



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

JOSEPH McCARTHY

PART 9 OF 28

BUFILE NUMBER: 100-398328

SUBJECT Joseph McCarthy
FILE NUMBER 100-398320
SECTION NUMBER 2

MISCELLANEOUS MATERIAL RECEIVED
FROM THE OFFICE OF SENATOR JOSEPH R. MC CARTHY

Bureau file 100-398328

March 6, 1953

On 2-3-53 the attached material was received from the office of Senator McCarthy of Wisconsin. It should be reviewed by you.

By memorandum dated February 7, 1953, Assistant to the Director L. B. Nichols advised: "In Mr. Baumgardner's memorandum of February 3, 1953, inquiry was made as to how the Bureau may use copies of correspondence addressed to Senator McCarthy. I wish to advise that I have specifically raised this problem with Don Surine of Senator McCarthy's Office.

"Surine states that we are authorized to use this material any way we see fit and to say that the material had been referred to the Bureau by Senator McCarthy to disseminate and to conduct any investigation that is suggested by the facts. I told Surine we would do this and to avoid making inquiry in each instance, I inquired whether we could assume that this applied to anything else he might furnish us unless he specifically put a restriction on it. He stated that we could so assume and if there was anything they did not want known came from them, they would so advise us. [However, Surine did state with reference to the dissemination of such letters to other Government agencies, that we not show the Senator's Office as the source but carry the source as "of unknown reliability." Surine further stated that we should use good judgment in all the letters. For example, if a writer asked the Senator to keep confidential the source of the information, we, likewise, should keep confidential the source of information and should it be necessary to interview the original complainant, we should not divulge that Senator McCarthy's Office has furnished us the information."

You should be guided accordingly in handling the material, taking appropriate action where necessary.

If no action is warranted, make a notation to this effect on this form and file under instant caption, marking for indexing where necessary.

ENCL.

If action is warranted, route a carbon copy of your initial correspondence into above file so the material can be located later with a minimum of effort. The correspondence, of course, should bear an appropriate caption suitable to the particular item.

Attachment

RECORDED - 90

INDEXED - 90

EX - 107

67 APR 2 1953

100-398328-35
5-
MAR 27 1953

PETER J. HANCZOR

COUNSELOR AT LAW

YONKERS 5-1553

RECEIVED JAN 22 1953

20 SOUTH BROADWAY
YONKERS 2, N. Y.

January 16, 1953.

Hon. Joseph R. McCarthy
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator Mc Carthy:

Mrs. Ann Stella has instructed me to forward a copy of the enclosed affidavit to your office for your consideration.

She is of the impression that Stella will apply for a commission in the Medical Corps, and feels that his loyalty status should be brought to your attention and the proper authorities as soon as possible.

Yours very truly,

Peter J. Hanczor
PETER J. HANCZOR

PJH:C
Enclosure

AUTHORIZATION

STATE OF NEW YORK }
COUNTY OF WESTCHESTER } ss.:

I, ANN AVELLA, being duly sworn, depose and state:

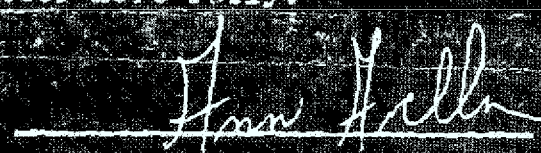
I reside at No. 44 Clarke Street in the City of Yonkers, County of Westchester and State of New York.

That I am desirous of effectuating the deportation of my husband, DR. MICHAEL AVELLA, on the grounds that he is an undesirable alien, and that his presence in this Country in any capacity constitutes a serious and dangerous threat to the internal security of our Country.

That I have this day signed an affidavit stating in elaborate form the reasons that compell me to take this action.

I hereby authorize my attorney, PETER J. HANCZOS, ESQ., of No. 20 South Broadway, Yonkers, New York to take whatever steps he deems necessary to carry out my intentions in this matter and authorize him to provide typewritten or photostatic copies of the above-mentioned affidavit to whatever individuals or Government Agency he might feel will assist in bringing about the deportation of my husband.

I am prepared to testify at any Governmental Hearing by any Governmental Agency at whatever place might be designated to testify in this matter more fully.



Sworn to before me this
15th day of January, 1953.



He showed me what he called the Russian ren commandments and said that I was stupid, and that if I knew any better I would follow them. He tried to prevent me from following my religion and, on one occasion when he accompanied me to church, the only time he did so, while the collection was being taken he hit the basket from the bottom, scattering the money on the floor.

My husband has applied for citizenship and the petition filed in the United States District Court at New York on May 22, 1952 listed two witnesses who swore that they knew him for a period of three years. I know of my own knowledge that these witnesses have not known my husband for that period of time. The petition is under investigation at the present time. I reported my husband's character to the United States Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service, and gave them the information which is contained in this affidavit.

My husband left the Yonkers General Hospital in July 1949 to go to Georgetown to specialize. After one month at Georgetown he was asked to resign. Later he applied for admission at Doctors Hospital in Washington, D. C. and failed to note this on his application. When this was discovered he was put on probation for a period of one year. I tried to join him in Washington, but he did not want to live with me. I visited him in Washington the latter part of June, 1951, and was supposed to remain with him for two weeks, but he forced me to return home after four days, penniless. He got into difficulties in Washington by borrowing money, going with women and taking a car without the owner's permission.

I had to pay for an automobile he purchased and my father and uncle were compelled to pay his debts. He is indebted to my father in the sum of approximately Four Thousand Dollars.

My husband would come to Yonkers some week-ends and when he did in 1951, he claimed to have had sexual relations with over thirty different women since his arrival in the United States. He called me his passport to America and never treated me as his wife. He told me that since I was able to get him into this country that my usefulness to him ceased. His marriage to me was a fraud. He never intended to live with me as man and wife, but married me only to gain access to this country. He has struck me and on several occasions did threaten to give me injections to drive me out of my mind.

Whenever I threatened to report him to the authorities he promised to reform, but never did. I have not seen him since January 1, 1952.

I have been informed that my husband is considering entering the Armed Services and feel that his loyalty should be properly screened.

Sworn to before me this
15th day of January, 1953.

Helen K. Coles

HELEN K. COLES
COMMISSIONER OF DEEDS
City of Yonkers
Commission Expires December 31, 1957

Ann Heller

ANN AVELLA, being duly sworn, deposes and says: I am the wife of Dr. Michael Avella who is presently a resident surgeon at the Morrisania Hospital, Bronx, N. Y. I make this affidavit for the purpose of apprising the proper authorities that my husband is an undesirable alien and not worthy of attaining American citizenship and that his presence in this country constitutes a serious threat to our form of government.

I met my husband in Corato, Bari, Italy in the fall of 1947 and married him on March 7, 1948. At that time he showed no immoral, sadistic, evil or un-American characteristics. My husband and I took up residence in Corato, Italy, with my grandmother and I visited the U. S. Consul at Naples to initiate proceedings so that he could come to America. My husband graduated from the University of Padua Medical School in November, 1947 and wanted to come to America. Through my father's efforts my husband finally came to America on December 29, 1948. He returned to America some eight months earlier and during the time I sent my husband an average of between ten to fifteen dollars weekly.

In April, 1949, he became an interne at the Yonkers General Hospital, Yonkers, New York. One month after his arrival he commenced to criticize the American form of government. He was anxious to procure copies of the "Daily Worker", which he said he had read at the University of Padua. He also expressed a high regard for Vito Marcantonio and attempted to see him by calling his home. My husband also had in his possession the works of Lenin and Marx. He repeatedly criticized our form of government and said that he would like to see Stalin at the head of this country. When I told him to go to Russia if he had so much love for Stalin, he replied "Why should I when I expect Stalin to come over here and take over." My husband constantly referred to Stalin as the "man with the shakers who is coming over here."

My husband thinks of Americans as slaves of the government and looks to the day when our government will be overthrown by the communists. He calls religion an opiate of the people and advocates that all churches should be abolished. He preaches free love and frowns upon the sanctity of marriage. He thinks of Americans as stupid and ignorant and calls them inferior to Europeans.

When the United Nations forces were retreating in Korea, my husband was extremely pleased. His sympathies were with the Communists and he gloated over the losses of American lives. When the United Nations forces were on the offensive he was displeased. He is certain that the Russians will win any war against America and her allies.

In 1950 my husband inquired about joining the U.S. Medical Corps and the Surgeon General forwarded him a pamphlet listing Communist groups in Europe and wanted to know if my husband had any affiliation with them. My husband said that he had better forget about joining now as the authorities are looking in his past activities. I have been informed that my husband was an ardent Communist in Europe, especially while at the University of Padua.

MISCELLANEOUS MATERIAL RECEIVED
FROM THE OFFICE OF SENATOR JOSEPH R. MC CARTHY

Bureau file 100-398328

March 6, 1953

On 1/10/53 the attached material was received from the office of Senator McCarthy of Wisconsin. It should be reviewed by you.

By memorandum dated February 7, 1953, Assistant to the Director L. B. Nichols advised: "In Mr. Baumgardner's memorandum of February 3, 1953, inquiry was made as to how the Bureau may use copies of correspondence addressed to Senator McCarthy. I wish to advise that I have specifically raised this problem with Don Surine of Senator McCarthy's Office.

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No action necessary
3/10/53 RST

RECORDED - 59

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79 APR 10 1953

100-398328-35 X

5-7-53

December 1
National Headquarters

December 1, 1952

REC'D JAN 2 1953

Senator Joe McCarthy
Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator:

Enclosed is a copy of a publication which we have issued concerning Communists and Communist activities in the St. Louis area. We have marked those paragraphs relating to Washington University, which, as you know, is one of the Redest campuses in the country.

If you decide to go into the college problem, please do not neglect Washington University. You can count on us for any help or assistance you might need.

Sincerely yours,

DL/fc

ATTACK

"I come not with Peace—but a Sword." Matt. 10, 34

St. Louis, Missouri

MARCH, 1952

10c per copy

NUMBER 3

Gov't Files List 500 St. Louisans As Reds

PROMINENT CLERGYMEN, EDUCATORS AND LABOR LEADERS IN RED CAMP!

Lists Compiled From Files At Communist Party
Headquarters Reveal Both Secret And Open
Membership In Marxist Groups.

Secret testimony, presented to an executive session of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities of the U. S. House of Representatives and kept behind an iron curtain of inaccessibility for ten years, purporting to be lists of Communists, fellow-travelers, sympathizers and subversives

Washington University Art School Staffed With Marxist Propagandists

Confidential files of an official investigating agency of the United States Government confirm charges that the Fine Arts Department of Washington University, St. Louis, has a startling number of Marxist propagandists among its teachers.

Kenneth E. Hudson, Dean; Paul Burlin, Senior Art Teacher; Werner Drewes, teacher, are among those with records of Communist affiliations presently employed by the University. Syd Fossum, Art teacher, who was a member of the teaching staff last year also has a long record of membership in Red organizations.

In spite of the denials made by officials of the University that it is a "Marxist center" (titles), and a contributor to the Communist periodical "New Masses."

Communist Trial Leads To Disbarment Of Abraham Isserman

As a result of his testimony during the trial of the convicted leaders of the Communist Party, Abraham Isserman (brother of Rabbi Ferdinand Isserman) was sentenced to 30 months in prison and disbarment.

Abraham and Ferdinand Isserman have long been active in Communist-front circles. Both were instrumental in creating the subversive Communist defense organization called the Civil Rights Congress. Speaking in London, recently, Rabbi Ferdinand Isserman stated that his ambition was to

Dr. Clark Walker Cummings, (deceased) former Chairman of the Metropolitan Church Federation and Minister at Centenary Methodist Church; Julius Klyman, Editor of the Sunday Pictures Section of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch; Dr. Elmer Arndt, Professor of Theology and Ethics at Eden Theological Seminary, Webster Groves, Mo., (Dr. Arndt, along with Rabbi Ferdinand Iserman, was one of the original sponsors of the notorious Communist organization the Civil Rights Congress).

The complete listing of persons branded as Communists, supporters and sympathizers is reprinted on pages 2 and 3.

Communist Party headquarters in St. Louis (in 1937, 1938 and 1939) as a member of the Professional Branch of the Communist Party in St. Louis, Mo.

Paul Barlin, teacher at the Art School, is listed as a sponsor of five different Communist - front organization (cited as subversive organizations by the Attorney General and/or the Congressional Committee on Un-American Ac-

REDS MEET IN ST. LOUIS



Pictured above is the hard core of Communist and Marxist intrigue in the St. Louis area. The above meeting, sponsored by the Communist Party in St. Louis, was held at the Grand Auditorium on Washington Street, St. Louis, Mo., under indictment by the U. S. Government.

An Open Letter

To the Members of the Board of Police Commissioners:

Dear Sirs:

Every thinking person knows that we are headed toward war with the Soviet Union. The only reason for making bombs is to drop them; the only purpose in manufacturing shells is to shoot them. Whether we will have an open, face-to-face war or just a continuation of the Korean type of attrition on an ever increasing scale is unimportant—what is important is the existence of thousands of organized agents of the Soviet Union already at work right here in St. Louis.

You can be sure that the work these Communist Party members and sympathizers are doing is not for the fare of our Nation. Sabotage, espionage and agitation is what they will contribute.

What is the Police Department doing about this potential Communist danger? Are the names of all Communist Party members and supporters listed in Police Department records? Are there informants inside the Communist Party turning over up to date, accurate information concerning Communist activities? Does the St. Louis Police Department have information concerning the out of town Communists who have recently been transferred to St. Louis and concerning the St. Louis Communists who have been transferred to other cities?

You can't leave this job to the FBI. It is too big for any one organization. It is your job—the responsibility is yours. J. Edgar Hoover recently said that St. Louis has one of the finest, if not the finest, Police Departments in the United States. They can do the job if you give them the word.

The Communist Investigating Division should be the largest in our entire Police Department because it is easy to see that one case of sabotage in our water system could do more damage to St. Louisans than all of the robberies and all of the murders in a generation.

The authority is in your hands—and so is the responsibility! Remember, the Communist seizure of Eastern Europe was prepared by Communist intrigue from within. The Communist's plans for St. Louis are the same.

Respectfully yours,

DON LOHBECK

ATTACK

Published By,
ATTACK Publishing Co.
 1533 S. Grand Ave.
 St. Louis 4, Mo.
 EDITOR:
 Don Lohbeck

In Korea, thousands of miles away, more than 105,000 American men have been killed or wounded at the hands of Communist-led, Communist-armed, Communist-agitated Asiatics.

In the United States the Communists are still petted, appeased and glorified. Yet, the Communists working against America from within are many times more dangerous to our liberties than all of the Communist armies threatening from without.

The pro-Communist foreign policy of the Acheson-Truman State Department got us involved in the Korean situation. Truman's attack on General MacArthur prevented us from defeating the Communist armies a year ago. The entire purpose of the Korean debate — that has cost 105,000 American casualties to date — was to divert the American mind from the terrible state of affairs at home.

DON LOHBECK

As Hsted on pages 2084-2081, Vol. 5, Executive Hearings, Un-American Activities Committee.

More New Deal Lies

In 1943 two Polish news commentators, on a Detroit radio station, attempted to broadcast the story of the slaughter of 10,000 Polish Army Officers in the Katyn Forest of Poland. The cold-blooded massacre was committed by the Soviet Red Army during its occupation of Poland.

The broadcast was censored, and the commentators silenced, at the orders of Alan Cranston, then head of the Office of War Information (OWI). Alan Cranston later became head of the United World Federalists, an internationalist organization trying to abolish the independence of the United States.

The Roosevelt government then followed the Communist line and blamed the massacre on the German Army. And, at the Nuremberg trials, the Katyn Massacre was used to incite hatred of the German leaders.

A Congressional Committee meeting at the present time is proving conclusively that the slaughter of 10,000 Polish Officers was actually committed by the Communist murderers.

U. E. W. U. Committee

America Can't Afford Another 'Peace' Candidate.



"He kept us out of war!"
 (American casualties in World War I—250,000.)



"I hate war!"
 (American casualties in World War II—350,000.)



"I'll run to achieve peace!"
 (American casualties in Korea—110,000.)

Art School

(Continued from page 1.)

Communist created and controlled organization.

Syd Fossum, former teacher at the Art School, was a member of three Communist-front organiza-

tions one of which, the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions was discussed at the 1945 Convention of the Communist Party of New York State in the following words:

"We built the I.C.C.A.S.P., and it is a great political weapon."

The statement that the University has investigated itself, and found itself free of the taint of Communist activity can be disregarded as long as one of the Departments of Washington University continues to resemble a refuge for Marxist propaganda. One of the slogans of the Communist Party has long been "Art is a weapon."

