culture."—Reinhold Niebuhr \$3.00

EDITOR: Michael Straight  
CONTRIBUTING EDITOR: Henry A. Wallace  
EDITORIAL DIRECTOR: Bruce Bliven  
PUBLISHER: Daniel Mebane  
ASSOCIATE PUBLISHER: W. D. Patterson

## CONTENTS FOR MARCH 8, 1948

- 5 The Week
  - Hollywood Quickie
  - The UN and Palestine
  - Oil and the FPC
- 11 Henry Wallace
- 12 Czechoslovakia
- 14 Revolt in the South:
  - Civil Rights in 1948
  - Truman's Problem
  - "Strategic Materials"
  - The South Today
- 22 Books
- 27 Movies
- 29 Theater
- 30 Radio
- 31 Bandwagon

ARTICLES: Norman Grieser (Chief), Joseph Lyford, Thomas Whiteside

STAFF CONTRIBUTORS: Malcolm Cowley, John Farrelly, Lew Frank Jr., William Harlan Hale, Robin Kinkead, Ralph G. Martin, Claire Nelkind, James R. Newman, Thomas Reynolds, Vincent Sheean, Richard Watts Jr.

WASHINGTON BUREAU: William Walton (Chief), Jean Begeman, Helen Fuller, Jan Hasbrouck

DEPARTMENTS: Robert L. Hatch (Chief), George Mayberry (Books), Harold Wolff (Business), Angus McDonald (Farm), Eva Putnam (Foreign Press), Willard Shelton (Labor), Charles Miller and Cecil Smith (Music), Saul Carson (Radio), Irwin Shaw (Theater), Jane Bedell (United Nations)

ART: James Grunbaum (Chief), Lynn Chase  
COPY EDITING: Elizabeth Huling (Chief), Sally Howell, Ruth Tarcov

RESEARCH: Myriam Wilson (Chief), Elizabeth L. Gardner, Barbara Greenfeld, Vasiliki Sarant

LIBRARY: Patricia Kuhnel (Chief), Fannie B. Sibley

ADVERTISING MANAGER: E. G. Wood  
CIRCULATION MANAGER: Eric Shumway

PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1948, IN THE U. S. A. BY EDITORIAL PUBLICATIONS, INC., 40 EAST 49 ST., NEW YORK 17, N. Y. ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER, NOVEMBER 6, 1914, AT THE POST OFFICE AT NEW YORK, N. Y., UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879. SINGLE COPY, 15¢; YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, SIX DOLLARS; CANADA & FOREIGN, SEVEN DOLLARS. Printed in the U. S. A.

MARCH 8, 1948

3

## WASHINGTON WIRE

**T**HE BIG domestic news this week is the growing despair of the Democrats. Following the Jackson Day-dinner flop, Truman's prestige took a further giddy decline in the handling of the Palestine issue. Party leaders are at last asking themselves if it's possible to switch to another candidate. The practical answer is Yes, but it means almost certain defeat. It's a repudiation of the party's own leader and record.

The Roosevelt coalition is fast falling apart, Wallace leading off one wing, Southern reactionaries—another. There's no fun in any of this for middle-of-the-road progressives.

With all Truman's mistakes and ineptitudes, they feel he's been right on social legislation, the Taft-Hartley Act, taxes, the Marshall Plan and civil liberties. Truman's position now is a good deal like that of Lincoln's successor, Andrew Johnson, who managed to alienate almost everybody in a remarkably short time, some for good reason. The Democrats ditched Johnson, and the Republicans and the money powers took over. Things look good for them today, too.

**ERP will pass.** What's happening in Czechoslovakia and Finland ends all doubt about the Marshall Plan in Congress. There seem good prospects that Senate and House will pass it by the April 1 deadline, with a 12-month figure close to the \$5.3 billion fixed by Vandenberg. When ERP was proposed, few thought it could pass in the time set or on the scale proposed.

Many observers still feel the mood of the country is basically isolationist—war-weary, cynical, disillusioned. Russia, according to this theory, would have wrecked ERP if she had sweetly signed up when invited to do so at the Paris parley. But Russia didn't. For good or ill, her course since the war has been nicely calculated to produce results in Congress the exact opposite

of what she wanted. Amid sorrow over the Czechs, the ERP leaders in Congress can be heard muttering, "Nice timing, Joe, nice timing!"

**Grab bag.** Republicans are shushing some of their greediest followers for the sake of election appearances. Thus, most of the wind is out of the Fulton Lewis Jr. drive against farm coöperatives, which Chairman Knutson of the House Ways and Means Committee backed. The co-ops have a lot of votes, it appears. Western states also are getting back a good part of their reclamation money, which the power lobby previously blocked. Even so, two extraordinary grabs are going on, the success of which shows the postwar apathy of public opinion.

First proposal is to give offshore oil back to the states for private exploitation, even though the Supreme Court has ruled this is a part, and an invaluable part, of the public domain. Wizenen Senator Moore (R, Okla.), spokesman for the oil lobby, is leading this fight. It's about the same thing as saying, "Let's parcel out Yosemite National Park to the real-estate interests."

Second grab is the Rizley-Moore natural-gas bill. Here again, the national interest would be denied and consumer rates for natural gas would be boosted, to aid the power lobby. It would also hamstring the Federal Power Commission, set up to guard the consumer.

**Odd angle.** A funny angle here is that Truman has made one of his characteristically inept nominations to fill a current vacancy on the five-man board (see page 10). The commission is bitterly divided, two to two, on the general idea of the Rizley bill. Instead of seizing the issue as a heaven-sent opportunity to dramatize the liberal side, Truman has sent up the name



# only 34 weeks to go . . . to the decisive election of '48

- 34 WEEKS left to join with other progressives in helping to elect a LIBERAL Congress.
- 34 WEEKS to follow the issues and truths Henry Wallace will raise and present in signed, personal views, *exclusive* in New Republic.
- 34 IMPORTANT WEEKS to determine the outlook for peace and prosperity both at home and abroad.
- EIGHT MONTHS to find out what part the labor unions will play in the campaigns; whether the voters will repudiate Reaction.
- 34 WEEKS of New Republic for only \$2.75 to follow these and other vital news developments so important to your economic security!

NEW REPUBLIC offers you an *independent viewpoint*; a separation of fact from the news-chaff; together with advance news, in many cases, of all major political, economic, social and cultural happenings. Over 100,000 regular NR readers—a growing core of progressive thinking in America—will welcome you. Join them now. Sign and mail slip below for 34 weeks for \$2.75 (a full year of NR—52 weeks—costs \$6). Include gifts to your friends at this *introductory rate* as well. Rush the coupon to us TODAY.

Keep your friends posted with gift subscriptions.  
Open to new readers only!

## NEW REPUBLIC

40 East 49th Street, New York 17, N. Y.

Send \_\_\_\_\_ subscriptions of New Republic for 34 weeks at your special rate of \$2.75 per subscription. (Open to new readers only!)

To \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City, Zone, State \_\_\_\_\_

To \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City, Zone, State \_\_\_\_\_

Signed \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City, Zone, State \_\_\_\_\_

\$ \_\_\_\_\_ enclosed. ☐ Send bill.

Foreign & Canadian extra postage 80¢ (at rate of \$1 per year).  
3/8/48

# New Republic

NEW REPUBLIC

of a man, Burton N. Behling, whose past utterances indicate that either he is on the wrong side or doesn't know what it's all about.

Senator O'Mahoney of Wyoming will probably oppose Behling's confirmation. A lot of people in Washington seem to think that O'Mahoney would make a nice Democratic presidential candidate.

**Notes.** The GOP will push the anti-poll-tax and anti-lynching bills to get Negro votes and to divide the Democrats. . . . The essence of *Jim Farley's Story: The Roosevelt Years* is a single charge: "FDR promised Farley he wouldn't run for a third term—and ran"; the other side of the case, naturally enough, isn't offered. . . . It can be said authoritatively that Russia's chief political representative in Germany initiated and carried through a long talk with Ambassador Robert D. Murphy covering the whole range of US-USSR problems.

**Steel's six.** Half a dozen men control the policies of America's basic, titanic steel industry. Ten steel companies control 90 percent of the whole industry's assets; dominant US Steel has 40 percent and is two and one-half times bigger than its closest rival, Bethlehem, which, in turn, is twice as big as the third, Republic. . . . The Dewey forces expect victories in the first three primaries—New Hampshire, Wisconsin and Oregon; they will try to make it appear a bandwagon movement.

America's irresponsible legislative system now permits a single Representative, Chairman Allen (R, Ill.), of the House Rules Committee (with the connivance of other GOP leaders), to block the vote on UMT by bottling it up in committee; like the bill or not, this violates democracy. . . . Another slick trick is Virginia Governor Tuck's, so to manipulate the archaic electoral-college procedure as to take from state voters the right to name the presidential candidate they support; they can only designate the party, not the candidate.

Washington

T. R. B.



## THE WEEK

### BAD WEEK

Every reader of headlines agreed that it was a bad week. Czechoslovakia was bad, with its ominous overtones for the future. The rocky road to Palestine partition through the UN was bad, as people everywhere wondered whether the UN itself would now go the way of the League. The long-secret agreement to give a thousand fighting planes to Chiang Kai-shek was bad, for painfully obvious reasons. Secretary Marshall's plea for more money to be given to Greece and Turkey, "Operation Rathole," was bad, as a confession of failure up to now and a promise of more failure to come.

Those who anxiously scanned the headlines for something to offset the gloomy tidings found extremely thin fare. Frank ("Spec") Shea had signed again with the Yankees, and the price of butter went down. It was not enough.

### FALLING BAROMETER

WASHINGTON (NR correspondent)

The political barometer at Democratic headquarters has fallen so rapidly since the Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner that it now stands dangerously close to the storm-warning area. Two weeks ago there was a flourishing crop of vice-presidential aspirants on the Democratic side. Today you can cover miles of Capitol corridors without finding a single shy candidate for second place on the Truman ticket.

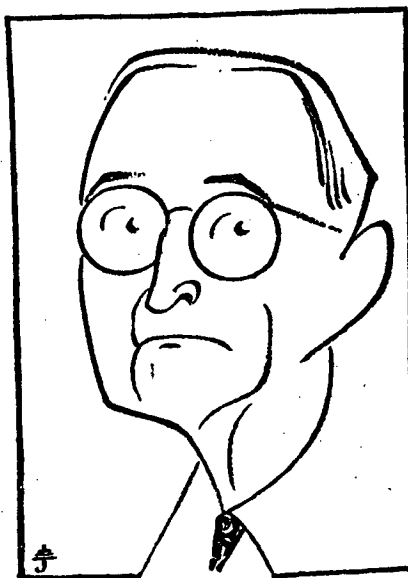
"What's happened in the last two weeks?" one puzzled Senator asked. "Everything is changed. Everyone believes we're going to get licked."

A canvass last week of the top Democratic leadership in the two Houses and representative state chair-

men, national committeemen and committeewomen turned up no one who thought Harry could win.

What caused the decline in faith in Harry? Some said it was his poor performance in his party-celebration speech that did it—coming right on top of Henry Wallace's Bronx victory and the mounting Southern troubles. Others said not even all that would have set off this psychological slump unless there were a secret conviction in most Democratic hearts that the Truman cause had always been doomed to failure.

**If not Harry?** Whatever the case, a few top Democrats are actually thinking of doing something about replacing Truman as the party candidate. The first name that pops up when they discuss the question is still that of General Dwight D. Eisenhower. His statement certainly removed him from the Republican picture, but, the Democrats ask, must that close the door on us, too?



DRAWING BY JACOBI

For the liberal-minded ones, there is Bill Douglas. Though he definitely removed himself as a possibility for Vice President with Truman some time ago, some of his friends feel the Justice would not refuse the number-one position if it were available under proper conditions. Of course, his views on civil liberties are even less acceptable to "white supremacy" Southerners than Truman's. So those who support him think he has a chance only if the Southern revolt comes off.

At this point, we enter the field of what sounds like pure fantasy. For example, it is suggested that if a fourth party, the anti-Truman Southern Democrats, took the field, an attempt should be made to persuade Henry Wallace to give up his candidacy in favor of an amalgamation with the Northern liberal Democrats behind Douglas. Alternatively, there is a Southern scheme to force the nomination of an acceptable compromise between Truman and the present anti-Truman forces, in the person of James F. Byrnes. While all this may appear highly unrealistic, it is so serious that many important Democrats are determined to tell President Truman, at the earliest possible moment, how bad things look. Up to now, he remains undismayed. The last words Washington heard him say as he took off for vacation were, "I'm just as happy as I can be."

### "JUST CHECKING"

With their accustomed air of mystery, pairs of FBI agents sauntered into New York City offices of more than 30 left-wing CIO locals last week. They had a number of casual questions to ask about union contributions to 1946 political campaigns, and also current

activities. The Hatch Campaign Expenditures Act was mentioned. Then the cryptic G-men sauntered out again.

Since the Department of Justice had already completed one check of the CIO's 1946 political-campaign expenditures, Secretary-Treasurer Saul Mills of the Greater New York CIO Council decided something new was in the wind. He told reporters that it looked as though the FBI visits "were calculated to intimidate and harass unions and union members who have indicated their support for Henry A. Wallace for President." Mills then reeled off a list of a dozen or so locals favorable to the Wallace candidacy whose officials had been questioned by the agents. (See Wallace article, page 11.)

### DOWN THE RATHOLE

President Truman's quarterly report on US aid to Greece and Turkey (the *NR*, February 23) made it quite clear that the original high purpose of helping the Greek people to get back on their feet had degenerated into an ineffective military operation with no end in sight. When Secretary Marshall the other day asked Congress for more money for Greece and Turkey, he made little attempt to disguise the "Operation Rathole" nature of the venture.

Marshall's presentation, a brief letter to Senator Vandenberg, President of the Senate, and Representative Martin, Speaker of the House, was quite a contrast to the crisis-atmosphere joint session of Congress to which the President proposed the original plan last year. Open military support to anyone engaged in killing Communists anywhere is no longer a shocker on Capitol Hill. The Secretary spoke in frank terms of the "lines of supply" from the US to the Greek army. He claimed no more for the Truman Doctrine to date than that it had "contained" Russian-backed forces. All he offered for the future was a dogged belief that we could outlast Russia with more of the same.

The \$275 million for which Marshall asked will not be apportioned to Greece and Turkey in advance, but

### Made It

PRACTICALLY ALL California political leaders this week conceded that the Independent Progressive Party (third party) would be on the ballot in November.

The new party finished the most momentous petition campaign in the state's history by filing 486,000 signatures of registered voters. Needing 276,000 names to qualify, according to the stringent election laws of California, the IPP's 10,000 volunteer petition circulators rolled up almost twice the number, which had been considered "impossible."

A majority of the signatures, 275,000, came from Los Angeles County, within which almost one of every four registered voters signed for Henry Wallace.

will be doled out where and as needed. Whatever share goes to Greece is for a negative purpose: to prevent the establishment of "the dictatorship of a foreign-inspired minority" until the present Greek government can "stand its own ground without outside aid." Actual power in Greece today is in the hands of a tiny minority of arch-reactionaries and millionaires, and they are certainly "foreign-inspired." They will never "stand their own ground" except as part of a fascist type of dictatorship. Thus the US's moral outlook in Greece seems as precarious as the military one, and as dreary as the outlook of the Greek people for real democracy and prosperity.

### NO BEDS FOR NEGROES

LOS ANGELES (*NR* correspondent)

**Keep out.** There are 22 hospitals in Los Angeles, but when one of the city's 160,000 Negroes gets sick, there is usually only one thing he can do: lie down until he recovers or until he dies. If he is lucky, he may gain admission to the County General Hospital, reserved for charity patients. But he can make the rounds of the other 21 institutions of mercy and never get anywhere, because these are Jim Crow hospitals.

County General is the only hospital in Los Angeles which allows Negro physicians to serve on its staff—it

has two—and it is the only one which will admit Negroes. The other hospitals bar Negroes from their staffs, and the white doctors for the most part refuse to treat Negroes. Since they must consent to do so before a Negro patient is admitted, the effect is to bar the doors against the Negro race.

The results of Jim Crow medicine in Los Angeles have been disastrous. In certain Negro sections, the tubercular rate is 400 percent higher than in comparable white districts. In the main Negro section, deaths per 100,000 population from tuberculosis were 142.8, whereas in a typical white area, the incidence was 36.8.

**Twin errors.** Los Angeles authorities have not only, by condoning a Jim Crow hospital policy, refrained from taking effective steps to provide medical care for Negroes, but they have also been apathetic in attacking the causes of sickness in the Negro sections. Segregation of Negroes into crowded, unsanitary slum areas has built up reservoirs of disease which spill over into the rest of the city.

The only real step forward has been taken by a non-sectarian, non-profit interracial organization of professional people who are planning construction of West View Hospital, which will contain 50 beds. When this institution begins operation, it will admit patients without regard to race, creed or color, and its staff will include both white and Negro doctors.

But 50 beds is small potatoes in view of what is needed. James Hamilton, former president of the American Hospital Association, says that the city must have 10,000. And even then, these beds will be no use to Negroes until Los Angeles cures itself of its Jim Crow complex.

### FAKE RENT CONTROL

A congressman received a telephone call a few days ago from a constituent some 2,000 miles away who wanted to know: "Is or isn't there any rent control? Will the landlord be able to raise my rent this month? Am I likely to be evicted? If so, do I have to take the

case to court or will the government do it for me?"

The congressman couldn't answer any of his constituent's questions. Instead, he mailed him a copy of the bill just passed by the Senate to extend rent controls for another 14 months. The tenant will find little comfort in the Senate bill. If his landlord did raise the rent within the next 14 months (which would violate the law), he would only be subject to a civil damage suit.

The Senate knocked out a clause providing criminal penalties up to a \$1,000 fine and one year in jail for landlords guilty of a violation. If the tenant is renting a furnished room in a private home (as many college students, veterans and others do), the landlord can raise the rent as high as he likes. The Federal Housing Expediter no longer has power to file damage suits for rent violations.

The House has even nastier plans for the tenant. Representative Jesse P. Wolcott (R, Mich.), chairman of the House Banking and Currency Committee, is now working on a rent bill. He hopes to get through a law to allow a straight 10-to-20-percent hike in all rents, exempt from any control rooms and apartments not now rented, and give local boards (usually run by real-estate men) complete autonomy over enforcement of the law.

### Six Lives Saved

PORTLAND, ORE. (NR correspondent)

BECAUSE of the generosity of West Coast labor-union members, six young Spanish stowaways who arrived in the US last October will not have to return to Spain and a Franco firing squad (the NR, January 12). The refugees, former members of the Spanish underground, will be released from a government detention camp in Portland next month to go to Venezuela.

Agreement of the Venezuelan embassy in Washington, D. C., to supply the detainees with visas ends a five-month campaign by labor to prevent extradition of the men to Spain. Their fares to Venezuela will be paid for from a \$4,000 fund contributed by sympathizers all over the US.

Unless members of the House are able to amend such a bill when it comes to the floor, rent "decontrol" will be the law next year.

### LONG AND TALMADGE

Return of the Long and Talmadge machines to power has given a new boost to the Southern Governors' efforts to rule or wreck the National Democratic Party. Earl K. Long, brother of "The Kingfish," and Herman Talmadge, son of Eugene, have gained legal control of the Democratic Parties in Louisiana and Georgia.

Earl Long, not so effective an orator as his brother but just as ambitious, was chosen as the next Governor of Louisiana in a runoff primary with Sam Houston Jones. Jones had defeated him in the 1940 race, so the victory a few days ago ended Long's eighth politically lean year. He managed to weather attacks connecting him with the "Louisiana Scandals" which sent Governor Richard Leche and several other political bosses to prison in 1939.

In Georgia, young Herman Talmadge won legal control over the state's Democratic machinery when the Georgia Supreme Court voted unanimously to vest party power in the Talmadge faction. This ended ten months of contest and confusion and probably ended also the political career of Governor M. E. Thompson. The Thompson group, which has been tacitly recognized by national Democratic officials, was declared to be without any official standing. Each of the groups had held its own convention and branded the other as "rump Democrats" and "bolters."

**Uninstructed.** Another important development has just come in Virginia. Its Governor, William M. Tuck, has requested the state legislature to rewrite the law to permit selection of uninstructed presidential electors. At the same time, he asked Virginia's General Assembly to pass a bill that would remove the names of candidates for President and Vice President from ballots in that state. The law would put only party labels on the ballots

and would bar the name of any party unless it had been listed in the last presidential election, or unless its candidates polled 10 percent of the vote at some general election within the last five years.

Such a law would knock out Henry Wallace's third party, as well as any move by Truman to enter Virginia's election with some new modification of the Democratic Party label. The Mississippi and South Carolina state legislatures, the only other two in the South meeting this year, are expected to follow Virginia's lead in freeing their electors to oppose Truman if and when the time comes.

### HOLLYWOOD QUICKIE

LOS ANGELES (NR correspondent)

Looking much like a road-show company of the Thomas committee, California State Senator Jack B. Tenney and his troupe—the Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities—descended on Los Angeles last week for a "quickie" four-day engagement.

The performance had all the trappings of the Washington spectacle. It came complete with Hollywood glamor, a "mystery witness" (who remained a mystery after it was all over), a Roosevelt smear and threatened contempt citations.

First came the verdict. Fifty-one or-

### Planes to China

GOP CONGRESSMEN who don't like the non-military character of the proposed \$570 million China loan learned a wartime secret last week. Air Secretary W. Stuart Symington informed them that in 1945 the US secretly agreed to supply Chiang with 1,071 warplanes, worth \$300 million—enough to make China's air force equal to that of Spain or Turkey.

Already 936 of the planes have been delivered, Symington said. But his disclosure, intended to reassure the Republicans that President Truman is doing all right by Chiang, produced some consternation as well. It made it all the harder for some Senators to figure out how Chiang could be getting licked so badly by a gang of guerrillas.

ganizations, including the Committee for the First Amendment, which avowedly excludes Communists, and many groups long extinct, were pronounced "Communist fronts." Afterwards came the "investigation" of the groups already branded. Guilt by association "proved" the "findings" previously announced.

Prominent among those subpoenaed were four executive-board members of

the Actors' Laboratory Theater, a drama school and production company of high professional standing in Hollywood. The four were actress Rose Hobart and veteran character actors J. Edward Bromberg, Roman Bohnen and Will Lee.

Before calling the four to the stand, Committee Counsel Richard E. Combs read into the record the names of every known national, state and local Com-

munist official. Having allowed that to sink in, Combs then proceeded to refer to one Jacobina Caro Davison, posture instructor at the Actors' Lab, as being the wife of alleged-Communist Sidney Davison, director of the People's Educational Center, a Hollywood school which is also on the Tenney list. Actors' Lab board members Bromberg and Bohnen were alleged to have "taught" at the Center. Actor Will Lee, moreover, was claimed to have inserted a greetings advertisement in a local Communist publication under the pseudonym of William Lee.

Tenney's contention was that any connection between the Actors' Lab and the Center proved the Lab to be a "Marxist training center for actors," and, conversely, any association between the Center and the Lab showed that the Center was a "Red front." Will Lee denied inserting the ad, and testified that he was appearing in the East at the time of its publication. He pointed out to Tenney the fact that there are 42 other William Lees in the telephone directory, and suggested them as equally likely prospects. Bohnen said he did indeed deliver a lecture on the theory of acting at the People's Educational Center in 1941; Bromberg denied ever having done so. Jacobina Caro, as was not revealed, had divorced Davison seven years ago.

**FDR smear.** The Roosevelt smear was provided by giving wide publicity to a statement of University of California President Robert Gordon Sproul that he was host to the 1943 Writers' Congress "at the direct request of President Roosevelt." The statement had been issued, Tenney explained, "after our committee had informed Dr. Sproul that the odor of the Hollywood Writers' Mobilization [sponsors of the congress] was not that of violets."

On the last day of testimony, Federal Judge Leon R. Yankwich, previously charged with having been a "lecturer" at the People's Educational Center, demanded the witness stand. When sworn in, the Judge filed a copy of the lecture he had delivered at the Center, originally prepared for the

(Continued on page 10)

## Stalling on Palestine

**M**EMBERS of the UN Security Council—the US in particular—are still discussing the partition of Palestine in measured phrases. But beneath the diplomatic amenities lies the Council's realization that the Palestine impasse may be slowly putting an end to the United Nations as an effective international organization.

For reasons of morale, most UN delegates are keeping their deep pessimism to themselves. They know, however, that unless the UN takes rapid, decisive action to enforce the partition recommendation, it will lose what semblance of authority it now possesses.

If partition fails through lack of enforcement, the responsibility for failure will lie largely with the US. This country, with its great prestige, can either force implementation of partition through the Security Council or compel it to be dropped.

**Results of inaction.** US Delegate Warren R. Austin indicates that the US, by following a policy of inaction, will bring the second result: it will vote for implementation, but will exert no pressure on other members to do likewise.

This policy of procrastination is apparently based on the hope that during a protracted investigation, partition will wither away. Austin knows that delay can be fatal, especially in view of the fact that Britain will begin to withdraw her

troops on May 15, leaving the problem in UN hands.

There is very little doubt as to the identity of the pressures which are determining the course of United States policy in the Security Council. Secretary of Defense James V. Forrestal and the State Department's Loy Henderson, director of the Division of Near Eastern and African Affairs, have served notice that they will oppose creation of an armed body to enforce partition. Their primary purpose seems to be to keep friendly relations with Arab states which control the huge Middle East oil reserves, even if such appeasement means dropping partition.

**It's up to us.** If the US decided to reverse its stalling policy, it would need only to persuade any one of the three powers, China, Colombia or Argentina, to change from abstention to support of implementation. So far, the Council has six of the seven necessary votes to set up an international police force for Palestine—the US, the USSR, France, Canada, Belgium and the Ukraine. China, with her heavy reliance on US financial aid, could probably be persuaded to join the majority.

But, as things look now, the US is apparently set to relax on the side lines after casting its own vote. And the UN will go down to its first, and perhaps last, crucial defeat.





"The Palestine problem has been and is the deep concern of this government. It has been given the most careful consideration by me, the cabinet, and other responsible government officials."

*President Truman as quoted in the New York Herald Tribune of February 25, 1948*



## A Smell of Oil

by Robert S. Allen

**P**RESIDENT TRUMAN is quietly and effectively transforming the Federal Power Commission from a regulatory agency into a mouthpiece for the oil and natural-gas industries. His nomination of Burton N. Behling as an FPC commissioner has the odor of crude petroleum.

Behling, who calls himself an independent, owes his selection to the combined efforts of California oilman Ed Pauley, former Governor Robert S. Kerr (Kerr-McGee Oil Industries, Inc.) of Oklahoma, and former Michigan Senator Prentiss M. Brown (head of a Detroit light and power company). Behling is also closely identified with the views of the commission's chairman, Nelson Lee Smith, who rarely expresses opinions unfavorable to the oil and utilities interests.

Behling's nomination is the latest episode in the Truman regulation-wrecking spree which has already ousted James M. Landis as Civil Aeronautics Board chairman, and Marriner S. Eccles as head of the Federal Reserve Board. Consequently there has been little surprise in Washington.

The confirmation of Behling—he would replace retiring Commissioner Richard Sachse—will assure the oil interests of a sympathetic majority in the five-man commission. Behling will undoubtedly support the regulation-scuttling legislation the oil companies are trying to jam through Congress.

Carefully echoing Chairman Smith and Commissioner Harrington Wimberly, Behling has already gone on record as favoring the notorious Rizley-Moore bill (the NR, February 23), which would legalize upward revision (on a basis of the "fair-field-price" formula) of natural-gas rates, now being held to a cost-of-production level by the government.

The additional cost per year of such a rate boost to natural-gas consumers in the Colorado-to-New York area alone would be \$56 million. And that isn't all. Phillips Petroleum has a gigantic stake in the establishment of field prices as part of the rate base. Commissioner Leland Olds, who has written his own separate report on the gas investigation, estimates the value of Phillips' gas reserves at \$389 million if field prices are five cents per thousand cubic feet. If the price goes up to 10 cents, Olds points out that the value of Phillips' property will be increased accordingly.

**Welcome addition.** Ex-Senator Brown and former Governor Kerr are connected financially with a pipeline project several phases of which are awaiting final FPC approval. Since the present commission is split two to two on the matter, and a rival pipeline is challenging the whole proceeding in the courts, it would be very nice, naturally, to have an agreeable fellow appointed to break the deadlock. Behling, for instance.

Both politically and financially, the pipeline companies are doing pretty well, and with Behling's added help they hope to do even better. Under prevailing cost-of-production price levels, for example, the Interstate Natural Gas Company earned 15.9 percent on its invested capital from 1939 to 1946. Colorado Interstate Gas Company collected 15.1 percent. And eight other natural-gas pipeline companies are on the list of the top 20 big money-making US corporations.

If Behling is confirmed and the Rizley-Moore "fair-field-price" formula goes through, the 1948 profits of these pipeline companies should zoom into the wild blue yonder.

Newman Club, a Catholic group, and declared that "I will give the benefit of my knowledge to any group" be it white, Negro, Jewish, Catholic, Communist, Anarchist "or anything else." Asked if he would talk before the German-American Bund, the Judge turned to face Tenney and brought down the house with his reply: "Yes, on my own terms. I'll even talk to you!"

A day later the Tenney troupe folded camp and left town just as the Freedom Train pulled in.

### FOOTNOTE TO A PURGE

Representative Karl Stefan (R, Nebr.), as chairman of the House Appropriations Subcommittee on the State Department, was able to get access to files of last year's notorious loyalty purge. And last week, 12 typical cases were spread on the record at hearings. Hamilton Robinson, director of the State Department's Office of Control, was closely questioned about his methods. Only the names of the suspects were withheld.

A reading of the 12 reports shows that case after case was based *solely* on such items as membership in the Americans for Democratic Action, "his wife belongs to the League of Women Shoppers," he "studied under Harold Laski," he once said, "Henry Wallace is the outstanding symbol of American democracy." Equally damning was membership in the American Veterans' Committee, membership in the American Civil Liberties Union, participation in the US trade-union delegation to Soviet Russia (1927), unfavorable mention by Mrs. Elizabeth Dilling, Victor Kravchenko and a Roman Catholic priest in Italy, association with an official of the PAC, being "too vigorous in her beliefs," and so on.

In fairness to the department it should be said that most of the people accused only of such silly things were not dismissed, and that what looks on the face of it at least to be a reasonably fair trial procedure is now in force within the department. The criticism leveled last year at the department's star-chamber proceedings was evidently effective.

## HENRY WALLACE'S COLUMN

### Old-Fashioned Americanism

**T**HE BIGGEST ISSUE in the 1948 campaign is a return to old-fashioned Americanism.

By old-fashioned Americanism I mean the right to express an opinion without fear of losing your job, your citizenship, or your business.

By old-fashioned Americanism I mean the spirit of Irish-born congressman Matthew Lyon of Vermont, who, in 1798, said just what he thought of John Adams, even though he was jailed for it. It was Matthew Lyon in jail in 1798 who prepared the way for Thomas Jefferson and the destruction of the Federalist Party.

The un-Americanism of the Federalist Party in 1798 is expressing itself in the US today to frighten millions of American citizens. Headquarters for this un-Americanism are the Department of Justice, the Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives, and businessmen who use economic compulsion to interfere with the free expression of political views by employees and business associates.

**As I have traveled** back and forth across the country I have been told many instances of violation of the spirit of the First Amendment. Young men have been fired because an employer saw them wearing a Wallace button. Hundreds of businessmen have given anonymously to our cause because they feared they would be discriminated against by their associates if their names were known. Stealthily, over the United States black fear is creeping. So far it doesn't shoot people. Its method is to stifle every progressive thought by subtle terrorism.

The two divisions of the Department of Justice which spread this terror most insidiously are the FBI and the Immigration and Naturalization Service. A foreigner (this is an ac-

tual case) applies for his final papers. He is highly educated and progressive, a church member, certainly not a Communist. One of the questions asked by the naturalization officials to this particular man is, "Do you know Henry Wallace?" He had hoped to work for me in the campaign. He has not yet got his papers, though he thinks he will get them. But will he work for Wallace?

He will not. He will be afraid of endangering his citizenship. He knows what is happening to foreign-born labor leaders. So he will lie low and vote for me, but his truly great talents will not be used in the campaign. The creeping terror has stifled his creative abilities with fear. That is what the government of the United States has done.

**This man** will never make an issue of it, nor do I want to embarrass him. But I do want to start an informal Freedom League. I want everyone who has a specific instance of how the federal government or businessmen have abridged our freedom to write in to the Freedom League at Room 1405, 40 East Forty-ninth Street, New York 17. Give the name of the man who put pressure on you or who asked an un-American question.

Did the investigator ask whether you read the *New Republic*, the *Nation*, *PM* or *Reader's Scope*? Did he ask if you knew Henry Wallace or Glen Taylor or Jo Davidson or Albert Einstein? What other questions were asked designed to make you feel like a criminal if you entertained a progressive idea or knew a progressive American? We shall not use your name without your permission. If you feel it is really necessary, don't even sign your name when you send us the information.

Many minorities have had to band

together to protect themselves against unjust attack. The Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith is an outstanding example of such an organization. The time has come for those of us who believe in old-fashioned Americanism to fight back. The first step is to get the names of the men in the government who have been using unfair methods of investigation. If you write to us without signing your name, please be sure to describe just what the unfair methods were, and give all details.

**It is my contention** that the Department of Justice has no more right to ask prospective citizens if they read the *New Republic* than if they read *Business Week*.

It is no more just to imply that the *New Republic* is subversive than to imply that *Business Week* is subversive. When investigators spread fear and terror among those who are working politically to overthrow the present Administration by votes, government is stepping outside of its constitutional functions. We shall oppose such extra-constitutional functioning by using old-fashioned American methods.

The Freedom League must also prepare to expose businessmen who employ economic coercion to control the political activity of employees. It is true that the best work on behalf of unprotected minorities is often done quietly; in some cases publicity defeats the purpose of justice. Future developments, and the response to this article, will determine the extent to which we shall work publicly or shall exert our pressure quietly and behind the scenes.

We have heard a lot of talk about the Freedom Train, with its precious documents from the past. How about making freedom live?

*Henry A. Wallace*

## WHAT HAPPENED IN PRAGUE

**E**VENTS in Czechoslovakia are casting a long, momentous shadow over the world. The precise balance of forces that will emerge in the reorganized Communist-controlled government is not yet clear. But while the conservative US press has jumped hastily—too hastily—to the conclusion that all the traditional Czech democratic principles have been sunk without trace, the opposite view—that this is not in the full sense a Communist coup—seems supported by little more than wish fulfilment.

