

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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Henry A. Wallace

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71 APR 23 1948

EX-83

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43 APR 17 1948

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100-342171-114

P.T-3

Delivered, A.M. 3/30/48 U.S. Mail to my home address.

HOW TO BUILD
WALLACE-FOR-PRESIDENT CLUBS IN RAILROAD YARDS
SHOPS, ROUNDHOUSES, FREIGHT AND PASSENGER STATIONS

Purpose: The purpose of a Wallace-for-President Club is to organize a political action committee among the railroad workers at each point to insure a progressive victory at the polls in November.

Membership: Membership in the Wallace clubs should include workers of all railroad crafts at each point, regardless of political affiliation, race, creed or color, who support the progressive program as set forth in the Milwaukee Committee folder.

Officers and committees: Club officers should consist of a chairman, a secretary-treasurer, an organizing committee composed of representatives of all railroad crafts and departments, and such other committees as are deemed necessary.

Activities of local clubs:

1. To establish a Wallace-for-President campaign fund in all yards and shops to help defray expenses of the Wallace campaign on the railroads; for the purchase of the NEVER AGAIN folder, Wallace's Labor Speech, campaign buttons, membership cards and other campaign material. This campaign fund should be established through a \$1.00 voluntary contribution collected from members upon joining the club. There will be no regular dues or monthly assessments. Local treasurers should provide themselves with a duplicate receipt book and keep proper record of campaign fund receipts and expenditures, to be reported at club meetings and for regular audit from time to time by a committee elected for that purpose. No officers will be compensated from the local club treasury for any work done in this organization. Campaign fund contributions of \$1.00 will be allotted as follows: 50¢ to remain in the local club treasury for local campaign purposes, and 50¢ to be remitted to the Chicago Railwaymen's Wallace-for-President Committee for promotional and general campaign expenses.
2. To make the widest possible distribution of Wallace campaign buttons among the railroad workers.
3. To reach all railroad workers with the Milwaukee Committee NEVER AGAIN folder, Wallace's Labor Speech, and other election campaign material issued from time to time.
4. To enroll all progressive railroad workers as members of the local Wallace-for-President club.
5. To conduct an extensive program of education: through the holding of regular local club meetings, inviting speakers, and the distribution of campaign literature to bring the vital issues of the 1948 elections to the railroad workers and win them for the election of Wallace and other progressive candidates in the November elections.
6. To make a careful check of all railroad workers at each point to see that they and their families and friends are registered and eligible to vote on election day.

Campaign material available -order now:

NEVER AGAIN folder issued by the Milwaukee Committee -	10	\$2.00 per hundred
Wallace in '48 campaign buttons -	10	\$2.45 per hundred
Wallace's Labor Speech -4-page tabloid size- delivered		
in Chicago, Jan. 17, 1948 -		\$1.25 " "
Wallace-for-President local club membership cards -		.50 " "
Duplicate receipt books for local club secretaries -		.05 apiece.

CHICAGO RAILWAYMEN'S WALLACE-FOR-PRESIDENT COMMITTEE

Glyn F. Brooks, Sec'y-Treas., Pro Tem.
6537 So. Kimbark Ave - Phone: Hyde Park 3942,
Chicago 37, Ill.

GET ABOARD THE WALLACE TRANSCONTINENTAL SPECIAL!

File
Young Wallace

TT-1

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/17/83 BY SP1 GSK/PC

The meeting addressed by Henry A. Wallace held last night at the Gary Memorial Auditorium drew a packed house with an estimated attendance of about four thousand. 228303

Arthur Baronatsy, Chairman of the Lake County Wallace-for-President Committee, presided. Invocation was made by Reverend James H. Foster, Pastor of the Christ Episcopal Church of Gary. Mr. Foster is a member of the Indiana State Committee of the Wallace-for-President organization.

Jack Blake, Negro Communist and Trustee of Local 1014, USA-CIO (Gary Steel Works), made a short talk condemning the top officials of the Steelworkers' Union for ousting officers in the union who support the Wallace candidacy.

Lee Pressman, former General Counsel of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, made a very forceful address in which, without naming them, he criticized the high officers of the CIO for penalizing CIO officers supporting Wallace. He said the union should be free. He went into a long condemnation of Mayor Kelly of Chicago charging the latter with responsibility for the so-called Memorial Day Massacre in 1937 of steel workers on strike at the Republic Steel Company at South Chicago. He charged that the foreign policy of the Truman administration tends to suppress labor at home and abroad. An appeal for funds was then made. The man making the appeal stated that at a luncheon at the Gary Hotel yesterday preceding the present meeting, a considerable fund in Wallace's behalf had been raised; that one business man, whom he did not name, had contributed \$1,000. After this statement he called for donations of \$100, then \$50, then \$20, then \$10, then \$5, and last of all \$1. From the showing of money in the hands of those in the audience there is no doubt that a very large collection was taken up. The amount of the collection, however, was not announced. 46 162-71788-97

Henry A. Wallace was then called upon and declared that he was in the presidential race to stay. He condemned the Taft-Hartley Act and the Truman-Vandenberg-Torresal foreign policy as a Wall Street maneuver to shackle labor both here and abroad. He made a vicious attack on what he called "greedy corporations," referring in particular to the United States Steel Corporation, which he charged with responsibility for the present steel scarcity. He charged President Truman with doing the bidding of these large corporations and with stirring up a war scare in order to cover up the economic situation at home. His references to Soviet Russia were very complimentary in the main. 46 162-71788-97

No effort was made to cover the main speeches as it is understood that the Gary Post-Tribune for Friday, April 9th, will carry complete transcripts of the remarks.

Red from "unknown outside source" said to be unreliable report

The stage was decorated with large posters with "Wallace in '48" in the center and "End Jim Crow" and "Repeal the Taft-Hartley Act" on either side.

The left side of the balcony was reserved for teen-age students and was well filled.

While the whole meeting was arranged and sponsored by the Communists and their supporters, the leading Communists more or less kept in the background. There was a fair proportion of Negroes in the audience, but the Communists expressed disappointment that the Negro representation was not larger.

DO-6

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

April 23, 1948

The attached was forwarded to
the Director by Walter Winchell's
Office.

Attachment
mt

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. Jones ✓
Mr. Mohr ✓
Mr. Pennington ✓
Tele. Room ✓
Mr. Nease ✓
Miss Holmes ✓
Miss Gandy ✓

Baumgardner
[Signature]

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DATE 5/17/83 BY SP1 BSK/jc

April 15, 1948.

Encl.
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The Communist elements in the Chicago-Calumet area have decided to go all out for the Wallace-for-President movement. One of the leading Communists in the area stated that the Communists are playing up Wallace now because of his ability to draw crowds and "shake down" those crowds for contributions. This Communist said that the Communist Party is closely watching all that Wallace says in his public addresses, and in every instance where Wallace has made statements that might be construed as detrimental to Communism or Soviet Russia, the Communist Party has seen to it that some one approaches Wallace and in a discreet manner induces him to change or explain away any interpretation that might be considered as detrimental to the Communist movement - either here or abroad.

The Communist Party is now making a very aggressive effort to reach American youth by calling upon them to join "The Crusade For Peace" by affiliating with the Wallace movement. They are organizing young men's divisions of the Wallace-for-President movement.

Attached hereto is a typical Communist propaganda leaflet being distributed among the youth of Lake County, Indiana, calling upon young men and women to join the Young Citizen's Division of the Indiana Citizens for Wallace. The attached circular is typical of similar circulars being distributed in other areas by the Communist Party, which is using the Wallace movement to disguise its subversive propaganda.

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DATE 5/17/83 BY SP8 GSC/SC

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TO ALL YOU ~~PEOPLE~~ OF LAKE COUNTY :

A CALL TO ACTION !!!

We young citizens of Lake County have had a rude awakening. After World War II, those of us who were in the armed forces, those of us who were on the production lines as well as those of us who were in school, looked forward to the end of World War II to a post-war period of peace and prosperity where we could further our education, achieve a measure of security, and build our future. The realities of a world preparing for a war, of a world filled with social and economic inequality has blasted our dreams of peace, prosperity, and opportunity.

Instead of peace we find fear, distrust, and preparedness for war. Nowhere is it asked will there be a war, and when will it come. It is common knowledge that the Russian people don't want, and are in no position for war. And we surely know that we, the American people, don't want war either. Our administration tells us that they want peace; yet we cannot understand how one can have peace when a nation proposes to draft young men, has the highest war budget of any nation in the world, breaks its solemn word before the United Nations as in the case of Palestine, and its press and radio constantly beat the drums for war. This contradiction between the desires of the American people and the actions of the Truman administration has clearly shown us that the Truman administration has departed from the Roosevelt policy of peace and friendship.

Instead of the prosperity we had hoped for, we find millions in the world starving, and at home soaring prices which almost bring the very necessities of life out of reach of the average young person.

Instead of the opportunity we had hoped for, we find every door closed to millions of young citizens because of the color of their skins or their religions. Instead of opportunity, opportunity for a decent future, we face the death and destruction of another World War.

Yet the shock that blasted our dreams has also awakened us to a new and greater responsibility. We know we can and must fight back, for we have bought the right to live in peace with the blood of hundreds and thousands of our young men and women. We have come too far under President Roosevelt to again go back to the army of the jobless. When Democracy had to be fought for we answered the call, and it is our right to now demand Democracy for all our people regardless of race, color, or creed.

WE MUST RETURN TO THE PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP PROGRAM OF PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT AND THAT END WE ISSUE A CALL TO ALL YOUNG PEOPLE OF LAKE COUNTY -- VETERANS, WORKING HOUSEWIVES, AND STUDENTS TO JOIN US UNDER THE BANNER OF HENRY A. WALLACE IN THE TO KEEP PEACE, ACHIEVE SECURITY, AND BRING DEMOCRACY TO ALL OUR PEOPLE.

JOIN THE CRUSADE FOR PEACE !!

.....
YOUNG CITIZENS DIVISION
Lake County Chapter
INDIANA CITIZENS FOR WALLACE
Box 876, Gary, Indiana

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/17/83 BY SP100
228803

- ☐ I Want To Join Young Citizens For Wallace
☐ I Want More Information

Age _____

Name _____

School or

Place of Employment _____

Address _____

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI
 FROM : SAC, Boston
 SUBJECT: HENRY A. WALLACE
 INFORMATION CONCERNING

DATE: 4/24/48

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIEDDATE 5/17/83 BY SP1GSK/CTD
228303

For the completion of the Bureau's files, there is being submitted herewith material which was obtained by Confidential Informant [redacted] at the Founding Convention of the Progressive Party of Massachusetts held at the Hotel Bradford, Boston, Mass., on April 4, 1948.

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This material consists of:

1. Photostatic copy of an address by HENRY A. WALLACE to the Founding Convention of the Progressive Party of Massachusetts, Hotel Bradford, Boston, April 4, 1948.
2. Photostatic copy of address by HENRY A. WALLACE before the Wallace for President Committee, Providence, Rhode Island, April 4, 1948.
3. Photostatic copy of "Questions and Answers About U.S.A., U.S.S.R., and U.N.," issued by the Provisional Committee to Form a Progressive Party, 27 School Street, Boston 8, Mass.

The above information is being submitted for the completion of the files of the Bureau. Specific reference to the exhibits referred to above and pertinent information contained therein will be appropriately reported by this office in the file covering the Progressive Citizens of America, Internal Security - C.

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Questions and Answers About
U.S.A., U.S.S.R., and U.N.

Are we going to war?

NO -- if the people of the U. S., of Russia, of every country, make themselves heard.
YES -- if we allow the bi-partisan coalition in Washington to keep on threatening Russia, increasing hysteria, intervening in other countries, building an ever-bigger military machine, by-passing and betraying the U. N., establishing a peacetime draft and compulsory military training. These are acts of war, and can only increase the danger.

CAN we get anywhere with Russia?

YES -- we know we can, just as Roosevelt did. Apart from any other reason, because Russia lost millions of citizens in the last war, and a major part of her factories, cities and railroads were destroyed. Russia, even if she wanted another war, is nowhere near ready.

Why is Russia acting as she does?

All Russia's moves which have been criticized, have been along her own borders. She is terribly afraid of another attack, due to our monopoly of the atom bomb, our constant denouncing of Russia as an enemy, our building up anti-Russian military power alongside her in Greece, Turkey, China, etc. She is acting defensively, right or wrong.

Does the Wallace movement condemn only U. S. policy, whitewashing Russia?

NO. Wallace and his supporters condemn any intervention in other countries, any attempt to dominate them, any unnecessary restrictions on civil liberties, whoever is responsible. But our responsibility is our own Government. And we could not greatly influence internal policies in Russia if we wanted to. Nor have we the right to endanger American lives by pouring more oil on the raging fires of anti-Russian hysteria.

But what about the vetoes?

Russia has used the "veto" in the Security Council of the U. N., more than any other nation. The number of vetoes has been exaggerated. Many of them were repetitions on issues already vetoed. And Russia's vetoes have been made when she felt her security endangered by a majority the U. S. lined up against her. Anyhow, America herself would never have joined the U. N. without the veto provision.

And Czechoslovakia?

The recent change in the Czechoslovak Government was obtained by legal means and approved by President Benes. Whether it was necessary, whether excessive police force was used, etc., are disputed questions. Regardless of whether we approve the change, it was made by the Czech people. No Russian soldiers, tanks or planes moved in. It was NOT like Germany's moves in 1938 and 1939.

And Finland?

Russia has asked Finland to negotiate a military alliance. No terms have been settled. Except as a deliberate addition to the general hysteria, we can see no reason to get excited.

Italy? -- and the Marshall Plan?

In Italy, the shoe shifts to the other foot. Russia has not been intervening. The Italian Socialist and Communist coalition are trying to win a free, democratic election. But our State Department has served notice that it will not tolerate a free election unless it goes our way. We openly bribe the Italians with merchant ships and an offer of Trieste. We announce that we will immediately cut off all aid if the "left" wins. Yet we keep on piously saying that the Marshall Plan is open even to Russia! What hypocrisy! This is the most clear-cut expose of the true nature of the Marshall Plan -- not genuine aid but political and economic interference and domination. In its place, Wallace proposes a genuine, non-political plan to relieve all countries devastated by Germany and Japan, through the U. N.

How about Greece?

Russia did not block a U. N. investigation of alleged interference in Greece by Albania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria. But the U. S. A. would not wait for the U. N. Commission to report. We jumped in single-handed with military aid to one of the most rotten, reactionary governments in Europe. Results have only been to increase Greece's misery and the strength of the guerrillas. And the U. N. refused to approve the U. S. claim that the Balkan countries had officially intervened in Greece. Even the U. S. did not claim that Russia had intervened. But certainly America did -- and does.

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228303

And Turkey?

With no evidence whatever that Turkey's independence is threatened, we poured military aid in to bolster a government as oppressive as the Greek one, which helped Germany in the last world war. We build airfields for the biggest bombers made -- and Turkey has no such bombers. This threat goes on directly beside Russia's borders.

And China?

Even General Marshall and other government leaders who have visited China, admit that Chiang-Kai-Shek's corrupt and disintegrating tyranny is not worth backing, that billions could be poured in to no avail. Yet we are now once again throwing more millions down the rat-hole that has swallowed over two billion dollars of our money since the war -- to fight and oppress the Chinese people, to block land reforms and taxation of those who can pay.

And Palestine?

Our betrayal of our own word and the U. N., in backing down on our solemn pledge to establish and protect a Jewish state in Palestine, is too shocking to need much comment. Why did we do it? Because we value the friendship of Arab tyrants and the oil in their countries more than Jewish lives and freedom, more than our solemn word, more than the continued existence of U. N.

And Trieste?

Brazen bribery -- breaking of our word again -- torpedoing the U. N. -- these are the only possible characterizations of our sudden announcement urging cancellation of the peace treaty with Italy which we signed. For no reason except the hope of bringing Italian votes.

And Germany?

We blocked England's program of socializing Ruhr coal mines. We insist on keeping German capitalists in control of an ever-expanding program of revived German heavy industry. We block promised reparations from Germany to Russia. We drop the denazification of German industry and government. We encourage reactionary German parties and leaders. We are re-building a militarist center of reaction and war.

And the Atom Bomb?

We offered Russia and the rest of the world one program of international control of atomic weapons. It was a program that left bombs, bomb-making, and a monopoly of technical knowledge in our hands for a long time to come -- and put absolute powers, beyond veto, into a new U. N. body. Russia feared such absolute power, seeing the U. S. time after time line up majorities against her. Russia offered counter-suggestions. But we would accept no compromise on our plan. Better no international agreement and control at all. Better for us to go on making bombs and spreading fear.

Someone Must Break the Vicious Spiral of Mutual Fear Before the Shooting Starts

Each step Russia takes arouses fear and antagonism and leads to counter-measures by the U. S. Each step we take arouses fear and antagonism and leads to counter-measures by Russia. Step by step we get closer to war, so close now the world is sick with fear and the danger is acute.

Let's stop arguing who's more at fault. What difference does it make, if we are all going to be blasted in a civilization-destroying war?

We need an entirely new Government in place of the present group of generals and Wall Street bankers. We need new leaders, a new President. Only Henry Wallace and his supporters offer any hope for peace -- through direct negotiations to understand the Russians and work out some kind of agreements, through strengthening the U. N. and working inside it, to settle disputes and give relief and rehabilitation to all war-torn countries without any political strings. Russia and the rest of the world know that Wallace is an experienced leader who has always worked for peace. They will trust and work with him.

PEACE IS THE ONE OVERWHELMING ISSUE

THERE IS ONLY ONE WAY TO VOTE FOR PEACE

HENRY A. WALLACE

AND THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY

Provisional Committee to form a Progressive Party
27 School Street, Boston 8, Mass. CA-7-926C

Address By
HENRY A. WALLACE

To Founding Convention of
PROGRESSIVE PARTY OF MASSACHUSETTS

Hotel Bradford, Boston, April 4

FOR RELEASE AT 3:30 P.M. April 4

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/17/83 BY SP18SKJC

My fellow Americans:

"We who meet here today are citizens of the greatest, the richest, the most powerful nation in the world. We meet as citizens of a great democracy, and it is our purpose to preserve, to protect, and to extend democracy.

Yet we meet as citizens of a nation which is shaking with fear.

We haven't been struck by enemy bombs. We haven't felt the onslaught of invading forces. We aren't shaking because our shores, our land, or our people have been attacked.

We are trembling from the attacks of headlines and commentators.

We are the victims of an outrageous campaign to create fear. The campaign has been planned by men who know the planning art - by military men and big business men.

They are attempting to frighten us into united support of their efforts to militarize America and completely dominate our economy, as they extend the influence of private American interests all over the world.

They have already frightened millions upon millions of our fellow citizens into silence. They have made it dangerous to talk back. They have brought us to the stage where many people are afraid to voice their honest convictions for fear of losing their jobs. In such an atmosphere the very foundations of our democracy are endangered, and I want to repeat today what I have said many times before.
(more)

Speech which costs a man his job isn't free. The men who bear the responsibility for the high prices we are paying today, for the declining real wages, for our failure to make good the promises to our veterans -- these men know their responsibility and they think the only way out is to distract the people with a "foreign menace". They want us to believe that we are threatened with physical attack when the combined military might of all the nations in the world doesn't compare to our air, naval, and atomic strength today.

They want us to believe that we are threatened with something they call "political aggression". It is a clever propaganda term - "political aggression". It can frighten a few unreasoning people, but the true believer in democracy does not fear the competition of ideas.

For all their efforts to create fear they haven't paralyzed all the American people - and they won't.

They can fool some of the people some of the time, but they can't fool most of the people any of the time.

But we must not underestimate the effectiveness of the "red scare" as a propaganda weapon. It has already cost millions of lives. It was the major weapon of Adolf Hitler; and both Hitler and Paul Goebbels would enjoy the way in which it has been adopted by power-hungry and profit-hungry men today.

We must remember that while Hitler cried for the violent destruction of communists and won the sympathy of Chamberlain, Daladier, and the reactionaries of the west, it was the western democracies that Hitler attacked before tackling Russia.

Today, as the same cry goes up from our reactionaries and men of empire, it is not the Russians, but the American people who are the first victims.

(more)

Our civil liberties are already greatly restricted by fear.

The Taft-Hartley law, curbing trade unions, is being invoked to deprive workers of their strike weapon under the pretext of dangers to our national security.

The Loyalty Order has terrorized government employees who disagree with administration policies. The House Un-American Committee has made it dangerous for writers, scientists, artists, and teachers to speak their minds.

And these threats to freedom are coupled with mounting inflation, declining real wages, and the depletion of personal savings.

It is next proposed that we turn our 18 year olds over to the army for indoctrination in military philosophy, and that the draft be revived.

All of these measures are taken and suggested in the name of fighting communism and Russia, yet there is no danger of physical attack from the Russians and communism cannot be fought with guns.

(more)

The "red scare" is always introduced by men who want to stifle reason or divert attention from real and pressing problems.

This past week our Secretary of State journeyed to Bogota, Colombia to participate in the Inter-American Conference. On his last trip to Latin America, with the President and Senator Vandenberg, General Marshall pushed through a plan for unified armaments and discussions of fundamental social and economic problems were postponed until the American nations could get together in Bogota this spring.

The first day of the meeting in Bogota, Secretary Marshall raised the question of a "red menace" and, I quote from an INS dispatch, the effects of this move:

"A show of hands overwhelmingly agreed the item is considered to be on the agenda. The action was the most important yet taken and assures that the present meeting will be enlivened by debate on this subject" --- and here is the heart of it "relegating economic matters to a lesser role."

The heart of American foreign policy today is the raising of "a red menace" in preference to tackling the fundamental problems of peoples everywhere - problems which must be met, if we are really interested in stopping the spread of communism.

You can't fight communism with guns and fear and win.

Our present administration, firmly in the grip of huge monopoly interests, financiers, and generals, is more interested in protecting private interests abroad than in serving the interests of the general welfare, either at home or abroad.

The problems of the peoples of Italy, Greece, China, and Latin America must be met head on, if we are to compete with communism. Meeting these problems will require strict control of international monopolies - control of cartels. The power of the United States government, our public treasury, and the bodies of our young men must not be used to support international big business.

(more).

An old and hated phrase "Yankee imperialism" was swept out of the language of the Americas of Franklin Roosevelt on his first inaugural day, March 4, 1933, when he said:

"In the field of world policy I would dedicate this nation to the policy of the good neighbor".

Franklin Roosevelt acted on this policy by giving the people of Cuba economic aid and freeing them from the hateful terms of the Platt amendment which had made Cuba virtually a subject nation. He compelled the National City Bank of New York to surrender its domination of Haiti. He ended a thirty-year old treaty under which the United States had exercised domination over Panama.

These are only a few of the things which Franklin Roosevelt did to give effect to the Good Neighbor policy.

But The Good Neighbor died with his work unfinished, and now his policy is being betrayed.

At the Pan-American conference at Bogota the hard-pressed nations of South America seek economic aid, but they have been told that their pleas must be shunted aside until our European commitments are fulfilled. They have been told that they should be grateful to us for spending billions for arms; that it is protection for them. But it isn't guns, and bombers, and atom bombs which will protect the people of Latin America. It isn't guns, and bombers, and atom bombs which will wipe out the problems which can cause the growth of a strong communist movement.

In Latin-America, as in the rest of the world, we must substitute tractors for tanks, and plows for guns.

With Mexico desperate for American aid to develop its economy, it is again becoming a fit victim for the oil trusts. We are told that "highly secret negotiations" are under way to restore the grip of American oil companies on Mexican oil resources.

It is time for us to adopt a foreign policy which deals in human terms and not in terms of unrestrained profits for private interests.

Down in Venezuela, where the United States supplies 85 percent of Venezuelan imports and where private interests from outside the country control a large part of its oil resources, illiteracy is 70 percent, and the death rate among children - according to a United Nations report - is higher than in India.

If we are going to tackle the problems of the people, if the great wealth and power, and principles of our nation are to be used as they should be used, our representatives will stop raising the cry of "red" and will get on to the job of serving the people.

Down in Bolivia, one of the nations represented at Bogota, the illiteracy is 80 percent and the average life of the Bolivian tin miner is 30 years.

Heavy arms, the draft, compulsory military training, and battleships cruising the world won't succeed in stopping hungry and desperate peoples from demanding and getting justice and a new chance to build and prosper. The present administration and its bipartisan supporters are defaulting leadership of these people to the Communists. Truman, Vandenberg, and Forrestal are the greatest salesmen communism ever had. They are driving people to accept the radical programs of the communists in the hope of solving their problems.

Every reactionary propagandist agrees that Communism flourishes in conditions which are unpleasant or miserable for large numbers of people. Yet our foreign policy has not been directed to the elimination of the conditions in which Communism flourishes. Quite the opposite. In most sections of the world it has bolstered the very forces which maintain such conditions!

That is true in Greece.

That is true in many Latin American countries.

That is true in the Far East, and particularly in China.

It is true in lands inhabited by hundreds of millions of people who are as eager for peace and equality and opportunity as you and I.

Where there is a lack of equality of opportunity for education and jobs, a lack of individual security, and grossly inequitable distribution of goods; where there are no sharp and artificially created antagonisms and tensions, and where there are no curbs on those who greedily place their personal interests above the interests of the general welfare — in such places you can't fight Communism with guns.

When we say that the fullest development of the individual is the heart of our concept of freedom, the reactionaries agree. But when we propose that every individual have the chance for his fullest development, and when we point out that we must eliminate his economic insecurities with better social security laws, then we are accused of "communistic leanings."

The men who fight every progressive proposal at home are united in their support of our foreign policy. Their objective is to fight democratic actions abroad, just as earnestly as they fight them here at home.

If they wanted to fight Communism, both our domestic and foreign policies would be designed to eliminate the conditions which lead people to choose radical solutions.

If the desire for peace is "communistic," most of the people of the world are "communistic."

(more)

If opposition to arms programs and compulsory military training and the draft is "communistic", then a strikingly high percentage of the clergymen in this country are "communistic".

If the belief that the Negro people are entitled to full civil liberties and the elimination of the hateful practices of segregation is "communistic", then 15 million Negro citizens are communistic and so am I.

If the belief that a public housing program is needed is "communistic", then a frighteningly high percentage of our veterans have what J. Parnell Thomas calls "subversive tendencies".

If demands for decent wages and shorter working hours are "communistic" then millions of trade union members are "communist inclined".

All of these proposals are damned as "red" by the reactionaries here at home. It is not amazing that they support kings, fascists, and reactionaries abroad.

But it is amazing that many fine citizens who can spot the falsity of the "red cry" when it is applied to domestic policies, can't see it when it is used in foreign affairs.

There are communists in Europe -- millions of them. We can either join the most vicious reactionaries in describing them as barbarians, savages, tools of the Kremlin, and subverters of democracy; or we can sober up a little and recognize that they are communists because they are tired of waiting for their own reactionaries to give them a crumb of freedom and relief from ancient feudalistic practices.

(more)

If we accept the first view - the view that communists are evil people, bent on destroying us - then we must accept and support the Truman doctrine and we must follow it through to its logical conclusion. The conclusion is war. It means support for the Forrestal plan of increased arms, the militarization of America and the restriction of civil liberties here at home. It means support for any reactionary or fascist from Chiang Kai Shek to Francisco Franco, as long as he is dedicated to opposing communists.

I don't like that course.

It doesn't make sense to me.

I don't want to see our youth thrown into the eager arms of the generals for indoctrination in military philosophy.

I don't want to see all our resources and energies consumed in the unproductive, wasteful business of building munitions, bombers, battleships, and atom bombs.

If we take the second view; if we recognize that the Communists and Socialists of Europe are not evil men, nor even, yet, desperate men; if we recognize that their numbers are a reflection of basically rotten economic and social conditions, then we shall seek a policy which will meet the needs of these peoples in protest.

If we are to meet those needs and encourage freedom and reconstruction, the Truman Doctrine must be repudiated.

If we are to befriend the people of the world, we must stop spending two dollars for arms for every dollar we spend for foreign aid.

If we are to meet the legitimate needs of freedom-loving people, we must not attach political strings to our aid. We can't in good conscience - or with hopes of peace - use bread as a bait for votes; use hunger as a political weapon.

(MORE)

Less than six months ago I visited Italy. It was both a stimulating and depressing trip. Rome has great lessons to teach the visitor who is willing to learn. One contemplates the historical grandeur - the ruins, the monuments, the art - and knows that imperialism is at best a short-lived joyride for any nation.

A visit to the catacombs - meeting places and burial places of Christian martyrs drives home the lesson that ideas and faiths can't be suppressed by force and violence and intimidation.

Yes, there are great lessons to be learned in Rome, and I wish that some of our policy-makers could read them.

When I hear that our State Department will cut off aid to the Italian people, if they aren't satisfied with the election results, I think of little rooms in the workers settlement at Tibertino and a little room in a row of little rooms in which I found a mother and eight children, including a tiny infant. I think of the one bed, the tiny lavatory, and the mother's story of her five other children - all dead. Can it possibly be that we would cut off aid to this family if the father votes Communist or Socialist? That's what our officials have said.

I know these officials don't voice the heart of the American people.

In the Trastevere section of Rome I spoke to one after another of the women and workers. I listened to stories of their diets. What was more shocking, I saw the effects of their diets and living conditions. When they told me they were Socialists or Communist, I just couldn't think of them as the subverters of freedom. Was it unreasonable to believe that they were the victims of the real subverters of freedom?

Today I read that a leftist victory in the Italian elections is a grave danger to us. I read that if these people cast their votes for the Communists and socialists, they will be contributing to "Russian aggression". I read that such votes will be a reason for the draft and compulsory military training and new bombers here in the United States.

Boston

- 11 -

And when I read these stories, compounded of callousness, ignorance, and perversion, I think of the future strife and misery and needless death to which such propaganda can lead us.

We shall either concentrate on meeting the needs of people from Rome to Hong Kong or we shall follow the course of other empires. As the greatest, richest, most powerful nation in the world, we have a unique opportunity for service. The world is watching us. It is time to give a positive demonstration of leadership.

I say that we have nothing to fear, which guns can remedy; that we have nothing to fear which can't be cured by genuinely helping the peoples of the world.

If we get on the side of the people, if we substitute tractors for tanks, and aid to the people for aid to monopolies, Italy will not become a dictatorship of either the Right or the Left. But if we stand in the way of reform, if we cater to the interests of American and Italian monopolists, then Italy will choose communism or go fascist under the pressure of unresolved problems. We can't win if our purpose is to support international big business.

It is time for us to get on the side of the people. I don't want American pressure to force the suppression of democracy. We spent a lot of American lives and a lot of money to liberate Italy, so that she could rebuild on a democratic basis. I don't want us to spend more billions to put her back in the state we found her at Anzio.

Our present foreign policy is breeding civil war for Italy, because our present Administration is more concerned with the interests of huge monopolies than it is in the welfare of the American people or the Italian people.

I shall borrow a line from the political campaign of 1946:

It is time for a change.

And the New Party will bring that change. If we work and adhere to our principles; if we do not permit one of us to be turned against the other by issues which are secondary to the all-important, life or death problem of preserving peace and democracy, we shall triumph just as surely as others have won the battles for freedom, when our nation has been in jeopardy.

In 1859, Abraham Lincoln said of his New Party:

"The party is newly formed; and in forming, old party ties had to be broken, and the attractions of party pride and influential leaders are wholly wanting. In spite of old differences, prejudices, and animosities, its members were drawn together by a common danger. They formed and maneuvered in the face of a disciplined enemy and in the teeth of all his persistent misrepresentations.....Of course, they fell far short of gathering in all of their own. And yet, a year ago, they stood up an army over thirteen hundred thousand strong. That army is today the best hope of the nation and of the world. Their work is before them; and from which they may not guiltlessly turn away."

Our work is before us and we cannot guiltlessly turn away.

A few weeks after my last trip to Boston, I was in Palestine, where spirited pioneers were building a new nation. It was a state which could serve as a refuge for the remnants of European Jewry and as a model for the entire Middle East. It was a land of hope.

Today those hopes have been struck a severe blow. The abandonment of the UN decision to partition Palestine by the State Department is the most blatant example of a foreign policy which is losing us our moral leadership in world affairs.

(more)

Just about a week ago I read the story of a convoy which was wiped out on the road from Bethlehem leading down to Hebron. It was a convoy carrying supplies to a settlement I had visited -- Kfar Etzion. And as I read that story I recalled that on my visit to this settlement, a little girl six or seven years old handed me a small bouquet of flowers and asked me to take greetings to the little girls in America. They were rather faded flowers, because the people at Kfar Etzion had to get their water by truck from Jerusalem. I think of trucks leaving the city of Peace, leaving Bethlehem on their way to Kfar Etzion -- I think of needless death -- and I think of the little girl with the faded flowers and her greetings for the little girls in America.

We have betrayed that little girl, the Jewish pioneers in Palestine, and -- no less importantly -- the Arab peoples who should be freed from their feudal lords. They have been betrayed for the sake of oil and oil profits.

FOR RELEASE at 11:00 A. M., Sunday,
April 14, 1948

Address by Henry A. Wallace
Before Wallace-for-President Committee
Providence, R.
April 4, 1948

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DATE 5/17/83 BY SP1B5/50

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Clemens France tells me that we are going to poll 120,000 votes for the new party here in Rhode Island next November; and that those 120,000 votes will mean victory.

That is a pretty bold prediction in these fast-moving times, but I share Clemens France's optimism. I've met with so many groups in so many parts of the country that I have a firm conviction policies which will use the common ground of people's aspirations to build will win support.

It is sometimes suggested in editorials and articles that we should give up the idea of a new party in 1948 and concentrate on using the old, wornout machinery of the Democratic party with its southern reactionaries, corrupt big city machines, and hosts of petty grafters and special interest groups.

The men who are frightened at the idea of standing up and being counted for peace, because the reactionaries are trying to make the advocacy of peace a "subversive act",--a lot of these men turn into tacticians and political strategists when a tough decision has to be made.

Well, we have made our decision and we are going to build a party which can be honest and straight-forward in its approach. We stand for democracy and we don't hedge it with a lot of ifs, ands, and buts. We stand for peace, and we refuse to engage in the kind of talk which makes war more likely.

They tell me it would be good politics to really blast Russia in some of my speeches; that I would pick up a lot of votes for the new party. I've criticized Russia and will continue to criticize Russia for actions which are inimical to the peace. But I won't engage in the kind of Russia-baiting which helps jeopardize the peace.

It is said that we preach appeasement, which was a good word to describe the policies of Chamberlain and Daladier eight years ago, when they banked on turning the Nazis against Russia and away from the west. But appeasement means giving up something we hold dear to stop an attack. I don't know of a single American principle or public interest which would have to be sacrificed to make peace with Russia; and I don't know of a single principle or public interest we aren't sacrificing to support this suicidal "get tough" policy of the present administration.

It isn't appeasement to urge strong controls on international cartels who are dictating our foreign policy. The American people need such controls to protect themselves. It isn't appeasement to urge the internationalization of the Suez, the Dardanelles, and the Panama Canal. It isn't appeasement to urge the building of a World Federation with a police force greater than the military force of any individual power. It isn't appeasement to say that we aren't going to help extend civil liberties in Eastern Europe or in the State of Mississippi by building more and more atomic bombs.

Don't let these propaganda words and fear-words stop you from doing what you think and feel is right. That is exactly what the opposition would like you to do, and you can't let the enemy call the signals.

The people who still talk about the possibility of working within the Democratic party point to the President's civil rights message as a sincere expression of liberalism. I think it is about time that we set the records straight. The President's message was a good, though inadequate program. But we can't get anywhere on messages that aren't backed up with all the power of the executive office.

(more)

PROVIDENCE

The President has refused to send to the Congress drafts of legislation to implement his announced program. He says the Congress resents such drafts. But he knows perfectly well that the Executive branch of the government, when it is genuinely interested in legislation does prepare drafts as a working base for the Congress.

There has been quite a furor in the South over the so-called Civil Rights program, but Senator McGrath has been doing a pretty good job of setting things straight with the southern reactionaries. He has explained that the alarm which these southerners felt over the program to help abolish discrimination and segregation

is unfounded. The southern senators and governors were worried. They thought the proposal to create a special civil rights division in the Justice Department would mean that federal officers would be sent into the south to actually protect the civil rights of the poorer white people and the Negro citizens. But Senator McGrath, in his conference with the southern governors, assured them that the President meant no such thing.

For example, the Democratic chairman said: "Stories have gone out that it was the intention to send out posses of officers to pick out instances where people were denied the right to vote. Very definitely that is farthest from the President's mind." Apparently we only want to supervise elections thousands of miles from home.

The stories which appeared in southern papers - and very few northern papers - after that memorable conference between Mr. McGrath and the southern governors - reported that the Democratic chairman said the primary intention was to curb "industrial hoodlumism" and not to interfere in the south. Any trade union member will tell you what politicians mean when they use the term "industrial hoodlumism" and talk about a police force to combat it.

This is the old game of politics. You make good statements that are supposed to win the votes of people who really believe in democracy and want democracy.

(more)

Then out of the side of your mouth you tell the reactionaries and vested interests that you don't really mean what you say.

That, ladies and gentlemen, is the Democratic party policy. I think the comment of Senator Lister Hill of Alabama about the southern revolt was most apropos. He warned his colleagues not to leave the Democratic party over civil rights measures. He said: "If the south should leave the Democratic party we would but weaken the very arm with which we battle those measures in the House and Senate."

The Republicans are no better. They have consistently conspired with the Democrats to lick civil rights legislation.

The other day when I appeared before the Senate Armed Services Committee to present my objections to the plans for a draft and compulsory military training, I had a short exchange of views with Senator Morse, Wayne Morse of Oregon. The Senator and I agreed that the fundamental of our American philosophy is respect for the individual human soul; and so I was rather startled to read his comments the following day on the testimony of two Negro witnesses. These gentlemen said that they would oppose the draft of Negro citizens and urge resistance to such a draft until segregation was abolished. I think that they should have opposed it on much broader grounds as well, on the grounds that the draft and compulsory military training will endanger the peace of the world and the civil liberties of all Americans, white and Negro. But the important thing to me was the suggestion of Senator Morse that what these men were advocating might be "treason".

The Senator, with his avowed respect for the individual human soul, suggests the protests of Negro people against modern forms of slavery could be "treason". Yet he sits in the Senate of the United States and does not suggest that some of his colleagues who help maintain segregation are really guilty of treason - are really guilty of violating the fundamental law of the land, the Constitution of the United States with its guarantees of civil rights. I would have expected a little better understanding of the individual human soul from Wayne Morse.

(more)

Providence

Well, Mr. McGrath is called a liberal Democrat and Mr. Morse is called a liberal Republican and I say that we need a new, progressive party.

I hope you have a good session here this afternoon and that from the seeds you plant today will grow a people's party which will express the hopes and carry out the programs of the workers and farmers and small businessmen and professional people here in Rhode Island.

#

uopwa #16

April 12, 1948.