C.I.O. Labor Leaders Listed At Communist Hdqtrs. As Red Supporters

As Hsted on pages 2084-2081, Vol. 5, Executive Hearings, Un-American Activities Committee.

Cordie, Joe (U. E. W. U.).
 Campbell, Norma (U. E. W. U.).
 Carter, Wm. (U. E. W. U.).
 Carter, Gordon (U. E. W. U.).

Michelson, Max (A. C. W. U.) (district manager).
 Morris, Joe (P. W. O. C.) (organizer).
 Laughlin, (U. E. W. U.) (organizer).

Smith, Norman (U. A. W. U.) (organizer).
 Shaw, Ralph (S. W. O. C.) (organizer).
 alias Elonski (organizer, Communist Party).

Not Babylon, not Rome, neither Sodom nor Gomorrah were more corrupt, perverted, more lustful after sinful deeds than our own Washington, D. C., in this year 1961-1962.

If the quagmire of insatiable greed have so entrapped our government that no force exists capable of fighting the menace of Communist intrigue and infiltration within our cities and our organizations, then Americans—some of the vigilantes who brought order into the West, and freed the South from carpet-bag tyranny—will be called upon to save themselves before it is too late to save anything. And that day is not too far away.

Communism is not a game. It is a deadly conspiracy against political freedom, racial parity and Christianity. Communism was organized to enslave every White, Christian American. We would not be worthy of being White, Christian Americans if we sat back and let it happen.

Communism is in our Churches. Communism is in our schools. It has infiltrated our government, our newspapers, our courts. Its tentacles of treason are everywhere.

This issue of ATTACK is dedicated to giving a small insight into the enormous breadth of the Communist conspiracy—and the Communists admit that they are

organizing Committee.

U. O. P. W. designates United Office Professional Workers.

P. W. O. C. designates Packing-house Workers Organizing Committee.

U. G. H. W. U. designates United Gas House Workers Union.

W. W. O. C. designates Warehouse Workers Organizing Committee.

S. G. P. designates Sleeping Car Porters.

U. F. W. U. designates United Fur Workers Union.

U. S. W. U. designates United Shoe Workers Union.

N. P. G. designates Newspaper Guild.

U. B. S. W. designates United Building Service Workers.

A. C. W. U. designates Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union.

U. G. W. U. designates United Garment Workers Union.

F. W. U. designates Furniture Workers Union.

S. S. W. U. designates Social Service Workers Union.

W. P. A. designates Workers Project Union.

Austin, L. (U. E. W. U.).

Appel, George (U. E. W. U.).

Applebaum, Joe (U. G. H. W. U.) (president C.I.O. Industrial Council).

Bergman, Al (U. E. W. U.).

Bare, O. B. (W. P. U.).

Brendle, E. (U. E. W. U.).

Barker, D. V. (U. E. W. U.).

Bishop, Samuel (U. E. W. U.).

Bradley, E. (S.G.P.U.).

Brown, Aaron (U. A. W. U.).

Don't bother making intellectual attacks on the information in this paper—just sit down and ask your conscience what you are going to do about the fact that you are losing your country to an alien Jew-driven conspiracy.

Cooper, Joe (U. F. W. U.) (organizer).

Debus, Oscar (U. E. W. U.).

Emerling, Chas. (U. E. W. U.).

Edwards, Van (U. E. W. U.).

Edmunds, Geo. (S. W. O. C.) (Negro) (organizer).

Edison, Thos. (W. W. O. C.) (official).

Fiering, Henry (U. E. W. U.) (secretary, Local No. 1108).

Freeman, Willys (U. E. W. U.).

Freeman, Encil (U. E. W. U.).

Freeman, W. L. (U. E. W. U.).

Flier, Jules (U. F. W. U.).

Ford, Vernon (P. W. O. C.) (organizer).

Gordon, Ed. (U. E. W. U.).

Garst, Delmond (U. A. W. U.) (regional director).

Hudson, Andel (U. E. W. U.).

Haskins, A. L. (U. E. W. U.).

Hutchings, E. L. (U. E. W. U.) (officer, Local No. 1104).

Hussman, Walter (U. E. W. U.).

Harney, Howard (U. E. W. U.).

Hanners, Anna (U. E. W. U.).

Hanner, Ray (U. E. W. U.).

Heismaath, Tony (U. E. W. U.).

Just, Melba (U. E. W. U.).

Koch, Ray (educational director) (organizer, Communist Party) (teacher, Communist Party).

Kimberling, Wm. (U. A. W. U.) (president, Local No. 325).

Klyman, Julius (N. P. G.) (international vice president).

Kocisak, John (U. A. W. U.).

Landsbury, Arthur (U. E. W. U.).

Menewitz, Robt. (U. E. W. U.) (corresponding secretary, Local No. 1102) (organizer, Young Communist League).

Mathewson, Hugh (U. A. W. U.).

Mertens, Ray (U. E. W. U.).

Miller, Oscar (U. E. W. U.).

Maschoff, Otto (U. E. W. U.) (trustee, No. 1108).

Morley, Tom (U. G. H. W. U.) (organizer).

Payne, Marcella (U. E. W. U.) (office ladies auxiliaries).

Porkorny, Henry (U. E. W. U.).

Payne, Henry (U. E. W. U.).

Payne, James, U. E. W. U. (secretary, Local No. 1107).

Peetz, Wm. (U. E. W. U.).

Perlstein, Meyer (U. G. W. U.) (organizer).

Reidel, Wm. (U. E. W. U.) (trustee, Local No. 1102).

Ruff, Glenn (U. E. W. U.).

Ryder, Clara (U. E. W. U.) (ladies' auxiliaries).

Richardson, E. (S. W. O. C.).

Sentner, Wm. (U. E. W. U.) (international vice president) (president district No. 8) (organizer, Communist Party) (member central committee).

Sentner, Toni (wife of Mr. Sentner) (ladies' auxiliaries organizer) (teacher, Communist Party).

Swoboda, Emil (U. E. W. U.).

Scott, A. J. (U. E. W. U.).

Silverman, Sam (U. E. W. U.).

Stevens, Clara (U. E. W. U.).

Schulkai, A. (U. E. W. U.).

Schlieman, Frank (U. E. W. U.) (officer, Local No. 1102).

Sandley, Chester (U. E. W. U.) (organizer, Local No. 1104).

Payne, Marcella (U. E. W. U.) (office ladies auxiliaries).

Porkorny, Henry (U. E. W. U.).

Payne, Henry (U. E. W. U.).

Payne, James, U. E. W. U. (secretary, Local No. 1107).

Peetz, Wm. (U. E. W. U.).

Perlstein, Meyer (U. G. W. U.) (organizer).

Reidel, Wm. (U. E. W. U.) (trustee, Local No. 1102).

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Scott, A. J. (U. E. W. U.).

Silverman, Sam (U. E. W. U.).

Stevens, Clara (U. E. W. U.).

Schulkai, A. (U. E. W. U.).

Schlieman, Frank (U. E. W. U.) (officer, Local No. 1102).

Sandley, Chester (U. E. W. U.) (organizer, Local No. 1104).

Payne, Marcella (U. E. W. U.) (office ladies auxiliaries).

Porkorny, Henry (U. E. W. U.).

Payne, Henry (U. E. W. U.).

Payne, James, U. E. W. U. (secretary, Local No. 1107).

Peetz, Wm. (U. E. W. U.).

Perlstein, Meyer (U. G. W. U.) (organizer).

Reidel, Wm. (U. E. W. U.) (trustee, Local No. 1102).

Shaw, Sara (S. W. O. C.) (wife of Ralph Shaw) (ladies' auxiliaries) (teacher, Communist Party).

Shannon, Walter (U. S. W. U.) (president Local 56-A) (secretary, Labor's Non-Partisan League).

Shannon, Mary (U. S. W. U.).

Shannon, Mary (U. S. W. U.) (wife of W. Shannon) (organizer ladies' auxiliaries).

Smith, Richard (F. W. U.) (organizer, industrial council).

Turner, E. E. (U. E. W. U.).

Tweed, Alfred (S. S. W. U.).

Voorhis, Max (W. W. O. C.).

Wernich, Clara (U. E. W. U.) (wife of Henry Fiering, who was secretary, Local No. 1108) (district organizer Young Communist League) (organizer ladies' auxiliaries).

White, Earl (U. E. W. U.).

Wood, Clifford (U. E. W. U.).

Webster, Burt (U. E. W. U.).

Waldron, R. (U. E. W. U.).

Wainbold, W. L. (U. E. W. U.).

Walker, Wm. (U. E. W. U.) (president Local 1128).

Prof. Wolf (W. P. U.) (teacher, communism) (Education Comm. C. P.).

Following are several names of members, Women's Shoppers League, St. Louis, who are active with Mrs. Walter Shannon (Mrs. Shannon, wife of Walter Shannon, organizer, United Shoe Workers Union—is a very active Communist).

Mrs. Paul Rutledge

Mrs. Wm. Kirk

Mrs. Jean Douglas

Mrs. Jerome Cook

Mrs. E. C. McGrath

Mrs. Albert Taussig

Caroline Risque

Mrs. Willard Parker

Mrs. Ivan H. Light

Mrs. Alex Rex

Mrs. Louis Shifrin

Mrs. Ethel Abraham

Klamon, Prof. J. M. (C)
 Kaulus, Peter (C)
 Lewis, Ruth E.
 Lischer, Dean B. E.
 Loeb, Dr. Leo
 Londe, Dr. Sol (C)
 Lin, Joe.
 Langsdorf, Dean A. S.
 Metzger, Dr. Hyman (C)
 Preisler, Paul
 Ridpath, Rev. Ben (C)
 Romalia, Freida
 Reznikoff, Ida (C)
 Ornzoni, Dr. Ethel
 Sweet, Dr. Sidney
 Scarlett, Bishop Wm.
 Schwab, Sidney
 Sherman, Tom.
 Smith, Mrs. Schigler
 Spindler, Miss Jennie
 Spencer, Dr. Sheldon (C)
 Smith, Luther Ely
 Tyaher, Mrs. Ralph
 Taussig, Dr. Albert (C)
 Thalonger, Chas.
 Wilson, Rev. Chas. E. (C) (now
 leader St. Louis branch, American
 Peace Mobilization—former leader
 St. Louis branch, American League
 for Peace and Democracy).

Weston, Layton (C)
 White, Dr. Park (C)
 Wokack, Dr. Nathaniel (C)

Professional Branch, Communist Party (Partial List).

Arndt, Dr. Elmer
 Alt, Herschel
 Beccard, Helen, artist
 Bishop, Dr. Geo.
 Brandt, Irving
 Burch, Jacob
 Cook, Dr. Jerome E.
 Chambers, Prof. L. E.
 Cummings, Dr. Clark Walker
 Galt, Chas., artist
 Gibson, Dr. Geo.
 Hudson, Kenneth E. artist
 Johnson, Josephine, novelist
 Jones, Joe, artist

National Negro Congress
 St. Louis Negro Youth Federation
 St. Louis Branch American Artists
 Congress
 St. Louis Negro Foundation
 The City Association of Colored
 Women's Clubs
 Workers Alliance
 Workers Project Union
 American Student Union
 American Youth Hostel Association.
 Women's Shoppers League
 American Peace Mobilization

Revised list, October, 1940.

Partial list of active Communists, St. Louis, Mo., 1937-40:

Ambo, Joe, Jr.
 Anderson, M.
 Abraham, Mordeici
 Abrahams, Ethel
 Allen, Chas.
 Astor, Joe.
 Anton, Gus.
 Bare, O. B.
 Baker, Betty
 Becker, Zetta
 Becker, Ida
 Buecher, T.
 Brandt, A. M.
 Beezley, Tom.
 Benz, Geo.
 Brown, Richard (organizer,
 Friends of Lincoln Battalion).
 Brown, Elsie
 Belton, C.
 Bittner, Frank
 Boler, John H.
 Bukish, Andrew
 Braun, John
 Cook, Mrs. Jerome (Women's
 Shoppers League).
 Conway, M.
 Castelli, Phil.
 Collins, Dorothy

organizer).
 Green, Lonie
 Green, Stanley
 Glass, M.
 Glaser, Goldine (organizer, American
 League for Peace and Democracy).
 Guest, Wm.
 Golub, Marie
 Golitsky, Mo.
 Graven, Viola Davies
 Heartsill, Wm. (American Peace
 Mobilization).
 Hunt, Richard
 Hoper, William
 Hubbard H.
 Hill, W.
 Hill, Eugene
 Hoffman, Joe (secretary-treasurer,
 Workers Alliance).
 Hudson Romey
 Isreal, Phillip
 Inman, Frank
 Ivey, U.
 Iacono, Frank
 Ivory, W.
 Ivanich, Ge. Wm.
 Jencks, Clinton E. (now American
 Peace Mobilization).
 Jones, E.
 Jones, Joe.
 Jones, Monroe
 Johnson, Perry
 Jerconovich, Virginia
 Klaric, Amelia
 Klaric, Matt
 Klaric, John
 Kastler, Wm. F. (representative,
 Midwest Daily Record, Communist
 paper).
 King, S.
 Klein, Sarah
 Kaplan, Jennie
 Koken, Alice
 Koch, Raymond (president, Workers
 Alliance—educational director
 C. I. O. Electrical Workers).
 Krasner, B.
 Krentz, Cleo
 Kohs, Marie

Maanister, Mary
 Newman, Sol
 Nesbitt, Laura (Women's Shoppers
 League).
 O'Beare (W.P.A. organizer).
 O'Berman, Paul
 Otting, Edward
 Perilli, J.
 Pollack, J.
 Pierce.
 Paul, Jessie
 Pollman, Matt.
 Pratt, C.
 Pachacz, Mike
 Pearson, Herman
 Perez, John
 Perez, A.
 Powell, Ben.
 Parrish, J.
 Parker.
 Porter, Wm.
 Potts, H.
 Peck, John
 Pierre, Lawrence
 Rosen, Albert John (organizer,
 Friends Lincoln Battalion, American
 League for Peace and Democracy,
 served as lieutenant, Spanish
 Loyalists).
 Rex, Alice (Women's Shoppers
 League).
 Radcliff, M.
 Rogers, Joe.
 Robison, Palton
 Reynolds.
 Rutledge, Mrs. Paul (Women's
 Shoppers League).
 Rupich, Nick.
 Risque, Caroline (Women's Shoppers
 League).
 Schiffrin, Mrs. Louis (Women's
 Shoppers League).
 Schmidt, Marie
 Schmidt, Thomas
 Scott, Wm.
 Saunders, R. S.
 Segrist, Lydia
 Shelton, Virgie
 Shied, Rose
 Stevens, Ruth

West, Y.
 Wright, James W.
 Whitfield, O. M. Rev. (colored).
 Zupan, Zlatko
 Zini, Z.
 Zadow, Joseph
 Zimmer, A.
 Zeigler, A.
 Zopf, Louise Evans

NOTICE!

Some of the persons named on the above list are now deceased. Others have left the St. Louis area. These names are included that the record of Communist infiltration into the life of St. Louis, as recorded in testimony before the American Activities Committee, will be complete.

Any persons named on this list, which is taken from Vol. 5, Executive Hearings Before A Special Committee On Un-American Activities, who can satisfactorily demonstrate that they were never a part of the Communist environment in St. Louis, or that they are no longer associated with Marxist activities, will be so listed in a future issue of Attack.

The above names listed for the purpose of smearing any individual, solely for the purpose of exposing the dangerous extent to which the Communist Party has infiltrated Church, Educational and Professional life in St. Louis. And, it should be noted, the Communist Party in the United States regards St. Louis as its most poorly organized large city.

COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERS, SUPPORTERS AND SYMPATHIZERS!

AS LISTED IN THE EXECUTIVE HEARING BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON UNAMERICAN ACTIVITIES OF THE UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. VOLUME 5. PAGES 2050-2089.

Partial list of citizens of St. Louis who were on file in 1938 at Communist headquarters as "Communist sympathizers" who have contributed money and, in some instances, personal services.

(C) designates were regarded as Communists.

Doherty, John (regional director, St. Louis C. I. O.).

Members of the American League for Peace and Democracy.