In any event, it is certain that the new situation will have profound consequences not only in Czechoslovakia but internationally. Already, the change-over has intensified the cold war between the US and the USSR. It has stirred up forces that will increase domestic turmoil in France and Italy. And it has sharpened the world's ears for such reports as the one that Marshal Stalin's "request" for a new pact with Finland cloaks a demand for a new relationship that would make Finland almost completely a Soviet satellite.

From the long view the basic question—as yet unanswerable—is whether the Communist move in Czechoslovakia was made from strength or from weakness. There seems some ground for the belief that the Soviet timetable has been changed, that Moscow's tempo has been stepped up.

**Soviet motive?** One interpretation is that the Soviets, gaining power, are boldly setting the stage for the final issue of peace or war.

The opposite interpretation is that the Communists chose high-pressure tactics in Prague because the opposition in Czechoslovakia was gaining ground, because there was fear that in a free election the Communist Party would lose its status as the largest single political entity.

Those who hold the second view say both the Czech coup and the reported Finnish move are efforts to strengthen Soviet bastions against the West precisely because communism is losing ground in the West. They are retreats, shortenings of the political front in anticipation of defeats at the polls in Italy and France.

The advent of the Communists to power in Czechoslovakia required a short time and seemed to be accomplished with relative ease. But the parliamentary forms it took were different from those in Rumania, Bulgaria and Hungary.

The Czech Communists, as their brethren always do, went through their usual maneuvers of "people's demonstrations," attempted purges, armed street patrols, strike threats and talking of foreign plotting. But Czech democrats, remembering Munich and the Nazi occupation, put up a fight to save civil liberties.

**How it began.** The crisis began February 13 when the four non-Communist parties in the coalition government demanded that the Communist Minister of the Interior stop packing the Prague police force with party henchmen. At the same time the National Socialist newspaper, *Svobodne Slovo*, called for a non-party cabinet and "a government of experts" to run the elections. President Benes, recognizing the anti-democratic substance of this project, rejected it.

The next step was the resignation of the National Socialist, Catholic and Slovak Democrat ministers, leaving the government in the hands of the Communists and a badly split Socialist Party. The pro-West Socialists wanted the Socialist ministers to stop coöperating with the Communists but such pro-East party leaders as former Premier Zdenek Fierlinger announced the death of the "national

front" of five parties and called ambiguously for the creation of a new front "from below."

On February 21, workers' delegations demanded that Benes accept the resignations of the ministers. The next day delegates from the Trades Unions Congress, supporting this request, accused the old coalition of obstructing socialization. In a struggle for power within the Socialist Party, Fierlinger defeated the more conservative elements, winning control for those willing to coöperate with the Communists.

**Moving fast.** Then Communist "action committees" began occupying ministries, seizing government offices in provincial cities as well as Prague. But unlike developments in other countries behind the Iron Curtain, the Communists had the support of these committees, it is reported, of members of other parties, trade unionists, farm and religious-group representatives.

At this point the story becomes unclear, and one of the keys to it—Benes' real attitude—is still missing as we go to press. Those who believe Czech democracy is dead point to the fact that Premier Klement Gottwald remains in power with the all-important Justice portfolio added to those of the Interior, Police and Information.

Those who take the opposite view call attention to the fact that at least in name and form the government remains a five-party coalition, theoretically responsible to Parliament. They say Benes would not have remained in office if a full-blown police state were being created.

When Benes inducted Gottwald into office a few days ago, he spoke of a "new form of democracy" taking shape and hoped its results would be "favorable for all." But there are reports that the opinions he expressed

privately were quite different. The new "democracy" involves the role of the "action committees," and it is too soon to judge how democratic a parliamentary regime which is at their mercy can be.

**Fear of Germany.** Two facts are important: The Czechs fear a revival of Germany as much as, if not more than, they do the Soviets; all Czech parties want socialism, differing only in means of attaining it.

Progress toward socialism, it is charged by those Czechs who are willing to give the "new form" a chance to prove itself, has been slowed in recent months by obstructionism of minority parties seeking to improve their positions. They want the opponents of further nationalization of industry to be muzzled, and see this as a primary goal of the "action committees."

On the international issues, these same persons maintain, many Czechs have come to fear that the Marshall Plan is giving priority to German rehabilitation, and hence threatening Czech security. Their alarm was heightened when US Ambassador

Lawrence Steinhardt, returning to Prague after three months in the US, predicted that Czechoslovakia would soon be participating in the Marshall Plan, which is interpreted to mean helping rebuild Germany and challenging the Soviet Union.

The Soviets, this argument runs, have not only the power of proximity, but the prestige of having offered help to Prague after Munich, a fact few Czechs can ever forget.

Moreover, since the war, Washington and London have given Prague little help beyond UNRRA allotments. One \$50 million loan and another large credit were negotiated by the US and then withdrawn, apparently for political reasons. The State Department is said to have forbidden Friendship Train gifts of food to Czechoslovakia, and many Czechs feel the department long ago wrote off their country as a dead loss.

Many Czechs are said to be disturbed because the US reaction to the recent events took the form of participation with Britain and France in a denunciatory statement. There was no encouragement to democratic forces, no offer to help them. These

Czechs say if their democracy survives, it will be not with the help of the US but despite it.

Yet others appear to believe that if even shreds of democratic process and of civil liberties can survive in their country under the present and quickly developing circumstances, Czechoslovakia will be helping democracy everywhere. Already, they feel, their experience has had important international effects.

**Warning to the West.** The circumstances of the start of the Czech crisis contain an explicit warning to those middle-of-the-road democratic forces in France, Italy and elsewhere which are struggling to hold off totalitarianism of either the extreme Right or extreme Left. The demand of the Czech National Socialists for a non-party "caretaker" government of experts may have been—depending on the angle of vision—a justification or a pretext for the actions of the Communists. But, timed as it was, at a moment when the Communists were poised to exploit just such evidence of a "plot" allegedly fostered by "foreign reactionaries," it led to a serious setback for the Czech segment of "the third force."

There is no doubt that US public opinion has been alarmed by the events in Czechoslovakia. Those members of Congress who, in an election year, have been lukewarm to ERP because they represent isolationist areas may change their minds and their votes. So far as the form of ERP is concerned, it is likely that Senator Vandenberg and Representative Herter will profit. With Czechoslovakia more obviously within the Soviet sphere than before, the opposition to an ERP stressing the role of Germany may decrease. From the liberal viewpoint, this is the danger to be faced while every effort is made to get Congress to adopt a measure that will give Europe a chance to start on the road back to economic reconstruction.



DRAWN FOR NEW REPUBLIC BY H. C. DETJEN



DRAWING BY LIND WARD

# REVOLT IN THE SOUTH

**U**NIVERSAL RESPECT FOR, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion." That's what we're committed to, by Article 55 of the Charter of the United Nations.

To carry out our international obligations, and to rid America of the economic wastage and the "moral dry rot" caused by prejudice, discrimination and violation of our civil liberties, the President's Committee on Civil Rights proposed that America move forward on three fronts, legislative executive and judicial, to secure our rights.

The committee proposed a broad program for civil rights. A part of this program was forwarded by President Truman to Congress, with recommendation for action during the 1948 session.

The President's program is national. It calls for home rule for the District of Columbia; statehood for Hawaii and Alaska; settlement of the claims of Japanese Americans on the West

Coast; and enfranchisement of 100,000 Indians in New Mexico and Arizona.

But five key measures strike at conditions in the South which Thomas Sancton, in this issue, describes as unchanged since the days of John C. Cal-

## CIVIL RIGHTS: The 1948 Objectives

houn. And, as Helen Fuller shows, Calhoun's 1948 counterparts are ready to break up the Democratic Party in order to stop these measures, which would guarantee protection against lynching, abolition of the poll tax, the prevention of discrimination in employment and in transportation, and the strengthening of the terms and the enforcement of existing civil-rights statutes.

These measures most Southern Democrats will fight by threats and

filibusters. In the past, Republicans worked in an undercover alliance with Southern conservatives, paying lip-service to civil-rights legislation, nominally opposing the filibusters, always making certain that just enough Republicans would join the Southerners to defeat any motion for cloture that threatened to bring the legislation to a vote.

This time the Republican Policy Committee is firmly committed to passage of civil-rights legislation. If the Republicans and the Administration are in earnest, then in the four remaining months of this session Congress can pass the civil-rights program as well as ERP, a housing bill and other necessary legislation. The background, the nature and the prospects for the five measures follow.

**"Lynching,"** says the President's committee, "is the ultimate threat by which his inferior status is driven home to the Negro. As a terrorist device it reinforces all the other disabilities placed upon him."

Since the days when James Weldon Johnson began his fight on lynching in 1922, anti-lynching bills have been passed by the House and killed by filibuster in the Senate. The original measure was directed simply against officials who participated in lynchings. The new bill, introduced in the House by Republican Representative Clifford Case of New Jersey, and in the Senate by Wayne Morse and Robert F. Wagner, is directed against the lynchers. It derives its broader powers from Article 55 of the UN Charter and from the historic inability of the states to take action. This inability is confirmed by the President's committee.

The Case bill makes participation in a lynching a federal crime punishable by heavy prison terms and fines. There is hope that within a few weeks it will get to the floor of the House and be passed. It faces a filibuster in the Senate, where there are more than enough votes for cloture if the Republicans and Northern Democrats are firm. The Administration, doubtful of the constitutionality of the Case bill, may put in its own measure. There is real danger that Senator Taft, traditionally opposed to federal sanctions against individuals, may swing the Republicans behind the weak bill of Senator Hawkes of New Jersey, which simply strengthens the existing criminal code.

**Among all nations,** America, Portugal and Peru still have a poll tax. It was imposed in the South at the turn of this century to keep the Populists from voting. In the 1946 election, 33 percent of the voting population voted in the no-poll-tax states. Eight percent voted in four Southern states in which the poll tax had been repealed. The percentages in the seven poll-tax states were Alabama, six; Arkansas, eight; Mississippi, two; South Carolina, one; Tennessee, seven; Texas, five; Virginia, eight.

The anti-poll-tax bill is short and simple. It prohibits the collection of any tax as a prerequisite to voting in primary or general election for federal officials. This is the fifth such bill. The first died in a House committee; the

second, third and fourth passed the House and were killed by filibuster in the Senate. On the fifth bill, passed in the House last July, the Senate Republicans have promised "early action." A filibuster is due, and the two-thirds vote for cloture should be easily won. The alliance with Southern conservatives is no longer as valuable to Republicans as in the days when they were struggling to stop the New Deal's reforms for the North. Passage of the anti-lynching and anti-poll-tax bills by the first Republican Congress since 1932 will make a strong record for 1948.

**The FEPC** hits hardest of all at segregation in the South. Unlike legislation against lynching and the poll tax, it attacks powerful interests in the North, including most corporations and some trade unions.

In wartime, the Fair Employment Practice Committee served as a clearing house for complaints, and offered mediation. In spite of having no enforcement powers and no recourse to the courts, it worked satisfactorily, and in June, 1946, died when Congress refused to renew its appropriation. But four states—New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts and Connecticut—established state FEPC's.

Based on the New York State law, Senator Ives's bill prohibits job discrimination by employers or unions. The commission it creates is directed to use conciliation first, then to issue orders to desist, enforceable by the courts. The Senate Labor Committee has approved the bill despite Taft's opposition. But in both Senate and House, opposition to any action in this session is strong. In the absence of pressure, the FEPC will be tabled this year.

**Twenty of our states** compel segregation in some form. Segregation on railroads was compulsory in 14 states and authorized in two states. The Supreme Court ruled that the enforcement of these laws was unconstitutional in cases affecting interstate commerce. Some state officials continue to enforce the laws. In all cases railroads

and bus lines are free to segregate passengers on their own initiative.

"Congress," reported the President's committee, "has complete power under the Constitution to forbid all forms of segregation in interstate commerce. We believe it should make prompt use of it." The President has recommended action. One bill is already before a committee of the House. The Southern farmers are threatening a fight. There is time during this session to complete hearings and pass the bill. The Republicans are not committed to action.

**A policeman** beats up or kills a Negro suspect; a man is threatened with violence if he dares to vote; a sharecropper and his family are held in peonage; each year, for every Negro lynched, a hundred others have been in peril of their lives. Seven men in the Civil Rights Section of the Department of Justice are responsible for action on behalf of the US. They must work mainly with two post-Civil War statutes of the US Criminal Code which protect Americans from interference with their civil rights.

And, as the eight-percent vote in 1946 in Florida, Georgia, Louisiana and North Carolina showed, protection of the right to vote goes far beyond abolishing the poll tax. It includes guarantees that voting will be held in public places, free of intimidation and subterfuges such as literacy tests.

The President's committee called for the strengthening of the machinery for protecting civil rights and for the enactment of new statutes specifically directed against police brutality, peonage and any interference by public officers or private persons with the right to vote in federal primaries and elections. Measures in line with these recommendations have been proposed and can be passed during this session.

So, in four short months, 1948 can be made a great year for civil-rights legislation. And "the achievement of full civil rights in law," as the President's committee says, "may do as much to end prejudice as the end of prejudice may do to achieve full civil rights."

MICHAEL STRAIGHT

# CIVIL RIGHTS SPLIT THE DEMOCRATS

by Helen Fuller

**H**ARRY TRUMAN may go down in history as the President who reorganized the Democratic Party structure. There are Democrats and Republicans who think that the civil-rights question will be the determining factor if such a realignment occurs, and that Truman may inadvertently bring about the Southern "purge" Franklin Roosevelt did not live to accomplish.

The report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights is a revolutionary document. If its recommendations become reality, lynching, the poll tax and discrimination in employment and education would be barred by federal statute, and a new and stronger federal agency for the protection of individual liberties would be created. Franklin Roosevelt called for such reforms at one time or another, but never in such uncompromising terms or in language and manner so little designed to soften the blow for the Southern members of the Democratic Party.

The two Truman proposals which arouse the most violent opposition among the states'-righters of the South are: anti-Jim Crow bills (governing interstate travel, education and employment) and an expanded civil-rights organization in the Department of Justice to enforce federal laws.

**Hobson's choice.** President Truman now faces a dilemma: if he does not press the fight against discrimination, he will lose whatever chance he had of regaining the Negro and minority vote; if he takes strong action, he may lose a large part of the Southern electoral vote.

When the South, led by its Governors, raised loud objections to the civil-rights program, the Democratic National Committee at first took little notice. In past election years, Southerners have usually been content with headlines proclaiming their "revolt," followed by a brief period of pouting, before they quietly voted the straight ticket again on election day. This time

the "revolt" has started months before convention time, and its leaders are not political unknowns, but the Democratic state organization leaders themselves.

Coming simultaneously with Henry Wallace's victory over the Flynn machine in the Bronx, the developments were most disquieting to the national Democratic leadership, and the Republicans' glee at their opportunity to turn the civil-rights issue to Democratic disadvantage also helped to plunge party headquarters into deep gloom.

Four Southern Governors, representing eleven states, came to Washington in an avowed attempt to force Democratic National Chairman J. Howard McGrath to repudiate the high-principled program laid down by President Truman. They quickly recruited 52 Southern Representatives to back them up in their fight against the National Committee. They then began to put the pressure on Chairman McGrath.

**Uneasy peacemakers.** Clearly the Democratic National Committee has no intention of throwing away its chance to win the Negro and minority vote by appearing to back down from the President's program. But at the same time, Chairman McGrath will not overlook any possibility of softening the Southerners' wrath.

Ever since the onset of the present revolt, enlightened Southerners like Senator John J. Sparkman (D, Ala.) have been going about the South trying to soothe tempers and reassure their fellow Democrats that a party platform agreeable to all will finally be worked out at Philadelphia. But certain Southern congressmen seem more concerned about their own influence than about the survival in power of the Democratic Party. After all, in past years the Republican-Southern Democrat congressional coalition has not been too uncomfortable an arrangement for the boys from Dixie.

Southern-bloc leaders are now pri-

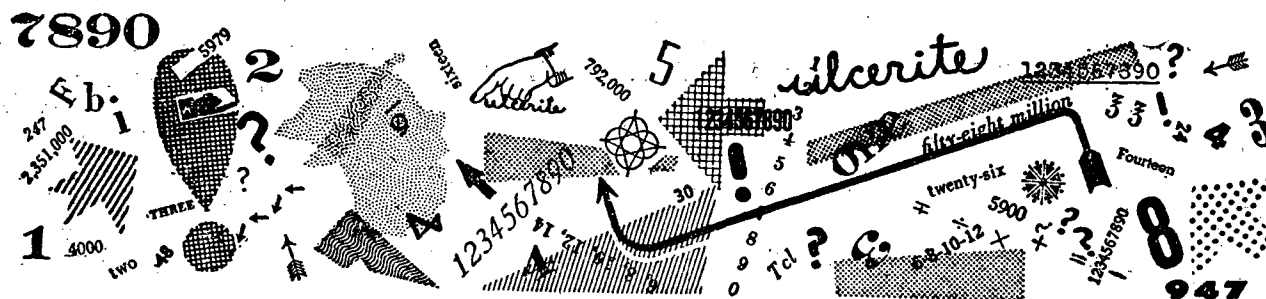
vately trying to negotiate with the Republicans. These poll-tax statesmen, who still do not need to consider the wishes of their constituents, could and would withhold the electoral votes of five or six Southern states from Truman and the Democratic Party if the Republicans would make it worth their while. That is, if the Republicans would agree to allow the Southerners to filibuster to death key anti-white-supremacy legislation pending in this Congress.

The man who will decide whether to make such a deal is Robert A. Taft. He must decide whether he has more to gain by passing a series of civil-liberties measures, or by taking away 50-to-100 much-needed electoral votes from Truman. The first would help Taft's chances of nomination. The second might clinch the election for the GOP in a close race.

Taft's associates in both houses of Congress state flatly that they have the Senator's word that he will pass an anti-lynch bill and an anti-poll-tax bill before this session adjourns. He has made no promises concerning the remainder of Truman's 10-point program. According to Senate rules, debate can be ended by only a two-thirds vote in favor of limiting discussion to one hour per member. There is no question that Senator Taft has the votes he needs to win cloture—and cloture would assure the passage of anti-lynching, anti-poll-tax and any other civil-liberties measures he desires.

**To the hills!** The thought of Taft's forcing through such politically potent legislation is keeping the Democratic chiefs awake nights. The Southerners might get over Truman's "insults" to the South if they were not repeated in the party platform for '48. But if the Administration openly supports Taft and helps to break the Southern filibuster, the Southerners will probably feel honor-bound to bolt the party. If the Administration ducks the cloture issue, Negro and minority leaders are not likely to support Truman. This is the dilemma that now haunts Chairman McGrath and his more politically farsighted colleagues.





DRAWING BY GERTRUDE GOODRICH

## Strategic Materials

A story by Irving Brant

**T**HIS is his office. . . . You want to know the population of the United States? The exact population? Why, we might be able to look it up. . . . Mr. Rushinsky . . . Dexter 2922. . . . Just hold the phone.

What is it?

That's funny, Lieutenant. Fellow named Rushinsky wants the exact population of the United States. That isn't restricted information, is it?

Of course not. My God, what do people think Naval Intelligence is for? Rushinsky, did you say? Look in the directory and see who he is.

Yes, sir . . . Rubinstein . . . Rutabago . . . Rushinsky . . . Ivan Rushinsky, works for the Duodenal Corporation of America.

Strategic materials. Hmm. Exact population. I don't see any connection. . . . Rushinsky . . . I think we'd better. . . . Give him the information, Ensign. Then turn his name in.

Mr. Rushinsky?

Yes. Won't you come in?

We are from the FBI. We just want some information—it's only a routine check-up.

Yes, sir.

Your name is Ivan Rushinsky?

Yes.

You work for the Duodenal Corporation of America?

Yes, I'm a foreman.

Making what?

Ulcerite.

Oh yes, quite a valuable war material. How is it used?

It is the fissioning agency in the catalysis of TCL.

TCL?

Tricotyledonous dolomite.

Oh yes, of course. A pretty powerful explosive, after TNT.

About like croton oil after prune juice.

Mr. Rushinsky, what was your father's name?

Ivan Rushinsky.

And your mother?

Maggie O'Doyle.

Well, you're half-American, anyway. Where was your father born?

Brooklyn. My mother in Australia.

Who was your grandfather?

I had two.

I mean your father's father.

Ivan Rushinsky.

Born where?

Brooklyn.

You are sure your father and grandfather were born in Brooklyn?

Why, yes. We call Brooklyn our woodlot. You know, the family tree grows in Brooklyn.

Where was your grandfather's father born?

I don't know.

In the United States?

I don't know. He was killed when my grandfather was five years old.

Killed, how?

In the Battle of Bull Run.

Oh.

I think he was born in Europe because he taught my grandfather a little song and it has come down in the family. The words are probably wrong, but it goes: "Ya mom cunya, Vranee cunya, Tusso cunya me."

Russian, isn't it?

No, Bohemian. Something about a wild horse, my grandfather said.

What party do you belong to?

Well, I was a Republican until 1932, and I voted that way again in 1940. I didn't like this third-term idea. In '44 . . . well, you don't change

horses right in the middle of a war.

Mr. Rushinsky, why are you interested in the population of America?

Because I am an American. Shouldn't everybody be?

I mean, why did you call the Naval office last Tuesday and ask to know the exact population?

How did you know that?

I just happened to be there. That isn't why I came here, of course.

Well, I made a bet with a guy that the last three digits of the population would add up to less than fifteen. We didn't have a *World Almanac* and this fellow had been in the Navy and thought it would bring him luck if we asked there.

You didn't believe in luck?

No, I was relying on the law of probabilities. You see, most people forget that ten isn't a digit. If you swing zero to the other end of the column there are six digits from five down, and only four the other way—

Well, we'll be going. Just forget about our visit. We're doing a check-up of all the key men making ulcerite, and you're absolutely in the clear.

Did you hear about Rushinsky? The FBI called on him last week.

The hell they did. How do you know?

He told me so himself. Just laughed about it. Said they were checking up on everybody in ulcerite.

The hell they are. They haven't checked on me.

Nor on me.

Rushinsky's all right. I'd trust him inside the office safe.

So would I. Funny little song he's always singing. Father must have picked it up in the old country.

Hear about Rushinsky?



Yes. I don't believe it. That guy's all right.

Rushinsky. . . .

FBI. . . .

Rushinsky. . . .

FBI. . . .

Here, Mr. Jackson, I've picked out the best ten men in the plant. I had to take three out of ulcerite, though it's hard to spare them. Rushinsky. . . .

Jim, I've been intending to speak to you about him. There's a lot of talk going around.

The FBI cleared him.

Yes, but cleared him of what? We don't even know. They must have had some reason for being suspicious. Where does he stand in the union?

Right wing.

Suppose he was planted. Isn't that just where he would go?

I know. I had a little hesitancy about this transfer.

Then don't make it. The Duodenal Corporation of America can't afford to take chances on national security.

Is Product X any more secret than ulcerite?

That's just what I was coming to. If we can't trust a man enough to transfer him, we can't trust him where he is. I want you to get rid of Rushinsky. Not for disloyalty, of course. And give him a good letter. We don't want to hurt him.

Sorry, Mr. Rushinsky, no openings.

Sorry, Rushinsky, you don't quite fit our needs.

Yes, they say you're a good man. But why did they let you out?

To put it plainly, Rushinsky, Old Man Jackson wouldn't fire a competent man unless he had some reason. Did the FBI ever investigate you?

Sorry, Rushinsky.

Sorry, Rushinsky.

Come right in, Mr. Rushinsky. . . . Just fill out this application while I fix up your card. . . . Ivan Rushinsky, born in Brooklyn, son of Ivan Rushinsky, born in Brooklyn, and Maggie O'Doyle, born in Australia. . . . Here's your card, Comrade Rushinsky. You can go right to work.

## SLOWLY CRUMBLING LEVEES

*Facing currents set up by the New Deal and the war, the Old South uses old fears and the "cold war"*

*to fight civil rights for Negroes* **by Thomas Sancton**

**T**HROUGHOUT THE SOUTH today, in every background, the emergence of a large class of serious-looking, neatly dressed, intelligent Negroes has become increasingly apparent.

Southern Negroes have eaten better food and lived a freer life during the war. A whole generation of Negro children has grown up in improved economic circumstances. The slovenly dress that not so many years back was the frequent result of wages of \$2.50 or \$3 a week for a woman cook, \$1 a day for a laborer, has become a rare sight in the places where the average Southern white person sees the average Southern Negro.

The familiar rags and hand-me-downs, the scuffed, unlaced shoes, the improvised hats—these and many other significant details have largely vanished from the scene. The flagrant gaps between the races in matters of dress, health, social attitudes and economic opportunity have somewhat narrowed.

During the war many whites were frightened by this growing economic emancipation, and they managed to convince themselves that it was some sort of spontaneous Negro upheaval. But now that the war is over, the average white person, it seems to me, unconsciously approves the results. At the same time, the old, popular assumptions about Negro inferiority have less evidence to rest on. And as a consequence, I believe that Southern whites, if left to their individual thinking and initiative, would accept without much excitement the extension of the rights of American citizenship to Negroes.

Yet no group that holds great political and economic advantages is

likely to sit by doing nothing while fundamental reforms are worked which are certain to challenge their control. The Southern influential classes are brilliant and ruthless at this business, and they have a repertory of methods that have been perfected through a century of intensive use. Their achievement in maintaining their position generation after generation is something of a political miracle. Eighty-five years after the Emancipation Proclamation, for example, Southern Negroes have still to achieve all of the basic political and economic rights, except release from actual slavery. Today the Southern leadership has set itself the task of trying to turn back the clock on the Negro's wartime and New Deal development.

**The dead past.** What is missing in Southern thinking generally—and perhaps it is missing in thinking all over the world—is an awareness of the extraordinary nature of the age we live in. It is possible today to discover in speeches in Southern legislatures, or even on the floor of Congress, basic ideas about race, economics, education, law courts, penology, etc., that can be found almost word for word in the speeches of John C. Calhoun and other politicians who fought out these primitive battles of American politics a hundred years ago.

In the current session of the Mississippi legislature, for example, a bill to revise a 140-year-old blue law in order to permit movies to be shown on Sundays between one and six in the afternoon was defeated. Not long ago a bill to abolish the lash in the state penitentiary was defeated. The lash statute describes in detail how a prisoner is to be whipped—laid over a table in such and such a manner, whipped with a six-foot strap of such

*A Southerner by birth, Thomas Sancton, former AP staff member, Nieman Fellow and New Republic editor, is now living in Mississippi.*

and such a width (a strap known to prisoners and ex-prisoners all over the state as "Black Annie"). In most Southern states packs of well trained bloodhounds are still maintained, and every few weeks or so the dogs are sniffing and barking along the trail of some suspect or criminal, or innocent victim.

Such scenes as this illuminated and horrified the readers of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and Whitman's slavery poems before the Civil War. As a matter of fact, one of the most universal experiences of Southern life, the spectacle of a neatly dressed individual automatically hanging back at the rear of a crowd, or standing hat in hand waiting to be noticed, or going through a special door marked for the lower caste, is an astonishing anachronism.

Last winter a very old woman was buried in a Mississippi churchyard not far from where I live. She was 96 years old, perhaps the last person alive who remembered in a clearheaded way the details and the abundant harsh realities of plantation life before the Civil War. I was fortunate enough to exchange letters with her in the last years of her life, and to read her fragmentary memories dictated to a relative.

She could have been termed a "progressive," certainly more progressive than politicians half her age who repine for past glories which she actually remembered with considerable irony. But the most dramatic aspect of her life—an aspect of which she was well aware—was the fact that it had spanned the most incredible technological age of history.



In her lifetime the science of microscopy had developed and the germ theory had given mankind its first idea of the nature and causes of illness. Chemistry, physics and astronomy had stripped aside the veil upon the mystery of matter; physics had passed from Newton to wave mechanics, and finally to Einstein and Hiroshima.

This old lady had actually seen the bombardment of Fort Sumter, and in her lifetime warfare had developed from the muzzle-loading cannon to the fourth-dimensional horrors that fill the press today. But over her 96 years, dominant Southern political leadership changed not at all. On the day she died, the fundamental principles of "white supremacy" politics were the same as on the day she was born.

**A gap in time.** This great abyss which has opened between the world of antiquated theories and the world as it is, is still the Devil's Cauldron where the old-time leadership is stewing up the old-time formula of race hate, militarism and states' rights. This brew has served to poison human sympathies and drug intelligence sufficiently in the past to set the Southern people, the majority of whom are almost as poor as the Negroes, against the very political and economic developments which would help them.

The dominant aspect of life in the South today is the blasting volume of propaganda which has been turned loose through newspapers, radio, politicians, "service" clubs, chambers of commerce, the person-to-person contacts of the barbershop and street corner. Its objective is to prevent economic and racial democracy from sweeping into the South, and to erect new psychological levees behind the legal ones that are crumbling.

I believe that if by some miracle the average white Southerner could be free to form his views of race relations out of the experiences of his own life, the race problem would quickly fade away. But the enforced servility of the Negro people—automatically holding at least as many poor whites in a degraded role—has been the brick and mortar from which the whole economy was



built. Therefore in the South no white man has the right not to fear the Negro. He is made to understand, from beyond the memories of childhood, that any suggestion of Negro humanity and worth is a threat against something called race purity. By the time he grows old enough to see that it is rather a threat to factory investments, to cotton profits, to cheap servant labor, he has lost the capacity to see it.

Other fundamental complications have also been at work. For twenty years or so he has been looking at the results of Negro poverty. When he reaches maturity, he can no longer distinguish the results of poverty from the causes. By this time life has made him an official and conforming "Southerner." He adheres to the religion of race purity in a deeper psychological process than he adheres to his actual religion, or to his belief in democracy. He, too, has made himself into a kind of mortar to keep old economic and political institutions stuck together.

If he is the average Southerner—I do not mean the average middle-class Southerner—he does not benefit from this economy. His income is low in comparison with that of other regions. His schools, his hospitals, his living standards are poorer. It could be demonstrated to him that an open political



DRAWINGS BY GETZ

democracy for white and Negro, bi-racial unions, high minimum wages for both races, would create a producing and consuming South that would immeasurably improve his own lot. Every experience of his life, unemotionally interpreted, and particularly his contacts with Negroes, tends to teach him this. But his logic usually can be swept away by an opposition which evokes the race fears injected and reinjected since childhood.

**First threat.** The manner in which this psychological headlock has kept the common people of the South from sustained political action toward progressive ends finds classic illustration in the fate of the Populist movement which swept the South in the 1890's.

The Populist program (working in alliance with Western farmers in the new People's Party) struck out for broad social and economic reforms, such as federal crop warehouses and federal loans to free farmers from the exhausting mortgage rates of private bankers. For almost a decade this appeal drew Southern whites in great numbers from reactionary Democratic state machines. Even many planter spokesmen in Congress were forced for a time to liberalize their oratory and endorse Populist slogans. If the movement had held together, it would inevitably have created the political metamorphosis which the South has been so long awaiting. It might have created the most progressive statesmanship in

America. The South is a region of obsolescent economic methods and of poor people. Certainly a leadership which truly reflected the needs of the great majority of Southerners would be at the opposite pole from the bitter, die-hard reaction which is the creed of Southern politicians today.

But feudalism has a dynamic capacity to perpetuate itself and to smother challenge. It did not take the controlling group long to find ways to get at the Populist movement with the race legend—the legend by which a generation earlier they had induced poor whites to fight four years for the perpetuation of slavery. The poor white farmers were told that a party which identified itself with and endorsed the needs of Negro farmers as indivisible from the needs of white farmers, would lift the Negro ultimately to political dominance and result in the mongrelization of the Southern white race.

Leaders of the white farmers who had begun their careers as impressive figures and with a genuine understanding of the dedication to Populist principles, began to alter subtly with the passing of time. Almost to the last man, their emphasis changed from progressive economic objectives to a malignant agitation of "the nigger issue" as a means of holding the political offices to which they had grown accustomed. Many of the old Populist leaders at the close of their careers were stalwarts of the Democratic machines they had once bucked. The careers of Ben Tillman of South Carolina, Tom Watson in Georgia, J. K. Vardaman in Mississippi followed this course. Senator Bilbo, who started his career as Vardaman's protégé, followed this identical pattern in his own day.

**Second threat.** The realities of world developments of the past 15 years have brought many stimulating influences into the South and into the thinking of many Southerners. Political reactionaries are now faced with increasing popular lethargy about the race question—even sympathy for extending citizenship to Negroes. This growing maturity on the part of many

Southerners has combined with recent far-reaching Supreme Court decisions to present entrenched political and financial groups with a challenge as serious as—and ultimately far more serious than—the Populist movement.

The depression and the war boom brought federal agencies and government money into the South, reaching a flood tide during the war. This loosened the old economic pattern in which a small group had no money, and a large group sat by eager to work for \$1.25 a day. The war also carried millions of Southerners, white and black, to other parts of the country and the world, to return with a broadened outlook.

Hundreds of Northern factories have moved southward—most of them primarily to exploit the surviving feudalistic advantages of the region—but organizers of a vigorous union movement, often bi-racial in principle, followed in their path. Supreme Court decisions, fair-employment directives, similar documents of page-one importance even in the South, have carried some fundamental facts and ideas about race relations even into the remotest counties.

Here and there college teachers, church women, even an occasional lawyer or businessman, discovered and absorbed the basic ideas of modern ethnology widely disseminated in wartime to counter Hitler's race propaganda. On the other side of the race line, the activities of the NAACP and the Negro press poured an unending stream of information through the post office from which Negro lawyers, teachers, businessmen and students built up a psychology of careful but inexorable effort through federal courts.

During the general turmoil of the war years, there was a sharp retrogression in race outlook among the whites. Propaganda of extreme viciousness swept the region; race-riot rumors flared occasionally in every big city; and many well meaning whites were stampeded back to racism. But many others—a smaller group—were only confirmed in their growing racial understanding by the senselessness and

destructiveness of this wartime development. Peace brought a general moderation of the hysterical element. Stories of the mythical "Eleanor Clubs," of apocalyptic warnings reportedly muttered by Negroes on buses and in department stores, passed almost completely from the conversation of the middle class.

