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January - 1935

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-29-79 BY SP-1 MJK/kj

The officers of the Madison, Wisc., branch of the American League
Against War & Fascism are reported as follows: -

- Chairman - Rev. Robert Folger [redacted]
- Secretary - Mrs. Marie [redacted]
- Executive Committee - Edward [redacted]
- Erin [redacted]
- Harvin Gilberg [redacted]
- Allen Parshch [redacted]
- Edith Gordon [redacted]
- Joe [redacted]
- De [redacted]
- Margie [redacted]
- Mrs. Doris Franklin [redacted]
- Wm. G. [redacted]

b6
b7C

In November, 1934, the [redacted] of West Allis, Wisc., sent
a letter to the Madison branch urging support of the state conference
of the A.L.A.W.F. to be held in Milwaukee, November 23, 24, 1934.
Delegates elected from the Madison branch were [redacted]

[redacted] was collecting contributions for the Madison branch
to finance the delegates to Milwaukee.

The Daily Cardinal reported that [redacted] of the lay dept.,
Univ. of Wisconsin, asserted his intention to ask the executive committee
of the University Teachers Union to elect a delegate to the state confer-
ence of the A.L.A.W.F.

The West Allis branch of the socialist party, Madison, Wisc., elected [redacted]
[redacted] as delegates to the state conference. The
Madison Fed. of Labor elected [redacted] as delegates.
The state conference was also endorsed by the Wisconsin State Federation of
Labor.

[redacted] Madison, Wisc.,
[redacted] as delegates to the state conference.

RECORDED

61-7589-X7

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Nov. 22, 1934

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He spoke of how the state government was used to prevent strikes which are the last resort for workers to gain more wages, a better standard of living and better working conditions, of how the Deputy Sheriffs, mill police and state officers were used to break up any attempt of the workers to try and better their conditions. He spoke of how the government has been a salesman for big business and the munition makers in selling their goods. He told of how an American battleship was sent to Constantinople to aid an American firm demonstrate anti-aircraft guns, of how plans and designs of war machinery were sold by the Government to foreign nations with the reserve that the goods be bought from American firms. He told of how industries in this country sold war machinery which should have been kept for defense of this country and of the excuse, that by doing this we get similar plans from these other countries. He spoke about the eye commercial investigation into the munition industry, and of how it was shown that salesmen went from one small country to another, provoking wars, so they can sell their arms and munitions. He spoke about the agreements between the Duponts, the Vickers Co., and German firms in regard to selling their goods, by which they all got their profits. He spoke about American patents for submarines being used by the Germans to sink American vessels during the great war, which was one of the things that precipitated the U.S. into the war. He spoke of the President Roosevelt and placed an embargo on war materials to South American countries, where Paraguay and Uruguay are trying to kill each other, and of how the munition makers got around it. He said the Duponts arranged with munition makers in other countries for the market for their goods the Duponts get their 40% of the profits. He spoke about the pressure being brought to bear on the Senate to quail the investigation, which, if continued, will bring out even worse scandals, and of how we must work to see that this investigation goes on. He spoke of the British attempt to prevent war in the past and said that the time to do it is now, and not to wait until war is declared. He told of how during the war there was one million which should have been prevented, and that was by refusing to fight. He told the business groups were forced into battle, many without guns and without shoes in the trenches, and of how the soldiers refused to fight and or ceased on the eastern front. He spoke about all the international leaders wanting war, but was unable to prevent it because of the industrial capitalist system in which we live. He spoke of war being the last resort of a declining capitalist system, of Germany dominating the government, forcing the maintenance of a large army to keep down the workers and of how the CCC camps have been set up to train the youth for future wars. He spoke about fascism not coming into power until war time and of how Hitler has been a puppet of the German industrialists and how Hitler jumps when they pull the strings. He spoke about the poem which has been quoted to our government officials, which is a step towards a dictatorship, and is used by the industrialists as only a means of evading a capitalist system which cannot last. He spoke of the organization of the workers under article 7, and the power used to prevent it so that the workers can still be exploited to make profits for those who control the means of production. He urged the organization of a world-wide organization and that with sufficient numbers we can prevent the present the rise of fascism, and give it a material, industry, and opposition.

The chairman then introduced one [redacted] who spoke briefly about the rise of fascism, told about being at the last meeting in Moore Temple, when the Germany Council told the audience they could "have to acknowledge Hitler, or else". He told of the rise of the IWW in the steel and coal fields, told of the attempts to smash up the miners' organization, of how it had been done in some cases by backing up the workers, and of the other attempts failed and said it was done by gangs of the coal companies to build up their company unions. He spoke about the conference tomorrow and told of the delegates who would be there. He told of the committee conference in Chicago, and of how there had been a lieutenant from the Army, members of the National Guard, and how we have Major Blakely, which shows we are getting somewhere. He said that in order to carry on the work we need help and while the audience had paid to get to this meeting, we need funds for leaflets to get the word to those who can not get to the meetings, we need funds for meetings, conferences, etc., and a collection was taken up.

The chairman then threw the meeting open for questions; several were answered by Card, and the meeting adjourned at 10:30 PM.

Ad

62-7106

RECEIVED

March 19, 1935.

[Redacted]
[Redacted] Washington.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-29-79 BY 10-1 [Signature]

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Dear Sirs:

This is in reference to your letter dated March 9, 1935 with which you transmitted a letter addressed to Axel Anderson, Secretary, Swedish Order of Valhalla, Valhalla Temple, Tacoma, Washington, from the American League Against War and Fascism, Tacoma Branch. You inform of a meeting in which activities were carried on against capitalism.

Please be advised that in the absence of any Federal Statute making it unlawful to engage in un-American or similar activities, this Bureau is without investigative jurisdiction to inquire into such matters. I am, therefore, unable to take any action concerning the subject of your complaint.

I desire to express my appreciation for bringing this matter to my attention. Your communication will be retained for possible future use.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover,
Director.

1 yellow
FEB 18 1943

RECEIVED

Copy

March 9, 1935

x

Bureau of Investigation
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Gentlemen:

I am sending you the attached letter to see if there isn't something you can do about it. This letter was read in two lodges of which I am a member and I don't know how many more.

The delegates to his meeting which is mentioned in the letter, were giving banners to carry, on which was printed "down with capitalism" and the like.

It seems to me that possibly there might be a violation of the postal laws as the letter was delivered by mail.

I will gladly cooperate with you if I can be of help in checking this sort of thing.

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b6

I will appreciate a reply.

Yours very truly,

[Redacted]
[Redacted] Washington

[Redacted]

*9.6.35
3/19/35
e. h. b.*

[Handwritten signature]

RECORDED & INDEXED

MAR 23 1935

61-9587-1
DIVISION OF INVESTIGATION
MAR 12 1935
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
ONE

O AMERICAN LEAGUE AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

Tacoma Branch

Margaret DeLay
4019 So. Tacoma Ave.
Chairman

Bessie F. Olson
1744 So. Ainswo
Secretary

Axel Anderson, Sec'y.
Swedish Order of Valhalla
Valhalla Temple
Tacoma, Washington

Greetings:

Fascism, the strong arm of capitalism, is becoming a menace in the United States. Fifty workmen have been killed in strikes during the past few months and the fundamental rights are seriously threatened. Fascism can and must be checked before it gains the upper hand in America.

Also there is constant danger of a new World War. Trouble in Central Europe is but temporarily averted, and the coming plebiscite in the Saar on Jan. 13 is a serious threat to the world peace. American money is invested all over the world and the experience of 1917 warns us that the army follows the dollar.

The American League Against War and Fascism, composed of trade unions, political organizations, fraternal orders and Church groups, offers a program for fighting these twin evils and provides the machinery for organizing a united front against them. Therefore the Tacoma Branch calls upon your organization to elect two delegates to a Delegates Conference to be held in Eagles Hall, 13th and Fawcett, Sunday, February 10 at 2 p. m.

At this conference the program and plan of organization of a City Central Committee of the American League Against War and Fascism will be discussed in detail by the state leaders in the movement. Your delegate can carry back to your organization a report and thus lay a basis for a permanent setup.

If possible, a committee of the Tacoma Branch will be at your next meeting to lay this matter before you in person, but in any case please elect your delegates, fill out the attached credentials and mail to our secretary before February 9th.

A feature of the conference will be a review of the book "One Hell of a Business" a digest of the senate investigation into the munitions racket by the co-author of the famous "Merchants of Death." This book is just off the press.

Fraternally yours,

The American League Against War and Fascism,
Tacoma, Branch,

By M. DeLay Chairman (signed)

AGB:MAM
67-7186-10

65-200-10

May 2, 1935

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

New Jersey.

b7C

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Dear Sir:

Receipt is acknowledged of your letter dated April 17, 1935, with which you transmitted information concerning the American League against War and Fascism, and a bulletin issued by the Little Falls Communist Party.