Alt, Herschel (C)
Arndt, Dr. Elmer (C)
Bishop, Dr. Geo. (C)
Bodiola, Michael (C)
Brandt, Irving (C)
Burch, Jacob (C)
Brofenbrenner, Dr. J. J.
Bruno, Dr. Frank
Cori, Dr. Carl F.
Cook, Mrs. Jerome
Cook, Dr. Jerome E. (C)
Chambers, Prof. L. E. (C)
Chubb, Percival
Cook, Fannie
Cummings, Dr. Clark Walker (C)
Dyer, Mrs. L. C.
Douglas, Truman
Eggerding, Erwin
Fleisher, Dr. Myer S.
Fuchs, Ralph
Graham, Dr. E. A.
Gibson, Dr. Geo. (C)

Klamm, Prof. J. M.
Kasius, Peter
Londe, Dr. Sol.
Metzger, Dr. Hyman
Ridpath, Rev. Ben.
Reznikoff, Ida
Singer, Burr, artist
Spencer, Louise
Spencer, Dr. Seldon
Tandler, Randolph, artist
Turnball, James P., artist
Tausig, Dr. Albert
Telle, Fred, artist
Weston, Layton
Wilson, Rev. Chas. E.
White, Dr. Park
Wohack, Dr. Nathaniel

These persons above were listed in 1937, 1938, and 1939 at Communist headquarters as members, fellow travelers and sympathizers.

Organizations controlled by Communists, St. Louis District (Partial List).

Seventeen C. I. O. unions
American League for Peace and Democracy (disbanded)
American Youth Congress
Association for the Advancement of the Colored People
Ethical Society of St. Louis
China Aid Council
Friends of the Lincoln Battalion
German Liberty Union
International Workers' Order
International Labor Defense

Cortez, Audrey
Crowell, Fanny
Carnosky, Deborah
Crawford, C. C.
Clark, James
Cant'e, Ed.
Carter, Oscar
Cooper, L. T.
Domigan, Emily
Dukes, Sam (organizer)
Douglas, Mrs. Jean (Women's Shoppers League)
Drew, Caroline (teacher, communism, organizer) (educational committee)
Daumeral, Henry
Day, John (organizer)
Dean, Henry
Dierkes, Charlott
Dierkes, Jack
Dierkes, Jeannette
Dierkes, Dolores
Davis, Leo
DiBartolo, Pete
DiBartolo, Miss (sister)
Ehrich, Dave
Ellis, James
Ekens, Don
Ely, Sam
Flier, Jules
Fuentz, Juan
Felderman, Israel
French, V.
Friedman, Al (Workers Alliance organizer)
Grant, Pete. (organizer)
Graham, Ted. (Workers Alliance vice president)
Geopoulos, Sam
Gordon, Mrs. (organizer)
Gordon, Mrs. (organizer)

Kirk, Mrs. Wm. (Women's Shoppers League)
Levine, Ben (organizer)
Levine, Morris
Levine, Sophie
Laws, J.
Lawson, John (organizer)
Leslie, S.
Lechman, Joseph
Lechner, Martin B.
Long, T.
Londe, Rose
Light, Mrs. Ivan H. (Women's Shoppers League)
Lindsay, Joe
Lutz, Owen
Liocona, Frank
Malone, Harold (Negro organizer, Young Communist League)
Moritz
Moore
McGrath, John
McGrath, Mrs. E. C. (Women's Shoppers League)
Matssich, John
Nason, Sonia
McDowell, Edmond
Millman, Sol
Methless, Lillian
McDaniel, James
Marcus, Harry
Murphy, Al (Negro organizer)
Masovitch, Sam (I. W. O. organizer)
Margulis, Grace (served in Spain with Loyalist Army, nurse)
McKenzie, James Donald (organizer)
Menendez, Joseph
Mandigler, Mable
Mullers, H.

Shemil, P.
Sakowsky, M.
Smith, Enmon
Spencer, Louise (secretary, American League for Peace and Democracy)
Siren, Felix
Sanford
Seivers, Carl
Smith, Orrville
Simon, John
Simon, Abbott (American Youth Congress)
Spencer, Irving
Shaeffer, Sol.
Stone, T. B.
Sanders
Silverstone, Mark
Singer, Clarence
Schwab, Max
Tausig, Mrs. Albert (Women's Shoppers League)
Taylor, Nat.
Thompson, Anna
Vanetti, Andrew
Umscheid, J. (Negro organizer)
Williams, Sidney (secretary, Urban League)
Williams, Frank (secretary, IWO)
Woodrow, Ollie
Woodrow, A.
Walker, Donald
Walker, A. J.
Wander, Jess
Walch, H.
Weston, John
Warfield, Frank
Wood, Sadie
Wood, Harold
Warner, Chas.
Wallis
Waters

Josephine Baker Exposes Jewish Persecution.

JOSEPHINE BAKER, highly touted Negro entertainer and propagandist for mongrelization, who recently appeared in St. Louis at Kiel Auditorium, is the author of one of the most vitriolic attacks upon Jewish oppression of other minorities ever to appear in print. During her stay in St. Louis Josephine Baker was denied admittance to the Hotels Chase and Park Plaza, owned by Sam Koplar (whose daughter, Mrs. Morris Shenker, is a member of Mayor Darst's Human Relations Council). The following quotations are from the book "Les Memoirs de Josephine Baker":

"In Harlem the Jews subject the Negroes to slavery. In Harlem all the houses are Jews. They burden all the Negroes. All the movies, the one-price stores, belong to the Jews. The salesmen are Negroes and they are robbed like nowhere else. Negroes cannot work without Jews. They cannot go to work on Broadway without the help of the Jews. They depend completely upon the Jews. They are in their hands, completely subjected to their harsh demands.

"And not a Negro raises his voice, not one would dare against the Jews. The Negroes know from their sad experience that they would die of hunger if they raised their voices against the treatment which the Jews subject them to.

"I'm giving you the opportunity of your life," say the Jews to the Negroes in Harlem, whatever be the occupation that the Negroes choose. And the Negroes are compelled to accept the opportunity that the Jews offer them because otherwise they wouldn't have the slightest chance to be able to survive, not matter what they do. The opportunity that the

Jews offer is the enslavement of the Negroes.

"When a Negro artist, for example, strikes it lucky, the maximum is \$3000 a week. The Jew, who has made sure that he controls the income, levies upon each one everywhere and always, an outrageous cut.

"All the managers of Negro boxers are Jews. Many are the Negro boxers who got only a tenth of what they earn for their broken noses. Among the gangsters there are many Jews. They are less dangerous than the other Jews for the Negroes of Harlem and elsewhere" . . . On page 321: "Don't the Jews realize what they're doing? Why do they do it? And they arrive from the four corners of the world—to do that? Can we believe their sincerity when they complain about other people and accuse them? Don't they see that they are calling down more misfortune on themselves and on their children and that then they will be more to be blamed than pitied? . . . Why must it be that the unfortunate Negroes of Harlem by a mockery of fate should be the victims of the Jews?"

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() — Racial Aspect

() — Two-Party Treason

Name

Address

City Zone State

One Race ~ One Faith < One Nation

ATTACK

"I come not with Peace—but a Sword." Matt. 10, 34

St. Louis, Missouri

Fools Laugh

But while the Dutch Jews were financially prosperous, they were psychologically unhappy. Dutch Jewish leaders felt that to live both as a Dutchman and a Jew involved an intolerable split in loyalty, and were openly declaring their choice as Jews rather than Dutchmen. — American Jewish Yearbook, 1950, Page 306.

State Legislature Defies Post Dispatch

THE lower house of the Missouri Legislature, in complete defiance of the powerful St. Louis Post-Dispatch, has upheld the right of Missouri citizens to band together in political parties—even if the program of such political parties is contrary to the race mixing philosophy of the Post-Dispatch. By a 17 vote margin the House of Representatives at Jefferson City defeated the Hillsman Bill—a bill designed to limit free speech and free assembly by banning all political parties excepting the Republican and Democratic. The bill was openly described as a move to bar Don Lohbeck from using radio and television facilities in Missouri.

We do not fear attacks from the left-wing, Jewish owned Post-Dispatch. We are well able to fight back. But we want your help. Financial help—physical help. The battle to preserve American liberty from the onslaught of Jewish-Communist intrigue is your fight, too. It is time for you to get in it.

The Christian Nationalist Party brought about the defeat of a World Federalist Resolution in the State Legislature that would have done away with our nation-

City Drops Appeal Swimming Pool Case

SHOWING complete disregard for the welfare and best interest of the white boys and girls of St. Louis, City Counsellor James Crowe, tool of Mayor Joe Darst, recently announced that the City of St. Louis has withdrawn its appeal from the court decision that forced the turning over of white swimming pools to Negroes. Crowe gave as his excuse the belief that Supreme Court would uphold Negroes.

When this case first came to trial the City of St. Louis, represented by Crowe, refused to fight for the rights of the white children. Counsellor Crowe failed to present a case—and the Judge ruled against the City practically by default. As a result of the betrayal by James Crowe the white boys and girls of St. Louis had no public pool in which to swim.

ure of secret Communist supporters and agitators right here in St. Louis.

Help us! Send your contribu-



MISCELLANEOUS MATERIAL RECEIVED
FROM THE OFFICE OF SENATOR JOSEPH R. MC CARTHY

Bureau file 100-398328

March 6, 1953

On 2/11/53 the attached material was received from the office of Senator McCarthy of Wisconsin. It should be reviewed by you.

By memorandum dated February 7, 1953, Assistant to the Director L. B. Nichols advised: "In Mr. Baumgardner's memorandum of February 3, 1953, inquiry was made as to how the Bureau may use copies of correspondence addressed to Senator McCarthy. I wish to advise that I have specifically raised this problem with Don Surine of Senator McCarthy's Office.

"Surine states that we are authorized to use this material any way we see fit and to say that the material had been referred to the Bureau by Senator McCarthy to disseminate and to conduct any investigation that is suggested by the facts. I told Surine we would do this and to avoid making inquiry in each instance, I inquired whether we could assume that this applied to anything else he might furnish us unless he specifically put a restriction on it. He stated that we could so assume and if there was anything they did not want known came from them, they would so advise us. However, Surine did state with reference to the dissemination of such letters to other Government agencies, that we not show the Senator's Office as the source but carry the source as "of unknown reliability." Surine further stated that we should use good judgment in all the letters. For example, if a writer asked the Senator to keep confidential the source of the information, we, likewise, should keep confidential the source of information and should it be necessary to interview the original complainant, we should not divulge that Senator McCarthy's Office has furnished us the information."

You should be guided accordingly in handling the material, taking appropriate action where necessary.

13R If no action is warranted, make a notation to this effect on this form and file under instant caption, marking for indexing where necessary.

If action is warranted, route a carbon copy of your initial correspondence into above file so the material can be located later with a minimum of effort. The correspondence, of course, should bear an appropriate caption suitable to the particular item.

Attachment

RECORDED - 93

INDEXED - 93

100-398328-36

MAR 27 1953

W. Johnson

75 APR 7 - 1953

W. J. H. H. H.
January 28, 1953 .

Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy .
Senate Investigation Committee
Washington , D. C.

Dear Senator .

If you want it, Send the right people and you can
get it, (I -- How all the Red Chinese Communist are getting into this Country ?
(How the Immigration Department knows about it) How Lawyers are using
these same Chinese as a shake down Racket, Also how a number of the old
so called German Bund out fit is at it again, And How that so called old
timer in Congress (Vito Markinteno) took care of all this gang known as
the old German Bund Out Fit, How he arranged to keep them out of trouble ,
Only to be ready to use them latter to do his work If War breaks out with
Russia, I also want you to know that I will turn it all over to the
right people, Closing with saying ,

Let Me Hear From You
I Remain ,

New York, City .

(Phone Sa .

Assistant Attorney General
Warren Olney III

March 12, 1953

Director, FBI (62-New)

PROCUREMENT PRACTICE - UNITED STATES ARMY
SIGNAL CORPS;
WASHINGTON INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY - COMPLAINANT
MISCELLANEOUS - INFORMATION CONCERNING
(ACCOUNTING FRAUD SECTION) *Joseph R. McCarthy*

There is attached a Photostat of a letter dated January 28, 1953, addressed to the Honorable Joe McCarthy, Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C., from [redacted] of the Washington Institute of Technology. There is also attached a Photostat of [redacted] letter dated January 26, 1953, addressed to Major General George I. Back, Chief Signal Officer, United States Army, The Pentagon, Washington, D. C., as well as a Photostat of an undated memorandum referred to in [redacted] letter to Major General Back.

This material has been referred to this Bureau by Senator Joseph R. McCarthy for dissemination purposes and for such action as we deem appropriate.

Unless advice is received to the contrary, the Bureau does not contemplate taking any further action in regard to this matter. Copies of the attachments have been furnished to Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2, Department of the Army, for information purposes with the request that the Bureau be informed should any information be developed indicative of a violation within our jurisdiction.

Attachment

✓cc: 100-398328

JCS:ige

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

COMM - FBI
MAR 13 1953
MAILED

100-398328-1
NOT RECORDED
141 APR 2 1953

67 APR 10 1953

March 17, 1953

100-398328-37
The Honorable
The Secretary of the Treasury
Washington, D. C.

MISCELLANEOUS, INFORMATION
CONCERNING
(Accounting & Fraud Section)

My dear Mr. Secretary:

Attached is a Photostat of a document captioned
"Extortion Practices Through The Illegal Use of The
Federal Taxing Powers," prepared by Lester P. Barlow of
Stamford, Connecticut. This material was made available
to the Bureau by a confidential source of unknown
reliability. Wash. DC

It is noted that [redacted] claims a history of
difficulties regarding a tax assessment of \$21,000, the
background of which appears to be well known to the
Treasury Department and to the Bureau of Internal
Revenue.

In the absence of any indications of specific
violations within the jurisdiction of this Bureau, this
information has been referred to the Criminal Division
of the Department of Justice and no further action is
contemplated by this Bureau in the absence of a specific
request from the Department of Justice.

Sincerely yours,

Attachment

WPH:MAH
100-398328
62-19893

COMM. STAMP
ON ORIGINAL
mailed 3/19/53

79 APR 20 1953

MISCELLANEOUS MATERIAL RECEIVED
FROM THE OFFICE OF SENATOR JOSEPH R. MC CARTHY

Bureau file 100-398328

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You should be guided accordingly in handling the material, taking appropriate action where necessary.

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If action is warranted, route a carbon copy of your initial correspondence into above file so the material can be located later with a minimum of effort. The correspondence, of course, should bear an appropriate caption suitable to the particular item.

Attachment

911 - (17000000)

100-398328-17

MAR 26 1953

with 12/1/53
Treasury 3/1/53
only 3-17-53
WJH
From Room 10
call 1-17-53

Div 1
B-1

800 MAIN STREET
STAMFORD, CONN.

January 23, 1953.

Honorable Joseph McCarthy, Chairman,
Senate Committee on Expenditures in Executive Departments,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator McCarthy:


Inclosed is my sworn statement in reference to the million dollar Barlow vis. U. S. Case, and a brief record of the corruption, extortion efforts, on the part of government officials in the past two administrations. There is still some important unfinished business relating to this case, and I feel that the new administration will not care to let this case remain static until it becomes a fixed part of the present administration's own record. Your position as Chairman of the Senate Committee, authorized to look into criminal practice at high levels in the departments of the government, gives you the chance to bring out the sordid record of crime on the part of high officials in the Roosevelt and Truman administrations, and who ganged up to extort \$300,000.00 of the \$600,000.00 which the Courts and Congress authorized paid to this writer.

Your enemies, who often claim that you lack facts to back up your charges, will get a "smashing" answer from you if you toss the indisputable records of the Barlow Case out into the open for the citizens to look at - records of the Federal Courts and the Departments of Government under Roosevelt and Truman. The large amount of money involved baited some of the highest officials in the last two administrations, but I never let them get a dime. Their last chance to work extortion pressure was in the Internal Revenue Bureau - they failed there too. Now they out, but they left me hanging with their unfinished business.

I shall be in Washington during the coming week, and I would like very much to talk to you a few minutes on this matter, and then go into it further with one of your assistants.

I believe the citizens of this Nation expect that you will do more towards a real clean-out of corruption at Washington, D. C. than any other man, or men, on the federal places.

Most sincerely,



Extortion Practices Through The
Illegal Use of The Federal Taxing Powers.

[REDACTED]
Stamford, Connecticut

100 - 211111-3

ENCLOSURE

continued

...my designs were submitted to the War Department. I... designs... fragmentation, ... at this time, the designs of the ... bomb was submitted to the Navy Department by ... At that time there were no aerial ... in the files of our defense organizations, and ... appropriated by the Congress for such ... It was sent to the Frankford Arsenal by ... to expedite the development of the bombs ... The War Department furnished manpower and ... for that development, but I was not put on the pay- ... as I did not wish to jeopardize any ... which I might later obtain for my in- ... bombs.

I remained at the Frankford Arsenal until August of 1916, having then developed and tested the bombs to a condition of acceptance by the War Department.

As soon as the War Department had no funds to purchase my bomb designs, I was advised by the Department to contact industrial firms who might be fitted to produce such bombs should war involve the United States. The War Department cooperated with me in obtaining a contract with the Marlin-Rockwell Corp., and also with the Hale & Kilburn Company, for the purpose of manufacturing the bombs if war developed. The War Department signed contracts with the Marlin-Rockwell Corp. for the establishing of a set of bomb royalties for my protection.