Chicago was the scene this last week-end of two very important meetings in support of the Henry A. Wallace third party political movement.

The first meeting was that of the National Wallace-for-President Committee, which was held Saturday and Sunday at the Sheraton Hotel in Chicago. A group of 385 delegates from 43 states met to lay plans for a national convention to be held in Philadelphia on July 24th and 25th formally to establish a third political party with Henry A. Wallace as its presidential candidate and Senator Glen H. Taylor (Democrat, Idaho) as its vice-presidential candidate. The national convention at Philadelphia will organize, name and adopt an official platform for the new third party.

The group declared that the two major political parties "have passed into the hands of economic royalists" and have "conspired to deny our citizens the simple democratic right to vote for a program in which they can believe and for candidates whom they can entrust with its execution." One of the main objectives of the new party is to keep America from going fascist and to defeat the instigators of reaction, war and class-hatred, and secure for the American people the blessings of a peaceful, abundant and free America.

The group then passed a resolution, copies of which were sent to the leaders of eight Italian political parties, calling for "the establishment of a truly representative, democratic Italian government" and not to yield to coercion or intimidation. The Italian political leaders were also informed that war is not inevitable and that the security and peace of the American people are not threatened from abroad, as no invaders would attack the greatest and most powerful nation in the world. The cablegrams also stated that peace and security in America and the traditional American system of liberties are menaced by the fomenting of war hysteria. In the cablegrams the Wallace group also said that they repudiated the United States government's threat to cut off food from Italy unless the election results please this country.

The cablegrams sent pursuant to the foregoing resolutions were inspired by the National Executive Board of the Communist Party in New York, which only recently instructed its organizations to sponsor such communications to Italy to offset the anti-Communist letter campaign now being carried on by American legionnaires of Italian descent.

The National Wallace Committee also condemned any congressional action toward reestablishing Selective Service or enacting Universal Military Training — in fact, they were against any provisions for adequate national defense. The whole program was a virtual adoption of moves to further the foreign policy of the Soviet Union.

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which has been unreliable in the past

At a banquet held on Saturday, April 10th, at the Sheraton Hotel, the delegates to the National Wallace Committee contributed \$14,900.

* * * * *

The second movement in behalf of the Wallace-for-President candidacy was held at the Savoy ballroom, 4733 South Parkway, in the center of the Chicago Negro district. This meeting was called by the Progressive Party of Illinois, which will be the Illinois branch of the third political party. This group is controlled by the leaders of Communist District No. 8 (Illinois-Indiana-Kentucky), and the meeting was called to organize on an Illinois state-wide basis in support of Wallace's presidential campaign. It is estimated that between 2,000 and 2,500 delegates, representing all sections of Illinois, were present, a large proportion of them being Negroes.

The Illinois group adopted resolutions similar to those adopted by the National Wallace-for-President Committee and, in addition, nominated candidates for Governor and Lieutenant Governor of Illinois and United States Senator. The following were nominated:

FOR GOVERNOR: Grant Oakes, of Chicago, International President of the Farm Equipment Workers Union, CIO;

FOR LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR: Harry L. Diehl, of Gibson City, Illinois, who gives his occupation as Farmer-Lawyer;

FOR U. S. SENATOR: Professor Curtis D. MacDougall, of Evanston, Illinois, Professor of Journalism at Northwestern University.

In addition to the foregoing candidates, the Progressive Party of Illinois named Professor Robert Morris Lovett, of the University of Chicago, as Honorary Chairman of the Party, and William H. Miller, of Chicago, as State Organization Director of the Party.

To give an idea of the character of the candidates and officials named for the Illinois Progressive Party, a brief resume of the activities of each is given below:

GRANT OAKES, Progressive Party candidate for Governor, was born April 8, 1905, in Westfield, N. Y.; is married, and has three children. He at one time was employed in the national CIO headquarters in Washington. His organizational activities began in 1936, when he and Robert Travis, another Communist, led the campaign for the CIO to organize the employees of the International Harvester Company. Oakes is now International President of the Farm Equipment Workers Union, with headquarters in Chicago and, in addition, is a very active member of the Executive Board of the Communist Party for the Illinois district. The policies of his union are established by the

national Communist organization rather than by the national headquarters of the CIO. He is listed at least eleven times in the hearings of the House of Representatives Special Committee on un-American Activities, some of the organizations with which he is affiliated, in addition to the Communist Party being: the Communist-operated Abraham Lincoln School of Chicago, of which he is a member of the Board of Directors; the American Peace Mobilization, which in 1941 carried on demonstrations throughout the country against American preparedness -- during the period when Hitler and Stalin were parties to a non-aggression pact; in 1942 he was one of the signers of the Communist petition demanding the release of Earl R. Browder, then National Chairman of the Communist Party, who was serving a prison sentence for passport fraud; in 1943 he was one of the trade union sponsors of the Communist Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, and in December, 1942, was one of the sponsors of the Congress of American Soviet Friendship; since that time he has been an active leader in every Communist-sponsored movement in the United States, and is looked upon by the national leaders of the Communist Party as one of their most outstanding contacts in CIO labor circles.

HARRY L. DIEHL, Progressive Party candidate for Lieutenant Governor of Illinois, is a lawyer and farmer, residing in Gibson City, Illinois. While not known to be a card-carrying member of the Communist Party, he is known as a follower of the Communist Party line. He was one of the sponsors, in 1941, of the Communist-inspired American Peace Mobilization, which demonstrated throughout the country against war preparations -- during the period when Stalin and Hitler were allies. He is also one of the leaders in the Communist-influenced Farmers Educational and Co-operative Union of America (commonly referred to as the Farmers Union).

CURTIS D. MacDOUGALL, Progressive Party candidate for U. S. Senator, is a professor of Journalism at Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois. In 1946 Professor MacDougall was unsuccessful Democratic candidate for Congress from the 10th (now 13th) Illinois District, and during his campaign received the support of the Communist and so-called progressive groups. There is no specific evidence that Professor MacDougall is a member of the Communist Party, but he is looked upon by the Communists as one of their dupes in that he is easily influenced to follow the Communist Party line. Because of his position and influence in Northwestern Illinois, the Communists have been supporting him, as they feel that they can control his actions.

ROBERT MORSS LOVETT, Honorary Chairman for the Progressive Party of Illinois, a retired professor of the University of Chicago, has a long record of activities in left-wing organizations, although it is not known that he ever was an actual Communist Party member. He has the ^{un}enviable record of being mentioned seventy-six times in the index to the hearings of the House of Representatives Special Committee on un-American Activities. This index only includes a period up to December, 1944. In 1943 he was Secretary and, for a time, Acting Governor of the Virgin Islands, and resigned when declared unfit for office by the Congress. No attempt will be made to list his affiliations as they cover practically every Communist-inspired mass organization that has been active over the last twenty-five or thirty years.

WILLIAM H. MILLER, of Chicago, who was named State Organization Director of the Progressive Party of Illinois, is a member of the Communist Party and, as a member of the Executive Board of Communist District No. 8 (Illinois-Indiana-Kentucky), whose meetings he regularly attends. It is rumored that William H. Miller is not his correct name, but this has not been confirmed. He has been active in the organization of the Progressive Citizens of America in the Chicago area, and was Executive Director of that organization for Illinois and later was appointed Regional PCA Director for Northern Illinois, Wisconsin and Indiana. As Organization Director of the Progressive Party of Illinois, he will be in a position to see to it that the political and economic policies of the Communist Party are followed, and he will also be able to see to the appointment of properly indoctrinated officials of the various local committees of the Progressive Party throughout the State of Illinois. His wife, Ruth, is also an active Communist Party member, who devotes most of her time to Communist propaganda in women's organizations.

It can thus be seen that the whole Wallace-for-President organization in Illinois will be dominated by the Communist Party.

* * * * *

One amazing thing in the Wallace-for-President movement is the ease with which they can get large contributions. At the big meeting on Saturday night at the Chicago Stadium admission tickets were sold at from 66¢ to \$3.00 each, and \$20,421 was taken in from ticket sales. During the meeting

an appeal was made for a collection for campaign funds, and \$39,842 was collected from the audience.

At a luncheon held in the Sheraton Hotel on the same day by the National Wallace-for-President Committee a collection of \$11,900 was taken up. These sums, therefore, aggregate \$74,163 collected in one day. It is estimated that the expenses of the two gatherings will be between \$20,000 and \$25,000, leaving a net fund for campaign purposes of about \$50,000.

SAC, NEW YORK

May 25, 1948

DIRECTOR, FBI

JOHN A. MANTANS
SECURITY MATTER - C

For your information there is attached a photostatic copy of a letter dated April 14, 1948, which the Bureau received from Mr. Walter Winchell.

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Attachment

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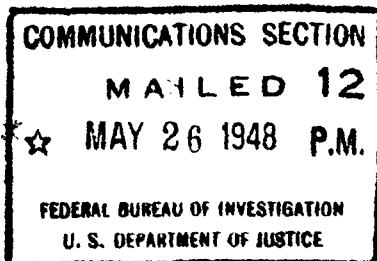
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Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. E. A. Tamm _____
Mr. Clegg _____
Mr. Glavin _____
Mr. Ladd _____
Mr. Nichols _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tracy _____
Mr. Egan _____
Mr. Gurnea _____
Mr. Harbo _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Pennington _____
Mr. Quinn Tamm _____
Tele. Room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

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New York City.-

April-14-1948.

Mr. Walter Winchell, "DAILY MIRROR", N.Y.

Dear Sir:

Two quite different ways can choose the learned men by two quite different reasons:

(1) Supporting the renewal of the human society, the progressive promotion of the History, running the risk of the struggle to achieve the human-being's improvement.

(2) Obstructing such renewal to be profited by serving the cause of those who are interested themselves in maintain their unjust privileges.

Certainly the second way is easier than the first. It is only to find worthy of bless everything made by the powerful men, everything belong to the blood-sucker class. It means also to be protected by MONEY and FORCE.

Beyond a doubt, the first way is the harder. It is to stand by the public interest regardless of the particular interest. It means also to be unprotected by MONEY and FORCE.

Those who choose the second way they do not have to perform any sacrifice themselves; they only have to fabricate the slanders and lies which send to jail and gallows those who seeking the people's welfare more than their own. Their comfort increase as long as they can increase the human-being's suffering. They have just one motto: PROFIT before HUMANITY. They only have to gild the pill--the masters' pill--in order to deceive the naive people and alibi a consent to the wicked mob. They have to assail with abuse the common people's rebelliousness, but they have to play blind themselves to never see the social failing which gives the reason for it. They must shouting the History: HOLD! It is the shameful hinder-mission which they have to fulfil.

Those who choose the first way they have to face out all sort of sacrifices and outrages. They have to show forth the naked truth to undeceive the peoples, and free them from errors and chains. They have to challenge the wicked mob and the grandeur-power. They have just one principle: HUMANITY before PROFIT. They ought to exclaiming the History: GO AHEAD! It is the honourable impeller-mission they have to fulfil.

Mr. Winchell, you have taken the second way. Curse You! The first way has been taken by Henry A. Wallace, the only american leader whom the glitter of MONEY does not make blind. Cheer up! And since the History is not a simple play upon words, either the single work of the sanguineous corpuscles, but an antagonism of political and economical forces which always pressing toward a higher culture and civilization, you will be stroked out by its uncurbable broom, Mr. Winchell. By all means!

Believe me, Dear Mr. Winchell,

Very truly yours,

John A. Mantans

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Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR LADD *ph*
 FROM : E.H. MOSSBURG *CHM*
 SUBJECT: HENRY WALLACE

DATE: May 3, 1948

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228303

Mr. JOHN P. SHEA, Waterbury, Conn. telephonically advised that he had been in the Army and that he believed that HENRY WALLACE was a Communist.

He stated that he was going to catch up with WALLACE and punch him in the nose. He added that he would be wearing a white shirt at that time and he requested the writer to "tell your men not to shoot me."

Upon furnishing the above MR SHEA promptly hung up.

ACTION: None

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 Holmes _____
 Miss Gandy _____

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Supervisor Melney Room 4738

Subj:

John A. Montague

☒ Exact Spelling

Searchers

☒ All References

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☐ Subversive Ref

Date 5/13

☐ Main File

☐ Restricted to Locality of _____

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DATE 5/17/83 BY SP1GSKJC

Initialed

May 20, 1948

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TOLSON
MR. TAMM
MR. LADD
MR. NICHOLS

12:00 Noon

Henry A. Wallace

The Attorney General called me with reference to the Wallace matter involving the distribution of 20,000 flyers at a mass meeting and he stated that he felt we should not make any investigation of this matter. He said that he had ascertained that Shop 100 covers all lithographing shops in New York and he was wondering if they might have had something to do with this. He thought perhaps we could check this possibility through our informants up there but that we should be most discreet as this inquiry should not get back to Wallace. I told him I would have this done immediately. He also mentioned the time element, wondering whether there had been sufficient time for these flyers to be printed without there having been advance information. I told the Attorney General that I would also check into this. The Attorney General also mentioned that he would like to get a copy of the Wallace flyer if it was at all possible and I advised him that we would get one for him through our New York Office.

Mr. Ladd has been requested to handle these matters.

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Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
John Edgar Hoover
Director

62-71788-103
G.I.R. 9

cc-Mr. Nease

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

SENT FROM D. O.
TIME 1:45
DATE 5-20-48
BY *[Signature]*

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37 MAY 21 1948

The Attorney General

May 20, 1948.

Director, FBI

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DATE 5/11/83 BY SP1GSK/DO

*OPEN LETTER TO STALIN BY HENRY WALLACE

I desire to refer to your telephonic conversation with me today regarding the captioned matter and to my memorandum to you dated May 18, 1948. Pursuant to your request, I have had discreet inquiries made in the Wallace matter.

The New York office of this Bureau has attempted to discreetly ascertain the identity of the shop in which the flyers were printed. It has been determined that the union stamp showing Local No. 1, Union Shop No. 100 indicated that the flyer could have been lithographed in any one of the hundreds of shops in New York City. In view of this fact, I do not feel that we can make any additional discreet inquiries concerning this matter through established informants or otherwise without having such inquiries brought to Mr. Wallace's attention.

As will be noted in my previous memorandum, Miss Dorothy Thompson, the columnist, has expressed a deep interest in the Wallace matter. Miss Thompson is of the definite opinion that Mr. Wallace had advance information from the Russian Embassy in Washington, D. C. or the Russian Consulate in New York City concerning the Smith-Molotov conversations. She has pointed out that the first release on these conversations came as a result of a CBS news broadcast at 8:55 PM on May 10, 1948 and further details were carried on the 11:00 PM news broadcast on all major radio stations. Miss Thompson stated that the flyers were distributed at the political meeting in Madison Square Garden in New York City at approximately 10:30 PM on May 11, 1948. Miss Thompson stated that Mr. Wallace in his speech that evening stated that he had changed the first paragraph of this flyer after receiving information on the Smith-Molotov conversations in Moscow. Miss Thompson was of the opinion that it was a physical impossibility to make this change and have the new flyers lithographed and distributed within the space of a little more than 24 hours. It would appear therefore, that Miss Thompson's belief that Mr. Wallace had advance information regarding the Moscow release, is based primarily on her conclusion that there was not sufficient time for the preparation of this flyer.

For your information, experts in the Mechanical Section of this Bureau are of the opinion that the average printing shop would be able to set up this flyer, make the necessary plate and print twenty thousand copies within three or four hours. It logically follows, therefore, that sufficient time had elapsed for the purpose of making the changes in the flyer even though Mr. Wallace received this information through established news sources.

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

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62-71788-104

37 E 8
COMM SEC DIV

8 SS VII

Pursuant to your request, I am enclosing a photostatic copy of the flyer in question. No additional action will be taken by the Bureau in this matter unless we are advised to the contrary.

Enclosure.
JLS:mfs

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/17/83 BY SP10SK/D
228303

COPIES DESTROYED
20 5 NOV 4 1964

ENCLOSURE

62-71788-104

an open letter to Premier Stalin

A CENTURY OF PEACE

Although the notes of Ambassador Beldall Smith and Foreign Minister Molotov are both characterized by the same self-righteousness which has led to the international crisis, they represent great hope to those of us who have consistently maintained that peace is possible and they represent a severe blow to the propagandists on both sides who have insisted that the two nations cannot live at peace in the same world. The two letters assume what we have long contended—that the war-time cooperation between the two great powers can be rebuilt and strengthened in time of peace. The exchange of notes, opening the door to negotiations, must be followed by a meeting—an open, fully reported meeting of representatives of both the United States and the Soviet Union. With the prospect of such a meeting, I present my thoughts on the steps necessary to achieve the Century of Peace.

THE COLD WAR MUST STOP

The USA and the USSR must take immediate action to end the cold war. This involves taking definitive, decisive steps looking toward the following objectives:

1. General reduction of armaments—outlawing all methods of mass destruction.
2. Stopping the export of weapons by any nation to any other nation.
3. The resumption of unrestricted trade (except for goods related to war) between the two countries.
4. The free movement of citizens, students and newspaper men between and within the two countries.
5. The resumption of free exchange of scientific information and scientific material between the two nations.
6. The re-establishment of a re-invigorated UNRRA or the constitution of some other United Nations agency for the distribution of international relief.

Neither the USA nor the USSR should interfere in the internal affairs of other nations. Neither the USA nor the USSR should maintain military bases in other UN countries. Neither the USA nor the USSR should terrorize the citizens of member states of the UN by massing land forces, establishing air bases, or making naval demonstrations. Neither the USA nor the USSR should use financial pressure, economic pressure or the pressure of secret agents to obtain political results in other countries. Both the US and USSR, in the spirit of the UN Charter, should collaborate to the limit in furthering the political, economic and cultural health of the world. To that end the USA and the USSR should join the various subsidiary agencies of the UN such as the World Health Organization, the Food and Agricultural Organization, and the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

REHABILITATION OF EUROPE

It is to the advantage of both the USA and the USSR to give maximum economic help to Europe as promptly as possible within the framework of the UN, proportioned to the devastation and economic need. As soon as possible the European Cooperation Administration and the United Nations and the Economic Commission for Europe should be converted into a re-invigorated and expanded UNRRA for the purpose of building a highly productive, economically unified Europe in which there would be no barriers of trade, communication or culture between Eastern Europe and Western Europe.

SPEEDY PEACE WITH GERMANY

The USSR, the USA, Great Britain, and France should conclude a peace treaty with Germany at the earliest possible moment. The objective is the prompt re-establishment of a peace-loving German government in charge of a united Germany which is obligated to the strict fulfillment of the Yalta and Potsdam agreements. Russian, French, British and American troops should be withdrawn from Germany within one year after the signing of the German peace treaty.

PEACE IN THE FAR EAST

Neither the USA nor the USSR should send arms into China. Both the USA and the USSR should withdraw troops from both China and Korea. There should be set up as soon as possible a government for all of Korea. Both the USA and the USSR should adhere to the principle of equal rights for all nations in China, with respect for the sovereignty of China, and refrain from interference in the internal affairs of China. Both the USA and the USSR can benefit from a China which is strong and unified on the basis of economic and political democracy.

JAPAN

A peace treaty with Japan based on agreements heretofore arrived at should be made at the earliest possible moment. Both the USA and the USSR have a vital interest in a democratic and peace



loving Japan. All nations having occupation troops in Japan should withdraw them within a year after the signing of the peace treaty with Japan.

VETO AND ATOMIC ENERGY CONTROL

The excessive use of the veto and the impasse with regard to certain phases of atomic energy control are the expression of the lack of confidence between the two nations. They are symptoms, not causes. Both can be handled constructively once confidence is established in the major issues. The door should be promptly opened to the extraordinary benefits which atomic energy can bring to mankind at peace. Atomic energy for war is a crime and a curse. Atomic energy for peace can be science's greatest blessing.

ACCESS TO RAW MATERIALS

The Atlantic Charter has provision for freedom of access to raw materials by the nations of the world. This is very important for the smaller nations and both the USA and the USSR should carry out the spirit of article 4 of the Atlantic Charter.

There are possibilities of increasing interchange of goods between the USA and the USSR to a volume many times the pre-war figure. Such an increase in trade excluding any discrimination will promote friendly relations between the two countries and thereby strengthen the cause of world peace.

ASSURANCE WITH REGARD TO RUSSIAN AND AMERICAN INTENTIONS

Millions of citizens in the USA believe it is the settled purpose of Soviet leaders to conquer the world. Millions of citizens in the USSR believe it is the settled purpose of the USA to invade the USSR. Both point to specific instances to make their point. Each nation should state definitively and categorically that it has no design on the territorial integrity of any other nation.

COMMUNISM AND CAPITALISM

The ideological competition between communism and capitalism is a different matter from the misunderstanding between the USSR and the USA. The latter can be solved in a way that will preserve peace. But the competition between the capitalist and communist systems is never ending. It is the concern of both nations to see that this competition remains constructive and that it never degenerates into the status of such a religious war as the Thirty Years War which so devastated Europe at the beginning of the Seventeenth Century.

Russia cannot be held responsible for the excesses of local communists any more than the USA can be held responsible for the reprehensible exploitation of backward peoples by many capitalists who are not citizens or only nominally citizens of the USA. Undoubtedly many communists and capitalists have expressed the belief that their particular system will inevitably dominate the world. But that does not mean that the USSR and the USA must engage in perpetual conflict. The two countries can agree to a modus vivendi while the slow process of time determines the strong and weak points of the two economic systems and the free peoples of the world make day by day the small choices which eventually will evolve, on the basis of empiricism, systems which will be best adapted for the various individual countries.

THE CENTURY OF PEACE MUST COME

There is no misunderstanding or difficulty between the USA and the USSR which can be settled by force or fear and there is no difference which cannot be settled by peaceful, helpful negotiation. There is no American principle or public interest, and there is no Russian principle or public interest which would have to be sacrificed to end the cold war and open up the Century of Peace which the Century of the Common Man demands.

Henry A. Wallace

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

May 18, 1948

DIRECTOR, FBI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/12/83 BY SP1GSK JC

~~OPEN LETTER TO STALIN BY HENRY WALLACE~~

In accordance with your telephonic instructions, a Bureau official today called upon Under Secretary of State Robert Lovett for the purpose of obtaining any information in his possession relative to the publication of the open letter to Stalin by Henry Wallace.

Mr. Lovett stated that he wanted to report a set of circumstances which might show some prior knowledge on the part of Mr. Wallace of the exchange of notes between the United States Government and the Russian Government. Mr. Lovett referred to Sergeant James M. McMillin, Jr., who had been a code clerk in the United States Embassy in Moscow and who recently defected and turned himself over to the Russian officials. Mr. Lovett stated that McMillin had been alone in the code room at night. He further stated that the State Department had sent a message to Ambassador Smith, in effect instructing Ambassador Smith to tell Stalin first, that the United States didn't want war and secondly, that the United States would not, however, be pushed around. The Ambassador wired back agreeing with the message and then advised that he had conferred with Molotov, who had been unusually polite and friendly. The message going to Ambassador Smith was sent on May 4. Ambassador Smith had seen Molotov at 6:00 p.m. on Sunday, May 9. The message from Ambassador Smith to the State Department had left Moscow at 1:00 a.m., Monday, May 10, and reached the Department of State in Washington on Monday, May 10, 3:43 a.m. It was a top secret, eyes only, message. Mr. Lovett stated that subsequently on Monday evening, May 10, between 8:00 and 9:00, the Moscow radio broadcast excerpts from the exchange of notes. London picked this up and CBS first put any reference to the exchange of notes on a news cast at 9:00 p.m., Monday, May 10. It was carried at 11:00 p.m. on the same night.

Mr. Lovett stated that from here on the information is speculation only. He stated that he had learned that Mr. Wallace had scheduled a large meeting for Tuesday night, May 11, at Madison Square Garden; that sometime between midnight Monday and the time of the meeting, Mr. Wallace had had printed and distributed his open letter in order that it would be in the hands of all persons attending his meeting on Tuesday night. He stated, however, that if it can be shown that Wallace's letter was printed prior to the time of the Moscow broadcast, it would indicate that possibly McMillin could have tipped off the Russian Government, who could have communicated directly or indirectly with Mr. Wallace and arranged for the issuance of such a letter.

Mr. Lovett stated that Mr. Wallace has made the statement that he revised the draft of his proposed open letter after the release of the notes. Mr. Lovett pointed out that it would have had to be sometime subsequent to 9:00 p.m. Monday, May 10, which was the first time the information concerning the exchange of notes was mentioned on the American radio. He suggested, therefore, that

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
Tele. Room
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

SENT FROM D C
MAY 28 1948
DATE
BY

INDEXED

RECORDED

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it might be worthwhile to make some inquiry as to the place of printing of the so-called open letter, it being understood that about 20,000 copies were printed.

In connection with this matter, Mr. Lovett further mentioned that Miss Dorothy Thompson, the columnist, had called him today inquiring as to where the document had been printed. He advised her that he did not know.

With further reference to this matter, it might be noted that Miss Thompson telephonically contacted the New York Office of this Bureau this morning, at which time she stated that she felt Mr. Wallace must be in touch with Moscow and more particularly must have been in touch with Moscow prior to the publication of his open letter. Miss Thompson referred to Mr. Wallace's public meeting on the night of May 11 at Madison Square Garden which was broadcast at 8:00 p.m. She stated that around 10:30 p.m. on the night of the meeting the ushers in Madison Square Garden distributed about 20,000 flyers which contained Wallace's open letter to Stalin and which contained references to the exchange of notes between the United States and Russia, which, as previously noted, was first broadcast on the American radio at 9:00 p.m., Monday, May 10.

Miss Thompson stated that she had endeavored to trace the flyer but that all she had been able to learn was that the printing had been handled by Shop 100. Shop 100 is in fact the union lithograph shop and covers all such print shops in New York City. Miss Thompson indicated that the ink on the flyers was dry and she questioned whether the circulars could have been printed up in such a short space of time.

As a matter of interest in connection with the lithographing of such flyers, it might be pointed out that it has been the Bureau's experience that it takes a maximum of 45 minutes to develop a negative in the lithographing process and that thereafter one machine can run approximately 4,500 copies an hour.

No inquiry is being made with reference to this matter in the absence of specific instructions from you. I do, however, desire to point out that if any investigation is conducted of Mr. Henry Wallace it is certain that it will come to Mr. Wallace's attention. It would not be possible to conduct any discreet investigation of a matter of this nature without it being called to Mr. Wallace's attention.

DO

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

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED 2583/23
DATE 5/17/83 BY SP-183/23

Mr. The Attorney General
called - - phoned.
thru secretary

Phone No. _____

Hour 1:10pm Date May 18 19 48

Henry O. WALLACE

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. Jones ✓
Mr. Mohr ✓
Mr. Pennington ✓
Tele. Room ✓
Mr. Nease ✓
Miss Holmes ✓
Miss Gandy ✓

REMARKS

When advised that the Director had just left for lunch, he requested to speak to the Acting Director. After checking, he was referred to Mr. Laughlin, in Mr. Ladd's division.

Mr. Laughlin advises the Attorney General said Mr. Robert Lovett, Under-Secretary of State, had called him regarding the open letter sent to Stalin by Mr. Wallace. He was interested in this letter being a possible violation of the Lane Act of 1795 which act concerns the transmitting of correspondence between a private citizen and a foreign power which has bearing upon the diplomatic relations of the two countries. The Attorney General said he would like a Bureau official to call upon Mr. Lovett at 2:30pm this afternoon. The Attorney General

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INDEXED - 47
MAY 19 1948

5/18
62-11788-106
FBI
MAY 24 1948

indicated that should such an investigation be instigated the Bureau should be very discreet so that it would not become known that the Bureau was interested in Mr. Wallace.

1. It should be clearly pointed out any investigation of Wallace will be bound to become known to Wallace.
2. Be most meticulous in this. Give no advice & act only on specific orders & directions of the A. J.

fjw/mhm

H.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : THE DIRECTOR

DATE: May 18, 1948

FROM : D. M. LADD

SUBJECT: OPEN LETTER TO STALIN BY HENRY WALLACE

228303
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/17/83 BY SPICSKTCA

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 Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

I called at the office of Under Secretary Robert Lovett of the State Department at 2:30 p.m. today in accord with the suggestion of the Attorney General. Mr. Lovett stated he had a set of circumstances which he wanted to report which might show some prior knowledge on the part of Mr. Wallace of the exchange of notes between the United States Government and the Russian Government. Mr. Lovett referred to Sergeant James M. McMillin, Jr. who had been a code clerk in the United States Embassy in Moscow and who recently defected and turned himself over to the Russian officials. Mr. Lovett stated that McMillin had been alone in the code room at night. He further stated that the State Department had sent a message to Ambassador Smith in effect instructing Ambassador Smith to tell Stalin that, first, the United States didn't want war and secondly, that the United States would not, however, be pushed around. The Ambassador wired back agreeing with the message and then advised that he had conferred with Molotov who had been unusually polite and friendly. The message going to Ambassador Smith was sent on May 4. Ambassador Smith had seen Molotov at 6:00 p.m. on Sunday, May 9. The message from Ambassador Smith to the State Department had left Moscow at 1:00 a.m., Monday, May 10, and reached the Department of State in Washington on Monday, May 10, 3:43 a.m. It was a top secret, eyes only, message. Mr. Lovett stated that subsequently on Monday evening, May 10, between 8:00 and 9:00 p.m. the Moscow radio broadcast excerpts from the exchange of notes. London picked this up and CBS first put any reference to the exchange of notes on a news cast at 9:00 p.m., Monday, May 10. It was carried at 11:00 p.m. on the same night.

RECORDED

62-71788-107

Mr. Lovett stated that from here the information is speculation only. He states that he had learned that Mr. Wallace had scheduled a large meeting for Tuesday night, May 11, at Madison Square Garden, that sometime between midnight Monday and the time of the meeting, Mr. Wallace had had printed and distributed his open letter in order that it would be in the hands of all persons attending his meeting on Tuesday night. He stated, however, that if it can be shown that Wallace's letter was printed prior to the time of the Moscow broadcast, it would indicate that possibly McMillin could have tipped off the Russian Government, who could have communicated directly or indirectly with Mr. Wallace and arranged for the issuance of such a letter. Mr. Lovett stated that Mr. Wallace has made the statement that he revised the draft of his proposed open letter after the release of the notes. Mr. Lovett pointed out that it would have had to be sometime subsequent to 9:00 p.m., Monday, May 10, which was the first time the information concerning the exchange of notes was mentioned on the American radio. He suggested, therefore, that it might be worthwhile to make some inquiry as to the place of printing of the so-called open letter, it being understood that about 20,000 copies were printed.

In connection with this matter, Mr. Lovett further mentioned that

DML:cmw

62 JUN 2 1948

Memo for the Director

Miss Dorothy Thompson, the columnist, had called him today inquiring as to where the document had been printed. He advised her that he did not know.

I made no comments one way or the other to Mr. Lovett, except to advise him that the information which had been furnished to me would be furnished to the Attorney General for his consideration.

There is attached hereto a memorandum to the Attorney General.

Attachment.

The Attorney General

May 22, 1948

Director, FBI

OPEN LETTER TO STALIN BY HENRY WALLACE

62-71788-108

With reference to my previous conversation with you and my memorandum to you dated May 20, 1948, regarding the captioned matter I desire to furnish you with additional data which has been developed in the Wallace matter.

It has now been discreetly ascertained by a reliable confidential source that the Wallace flyers were lithographed by the Parish Press, Inc., 333 Hudson Street, New York, New York. This confidential source ascertained under pretext from the headquarters of Mr. Wallace in New York City that additional flyers could be obtained from the Parish Press, Inc.

I thought you would be interested in receiving this additional information but no further inquiries are being made in this connection in the absence of specific instructions from you. I might point out that it would be extremely difficult to make any discreet inquiries at the Parish Press, Inc. for the purpose of ascertaining when the order was placed for the preparation of these flyers without having such information brought to the attention of Mr. Wallace or sources very close to him.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/17/83 BY SP100000
228302

JLS:mer

Tolson
E. A. Tamm
Clegg
Glavin
Ladd
Nichols
Rosen
Tracy
Egan
Gurnea
Harbo
Mohr
Tele. Room
Holloman
Nease
Gandy

SENT FROM D. O.
TIME 11 45 PM
DATE 5-20-48
BY [signature]

Office Memorandum UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. E. A. Tamm

DATE: May 22, 1948

FROM : Mr. D. M. Ladd

SUBJECT: OPEN LETTER TO STALIN BY HENRY WALLACE

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 Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

ASAC Belmont called at 10:45 today and furnished the following information, stating that it was additional information developed since New York's letter to the Bureau in this matter.

"A careful examination of additional copies of the flier reflected that the lithographic bug actually reads 'Union Label No. 10' rather than 'Union Shop 100.' A pretext call at the Amalgamated Lithographic Union reflected that bug 10 was assigned to the Interstate Printing Company and that this company has been out of business for about a year. Consequently, this has been a 'free bug' not assigned to any lithographer.

"A check of the telephone books in New York City reflects an Interstate Printer at 135 Henry Street, however, they did not handle lithographing. Also, an Interstate Printing Company is listed at 27 West 24th Street, New York City. A call at this number reflected that this company has been out of business for some time and did handle lithographing.

"Confidential Informant [redacted]

b7D

[redacted] last night ascertained from Wallace Headquarters under pretext that she wanted to get additional fliers, that the fliers were lithographed by the Parish Press, Inc., 333 Hudson Street.

"It thus appears definite that the fliers were prepared by the Parish Press utilizing a free lithographic bug unlawfully. It is noted that the Union Label Bulletin, showing the 'bugs' for printers lists the Parish Press as having printer bug No. 10. This would not authorize them to lithograph under the printers bug No. 10. Consequently, they were using the free lithographic bug No. 10 without proper authority."

An enlargement of the "union bug" made by the Bureau from the Wallace flier indicates rather clearly the number 100.

A memorandum is being forwarded to the Attorney General giving him this additional information.

DML:IGS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/17/83 BY SP1GSK/CC

228303

RECORDED - 31

INDEXED - 31

62-71782-108
F B I
21 MAY 25 1948

FBI

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Room 5744 5721 1948

TO: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Director	
<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Edward Tamm	<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Tolson
<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Clegg	<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. E. A. Tamm
<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Glavin	<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Clegg
<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Ladd	<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Glavin
<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Nichols	<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Ladd
<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Rosen	<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Nichols
<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Tracy	<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Rosen
<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Harbo	<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Tracy
<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Jones	<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Egan
<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Mohr	<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Gurnea
<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Nease	<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Harbo
<input type="checkbox"/> Miss Gandy	<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Mohr
<input type="checkbox"/> Personnel Files	<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Pennington
<input type="checkbox"/> Records Section	<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Quinn Tamm
<input type="checkbox"/> Mrs. Skillman	<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Nease
	<input type="checkbox"/> Miss Gandy

See Me For Appropriate Action

Send File Note and Return

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/19/83 BY SPICER
228303

Clyde Tolson

INCOMING TELEGRAM

DEPARTMENT OF STATE—DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS

TELEGRAPH BRANCH

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

A

Control 5132

Rec'd May 15, 1948
2:36 p.m.

X

Action:

Info:

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G

P

EUR

OSD

CIA

FC

RPS

DCR

NEA Received from the State Department

Date: 5-18-48

FROM: Tehran

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 533, May 15, 2 p.m.

On May 13 Foreign Minister told me he was having a hot time in Majlis over Henry Wallace. Foreign Minister seemed to suffer from misapprehension that Wallace is connected with American Government. I assured him he was not. Foreign Minister then described Wallace as American Senator. I told him Wallace was not a Senator. Finally Foreign Minister insisted Wallace was a "Deputy". I protested that Wallace was not member of Congress and had no connection whatever with American Government. Foreign Minister persisted; Wallace had made his offensive remarks before Congress. I replied that Wallace had spoken if at all as a private individual before the Foreign Affairs Committee of Congress which was quite different matter. The Foreign Minister replied that this information would be most helpful to him in handling the Majlis on the subject. He said however that he had addressed a note to me and that he hoped very much I would telegraph it to my Government together with my comments on the situation Wallace had created here. Later in the day the Shah expressed to me considerable concern over the effect of Wallace's remarks. Indeed Wallace has provoked a storm of criticism.

The text of the note which was received this morning is as follows in translation: "The Imperial Minister of Foreign Affairs presents its compliments to the Embassy of the US of America and has honor to state that as the Embassy is aware Mr. Henry Wallace's statements that 'to remove differences between America and the Soviet Union in the Middle East an arrangement similar to the Anglo-Russian treaty of 1907 should be made' has had extremely unfavourable effect on (Iranian) public opinion."

RECORDED - 116

public opinion

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

INDEXED - 111

51 JUN 3 1948

INFORMATION COPY FX-33

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

-2-, #533, May 15, 2 p.m. from Tehran

public opinion and as the Embassy has noticed, the hatred and detestation (shown) by political and national circles of Iran have also been reflected in the press of the country. The Iranian circles are amazed that in a country where it's statesmen are, and have always been, supporters of freedom and independence of (other) nations, how Mr. Wallace has ventured to make such statements that are against established principles of freedom and the rights of nations and are disgusting to the Iranian nation.

[REDACTED] deems it necessary to inform the Embassy of the reflection Mr. Wallace's speech has had on Iranian circles and to request the Embassy to inform the appropriate US Government authorities of the evil and unpleasant effect of his statements."

b7D

WILEY

REP:JTP

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : The Director

FROM : Mr. D. M. Ladd

SUBJECT: OPEN LETTER TO STALIN
BY HENRY WALLACE

DATE: May 18, 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	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Nease	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

By reference from your office, the Attorney General talked with Mr. L. L. Laughlin at 1:15 today. Mr. Clark stated that he had received a telephone call from Mr. Bob Lovett, Undersecretary of State, a few moments ago in which Mr. Lovett referred to an open letter to Stalin from Henry Wallace.

The Attorney General stated that this letter may be a possible violation of the Lane Act (phonetic), an old statute passed around 1795 which prohibits a citizen in the United States from communicating with a foreign country concerning a matter bearing on diplomatic relations. Mr. Clark requested that a Bureau official call on Mr. Lovett at his office at 2:30 today for the purpose of obtaining any "leads" which Lovett has. The Attorney General stated that according to his brief conversation with Mr. Lovett, he understands this letter was lithographed.

The Attorney General further stated if the letter was sent directly to Stalin and Wallace had received a reply before he released the letter to the press, a possible violation is involved. On the other hand, Mr. Clark stated that if the letter were sent to Stalin openly by means of a radio broadcast and not directed to him personally, then a different circumstance existed.

The Attorney General stated that any action taken in regard to this matter must be, of course, very discreet, since he did not desire that it be known that the FBI was investigating Henry Wallace. He suggested that after the Bureau official had an opportunity to talk with Mr. Lovett that he would discuss this matter further with you.

ACTION:

If you approve I will call on Mr. Lovett at 2:30 p.m. at his office in the New State Department Building, 21st and Virginia Avenue, Northwest.

ADDENDUM: In accordance with your instruction, Mr. Ladd will handle this matter.