**Cold, dark war.** If war had been followed by a clean and general settlement, I believe that inevitable and long delayed civil-rights concessions to Negroes would have gone forward in the South rather quickly. But, instead, we have passed into the cold war with Russia. The psychological results of this conflict are already overwhelmingly evident in Southern life. There can be little doubt that these expedient results of militarism—the increased facility for steam-rolling and shouting down honest American and Democratic and constitutional developments—are not accidental by-products of a foreign policy but, so far as Southern politicians are concerned, a part of foreign policy.

Frightful images of "Russia," "Communism," "The Atom Bomb," are blasted at the Southern mind from every quarter. Every public utterance and every second editorial comes up with fresh warnings about the onslaught being prepared in the great, ominous world beyond the Mason-Dixon line against "white civilization." The threat seems to issue from Washington and the Democratic Party as much as it does from Moscow. Here and there a lone voice speaks up in protest; a weekly newspaper publishes a rational editorial; a preacher or a rabbi talks good sense.

On the whole, people in the street remain indifferent for a long time to the white-hot crusades of Governors, Senators and other embattled champions. But any issue, no matter how unrelated to the tranquil and humble realities of town life, eventually gives the citizen's mind its coloring when it is all his mind has to feed upon. And so this agitation has succeeded, in the case of great numbers of Southerners, in making a cruel amalgam of the

Russian question and the race question, and has convinced many that the cure for "Democracy" and for keeping Negroes in their place, for high prices, for scarce housing, is a war with Russia, which is somehow causing all these difficulties.

In a barber shop not long ago I heard the radio news commentator say that "Russia is spending seven percent of her income on education while the United States is spending only one and a half percent for this purpose."

The men in the barber shop were welders, farmers, fishermen, clerks—men who ordinarily have a great respect for education, wanting it for their children, sensitive to their own lack. But even these innocuous statistics were received with agitation, as though the item discussed was poison gas or the atom bomb instead of education.

**Hope in the South.** The quest of civil liberties in the South—like every other question, and perhaps the very existence of a habitable planet—lies under the shadow of the atom bomb and the future. If it were unrelated to this stupendous element, its development might be fairly predictable. I have seen Negroes standing in line to vote in Mississippi and not a man in the crowd seemed upset by the fact or even overly conscious of it. Some troublemaker might have set off upon a harangue and changed the mood. But in the face of increasingly forthright Supreme Court decisions and Department of Justice commitments to enforce them, harangues at the polls are becoming rarer.

The whole civil-rights program hangs upon the right to vote. Once that right is established, politicians will adjust to it, as they are adjusting in places where it has been won. And by adjustment I mean the cessation of malignant and irrelevant agitation of an emotional question which is utterly remote from the economic and political needs of Southern people. In the old days many of the "aristocrats" in Congress adjusted for a time to the Populist program. But they did not stay adjusted. This time, by the grace



of Supreme Court rulings which stick, they will eventually adjust or return to private life.

There is a final point that must be touched on in any discussion of civil rights, though theoretically it is irrelevant. And that is the question of social equality and "race purity." The more one sifts day-to-day realities from the jungle of legends and suppositions, the more it is apparent that a fundamental extension of civil rights could take place without loss to the white Southerners of one scintilla of the "race purity" they now have. There can never be intimate social relationships or intermarriage between two groups when one is profoundly and emotionally determined that it shall not take place. But keeping the other group from any exercise of the citizenship which organic law guarantees them, or barring them from educational opportunities which their tax dollars help provide, are not remotely necessary to keep the races separate in their social choices.

Wealthy white Southerners do not as a rule marry poor ones; perhaps not one Southern member of the Junior League has ever married a practising sharecropper, though they are the same Anglo-Saxon offshoot of the same Caucasian race. I know of one woman, in fact, who restrained her son from marrying outside the "North Mississippi Baptist Convention." That seems to me to come very close to saying the last word on intermarriage; but not on civil liberties and American democracy.

## BOOKS IN REVIEW

### RUSSIA WITHOUT RANCOR

by Richard Lauferbach

**T**HREE THINGS should be said right off about Edward Crankshaw's *Russia and the Russians* (Viking, \$3) and Sir John Maynard's *Russia in Flux* (Macmillan, \$6.50). First, everyone who uses his head—to borrow a phrase of Philip Barry's—for anything but a hatrack should read them. Second, the American publishers are to be congratulated for bringing out the books in this country after their publication in England. And third, these two volumes are a sharp reminder that England, although slipping behind in tennis, steel production and sex novels, is still far ahead of us in Slavonic studies.

In this country our emphasis has too often been on passionate journalism and partisan pamphleteering. The English indulge in that sort of thing, too. But at the same time their more serious thinkers are applying themselves to the problem of understanding the Russians from a long-term point of view. In our histories, in our social and literary criticism of Russia, we have relied a good deal upon the writings of embittered emigrés. There are, of course, notable exceptions—and two that come to my mind are the late Samuel Harper of Chicago and the very lively Ernest Simmons, now at Columbia. But few American scholars have written a history or a commentary on Russia to compare with those of Mackenzie Wallace, Sir Bernard Pares, B. H. Sumner, the Webbs, or with the books of the two authors under discussion, Maynard and Crankshaw.

Chronologically, Maynard should be introduced first. Sir John, a British civil servant turned Fabian socialist, died a few years ago. He learned Russian in 1894, traveled in Central Asia before Eric Johnston was born, attended the coronation of Nicholas II in 1896, and spent more time in Russia than most American diplomats

—or reporters. He did not entirely accept the Webbs' account of life under the Soviets as a "new civilization." Out of his lifetime of observation and research Sir John wrote two great studies: *Russia in Flux*, published in Britain about ten years ago, and *The Russian Peasant and Other Studies*, which appeared in 1942. Both works, somewhat abridged, are now printed here for the first time under one title.

**In full dimension.** Edward Crankshaw, who evidently has been influenced in his intellectual approach to Russia by Maynard's writings, was a member of the British Military Mission in Moscow during the recent shooting war. His short, readable book should have wider popular appeal than Sir John's, which is a lengthy and scholarly history of Russian social thought. Crankshaw's *Russia and the Russians* is a full-flowered work of art, the result of an extraordinarily success-

ful grafting of creative thinking and creative writing in a field thickly weeded with black-and-white stereotypes.

Maynard and Crankshaw both take the long view on the Russian Revolution and, in fact, on the eventual outcome of current Western conflict with the Soviet Union. Maynard points out that 25 years ago four-fifths of the Russians were peasants—and that we cannot comprehend the astounding development of the USSR unless we first know how the peasants lived and thought under the Czars. Crankshaw agrees—and adds, more pointedly, that we cannot fully appreciate the limitations of the Soviet Union until we have studied the pre-1917 peasantry.

Crankshaw has a theory to explain the peasant—and therefore, the Russians. It is not as oversimple as Geoffrey Gorer's bowel-control key to Japanese character (or his recently discovered gimmick to explain the Russians—their swaddling of newborn infants). Crankshaw's purpose is stated early in his book: "... to produce a picture of the Russian people, their culture, and their political ideas, against the background of the unchanging conditions of their landscape and climate."

**The plainsmen.** Could you make any sense of the problems of the Eskimos, Crankshaw asks, without some idea of the properties of snow and ice? Then why expect to understand the Russian without studying the great, brooding plain on which he lives? This open, windswept plain, easily invaded, difficult to defend, has completely conditioned Russia's history and her people. On it the peasant is perennially face to face with hostile elements which cannot be held off by individual initiative; he is thrown against forces which can only be beaten back by a banding together. This ne-



cessity for group action has taken various forms under the Czars and under the Soviets. But, and this is a major premise in Maynard's study, the substance does not vary greatly. In the nineteenth century the form was the *Mir*, or village commune. Today it is the collective farm.

Crankshaw utilizes the theory of the conditioning of the plain to explain practically everything about Russian character—absence of hypocrisy, flexibility of mind, boundless tolerance, breadth of spirit, and the speculative attitude toward life and death. From this analysis it is but a short step to a rationalization for the peasant's inevitable "*neechevo*" or Molotov's obdurate "*nyet*."

In brief, vividly written sections Crankshaw sketches in background information about Russian political, social and economic attitudes before 1917. Then he explains, lucidly, the effect of Marxism and Leninism on these attitudes. His capsule account of the last 30 years under the Soviets will win no hosannahs from the doctrinaire Left or from *Pravda*. On the other hand, his summation will be attacked as "pro-Russian" by the "Let's-Just-Be-Beastly-to-the-Russians" chorus. For Crankshaw does not blink the very real contributions of the Soviets.

His conclusion offers small comfort to the Earles and Bullitts. Crankshaw warns that "unless we reach a *modus vivendi* with the Russians our civilization will not survive the next critical half-century." There are, he says, two ways to reach such a *modus vivendi*—by conquest or understanding. Because he favors survival and rejects conquest as Hitlerian and anti-democratic, Crankshaw believes we must make greater and greater efforts at understanding. It does not even have to be "mutual" understanding.

**Russians as people.** Where Crankshaw has synthesized large chapters of the Russian story, Maynard has spelled it out, carefully documenting each syllable. His material on pre-1917 Russia is particularly valuable. Perhaps the greatest immediate service both these



DRAWINGS BY FRASCONI

authors perform is the breaking down of the dogma that the Soviet government is an iron corset squeezing the Russians into a new and fiendish look. The Russians are still human beings and so are their rulers in the Kremlin. They react not only to unfriendly winters on their internal plain but to the cold blasts from the external talk of atomic war. They have changed their course to meet realities before and they will do it again.

In the interim we are reminded that we might occupy ourselves worrying about our own flux—or the lack of it. "The danger for the English-speaking world," another brilliant Englishman wrote recently (Edward Hallett Carr in *The Soviet Impact on the Western World*), "lies perhaps most of all in its relative lack of flexibility and its tendency to rest on the laurels of past achievements. No human institution or order of society ever stands still." (Oh well, we are to have a new balcony on the White House.)

Maynard was convinced the Russians were not threatened by this same danger. "When they find that a rule does not fit life, they give preference

to life . . ." he wrote in his concluding chapter, "Personality Out of Collectivism." "Their gift for breaking rules will save them from being pedantic. For the same reason Planning will not hurt them: for they will change the Plan whenever it has gone amiss."

Sir John also emphasized the Russian lack of *political* democracy while recognizing their concentration of effort to achieve *economic* democracy. He did not even believe the Stalin Constitution (1936) was democratic ("The Russians cannot change rulers without the use of force or the violation of law") nor did he think that conditions in Russia made democracy possible. "What is aimed at," he wrote, "is a discipline which shall remake man in a new image, and the co-operation of the patient in the process of remaking. The Russian people is *at school*." Sir John predicted that the restrictions on freedom of thought "can only be brought to an end when the remaking is complete."

In essence this is what Stalin purportedly said to Churchill when the latter asked when Russians would be allowed to travel freely abroad. Stalin's

answer was: "When our per-capita output of pig iron is as high as yours."

The Russians seem content to wait for that day. Can we?

## POWER AND GLORY

THE GREAT ONES, by Ralph Ingersoll (Harcourt, Brace and Company; \$3).

THE EX-EMPLOYEES of Henry R. Luce are forever storming into Manhattan cocktail parties to cast a contagion over the conversation. They have an exposé in their pocket, a novel in their system, or hemlock in their soul. All three, more than likely, concern their balding, bushy-browed, one-time boss.

Ralph Ingersoll renounced his cushy job as a *Time-Life* overdog to found and edit the newspaper *PM*. This is not the place for that agonizing story. Suffice it to say that when Ingersoll was eased out of his "new kind of newspaper," he took with him the last of the dash and sparkle of a noble experiment. Life now begins at 47 for Ralph Ingersoll, a brave age to start over as a novelist.

Ingersoll used to produce his *PM* editorials by pacing up and down and dictating at a furious rate. The resultant prose gave his readers the feeling of being grabbed roughly by the lapels while a hairy-chested assailant barked in their ears. The odd thing was that the shouts often made a good deal of sense; for Ingersoll was an instinctive, if apoplectic, reporter.

*The Great Ones*, at intervals, exudes that old-time religion. But one can't escape the hunch that Ingersoll at last has been broken to a typewriter.

**Who's who.** Any resemblance in *The Great Ones* to You Know Who, the author is at great pains to make clear, is purely coincidental. Imaginative genius alone could contrive the fictitious mating of Yaleman Sturges Strong, co-founder of *Facts*, the *Knowing Weekly*, with gifted Letia Long, whose ashen but well preserved beauty sweeps through the world of art, letters and politics.

The mussy chronicle of publisher Sturges Strong and career-woman Letia

Long permits Ingersoll to comment sharply on a great variety of subjects. He appears to have first-hand information about them all: Hotchkiss, speakeasies, Yale, psychoanalysis and the Racquet Club, to mention a few.

The Great Ones are, after all, only little, little people. Their sordid lives are portrayed by Ingersoll without benefit of fine prose or dramatic subtleties. The sensation is something akin to staring at a set of dirty fingernails. It is an uncomfortable book.

**Success story.** Ingersoll wastes little sympathy on either partner of this marital miscarriage. Yet there is a pathetic quality to Sturges Strong, sitting high up in the gleaming monument to his publishing triumphs. He is made out to be lonely and superfluous, a prisoner of his own accomplishments. Strong's contribution to his magazines was a dogged will and single-minded energy to succeed; the inspiration and talent flowed from others. When the huge success is finally achieved, Strong's single-mindedness is no longer a necessary asset. He is merely tolerated by his bright young editors, who grudgingly allow him to indulge his whim to write an occasional piece for publication. Even then they are forced to tinker with it, *Facts* style.

For these ingrates Ingersoll provides an appropriate epitaph: "They drove themselves and drove the people under them until, in their preoccupation with recording what the world was doing, they forgot the world itself."

Letia Long was obviously never meant to marry a man ordained for God, for country and for Yale. She was a lady of extraordinary talent, and the strange fact of her infatuation for Sturges Strong was based on a terrible miscalculation. She thought there must be somebody she could look up to. She looks up at a considerable number of men in Ingersoll's novel—in apartments, in Long Island mansions, on boats (both sail and power)—only to find them wanting. Little else being left her, she becomes a virgin of the intellect.

*The Great Ones* does an injustice to

all the Very Important People who manage to be only slightly ridiculous. Sturges Strong and Letia Long are too much of a bad thing. They congeal like cold wax under the icy breath of Ingersoll's irritation. They are, in fact, unbelievable.

*The Great Ones*, nevertheless, is an interesting document of the times. Among the taloned gentry of Publishing Alley it is likely to cause a flutter and titter. Ralph Ingersoll, if he chooses, may end up as the John P. Marquand of New York and Reno.

PENN KIMBALL

## BEST OF THE STORIES

THE COMMON CHORD, by Frank O'Connor (Alfred A. Knopf; \$2.75).

A LONG FOURTH AND OTHER STORIES, by Peter Taylor (Harcourt, Brace; \$3).

THE WALL OF DUST, by Hallam Tennyson (The Viking Press; \$2.50).

THE WORLD of Frank O'Connor is the small Irish town and may be already familiar to readers of *Crab-Apple Jelly*, published several years ago. The "common chord" in the present stories is sex: not merely love-making, but sex in all its personal and social manifestations from puppy love to the inheritance of family property. The term may be here extended, in fact, to all those elements in life not included in that other dominant force—the Church.

The stories take place between these two positives; either in their natural conflict, or in their sometimes unholy alliance, as when the puritanism of Irish Catholicism provides the women with a weapon for sexual tyranny. At the same time, O'Connor is sensitive and skillful enough to discern and demonstrate how these two elements are combined in his most genial characters. He appreciates the traditional pieties and scruples of the formal code when "life had rubbed [a man's] principles down considerably" and produced a fine patina of urbane humanity.

A reliable key to O'Connor's attitude toward his subject is the absence of satire where satire is all but irresistible. It gives his work depth that



he understands how all elements—whether ludicrous, superstitious or sentimental—are merged in the temper of his characters and of his community. He is concerned with them as they are, and this sympathy places even the absurdities in proportion, so that when others might ridicule or overplay it for laughs, he can write breezily of a zealous nun: "Having been for years the bosom friend of a dotty old parish priest who had been favored with visions of the Blessed Virgin, she was now collecting evidence to get him beatified. She had cut up and distributed his nightshirts among the poor, and they had worked some remarkable cures."

In this way, too, he shows how the parochialism of the Irish towns makes for a distinct community spirit, inevitable to the climate and structure of the society, and not as mere insularity of stifling clannishness. It is crucial, in this connection, that O'Connor's priests come off extraordinarily well. He shows how, through the medium of the confessional, the priest keeps the town's conscience, and with the advantage of this peculiar insight, arbitrates among his parishioners. He understands the bullying paternalism of such a position, but he understands also the human loneliness of the priest. Even further, he realizes that the clerical vocation is natural to deep instincts of the Irish temperament, and he slyly remarks that "there are more spoiled priests than ever went into seminaries."

These are the stories of a man who knows what he's about. His knowledge of his subject almost convinces us of powers of divination, and it is a subject of uncommon interest. For that, for his humanity, for his rough wit and for his swift, sure skill, I would certainly recommend them as the best stories I have seen in a year.

**Transition.** Peter Taylor's first book, *A Long Fourth and Other Stories*, includes seven stories that appeared originally in the *Sewanee, Southern, Kenyon* and *Partisan* reviews. Their subject is described as "the contemporary, urban, middle-class world of the upper South," and it is true that, while each

## The Civil Rights Report!

### Get Extra Copies . . . Cheap

The President's proposed legislation covering Civil Rights has aroused nationwide controversy and interest. His proposals were based on the Report of The President's Committee on Civil Rights, headed by Charles E. Wilson of General Electric.

PM was the only newspaper to publish the full text of this report (November 2, 1947). The demand for extra copies was so great that PM has reprinted a 24-page tabloid newspaper supplement containing that text.

More than 225,000 copies of this supplement have been distributed, chiefly among schools and colleges, social welfare study groups, churches and similar study groups.

The Government Printing Office and Simon and Schuster have published book-bound editions selling for \$1. If you want extra copies of the PM newsprint edition, fill in the coupon, enclose the proper amount, and mail to The Newspaper PM Inc., Box 81, Times Square Station, New York 18, N. Y.

#### Number

#### Amount Enclosed

- ☐ Single copies by mail—10 cents each (in stamps)  
☐ One hundred to 500 copies—5 cents each (check)  
☐ Five hundred or more copies—3½ cents each (check)

#### MAIL TO—

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
 Street \_\_\_\_\_  
 City \_\_\_\_\_ Zone \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ (NR-C)

**New is the only word that never grows old—And new and different describes the newspaper PM. It offers a reading experience adventurous and unique—one you'll remember and want to repeat!**

PM's staff of experienced columnists and correspondents, experts in their fields, cover extensively and accurately international, national and local affairs.

PM's Service Features offer its News For Living Page with invaluable leads on outstanding buys on foodstuffs . . . wearing apparel and accessories. Entertainment guides for Movies, Radio and Restaurants. . . . Week-end Sports Calendar.

PM has comics . . . cartoons . . . articles on fashions . . . foods . . . music . . . book reviews . . . sports . . . theatre.

### PM GIVES YOU FULL MEASURE OF HELPFUL AND INFORMATIVE MATERIAL!

Send in your subscription now with your check or money order  
for \$3.00—Check below your choice:

#### MAIL TO

PM, P. O. Box 81, Times Square Station, New York, N. Y.

- ☐ Sunday Only, 35 weeks ☐ Daily Only, 15 weeks  
☐ Daily and Sunday, 10 weeks (Check one)

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
 Street \_\_\_\_\_  
 City \_\_\_\_\_ Zone \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ (NR-2)



story treats an extremely individual instance, the volume documents a place and a time.

It is a world of disintegrating loyalties and values. One extreme is expressed by the obsessively nostalgic Uncle Jake (in "The Scoutmaster") "saying that it was our great misfortune to have been born in these latter days when the morals and manners of the country had been corrupted." Corrupted, of course, because of "our failure to heed the teachings and ways of our forefathers." At the other end of the scale is Josie ("The Fancy Woman"), who recognized the possibility of exploiting the world of money and leisure, but failed because "she'd never made a good thing of people." Her precarious situation between two worlds is expressed in her rueful self-consolation: "Thank your stars you're white."

A more complex example is the little girl (of "A Spinster's Tale") who grows up, among father, brother and uncles, in the male world of privilege and dissipation. When she deals a successful blow at their common

"brutality," she is "frightened by the thought of the cruelty which I found I was capable of, a cruelty which seemed inextricably mixed with what I had called courage."

Though naturally uneven, since they have been written over the first ten years of the writer's career, these stories are unusually fine. They include a variety of character and incident in a unity of well rendered background. In the prevailing tone of the stories, there is something of the nostalgia, something of the precariousness, and something of the cruelty that I have indicated—what Taylor refers to in one place as "the inconsolable desolation of childhood."

**"Problem."** In *The Wall of Dust* the stories are not, as above, of a particular milieu, but display a unity of theme: the disparity between intellectual and emotional conviction, or the embarrassed malaise of the character who finds himself incapable of a full human response to what he had taken as his ideals. At the end of a victorious "war for humanity," a soldier dis-

covers that he has not only "lost faith in his own life. He had lost it in the whole future of humankind." The problem occurs in a different way to an Italian American soldier who visits, for the first time, his family in Italy, and to an ardent English Zionist on a trip to Palestine.

The stories are told in a spirit of intelligent discussion. Perplexity is the dominant tone. The problem is frankly stated, the elements of it displayed, and some solution is worried out. The author has an excellent sense of place for his locales in Italy, Palestine and North Africa. But he tells us too literally what he's about: the "problem" is too intellectual, and the characters have the story too well in hand, like a competent committee. We are attentive, but seldom intrigued. JOHN FARRELLY

## CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

*Explosion*, by Dorothy Cameron Disney (Random; \$2.50). Miss Elizabeth Mitchell, an admirable, sharp-eyed, elderly spinster, is devoted to the Greers, her next-door Washington neighbors. When, on a hot July afternoon, the Greers' house is suddenly blown to bits, Miss Mitchell finds herself thoroughly embroiled in the investigation that unearths a highly complicated—and nasty—state of affairs. Chatty as all get-out, but a skillful puzzler.

*Drink the Green Water*, by Hugh Austin (Scribner; \$2.50), precipitates Wm. Sultan, only member extant of the famous law firm of Sultan, Sultan & Sultan, smack into the end results of murder that happened in the 1890's. His beauteous secretary, file clerk and receptionist provide some hearty laughs while goosing their stuffy young master toward a solution.

*Murder Miscellany. — Make My Bed Soon*, by John Stephen Strange (Crime Club; \$2), is a well written and absorbing account of a series of baffling murders in Pennsylvania's hitherto peaceful Bucks County. *No Tears for the Dead*, by Rae Foley (Dodd, Mead; \$2.50), a promising first novel of family feuds and sudden death, is marred by an unlikely solution. E. H.

REPORT OF PRESIDENT'S CIVIL

RIGHTS COMMITTEE CAN

BE PURCHASED FOR ONE DOLLAR

AT ANY BOOKSTORE—ASK FOR

"TO SECURE THESE RIGHTS."

SIMON AND SCHUSTER, PUBLISHERS

## MOVIES

### The New Realism

**I**N A RECENT issue of the New York Times Drama section, Bosley Crowther, observing the rise of the "documentary style" in this season's pictures, regrets that it is being used almost entirely to tell crime stories. "Why," he asks, "don't we have more normal pictures—more happy pictures—in which the locales and settings are as real as the city streets, the courts, the penitentiaries and the crime-detection laboratories in these hard-boiled films?"

The answer, I think, can be found by making a distinction between artistic growth and technical advance. Film documentation, which developed from the propaganda needs of the recent war, is a camera technique that strives for verisimilitude rather than reality. What it conveys may be completely false, and when you believe it you do so, not through any intellectual persuasion, but from the ancient fallacy that you cannot deny the evidence of your own eyes.

**Fresh air.** Applied to entertainment films, however, the style works an immediate benefit. It dictates a more straightforward use of the camera; it urges the director to discover the photographic possibilities of actual places, and these turn out to be more satisfactory backgrounds than the pasteboard elaborations of the studios. The move to quit the sound stage and step out into the street, in turn, demands a simpler and at the same time more subtly authenticated performance from the actors. The broad, eye-catching tricks of lazy characterization won't get by in the sunshine.

What the documentary approach is accomplishing, in short, is to return the movies to the days when the only tool the picture makers had was a box set on a tripod; before there was a gadget to compensate for every shortcoming of craftsmanship. In this style

"One of the most unusual books in the field of race relations."\*

## ALL MANNER OF MEN

The Racial Crisis in American Life

*By Malcolm Ross*

"A dramatic and incisive portrayal of the problems of race relations in America. With FEPC on the agenda of Congress, it becomes one of the most discussed and informative books of the day."

—\*LOUIS WIRTH, President,  
Amer. Council on Race Relations

"An admirable book. It is rare to find the story of an experiment in government told so beautifully, with such rich flavor, such historical perspective and such refreshing realism." —Prof. R. M. MacIVER,  
Dept. of Sociology, Columbia Univ.

A REYNAL & HITCHCOCK BOOK  
At all bookstores • \$3.50

**HARCOURT, BRACE  
AND COMPANY**

TENNESSEE WILLIAMS'

# A STREETCAR NAMED DESIRE

THE BIGGEST DRAMATIC  
HIT ON BROADWAY THIS  
SEASON. AT ANY BOOKSTORE

\$2.75

A NEW DIRECTIONS BOOK

*Buy More U. S. Savings Bonds*

**FOLKS  
LIKE  
THEM!**  
**SELL'S LIVER PÂTÉ**  
**SELL'S CORNED BEEF LOAF**



**your grocer has them  
GET SOME TODAY!**

TRAVEL

**FREIGHTERS**

Detailed information on passenger-carrying freighters to all parts of the world is now available in complete, concise booklet. Describes ALL the pleasant trips (to Europe, West Indies, etc.), so hard to learn about elsewhere. Tells ports, length of voyages, prices. (Complete: also lists passenger ships, airplane fares.) For comfortable, low cost travel, wrap up 25¢ and mail for "Travelways." *Harian Publications, 6 Blvd., Greenlawn, N. Y.*

RESORT

**HATHAWAY LODGE**

OPEN ALL YEAR—FOR ADULTS  
Formerly the palatial 592-acre Macy estate in the beautiful "Hills of the Sky." Luxurious rooms, many with open fireplaces. Walking, hiking—magnificent mountain trails. Horseback riding. Skiing, ice skating. Recordings, ping-pong, library, informal dancing. Delicious food. Easy transportation. American-Jewish cooking.

Attractive winter rates

For reservations or booklet write or call

**HATHAWAY LODGE, Haines Falls, N. Y.**  
Telephone Tannersville 299

ATHENAEUM SOCIETY

ANTHENAUM SOCIETY. Write or meet in local Societies, book lovers, writers, aesthetes, friendly, thinking people. Branson, Missouri.

CHARTS

CHARTS provide a long-term, visual, record of securities. Monthly, high-low, price ranges, for individual stocks are available at low cost. Write, Graphmetric Charts, 2927 Forest, Kansas City 3, Mo.

LANGUAGES

29 LANGUAGES by Linguaphone. Russian, Spanish, Portuguese—Direct conversational method of mastering any language quickly, easily, correctly at home. Available under GI Bill of Rights. Send for FREE book. LINGUAPHONE INSTITUTE, 86 RCA Bldg., New York, CI 7-0830.

ORANGES

HAND-SELECTED, juicy, natural-color Florida oranges, family-size bushel package, express prepaid, \$4.00. Add 50¢ west of Mississippi, north of New York City. Mrs. G. G. Bond, P. O. Box 146, Oakland, Florida.

the machine can do much less, and the people must of necessity do much more.

All this is to the good, but it is good still only on the technical level. If the new honesty of documentation is to make any permanent claim on our applause it must be accompanied by a parallel importance of dramatic material. But this is a bad year to ask our producers for serious themes; and in any year it is intellectually and emotionally more difficult to create drama than melodrama.

A crime story is calculated to offend none of the self-appointed guardians of screen purity so long as certain simple rules are observed; and a crime story, which assays good and evil by a legal code, obviates the much more difficult task of dealing with these two basic ingredients of fiction in moral terms. Crime, for most of us, is a specialized and isolated aspect of human experience; at the same time it offers a quantity of picturesque detail that the documentary camera can linger upon. It is relatively safe and relatively easy, thus, to illuminate it with complete factuality.

**Cases in point.** The two most recent crime documentaries—"Call Northside 777" and "The Naked City"—well illustrate the predicament. Each picture, one in Chicago, the other in New York, uses its city with taste and photographic excitement. They have a visual freshness that compels your attention and a circumstantial frankness that compels your belief. And the revitalized camera work is reflected in the performances. James Stewart has never seemed as good as he does in "Call Northside 777," and though Barry Fitzgerald reaches no new heights in "The Naked City," he dances through the script with a pugnacious vitality that is at least comparable to his great stage appearances with the Abbey Theatre.

Both films are fun to see, and they carry the new technique about as far as it can be taken. But they cannot stand any closer analysis, for their dramatic content is old and safe and polished featureless by long contact

with our minds. If any real use is to be made of the new style, the scripts will now have to grow up to the cameras.

**Evil to order.** The French "Le Corbeau" (The Raven) arrives here with a curiosity value unique among imports. This is the picture that was made in France during the occupation with at least the blessings, and in all likelihood the encouragement, of the Germans. It was released in Germany during the war, when it was used to substantiate the claim that the French are a decadent people. Genêt in the *New Yorker* sadly called it one of the half-dozen greatest French pictures ever made. The ban placed on it in France after the Liberation has only recently been lifted.

"Le Corbeau" is a striking evocation of remorseless pessimism, but it doesn't seem to merit Genêt's reluctant praise. Anyone at all familiar with the French cinema should be able to work up a list of a dozen or more films for higher acclaim.

An account of how a pathological writer of poison-pen notes uncovers the rottenness all-pervasive in a French provincial town, the picture is so sweeping in its depiction of depravity that it sets up no counterfoil of decency to produce a dramatic impact. Furthermore, despite some beautifully thought-out characterizations, I felt a strain in the acting, as though the cast were pushing against a current, and there were details of plot construction that seemed to me foreign to the French love of consistency and logic. I objected, for example, to the quite illegitimate focusing of suspicion on a young girl of the community. Little incidents, seen only by the audience, point unmistakably to her guilt, and the final exposé, therefore, becomes fraudulent.

The film looks to me like what you would expect of a group of talented people whose treacherous designs were tripped up by their artistic instincts, but I can't be sure how much I have been influenced by knowing that the Germans were working somewhere behind the scenes.

ROBERT HATCH

## THEATER: The Hilarious War

**A**LTHOUGH IT is improbable that the last war will go down in history as the most amusing event of the century, Joshua Logan and Thomas Heggen, authors of "Mister Roberts," have certainly used it as a basis for one of the funniest plays ever seen on the American stage. Taking the frail and pleasant little string of stories by Heggen as a starting point, they have shaped the material with a canny professionalism that approaches magic, into a roaring, full-fleshed play which leaves the audience limp, exhausted with laughter and profoundly satisfied.

After the first five minutes of the performance, a wonderful glow of anticipation settles on the spectator—a glow that comes from the realization that for this one night at least, the people responsible for your entertainment can do no wrong. There is the intoxicating feeling that everybody connected with "Mister Roberts" is at the very peak of his creative tide. If one person can be singled out for praise, it must be Joshua Logan, who, aside from aiding in the writing, directed the work with shrewdness, vitality and humor. He has obtained shining performances from veteran actors who are better in this than they ever have been, and he has made a host of youthful newcomers play as though they had been on the stage steadily since 1900.

The scenes, whirling through Jo Mielziner's ingenious and authentic representation of the Navy Cargo Ship, AK 601, are loud, lowdown, slapstick, wistful, bitter, sentimental—it is all one to Logan. He handles each of them with the same sense of justice to its material, with boundless variety, with a strict observance of the proper limits of the character, and with a seemingly inexhaustible gusto.

**Point of focus.** Henry Fonda as Mister Roberts proves how bitterly the theater has suffered by losing its best actors to the films. He has a most difficult assignment: quiet in the midst

of an almost continual riot, serious in a thunderstorm of comedy. He has to center and concentrate the attention of the audience upon himself or have the play lose itself in a series of disconnected gags. He does it by the use of a technique that is difficult to describe. He merely is absolutely real, and by that truthfulness he makes a simple grin, a weary lift of the shoulder, the flat and honest reading of an ordinary line, events of great dramatic importance upon the crowded and uproarious stage.

As the bed-loving Ensign Pulver, David Wayne, as nimble and artful an actor as we have around, paints a picture of a beautifully artless, naïve, hero-worshipping boy that is wildly funny and, at the end—when it has to be—gently touching.

William Harrigan, the absurd and monstrous captain of the ship, the enemy of every man aboard, the foe of all brotherhood and love, conducts his cranky feud with the crew with rasping integrity, his narrow, brooding virulence a perfect foil for the chaotic humors of the young men under his command.

Robert Keith, soaked in fruit juice and medicinal alcohol, gives his best performance to date. He is the ship's doctor—cynical, lounging, the invincible, irreverent civilian caught impermanently in the backwash of a war. A delicious affront to Annapolis and the American Medical Association, he adds the exact, necessary touch of shore-based acid to the seething dish.

The enlisted men of the crew make a mass effect upon the spectator. Individually, perhaps, they are slighted, but the total impression is one of vitality and comic reality. You would not know any one of them if you met him at a bar, but you feel perfectly certain that as a group they could sail any vessel (cargo) anywhere and that the Navy would approve. They chip paint, stare through binoculars at a nurses' shower room, and wear

**"A work so extraordinary in its penetration,**

**so philosophical in its approach and so poetic in its execution that no review can even hope to do more than suggest its remarkable qualities and homely merits. Crankshaw has not written just another book on Russia. . . .**

**"Here is advanced a coherent and intellectual doctrine which explains not only the enigma of Russia, but the greater enigma which that involves—why we react to Russia as we do and why Russia reacts as she does to us. . . . Here is sanity, reason and logic."**

—HARRISON E. SALISBURY,  
N. Y. Times

At all booksellers \$3.00

## RUSSIA AND THE RUSSIANS

**by Edward  
Crankshaw**

**THE VIKING PRESS**

### RECORDS

#### . . . JUST RECORDS . . .

HAYDN: String Quartet Society Vols. V, VII & VIII (Pro Arte) Each Vol.—7-12". \$9.75  
Quartet in F, Op 54 No. 1 (Budapest) . . . 3.50  
Quartet in F minor, Op 20 No. 5 (Roth) . . . 4.35  
Symphony No. 100 "Military" (Walter) . . . 4.75  
New TAGLIAVINI Album—In Shellac . . . 3.50  
In Vinylite . . . 5.00  
Now out: 1st issue of "Just Records"—Outstanding New Record Review. Feature Article: "Mahler" by Dr. E. Werner. Reviews by H. Adler, E. Levenson & J. Skurnick. Sub: \$1 per year. Write for free copy.