Many hundreds of thousands of my bombs were manufactured for the United States Government and the British Government, during the first World War.

After the War the War Department, having changed most of its personnel, refused to recognize my bomb patent rights and I was required to take the matter to the federal courts. In order to go to court for settlement with the Government, an act of Congress was necessary. This was opposed by the War Department, but the Congress, in 1927, and after two years of efforts on my part, did, by unanimous consent approve of my right to sue the War Department.

That case remained before the U. S. Court of Claims for eleven years, during which the Court made three separate decisions in my favor, the first being the sustaining of my patent rights, and ordering the War Department to render an accounting of royalties due me. The Secretary of War then signed an agreement stipulation to pay me \$1,333,000.00.

When the stipulation was returned to the Court, I, without prior notice, and without the advice of my attorneys,

asked the Court to reduce the stipulation to \$700,000 and again, when my case came before the Congress for appropriation to pay the award, I asked the Senate Committee to cut the award to \$592,719.00.

When I was asked by the Court, and again by the Senate Committee, why I asked the cuts, my answer was that I was forced to sue the Government and I wished to be on record that I would have settled the claim without court action on a reasonable basis.

From the time that it was apparent that I would win in the U. S. Court of Claims, I was beset by one group after another which demanded a part of any winnings which I might receive. They all offered influence with Government agencies, and when I refused to accept such offers, then I was threatened with having my case blocked to the extent that I would never realize a payment for my bomb patent rights. I am sure that at least some of these criminal offers could have been made good, as some were inside Government offers. I elected to continue my case on the top level of legality, but the monetary and time premiums which I have paid for such decisions have been very great. I will not, in this, attempt to reveal all of the many attempts at extortion which I faced for a quarter of a century because of my success as an inventor of U. S. munitions, but I will here briefly outline some of the more vicious attempts of extortion perpetrated by United States Government officials, and Government agents in high places of the Justice Department, the Treasury Department, and the Internal Revenue Bureau.

Not only do I hope to be relieved of a crushing punitive tax, and an illegal tax, which has never been assessed against any other citizen of this nation, but I want to make it clear why the Internal Revenue Bureau must be completely detached from every other Administration Department in order to protect the taxpayers from possible future extortion and revenge attempts by Government agents.

To those who may think that successful professional inventors and engineers are in a lucrative business when they develop devices for our national defense it will be well to take a look at the much publicized Barlow winnings in the U. S. Court of Claims.

First I did not obtain a judgment - only an award - and therefore Congress was not required to appropriate funds to pay same, and this left even wider the road for criminals to move at me for a cut in any money that the Congress might award me.

Of the award which I did receive (\$592,719.00) I paid my attorneys in the court trial of eleven years, 6 of them, more than \$150,000.00. Also I paid about \$50,000.00 to other

attorneys for lobby fee and for more court action against the Secretary of the Treasury, Morgenthau, and both in order to obtain the money appropriated by Congress, through U. also paid about \$100,000.00 in income taxes. Another \$25,000.00 was sent to pay debts which I incurred during the long years of court actions. I bought myself a small home for about \$15,000.00. I used to pay the money to Barlow until the Secretary had exhausted every legal means to prevent Barlow from

After the above disbursements, I had a little over \$250,000.00 to invest in land and cattle, and that is what I did in 1942 when I was 54 years old, and after a lifetime at most hazardous developments in munitions and aeronautics. In 1944 the Internal Revenue Bureau attached my properties for a tax claim of \$21,000.00 which they based on their position that I was only to be allowed a deduction on \$60,000.00 as attorney fees for fifteen years on the Barlow vs. U. S. Case. The lien is still on my property, and my credit is zero because of that fact - a serious thing to face at 66 years of age.

940 Award of \$592,719.21 to Lester P. Barlow, by the U. S. Court of Claims, and appropriated by Congress, approved by the President, and cleared by the Controller General at once, was not respected by the Secretary of Treasury, who refused to pay the money to Barlow until the Secretary had exhausted every legal means to prevent Barlow from obtaining the money unless he (Barlow) would agree to divide the total amount with extortionists within the Government staffs, and their outside cohorts.

Secretary of Treasury, Morgenthau, when ordered by the court to pay the money as appropriated by Congress to Barlow, refused to do so until he faced contempt of court action. Morgenthau was supported by Attorney General Jackson who made many rulings on the matter contrary to the Federal laws. Jackson's First Assistant Attorney General was a party to the extortion attempts, and was also supported by Jackson. This man is Carl L. Ristine, who resigned from the Justice Department to act as attorney for one John F. Clark, another of the extortion ring. Oscar Cox, Assistant to Secretary of the Treasury on Internal Revenue Bureau matters at that time, was also a part of the group who were attempting to force Barlow to release \$296,000.00 to Clark, who Ristine was then serving as an attorney. Ristine admitted in court that he was to receive half of any money that Barlow would be forced to pay Clark.

When the courts forced Morgenthau to pay the whole amount to Barlow, then Ristine went back on his old job in the Department of Justice with Attorney General Jackson.

941 The final payments to Barlow were not made until eleven months after Congress appropriated the money to Barlow, which was then 1941.

938 The U. S. Court of Claims made the final award, and to the amount of \$592,719.21 on the 27th of May, 1938, and reported its findings to the Congress as ordered by the Congress in a Bill passed by the Congress in 1927, instructing the U. S. Court of Claims to hear the Barlow case and report its findings back to Congress.

On June 4th 1938, my Washington, D. C. attorneys were told by Former First Assistant Attorney General Herman Galoway, that for a \$30,000.00 fee he could influence the Special Assistant Attorney General, Alexander Holtzoff, to write a favorable report on the Barlow award to the Congress so that the Congress might rush the appropriation bill through to pay the award before adjournment.

I refused to agree to that proposition as I felt that it was an extortion effort. Galoway repeated the offer

...we were advising me that I could
...we needed by agreeing to \$30,000.00. I then asked Senator Lynn J. Frazier to
listen in on a split telephone line while my Chief
Counsel in New York City talked to me via long distance
phone, June 8th. This attorney was Hiram C. Todd, 120
Broadway, New York, N. Y. Mr. Todd advised me to pay as
I had no other choice. I informed Mr. Todd that it was
extortion we faced, but he told me I could do nothing, as
the Administration was loaded with corruptionists. I
agreed to pay and told him to tell Galoway he could have
the \$30,000.00, but I at once told Senator Frazier that I
would never pay the shakedown. I had held out for five
days against Galoway's demands as I did not agree to pay
until the telephone talk with Mr. Todd, which was at
10:30 a.m. the 8th of June 1938.

In less than one hour the report promised by Galoway was
delivered by the efforts of Special Assistant Attorney
General, Alexander Holtzoff. The report went direct to
the Senate Claims Committee, and Galoway came at once to
Senator Frazier's office to so advise me.

Several days later I received a printed copy of the report
as printed by the Government Printing Office, and I at
once noticed that the report was dated June 4, 1938. I
then knew that Galoway had known that the report was ready
on June 4th, and Holtzoff had held the report at the
Department of Justice until I agreed to pay the \$30,000.00
to Galoway.

I kept Senator Frazier advised as to this discovery, and
we decided to keep this matter to ourselves for the time
being.

Holtzoff had used every trick to beat me before the U. S.
Court of Claims, but now he showed a very different at-
titude - he went before the Claims Committee of the House
and testified much of the day, and strongly in favor of
the whole award being paid to me. The War Department
attorneys tried to block the appropriation by Congress,
but Holtzoff clashed with them before the House Committee
and said the whole Court's award should be paid. Note the
record of Holtzoff before the Committee, and you will
realize that something tricky was taking place in Holtzoff's
position before the Committee. At the end of the Hearing
the Chairman said to me, after Holtzoff left the room,
"You will have to admit, Barlow, that Holtzoff proved a
good sport here - he may have tried to beat you in the
Court, but here he was on your side against the War Depart-
ment Attorneys." I agreed with the Chairman then, but when
I had received the money many months later, I went to the
Chairman of the Committee and told him of the Galoway and
Holtzoff extortion efforts. I also told him and other

members of the Congress that I would never pay a cent of the extortion demanded, but would help any agency of the Government to prosecute them.

As soon as the Congress appropriated the money to me, then one John F. Clark, a Los Angeles attorney, appeared and claimed half of the money. He did not file a suit, just told the Secretary of the Treasury that he demanded half of the money. Morgenthau then announced he would act as stakeholder until I settled with Clark. Ristine resigned from the Department of Justice as First Assistant Attorney General, and took charge of Clark's claim. Clark had a bad record in California, and was reprimanded by the Bar Association there for signing checks made out to clients and taking the money for his own use. He had a long shady record, but he found warm friends in the Department of Justice and the Treasury, as well as the Bureau of Internal Revenue. Ristine went to my attorneys as soon as he resigned from the Department of Justice, and told them that if he protested the award that President Roosevelt probably would veto the Bill for the payment of the award. After President Roosevelt signed the Bill, then Ristine again went to my attorneys and told them he would see that they received their full fees if they would let him win for Clark. I had then started suit against Morgenthau to make him pay the award. My attorneys refused Ristine's offer.

I demanded bond be posted by Morgenthau and Clark, but Attorney General Jackson ruled no bond was necessary, in fact he ruled in favor of the other side whenever they needed to circumvent the established laws which would have protected me.

After several months I received a decision against Morgenthau in the Federal District Courts, and he was there ordered to pay the award to me. He then appealed through the District Courts, and again I beat him. He appealed twice more, but I beat him and then expected to get the money as appropriated by the Congress to me. But I had to go back to the court and again get a new order from the court to make Morgenthau give me the money. My attorneys then went over to the Treasury to obtain the check, but soon returned to the office to inform me that a claim against me had just been made by the Internal Revenue Bureau for \$100,000.00 back taxes which they claimed I owed for the year of 1936. The man who brought this fake claim to light was Oscar Cox, Assistant to the Secretary of the Treasury on Internal Revenue Bureau matters.

I then went to the Secretary of Treasury office with my attorneys and demanded the check at once, and told them there that the tax claim was just a frame-up to again block payment as the courts had ordered. I gave notice

I assembled all of my business records which were available at my Stamford, Connecticut home and took them to Washington, D. C. At Washington, D. C. I went directly to the office of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, and without notice that I was coming, I walked past his outer offices, and, against the protests of his assistants, I confronted the Commissioner and introduced myself as I demanded that he get the investigation started at once. He ordered me out of his office, but I told him that he would face a Senate resolution demanding an investigation of him and his office just as soon as Senator Frazier could prepare the resolution.

Attorneys from the Commissioner's office appeared at my attorney's office within an hour, and they got the same information on how Senator Frazier would move. I invited them to go with me to the Senator's office at once, and get his position on the matter. They returned to the Commissioner's office and soon phoned that the investigation would be started in a day or two.

I then rented rooms at the Shoreham Building, and retained more tax experts to comb my records. The investigation was underway for some time and at the end I was given a clear record - the Internal Revenue Bureau had failed again to serve Morgenthau and the extortionists working through him and Attorney Jackson.

I again sued Morgenthau for the other half of my money which he had hoped to grab as a tax claim if I would not give up to Clark and Ristine. I beat Morgenthau through three more appeals, but he still would not pay the money over to me. A favorable judge, as he thought, fell ill, and Morgenthau was again facing Judge Bailey who had shown disgust with the case before, and Morgenthau got an order to give me the money before the next Thursday or face contempt proceedings.

The Internal Revenue Bureau then made claim against me for \$221,000.00 in additional taxes. At my orders my attorneys moved for contempt charges against Morgenthau. I left the city for the weekend, but when I returned I was informed by my attorneys that the Treasury Department had been looking for me as they had my check ready for me to pick up. This was Tuesday. With my attorney, Joseph McCuen, I went over to the Treasury and in less than half a minute the check for the full amount due was handed to me. \$221,000.00.

As I left the Treasury Building a man met me at the door and said he was from the Internal Revenue Bureau and that the Bureau wanted me to come over at once. I told him I would be over just as soon as I could get another of my attorneys to come with me. Within half an hour I was at the Internal Revenue Bureau, and with my attorneys, I was taken to an office and there met a Mr. Smith, who told me he was instructed to see me about dropping the added tax that the Bureau had just recently demanded of me. I asked him if he was ordered to get me in a state of mind to call off the contempt charges against Morgenthau. He said he knew nothing about that. I then told him to go ahead if he wanted to and take care of the tax any way he wanted to. In a few minutes he said the tax would be reduced by \$200,000.00 and wanted to know how I felt about that. I told him just to go on guessing, and then with my attorneys I left the Bureau. When we returned to the office of my attorneys, the girl there told us that the Department of Justice wanted Mr. McCuen to phone at once. (Mr. McCuen was one of my Washington attorneys).

McCuen phoned the Department of Justice, and he was asked if I had received my money from the Treasury, and, when informed that I had, they asked if the Internal Revenue Bureau had had me over there on the tax matter. McCuen said that I had been to the Bureau and that the tax claim had been cut \$200,000.00. Then the Department of Justice agents asked how Barlow felt. McCuen said he could not say. The Justice men then asked McCuen to get me to drop the contempt case against Morgenthau. I told McCuen to tell them he would call them later.

McCuen then told me that the Government men had had enough and would not bother anymore. I would not agree to that, and I told Mr. McCuen that if I dropped the case against Morgenthau that next week the gang would hit me again with the fake tax claim. McCuen said he was sure that they would not, and that I would do him a great favor by dropping the case against Morgenthau as he had to live in Washington and make a living there. I gave in and told him he could tell them I would drop the case. He phoned the Department of Justice to that effect at once. The following Tuesday the Internal Revenue Bureau jumped me again with the tax

...was safe, and ...
...the Tax Appeal Court of the District
...another sure bet for the
...the judges were all appointees of
...We put up a hard fight and I am sure
...I would not take a licking there.
...the tax to \$21,000.00
...but that the
...claim was to save the face
...of the Treasury Department and the Bureau of Internal
...The appeals were taken by the Bureau and the
...to the \$21,000.00 decision. The Bureau said
...I then, by letter direct to the
...Commissioner of Internal Revenue, told him that I would not
...for any more of the rackets in his Bureau, and if
...another appeal was started I would start for protection in
...the Congress. There were no more appeals.

There is no honest basis for the \$21,000.00 claim, and no
...has even claimed such since the Roosevelt Ad-
...However, the tax judgment of the
...judges still stands, and the tax remains unpaid
...with the interest piling up at 6%. Internal Revenue agents
...have agreed with tax experts that the tax is a tax that has
...never been setup against any other person in the United
...States.

The tax is a tax on the money that I paid to my lawyers who
...hauled the Barlow vs. U. S. in the Court of Claims over
...a period of eleven years. Such an expenditure is deductible
...and I challenge any office of the Internal Revenue Bureau to
...show that the tax claim is just. Today, and since the
...Roosevelt Administration went out, it is easy to just let
...the claim lay - to admit the claim is unfair would start
...someone claiming I had the case fixed - so, "let it hang."

The Internal Revenue Bureau has a lien on my property which
...was put there years ago. My credit is zero because of that
...lien - but today no one can take it off at the Internal
...Revenue Bureau without running a chance of being damned as
...a "fixer."

I have, within the last year, been at the Department of
...Justice on this matter, but they pass the buck over to the
...Internal Revenue Bureau. The Bureau showed sympathy for
...my position, but none will take the responsibility for
...getting the mess cleared up - they are just heirs of the
...mess left from the Roosevelt Administration, and I am the
...victim.

However, Mr. Hennessy, Head, Collectors Enforcement Branch,
...Accounts and Calls Division, Internal Revenue Bureau,

Washington, D. C., I tell me that if I would a Bill introduced in the Congress to kill this tax claim that the Bureau might not oppose it. Of course, that would put the responsibility on the Congress. The fact that the tax has not been collected is good evidence that it is a type of tax that no one in the Bureau cares to be tarred with.

The Congressional records will show that both the Senate and the House in 1941 passed amendments to the tax bill of that time in order to protect me from the attempts to wreck me through unjust taxation by the Internal Revenue Bureau. The two amendments were a little different and in conference corrections were attempted. The Internal Revenue Bureau agents who were working with the Conferrees offered suggestions which they said would protect Barlow - the Conferrees were not careful and when the Bill was out it did not give me the protection intended.

* * * * *

There is much that I have not here made of record, but there is enough to show that the Department of Justice, the Treasury Department, and the Internal Revenue Bureau, have been ONE insofar as any private citizen is concerned who may be required to challenge any part of the threesome. The Internal Revenue Bureau must be completely separated from all other Government Administrative departments if the taxpayers are to be protected from unscrupulous people who may be in Government positions, and who may try to use the tax machinery to make illegal personal gains or tax for revenge.