LLL:IGS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/17/83 BY SP18SCC

228303

162-71788-110

F B I

52 MAY 22 1948

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55 JUN 3 1948

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. E. A. TAMM *SAH*
 FROM : D. M. LADD *ph*
 SUBJECT: OPEN LETTER TO STALIN BY HENRY WALLACE

DATE: May 20, 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 ☒
 Tele. Room ☒
 Mr. Nease ☒
 Miss Holmes ☒
 Miss Gandy ☒

I called ASAC Belmont of the New York Office in connection with the memorandum from the Director dated May 20, concerning his phone call from the Attorney General. Mr. Belmont stated they had already forwarded to the Bureau a letter captioned "Miss Dorothy Thompson, Public Relations" and had enclosed a copy of the so-called open letter which had been distributed. I inquired of Mr. Belmont whether through informants or otherwise in a very discreet manner if it would be possible to determine where the flyers were printed. He stated the New York Office had already made an anonymous telephone call to the local union and had been advised that the union stamp showing Local #1, Union #100, indicated that the flyer might have been lithographed in any one of the hundreds of shops in New York City. He stated he did not believe it would be possible to make a discreet inquiry concerning this matter through informants or otherwise. I instructed him to do nothing further in the matter unless otherwise instructed by the Bureau.

I exhibited the flyers to Mr. Renneberger, who, after examining same, stated that the average print shop should be able to set up the flyer, make the necessary plate and run off 20,000 copies in three or four hours.

Mr. Renneberger is photostating the flyer and I have arranged for him to enlarge the union label in order that it will be more easily read.

DML:cmw

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 5/17/83 BY SP185500
 228303

Memo To A.G.
 BEING PREPARED

RECORDED - 91

EX-20

62-71778-111

71 JUN 7 - 1948

SAC, New York

May 22, 1948

Director, FBI

OPEN LETTER TO STALIN BY HENRY WALLACE
MISS DOROTHY THOMPSON
PUBLIC RELATIONS

Reference is made to the memorandum from the Bureau to you dated May 21, 1948, and to the telephonic conversation between Mr. D. M. Ladd of the Bureau and ASAC Belmont of your Office on May 22, 1948.

In connection with the information furnished by ASAC Belmont to the effect that a careful examination of additional copies of the flyer reflected that the lithographic bug actually reads "Union Label No. 10" rather than "Union Shop 100," there is being enclosed herewith an enlarged photographic copy of this Union Label. You will note that this enlargement indicates rather clearly that the number is 100 rather than 10.

This is being submitted to you for your information and you are instructed to take no further action in this matter unless advised to the contrary by the Bureau.

Enclosure

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/17/83 BY 228303

RECEIVED DIRECTOR
DEPT. OF JUSTICE
MAY 28 1948

61 R-9

RECORDED - 26

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62-71788-112

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED 10
MAY 23 1948 P.M.
JLS:mer
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. Egan
- Mr. Gurnea
- Mr. Harbo
- Mr. Mohr
- Mr. Pennington
- Mr. Quinn Tamm
- Tele. Room
- Mr. Nease
- Miss Gandy

60 JUN 10 1948

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United States Department of Justice
Federal Bureau of Investigation

New York 7, New York
May 19, 1948

IN REPLY, PLEASE REFER TO

FILE No. _____

SPECIAL DELIVERY

Director, FBI

Att: Assistant Director D. M. Ladd

RE: MISS DOROTHY THOMPSON
PUBLIC RELATIONS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/19/83 BY SP1GJA/JC
228303

Dear Sir:

On May 18, 1948, at 11:35 am, Miss DOROTHY THOMPSON, political journalist, of 237 East 48 Street, New York City, telephoned the New York office and asked for SAC Edward Scheidt. In his absence, she spoke to ASAC A. H. Belmont.

She advised that she had a matter of "major political importance" to discuss with him which she desired to discuss telephonically. Miss THOMPSON said that this morning's newspapers carried a reply from Marshal STALIN to the open letter of HENRY WALLACE dated last week. Aside from the undesirability of having WALLACE conduct negotiations with another country through such a letter, Miss THOMPSON advised that she had a "hunch" that WALLACE had been in touch with Moscow prior to the issuance of his open letter to STALIN. She based this on the following:

On Tuesday, May 11, 1948, HENRY WALLACE held a political meeting in Madison Square Garden in New York City. According to Miss THOMPSON, the publication of the contents of the BEDELL SMITH - MOLOTOV conversations, which had taken place May 4, 1948 in Moscow, reached this country on the Associated Press wire a little after 8:30 pm on May 10, 1948. According to Miss THOMPSON, there was a one sentence report of the notes of these conversations on the 8:55 pm CBS news broadcast on May 10, 1948, and further details on the 11:00 pm news broadcasts on all the major radio stations. It was also published in the morning newspapers on May 11, 1948.

At the WALLACE meeting referred to above, a flyer entitled "An Open Letter to Premier Stalin" was distributed. Miss THOMPSON, who attended the meeting, said that this flyer was distributed at approximately 10:30 pm on May 11, 1948 by ushers at the meeting. Miss THOMPSON also advised that at the time these flyers were distributed, the ink was perfectly dry. She said that the flyer was lithographed by the Amalgamated Lithographers of America, Local #1, Union Shop #100.

AHB:CTC

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MAY 27 1948
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59 JUN 10 1948

Letter to Director

WALLACE, in his speech that evening, stated that he changed the first paragraph of this flyer after receiving information on the BEDELL SMITH - MOLOTOV conversations in Moscow. Miss THOMPSON believes that it is a physical impossibility to make this change and have new flyers lithographed and distributed within the space of a little more than 24 hours. She said that the flyer was prepared from a plate and in order for WALLACE to make a change in this flyer, it would have been necessary to destroy the first plate and prepare a new one.

In view of this, Miss THOMPSON is of the definite opinion that HENRY WALLACE had advance information from the Russian Embassy in Washington or the Russian Consulate in New York City concerning the SMITH - MOLOTOV conversations.

Miss THOMPSON also advised that she has spent the past week investigating to determine whether WALLACE actually had advance information of these conversations but has been able to reach no definite conclusion on this matter. In this connection, she has attempted to learn, through her syndicate and through SOL LEVITAS of the "New Leader", when the flyer was lithographed. She advised that she was not successful as the ~~Amalgamated Lithographers of America, Local #1, Union Shop #100~~, covers the entire New York area and her sources have not been able to localize the place where the flyers were produced. She furnished this flyer to this office, thinking that we might desire to investigate to determine whether this advance information was actually in the possession of HENRY WALLACE before it was released for public consumption. The flyer distributed at the HENRY WALLACE meeting and furnished by Miss THOMPSON is being sent to the Bureau with this letter.

It is noted that the flyer bears a stamp, on the lower right hand corner, of local #1, New York Amalgamated Lithographers of America. The stamp also carried what appears to be the word "union - 100". The word before 100 is not clear but it does not appear to be the word "shop". It is noted further that the files of this office do not reflect that this union is Communist dominated. A pretext call, wherein the caller was not identified, to the Printers Union, Local 100, on the basis of attempting to secure additional copies of the flyer, resulted in advice from the union that it was not possible to ascertain in what shop the flyers had been lithographed; that they could have been lithographed in any one of the hundreds of shops in New York City.

It would appear that Miss THOMPSON's "hunch" that WALLACE had advance information regarding Moscow's release on the BEDELL SMITH - MOLOTOV

Letter to Director

conference is primarily based on her conclusion that instant flyer could not have been changed following the receipt of the Associated Press dispatch on the night of May 10th, and produced in time to be distributed on the night of May 11th by WALLACE.

During Miss THOMPSON's call, she advised that, if WALLACE could be shown to have received advance information from the Russians, it would be "the greatest story on earth". She indicated that she would like to be advised if this office succeeded in proving that the flyer was lithographed prior to the evening of May 10th. She was advised that we appreciated her interest in furnishing this information to us. However, no commitments were made to her, either from the standpoint of furnishing her any information or that we would conduct any investigation concerning the matter.

It is suggested that the Mechanical Section of the Bureau examine this flyer for the purpose of ascertaining whether it could readily be produced during the approximate 24 hours in question. If it could be so produced, there would seem to be no basis for Miss THOMPSON's suspicions. Pending advice from the Bureau, no further action will be taken by this office.

Prior to sending an agent to Miss THOMPSON's office to pick up the flyer at her request, Mr. John Maguire of the Bureau was advised of her call, together with the fact that she contemplated discussing the matter also with Mr. ROBERT LOVETT of the State Department.

Very truly yours,

Edward Scheidt
EDWARD SCHEIDT
SAC

enc.

REGISTERED - SPECIAL DELIVERY

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DATE 5/17/83 BY SP1GSD/TO
228303

COPIES DESTROYED
20 5 NOV 4 1964

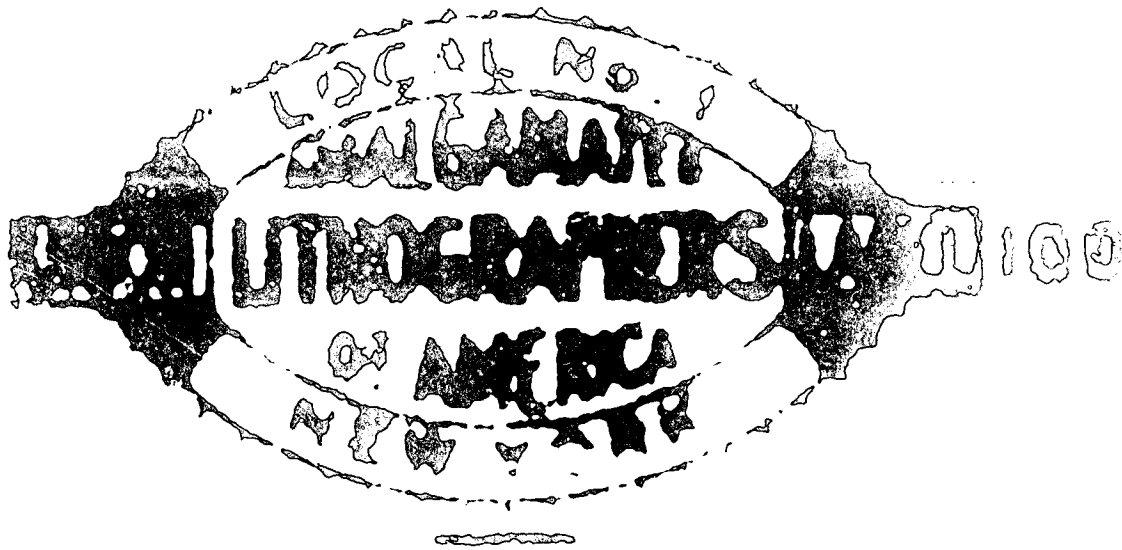
SENSITIVE

62-71788-113

1 ENCLOSURE TO BUREAU

ATT: ASST. DIR. D. M. LADD

RE: MISS DOROTHY THOMPSON
PUBLIC RELATIONS



an open letter to Premier Stalin



A CENTURY OF PEACE

Although the notes of Ambassador Bedall Smith and Foreign Minister Molotov are both characterized by the same self-righteousness which has led to the international crisis, they represent great hope to those of us who have consistently maintained that peace is possible and that they represent a severe blow to the propagandists on both sides who have insisted that the two nations cannot live at peace in the same world. The two letters assume what we have long contended—that the war-time cooperation between the two great powers can be rebuilt and strengthened in time of peace. The exchange of notes, opening the door to negotiations, must be followed by a meeting—an open, fully reported meeting of representatives of both the United States and the Soviet Union. With the prospect of such a meeting, I present my thoughts on the steps necessary to achieve the Century of Peace.

THE COLD WAR MUST STOP

The USA and the USSR must take immediate action to end the cold war. This involves taking definitive, decisive steps toward the following objectives:

1. General reduction of armaments—outlawing all methods of mass destruction.
2. Stopping the export of weapons by any nation to any other nation.
3. The resumption of unrestricted trade (except for goods related to war) between the two countries.
4. The free movement of citizens, students and newspaper men between and within the two countries.
5. The resumption of free exchange of scientific information and scientific material between the two nations.
6. The re-establishment of a re-invigorated UNRRA or the constitution of some other United Nations agency for the distribution of international relief.

Neither the USA nor the USSR should interfere in the internal affairs of other nations. Neither the USA nor the USSR should maintain military bases in other UN countries. Neither the USA nor the USSR should terrorize the citizens of member states of the UN by massing land forces, establishing air bases, or making naval demonstrations. Neither the USA nor the USSR should use financial pressure, economic pressure or the pressure of secret agents to obtain political results in other countries. Both the US and USSR, in the spirit of the UN Charter, should collaborate to the limit in furthering the political, economic and cultural health of the world. To that end the USA and the USSR should join the various subsidiary agencies of the UN such as the World Health Organization, the Food and Agricultural Organization, and The UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

REHABILITATION OF EUROPE

It is to the advantage of both the USA and the USSR to give maximum economic help to Europe as promptly as possible within the framework of the UN, proportioned to the devastation and economic need. As soon as possible the European Cooperation Administration and the United Nations and the Economic Commission for Europe should be converted into a re-invigorated and expanded UNRRA for the purpose of building a highly productive, economically unified Europe in which there would be no barriers of trade, communication or culture between Eastern Europe and Western Europe.

SPEEDY PEACE WITH GERMANY

The USSR, the USA, Great Britain, and France should conclude a peace treaty with Germany at the earliest possible moment. The objective is the prompt re-establishment of a peace-loving German government in charge of a united Germany which is obligated to the strict fulfillment of the Yalta and Potsdam agreements. Russian, French, British and American troops should be withdrawn from Germany within one year after the signing of the German peace treaty.

PEACE IN THE FAR EAST

Neither the USA nor the USSR should send arms into China. Both the USA and the USSR should withdraw troops from both China and Korea. There should be set up as soon as possible a government for all of Korea. Both the USA and the USSR should adhere to the principle of equal rights for all nations in China with respect for the sovereignty of China and refrain from interference in the internal affairs of China. Both the USA and the USSR can benefit from a China which is strong and unified on the basis of economic and political democracy.

JAPAN

A peace treaty with Japan based on agreements heretofore arrived at should be made at the earliest possible moment. Both the USA and the USSR have a vital interest in a democratic and peace

loving Japan. All nations having occupation troops in Japan should withdraw them within a year after the signing of the peace treaty with Japan.

VETO AND ATOMIC ENERGY CONTROL

The excessive use of the veto and the impasse with regard to certain phases of atomic energy control are the expression of the lack of confidence between the two nations. They are symptoms, not causes. Both can be handled constructively once confidence is established in the major issues. The door should be promptly opened to the extraordinary benefits which atomic energy can bring to mankind at peace. Atomic energy for war is a crime and a curse. Atomic energy for peace can be science's greatest blessing.

ACCESS TO RAW MATERIALS

The Atlantic Charter has provision for freedom of access to raw materials by the nations of the world. This is very important for the smaller nations and both the USA and the USSR should carry out the spirit of article 4 of the Atlantic Charter.

There are possibilities of increasing interchange of goods between the USA and the USSR to a volume many times the pre-war figure. Such an increase in trade excluding any discrimination will promote friendly relations between the two countries and thereby strengthen the cause of world peace.

ASSURANCE WITH REGARD TO RUSSIAN AND AMERICAN INTENTIONS

Millions of citizens in the USA believe it is the settled purpose of Soviet leaders to conquer the world. Millions of citizens in the USSR believe it is the settled purpose of the USA to invade the USSR. Both point to specific instances to make their point. Each nation should state definitively and categorically that it has no design on the territorial integrity of any other nation.

COMMUNISM AND CAPITALISM

The ideological competition between communism and capitalism is a different matter from the misunderstanding between the USSR and the USA. The latter can be solved in a way that will preserve peace. But the competition between the capitalist and communist systems is never ending. It is the concern of both nations to see that this competition remains constructive and that it never degenerates into the status of such a religious war as the Thirty Years War which so devastated Europe at the beginning of the Seventeenth Century.

Russia cannot be held responsible for the excesses of local communists any more than the USA can be held responsible for the reprehensible exploitation of backward peoples by many capitalists who are not citizens or only nominally citizens of the USA. Undoubtedly many communists and capitalists have expressed the belief that their particular system will inevitably dominate the world. But that does not mean that the USSR and the USA must engage in perpetual conflict. The two countries can agree to a modus vivendi while the slow process of time determines the strong and weak points of the two economic systems and the free peoples of the world make day by day the small choices which eventually will evolve, on the basis of empiricism, systems which will be best adapted for the various individual countries.

THE CENTURY OF PEACE MUST COME

There is no misunderstanding or difficulty between the USA and the USSR which can be settled by force or fear and the only difference which cannot be settled by peaceful, hopeful negotiation. There is no American principle or public interest, and there is no Russian principle or public interest which would have to be sacrificed to end the cold war and open up the Century of Peace which the Century of the Common Man demands.

Henry A. Wallace

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson
 FROM : L. B. Nichols
 SUBJECT:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/19/83 BY SP1GSC/DA

DATE 5/19/83 BY SP1GSC/DA

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 Holmes
 Miss Gandy

ASAC Belmont telephoned at 1:05 p.m. this afternoon stating that Dorothy Thompson, the columnist, phoned the New York Office at 11:35 asking for SAC Scheidt who was not available. Belmont returned Miss Thompson's call at 11:45 offering to be of service. Miss Thompson stated she had a matter of major political importance that dealt with Henry Wallace's open letter to Stalin and that she felt that Wallace must be in touch with Moscow and more particularly must have been in touch with Moscow prior to his publication of the open letter. Miss Thompson's line of reasoning is based on Wallace's public meeting on Tuesday, May 11th, at Madison Square Garden at 8:00 p.m. which was broadcast by NBC and CBS. She stated that at about 10:30 p.m. the night of the meeting Wallace had ushers distribute 20,000 flyers in the audience which flyers contained Wallace's open letter to Stalin. The flyer also contained references to the Moscow story broken earlier that morning, May 11th, concerning the conferences between Bedell Smith and Molotov. She states that the ink was dry on the flyers and that it would be impossible, she understands, to lithograph 20,000 flyers on the same day the Bedell Smith-Molotov conference was broken in the press and therefore Wallace must have had information in advance on the breaking of the Molotov-Smith conference and it follows that Wallace must have been in touch with Moscow.

Miss Thompson stated she tried to trace the flyer and to ascertain where it was made up, but all she could learn was that it was handled by Shop 100. This, of course, is the Union Lithographic Shop covering all of New York City. Miss Thompson thought the FBI should have the flyer and in the event we checked into the matter she wanted to know what our answer might be. Belmont stated he ducked answering by saying this was all very interesting and he made no commitment to her as to whether we would or would not investigate. An Agent is picking up a copy of the flyer inasmuch as the New York Office does not have readily available a copy of the flyer which was distributed at the Wallace meeting on May 11th. Miss Thompson stated she was also going to talk to Bob Lovett at the State Department about this situation. Belmont was advised our experience here at the Bureau in lithographing was that it took a minimum of 1 hour to a maximum of 45 minutes to develop a negative in the lithographing process and that thereafter one machine could handle approximately 4500 copies an hour; therefore, it would be quite easy for a large lithographing concern using a number of people and several machines to put out 20,000 lithographed copies of a flyer in a very short time. Belmont stated that in the event Miss Thompson made any further inquiries he would relay this information to her as to the possibilities from a lithographing standpoint of having 20,000 copies of a flyer made within a period of one day. Belmont also stated that the New York Office definitely is not going to make any check to determine by whom Wallace's flyers were made up.

CE: Mr. Tamm
 JMM:MPUN

INDEXED
 EX-20

31-31 58th. Street,
Woodside, New York.,
June 1st. 1948.

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Chief,
Federal Bureau Of Investigation,
Washington, D.C.

68900

Dear Sir:

Just before the United States entered World War 2, I was visiting a well educated and pretty young woman in her Woodside apartment. Her son lived there also and went to school in the neighborhood. He must have been about 5 years of age. She told me she was a secretary for the R.K.O. Pictures Corp., Radio City. The last I heard of her, she moved to Cortlandt, N.Y. or some such place.

I was there one Sunday morning when a tall, quiet manneered gray haired man of distinguished appearance came in. He asked "How is the boy?" and greeted me in a manner as though I was the girl's brother and had last talked with him 24 hours before. He left after a brief conversation with the girl.

After he was gone, she said-"Do you know that man? I answered "No". She said-"He is a member of the Roosevelt Cabinet--He and I are married but noone must ever know it-his name is Henry Wallace. He has a plan that is so important that we have to live apart ths way. And as Kipling would say "I learned about Communism from her".

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Respectfully,

Joseph A. Bissell
Joseph A. Bissell

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/17/83 BY SP-8/SCC

Henry A. Wallace

ack 6/5/48

Wm

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W

RECORDED - 104

June 5, 1948

62-71788-115

EX-17

Mr. Joseph A. Bissell
31-31 58th Street
Woodside, New York

Dear Mr. Bissell:

Your letter dated June 1, 1948, has been received. This is to advise that the information you related fails to reflect any violation of a Federal statute within the investigative jurisdiction of this Bureau. The interest prompting your communication, however, is indeed appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/12/83 BY SP100000
22F303

WM:mdd

RECEIVED READING ROOM
JUN 5 6 24 PM '48
FBI
U. S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

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 2
JUN 8 1948 P.M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

52 JUN 25 1948

No. 518

American Embassy,
Belgrade, Yugoslavia,
June 9, 1948.

~~RESTRICTED~~

Subject: Henry WALLACE Yugoslavia's Favorite Son

Received from the State Department
through Liaison channels

Date 6-24-48

68933

THE HONORABLE

THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

WASHINGTON.

SIR:

I have the honor to report that next to the names of Generalissimo Stalin and Marshal Tito that of H. Agard WALLACE has probably appeared more often in the Yugoslav press during the past four months than that of any other world figure. Not only has the Yugoslav press devoted considerable space to accounts of Mr. Wallace's campaign efforts, but substantial portions of the speeches made by him during the election campaign have been reprinted by the local press. Moreover, since his open letter to Stalin and the latter's reply, Mr. Wallace has even been competing seriously with Marshal Tito for front page column space in the Yugoslav press. On May 26th, when the local press was dedicated almost exclusively to eulogizing Marshal Tito on the occasion of his fifty-sixth birthday, Borba, the official organ of the Yugoslav Communist Party, saved three columns of its space and devoted them to an editorial on the life, ideals and successes of the Third Party candidate, Mr. Wallace. An unofficial translation of this editorial, which leaves little doubt as to which presidential aspirant in the United States is Yugoslavia's favorite son, is enclosed herewith.

Respectfully yours,

For the Ambassador:

Donald P. Downs
Second Secretary

Enclosure:

Translation of article
from Borba, May 26, 1948.

Original and hectograph to Department

800B

DPDowns:lim

~~RESTRICTED~~

56 JUL 23 1948

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EX-3

19 JUL 8 1948

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CIA
AIR

Henry P. Wallace

UNCLASSIFIED

Enclosure to Despatch No.
518, June 9, 1948, from
American Embassy, Belgrade,
entitled "Henry Wallace--
Yugoslavia's Favorite Son"

Translation from Borba, May 26, 1948.

68934

HENRY WALLACE AND THE COMING UNITED STATES ELECTIONS

①
Henry Wallace, the candidate of the Third Party in the coming presidential elections, through his letter to Stalin and Stalin's answer, became one of the most marked political figures of capitalist lands. It is too early yet to speak of Wallace's letter concerning which Comrade Stalin termed the "most important document" of contemporary times. This letter had as its theme the "strengthening of peace, closer international cooperation, and the security of democracy". Without doubt, such a response by Comrade Stalin will attract the attention of the whole world since Wallace's letter deals with the question of relations between the Soviet Union and the United States.

For 23 years Wallace edited an American magazine for farmers. From 1933 to 1940, he was Secretary of Agriculture in the Roosevelt cabinet. In the year 1940, he was elected Vice President of the United States on the Democratic ticket and thus became one of Roosevelt's closest collaborators among the left-wing democrats. In the year 1944, Roosevelt did not choose that Wallace should again be Vice President because of his leftist leanings, but appointed him as Secretary of Commerce, while Truman became Vice President. After Roosevelt's death Wallace continued to be Secretary of Commerce until September of 1946. It was then that he was thrown out of the cabinet. Since then Wallace has continued the struggle against the Truman government, because of its so-called "strong-arm methods" against the Soviet Union. Since then he has attacked American "atomic diplomacy". In December of 1947, Wallace announced his candidacy for the presidency on the ticket of the Third Party.

When Wallace announced his candidacy, he emphasized the fact that his struggle would be hard and that he was fighting under difficult circumstances, with few men against an able enemy.

So it is.

The Truman government is fully in the hands of monopolistic capital, which is connected with American militarism. In the leading positions are always some high officials of trusts, corporations, or banks, who carry the rank of general. The Democratic and Republican parties are actually the same when it comes to foreign or

internal

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62-71788-116
ENCLOSURE

- 2 -

internal policies of the country. The "Truman Doctrine" is not only Truman's, but Hoover's also. The "Marshall Plan" is not only Marshall's, but that of Vandenberg. Both parties are working for the increase of profits for the monopolistic capitalists, and for a decrease in the standard of living of the "common man". Both parties are for a fabricated war crisis. Both parties use fascism and war as a means for world domination. Both are hurriedly working to exploit mass organizations for fascist goals. They are both for "loyalty of mind", and they agree in the persecution of communism, or of those who do not agree with them. Both are using unheard of demagoguery in connection with the supposed American democratic liberties, and through it they are exploiting and discriminating in and out of the country wherever they are able, and in a way that can only be compared to Hitler's methods. Both parties indorsed the Taft-Hartley Bill against the workers. This was done in order that the laboring class would not be able to tinker in politics, but would succumb to the drudgery of the every day struggle for existence. This was done with the aim of preventing the participation of the workers in internal or foreign affairs. They harnessed both labor unions to support the Marshall Plan. The "union management", without any say, is serving Wall Street interests for the enslavement of people in other lands in order that they may escape economic depression in the United States; that is, that the American working man could eat the crumbs which fall from the rich man's table as was the case during the period of the war in 1935 to 1945. Both parties monopolize the press, radio, films, science, mass organizations of the youth, the church, Veteran Organizations, etc.

Two political parties--the Democratic and Republican--so far have had the privilege of electing the president. Since Lincoln, Wallace is the first to come out as a Third Party Candidate covering the whole nation. He started his election campaign without a party machine, without the support of the bourgeois class and the influence of the press, and without money; he was forced to collect hundreds of thousands of signatures in all of the states in order to win the right to run in the election. At first his chances were so limited that the reactionary press spoke with scorn about his election. Today, the situation is different. The Wallace movement is widening and the ruling circles and the reactionary group are worried. In February of this year it was believed that Wallace could receive approximately 5 million votes. Later, the guess was between 8 and 10 million, yet some believe it will reach 15 to 20 million votes. In the last election of 1944, Roosevelt received something like 25 million votes, while his opponent received about 2 to 3 million votes less.

From

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIEDEnclosure to Despatch No.
518, June 9, 1948, from
American Embassy, Belgrade

- 3 -

From where does the increase for Wallace come?

First, from the ranks of the workers. In spite of labor union management, the workers, and even all of the union branches, are openly supporting Wallace. Wallace has long had connections with farmers, and farmers are today dissatisfied with prices and they see in Wallace a man who can help them. In the United States there are 15 million negroes who feel that they are enslaved. They are turning their eyes toward Wallace. Further there are 15 million Slavs in the United States, most of whom have a progressive outlook, and the majority of whom will vote for Wallace. Small shopowners, industrialists, craftsmen, white collar people who are at the mercy of large capital are all searching for a way out of this serious crisis. Wallace expects to receive votes from this group.

The workers in the United States have not succeeded in organizing sufficiently to affirm themselves as a political party. The Communist Party is proportionally small and does not embrace enough workers, while other so-called "workers' parties" are on the reactionary side. Wallace's Party is neither the workers' party nor the worker-peasant party, nor socialist, but it is progressive. It unites various democratic, anti-war, anti-monopolist elements and groups.

There are in the United States millions of voters who are willing to fight for their everyday needs, but who are not convinced that political actions are necessary. Those are the raw masses, and it cannot be predicted on which side they will vote in the elections--for Wallace or for the American reaction. It appears that the toughest fight just now is for the support of those masses, to draw those masses into the struggle, not only on the questions of daily bread, but also on the questions of domestic and foreign policy. It is true that those masses are today afraid of war, of economic depression, of fascism and of monopoly. All of those masses already have a certain amount of experience of the horrors of the last war and of the last economic depression, during the time of Hoover, when millions of unemployed American workers had to wait in long queues to get a ladle-full of soup from humanitarian organizations. However, if the American reaction manages to convince those masses that the policy of armament and the Marshall Plan will ensure those masses against unemployment and against now queues for soup for the unemployed, then Wallace will not have the solid support of those discontented but politically ineffectual masses.

wallace

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UNCLASSIFIED

Enclosure to Despatch No.
518, June 9, 1948, from
American Embassy, Belgrade

- 4 -

Wallace may also count on a section of the discontented in the ranks of the Democratic and Republican Parties. The points at issue are: heavy taxes, police terror, despotism of the local authorities, terror of the owners of big industrial concerns, and the fear of the foreigners of deportation. All these categories will very carefully weigh the possibility that Wallace may win the election and take them under his protection.

The reaction will throw itself against Wallace with an unheard of fury. It will resort to all of the permissible and unpermissible means. The mighty organization, American Manufacturers Association, will threaten the workers with dismissal from work should they vote for Wallace. Dewey, Governor of the State of New York, spent no less than 80 million dollars on his campaign for the 1944 elections, while Wallace is today scraping his election fund together dollar by dollar. The anti-communist law is now being voted on. That law is so elastic that it will also be used against Wallace and his movement. The negroes are being deprived of their right to vote, so that they will not be able to vote for the Third Party.

Roosevelt won four times in elections against the will of monopolistic capital, and he did not have the support of any big capitalist newspaper, except in the last election when he was given a limited support from the New York Times. But, one should bear in mind the fact that three times Roosevelt had the state machinery behind him, while Wallace does not have that support.

No matter what the results of the elections might be, the fact remains that Wallace's movement is a factor with which the American reaction must reckon. It is not only the question of electing Wallace as President, but also of the entry of the Third Party's men into the United States Congress; and those men will speak in the name of millions of men against the present-day policy of American billionaires from both Parties, whose interests are untiringly defending Truman, the by-chance President of the United States of America.

(Sgd.) Nikola B. Kovacevic

* * *

UNCLASSIFIED



Neffs Ohio
July 16 1948

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
F.B.I.
Washington D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover;

This may seem a very odd request, but would it be possible to send me a statement as to whether Mr. Henry A. Wallace is or is not affiliated in any way with the communist party. I am a voter and I would like to have this information in order that I may be guided by this information, in the coming election, in November.

I realize that it may not be possible ~~xx~~ for you to give out this information to individuals, in that case please disregard this request.

~~DEFERRED RECORDING~~ *h*

Thanking you for your trouble
I remain

Respectfully

Andrew S. ~~X~~ Kozlowski

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DATE 5/17/83 BY SP1GSEDC
228303

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RECORDED - 50

July 23, 1948

62-71788-117

Mr. Andrew S. Kozlowski
Neffs, Ohio

Dear Mr. Kozlowski:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 5/17/83 BY SP1/GSC/CR
228303

Your letter dated July 16, 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. It has occurred to me that the enclosed material might be of some interest to you. The thoughts prompting your communication are indeed appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

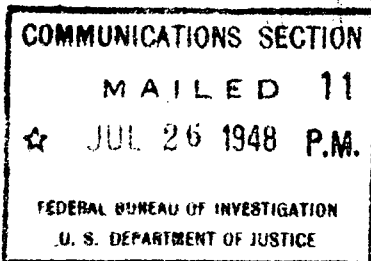
John Edgar Hoover
Director

Enclosure

Directors Statement before House Committee
How to Fight Communism
Don't Be Duped by the Communists

WN:ms

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



JUL 23 5 29 PM '48
RECEIVED REC 10 20 PM
U. S. DEPT OF JUSTICE

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: August 2, 1948

FROM : SAC, San Antonio

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

SUBJECT: HENRY A. WALLACE
FOREIGN POLITICAL MATTERSDATE 5/17/83 BY SP/IGSK/c
228303

Mr. CESAR SERRATO OYERVIDES, reporter, La Prensa, Spanish language newspaper, San Antonio, Texas, has called to the attention of this office an article which appeared in the "Revista de Revistas", a weekly magazine published by Excelsior Cia. Editorial SCL, Mexico, D.F. The article appears on Page 1 of the issue dated July 11, 1948. A portion of the article entitled "Remolino" (whirlwind or whirlpool) by VILA is translated as follows:

"HENRY A. WALLACE has no great sympathy in Mexico and neither does he have the slightest probability of being elected President of the United States of America...But nevertheless WALLACE does not deserve the campaign of antipathy which both here and in his own country are frustrated upon him...With regard to Mexico, a country which he really esteems, to WALLACE is due personally--already in the time of CARDENAS, the initiation of the intensive cultivation of hybrid corn system which will mean beginning next year, the total recovery of the Mexican farms in its production of said seed...With respect to international politics wherein WALLACE is accused of being a servant of Moscow, it may be clarified that although he professes Socialist ideas and is trying to avoid the next war being with Russia, if Washington persists in its mistaken post war diplomacy on the basis of a complete world domination, his attitude of opposition to his own country intervening in the international affairs of other countries--something of very special propriety for all Latin America...He proves it thus in various phases of his program of action as a candidate who recognizes himself as frustrated from the Presidency in which he says, among other revelations 'I would suppress the Federal Bureau of Investigation insofar as it offends the sovereignty of other nations and neighboring countries'... Very concretely on Mexico in one of his proclamations he has said that 'I would expel from their national territory the G-men who operate freely, violating the Mexican constitution'...and there is nothing so true...If in war times and with friend ROOSEVELT in the White House it was official data that 150,000 agents or spies, recruited among the natives themselves of each country, were working in Latin America on behalf of the FBI, now without war or counter espionage as a pretext for the moment it is known that there still remain 50,000 agents operating throughout Indo America...This 'secret' came out piece by piece in public evidence not very long ago and through indiscretion of the good neighbor State Department itself..."

The number of "Revista de Revistas" from which the above is translated was submitted by Mr. SERRATO OYERVIDES and is enclosed to the Bureau herewith.

Encl.

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INDEXED - 3

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DATE 5/17/83 BY SP1GSKJC
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ENCLOSURE



62-71783-118



Revista de Revistas

TRAGICO CATORCE DE JULIO REMOLINO

Por VILA

Por LUIS LARA PARDO.

EL Día de la Bastilla, catorce de julio, es para los franceses, de inmenso regocijo. Aurora de libertad. La puerta grandemente abierto para que el país, entonces el más rico, culto y fuerte de Europa, decidiera su propio destino y se organizara como mejor le pareciera. La celebración no es simplemente motivo de ceremonias oficiales, revista militar, procesiones cívicas. El pueblo entero se entrega a demostraciones, todas ellas bulliciosas, entusiastas. Toda Francia canta, baila, durante más de veinticuatro horas. No evoca, sino deja desbordar el impulso alegre que está en toda alma francesa. Ni quien recuerde o quiera recordar que aquel catorce de julio de 1789, señaló el principio de una de las luchas más sangrientas que la Humanidad ha conocido.

Ese alborozo francés ante la idea sola de libertad se ha extendido en toda Europa continental. He visto celebrar el catorce de julio en otros países que en Francia, y en todas partes el gozo de la colonia francesa se comunica al pueblo del país. Es casi como una fiesta nacional, y una fiesta de las más entusiastas.

Sólo presencié en los largos años de mi vida en Europa, pocos días sombríos de la Bastilla, y uno trágico. Desde la declaración de guerra y, sobre todo, la invasión-relámpago de Europa Occidental, enmudeció la voz de los que año por año cantaban a la libertad. En 1940, en esa fecha, gloriosa, hacia apenas dos semanas que el mariscal Petain, después de haberse apoderado del Gobierno de Francia derrotada, había pedido, negociado y firmado el armisticio más humillante que la historia conoce, peor mucho peor que el firmado en 1917 por los bolcheviques, asaltantes del gobierno ruso, y el gobierno del káiser Guillermo.

Francia estaba de luto, De luto, pero no resignada. Inmediatamente después del armisticio que dió prácticamente a Hitler el dominio de toda la República, comenzó a asomar la ceza de inconformidad y la rebelión. Francia no celebró ese catorce de julio. Solamente la estación emisora de Londres, empeñada en dar ánimo al desesperado pueblo francés, recordó la fecha, en valientes emisiones que lanzaron franceses emigrados, con el general De Gaulle a la cabeza.

Poco a poco la rebelión fué levantando la cabeza y atreviéndose a revelar su existencia y su resolución de reanudar el combate a la primera oportunidad. Al mismo tiempo, las autoridades colaboracionistas de Vichy, sabedoras de que el espíritu francés iba despertando cada vez con más fuerza, tomaba providencias para reprimir todo movimiento de oposición a las fuerzas ocupantes alemanas.

El catorce de julio de 1942 fué el último que pasó en tierra francesa: en Marsella. El pueblo estaba ya cansado de la férula germana. Ya no disimulaba su cólera. La legión fundada por Petain para distinguir a los que apoyaban su política de colaboración, se había ido dispersando, y los miembros que todavía quedaban, escondían sus insignias y se hablaban quedo y ya no con la altivez antigua.

Ese catorce de julio, las autoridades petainistas tenían manifestaciones violentas. La estación emisora de Londres, en su afán de mantener vivo el espíritu patriótico, pero sin el deseo de provocar sacrificios sangrientos, había propuesto que los franceses de Marsella, la ciudad más importante de la famosa avenida La Cannebiere, en una manifestación, muda, pero elocuente. En previsión de ello, las autoridades petainistas ordenaron una concentración de policía, especialmente de la llamada "garde mobile", armadas de cascos de acero y fusiles, y dispuesta siempre a sofocar manifestaciones públicas, para ocupar la avenida y dispersar toda manifestación que pretendiera organizarse.

Días antes, una oficina de reclutamiento abierta en lugar céntrico de Marsella, para que se inscribieran quienes desearan ir a Rusia a combatir al lado de los alemanes en contra de los rusos, había sido objeto de un atentado. Una bomba estalló, durante la noche, y causó destrozos. Las autoridades petainistas estaban preocupadísimas.

La hora de cita, marcada por la emisora de Londres, era a las seis de la tarde. Desde poco antes, por todas las calles convergentes a La Cannebiere empezó a acudir la población. No iban en grupos organizados. Iban como los paseantes de cualquier día, solamente en las solapas se veía, en profusión, la cocarda tricolor y hasta la cruz de Lorena, distintivo de los partidarios del general De Gaulle. La policía estaba perpleja. Era espectáculo verdaderamente curioso y hasta emotivo, el ver que los agentes de la policía se acercaban a los grupos más numerosos para rogarles encarecidamente que no es estacionaran ni se organizaran, sino parearan en silencio. Entre los transeúntes la mayoría eran mujeres, dispuestas a desafiar valientemente toda tentativa de represión.