This is to advise you that in the absence of any Federal statute making it unlawful to engage in Communist activities, this Bureau is without investigative jurisdiction to inquire into such matters. The information which you have submitted is, however, being retained in the files of the Bureau.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover,
Director.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-29-79 BY [Signature]

6 FEB 16 1943

[Handwritten signature]

J. Hoover

4/7/35

Dear Sir

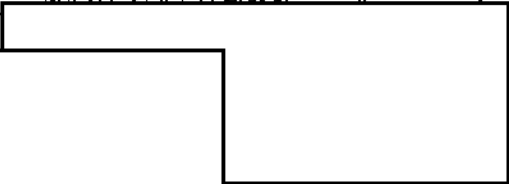
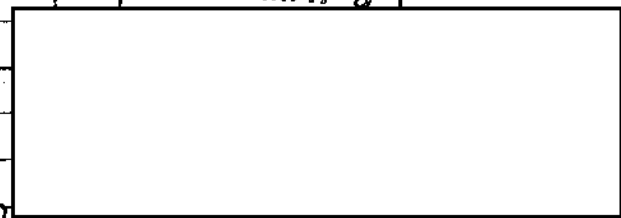
Attached letter was left under the door steps of residence of Great Notch, N.J. last Saturday evening.

There are a nest of Communists in Great Notch, N.J. and Little Falls, N.J. that work in and about Paterson, N.J. among industrial workers and Negroes.

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MANIFESTO AND PROGRAM

OF THE

AMERICAN LEAGUE

AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

Second U. S. Congress Against War and Fascism,
Chicago, Illinois, September 28, 29 and 30, 1934.

Appeal to the Working Men and Women of America:

To All Victims of War:

**To All Sufferers from Fascist Terror and
Exploitation:**

THE UNITED STATES prepares for War. The government of the United States in spite of peaceful professions is more aggressively than ever following policies whose only logical result is War. The whole program of the Roosevelt administration is permeated by preparedness for War, expressed in the extraordinary military and naval budget, mobilization of industry and man power, naval concentration in the Pacific Ocean, aid—direct and indirect—to Chiang Kai-shek against the Chinese Soviets, the initiation of currency and tariff Wars—all of which give the lie to the peaceful declarations of the United States Government.

Under the guise of public works, the N. R. A. has diverted immense funds from the care of starving millions to the building of a vastly larger navy and to mechanization of the army. The widespread unemployment has been utilized to concentrate young men in so-called reforestation camps, which the War Department is using for trial military mobilizations. The military training of youth in the schools and colleges is being further developed. More and more, national holidays and specially prepared demonstrations are being used to glorify the armed forces and to stimulate the

ENCLOSURE

Please indicate which membership you desire.

War spirit among the masses. Hundreds of factories are working overtime to produce munitions and basic War materials for shipment to the warring countries in South America and the Far East. The revelations of the Senate Committee investigating the munitions industry reveal the governments of our own and other countries as participating in a gigantic game of mass murder for profits.

A centralized War control of industry, along the lines of the War Industries Board of 1917 is being established. As in 1917, it is drawing the upper leadership of many trade unions into active collaboration in the War machine.

The World Moves Toward War

These events are a part of the general pattern of life in the capitalist world. While the recognition of the Soviet Union by the United States, the failure of the Nazi putsch in Austria and the consequent isolation of Germany, the approaches between France and the Soviet Union, and the entry of the Soviet Union into the League of Nations, have strengthened the forces opposing the immediate outbreak of War, the underlying forces that drive toward conflict are gathering momentum. The shifting relationships between the capitalist powers reveals the basic instability of their position. The insoluble contradictions in their economic life are constantly reflected in their diplomacy.

Never did mankind see such preparations for War. The greatest naval race in history is now on between the United States, England and Japan. To this is added the struggle for supremacy in the air. The World Disarmament Conference adjourns, confessing its complete failure. This is the reflection of the inability of the profit system to meet the economic needs of the masses. Unable to give them the means of life, it prepares for them the instruments of death.

The War System

The War danger arises inevitably out of the very nature of monopolistic capitalism—the ownership of the means of production by a small capitalist class and the complete domination of the government by this class. The imminent War danger is only another expression of the fundamental crisis of the capitalist system, which continues its existence only at the cost of the intensification of exploitation and oppression of the masses at home and in the colonies, and of struggle among the imperialist powers for a redivision of markets and sources of raw materials.

Only in the Soviet Union has this basic cause of War been removed. There are no classes or groups which can benefit from War or War preparations. Therefore the Soviet Union pursues a positive and vigorous peace policy, and alone among the governments proposes total disarmament. Serious struggle against War involves rallying all forces around this peace policy and opposing all attempts to weaken or destroy the Soviet Union.

Fascism Breeds War

The rapid rise of the Fascist state increases the War danger. Fascism means forced labor, militarization, lower standards of living, and the accentuation of national hatreds and chauvinist incitements as instruments for the "moral" preparations for War. Its economic nationalism is an increased source of conflicts. It sets the people of one country against the people of another, and exploits the internal racial and national groups within each country in order to prevent them from uniting in joint action to solve their common problems. War and Fascism spring from the same source, the inability of the capitalist system to solve its economic problems. They are organized by the same people, for the same purpose—the preservation of the power and privilege of the ruling class. They must be fought together, by the same forces, using the same weapons. Stop the growth of Fascism and we check War. Make it impossible for the Fascist state to wage War successfully and its power is broken.

For Mass Resistance

We can effectively combat War only by arousing and organizing the masses within each country for active struggle against the War policies of their own imperialist governments, whether these governments are working individually or through the League of Nations. The anti-War movement allies itself with the masses in the colonial and semi-colonial countries against imperialist domination, and gives full support to their immediate and unconditional independence, particularly to the Philippines and Cuba.

The Congress declares that the basic force in the imperialist countries for struggle against the War danger and the Fascist menace is the working class, organizing around it in close alliance all of the exploited sections of the population, working farmers, intellectuals, the oppressed Negro people, all toiling masses and all organizations and groups which are generally opposed to War on any basis or engaged in resisting any aspect of Fascism.

READ

FIGHT

AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

5c a copy

50c a year

112 East 19th Street

New York City

PROGRAM

The Congress pledges itself to do all in its power to effect a nation-wide agitation and organization against War preparations, War and Fascism. To this end we join together in carrying out the following immediate objectives:

1. To work toward the stopping of the manufacture and transport of munitions and all other materials essential to the conduct of War, through mass demonstrations, picketing and strikes; to likewise withdraw the intellectuals from the service of the War machine and to enlist them in agitation and educational propaganda against War and every aspect of Fascism.
2. To expose everywhere the extensive preparations for War being carried on under the guise of aiding "national recovery."
3. To demand the transfer of all War funds to relief of the unemployed, the distressed farmers and those deprived of education and the social services.
4. To oppose the policies of American imperialism in the Far East, in Latin America and throughout the world; to support the struggles of all colonial peoples against the imperialist policies of exploitation and armed suppression.
5. To support the peace policies of the Soviet Union for total and universal disarmament, which today with the support of masses in all countries constitute the clearest and most effective opposition to War throughout the world; to oppose all attempts to weaken the Soviet Union, whether these take the form of misrepresentation and false propaganda, diplomatic maneuvering or intervention by imperialist governments.
6. To oppose all developments leading to Fascism in this country and abroad, especially in Germany and other countries under Fascist dictatorship; to oppose the increasingly widespread use of the armed forces against the workers, farmers and the special terrorism and suppression of Negroes in their attempts to maintain a decent standard of living; to mobilize aggressive defense of the civil liberties of these groups and so stop the growing Fascist trend of our so-called "democratic" government.
7. To win the armed forces to the support of the program.
8. To enlist for our program the women in industry and in the home; and to enlist the youth, especially those who, by the crisis, have been deprived of training in the industries and are therefore more susceptible to Fascist and War propaganda.
9. To give effective international support to all workers and anti-War fighters against their own imperialist governments; and to all who suffer under and struggle against the Fascist State.
10. To form committees of action against War and Fascism in every important center and industry, particularly in the basic War industries; to secure the support for this program of all organizations seeking to prevent War, paying special attention to labor, veteran, unemployed and farmer organizations.

National, state and city organizations of the League shall carry out these objectives through educational propaganda, action by mass meetings, demonstrations, picketing and political pressure on legislative and administrative officials. Every emergency calling for action shall be met by national campaigns uniting all our forces in common resistance to these allied destroyers of mankind—War and Fascism.

Application for Membership in the American League Against War and Fascism

I, the undersigned, pledge my wholehearted support to the fight against War and Fascism. I wish to register with the American League Against War and Fascism and agree to carry out its program.

Name

Address

Occupation

Organization (if any)

Please indicate which membership you desire.