* * * * *

The Government men named in this release remained on the Government payroll for years and some are still in high Government positions.

Robert Jackson is on the United States Supreme Court. He was appointed by President Roosevelt from Attorney General to the High Court.


Alexander Holtzoff, the former Special Assistant to Attorney General, is now a judge of the Federal District of Columbia Court.

Carl Ristine may be in a high government position - he resigned from the Department of Justice to act as attorney in the extortion attempt on the Barlow case, and, when he failed at that, he went back on the job in the Department of Justice with Robert Jackson, the Attorney General.

Oscar Cox, who rigged the fake tax claims against Barlow, 1940 and 1941, remained on his Government job for years and may be there yet.

Henry Morgenstern is still in the limelight in international affairs.

NOTE - I have kept a daily diary since January 1, 1918, and the information herein may, for the most part, be checked against my diaries.



Subscribed and sworn to this
15th Day of January, 1953,
before me.

Onelta Bender (signed)
Notary Public
My Commission Expires April 1, 1958

MISCELLANEOUS MATERIAL RECEIVED
FROM THE OFFICE OF SENATOR JOSEPH R. MC CARTHY

Bureau file 100-398328

March 6, 1953

On 2/11/53 the attached material was received from the office of Senator McCarthy of Wisconsin. It should be reviewed by you.

By memorandum dated February 7, 1953, Assistant to the Director L. B. Nichols advised: "In Mr. Baumgardner's memorandum of February 3, 1953, inquiry was made as to how the Bureau may use copies of correspondence addressed to Senator McCarthy. I wish to advise that I have specifically raised this problem with Don Surine of Senator McCarthy's Office.

"Surine states that we are authorized to use this material any way we see fit and to say that the material had been referred to the Bureau by Senator McCarthy to disseminate and to conduct any investigation that is suggested by the facts. I told Surine we would do this and to avoid making inquiry in each instance, I inquired whether we could assume that this applied to anything else he might furnish us unless he specifically put a restriction on it. He stated that we could so assume and if there was anything they did not want known came from them, they would so advise us. However, Surine did state with reference to the dissemination of such letters to other Government agencies, that we not show the Senator's Office as the source but carry the source as "of unknown reliability." Surine further stated that we should use good judgment in all the letters. For example, if a writer asked the Senator to keep confidential the source of the information, we, likewise, should keep confidential the source of information and should it be necessary to interview the original complainant, we should not divulge that Senator Mc Carthy's Office has furnished us the information."

You should be guided accordingly in handling the material, taking appropriate action where necessary.

If no action is warranted, make a notation to this effect on this form and file under instant caption, marking for indexing where necessary.

If action is warranted, route a carbon copy of your initial correspondence into above file so the material can be located later with a minimum of effort. The correspondence, of course, should bear an appropriate caption suitable to the particular item.

Attachment *Howe*

18
60-
copy of SYL article
file

RECORDED - 68

INDEXED 68

13 MAR 24 1953

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February 3, 1953

Dear Fighting Senator,

In your ceaseless struggle against subversion and anti-Americanism, you have, no doubt, encountered more hindrance than help from Harvard. In the natural desire to make amends for past obstruction in your ceaseless struggle and to add my bit to the battle, I herein enclose this maledororous pamphlet fully supporting your suspicions of this place. In the past, I have joined with you in noting the welcome reception given to foreign ideologues of new deal temperament and communististic tendency. I also join with you in condemning this sinisterous swing away from American principles. Again like you, I seek action on the matter. May this pamphlet, typical of subversive literature popular at Harvard and so often not assigned to us by our professors, facilitate your combat against this insidious infiltration of American education. Fight on! Clean up! Attend your conscience!

From a Harvard man who is STILL an American,

Harvard College
Cambridge 38, Mass.

YOUNG

WINTER 1962

Number 10000

SOCIALIST

The Young Socialist Review is the official discussion organ of the YOUNG SOCIALISTS (previously YPSL) youth section of the Socialist Party - U.S.A.

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YSR is published by the NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE Y.S. at Suite 516 303 4th Avenue New York, N.Y. The YSR takes no responsibility for the views expressed in signed articles, those reflect the views of the author, not necessarily the Y.S.

Articles are solicited from all members of the Y.S. and the Socialist Party. The Editor will accept at his discretion articles by non-members.

FREE TO YIPSELS and SOCIALIST PARTY MEMBERS 15¢ TO ALL OTHERS.

In a previous issue of the Young Socialist Review, an article by the Luxemburg tendency ("The Future of the party and the role of the YS") contained a brief discussion of the incorrect attitudes on the role of the party current in the SP. This present issue furnishes a good opportunity to discuss the true reason for the existence of a Socialist Party and the role it must perform.

It should be obvious to everyone who thinks at all that the reason for the existence of the SP is not to win elections. It is debatable whether the primary purpose of a socialist party should ever be electoral. There can certainly be no debate about a socialist party in the U.S. winning elections. Most people seem to have realized this. The right-wing in the SP realizes it; hence their proposal to liquidate the party to form a pressure group in the Democratic Party ... a group which would amount to a more leftist ADA or a less senile SDF. This attitude is not a betrayal of previously held ideals. It is a logical outcome of their conceptions of socialism which envisages the election of good men (meaning themselves) who will enact laws and usher in a "planned economy" and a "welfare state" which will mean that we have a "cooperative commonwealth" or a "mixed economy" or "socialism". To them these terms are synonymous. Since these things, or somewhat diluted versions of them, are being brought into being under the aegis of the Democratic Party, that is the logical place for this faction to go. And that is where they will go. Obviously then, one's conception of what socialism is influences one's conception of a socialist party.

A group of comrades in the YS (the Luxemburg tendency) has been attempting to find new answers to basic socialist problems; one problem is the conception of socialism itself. There have been a few stabs in the direction of an answer in previous issues of the YSR, but no thought-out analysis of the problem. I do not propose to offer such an analysis here. Within the limits of this article I can only sketch the outlines of my conception of socialism.

Socialism, as I see it, has these aims:

- 1) To abolish the economic exploitation of man by man
- 2) To extend the productive forces in order to give man mastery over nature as far as possible
- 3) To put the control of man's economic and political destinies into his own hands.

This last aim is the most important. It is, in the words of Engels, "the leap from the realm of necessity into the realm of freedom". It is the realization of the most profound theory of Marx - the abolition of man's alienation from society.

This aim makes it imperative that the social revolution be conscious. This means that it must be made by the mass of the people with a full awareness of what socialism is and a desire to attain it. (I say "mass" and not "majority" because there is a tendency to confuse majority with "51%", which is not at all what I mean.) This means that the Bolshevik revolutions, both the successful one in Russia and the unsuccessful ones in Germany and Hungary, were not socialist revolutions since the mass of the people either

did not support them or supported them because of a desire to establish socialism.

The tactics and strategy of the social revolution should be variable and the forms that a socialist party takes should be variable also. However, there are several absolute conditions that a socialist party must meet:

- 1) Most important, the socialist party must itself be aware of the true nature of socialism; it should propagate this conception and struggle toward making this conception a reality.
- 2) It should not be primarily an electoral party. It is difficult to speak of the true nature of socialism in an election campaign campaign and electoral and parliamentary action tend to take things out of people's hands and make them look elsewhere rather than to themselves for solutions to social problems. Hence, an emphasis is needed on direct action rather than on electoral action.
- 3) The party must orient itself and its appeal primarily to the working class, not from a mystique of the proletariat, although that is not to be condemned entirely, but from a recognition of these facts:
 - a) the workers are the people most oppressed in capitalist society and those who will have the greatest part in building the socialist society; hence it is absolutely necessary that they of all people have an understanding of what socialism is
 - b) since mankind is not composed of idealists, it is the victims of, and not the beneficiaries of capitalism whom we can expect to fight it
 - c) the workers are potentially the most powerful class in society
- 4) A socialist party must reject any conception of the conquest of power by a "vanguard of the working class", either a revolutionary vanguard who will seize power, or a reformist vanguard who will coo into it.
- 5) The party must be sufficiently disciplined to make it effective and sufficiently democratic to make it flexible.

Outside of these important conditions it is not too important what form a socialist party takes. In most democratic countries, socialist groups of any size use the form of electoral parties for convenience, but this is by no means absolutely necessary. Victor Serge has said, "a trade union federation may conceivably play the same role (as a party); or an alliance, a front, or a bloc it is wise to attach more importance to realities than to words. The anarchist FAI in Spain has always claimed not to be a party, but it is one in the most effective sense of the word." In the case of socialists in the U.S. for example, it may be doubted whether an electoral party effectively propagates their aims.

It is hard to say which socialist groups in the world meet the conditions set down above. Probably none do entirely. But several socialist parties and groups (large groups) come pretty close to them: notably, the SP in India, the POUM in Spain, the left-wing of the UPA in Ukraina and the left-wing groups in the social-democratic parties of all European countries.

The American SP compares badly with even these minimum conditions. Many of the party members, indeed perhaps the majority of them, have absurd ideas or no ideas at all on the nature of socialism. The SP has in the past, particularly the recent past, been almost exclusively an electoral party; so much so that when it became apparent the party

could no longer campaign effectively, many saw no alternative to entering the Democratic Party. The S.P. has directed its main appeal not to the workers but to the liberal petty-bourgeoisie. It is at least anti-putschist, but this has often been more the result of a worship of legality than a fear of dictatorship. It is notoriously one of the most undisciplined socialist groups in the world; and as for its vaunted democracy, it has been the result more of an intellectual indifference than a concern for a free exchange of ideas. 3

With views like these, why do I remain in the SP? And since these views are quite general among members of the Luxemburg tendency, why do any of us remain in the SP? I can claim to speak only for myself, but perhaps I can speak for other members of the tendency as well.

We are not members of the SP because we agree with its present position. We do not and cannot agree with it. We are members of the SP because it contains, along with the reformists, many honest grass-root socialists whom we can reach and are reaching with our ideas. We have good precedents for our action; notably the Pivert group in the French SFIO, which has a record far worse on every count than the SP. And with all the deficiencies of democracy in the SP that I described above, there is still more opportunity to spread our views in the SP than there would be in any other organization in the U.S. - including the ISL-SYL.

Practical conclusions, which could be formulated at the end of this article were mainly given before hand in the article, "The Future of the Party and the Role of the Y.S.," so there is no need for me to reiterate them. I can only add that the need for left-wingers in the Party to caucus on a principled basis can hardly be exaggerated, and I invite correspondence on the subject of such a caucus to be sent to the Editor of the YSR.

AN APPEAL FOR CONRADE MOHRING (Editor of German third camp paper)

Dear Comrade:

Recently, we received a communication from Europe to the effect that Hermann Mohring, the editor of Pro-und- Contra, a German socialist third camp magazine has been kidnapped in Berlin by the Stalinists. There has been little about this in the papers. We mention it to you, not because there is anything we can do for Mohring; tragically, there is nothing that can be done. There is little probability that he will ever be seen alive again.

We can help his family. Mohring, his wife and children have been living in need for years. Now, with Mohring gone, his family faces actual starvation. The only help they can get must come from us and other socialists of our outlook. Clothes, CARE packages-- anything you can give will help.

The address of the Mohring family is: Anny Mohring, Berlin-Charlottenburg, Dahlmannstrasse 27 Germany. If it is more convenient, help can be sent to them through us. But whatever way they are aided they must be aided soon.

Fraternally,

DISTRICT EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE NY-YS

Because of the current controversy in regard to ANVIL and the liason now existing between certain sections of the Young Socialists and the Socialist Youth League, I offer this article for two purposes: support of the liason, and a warning against taking it too seriously.

Let it be said in the beginning that I have been one of the first and strongest advocates of close cooperation with the S.Y.L. on certain matters - particularly ANVIL - and am currently seeking the merger of the Westwood Socialist Club with the S.Y.L. group and other students in a "common front" of the left at the University of California at Los Angeles. I hope then, that my friends in S.Y.L., to whom I am also submitting this article, will take the following comments as the thoughts of one who is essentially a friend. And I am sure that with this preface my Socialist comrades will realize I am writing, not out of the hysteria that sometimes seems to grip the New York situation, but from the relatively calm climate of the West Coast. I hope that the "left tendency" in New York will give this article careful thought.

Principled Unity

First let us recognize that S.Y.L. is strong. I didn't say large, but strong. Their members work hard and effectively. Who motivated the Politics Club, Focal Point, ANVIL? The Young Socialists? No - we must grant that the motivation stemmed in large measure from S.Y.L. This is the primary reason I have worked with S.Y.L. Not because I am in total agreement with them, but because they have proven effective workers. We need them in the anti-war movement. This is not opportunism, for we should not seek to "use them" so much as we must find ways of working together. The imperative today is principled unity on the left in face of war. Thus, all groups not in basic disagreement should be held together by some sort of liason. But I must raise certain questions with S.Y.L. and with those in Y.S. who so eagerly seek to embrace them as political brothers. There is a considerable difference between the people you choose to help you put out a fire and the people you choose to form a political organization. The fire today is war, and I would even work with Stalinists if it weren't for their distressing habit of using gasoline instead of water on the blaze. The S.Y.L. however, holds certain concepts that make closer unity difficult.

Vanguard Concept

Let us take some examples. The S.Y.L. believes, according to its speakers, that it is the vanguard of the revolutionary movement. I question whether in the current flux of political events, anybody is a vanguard. Certain ideals, beliefs and principles, yes - but an organization? No. I don't believe the S.P., much less the S.Y.L. is the vanguard. But let us examine this for a moment. The belief that a specific organization rather than a general philosophy. And what history now demands of the radicals is the effective dissemination of a new way of living together rather than an ineffective attempt at setting up an organizational vanguard. This "organizational vanguard" theory of the S.Y.L. makes closer cooperation impossible, because obviously all concessions must come from us and not from them, since vanguards don't (or shouldn't) make anything but tactical compromises.

Immature Radicalism or Bolshevik Sentiment?

The S.Y.L. emphasis on secrecy is distressing to me. I am asked not to

mention in conversations with student council of my friends belong to the S.Y.L. Why not? What sort of cops and robbers game is S.Y.L. playing?... The S.P. - pacifist "left" here on the West Coast went through this stage a year ago (looking for dictaphone wires, using code names over the phone, meeting late at night, checking for "spies", etc.) but grew out of it as a sign of extremely immature radicalism. But the S.Y.L. takes its secrecy very seriously - amusing at it is to the rest of us that have been around longer. If it is only a passing stage I would not worry, but their top leaders adopt this position, leading me to believe they are back at the old Bolshevik game of conspiratorial activity.

I will skip over their support of democratic centralism and touch on their tendency to distort events - as when, in their paper, LABOR ACTION, they gave a very distorted picture of the Y.P.S.L. convention. Or in their apparent need to paint their opposition as "evil" or "opportunistic". Thus, my friend, Vern Davidson has become the devil personified for his opposition to S.Y.L. and they ask me here on the coast if he is psychotic or just vicious. I remember on one occasion when Vern and I had a slight fracas, arising over a mutually exclusive interest in a girl - a totally non-political quarrel that lasted a week and was reconciled over bourbon and gin - that in S.Y.L. circles in New York it was being reported that "Davidson and McReynolds have had a terrific fight" that paralyzed and divided the entire Los Angeles Y.S.

Their general immaturity disturbs me too. Particularly in regard to theory. The S.Y.L. is interested in theory. This is fine. I like a little theory now and then as much as the next man, perhaps a little better. But in the S.Y.L. you don't comment on the weather or women, but on the latest theory of the Master, i.e. Marx. The world is not basically changed by theories but by theory and action combined. And the S.Y.L. is so busy being a theoretically correct "vanguard" that it appeals only to other intellectuals who are concerned with the state of theory. This leaves the "mass" to the Socialists and I am perfectly happy with the bargain. For example, they don't like the way the North American Co-op League is staying out of politics. So they criticize it for not being theoretically correct. But at U.C.L.A. no member of the S.Y.L. belongs to the co-op! On the other hand, the S.P. has always placed people in the co-op who have become active leaders of it. Which accounts for the tremendous impact of the small number of S.P. members have had on campus politics at U.C.L.A. and in winning people to a socialist position.

While I am very deeply disturbed by the S.Y.L. position on violence, I am equally disturbed by the Y.S. position and since my disturbance derives from the fact that I am a pacifist, I will wait and treat the matter in later articles.