En La Cannebiere estaban los grandes hoteles de la ciudad, donde los oficiales alemanes tenían alojamiento. En las cercanías, grupos más compactos de agentes de policía estaban alertas. De pron-

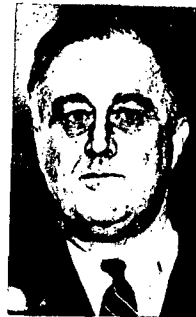
HENRY A. Wallace no tiene abundantes simpatías en México, y tampoco tiene ni una mínima probabilidad de salir electo. Presidente de los Estados Unidos de Norteamérica... PERO, no obstante, Wallace no merece la campaña de antipatías que tanto aquí como en su tierra enfocan sobre su persona....



Wallace

TOCANTE a México, país al que de veras estima, se debe personalmente a Wallace —todavía en tiempo de Cárdenas— la iniciación en la cultura intensiva de los maíces híbridos, sistema que significará ya desde el año entrante, la total recuperación del campo mexicano en sus rendimientos de dicha semilla.... RESPECTO a lo político internacional, donde se acusa a Wallace de ser un servidador de Moscú, puede aclararse que si bien él profesa ideas socialistas y trata de evitar que la próxima guerra sea con Rusia si Washington persiste en su equivocada diplomacia de posguerra, sobre la base de un completo dominio mundial, su actitud es de oposición a que su propio país intervenga en los asuntos internos de los demás países —algo de muy especial conveniencia para toda la América Latina.... LO prueba así en varios motivos de su programa de acción, como candidato que a sí mismo se reconoce frustrado a la Presidencia, donde dice entre otras revelaciones: "Suprimiría yo el Federal Bureau of Investigation, en lo que ofende a la soberanía de otras naciones y países vecinos".

MUY concretamente sobre México, en una de sus proclamas ha dicho que: "expulsaría de su territorio nacional a los G-Men, que operan libremente violando la Constitución mexicana". Y NA-



F. Roosevelt

DA tan cierto... Si en los tiempos bélicos, con el amigo Roosevelt en la Casa Blanca, era dato oficial que 150 mil agentes o espías, reclutados entre los propios nativos de cada país, operaban en Latinoamérica por cuenta del FBI, ahora, sin guerra ni contraespionaje que pretexto de momento, se sabe que aun permanecen 50 mil agentes operando en toda Indoamérica.... ESTE "secreto" cayó fraccionalmente en evidencia pública, hace muy poco y por indiscreción del mismí-

REMOLINO



J. E. Gaitán

simo Departamento de Estado buen vecino... CUANDO el asesinato del líder colombiano Gaytán, que iniciará los funestos tumultos de Bogotá en momentos de inaugurarse la Conferencia Panamericana, fuera sabotaje rojo o no, es el caso que públicamente, en el solemnísimo Congreso de los Estados Unidos, se hizo un grave extrañamiento a los funcionarios que se ocupan de la seguridad política del Tío Sam, por su ineficacia, al no haber sabido anticipadamente que tales sucesos ocurrirían... POR lo visto, Norteamérica y sus puntas de flecha—su quinta columna para decirlo claramente—deben enterarse con anticipación sobre cada plan o suceso fortuito que ocurra en este Hemisferio, que para eso, y también se dijo en el Congreso yanqui, dicha organización de "vigilancia preventiva" le cuesta muchos millones anuales al doloroso Good-Neighbor... ¡MERECE, entonces, tanto rencor Henry A. Wallace por vislumbrar la fórmula norteamericana que evitaría una contienda inútil, por desear personalmente que México y los demás países continentales sean en realidad entidades independientes?... ¡RUSIA, es la cantinela contra él!... ¡PERO ¿podría un hombre cualquiera, en conciencia, rechazar la penetración de hecho de su propio país para hacer propicio el imperialismo de otra nación lejana, exótica,



A. Ruiz C.

impopular?... ¡CONVIENE un minuto de meditación cuando, como buen mexicano, se quiera denostar a Wallace... LOS elogios, actualmente, se ensañan—puesto que nada hay más destructivo que el falso elogio—contra el nuevo secretario de Gobernación, don Adolfo Ruiz Cortines, al congratularlo favorablemente por su importante nombramiento... EL los recibe con su terrible cara seria de siempre, como pensando que no es oro todo lo que reluce y que los buenos deseos no valen lo que las buenas obras... OBRAS, más obras, es lo que él quería—y deja muchas por cercana conclusión—como gobernador de Veracruz... QUERÍA verlas todas antes de terminar los pocos meses faltantes a su mandato... JALAPA, en la replanificación por el orden...

to apareció un grupo de autos ocupados por oficiales de Hitler que iban hacia uno de los hoteles. Alguien inició los silbidos, que pronto fueron estruendosos. Pero ya no eran los arrogantes oficiales que habían entrado primero en Francia. Ya el ejército nazi estaba sufriendo descabellados, y los oficiales optaron por hacerse sordos y entrar precipitadamente en el hotel.

Fuera de La Cannebière, sitio donde se temían manifestaciones tumultuosas y reacciones violentas, en las calles se formaron pequeños cortejos con bandera desplegada: la vieja bandera de la República, sin el escudo adoptado por el mariscal Petain, copia vil de la fascista de Mussolini.

Con uno de esos pequeños desfiles tropecé al regresar a mi casa al entrar la noche (en julio, en Francia anochece mucho más tarde que en México). Habituado yo al piso más alto de la casa. Apenas entrado, oí una descarga de armas de fuego. Por la ventana vi algo como un tumulto. Bajé precipitadamente y supe lo ocurrido. Un grupo en que iban muchas mujeres, pasó frente a la oficina de reclutamiento para el ejército nazi. No hizo demostración ruidosa. Quiso con su sola presencia demostrar el desprecio que ese movimiento inspiraba. Del interior partió la descarga. Cayeron manifestantes, heridos unos, muertos otros, la mayor parte mujeres. Se supo quiénes habían sido los autores de la matanza: gangsters de origen italiano, bien conocidos en Marsella. Poco tiempos después, el jefe de la banda, parecía asesinado en un tren de la Costa Azul.

Único luctuoso y sangriento catorce de julio que he visto en mi vida. El siguiente, un año después, lo pasé detenido en la ciudad alemana de Bad Godesberg. No nos quedó ni el placer de escuchar la emisora de Londres. Pero estábamos llenos de esperanza, porque ya los alemanes, nuestros carceleros, estaban en vísperas de la derrota terrible con que se desenlazó su tentativa de dominación mundial.

CRONICA DE PARIS

LA SERPIENTE DEL MAR

Por JOSE M. DEL VALLE

A comienzos de verano hacia su aparición en otro tiempo, la serpiente de mar. Se trataba de un monstruo gigantesco, cuya descripción llenaba las columnas de los periódicos durante esos días en los que las vacaciones parlamentarias y la falta de sucesos sensacionales, hacían ardua e ingrata la labor del periodista. La serpiente de mar venía entonces a llenar ese vacío, y salvaba la situación apareciendo con nulaudable regularidad, bien en las accidentadas costas del norte, bien en las tibias playas meridionales. Hoy día la vida se ha complicado tanto que, hasta en plena canícula, les falta espacio a los periódicos para dar cuenta a sus lectores de las continuas convulsiones que agitan al mundo. Y la serpiente de mar, descorazonada por el injusto olvido a que se la ha relegado, sin duda ha tomado la fatal decisión de suicidarse hace mucho tiempo.

Este año, sin embargo, la serpiente de mar ha vuelto a aparecer en los periódicos parisenses. Aunque nos apresuramos a decir que no se trata de aquel inofensivo monstruo marino, que hacía las delicias de nuestros mayores en aquellos veranos demasiado apacibles, tan alejados de los nuestros. Se trata de un auténtico monstruo. De un monstruo con figura humana y hasta elegantemente vestido de gris.

Una tarde de junio, este monstruo con figura humana y elegantemente vestido de gris, descendió de un lujoso automóvil frente a la "Gare de l'Est". Llevaba en la mano una no menos elegante petaca. El elegante caballero y la también elegante maleta, atravesaron varias dependencias de la estación hasta llegar a la consigna. La elegante maleta quedó allí depositada en manos de un empleado, y el elegante caballero se ausentó, no sin antes manifestar su intención de volver a recogerla en breve, pues entraba en sus cálculos viajar en un tren cuya hora de salida se hallaba fijada para dos horas más tarde.

Transcurrieron las dos horas sin que el elegante caballero diera la menor muestra de interés por la petaca. Y no sólo transcurrieron las dos horas, sino que al cabo de dos días, la maleta continuaba esperando inútilmente que el caballero se decidiese a venir a recogerla. Este lamentable olvido tenía, sin embargo, una justificación: la maleta despedía un olor nauseabundo que no debía ser nada agradable para el fino olfato de tan elegante caballero. Y cuando la petaca fué abierta el olvido cobró plena justificación: en su interior se contenía el cadáver de una mujer joven aun, despedazado y envuelto en una arpillera.

No queremos entrar en detalles macabros. Sólo diremos que los miembros han sido separados del tronco. Y como ya hemos dicho que el caballero elegantemente vestido de gris es hombre de memoria frágil, omitió, sin duda por olvido meter la cabeza en

INCOMING PROGRAM

DEPARTMENT OF STATE DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS

RECORDS TELEGRAPH BRANCH

68938

447

AIRGRAM

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FROM: American Embassy,
Habana, Cuba.

Date of Mailing:

Rec'd.

July 6, 1948 8:39 a.m

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ACTION OCD Secretary of State,
Washington.

INFO
CC/R

EUR/X
ARA
CIA

[redacted] July 2, 1948

It is reported that José Luis MASSO, Communist student leader, received invitation from Henry WALLACE to Youth Congress meeting in Philadelphia July 25-26.

Masso is a violent exponent of Puerto Rican independence and is very anti-United States.

RECORDED - 38

INDEXED - 38

EX-37

BUTLER

3 AUG 5 1948

VLansing Collins, Jr./ats

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

611948

4443 Verdugo Road
Los Angeles 41 Calif.

July 15/48

The F. B. I.,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

Sirs:-

It is reported that the
Henry Wallace Group will hold a Political
Convention in Philadelphia starting the 19th
inst. I hope that the probable group of
subversives among the politicians, may be
inspected by representatives from your
Office.

G. H. WELLS.

RECORD

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10 JUL 27 1948

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DATE 5/17/83 BY SP1 RSC/SC
228303

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62-20-48
PAC

62-71788-120

July 20, 1948

RECORDED-4
INDEXED-4

Mr. G. H. Wells
4443 Verdugo Road
Los Angeles 41, California

Dear Mr. Wells:

Your letter dated July 15, 1948, has been received and I want to thank you for making your views available to me concerning the group you mentioned. The thought occurred that you may be interested in reading the enclosed material.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

G. I. R. -2

Enclosure
How to fight Communism
Menace of Communism (reprint)

PHL:KPH

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224302

- Tolson
- E. A. Tamm
- Clegg
- Glavin
- Ladd
- Nichols
- Rosen
- Tracy
- Harbo
- Belmont
- Mohr
- Tele. Room
- Nease
- Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
JUL 21 1948
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

RECEIVED-MAIL ROOM
JUL 15 1948

PHL

8-3-48

Dear Edgar:

II Please help us prevent
crime by "slum clearance"
Crime is bred under the
poverty & slum conditions.
Let us build a strong &
healthy America

I am sure that I can get
10,000 or more people who
will pay \$250 of their salary
in N.Y.C. for a decent home

Will you please help us
to help America? ^{Yes} ~~No~~

Vote for Mr. Wallace

Give us homes & help the
aged - Build America

III Respectfully yours

R. Mercer, 80 W. 94 St.
NEW YORK 25, N.Y.

G. I. R. - 2

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/17/83 BY SP13SC/SC

RECORDED - 65

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INDEXED - 65

162-71788-121

AUG 27 1948

EX 116

N.Y.
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M.
8



THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C.

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover

AUG 6 2 38 PM '48

Orlando Fla

68939

8-11
July 31 - 48

Dear Mr Hoover;

If Wallace and his
Sadelites are not stopped now
in 48. They will stop America
way of life in 52 - if not sooner.

If you are furnished the
money and men cannot you
force stop the Communists now -
Why do we Americans permit
this Wallace racket to go ~~any~~
further. We should stop them
in their tracks and oust all
the quacks out of our Government.
Here is the power to you to do it.
Make the Government put up the
Cash -

Sincerely

RECORDED - 52

163-91781-122

INDEXED - 52

5 AUG 11 1948

Bert Lucas
Orlando Fla

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

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DATE 5/17/83 BY SP-6 GSC/STC

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EX-59

118 Mr D 199

no record in files
no adequate address
for reply - no
action -
M.H.

Birmingham, Alabama
August 24, 1948

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/17/83 BY SP1GSL/bc

228303

Director, FBI

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

RE: BIRMINGHAM POLICE DEPARTMENT

Dear Sir:

DATE 7-23-77

On August 20, 1948, I contacted Chief of Police C. FLOYD EDDINS of the Birmingham Police Department, who is extremely cooperative and quite friendly to this office and with me personally. Chief Eddins advised during the conversation that he had been traveling a great deal with EUGENE "BULL" CONNOR, the Police Commissioner for the City of Birmingham, and that they had been traveling all over the State, where Mr. Connor was making speeches. He states that since the incident of the arrest of Senator Glenn Taylor at Birmingham and Bull Connor's activity as a delegate to the Democratic National Convention, wherein Bull Connor walked out, he has been in great demand as a speaker. He further related confidentially that Bull Connor was going to run for Governor in 1949 in the event he runs a good race in the City Commissioners' election, which will be held this year. Chief Eddins advised me that Bull Connor has gained quite a reputation as a government executive and speech maker, and there is always a very large crowd at the gatherings where he makes a talk.

During the conversation with Chief Eddins, Bull Connor appeared in the Chief's office, at which time several criminal cases of mutual interest were discussed. During the conversation Bull Connor stated that he had read in the newspaper where Henry Wallace was coming to Birmingham to make a speech to a mixed audience. Bull Connor related that he hoped that Henry Wallace was not coming to Birmingham to cause trouble and stated he wished that he would not come to Birmingham at all. He stated that it was a violation of a city ordinance for negroes and whites to gather together at a meeting, and that if Henry Wallace came to Birmingham and violated a city ordinance, he was going to see that he was arrested.

Bull Connor further related that he heard the meeting was going to be in a city park, and during the conversation he picked up the telephone and called someone connected with the Park Board and instructed them that hereafter when permits are issued for use of the

U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

FBI

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62-71788-123

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To Director - P&C
RE: BH PD

parks that the permit have written across the face that it is a violation of a city ordinance for a mixed group to be together in the park, and that any meeting must be segregated.

He then stated that a good way to handle the situation would be that if Wallace started talking to a mixed audience for the police to have a car with a loud speaker attached and inform the audience that they were violating a city ordinance, and that they should segregate; that in the event they failed to so do, the police loud speaker could drown any speech Wallace was endeavoring to make. He did not appear to be serious in his remarks in regards to the loud speaker; however, it is entirely possible that he would do this. He then jokingly asked that the FBI give him assistance in the matter, and I advised him seriously that we had nothing to do with such matters; however, in the event the Department of Justice felt that someone's civil rights were violated, they might call on us to investigate same.

The conversation was very friendly, and Bull Connor has expressed on several occasions an extremely favorable attitude to this Bureau since I have been Agent in Charge here. On one occasion he stated that the main trouble with the present administration in Washington is that they would not give the FBI enough money to operate.

I wanted to furnish the Bureau this information in view of the past occurrence in connection with the arrest of Senator Glenn Taylor here. Unless advice to the contrary is received, this office and the personnel thereof will be instructed not to become involved in any manner in any event that may occur when Mr. Henry Wallace appears here to make a speech.

Very truly yours,

G. D. KING,
SAC

GDK:rlg

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/17/83 BY SP1 QSL/GB
228303

Sub
62-71788-124

CHANGED TO

62-71788-A

Evening Star 6/25/48

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : THE DIRECTOR

DATE: August 26, 1948

FROM : D. M. LADD *DL*

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 Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

WFO Mr. Peyton Ford called me on August 25, 1948, and asked if the Bureau had received from the Department a request to ascertain the authenticity of certain letters from Mr. Henry Wallace to President Cardenas of Mexico.

After checking with Mr. Harbo, I advised Mr. Ford that no such request had been received.

DML:FA

RECORDED - 138

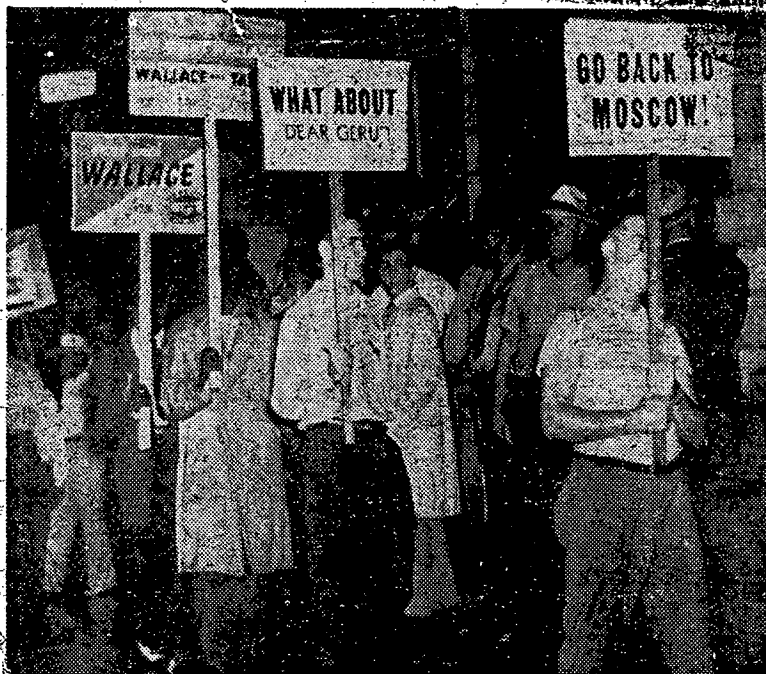
62-71788-125
FBI
31 AUG 27 1948

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DATE 5/17/83 BY SP1 QSC/SC
228303

EX-114 *H. Harbo*
9-8-48

71 SEP 30 1948

Do—and Don't—Want Wallace



—News-Acme.

Pickets for—and against—Henry A. Wallace were out in force when the third party candidate toured Knoxville. Latest report is, Mr. Wallace will make another trip thru the South this fall. (See Mr. Ruark, Page 23.)

you know?"



The Soul Refused to Make Henry a Joan of Arc

By ROBERT C. RUARK

MEMPHIS, Sept. 6—Over in the little town of Monroe, La., a grizzled old man strode up to Henry Wallace's red auto and pushed his face right onto Henry's, like as if he was going to kiss him spang on the mouth.

"Don't you bother to hurry back," the old man growled. He stepped away, Henry's car whizzed off, and a fat ripe tomato splattered on its stern. That was the sum of the violence received by Mr. Wallace in the three supposedly toughest states—Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana. Those were the states that were hopefully regarded by the Progressive Party as stage props to build persecution prestige for Henry.

If those states mobbed Mr. Wallace—if they upset his car, if they slapped him in the clink, if they rode him on a rail, if they treated him to some sorghum-and-feathers—then Henry's brief barnstorm would be a screaming success. If, by chance, his presence touched off a riot, with the police swinging billies and maybe the Klan riding around in bed sheets, then the junket would be a triple stroke of genius, because it would afford Mr. W. scads of documented horror to feed the Northern press.

HENRY could have come home a living Joan of Arc, battered, bloody, unbowed and all busted out in a rash of selfless nobility. It would have made fine grist for his peculiarly lopsided mental mill. It would have dignified the man, who stands sorely in need of dignity.

But the solid South double-crossed Henry. He was largely treated with cold disdain, as a minor annoyance with some freak value. He received only token boos and infrequent scallions. Alabama and Mississippi just didn't have time to truck with him. Here in Memphis he was received without enthusiasm by an unsegregated audience.

"He ain't important enough to hate," one Mississippian told me. "We just despise to have him

around." The word "despise" in those parts carries no animosity. It means a sort of condescending tolerance, mixed with careless pity.

The violence Mr. Wallace sought, to stitch his cloak of martyrdom was administered in North Carolina, which has held itself aloof from the corn pone and sweet-tater belt as the "enlightened" Southern sister, pleased to sneer sophisticatedly at its neighbors. It greatly pleased the black-belt states to show up North Carolina with their studied politeness to Mr. Wallace. It was a lesson in manners, administered to the Colonel's lady by Judy O'Grady.

MR. WALLACE was guilty of the worst bad taste, and of deliberate attempt to rabble-rouse, when he flaunted his Negro associates in the face of a sector which has maintained a certain social pattern for going on two centuries. It was political insult, and was coldly shaped to start trouble. It easily could have resulted in murder, single or mass, with Mr. Wallace as culpable of fomenting it as if he had pulled a trigger himself. And it was committed not out of love of all mankind, but as a callous political gimmick. The record shows that Henry never concerned himself over-much with the plight of the Negro until Harry Truman's civil-rights legislation made a convenient football out of the Negro.

Henry was somewhat chagrined, in Birmingham, to find himself picketed by Negroes, who asked him with their signs to "Please segregate yourself from us," and "Stop using us as a football." They also mentioned that the Southern Negro had come a considerably farther piece, in a short time, than all the Russians in all the centuries.

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DATE 5/17/83 BY SP19550C
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Washington D.C.
Sept 6, 1948

Mr Forrestal:

Regarding that special delivery letter which I mailed to you at your home just before your called that Joint Chiefs of Staff conference in Newport R.I. would you say at this time that I was in error concerning the facts mentioned in that letter i.e. that the heat would be turned on in October

In other words you might put it this way
The fire is being prepared now in September
The heat it will be turned on in October

And in relation to that and **ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED**
Wallace sent to your home I am enclosing **DATE 5/17/83 BY SP1GSK/SC** two clippings from the Washington Daily News

Highly significant are they not
And Mr Forrestal how come that you have failed to acknowledge those letters in view of the significance of the facts which are becoming apparent

And Mr Forrestal how come that you have failed to acknowledge that statement which I have made concerning certain letters which were placed in the Cominch files of the United States Fleet Headquarters of the Commander in Chief Navy Department Washington D.C. during the time that Fleet Admiral Ernest King was in charge

Have you taken the trouble to look thru those files or have you jumped to the conclusion that I am talking thru my hat

It seems to me Mr Forrestal strange and highly significant that you are so silent in regards to that matter

In other words Mr Forrestal if I am wrong in assuming the inference which I make in those letters why do you not answer me to that effect

The fact that you have refused to render any sort of answer naturally leads me to believe that my inference and conviction is correct

And especially when a highly significant remark made by someone in the Navy substantiates that inference

You see Mr Forrestal I do not make comments and endeavor to interpret the news as the columnists do

I make suggestions which I have definite reasons to believe that this government has been following

And I do not make those suggestions for the benefit of parties or individuals. I make those suggestions for the benefit of the

citizens of the United States of America

I would really like to have your reply to this matter

Mr Norrestal

Sincerely

~~Lewis Kaniick~~
Lewis Kaniick

741 Butternut St - NW
Washington
D.C.

P.S. And in regards to the two clippings which I am enclosing, the following contained under the photo is highly significant isn't it

Latest report is, Mr Wallace will make another trip thru the South this fall.

And in regards to the purpose of that trip it might be a good idea to investigate who the individuals were who were doing the egg tossing

They could not have been planted by the Progressive Party for that purpose with the idea in mind that such action would lead to race riots

A sort of door opening as Carey said before congress

Yes Mr Norrestal there is nothing more despicable than a door opener for communism

LK

Office Memorandum UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI
 FROM : SAC, Los Angeles

DATE: October 6, 1948

SUBJECT: VISIT TO LOS ANGELES OF
 HENRY WALLACE, PROGRESSIVE
 PARTY CANDIDATE FOR THE PRESIDENCY.

HENRY A. WALLACE

There is enclosed herewith a news clipping from the Los Angeles Herald and Express for October 1, 1948, relative to the arrival of HENRY WALLACE, Progressive Party Candidate for the Presidency.

It is noted in column 3, in describing the arrival of MRS. WALLACE, that she was met by members of the "WOMEN FOR WALLACE GROUP AND TWO F.B.I. MEN". This is an inaccurate statement for obviously no Agents were present at the arrival of MRS. WALLACE in this city.

~~DEFERRED RECORDING~~

I have communicated with the Los Angeles Herald and Express and talked with the reporter who actually wrote the story and he informed me that he was told two men present on the station platform were "Federal men" and he assumed they were FBI men. He was informed emphatically that they were not representatives of this Bureau and he apologized for his error and stated he would be very careful about using such a designation to describe Federal investigators in the future.

Under the circumstances, no further action is contemplated. No other Los Angeles papers carried the item in this fashion.

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 DATE 5/17/83 BY SP1GCD/SCD

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 FBI
 31 OCT 12 1948

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.....

62 OCT 14 1948

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/17/83 BY SP13SK/20
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—Herald-Express Photo

Mrs. Henry Wallace, center, wife of the Progressive party presidential candidate, is shown when she arrived here by train. She was greeted by members of the "Wo-

men for Wallace," who presented her a bouquet of flowers. Mrs. Wallace came here to join her husband, who was scheduled to arrive by plane today.

Wallace Arrives Here: Set To Criticize Movie Methods

His usually rumped greying hair neatly combed and displaying a wide grin, Henry Wallace, Progressive party candidate, arrived here by chartered plane more than half an hour early today.

With him were his assistant, Lewis Frank of New York, seven other campaign workers and 13 newspapermen. Killing time over a sandwich and a cup of coffee, Wallace chatted with Elinor Kahn of San Francisco, I. P. P. director in California; Edward Mosk, Los Angeles county chairman, and Mrs. Olive MacFarlane, also of Los Angeles. Less than 50 supporters were at the field as the chartered 21-passenger plane taxied to the ramp.

"I can't talk now," Wallace told the approximately 100 supporters who had gathered by the time of his scheduled arrival, "I don't want to spoil the ticket sales for tomorrow night." He then asked his wife

if she would like to say a word. She did. It was "No."

As the Wallaces were leaving the field in a large, black limousine, a spectator shouted:

"Why don't you go back to Russia, old 'Bubblehead'?"

To which some of his supporters retaliated:

"Why don't you go back to Germany?"

In his speech written for delivery tonight at dinner Ciro's—\$12.50 a plate, please—Wallace was to say:

1. That it is difficult to make pictures with integrity and sales appeal, especially for foreign markets, if the film industry is to "submit to the intellectual standards of films set up" by the House Committee.

2. That movie profits are "still very high" despite a "relatively sharp decline," and that the industry may be using this decline to avoid paying higher wages.

3. That the industry has

failed in some of its efforts to "grab and monopolize" foreign markets but will try again, producing ill will abroad.

4. That the studios ought not to portray Fifth avenue, New York, as the symbol of America.

He also was set to question whether America can win friends by showing other peoples how "well dressed and well fed and complacent" Americans are.

Mrs. Ilo Browne Wallace, the candidate's wife, arrived here by train today. She was greeted only by five members of the "Women for Wallace" group and two F. B. I. men.

Both Mr. and Mrs. Wallace are to be guests of honor at a dinner at 8 o'clock tonight at Ciro's, with John Huston as toastmaster.

High point of the local Wallace campaign will be a mass rally at 8 p. m. tomorrow at Gilmore Stadium.

Tomorrow Wallace will head a 15-car motorcade to various sections of the city with stops to be made at 103rd street and Central avenue; Brooklyn avenue and Breed street; and Brooklyn and Indiana avenues.

ENCLOSURE

TRANSLATION FROM FRENCH

"DEMOCRATIE NOUVELLE"

July, 1948

Book Reviews

TOWARD WORLD PEACE

BY HENRY WALLACE

Combining the personal opinions of the Third Party candidate in the coming presidential elections in the United States about the great problems of the present time, "Toward World Peace" constitutes from many viewpoints, a very important and a very useful contribution to the struggle for peace, for American-Soviet friendship, against the belligerent plans of the bi-partite coalition.

HENRY WALLACE places in the foreground the necessity for fighting the slightest idea that war is inevitable between the United States and the Soviet Union. He explains that the nation of Socialism and the capitalist world may exist peacefully, and that in the final analysis peace depends upon the realistic possibility of attaining a modus vivendi between the two systems. The question of learning which will triumph over the other is not decisive today, the author asserts, peaceful competition between the two will decide.

He therefore condemns the reactionary anti-Soviet policy of American imperialism, under all of its aspects, notably under that of the Truman Doctrine, and the Marshall Plan. He clearly analyzes the relation between the fact that monopolist capitalism profits greatly from the armament program, and from the propaganda in favor of the inevitability of war, and concludes on this point, that the first step with the aim of guaranteeing the peace must be the elimination of the control exercised by Wall Street over the Government, through the election of an administrative machine belonging to a new party.

G. I. R. -7

WALLACE refutes a certain number of anti-Soviet arguments (?) by the warmongers. He considers that the October Revolution marked a considerable progress in the history of the world, justifies the Moscow trials against the "Nazi-Trotskyite" conspirators, correctly estimates the role of the Soviet Union in the battle for collective security prior to 1939, and recognizes the legitimacy of the Germano-Soviet Pact. When he is told that the USSR is too suspicious, he replies that this attitude is justified by history (capitalist interventions, Munichism) and by the present (policy of the United States Government).

The work by the presidential candidate also brought to the American people useful data for its struggle with regard to a great number of other points:

1st. It emphasizes the gigantic power of the monopolies in the United States, and the absolute control which they exercise over the entire economic and political life of the country.

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DATE 5/17/83 BY SP/RSK/JC

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2nd. It unequivocally condemns the "Red Hunt," termed by him a typical Hitlerite method of preparation for Fascism, and war:

"Those who today shout: Communism! are not really afraid of Communism, What they fear is democracy."

It particularly places on guard the trade union members against the anti-Communist hysteria destined to break the labor movement.

3rd. It insists upon the necessity for defending step by step civil rights and freedoms, and it presents the elements of a program the application of which would satisfy the immediate economic demands of the working masses: wage increases, price reduction, a minimum wage; old age pensions, etc.

Nevertheless, with regard to three important questions, WALLACE advances viewpoints which can only impede the development of the struggle for peace. Thus, he repeats on his own behalf the myth about "Soviet expansionism," and makes the USSR just as responsible as the United States for world tension, without ever offering proof of his statements. Furthermore, he does not justify his acceptance of the current libels concerning Soviet pressure against neighboring states, or Communist infiltration directed by Russia. Such concepts dangerously obscure the fact that the threat to peace comes from only one side, that of American imperialism aiming at world conquest.

WALLACE evidently is not a Socialist. His book clearly shows that he is the champion of the capitalist system; his program aims at saving and perpetuating this system in the United States and elsewhere. He believes that there may be many kinds of capitalisms: a reactionary capitalism, and a democratic progressive capitalism, and that the latter may eliminate poverty, unemployment, economic crises, Fascism, and war. He prepares an outline for the prevention of economic crises, based upon the theories of KEYNES, who pretended that these crises were not the consequence of the fundamental contradictions of the capitalist regime, but only of its reactionary orientation.

We do not wish to discuss here the utopias developed by WALLACE, and establish the fact that what he calls "reactionary capitalism" is, in reality, merely the capitalism of our time. Neither is it up to us to expose the error which he committed by opposing Soviet economic democracy to the "absence of political democracy" in the USSR. We cannot demand of WALLACE that he shall be a Marxist, and know the scientific theory of the State.

This is not what is important. In a large popular party, including groups and individuals of all opinions, there exist differences on a great number of questions. With the development of the Third Party is it necessary to discuss them in a fraternal and constructive manner. What is important

today, despite such differences, is that a solid basis for collaboration exists between all these currents of opinion for the growth of an anti-monopolist coalition ready to defend peace, and democracy. Also, that HENRY WALLACE courageously waves a banner capable of rallying large masses around progressive objectives.

M.W.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

FROM : SAC, Boston

SUBJECT: HENRY WALLACE
SECURITY MATTER (C)

DATE: 2-28-49

has advised that in early February, 1949 the Little, Brown Company signed a contract for publication of its first book dealing with the experiences of wartime Government officials. It will be entitled "Henry Wallace's New Deal Memoirs." The author is Mr. Wallace.

b7D

The foregoing is provided for informative purposes.

BSG:md
100-20574

G. I. R. -7

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DATE 5/17/83 BY SP1GSC/STO
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F B I
31 MAR 3 1949

Mr. Nichols
Saw WOS-PB.

Memo to Boston
3/15/49 requesting
1 copy of book when
available - PB.

SAC, Boston

March 15, 1949

Director, FBI

HENRY WALLACE
SECURITY MATTER - C
Your File 100-20574

Reurmemo dated 2-28-49.

You are requested to forward one copy of Mr. Wallace's book,
"Henry Wallace's New Deal Memoirs", when available.

62-71788

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DATE 7/17/83 BY SP1 RSK/JO
228303

cc: Mr. Sullivan

PJB:mhc
mhc

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62-71788-132
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71 MAR 18 1949

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED 8
☆ MAR 15 1949 P.M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

EX-108

EX-1

[Handwritten signatures and initials]

61 MAR 16 1949

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 5/4/49

FROM : SAC, BOSTON

SUBJECT: HENRY AGARD WALLACE
Information Concerning
Refer 5 IS

Mr. Tolson	.....
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	.....

Reference is made to an earlier letter from Boston to the Bureau which stated that DONALD ANGUS CAMERON, Editor-in-Chief of the Little Brown Publishing Company in Boston, was soliciting a wartime memoir book from HENRY A. WALLACE. The Bureau by return letter requested that it be advised of developments and, if possible, furnished an advanced copy of the book.

[redacted] on April 27, 1949 advised that the editorial reports of the Little Brown Company for March, 1949 reflect that Mr. WALLACE has submitted a manuscript entitled, "New Deal Memoirs." This book will cover Mr. WALLACE's personal experiences in the ROOSEVELT Cabinet, will not allude to his pre-Rooseveltian activity and will contain no references whatsoever to his activities since the advent of the Honorable HARRY S. TRUMAN to the Presidency of the United States. The editorial report further reflects that, after submitting the manuscript, Mr. WALLACE revealed to Mr. CAMERON that he had a contract with the Harcourt Brace Publishing Company which covered the instant work. Mr. WALLACE further advised Mr. CAMERON that he did not "regard the contract as binding." The Little Brown Company's attorneys reviewed the contract and found that as a matter of law it would appear to be quite binding unless the parties chose to mutually abrogate it. The present status of the book is now dependent upon Mr. CAMERON's conversations with the Harcourt Brace Company. Mr. CAMERON is endeavoring to have the Harcourt Brace Company agree to a mutual abrogation of the contract.

[redacted] points out that Harcourt Brace might well choose to hold Mr. WALLACE to his contract and choose not to publish the book until some distant date.

The foregoing is furnished the Bureau and New York for informative purposes.

BSG/ner
100-20574

cc: New York Office

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INDEXED - 125

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gk
Hoffard
Paw
M. A. Jones
5-18

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY SLIP(S)
DATE 7/24/77

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

TO : Director, FBI
FROM : SAC, San Juan
SUBJECT : FOREIGN POLITICAL MATTER

7-1-49

Mr. ELIAS CASADO, Venezuelan Consul, San Juan, Puerto Rico, has advised that the Department of Foreign Relations in Venezuela has issued instructions that visas for travel in Venezuela are not to be issued to HENRY A. WALLACE or DREW PEARSON. *EX*

Mr. CASADO stated that he has not been informed as to the reasons for these instructions. *EX*

JPS:ACO
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EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

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Declassify on: OADR

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Classified by
Declassify on: OADR

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BY DEPT. OF JUSTICE COMMITTEE (DRC)
DATE: *4-8-87*

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP (S) OF *Clear*
DATE *6/16/88*

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TRANSLATION FROM CZECH

~~"SVETOVE ROZHLEDY"~~ (~~"WORLD OUTLOOKS"~~) Directed
by University Professor Dr. VLADIMIR PROCHAZKA

September 1948

ms
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DATE 5/17/83 BY SP108SLC**

NEW BOOK BY HENRY WALLACE

228303 WALLACE'S book: ~~"TOWARD WORLD PEACE"~~, which was published recently in New York, caused considerable commotion: for, here a man who stands at the head of a wide movement of protest, against the reactionary course of the American politics, is submitting his viewpoints.

HENRY WALLACE is one of the few American politicians who is able to appraise the international situation. The power and the constant development of the democratic camp is clear to him. Progressive circles in the USA are now assembling around WALLACE.

Henry Agard Wallace
HENRY A. WALLACE was born on October 7, 1888 at a farm in ADAIR County in the State of IOWA. His forefathers originated from SCOTLAND and IRELAND and they came to the New World at the beginning of the 18th century. WALLACE's grandfather who was a farmer as well as a Presbyterian preacher, founded the farmers journal "WALLACE'S FARMER", which is still being published. This journal was later on edited by HENRY AGARD'S father, HARRY CANTWELL WALLACE who used to be Secretary of Agriculture to the governments of the Republican Presidents HARDING and COOLIDGE. After having finished his studies in 1910, WALLACE started his literary activity in this journal and when his father died in 1924 he became its chief editor.

While WALLACE was still a little boy his spirit and character were greatly influenced by a Negro, GEORGE WASHINGTON CARVER, who learned from books all by himself and who, later on, became one of the greatest American scientists in the field of the origin of plants and chemistry. CARVER who has been a teacher to young HENRY, used to take his pupil for long excursions to the neighboring states where they studied botany. CARVER aroused in WALLACE love towards plants and HENRY WALLACE remained grateful to his teacher once for all.

The State of Iowa is located in the so-called corn belt of the USA. Corn is the center of everything there. Already at the age

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30 JUL 18 1948

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5-

of 16, WALLACE was making experiments with crossing different types of corn and he succeeded in cultivating a new kind of corn which would yield more and would require a shorter time of vegetation than ever known before. This kind of corn which was called "COOPER CROSS", is at the present time the most popular one in the United States. WALLACE was also the founder of the still existing business firm which trades in high grade corn. The turnover of this firm along with its branches in Canada reaches \$10,000,000 annually. It certainly brings no small income to its owners.

At his huge farm in the State of Iowa, which spreads over 1100 acres, HENRY WALLACE is engaging himself in research work not only as to cultivating of plants but also cattle raising. Not long ago he acquired a farm of 120 acres in South Salem near New York.

WALLACE is the author of many studies on agriculture and the American policy.