- Sustaining Member**
is informed of all League activities and receives Fight each month, ANNUAL DUES \$1.00
- Supporting Member**
is informed of all League activities and receives Fight each month and a bi-monthly bulletin, which the League will publish shortly after the Congress, covering developments in relation to War and Fascism throughout the world. ANNUAL DUES \$5.00—\$24.00
- Donor**
is informed of all League activities and receives Fight each month and a bi-monthly bulletin, which the League will publish shortly after the Congress, covering developments in relation to War and Fascism throughout the World and all literature and pamphlets issued by the National Office, ANNUAL DUES \$25.00 or more

Please attach membership fee.

L I T T L E F A L L S I T E M !

April 1935.

Sweet songs of birds now echo from the trees. We also hear on the air fascist warblings from Detroit and Louisiana in the persons of Father Coughlin and Huey Long, saying every man can be a king and down with the bankers but don't lose faith in Roosevelt. Hitler sang that way too, until, backed by the German bankers and misguided white collared workers, he grabbed the German nation by the throat. After promising peace and plenty to the German workers, he gave them misery and now is ready to plunge the world into another war. Our American fascists are the same sort--masks and figureheads for finance capital of Wall St., which aims to keep its tyrannical oppression of the workers going when the masses can no longer be fooled with the so-called "democratic" capitalist system. And Hearst sings sweet songs of praise to this Hitler.

Rattlesnakes are out already in the Ramapo hills. Here the Hearst's newspapers are crawling into the houses of good, unsuspecting folks and spreading the venom of fascism and shaking the war rattle. Their venom is disguised as Uncle Sam's own spring tonic and the rattle is recommended to put the kiddies to sleep--but they'll wake, along with the grown-ups, when the reptile strikes. "I'll make the war," boasted Hearst just before the Spanish-American conflict back in 1897-98.

WATER HAS BEEN CUT OFF FROM MANY HOMES HERE. THIS IS A DANGER TO PUBLIC HEALTH AS WELL AS MISERY TO THOSE IMMEDIATELY CONCERNED. THE BOARD OF HEALTH SHOULD BE FORCED TO TURN ON WATER FOR ALL. IT CAN AN WILL IF THE WORKERS MAKE A UNITED DEMAND FOR WATER, WHICH WE NEED ~~IN ORDER TO LIVE.~~ TELL THE RELIEF! TELL THE BOARD OF HEALTH! -- T U R N O N T H E W A T E R !

Arthur Boutel, a young man with wife and child, with a good five year record as driver for the Dunrite Laundry, favorably known to many people hereabouts, was picked up by state troopers near Midvale on March 13, on the charge of intoxication and speeding--he was not in a collision and did no harm whatever--was railroaded to Morristown jail in lieu of a fine of \$200 besides \$20 costs, and also had his auto driver's license revoked for two years. It is understood he will be let out after one month although sentenced to three months in jail. Intoxication is bad, especially for a driver. But look at that sentence! This is capitalist justice for a worker, despite the fact that the US Constitution forbids cruel and unusual punishment, excessive fines, etc., President Roosevelt's son, James has been in several serious traffic collisions but is in no danger of jail. Neither is Insul nor the eminent tax-dodgers, Morgan and Andy Mellon. Workers must rally to support workers and prevent by mass action such a "legal" outrage as was committed against Arthur Boutel.

Issued by the Little Falls
Communist Party, Unit.

Join the Communist Party
201 Market Street
Paterson, N.J.

READ THE DAILY WORKER !

File
23394

CALL TO ACT

The present war crisis and the growing awareness of the people to the increasing dangers of war and fascism open tremendous and entirely new fields for the development of the broadest sort of movement against war and fascism at the present time. At the same time the situation demands that we work quickly with every effort possible to build a broad and powerful united movement of the American people against war and fascism before a new world slaughter is upon us and our last civil rights have been taken away. (See Call).

THE THIRD U.S. CONGRESS AGAINST WAR & FASCISM to be held in Cleveland, Jan. 3-4-5 will be a powerful factor in broadening and consolidating the movement against war and fascism throughout the country as well as for the building of the American League. (The Cleveland City Council has unanimously endorsed the Congress and passed a resolution that the largest hall in Cleveland -- Public Auditorium - be given to the Congress for a nominal fee of \$1,000).

At the 2nd U.S. Congress held in Chicago more than a year ago there were 2300 delegates officially representing more than 1,000,000 people. The growth of the national movement since this Congress and the great sharpening of the dangers of war and fascism will make possible a much broader and more powerful Congress in Cleveland this year. To realize these possibilities in Chicago must do our full part together with those other forces preparing this Congress throughout the country. Participating in the Congress will be prominent leaders from all walks of life and of varied political and religious beliefs, drawn together by their common opposition to war and fascism -- congressmen, outstanding ministers and educators, prominent trade unionists and representatives of political parties. Also prominent world anti-fascist leaders will be present from France, Germany, and possibly Italy and other countries. The Congress will function on a commission basis, the commissions including the following: Labor, Religious and Educational, Woman, Youth, National Minorities, etc.

COOK COUNTY CONFERENCE AGAINST WAR & FASCISM to be held in Chicago Dec. 6-7-8 will prepare for the Third U. S. Congress besides broadening and strengthening the movement against war and fascism in Chicago. There were more than 700 delegates from Chicago at the 2nd U. S. Congress, including representatives from 37 PL locals. At the Cook County Conference this year we can and must surpass this number. The situation in Chicago where the violations of civil liberties are so flagrant demands that we must make this a broad and successful conference (See Call). The program of the Cook County Conference will be as follows: The Conference will open Friday night with a mass meeting at Public Auditorium - Saturday afternoon and evening at all day busing, the delegates will meet at Forrester's all 1014 N. Dearborn St. The Cook County Conference will also meet on a commission basis. Prominent speakers will address the conference -- Mayor Malin for the National Bureau of the American League, and many outstanding local leaders will be present at the conference.

Following organizations and individuals for participation in the Third U. S. Congress and Cook County Conference, as well as in neighborhood activities for peace and the independence of all branches and affiliated organizations of the League and other organizations participating in this work, are urged to pay particular attention to the following points.

203-0V 27 1935

RECOMMENDATIONS TO BE VISITED

61-15877-

The Conference Call clearly indicates that the issue is to do better than we are of such a nature as to make the broadest possible approach to all sorts of organizations and groups that not only groups already opposed to the war and the growing international civil liberties organizations which may not yet have discussed or formed an opinion on these questions in no way confine ourselves to the visiting of organizations that had delegates or that we believe to be sympathetic to the program of the League. In fact, organizations we should extend our activities to reach all possible groups in the city with special emphasis on such organizations as the following: Trade Union Localities, Labor Groups, American Legion posts and their Women's Auxiliaries as well as other fraternal groups and fraternal orders; such as Masons, Eastern Star, Elks, Moose, Odd Fellows, Abolition Word Clubs, neighborhood women's clubs, National League groups, Neighborhood and Settlement Houses, Professional and Vocational groups, and all types of Youth Organizations. Particular emphasis should be placed on visiting all groups and organizations, and those from other sections of the city are asked to do so. In this important work in the Negro neighborhoods. The branches of the League which are already participating in the Joint Conference for peace and the League should be drawn actively into the preparation for the Cook County conference.

METHODS OF APPROACH

Approaching various types of organizations it is important to emphasize those issues in the call which most vitally affect the group that you are visiting. For example:

1. **TRADE UNIONS:** The refusal of Soldier's Field to the Chicago Federation of Labor - Courtney's attack on Chicago Unions - increased use of injunctions and police against strikers - attempts to prohibit strikes against the so-called wage scales of the WPA projects, etc. A special point should be made of the action of the recent FL convention in condemning Fascism and Fascist Italy's war on Ethiopia.

2. **CHURCHES & TEMPLES:** Most churches and temples throughout the country have taken a stand for peace. The violation of peace by the present unprovoked war of aggression against Ethiopia which threatens to plunge us into a new world war cannot be allowed to pass unchallenged. Churches and their national bodies have time and again taken a stand against the ROTC. Yet at the present time attempts are being made to extend the ROTC in the Chicago Schools. Altho the people want peace, attempts are being made to suppress the expression of peace sentiment. (John Adams Memorial Meeting, August Sixt Peace Parade, etc.) Explain the attitude of fascism toward the church with examples from Germany. At temples stress the importance of our fight against German Nazism and point out the danger presented by the many Nazi and anti-semitic groups which are springing up in the United States. Give special mention of our activities in support of the campaign to stop the holding of the Olympic Games in Berlin and for the boycott of German goods. Also for Catholic groups.

3. **AMERICAN LEGION POSTS, Other Veteran organizations, LODGES & FRATERNAL SOCIETIES:** In approaching such groups as the above which often may have been poisoned by attempts to characterize us as un-American such movements as that against war and fascism, particular stress should be laid on THE TRUE MEANING OF AMERICANISM. It should be pointed out that the growing national movement against war and fascism represents the GENUINE AMERICAN traditions which were established by our forefathers in the struggle of the American People for liberty and freedom from oppression. Such rights as freedom of speech, freedom of assembly and freedom of political and religious belief were only won thru bitter struggle and all true Americans must today defend these rights against all attempts to take them away. These profiteers and professional patrioters, who in the name of "Americanism" attack the hard won rights of the people are defiling the best traditions of America. When these same people try to lead us into a war for the profit of a few they are further attacking the interests of the American People. Explain the fascist tendencies contained in the treatment of veterans in connection with tin bonus. Explain how Hitler crushed the Veterans organizations in Germany.