In summary then, I would suggest (mixing metaphors a bit) that beneath the present democratic socialist banner, the heart of the Bolshevik still beats in the S.Y.L. And while I deeply respect and greatly admire the Bolshevik, I cannot agree with him because he is wrong. The attitude of the S.Y.L. towards secrecy, their inability to understand their own "left opposition" except as "opportunistic" and "unprincipled", their ego-inflating concept of being the vanguard, their defective position on violence, their immature attention to "theory" (a chronic Trotskyite ailment) and similar problems, make any liason simply that - a liason of related but non-identical groups. Yes, the S.Y.L. is active. Almost frenetically so. But I am not sure how deeply their philosophy penetrates the realities of the American scene and I am certain that those of us in the Socialist Party have reason to be proud

of our tradition of truly democratic, non-Bolshevik socialism and the part we have played - we hope will continue to play in the day-to-day struggles of the masses.

I have cooperated with the S.Y.L. and will continue to do so. But I hope to see them grow and mature in a psychological sense, to cast off their conspiratorial cloak and walk openly among the workers. Until such time I will continue to mark them down as a group of desperately sincere people who form nobody's vanguard save their own.

I would suggest that when they can stop playing the theatrical role of history's true elite and descend from their Olympian clouds to join the rest of us mortal socialists, that the liason can then become a somewhat closer bond.

In closing, let me make it very clear that I have never had anything but the most friendly and sincere personal and fraternal relations with the S.Y.L., that I like them, admire them, trust that this article will not unduly test their tolerance, and look forward to the day of their ultimate redemption from Bolshevik-Trotskyite sentiment to a much more truly democratic-socialist position.

NOTES ON "COOPERATION WITH THE SYL"

by Bogdan Denitch

I have some minor reservations about Comrade McReynold's article above:

1) We must recognize that the SYL, like the YPSL, has sectional differences. Specifically we know, for example, that the West Coast SYL is far more "Bolshevik" than other sections. For that reason - and perhaps because of the strong pacifist element in YPSL in Los Angeles - the differences between us seem greater than they are. Coupled with this is McReynold's over-estimation of the SYL's effectiveness. I refuse to believe that the SYL is any more effective, active, or disciplined than (say) the left wing of YPSL.

2) I do not believe that the SYL wants to be on the subversive list. The fact is that it is. Thus for them, the "conspiratorial pose" serves a legitimate function in attempting to keep the FBI in the dark about their activities, as well as attempting to protect their members. About the reason for the S.P.'s secret period - I do not know. I can see none.

3) Last and most disturbing - the question of attention to theory. Theory, in a political organization (as distinct from a moral fellowship), is not something you take or leave. It is the life blood of a socialist organization; all of our activity should flow from it. What bothers me about the SYL is not their attention to theory so much as their sectarianism, rigidity and apparent conviction that they and they alone are capable of theoretical thought. Study of theory is necessary; what is disturbing in the SYL is the tendency to substitute time-worn cliches for critical thought. The fact that so many of their members parrot Trotsky and Schachtman impressively, with no understanding of political reality or background in other social-sciences or even "culture" (which produces much of their narrowness) often is mistaken for theoretical ability. Unfortunately, many members of the YPSL suffer from contempt (read ignorance) of theory. This is far more dangerous.

I look upon the SYLers as comrades. Their mistakes trouble me since we will all sink or swim together on the campus scene.

SOCIALISM VERSUS WAR AND LIBERALISM
by Vern Davidson

Facing the Socialist Party, indeed all the Socialists throughout the world, in 1952 is the decision whether to support America's war preparation and possibly (or probably, depending on your viewpoint) a war itself or to take a firm third camp position in opposition to war preparation and war. Secondly, we must face the decision on the adoption or rejection of a program of either non-opposition or actual support to liberals.

These two issues are in fact one issue - two inseparable parts of the central issue of life or death for the Socialist Party - which must be settled in April at our national convention.

War

There is in all modern wars the necessity to prepare both militarily and psychologically for the coming of the eventual conflict. We need not dwell on the military preparation, we can all feel the weight of this preparation only too clearly. Nor will I dwell on the traditional (and in my opinion, fundamentally sound) socialist opposition to war - it has been stated far better before and I hope will again be spelled out by the coming convention. Rather, let us examine the psychological preparation for war and its effect.

The tendency in any war is for each side to condemn as roundly as possible the opposition. In the last war and in the possible next war, this is easier than before, since there are political ideologies to involve which make the polarization of war camps far easier than if only the jargon of nationalism is at the disposal of the war maker. We have, then, the polarization of each side at opposite political poles, or what appear to be, or can be made to appear so by the propagandist.

The manifestations of this polarization are many and thorough. A country on its way to war does not state to its people: "The enemy has the following good points, but nevertheless the following bad points make it necessary to defeat them in war." No, we condemn in every way the political, economic, and cultural institutions of the "enemy." Witness in the Second World War the changing of the American flag salute from an extended hand because the Fascists used an extended hand in their salute. Witness the lumping of American pacifists and pro-German Bundists all as fascists. Notice the growing tendency to condemn all Marxists, progressives, and the color red. Notice further in growing inability to distinguish between Socialism and Stalinism.

The Second World War, then, was a progressive war. Fascism was on the right, or so we were told, therefore we must be on the left - liberal, progressive, and liberty-loving. The spokesmen for America and "the people's war" became the Henry Wallaces, labor leaders, and liberals. Defeat or silence awaited the isolationists and reactionaries. Conservatives became liberalized and like Senator Ball endorsed FDR or became in other ways anti-fascists. We passed FEPCs and labor pledged its all-out support to the war. Labor leaders conferred with Washington and helped make policy. We broke with Vichy and Franco - became strained with Turkey and Peron - befriended Socialist governments-in-exile and became allied with the USSR, the people's utopia (see Life Magazine, special issue on the USSR). As the war progressed and we recaptured Europe, it was the progressive elements that came out to meet us - anti-fascists, Socialists, Communists - it was the reactionary and fascist who fled.

For those who are ready to point out to me how really reactionary the war was - let me agree. The Socialist Party was correct in refusing to support the war; it was not a progressive war in the sense that socialism could expect to flourish long, or the people to gain in the long run; no war could be. Nevertheless, the outward manifestations were progressive, and labor did win immediate gains.

The Third World War will be a reactionary war. Reactionary not only in the long-run sense, in the sense of the Second World War, in the sense of all wars, but in the outward manifestations. The polarization of the war will be the exact opposite of the last. The Soviet Union is on the left and the U.S. must therefore be on the right. It is of no importance that the USSR is in reality as reactionary as fascist Germany - in the psychology of war they are left, we are right. The reactionary becomes the spokesman, the extreme liberal and progressive are defeated and other liberals become conservative. While McArthur and McCarthy set the way for America, Helen Douglas and Marcantonio are defeated, and Truman and Atchison chart the course along the lines directed by their reactionary opposition. Senators Douglas and Humphries vote for the McCarran Act containing an amendment for concentration camps made by liberal Senator Kilgore. The liberal does not raise his voice against war, the reactionary cheers it on. Liberal labor leaders act as government strike breakers. To be against capitalism is to be a Communist. F.E.P.C. is a Communist plot. Labor is frozen out of national planning except as puppets for the war effort. Internationally we cuddle up to Greece and Turkey, Franco and Rhee. We rush defense to every reactionary regime in the world. The Declaration of Independence is ruled "too exciting" to be used as propaganda in Asia. Our own people refuse to sign it because it is Communist. America recognizes a holy war by sending an ambassador to the Vatican.

To those who hold that there is such a difference between this coming war and the last that they could refuse to support the last and can support this one, I must answer, yes there is a difference, but in exactly the opposite way as you conclude. Because of the inherent nature of the coming war, all progressive voices must be silenced. Socialists are not needed by the war effort and will be the first to be broken or knuckled under to the capitalist war machine.

Agreeing that the by-products of war enumerated above are wrong, and opposing them, is to miss the point. You may soothe your own conscience by opposing these things while you approve of the war and rearmament, but you accomplish little else except to appear extremely foolish. One wonders at the mental condition of the Grand Old Man of Socialism as he mumbles incoherently, in a national column, that the "U.N." forces in Korea are killing innocent women and children, yet goes on to support the war. One reads the NEC's statement, that the Freedom Crusade is the popular rationalization for rearmament, with lifted spirits, only to realize that the nominal head of the Party was on the National Council of the Crusade and that no member of the Party leadership ever before publicly opposed the Crusade or differed with him - but that is exactly their dilemma - approve of the war - then how can you oppose the armament program - how can you oppose the rationalization for that program - and are you really not an enemy to the war you support by even calling the rationalization a rationalization? The liberal is more intelligent than the pro-war socialist. He supports the war and adjusts himself to the necessity of dropping progressivism "for the duration." The socialist wants the pleasure of being on the bandwagon for war and the right to snipe at his fellow travelers at the same time. A very democratic and admirable desire, but I think the liberal and reactionary are going to decide the best thing to do with the pro-war socialist is to take his pea shooter away or kick him off the wagon. No war is democratic, and this war for sure is not going to be.

One can find little comfort in pointing out that after the swing to the left in the last war we swung to the opposite direction. We might point out that a

swing far enough to the right would preclude the possibility of the pendulum being able to swing back to the left. Even more possible, there may not be anything to swing in any direction after the next war.

The Liberal

In evaluating liberalism today, socialists are unfortunately looking at one animal and talking about another. They are looking at the Twentieth Century Liberal and talking, or dreaming, of the Eighteenth Century Liberal. The latter animal is just about extinct - Altgeld, Darrow et al. In the backwoods you still run into an ACLUer of the old school or a wild Republican and very, very seldom a Democrat. By 18th century liberal I mean the liberal who took a progressive, principled position on certain basic issues of civil and human rights, and stuck to it come hell or high water. The 20th century liberal is the pragmatic liberal of the Democratic Party - his views shift according to the situation, staying just left of the opposition.

Men like Republican Senator Langer can be called honest 18th century liberals. Time and time again these men are in the Republican Party - they are far too old-fashioned for the New Deal. There appears to be one 18th century liberal in the Democratic Party of California. He, like all Democrats, said he believed in a free and open ballot, but he took this seriously and voted to put the Socialist Party on the ballot while the pragmatic Democratic liberals voted against it.

The 20th century liberal, then, is a dangerous ally - he has not set course and will wobble back and forth depending on where the conservatives take him. The most dangerous aspect of all is that with pragmatic liberalism it is the conservatives who must set policy and lead the destiny of the world. As conditions force the conservatives to the left, the pragmatic liberal moves over just a bit to the left - the Second World War. As conditions push the conservative to the right, the liberal moves over to the right staying just left of him - the present.

The only means other than the manipulation of the conservative in forming a program for the liberal has been the radical. The liberal cannot disregard a radical viewpoint completely if it has a popular appeal and is thereby forced further to the left than he would normally go of his own volition - i.e. Roosevelt-Thomas in 1936, Truman-Wallace in 1948.

For those socialists who advocate non-opposition or support to liberals, must be aware of the type of man they are dealing with. This is not the traditional liberal that the socialist movement can well respect, this is the new liberal who scoffs at the sentimental old fools who called themselves liberal and meant it; these are the men who can defend or destroy liberty as the situation demands. These are the men who can be for or against the right of the workers to strike, who are today by necessity 100 per cent behind the war drive. This is liberalism of relativity.

We socialists have tried to expose the Stalinist type of doublethink, and have effectively done so, by pointing at the Stalinist labor leaders sellout of the worker by the no-strike pledge during the last war. We point with pride at men like Reuther who demanded the right of the worker to strike. Now we must be sick at heart to see the sellout by Reuther of the Douglas strikers in Long Beach. Truman says the strike is hurting the war and he wishes the men would go back to work. Reuther and the UAW brass meet and order the strikers back to work, wiping out weeks of work and ignoring the loss of wages and the effect this has had on the workers' attitude toward future strikes. We might really wonder at the similarity of the mental process of the 20th century liberal and the Stalinist.

We must be aware that if socialists are to support liberals or to continue to chart their program just to the left of the liberal, we are guilty of allowing the conservative to chart our course. We must see that it is the ridiculous situation in which the conservative says - This is my program - the liberal says - Me too only better - and the Socialist says - Ditto the liberal only a little bit more, but vote for him anyway. We must realize that we are in fact being reactionary in that we cannot chart our own course but must react to that set for us.

Against both War and Liberals

To support the present war drive and war while opposing the liberal is not good logic from any point of view. To support the liberal and not the war is impossible. Therefore we can clarify the position of the Socialist Party in an answer for both problems. We can support the coming war and the liberal and destroy the Socialist Party or we can rededicate ourselves to socialist principles in 1952 by fighting for socialism, against war and liberals with a socialist foreign policy presented by Socialist Party candidates.

EDITOR'S NOTES - on this issue:

Who's who in this issue:

David McReynolds is alternate to the YS NEC from Los Angeles; Owen Cahill is a member of the NCC and represents the Central Manhattan Circle on the DEC. Michael Harrington, a member of Cent. Manhattan Circle and one of ANVIL's editors is associated with the Catholic Worker; Vorn Davidson, our ex-National Sec. is currently standing trial in Los Angeles for refusal to comply with the draft. Nicholas Sakell, of the Cent. Manhattan Circle is our International Secretary. Peter Winant, of the Boston Circle is alternate to the NEC; H.L. Small is a new member of the Cent. Manhattan Circle; Jules Greenstein is a non-Yipsel from the E.V.Dobs Society of CCNY; Bogdan Denitch of the Luxemburg Circle is the Editor of YSR.

Let us hope articles keep coming in at this rate. I hope to hear from Chicago, from Berkeley from Wisconsin and other areas, but most of all I hope to hear from our new members. This YSR is the fifth since Fall 1951. All back issues are available (all but the Post-Convention one that is) so if your circle has new members write in for a bundle. There is no need for YSRs to gather dust.

As you may notice this issue includes a complete list of material available from the Educational Committee. Now, it is true that some of the stuff is no good. After all, the way we got some of the material had nothing to do with the Ed. C. but please remember...we have money tied down in the pamphlets; we need that money, you need the background.

By now almost enough material is coming in to put YSR on a duo-monthly basis, (which it was supposed to be on) The shortage is in postage, paper and money... any of those three items would be greatly appreciated. You don't have to buy stuff from us to send us money. We will accept contributions; we need DOUGH.

I suggest that you sell this issue to the contacts that normally receive YSR. It helps pay the expenses and they are more likely to read it. (Of course we want the cash).

PART II OF THE ARTICLE ON TITOISM AND SOCIALISM WILL APPEAR IN THE NEXT YSR. DEADLINE FOR THE NEXT ISSUE, JANUARY 10. PLEASE SEND IN THAT ARTICLE.

These are notes - and only notes - on the future of the SP and the YPSL. Conclusions on such important matters should come about only after prolonged and careful discussion.

Two questions are involved: the future of the SP and the particular future tasks of the YPSL.

In both questions, one result of the presidential campaign is of the utmost importance; that the Democratic Party, particularly its liberal groupings, and the unions, now find themselves in opposition. This means that they will not be tied to apologies for the war actions of Truman, but will be in a position to criticize Eisenhower - probably for his continuing of the Democrat's war drive. It also means that the left wing of the Democrats will be more open to the socialist criticism of that war drive for which they were so recently the executors.

This means that the SP and the YPSL should redouble their efforts to form coalitions for action on specific issues, e.g. Franco, and to make a socialist criticism from within these coalitions.

This does not mean that the SP should necessarily enter into the Democratic or the liberal Party as a caucus. Here are two considerations which are often glossed over:

- 1) Is the situation such that the Party will gain anything (influence on policy, an opportunity to educate)? Or will the socialists be swallowed up - with a polite thanks for Jimmy Higgins work? The SP backing of the Halley campaign and the experience of the SDF in the Liberal Party are examples of what can happen.
- 2) What value do we give to organizational independence and a principled position? By going into a mass party we go into a pro-war party. Is this not perilously close to the psychology of the liberals - most of whom will confide to you that they are "socialists after all"?
- 3) Can we gain everything positive by acting in coalitions on specific issues - and nothing positive from committing ourselves to an organizational set-up which propagandizes against our views? Will change come when Dubinsky gratefully invites a third camp socialist to sit in the councils of the Liberal Party - or when sentiment has been built up in the unions and the liberal movement outside of his centrally controlled political mechanism?

YPSL is, of course, vitally concerned with the direction which the SP takes. But the problem of the youth is particularly ours.

The same comment as to the opposition role of the liberals should apply in youth groups; on the campus and in the anti-war movement.

Here again, the forming of groups for specific tasks should be especially valuable. We should drop any "red card" psychology. The fact that someone pays dues is important - but it is also important that someone is willing to cooperate on committees. Our chief problem today is not to elect congressmen - we aren't going to in the near future. Our problem is to lay the foundations of consciousness for that future. Which means that we shouldn't think in exclusively organizational terms, but in those of educa-

(cont. on page 17)

(At the present time the Tendency is engaged in full discussion of several problems that were raised by the "Co-existence" resolution (see page 14 of this issue). Since the discussion is still in process, the previously planned article on Stalinism will appear in the next ISR.)