("AGRICULTURE PRICES" - "AMERICA MUST CHOOSE" - "TECHNOLOGY OF CORPORATION OF GENERAL WELFARE" - "WHAT IS THE PRICE OF FREEDOM" - "CENTURY OF THE COMMON MAN")

At the beginning of the year 1932 by means of HENRY MORGENTHAU, WALLACE got acquainted with FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, the then Governor of the State of New York and took part in his election campaign. When ROOSEVELT became President, WALLACE was made Secretary of Agriculture. He was one of the closest cooperators of the late President and the follower of his "New Deal".

WALLACE masters the French, Spanish and Chinese languages. When in 1944 he visited the Soviet Union he would make speeches in Russian which language he studied prior to his departure.

WALLACE had been Secretary of Agriculture for seven years and finally in 1940 he was elected Vice President of the USA. As soon as he resumed this office the functions of a Vice President got a new panel. According to the traditions until now this position was not connected with any real competence. WALLACE became some sort of an extraordinary envoy who traveled at a special order of ROOSEVELT. He visited the Latin American countries, China and India. In 1944 at ROOSEVELT's order he visited the Eastern territories of the Soviet Union. During the four weeks which he spent in the Soviet Union he visited 20 cities and numerous villages in the Far East, Siberia, the Kazakhstan and the Uzbek SSR. He visited factories, coal mines, colfarms, state farms, agriculture research stations, gold mines,

schools and museums and he interviewed numerous Soviet citizens.

Upon his return to the USA he wrote a book on Soviet Asia in which he proclaimed that it is necessary to keep on developing friendly relations between the Soviet and American people. Then WALLACE warned against the machinations of the enemies of peace, before the intrigues and provocation of warmongers. He wrote:

"The blood of our sons in the battlefields has not yet dried up but the enemies of peace are already attempting to lay foundations for the third world war. In this they must not succeed. We must make their poison harmless by following ROOSEVELT's policy and by cultivating friendship with Russia in war as well as in peace."

WALLACE's activity for peace and the international cooperation was against the will of the magnates from Wall Street. They decided to get rid of him at the time of the presidential elections in 1944.

Although ROOSEVELT requested strongly to have WALLACE nominated for Vice President at the Chicago Convention, the reactionaries of the Democratic Party forced out the so-called Missouri compromise - TRUMAN's candidacy.

In the last ROOSEVELT government WALLACE represented the functions of the Secretary of Commerce.

After ROOSEVELT's death TRUMAN became automatically President and the followers of the late President were soon removed from their positions.

WALLACE, as the last ROOSEVELT's Secretary in TRUMAN's cabinet faced energetically the adventurous policy of the government and was in favor of international cooperation. On September 12, 1946 he made a speech at the Madison Square Garden in New York which caused excitement and in which WALLACE condemned the reactionary course of the Department of State.

After his resignation WALLACE continued with his political struggle and soon stood at the head of a movement which was to form the so-called Progressive Party, and which Party named him their candidate for presidency.

In his book: "TOWARD WORLD PEACE," WALLACE submits a summary of his viewpoints on foreign and internal policy of the USA and attempts to show the direction in which international cooperation could develop.

This was sufficient to the reactionary press in the USA, to brand him as a Communist. Even the ultra-reactionaries would call

ROOSEVELT himself a Communist. In reality WALLACE emphasizes again and again that he stands on the soil of capitalism without privilege(?). The socialistic policy of the working classes, their progressive theory is strange to him. In spite of that he struggles against fascistization of the USA, against the dangerous course of two sides of the American reaction in the interior and foreign policy and in this struggle he is being supported by all progressive circles in the country.

In his new book WALLACE goes into detail about daily problems and divides them in physiologic, economic and political groups. The physiologic problem, according to his viewpoint, consists in the fact that the contemporary democracy in the United States has proven that it is not able to fulfill the hopes of the peoples. This democracy is "weak and aimless", therefore it yielded to the controls of monopolies and the military clique. WALLACE writes:

"And this military control is a prelude to a changed form of fascism, and the first step towards war." (Page 21)

WALLACE sees the fundamental economy problem in the dangerous trade policy of the USA, which sticks to the principle of the "open door" when American export is involved and recognizes merely the principle of "closed door" when import from other countries is in question. Policy of that kind can merely hasten the coming of the crisis. WALLACE thinks it still possible to postpone the calamity, if substantial amounts be appropriated for building airplanes and vessels and for armaments and other implements of destruction and on the other hand comparatively small amounts for the MARSHALL Plan. The final result, however, will be the same: an extremely difficult economic crisis, a sharp slump in the standard of living of the working class. That is the perspective which lies before the United States, regardless of whether it will be the Republican or the Democratic Party which will be in power.

The political problem, which is faced by the contemporary world, is, according to HENRY WALLACE's opinion, "the cause as well as the consequence of the economic crisis." WALLACE sees the root of the problem in the fact that the government circles of the USA, of England and the Western European states hesitate to recognize new social powers which are developing all over the world. They lean everywhere upon old obsolete reactionary elements which are being hated by the peoples.

"The Western Powers collaborate with reactionaries and the former collaborators in Greece. They flirt with fascism.... They are getting ready to build up Germany to be a bulwark against Russia." (Page 24)

Furthermore WALLACE deals with individual problems of international relationship. He writes about the existence of the so-called "trouble spots" which could become the focus of the third world war. The first group of these spots, WALLACE contends are countries where "people, who suffer from want, are driven to despair and are longing for a change". The second group takes in countries which, in view of their natural wealth or their strategic position are drawing upon themselves the attention of the Great Powers.

Characteristics of the countries of the first group is the obsolete feudal system, exhausted soil, low capacity of the working power, slavery, illiteracy, and high taxes. A large portion of land and its profit in these countries belong to a small ruling clique. WALLACE points out that the representatives of the USA are in touch with these very people.

WALLACE considers Western Germany to be one of the focus of unrest, where, reasons of strategic nature are predominant. Neither here has the American policy anything in common with the interests of the people.

"According to instructions from Washington, high ranking persons in the army and trade are reconstructing as fast as possible the heavy German industry in order that Germany may become the cornerstone of a fortress against the East. Therefore they are also renewing the old German system of cartels." (Page 106)

WALLACE ascertains that the sympathies of the people are everywhere on part of the Soviet Union which sees to all changes which answer the hopes and wishes of the people. This is where the enormous moral power of the Soviet Union rests. In the book we read:

"Russian ideas find more and more sympathies with people who suffered so long with sickness, hunger, uncertainty and misery." (Page 60)

WALLACE ascertains with horror that the Department of State can put against the policy of the Soviet government merely their course to keep up the obsolete reactionary systems for renewing of monopolies and such systems with the help of which the reactionary cliques can make use of the people.

What means can be used to uplift the falling prestige of the USA? WALLACE demands the taming down of the extreme reactionary elements in the USA, recovery and further development of democratic legislation and a sharp change of the foreign policy course. He continues:

"It is time to struggle against the reaction and the threatening military supremacy which is approaching us in the same foxy way as it sneaked into Italy and Germany in the twenties and at the beginning of nineteen thirty." (Page 86)

It is clear to WALLACE that it will be difficult to tame down the reactionaries. He calls upon the American people to get ready for a decisive struggle and that everybody should take an example from his forefathers who rebelled against the English mastery; to take an example from those who participated in the Civil War and who fought for abolishing of slavery:

"If the people wish to wrench out the political control from the hands of both of the old degenerating parties, they must clearly realize what they are fighting for; they must elect representatives and officers ~~who will defend these matters~~ and who cannot be, moved by threats and political reprisals." (Page 87)

The masters of the monopoly in the USA have very effective means for the defense of their privileges.

"Newspapers, radio, finance, films and key positions in industrial branches of steel, chemical industry and naphtha exploitation are in the hands of a few people who economically decide about the life and death of thousands of small businessmen and millions of farmers and workers." (Page 83)

These actual rulers of the United States destine the course of the interior policy and the foreign policy, and while doing so they are being guided merely with the respect to their own advantages. WALLACE emphasizes that profits of these people depend in most cases on whether or not a substantial budget will be available for military purposes.

"Constant endeavor to gain big amounts for arming purposes and the aggressive foreign policy will drive us into war. This pressure will not come down until we will be able to convince a great part of the commercial world that peace is more advantageous and more likely to be put up with; until we will be able to impress upon this world the meaning that their easy profits which the war perspective offers them, are suicidal." (Page 33)

WALLACE, knowing the psychology of the American profiteers, applies to them with real characteristic arguments. He wants to convince the carriers of culture of "big business" that they can have the same profit of peace as of war. He says about big banking houses:

"It would be much safer for them if they were depositing

(saving) money by means of the UNO and some international bank for the rehabilitation of the world." (Page 45)

Simultaneously HENRY WALLACE warns and makes the American industrial and financial magnates attentive of the fact that policy to the contrary can have very unfavorable results for the American capitalism. He recalls that the condition of things in the USA are by far not so favorable as the monopoly press represents them to be, and he writes:

"....The people cannot be led constantly by the American press. If the big business through stupid mistakes will cause great crisis when administering the country, then great political revolution may take place in America, regardless what viewpoint the press will take." (Page 34)

In his book, WALLACE decidedly goes out to see the improvement of the relationship between the Soviet Union and the USA. He considers it to be the most important problem of today.

WALLACE submitted several times by word of mouth as well as in writing his program how to do away with the differences in opinion between the USA and the Soviet Union. Not long ago he formulated it in an open letter to STALIN. It is known that the Soviet government received this program as a real baseline for negotiations. The total progressive world public is supporting it.

However, in Washington at the present time, the enemies of international cooperation are giving the leading tone. In his book, WALLACE points them out synonymously. Since 1933 he has been a member of the American Cabinet and later on the Vice President of the USA; therefore, as an eyewitness, he can state facts which characterize political tendencies of the ruling upper ranks. WALLACE writes about the unchanged anti-Soviet viewpoint of the reactionary American circles which support the fascist regimes, wherever they appear.

WALLACE most decidedly and sharply turns against TRUMAN's doctrine and the MARSHALL Plan. He develops his own plan of relief for the European countries which suffered by war. This plan would be carried out by the organs of the UNO. He would give an annual credit of five billions of dollars for these European states for the period of ten years. This credit would not be allowed to be connected with any conditions which by any means could limit the national independence of these countries.

In his book WALLACE submits a program of the Third Party he is leading. As to the foreign policy he is against the line which is leading towards war; he is in favor of international collaboration and

mutual agreement with the Soviet Union; as to the internal policy he is in favor of the struggle of democratic freedom within the frame of the American constitution, he is in favor of lowering the prices, doing away with the anti-labor TAFT-HARTLEY bill; he is in favor of improving the public education and he objects to class discrimination.

WALLACE's success in the election campaign prove that this program meets with support of the waste masses of the American people.

One has to remark that WALLACE's book gives evidence in several places how the author imagines some of the things in a naive and Utopian way. Here especially comes the idea that there is the possibility of creating in the USA the "progressive capitalism" and that it is possible to "reform" capitalism. In other places it is evident how deeply rooted some of the prejudices against the Soviet Union are. Even WALLACE subdues to them sometime. For instance he speaks about some sort of "fear" of the Soviet Union before the Western Powers and the "isolation" on the part of the Soviet Union.

In spite of these weak spots the new WALLACE's book helps the American reader to orient himself in the world situation and helps him to understand where the actual reasons for the tense situation of the present world rests. WALLACE's program distinguishes itself also for the fact that it represents a wide platform upon which at present the progressive powers of the USA are united.

The American people, like the people of other nations, are thirsting for peace. The feeling that, they must defend their democratic rights against the attacks of rapacious monopoly masters, is penetrating deeper and deeper. The increasing self-consciousness of masses gives new strength to the movement which is led by WALLACE; this strength will have considerable influence at the November Presidential elections. No matter what the result of the elections will be, the democratic powers which are now uniting themselves in the United States, will also in the future play an important role in the political life of the USA.

1 S.C.
ISC:DMS
6/28/49

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: September 8, 1949

FROM : SAC, New Haven

SUBJECT: HENRY WALLACE
INFORMATION CONCERNING

Classified by 2016SKJC
Declassify on: OADR 5-17-83

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Mr. Clegg _____
Mr. Glavin _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tracy _____
Mr. Harbo _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Nease _____
Miss Gandy _____

For the information of the Bureau, there is being set forth below information which was received from an informant of known reliability on September 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, and 6th, 1949: (u)

On Sunday, 9/4/49, a concert was given by PAUL ROBESON, singer, at Peekskill, New York, which concert was protested by a large group of veterans' organizations. According to the informant, ALFRED K. STERN inquired of HENRY WALLACE as to whether or not the latter and his wife, ILO, were going to attend this concert. WALLACE indicated that he had a previous appointment but that he would cancel same and attend the concert if he could be sure that it (the concert) was not being fronted by Communists. Both ALFRED K. STERN and his wife, MARTHA DODD STERN, endeavored to convince WALLACE that to the best of their knowledge the concert was not Communist fronted; however, WALLACE, according to the informant, did not appear to be satisfied with generalities and indicated that he believed it was very important that the concert not be fronted by Communists and reiterated that the only conditions under which he would attend would be if he could be absolutely certain that it was not Communist fronted. WALLACE came to the conclusion that there was no manner in which he could assure himself that the concert was not Communist fronted. WALLACE likewise indicated that it would be damaging to "our cause" (Progressive Party) if the concert were labeled a Communist maneuver. (u)

Subsequently the informant advised that ALFRED K. STERN advised an individual identified only as "JAY" (Believed to be JAY DILKES) that both he and his wife MARTHA were very much disturbed about WALLACE's attitude concerning "Communist red-baiting." STERN indicated that if "our leader (HENRY WALLACE) isn't going to lead us we will have to fight ourselves." STERN further indicated that they, the STERNS, would have to get a written affidavit in order to persuade "our leader" (HENRY WALLACE) to attend the ROBESON concert at Peekskill. STERN further commented that "they will have to read him (HENRY WALLACE) out of the Party if they cannot get him to see the light." The informant further indicated that MARTHA DODD STERN inquired of her husband ALFRED STERN, if HENRY WALLACE was going to make a statement concerning the (u)

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF [REDACTED]
DATE 1-23-77 [REDACTED]

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF [REDACTED]
DATE 6/16/86

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INDEXED - 125

61 SEP 23 1949

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EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Memo to Director:

September 8, 1949

Re: HENRY WALLACE
INFORMATION CONCERNING

Peekskill riot. MARTHA STERN commented that if WALLACE doesn't come out he is a Fascist and she will never speak to him again. (lu)

The above is being furnished to the Bureau for its information. It is believed that the New York Office may furnish the Bureau with additional information concerning this matter as reflected from information which has been furnished by this office to the New York Office from the same source.

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APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
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SLIP (S) OF Class
DATE 6/22/83

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. E.A. Tamm	_____
Mr. Clegg	_____
Mr. Glavin	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tracy	_____
Mr. Harbo	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Nease	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

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DIRECTOR AND SAC URGENT
HENRY A. WALLACE

Classified by SP1-GSK-JC
Declassify on: DATE 6-22-83
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W. J. Sullivan
Full 11-1

CZECHOSLOVAKIAN INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES IN THE US, INTERNAL SECURITY
R AND CZ. [CI [redacted] ADVISED ON EVENING OF SEPTEMBER SIXTEEN
LAST THAT HE OBSERVED A CODED CABLE RECEIVED BY THE CZECHOSLOVAKIAN
UN DELEGATE-S OFFICE, NYC, WITHIN PAST WEEK WHICH STATED HENRY WALLACE
INVITED TO VISIT CZECHOSLOVAKIA SOMETIME IN NEAR FUTURE. INVITATION
VOTED AT SPECIAL SESSION OF CZECH PARLIAMENT AND WILL BE FORWARDED TO
WALLACE IN NAME OF ORGANIZATION FOR AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH. INVITA-
TION HAS BEEN OR WILL BE SENT BY SPECIAL COURIER. INFORMANT HAS NO
KNOWLEDGE OF REASON FOR INVITATION. [INFORMANT ALSO ADVISED CABLE
RECEIVED SEPTEMBER FIFTEEN LAST, REQUESTING PURCHASE BY CONSULATE
FOR COMMISSIONER OF BIOLOGICAL PRODUCTS MANUFACTURING OF FOLLOWING
ITEMS- FIVE PLASMA BOTTLES "STRUMIA" TYPE TWO FIVE NAUGHT, CUBIC
VOLUME FOUR HUNDRED, FIVE PLASMA BOTTLES, FIVE HUNDRED, CUBIC VOLUME
UNKNOWN. PRAGUE REQUESTS SAMPLES BE SENT IMMEDIATELY, SINCE THEY ARE
NEEDED FOR THE BEGINNING OF CZECHOSLOVAKIAN PRODUCTION OF DRIED
BLOOD PLASMA. WHILE DISCUSSING THE DECODING OF TECHNICAL TERMS IN
THE ABOVE CODED MESSAGE WITH DOCTOR ERVIN MUNK, CONSUL GENERAL, AND

END PAGE ONE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

62-71788-1
NOT RECORDED
55 SEP 29 1949

F R I

CLASSIFIED DECISIONS FINALIZED
BY DEC. REC. OFF. OF THE COMMITTEE (DRC)
DATE: 4-8-87 appeal 93-1453
Classified by 342 6/1/88
Declassify on: OADR

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ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN 62-71788-1

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WA 1 PAGE TWO

[WITH MAXIMILIAN LOM, ASSISTANT COMMERCIAL ATTACHE, LOM REMARKED TO MUNK THAT HE HAS LEAD CONTAINERS WEIGHING FIFTY KILOGRAMS CONTAINING BACTERIA URGENTLY NEEDED IN PRAGUE. LOM REMARKED BACTERIA WAS "DANGEROUS" AND THAT HE DID NOT WANT IT AROUND. SAID HE HOPED IT COULD BE SENT BY SPECIAL COURIER AT THE END OF MONTH. INFORMANT STATED LOM DID NOT FURTHER IDENTIFY "BACTERIA" BUT POINTED OUT BACTERIA REFERENCE WAS MADE IN CONVERSATION RELATING TO THE PURCHASE OF BLOOD PLASMA BOTTLES. LOM GAVE NO INDICATION WHERE HE OBTAINED BACTERIAL OR WHERE PRESENTLY STORED. BUREAU WILL BE ADVISED OF ANY ADDITIONAL INFORMATION RECEIVED FROM INFORMANT.] (c)

SCHEIDT

NY R 1 WA

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: Sept. 8, 1949

FROM : SAC, New Haven

SUBJECT: HENRY WALLACE
INFORMATION CONCERNING

Re New Haven let to Bureau 9/8/49 entitled as above.

The source of information contained in referenced letter is



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66-2230APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
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DATE 6/16/83

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2/3/24/86

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI
 FROM : SAC, Boston
 SUBJECT: HENRY A. WALLACE
 INFORMATION CONCERNING

DATE: April 5, 1950 4/12-1

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DATE 5/17/83 BY SP1GSKJC 228303

The following information is provided the Bureau and New York for informative purposes with respect to the activities of the above-named individual who appeared at Boston, Mass., on March 29, 1950. The Boston Globe, a newspaper published at Boston, Mass., in its edition of March 30, 1950, advised that former Vice President HENRY A. WALLACE had addressed an audience of 1,000 students at Boston University, Boston, Mass., under the auspices of the Boston University Student Assembly On Public Affairs. It indicated that he was welcomed to the University by Dr. DANIEL L. MARSH, President, who stated that although it was not an official B. U. meeting, WALLACE was not a Communist "and one can hate and despise Communism and still wholeheartedly welcome HENRY WALLACE to the campus, as I do today."

The following represents the newspaper summary of WALLACE's remarks:

"WALLACE said the time has come for Four-Power talks among the United States, Britain, Russia and the 'New China' which would be 'designed to strengthen the United Nations' by discussing the points mentioned in WALLACE's open letter to Stalin in 1948 and 'his reply to me, as a preliminary to agreement on a really comprehensive United Nations Point Four program to build One World, not two worlds.'

"Says CHURCHILL Stand Reversed - 'After the underbrush has been cleared away, and the basis for agreement has been outlined,' WALLACE said, 'there should be a meeting of Truman, Attlee, Stalin and Mao Tze-tung.'

"The same Churchill who did so much to start the United States on the path of the cold war at Fulton, Mo., suddenly deserted his own brain child and how wants the United States, Britain and Russia to talk peace. He now sees what I saw in my letter to Truman in 1946--namely, what it means to be living in a world where two countries have the atom bomb.

"I believe the only safety for the United States is to serve the world. If we approach the problem from the standpoint of either exploitation or domination we shall disappear from the international scene as certainly as all the other conquerors.

"United States Position 'Weaker' - 'The same statement applies to the Soviet Union, insofar as it may attempt domination or exploitation.

"At the moment, the United States is probably in a weaker position than the Soviet Union because we have relied so heavily on the force of the

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CC: New York

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Amended
Lynch

Director, FBI - 2 -

"'atomic bomb, and in an atomic bomb world the Russian geographic position is superior to ours.

"'Point Four, as now being proposed by the Truman Administration, will be inevitably looked upon by most nations as American imperialism. Unless Russia is a member of the new World Bank and contributes her prorata share based on her national income, the scheme for world-wide industrial expansion in One World will not work.'"

As indicated above, this material is being provided the Bureau and New York Offices for informative purposes.

TFM/jas
100-20574

CC: New York

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 7-31-50

FROM : SAC, NEW HAVEN

SUBJECT: ~~WALLACE~~
HENRY A. WALLACE
INFORMATION CONCERNING

For the information of the Bureau and the New York Office there is being transmitted herewith a newspaper article reflecting an interview with HENRY A. WALLACE concerning his split with the Progressive Citizens of America as reflected in the 7-23-50 issue of the Bridgeport Sunday Herald published in Bridgeport, Conn.

JFS:NK
100-12441
Encl. att.

cc: New York (encl.)

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EX-13

63 AUG 14 1950

EX-13

Wallace Expects to Run Again in 1952

Korea Split with Party Doesn't End His Ties

By ETHEL BECKWITH

In two hours' talk with Henry A. Wallace at his house in the state line in South Salem, N. Y., I could not get to admit that he has changed since he was buddies with Robeson and the pet speaker of The Daily Worker.

At's more, he will go on as residential candidate of the massive Party in '52.

Will stand again as the idol he fugitives from major

what will he stand for?

s and other questions to the

Wallace—the one who an-

ed last week "When my

ee editorial on Page 32.

ry is at war and the UN

tions that war, I am for my

ry and the UN," brought

answers eventually.

Wallace is a man of granite—

one of the Yankee traits

draws his admirers. This

makes him tough to inter-

FRINGE SORE

"I'll come to the 38th paral-

ut first the prospects of the

essives.

There is no doubt that the

will be Red-purged.

judge by the red-eyed let-

ter showed this reporter, Wal-

has lost his Communist

big difference with Tru-

in '52 will be on two points:

For no longer omitting the

450-million population of

Communist China from the

UN table.

For laying a basis for peace

by consulting and gaining

the confidence of the com-

mon man in all future dip-

lomatic policy.

REET COMING, MOTHER!

named man sounds familiar.

"s become of him?"

Wallace replied: "Our foreign policy has forgotten him. Until he is considered, in all countries, we will have Koreans."

He began reading to us from his pile of mail and wires.

Got up at 5 A. M. to tackle it,

he said. All powerful, flaming.

Some of his party denounce

him as a traitor, a political Pearl

Harbor.

Some joyously welcome the

sound of Hen-ree's "Coming,

Mother!"

The Daily Worker calls him

"Wall Street buccaneer."

A woman in Georgia writes,

"So you have slipped into the

silly little arms of Truman. Be-

trayer! You have set the fight

for human rights back 100 years."

He knows that he has lost the

Communists — he sighs, rather

than laughs.

The panic his statement has

made symbolizes how hard it will

be to make peace with Moscow.

ICED BY LEADERS

When he told The Herald "I

am not disillusioned with the

party," he seemed to walk

straight into the hands of those

critics who call him mystic.

"I enjoy to, a, and fine friend-

ships in the Progressives," he said,

in the face of the fact just learned

by The Herald that his national

committee has given him the

North Korean treatment as fol-

lows:

Of the 100 members of this

group, 32 attended a meeting in

New York at which Wallace first

voiced his pro-war stand.

Thirty members were shocked

by this news but, chose not to

vote.

Only two voted immediately

with Wallace: Prof. Thomas I.

Emerson of Yale Law School and

Clark Foreman of the Southern

Conference on Human Rights.

After this chilling which could

have disillusioned anyone less

than the granite Henry Agar, he

went home and from there gave

the news wires his story that can

either kill or reactivate his place

in American politics.

Wallace said, "I'll tell you why

I have not changed. It would be

idiotic and hypocritical not to

defend an American ward, what

South Korea is. But the fight-

ing is temporary.

"The big question is what we

will do after getting back to the

38th parallel."

"Which today seems a long way

off," the reporter commented.

"I know," Wallace said looking

out somberly toward one of his

hills. "It's bad and for that rea-

son I do not wish to criticize

Pres. Truman, Acheson or any-

one else."

ROOSEVELT PRESENT

Pretty Mrs. Wallace brought in

some sherry and cookies to cheer

us up.

Grandson David, upstairs, woke

from his nap and began to babble

metodically, while the French

popple named Brutus (Brutus al-

ways gets clipped) curled at Wal-

lace's feet.

Near the former vice president,

a bust of FDR and a large photo

of Eleanor Roosevelt.

Wallace said "I intend to do

everything I can for peace. I

can't believe that Truman is so

naive that he expects to spurn

Red China with 450-million peo-

ple while Moscow sits at UN."

He said that South Koreans

could not be expected to fight

what was necessary with us, that we

Bpt. Sunday Herald

Bpt. Post

Bpt. Telegram

Danbury News-Times

7-23-50
mitted by New Haven Office

Beckwith

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DATE 5/17/83 BY SP1/Bsk/00
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"THIRD MAN" . . . Henry A. Wallace, the third party's hope, eyes Herald story of his atomic switch pro-war, while he gives our staffer an exclusive interview at his farm near Ridgefield. Herald photo—Dante

embrace Syngman Rhee for whom Wallace has little respect. Rhee is corrupt, lost his congressmen, and since then has been making trouble.

Wallace suspects Rhee might have provoked the North, while being convinced that Moscow is behind the attack.

"The thing we have to remember, when this present"—he sighed heavily—"sorrow is over, is that the prestige of both Russia and the U. S. must be respected if we are ever to have a meeting ground.

"Yes, I believe that this is possible. It's got to be. Hold on to this, talk with the common man and prove to him that our intentions are peace, and we'll have it."

After our side has reached the 38th parallel, said the mystical side of Wallace, all Korea should hold an election under UN auspices.

"Suppose they vote Communist?"

"Then it's the people's wish," he said.

Date _____
Submitted by New Haven Office

— Bpt. Sunday Herald
— Bpt. Post
— Bpt. Telegram
— Danbury News-Times

0-28
 Tolson ☒
 Ladd ☒
 Clegg ☒
 Glavin ☒
 Nichols ☒
 Rosen ☒
 Tracy ☒
 Harbo ☒
 Belmont ☒
 Mohr ☒
 Tele. Room ☒
 Nease ☒
 Gandy ☒

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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 DATE 5/17/83 BY SPICER
 228303

HENRY A. WALLACE BELIEVES THE UNITED STATES FACES ITS GRAVEST PERIL
 FROM RUSSIA'S AMBITION TO "DOMINATE THE WORLD."
 THE FORMER VICE PRESIDENT SAID IN A SPEECH HERE YESTERDAY THAT
 WHEN HE RAN FOR PRESIDENT ON THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY TICKET TWO YEARS
 AGO HE FELT THAT RUSSIA "GENUINELY WANTED PEACE SO SHE COULD DEVELOP
 HER OWN VAST AREAS UNDISTURBED."
 "TODAY," HE ADDED, "I AM CONVINCED THAT RUSSIA IS OUT TO DOMINATE
 THE WORLD."

12/4--JL1055A

"Old bubble head" has
 at last seen the light
 but all too late!

62-71788-139
 RECORDED
 DEC 4 1950

WASHINGTON CITY NEWS SERVICE

DATE:

Office Memorandum

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT: HENRY WALLACE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/17/83 BY SOIGS/CJC

DATE: October 17, 1951

Jay Sourwine called me rather urgently on the afternoon of October 17th and stated Henry Wallace was presently testifying and the Committee had received information that in 1943 or 1944 Wallace met a subversive agent in Philadelphia and that the subversive agent asked Wallace for additional data on the atomic bomb; that Wallace is reported to have said to the subversive agent that he had gotten the U235 for the agent and that should be enough. Sourwine wondered if this was true and whether we could give them the name of the agent.

Mr. Belmont had a quick check made on the incident and the only possibility he could come up with was that this might have referred to some connection with Wallace and Boris Pregel who frequently was in contact with Wallace, although there is no indication of any meetings in Philadelphia.

I advised Sourwine that we could not readily identify an incident such as he described but that it was public knowledge that Wallace and Pregel were close.

Later on Supervisor Dissly located a letter which Bill Borden of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy sent me on June 22, 1951, transmitting a copy of a communication directed to Senator Knowland by C. M. Bertolette, who in turn transmitted a summary of informal data volunteered by S. Young White which referred to Boris Pregel. In this material there is an indication that Corporation No. 1, formed by Henry Wallace, former Vice-President of the United States, "acquired 100 kilos of straight commercial uranium which it sold to corporation No. 2. Somewhere between the first and final corporation this material became U-235."

This still does not fit the description of the information furnished by Sourwine, and I suggest we take no further action unless we get a further call from Sourwine.

cc: Mr. Ladd

Mr. Belmont

LBN:CMC

ADDENDUM, LBN:CMC, 10-18-51

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62-71788-140

This morning Eva Adams, Senator McCarran's Administrative Assistant, called and stated she was a little bit concerned over

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the report from Sourwine that we had nothing on this incident. She stated she was somewhat fearful this might become an issue and wondered if we would not check further because information had been given to the Committee indicating that we did have this information alleging that Wallace had contacted a suspected Soviet agent in Philadelphia; that this suspected agent had requested information on the atom bomb; Wallace declined to furnish information stating he had furnished 235, and that was enough. She further stated this same agent was supposed to have rather consistently been with Wallace and was with Wallace in Miami prior to the Philadelphia meeting, sometime in 1941 or 1942.

I told her we still had not been able to identify an incident such as described. She then asked if there were any incidents involving contacts with suspected agents. I asked her if her source of information was originally connected with the old Manhattan Engineers District. She stated frankly she did not know but doubted it. She then asked if the name of a prominent Philadelphia organizer meant anything. I told her I could not follow her on this. I asked her if she could not please try to get more identifying details if we are supposed to have the information so we can check and double-check.

In the meantime it is suggested the Security Division check further on this.

Miss Adams subsequently called back and said that she had talked to the Senator and he told her to tell me the alleged conversation between Wallace and the suspected subversive agent came from "a telephone conversation." I told Miss Adams that I was more certain than ever that some other agency had done this. She had no further information but is trying to get further information and told me confidentially that she wants us to be absolutely certain that we do not have it because of representations which have been made to the Senator.

I told her if it did come from a tap we could not furnish the information because this would be a violation of the law. She stated if we did have it, however, we could indicate something about the incident. I told her would have to wait and see.

There was no reason to raise this point
it only tends to irritate the Senator.
Get after this at once. I want
no evasion. Try & find out
what it is.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT: MC CARRAN COMMITTEE

DATE: October 19, 1951

With reference to the information communicated to me by Jay Sourwine and Eva Adams pertaining to an alleged conversation which Henry Wallace had with a subversive agent in Philadelphia wherein Wallace was asked for information pertaining to the atomic bomb, which he declined to give, stating he had already given 235, I talked to Sourwine last night with a view of trying to get more identifying data. Sourwine stated that he simply did not have any additional data and in the course of the conversation he stated, "I of course wouldn't say that the source was Don Surine."

Since Surine discusses just about everything he knows with Ed Nellor, I asked Nellor if he had heard any rumors about allegations of a meeting between Wallace and some subversive agent in Philadelphia. Nellor stated he hadn't, however, he would call Surine and see if he had heard anything. He called back shortly thereafter and said Surine stated he had never heard of any such rumors.

This morning, Nellor stated he had asked Courtney Owens of the House Committee on Un-American Activities if he had heard of any such rumors. Owens told him he had heard a rumor around the Hill and he believes Matthew Cuetic had discussed a meeting between Henry Baldwin, Henry Wallace, and Leo Kritsky (ph.) who was supposed to have been a Soviet agent and who was now out of the country and was connected with the American Slav Congress.

I furnished this information to Mr. Belmont in order that an additional check could be made.

In talking to Eva Adams this morning I told her we had a large group of people work all night reviewing several hundred files and I asked if there was any possibility of getting further identifying data. I asked if there was any possibility of putting us in touch with their informant since their informant seemed to be so specific in referring to the Bureau as having information, stating Mr. Ladd would have it at his fingertips. She asked if I had talked to Mr. Ladd.

cc: Mr. Ladd
Mr. Belmont
LBN:CMC

RECORDED - 26

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I told her I had and he didn't recall any such incident. She suggested we simply drop the matter. I told her we had better check it out as it might come up again and we must try to find the answer. She stated it came from two sources and she agreed we should try to find the basis for it. She stated one of the sources volunteered the information to the Senator. She said she had her fingers crossed on the other source. She stated she would see the Senator at the earliest opportunity and would let me know.

I checked back with her during the course of the day and she had heard nothing further, however she had heard it was supposed to be common knowledge among several agents. I told her we had checked and the people working on espionage matters simply could not find any information with which to substantiate this allegation.

Keep after this. We
must nail it down.

H.

✓
WBR

memo F. Dir.
10/20/57
KWD

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : THE DIRECTOR

FROM : D. M. LADD *DL*

SUBJECT: HENRY A. WALLACE
ESPIONAGE - R

DATE: October 20, 1951

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/17/83 BY SP1GSK/JC

PURPOSE:

To advise that Bureau files reflect that Wallace, former informant [redacted] Beany Baldwin, and Leo Krzycki met in Pittsburgh in connection with the American Slav Congress in November, 1947. The above information may relate to the incident reported by Courtney Owens of the House Committee on Un-American Activities as involving Wallace with a subversive agent in Philadelphia.

DETAILS:

Reference is made to the memorandum from Mr. Nichols to Mr. Tolson dated October 17, 1951, regarding information received from Jay Sourwine, that Henry Wallace in 1943 or 1944 met a subversive agent in Philadelphia and that the subversive agent asked Wallace for additional data on the atomic bomb. Wallace is reported to have said to the subversive agent that he had gotten the U-235 for the agent and that that should be enough. In connection with the above, you instructed that we try and find out about the above incident.

On [redacted] Courtney Owens of the House Committee on Un-American Activities advised Mr. Nichols that the above incident may involve testimony furnished by former Bureau informant [redacted] before the House Committee on Un-American Activities regarding a meeting between Wallace, Beany Baldwin, and Leo Krzycki in Philadelphia.

Results of Bureau File Search:

Bureau files reflect that Henry Wallace and Leo Krzycki were to participate in an American Slav Congress at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, on November 10, 1947. It was further reported that Henry Wallace, Matthew Cvetic, Executive

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*Memo to Mr. Tolson
10/29/51
Ladd*

Mr Ed Helton who informed

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Secretary of the Congress, C. B. Baldwin, (Beany), National Executive Vice Chairman, Progressive Citizens of America, and George Wuchinich, Executive Secretary of the American Slav Congress of Western Pennsylvania, held a meeting on the morning of November 11, 1947, at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, in connection with the possibilities of organizing a new Third Party movement in Western Pennsylvania. The file also reflects that Krzycki arrived in Pittsburgh on the morning of November 10, 1947, in order to attend a banquet in honor of Wallace which was held at the Shenley Hotel during the early evening. During the banquet, Krzycki was photographed with Wallace.
(100-56674-1016)

It was further reported that on November 11, 1947, Wallace met in his suite at the Shenley Hotel with Progressive elements of the Croatian Fraternal Union, a Communist-infiltrated fraternal insurance organization.
(100-56674-1016)

Bureau files also reflect that the publication, "The Slavic American" published by the American Slav Congress in the Summer of 1948, on page 4 has a photograph of Krzycki and Henry Wallace during their attendance at the Convention of the Progressive Party in Philadelphia in July, 1948.
(61-7559-2-6168)

Matthew Cvetic testified before the Un-American Activities Committee February 21 to 23, 1950, at which time he reported that he was approached by Wallace and his political manager, C. B. (Beany) Baldwin on November 11, 1947, in a Pittsburgh hotel room. He stated that he was accompanied by George Wuchinich, an official of the American Slav Congress, which was described by Cvetic as "Moscow inspired and directed." Cvetic reported that Wallace and Baldwin discussed setting up the "New Progressive Party."

Acting Chairman Walter of the House Committee on Un-American Activities asked Cvetic if Wallace and Baldwin had been aware that Cvetic and Wuchinich were Communists. Cvetic replied that the question was not raised but that there had been a big expose in the Pittsburgh Press and that

both Wuchinich and himself were known Communist Party leaders in Pittsburgh. In addition, he stated that local Progressive Party leaders knew that they were Communist Party members. (HCUA Report - 100-372409-184)

Re Reference to Atomic Energy:

Cvetic further testified before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in February, 1950, regarding the Committee's inquiry on whether he had discussed with Steve Nelson, (Communist Party leader for the State of Pennsylvania) Russia's knowledge of atom secrets. Cvetic reported: "In so far as the atom secret, I always thought it was the better part of discretion not to ask any questions concerning espionage of the atomic bomb." However, he quoted Steve Nelson as having stated after the announcement of the atomic bomb explosion in Russia: "We have the atomic bomb now and the enemy won't be in such a _____ hurry to start a war." Cvetic stated that the word "enemy" referred to the United States.

The Pittsburgh Office advised that their files had failed to reflect that the above information had been previously reported by Cvetic to their office during the time he was a Bureau informant.

The testimony failed to indicate any other reference to atomic energy information.

Re Leo Krzycki and C. B. Baldwin:

Leo Krzycki is a Security Index subject and presently resides in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. (100-290733-378)

C. B. Baldwin was investigated under the caption "Internal Security, Hatch Act," in 1942, at which time he was an administrator for the Farm Security Administration, Department of Agriculture. An investigation conducted in February, 1951, under the caption "Security Matter - C" revealed that he had been connected with numerous Communist Party fronts and

and was described as a Communist by a confidential informant. He was campaign manager for Henry Wallace in 1948.
(101-2543-17)

Regarding Original Incident:

It is not known whether or not the incident referred to by Courtney Owens is identical with that originally reported by Jay Sourwine. In an effort to identify the incident, over 2,000 files on Henry Wallace were reviewed. In addition, 10 cartons of material received from General Groves on a confidential basis in 1946 on Boris Pregel were reviewed. The Manhattan Engineer District material on Boris Pregel contained numerous logs reflecting telephone conversations between Pregel and various individuals, including Wallace. None of the logs or files reviewed reflect information regarding a meeting between Wallace and a subversive agent in Philadelphia. The possibilities of locating the incident in Bureau files on the basis of the information now available have been exhausted.