4. **NEGRO CHURCHES & ORGANIZATIONS:** An effective national movement against war and fascism is impossible without decisively involving the Negro people and their organizations. The Negro people are particularly aroused over the invasion of the last independent Negro Nation by Fascist Italy as well as the schemes of other powers, together with Italy, to violate this independence. They justly feel that the outcome of the present war will have a direct effect on the liberation of the Negro People throughout the world. These points should be stressed. The role of the National League as one of the leading initiators of the Conference for Peace and Ethiopian Independence should be mentioned together with the activities against the war which are now being conducted in different neighborhoods. Point out that the Negro People feel most deeply and are first affected by the attacks on civil liberties and the growing activities of fascist groups. That groups cannot be successful in the defense of civil rights unless they unite with the Negro People in this struggle and take a firm stand against all forms of discrimination, especially against the Negro people. (Jim Crowism, segregationism, racialism, etc.)

5. **CHURCH & TEMPLE GROUPS:** In visiting churches, first approach the Minister or Temple Priest and the Call. Ask what groups meet in the church or temple. Get names, addresses, numbers of members of congregation interested in Peace. Approach Church Groups such as Women's Groups, Youth's Groups and Men's Groups for delegates, and have the Conference announced from the pulpit.

6. **NATIONAL LANGUAGES ORGANIZATIONS:** In approaching societies and benefit lodges of the foreign workers of the different nationalities, stress should be laid on the growing attack on foreign born workers, attempts to exclude them with blame for unemployment, intensified deprivations, City Council proposal to deny Relief Project jobs to non-citizens and therefore the cooperation with all other organizations against these attacks which are but part of the whole fascist attack on labor and the civil liberties of the people. When speaking of fascism in Europe, avoid the mistake of giving the impression that you are attacking the country or its people. Do not refer to Germany or the Germans but always to the Nazis and Hitler, being careful to emphasize the growing opposition of the people to the Nazis in Germany.

which should be stressed. You should stress that despite all attempts of fascist elements to attract the youth, the youth are organizing a powerful united front in their American Youth Congress, whose recent national congress in Detroit represented 1,300,000 young people from 70 organizations. The American Youth Congress is conducting a powerful drive at present against the fascist tendency of the National Youth Administration and the rise to labor contained in low youth wage scale of the WPA projects. The American Youth Congress will hold a statewide congress in Chicago with youth organizations that you visit may either know about or be participating WITH ALL OTHER SECTIONS of the people in the movement against war and fascism.

23396

6. YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS: The call contains a number of points regarding the youth which should be stressed. You should stress that despite all attempts of fascist elements to attract the youth, the youth are organizing a powerful united front in their American Youth Congress, whose recent national congress in Detroit represented 1,300,000 young people from 70 organizations. The American Youth Congress is conducting a powerful drive at present against the fascist tendency of the National Youth Administration and the rise to labor contained in low youth wage scale of the WPA projects. The American Youth Congress will hold a statewide congress in Chicago with youth organizations that you visit may either know about or be participating WITH ALL OTHER SECTIONS of the people in the movement against war and fascism.

7. WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS: Many of the points suggested for emphasis when approaching church organizations also apply for women groups, with further explanation as to the attitude of fascism on the women question, as for example Hitler's position that women's only function in society is raising children for the army and keeping house.

OVERCOMING OBJECTIONS: - If your proposals are not received favorably after speaking to the officers or assembled members at their meeting you must be very careful not to adopt an antagonistic attitude which would make difficult finally getting them to participate. Instead you must show the greatest patience in clearing up all possible objections that may be raised. The most common objection will be that the American League is a "radical" or "undesirable" organization. Such a conception of the League is based on the lies spread by the Hearst and reactionary press which label as "un-American" all those who take a firm stand for civil liberties, for peace and against fascism. This objection must be carefully answered and explained away. You should point out that the American League is a movement to unite in common resistance to war and fascism ALL organizations and individuals who are opposed to these allies of the oppressors of mankind. Explain that while there are Communists in the League the bulk of the membership and of the officers represent the most varied creeds and political beliefs throughout the country by the one common interest of combating war and fascism. Make use of the attached list of members of the National Executive Committee, consisting of prominent people in all walks of life - liberals - progressives - prominent educators and religious leaders, prominent leaders of labor and persons of varied political belief. You also may make use of the following paragraph from the call to overcome the objections of those who, while interested in the issues raised, do not as yet feel willing to support the program of the American League: "The conference will be non-political and non-sectarian. It is not necessary to endorse the League or its program in order to attend. Through the conference we may come to a clearer understanding of the issues confronting us, and work out a plan of united action in our common interests." When the officers invoke rules of the organization which make it impossible for you to speak or have a Call read to the meeting (as for example the rule in some local unions that a speaker must have a credential from the Chicago Federation of Labor and any other organization the seal of the Federation) the question must by no means be dropped but every effort must be made to get individual members of the organization to bring up the question.

HOOK UP - Make the sending of delegates to the 3rd U.S. Congress in Cleveland, Jan. 3-4-5 1936, the central question and the first thing to take up with the organizations visited. Explain fully the importance of this national congress and do everything possible to urge every organization to send delegates to Cleveland. If the organization is not in a position to send delegates to Cleveland, be sure that it elects delegates to the Cook County Conference 6-7-8. If it does elect delegates to Cleveland, it is of the utmost importance that they be represented at the Cook County Conference, preferably by the same delegates. It should be explained that the Cook County Conference is being held in preparation for the Cleveland Conference and that our discussions and decisions in Chicago, together with the work by similar conferences throughout the country, will contribute greatly to the success and effectiveness of the Cleveland Congress. In the event that an organization is not ready to elect delegates to the Cook County Conference you may ask them to send fraternal delegates or observers so that they may see for themselves the nature of the movement that is being developed.

TO ASK THE ORGANIZATION TO DONATE A DEFINED AMOUNT TO HELP MEET THE EXPENSES

FOLLOW UP - In visiting organizations for delegates to the 3rd U.S. Congress in Cleveland, do not forget that our main purpose is to organize and act against war and fascism in Chicago. They should not consider their task as merely visiting the organization once and getting delegates. They should make

those who have been elected, re-emphasizing the importance of the sessions, and making sure all necessary arrangements have been made to guarantee they will be present. It is impossible to lay too much emphasis on the importance of retaining permanent connections with the organizations which are to be approached. Make friends with the officers or some of the members who are most interested. Invite them to attend a meeting of the nearest branch of the American League. (Information as to place and time of meeting of branches may be obtained by phoning the ALM League Office, Dearborn 6902). ARRIVE AT THE MEETING EARLY SO AS TO SPEAK TO OFFICERS OR MEMBERS OF ORGANIZATION BEFORE MEETING STARTS. SUCCESSFUL WORKS MEANS - THE AFFILIATION OF MANY NEW ORGANIZATIONS TO THE AMERICAN LEAGUE BUILDING NEW BRANCHES OF THE LEAGUE AND OBTAINING NEW MEMBERS FOR THE EXISTING BRANCHES.

9. MATERIAL NEEDED WHEN VISITING ORGANIZATIONS: 1. In addition to copies of the call, be sure to make a credential authorizing you to represent the American League. 2. Make copies of Fight, the official organ of the AL (5¢ a copy - subscription 50¢ a year - bundle orders at 4¢ a copy). 3. Other literature of the American League may be obtained at the office, including Plunder of Ethiopia - 2¢; The Fascist Road to Ruin - 5¢; Why Fascism Leads to War - 5¢. Cards with names of organizations in your neighborhood, and time and place of meeting can also be obtained at the office. AS SOON AS THE ORGANIZATION HAS BEEN VISITED, these cards should be immediately returned with the information requested on the card to League Office; but whether or not you have a card PLEASE REPORT IMMEDIATELY as to action of organization you visited, names and addresses of delegates elected, whether to Cleveland or Cook County or both, to the

AMERICAN LEAGUE AGAINST RACISM AND FASCISM (CHICAGO COME) Rm. 504, 104 W. Washington St., Chicago, Ill. Dearborn 6902.

Jr

A. S. Kephart, President BUCKEYE LODGE NO. 174, OHIO
Norvin S. Dugan, Recording Sec'y
Edward S. Shaw, Treasurer
AMALGAMATED ASSOCIATION OF IRON STEEL AND TIN WORKERS
(Ernest S. Parker, Cor. Rep. of NORTH AMERICA)

H. L. Martin, Vice Pres.
Wm. V. Broadlove, Fin. Sec'y
Walter ZAJACK, Journal Agent

23393

Cincinnati, Ohio, Dec. 5, 1935.