This article is a collection of notes on several topics.....

S.P. - The campaign and the aftermath:

Our general view on the nature of the S.P. are expressed in Comrade Cahill's article in this issue. The election being over however, several points deserve elaboration. In the first place, this campaign proves once and for all the complete idiocy of compromising with the right wing. After fighting hard to make sure that no third camp platform was adopted which would have made it possible for the anti-war left to really go out full-blast during the campaign, the right wing (with few honorable exceptions) either completely withdrew from the campaign, left the party, or (without leaving the party) backed the Stevenson campaign. This only strengthens our opinion that these people are waiting for the first opportunity to attempt to liquidate the S.P.

Now of course, working in other parties, e.g. the Liberal Party in New York will again come up for re-discussion. Several factors should be kept in mind:

- a) If the S.P. stays out of the lib-lab organizations it will continue to isolate itself and to lose most of the right wing which is still interested in politics. What will remain, presumably, is the left wing and the organizational loyalists (the no wing section). Political debate at that point will die in the S.P. since, while it is possible to debate those who disagree with you it is impossible to continue political discussion or to work with those who have no politics and who are unwilling to consider political thinking worthwhile.
- b) If the S.P. goes in, given its present condition - of no control over public spokesmen by the rank and file, of extremely low level of political activity - it may completely dissolve in the liberal swamp.

OR

- c) If the S.P. goes in it may grow much stronger as a social-democratic tendency within the Liberal Party and the PAC's. This growing strength, however, would come mostly from the pro-war elements that are now working with the labor bureaucracy on the bureaucracy's own terms. This would mean the crushing of the left.

Politics however, is more than an analysis of probabilities; it is also a gamble ... "least" evils are not per se bad. Obviously, given our analysis, the worst possible thing that can happen to the S.P. is for it to become a small, pure sect. Therefore, we suggest that the proper procedure for us is:

- i) To begin organizing a nation-wide party caucus that will start a serious struggle for control of the organization.
- ii) Advocate going in, hoping that by the time the S.P. does go in we will have been able to organize such a caucus and that the caucus will be strong enough to prevent complete dissolution. And finally - since the

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first two are "long shots" we must recognize that we need insurance. Therefore:

- iii) Concentrate even more energy on building the YPSL, since the League is already an anti-war socialist group. Begin to develop trade union contacts on our own - since the S.P. is neglecting to do so - and start to view the YPSL not merely as a youth section of the SP but also as an organization with a life, a program and a future of its own. The YSR must be turned into a theoretical organ of the entire left in the SP and the League. We must make sure to get YSR into the hands of the party leftists.

Some notes on "Co-existence and the Third Camp":

A debate will take place shortly in New York between the YS and the SYL on the recent YS resolution on "Co-existence". While a long analysis of this resolution is due in the next issue, we would like to note a few items.

- 1) Nowhere in the Co-existence resolution is there one iota of support for either of the war camps. All that the resolution says is that imperialist peace (as a possibility) is preferable to imperialist war not only because we have no great desire to die, but also because this peace offers us the only opportunity and time to build opposition to our own camp.
- 2) "Third Camp" is not a concrete, geographical concept. Rather it is more of a "useful political myth" analogous to Sorel's concept of the "General Strike". Third Camp is an ideological camp; Third Camp, as we said before, can be better understood as the camp of permanent struggle, since it is a dialectical concept.
- 3) The reason the resolution discusses revolutions in backward areas and the type of regimes that will result from such revolutions, is because an understanding of this is absolutely essential if one is to rationally oppose the war drive.

As to the "progressive transformations" that take place under Stalinism, please remember that the Austrian Marxists who were deadly foes of Stalinism never denied that, in the same sense that capitalism was progressive vis-a-vis feudalism (and this despite the terrible injustices of the system) Stalinism involuntarily serves certain progressive functions. Don't some people also know that accumulation of capital in a semi-colonial area produces progressive results too? Don't they know that is it not necessary to take the absolutely idiotic position that the worker's standard of living is falling under Stalinism (which it isn't) in order to prove the despotic, anti-working-class nature of the Stalin regime? More on this later.

Who will we recruit?

Some time ago the nature of the "liberals" was discussed in these pages. It was, for example, pointed out that it is the liberals, not the conservatives who are the advocates of NATO and the rationalizers of the permanent war economy at home. Davidson makes some very good points about the liberals and the Democratic Party - yet there are still those who seem to think that our primary appeals ought to go to those people.

(continued on page 24)

The repeated declarations of self-styled socialists against the possibility or desirability of peaceful co-existence between the two imperialist camps make it necessary for us to take a stand on this question.

It is true, of course, that no socialist who is, in fact, a socialist can but oppose the authoritarian nature of Stalinism and the regimes which attempt to force progressive transformations down the people's unwilling throats dictatorially. Revolutions in backward areas cannot be socialist, that is, they cannot create socialism. Whether led by the bourgeoisie who have learned a good deal from Lenin about elitist, i.e. bureaucratic revolutions, or the working class they will result in regimes that have to be collectivist and bureaucratic in order to accelerate the accumulation of capital necessary to break out of their colonial status. We support all the efforts of the masses - and particularly the workers - to transform such regimes internally, while we consider a restoration of the pre-war regimes neither desirable nor possible.

While we do not support the nature of independent stalinist states, and while we realize that independence from the Stalinist bloc may lead to an alliance with the Western bloc, we nevertheless support all attempts at self-determination within the Stalinist bloc. The growing tension between the two war camps however, makes it difficult for our comrades in Eastern Europe to struggle against their own bureaucracy, most particularly since opposition to the Western, i.e. capitalist bloc, is universal within the ranks of the European working class.

The continuation of the war tension forces the Eastern European workers to choose between restoring their old bankrupt regimes or backing the Stalinist camp, since at the present time they are offered no alternatives. In effect much of the support that Stalinism receives is opposition to capitalism. A reduction of the tensions which might result from Big Power negotiations however, creates other alternate possibilities. For example, that of neutralized Europe, which without U.S. intervention would be a socialist Europe. This would be the greatest blow to both Stalinism and capitalism and the greatest advance for the working class to date.

Domestically, it is important to realize that the basis for the present drift toward the garrison state is the permanent war economy, which attempts to shore up capitalism against its normal crises. Through this artificially supported economy, the capitalist bloc has provided full employment and a deceptively high standard of living, at least in the U.S.A. However, the strain of this re-armament is such on the weakened economies of Western Europe that the dislocations which occur may well develop into full scale depressions which would have major repercussions at home. Through the fear of war, the U.S. regime has been stifling opposition at home by the false posing of the need for national "unity". Increasingly the real costs of the re-armament are being borne by the workers; increasingly, the pattern of wage-freeze without price controls is lowering living standards of the workers.

We must also understand that the excuse given to the growing opposition from all quarters to the continued garrisoning of Western Europe and the integration of Western Europe into the North Atlantic bloc is the supposed threat of imminent war. This despite the obvious fact that Stalinism needs time to consolidate its gains. Thus, it should be obvious that despite the fact that any kind of negotiations would be, in effect, imperialist agreement at the expense of the immediate interests of the people, such agreement

(CO-EXISTENCE RESOLUTION -- continued)

would still have some immensely progressive consequences.

- 1) It could undermine the popular support for the permanent war economy at home.
- 2) It would make it possible to gain mass support for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from abroad; it would make it possible for our comrades abroad to overthrow their own bankrupt regimes once they stop receiving U.S. aid.
- 3) It would make the position of the Stalinist bureaucracy more insecure, since:
 - a) national independence movements would find it easier to become independent of Moscow influence,
 - b) the Stalinist parties of the West would be forced to support their regimes (in the interest of Soviet policy) and thus lose the support of the European workers.

We therefore judge that the slogan of "Big Power negotiations" should be supported. Apart from the obvious organizational advantages, there are political considerations: a failure to reach agreement would expose the attitude of the two imperialist camps (which both prefer the continuation of the cold war) to the progressive and labor opinion, while an agreement (which in this case would be made under pressure from below) would provide us with the time and the possibility of dealing with our own exploiters.

Naturally our support of such a slogan in no way alters our unqualified opposition to the two war camps.

RESOLUTION ON THE KOREAN WAR

Carried by the YS-NEC on September 20, 1952

Today it is completely unrealistic to talk of opposition to war without discussing the conflict in Korea. It is obvious that neither of the rival imperialisms are seriously interested in ending the Korean War at the present time. The negotiations have been protracted by both sides as forums for accusations and counter-accusations. The U.N. negotiators have further shown their bad faith on the prisoner of war issue by failing to recommend to the U.N. nations the opening of asylums for those North Koreans who refuse to go back.

The present Korean conflict not only greatly aggravates the drift toward a shooting war, but also acts as the basis for tightening repression at home and truculence. This war, waged with the horrible weapons of modern warfare is against the interests of the Korean people who are, at the present time, the chief victims of this imperialist conflict. We reaffirm our belief that Soviet expansionism can be stopped not through war, but through the extension of economic and political freedom to the peoples of the world.

Therefore:

We reiterate our opposition to the war and declare that it has nothing in common with defense of freedom.

We demand the removal of all foreign troops from Korea as soon as possible.

We protest the failure of the Socialist Party to take a stand on this question.

(KOREAN WAR RESOLUTION -- continued)

in its platform, as this failure can be mis-interpreted as support for this imperialist conflict.

We call on the socialists in the U.S. to affect immediate cessation of hostilities in Korea and withdrawal of all aid from the Rhee regime. Such aid as does go to the Korean people should be admired through the international agencies of the United Nations.

RESOLUTION ON SOCIALIST UNITY

Carried by the YS-REC on September 20, 1952

Although we recognize the prejudice with which moves to unify the fragmented sections of the democratic left are met (in our as well as other movements), nevertheless we must take a stand on this pressing question. It affects the functioning unity and efficiency of socialism on the campus; it weakens us when we most need strength.

Young Socialists (YPSL) therefore freely invite all young socialists of whatever conviction, so long as it falls within the delimitations of the YPSL statement of principles to join the YPSL.

We invite all ex-members of the Libertarian caucus to return to the YPSL.

We invite the subscribers and readers of ANVIL and Socialist Views to consider affiliating with the YPSL. We therefore authorize the NOC to negotiate the affiliation of any groups of people who might consider joining the YPSL. The provisions we make are the following:

- a) that all such people be eligible for membership in the YPSL.
- b) that they abide by the minimums of YPSL and SP discipline.

In return we guarantee the full expression of their views within the YPSL, their right to maintain contact; their right to publish their own publication.

We instruct the NOC to set up a Clearing House Committee which will attempt to initiate joint action between various groups of the democratic left on the campus and can act as the eventual negotiating committee for unity of all forces of the democratic left among the youth.

"Socialist Action" is the organization of active militant revolutionaries within the Socialist Party. Its aims are: to strengthen the Socialist Party organizationally by organizing new members, ideologically by seeking to bring the Party back to the principles of its founders, Marx and Dobs.

Socialist Action members bind themselves to active work under the following conditions:

Each member will contribute at least one week's wages annually to the Party and one week's wages annually to the Socialist Action group. Comrades who are capable of giving more will be assigned more by their local circles. Anyone capable of luxuries can afford to give to the Party.

Each member must be thoroughly familiar with the basic socialist writings; he must understand the Manifesto, Socialism, Utopian and Scientific, and other works of Engels and Marx, Dobs and Luxemburg. Members must equip themselves further by studying economics wherever possible. They must understand how the accumulation of capital, the internal contradictions of capitalism, etc. serve as the basis for understanding the present drive toward war and fascism.

Each member must devote a certain amount of each week working for the organization. He must accept all duties assigned him by the local, and where not organized into locals he should try to do whatever the national organization requests. In case of emergency he must be willing to be absent from work or school, regardless of financial sacrifice.

The group is restricted to Marxists and revolutionary pacifists. No member will take part in war, even in non-combatant activity.

Members must be willing to change jobs if the need of union organizing or penetration requires having a member in a certain factory; students will change schools if their education can be equally served, to those schools where the field for organization is fruitful.

Members will know who the militants in other locals are so that, especially before conventions, they can be organized into and work as a caucus.

Members will volunteer to take charge of educational meetings in their SP locals and use this opportunity to improve the present abysmally low standards of Party members. They should prepare talks on current issues, illustrating their meaning on the basis of Marxian analysis.

(NOTES ON THE FUTURE OF THE SP AND THE YPSL - continued from Page 11)

tion and specific action.

The New York YPSL is implementing this policy by organizing a center for radical elements. The local situation is ruling, but wherever such an approach is possible, it should be seriously considered.

Finally, both the Party and YPSL should redouble their efforts within the labor movement. The death of Murray and the new opposition role of the labor bureaucracy may mean that real criticism will flourish in the labor movement again. We must be ready for the chance to lead it.

Welcome fellow socialists to the first edition of the I.U.S.Y.'s North American bulletin, "NAB NEWS". Through this publication, we hope to keep young American socialists informed of each other's activities. A large part of the responsibility of fraternal conduct will depend upon you. Please send any news item pertaining to the I.U.S.Y. affiliates to Nicholas Sakell, 139-11 230th Street, Laurelton 10, New York.

On the week-end of October 6-10, the United Nations held its 5th annual Conference of International Non-governmental Organizations on U.N. Information. The I.U.S.Y. had requested that its affiliates in America send representatives to this U.N. organization as I.U.S.Y. delegates. Members from the "Young Socialists" (formerly "Young People's Socialist League") and the "Student League for Industrial Democracy" willingly agreed to serve in this capacity. Vern Davidson, Nicholas Sakell (from Y.S.) and Harold Kurster (from S.L.I.D.) who were present are preparing a full report to I.U.S.Y. headquarters in Copenhagen. Unfortunately, circumstances made it impossible for the C.C.Y.M. to send a delegate.

In the middle of August, S.L.I.D. and the Y.S. sent fraternal delegates to the Cooperative Commonwealth Youth Movement convention in Toronto. Harold Lewack of S.L.I.D. and Vern Davidson of Y.S. came back with very favorable impressions of the work being done by the Canadian Youth.

The monthly newsletter of the C.C.Y.M. carried an item on the functions of its Hamilton, Ontario group. Besides the usual educational activities, the Hamiltonians are carrying on an active social program in an effort to interest more young people in the club. During the winter they participate in an organized bowling league. Dances are sponsored, to which the public is invited. When the right weather comes along, picnics and weiner roasts are held. It is even possible that next season the C.C.Y.M. of Hamilton will sponsor a juvenile baseball team. A considerable amount of useful publicity should be forthcoming from these ventures. In spite of the large amount of social activity, the C.C.Y.M. is not neglecting its intellectual functions. Guest speakers talk on such topics as "Race Prejudice", "The United Nations", "The Growth of the Trade Union Movement", etc. In addition, many new books have been added to the club's rapidly expanding library.

The Student League for Industrial Democracy is presenting a radio program, under the auspices of the Social Democratic Federation on Station WJVD (New York City). The first broadcast of the series was held on September 21st at 9:30. Featured as speakers were S.L.I.D. members Gabriel Gersh, Walter Weitzmann, and Harold Kurster. "Students look at the Election" was the topic under discussion.

On December 27 and 28, the Young Socialists will hold their National Convention. The location will be set at either Reading, Pennsylvania or Chicago, Illinois. All North American Bureau members of the I.U.S.Y. are cordially invited to attend.

The Young Socialists are continuing their fine work in the magazine "ANVIL". For those of you who may be unacquainted with this national student publication, ANVIL is edited by representatives of various campus clubs, including socialist, pacifist and independent student groups. About one-third of the editorial board is composed of Young Socialists who are there representing clubs on many campuses in which they participate as active members. The Y.S. national organization as a whole, endorses ANVIL and sells it through its national office. The magazine comes out three times a year and costs 20¢. It is well worth it, and all I.U.S.Y. members are invited to buy a copy through the Y.S. national office, 303 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N.Y.