RECOMMENDATION:

The incident involving Matthew Cvetic, Beany Baldwin, Wallace, and Krzycki appears to relate to the testimony involving the American Slav Congress held in Pittsburgh in November, 1947. If deemed advisable, it is recommended that further inquiries be made by Mr. Nichols, on the basis of the above information, to determine if the above incident relates to the Pittsburgh meeting or whether additional identifying data is available which would enable a further search of the Bureau's files.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. TOLSON

DATE: October 20, 1951

FROM : L. B. NICHOLS

SUBJECT: HENRY WALLACE

While talking to Senator McCarran on other matters after having talked to Miss Adams about the situation, I advised the Senator of the thoroughness of our check in an effort to identify the alleged incident of Wallace's contacting a subversive agent in Philadelphia in 1943 or 1944 and in Miami in 1941 regarding the atom bomb. I told the Senator we had not been able to identify any such incident, that if any incident had occurred we felt that we should immediately get to work on it. I asked the Senator if there was anyway whereby they could furnish us more information so we could start the investigation.

The Senator stated he appreciated everything we had done but they simply could not tell us who their informant was. I asked if it would be possible for them to talk to their informant further to try to get further details. He stated I should talk to Miss Adams the first of the week but they just couldn't identify the informant.

I told the Senator that we of course were not concerned with the informant. He stated he thought we had done all we could do and they were satisfied if we had the information we would give them some indication. I told the Senator he could rest assured on that point.

CC - Mr. Ladd

CC - Belmont

LBN:mb

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/12/83 BY SP-1000-26

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62-71788-143

In this connection, Jay Sourwine mentioned the other night "I of course didn't tell you that Surine was the source." I told Sourwine today that I had heard that Surine had been asked if he knew about any contact between Wallace and a subversive Agent in Philadelphia which he denied knowing of this. Sourwine stated for my strictly confidential information, Surine was the original source but was the Senator's informant. I am inclined to call

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Surine on the telephone, ask him to come by and tell him we have heard this rumor and we understand that he had some information on it and ask him the basis for his facts. If you approve

OK. We must try to run this down.

H.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson
 FROM : Mr. Nichols
 SUBJECT: HENRY WALLACE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 5/17/83 BY SP1GSC/83

October 23, 1951

I finally got hold of Don Surine this morning and told him that some information had been circulating around on the Hill; that we had reason to believe that it may have emanated with him or he may have knowledge of it, reflecting some contacts which Henry Wallace had with a suspected subversive agent in Philadelphia dealing with the atom bomb. Surine stated that he had no information like this and last week Eva Adams in Senator McCarran's office called him and stated that they had information from a source which they desired to check on. One phase of the information had to do with whether Wallace had a conversation with a suspected Soviet espionage agent in Philadelphia regarding information pertaining to the atom bomb. Surine told her that he had never heard of anything like this. The second phase of the information had to do with the contacts which Wallace had in a hotel in Miami with some southern Communists, and according to Eva Adams, Wallace discussed this Communist movement and made the remark that at the proper time he would declare himself. Surine stated that he had heard some discussion like this when he was in the Buffalo Office, however, the discussion merely had to do as to whether or not Wallace might or might not be a Communist.

Surine states that Major Bernard Sweeney, Camp Holabird, Maryland, furnishes considerable information to the McCarran Committee and he might very well be the source of this. He stated that if he heard of anything further he would certainly let us know. I am inclined to think that Surine was telling the truth, judging from his action and demeanor. He was very anxious to enlist the Bureau's cooperation in securing some information on Muzak and Senator Benton's alleged connection with it. I think that he would have told us had he been involved in any way with the information.

I will discuss this matter further with Eva Adams and see if I can get anything more out of her.

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ADDENDUM; LBN:hmc; 10/24/51

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I talked to Miss Adams about the foregoing matter further yesterday. She told me that they had done everything

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Memorandum to Mr. Tolson

October 23, 1951

they possibly could to get further details on the allegations pertaining to the contacts between Wallace and the subversive agent in Philadelphia but they were unable to secure anything further.

She further told me in confidence that their source was a Democratic Senator who is anti-McCarthy but who is also anti-Communist. She went to the Senator to see if he would talk to us and when he declined Senator McCarran went to him and talked pretty bluntly about making statements like this without giving a bill of particulars. He declined to permit them to advise us of his identity, declined to talk to us personally and stated that there was no further information he had, although he understood that the matter was one of common knowledge in Baltimore. Miss Adams could not see where Baltimore enters the picture nor can I.

She stated that we certainly had done far more than we were required to do and she was certain the Senator will not be talking about the matter further. I told her, nevertheless, that if they could pursue the matter further we would appreciate it.

I see no other course now but to drop the matter at this point.

[Handwritten signature] ✓ *[Handwritten mark]*

How to save Capitalism

Address by Henry A. Wallace before the Greater Buffalo
Advertising Club, May 27, 1952

Two world wars and the rise of labor as a powerful political force have destroyed Old Fashioned Capitalism. Graduated income taxes and heavy estate taxes make it impossible any longer to build up vast hereditary fortunes. A century of restless growth impulse has passed out of our American life, never to return. The kind of free enterprise our grandfathers knew has disappeared as certainly as the buffalo from the western plains.

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Whatever the faults of Old Fashioned Capitalism, it did enable us to exploit the resources of this country in record breaking time. Anglo-Saxon traditions combined with unparalleled resources coming together at a most fortunate moment in history when science had suddenly unlocked new sources of power, enabled man in this blessed land of ours to become 15 times as productive as the average man of the rest of the world. Old Fashioned Capitalism was one of the causes of America's rise to enormous productivity and therefore to world power. Psychologically speaking there was much in common between the religious doctrine of the sacredness of the individual human soul, political democracy and capitalism. Feudalism had denied all three and as a result Feudalism had no growth impulse. Today we are involved as participants in a great struggle with a New Feudalism which also denies the sacredness of the individual human soul, the value of political democracy, and the usefulness of capitalism in any form.

W. Sullivan

The Stalinism which the USA so fears is totalitarian Russian Imperialism which binds individuals to their jobs and controls their movements and thoughts as effectively as any ancient feudalism. In its inward essence Stalinism is a breath out of the past rather than the wave of the future. It is selfish, grasping, cruel, materialistic and conspiratorial. But Stalinism has one great capacity which neither the ancient feudalism nor we in the USA have possessed in any great degree- the ability to exploit as a result of close personal contact, the needs and aspirations of the poverty stricken masses and minorities in the crowded and backward areas of the world. The Stalinists hold out the bait of free land to the tenant and farm worker in all the areas of the world where the farms are small and poor and the people earn less than 5 percent as much as our workers earn in the USA. Fully half the people of the world fall in this category. Everywhere along the southern border of the iron curtain the hungry millions look north and raise the question as to whether communism would not be better than what they have. Talking the language of hate to the illiterate, the hungry and the landless during the period of post war confusion, the communists have had striking though probably temporary success. From now on we may expect a world war to shake the existing order to its very foundations. World War I and II destroyed the Capitalism of our grandfathers. World War III if it comes will probably destroy Communism because it has become so static and outdated both in its methods and aspirations.

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The problem now is to build a New Capitalism which will not only release the maximum of creative energy in the USA but will also out-compete Communism for the affections of the bread-hungry, land-hungry millions. Such a Capitalism can be built but it will require more planning between government, business, labor and agriculture than was practiced under the Capitalism of our fathers. Under conditions created by two world wars and one great depression the question is whether these four great, organized forces will engage in competitive racketeering for individual benefit or cooperative planning for the Welfare of the USA and the World. Please do not misunderstand me- I do not believe in a planned economy. A planned economy inevitably means totalitarianism and the loss of one liberty after another. We shall never have a planned economy in the USA unless a great war or a great depression produces such misery that in our desperation we cry out for extreme measures. The problem of the New Capitalism is to engage in sufficient planning at the key spots to prevent

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excessive unemployment and the impact of either rapid inflation or deflation. In this connection the Employment Act of 1946 with its Council of Economic Advisers to the President and its transmittal of Quarterly reports to the Congress can be of the utmost significance in preparing the way for an adequate but not a dangerous type of planning. Under conditions of vast military expenditure it is obvious that destructive inflation can be avoided only by price, wage and profit controls so onerous as to be utterly objectionable to farmers, workers and business men. There must be either an excessive control of all economic factors or fantastically high taxation if deficit financing is to be avoided. Farmers, workers and business men are certain that excessive controls will prevent the rapid expansion in production which is so necessary for the war effort. The official spokesmen for these three groups no matter how plausible their arguments may be, are usually quite oblivious to the effect which their efforts have on the General Welfare. The Government's efforts to expand production without inflation inevitably create hard feelings in times like these when governmental expenditures so greatly exceed governmental income. The tightening up process has just begun because the great increase of outgo over income has just started. Fundamentally the fault is not with the farmers, workers or business men. Each group is doing a splendid job in a technical sense. Certainly no workers or farmers are as productive as ours. No factory management is as skillful. The guilty party is a world situation of universal mistrust which causes so many of the great nations of the world to devote the major part of their budgets to destructive purposes. Vast as our military expenditure is in the USA it is undoubtedly true that our resources and productivity are such that we are carrying the load easier than anyone else. If the burden is almost intolerable for us, think what it must be for England and France. Think what it must be in the Iron curtain countries where the burden of excessive militarism reaches a magnitude which has the most inhuman repercussions. We hear enough from those who have escaped from Russia to realize that the whole population from Czechoslovakia to China must be boiling with the most intense resentment because of impossibly high prices, government controls and iron clad restrictions of all private liberties. The hatred of Russia in Poland and China where the distrust of Russia has a long background must be especially great as the crushing burden of the vast iron curtain armament effort interferes with everything which human beings cherish. While there is fear among large segments of the population in western Europe that the American foreign policy will bring war, while there is growing hatred of us in Latin America, and while there is considerable distrust of us in the highly nationalistic Mohammedan nations and even in India, - the fact remains that the peoples in our orbit of influence are happier than those now being ground under the iron heel of Russian Imperialism. Unfortunately many millions of workers in our area enjoy a standard of living less than that which they had before World War II. In most Latin and Arab countries there is no enforceable income tax fairly applied and in many countries there is a tradition of graft which enables those in power to profit enormously at the expense of an exceedingly ignorant, hungry, disease ridden peasantry. Russia has her Achilles heel. She relies too much on the iron hand of the secret police, the terror of the informer and the concentration camp. We can never out-compete Russia in this kind of thing no matter how much we may cooperate with totalitarian and corrupt regimes. At the moment there is a race going on between the misery of peoples in two worlds living close to the iron curtain. Except in Czechoslovakia these peoples have never known the meaning of the words "democracy" and "freedom". What most of them are interested in is food to eat and land to work. They don't give a hang about Russian Communism or American Democracy. Above everything they fear war, loss of job or land, starvation and the concentration camp. All of these things are vivid to them. More and more as they see Russia and the USA engaging in an armament race which increases their misery, they come to hate both the great powers. Out of this mounting misery and hate, out of this tendency for population to outrun the food supply can come the destruction of both Russian Communism and American Capitalism.

There is only one way to save American Capitalism and that is to lead the free world in expanded trade and production of peace time goods. It was this program

which I set forth repeatedly in 1941, 1942 and 1943 only to have it called, "globaloney", "TVA's on the Danube", "Milk for Hotentots", and "Wallace's International Milk Route". In April of 1947 speaking to 150 members of the French Chamber of Deputies I advocated the expenditure of \$5 billion a year for ten years through the UN for the purpose of building up the devastated and backward areas. This idea was denounced as fantastically expensive and impractical. Yet today we in the USA are spending for defense 10 times as much annually as I advocated spending for construction. At the moment we have no other alternative but it is still not too late to start gradually on the program which I began to advocate more than ten years ago. Each member nation could agree to reduce its arms budget by one per cent and to use that one per cent through the UN to halt misery in those parts of the world where the farms are so small and poor and the techniques are so backward and the capital is so limited that it is impossible for a family to earn more than \$100 a year even by working 14 hours a day seven days a week. In the present state of world affairs Russia and her satellites would probably refuse to come along. Nevertheless she should be given the opportunity to accept or refuse. If it is impossible to work the plan through the UN the US should apply the following plan by herself. I can assure you that \$1 spent in this way will do more to preserve capitalism in the USA than \$10 spent for armaments. In brief the heart of the plan is as follows:-

Have the Food and Agriculture Organization of the UN empowered to enter into contracts with the crowded and under-developed nations of the world to set up a system of supervised loans to small farmers. This is a type of program which has been used successfully by Nelson Rockefeller's American International Association in Venezuela and Brazil. Contracts were made with the Venezuelan and Brazilian governments under which the American International Association stood the cost of the supervision and trained local supervising personnel while the local banks furnished the money for the loans. Heretofore the local banks had refused loans to the farm people at the bottom of the pile because there was no supervision by competent technicians. Now the banks have found that loans supervised by AIA technicians are their safest loans. Moreover in areas where Communism was making inroads because of hopeless misery, the technique of supervised loans completely changed the picture in one year. New techniques and capital at reasonable rates of interest have increased productivity by 50 per cent in one year. In some communities the profit has been increased five-fold. Repayments on loans have begun before they were due and there is every indication that 95 per cent of the loans will be repaid. This checks with the experience we had in the Farm Security Administration when I was Secretary of Agriculture. Back in the Thirties we would loan typically \$500 to enable a man to rent a farm and acquire the necessary tools, seed and fertilizers. Typically the loan supervisor would service 150 to 200 farmers. Usually a lady trained in home economics would service the same families, helping them with suggestions as to how to can 100 quarts of fruits and vegetables for each member of the household. These were families which wanted to farm but which were on relief because of the depression of the early Thirties. The technique of hooking technological supervision with the necessary credit worked wonders. Ninety per cent of the loans were paid off in spite of the fact that the fundamental criterion was helping human beings who were down and out to start helping themselves again. In other words we were not making what would normally be called bankable loans. However the clients did know that we expected the loans to be paid off and on the whole they did a remarkable job of returning the money with interest to the federal treasury. Some of the top men who administered that program are now with Nelson Rockefeller and are finding that the same methods which worked in the USA also work in Venezuela and Brazil and that they will undoubtedly work any place in the world where there are families who want to farm but are short on both capital and technique. There is no more constructive way to use American capital abroad than through a program of supervised loans to small farmers in the crowded and under-developed areas of the world. Frankly I would advocate that the money for the principal of the loans come from local banks so far as possible. Let the UN or the USA as the case may be, pay the cost of supervision and furnish about half of the supervisory personnel. The two outstanding obstacles to the program

at present are first the difficulty in training supervisory personnel fast enough and second the high cost of supervision. At the beginning supervisory costs will be exceedingly high especially in those countries where there are neither agricultural banks nor an agricultural extension service. This is not a cheap program except in comparison with all the others. But I do say that per dollar invested, a program of supervised loans will greatly increase agricultural productivity, raise living standards, increase world trade and furnish a base for industrialization in those areas of the world which need it most. This is America's answer to the collective farm of the Communists. It is a program which has been tried out and which will work. It promotes the maximum of informed individual initiative but hooks it to capital and modern technical knowledge. There are many more details which I do not have time to go into which have been discovered by the old Farm Security Administration and the Rockefeller group in South America. Suffice it to say that time is of the essence in countries like India and Egypt. If we do not reach the small farmers of such areas fast with loans supervised by adequately trained personnel we can expect Communism or an exaggerated Nationalism to make enormous inroads. We lost China because we did not understand this problem and we are in danger of losing much of the rest of the world.

The world will not indefinitely remain half slave and half free. By slavery I mean enslavement to poverty, misery, disease, ignorance and illiteracy. The Communists propose to lead the crowded peoples out of their present slavery into a new one which while it would teach them to read, write and industrialize would deliver them body and soul into an all-permeating totalitarianism, the very essence of which is envy, hate and the denial of everything spiritual. Nevertheless millions of the hungry people of the world in their darkness think they see a great light in Russian Communism. Their hatred of the Colonial Powers of Western Europe combined with their misery rooted in an inefficient agriculture has made them very susceptible to Communist propaganda. Communists are as expert in detecting misery as a bacteria are at seeking out the spots ready for decay. Unfortunately we Americans have suddenly become the greatest power in the world without adequate training in the accompanying responsibilities. We have not tried very hard to understand the customs, languages, histories, religions or agricultural techniques of other people. While some of our Missionaries and State Department people have done efficient work, most Americans living abroad seem to have no desire really to understand the problems of the people among whom they live. Some of our Universities have made a start toward preparing our young people to live in other lands but in the main America has been indifferent to the problem of intelligently exercising her power abroad.

Americans who live in countries with much misery and low productivity are usually representatives of large corporations. Most of them associate as much as possible with other Americans or with other Western Europeans. Few of them become acquainted with the problems of the 80 per cent of the people who live on small, poor farms. Insofar as they associate with the natives it is largely with the very wealthy who have learned to speak English or some other European language. In this connection I think of the methods used by the Germans and Japanese among the small farm families of the Andean plateau during the Thirties. Our recent enemies learned how the Andean Indians lived, what they bought, what they sold. They specialized on selling small farm tools and household equipment to these families with an annual income of perhaps \$100 a year. It was small business but amounted in the aggregate to nearly \$40 million annually. It was largely beneath our notice because as a rule we prefer to sell to the people in the larger cities. And so the Germans and Japanese succeeded where we never even tried. Today outside of limited circles we are much hated in Latin America. Some Americans and English unfortunately take attitudes which arouse intense nationalistic resentments. No doubt the local Communists acting on orders from Moscow have indirectly been responsible for much of this nationalistic, anti-Anglo-Saxon feeling.

Just as the Germans and Japanese went out of their way to cultivate the small people in backward areas before the war, so also the Communists today approach the problem from the bottom while we work from the top.

Here we see illustrated the weakness of democratic Capitalism in world affairs. When it comes to developing trade in foreign lands we will invest private money only when it brings in big returns. Only totalitarian powers will go in for small trade for small profits in the hope of gaining access to the sympathies of those people who in the long run really count in these so-called "backward areas".

With a program of supervised farm loans hooked up with adequate technical assistance applied with all possible speed we could out-compete the Communists for the affection of the poorer people in nearly every country in the world. The question is whether the people of the USA will allow themselves to be taxed for what I believe to be the only program which in the long run will bring us security.

I do not urge that we do away with or greatly reduce our military program until such time as the UN has an armed force greater than the armed might of either Russia or the USA. But I do urge that every nation in the Free World build up a fund for the end of starvation by devoting a certain percentage of the present armament expenditures for this purpose- only one per cent would be helpful. From a long range point of view I hope we in the USA, Canada, Australia and Argentina can get away from the practice of giving food to countries which are afflicted with recurring famines. We should help such countries to build their own ever-normal granaries. India in particular should get in position to produce her own food and set up her own storage system. India must expand her food production 1 per cent annually to take care of the 4 million new mouths which come each year in that country. We must furnish India technical assistance and help her to industrialize so that the farms can be increased in size and labor may have a better opportunity to produce than is possible on farms less than two acres in size.

In this connection I note a press dispatch from Washington a week or so ago about the visit of Sudhir Ghosh to the USA in response to the invitation of Senator Brewster of Maine. It seems that Ghosh has been directing the rehabilitation of 250,000 Indian refugees in what is known as the Faridabad Project. According to the New York Times Brewster when visiting India last winter was so impressed by the progress of the Faridabad community that he urged Ghosh to come to the US. Ambassador Bowles agreed. Here we have an example of bi-partisanship to end misery in India. Ghosh wrote Brewster last February as follows:-

"I recently visited Hyderabad in South India and tried seriously to understand the growth of Communist disruptive forces there. I personally met the young man who leads the Communists in this State and some of his lieutenants. They represent a real and live force which cannot be extinguished by the use of physical force. The only effective way of meeting such a force is to produce more food, more clothes, more houses, better education and health facilities for the millions in the villages of India and give the villagers all that they have been looking forward to getting out of India's independence".

It seems that it took about a \$5 million loan to get the Faridabad area set on the road to self support agriculturally and industrially with roads, water supply, power facilities, etc. Ghosh estimates that to do the job for all of India would take \$2 billion of which India herself can furnish half. Ghosh has considerable importance because of the posts he has held in the New Delhi Government and because he was a close associate of Gandhi. Apparently he is trying to combine Gandhi's spiritual force with modern technology in the service of the Indian People.

I understand the Ford Foundation is preparing to cooperate with the Indian government in setting up an Extension Service. In this connection I trust that both the Ford representatives and the Indian government realize that the new technology

hooked to credit will find it difficult to move fast enough to meet the crisis which is so rapidly coming on in India.

India is threatened by the Chinese Communists from Tibet, and by the local Communists from within. Read the story on the Chinese Communists in Tibet in the May 17 issue of the Saturday Evening Post. Aside from Germany and Japan the most strategic areas in the World today are on the southern border of the iron curtain. Here misery marches in its most horrible form. Here the Communists have their greatest opportunity to preach hatred of all Anglo-Saxons and especially Americans. Here Russia will take over within 10 years without moving a soldier unless we move with far greater speed to end poverty than we are now doing. Those who think our only safety is in force will be proved wrong. Our real strength and safety in the USA has always consisted and will always consist in the principles of the Declaration of Independence and the Judo-Christian belief in the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of man applied with the modern tools of technology and adequate credit. In the long run tractors and hoes will buy far more safety for us than tanks. Fertilizer factories and agricultural credit will fight communism far more effectively than the threat of the hydrogen bomb. Moreover this approach will cost us far less in taxes and give us far more security than the exclusive military approach.

The Communists rely on hate and force as their most powerful weapons. Capitalism on occasion has promulgated hate and force but its real genius is not in that direction. The great weakness of capitalism in competition with any type of totalitarianism is its planlessness. Today we know that Capitalism does not have to be completely without plans. It can be modified to fit the modern, a continually changing modern scene. Communism of necessity may be pagan, materialistic and Godless. Capitalism is not of necessity either materialistic or Godless. Not a single high Communist dares believe in God. The genuine Christian because he does believe in God and the sacredness of the individual human soul, uses entirely different methods from the Communist. A real Christian must always question the validity of force or any other totalitarian method as the final arbiter.

Nowhere in the world have so many billions of dollars been given away by Christians and Jews for the highest humanitarian purposes as in the USA. Hundreds of American Capitalists of great wealth came from strongly religious homes. This is also true of the men who have worked in their factories. But in recent years the bonds of religious discipline have been loosening. The old bonds cannot be re-established but new and necessary disciplines can be self-imposed if we will only lift our eyes to envision the possibilities and then lower our eyes to see the enormous danger confronting the most wealthy nation in the world which because of its wealth is so widely feared, envied and even hated at the very time when it is being toadied to. Money in and of itself is good not evil. It represents stored up human labor and is therefore sacred. It is the wrong use of money that is evil. Money is a trust. It is written in the very foundations of the universe that money should be used constructively. The great evil of our age is that \$100 billion annually is being spent for armies and armaments. Most capitalists, however much they may recognize the temporary necessity of American and Western European defense preparations, resent the fact that such a huge sum of money is spent for non-constructive purposes. The genius of capitalism has always been construction. Capitalists know that War destroys Capital and weakens Capitalism. The two World Wars certainly played into the hands of the Communists. The Communists preach that Capitalism is inevitably driven to war by over-production, under-consumption and the fight for foreign markets. They will be proved right unless we can permeate Capitalism with Moral Purpose. Pope Pius XI in his famous encyclical Quadregessimo Anno recognized the great need for Christianizing Capitalism and imposing some type of self-discipline on unfettered laissez faire. Those who have the money must push actively for American leadership looking toward rapid improvement of the living standards of the backward areas of the world. Such leadership will enable the USA to do ten times as much for the productivity and trade of the world as Britain did by her leadership

in the Nineteenth Century. It is a missionary challenge greater than that conceived by any church. It is profoundly practical and at the same time deeply altruistic. It is the cheapest and most productive way to buy our security. No other nation ever had or will have such an opportunity. If we do not grasp it we shall fall as ingloriously as Rome when the people set up "bread and circusses" as their supreme interest. Automobiles and television sets are better than watching gladiatorial combats but they will not save us if we do not become more full aware of what is going on in the areas just south of the iron curtain.

SAC, New York

Director, FBI

GREGORY CASE
ESPIONAGE - R

July 25, 1952

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/17/83 BY SP1 GSKJC

b3
b7E

Elizabeth Bentley, in an appearance before an Executive Session of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee (Mc Carran Committee), testified concerning the connection of Henry A. Wallace with the Communist Party.

She stated while she was maintaining liaison with Earl Browder, then head of the CP-USA, he several times spoke to her about Henry A. Wallace. The gist of these conversations, according to Bentley, was that Browder felt every time Wallace carried out CP directives, he came out all right, and Browder said about 90% of the time Wallace would carry out these directives. Browder said, however, when Wallace went off on a crazy direction and tried to do his own thinking, he came out badly. Elizabeth Bentley said she understood the directives from Browder were sent to Wallace through a third person. She placed the dates of her conversations with Earl Browder concerning this matter as subsequent to the death of Jacob Golos in November, 1943, and prior to April or May, 1945.

b3
b7E

The Bureau has not been able to locate any information concerning the above in the Bureau's files, and it is desired that during your next interview of Elizabeth Bentley, she be pressed for any additional details she has on this matter. She should be asked whether she has any information which would identify the person who allegedly carried the directives between Browder and Wallace. Your attention is also directed to the fact that we received the data concerning this matter from the Mc Carran Committee on a confidential basis with an agreement that it would not be disseminated without the specific permission of the Committee.

ORIGINAL FILED IN

Tolson _____
Ladd _____
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Belmont _____
Clegg _____
Glavin _____
Harbo _____
Rosen _____
Tracy _____
Laughlin _____
Mohr _____
Tele. Rm. _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

RJL:j

cc: 62-71788
100-44244
62-88217

NOT RECORDED

105 JUL 31 1952

11 ENCL.

DUPLICATE YELLOW

58 AUG 21 1952

AAA Action on Communists

Bureau Purge Early in Roosevelt Administration Recalled

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

In the Aug. 24 issue of THE TIMES, on Page 10, in a carry-over story from Page 1, a dispatch datelined Washington says:

"The first known penetration was a Communist cell in the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, which, under Henry A. Wallace, Secretary of Agriculture in the Nineteen Thirties, set up and directed the first farm programs under the Administration of President Franklin D. Roosevelt. * * *

"It also included," the report said, "* * * and the late Harold Ware."

Knowing how absolutely fair THE NEW YORK TIMES is, and how anxious it is to print all the facts available, I submit the following:

First, the Harold Ware referred to never was in the United States Department of Agriculture while I was Secretary. This man was on the United States Department of Agriculture roll while the Agricultural Secretaries chosen by Coolidge and Hoover were in control. It was this man, according to testimony, who organized the cell in the first place.

Second, a very short time after the cell was organized in the AAA of the United States Department of Agriculture I fired some of the members and most of the rest left as a result of the celebrated purge which took place in early 1935. No one knew they were Communists until Lee Pressman so testified more than ten years later. I fired them because I disagreed with the policies they advocated and felt there could not be a satisfactory relationship between the Department and the Congress until they left.

It is difficult to see why the dispatch singled me out by name in connection with the Ware cell when Ware never served under me and I got rid of most of the AAA members of the Ware cell not long after the cell was formed. The Senate report recognizes that the AAA got rid of these men in early 1935 and does not mention me by name.

H. A. WALLACE
South Salem, N. Y., Aug. 26, 1953.

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/17/83 BY SPK/STC

225303

CLIPPING FROM THE

N. Y. TIMES *Late City Edition*

DATED AUG 3 1953

FORWARDED BY N.Y. DIVISION

62-71788-A
NO. 191
OCT 22 1953

CARBON COPY

F B I

Date: 8/20/56

Transmit the following message via AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-13124)
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-127738)

SUBJECT: COMINFIL TAXICAB DRIVERS AND THEIR
EMPLOYEES, LOCAL 826, IBT, AFL-CIO
IS-C
CINAL

11-1
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/17/83 BY SP1GSKJG

Rerep SA RICHARD H. DAVIS, 7/10/56, at NY.

228303

b7D

8/17/56 that on 8/14/56 he had gone for treatment to Dr. ELIZABETH KALISHER (Bufile 100-383492) as directed by SPARKY FRIEDMAN (who has been identified as the Communist in control of Local 826). During course of visit, Dr. KALISHER made the following statements:

1. Her husband had been personal physician to Soviet Consul General in NYC and she had been present when HENRY WALLACE asked ANDRE VISHINSKY if the Soviet Union controlled American CP. VISHINSKY answered along lines of: "HENRY, I'm surprised at you. Do you think the American Communists would be so stupid if we controlled them?"

12-BUREAU (100-13124)(RM)

(1-BU 100-) (CP, USA Political Activities)
(1-BU 100-) (CP, USA International Relations)
(1-BU 100-) (CP, USA Strategy in Industry)
(1-BU 100-) (Cominfil UE)
(1-BU 100-) (Cominfil UFW)
(1-BU 100-) (JAY LOVESTONE)
(1-BU 100-) (HENRY WALLACE)
(1-BU 100-) (VITO MARCANTONIO)
(1-BU 100-383492) (Dr. ELIZABETH KALISHER)
1-NY 100-7917 (CP, USA Political Activities)(#19)
1-NY 100-86624 (CP, USA International Relations)(#19)
1-NY 100-89590 (CP, USA Strategy in Industry)(#19)
1-NY 100-13644 (Cominfil UE)(7-1)
1-NY 100-29015 (Cominfil UFW)(7-1)
1-NY 100-25904 (JAY LOVESTONE)(#1)
1-NY 100-53054 (VITO MARCANTONIO)(12-16)
1-NY 100-94655 (Dr. ELIZABETH KALISHER)(12-15)
1-NY 100-127738

RHD:LSW
(22)

Approved:

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

50 AUG 31 1956

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN 100-13124-

162-71784-✓
NOT RECORDED
199 AUG 29 1956

CONTAINS ON ORIGINAL

AIRTEL

NY 100-127738

(Date of conversation unknown but CASSATA assumes that it was probably around time of WALLACE'S candidacy for President.)

2. VITO MARCANTONIO hated the CP but through his secretary being a Communist and his need for CP support, he got the name of being a Communist.

3. JAY LOVESTONE writes the speeches of GEORGE MEANY, Pres. of AFL-CIO. (This remark followed comments concerning labor leaders who make statements against Communists and racketeers.)

4. Stated she was a Democrat and made remarks against the Communists, including statement that she believed CP should have infiltrated major parties instead of putting up its own candidates.

5. Said she handled medical treatments for United Furniture Workers, UE and Brewery Workers, and was engaged in opening a clinic for unions. It is noted that Dr. KALISHER was Director of Doctors' Committee to Aid Strikers (Bufile 100-361220), according to a card furnished CASSATA.

6. In a telephone conversation with CASSATA on 8/16/56, Dr. KALISHER stated that she believed CASSATA was right when he said the time was coming when the workers would revolt against the labor leaders who do nothing and live high. (CASSATA advised that he made this statement after Dr. KALISHER made derogatory remarks against labor leaders. CASSATA feels that Dr. KALISHER was going to report to SPARKY FRIEDMAN about him.)

7. Dr. KALISHER told CASSATA'S wife that he should watch his health because he "has a big job to do." KALISHER told CASSATA to be sure to say he was vice president of Local 826 when he went to Dr. J. HEIMAN, a specialist. (A check of NY indices reflects that Dr. JACOB HEIMAN is actually Dr. KALISHER'S husband on whom there are numerous subversive references.)

Dr. HEIMAN, according to CASSATA, studied Great Britain's socialized medicine system and was almost ousted from the American Medical Association for favoring such a plan.

AIRTEL

NY 100-127738

(CASSATA said that HEIMAN supposedly has written articles and books on the subject.) HEIMAN also stated that he has made studies elsewhere in Europe and was "behind the Iron Curtain." CASSATA stated that HEIMAN stopped talking after this last statement.

Above being furnished to Bureau for its info.

KELLY

er

April 4, 1957

Air-Tel

SAC, New York (100-65568) (orig and 1)

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/17/83 BY SP1GSK/JC
228303

ALFRED K. STERN, was., et al
ESPIONAGE - R

Reurairtel 3/26/57. Authority granted for
interview Mr. and Mrs. Henry A. Wallace. Handle promptly
and submit results to the Bureau.

Hoover

100-57453

62-71788-✓
NOT RECORDED
76 APR 8 1957

cc ✓ 62-71788 (Wallace)

ETT:blb
(5)

NOTE: Wallace is former Vice President of the U.S. He and his wife were in frequent contact with Alfred and Martha Stern during 1948 when Wallace was a Presidential candidate for the Progressive Party. Our investigation indicated that the Sterns were attempting to influence Wallace's thinking and his decisions in connection with his candidacy. It is noted that on 9/4/49 Alfred Stern asked Wallace if Wallace and his wife were going to attend a concert by Paul Robeson. Wallace indicated he had a previous appointment but could cancel it if he could be sure the concert was not being fronted by the communists. Stern and his wife endeavored to convince Wallace that the concert was not so fronted; however, Wallace did not appear to be satisfied and concluded that there was no way that he could assure himself regarding this. Subsequently, Alfred Stern advised an individual that he and Martha were very much disturbed about Wallace's attitude and indicated that if "our leader isn't going to lead us we will have to fight ourselves." Stern commented, "They will have to read him out of the party (Progressive Party) if they cannot get him to see the light." Wallace during 1950 expressed the opinion that Russia desired to dominate the world. He has been previously interviewed and has been receptive. It is believed that he and his wife should be interviewed concerning the Sterns.

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50 APR 10 1957
103
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APR 5 1957
MAILED

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN 100-57453-1041

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : W. A. Branigan ^{WAB}
FROM : V. H. Nasca ^{VH}
SUBJECT: HENRY A. WALLACE
MISCELLANEOUS - INFORMATION CONCERNING

DATE: January 26, 1953

~~SECRET~~

Tolson _____
Ladd _____
Clegg _____
Glavin _____
Nichols _____
Rosen _____
Tracy _____
Harbo _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Tele. Room _____
Nease _____
Gandy _____

PURPOSE:

To recommend that the attached entry made by Henry A. Wallace in the autograph book of Amado Hernandez be included in Wallace's file. ~~(S)~~ (U)

BACKGROUND:

On 9-19-52, OSI furnished a number of photographic copies of entries made in the autograph book of Amado Hernandez. Hernandez was the leader of the now-defunct Communist-dominated Congress of Labor Organizations in the Philippine Islands. Many of the entries in the afore-mentioned autograph book were made during Hernandez' trip to attend an International Labor Convention in Paris. Hernandez traveled through the United States en route to the convention in 1949. ~~(S)~~ (U)

ACTION:

If you approve this entry will be incorporated in Wallace's file as an attachment to this memorandum.

62-71788

Attachment

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

3/21/80
Classified by ~~SP-2 ETT/BB~~
Declassify on: OADR
83-1423

Classified by ~~SP-2 ETT/BB~~
Declassify on: OADR
5-7-83
228303

CLASSIFIED DECISIONS FINALIZED
BY DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE (DRC)
DATE: 4-8-87

RECORDED-77

62-71788-146

VHN:mpp

62 JAN 30 1953

~~SECRET~~ 5-ETT

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

100-357825-7844

#9245841 SP-2 ETT/VH
6-18-01

SECURITY INFORMATION - ~~SECRET~~

"To Amado Hernandez and his Progressive friends
warmest greeting. In spite of all set-backs
the Common Man will resume his march toward
One World at Peace

Henry A. Wallace
Dec. 29, 1948 "

~~SECRET~~

~~(S)~~
(u)

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE~~

Classified by ~~APIC/KJC~~
Declassify on: OADR / 5-17-83
228303

#924584-1
DECLASSIFIED BY SP-2 BEM/VTA
ON 6-18-01

SECURITY INFORMATION - ~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

SECURITY INFORMATION - ~~SECRET~~

"To Amado Hernandez and his Progressive friends
warmest greeting. In spite of all set-backs
the Common Man will resume his march toward
One World at Peace

Henry A. Wallace
Dec. 29, 1948 "

~~SECRET~~ (S) (C)

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE~~

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Declassify on: OADR
5-17-83
228303

6-18-01 SP-2 am/vta

SECURITY INFORMATION - ~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. R. R. Roach

DATE: September 24, 1958

FROM : Mr. O. H. Bartlett

SUBJECT: HENRY A. WALLACE
INFORMATION CONCERNING

Tolson	_____
Boardman	_____
Belmont	_____
Mohr	_____
Nease	_____
Parsons	_____
Rosen	_____
Tamm	_____
Trotter	_____
Clayton	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

On September 23, 1958, Mr. Robert Johnson, Chief of the Passport Legal Division, telephoned me and advised that the Passport Office is in receipt of a passport application for Henry A. Wallace, former Vice President. According to Mr. Johnson, Mr. Wallace was born October 7, 1888 (will be 70 years old this fall) and is now residing at South Salem, New York. He is engaged in the plant breeding business. Mr. Wallace desires to leave New York on October 16 by air to visit Holland, Germany, Switzerland, Italy and France. During his trip he will visit his sister, Madam Bruggmann who resides in France. He will also visit corn, gladiola and carnation breeders in Europe.

ACTION:

For information.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/17/83 BY SP1G SKC
228303

OHB:bjt *bjt*

(4)

- 1 - Foreign Liaison Unit
- 1 - Mr. Bartlett
- 1 - Liaison Section

REC- 65

62- 11188-147

11 SEP 24 1958

EX. - 133

3
LIAISON

50 SEP 26 1958

United States Senate

Washington, D. C., September 2, 1961

Respectfully referred to

The Honorable J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation

letter from:

Basil C. Meadows
2320 Plainfield Ave., N. E.
Grand Rapids 5, Michigan

EX-105
SEP 8 1961
34

EX-105

REC-92

62-71788-148

URGENT
Hart

10 SEP 5

Philip A. Hart

U. S. S.

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 16-45102-2

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/17/83 BY SP1GSKTC
228303

Hart
sent
2-2-61

ack 9-6-61
GRB/let

sent copies
9-6-61

2320 Plainfield Avenue, N.E.
Grand Rapids 5, Michigan

August 30, 1961

Senator Phillip Hart
United States Senate
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:

It would be appreciated very much if you would advise us as to whether or not an investigation was held on Henry Wallace and if it was proven that he was a Communist or that he had Communist support.

Henry Wallace retained the post as secretary of commerce until his resignation on or about September 18, 1946. This information is in the Encyclopedia Americana.

Thank you for your prompt attention to this matter.