Dear Sir and Brothers:

I am writing you on a subject in which I feel sure you are deeply interested, the imminent danger of a Fascist dictatorship in this country. You will have noticed, in the recent A.F.L. Convention and in the public statements of such labor leaders as Prof. Green and John L. Lewis, that the leaders of the AFL realize the extreme seriousness of the situation.

The organization which is offering the most serious resistance to the Fascist movement in this country is the American League Against War and Fascism. This organization is quite broad in its membership, including leading labor leaders and well known liberals, having the endorsement of many International unions and State Federations of Labor. To render this resistance most effective, all the trade unions and all progressive trade unionists must rally to the support of the American League and the 3rd Congress of the League which will be held in Cleveland, Jan. 5, 6, and 8, 1936.

This Congress has the endorsement of the Cleveland City Council and the opening session will be held in the City Auditorium which has been donated free of charge for this purpose. Among the prominent leaders of American life who will take part in this Congress are Gen. Smedley Butler, Bishop Blake, of the Methodist Church, Langston Hughes and others.

I have been appointed by the Buckeye Lodge of the A.A.I.S.T.W. as their representative to bring to the support of the Congress all the progressive trade unions and trade unionists in this vicinity.

In order to plan how this can be done most effectively I am asking you to meet with me and other trade unionists at my home, 445 W. Duway Ave., Saturday evening, Dec. 7th at 7:00 P.M.

RELYING on your co-operation in this important matter of self-defense, I am,

Sincerely yours,

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-29-79 BY SP-1 [Signature]

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Local activity for the past week exhausted all power to act in accordance with the replies of the Communist International. The most prevalent in the United Front actions is the Congress against War and Fascism, which will take place in Cleveland Jan. 3-4-5. The work on this type of united front exceeds the work of Youth United Front. Every step in the direction of building the 3rd Congress against War & Fascism denotes the final transformation of the party section from the old way to the new way in activity.

Clarence Irwin, rank and file leader of so-called militant lodges in the A.A., as chairman of the sponsoring committee of the American League Against War and Fascism, reveals he has a broad perspective for the Congress thru involving of large groups of AA lodges pledging their support to participate in the Congress.

Since the huge meeting of the Party Plenum, Irwin has assisted John Staben section organizer, and they contacted and inspired working groups of the A.A. to take heed to the congress call and credentials have been sent out by mail to individuals who could not be approached in the personal contacting campaign. The YCL also played an important role in building the Congress by laying a basis in the Youth organizations, in the churches, the YMCA and YWCA.

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A. Gardos, Hungarian Party leader, a visitor to the Party Section, Youngstown, this week, also contributed to the action in influencing Hungarian outside elements to play an important part in the Congress.

Hannah Blumenthal, ILO leader, has the responsibility of building up an active negro delegation from Youngstown to the Congress. Two meetings in the last week have been influential in insuring the party that negroes will be a part of the Congress Wednesday, Dec. 18, and another meeting for Negro women will be held at the home of Hannah Blumenthal, 1735 Benedale Ave., when Negro problems will be discussed, such as Angela Harmon's freedom, the Scottsboro case, National Negro Congress, and local discrimination of negroes, etc.

(COPY)

Youngstown, O., Dec. 9, 1935.

Dear Sirs: -

In Cleveland on January 3rd, 4th and 5th there will be a huge Congress against War & Fascism. This Congress will be the Third Congress of the American League Against War and Fascism. The Congress is endorsed by the Cleveland City Council, the Cleveland Federation of Labor, the Tri-District Conference of the United Mine Workers of America, and other fraternal societies.

General Smalley Butler will be one of the main speakers, others will be Bishop Edgar F. Blake of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Langston Hughes, dramatist and poet; Max Hyslop, editor of Cleveland Citizen and others. Among the outstanding leaders of American life who will be delegates to the Congress are Heywood Brown, Hon. Homer S. Brown, of the Pennsylvania State Legislature; Hon. Al Trenze, also a member of the Pa. State Legislature and other leaders of American thought.

To make this Congress a success and to safeguard our civil liberties from the attacks which are being directed against us we must make sure that the Congress will represent the section of the American People.

We are therefore enclosing a copy of the call with credentials attached and inform us of the names and addresses of your delegates as there is plenty of material to be sent to them by the New York office.

Yours Truly,

SPONSORING COMMITTEE OF THE AMERICAN LEAGUE AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

Clarence Irwin, Sec.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 11-29-77 BY SP1/ELH/14/8

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Youngstown, O., Dec. 17, 1956.

Activity for the American Congress Against War & Fascism has increased so that the Party section here turns its full and entire attention to the participation of trade unions in the Congress. Over twenty locals in the AFL are listed by the Party to be visited during this week by the most capable leaders in union activity, and it will be the task of these leaders to convince the members of labor locals the necessity of sending delegates to the Congress in Cleveland, O., Jan. 4-5-6.

A hasty meeting of the party bure and leading trade unionists was called on Dec. 16 at [redacted] the bure members consisted of the following:

[redacted]

Trade Unionists present were

[redacted]

23391

The Buro took up the following discussion: —

- 1 - Mass Labor Party
- 2 - American Congress
- 3 - Y.C.L.
- 4 - Unemployed workers

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[redacted] of the YMCA college here, whom the Communist Party considers an honest liberal, will be approached to persuade the Democratic Party to become a candidate on the Labor Party ticket for Congressmen. [redacted] will also be approached to accept the Labor Party ticket to run for a State office.

[redacted] reports the Buckeye and Trust I.A.A. lodges are prepared to select delegates for the Congress against War & Fascism. Some good results are also promised from the DeForest Lodges.

The W.P.A. union, somewhat under the influence of certain Party leaders, is rapidly growing and becoming more popular among W.P.A. workers. The Buro, in discussing the W.P.A. Union, finds many advantages to gain full control of the union whenever in the near future.

It was agreed upon by the bure to call a general mass meeting of W.P.A. workers and those receiving direct relief based on round, certain demands.

Buro members and unionists will attend the district committee meeting in Cleveland Saturday, Dec. 21st. John Williamson, District Organizer, will make a report on the control tasks and the acute situation in the State of Ohio.

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

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DATE 4-29-79 BY [redacted]

[Handwritten signature]

[Handwritten signatures and initials]

DEC 17 1956

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P. O. Drawer 567
San Francisco, California
April 7, 1936

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

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-29-79 BY SP-1 [signature]

Re: CIVIL FINGERPRINTS

Dear Sir:

For the information of the Bureau, and more particularly in connection with the universal registration drive program in the City of Berkeley, there is transmitted herewith a copy of a circular published by the American League against war and Fascism urging the people to refuse to be fingerprinted.

This copy of the circular was furnished by Inspector Chester Flint of the Alameda County District Attorney's Office of Oakland, California, who advised that 10,000 copies of this circular were distributed on the streets of Berkeley, California, on March 7, 1936. Inspector Flint expressed the opinion that [redacted]

[redacted]

According to Flint, [redacted]

[redacted]

held a meeting of crews at his home for the purpose of arranging the distribution of the circulars on the following day.

Very truly yours,

W. L. LISTERMAN
Special Agent in Charge

Encls.
WLS:SF

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION	
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APR 17 1936
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The American League Against War & Fascism is not a genuine organization devoted to the purpose its name implies "but rather an organization dominated and controlled by the Communist Party for largely Communist purposes."

The League is a tool of the Communist Party, and its activities, like those of the Communist Party, hinder the development of a genuine anti-fascist movement in this country and tend to "create the objective conditions which would make possible the triumph of fascist."

These are the conclusions of an exhaustive study of the American League Against War & Fascism just completed by William M. Bishop, an instructor in the department of political science at City College.

Mr. Bishop's study, the results of which are embodied in a report covering 46 closely mimeographed pages, presents a detailed analysis of the inception, development, structure, methods and policies of the League under Communist leadership and direction. The result is an exposure of the most important of the Communist "innocent clubs" in the U.S. and of the methods pursued by Communism in creating "movements" ostensibly devoted to the promotion of social and working class interests but actually seeking to advance the political purposes of the Communist Party as laid down in directives from Moscow.

Carefully documented and buttressed by an overwhelming mass of evidence from Communist sources, Mr. Bishop's report on his study lays bare the falsity of the pretensions of the Communist Party that it is seeking a genuine united front against fascism and shows clearly how the Communist Party, under the direction of Moscow's Communist International, is contributing materially to the growth of fascism. The facts brought out in Mr. Bishop's study are summarized as follows in the conclusion of his report:

"The American League Against War & Fascism, initiated in 1935 by the Communist Party has from the beginning been identified with the 'social fascist', 'dual union' and 'united front from above and below' policy of the Communist Party. The 'Daily Worker' account of the First Congress of the League in 1935 shows that this congress was packed by the Communist Party and that the congress followed the party even in violating elementary principles of the united front. Responsible leaders of the Communist Party boast of the Communist 'leadership' League and there is abundant evidence to show that both the Second and Third Congresses completely controlled by the Party.