Fraternally, Nicholas Sakell

Basic- Theoretical:

Marx	: <u>Wage Labor and Capital</u> , a basic simple work on economics	15¢
Marx	: <u>The Communist Manifesto</u> : the "founding statement of modern socialism. (Included a short modern commentary)	15¢
Eggels	: <u>Socialism Scientific and Utopian</u> , a good history of the pre-Marxist socialism and excellent introduction to socialism.	10¢
Plekhanov	: <u>The Materialist Conception of History</u> .	20¢
Henderson	: <u>The Case for Socialism</u> ; a good basic text	35¢
	(study outline for the same)	15¢

Advanced Material:

Luxemburg	: <u>Reform or Revolution</u> , the classic answer to reformism	60¢
Luxemburg	: <u>Selections</u> , edited by the YPSL Ed. Committee	15¢
Martov	: <u>The State and Socialist Revolution</u> , a basic discussion of the Russian Revolution, and answer to Lenin.	60¢
Ranckock	: <u>Lenin as a Philosopher</u> , a critical examination of the basis of Leninism by a left-socialist.	50¢

Fabian Pamphlets:

G.H. Cole	: <u>The History of the British working-class movement</u>	25¢
G. H. Cole	: <u>A Guide to the Elements of Socialism</u>	20¢
Roper	: <u>Trade Unions and the New Social order</u> , a discussion of the trade unions and their functions under socialism.	25¢
Huges	: <u>Towards a Classless Society</u> , a discussion of the aims and achievements of the British socialists.	25¢

Foreign Socialist publications:

Socet	: <u>New Horizons for Socialism</u> (CCF- Canada)	10¢
Indian SP	: <u>We build for Socialism</u> (Indian Socialist Party)	25¢
nn n	: <u>Nationalisation</u> , a discussion of collectivism in a semi-colonial area.	25¢

Miscellaneous :

One Way Only	: Bovan et. al. - the basic statement of the Bovan group.	15¢
Going our Way?	: Bovan et. al. - more of the same.	15¢
Farrel T.J.	: <u>The Fate of American Writing</u> , a discussion of the role of big- business in mass communications and their effect on writing.	25¢
Comfort	: <u>Barbarism and Sexual Freedom</u> , a book by a well know English anarchist.	\$1.00
Woodstock	: <u>One Hundred Years of Revolutions</u> , a book on the great European revolutionaries by an anarchist.	\$ 1.25
Noble	: <u>the Negro and Films</u> : a book on the relation of jim-crow to the real mass- art media of our time.	\$1.25
Comfort	: <u>Youth for Freedom</u> , a statement of the anarchist position on some of the social questions affecting the youth.	75¢

(more on the next page)

- J. Gliksmann : Tell the West, an account of the Soviet forced labor camps by a member of the Jewish socialist Bund who had some first hand experiences. 25¢
- A.F. of L. : Soviet Imperialism, by the international committee. \$1.00

League for Industrial Democracy pamphlets:

- Laidler H. : Our Changing Industrial Incentives, a discussion of non-profit incentives in industry. 25¢
- Laidler H. : A short history of american Socialism. 25¢
- Alexander R. : The world labor movement, a short outline discussion of the trade union movement throughout the world. 25¢

Jugoslav (Titoist) Pamphlets : FOR DISCUSSION PURPOSES ONLY:

- Kardelj : Socialist Democracy, a discussion of the recent reforms in Jugoslavia as a way to democratization of the regime 25¢
- Diljas : New Roads to Socialism, a good translation of the speech of Diljas to the Yugoslav student congress on socialism and stalinism. 15¢
- Tito : Workers manage factories in Yugoslavia, a discussion of the worker's control from the Yugoslav point of view. 25¢
- Tito : Political Report of the V th Congress CPY, a history of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia up to the break with the cominform. 50¢
- Tito : Report to the III Congress of the People's front, an elaboration of the split and its implications. 25¢
- Popovitch : The war of liberation in Yugoslavia, an "official" history of the Yugoslav Civil war. 25¢

FREE MATERIAL.....

- Back issues of the Young Socialist Review (Spring and Summer 1952)
- 1952 Platforms of the Socialist Party.
- Your Questions Answered (S.P.)
- A Socialist Program (the Yipsel program)
- IUSY Survey, the publication of the international union of socialist youth.
- YPSL Song Books.

ORDER ANVIL FROM THE EDUCATIONAL COMMITTEE -YOUNG SOCIALISTS. SEND IT TO YOUR FRIENDS.

National Educational Committee, Young Socialists, Suite 516 303 4th Avenue
New York, N.Y.

The growth of socialism in the United States has been hampered by the lack of imagination of the leaders of socialist thought. The appeal of the socialist has always been to the future, with a paradisaical vision of economic plentitude and true democratic freedom. That is - the level of appeal has been a mixture of future economic and social goods and leisure in a milieu of democratic-liberal sentiment. This has been good but not good enough.

In a time of comparative plentitude, or at least not economic deprivation, one cannot gain adherents as during a depression. The gaining of new people as potential socialists, as potential subscribers to the socialist program, has to be directed toward interests that are immediate and practical today. It has to be directed toward areas of circumscription of society that are vital to their individual happiness and which, if presented to them as political problems will give them an idea of the type of freedom that can be maintained in a free American socialist society.

The freedom of the legally of-age adult of both sexes to have sexual relations with whomever he or she wishes of the same or opposite sex, without fear of sanction is an important libertarian principle that is part of the law in many socialist and semi-socialist countries today, e.g. in Sweden, Norway, the Netherlands, etc. It means, to the individual "deviant" that the fear of legal sanction, as well as illegal repression, blackmail, etc. are forever banished from his mind. It means an area of operational freedom that will enable the emancipated individual to work and think more effectively in his tasks of everyday life. It means the difference between health and sickness for thousands of people who are non-productive members of society today.

It can be argued that sexual deviancy is a mark of ill health in the first place, but it was also argued, with equal clarity and legality, at one time, that it was the mark of the devil - or at least the pagan gods. The point is this: whether we individually consider it right or wrong, healthy or unhealthy, to have a large or small vocabulary of libidinal expression, repression of such expression, or practice under fear, does not make for a whole, productive individual.

Propaganda aimed toward the sexual individualist should stress his importance as a political concern; it should point out his right to what the Declaration of Independence called "the pursuit of happiness". This soon will make more and more people aware of socialism as a constructive force in the transformation of America into a truly happy country where the individual rights of all its people (regardless of their departure from the Puritan "norm") are both observed and respected.

It may at first be considered jokingly but the principle is at the root of political effectiveness. Be concerned with what your people are concerned - that is, with real issues, not straw men - issues that hit at the very vitals of the people. Those who will see socialist literature on this level for the first time will be interested in the program as a whole, for they have already made the first step toward conversion. They have realized that their interests are our interests. Perhaps then more people shall consider what else we have to offer.

One of the most disheartening facts we are forced to face as radicals is the rapidity with which our most active and brilliant comrades are "burnt out". Among us are a large number of very militant socialists who are certain to become very unmilitant "ex-es". Some of our dearest comrades have already passed or are passing through the various stages of "Oblovism" and apathy to a point of cynicism or despair from which there is often no return. To accuse those people of being traitors, neurotics, degenerates, lazy, no good, or to toss them off with a curt "They never really understood Marxism and weren't very good anyway", may rationalize away our own discontent but in no way solves anything. Such explanations not only do not help us to salvage their immortal, radical souls; they obviate any attempt to prevent others from following their example. For when a member leaves the movement on the basis of political disagreements, we can argue with him politically - after all, this is our forte. But when he leaves because he has simply given up, he must be met on very different grounds, grounds which it is the intention of this article to discuss.

Why People Become Socialists

It is the most dangerous type of malivete to assume that all people become active, militant socialists out of purely rational, political motives. Though this is often the case, it is also true that almost any conceivable arrangement of oral, anal, and phallic neuroses could suffice to recruit a member. Some of our closest comrades are known to be suffering from birth trauma and a few have a very serious Orgone deficiency to boot. In any case, it is an inevitable dialectical truth that the reasons a person leaves an organization are closely related to the reasons he joined. One cannot become disillusioned if one never had illusions.

The Need For Absolutes

Among the most common illusions is the neurotic need of the young intellectual for an "absolute". Rejecting his inheritance of bourgeois culture and values, he is in a state of total, but inchoate revolt. Suffering a healthy period of acute adolescence, he is seeking an alternative to the irrational authority of our culture. As a reaction formation, he may reject all authority, rational as well as irrational, and become a wandering, aimless bohemian, a Dadaist, or some form of anarcho-politician. Or, he may substitute one irrational authority for the other, and follow a line, usually Stalinist. Such an answer is easy - he doesn't have to go through the tortuous phase of formulating opinions and tastes. What he thinks and likes are decided for him by the Kremlin. Only a few adjustments as the line changes are needed to allow him to appear intellectual in a discussion and he doesn't have to read any books or listen to any music.

Of course, if he already has a few opinions and any degree of taste, he will reject Stalinist philistinism. At this point, he may turn to us. But whatever activity he may indulge himself in is still determined by his need to possess an absolute - one which will provide security for him and a guarantee that his hard work will not be in vain. He must be assured that he is adding a little to the formation of a perfect society in which there is none of the frustration, fear, insecurity, and unhappiness he experiences. Since we can make no such guarantee or give any such assurance, and since sooner or later he discovers that the Utopia he envisages is patently impossible, he gives up. This is not surprising. It is easy to struggle for a world which is perfect and absolute, but difficult and often unrewarding to fight for a world which is merely "better". After all, things may very easily get better

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without him, is solely a matter of degree. And so, the need for an absolute takes its toll.

The confusion which led to the comrade's fall was simple; he was unable to distinguish between existential and historical truth.

Existential and Historical Truth

An existential truth is a fact about man which is derived from the very fact that he exists. It is as immutable and ineluctable as existence. It is existentially true that life ends in death; that the human body clings desperately to life; that, because of this, frustration cannot be avoided; that the material universe is indifferent to man's need to survive; that man's potential cannot exceed the limits of his culture; that his capacity to enjoy pleasure outstrips his ability to attain it; that the learning process involves depriving himself of certain pleasures and needs; that he will interpret some events as painful regardless of the degree to which he protects himself; that he can never become equipped in time to fully withstand the shock of birth, growth, and death; that he can see the world only through his own eyes regardless of how much he may want to view it through those of his loved one.

There are an infinite number of such truths, many of which are unpleasant and will always remain so. They are accepted as immutable by the normal, mature person, and he constructs his ethic and goals within their limits.

Other truths are historical. They are sometimes pleasant and sometimes unpleasant, but they are always changeable. We are familiar with most of them: starvation in a land of plenty; wars when there is no reason to kill, etc. It is with these truths that Marxism and the dialectical approach deal. As socialists, we attempt to break down the unpleasant historical truths, always viewing them in the light of existential truth. Since we cannot efface the latter, we realize that any Utopia based upon their elimination is delusive. There is a limit to the human mind and to human progress, and, at best, we can only hope to approach this limit asymptotically. In order to prevent disillusionment among the comrades who cannot understand these elementary facts of life, they must be continually reiterated.

The Historical Fallacy and Despair

I have already spoken about those in the movement who cannot accept the existence of truths which are existential. Some of them never understand their fallacy and go on, in their pristine innocence, attempting to destroy all evil. Classifying all truths as historical, it obviously follows to them that all unpleasant truths about the world can be changed. Some of them are our most militant and active members. Others have belatedly seen their fallacy and are overwhelmed by the consequences. These are the comrades who, despairing when their Utopia crumbles beneath them, they find themselves psychologically inadequate to work for anything less. If they cannot have their absolute, they will accept nothing. Such people are usually unhappy and in need of psychotherapy. As they are, it is sad but true that they never should have been in the movement.

The Existential Fallacy and Cynicism

Of another group, it remains to be spoken. They are the ones who, after a brief fling and flirtation with socialism, leave because they take a diametrically opposed position. Instead of accepting all truth as historical, they accept all as existential. Ergo, people starve because they are too stupid to eat and nothing we can do can put enough brains in their heads to revolt;

discrimination exists because man instinctively needs to feel superior, and bigotry (evil though it may be) is inevitable; wars will always exist because man is innately predatory; etc. etc. Such people are the super-sophisticates, the cynics. They were early in discovering the bell-shaped curve from which they derived that half the people of the world had below average intelligence. And most obviously, since very few have their brain capacity, the world consists of dullards and morons. These are the chosen few, the "liberals", the cynics. There is no hope so let us calmly and amusedly watch the world go to pot. Toujours gai, what-the-hell, and all is vanity anyway.

Another group is also victim to the existential fallacy but clings desperately to its sense of humor and basic urge to revolt. In a broad sense, these are the Dadaists. Since all is vanity, all is utter and incomprehensible nonsense. Since all nonsense is equivalent (for how can any one nonsense be more nonsensical than any other), why make a pretense at making sense? Let us be nonsensically honest with our nonsensically selves. Therefore, pretend madness and maybe you'll find you're not pretending.

Such are the fallacies stemming from a confusion between existential and historical truth. They are easy to fall into since there are yet many areas in which science has not been able to separate them. Often, they fall in the area of philosophical thought and as social philosophers it is difficult to distinguish what is changeable and what is not. In the meantime, the more important truths and into what category they fall. They are branded in red across the breast of every new recruit.

(NEXT NOW ? - continued from page 13)

This is naive. While it is true that, within the labor movement, we will direct our efforts more and more towards such people, we must also realize the type of people who - given today's conditions - join radical organizations. Social pressures are against it, and there are no mass radical groups that could compensate for this. Therefore, two types generally join: the highly politicized (who can only be found around the periphery of other groups) and the radical youth. There are, of course, exceptions to this but, in general, it holds true. The question is - where does the greatest concentration of radical youth exist? (We are speaking of the relatively non-political ones with the right "instincts"). Obviously, in the stalinist periphery (since the naive kids join on the basis of most laudable motives) and among the disillusioned YPAers. We believe that these are the people we should direct our recruiting efforts at, most particularly since the new CP line indicates that they will soon be ideologically homeless.

(Carol Denitch, member of the Luxemburg tendency, wishes to state that, while subscribing to the rest of the statement, does not agree with the last section, Who Will We Recruit?)

ARTICLES FROM ANY MEMBER ARE
MAIL YOURSELF OF THIS

ED IN YSR COMPLETELY UN-EDITED. WHY
TIC PRIVILEGE TO EXPRESS YOUR VIEWS?

March 17, 1953

28796

To: Director of Special Investigations
The Inspector General
Department of the Air Force
The Pentagon
Washington 25, D. C.

From: John Edgar Hoover, Director - Federal Bureau of Investigation

Subject: ~~VARO, INC.~~
~~HEADQUARTERS ARNOLD ENGINEERING~~
~~DEVELOPMENT CENTER~~
~~TULLAHOMA, TENNESSEE~~
~~INFORMATION CONCERNING~~

The attached Photostat of a petition signed by employees at the Headquarters Arnold Engineering Development Center, Tullahoma, Tennessee, was furnished to this Bureau by a source of unknown reliability. A copy of this petition is also being furnished to Assistant Attorney General Warren Olney III.

This information is being furnished for any action you deem advisable and no further action is being taken by this Bureau.

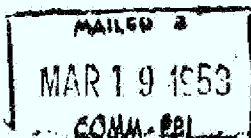
Enclosure
100-398328
FWJ:LEF

RECORDED - 149

INDEXED - 149

MAR 20 1953
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RECEIVED
MAR 19 1 45 PM '53
FBI



MISCELLANEOUS MATERIAL RECEIVED
FROM THE OFFICE OF SENATOR JOSEPH R. MC CARTHY

Bureau file 100-398328

March 6, 1953

On 2/11/53 the attached material was received from the office of Senator McCarthy of Wisconsin. It should be reviewed by you.

By memorandum dated February 7, 1953, Assistant to the Director L. B. Nichols advised: "In Mr. Baumgardner's memorandum of February 3, 1953, inquiry was made as to how the Bureau may use copies of correspondence addressed to Senator McCarthy. I wish to advise that I have specifically raised this problem with Don Surine of Senator McCarthy's Office.

"Surine states that we are authorized to use this material any way we see fit and to say that the material had been referred to the Bureau by Senator McCarthy to disseminate and to conduct any investigation that is suggested by the facts. I told Surine we would do this and to avoid making inquiry in each instance, I inquired whether we could assume that this applied to anything else he might furnish us unless he specifically put a restriction on it. He stated that we could so assume and if there was anything they did not want known came from them, they would so advise us. However, Surine did state with reference to the dissemination of such letters to other Government agencies, that we not show the Senator's Office as the source but carry the source as "of unknown reliability." Surine further stated that we should use good judgment in all the letters. For example, if a writer asked the Senator to keep confidential the source of the information, we, likewise, should keep confidential the source of information and should it be necessary to interview the original complainant, we should not divulge that Senator McCarthy's Office has furnished us the information."

You should be guided accordingly in handling the material, taking appropriate action where necessary.

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100-398328-4

15 ENCH If no action is warranted, make a notation on this form and file under instant caption, marking for indexing where necessary.

EX - 107

If action is warranted, route a carbon copy of your initial correspondence into above file so the material can be located later with a minimum of effort. The correspondence, of course, should bear an appropriate caption suitable to the particular item.

Attachment

78 APR 7 1953