Yours very truly,

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/17/83 BY SK/SC
228303

Basil C. Meadows

ENCLOSURE

62-71788-148

After President Truman took office Mr. Wallace retained his post as secretary of commerce. On September 12, 1946 he made a speech in New York castigating the administration's foreign policy as conducted by Secretary of State Byrnes at the Paris Peace Conference and urging a contrary policy of appeasing Russia, though this would have amounted to a betrayal of the Western European Allies. The president demanded and received his resignation from the Cabinet eight days later. With Senator Glen H. Taylor of Idaho Mr. Wallace founded a political party called the Progressive. In July, 1948 this third party nominated Mr. Wallace and Senator Taylor as candidates for president and vice president of the United States on an isolationist and pro-Soviet "peace" platform. During the campaign both men accepted Communist support. The party polled 1,116,379 votes in the November election, half from New York, but failed to carry any state. Mr. Wallace wrote PATHS OF PLENTY (1938) and THE PRICE OF FREEDOM (1940).

September 6, 1961

REC-92

62-71788-148

Honorable Philip A. Hart
United States Senate
Washington, D. C.

My dear Senator:

I have received your communication dated September 2, with enclosures, and appreciate the interest which prompted you to write to me.

In response to the request made by Mr. Basil C. Meadows, I would like to point out that the FBI is strictly an investigative agency of the Federal Government and neither makes evaluations nor draws conclusions as to the character or integrity of any organization, publication or individual. I am sure you can understand my being unable to comment relative to his inquiry. In this connection, it should not be inferred either that we do or do not have information in our files concerning the individual he mentioned.

I am returning your enclosures to you.

Sincerely yours,
J. Edgar Hoover



Enclosures (3)
Correspondents' enclosures (3)

NOTE: Senator Hart is on the Special Correspondents' List. Bufiles contain no record for Mr. Basil C. Meadows. Bufiles reflect Wallace served as Vice President, 1941-45. Wallace was subsequently the presidential candidate for the Progressive Party. During 1950 Wallace expressed the opinion that Russia desired to dominate the world. Wallace was not investigated by the

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

JRS:plt
(5)

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

66 SEP 13 1961

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/17/83 BY SP1GSKJ

228303

SEP

READING ROOM

PM '61

MAILED 30
SEP 11 1961
FBI

DCM
PWS

REC'D
FBI
MAIL ROOM

TRUE COPY

Harry Felsenstein
154 East 49th Street
Brooklyn 3, New York

3/29/62

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

Dear Sir:

In a discussion of recent date with reference to communists who were active and in the public eye during the Presidential election of 1948, I mentioned that the former Vice President Henry A. Wallace who was running for President on the Progressive Party ticket was backed and supported by recognized communists such as Howard Fast, Lee Pressman and a man Abt or Abst.

Would appreciate any information to confirm my statements with respect to above.

Thanking you for your courtesy, I remain

Very truly yours,

/s/

Harry Felsenstein

REC- 23

62-71788-149

25 APR 5 1962

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/17/83 BY SP1GSKJC
22F303

*True copy.
4-2-62 RFE*

*ACK
4-6-62
RFE*

Handwritten mark

HARRY FELSENSTEIN
154 EAST 49TH STREET, BROOKLYN 3, NEW YORK

3/29/62

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover,
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C.
Dear Sir:

In a discussion of recent date with reference to communists who were active and in the public eye during the Presidential election of 1948, I mentioned that the former Vice President Henry A. Wallace who was running for President on the Progressive Party ticket was backed and supported by recognized communists such as Howard Fast, Lee Pressman and a man Abt or Abst.

Would appreciate any information to confirm my statements with respect to above.

Thanking you for your courtesy, I remain

Very truly yours,

Harry Felsestein

Ack
4-1-62
Rm 1116

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/17/83 BY SP1GSK/JCP
228303

CORRESPONDENCE
W

April 4, 1962

REC- 23

62-71788-149

Mr. Harry Felsenstein
154 East 49th Street
Brooklyn 3, New York

Dear Mr. Felsenstein:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/17/83 BY SP1 RSK/TO
228303

Your letter dated March 29, 1962, has
been received.

Although I would like to be of service,
information in FBI files must be maintained as confidential
through a regulation of the Department of Justice. I regret
I am unable to answer your inquiry and hope you will not
infer in this connection either that we do or do not have the
specific data you requested.

Enclosed is some literature which I hope will
be of interest.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

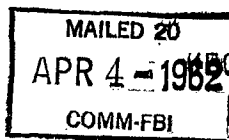
John Edgar Hoover
Director

Enclosures (4) Shall It Be Law or Tyranny?
Let's Fight Communism Sanely!
Communist Illusion and Democratic Reality
The Communist Party Line

NOTE: Bufiles contain no references identifiable with correspondent.

RMW:lc* (3)

50 APR 12 1962



RECEIVED DIRECTOR

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

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

1616 No. Normandie Ave.,
Hollywood 7, Cal.
April 5, 1962.

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

J. Edgar Hoover, Esq.,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Hoover:

I hope this note finds you well.

I have been an admirer of yours for a good many years. I am Harlow's mother ^{copy} and was a very good friend of mine. I, many times, while acting director, gave her plenty of work in pictures; and was responsible for giving her daughter her first break in pictures. Miss Bellows is a friend of yours.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/11/83 BY SPAGSK/JC

I would appreciate it very much - ²²⁸³⁰³ and it will ~~be~~ mean considerable to me - if you will give me all the names of the subordinates of Henry Wallace of the Agriculture Dept when he was in office. Also, designate those who were subversive or communist. I, at one time, knew; but during the years I have forgotten. ^{REC-40 62-71788-150} Thanking you, and may God be with you.

I am,

mm
mm
mm

mm Bellows

ITC Act 4-12-62

R. R. Mc

Sincerely,

Philip Moore

APR 9 1962
FBI
RECORDED

1616 No. Normandie Ave.,
Hollywood 27, Cal.
April 5, 1962.

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

J. Edgar Hoover, Esq.,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Hoover:

I hope this note finds you well.

I have been an admirer of yours for a good many years. Jean Harlow's mother was a very good friend of mine. I, many times, while casting director, gave her plenty of work in pictures; and was responsible for giving her daughter her first break in pictures. Mrs Bellow, I believe was a friend of yours.

I would appreciate it very much - and it will mean considerable to me - if you will give me all the names of the subordinates of Henry Wallace of the Agriculture Dept when he was in office. Also, designate those who were subversive or communist. I, at one time knew; but during the years I have forgotten.

Thanking you, and may God be with you, I am,

Sincerely,

/s/ Philip Moore

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-17-83 BY SPIC/STC
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RECEIVED APR 20 1962

APR 8 4 55 PM '62

nm - more
nm - Wallace
nm - Harlow
nm - Bellow
ITC
Ack 4-12-62
RRR/nc

SPIC

EX-114

April 12, 1962

REC-40 62-71788-150

Mr. Philip Moore
1616 North Normandie Avenue
Hollywood 27, California

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-17-83 BY SPICSKJR
228303

REC'D-READING ROOM
FBI

APR 17 10 58 AM '62

Dear Mr. Moore:

Your letter of April 5, 1962, has been received,
and I want to thank you for your very kind sentiments.

With respect to your request, you might desire
to contact The Honorable, The Secretary of Agriculture, Washington 25,
D. C., who may be able to furnish you the list of names you are seek-
ing. In this regard, I would like to point out that the FBI is strictly an
investigative agency of the Federal Government and neither makes eval-
uations nor draws conclusions as to the character or integrity of any
organization, publication or individual.

Enclosed is some material I hope will be of interest to
you.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

MAILED 20
APR 12 1962
COMM-FBI

Enclosures (5)

Let's Fight Communism Sanely!
What You Can Do To Fight Communism
4-17-61 Internal Security Statement
Shall It Be Law or Tyranny?
The Communist Party Line

NOTE: Bufiles contain no identifiable information concerning
correspondent. Mrs. Jean Harlow Bello is the mother of Jean Harlow,
deceased former actress. We enjoyed prior limited cordial correspondence
with Mrs. Bello in 1950 and 1956.

RLR:rc (3)

- Tolson _____
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- Conrad _____
- DeLoach _____
- Evans _____
- Malone _____
- Rosen _____
- Sullivan _____
- Tavel _____
- Trotter _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holmes _____
- Gandy _____

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FBI

JPM
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RLR/B

TRUE COPY

J. Edgar Hoover
F. B. I.

Guss Collins
648 Howard St
Mount Vernon
Ohio

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

Dear Sir:

DATE 5-17-83 BY SP1RSKJC

I am wondering if the Dept. of Justice would allow you to release a statement to the T. V. and press reporters concerning Henry Wallace.

During the Dewy vs. Truman campaign both candidates accused Henry of being a Communist over the radio. Most of us take the things said during the heat of a political campaign as so much hog wash.

But the communist do advocate the overthrow of our Govt. They just the same as called Henry a traitor.

I watched Mr. Kennady's inaugural ball on T.V.. Henry was there and it seemed to me he was being avoided like a leper.

Harry Truman was quoted to have once said that if we stood idle and let a single American take an unjust treatment then we were allowing ourselves to become eligible for the same sort of treatment or words to that effect.

I am well satisfied with our two party system and would not have voted for Henry anyhow. But none the less he is still an American and I for one do not like to see him lay under an accusation if it is false.

This Birch Society has got me thoroughly disgusted.

EX-105 REC-34

62-71788-151

Nothing would please me more than for congress to pass a law to curb the tongues of irresponsible nut's like Birch and ex Gen. Walker.

I am well aware that your dept. must be very careful in the statements you release to the public.

16 APR 19 1962

8-Rmw

True Copy
4-17-62
bsw

ack
RMW
4-18-62

EX-105

62-71788-151

April 18, 1962

REC-34

Mr. Guss Collins
648 Howard Street
Mount Vernon, Ohio

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-17-83 BY SP1 GSK/JC
228303

APR 18 5 16 PM '62
REC'D-READING ROOM
FBI

Dear Mr. Collins:

Your letter postmarked April 14, 1962, has been received.

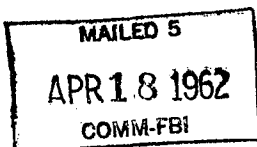
Although I would like to be of service, the FBI being an investigative agency of the Federal Government neither makes evaluations nor draws conclusions as to the character or integrity of any organization, publication or individual. I regret that I am unable to help you and hope you will not infer in this connection either that we do or do not have data in our files relating to the subject of your inquiry.

Enclosed is some literature which I hope will be of interest.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director



Enclosures (4)
Shall It Be Law or Tyranny?
The Deadly Duel
The Communist Party, USA
The Communist Party Line

NOTE: Bufiles contain no record identifiable with correspondent.

RMW:bis* (3)

1 APR 25 1962

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Conrad _____
DeLoach _____
Evans _____
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Trotter _____
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Holmes _____
Gandy _____

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necessary
See 4/14/96 28 PMW
FV

Henry Wallace

J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation

Guss Collins
64 9 Howard St
Mount Vernon Ohio
Guss Collins
64 9 Howard St.
Mount Vernon Ohio

31 EXP. PROC.

31 APR 23 1962

Dear Sir:

This is to thank you for the literature (which I shall encourage others to read) and the fact you answered personally will place your ans. in an envelope with a letter I received from James Forrestal dated Jan 14th 1946 out of a clear blue sky Mr Forrestal was urging me to be proud of the Navy in which I had served for a period of 27 months. I don't see how any man could be less than proud of the particular branch of service he served in. so today the more Ex General Walker sounds off the more I am proud of the quiet, efficient non political Naval Officers I served under.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/17/83 BY SPICER

You and your dept. remind me of those officers. four Presidents have chose you as head of F.B.I. the efficiency of your dept. is well known and all of us who consider ourselves good Americans are glad to have you as the chief of it.

51 APR 30 1962
I have been doing a little letter writing myself but rest assured it is my idea no one has approached me to do any writing.

Mr R. M. ...

EX-114 REC-58

63 71788 152

APR 23 1962
CORRESPONDENCE

Well here - thanking you for your
long and faithful service to your country
Men in the armed forces receive medals
for meritorious service I think it is about
time congress got off its rusty dusty and
gave you some sort of honor

They will when people raise enough (the
word starts with H) with them
Wasnt it Samuel Clemens who said the people
are allways ahead of congress?

Your Fellow American
Guss Collins

Cl. watched Mr. Kennedy's inauguration on T.V. Henry was there and it seemed to me he was being avoided like a leper.

Harry Truman was quoted to have once said that if we stood idle and let a single American take an unjust treatment then we were allowing ourselves to become eligible for the same sort of treatment or words to that effect.

I am well satisfied with our two party system and would not have voted for Henry anyhow. But none the less he is still an American and I for one do not like to see him lay under an accusation if it is false.

This Birch Society has got me thoroughly disgusted.

3.

Nothing would please me more than for congress to pass a law to curb the tongues of irresponsible nut's like Birch and ex Gen. Walker.

I am well aware that your dept. must be very careful in the statements you release to the public.

But I think it is high time ^{Henry} A was given a clean bill of health or convicted. because he is still an agriculture scientist and should have a little respect from the American people.

Yours Truly
Guss Collins

648 Howard St Mount
Vernon Ohio

F B I

Date: 1/17/59

Transmit the following in PLAIN TEXT
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, LITTLE ROCK (44-341)

ARKANSAS LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL COMMITTEE
INFORMATION CONCERNING
INTERNAL SECURITY

Re Bureau teletype to Little Rock, 1/17/59, requesting
a copy of report released by Attorney General BRUCE BENNETT.

Enclosed herewith to the Bureau is one copy of requested
report.

Review and analysis will be furnished to Bureau in
accordance with instructions in referenced teletype. P

CASPER

Enclosure 1
LJM/jgl
(4)

62-105198-8
26 JAN 20 1959

REC-30

EX-155

encl page, pages 1, 27,
28, 29
2 copies made

for review at FBIHQ by

HSC-A Committee
Re: Bennett
JAN 18 4/4/59

53 FEB 20 1959

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

ENCLOSURE TO BUREAU FROM LITTLE ROCK:

One copy of report released by Attorney General BRUCE BENNETT

Re: ARKANSAS LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL COMMITTEE
INFORMATION CONCERNING
INTERNAL SECURITY

LR FILE 44-341

ENCLOSURE

H E A R I N G
BEFORE
THE SPECIAL EDUCATION COMMITTEE
OF THE
ARKANSAS LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

HELD DECEMBER 16, 17 AND 18, 1958, COMMENCING AT 9:30
O'CLOCK, A.M. DECEMBER 16, 1958, IN THE HOUSE CHAMBER,
STATE CAPITOL BUILDING, IN THE CITY OF LITTLE ROCK,
ARKANSAS.

MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE

Rep. Paul Van Dalsem, Chairman
Senator Charles F. Smith, Vice-Chairman
Senator J. Lee Bearden
Senator Clifton Wade
Senator Tom Allen
Senator Max Howell
Senator Marshall Shackelford, Jr.
Rep. E. C. "Gene" Fleeman
Rep. John P. Bethell
Rep. Marcus J. Howell
Rep. Marion H. Crank
Rep. Carroll C. Hollensworth
Rep. Joel Y. Ledbetter

BRUCE BENNETT, Attorney General, State of Arkansas, conducted
the interrogation of witnesses.

I.

AUTHORITY

RESOLUTION NO. 28
(Amended)

WHEREAS, the people of Arkansas have lived harmoniously for 150 years and men of all races have made untold progress in economic, social and political fields, and;

WHEREAS, it now appears that there may be certain individuals, organizations or corporations designedly creating and fomenting strife and racial unrest, and;

WHEREAS, it is a known fact that communism breeds on strife and turmoil and it is in the public interest of the people of our State to pinpoint and ascertain who those individuals, organizations and corporations, if any, are, and;

WHEREAS, it is the sense of the Arkansas Legislative Council that public hearings should be conducted to determine if there is any subversion present in the racial unrest that has been recently created,

purpose

BE IT, THEREFORE, RESOLVED that the Arkansas Legislative Council by affirmative motion, hereby authorizes the Special Education Committee heretofore appointed by Resolution to conduct such hearings of subversion present in Arkansas which has encouraged racial unrest and that the Committee invite the Attorney General of Arkansas to conduct such interrogation of witnesses that may be called at such hearings; that the Attorney General of Arkansas use his subpoena power to secure such witnesses, documents and papers that may be of value in such hearings; that after such hearings are conducted, the said Special Education Committee shall report its findings to the Legislative Council.

Respectfully submitted,

s/ Paul Van Dalsem
Representative, Perry County

Filed: August 15, 1958.

Amended and Adopted: August 15, 1958.

*Special Education Committee
of the Arkansas Legislative Council
Held 12/16-17-18/55
Little Rock, Ark*

II.

OPENING STATEMENT OF BRUCE DENNETT, ATTORNEY GENERAL

GENTLEMEN OF THE COMMITTEE, I feel that we are gathered here today on a very serious occasion. I respectfully ask your indulgence in order that I might make a statement with reference to

*interviewed
that testified
and corroborated
in hearing
should be
admitted
per Denney
2/12/58*

the purpose for which this meeting has been called, the objects thereof, and what the Resolution of the Arkansas Legislative Council directed this Committee to do.

The Resolution authorized the Special Education Committee to "conduct such hearings of subversion present in Arkansas which has encouraged racial unrest", and invited the Attorney General of Arkansas to conduct the interrogation of witnesses that might be called at such hearings.

Congressional committees conducting investigations on the same subject matter have the power of nationwide subpoena; the subpoena power of this investigation, by law, does not extend further than the borders of our State. As a further comparison, this Committee does not have the power to cite a balky witness for contempt. So we must of necessity proceed with those witnesses within the borders of Arkansas and with those that will come into our State by invitation.

Last year, the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of Pennsylvania v. Nelson, 350 U.S. 497, 100 L.Ed. 640, directed its opinion at "suspending the enforceability" of state laws imposing criminal sanctions on subversive activity directed against the Federal government. In the Nelson decision, the Court pointed out that it did not void provisions of state law insofar as they made it a crime in the States to attempt to overthrow the Federal government by unlawful means, but merely suspended their enforceability while the Federal Smith Act remained on the books.

We are probably in the second most serious crisis that our State has undergone in its entire 124-year history. For many decades the different races in Arkansas have lived in peace; they have made progress in the educational, cultural and economic fields. Our people in this State have always lived in peace. The recent emotional explosion here was not the result of something that occurred overnight. It will be the purpose of this Committee to learn - - - and I believe the witnesses will so establish, who did what, where, when, and how - - - on world, national, regional and local basis, ^{the cause of} as related to racial unrest in Arkansas.

It is expected that the witnesses will prove by their testimony and official press, programs, resolutions and pictures, that Little Rock, Pine Bluff, and other Arkansas cities, are segments in the international scheme of the Russian Kremlin - - - which has used communists, ^{+ the like} pro-communists, fellow travelers, dupes, and those who make a career out of being duped - - - to create confusion and turmoil here.

" The Honorable J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, once stated:

"To me, one of the most unbelievable and unexplainable phenomena in the fight on Communism is the manner in which otherwise respectable, seemingly intelligent persons, perhaps unknowingly, aid the Communist cause more effectively than the Communists themselves. The pseudo-liberal can be more destructive than the known Communist because of the esteem which his cloak of respectability invites." "

It has also been said:

"If a barnyard goose is lured into a flock of wild geese, he may be excused for his mistake only IF HE LEAVES THE FLOCK. But if he FLIES IN FORMATION with them day after day he is a wild goose at heart. Likewise, if a man is unwittingly drawn into a Communist organization, he can be excused for his gullibility only IF HE LEAVES THE GROUP AND DENOUNCES ITS PURPOSES. But if he "flies in formation" with them he is a Communist at heart, irrespective of his loud noise to the contrary."

The Communist Party uses individuals, organizations, high-sounding front names, and any other means in its avowed program of international conquest by force.

It is expected that the witnesses here will show the local relationship of various individuals and organizations with that of national, regional and local organizations. It will be shown beyond a doubt that the race agitation in the Southern United States is a communist conspiracy adopted in October, 1930, by resolution passed by the Communist International. At that time Moscow laid down the proposition that race agitation in the Southern United States was to be pursued full speed ahead. Its purpose was to bring about a revolution in the United States on racial lines climaxed with land division similar to the agrarian reform in China, which was on an economic and land basis, and which has resulted in the death of 20,000,000 Chinese in the past 15 years.

The communist resolution of 1930 outlined a plan wherein those counties in the states of the South where the Negro is or was in numerical majority were to be target areas; the Negro was to rise up, drive off or kill the landowners and each receive, as was done in China, a portion of land. The general scheme of the plan involved the proposition that "all people who are a majority but do not own the land are Colonials." The "Southern" American Negro was defined to be a Colonial, and as such, he must be "liberated" through the "Black Republic". This was to be accomplished by violence. Experts in the field of communism will testify that insofar as the communist interest goes, schools and other integration objectives were and are tactics. In pursuance of this "Black Republic" proposal, the communists planned and have used non-communists with good intentions.

The witnesses to be presented will prove, by official communist documents, pamphlets and press clippings, that Little Rock and Pine Bluff were predetermined trouble areas and designated officially by the Communist Party many years ago to be developed for trouble purposes. Since 1925, the testimony will show some of our people have been wittingly or unwittingly consorting with, collaborating

or cooperating with the communist apparatus. These people knew who or what they were cooperating with, and it is my thought that those who claim they did not are not worthy of public confidence and leadership. The records to be introduced will make incredible a claim of ignorance or innocence. Those who have been consorting with communists, communist fronts, or organizations are doing more for the known subversives and their cause than can be or was done by all the outside communists combined. I am reliably informed that there are now only about 9,000 hardcore communists in the United States. They are dedicated - - - they are past masters in the recruitment and use of dupes and others whose intentions may be good, but in reality, they are aiding and abetting the scheme to foment revolution in the United States.

It is expected that the witnesses will establish interlocking memberships, interlocking boards of directors, meetings of same - - - in and out of Arkansas - - - and other actions that tie Little Rock into an almost incredible combination of individuals and organizations who help to create and "maintain Little Rock." We will attempt to document a record that will prove that from 1928 to 1958 an intensive communist conspiracy climaxed in Little Rock, and that the purpose of these incidents is to attract and use the Negro - - - not to help the Negro.

Some individuals in Arkansas have become officers, directors of national and regional organizations that are loaded to the hilt with other individuals who have aided and abetted communists and communist front organizations time after time.

The United States House Committee on Un-American Activities has, at present, listed more than 469 organizations as subversive. In addition, the United States Attorney General, under the power vested in him by executive order 10450, has listed many other organizations as communist or communist front.

This Committee is concerned with the word "subversion". Basic to this investigation should be the definition of that word. Webster's Unified Dictionary defines "subversion" as:

"To turn upside down, overthrow, destroy. To subvert is to overthrow as if from a foundation; to overturn often implies throwing with force from a base or position; to overthrow usually denotes complete destruction, as, to overthrow a government;"

Some of the witnesses that will appear before this Committee will detail the program of world conquest as drafted by the Marx-Engels-Stalin-Khrushchev combine. They will describe the communist apparatus as it pertains to executing the program of Russian Communism - - - they will substantiate the plan of execution as it pertains to the organization in use of those hundreds of front organizations that have been organized and used by the communists.

Most of our people have a past acquaintance with the name of Gerhart Eisler, Stalin's personal representative to the United States, who was to work with the communists to overthrow our government and who later, after conviction, fled to his country on the communist ship "Batory"; Harry Bridges, the West Coast Communist; Alger Hiss, Whittaker Chambers, Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, and many other notorious communists.

The names of Charles Gomillion, Aubrey Williams, Abner W. Berry, Claude C. Williams, Pete ~~Seegar~~, James A. Dombrowski, and others, whom I will refrain from naming at this time, will crop up during these hearings.

Certain individuals in this State have been the willing or unwilling tools of subversion; they have joined organizations shot through and through with individuals who have been cited for aiding and/or abetting communist or communist front organizations, periodicals and other aspects of the apparatus.

An occurrence that appears to be isolated will not necessarily
arouse the public mind, but when numerous incidents occur - - -
when the same individuals are found at the forefront of those
incidents - - - when it is proven that all of the incidents, all
of the contacts, all of the interlocking directorships, and other
occurrences point to the general scheme of communist penetration,
there can be but one conclusion. † That conclusion is ~~that~~ sub-
version is present.

The witnesses to appear before you will talk of many organi-
zations, some of which perhaps you have never heard. They will
talk of the Southern Conference on Human Welfare, the Southern
Conference Educational Fund, Inc., the Southern Regional Council,
the Arkansas Council on Human Relations, the NAACP, the Highlander
Folk School, the National Negro Congress, the African Blood
Brotherhood, the American Negro Labor Congress, the Southern
Youth Congress, and many others. Some of these have been listed
as subversive and others are shot through and through with offi-
cers and directors cited innumerable times for lending aid and
support to communist organizations and fronts.

In the basic Resolution passed by the Legislative Council,
the Attorney General was invited to conduct the interrogation of
the witnesses. The subject of subversion is a delicate matter.
It has been said that a man may be robbed of his money and worldly
goods, but when you rob him of his good reputation you have stolen
his most valuable treasure. With this thought in mind, your
Attorney General has insisted that any statement by a witness be
substantiated with pertinent documentary evidence, but I believe
it to be my duty and your duty, under our oath of office, to submit
proof of those who "fly in formation with the wild geese," and
noisy disclaimers to the contrary will not refute the fact that
he, she or the organization is subversive at heart if time after
time they are found flying in formation with others who teach,
preach and follow the communistic line.

Today America is spending billions of dollars on National Defense and Foreign Aid in an effort to prevent the iron curtain from being located nearer and nearer the borders of the free world. With over half the world's population now held in Russian slavery, it behooves the free men of the world to do all within our power to aid in this fight. Make no mistake, the Russian plan of domination has not deviated from its original concept. You will be told on good authority that the communists are master fishermen for the minds of men in troubled waters. Communism breeds on chaos and turmoil.

In the entire history of the civilized world, nowhere has so much peace and progress been enjoyed between the white and black people as that in the South. The Negroes of the South are the leaders of the black race throughout the world. This pre-existing peace is something that has been treasured by all men of goodwill. It is more than just a working relationship, ^{based} and it bottoms on a deep affection and mutual respect that all of you who have lived in this State have known and enjoyed.

I feel sure that it is the hope of this Committee that the normal peace and tranquillity between our people will be strengthened, restored and preserved so that those generations to come will benefit therefrom.

III.

BACKGROUND MATERIAL

ORGANIZATIONS

1. NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is a New York corporation organized in 1911. Daisy Bates of Little Rock, Arkansas, has been president of the Arkansas Conference of Branches of this organization for approximately 10 years. The NAACP received contributions in Arkansas of \$182.00 in 1957, yet it spent over \$50,000.00 in this State during that year on litigation and other integration endeavors. It is a well known fact that the NAACP has been the moving factor in filing integration suits in this State, designed not only to integrate the schools, but the public parks, swimming pools and golf courses, and has the ultimate goal of invalidating the statutes forbidding intermarriage among the races. Many of the officials of this organization, both local and national, have an almost incredible tie-in with communist and communist front organizations.

2. FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC. The Fund for the Republic received a grant of fifteen million dollars from the Ford Foundation several years ago, but the Ford Foundation subsequently decided not to make further grants. The Fund for the Republic has made grants totaling \$497,000.00 to the Southern Regional Council, which in turn has made grants to the Arkansas Council on Human Relations. Harry Ashmore is one of the directors of the Fund for the Republic, and was one of the three incorporators of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations, and as such, made two direct grants from the Fund for the Republic to the Arkansas Council on Human Relations, which was organized for the purpose of instigating and pushing integration in Arkansas.

3. SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL. This organization is based at Atlanta, Georgia, and ~~Jim~~ Jackson, a notorious Negro communist, participated in its organization. Many of its officers and

directors are also national officers of the NAACP and other organizations that have been cited as subversive by the House Un-American Activities Committee, the Senate Internal Security Committee, and the Attorney General of the United States. Daisy Bates is also a director of this organization. It appears that the main purpose of this organization is to push for integration of everything in the South.

4. ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS. The Arkansas Council on Human Relations was incorporated in Arkansas in 1955. Harry Ashmore was one of the three incorporators, as well as Christopher C. Mercer, who at that time was legal counsel for the NAACP in Arkansas. Its articles of incorporation recite that it is beholden to the Southern Regional Council. Its avowed purpose is to assist in the integration activities in Arkansas. It is highly significant that after the Fund for the Republic—with Harry Ashmore as director—started making grants to the Southern Regional Council in 1954—with Daisy Bates as a director—the Arkansas Council on Human Relations was organized in Arkansas—with Harry Ashmore and Daisy Bates as officers—to participate in the receipt of these grants. At the height of the Little Rock incident in September, 1957, the Fund for the Republic by-passed the Southern Regional Council and sent direct grants to the Arkansas Council on Human Relations. None of the television, radio or newspaper people of Arkansas knew the objectives or financial setup of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations; however, the Council has received contributions of over \$30,000.00 in the past three years but the disposition thereof is unknown.

5. SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND. The headquarters of this organization is New Orleans, Louisiana. The notorious James A. Dombrowski is executive secretary. He has been cited dozens of times for his subversive activities, and has participated in practically every left wing, communistic front that

has been organized in the South for the past 20 years. L. C. Bates, husband of Daisy Bates, Dr. Albert Howard Carter, and Dr. M. Lafayette Harris, all of Arkansas, are directors of this organization. In a policy statement issued by the organization on June 12, 1954, the directors stated: "The Fund has devoted its efforts to the elimination of racial segregation and discrimination."

INDIVIDUALS

1. DAISY BATES. Daisy Bates has been president of the Arkansas Conference of Branches of the NAACP for a number of years. She is also a national director of the NAACP, is a director of the Southern Regional Council and the Arkansas Council on Human Relations. In 1948, MRS. Daisy Bates, L. C. Bates, and Ladislav Pushkarsky were three of the 74 people who signed a petition to place Henry Wallace on the ballot in Arkansas as a presidential candidate for the Progressive Party. In 1954, Daisy Bates attended a meeting in Little Rock, at which Dr. Vernon McDaniel of Tuskegee, Alabama, was on the panel. McDaniel was sent into Arkansas by the National NAACP to make a survey of cities which that organization thought might be targets for its activities. Gloster B. Current, Stephen Gill Spottswood, Dan Byrd, and other individuals from the national office of the NAACP were also present at the meeting. According to the press, plans were made at this meeting for the solicitation of plaintiffs and subsequent filing of lawsuits which precipitated the racial unrest as evidenced by the Central High School incident. Daisy Bates has also worked in close association with Clarence Laws of New Orleans, Louisiana, in furtherance of the NAACP in Arkansas.

2. L. C. BATES. L. C. Bates is the publisher of the Arkansas State Press, a Negro weekly newspaper published in

Little Rock. He is a director of the Southern Conference Educational Fund. On July 31, 1958, he signed an ad in the Washington Post petitioning the House Un-American Activities Committee not to hold hearings in Atlanta, Georgia, designed to investigate subversion in the South. The record of the Atlanta hearing reflects that numerous witnesses took the stand under oath, and subsequently invoked the First and Fifth Amendments on questions as to their communist membership or activities. A clipping from his newspaper, the Arkansas State Press, dated March 26, 1954, bemoans the findings of the Jenner Committee that resulted from the hearings in New Orleans, wherein it was found that the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., is the successor to the Southern Conference on Human Welfare, which is subversive, with the same address, executive director and officers.

3. HENRY WALLACE. Wallace was a presidential candidate on the Progressive Party ticket in 1948. When he came to Arkansas that year, he refused to sign an affidavit, which is required by Arkansas law, to the effect that his party is not affiliated with, associated with, or controlled by the Communist Party. He was accompanied by Daisy Bates, L. C. Bates, Ladislav Pushkarsky, and Leonard Farmer when he appeared at the Capitol, and left the Secretary of State's office arm in arm with Daisy Bates. Pictures were made on the front steps of the Capitol, wherein Daisy Bates appeared on Wallace's left; L. C. Bates, Ladislav Pushkarsky and Leonard Farmer also appeared in the picture. The electors of Wallace were subsequently placed on the ballot as independents, and L. C. Bates, Daisy Bates and Ladislav Pushkarsky were three of the 74 signers of the petition.

4. LEONARD FARMER. Leonard Farmer was a communist in the State of Arkansas from at least 1948 through 1951. When Henry Wallace came to Arkansas, Farmer gave an inter-racial breakfast for him at his home on West Markham. Farmer is a man of means, and told a deliberate falsehood to the Supreme Court of Arkansas when he applied for admission as an attorney after graduating from the University of Arkansas in 1951. He graduated from

Harvard prior to coming to Arkansas, and although he has at least two college degrees, he is now working as a truck driver for the Pepperridge Bread Company in Connecticut.

5. LADISLAV ~~PUSHKARSKY~~. Ladislav Pushkarsky was associated in the Wallace movement in 1948. He signed the petition for Wallace and appeared at the Capitol with him. He actively supported the communist philosophies in Arkansas in 1947 and 1948, and at the present time is voluntarily behind the Russian iron curtain in Poland, and has renounced his American citizenship.

6. CLARENCE ~~LAWS~~. Clarence Laws is field secretary for the NAACP, and works actively for that organization in Arkansas, Louisiana and Mississippi. He has been quoted extensively in the past year by the Little Rock morning newspaper, and has worked in close association with Daisy Bates. He was discharged from the United States Army as a reserve commissioned officer "under the provisions of paragraph 6B(8), Army Regulations 140-175, which authorizes discharge for security reasons when such action is necessary in the interest of national security." The discharge was predicated upon his activity in connection with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, predecessor of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Southern Negro Youth Congress, and the Committee Against Jim Crow in Military Service and Training, all of which have been cited as communist fronts. He was the principal spokesman for the NAACP in connection with the racial trouble at Van Buren, Little Rock and Hoxie.

7. DR. ~~VERNON~~ MCDANIEL. Dr. Vernon McDaniel, on a leave of absence from the Tuskegee Institute granted by Dr. Charles Gomillion, Dean, made a survey of 20 cities in Arkansas in 1954 and 1955 to determine "community attitudes toward integration." He was paid an annual salary of \$6,000.00 by the NAACP, and remained in Arkansas for over a year. He participated in the conference in Little Rock on October 24, 1954, along with Daisy

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Bates, Gloster ~~Current~~, Stephen Gill Spottswood, Wiley A.

~~Branton~~, and others, at which time a program was laid down for the filing of further integration suits in Arkansas, and which resulted in the case of Aaron v. Cooper, the Little Rock Central High School integration suit. Spottswood and Current have been cited numerous times as aiding and abetting communist and communist front organizations.

8. DR. CHARLES GOMILLION. Dr. Charles Gomillion is Dean of Tuskegee Institute and was the organizer of the boycott at Tuskegee. He is president of the Tuskegee Civic Association which organized the boycott and the racial trouble there. He was a supporter of Rev. Martin Luther ~~King~~ in the Montgomery bus boycott, and the two of them attended a communist gathering at Monteagle, Tennessee, of the Highlander Folk School in 1957. He has worked in close accord with Aubrey ~~Williams~~, an individual who assisted Commonwealth College in 1934. Williams also attended the Monteagle Conference, as did Abner W. ~~Berry~~, an identified member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of America. Claude C. ~~Williams~~, a former resident of Paris, Arkansas, in the thirties who was active in the organization of the Workingmen's Union of the World, which was stirring up racial unrest then, also attended the Conference.

9. THURGOOD MARSHALL. Thurgood Marshall is general counsel for the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, a subsidiary of the NAACP. He contracted for that organization to pay Dr. Vernon McDaniel to come into Arkansas and make a survey to determine the target cities for integration in Arkansas. This was arranged by Thurgood Marshall and Dr. Charles Gomillion.

10. HARRY ASHMORE. Harry Ashmore is Editor of the Arkansas Gazette and former Chief Editorial Writer. In 1948, he urged through editorial columns of his paper that Henry Wallace's name be placed on the ballot in Arkansas. He was subsequently

named a director of the Fund for the Republic, and as such, assisted in channeling \$450,000.00 to the Southern Regional Council, a portion of which was channeled to the Arkansas Council on Human Relations. In 1957, at the height of the Little Rock Central High School incident, the Fund for the Republic sent contributions directly to the Arkansas Council on Human Relations. He was one of the three incorporators of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations.

IV.

FINDINGS OF FACT

1. COMMONWEALTH COLLEGE, A SUBVERSIVE ORGANIZATION, OPERATED IN ARKANSAS, CREATING RACIAL UNREST, FROM AT LEAST 1925 THROUGH 1941, WHEN IT WAS CLOSED AS THE RESULT OF A STATE COURT ORDER.

*Special Investigation
Committee of the Ark.
Legislature Council
Dec 12/16-17-18/58
Little Rock,
Ark.*

TESTIMONY OF

Hon. J. L. "Bex" ~~Shaver~~ testified that he is a former member of the Arkansas Legislature, Lt. Governor of the State of Arkansas, and former President of the Arkansas Bar Association. When he was a member of the General Assembly, he interrogated witnesses as a member of a special committee which investigated Commonwealth College in 1935. He introduced the official transcript from the House Journal of that investigation. His testimony and the transcript reflect the following:

In 1925, Commonwealth College settled west of Mena, Arkansas. This school had no particular academic requirements, tuition or qualifications for students or faculty. No attempt was made to belie the fact that it was communistic in nature, and to a large extent was supported by organizations with subversive backgrounds. In about 1932, Lucien ~~Koch~~ became the director (president) of the school. He subsequently engaged in creating racial tension in connection with the formation of the East Arkansas Sharecroppers Union, and the Workingmen's Union of the World in and about Fort Smith and Russellville. Koch, Bob ~~Reed~~ and Autry ~~Delaney~~ went into East Arkansas, especially in

Cross and Poinsett Counties, and made inflammatory speeches denouncing the landowners, the federal government and the administration of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration. In this connection, one Claude Williams wrote Koch a letter while the latter was in the Tyronza jail, wherein he talked of the "united front" that had been promulgated by the Communist and Socialist Parties. Claude Williams at that time was actively engaged in the organization of the Workingmen's Union of the World at Paris, Arkansas. The representatives of Commonwealth College who went into East Arkansas promised prospective members of the East Arkansas Sharecroppers Union 40 acres, a mule and a plow, and advanced a plan similar to the agrarian reform plan of China which has resulted in the death of over 20 million Chinese during the past two decades.

Thus we find a subversive organization operated in Arkansas, creating racial unrest, from at least 1925 through 1941, when Commonwealth was closed as the result of a State court order.

2. COMMUNISTS AND THEIR ASSOCIATES IN ARKANSAS
ACTIVELY SUPPORTED THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY IN 1948.