"The program of the League has never been what it pretends to be -- a minimum program to unite the largest possible opposition to war and fascism. According to its executive body, the League is a 'selective united front' and has no expectation or intention of becoming an all-inclusive united front of all those who oppose war and fascism.

"The overwhelming majority of the organizations active in the work of the League are under the orders and discipline of the Communist Party. The organizational structure is oligarchic and makes possible minority control. The Communist Party initiated the League and has always maintained that the united front can succeed only when it is led by the Communist Party. Therefore, there is good reason to believe that the structure of the League, designed to allow Communist control without this being apparent to the innocent. Repeated statements by Browder, (vice-president of the League and general secretary of the Communist Party) and other responsible Communist officials that the League is 'led' by the Communist Party are confirmed by similar statements of other parties and organizations which were formerly affiliated with the League. In its animosity toward opposition Communist groups the League demonstrates in still another way its Communist control.

"Without the support of the trade unions, any move against fascism is doomed to failure. The Communist control makes it impossible for the League to become a genuine united front of trade unions for more active opposition to fascism. Communist control also hampers the ability of including in the League the Socialist Party and the other third party movements. The immediate purpose of the League is propaganda and other forms of aid for the Communist Party. The Communist Party has recently reiterated its intention of using the League as a means of splitting off 'great chunks' from the Socialist Party. The primary purpose of the League is to aid in the preparation of the proletarian revolution. The dictatorship of the proletariat would mean the ruthless suppression of all political parties except the Communist Party. Successful realization of this ultimate purpose of the League is not probable. More probable is the possibility that a group of Communist Party might create objective conditions which would make possible the triumph of fascism.

Mr. Bishop shows with the support of his mass of contemporary and historical evidence that the tactics and objectives of the Communist Party, its American League Against War & Fascism

TOP SECRET 7 1949

Fascism and some hundred "innocent clubs" of various forms and hues, are a replica of Communist tactics and are everywhere, notably Germany, where they contributed materially to the triumph of Hitler. He warns that the result may be repeated here.

With the tools of undeniable facts and evidence, taken directly from the highest Communist sources, Mr. Bishop tears the mask from the face of the Communist Party and the American League Against War & Fascism.

"The tactics of the Communists and Fascists are basically similar," he writes. "Fascists try to stampede people into fascism as the only way to prevent Communism. Communists try to stampede anti-fascists into Communism as the only way to prevent fascism. Even those who feel neutral towards Communism or even admire Communists because of their great activity in the fight against fascism should think twice before they allow themselves to be used even indirectly to further the growth of Communism. This may indirectly hasten what they fear most."

23389

In this connection, Mr. Bishop quotes the following from John Dewey, often regarded as the outstanding exponent of social thought in the United States:

"I am firmly convinced that imminent civil war, or even the overt threat of such a war, in any nation, will bring fascism with its terrible engines of repression to power. Communism, then, with its doctrine of the necessity of the forcible overthrow of the state by armed insurrection, with its doctrine of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and with its threat to exclude all other classes from civil rights, to smash their political parties and to deprive them of the right of freedom of speech, press and assembly - which the Communists now claim for themselves under Capitalism - Communism is itself an unwitting but nonetheless powerful factor in bringing about fascism. As an unflinching opponent of fascism in every form, I cannot be a Communist."

Mr. Bishop's valuable study shows why no sincere, intelligent and well-informed anti-fascists can be members of the Communist Party or lend any encouragement whatsoever to the Communist American League Against War & Fascism, the maneuverer of the United front or any Communist enterprise sailing under anti-Fascist colors.

The mask is off!

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

LCS:KB
61-7586-27

July 25, 1936.

Mr. James E. Davis,
Chief of Police,
Los Angeles, California.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-29-79 BY *[Signature]*

My dear Chief:

I would like to express to you my sincere appreciation for your kindness in submitting with your letter of July 3, 1936, the photostatic copy of the pamphlet entitled "What Do You Know About Fingerprinting?", being distributed in Berkeley.

Possibly we can expect further attacks of this character from ill-advised groups. These, of course, can be met at the proper time through representative organizations which are naturally interested in public service and not in endeavors to discredit established sciences which are of such great value not only to police organizations, but to society as a whole.

With my very best wishes and kind regards,
I am

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover,
Director.

- Mr. Nathan
- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. E.A. Tamm
- Mr. Clegg
- Mr. Coffey
- Mr. Cowley
- Mr. Edwards
- Mr. Egan
- Mr. Foxworth
- Mr. Glavin
- Mr. Harbo
- Mr. Joseph
- Mr. Lester
- Mr. Nichols
- Mr. Quinn
- Mr. Schilder
- Mr. Tamm
- Mr. Tracy
- Miss Gandy

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organization, and one organization not avowedly under the influence of any foreign ideology but in fact under that influence as a result of "boring from within". In his press conference on January 6, the President announced that the investigation was under way.

It was my understanding, from what was said in Cabinet and from conversations which I and other officers of the Department had immediately afterwards with Mr. McMahon, that your Department planned to send an investigator immediately to examine our files on the organizations mentioned in Mr. Dies' letter and to consult with officers of this Department, in order that a decision might be reached as to which three of those organizations should be investigated in the first instance. Since those conversations we have heard nothing more of the matter. I am writing to you to bring it to your attention with the thought that you may wish to take some action in regard to it. We are prepared to cooperate fully with any representative of your Department who may be assigned to examine the pertinent documents in our files.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ Sumner Welles
Acting Secretary.

(NOTE: Distribu
June 12, 1936
War & Fascism,
national.)

BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA;
American League Against
ing of the Communist Inter-

.. — ..

**WHAT
DO YOU KNOW
ABOUT
FINGERPRINTING**

?

.. — ..

DANGERS

FINGERPRINTING IS A MENACE TO ALL, BECAUSE IT: --

A. Threatens us

With being framed as un-American for criticizing questioning or inagurating any legislation distasteful to the vested interests.

B. Leads admittedly

1. To complusory legislation
2. Lowering of wages
3. Impossibility of reemployment if blacklisted for defense of our livelihood.

C. Sentences any innocent citizen

For the crime of anyone clever enough to transplant fingerprints.

D. Destroys secrecy of ballot

By means of fingerprint identification, dissenting voters can be spotted and intimidated. /

E. Jeopardises use of Constitutional Rights

"Punishable by imprisonment in the state prison for not less than one year nor more than 14 years" by the California Criminal Syndicalism Law, Section 2. Refusing to be fingerprinted is one of these rights.

F. Amnesia ?? Earthquake ??

From the preceding statements it is obvious that fngerprnting has been misrepresented and should be strongly protested by every sincere American Citizen.

If your fingerprints are already voluntarily recorded it is your right and duty to demand them back.

For demonstration of falsifying fingerprints, for verification of the above facts, and for further information, call The American League Against War and Fascism, 3016 Hillegass Avenue, Berkley, Phone Thornwall 6865.

FACTS

DO YOU KNOW THAT FINGERPRINTING IS: --

A. Financed by

1. American Legion
 2. Chamber of Commerce
- One hundred million dollars to safeguard their interests.

B. Supported by

1. Hearst
2. Industrialists
3. Berkeley Nationals, our local Black Legion
4. Employers -- as a club, over the heads of employees to beat down the wage scale.

C. Unreliable

Anyone's fingerprints can be

1. Planted on the scene of a crime by copper plate
2. Misread by police authorities
3. Doctored by experts from "fingerprint schools"

D. A Police Measure

With the following aims printed by the Junior Chamber of Commerce

1. Any person not fingerprinted will be arrested
2. Any person can be stopped on the street and asked for his fingerprint card
3. Any person giving employment to one not fingerprinted will be arrested
4. Any person can be prosecuted for moving from one part of town to another without notifying the police

E. Illegal

If used as a blacklist, cf. California Penal Code, part 1, Title 15, Chapter 2, Section 653e, passed to protect workers against an employer's blacklist. Persons who allow themselves to be fingerprinted are working with the employers against their own guaranteed constitutional rights.

The fingerprinting of American citizens for police records is one factor in the breaking down of our hard-earned American Democracy.

Another document created by the Communist Party, and which includes all types of workers organization, middle class and professional groups. It is the purpose of the Communist Party to bring about a united front of the entire population, with the exception of the industrialists and capitalists, on this main issue, the struggle for peace. Referring to the American Committee of the Communist Party U.S.A. [redacted] says, we have a powerful and correct strategy in the struggle for peace, the strategy formulated by the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International. To bring this strategy to the masses is our task. Our policy of peace, the only truly revolutionary policy."