Records shipped to any part of the world—express collect.

For that HARD-TO-FIND recording: Write, Phone or Visit

**ELAIN MUSIC SHOP** Dept. NR4,  
9 E. 44 St., N.Y. 17, N.Y.  
MU 2-6154

**BAND SAW**

**BAND SAW**—Bench type for home workshop. Ideal for hobbyist. Cuts Wood, Metal, Plastic, Leather, etc. Special \$14.95. Factory to you. Lowest-priced band saw on market. Thousands in use. Free circular. Woodcraft Tools, Inc., 147 E. Lake, Minneapolis, Minn.

**BLADES**

**100 DOUBLE-EDGED RAZOR BLADES \$1.00.** Save on shaves. Satisfaction guaranteed. Send \$1.00 to Gotham Distributors, P. O. Box 114, New York 28, N. Y.

**BOOK**

**"THROUGH THE STREETS OF OLD CHUNGKING."** Poetic journey including songs, pictures, 2 copies \$1. Harpold, Box 310, Route 1, Placerville, California.

**FARMS & ACREAGE**

**BERKSHIRE Farm Agency, East Chatham, N. Y.** Farms and estates. Massachusetts-New York Berkshires (Tanglewood Country). Consulting broker for organizations.

**FOR RENT**

**MAGNIFICENT** former First National Bank Building at traffic junction of Mamaroneck Ave. & Boston Post Road, in Mamaroneck—7 days and nights continuous publicity value. 3 stories and superbly finished basement. 20,000 sq. ft. 2 elevators. Entire Building for long-term lease. Owner, L. N. Rosenbaum & Son, 565 Fifth Ave., N. Y.

**FOR SALE**

**A PLACE IN THE SUN.** Five-room cottage, two bedrooms, bath, large front and dining porches screened, completely furnished; double garage with studio-room, shower, toilet. Situated center of three bays, 150 x 100 feet, planted with 20 fine palms, bearing grapefruit, orange, calamandine, mango, avocado, guava trees and many blooming shrubs. Only 10-minute drive from city center. All services. In excellent condition. \$12,500. P. O. Box 764, Station A, St. Petersburg, Florida.

**"GOOD NEIGHBORS" WANTED**

**CHOICE ACRES** are offered much below developer's prices. Write Chester Rick, Peekskill, New York, Tel. 2515-M.

**HELP WANTED**

**CASEWORKER** experienced in family and children's work, especially in the latter field, for a small multiple function Jewish agency in a middle-size, midwestern community. Opportunities for student supervision, community and group-case work activities. Salary range between \$3,000 and \$3,800. Address: Box 55, The New Republic.

**INSURANCE**

**PEACE OF MIND.** \$10 annually buys a simple and good accident policy with hospital, dismemberment and life coverages. G. L. Comet Company, 116 John Street, New York 7, N. Y.

**PERSONAL**

**YOUNG MAN** holding unorthodox views on psychology and economics seeks contact people similar interests with view to interchange of information, possible collaboration on research. Box 58, New Republic.

**RESEARCH**

**YOUR FACTFINDER:** Investigating any problem in the fields of psychology, sociology, economics. Preparation of articles, speeches. Broad European-American experience. E. P. Hillpern, 14 East 80th Street, New York City 21.

**UNIONS—PROGRESSIVE ORGANIZATIONS!** Opinion, economic research. Low fees. Box 57, New Republic.

**TYPING**

**MANUSCRIPTS AND THESIS TYPING,** intelligent, inexpensive. Ambassador Office Service, 17 East 48th St., N. Y. C., PL 3-1364.

their dungarees and dress whites as though they were all in the middle of their third hitch.

If there is a fault with "Mister Roberts," it is one that it is not quite fair to bring up. The play is broader than it is deep, but the authors were not trying to be deep. It avoids tragedy firmly, even though (curious departure in a comedy) the hero dies in the end.

A war does not avoid tragedy, and a definitive play about war, even about such ludicrous rear areas as "Mister Roberts" covers, will somehow convey that fact. In a way, this criticism is a tribute, too. "Mister Roberts" is so good that it leads you to speculate, gently, on the breathless possibility of what it would have been like if it had been perfect.

IRWIN SHAW

**RADIO: Failure of Nerve**

**T**HE MUTUAL NETWORK has struck a magnificent blow for civil rights and freedom from fear. In the process of winding up for this-hefty-pitch, Mutual struck down one of the fundamental rights—freedom from censorship. This seems contradictory and it is—I've contended for a long time that the broadcasting industry is schizophrenic.

To convince yourself that this column is not hearing things, listen to Mutual's Tuesday-night (10-10:30) program, "To Secure These Rights," which still has a couple of weeks to run. If the premiere of this show sets the standard, as seems probable, you will hear a sensitive and hard-hitting reading of significant chunks from "To Secure These Rights," the report of President Truman's Committee on Civil Rights. But the net result of the manner in which Mutual prepared this series was to violate a fundamental freedom while preaching the sanctity of freedom.

**On second thought.** As noted here several times, "To Secure These Rights" was to be Mutual's big venture in the dramatic documentary form of radio. Mitchell Grayson was to produce and direct the show, Arnold Perl was to write it, and John Gart was to handle the music. Everybody congratulated Mutual for bringing forward this top trio and for choosing the civil-rights report as the vehicle. Mutual, at last, had come close to the bubbling waters of real radio, and was getting its feet wet. Only, in the end, Mutual man-

aged to put those wet feet right into its own mouth.

After Perl had written the opening show, had rewritten it twice, and had whittled down one point after another, Mutual decided not to use his version. Perl's show was "magnificent"—according to Mutual's president and general counsel, seconded by the chairman of Truman's committee, backed up by the unanimous opinion of all official hands in the project. But, four days before air time—after cast had been booked, studio assigned and rehearsal time set—Mutual decided that the best way to do the program was through reading, rather than by dramatization. Grayson and Gart remained; Perl was let go.

**Pressure.** I saw at least one of the poison-pen letters written about Perl, and read at least one of the vicious articles warning Mutual against producing a Perl show. But I must of course accept Mutual's denial that any such pressures were responsible for the sudden decision that reading is superior to dramatization. I also saw two of Perl's drafts. I could have seen an official copy of the third version, accepted as "final" by Mutual—but I refused to go into the black market for it, and Mutual may have had some rights in themselves refusing to let me see it. Instead, they asked me to listen to the reading. I did—and recommend it without reservations. Nevertheless, the question of censorship has still not been answered.

One of the most dangerous provi-

sions in the contemplated "Code of Ethics" laid before the National Association of Broadcasters last September forbade dramatization of "controversial" issues. The chairman of the committee that drew that code was Robert D. Swezey, Mutual's vice-president and general manager. Although the code has not yet been adopted, Swezey's network has already shown what the clause could do. For one thing, it could decide that lynching is controversial. This is the only explanation of Mutual's action that makes any sense at all. And it does not produce a feeling of confidence in the kind of security preached by the actors reading lines so beautifully on Mutual's microphones.

Arnold Perl has been censored in the name of a network's freedom to choose its format—if belatedly. The fact that his script made lynching nauseating is discounted. The fact that he was forced to delete the names of lynch towns like Minden, Louisiana, and Greenville, South Carolina, is put down as merely incidental. We must think it simply funny that the music cue opening the program was changed from Perl's original, "a deeply American theme, blending America with a Negro spiritual," to just "a deeply American theme." And maybe this scene, cut out of an early version of the script, should also be taken as a grand joke:

Boy (at scene of lynching): Pa, Pa! Hold me up a little higher. I can almost see his face. Pa, Pa! (Peak) Lookit, lookit—look what they're doing to him now!

MUSIC: States the killing. Then descends and goes out softly.

NARRATOR (very quietly): This happened in America—in 1947. . . .

Do listen to Mutual's reading of the civil-rights report. And next time you hear broadcasters talk about freedom of expression on radio (I expect to hear a lot of it this week in Washington, where the industry is asking for permission to editorialize), remember that Perl's lines about what happened in 1947 did not get on the Mutual air in 1948. SAUL CARSON

## BANDWAGON

### A Room with a View

In Panama [Representative J. Parnell] Thomas said he had gleaned "a clear mental picture of un-American activities in the Canal Zone" in an investigation conducted from a hospital bed. — *From the Virginia-Pilot.*

### Let the Chips Fall . . .

We are trying to protect Ann Arbor and surrounding communities from the "Junker" type of used cars by selling all cars of that type to out-of-town dealers. — *From the Ann Arbor News.*

### Word to the Wise

Thoughtful Negroes in the South are aware of the untimeliness, so far as they are affected by the four-pointed Truman civil-rights program, of seeking to drive it through Congress at this time. As Senator Russell and other Southern Democrats in Congress have pointed out, Negroes in the South would be the principal sufferers if laws repugnant to Southern white people were to be enacted at this time. — *From the Albany (Georgia) Herald.*

### Patriots All

President Truman was urged Thursday to seek funds to repay motion-picture and other industries for losses suffered in depicting the American way of life abroad in the fight against communism. — *From the Detroit Free Press.*

### Matter of Taste

To top off the repast [the \$100-a-plate Jefferson Day dinner] the dessert was bombe atomic, sauce melba and a demitasse. — *From the New York Times.*

### Murder Will Out

Commander O'Neill, who strongly urged universal military training, said the Legion is embarked on a program to fight Communism negatively and Americanism positively. — *From the Newport Daily News.*

Our readers are invited to contribute; \$2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clippings. — *The Editors*

**GREGORY PECK**  
**DOROTHY McGUIRE**  
**JOHN GARFIELD**  
**Gentleman's Agreement**  
BRANDT'S 20th CENTURY-FOX  
**MAYFAIR** 7th Ave. & 47th St.

## STAGE PLAY

THE WITTIEST  
PLAY  
IN TOWN  
Alkison Times  
**MAURICE EVANS**  
in  
GEORGE BERNARD SHAW'S COMEDY  
**Man and Superman**  
HUDSON THEATRE, 44th St. E. of B'way, BR 9-5641  
Evgs. at 8:30 Mats, Wed. & Sat. 2:30

## CIGARETTES

CIGARETTES — FAMOUS BRANDS \$1.43 a carton postpaid. Send check or money order to MASON'S Reliable Service, 431 S. 14th St., Newark 3, N. J. Minimum 3 cartons.

CIGARETTES: POPULAR BRANDS. \$1.43 per carton. Minimum 3 cartons — orders shipped postpaid insured on day received. Send check, money order: P. X. SALES, 287 14th Avenue, Newark 3, N. J.

## NEW REPUBLIC'S

net-paid circulation is now close to

**100,000**

Today a wide assortment of advertisers, including Resorts, Merchants, Organizations, Schools and people with various personal services to sell or needs to satisfy, are finding its advertising columns highly profitable. You too will find a

## NR CLASSIFIED

an effective means of getting what you want, quickly. Our rate of 20¢ a word for 100,000 circulation makes a New Republic classified the

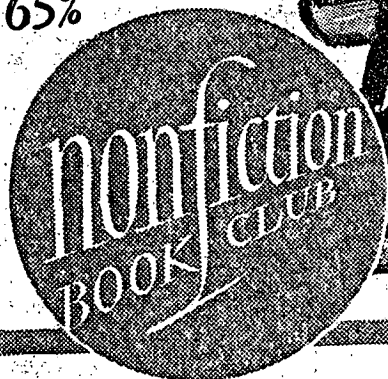
## LOW-COST WAY

of getting results. Send in your copy today. Allow three words for box number. Advertising Department, New Republic, 40 East 49th Street, New York 17, N. Y.



# How many important books will you read this year?

Join the  
NONFICTION BOOK CLUB  
and get important  
books like these  
in 1948 at savings  
up to 65%



## MAIL THIS COUPON NOW

No money required at this time. Just fill out and return this coupon today. You take no risk.

**NONFICTION BOOK CLUB**  
237 Fourth Ave., N. Y., 10  
Please enroll me as a member. I have indicated my choices at right. For every 4 selections purchased I am to receive, free, the current book bonus, or any previous selection of my choosing. I agree to accept at least 4 selections during each year. You will notify me of each selection by way of the free monthly magazine, so that I may refuse it if I wish.

Start my subscription with the two selections checked below. Send one to me as my FREE bonus book; the other as my first selection.  
☐ SPEAKING FRANKLY, \$3  
☐ THE MIND IN ACTION, \$3  
☐ HOME COUNTRY, \$3  
☐ WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE'S AMERICA, \$3  
☐ KINGDOM OF ADVENTURE, \$3  
☐ GREAT ADVENTURES, \$3  
☐ TREASURY OF SCIENCE, \$3  
☐ BEHIND THE SILKEN CURTAIN & EXPLAINING THE ATOM (Both together, \$3)

Name..... Please PRINT plainly  
Address.....  
City..... Zone..... State..... J-7

Your first book FREE and another one FREE with each four. Savings up to 65%



**O**F COURSE, you plan to read as many of the worthwhile books as you can this year. But you planned to do that last year. Remember? And how many important books did you finally read? Didn't you miss many books that you now wish you had read; and didn't you, also, waste time and money on others that proved worthless? Discriminating readers have discovered a simple solution to this problem: join the NONFICTION BOOK CLUB.

By joining the NONFICTION BOOK CLUB now you will benefit in many ways. First, you will get one of the books shown here, FREE. You will also get another free bonus book with each four selections purchased, and finally you will get a free subscription to the magazine *Nonfiction Book News*, described below. The total savings on your book purchases, made this way, is considerable. And there are other savings.

**MEMBERSHIP IS FREE.** Membership in this book club costs you nothing, but it helps you avoid wasting time and money on books which become dust collectors after only one reading. If you read to stop time, not to kill time, subscribe now and get the best new books... the books you will reread and remember. The books are selected by a distinguished Board of Judges including LEWIS GANNETT of the N. Y. *Herald Tribune*, JOSEPH HENRY JACKSON of the *San Francisco Chronicle*, and DR. KIRTLLEY F. MATHER of *Harvard University*.

**THE BEST BOOKS AT LESS COST.** Though the kind of books chosen for the NONFICTION BOOK CLUB may be priced as high as \$10.00, members will never have to pay more than \$3.50 for any selection. You pay less than the published price, if the book is over \$3.00, and no more than the published price if it is \$3.00 or less. A small charge is added to cover mailing expenses. Note savings on books shown and listed below.

**FREE ILLUSTRATED MAGAZINE.** Just sign and mail the coupon. At the beginning of each month you receive a free copy of the 24-page illustrated magazine, *Nonfiction Book News*, with pre-publication reports on forthcoming selections, and news of other important new books. If the NONFICTION choice is a book you want, you do nothing. It will be mailed to you on the 21st of the month. Otherwise, you simply tell us (before the 21st) to send some other book, or none at all, on the form supplied.

**NO OBLIGATION.** Purchase of the monthly selections is entirely voluntary. You remain a member in good standing by accepting as few as 4 of the 12 selections offered each year, and you can cancel your subscription any time after purchasing 4 selections. If, at any time, the current free bonus book is one you do not want, you may substitute any one of the regular previous selections.

Here are some recent NONFICTION BOOK CLUB selections. You can start your subscription with any of these, and you can select any other one as your FREE bonus book.

**SPEAKING FRANKLY**  
by James F. Byrnes. \$3.50 (\$3 to members).

**THE MIND IN ACTION**  
Being a layman's guide to psychiatry  
by Eric S. Eptic, M.D. \$3

**HOME COUNTRY**  
by Ernie Pyle. \$3.75 (\$3 to members).

**WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE'S AMERICA**  
by Walter Johnson. \$5 (\$3 to members).

**KINGDOM OF ADVENTURE: EVEREST**  
edited by James Ramsey Ullman.  
\$4.75 (\$3 to members).

**GREAT ADVENTURES & EXPLORATIONS**  
by Vilhjalmur Stefansson.  
\$5 (\$3 to members).

**A TREASURY OF SCIENCE**  
by Harlow Shapley. \$3.95 (\$3 to members).

**EXPLAINING THE ATOM**  
by Selig Hecht. \$2.75, and  
**BEHIND THE SILKEN CURTAIN** by Bartley Crum. \$3. (Both books together, \$3 to members)

March 24, 1948

RECORDED

62-11788-93

INDEXED

Mrs. Maurice Moore, Jr.  
Sewanee, Tennessee

Dear Mrs. Moore:

Your letter dated March 20, 1948, with enclosure, has been received. I want to express my appreciation to you for having made this available to me. The thought occurred you might enjoy reading the enclosed material.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

*[Signature]*  
Enclosure

Our Reprint of Menace of Communism

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/17/83 BY SP1 GSK/TC

228303

VWP:mb *[initials]*

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Egan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gurnea \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Pennington \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED 1
★ MAR 24 1948 P.M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

62 APR 5 1948

G.A.R.-6

APR 24

✓

*[Signature]*



Sewanee, Tennessee  
March 20, 1948

Mr. Edgar Hoover  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:

You may be interested in the enclosed  
letter just mailed to the Washington POST.

Yours truly,

*E. M. R. Moore*

E.M.R. Moore

P.S. I wonder if the FBI needs to waste their time on  
Henry Wallace, he seems to be doing his best to make  
himself a "has been", or shall we say to "hang himself".

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/17/83 BY SP1/GSK/STO  
228303

ENCL

RECORDED  
INDEXED

162-71788-93  
F B I  
19 MAR 29 1948

Sewanee, Tennessee  
March 20, 1948

Editor,  
Washington POST:

The FBI could busy (and would undoubtedly enjoy) themselves in Mr. Henry Wallace's office. And Mr. Wallace has provided grounds for them to move in.

Note the following:

"Wallace Charges U.S. Czech Envoy

Forced Reds to make Crisis, coup" (Headline, Chattanooga TIMES, March 16) and the article following it:

".....When the TIMES reporter asked Wallace about the "rightist coup" ... and Wallace assured him that his foreign desk undoubtedly knew about it.. just as reporters were attempting to press Wallace on this point to obtain some documentation, and aide slipped up a note to Wallace, contents unknown, and the former vice president rose, stated that he had to catch a train and would be leaving."

If Mr. Wallace new of a rightis coup, has he been playing ball with the Intelligence Service of the U.S. government or that of another government?

E.H.P. Moore

Dear Sir:

Should you wish to print this, omit the part marked in pencil if you see fit.

Yours truly,

EMRE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/12/83 BY SP1GSKC  
225303

62-71788-93  
ENCLOSURE

April 5, 1948

RECORDED

62-71788-94

Mr. Walter C. Stross  
Tower Club  
Ohio State University  
Columbus, Ohio

EX-47

Dear Mr. Stross:

Your letter dated March 25, 1948, has been received. I regret that I cannot be of service in connection with your request for information which may be in the files of this Bureau, as, in accordance with a long-standing policy, our files are confidential and available for official use only. I am sure you will understand the reason for this rule and that no inference will be drawn that we do or do not have information in our files because of my inability to be of assistance. Your enclosures are being returned at this time.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

Enclosure

Republican Club Ballot  
Letter addressed to correspondent from Calvin Hall

G.H.R. 6

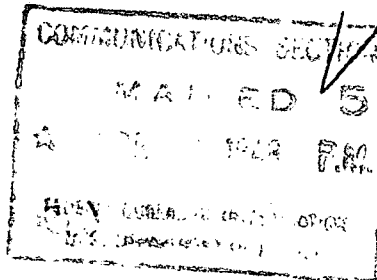
ew

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/17/83 BY SP1 RSK/JC  
228303

WN:mrde:b

Mr. Tolson.....  
Mr. E. A. Tamm.....  
Mr. Clegg.....  
Mr. Glavin.....  
Mr. Ladd.....  
Mr. Nichols.....  
Mr. Rosen.....  
Mr. Tracy.....  
Mr. Egan.....  
Mr. Gurnea.....  
Mr. Harbo.....  
Mr. Mohr.....  
Mr. Pennington.....  
Mr. Quinn Tamm.....  
Mr. Nease.....  
Miss Gandy.....



36



IND STATE

2 Tower Club  
Stadium Dormitories  
March 25, 1948

J. E. Hoover, Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D.C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/12/83 BY SP1GSK/EC  
228303

Dear Sir:

Will you please investigate and advise me what truth there is in the statement made by President Truman that Henry Wallace was a Communist.

My reason for seeking the above advice is due to the fact that I had pledged a \$100.00 donation to the Henry Wallace Campaign when Mr. Wallace gave a speech in Columbus on February 1, 1948. At that time it was my firm belief that Henry Wallace was merely following the footsteps of F. D. Roosevelt whom I greatly admired. Now it is being claimed, perhaps only for political slander, that Wallace is far more left of center than Roosevelt ever was and that he is today an agent of the Communist Party. If such can be proven true, then I certainly do not intend to fulfill my pledge because my pledge was made on the grounds that Wallace was a New Dealer and not a Communist.

For your information I am purposely interested in encouraging the Wallace-for-President campaign as a means of liberalizing the two major political parties. Being a member of the Hamilton County Republican Club interested in Harold Stassen rather than Robert Taft, it is my contention that the threat of a strong Henry Wallace campaign is the best insurance that an old reactionary like Bob Taft will not be nominated at the Philadelphia convention. My disliking of Bob Taft has resulted from his false support of the Wagner-Ellender-Taft Housing Bill, resulting in the veterans such as myself finding prices of real estate being maintained at such a high level that we are disfranchised from receiving any benefit of the G.I. Bill of Rights in regards to home ownership.

RECORDED & INDEXED

Copy of this letter is being sent to the Cleveland, Ohio, office of the Wallace-For-President Committee so that any misunderstanding of my partial support of Henry Wallace can be immediately corrected. As long as such outstanding statesmen as Arthur Vandenburg and Harold Stassen stand a chance of being nominated at the Philadelphia Convention there is no reason for me to leave the Republican Party whose principles of government I have always believed in. Awaiting your reply, I am

Sincerely yours,

WALTER C. STROSS

File

Walter C. Stross

4

ack  
4-5-48  
W.C.  
under note  
C Files  
1972

62-71788-95

April 23, 1948

RECORDED - 123

EX-137

7004

Mr. C. H. Bartholomae  
Midston House  
22 East 38th Street  
New York 16, New York

Dear Mr. Bartholomae:

I wish to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated April 14, 1948, and to express my appreciation for your communicating with me. Your comments have been carefully noted and you may be assured that they are being maintained in this Bureau as a matter of record.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/19/83 BY SP10/SB

22830

JLS:jmm

No identifiable record could be located on correspondent. He furnished information alleging that Henry Wallace is a traitor.

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Egan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gurnea \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Pennington \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

267

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION  
MAILED 12  
★ APR 29 1948 P.M.  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

*Est m*

*2588*  
*JB 7/28*  
*888*

*ms*



22 EAST 38th STREET - NEW YORK 16

4-17-48

Wt

decision in your office. Reminter - Bogata!

My dear Mr. Hoover:

If I am in error in reporting a fellow citizen as a traitor then my error, I feel, is probably because of a technicality, or because the Federal law is in need of modernization.

That being understood, I report one <sup>HENRY A. WALLACE</sup> ~~HENRY AGARD WALLACE~~ 1-8  
Henry Agard Wallace, address unknown,

last seen (last week) in the dining room of the above named hotel, seen also recently by a friend about 9 PM in the dining room of the Hotel Pierre, this city, dining with a member of the Soviet Staff quartered in this city. His occupation, seeking public office. Evidence in my possession at your disposal.

SE 9 62-71788-95  
INDEXED 31 APR 16 1948

Awaiting your instructions, I am

Sincerely,  
Edgar Hoover

Wt  
4-17-48  
Edgar Hoover  
bington.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/17/83 BY SP10/STP/STP

22 F303  
H. BARTHOLOMAE  
US Army 1911-19  
Wounded in last war.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOI/PA  
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET  
FOI/PA# 1347893-0

Total Deleted Page(s) = 7

Page 3 ~ b3; b6; b7C;

Page 4 ~ b3;

Page 5 ~ b3;

Page 6 ~ b3;

Page 7 ~ b3;

Page 8 ~ b3; b6; b7C;

Page 9 ~ b3;

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX  
X Deleted Page(s) X  
X No Duplication Fee X  
X For this Page X  
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~SECRET~~

Form 1  
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT

NEW YORK

NY FILE NO. 100-17808

GM

REPORT MADE AT <b>NEW YORK</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>APR 24 1951</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>12/4, 5, 11-16/50; 1/4, 5, 6, 19-24; 3/29, 30; 4/3-6, 10, 13, 14, 16, 17/51.</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>JAMES N. JULIANA</b>
TITLE <b>INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS; AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, INC., aka., American Council Institute of Pacific Relations.</b>			CHARACTER OF CASE <b>ESPIONAGE - R</b>

## SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

Identities of persons connected with the IPR, as members, employees, or in some other capacity, who were or are employed by an agency of the US Government, set forth. Affiliations with IPR and dates and places of employments in the service of the US Government reported regarding each individual. Communist affiliations and other pertinent information set forth concerning these persons. Many individuals who have been associated with the IPR, in an official or unofficial capacity, were employed with OWI, UNRRA, the Department of State, OSS, and other Government agencies during World War II.

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP

Classified by *SP6 BJA/mc*  
Declassify on: *DATE 12/3/84 #246,268*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: <i>[Signature]</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE <i>[Signature]</i>	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES
COPIES OF THIS REPORT <b>6 Bureau (100-64700) 1 Baltimore (Info) 2 Washington Field 3 New York</b>		<b>100-64700-765</b> <b>APR 22 1951</b> <b>RECORDED - 34</b> <b>INDEXED - 34</b>
COPIES DESTROYED <i>11-12-58</i>		

PROPERTY OF FBI—THIS CONFIDENTIAL REPORT AND ITS CONTENTS ARE LOANED TO YOU BY THE FBI AND ARE NOT TO BE DISTRIBUTED OUTSIDE OF AGENCY TO WHICH LOANED.

SEP 22 1951



~~SECRET~~

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
I. INTRODUCTION	4
II. OFFICE OF WAR INFORMATION	4
A. JOSEPH BARNES P-PF. <i>agency info sec -</i>	4
B. ELIZABETH DOWNING	5
C. WILLIAM L. HOLLAND	6
D. OWEN LATTIMORE	7
E. PHILIP E. LILIENTHAL	9
F. KATRINE W. PARSONS	10
G. CATHERINE PORTER CFF <i>123-351</i>	10
H. GEORGE E. TAYLOR CFF <i>123-8711</i>	10
I. ISABEL WARD CFF <i>123-333</i>	12
III. UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION	13
A. HILDA AUSTERN	13
B. HOLLIS POWERS GALE	14
C. KATRINE R. C. GREENE	14
D. ROSE YARDUMIAN	15
IV. UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE	15
A. PATRICIA GLOVER BARNETT CFF <i>121-3249</i>	15
B. ROBERT W. BARNETT CFF <i>121-4022</i>	16
C. CHARLES B. FAHS	16
D. PHILIP C. JESSUP CFF <i>121-9893</i>	17
E. HALDORE EUGENE HANSON CFF <i>121-3622</i>	18
F. ALGER HISS	19
G. WILLIAM C. JOHNSTONE <i>223-487</i>	19
H. ABBOTT LOW MOFFAT	20
I. KATRINE WAGGONER PARSONS P-PF-R.S.A	20
J. CATHERINE PORTER CFF <i>123-351</i>	20
K. WALTER A. RADIUS CFF <i>123-333</i>	21
L. LAWRENCE E. SALISBURY	21
M. GEORGE E. TAYLOR CFF <i>121-8711 Photo</i>	22
N. ISABEL WARD CFF <i>123-333 STATE</i>	22
O. SUMNER WELLS	23

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-17808

~~SECRET~~

TABLE OF CONTENTS (Cont'd)

Page No.

V. OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

- A. PATRICIA GLOVER BARNETT
- B. ROBERT W. BARNETT
- C. CHARLES B. FAHS
- D. HOLLIS POWERS GALE
- E. WILLIAM W. LOCKWOOD

24

24

24

25

25

25

STATE

STATE

VI. UNITED STATES WAR DEPARTMENT

26

- A. ROBERT W. BARNETT
- B. THOMAS ARTHUR BISSON
- C. MIRIAM S. FARLEY
- D. ANDREW J. GRAJDANZEV
- E. PHILIP E. LILIENTHAL

26

26

29

29

30

STATE

VII. MISCELLANEOUS GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

30

- A. IRVING S. FRIEDMAN
- B. HUNTINGTON GILCHRIST
- C. MARY FRANCES HEALY
- D. HENRY A. WALLACE
- E. HARRY E. YARNELL

30

31

32

32

32

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-17808

DETAILS

~~SECRET~~

I. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this report is to reflect the names and affiliations of individuals who have been associated with the INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, hereinafter referred to as the IPR, either as members, employees, or in some other capacity who, during World War II, were employed with a United States Government agency. (Information concerning the individuals' Communist affiliations, where known, will be set forth also in this report.)

The information included in this report is based upon interviews on April 17, 18 and May 2 through 5, 1950, with WILLIAM L. HOLLAND, Secretary-General, and TILLIE G. SHAHN, Assistant Treasurer, International Secretariat, IPR, 1 East 54th Street, New York City. Information was also obtained from interviews on April 17, 18 and 25, 1950, with CLAYTON LANE, former Executive Secretary, and KATRINE R. C. GREENE, Assistant Secretary, AMERICAN IPR, 1 East 54th Street, New York City.

In addition, the information hereinafter reported concerning the individuals' associations with the IPR is based upon a review of the current and past membership records, the biennial reports, and various issues of "IPR Notes", all of which were made available for review by MR. LANE and MR. HOLLAND.

Information concerning the individuals' backgrounds and employments in the United States Government service, unless otherwise designated, was obtained from a review of the individuals' personnel files maintained by the respective Government agencies.

II. OFFICE OF WAR INFORMATION (OWI)

A. JOSEPH BARNES

*Joseph Barnes P-23*

IPR BARNES served as Secretary, AMERICAN IPR, from January 1, 1934, to September 1, 1934. He was a research specialist associated with the AMERICAN IPR from 1931 to 1935.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-17808

OWI - JOSEPH BARNES was born on July 21, 1907, at Montclair, New Jersey. He entered on duty with OWI on August 26, 1941, as Chief, Foreign Information Liaison Branch, Editorial News Division, at New York City. On April 18, 1944, he was voluntarily separated from the service, at which time he was Deputy Director, Atlantic Operations, OWI.

Concerning JOSEPH BARNES, it is to be noted that LOUIS F. BUDENZ, former Managing Editor of the "Daily Worker", an East Coast Communist daily newspaper, and former Communist Party functionary, advised in July, 1948, "I feel sure that JOSEPH BARNES is a member of the Communist Party and has been for many years; but I cannot prove this." BUDENZ stated that during the early 1940s JACK STACHEL and EARL BROWDER, current and past functionaries of the Communist Party, respectively, told him that BARNES was under the discipline of the Communist Party. BUDENZ also advised that he recalls in the early 1940s he attended meetings which were closed to everyone except members of the Communist Party, and that JOSEPH BARNES was present at these meetings.

*W.D.* Confidential Informant T-1, of known reliability, advised that in 1935 he was informed by General BERZIN, the Head of Soviet Military Intelligence, that JOSEPH BARNES was one of his two most promising operatives in China.

B. ELIZABETH DOWNING

IPR - ELIZABETH DOWNING, in 1938, was Assistant Publications Secretary, International Secretariat, IPR. She served as Secretary of the Pacific Council from 1936 through 1941 and as an associate from 1939 through 1941. She was Publications Secretary, AMERICAN IPR, from 1941 to 1943.

OWI - ELIZABETH COIT BARKER, who was formerly ELIZABETH COIT DOWNING, was born on March 8, 1910, at Lanesboro, Massachusetts. She entered on duty with OWI on April 6, 1943, in New York City, as a Liaison

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-17808

Representative assigned to the Overseas Operations Branch, News and Pictures Bureau, Pictures, Division, New York City.

Her name was changed on April 1, 1945, to ELIZABETH COIT BARKER. No indication as to the date of termination of her employment with OWI was shown.

C. WILLIAM L. HOLLAND

IPR - WILLIAM HOLLAND has served on the staff of the International Secretariat, IPR, since 1933, and is currently employed as the Secretary-General, International Secretariat, and also holds the position of Executive Vice-Chairman, AMERICAN IPR, at this time, succeeding CLAYTON LANE. He has been a member of the Board of Trustees of the AMERICAN IPR since 1949.

OWI - WILLIAM HOLLAND was born on December 28, 1907. He entered on duty with OWI on August 12, 1944, as a Consultant assigned to the Overseas Branch, Office of the Director, Washington, D. C. On March 6, 1945, he was assigned to Chungking, China, where on November 4, 1945, he was made Director of the Chungking, China, Headquarters of OWI.

On November 4, 1945, HOLLAND returned to the United States from Chungking, China, and on February 28, 1946, his services were involuntarily terminated.

It is to be noted that Confidential Informant T-2, of known reliability, advised that in December, 1945, the appointment of HOLLAND from the Interim International Information Service, OWI, to the Auxiliary Foreign Service of the Department of State was disapproved because of the radical and Communist affiliations of HOLLAND.

Concerning HOLLAND's employment with OWI, EDWARD C. CARTER, Provost, New School for Social Research, 66 West 12th Street, New York City, was interviewed on December 14, 1950, by SA JOSEPH A. CULLEN and the writer. MR. CARTER has been associated with the IPR since 1925,

~~SECRET~~



NY 100-17808

~~SECRET~~

and has served in various capacities including Secretary-General, International Secretariat, and Executive Secretary, AMERICAN IPR. He has been a member of the Board of Trustees for many years and has served on various committees.

CARTER advised that HOLLAND was loaned to OWI on a friendly basis with the understanding that HOLLAND would be returned to the IPR. He stated, however, that HOLLAND was actually on the payroll of the United States Government as an employee with OWI. CARTER could not furnish the exact dates of employment for HOLLAND with OWI, but believed it to be from 1943 through 1945, and that HOLLAND served in Chungking, China.