Hon. C. G. "Crip" Hall, Secretary of State, State of

Arkansas, testified that the presidential nominee of the Progressive Party, Henry Wallace, applied to him to have his name placed on the ballot of the November General Election. Mr. Hall asked Wallace to comply with Act 33, Ark. Acts of 1935, as amended by Act 293, Ark. Acts of 1941, which provides that a candidate must sign an affidavit that his party "is not directly or indirectly affiliated by any means whatsoever with the Communist Party of the United States, the Third Communist International, or any other foreign agency, political party, organization or government." Wallace refused to comply with the act. Mr. Hall further testified that pictures made in his

office and on the front steps of the Capitol Building at that time have been in his personal possession since 1948. He introduced the pictures, and from the one made on the front steps of the Capitol Building, he identified Daisy Bates, State President of the National Association of the Advancement of Colored People for a number of years, as the person standing immediately next to Wallace; he also identified L. C. Bates, husband of Daisy Bates, and a white man on Wallace's right called Ladislav or "~~Laddie~~" Pushkarsky. ^{Chalk} ~~Mr. Hall~~ testified that Daisy Bates left "arm in arm" with Wallace when they retired from his office inside the Capitol to the front steps. This bit of testimony belies the assertion that Daisy Bates was at the Capitol that day merely as a reporter for her husband's newspaper. Wallace wanted to make a speech on the front steps of the Capitol, but Mr. Hall denied him that privilege as contrary to State law. Mr. Hall also introduced a newspaper clipping from the Arkansas Gazette dated October 22, 1954, wherein it recited an account of a meeting of the NAACP at Mount Zion Baptist Church, Little Rock; it stated that Gloster B. Current, Vernon McDaniel, Daisy Bates, and others were present.

Mr. Hall further testified that the names of Daisy Bates, L. C. Bates, and Laddie Pushkarsky appeared on the petition of electors to place the name of Henry Wallace on the ballot.

A newspaper article from the Times Dispatch entitled, "Inter-racial Breakfast" was introduced by Mr. Hall, which stated that Wallace attended a breakfast for Negroes and Whites at the home of a Little Rock supporter, Leonard Farmer, hereafter identified as then and now, a communist.

Hon. Guy E. ~~Williams~~, ^{TESTIMONY OF} former three-term Attorney General of the State of Arkansas and present Chancellor and Probate Judge

*Special Committee on
of the Ark. Legislature
Dec 12/16-17-18/58
J. M. [unclear]*

of the First Chancery District of Arkansas, testified that he was acquainted with Leonard Farmer by virtue of a divorce suit filed by Farmer against his wife in the Pulaski Chancery Court. A divorce was granted but was subsequently set aside and separate maintenance was granted to the wife of Leonard Farmer. An opinion written in connection with the setting aside of the divorce by Judge Williams was introduced, wherein it stated that Leonard Farmer was a member of the Communist Party and had been for several years.

Special Education Committee of the Ark. Legislature Council Held 12/16-17-18/58
7-11-58 Robert E. Diles, presently a Referee for the Arkansas Workmen's Compensation Commission, testified that he attended Little Rock Junior College in 1947, and one of his classmates was Ladislav or "Laddie" Pushkarsky. That Pushkarsky's philosophy of government was communistic in nature. He was informed by a member of one of the federal agencies that Pushkarsky is now in Poland, has renounced his American citizenship, and is a member of the Communist Party in Poland.

From the foregoing, we find that L. C. and Daisy Bates, along with two known communists, Farmer and Pushkarsky, actively supported Henry Wallace in his campaign in Arkansas in 1948.

3. MANY ORGANIZATIONS OF A SUBVERSIVE NATURE HAVE OPERATED IN THE STATE OF ARKANSAS FOR SEVERAL YEARS WITH THE GOAL OF CREATING RACIAL TENSION AND UNREST.

(A) MANY OFFICIALS, BOTH LOCAL AND NATIONAL, OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE HAVE BEEN CONNECTED WITH OR ACTIVELY PARTICIPATED IN COMMUNIST OR COMMUNIST FRONT ACTIVITIES.

Honorable Bruce Bennett, Attorney General of the State of Arkansas, testified that he has made an investigation of the matters before this Committee. He introduced a letter signed by C. J. Hauch, Jr., Brig. Gen., United States Army, stating that Clarence Laws, Field Secretary for the National Association

for the Advancement of Colored People assigned to Arkansas, had been discharged from the United States Army for security reasons.

Mr. Bennett also introduced an article which appeared in the Arkansas Gazette September 7, 1957, identifying Clarence Laws as Field Secretary for the NAACP in Arkansas; he also introduced a letterhead showing the national officers and board of directors of the NAACP, and an answer to an interrogatory in a suit filed against the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund by the State of Arkansas, which showed that Dr. Vernon McDaniel, an associate of Dr. Charles Gomillion, made a survey regarding racial integration in 20 cities and towns in

Arkansas, including Little Rock and Pine Bluff, and was paid \$6,000.00 by the NAACP. *Special Education Committee of the Ark. Legislative Council 12/11-17-18/58 in Little Rock*

Testimony of Hon. Oren Harris, who has been a Member of Congress for 18 years, testified that upon the request of Bruce Bennett, he secured from the House Un-American Activities Committee information concerning the officers and directors of the NAACP, and introduced it at the hearing. It reflects that practically all of the national officers and directors of the NAACP have been cited at least five, and up to 176 times as being affiliated with communist or communist front organizations.

From the testimony of the above witnesses and exhibits, we therefore find that the national and local officers and directors of the NAACP are extremely sympathetic with communist or communist front organizations.

(B) MANY ORGANIZATIONS WHICH HAVE BEEN CITED AS SUBVERSIVE OR WHICH HAVE BEEN INFILTRATED WITH COMMUNISTS AND COMMUNIST SYMPATHIZERS HAVE INTERLOCKING DIRECTORS AND OFFICIALS WITH THE NAACP AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS WHICH HAVE BEEN ACTIVE IN ARKANSAS.

TESTIMONY OF Dr. J. B. Matthews testified that he was Director of Research between the years of 1938 and 1945 for the Special

Special Education Committee of the Ark. Legislative Council 12/16-17-18/58 in Little Rock, Ark.

Committee on Un-American Activities (Dies Committee) of the House of Representatives in Washington, D. C. Dr. Matthews called particular attention to the fact that the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., was not to be confused with the Southern Regional Educational Board, the latter a valid, highly ethical organization composed of 17 State government instrumentalities formed as the result of an educational compact.

Dr. Matthews testified that the Southern Conference on Human Welfare was an organization set up by the communists, and was the first major thrust of the communists in the South; this was succeeded by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, of which James A. Dombrowski is the executive director and is noted for his communistic activities. Dombrowski is also quite active in Highlander Folk School. L. C. Bates is on the board of directors of the Southern Conference Educational Fund at present, and at least 221 individuals associated with the Southern Conference Educational Fund have been cited for their connections with communists or communist activities. Aubrey Williams was president of this organization, and has been cited many times for his communist and communist front activities. Dr. Matthews further stated that many communists were officers of these organizations.

Dr. Matthews further testified that the following organizations have been infiltrated by communists and/or communist sympathizers: (1) The Southern Regional Council; (2) The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee; (3) various state councils on human relations; (4) Highlander Folk School; (5) The Southern Conference for Human Welfare; (6) The Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.

The Southern Regional Council is sponsored and directed by some members who have been cited numerous times for belonging to organizations listed as subversive by either the House Un-American Activities Committee, Senate Internal Security Committee, or the Attorney General of the United States. The Arkansas Council on Human Relations is a branch of the Southern Regional Council, which latter organization has received

several hundred thousand dollars from The Fund for the Republic as a grant; the Fund has been lavish in its contributions to communist and near communist organizations. Harry Ashmore is on the Board of Directors of the Fund for the Republic, and one of the three incorporators of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations. The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee is closely affiliated with the Southern Conference Educational Fund; Grace Lorch was given an honorarium by that Committee. Lee Lorch has been discharged from several universities for his alleged communist party affiliation, and has invoked the Fifth Amendment many times. At least 50 high officials and leaders of the Southern Regional Council have been affiliated in one capacity or another with the Southern Conference on Human Welfare and Southern Conference Educational Fund. Among those named were Daisy Bates of Little Rock, Arkansas, a member of the board of directors of the Southern Regional Council. One Clark Foreman, who was Henry Wallace's campaign manager, has been a member of the board of directors of the Southern Regional Council and Southern Conference Educational Fund, and has headed the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. He has been identified as a member of the Communist Party in sworn testimony before a Committee of the Senate of the United States. M. Lafayette Harris has been on the board of directors of the Southern Regional Council and on the board of directors of the Southern Conference Educational Fund.

The Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tennessee, has been used for communist and communist front purposes for the past 25 years.

Dr. Matthews further testified that the Southern Conference Educational Fund has penetrated 94 white colleges and universities of the South. He defined the term "penetration" as meaning that these institutions had at least one employee who belonged to the Southern Conference Educational Fund. He further stated

that the fact that a person belongs to only one subversive organization does not necessarily mean that such a person is a communist or pro-communist. He recited the method by which the Communist Party exploited individuals in the educational field; that these individuals became dupes of the party apparatus, their prestige thereafter being exploited by aiding in making the organization respectable. These dupes, wittingly or unwittingly, oft times are of far more value to the Communist Party than an avowed member of the Party. Whether they are pro-communistic is a matter of relevancy; the great damage they do to the United States lies in their clothing a communist-penetrated organization with a degree of respect it would not otherwise enjoy. In order for a communist front to operate, there must be members who are not communistic or pro-communistic in order for such organizations to operate with any degree of respect. He again emphasized that the mere fact that a university or college had one or more employees who belonged to these cited organizations did not mean that the institution had become communistic per se. He stated, however, that the Communist Party deemed it "penetration" of an institution if they could secure faculty or employee memberships in organizations which they, the communists, controlled either directly or indirectly. Dr. Matthews emphasized that this is no particular condemnation of a school or school authorities where it is evident an officer, faculty member or employee had joined a subversive organization; but condemnation should be visited where it is shown there is continued affiliation after exposure.

(1) ~~Herbert R. Byrd~~ and ~~Rusty Ralston~~, with a radio and television station respectively, testified that they had been actively engaged in gathering news for a number of years, and that when they recently called on the Little Rock Office of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations, they asked Nat

Special Education C. ... of ... Little Rock, Ark.
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W. T. Griswald, Executive Secretary of the Corporation, what its objectives and program are. They testified that Griswald refused to give them any information whatsoever, was evasive, and so far as they could learn, no one in the communications field in Arkansas has been able to learn anything at all about the Arkansas Council on Human Relations.

Therefore, it is apparent that the Southern Conference Educational Fund, successor of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare—which has been cited as a subversive organization—the Southern Regional Council—which has been infiltrated with known communists and communist sympathizers—are of their very nature pro-communists. The Arkansas Council on Human Relations, child of the Southern Regional Council, necessarily follows the aims and goals of its parent organization. True, some of the individuals who belong to these organizations may be willing or unwilling dupes, but in most instances, either through ignorance or inclination, have remained members; consequently, they are not worthy of the public confidence and leadership.

4. THE GOALS, AIMS AND OPERATIONS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY ARE MANIFESTED IN ORGANIZATIONS WHICH HAVE BEEN USED TO CREATE RACIAL UNREST IN ARKANSAS. *Ark. Supra Education Committee of the Legislature Council*

TESTIMONY Manning Johnson testified that he is a former member of the Communist Party; he belonged to the Communist Party between 1930 and 1940, and reached the position of member of the executive committee of the Communist Party of the United States, which is the highest ranking committee of the American Communist Party. He testified that in 1928, the Communist Party Comintern of Moscow by resolution ordered the American Communist Party to use every means to cause racial unrest in the South, and laid down a program encompassing a concept of a "Black Republic" in the South. A group of cities in the South were designated by the Communist Party in 1932 as critical areas where the Party

could more effectively create racial tension and strife. Among these cities were Little Rock and Pine Bluff, Arkansas. One of the aims of the Communist Party was to infiltrate and organize as many organizations as possible that are concerned with the Negro race; included among these was the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

He also testified that every organization and association supposedly organized for the purpose of benefiting the Negro, had, to some extent, been infiltrated by the Communist Party, or its sympathizers. These organizations included the NAACP. In some instances the Communist Party itself created the organization, and in other instances it merely infiltrated. Among other methods used to create racial unrest, the Communist Party adopted certain positions which it felt would create racial unrest in order to attract members of the Negro race, and to pressure other organizations with similar aims to adopt similar positions. An example of this was the position toward integration adopted by the Communist Party calling for immediate integration, and within an extremely short time the NAACP changes its position of "gradualism" to immediate integration. He attributed this to the fact that the NAACP had many communist sympathizers in its high ranks.

Some direct quotes from Manning Johnson's testimony are as follows:

" . . . The NAACP and the Communist are responsible for the racial turmoil and strife. . . . I am saying this, as far as Little Rock is concerned the NAACP is backed by the Communist and set up this situation and they are using Little Rock as a place where they can make a test battle. . . . Not only Little Rock and Pine Bluff but a large section of Arkansas including Pine Bluff and Little Rock was described as areas of concentration. * * * The Reds are going to do all their devilish work in and through the NAACP.

In other words, the Reds let it be known all their energies and as much money as they can raise is going to the support of the NAACP as a vehicle to carry out their so-called National Liberation Program. . . . The leaders of the NAACP are quick to denounce anybody who dares to expose or investigate the Communist infiltration of the NAACP. Why? Because most of them have skeletons in their closets. Fearing exposure they yell Smear. There is a saying among Communist that the best defense is an offensive. That is attack the other fellow. The NAACP leaders are very adept in attacking others. When a reporter spoke to Daisy Bates about this hearing one of the first words she used was 'Smear'. . . . The NAACP because it has kept its skirts clean while wearing dirty underwear is a good front for the reds. It has a mass base among negroes. It operates like an arm of the federal government, it demands everything, gives nothing. It is an effective agitator, it stirs up hate, it throws negroes into fights that are ruinous in the long run. It demands equal rights while it shuns negro responsibility. Such an organization is made to order for the Reds. The Supreme Court and the NAACP have set the stage for a long period of race bitterness, hate, frustration. Already much progress in race relations has been wiped out. Trends is back to the dark days following reconstruction. Americans are taking side. The reds are shifting into high gear in the expectation that a spark by an extremist on either side may be the one

that can start violent race conflicts all over the country. The number of northern politicians are walking in these muddy waters to flatter the negro votes in the north so as to get elected to office. There are others who are using the race issue to centralize more power in Washington thus laying the foundation for a dictatorship either of the left or right, depending on who gets control of the government. Indeed the NAACP, their red backers and supporters are taking the Negro on a ride. A ride to economic social and political ruin. Thanks again to the Supreme Court for freeing the red leaders, scuttling the Smith Act, on wiping out the state sedition acts, wrecking the entire internal security apparatus, making it impossible to deport red aliens and elevating the reds to a preferred status all in the name of preserving the bill of rights which the reds are pledged to destroy along with all free government. A check of all those who scream for the democratic rights of the reds will reveal that they are reds, fellow travelers, sympathizers, fronters, apologists, eggheads, fuzzy headed intellectuals, etc. They are the same people who back and support the NAACP. They are the same ones responsible for all the racial strife in our country. They are the modern day carpet baggers, who have no interest in the south and only pretend to have an interest in the negro so that they can use him. It is quite possible that the preservation of our Republic is being fought out in Arkansas because here is being challenged the excesses of federal power. . . . The NAACP backers are pressing the federal government to turn the F.B.I., our fine security agency into a gestapo to hound and arrest all

dissenters except reds. The negro is but a mere pawn in the game. He will be the loser and the sufferer. Any victory he may win will be a pathetic one. White Americans will lose too because they will have lost their great heritage, the American Republic. . . .

There was a time when the NAACP believed in gradualism but the line has changed and today the NAACP is march-

ing right down the avenue that the communists have ^{Education Committee} mapped out for them to take. . . . " ^{of the C. C. P. in the Congress} ^{12/11-12-14/58} ^{Little}

^{T. T. Murray} Hon. W. Guy Banister, former Special Agent for the Federal ^{Records}

Bureau of Investigation with 20 years service, testified that the Communist Party, as part of its operation procedure, is out to smear all investigating committees, including this Special Education Committee, plus the F.B.I., House Un-American Activities Committee, and the Senate Internal Security Committee. He stated that all of the witnesses at these hearings would be subject to smear. He stated that organizations listed as subversive always attempted to bring in people of good reputation and standing in the community, and used them as a front for the nefarious operation of the communist apparatus. It was his testimony that the Mississippi Council on Human Relations, the counterpart of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations—and both beholden to the Southern Regional Council—dissolved itself immediately after subversive hearings were held by the Louisiana Legislative Council. The objective of the communist conspiracy was world domination, by force, including the United States, and the destruction of our government. Mr. Banister recited the duties of a Special Agent for the F.B.I., and paid extremely high compliments to the Bureau and Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, its director. He quoted Mr. Hoover as saying: "To dismiss lightly the existence of subversion or to deal lightly with it is to commit national suicide." He recited the fact that the Communist Party exploits everything that is going on, if it can get into the organization. In answer to a question: "Is it your

opinion that there has been some subversion in the difficulty we have had here in Little Rock, Arkansas, in the past few months?" Mr. Banister answered: "It is my opinion and there are certain indications it was started deliberately with these subversive influences in this part of the country." He stated that the communists create incidents, and then exploit them for their benefit; create unrest and ultimately divide and conquer; to create hate is the main thing. Mr. Banister stated that it was not surprising to him to learn that there was an organization operating under the name of "Arkansas Council on Human Relations." He stated there used to be a communist printing plant in Little Rock which was prepared to go underground "if some organization or some group like the Supreme Court (of the United States) didn't bail them out."

Mr. Banister outlined a smear campaign that would be leveled at the F.B.I., J. Edgar Hoover, and the various Congressional Committees that investigate subversion this year by the Fund for the Republic, Emergency Civil Liberties Union, and others. He stated that the main objective of the Southern Regional Council and its subsidiaries, the various state councils on human relations in the Southern States is "to engage in mischief" and "to create friction between the races", and "that communism thrives on friction between the races." Mr. Banister specifically testified:

" . . . Such activities as the various communist fronts engage in and such organizations as the Fund for the Republic and other fronts have this large amount of money to give away and it is given away not without checking of course. It seems it is usually done to further some project that is set up adversely affecting the things we believe to be worth while in this country. . . ."

Mr. Banister testified that he is convinced that there has been subversion in the racial unrest we have experienced here in Arkansas.

It seems evident to this Committee that the Communist Party has used many organizations that cater to the Negro race in order to create racial strife and unrest. Other organizations that are not communist are forced to adopt the same position as the Communist Party by means of infiltration, or by pressure created by communists and communist sympathizers.

CONCLUSION

The basic question presented for determination by this Committee is: "Has there been subversion present in Arkansas which has encouraged racial unrest?"

It is a matter of common knowledge that communism thrives where strife, tension, turmoil and chaos is present. Arkansas became a State of the Union in 1836; peace, progress and tranquility marked the attitude of all our people for the next 122 years. This Committee has found that the incident which occurred at Little Rock on September 2, 1957, was not something that just happened overnight. It was planned, schemed, calculated, and had as its motivating factor the international communist conspiracy of world domination squarely behind the entire shocking episode.

The people of Arkansas are basically men of good will. Communism, heretofore, has always been something that happened elsewhere; but the record reflects that for a number of years an almost incredible number of communists, pro-communists, fellow travelers, dupes and those who make a career out of being duped, have flitted in and out of Arkansas, and while here, they sowed the seeds of dissension and discord.

The Committee has wondered who sent for Clarence Laws, discredited field representative of the NAACP and who was discharged from the Army for security reasons; who sent for Dr. Vernon

McDaniel, protege of the notorious Gomillion who travels in harness with communists such as Aubrey Williams, Abner W. Berry, James A. Dombrowski; and who sent for Grace and Lee Lorch, identified communists; and who paid Clarence Laws for his work in Arkansas. In answering these questions, the Committee learned which individuals actively worked for a political party whose candidate would not sign a non-communist affidavit; that known communists—Farmer and Pushkarsky—worked in such close accord with the candidate and the above individuals that it makes incredible a claim of innocence. One of these individuals was the State President of the NAACP, and her husband, who has been a national director of an organization which is a successor to an organization listed as subversive for a number of years.

To answer these questions one need merely read the transcript of the sworn testimony produced in public at the three-day hearing. The testimony under oath and the documentary evidence introduced in connection therewith, makes it apparent that there has been and now is subversion present in the racial unrest in our State.

The Committee is convinced that the racial unrest in Arkansas was deliberately planned by the Communist Party as part of the directive handed down by Moscow in 1928. The communist apparatus has used many organizations in our State. Some of them have been found subversive by appropriate governmental instrumentalities; others include in their officers and directors those individuals who have been cited as aiding and supporting communist or communist front organizations. We find it noteworthy that these organizations, infiltrated with communists and pro-communists, have actively supported racial unrest in Arkansas. They tried, and were successful, in making Little Rock a world-wide incident. From the evidence introduced at the

hearings it is quite apparent, when once perceiving the goals and operations of the Communist Party, that the Little Rock incident was certainly another link in its chain of created incidents designed for its benefit alone, which was mapped out four decades ago.

The Committee further finds—based on credible evidence from the files of the House Un-American Activities Committee, the United States Attorney General's Subversive List, the Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee and others—that many of the top officers of the national NAACP have been cited numerous times for aiding and abetting communist or communist front organizations. These top officials have sent individuals of very questionable loyalty to our government to Arkansas as their paid employees. In turn they met with local officials of the NAACP and planned the events which culminated in the so-called Little Rock incident. We believe that the NAACP is and has been sympathetic toward communist causes, and that the goal of the communist is not to help the Negro as such, but merely to use him. In that desire to use the Negro, we find that the communists have always tried to infiltrate organizations attractive to the Negro race.

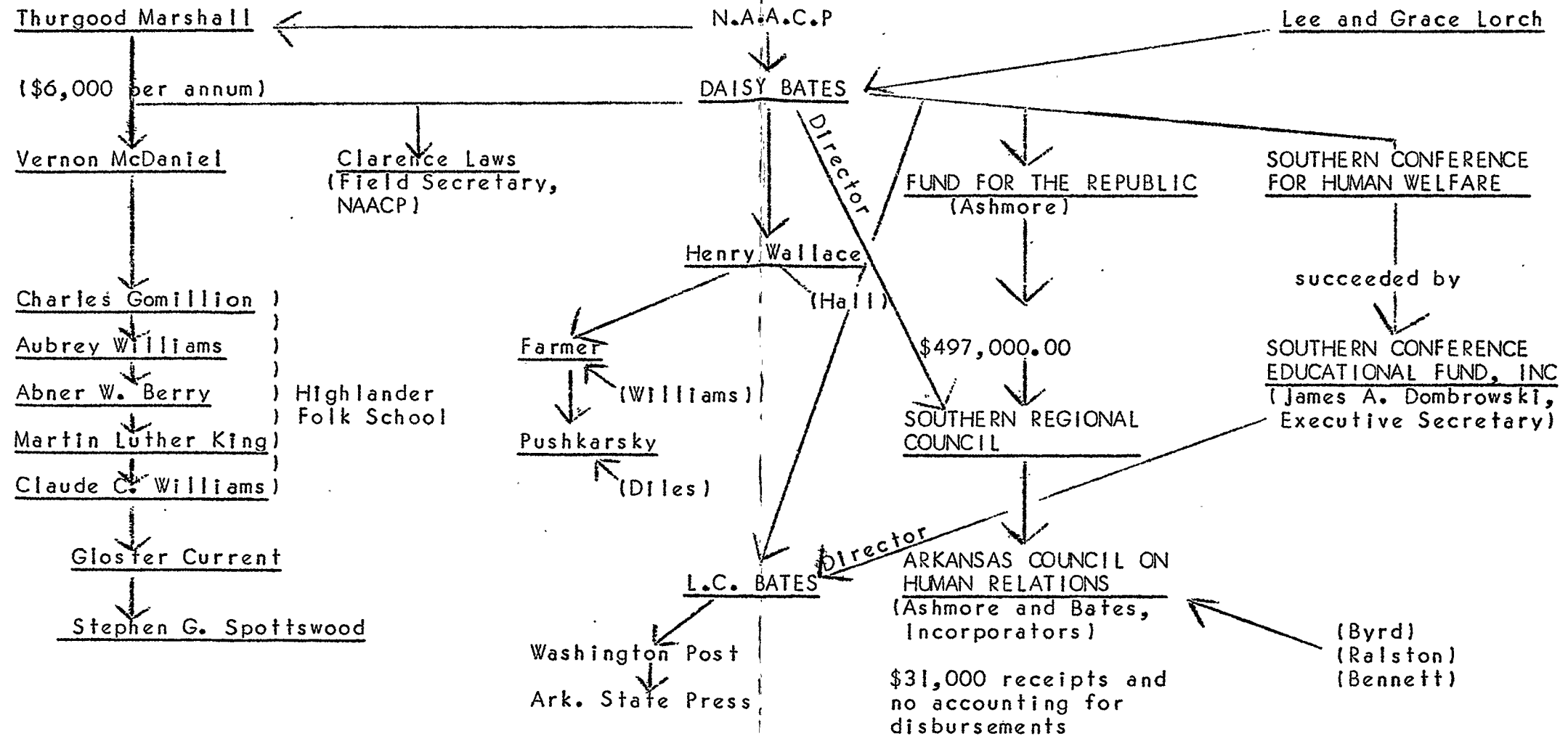
The Committee feels that it would be amiss of its duty should it not report its findings in regard to various corporations that worked in Arkansas. We have been unable to learn of any public or private good that the Arkansas Council on Human Relations has ever rendered, and the same may be said of the Southern Regional Council. Both of these organizations have been subsidized by the Fund for the Republic. The NAACP appears to have been heavily infiltrated with subversives and, wittingly or unwittingly, is now a captive of the communist apparatus. The Fund for the Republic, with Harry Ashmore of Arkansas on the national board of directors, has given considerable money to

the NAACP. It has also given about one-half million dollars to the Southern Regional Council—with Daisy Bates on the board of directors, who in turn channeled part of the money to the Arkansas Council on Human Relations, which had the same Ashmore and Bates as incorporators. A former F.B.I. agent of 20 years service, when questioned at the hearings about the activities of these three organizations, summed up his disgust at their nefarious schemes by simply answering, "to create mischief."

The Committee has become aghast at the viciousness with which some segments of the press have attacked the purposes of the hearings. We feel that the people of the world are entitled to know that a peaceful people have been torn asunder by the communist conspiracy. But some members of the press seem determined to becloud the issue, smear the purposes of the hearings, and reach any conclusion other than the fact that there was subversion present in our difficulties here. This the Committee deplores.

It is the conclusion of this Committee that from the evidence presented before it, and from the findings of fact which this Committee has made, that subversion was present in the racial unrest in our State. We further conclude that had it not been for the communists, ^{etc} pro-communists, fellow travelers and dupes—along with the organizations above listed—that the harmony and peace existent between the races for over 100 years would not have been interrupted. We pray for a restoration of that peace and harmony so that all the people of Arkansas may march forward to a more abundant and proud life under our Creator, Almighty God.

RACIAL UNREST IN ARKANSAS



Memorandum for Mr. Belmont
RE: ARKANSAS LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL COMMITTEE

OBSERVATIONS:

It would appear, from a review of Bufiles and Johnson's testimony, the Arkansas Legislative Council Committee in setting up the hearings is attempting to create the impression that communism is behind the racial unrest in the South, particularly in Arkansas. While Johnson's testimony is historically accurate, it is noted he is not in a position to speak authoritatively regarding the present tactics and activities of the CP in the Negro field as he was dropped from the CP in 1939. It would appear Johnson was attempting to prove or infer that the present racial unrest is the result of CP policies formulated in the 1920s and 30s. This premise is not supported by data in Bufiles; however, it is observed the CP, at every opportunity, has attempted to capitalize on the situation in furthering its own aims and in embarrassing the U. S. Government. Johnson's testimony adds nothing to our knowledge of this field.

ACTION:

For the Director's information.

Memorandum for Mr. Belmont
RE: ARKANSAS LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL COMMITTEE

DETAILS:

The "Washington Capital News Service" release dated 12/18/58 carried an article concerning the testimony of Manning Johnson, former Communist Party (CP) member, before the Arkansas Legislative Council Committee investigating a possible link between communism and racial unrest in Arkansas. During his testimony, Johnson advised he was a CP member from 1930-1940; he quit the Party at the time of the Nazi-Soviet Pact; and has testified before the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA), the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee and committees of state legislatures in Washington and Louisiana. Johnson further testified as follows:

- (1) He joined the American Negro Labor Congress (ANLC) in 1930; described it as the first communist front organization formed among Negroes; stated the Congress was born in Chicago in 1925 and it was formed with the thought in mind of stirring up trouble in the South.
- (2) He was sent by the CP to a secret training school in New York; became one of the major Negro leaders in the CP in America; quoted at length a resolution passed by the Communist Internationale in 1928 which called for agitation among and recruitment of Negroes; in 1928 the whole program that is unfolding today was worked out by the Secretariat of the CP; in 1930 the Internationale issued a supplemental resolution calling for confiscation of plantations in the South and distribution among the Negro shareholders; and to accomplish this, a League of Struggle for Negro Rights (LSNR) was set up which was to operate throughout the South, including Arkansas.
- (3) He charged the National Association for Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) misquoted his testimony before the Louisiana Legislative Committee in March, 1957. Johnson stated he told that Committee he was an associate research director and had cooperated with various agencies of the Federal Government in the investigation and prosecution of communists. He stated the NAACP put out a press release which claimed he stated he was an associate research director of the Department of Justice. Johnson stated there is no such position, yet the NAACP picked that up in a crude attempt to smear him from one end of the country to another.

Regarding the above release, the Director noted "What about this?"

In answer to the Director's question the following information is set forth.

Memorandum for Mr. Belmont
RE: ARKANSAS LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL COMMITTEE

Background of Manning Johnson:

Johnson, a Negro, was born in 1908 in Washington, D. C., and was a member of the CP from 1930-1939, when he was dropped for deviation from Party policies. During the time he was in the Party, he was a member of the National Central Committee. He was a paid FBI informant from April, 1942, to February, 1944, inasmuch as he still had Party contacts and was able to supply information regarding the CP, its members and activities. He has appeared number of times as a witness on behalf of Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) and Department of Justice in Smith Act of 1940 and Internal Security Act of 1950 cases and various congressional committees. In March, 1957, he appeared as a witness during hearings of the Louisiana Joint Legislative Committee which was conducting hearings on segregation in the State of Louisiana. In the past the credence of his testimony has been attacked, based on his admission at the Steve Nelson Pennsylvania State Sedition trial in 1950 that he had not told the truth in testimony in 1948 during the deportation proceedings against Nat Yanish.

Inasmuch as Manning Johnson has not been a member of the CP since 1939, it would not appear that he is in a position to speak authoritatively concerning the present policy of the CP in regard to the Negro question.

Item One of Johnson's Testimony:

Regarding this item of Johnson's testimony, it is noted that the ANLC was formed at a convention held during the week of 10/25/25 in Chicago, Illinois. According to its constitution, its purpose was: "To unify and strengthen the efforts of all organizations of Negro workers and farmers, as well as organizations composed of both Negro and white workers and farmers, and sympathetic organizations, and also individuals, for the protection of discrimination, persecution, and exploitation of the Negro race and the working people generally."

The national organizer of the ANLC was Lovett Fort-Whiteman. In an article entitled "The Negro Movement - American Negro Labor Congress," which appeared in the 8/27/25 issue of "International Press Correspondence," the author commented on the meeting of the ANLC which was to take place in October, 1925. He stated in the article: "The fundamental aim in calling the American Negro Labor Congress is to establish in the life of the American Negro working class an organization which may serve as a medium through which the American Communist Party may reach and influence the Negro working class, and at the same time may constitute something of a recruiting ground for the Party."

Memorandum for Mr. Belmont
RE: ARKANSAS LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL COMMITTEE

"International Press Correspondence" is cited as "the organ of the Communist Internationale" on page 103 of the "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications" issued by the HCUA dated 1/2/57.

In 1930 the name of the ANLC was changed to the LSNR because ANLC was too narrow in its approach and for the period of its existence was almost completely isolated from the basic masses of the Negro people. The LSNR ceased to exist in 1936.

Review of Johnson's file (Bufile 100-55627) does not reflect information that he was a member of the ANLC. However, in view of the fact he was active in work among the Negroes for the CP, in all probability he was a member. His membership would have been short-lived inasmuch as he claimed he joined the organization in 1930, the same year the organization became defunct.

Item Two of Johnson's Testimony:

Regarding this item of Johnson's testimony, it is noted he testified he was sent to a secret training school by the CP in New York City. Johnson's file reflects that in 1932 he was sent by the CP to a CP school in New York for three months; however, his file does not describe this school as a "secret training school."

The Sixth World Congress of the Communist Internationale was held in Moscow, Russia, in 1928. This Congress adopted in October, 1928, a resolution defining the Negro people of the United States as an "oppressed race" and promulgated "full social and political equality for the Negroes" as the central slogan of the CP on this issue. It directed the CP, USA, to "come out openly and unreservedly for the right of Negroes to national self-determination in the Southern States. In addition, the resolution called for a "strong Negro revolutionary movement in the USA" which would be in a position "to influence and direct the revolutionary movement in all those parts of the world where the Negroes are oppressed by imperialism." The Communist Internationale issued a supplemental resolution in October, 1930, which stated that: "In the South...the main communist slogan must be: The Right of Self-Determination of the Negroes in the Black Belt." It set forth the "three basic demands to be kept in mind in the Black Belt: (a) Confiscation of the landed property of the white landowners and capitalists for the benefit of the Negro farmers; (b) establishment of the state unity of the Black Belt; and (c) right of self-determination."

Memorandum for Mr. Belmont
RE: ARKANSAS LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL COMMITTEE

The CP defined self-determination as the formation of an independent national state that has a right to complete secession. The CP envisioned a Negro republic encompassing 12 Southern States.

Self-determination and establishment of a Negro republic remained the basic CP policy in the Negro field until quite recently. At the CP national committee meeting in New York City 12/6 and 7/58, Hunter Pitts O'Dell, a functionary of the Southern Regional Committee, CP, USA, delivered a report on the Negro question. His major point was that since the Negroes in the U.S. do not constitute a separate nation, the Party should abandon its slogan of self-determination for the Negroes in the Southern States and instead concentrate on gaining for the Negroes full equality, complete participation in all aspects of American life and increased representation in public office. O'Dell called for increased Party participation in the activities of the noncommunist Negro protest and improvement organizations. O'Dell's report was approved by the national committee.

The CP, since its organization in the U.S. in 1919, has always devoted a portion of its time, funds and propaganda to Negro matters. Since its inception, it has urged equal rights for the Negroes; with its demands subject to various degrees of emphasis, governed primarily by the exigencies of the Soviet Union in international affairs. The activities of the CP, USA, are motivated not by the desire to improve the status of the Negro in our society, but to exploit legitimate Negro grievances and all racial incidents and disturbances for the furtherance of communist aims.

Despite the recurring allegations by Southern political leaders that the racial situation is communist inspired, our investigation of the CP and the over-all racial situation in this country has reflected that in practically all instances, with relatively few exceptions, racial incidents in this country have not been caused or inspired by CP elements. The CP has, of course, been alert to seize upon each such incident as it develops and has attempted to propagandize them to the benefit of the communist movement and to the embarrassment of our Government.

There has been no information developed that any activities at Little Rock, Arkansas, have been communist inspired. The Party, of course, has capitalized to the fullest extent on the Little Rock situation in attempting to embarrass the U.S. Government. For example, following the placing of national guard troops at the high school in Little Rock by the Governor of Arkansas, the "Daily Worker" dispatched one of its writers, Virginia Gardner, to cover the situation. She remained for several days and wrote several feature stories. The "Daily Worker" indicated it would like to send her to Little Rock again but lacked the funds.

Memorandum for Mr. Belmont
RE: ARKANSAS LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL COMMITTEE

Item Three of Johnson's Testimony:

Regarding this item of Johnson's testimony, a review of the transcript of the hearings of March, 1957, before the Louisiana Joint Legislative Committee reflects on page 137 that Johnson, in answer to the question concerning his occupation, stated at that time he was working as an associate research director and occasionally he cooperated with various agencies of the Federal Government in the investigation and prosecution of communists. Page 139 of the transcript reflected Johnson stated he had worked with the FBI and had continuously cooperated with the FBI, the Criminal Division of the Department of Justice, and the Immigration and Naturalization Service. He testified he was an analyst and consultant for the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

The 4/1/57 issue of "The Times-Picayune," a New Orleans, Louisiana, daily newspaper, carried an article captioned "NAACP Requests Witness' Status." This article stated the NAACP had asked Attorney General Brownell to clarify what position, if any, was held in the Department of Justice by Manning Johnson. The article noted in this regard that Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP, cited newspaper accounts of Johnson's testimony before the Louisiana Committee, which accounts identified Johnson as "director of research for the Department of Justice." The 4/20/57 issue of the "Pittsburgh Courier," a Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, daily newspaper, carried an article entitled "Smear on NAACP is Hit by Justice Department." This article reflected the Department informed the NAACP that recent statements made by Johnson attempting to link the NAACP with the CP did not reflect the views nor findings of the Justice Department; that Johnson was not one of its employees as reportedly cited in various newspaper accounts; and that Johnson in no way was connected with the Department nor did he speak for the Department.

cc: Mr. Ladd
Mr. Casper

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

December 2, 1947

Director, FBI

4/16/81 S. B. C. A. W. H.
CONTAINED

PROGRESSIVE CITIZENS OF AMERICA
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

DATE 5-6-84

Sp 6 B. C. A. W. H.

I thought you would be interested in knowing that at a rally held in the Hotel Bradford, Boston, Massachusetts, on November 30, 1947, by the Massachusetts Chapter of the Progressive Citizens of America, this organization announced that it would file primary papers nominating Henry Agard Wallace for the Presidency of the United States on the Third Party ticket. The Progressive Citizens of America indicated that it realized 47,000 voters' signatures were necessary to place the Third Party on the Massachusetts ballot. According to the pledges of the organization, 150,000 signatures will be obtained.

At this same rally, it was also announced that a slate of delegates to the National Democratic Convention pledged to Wallace would be filed in the Democratic Primary.

Senator Glen Taylor of Idaho was present on the platform when these statements were made. He did not repudiate them. In Taylor's address, he stated that our most pressing problem was peace. He sharply criticized the Marshall Plan as a war plan and urged the Progressive Citizens of America to bring about a repudiation of the United States' foreign policy.

At this same gathering, Paul Seymour, New England head of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, CIO, stated that on December 2, 1947, the national officers of the Union would meet in Washington, D. C. with the War Department and the Immigration and Naturalization Service to protest the barring of Union officials from Canada, who were to attend conferences of the Union. He alleged that the Immigration and Naturalization Service's refusal was based on the Canadians' Communist Party membership. Seymour stated that the Immigration and Naturalization Service's action was instigated by the General Electric Company. His charges initiated attacks also on the House Committee on Un-American Activities of which Mr. J. Parnell Thomas is the Chairman.

The data concerning the War Department and the Immigration and Naturalization Service is also being furnished to these departments for their information.

JJC:esb

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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

DEC 2 12 24 PM '47

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