The only representative body in Cleveland of the AL against War & Fascism is the Cleveland Committee. There are as yet no branches or units of the organization in this District. The secretary of the Cleveland Committee is Ruth Bennett, a nationally known Communist, [redacted] member of the Party District Committee (Cleveland District #6). Following is the program of the AL against War and Fascism: --

1. To work towards the stopping of the manufacture and transport of munitions in time of peace and war, and, in time of war the transport of all other materials essential to the conduct of war, thru mass demonstrations, picketing and strikes; and to enlist the professional classes in educational propaganda against war and for cooperation with workers and farmers in anti-war actions. RECORDED & INDEXED 61-7389-217
2. To expose at every point the extensive preparations for war being carried on by the government of the United States (a) under the guise of "national defense" and (b) by provision to war preparations funds for relief projects and public works; to demand that relief funds be spent only in constructive work or for adequate relief, and that the huge additional budgets now being spent in preparations for war be transferred to the extension of health and education. AUG 31 1936
3. To resist the increasing militarization of youth in schools, Civilian Conservation Corp. and Citizens Military Training Corp. Camps and the use of their dependents upon relief to get them into the armed forces.
4. To demand total and universal disarmament, as proposed by the Soviet Union to the League of Nations, and to support all measures that move clearly toward that goal.
5. To demand that neutrality legislation effectively cover all war supplies, loans and credits, and permit no discretion to the President; more particularly, to promote and support refusal of workers to handle all materials of war; to organize and support public condemnation of those who seek profit from the sale of war materials and war loans; to organize mass support for every effort, national or international, which in our judgment as occasion arises, is directed toward postponing, restricting, or shortening war.
6. To oppose the policies of American imperialism in Latin America, the Far East and throughout the world to give the support of our protests and demands to all peoples who are resisting exploitation, aggression and suppression by imperialist powers, to those in all lands who struggle against the war measures and fascist policies of their governments, and to all who suffer under the fascist state.
7. To demonstrate constantly the relationship between war and fascism, to expose and counteract fascist propaganda, both foreign and native; to prevent the formation of fascist forces in this country.
8. To oppose all developments leading to fascism, particularly the increasingly widespread use of armed forces and vigilante terrorism against workers, unemployed, farmers, negroes and other racial minorities who are exercising their constitutional rights to protest against unbearable conditions and to organize for their own advancement.
9. To resist the attempts of our American fascists to destroy by legislation, executive order, judicial decree, or lawless action, our guaranteed civil rights of free speech, free press, free assembly, the right to organize, picket and demonstrate; and further to resist all forms of discrimination against foreigners based on their political or labor activities.
10. To oppose all legislation or orders which deny to any citizen the guaranteed constitutional right to receive printed matter or personal appeals in behalf of this or any other program designed to secure peace, freedom and justice; and to defend the right to join organizations on the same basis as other citizens.

The official organ of the American League Against War & Reaction is FORUM, published by the National Executive Committee, 112 West 19th St., New York City.

Following are the national officers of the organization: --

Chairman	Harry F. Ward
Vice-Chairmen	Robt. Moses Lovett
	Jacob Mersky
	Mrs. Victor L. Berger
	Walter Browder
	Max S. Hayes
Treasurer	Willie B. Skayold
Exec. Secretary	Paul Reed
Administration	Salvo Bennett
Editor	Joseph Pass
Women	Dorothy McCormell
Youth	James Lerner
Trade Unions	John Hess (7/a)
Religious	Harriet Pollock

EAT:HA

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DATE 11-29-79 BY [signature]

March 15, 1939

#275/62-23377

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

With regard to the letter addressed to me under date of March 13, 1939 by Acting Secretary of State Sumner Welles concerning a request for investigation into the question of whether a number of organizations referred to in a letter dated November 26 from Congressman Dies, Chairman of the Special Committee of the House on Un-American Activities, have violated the provisions of the Act of June 8, 1938 requiring the registration of agents of foreign principals, I must advise you that no request has been received in this Bureau requesting the initiation of the investigation described. It is noted from Mr. Welles' letter that some agreement was reached with the Department whereby the Department of Justice agreed to send an investigator to examine the State Department's files pertaining to the organizations mentioned in Mr. Dies' letter in order that a decision might be reached as to which three of those organizations should be investigated in the first instance. It is further noted from Mr. Welles' letter that the State Department has not been contacted by the Department of Justice pursuant to this agreement.

I have carefully reviewed all of the Bureau files pertaining to investigations of this kind without finding any data which appears pertinent to or related to the investigation outlined in Mr. Welles' letter of March 13, 1939. I have ascertained however that under date of January 30, 1939 the Criminal Division of the Department requested the Bureau to conduct an investigation to determine whether the following organizations or persons were engaged in activities of such a nature as would require them to register pursuant to Public Act 583 of the Seventy-fifth Congress, approved on June 8, 1938:

Genline Corporation
Bookline Corporation

The James True Associates
11 Grid della Stirna

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This investigation is being conducted at the present time but it appears that it is predicated upon independent data in the files of the State Department and is not predicated upon any information furnished by the Dies Committee.

61-7586-44
61-7587-12
65-1413-37
61-7582-96

RECORDED COPY FILES IN

61-7590-2
61-7591-2

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[Handwritten signature]

March 15, 1939

23378

Under date of January 3, 1939 Assistant Attorney General McMahon addressed to me the following memorandum:

"Your attention is directed to the investigation of un-American propaganda and activities in the United States reported in the Hearings Before a Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, Volumes 1 and 2 of which have already been printed.

"Congressman Dies has requested the State Department to make an investigation to determine whether certain organizations are agents of foreign principals required to register with the Secretary of State and whether any of such organizations by failing so to register have violated the Act of June 8, 1938 (U. S. Code, Title 22, Section 233a, et seq.). The State Department has referred the matter to this Department for appropriate action.

"The following is a list of organizations suspected of being agents of foreign principals: National Civil Liberties League, International Labor Defense, League for Peace and Democracy, Workers' International Relief, Friends of Soviet Union, North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, Friends of Abraham Lincoln Brigade, Society to Aid Spanish Democracy, American Society for Technical Aid to Spanish Democracy, International Workers' Order, American Student Union, Young Communist League, Young Pioneers of America, League for Industrial Democracy, The Red Shirts, The Silver Shirts, The Italian Fascists, The American Fascists, The American Aryan Folk Association, American Guard, The American League of the Friends of New Germany, and the American Nationalist Socialist Party.

"A cursory examination of the Hearings before the Dies Committee discloses sufficient cause to believe that at least one or more of these organizations and the individuals connected with them have violated the laws of the United States. For instance, the testimony of Edwin P. Banta on pages 993, 994, 999, 1000, 1004, and 1009, of Volume 2 of the Hearings indicates the possibility of a conspiracy to restrict employment on the Federal Writers' Project only to persons who are members of the Workers' Alliance (R. 1009). 'This division of the Workers' Alliance is the unemployed division of the Workers' Alliance.' Banta's testimony also indicates the diversion of public funds to persons who instead of performing work on the project conducted Communist activities in New Jersey and elsewhere (R. 992-993) and published Communist pamphlets and documents at public expense (R. 1000). There is much testimony in the records that indicates

March 15, 1939

23378

that the Workers' Alliance is a Communist-controlled organization.

"You will, therefore, please investigate as soon as possible into the existence of a conspiracy on the part of the Communist Party or the Workers' Alliance or the personnel of the Federal Writers' Project of New York City, and any or all other individuals connected with any of these organizations, to unlawfully divert public funds to non-governmental purposes, whether Communistic or otherwise.

"Since there were very few copies of the Hearings printed and because you may have difficulty in obtaining copies, I am forwarding you under separate cover photostatic copies of the pages of the record to which reference has been made for your use until you shall have obtained copies of the record from the Dies Committee or elsewhere."

Upon receiving the above-described memorandum I was in considerable doubt as to just what investigation was desired in connection with this matter and accordingly on January 8, 1939 I forwarded to Mr. McMahon the following memorandum:

"I am in receipt of your memorandum of January 3, 1939, in which you direct my attention to the investigation of un-American propaganda and activities in the United States reported in the Hearings before a Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, Volumes 1 and 2. It is noted that you further state that Congressman Dies has requested the State Department to make an investigation to determine whether certain organizations are agents of foreign principals required to register with the Secretary of State and whether any of such organizations by failing to so register have violated the Act of June 8, 1938 (U. S. Code, Title 22, Section 237a, et seq.). You state that a list of 22 organizations is suspected of being agents of foreign principals.

"It is noted that you have requested, however, investigation only of the statements made by [redacted] as to whether there is a conspiracy on the part of the Communist Party or the Workers' Alliance or the personnel of the Federal Writers' Project of New York City, or any or all individuals connected with any of these organizations, to unlawfully divert public funds to non-governmental purposes, whether Communistic or otherwise. This investigation will be initiated by the Bureau.

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"In view of the fact that no request has been received from you to investigate the allegations that the organizations mentioned

Memorandum for the Attorney General

- 4 -

March 15, 1939

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in the third paragraph of your memorandum of January 3, 1939, are agents of foreign principals required to register with the Secretary of State, no investigative action will be taken on this phase of your memorandum of January 3, 1939."