Concerning WILLIAM L. HOLLAND, it is to be noted that Confidential Informant T-3, of known reliability, reported that the name of W. L. HOLLAND, 345 East 68th Street, New York City, appeared in the addressbook of FREDERICK W. POLAND. The informant advised that POLAND was a member of the Toronto, Ottawa, Canada, espionage ring in Canada, and that POLAND was an admitted Communist.

According to the 1948 edition of "News Letter," published by the China Aid Council, WILLIAM L. HOLLAND was listed as Secretary.

LOUIS F. BUDENZ has stated that many of the officers and sponsors of the China Aid Council are known to him as members of the Communist Party, and that the China Aid Council has the reputation of being Communist dominated.

D. OWEN LATTIMORE

IPR - OWEN LATTIMORE served as editor of "Pacific Affairs", one of the two official publications of the IPR, from 1933 through 1941. He has been a member of the Board of Trustees of the AMERICAN IPR since 1943 and served as Chairman of the Research Committee, AMERICAN IPR, from 1944 to 1946.

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-17808

~~TOP SECRET~~

OWI OWEN LATTIMORE was born in Washington, D. C., on July 29, 1900. Sometime at the end of 1942 LATTIMORE assumed the directorship of OWI work directed toward the Far East. In 1943 he was in charge of the OWI's overseas work in San Francisco, California. In 1944 LATTIMORE became Deputy Director in charge of all Pacific matters for OWI in Washington, D. C. In June and July, 1944, LATTIMORE was one of the officials to accompany the then Vice-President HENRY A. WALLACE on a tour of Siberia and China. LATTIMORE resigned from the OWI in December, 1944.

On January 16, 1945, LATTIMORE was reassigned to the post of Consultant with OWI. He disassociated himself completely with OWI in July, 1945.

It is to be noted that in July, 1941, LATTIMORE was appointed personal advisor to Generalissimo CHIANG Kai-Shek, upon the recommendation of the Late President of the United States, FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT. LATTIMORE resigned this appointment at the end of 1942.

LATTIMORE is currently Director of the Walter Hines Page School of International Relations, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland.

Concerning LATTIMORE's employment with OWI, EDWARD C. CARTER advised during the interview on December 14, 1950, that LATTIMORE left the IPR prior to going to work for OWI. He stated that LATTIMORE worked at Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland, immediately before taking over his duties with OWI. CARTER stated that he did not know the exact dates of LATTIMORE's employment with OWI, but he said he believed it was prior to the time that WILLIAM L. HOLLAND commenced his employment with OWI which, according to CARTER, was in 1943.

Concerning OWEN LATTIMORE, it is to be noted that Confidential Informant T-1 advised that in 1935 he was informed by General BERZIN, the Head of Soviet Military Intelligence, that OWEN LATTIMORE was one of his two most promising operatives in China.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

LOUIS F. BUDENZ stated in March, 1950, that although he never met LATTIMORE he heard of him many times at political meetings of the Communist Party, U.S.A. According to BUDENZ, FREDERICK V. FIELD, in making reports to the political committees of the Communist Party, indicated that LATTIMORE was given the assignment of selling the idea that the Chinese Communists were really agrarian reformists. BUDENZ said that only a trusted Communist Party member would be given such an assignment. BUDENZ also indicated that he recalled that JACK STACHEL, National Committee member of the Communist Party, USA, told him, BUDENZ, around 1943 that BUDENZ, as editor of the "Daily Worker", was to treat LATTIMORE in the "Daily Worker" as a Communist.

E. PHILIP E. LILLIENTHAL

IPR - From November, 1938, through June, 1942, PHILIP LILLIENTHAL was a research associate of the International Secretariat, IPR. In 1946 he was the Assistant Treasurer of the International Secretariat. LILLIENTHAL has been the editor of "Pacific Affairs" since 1946.

OWI - PHILIP EUGENE LILLIENTHAL was born on December 29, 1914, at New York, New York. He entered on duty with OWI at San Francisco, California, as Chief of the Chinese Division, Program Bureau, on January 30, 1943. LILLIENTHAL resigned from OWI to resume work in private industry on December 1, 1945.

Concerning LILLIENTHAL's employment with OWI, EDWARD C. CARTER, during the interview on December 14, 1950, advised that LILLIENTHAL actually left the IPR to enter the United States Army or the United States Navy. He stated that LILLIENTHAL could not enter the armed services because of bad eye sight or some other physical defect, and, therefore, he became a longshoreman on the West Coast of the United States in order to be of some use in the war effort. CARTER stated that it was his understanding that OWEN LATTIMORE was responsible for getting LILLIENTHAL into OWI. CARTER stated that LATTIMORE knew LILLIENTHAL's capabilities and

~~SECRET~~



~~SECRET~~

NY 100-17808

knew he would be more useful in OWI, than as a longshoreman, as far as the war effort was concerned.

Concerning PHILIP E. LILLIENTHAL, it is to be noted that in the "Daily Worker" issue of May 4, 1948, Page 11, Column 2, he was listed as being one of "167 Notables Who Urged Defeat of the MUNDT Bill." According to the article, this was a group of artists, writers, scientists and editors who called on Congress to defeat the MUNDT Bill.

The "Daily Worker" of January 3, 1949, Page 7, Column 2, indicated that LILLIENTHAL was one of the 313 "Signers of an Open Letter to end the House Un-American Committee."

F. KATRINE W. PARSONS

IPR - KATRINE WAGGONER PARSONS was an associate of the International Secretariat, IPR, in 1939 and 1941. From 1939 through 1943, she served as Secretary to WILLIAM L. HOLLAND on the staff of the International Secretariat.

OWI - ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ Confidential Informant T-4, of known reliability, advised that MISS KATRINE WAGGONER PARSONS was born on November 18, 1914, at Syracuse, New York. On February 21, 1944, she was appointed an Administrative Assistant with the OWI Overseas Branch, Far East Unit, Washington, D. C. On July 11, 1946, she was transferred to the rolls of the State Department at Canton, China.

G. CATHERINE PORTER CFF SC 123-351

IPR - From 1935 through 1938 CATHERINE PORTER was Managing Editor of "Pacific Affairs." She was Assistant Secretary of the AMERICAN IPR in 1929 and 1930. From 1941 through 1944 she served as Chairman of the Board of Editors for the publication, "Far Eastern Survey", a fortnightly publication of the IPR.

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-17808

OWI - In connection with another investigation conducted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, it was ascertained that CATHERINE PORTER entered on duty with OWI on May 8, 1944, as a Principal Regional Specialist. She was transferred to the Department of State on August 31, 1945.

It is to be noted that the records of the IPR, mentioned in the Introduction of this report, reflect that CATHERINE PORTER served during World War II as Chief of the Philippine Branch of OWI.

Concerning CATHERINE PORTER, it is to be noted that LOUIS F. BUDENZ in April, 1950, advised that while he never actually met CATHERINE PORTER, he knew her to be a Communist, from official reports made to BUDENZ by responsible officials of the Communist Party.

H. GEORGE E. TAYLOR (21-8711)

IPR - In 1941-1942 TAYLOR was a fellowship holder with the AMERICAN IPR. He has been a member of the Board of Trustees of the AMERICAN IPR since 1946.

OWI - GEORGE E. TAYLOR was born at Coventry, England, on December 13, 1905, and acquired American citizenship by naturalization. TAYLOR entered on duty with OWI on December 8, 1942, as a Principal Directive Writer. On August 31, 1945, he was transferred to the State Department.

Concerning GEORGE E. TAYLOR, it is to be noted that in a signed statement on July 1, 1945, to Special Agents J. LEWIS AMES and HOWARD W. LITTLE, of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, MRS. ELIZABETH COIT BARKER, nee DOWNING, a San Francisco representative of OWI in New York, stated that in accordance with TAYLOR's instructions given her by telephone early in January, 1945, she was to make available to MARK GAYN certain "declassified" OWI documents, which had been

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-17808

so "declassified" on TAYLOR's instructions. GAYN visited MRS. BARKER's OWI Office in New York City in April, 1945, and "perused" about twenty documents.

It is to be noted that MARK GAYN was one of the individuals arrested in the AMERASIA Case dealing with the illegal possession of United States Government documents.

In March, 1945, UPTON CLOSE, Radio Commentator and associated with the University of Washington, Seattle, Washington, in a radio broadcast reported that TAYLOR was putting the interest of some other nation ahead of the United States.

Confidential Informant T-5, of known reliability, advised that he has known TAYLOR since 1940 and has visited at TAYLOR's home many times. The informant described TAYLOR as very anti-Communist, who has been known to openly express concern over the presence of Communist sympathizers who were his associates at the IPR. ~~(S)~~

I. ISABEL WARD CFF *123-233*

IPR - From 1938 to 1942, ISABEL WARD served as Secretary to WILLIAM L. HOLLAND and also as a research assistant with the International Secretariat, IPR. In 1934 she was employed by the IPR as a clerk.

OWI - In connection with another investigation conducted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation in relation to ISABEL BERNHARD WARD, nee

AVILA, it was ascertained that she was born on September 11, 1903, at Fresno, California. She was employed on December 26, 1942, by OWI at San Francisco, California, and she was previously employed by the War Department in San Francisco, California. She terminated her employment with OWI on August 31, 1945, at which time she transferred to the Department of State.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-17808

III. UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION (UNRRA)

A. HILDA AUSTERN

IPR - HILDA AUSTERN served as Assistant Treasurer, AMERICAN IPR, in 1933 and 1934, and from 1935 to 1940, and as Assistant Treasurer of the Pacific Council from 1942 to 1943.

Confidential Informant T-6, of known reliability, advised that HILDA AUSTERN was in charge of general supervision of personnel and of editing publications of the IPR. She did research work on economic projects and organized meetings of the Pacific Council which were held in various cities. While with the IPR, MISS AUSTERN had personal contact with many leading political and professional figures of all countries concerned with the Pacific Area (according to the informant.)

UNRRA - Confidential Informant T-6 advised that MISS AUSTERN was employed with UNRRA from November 19, 1945, to October 31, 1946, at which time she terminated her employment due to the reduction in force. She served as Assistant to the Director, Office for the Far East, in Washington, D. C. and also as Assistant to the Chief of Organization Change, at Washington, D. C.

According to Confidential Informant T-6, MISS AUSTERN was born on June 5, 1908, in Canada, and became a United States citizen.

MISS AUSTERN is the wife of J. FRANKLIN RAY, JR., who was Director of the Office for the Far East, UNRRA, Washington, D. C. and who is employed with the Economic Control Administration in Korea.

Concerning HILDA AUSTERN, it is to be noted that LOUIS F. BUDENZ, in April, 1950, advised that he knew HILDA AUSTERN to be a concealed Communist.

In February, 1946, Confidential Informant T-3 advised that the notation, "HILDA AUSTERN, MRS. N. BRETHOLTZ, 360 East 53d Street, PL 3-5873", was found in the addressbook

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-17808

of FREDERICK W. POLAND. The informant advised that POLAND was a member of the Toronto, Ottawa, espionage ring in Canada, and that POLAND was an admitted Communist.

CLAYTON LANE advised on April 18, 1950, that HILDA AUSTERN was also known as HILDA A. BRETHOLTZ.

B. HOLLIS POWERS GALE

IPR - HOLLIS POWERS GALE has been a member of the Board of Trustees of the AMERICAN IPR from 1949 to 1950.

UNRRA - Confidential Informant T-6 advised that HOLLIS GALE was born on September 30, 1888, in Ludlow, Vermont. He was employed as Regional Director, China Office, Washington, D. C. and Shanghai, China, from October 19, 1945, to June 11, 1946, at which time he resigned.

(It is to be noted that) MR. GALE, according to Confidential Informant T-6, was Assistant Director of the American Red Cross in Hongkong, China, from 1941 to 1943.

C. KATRINE R. C. GREENE

IPR - MISS GREENE served on the research staff of the Pacific Council, IPR, from 1938 to 1941. In 1941 and 1942 and from 1947 to 1951, she has been Assistant Secretary, AMERICAN IPR, serving both in the San Francisco and New York Offices of the Institute. MISS GREENE recently resigned her position with IPR.

UNRRA - Confidential Informant T-6 advised that MISS GREENE was born on May 7, 1912, somewhere in Massachusetts. She was employed with UNRRA in various capacities from July 8, 1943 to November 20, 1947. She served as a clerk-steno, secretary, administrative assistant, and at the termination of her employment she was executive assistant of the China Office. MISS GREENE served in Washington, D. C., Algiers, Cairo, Italy, and Shanghai.

~~SECRET~~



NY 100-17808

~~SECRET~~

D. ROSE YARDUMIAN

IPR - MISS YARDUMIAN was the Washington Representative of the AMERICAN IPR and was employed in the Washington Branch Office of the IPR from May, 1942, to September, 1945.

Confidential Informant T-6 advised that while ROSE YARDUMIAN was employed with the IPR, she did work on a Korean pamphlet and research on the Far East. She also did public relations work with various legations and embassies in Washington, D. C., and was in charge of the information service for the IPR in connection with the Far East.

UNRRA - Confidential Informant T-6 advised that ROSE YARDUMIAN was born on October 20, 1919, at a place unknown to the informant. She was employed with UNRRA from October 31, 1945, until July 31, 1946, when she resigned voluntarily while in China. At this time she indicated that she was not returning to the United States, but was going to accept another position, presumably in China or the Far East. While with UNRRA she served as Administrative Assistant, China Office, Washington, D. C., and as Reports Officer, China Office, Shanghai, China.

IV. UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE

A. PATRICIA GLOVER BARNETT CFF 121-3249

IPR - PATRICIA BARNETT was a junior research assistant from 1939 to 1940, of the International Secretariat, IPR. In 1940, she was an associate of the International Secretariat.

State Dept. - PATRICIA GLOVER BARNETT was born on June 22, 1914, at White Plains, New York. She transferred to the State Department from the Office of Strategic Services on September 30, 1945. She is currently employed by the State Department as a Consultant on a per diem basis and

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-17808

has the rating of Intelligence Research Specialist in the Division of Research for the Far East, Southern Asia Branch, Washington, D. C.

It is to be noted that PATRICIA GLOVER BARNETT is the wife of ROBERT W. BARNETT.

B. ROBERT W. BARNETT CFF 121-4022

IPR - From 1939 to 1940, MR. BARNETT was a fellowship holder with the AMERICAN IPR. He served as an associate of the International Secretariat in 1940 and 1941. He was Executive Secretary of the AMERICAN IPR from July, 1942, to December, 1942.

State Dept. - Confidential Informant T-4 advised that ROBERT WARREN BARNETT was born on November 6, 1911, in Shanghai, China, of American parents. From November 7, 1945, to December, 1945, he was Assistant Advisor to the Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs. From December, 1945, to May 2, 1948, BARNETT was Economic Advisor to the Chairman, Far Eastern Commission, Department of State. He was Advisor, Division of Occupied Areas, Economic Affairs, Advisory Staff, from May 2, 1948, to October 20, 1948. On October 3, 1949, he was transferred to the Division of Chinese Affairs, and on February 19, 1950, he was assigned to the position of International Economist, Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs, Office of Chinese Affairs, Department of State, and is presently so employed.

C. CHARLES B. FAHS

IPR - In 1933 and 1934, MR. FAHS was Secretary of the Chicago Branch of the AMERICAN IPR. In 1940, he was a research associate of the Pacific Council, IPR.

State Dept. - CHARLES BURTON FAHS was born on September 22, 1908, at Brooklyn, New York. He entered on duty with the Department of State on

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-17808

October 1, 1945, as Chief of the Research and Analysis Branch, Far East Division. He resigned from the Department of State on September 13, 1946, to accept a position with the Rockefeller Foundation. On September 15, 1949, he was appointed a Consultant without compensation in the Division of Research, Far East Branch of the Department of State. FAHS' services as a Consultant were terminated on December 6, 1950. He was appointed Intelligence Research Officer (Consultant), Division of Research for Far East, Department of State, on December 7, 1950, which latter employment was terminated on January 19, 1951.

D. PHILIP C. JESSUP CFF 121-9893

IPR - MR. JESSUP was a member of the Board of Trustees of the AMERICAN IPR from 1933 through 1945. He served as Vice-Chairman of the AMERICAN IPR in 1937 and 1938 and in 1941 and 1942. He was Chairman of the AMERICAN IPR in 1939 and 1940. MR. JESSUP was a representative of the Pacific Council, IPR, in 1930-1940, and 1942-1943. He was Chairman of the Pacific Council in 1941. State Dept. - Confidential Informant T-4 advised that PHILIP C. JESSUP was born on January 5, 1892, at New York, New York. He was Assistant Solicitor of the Department of State from 1924 to 1925. On February 12, 1943, he was appointed as Chairman of Division, Office of Foreign Relief, Department of State. On March 2, 1949, MR. JESSUP was appointed Ambassador-at-Large of the United States.

"Who's Who in America" reflects the following employments for MR. JESSUP, which may be Federal employments or quasi Federal employments:

In 1943-1944 JESSUP was Assistant Secretary-General, for the UNRRA and Bretton Woods Conferences.

JESSUP was Assistant Director, Naval School of Military Government and Administration in 1942-1944.

During 1945 JESSUP was Special Assistant on Judicial Organization with the United States Delegation at the San Francisco Conference.

~~SECRET~~



NY 100-17808

~~SECRET~~

JESSUP was the United States Representative to the Commission on Codification and Development of International Law, of the United Nations, in 1947.

In 1948, JESSUP held the position of Deputy Representative to the Interim Committee of the General Assembly and Security Council of the United Nations.

During 1949 JESSUP was employed as Representative of the United States to the Fourth Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

E. HALDORE EUGENE HANSON

CFF 121-3622

IPR - HALDORE HANSON is the author of an article entitled, "Smuggler, Soldier, and Diplomat," which appeared in the September, 1936, issue of "Pacific Affairs". He is also the author of an article entitled, "The People Behind the Chinese Guerrillas", which article appeared in the September, 1938, issue of "Pacific Affairs." The June, 1939, issue of this official publication of the IPR carried articles regarding the guerrilla war in China, the author of one of these articles being MR. HANSON.

State Dept. - In connection with another investigation being conducted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, it was ascertained that HALDORE EUGENE HANSON was born on April 22, 1912, at Virginia, Minnesota. On January 20, 1942, he was employed as a Divisional Assistant, United States Department of State, and on March 22, 1945, he was transferred from a Specialist in Chinese Affairs, in the Office of Special Affairs, Division of Cultural Relations, to the position of Executive Assistant to the Assistant Secretary for Public and Cultural Relations, United States Department of State.

Concerning HALDORE EUGENE HANSON, it is to be noted that LOUIS F. BUDENZ in April, 1950, advised that while he had never actually met HANSON, he knew him to be a Communist as a result of official reports made to BUDENZ by responsible officials of the Communist Party.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-17808

F. ALGER HISS

IPR - ~~ALGER HISS~~ has been a member of the Board of Trustees of the AMERICAN IPR for the years, 1947-1948 and 1949-1950.

State Dept. - In connection with another investigation conducted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, it was ascertained that ALGER HISS was born on November 11, 1904, at Baltimore, Maryland. He has had a long career of employment with United States Government agencies, and on September, 1936, he was Assistant to the Assistant Secretary of State, the Honorable FRANCIS P. SAYRE, in Washington, D. C. He terminated this employment in September, 1939, at which time he became Assistant to MR. STANLEY K. HORNBECK, Political Advisor for the Far East to the Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

In the spring of 1944, HISS became Assistant to the Director, Deputy Director's Office of Special Political Affairs, United States Department of State, Washington, D. C. and on January 15, 1947, he resigned this position to become President of Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, at 405 West 117th Street, New York City.

It is to be noted that HISS was convicted in the United States District Court of the Southern District of New York for perjury and was sentenced to serve five years in the United States penitentiary.

G. WILLIAM C. JOHNSTONE C-17 no file #

IPR - MR. JOHNSTONE was on the Board of Editors of the "Far Eastern Survey", from 1941 to 1944. in 1946, he was a member of the Board of Trustees of the AMERICAN IPR.

W-1 Confidential Informant T-7, of known reliability, advised that WILLIAM JOHNSTONE was Director of the Washington Study and Research Program of the American Council, IPR, from January 1943 to 1945.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-17808

State Dept. - [Confidential Informant T-7 advised that] *W@u*  
WILLIAM JOHNSTONE started his employment with the Department of State as a Foreign Service Officer in 1946, and that he was assigned to New Delhi, India. He was returned to the United States and assigned to the State Department on November 10, 1947. MR. JOHNSTONE is presently employed by the State Department.

H. ABBOTT LOW MOFFAT

IPR - ABBOTT LOW MOFFAT was a member of the Board of Trustees of the AMERICAN IPR from 1946 through 1948.

State Dept. - MR. MOFFAT entered on duty with the Department of State on August 23, 1943. He was assigned to the American Mission for Aid to Greece on August 8, 1947, and was transferred to the Economic Cooperation Administration on June 30, 1948, where he is presently employed as Chief of Mission, at Rangoon, Burma.

I. KATRINE WAGGONER PARSONS *P.F.F. E.S.A.*

IPR - MISS PARSONS' affiliations with the IPR have previously been set out in this report. *W@u*

State Dept. - [Confidential Informant T-4 advised that] on July 11, 1946, MISS PARSONS transferred to the rolls of the State Department at Canton, China, from the Office of War Information. She resigned from the State Department on March 31, 1947, at Canton, China, where she held the position of Librarian-Administrative Assistant.

J. CATHERINE PORTER *C.F.F. 123-351*

IPR - MISS PORTER's affiliations with the IPR have previously been set out in this report. *W@u*

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-17808

State Dept.- CATHERINE PORTER transferred to the State Department on August 31, 1945, from the Office of War Information. She is presently employed by the State Department in the Far Eastern Affairs Branch.

It is to be noted that the records of the IPR reflect that CATHERINE PORTER was employed as Chief of the Philippine Branch, Office of Information and Education, United States Department of State.

K. WALTER A. RADIUS *CPI* *no fact*

IPR - MR. RADIUS was a fellowship Holder of the AMERICAN IPR in 1938 and 1939. While a student he actively participated in the Student IPR and has been a member of the Institute for many years.

State Dept.- WALTER A. RADIUS was born on April 25, 1910, at San Francisco, California. He entered on duty with the State Department on June 29, 1942, in the Division of Special Research as a Senior Divisional Assistant. He is presently employed by the State Department as a Foreign Affairs Officer (Director), Office of Transport and Communications Policy, to which position he was appointed on September 3, 1950.

L. LAWRENCE E. SALISBURY

IPR - MR. SALISBURY, from 1944 to 1948, was editor of the "Far Eastern Survey", a fortnightly publication of the IPR.

State Dept.- SALISBURY was appointed a Student Interpreter in Japanese for the Department of State on May 20, 1920, and on July 1, 1922, he was assigned as Vice-Consul and Interpreter at Tokyo and Kobe, Japan. He became a Foreign Service Officer on July 1, 1924,

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-17808

and from that date until April 25, 1928, he was assigned to State Department offices at Kobe and Tokyo. On the latter date he was assigned to the State Department at Washington, D. C., where he performed a tour of duty in the Far Eastern Division for thirty days. He then returned to the United States Embassy at Tokyo as Second Secretary and was subsequently transferred to Paris, France, on December 17, 1930. He was again employed in the Department of State at Washington, D. C., from May 2, 1932, to September 17, 1935, at which time he was ordered to Peiping, China. On March 19, 1938, he was made First Secretary at Peiping and on August 24, 1938, he was again returned to the Department of State for duty in Washington, D. C. He retired from the Department of State on December 1, 1944, after serving for twenty-four years.

M. GEORGE E. TAYLOR CFF 121-8711

IPR - MR. TAYLOR's affiliations with the IPR have been previously set out in this report.

State Dept.- On August 31, 1945, TAYLOR transferred to the State Department from the Office of War Information. On July 15, 1946, he resigned from the State Department to return to a position with the University of Washington, at Seattle, Washington. On December 3, 1947, TAYLOR was appointed a Consultant in the Far East and on June 30, 1948, this position was terminated. Again on April 6, 1949, TAYLOR was appointed Consultant in the Office of the Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs, and he terminated this employment on October 8, 1949. He was appointed Consultant on August 14, 1950, and was assigned in this position to the Office of the Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs. No indication was made that this appointment as consultant has been terminated.

N. ISABEL WARD CFF 121-333

IPR - ISABEL WARD's affiliations with the IPR have been previously set forth in this report.

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-17808

State Dept.- In connection with another investigation conducted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, it was ascertained that ISABEL WARD transferred to the Department of State on August 31, 1945, from the Office of War Information. It was noted that she was previously employed by the War Department in San Francisco, California. ISABEL WARD is believed to be presently employed by the Department of State under the name of ISABEL MAURER.

O. SUMNER WELLS

IPR - From 1944 to 1945 SUMNER WELLS was Chairman of the Washington, D. C. Branch of the AMERICAN IPR. He has been a member of the Board of Trustees of the AMERICAN IPR since 1946.

State Dept.- "Who's Who in America" for 1950-1951 reflects that WELLS was Secretary of the Embassy at Tokyo from 1915 to 1917 and at Buenos Aires from 1917 to 1919. He was Assistant Chief of the Latin American Affairs Division, Department of State, from 1920 to 1921, and was Chief of the latter division from 1921 to 1922, at which time he resigned. He was Commissioner to the Dominican Republic in 1922 and was Delegate to the Conference on Central American Affairs, Washington, D. C., in 1922. WELLS was Personal Representative of the President to offer mediation in the Honduras Revolution in 1924 and was Delegate to the Central American Conference, Amapola, Honduras, in 1924.

WELLS was a member of the Dawes Financial Mission to the Dominican Republic in 1929 and was appointed Assistant Secretary of State on April 6, 1933; Ambassadeur to Cuba from April 29th to December 15, 1933; Assistant Secretary of State, 1933 to 1937; Delegate to the Inter-American Conference for Maintenance of Peace, Buenos Aires, 1936; appointed Undersecretary of State on May 21, 1937; Delegate to the Meeting of Foreign Ministers of the American

~~SECRET~~



~~SECRET~~

NY 100-17808

Republics for Consultation, Panama, 1939; Chairman of Inter-American Financial and Economic Committee, 1939; Special Representative of the President to Report on Conditions in Europe, 1940; Representative of the United States on Provisional Administration of European Colonies and possessions in the Americas, 1940; member of the Central Committee, American Red Cross, representing the State Department, 1941; accompanied President ROOSEVELT at meeting at sea with Prime Minister CHURCHILL of England, August, 1941; Delegate to meeting of Foreign Ministers of the American Republics for Consultation, Rio de Janeiro, 1942; and WELLS resigned as Undersecretary of State on September 30, 1943.

V. OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES (OSS)

A. PATRICIA GLOVER BARNETT CFF 50.0 121-3249

IPR - Miss BARNETT'S affiliations with the IPR have been previously set forth in this report.

OSS - PATRICIA GLOVER BARNETT entered on duty with the OSS on February 23, 1943, as Assistant Research Analyst, Far East Division, Southern Asia Section, Washington, D. C. She voluntarily resigned on March 11, 1943. She was appointed to the same position on May 17, 1943, and on September 30, 1945, she transferred to the Department of State.

B. ROBERT W. BARNETT CFF 20.0 121-4022

IPR - MR. BARNETT'S affiliations with the IPR have been previously set forth in this report.

OSS - [Confidential Informant T-4 advised that] ROBERT WARREN BARNETT was employed by the OSS from December, 1942, to February, 1943. BARNETT

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-17808

was Executive Secretary of the United China Relief from May, 1941, to July, 1942, among his other employments.

C. CHARLES B. FAHS

IPR - MR. FAHS' affiliations with the IPR have been previously set forth in this report.

OSS - MR. FAHS was employed by the OSS from March 1, 1943, to September 30, 1945, as an Assistant Chief for the Far Eastern Division. From September 6, 1941, to February 28, 1943, he served with the Office of the Coordinator of Information as a Consultant. In 1937, he was employed by the United States Bureau of Education, Federal Forum Service, as a Forum Speaker at Santa Ana, California.

D. HOLLIS POWERS GALE

IPR - MR. GALE's affiliations with the IPR have been previously set forth in this report.

OSS - MR. GALE served as a New York representative of the Far Eastern Division of OSS from August, 1943, to October, 1945. Prior to this employment he was Director of the American Red Cross in Hongkong, China, and returned to the United States to accept his position with OSS.

E. WILLIAM W. LOCKWOOD

IPR - MR. LOCKWOOD, in 1938, served as Secretary of the Research Committee, AMERICAN IPR; in 1942 and 1943, he was Secretary of the AMERICAN IPR. He has been a member of the Board of Trustees of the AMERICAN IPR since 1947 and from 1941 to 1944 he was a member of the Board of Editors of the "Far Eastern Survey."

~~SECRET~~



~~SECRET~~

NY 100-17808

OSS - WILLIAM W. LOCKWOOD was born on February 24, 1906, in Shanghai, China, to American parents. He entered on duty with OSS on August 2, 1943, as Assistant Chief, Far Eastern Division. On September 30, 1943, he went on leave without military pay from OSS. There was no indication as to the termination date of this employment.

MR. LOCKWOOD was also employed as a Consultant, United States Office of Export Control, from May, 1941, to September, 1941, at Washington, D. C. He was also a Consultant for the Office of the Coordinator of Information in August, 1941.

It is to be noted that MR. LOCKWOOD is Assistant Director of the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey.

VI. UNITED STATES WAR DEPARTMENT

A. ROBERT W. BARNETT

IPR - MR. BARNETT's affiliations with the IPR have been previously set forth in this report. *no order*

War Dept. - Confidential Informant T-4 advised that BARNETT, from July, 1943, to March, 1945, was in the United States Army assigned to Kunming, China, with the Fourteenth Air Force. From May, 1945, to October, 1945, he was assigned to the War Department Military Intelligence, Project Control Officer, and was released with the rank of Major.

B. THOMAS ARTHUR BISSON

IPR - MR. BISSON was a paid employee of the International Secretariat, IPR, in 1936 and from 1943 to 1945. He served as an associated editor of the "Pacific Affairs" from 1943 to 1945.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-17808

War Dept. - MR. BISSON entered on duty with the Overseas Branch of the War Department on March 21, 1946, as a Research Analyst by transfer from the Headquarters, Army Air Forces, United States Strategic Bombing Survey, Washington, D. C. He was ordered to report to Seattle, Washington, not later than March 26, 1946, for embarkation to Tokyo, Japan, where his official duty station was with the Supreme Command Allied Powers (SCAP). He was employed in 1942 and 1943, as a Principal Economist with the Board of Economic Warfare in Washington, D. C.

~~SECRET~~ Confidential Informant T-10, of known reliability, advised that THOMAS ARTHUR BISSON, employed in the Government Section, General Headquarters, Far East Command, was under investigation as having closely associated with leftist and Communist front groups and was in close contact with and partial to Japanese Communists in Tokyo. The informant was unable to furnish further information concerning the investigation.

~~SECRET~~ Confidential Informant T-11, of known reliability, furnished pamphlets issued by the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy advertising the National Conference on American Policy in China and the Far East, held on January 24 and 25, 1948, at the Hotel Roosevelt, New York City. These pamphlets listed T. A. BISSON as National Chairman of the conference. Among the purposes of the Conference, which were listed above the name of T. A. BISSON, were:

1. The halting of United States intervention in China and other Far Eastern countries.
2. The carrying out of the democratic decisions of the Potsdam Agreement and the Moscow Conference regarding policies in Japan and Korea.

The National Conference on American Policy in China and the Far East was included by the Attorney General in a list of Communist organizations coming within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-17808

*WCF*  
Confidential Informant T-11 on January 19, 1950, reported that a news release issued by the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy carried the name of T. A. BISSON on its list of "Consultants."

The General Files of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, indicates that T. A. BISSON was a sponsor of the American League for Peace and Democracy; a member of the American Committee for Anti-Nazi Literature; a sponsor of the New York City Conference Against War and Fascism; a contributor to "Soviet Russia Today;" a speaker at the Fourth National Convention of the American Student Union; a signer of an "Open Letter For Closer Cooperation with the Soviet Union," which was published in "Soviet Russia Today", in September, 1939; and a signer of an appeal for the Committee for Boycott Against Japanese Aggression.

The American League for Peace and Democracy was declared by the Attorney General to be a Communist organization within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

The House Committee on Un-American Activities, 78th Congress, in its report on Page 321, Appendix Part IX, cited the American Committee for Anti-Nazi Literature as a Communist front organization.

The New York City Conference Against War and Fascism was cited as a Communist front organization by the House Committee on Un-American Activities on March 29, 1944.

"Soviet Russia Today" was cited as a Communist front publication by the House Committee on Un-American Activities on June 25, 1942, and March 29, 1944.

The American Student Union was cited as a Communist front organization by the House Committee on Un-American Activities on January 30, 1940, June 25, 1942, and March 29, 1944.

The Committee for Boycott Against Japanese Aggression was cited by the House Committee on Un-American Activities on Page 632, Appendix Part IX.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-17808

C. MIRIAM S. FARLEY

IPR - MISS FARLEY has been editor of the "Far Eastern Survey" since 1949. She served as a research associate with the Pacific Council in 1938. From 1941 to 1944 she was a member of the Board of Editors of the "Far Eastern Survey."

War Dept. - MISS FARLEY was born on January 13, 1907. On January 4, 1946, she was appointed to the position of Research Expert, Office of the Secretary of War, to be stationed for permanent duty in Tokyo, Japan, with the Supreme Command Allied Powers Headquarters.

D. ANDREW J. GRAJDANZEV

IPR - ANDREW J. GRAJDANZEV, who has formally changed his name to ANDREW J. GRAD, was employed on the Research Staff of the International Secretariat from 1938 until January, 1946.

War Dept. - ANDREW JONAH GRAJDANZEV was born on October 11, 1899, at Ussolie, Siberia, Russia. He was naturalized on January 30, 1945, at New York City. He entered on duty with the Overseas Affairs Branch of the War Department on January 28, 1946 as a research expert and was assigned to Tokyo, Japan. He was employed on the staff of General DOUGLAS MAC ARTHUR in Tokyo, from January, 1946, to August, 1947, and since October, 1949, he has been employed by the United Nations.

Confidential Informant T-8, of known reliability, advised that in 1947 GRAJDANZEV had been returned to the zone of the interior from the Far East Command, having been removed for security reasons. According to the informant, he was employed on the staff of General DOUGLAS MAC ARTHUR in Tokyo until August, 1947, which was apparently the time of his removal. The informant was unable to furnish any further information surrounding the facts of GRAJDANZEV's removal.

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-17808

~~SECRET~~

On December 16, 1950, GRAJDANZEV advised in an interview that since October, 1949, he has been employed by the Conferences and General Services Department and Translation Section, United Nations, Flushing Meadows, New York. He advised that from January, 1946, to August, 1947, he was employed on the staff of General DOUGLAS MAC ARTHUR in Tokyo, working on the supervision of the local government in Japan.

Concerning ANDREW GRAJDANZEV, it is to be noted that Confidential Informant T-9, of known reliability, advised that GRAJDANZEV was a former civilian employee of the American Military Government in Japan and was Chief of the Research Committee on Oriental Affairs of the Korean-American Cultural Association which, according to the informant, was a Communist front organization having offices in Washington, D. C. The informant explained that GRAJDANZEV's name appeared on various letters of the association, which reflected his address in 1947 to be in New York City.

E. PHILIP E. LILIENTHAL

IPR - MR. LILIENTHAL's affiliations with the IPR have been previously set forth in this report.

War Dept. - LILIENTHAL, from August 26, 1942, to January 9, 1943, was employed by the United States War Department, Army Transport Service, Quartermaster Corps, at Fort Mason, San Francisco, California. Following this employment he entered on duty with the Office of War Information at San Francisco, California.

VII. MISCELLANEOUS GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

A. IRVING S. FRIEDMAN

IPR - IRVING FRIEDMAN was a research associate of the International Secretariat, IPR, in May, 1938, up until February, 1940.

U.S. Treasury Department - IRVING SIGMUND FRIEDMAN was born on January 31, 1915, at Brooklyn, New York. FRIEDMAN entered

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-17808

on duty with the Division of Monetary Research, Treasury Department, as an Economic Analyst, on June 30, 1941, in Washington, D. C.

He traveled to the Middle East from April 10, 1944, to July 27, 1944, for the Treasury Department, at which time he was the Treasury Representative at the Conference of Finance Ministers of the Middle Eastern countries. He resigned his position as Assistant Director of Monetary Research, Division of Monetary Research, Treasury Department, on July 8, 1946, to accept a position with the International Monetary Fund as Chief of the United States and Canada Section of the Division of Research.

FRIEDMAN prepared a volume on British relations with China, while he was a research associate of the International Secretariat of the IPR. He was employed by MR. EDWARD C. CARTER, International Secretariat of the IPR as a research associate from May, 1938, to February, 1940.

B. HUNTINGTON GILCHRIST

IPR - MR. GILCHRIST was Chairman of the Pacific Council of the IPR from 1947 to 1950. He was a member of the Board of Trustees of the AMERICAN IPR from 1946 to 1948. He was a member of the American delegation in 1945 to the biennial conference of the Institute, held at Hot Springs, Arkansas. Since 1945 he has been a member of the Council on Foreign Relations of the American Council, IPR, and a member of the Executive Committee.

ECA - HUNTINGTON GILCHRIST was born at Boston, Massachusetts, on November 16, 1891. He entered on duty with the Economic Cooperation Administration as a Consultant in the Office of the Special Representative, Washington, D. C. on August 22, 1949. On September 13, 1949, his position as Consultant was terminated. On September 14, 1949, he was appointed Economic Commissioner (Director of Industry Division), Office of Special Representative, Paris, France. On November 20, 1950, he was appointed Chief of Mission, Mission Chiefs (equivalent to Minister), ECA Mission to Belgium, Luxembourg, and is presently so employed.

~~SECRET~~



~~SECRET~~

NY 100-17808

MR. GILCHRIST, in 1944, was Secretary-General UNRRA Council, Montreal, Canada. From 1943 to 1945, he was a Consultant on International Organization of the Department of State. In 1945, GILCHRIST was Executive Officer of the United Nations Conference on International Organization at San Francisco, California.

GILCHRIST has been a member of other United States Delegations in connection with the United Nations in 1945 and 1946.

C. MARY FRANCES HEALY

IPR - In 1942 and 1943 and from 1946 to 1951, MARY FRANCES HEALY has served as an Assistant to the Secretary-General of the International Secretariat, IPR.

State Dept. - MARY FRANCES HEALY was born on November 22, 1919, and she entered on duty with the State Department on October 25, 1943, as a clerk-stenographer. At this time she was assigned to the Field Service, New Delhi, India. Her employment was terminated on April 12, 1946, due to a reduction in force.

D. HENRY A. WALLACE

IPR - In 1946 WALLACE was a member of the Board of Trustees of the AMERICAN IPR.

Executive Government Positions - The 1950-1951 edition of "Who's Who in America" reflects that HENRY AGARD WALLACE was Secretary of Agriculture from 1933 to 1940; that he was Vice-President of the United States from 1941 to 1945; and Secretary of Commerce from 1945 to 1946.

E. HARRY E. YARNELL

IPR - From 1941 to 1943 YARNELL was Vice-Chairman of the AMERICAN IPR. In 1942 and 1943 he was Vice-Chairman

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-17808

SECURITY INFORMATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

of the Pacific Council. MR. YARNELL served as a member of the Board of Trustees of the AMERICAN IPR from 1941 to 1945.

United States Navy The 1950-1951 edition of "Who's Who in America" reflects that HARRY ERVIN YARNELL was born near Independence, Iowa, on October 18, 1875. He graduated from the United States Naval Academy in 1897 and the Naval War College in 1915. He was an Ensign in the United States Navy in 1899 and was promoted through the ranks to Admiral in July, 1942. He was the Commandant of the Pearl Harbor Naval Station from 1933 to 1936 and was Commander in Chief of the Asiatic Fleet from October, 1936, to July, 1939. Admiral YARNELL retired from the Navy on November 1, 1939.

Concerning YARNELL, it is to be noted that the publication "Soviet Russia Today", dated June, 1943, on Page 1, reflects that YARNELL was a signer of the National Council of American Soviet Friendship "Letter to the Mayor of Stalingrad."

The "New York Times", dated May 18, 1943, on Page 17, reflects that YARNELL was a signer of the National Council of American Soviet Friendship "Open Letter to the American People."

The National Council of American Soviet Friendship has been declared by the Attorney General as an organization coming within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

- PENDING -

~~SECURITY INFORMATION~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~SECRET~~



~~SECRET~~

NY 100-17808

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

There will be set out hereinafter the names of individuals and their associations with the IPR and respective government agencies. These names are being included in the Administrative Section of this report inasmuch as the complete background and information surrounding their government employment is not known.

CHRISTIAN C. ANNDT

IPR - ANNDT was a member of the Board of Trustees of the AMERICAN IPR from 1946 through 1948.

The records of the IPR reflect that ANNDT was Chief of the Far Eastern Section of the United States Office of Education at Washington, D. C.

EVANS F. CARLSON

IPR - CARLSON, a deceased General of the United States Marine Corps, is the author of the following articles:

May 19, 1941, issue of "Far Eastern Survey", the article entitled, "Strategy of the Sino-Japanese War."

June, 1939, issue of "Pacific Affairs," author of a letter regarding the guerrilla war in China.

September, 1939, issue of "Pacific Affairs", the article entitled, "The Chinese-Mongol Front in Suijuan."

CARLSON is a deceased Brigadier General who served with the United States Marine Corps.

Concerning EVANS CARLSON, it is to be noted that LOUIS F. BUDENZ, in April, 1950, advised that he had never met CARLSON, but knew him to be a Communist from official reports made to him by responsible officials of the Communist Party.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-17808

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE (Cont'd)

LAUGHLIN CURRIE

IPR - MR. CURRIE was a member of the Board of Trustees of the American IPR from 1946 through 1948.

ELIZABETH BENTLEY, self-admitted espionage agent, alleged that LAUGHLIN CURRIE orally furnished GEORGE SILVERMAN information on various matters. SILVERMAN was reported by BENTLEY to be a member of a Communist underground espionage network. BENTLEY also stated that JACOB GOLOS, a known Soviet agent, stated that CURRIE was one of the Washington group who supplied varied and sundry types of information to him, which he in turn would pass on to an unidentified agent of Russia.

WHITTAKER CHAMBERS, self-admitted espionage agent, advised that in September, 1939, he related to ADOLPH BERLE, of the State Department, that CURRIE was a "Fellow traveler", who helped Communists; however, never went the whole way."

The United States Army service record of WILLIAM LUDWIG ULLMAN bears the name of LAUGHLIN CURRIE, White House, Washington, D. C., as a character reference. ELIZABETH BENTLEY alleged that ULLMAN was a member of a Communist underground apparatus in Washington, D. C.

Confidential Informant T-12, of known reliability, advised that LAUGHLIN CURRIE went to China with OWEN LATTIMORE, had close connections with the magazine, "Amerasia," and had written several articles which were published in that magazine.

Confidential Informant T-13, of known reliability, advised that LAUGHLIN CURRIE was an honorary vice-chairman of Indusco, Inc. LOUIS BUDENZ stated that a number of the directors and officers of Indusco were known to him to be Communist or pro-Communist, and that the organization was Communist-controlled.

STANLEY K. HORNBECK

IPR - HORNBECK was a member of the Advisory Council of the AMERICAN IPR from 1925 to 1926, and he was

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-17808

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE (Cont'd)

a member of the Board of Trustees of the AMERICAN IPR in 1927 and 1928.

STANLEY K. HORNBECK was Political Advisor for the Far East to the Secretary of State, United States Department of State, Washington, D. C. in September, 1939. He was former Ambassador to the Netherlands and former Political Economist and Lecturer on the Far East, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

It is to be noted that ALGER HISS served as HORNBECK's assistant in the Department of State from September, 1939, to the spring of 1944.

MRS. ROSE W. LANDRES

IPR - ROSE LANDRES was Assistant Treasurer of the AMERICAN IPR from 1941 to 1942.

She was formerly employed as a junior accountant by the United States Department of War and stationed in occupied Germany.

Further concerning MRS. ROSE W. LANDRES, it is noted that Confidential Informant T-14, of known reliability, advised on February 5, 1948, that she had arrived in Germany in about January, 1947, for employment as a Junior Accountant, with headquarters in the 7738th Army Exchange Service Group, Headquarters Command, European Command. According to the informant, a committee to review unfavorable reports of the character and loyalty of MRS. LANDRES convened in Bad-Nauheim, Germany, on September 8, 1947, and the committee's findings were to the effect that she was not loyal to the United States, and it was recommended she be dismissed and returned to the United States. According to this informant, three individuals had stated that LANDRES criticized the United States and its policies and were of the opinion that she was a Communist in her thinking and ideals. According to the informant, MRS. LANDRES was critical

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-17808

~~SECRET~~

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE (Cont'd)

of the United States and referred to it as a "war-minded capitalistic country." In addition, it was reported that she praised the Russian way of life.

JAMES L. MC CONAUGHY

IPR - MC CONAUGHY was a member of the Board of Trustees of the AMERICAN IPR from 1943 through 1945.

The 1946-1947 edition of "Who's Who in America" reflects that MC CONAUGHY was Deputy Director of OSS from 1943 to 1945. He was Lieutenant Governor of Connecticut from 1939 to 1940 and served as President of the United China Relief since 1942. From 1925 to 1943 MC CONAUGHY was president of Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut.

It is noted that in some instances in this report no information was set forth concerning the individuals' Communist affiliations. A review of the New York Office files failed to indicate any such information on the particular individual.

Concerning IRVING S. FRIEDMAN, who was reported to be employed by the United States Treasury Department, it is to be noted that Confidential Informant T-15, of known reliability, advised that one IRVING FRIEDMAN, of 2245 East 19th Street, Brooklyn, New York, held the position of War Activity Director, Avenue U Communist Party Club, 1503 Avenue U, Brooklyn, New York, as of March 5, 1944.

The information set out in this report, as indicated in the Introduction, was obtained from interviews with IPR officials and also from a review of the IPR records and files which were made available to the New York Office by the IPR officials. This report was prepared from a review of previous reports submitted in captioned matter covering other phases of this investigation. This report is not believed to include

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-17808

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE (Cont'd)

all of the individuals associated with the IPR, either in an official or unofficial capacity, who left the IPR to work for some United States Government Agency during World War II. It is believed that this is a representative number of the officials of the organization who left the IPR during the war years and were in the United States Government service.

Concerning the membership of the IPR and those members who were employed by some United States Government Agency, during the war years, it is to be noted that KATRINE R. C. GREENE advised on December 14, 1950, that there are at the present time over 1,100 members in the AMERICAN IPR. She stated that the membership has decreased somewhat during the past year because of the increase in the membership fee. MISS GREENE stated also that the membership now is much lower than it was during the years of World War II.

MISS GREENE stated that prior to 1938, when she came to the IPR, the IPR had assumed the policy of maintaining an open membership. MISS GREENE stated that in the early 1930s membership in the IPR was limited to 500 and that in middle 1930s this was changed to a limited number of 1,500 members. MISS GREENE believed that the membership during World War II years would be over 1,500 members in the AMERICAN IPR.

It is to be noted that membership in the AMERICAN IPR covers all of the United States and its possessions and is not limited to the New York City or Eastern areas. The IPR maintains a card index system on which there is recorded the former and present member's name, address, and in some instances identification. These cards are in no way complete and in most instances fail to reflect the member's employment. It is felt that a review of all the membership cards would not reflect any additional information concerning members who were employed during the war years with a United States Government Agency.

The report of SA JOSEPH F. DIFFLEY, dated May 11, 1950, at New York, in the captioned matter, and the report of SA ALBERT J. KLEIN, dated May 3, 1950, at New York, in the

~~SECRET~~



~~SECRET~~

NY 100-17808

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE (Cont'd)

captioned matter, included information obtained from a review of the IPR cards. Where information was noted that the individual was formerly employed with the United States Government service, this information was included in these reports as documentation or as identification of the individual. All the above-mentioned information has been incorporated in this report.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-17808

LEADS

WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICE

At Washington, D. C.

Will ascertain and report the date when each of the individuals mentioned in the Administrative Section of this report was employed by an agency of the United States Government. The place of employment of each individual should also be ascertained.

NEW YORK OFFICE

At New York, New York

Will follow and report the activities of subject organization, within recent months.

One copy of this report is being designated for the Baltimore Office, inasmuch as they are the Office of Origin the the case entitled, "OWEN LATTIMORE; ESPIONAGE - R."

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

CONFIDENTIAL INFORMANTS

The Confidential Informants mentioned in the report of SA JAMES N. JULIANA, dated APR 24 1951, at New York, New York, are identified as follows:

- T-1 [redacted] who furnished information to SAs WILLIAM F. NORTON and JAMES T. O'BRIEN.
- T-2 A memorandum dated 12/5/45, in the files of the Office of War Information, concerning WILLIAM L. HOLLAND, as reflected in Washington Field letter to the Bureau dated 3/29/51, on Page 7.
- T-3 [redacted] (X)
- T-4 Records of the foreign service files of the United States State Department, Washington, D. C. as set forth in Washington Field's letter to the Bureau, 3/29/51. b7D
- T-5 [redacted] contacted by SA WILLIAM J. MC CARTHY. (X)
- T-6 [redacted] Secretary to the Director of Personnel, United Nations, New York City, who on 3/30/51, made available to SA THOMAS MC SHANE the records of UNRRA maintained by the UN.
- T-7 Security files of the United States Department of State, Washington, D. C., as reflected in Washington Field letter to the Bureau, 3/29/51.
- T-8 A confidential letter in the files of the Overseas Affairs Branch of the War Department, dated 10/3/47, concerning ANDREW J. GRAJDANZEV, set forth in

~~SECRET~~



~~SECURITY INFORMATION - CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~SECRET~~

CONFIDENTIAL INFORMANTS (Cont'd)

(u)

(L)

T-9

Washington Field letter to the Bureau, 3/29/51.

[redacted] Staff Officer, CIG, First Army, Governor's Island, New York.

T-10

Confidential memo in the files of the Overseas Affairs Branch, Personnel Office, Department of the Army, concerning THOMAS ARTHUR BISSON, as reflected in Washington Field letter to the Bureau, 3/29/51, Page 2. b7D

T-11

Confidential mail box maintained by the New York Office.

T-12

[redacted] G-2, former Special Agent of the FBI, who obtained the information from a confidential ONI source.

T-13

Confidential source [redacted] contacted by SA GEORGE J. SULLIVAN.

T-14

Military Intelligence Division, Washington, D. C.

T-15

Anonymous.

REFERENCE: Bureau letter to New York, 11/25/50.  
Report of SA JAMES N. JULIANA, at New York, 1/31/51.  
Bureau letter to New York, 2/12/51.

~~SECURITY INFORMATION - CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~SECRET~~

~~SECURITY INFORMATION~~ ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT

**NEW YORK**

NY FILE NO. 100-64700

~~SECRET~~

REPORT MADE AT <b>NEW YORK</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>APR 24 1951</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>12/4, 5, 11-16/50; 1/4, 5, 8, 19-24; 3/29, 30; 4/3-6, 10, 13, 14, 16, 17/51.</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>JAMES N. JULIANA</b>
TITLE <b>INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS; AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, INC., aka., American Council Institute of Pacific Relations.</b>			CHARACTER OF CASE <b>ESPIONAGE - R</b>

**SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:**

Identities of persons connected with the IPR, as members, employees, or in some other capacity, who were or are employed by an agency of the US Government, set forth. Affiliations with IPR and dates and places of employments in the service of the US Government reported regarding each individual. Communist affiliations and other pertinent information set forth concerning these persons. Many individuals who have been associated with the IPR, in an official or unofficial capacity, were employed with OWI, UNRRA, the Department of State, OSS, and other Government agencies during World War II.

*4/19/83*  
*Classified by SP5 [signature]*  
*Excluded by: [signature]*  
*SP6 Bja/ome 12/3/81*  
*#246268*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

APPROVED AND FORWARDED:	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES
<b>SECURITY INFORMATION</b>		<b>CONFIDENTIAL</b>
COPIES OF THIS REPORT <b>6 Bureau (100-64700) 1 Baltimore (Info) 2 Washington Field 3 New York</b>		This is an FBI Investigative report. It makes no recommendation for clearance or disapproval.

PROPERTY OF FBI—THIS CONFIDENTIAL REPORT AND ITS CONTENTS ARE LOANED TO YOU BY THE FBI AND ARE NOT TO BE DISTRIBUTED OUTSIDE OF AGENCY TO WHICH LOANED.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: APR 24 1951

FROM : SAC, New York

SUBJECT: INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS;  
AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, aka.  
ESPIONAGE - R  
(100-64700 Bufile)

113264

ReBulet, 2/12/51, which returned six copies of the report of SA JAMES N. JULIANA, 1/31/51, at New York, and which directed that a revised report be compiled reflecting additional information requested from the Washington Field Office.

There is transmitted herewith six copies for the Bureau, two copies for Washington Field, and one copy for Baltimore, of the report of SA JAMES N. JULIANA, at New York, which includes the information requested in referenced letter.

ENCLS. (6)

CC: WASHINGTON FIELD (ENCLS. 2)  
BALTIMORE (ENCLS. 1)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 4/19/83 BY SP6 BJA/20012/13/84  
#20012/26/84

APR 30 1951

JNJ:GM  
100-17808

RECORDED - 34

100-64700-765

APR 24 1951

5-3

50 MAY 21 1951

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOI/PA  
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET  
FOI/PA# 1347893-0

Total Deleted Page(s) = 2  
Page 25 ~ b3; b7D;  
Page 26 ~ b3; b7D;

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX  
X Deleted Page(s) X  
X No Duplication Fee X  
X For this Page X  
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

(1-10-49)

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT

NEW YORK

FILE NO. 100-2375

REPORT MADE AT KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE	DATE WHEN MADE 2-23-51	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 1-15-19,31;2-1-3,5/51	REPORT MADE BY CHARLTON C. McSWAIN bk
TITLE COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY			CHARACTER OF CASE INTERNAL SECURITY - C

## SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

Progressive Party activity in Chattanooga area principally led by CLARA VINCENT, CP sympathizer, who started meetings after discussion with SAM HALL, Chairman, District 27, CP, USA. Progressive Party activities in Knoxville area divided in two groups, one seated on University of Tenn. campus and one led by FLORENCE REECE, CP sympathizer. Information available indicates that 2 of the individuals primarily responsible for the origin of the Progressive Party in Tenn. were MYLES HORTON and TOM LUDWIG, residents of Monteagle and Greeneville, Tenn., respectively. Policy and activities of group at Chattanooga closely coincident to CP line for concurrent period. No information indicative of present activity of Progressive Party in East Tennessee.

- R U C -

8/5/73  
Classified by SP-7/epj  
Declassify on: OADR

## DETAILS:

I. LOCAL OFFICERS AND MEMBERS

Confidential Informant T-1, of known reliability, advised on May 1, 1948, that he had been given to understand that a "HENRY WALLACE Third Party" meeting had been held at 407 1/2 Union Avenue, Nashville, Tennessee, on April 20, 1948, following a state-wide labor rally in that city. He further had obtained the impression that this meeting was held at the insistence of, and was guided by MYLES HORTON and TOM LUDWIG, Director and staff member, respectively, of the Highlander Folk School. At this meeting, plans were made for the state-wide Third Party organizational meeting to be held at Nashville on May 10, 1948.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: [Signature]	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES	
COPIES OF THIS REPORT 6 Bureau (100-357934) 3- Knoxville 3- New York (100-94070) 1- Memphis (Info.) 1- Birmingham (Info.) 1- OSI, Maxwell Field, Ala. 1- CIC, G-2, 3rd Army, Atlanta 1- ONI, 6th ND, Charleston, SC		100-357934-251	RECORDED - 97 INDEXED - 97 FEB 26 1951 34 AUG 3 1964 CC TO: [REDACTED] REQ. REC'D: [REDACTED] ANS. BY: [REDACTED]

PROPERTY OF FBI - This confidential report and its contents are loaned to you by the FBI and are not to be distributed outside of agency to which loaned.

60 APR 23 1951  
7-576

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

By letter postdated May 27, 1948, at Memphis, Tennessee, Confidential Informant T-2, of known reliability, received mimeographed brochure dated May 22, 1948, and entitled "Call To The State-Wide Conference of Wallace Supporters at Nashville, 407½ Union Street, on June 13, 1948." A list of sponsors signing this brochure includes CLARA M. VINCENT, Chattanooga, H. N. HATLEY, Greeneville, and Reverend A. L. DeJARNETTE, Soddy, all Tennessee.

Confidential Informant T-3, of known reliability, advised that he attended the WALLACE-For-President meeting held at Nashville, Tennessee, on June 13, 1948, at 407½ Union Avenue. He stated that the Executive Board members were elected and delegates selected for the National Convention of the Third Party to be held at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Among those elected as members of the Board of Directors were CLARA M. VINCENT, H. N. HATLEY, Reverend A. L. DeJARNETTE, SID ALTMAN and GEORGE FRIED. T-3 stated that among those selected on a voluntary basis as delegates to the National Convention were SIDNEY ALTMAN, GEORGE FRIED and CLARA VINCENT. Professor JAMES ELDER, of Knoxville, was also present at the Nashville meeting, according to T-3.

An article in the Knoxville Journal for June 14, 1948, reported that Dr. JAMES ELDER, University of Tennessee Professor, and H. N. HATLEY, Greene County farmer and President of the Greene County Farmers Union, had been named as members of a temporary executive committee at the meeting of the HENRY WALLACE Party in Nashville, Tennessee. The article continued that GEORGE FRIED, a University of Tennessee graduate student, had been named as one of fifteen delegates to the Philadelphia National Convention. This article continued that ELDER advised that he did not attend the meeting in Nashville, but his wife did attend. He further stated he did not think he would accept the appointment to the executive committee.

Confidential Informant T-5, of known reliability, advised that a "WALLACE Meeting" was held at the home of CLARA VINCENT, 1055 Englewood Avenue, Chattanooga, on July 5, 1948. Those present were EVELYN and JIM WAGNER, FRANK VINCENT, CLARA VINCENT, GRACE HOOD, LENA WOLINSKY, IRVING TYBER and BETTY TYBER.

CI T-5, of known reliability, advised that on August 2, 1948, a WALLACE Meeting was held at the home of CLARA VINCENT. Those present were SEYMOUR SHAVIN, DAVID POLLARD (California Tech College), FRED SMITH (California Tech College), IVA LEE ELDRIDGE, EDWARD ELDRIDGE, DILLARD KING, GRACE HOOD, JOHN HOOD and Dr. P. A. STEPHENS. At this meeting, POLLARD and SMITH advised they had come to Chattanooga to distribute WALLACE literature and make a house-to-house survey.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Henry Wallace Party Tennessee

*Mrs Florence Reece*  
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

An article appeared in the August 18, 1948, issue of the Knoxville Journal which stated that Mr. and Mrs. SAMUEL REECE, 2806 Wilson Avenue, Knoxville, were arranging for the appearance of HENRY WALLACE in Knoxville on August 31 and September 4, 1948. This article identified Mrs. REECE as Acting President of the Knoxville and Knox County Committee of the WALLACE-For-President Organizations. This article stated that Mrs. REECE advised that she attended the Progressive Party Convention in Nashville, but was unable to attend the National Conclave.

Confidential Informant T-4, of known reliability, advised that CLARA VINCENT was seated on the speakers' platform at the appearance of PAUL ROBESON on October 1, 1948, at the Masons' Temple, 958 South 5th Street, Memphis, Tennessee. VINCENT was introduced to the assembly by Mrs. LEE RICHARDSON, Shelby County Chairman of the Progressive Party. VINCENT, in turn, introduced Reverend DWIGHT V. KYLE. This gathering and appearance of ROBESON was held under the auspices of the Shelby County Chapter of the Progressive Party.

On September 12, 1948, Confidential Informant T-3 attended a State Progressive Party Convention at Nashville, Tennessee. At this convention, the State Electors for the forthcoming Presidential Election were named. Among those named were CLARA M. VINCENT, Elector for the State Legislature, H. N. HATLEY, Greeneville, Tennessee, District Elector, DORA TIPTON, Townsend, Tennessee, District Elector, Dr. P. A. STEPHENS, NAACP, Chattanooga, Tennessee, District Elector, SIDNEY ALTMAN, Tullahoma, Tennessee, District Elector.

The October 5, 1948, issue of the Nashville Banner carried a photograph taken at the October 3, 1948, meeting of the Tennessee State Progressive Party Executive Board, at which time State officers had been named. CI T-3 advised that among those persons in this photograph were CLARA VINCENT and H. N. HATLEY, both named as Vice Chairmen. Also at this meeting, T-3 advised that HATLEY was named the Party nominee for membership on the State Railroad and Public Utilities Commission for Tennessee. HATLEY was referred to as a former president of the Tennessee State Farmers Union.

Confidential Informant T-5, of known reliability, advised that on December 7, 1948, SEYMOUR SHAVIN gave CLARA VINCENT \$8.00 as a contribution toward a school to be held at New Orleans on December 10-12, 1948, sponsored by the Progressive Party.

During December of 1948, Dr. RALPH E. DUNFORD, Dean of Students, University of Tennessee, advised that a "WALLACE-For-President Club" had been active on the campus of the university during the Spring and

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Summer of 1948. He named the leader of this group as Mrs. FAIN S. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
He also recalled that GIDEON W. FRYER, Goodlettsville, Tennessee, GEORGE  
FRIED, 1806 West Cumberland Avenue, Knoxville, Miss PAT WALLACE, Universit  
of Tennessee student, and HARLAN HUFF RANLEY were active in this group.  
Dean DUNFORD stated that the faculty members interested in the group  
were Professor JAMES H. ELDER, Dr. RANE DOVISNE WILLIAMSON and MARY  
ELIZABETH BARNACLE. *Pro communist*

*Mrs. Tilman Badle* *Mrs. Mary Elizabeth Badle*  
*Mrs. Elizabeth Badle nee*  
LEWIS B. BEARINGER, Johnson City, Tennessee, and a University  
of Tennessee student, advised that he had been the organizer and president  
of a student group on the campus known as "The World Affairs Discussion  
Group." Among this group, he stated there were several strong "WALLACEITES"  
He named the following persons as such: LEE LEVITT, A. E. GALYON, GIDEON  
W. FRYER, Miss PAT WALLACE, Miss JUNE POLLEY, Miss KAY KIMSEY, Mrs. FAIN  
STANLEY ROBY, Dr. RANE WILLIAMSON, Dr. JAMES H. ELDER and Miss ELIZABETH  
BARNACLE.

CI T-5 advised that a Progressive Party meeting was held  
at the home of CLARA VINCENT, Chattanooga, Tennessee, on February 11, 1949  
The only persons attending were CLARA VINCENT, FRANK VINCENT, SEYMOUR  
SHAVIN, GERTRUDE SHAVIN and GRACE HOOD. At this meeting, VINCENT had  
GRACE HOOD turn over to SEYMOUR SHAVIN the old mailing list of the Souther  
Conference for Human Welfare. SHAVIN, as Secretary of the Chattanooga  
Progressive Party, was to use this list as the Progressive Party mailing  
list. ~~(X)~~

CI T-5 advised that a Progressive Party meeting was held at  
the home of CLARA VINCENT on May 16, 1949. Those present were FRANK  
VINCENT, CLARA VINCENT, SEYMOUR SHAVIN, GERTRUDE SHAVIN, JOHN HOOD and  
GRACE HOOD. CI T-5 advised that on July 29, 1949, another Progressive  
Party meeting was held at the home of CLARA VINCENT. Those present were  
CLARA VINCENT, FRANK VINCENT, SEYMOUR SHAVIN, GERTRUDE SHAVIN, JOHN HOOD,  
GRACE HOOD, IRVING TYBER, ELLA TYBER, LENA WOLINSKY, MORRIS ROSENTHAL and  
a Mr. KLEEDS (who lived in Knoxville, with his home in Miami) ~~(X)~~

*Dr. Milton*  
On November 1, 1949, CI T-5 attended a Progressive Party  
meeting at the home of CLARA VINCENT, Chattanooga, Tennessee. Those  
present were GRACE HOOD, GERTRUDE SHAVIN, SEYMOUR SHAVIN, JOHN HOOD,  
ELLA TYBER, Mr. WOLINSKY, ROBERT BROOKS and the informant. At this  
meeting, VINCENT read a report made by HENRY WALLACE on "The Task of the  
Progressive Party." ~~(X)~~

CI T-5 advised on February 14, 1950, that a meeting of the  
Progressive Party was held at VINCENT's home on January 23, 1950. Those  
present at this meeting were FRANK VINCENT, CLARA VINCENT, JOHN HOOD, ~~(X)~~



KX 100-2375

GRACE HOOD, ELLA TYBER and GERTRUDE STUMPF. At this meeting, T-5 reported VINCENT read aloud the published call to the Second National Convention of the Progressive Party to be held in Chicago, Illinois, on February 24-26, 1950. VINCENT read a letter dated January 16, 1950, which she had received from MILTON WOLINSKY, of Knoxville, Tennessee. T-5 identified WOLINSKY as the brother of ELLA TYBER. In this letter, according to the informant, WOLINSKY writes that a meeting had been held in Knoxville and that they had seven people who planned to attend the convention in Chicago six as delegates and one as an observer. The letter also inquired as to how many were going to the convention from Chattanooga, and he requested that if anyone wished to travel with the Knoxville group to Chicago, that these persons fill out cards and send them to Knoxville, in order that arrangements could be made for housing accommodations. This letter mentioned a Mr. LEEDS, of Knoxville, as a participant. (S)

Confidential Informant T-6, of known reliability, advised that an unknown make of automobile, bearing 1949 Tennessee license plates #4-11104, was parked in the vicinity of the Ashland Boulevard Auditorium, Ashland Avenue and Van Buren Streets, Chicago, Illinois, on Friday, February 24, 1950. The opening session of the Progressive Party's National Convention was in progress at this time. This car is registered to MILTON A. WOLINSKY, 2515 East 5th Street, Chattanooga, Tennessee.

In the February 27, 1950, issue of the Knoxville Journal at Knoxville, Tennessee, an article appeared concerning the Knoxville delegates to the Progressive Party Convention in Chicago. The article states that the Associated Press reported that there were five delegates from the Knoxville area and these delegates were: IRVING LEEDS, 131 Teliwa Court, Knoxville, Tennessee; ELI ALSON, New York City; MARTIN KARAN, Brooklyn, New York; MILTON S. WOLINSKY, Chattanooga, Tennessee; and BARBARA ROBY, no address. The article continues that four of these persons were residing at the Alpha Epsilon Pi Fraternity House, Temple Avenue, Knoxville. Mrs. CLARA M. VINCENT, Chattanooga, Tennessee, was also listed as a delegate to the convention.

CI T-6, of known reliability, advised on March 1, 1950, that nominations for committee members had been made, subject to convention approval, at the Second National Convention of the Progressive Party, held February 24-26, 1950, at Ashland Auditorium, Chicago. Among those nominated were JOHN LUDWIG (Tennessee), Resolutions Committee, and CLARA VINCENT (Tennessee), Resolutions Committee. (No JOHN LUDWIG is known to the Knoxville Office, and it is possible that this refers to THOMAS D. LUDWIG, of Greeneville, Tennessee, who has been previously shown in this report to have been active in the Progressive Party.)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

KX 100-2375

On June 13, 1950, Confidential Informant T-5 reported that a Progressive Party meeting was held at CLARA VINCENT's home, Chattanooga, on May 22, 1950. Those present at this meeting were FRANK VINCENT, CLARA VINCENT, ELLA TYBER, Mrs. WOLINSKY, JOHN HOOD, GRACE HOOD and ROBERT BROOKS. According to the informant, no business was transacted at this meeting. (X)

II. DATA CONCERNING INDIVIDUAL OFFICERS AND MEMBERS

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CLARA M. VINCENT, Aka Mrs. Francis George Vincent

CI T-7, of known reliability, advised on June 7, 1942, that VINCENT was a member of the sponsoring committee of the Michigan Free Browder Congress. (X)

The National Free Browder Congress has been cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in its report of March 29, 1944.

CI T-8, of known reliability, advised on February 2, 1943, that VINCENT was a member of the Public Relations Committee of the Michigan Civil Rights Federation.

The Michigan Civil Rights Federation has been listed as a subversive and Communist organization by the Attorney General of the United States in his letter of September 21, 1948.

CI T-9, of known reliability, furnished a letter dated April 14, 1943, which showed VINCENT to be Secretary of the sponsoring committee of the Detroit Chapter, Peoples Institute of Applied Religion.

The Peoples Institute of Applied Religion was cited as a subversive and Communist organization by the U. S. Attorney General in his letter released September 21, 1948.

CI T-9, of known reliability, on January 10, 1944, furnished material reflecting VINCENT to be a member of the Executive Board of the Detroit Council of American-Soviet Friendship.

The National Council of American-Soviet Friendship was cited as a subversive and Communist organization by the Attorney General of the United States in his letter of September 21, 1948.

*over*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

On April 27, 1944, PIERRE DeROSTANG, Manager of the Transportation Building, Detroit, advised that CLARA VINCENT and Reverend CLAUD WILLIAMS maintained an office in room 420 of that building. A list of their office activities included "People's Congress," "Institute of Applied Religion," and "The Protestant, Detroit Branch."

The People's Congress for Peace and Democracy has been cited by the California Committee on Un-American Activities, 1948, as the forerunner of the American League for Peace and Democracy. The American League for Peace and Democracy is listed by the U. S. Attorney General as a subversive and Communist organization in his letter of September 21, 1948. In the Congressional Record, under date of September 24, 1942, Attorney General FRANCIS BIDDLE declared that "In an effort to create public sentiment on behalf of a foreign policy adopted to the interest of the Soviet Union. . . the American League for Peace and Democracy. . . was designed to conceal Communist control, in accordance with the new tactics of the Communist International."

"The Protestant" has been cited by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report dated March 29, 1944, as a "magazine which has faithfully propagated the Communist Party line under the guise of being a religious journal."

According to CI T-10, of known reliability, VINCENT was scheduled to speak at the meeting of the Northwest Communist Club on October 24, 1944. VINCENT reputedly criticized this club for its deterioration.

The Northwest Communist Club was an affiliate of the Communist Political Association, which was declared a subversive and Communist organization by the Attorney General in his letter of September 21, 1948.

VINCENT was a delegate to the National Negro Congress, 10th Annual Convention, which was held at Detroit, Michigan, from May 30 through June 2, 1946, according to CI T-11, of known reliability.

The National Negro Congress has been declared a subversive and Communist organization by the U. S. Attorney General in his letter of September 21, 1948.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CI T-5, of known reliability, advised in April of 1948 that VINCENT had come to Chattanooga in 1947, and has resided at 1055 Englewood Avenue, Chattanooga, Tennessee, since that time. T-5 states that upon arrival in Chattanooga, VINCENT received an introduction to GRACE HOOD, then considered to be local secretary of the Communist Party, by means of a letter from HAROLD FREECE, whom informant knows to be a member of the Communist Party, which letter instructed HOOD to meet VINCENT and her husband. This informant also discovered that LUCY HAESSLER, the wife of CARL HAESSLER, had furnished VINCENT with the phone number of GRACE HOOD. (C) Z.R.

CI T-12, of known reliability, advised on May 12, 1944, that HAESSLER is an old-time member of the Communist Party and is the brother-in-law of WILLIAM WEINSTONE, Communist Party leader in New York City.

CI T-5 has closely followed the activities of VINCENT in Chattanooga and expresses the opinion that VINCENT is actively pro-Russian and pro-Communist, although actual membership in the Communist Party itself is not known. According to this informant VINCENT took an active part in the work of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, is continually distributing literature deemed Communistic in nature by the informant, is an ardent follower of Reverend CLAUDE WILLIAMS, who is the head of the Peoples Institute of Applied Religion, and was a guiding influence in Progressive Party activities in Tennessee. T-5 also advised that VINCENT attended the Second World Peace Congress at Sheffield, England, and also the peace conference held in Warsaw, Poland, during 1950, and may also have visited some of the satellite nations of Russia during this trip abroad. VINCENT has been closely associated with Communist Party members in Chattanooga and the informant advises that VINCENT has a poor opinion of them because of their temerity and lack of activity in Party matters. (C)

As previously shown in this report, VINCENT was the organizer of the Progressive Party Group in Chattanooga, one of the sponsors for the State Conference originating the Progressive Party in Tennessee, was elected a member of the State Board of Directors, was elected an Elector for the state-at-large, was a delegate to the National Convention in Chicago, and was, at this Convention, named a member of the Resolutions Committee which formulated policy.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

*Mrs Carl Haessler*

KX 100-2375

FRANCIS GEORGE VINCENT, Aka Frank Vincent

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CI T-5, of known reliability, advises that FRANK VINCENT does not often express himself concerning his economic and political ideologies, and does not take any leadership role in pro-Soviet or pro-Communist matters. Informant continues that VINCENT is, however, familiar with all of the activities of his wife, CLARA M. VINCENT, and apparently agrees with and approves of her thoughts and activities. FRANK VINCENT has, on one occasion, expressed fear of some harmful result if his wife did not curb her indiscriminate discussions and activities. (X)

There have been no reports that FRANK VINCENT has held any office within the Progressive Party of Tennessee.

THOMAS D. LUDWIG, Wa. Tom Ludwig

CI T-5, of known reliability, advises that THOMAS LUDWIG has been a member of the Communist Party for a number of years. Also, according to this informant, LUDWIG is very active in the Southern Conference for Human Welfare in Tennessee and Alabama. During 1946, NAT ROSS, identified as a Communist Party organizer for the South, was considering making LUDWIG a full-time Communist Party organizer. (X)

The Southern Conference for Human Welfare, now known as the Southern Conference Education Fund, has been cited by the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities as a Communist-front group.

CI T-13, of known reliability, advised that LUDWIG was a speaker at the National Conference sponsored by the Young Progressives of America, which was held June 4 and 5, 1949, at Washington, D. C. Arrangements for this conference were all handled by Communist Party members in Washington, D. C. (X)

CI T-14, of known reliability, advised that LUDWIG is presently District Supervisor for the Farmers Mutual Insurance Company, Greeneville, Tennessee.

According to CI T-1, TOM LUDWIG and MYLES HORTON were the two persons who promoted the labor rally in Nashville on April 20, 1948, at which rally the HENRY WALLACE Third Party Movement in Tennessee was originated.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Third Party  
Henry Wallace

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CI T-6, of known reliability, advises that a JOHN LUDWIG (Tenn.) was elected as a member of the Resolutions Committee for the Chicago Convention of the Progressive Party. The possibility that this person might be TOM LUDWIG should be noted.

MYLES HORTON

CI T-5, of known reliability, reports that HORTON is a Director of the Highlander Folk School, Monteagle, Tennessee. The informant does not believe HORTON to be a member of the Communist Party, but it has been observed that HORTON closely parallels the Communist Party lines in his political, economic and social doctrines, and often associates intimately with members of the Communist Party (S)

CI T-5 described the Highlander Folk School as an institution supported primarily by donations from individuals. It offers courses of instruction in labor organization, social economics, parliamentary procedure, and the general field of labor education. T-5 expressed the opinion that its principal supporting organization is today the Farmers Union. The informant continued that this school has had Communist Party members on its staff and as instructors, and has followed the practice of welcoming Communist Party members as students, but that, to the informant's knowledge the school has never offered courses of instruction in Communist matters (S)

CI T-15, of known reliability, advised that from his association with HORTON, he is confident that HORTON is not a member of the Communist Party. This informant continues that he has participated in conversations in Communist Party circles wherein HORTON had been derided for playing both sides and catering to the party for the sole purpose of his own selfish end.

CI T-1 has reported that the founding conference of the Tennessee "HENRY WALLACE Third Party" at Nashville, Tennessee, on May 1, 1948, was guided by MYLES HORTON and TOM LUDWIG.

H. N. HATLEY

CI T-16, of known reliability, advised that he had learned through conversation with responsible citizens in Greeneville, Tennessee, that H. N. HATLEY, as President of the Greene County Farmers Union, is frequently associated with THOMAS D. LUDWIG, who is presently acting as the Greeneville District Manager of the Farmers Mutual Insurance Company. LUDWIG has been previously identified in this report as a member of the Communist Party, at least through 1946.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

KX 100-2375

SIDNEY ALTMAN

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CI T-17, of known reliability, advised on January 13, 1949, that SIDNEY ALTMAN, Box 403, Tullahoma, Tennessee, was a delegate to the Southern Leadership Training School of the Progressive Party at New Orleans, Louisiana, December 10 - 12, 1948. No Communist Party activity on the part of ALTMAN is known.

GEORGE FRIED

Mr. WILLIAM EDWARD JAVERT, 121 Dabney Avenue, Knoxville, advised that during April of 1950, FRIED delivered a lecture to members of the "Channing Club" at the Student Center of the University of Tennessee. During this lecture, which was on the subject of "Marxism," FRIED indicated that he was a believer in dialectical materialism. JAVERT was unable to recall any specific statements but was of the opinion that the entire lecture was pro-Communist in nature.

Dean RALPH E. DUNFORD, University of Tennessee, advised that he had known FRIED since 1947, and that FRIED was one of the leaders on the campus in the faculty-student movement in support of WALLACE. He further advised that FRIED was a member of the student organization known as the World Affairs Discussion Group. DUNFORD continued that LEWIS B. GARINGER, student president of this Discussion Club, requested that the group be disbanded and that University approval of the group be withdrawn. GARINGER gave his reason as being "because of its infiltration by WALLACEITES." DUNFORD added that he has noted nothing on the part of FRIED which would indicate disloyalty or un-American tendencies.

CI T-3 has named FRIED as a member of the Tennessee Executive Board of the Progressive Party during 1948.

ALVA LYLE DeJARNETTE

CI T-5 advises that he is acquainted with Reverend DeJARNETTE and is convinced that he is a Socialist, rather than a Communist. T-5 continued that DeJARNETTE has never attended any Communist Party meetings, to his knowledge, and no information has ever come to the informant's attention which would indicate DeJARNETTE to be a member of the Communist Party. T-5 did recall that DeJARNETTE had regularly attended meetings of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare in Chattanooga, and was active in this organization. (X)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The Southern Conference for Human Welfare was cited as a Communist front by the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities in their report of June 12, 1947.

CI T-15, of known reliability, advises that he is acquainted with DeJARNETTE, and that he is an extreme ideologist. T-15 states he has never observed DeJARNETTE at any Communist gatherings and personally considers DeJARNETTE a Socialist, rather than a Communist.

DeJARNETTE was one of those persons signing the Call to the National Conference of the WALLACE Party in June of 1948. T-3 has reported that he was elected to the State Board of Directors at this conference.

JAMES H. ELDER

Dr. RALPH E. DUNFORD, University of Tennessee, advised that Professor JAMES H. ELDER is a staff member of the Psychology Department of the University of Tennessee. No additional information is known concerning ELDER.

FLORENCE REECE, Aka Mrs. SAMUEL REECE

Knoxville Journal article of August 18, 1948, stated that Mr. and Mrs. REECE were arranging for the appearance of HENRY AGARD WALLACE in Knoxville on August 31 and September 4, 1948. This article described Mrs. REECE as the Acting President of the Knoxville and Knox County Committees of the WALLACE-For-President Organization.

JOE TIPTON, Star Route, Townsend, Tennessee, advised on October 5 1950, that FLORENCE REECE is a very close friend of MARY ELIZABETH BARNACLE, who is described later in this report. TIPTON continued that Mr. and Mrs. REECE were frequently visitors to the home of BARNACLE and her husband, TIMOTHY CADLE, whom TIPTON described as a Communist.

DORA TIPTON, Star Route, Townsend, Tennessee, advised that she was well acquainted with FLORENCE REECE and was proud of the friendship. Mrs. TIPTON advised that she was also quite friendly with BARNACLE and an admirer of WALLACE, along with BARNACLE and Mrs. REECE.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



CI T-5 advised that CLARA and FRANCIS VINCENT, previously ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ described in this report, visited SAM and FLORENCE REECE during September of 1950. (c)

Mrs. ETHEL GOINS and Mrs. MYRTLE TREADWAY, both of Knoxville, Tennessee, advised on July 25, 1950, that SAM and FLORENCE REECE were quite close friends of TILMAN CADLE and MARY ELIZABETH BARNACLE, and that on occasion, Mrs. REECE had called TREADWAY's home in an attempt to locate CADLE. Mrs. TREADWAY expressed confidence that the REECES share the Communistic beliefs of TILMAN CADLE.

SAMUEL REECE

*Sam Reese*

CI's T-18, T-19 and T-20, all of known reliability, have advised that SAMUEL REECE was a member of the Communist Party during the late 1930's and assisted in recruiting members for the Party.

JOE TIPTON, Star Route, Townsend, Tennessee, advises that he believes REECE presently to be in sympathy with the Communistic beliefs of TILMAN CADLE.

DORA TIPTON

CI T-3, of known reliability, advised that DORA TIPTON, Townsend Tennessee, was named as a State Elector at the National Convention of the Progressive Party.

In an interview on October 5, 1950, DORA TIPTON advised that she considers herself an ardent supporter of HENRY WALLACE. She also advised that she knew of nothing which would reflect adversely on the loyalty of MARY ELIZABETH BARNACLE, TILMAN CADLE, SAMUEL REECE or FLORENCE REECE, although she admitted that she knew them well and associated with them frequently. She admitted that CADLE had given her literature to read, such as "The Communist Party and You," "The Constitution of the Communist Party," "Why I Am A Communist," "The Communist Manifesto," and others.

DR. P. A. STEPHENS

T-3 advises that Dr. P. A. STEPHENS, NAACP, Chattanooga, Tennessee was selected as a District Elector at the State Progressive Party Convention held at Nashville, Tennessee, on September 12, 1948.

T-5 reports that Dr. STEPHENS was on the mailing list of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare up until the discontinuance of that organization in 1947. (c)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GENERAL MEMBERSHIP

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SEYMOUR SHAVIN: T-5 advises that SEYMOUR SHAVIN was an officer and leader in the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, but the informant does not know him to be a member of the Communist Party. This informant advises that SHAVIN has attended meetings of the Peoples Institute of Applied Religion held at the home of CLARA VINCENT. (c)

The Peoples Institute of Applied Religion was cited as a subversive and Communist organization in the Attorney General's letter to the Loyalty Review Board released June 1, 1948.

GERTRUDE SHAVIN: CI T-5 advises that SHAVIN was active in the Southern Conference for Human Welfare at Chattanooga, and that she has attended meetings of the Peoples Institute of Applied Religion at the home of CLARA VINCENT. T-5 does not know GERTRUDE SHAVIN to be a member of the Communist Party. (c)

GRACE HOOD: T-5 advises that GRACE HOOD has been a member of the Communist Party for over five years and is still active in Communist circles. (c)

JOHN HOOD: T-5 advises that HOOD has been a member of the Communist Party for five years and still associates with Communist Party members. (c)

LENA WOLINSKY: T-5 advises that WOLINSKY has been a member of the International Workers Order for many years, and he believes that she has, at some time in the past, been a member of the Communist Party. He also advised that WOLINSKY has continued her interest in Communist matters and associates with persons having Communist sympathies. (c)

The International Workers Order was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General in his letter to the Loyalty Review Board released December 4, 1947, and August 21, 1948.

MILTON WOLINSKY: CI T-5 advises that he believes MILTON WOLINSKY to be the son of LENA WOLINSKY and the brother of ELLA TYBER, but nothing further is known concerning him. (c)

ELLA TYBER: CI T-5 advises that TYBER was, for a number of years, a member of the International Workers Order, has frequently associated with members of the Communist Party, and has often expressed an interest in Communist matters. Actual membership in the Communist Party is not known concerning TYBER. (c)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

IRVING TYBER: CI T-5 advises that TYBER has been a member of the International Workers Order, but beyond his accompanying his wife to Progressive Party meetings, the informant knows nothing of his current activity or beliefs. (c)

ROBERT BROOKS: T-5 advises that no Communist Party activity is known concerning BROOKS, but the informant did observe BROOKS request CLARA VINCENT to furnish him with literature for distribution among his fellow members of the colored race. (c)

GERTRUDE STUMPF: CI T-5 advises that GERTRUDE STUMPF is a long-time member of the Communist Party and that as late as 1950, STUMPF was endeavoring to create some activity among the Communists in Chattanooga. (c)

IVA LEE ELDRIDGE: CI T-5 advises that ELDRIDGE was a member of the Communist Party for a number of years. He also advised that she persisted in her Communistic beliefs at least up until the time that she moved to California in 1950. (c)

EDWARD ELSON ELDRIDGE: CI T-5 advises that ED ELDRIDGE was a member of the Communist Party for a number of years. He further advised that he persisted in his Communistic beliefs at least up until the time he moved to California in 1950. (c)

DILLARD KING: T-5 advises that DILLARD KING has been a member of the Communist Party for many years, and although no longer active in any Communist Party group, he has persisted in his Communistic beliefs up to the present date. (c)

MORRIS ROSENIHAL: CI T-5 advises that ROSENIHAL was, at one time, the Chattanooga leader of both the International Workers Order and the Communist Party. Informant continued that since ROSENIHAL moved to Peoria, Illinois, about six years ago, he would be unable to make any statement concerning the current activity of ROSENIHAL. (c)

TIIMAN CADLE: JOE TIPTON, on October 5, 1950, advised that TIIMAN CADLE openly advocates Communist principles, acknowledges he is a Communist, and speaks of an expected revolution in the United States. Mrs. MYRTLE TREADWAY and Mrs. ETHEL GOINS, both of Knoxville, advised on July 25, 1950, that CADLE had visited their homes and had made statements which were unmistakably Communist in nature. Mrs. GOINS advised that she has heard CADLE make reference to the expected revolution in the United States. She has also heard him make statements to the effect that he was strongly in agreement with the foreign policies and current activities of the U.S.S.R. He also openly admitted his membership in the Communist Party.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CI T-21, of known reliability, advised on September 7, 1949, that TILMAN CADLE had been in contact with Communist Party functionaries at Lexington, Kentucky, shortly prior to September of 1949. The persons named above also stated that CADLE has made statements to the effect that he went to Russia during the early 1930's for education and training, and he left the impression with these individuals that he had been sent there by the Communist Party.

Records of the Passport Division, Department of State, Washington, D. C., reflect that passport #479228 was issued on April 16, 1932, to TILMAN CADLE for travel to Germany, for the purpose of visiting friends. A witness to this passport was LOWELL WAKEFIELD, 503 East 11th Street, New York City.

CI T-22, of known reliability, advised in July of 1940 that LOWELL WAKEFIELD was a graduate of the University of Washington and the Moscow Communist Party School, and was the Communist Party District Treasurer and teacher of Marxism in the Communist Party School at Seattle, Washington. Numerous neighbors in the vicinity of CADLE's home have made non-specific complaints to this office concerning Communist activity on the part of CADLE.

MARY ELIZABETH BARNACLE: JOE TIPTON advised that MARY ELIZABETH BARNACLE is presumed to be the wife of TILMAN CADLE and resides with CADLE at their address on Star Route, Townsend, Tennessee. TIPTON advises that he has never heard BARNACLE say that she was a Communist, but he has observed that she apparently agrees with the statements made by CADLE and in no way attempts to prevent him from talking in such a radical manner. He also advised that BARNACLE was the person who interested his wife in the Progressive Party, and of the two, BARNACLE was much more intelligent than CADLE. CI T-23, of known reliability, advised during 1950 that MARY ELIZABETH BARNACLE was the recipient of considerable correspondence, some of which was, according to the informant, pro-Communist in nature.

Little is known concerning any Communist Party activity on the part of BARNACLE.

RENE DEVISME WILLIAMSON: CI T-24, of unknown reliability, advised on March 3, 1950, that he had attended a discussion group meeting held on March 2, 1950, at 1709 West Cumberland Avenue (second floor), and that WILLIAMSON was present at this meeting. According to the informant, the nature of the discussion was such that the informant was convinced that those participating in the discussion had an apparent knowledge of and sympathy towards Communism. The topic of discussion for the evening

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

KX 100-2375

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
dealt with Communistic trends in religious sects. He continued that this discussion dealt with KARL MARX and his teachings, and these teachings were frequently mentioned with approval; that he heard no one criticize Communism or Russia; and that the general trend of the conversation was favorable to Communism and the Russian way of life.

CI T-25, of unknown reliability, advised on December 14, 1948, that he had been a member of the World Affairs Discussion Group on the campus of the University of Tennessee. The informant stated that Dr. RENE WILLIAMSON, Political Science Instructor and Faculty Advisor to the group, had made the statement before the group that "the Constitution of the United States is worthless and should be torn up and thrown into the scrap pile." Nothing further is known concerning WILLIAMSON.

LEE LEVITT: CI T-25, of unknown reliability, advised on December 14, 1948, that LEE LEVITT was a student at the University of Tennessee and a participant in the "World Affairs Discussion Group" on the campus. The informant was able to furnish no information concerning LEVITT, other than the fact that he was a member of the Students-for-WALLACE Movement. No further information is known concerning LEVITT.

JUNE TOLLEY: CI T-25, of unknown reliability, advised that JUNE TOLLEY was a member of the World Affairs Discussion Group, along with himself, and he could furnish no information concerning her, other than that she was a University of Tennessee student and a member of the Students-for-WALLACE Movement. No further information is known concerning TOLLEY.

A. E. GALYON: CI T-25, of unknown reliability, advised that he met A. E. GALYON through attendance at the World Affairs Discussion Group on the University of Tennessee Campus. He stated that GALYON was enrolled, as of the date of this information, December 14, 1948, in an unknown Presbyterian Seminary, claimed to have held a Communist Party card at some time, and was a member of the Students-for-WALLACE organization.

Dr. F. A. GRIFFITHS, Maryville College, Maryville, Tennessee, advised, on December 7, 1950, that AUBREY ERVIN GALYON, JR., believed identical, had received correspondence in the form of circular mail, at Maryville College, from the following organizations: The American Civil Liberties Union; National Control Against Conscription, and the International League for the Rights of Man.

The Fifth Report on Un-American Activities in California in 1949, page 337, lists the National Control Against Conscription as a Communist front organization. The American Civil Liberties Union is listed on page 270 of this report as an organization heavily

KX 100-2375

infiltrated with Communist fellow travelers. Nothing is known concerning the International League for the Rights of Man. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GIDEON W. FRYER: Nothing is known to the Knoxville Office concerning FRYER.

KAY KIMSEY: Nothing is known to this office concerning KAY KIMSEY other than her participation in Progressive Party activity as set forth in the details of this report.

### III. ACTIVITIES AND SUBVERSIVE RAMIFICATIONS

CI T-5, of known reliability, advised that on January 12, 1948, SAMUEL J. HALL, Chairman, District #27, Communist Party, USA, visited Chattanooga, Tennessee, to see the Communist Party members in that area. HALL is now publicly known as the Communist Party Organizer for Alabama. T-5 reports that HALL replaced HAROLD BOLTON as Chairman of District #27, Communist Party, USA, which district covers the States of Alabama, Tennessee and Mississippi. T-5 continued that on the above date, HALL met with CLARA VINCENT and discussed with her the possibility of organizing WALLACE-for-President groups in the Chattanooga area. VINCENT accepted the task of getting such a group started (c)

T-5 advises that on February 11, 1948, a Progressive Party Meeting was held at the home of CLARA VINCENT, 1055 Englewood Avenue, Chattanooga. At this meeting, literature was distributed as set forth below: (c)

#### LITERATURE DISTRIBUTED AT MEETING

1. Postal cards addressed to members of the House Labor Committee, to be mailed by the attendants at the meeting, said cards demanding the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law and urging the Committee members to implement passage of the Marcantonio Bill, HR 259.
2. Petitions upon which attendants were to obtain signatures and thereafter to mail them to Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, of the United States Senate. These petitions demanded the support of Civil Rights Legislation and the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law.

#### CONCURRENT COMMUNIST PARTY LINE

1. Repeal the Taft-Hartley Law and end strike-breaking injunctions. (Political Affairs, 9/48, page 939) Enact Federal Legislation to incorporate the best features of the Wagner Act and the Norris-LaGuardia Anti-Injunction Law. (Political Affairs, 9/48, page 939.)
2. Demand the enforcement of the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments. (Political Affairs, 9/48, page 942.) Demand National F.E.P.C. Law (Political Affairs, 9/48, page 941.) Also, see item #1.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

\*Fair Employment Practices Committee

KX 100-2375

LITERATURE DISTRIBUTED AT MEETING

3. Petition for the signatures of the members, which were to be submitted to Congress and to the President of the United States, demanding repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law, reinstatement of the Wagner Act, and urging the immediate passage of the Marcantonio Bill, HR 259.
4. A petition for the signatures of the attendants and others, said petition addressed to Attorney General TOM CLARKE and denouncing the trial of the twelve leaders of the Communist Party, USA, coupled with the request for the immediate withdrawal of the suit.

T-5 advised that on May 1, 1949, a Progressive Party Meeting was held at the home of CLARA VINCENT. At this meeting, plans were laid to mail out to all former members of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare a letter asking the following of the recipients: (c)

REQUESTS MADE IN LETTER

5. Write or wire Senator TOM CONALLY and recipient's Senator to demand full and extended hearings by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on the North Atlantic Pact, before ratification.

CONCURRENT COMMUNIST PARTY LINE

3. See item #1.
4. Withdraw the indictments against the twelve Communist Party leaders. (Political Affairs, 9/48, page 941.)

CONCURRENT COMMUNIST PARTY LINE

5. "Despite all threats and persecution, we will continue resolutely for peace. Instead of an aggressive North Atlantic Pact . . . a resurrected anti-Communist Axis . . . we shall continue, in company with millions of other Americans, to urge that our nation shall sign a Pact of Friendship and Peace with our great war-time ally, the Soviet Union." (Political Affairs, 4/49, page 4)  
"American trade-unionists, workers all progressives and peace-loving Americans, must make their voices heard. End the cold war! Scrap the Atlantic Alliance for

KX 100-2375

REQUESTS MADE IN LETTER

6. Write or wire U. S. Senators to vote against the North Atlantic Military Pact.
7. Protest to President TRUMAN against violating the spirit and the intent of the United Nations by this Military Pact. Urge the President to enter negotiations with the Soviet Union for settlement of outstanding differences between the countries.

CI T-5 advised that, on January 23, 1950, a meeting of the Progressive Party was held at the home of CLARA VINCENT. At this meeting, CLARA VINCENT placed the following points before those present:(c)

MATTERS OF DISCUSSION AT MEETING

8. Appeal to defend the rights of the twelve Communist leaders.
9. Those in attendance at meeting requested to purchase and read the pamphlet entitled: "Freedom Is Everybody's Job," by GEORGE W. CROCKETT.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CONCURRENT COMMUNIST PARTY LINE

Aggression! Defend the hard-won democratic rights of the people! Stop the war preparations! Jobs and homes . . . not guns! For an American-Soviet Peace Pact!" (Political Affairs, 4/49, page 17.)

6. See item #5.
7. See item #5.

CONCURRENT COMMUNIST PARTY LINE

8. The current trial "is an outrage to our national democratic tradition." (Daily Worker, May 23, 1949, page 14, col. 2.)
9. This pamphlet distributed by the ~~National~~ National Non-Partisan Committee. ~~GEORGE~~ CROCKETT was a defense lawyer for the twelve Communist leaders and was one of those persons cited for contempt of court during the course of the trial.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



KX 100-2375

MATTERS OF DISCUSSION AT MEETING

10. Appeal to support Progressive Party resolutions favoring an F.E.P.C. Bill, Anti-Lynch Bill, ~~X~~ Anti-Poll Tax Bill, and repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CONCURRENT COMMUNIST PARTY LINE

10. There must be a struggle for "the enactment and rigid enforcement of national and state F.E.P.C." legislation. (Political Affairs, 2/49, page 4.) "Jim Crow must go." Secure equal rights for Negro people! Make lynching a capital crime, punishable by death." (Political Affairs, 2/49, page 46; The Worker, May 1, 1949.)

- REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

*Fair Employment Practice Committee*

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

No information has been received from CI T-5, or other sources, during the current period which would indicate that the Progressive Party is still active in this area. This report is, accordingly, being referred upon completion to the office of origin, but should information be received by the Knoxville Office at any time in the future, which is deemed worthy of notice, a supplemental report will be submitted to the office of origin.

Copies of this report have been designated for the Memphis and Birmingham Offices for their information, inasmuch as activities of the Progressive Party in this area may be of value to them in evaluating activities within their respective areas. For their further information, it should be noted that in the compilation of this Knoxville report, no mention has been made of persons active in the Progressive Party who reside outside of the Knoxville territory. Information contained in the Knoxville files has several references to individuals residing in the Memphis territory, but from a reading of the information, it appears that the information is already in the possession of the Memphis Office and, therefore, it was not restated in this report.

Further information is contained in the files of the Knoxville Office concerning AUERBY ERVIN GALYON, JR., inasmuch as an investigation was conducted of GALYON in the case entitled "AUERBY ERVIN GALYON, JR. - OR - 11960, AEAA, SM - C" (Bufile #116-182822). This investigation developed that GALYON was, to some extent, associated with the Tennessee Valley Unitarian Church at Knoxville, and was also a member of a discussion group on the University of Tennessee Campus. While the investigation developed that GALYON is considered to be an "individualist," and a person who seemed to be "exploring" different philosophies, it was, nevertheless, the consensus of opinion of those persons interviewed in the investigation that GALYON was not disloyal to the United States and was not a Communist.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

KX 100-2375

CONFIDENTIAL INFORMANTS (Continued)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[Redacted Content]

b7D

REFERENCE

New York letter to the Director dated November 27, 1950.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FD-302  
(1-10-49)

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT NEW YORK

FILE NO. 100-2375

REPORT MADE AT KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE	DATE WHEN MADE 2-23-51	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 1-15-19,31;2-1-3,5/51	REPORT MADE BY CHARLTON C. McSWAIN bk
TITLE COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY			CHARACTER OF CASE INTERNAL SECURITY <del>CONFIDENTIAL</del>

## SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

Progressive Party activity in Chattanooga area principally led by CLARA VINCENT, CP sympathizer, who started meetings after discussion with SAM HALL, Chairman, District 27, CP, USA. Progressive Party activities in Knoxville area divided in two groups, one seated on University of Tenn. campus and one led by FLORENCE REECE, CP sympathizer. Information available indicates that 2 of the individuals primarily responsible for the origin of the Progressive Party in Tenn. were MYLES HORTON and TOM LUDWIG, residents of Monteagle and Greeneville, Tenn., respectively. Policy and activities of group at Chattanooga closely coincident to CP line for concurrent period. No information indicative of present activity of Progressive Party in East Tennessee.

- R U C -

## DETAILS:

I. LOCAL OFFICERS AND MEMBERS

Confidential Informant T-1, of known reliability, advised on May 1, 1948, that he had been given to understand that a "HENRY WALLACE Third Party" meeting had been held at 407½ Union Avenue, Nashville, Tennessee, on April 20, 1948, following a state-wide labor rally in that city. He further had obtained the impression that this meeting was held at the insistence of, and was guided by, MYLES HORTON and TOM LUDWIG, Director and staff member, respectively, of the Highlander Folk School. At this meeting, plans were made for the state-wide Third Party organizational meeting to be held at Nashville on May 10, 1948.

7/5/13  
Classified by *SPX/TAP/4*  
Declassify on: OADR

APPROVED AND FORWARDED:	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES	
<p>COPIES OF THIS REPORT</p> <p>② Bureau (100-357934) 3- Knoxville 3- New York (100-94070) 1- Memphis (Info.) 1- Birmingham (Info.) 1- OSI, Maxwell Field, Ala. 1- CIC, G-2, 3rd Army, Atlanta 1- ONI, 6th ND, Charleston, SC</p>			

PROPERTY OF FBI - This confidential report and its contents are loaned to you by the FBI and are not to be distributed outside of agency to which loaned.

251

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

JFD:ELK

TO : MR. GURNEA *MR.*

FROM : JAMES F. DURKIN, JR.

SUBJECT: WHITE HOUSE SECURITY SURVEY

70476

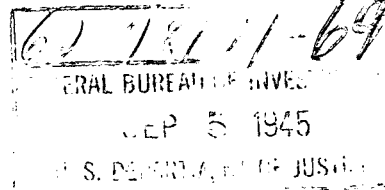
DATE: September 4, 1945

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. E. A. Tamm	_____
Mr. Clegg	_____
Mr. Coffey	_____
Mr. Glavin	_____
Mr. Ladd	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tracy	_____
Mr. Egan	_____
Mr. Carson	_____
Mr. Hendon	_____
Mr. Mumford	_____
Mr. Jones	_____
Mr. Quinn Tamm	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Nease	_____
Miss Beahm	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

There is attached hereto material received from a confidential source known to the Bureau relating to security of information in the White House. This material is submitted for information purposes and inclusion in the file in this case.

Attachment

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7-2-84 BY 8269 WFB/SC  
228303



things are getting hot.

about "leake

circulated t

and if possible get whatever I can verbally.

just wanted to let you know,

s".

called a lot of guys on the carpet and

ed memo.

I'll have to take it easy for a couple of weeks

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

DATE 7-3-84 BY 82690 DEB

528303

ENCLOSURE

69

NOTE: WASHINGTON DOPE  
FOR USE IN ANY WA

TO: DAVID HOLEUR JR.  
FROM: THE WASHINGTON ST

WASHINGTON

U.S. military officers intent on putting through a universal training law for the US say that such preparedness by all three of the major powers of the United Nations -- the US, Britain and Russia -- will be discussed at the forthcoming "Big Three" conference.

70478

The "Big Three" will consult on this bit of postwar planning to maintain "peace by force" partly because of the intense opposition now developing against enactment of universal service in the years after the war, and because it is believed that a bill cannot be passed if Britain does not go along with universal service of her own.

In other words, our sources say, if Britain doesn't adopt some form of training, and also Russia, the opposition will have mighty argument to defeat a US training program.

Members of Congress who favor universal service admit that, as in 1920, there will be a terrific fight over this proposal, and that it may, as was the case then, be defeated. They are not confident of their ability to shove through such legislation.

ooo

It has been rumored that the President will leave for the "Big Three" conference right after the Thanksgiving holiday, but there has been no confirmation. Rather, it is indicated by White House arrangements that the Prez will return to the White House before leaving for the meeting place. If that is the case, the meeting may be delayed into December.

ooo

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 7-3-84 BY 8269 DEB/JO  
228303

ENCLOSURE

last week ordered his assistant, Brig Gen. Al Browning, to come over and help him do some checking. It looks like this ETO supply job will have to be passed on to other hands than Lee in the reasonably near future, unless things improve mightily.

70479

-0-0-0-

High ranking army officers in the War Department are expecting British General Montgomery to be removed from his command unless he begins to "live in the present," which they say he isn't doing now.

One of Army ASF Boss Somervell's high ranking officers just reported off the record:

"I called on Gen. Montgomery. I found that he was living in a trailer, and that the entire wall space inside was covered with maps of the North African campaign. There were detailed, relief maps of Kasserine Pass, maps of the desert, with lines clearly drawn to show the old Montgomery campaigns.

"Backing this up, Montgomery, in a four-hour talk with me, never once moved out of North Africa. It was all reminiscing. He wasn't thinking in terms of northwestern Europe at all. He was still fighting that north African campaign over - refighting through his own days of glory. When I investigated, I found that other officers had had the same experience with Monty. That's not the kind of man we want fighting in northwestern Europe. I found that Monty had nearly as many Britishers under him as there were Americans in France at that time - and that he had the Britishers sitting on their cans. That was one of the things Marshall took up with Montgomery when the U.S. chief of staff was over there. It wasn't until Marshall had given Monty two U.S. armored divisions that he got going."

-0-0-0-



AS  
42 Mot  
Lilloy - 4

Dec 17 after read

PARIS CABLE 323

From Noel Tucker to David Mulburd - sent Dec. 17, 1944 - rec'd Dec. 17, 1944

SPANISH SITUATION:

An eye-witness story published Thursday in Combat on Spanish aid to the German's garrisons on the Atlantic seaboard in France, has aroused considerable public indignation. The account said that the cargo was loaded at the Santurce Jetty in Bilbao harbor on December 4th, into Spanish fishing trawlers manned by Falangist crews and delivered to the German resistance pocket which extends from La Rochelle to Le Verdon on the Atlantic seaboard. The cargo contained food, medical supplies provided by the Spanish Medical Corps, munitions from Castille barracks in Bilbao, petrol requisitioned from the tanker Campillo which was anchored in the harbor. An armed Falangist and German in multi supervised the loading by a picked gang of stevedores belonging to a local Falangist union, who were paid fifty pesetas for four nights work (five times the normal wage). The French, already indignant over the fact that the Germans in the pocket are better equipped and fed than the opposing F.F.I., are very bitter about this "neutral" aid.

The Quai d'Orsay is silent on Spain, says "no communication". It is believed the French attitude will clarify next week following DeGaulle's return in accordance with decisions reached in Moscow.

In France, Maura continues vocal, is frequently press interviewed and hopeful, but there is nothing new. He did not junket to the Spanish border as reported.

The Spanish National Union is campaigning on the motto "We must conquer freedom by our own hands," to gain support for the Junta Suprema in Madrid. He

70480

story here this week, but in evaluating the situation among the exiled Spaniards I think two things enter in: there is no one popular exiled leader. Any one of them, including much-criticized (for inactivity and living in "luxury" near London) Nogria would be accepted reluctantly. The Spanish Union in France, minus big names or even leaders who look like future prime ministers, has extremely widespread harmonious and popular support among refugees. Its simple program of out France and down with his supporters and let the Spanish people vote again for what they want has the same uncontroversial appeal as French Resistance did. They have welcomed the right-wing Catholics who are excluded by the Moroccan Junta de Liberation and while the Communists are undoubtedly the most powerful minority in the group it is by no means Communist dominated. I speak of the French branch as no one knows for sure about Spain.

70481

† † †

To: Da

1944

From: The

Re:

*Destroy after reading*

WASHINGTON DOPE IS FOR THE INFORMATION OF TIME, INC. EDITORS AND IS NOT FOR USE IN ANY WAY UNLESS CHECKED WITH THE WASHINGTON OFFICE.

The Army won't permit publication on this story until a press conference is held in Paris, ten days or two weeks hence, says Paul McNutt, and another group of government bigwigs pulled out of Washington in a C-54 today bound for another one of those front line inspection tours.

Among the group McNutt were Harold Rosenblatt, WPB deputy chairman for operations; Dr. William T. Sullivan, WPB vice-chairman for civilian requirements; James A. Folger, WPB vice-chairman for field operations; Joseph Keenan, WPB vice-chairman for labor production, and Frank McNamee, regional director of the War Manpower Commission under McNutt.

In charge of the party, and acting as guide and army host, was Brig. Gen. Albert J. Browning, Army Service Forces materiel boss, who has hardly been in this country two weeks after taking a gang of business men to the front.

Gen. Eisenhower liked the results of the first trip - in which the business men got a chance to see how the products they turned out were being used - so much that he decided he'd like to have some high government officials, particularly manpower and war production board topsiders, come take a look too.

-0-0-0-

*M*

22 WASHINGTON

Don Nelson came back to Washington a very worried man about the state of the nation. While he hasn't yet provided a date for chatting, he has talked to several of his government friends, and his ~~executive secretary Eddie Lock~~ relays the following, not for attribution to Don as yet:

~~Nelson~~ was chatting the other night after we'd finished working. He had been reading the papers, and watching this war production improvement drive. He turned to me, and said:

"I'm worried. I've been dealing with the public now for 35 years, and if I've learned one thing. I've learned this: you cannot drive the public; you can lead it, but you can't drive it. That is what I'm afraid the government heads are trying to do right now, and I'm afraid for the government in this situation."

What Nelson didn't say then, but what has a lot of government topsiders worried, is what they feel is a lamentable public relations (not just press relations, but public relations) situation in the government.

Brig. Gen. Al Browning just had a sample of it, on his recent trip to France, where he saw Eisenhower, and spent time with all of the Commanders there.

"We were at the press conference which I held for the crowd of business men I had in tow," Browning explained. "I started off lambasting the newspaper men and women. I told them that I'd just been up to the front lines, and that I had seen how we'd advance 400 yards, and then see rosy stories coming out about a great advance. I asked them why didn't they tell the truth in their stories for back home."

70483

"Boy, did I get landed on like a ton of bricks. They came back at me mad as hell. They told me they'd write the truth out of there if I'd get the damned censors off their neck. They said they knew what sort of stuff would clear, that they had to write daily stories, and that they'd learned to write the sort of stuff the censors would pass. So, I shut up. Its got me a little bit worried. I have taken it up with General Somervell, and he's upset about it, too. I don't know just what he's going to do about it, but I hope he does something. If I get a chance to talk to Eisenhower on this trip I'm starting today, I'm going to take it up with him. I know, as a matter of fact, that Eisenhower is somewhat worried about the way the GI Joe is thinking about the people back home. He said he isn't sure the soldier is certain that he's getting backed up properly at home."

-0-0-0-

Pennsylvania politicians say there is talk in the State of running popular Republican Governor Ed Martin for Joe Guffey's seat in 1946. It's early, but Martin is a man to keep our eye on.

-0-0-0-

In a confidential cable sent Sunday, Eden urged Halifax to hold a press conference to elaborate the recent statements made by Churchill and by Eden. Eden insisted in the cable how much the Prime Minister and himself are worried by the attitude of the US Press. Their main concern, Eden said, was criticism directed against the British post-war policy rather than that on particular points, like Italy and Greece.

Halifax and his advisers at the Embassy are against a press conference at this time feeling that this would be an overplay.

-0-0-0-

4- WASHINGTON 1.

This is told confidentially by sources close to a New Deal publisher who was staggered by FTR's adamant stand on the State Department appointees. When the President was reproached about the character of the list, he retorted: "You should have seen the list they sent me first; this one has been cleaned up!"

-O-O-O-

OPA expects the cut in individual sugar rations to come late next week. Simultaneously the Office of War Information will issue a detailed explanation of the sugar situation. The story was completed a week or more ago but OPA and War Food impounded it. 79485

-O-O-O-

A further cut in civilian shoe supplies and possibly shoe rations is in the cards as a result of wear and tear on the Western Front. A source close to Bill Elliott, head of the Office of Civilian Requirements, said today in answer to a question: "There just aren't going to be two pairs a year."

-O-O-O-

Story billowing around Washington and probably all other pro football cities is that there was something phony about beating administered the Redskins by NYGiants three weeks ago. Story points out that odds on Saturday morning were 6-5 giants (it seemed like an even-money game), that odds Saturday afternoon were 3-1 Giants and that no bookmaker anywhere in the country would take a bet against the Giants on Sunday. This, added to a number of misplays by the Redskins has brought the rumor that something was peculiar. But it's still just a rumor. We watch.

-O-O-O-

# C

108

TO: David Hall, Jr.  
FROM: The Washington Staff

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

WASHINGTON DOPE

DATE 7-3-84 BY 22690/150

NOTE: WASHINGTON DOPE IS FOR THE INFORMATION OF TIME, INC., EDITORS AND IS NOT FOR USE IN ANY WAY UNLESS CHECKED WITH THE WASHINGTON OFFICE.

A member of the Administration, who in the wake of the bill, made these points worth remembering in connection with the Jones-Wallace fight:

1. At the moment the Administration could not muster enough votes to have Wallace confirmed. (McNaughton's estimate is that not more than 46 can be counted for Wallace now, three short of the required number).
2. But time favors Wallace. The heat generated against him can cool off.
3. The opposition's maneuver to separate the RFC from Commerce is not very practical. The President would certainly veto the George bill and the opposition could not obtain enough votes in the House and Senate to override a presidential veto.

ENCLOSURE

of FDR: He is never likely to haul off and swat a new Congress with something  
bodacious, just to establish his boss. Congress always reacts violently at  
first. Generally in the final showdown, when votes are counted in public and  
each senator has had time to feel and weigh the immense prestige and power of the  
White House, the wavering opponents tend to wilt under pressure. There are always  
some who talk loud in private council but lose nerve when it comes to belling the  
cat, others who save face in compromise.

A new Wallace legend is in the making. Note the first paragraph  
in Drew Pearson's column of January 24 (Washington Post). What Pearson says  
about Henry's Inauguration performance was true. Many people did remark on his  
impressive appearance, his ringing enunciation of the oath of office. By  
comparison with Senator Truman, who looked like a nice little guy, Wallace did  
look like a future presidential contender. In Washington the gossips have been  
talking a lot about what a tough politician Wallace turned out to be. 70487

The real question: Is Wallace a tough politician or is he merely  
the willing weapon of the toughest minded political group to invade U.S. politics  
in the last quarter century - the PAC-CIO Labor bloc? We tried this week for an  
off-the-record talk with Mr. Wallace to see what he had to say about it. Wallace's  
secretary said that he would see a TIME reporter after his confirmation. He has  
been ducking all other interviews, even with his closest newspaper friends.

\*\*\*\*



Washington is chuckling over a story which trickled out of last week's cabinet meeting.

At this session the cabinet discussed and approved the signing of a lend lease agreement with the DeGaulle French government. As the discussion got underway, one member asked Secretary of State Ed Stettinius to explain what was in the agreement. Stettinius in confusion confessed he didn't know. Leo Crowley and Henry Morgenthau had to explain. Ed Prichard commented dryly:

"Isn't it a hell of a note when Henry Morgenthau and Leo Crowley are faster on their feet than the Secretary of State?"

70488

\*\*\*

State, the Economic Stabilization office, and Treasury, are giving a find kickaround to administration plans for getting Congressional confirmation of the Bretton Woods monetary agreement. State feels that the phrase in the Bretton Woods pact directing that it be taken up with the "governments" concerned, means with President Roosevelt, because of the presidential powers in foreign policy. Because it has to admit a general understanding that the matter would be taken up with Congress, State would like a simple resolution which would declare that the President was "authorized" to sign the agreement, but is quasy because that might set a precedent limiting later actions by FDR in the foreign affairs field.

Treasury favors specific legislation, simply declaring that this government adheres to the Bretton Woods agreement. The matter has been finally tossed on the desk of Stabilizer Vinson, who is pondering it this week.

\*\*\*

Able Max Thornburg, first petroleum adviser to the State Department, now in private industry but still informally an adviser to State, has handled much of the rewriting of the international oil agreement which President Roosevelt announced when he withdrew from the Senate. The redrafting job is almost done. Some ideas of the Petroleum Industry Council for War have been accepted; Harold Tob has a hand in the revising, and the document will soon be in shape for resubmission. This looks like a good TIME story a week hence, but hasn't sufficiently jelled this week.

\*\*\*

//

DOPE -- 5

✓ Eric Johnston says that there are no plans in the "foreseeable future" of his becoming affiliated with the motion picture industry. The U.S. Chamber of Commerce president, asked about reports that his dickering with movie moguls had produced an agreement, couched his denial in terms which indicated that he wasn't opposed to the idea but was not satisfied with the terms offered.

-0-

The commercial airlines have received a generous outpouring of Army and Navy surplus transport planes in the last two months, but the allocations have now slowed to dribblets and soon they will stop altogether, probably until after V-E day.

Later this week, the SWPA will announce one of the few remaining dribblets. Fifteen additional transports have been declared surplus. Of these, domestic airlines will get eight, foreign air carriers, seven (Lebanon, three; Mexico, two; Brazil and Columbia, one each).

SWPA will also announce that it has 14 Budd cargo planes available for allocation, is open to applications. The Army originally contracted for 600 of these Budd planes, then cancelled the contract after 18 had been delivered. The fourteen planes that remain of this batch of 18 are now being released as surplus because they were found too slow for the military purposes for which they were intended.

-0-

Mrs. Adolf A. Berle Jr., wife of the newly appointed US ambassador to Brazil, is known in Washington for her blunt language. At a recent dinner party, Mrs. Berle assailed a Soviet general with some direct questions. Here is the dialogue:

"What is Russia's present aim?"

DOPE

"To defeat our enemy".

"What are you going to do with Germany?"

"Conquer her".

"And with Poland?"

"Liberate Her".

"And what will you do, when you arrive to the Rhine?"

"Take a swim".

-o-

At the last minute the number of political advisers to the US delegation <sup>70490</sup> at the Big Three meeting was reduced. Thus, Cavendish Cannon, chief of the Division of Southern European Affairs, and DOS top Balkan expert, was told late last week to stay at home. Several other DOS officials were also kept home, Cannon said. The decision came from the White House.

-o-

The joint committee on internal revenue taxation is going whole hog on postwar tax and spending studies, but according to Colin F. Stan, chief of staff, the estimates are only the wildest guesses. The committee doesn't expect to have any authoritative figures ready for months. They are trying to work up a prospective program for quick adoption in event the European war should be suddenly concluded, but have hitherto reached no definite conclusions.

-o-

The old fight over farm subsidies will be renewed on Friday before the Senate banking and currency committee. Senator Bankhead has introduced an administration bill which would nullify the Taft amendment to the last Stabilization extension act. Taft's amendment prohibited the payment of subsidies after June 30, 1945, unless the money were specifically appropriated by Congress. Taft is ready to fight the Bankhead bill from the word go.

-o-

DOPE -- 4

White House sources report that Franklin ~~Roosevelt~~ personally drafted the letter firing ~~Jesse~~ Jones. In many an office close to the White House, New Dealers are condemning the president's phraseology as a blunder of the first order.

-0-

Society editors and some of Washington's social climbers, as well as many who have already climbed, are aghast at the social tactics of the new vice-president, Harry Truman.

70491

Truman was invited to 14 formal parties during three days, Thursday, Friday and Saturday, last week, attended nearly half a dozen additional private parties. He didn't turn down a single invitation extended him as the new vice-president. That, as the social writers here see it, is going a little too far, especially when one of the parties Harry attended was given by the owner of a warehouse in Washington, a guy who just isn't visited by the best people! Harry doesn't care. He seems to be having a grand time.

Harry lost no time in pulling tighter the strings which bind him to FDR. Shortly after the lunch in the White House on inauguration day, when he found himself standing in a receiving line with Mrs. Roosevelt and Mrs. Truman, he suddenly looked around, saw that FDR had disappeared, inquired of Mrs. R.: "Where's the boss?" Oh, he was just upstairs, remarked Mrs. Roosevelt.

"Then," said Truman with a wide smile, "that's where I'm going." And he went, too. He came back with a good, brisk aroma of bourbon about him.

-0-

Back  
2 weeks  
old

To: David Hulburd, Jr.

From: The Washington Staff

WASHINGTON DOPE

NOTE: WASHINGTON DOPE IS FOR THE INFORMATION OF TIME, INC., EDITORS AND IS NOT FOR USE IN ANY WAY UNLESS CHECKED WITH THE WASHINGTON OFFICE.

Next big government shake-up will revolve around Henry Wallace <sup>764192</sup> according to friends of the retiring Vice President will certainly come before the end of the month, might come at any time now. These sources believe that Wallace emerged from his last meeting with FDR "pleased", believe that he now has a good chance to become Secretary of Commerce. This depends, however, on whether Roosevelt can keep his mind firm, can fight off the expected onslaught by the conservative bloc here and throughout the country.

Carefully trying to keep the two sets of facts separate, Wallace's closest adviser told us that (1) both before and since November 8, the President has been consistently friendly with Wallace, and (2) during the same period he has been consistently unfriendly to Jesse Jones, has committed himself to cutting the old Texan down.

Although Jones has been girding for the fight (as reported before), the impression of Wallace's No. 1 adviser is that nothing will be done about Secretary of Labor immediately and that the milder wings of labor wouldn't stand for Wallace; nothing will be done about Secretary of Agriculture immediately, and this would represent no forward step in the education of Henry Wallace anyhow; Roosevelt has got the foreign economic picture too entangled as between State, Crowley, etc., and is too busy to try to set up a super-duper economic office for Wallace to take over. The only remaining job for Wallace then is the Commerce job, from where he would have a chance to get at his dream of full

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 2-3-84 BY 228303

ENCLOSURE

employment through bringing small business into the limelight, meshing middle-class America into its economic future instead of leaving it in the hands of the big fellows.

This source said he didn't believe either the railroad brotherhoods or ~~Matt Woll~~ and ~~Bill Hutcheson~~, of AFL, would stand for Wallace in the Labor Department. It was pointed out that Wallace is not the property of the CIO - that they took him over, rather than the reverse - nevertheless he would be regarded 20493 as too leftish for the big right-wing segment in the union picture. Besides, there is nothing in the cards immediately to indicate that the Labor Department is anything more than a statistical agency.

While it is possible that Wallace could emerge into some new job having to do with international food distribution or the creation of 60,000,000 jobs, his friends now have the impression that Roosevelt has things too tangled up as it is to attempt the creation of a Cabinet-level office, which would infringe on the prerogatives of some Administration stalwarts. Besides, they think, the war has Roosevelt too pre-occupied to take on such a complicated task.

But again ten days ago - for the second time - Franklin Roosevelt told Wallace not to make plans to leave Washington after January 1. After a two-hour luncheon chat, Wallace emerged silent, but according to his mentor, happy. And it still appeared that Jesse Jones would be cut out of the Cabinet, have his face saved with the five-billion dollar RFC. This, said Wallace's man, had the Vice-President about half-way into Jesse Jones' chair already.

The only fear was whether the President "would remain as strong" once the conservatives began to squawk. Our source felt that nothing would save Jesse Jones's Cabinet job - "not even if Wallace dropped dead". He also felt that Henry would have no trouble with Senate confirmation. The delay is probably

John  
John to FDR - W.  
WASHINGTON DOPE - 3

due to a typical Roosevelt desire to avoid any more friction than he has to have - but events are piling up and this is the one big question that must be resolved shortly.

\*\*\*\*

Tommy Corcoran, the ex-New Dealer and now the prosperous - but prosperous - attorney, has D. Worth Clark, lame duck senator from Idaho, on the verge of joining his law firm. 70494

This afternoon Tommy said he thought he had him. It will be sewed up in a day or two, and when it comes will provide something of a sensation in Washington - as well as a story. Corcoran and Clark were classmates at law school; Corcoran has the highest regard for Clark's legal ability. Clark is a good friend of Bert Wheeler, and Corcoran, who now believes the whole White House setup is ready to blow sky high, thinks that what will blow it is a bloc of senators, a bloc which might even find such characters as Claude Pepper and Wheeler playing together. 15722

\*\*\*\*

President Roosevelt, according to Ed Prichard of Fred Vinson's Economic Stabilization office, says that President Roosevelt's ability to bounce back physically from a work load has been impaired. It's the first time anyone in any office such as Vinson's has been chatty on such a subject.

"Right now", explains Prichard, "the President is saving his strength. He has told his close associates he doesn't want to see anyone other than military strategy people, except where it is really necessary. Of course,

WASHINGTON DOPE - 4

he had to come out in the campaign, wrestle over some domestic problems, make some promises. But now he has become very Churchillian in his whole attitude and approach. He isn't even giving too much thought to the post war job internationally. His attitude is that he is the commander in chief, that everything that can be put off until after the war - international arrangements, other problems - should be put off. He is conducting himself as a man who wants to finish this job of commander in chief, get the war won - and then <sup>70435</sup> that someone else can carry the torch. It's a relatively new role for Roosevelt, but I'm not the only one who has noticed it."

\*\*\*\*

General Lucius D. Clay, deputy director of the Office of War Mobilization, reports that Selective Service calls for the next six months will draw off approximately 250,000 more men than become 18 years of age in that time.

This week, the Byrnes office is calling in chiefs of the WPB and other interested agencies, such as Manpower, for a series of secret hearings, on the effect this drawing off will have on production. There is a pool of approximately 365,000 men between the ages of 26 and 29 who have been deferred because of special skill and types of war production work in industry. Despite the fact that there are

M  
O  
R  
E



TO: Time Inc. Editors  
FROM: John Shaw Billings

January

1332

On January 21, 1942, David Hulburt, acting for Time Inc.'s War Problems Committee, sent out a memorandum on the subject of distribution of confidential military information. It said, in part:

"Our correspondents, especially our Washington correspondents, are constantly obtaining and passing on to us all sorts of really confidential matter ... which, if it got into the wrong hands, would raise hell with the war effort and subject Time Inc. to serious criticism and worse.

"Hence we must establish rigid and absolute control over the inter-office and intra-office exchange of such information...."

The necessity for rigid control of such military information is just as great in 1945 as it was three years ago.

Equally important, if somewhat less obvious, is the necessity of keeping confidential non-military information which we as editors receive in confidence from our correspondents. Our professional standards in this regard should be no less high than our patriotic standards in regard to military information. Our correspondents should feel free to pass on to us anything and everything that comes their way without fear that we will blab it carelessly around. The same rules apply to both military and non-military confidential information as circulated under the News Bureau's control:

- 1) No distribution to anyone except the person to whom it is addressed,
- 2) No copies to be made and kept for future reference by the person who receives it.
- 3) Destruction of the News Bureau copy as soon as it has been read by the addressee.
- 4) No idle chatter outside the office.

Correspondents, of course, ought not to mark their material confidential unless it really is. Editor Luce has recently complained that some correspondents tend to plaster the word "confidential" on points which are very open secrets. Hulburt will make it his business to see that correspondents are straightened out in this regard.

Nevertheless, the caution remains in full force; we must maintain the highest professional standard in respect to the status of all information we receive under the various confidential categories.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 7-3-84 BY 8269 WED/100

228303

ENCLOSURE

62-76171-64

To: David Hulburd, Jr.

From: The Washington Staff

NOTE: WASHINGTON DOPE IS FOR THE INFORMATION OF TIME, INC., EDITORS AND IS NOT FOR USE IN ANY WAY UNLESS CHECKED WITH THE WASHINGTON OFFICE.

WASHINGTON DOPE

*T. Hoover*

Leo Crowley, one of Jesse Jones's staunchest rosters, is sadly of the opinion that the axe will fall on his old friend about the time Roosevelt takes off for the Big Three meeting.

Completely aware of the sturdy fight Jesse has put up, Crowley believes that very shortly after inauguration FDR will write a letter to Jones relieving <sup>7-9-36</sup> him of his Cabinet job, giving him the HEC to hang onto, and then probably will appoint Henry Wallace Secretary of Commerce.

Asked if he didn't think Jesse had made it plain he will be difficult to fire, Crowley nodded, but said: "You write this on your cuff. Every time Roosevelt goes off on one of these jaunts, he lets loose with something just before he goes. He's got to do this right after inauguration, because the inauguration itself gives him the excuse for shake-ups. If he lets it go any length of time he won't be able to do it. And if Wallace stands around here for any length of time without a job he'll begin to look like a dead duck. It's got to be done right after January 20." Crowley said he wished that it wouldn't happen, but frankly stated it as his belief that Jesse will have to take it.

O-O

The administration carefully withheld the reason for the switch of Laughlin ~~Currie~~ from Deputy Administrator of FEA back to the White House anonymous secretary this week. The reason: impending promotion of suave, smart Oscar Cox from general

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 7-3-84 BY 8269W FDI/PC<sup>9</sup>

ENCLOSURE

228303

counsel to deputy director of FEA. It is a Hopkins operation, as all the White House periphery people see it - and certainly they are right to the extent Hopkins approved it, as he keeps a close tab on FEA operations.

Best available information on Hopkins' own plans comes from his friends in the Budget Bureau, and Tommy Corcoran. They say Harry will leave for a London assignment immediately after the Inauguration, will pick up FDR enroute to wherever the next Big Three conference is held.

O-O

Budget Director Harold D. Smith reports - three years late, to be sure - that on the Saturday afternoon before Pearl Harbor, he was in the room with President Roosevelt, and that Secretary of Navy Knox telephoned FDR while he was there. The president turned to him and said, as well as Harold can remember it:

70497

"Frank called to report the presence of a Japanese convoy in the China Sea. They haven't got any dope on where it is bound, and they can't quite explain its presence at this time.

"Do you know, Harold, we may be at War with Japan by this time next week."

(This story, old as it is, supplies more evidence in the picture of how much warning we had - or should have had - of the disastrous attack on Pearl Harbor. Presumably FDR will put it in his memoirs sometime).

O-O

Smith also reports - and he does the planning for most governmental organization changes before they occur - that there is little likelihood of any cabinet shakeup or reorganization "until the war looks a whole lot better than it does now."

Smith reflects, in his private conversations, the old scorn which the budget bureau entertains for Jimmie Byrnes' operating work. As he said in chatting off the record about the whole government setup: "Jimmie's very strength on the bill

3--DOPE

comprises his weaknesses in his present job - his tendency to compromise everything by accepting part of two widely divergent suggestions for solving a problem. And he still doesn't know how to use a staff."

O-O

FEA intimates of Don Nelson, notably Laughlin Currie, report that Don's next job will be Australian economics - that he laid the ground work for it in his stopovers there enroute home from China. Nelson, just back from a hospital checkup - no operation - will see us next week for more details.

O-O

A report from the Polish underground on the basis of information gathered by Poles working in Germany stresses that the present German economic situation is such that no collapse for economic reasons should be expected under twelve months.

This report was smuggled out Gdynia to Stockholm and has been carefully studied by G-2 and OSS in Washington.

O-O

Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., is on his way to New York City, where he expects to remain until sometime next week on matters of ~~his~~ personal business. FYI - he can probably be reached at his apartment in the Savoy Plaza.

O-O

There apparently will be smoking President Roosevelt out further on the progress of the war, or his conduct of foreign policy, beyond the point he traveled in his state of the union message.

With Congressional leaders this week, Roosevelt exhibited a great deal of irritation over the "early end of the war" reports that Winston Churchill has periodically issued. He was likewise niffed at General Eisenhower for his predictions that the war would end in 1944.

The President told the leaders that "I for one" hadn't been prophesying any early end of the war, and that he personally believed there was a hell of a lot of hard fighting ahead, both in Europe and Asia, and was making his plans accordingly. Then he turned to the Churchill predictions, said he has given Churchill hell for making such statements, "and then he does it again right away." There might be some excuse in that Churchill is trying to keep the British spirit up with indications that Germany is right on the ropes, Roosevelt surmised, but he doubted whether the good derived therefrom would offset the sag in the U.S. war efforts.

Members of the Congressional group said privately that Roosevelt seemed hot as a cookstove, and also seemed to believe that such predictions, and their subsequent disproof, gave the Germans a lift in morale. He said he intended to take this up with Churchill again at the Big Three meeting, and to speak his mind plainly. He indicated that Eisenhower already has been told to pipe down on predictions. 70499

Roosevelt also told the delegation that no amount of needling would draw him out further in foreign policy statements at this time. He did state categorically that he was going to the Big Three meeting without having his hands tied by any commitments made at Teheran and Cairo, and those agreements were military and that he certainly had not bartered the U.S. position away on foreign policy

M

O

R

E

The President was told that he faced a period of uncertainty and questioning on foreign policy, and he said that he knew it, that he recognized that ~~Burt Wheeler~~ was off the reservation again, and that Wheeler's blasts would stir up other isolationists. In connection with the over-optimistic prediction of the war's end, he recalled that Joe Stalin had not been issuing any optimistic armistice dates, and believed that the Russians are set for some long hard fighting.

-0-0-

Congressman ~~Mike Mansfield~~, who went on a secret mission to China for the President, has been waiting for a week for a chance to make his report. Mansfield says privately that China is in a hell of a shape, and that he is convinced personally Chiang has some pretty substantial reasons for refusing hitherto to do business with the Communists. The Communist elements have worked to undermine Chiang, and have shown no real tendency to compromise and harmonize the effort to throw out the Japanese, Mansfield said. He believes that Chiang is the only figure around which China can maintain at least a semblance of unity, that ~~we~~ 500 are committed to support him, and there is no way of backing out.

He found no evidence that would clinch the proposition that the Communists are working directly on orders from Moscow, and doesn't think anyone will ever dig up conclusive evidence on such a point. The Chinese armies are weary, and only the strongest support can put them back on their feet, Mansfield believes. He found Ambassador ~~Pat Hurley~~ digging into his job, getting along well with Chiang, and inclined to be extremely frank and blunt in dealing with the Generalissimo.

-0-0-

The next Senator who will come into the 79th by appointment is young, able ~~Hugh B. Mitchell~~, secretary to retiring Senator ~~Mon Wallgren~~. Wallgren, now governor, was willing to appoint either Mitchell or Congressman John Coffee. The Democratic state committee picked Mitchell. He will serve until the 1946 election.

~~Coffee~~ always has strong republican opposition in his district, and it was feared that if he were moved up to the Senate, the Republicans would win his seat in a special election. This knocked Coffee out of the chance for the plum.

The next seat to be vacated is that of Missouri's Harry Truman, who will resign Jan. 18. It is not virtually a cinch that State Senator Frank Briggs will get Truman's seat. Briggs, according to Truman, is a highly able fellow, personable, and a loyal admirer of the President. He is expected to be straight administration.

-0-0-

Eighty-year-old Muley ~~Doughton~~, chairman of the powerful ways and means committee, is ill in North Carolina, a heavy case of flu.

-00-

The Justice Department's first criminal case in the Negro vote issue is about ready to file; attorneys are going over the commas and don't exactly know when they will move. The action will be a "criminal information" in Federal court against a deputy sheriff in Mobile, who is charged with barring a number of Negro citizens from primary vote. We are watching and will let you know as soon as we learn when it will break.

-0-0-

Democratic and politically wise, Leo Crowley gets a kick out of the current Republican struggles. He describes the G.O.P.'s organization in the Senate as "one of those White House reorganizations." He says that some of the G.O.P. Senators don't think much of Herb Brownell, and when the cry arose for a full-time National Chairman the fellow who really wanted the job was Nebraska's ambitious, scrappy Senator Kon Cherry. He couldn't make it, says Crowley, and that's how they came to the compromise to put a full-time man in the headquarters in Washington.

-0-0-

RONY PLAZA HOTEL  
MIAMI BEACH  
FLORIDA

VIA AIR MAIL

*John Edgar Hoover Say  
F.B.I.  
Washington*

MEMO

To:

DEAR JOHN:

THIS IS SOME OF THE  
STUFF I SPOKE OF. IT ISNT VERY HOT THIS  
TIME. THEY REPRESENT A FEW ISSUES.  
MY SOURCE TEARS OFF THE TOP THAT WAY.

Mr. Tolson.....  
Mr. A. Tamm.....  
Mr. Clegg.....  
Mr. Coffey.....  
Mr. Glavin.....  
Mr. Ladd.....  
Mr. Nichols.....  
Mr. Rosen.....  
Mr. Tracy.....  
Mr. Carson.....  
Mr. Egan.....  
Mr. Hendon.....  
Mr. Pennington.....  
Mr. Quinn Tamm.....  
Mr. Nease.....  
Miss Gandy.....

70477

ENCLOSURE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7-3-84 BY 2269 JEF/STC  
228303



file - Whitson

## The preventive war boys

Secretary of War Patterson and Secretary of Navy Forrestal have piously denied everything.

To the charge by Henry Wallace that a powerful military clique advocates a "preventive war," an atomic attack now on the Soviet Union, they reply with public surprise that they never heard of such a thing.

Tut, tut, gentlemen, you ought to read the newspapers.

High military and naval officials may not have said publicly in so many words that they favor war with the Soviet Union. But they have come pretty close to it.

Consider the case of Bulletin No. 11 issued by army headquarters in Korea under direct orders of Lieutenant General Hodge.

This order instructs officers in Korea to read William C. Bullitt's Readers Digest article which quite openly calls for atomic war on the Soviet Union.

Consider the case of that San Francisco press conference a few weeks ago by Admiral William H. P. Blandy who conducted the Bikini atom bomb test.

According to newspaper reports, Blandy said that he favored use of the atom bomb as an "offensive-defensive" weapon.

The doctrine of an "offensive-defensive" with the atom bomb certainly sounds to us like advocacy of a preventative war.

Consider the case of General Mark Clark who said earlier this week that the United States ought to use Austria as "a bridgehead in Eastern Europe."

You will excuse us, Secretaries Patterson and Forrestal, but the only point we can see in a "bridgehead in Eastern Europe" is for war against the Soviet Union.

Consider the case of Admiral William H. Standley who said that Wallace was "guilty of disloyalty" to the United States because he dared to advocate a course of friendship with the Soviet Union.

We could go on at some length, and all we know is what we get on ours news tickers and read in the newspapers.

We presume that Wallace knows much better than we what army and navy brass hats say in private.

It will be difficult for intelligent Americans to take the soft denials by Secretaries Patterson and Forrestal as either honest or credible.

There is in Washington today a powerful military clique which does advocate a "preventive war" against the Soviet Union. One of its most influential members, Admiral Leahy, sits at the right hand of the President as his chief of staff.

In fact, the removal of Henry Wallace as Secretary of Commerce signalizes the elevation to a dominant position of the war-now crowd in the War and Navy departments.

INDEXED

167

EX-82

NOT RECORDED

87 OCT 8 1946

OCT 14 1946

This is a clipping from  
page 6 of the  
Peoples World for

9-21-46

Clipped at the Seat  
of Government