Thereafter under date of January 6, 1939 Mr. McMahon requested an investigation into certain testimony given during the course of the Dies Committee's investigation indicating that members of Nazi groups were engaged in espionage activities and Mr. McMahon requested that an appropriate investigation of this testimony be initiated including the activities of [redacted] of

"Silver Shirts."

Upon receiving this memorandum addressed to Mr. McMahon a memorandum under date of January 8, 1939 in which I stated:

"I am in receipt of your memorandum of January 6, 1939 dealing with further investigative activity desired by you of certain matters arising in the so-called 'Dies Committee investigation.' It is noted that in substance you desire an investigation to be made on those portions of the statements of Committee Investigator [redacted] which contain allegations made by this Investigator that Nazi groups are engaging in espionage activities, and secondly you request that an investigation be made of the membership, activity and connections of the 'Silverhirts' with German Bunds. These two investigations will be initiated by the Bureau.

"In order that there may be a clear understanding as to exactly what the Federal Bureau of Investigation is investigating in connection with matters arising under the so-called 'Dies Committee investigation,' I am recapitulating the three matters under investigation:

The testimony of Edwin P. Banta on pages 993, 994, 999, 1000, 1004 and 1009 of Volume 2 of the Hearings of the Dies Committee, in which testimony it is alleged that there is possibility of a conspiracy to restrict employment on the Federal Writers' Project only to persons who are members of the Workers' Alliance, the testimony also alleging that there is an indication of diversion of public funds to persons who, instead of performing work on the project, conducted Communist activities in New Jersey and elsewhere and published Communist publications at public expense.

Investigation of the allegations of Committee Investigator [redacted] that Nazi groups are engaging in espionage activities in the United States.

March 15, 1939

87

- 3. An investigation of the activities, membership and connections of the 'Silvershirts' with German Bunds in the United States.*

It does not appear from the Bureau files that any information concerning an examination of the files of the Department of State was furnished to this Bureau and consequently no investigation has been conducted. I frankly was apprehensive that some misunderstanding might occur in connection with this matter and consequently I brought to the attention of the Criminal Division on January 8, 1939 the exact scope of the investigation being initiated by the Bureau in order that if any further or other investigation was desired or expected it might be initiated.

I have ascertained today that this matter was handled in the State Department by [redacted] of the Office of Arms and Munitions Control. [redacted] has advised a Bureau official that he conferred with Assistant Attorney General McLaughlin about this matter orally on January 4, 5 and 6 and that Mr. McLaughlin informed him that he would send someone to the State Department for the purpose of consulting State Department officials concerning this situation and examining the files of the State Department for the purpose of determining what facts or information were contained therein. Mr. [redacted] has advised the Bureau that the State Department has never been contacted by the Department of Justice in connection with this particular situation. I have made arrangements whereby Assistant Director Edward A. Tamm of the Bureau will confer with [redacted] of the Office of Arms and Munitions Control at 10:30 A. M. on March 16 in order that this situation will be clarified at once and appropriate investigation initiated upon the subject matter of the State Department's request.

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You may be assured that this matter will receive immediate, and thorough attention in the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Respectfully,

J. Edgar Hoover
John Edgar Hoover
Director

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR

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

EAT:EE
Time - 1:45 P.M.

March 15, 1939

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR

File

I telephonically communicated with [redacted] of the Assistant Secretary of State, and advised her that I was in receipt of a letter over Mr. Welles' signature, dated March 13th, addressed to the Attorney General, concerning a matter involving a request for investigation of certain testimony of the Dies Committee and dealing with the registration of Agents of foreign principals with the State Department and in which the statement is made that a Conference with some representative of the State Department is desired in connection with this matter. b7C b6

I asked [redacted] if she would advise me who in the State Department was interested in this situation and to whom I might talk concerning a Conference. [redacted] said that on first thought she would refer me to [redacted]

[redacted] transferred my call to [redacted] Office and since he was not present at the time of this call, I left instructions that he call me at the Bureau.

[redacted] Office of Arms and Munitions Control.

Respectfully,

E. A. Tamm
E. A. Tamm

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INDEXED

61-7589-3
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51

Comm. of Inquiry - Agents of Foreign Principals

61-7589-3
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EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR

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

March 15, 1939

EAT:HA

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2:45 P. M.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR

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I called [redacted] of the Office of Arms and Munitions Control of the State Department stating that I had before me a letter of March 13 addressed to the Attorney General over the signature of Summer Welles pertaining to a letter of November 26 from Mr. Dies, Chairman of the Special Committee in the House on Un-American Activities in connection with an investigation under the Act of June 8, 1938 requiring the registration of agents with foreign principals. I told [redacted] that it was apparent from the State Department's letter that there was to be a conference or that an investigator was to be sent over to examine the files of the State Department on organizations mentioned in Mr. Dies' letter, and that the State Department's letter states that nothing more has been heard from the Department of Justice. I informed [redacted] that evidently there has been some miscarriage in the plans because the matter of a conference with the State Department or an examination of the files has never been referred to us.

[redacted] informed that he had talked this matter over at considerable length with [redacted] on January 4, 5 and 6 and that he was going to send someone he had in mind over, the idea being that this person would look through the files of the State Department and consult with them and then select three organizations as the President directed, but that he had never heard anything more from the Department of Justice about the matter.

I told [redacted] that we are most anxious to go into the thing thoroughly and entirely and that the Attorney General has instructed you to designate me to represent him at a conference with whomever is familiar with this matter in the Department of State. [redacted] said that his office is familiar with the matter and an appointment was made for 10:30 A. M. on March 16 for me and someone best informed about the matter to call at the office of Mr. Green in order that someone can be started reviewing the files.

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Respectfully,
INDEXED

E. A. Tamm.

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DATE 11-29-79 BY SP-1 [signature]

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4-06576-19

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March 16, 1939

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DATE 11-29-79 BY SP-1 BJK/PA

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR.

RE: INVESTIGATION OF AGENTS
OF FOREIGN PRINCIPALS

The purpose of this memorandum is to make a matter of record the visit of Mr. A. A. Tamm and Mr. K. R. McIntire of the Bureau to the Department of State on March 16, 1939. At this time Messrs. Tamm and McIntire interviewed [redacted] Office of Arms and Ammunitions Control, Room 3000, Department of State. Attending this conference were also [redacted] Division of Control, [redacted] whose title is unknown but who is employed in the same office.

61-7591-5
61-7591-5

Mr. Tamm explained our mission advising that it was the Bureau's desire to clarify any misunderstanding which had occurred with reference to the investigation of agents of foreign principals, which appears to have been requested by the State Department some time ago. [redacted] briefly summarized the situation, which will be explained in full detail hereinafter from information taken from the official records of the Department of State. A brief discussion was entered into as to the organizations which should be investigated. It was decided that Mr. McIntire should go over the material in the possession of the State Department and discuss these matters with State Department representatives, ascertaining their views as to the proper organizations to be investigated. When this decision was to have been reached, Mr. McIntire was to contact Mr. Tamm, advising him of this fact so that appropriate consideration could be given to the decision by the Bureau and that such further conferences between Mr. Tamm and [redacted] might follow, which would determine definitely the identity of the organizations to be investigated.

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Accordingly, Mr. McIntire reviewed certain files made available to him by [redacted]. No information of any value was contained therein with reference to the activities of agents of foreign principals. The following, however, is set out in order to show completely the progress of the present controversy.

RECORDED & INDEXED

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There is a memorandum in the State Department files of [redacted] dated November 26, 1938, showing that on that date Congressman Dies phoned him asking if the following organizations were registered as

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Handwritten number '5' in the bottom right corner.

23372

agents of foreign principals:

German-American Bund
Communist Party
American League for Peace and
Democracy
International Labor Defense.

[redacted] advised that these organizations were not registered.

The files further reflected a letter of Congressman Dies to Secretary of State Hull, dated November 26, 1938, in which Mr. Dies mentioned generally the possibility of the following organizations being agents of foreign principals:

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Communist Party
American League for Peace and Democracy
International Labor Defense
American Civil Liberties Union
German-American Bund.

In part, Mr. Dies stated as follows:

"We feel you have no difficulty in securing cooperation from the Department of Justice in the enforcement of this Act."

Dies further disclosed in his letter that there are some twenty-five letters which pass between the Chicago Post of the German-American Bund and the Nazi Government. Dies also stated, in part:

"We do not have time or help to digest the evidence with respect to the relation between these 'front' organizations and the Communist Party of the U.S.A. and Third International. However, your Department and the Department of Justice can do this."

It is, therefore, my earnest request that at an early date you instruct the Department of Justice, or any other appropriate agency, to proceed with the indictment of these various organizations and that they be prosecuted for failure to comply with this Act of Congress."

Dies further stated:

23373

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"Among the 'front' organizations which I suggest you should investigate in connection with this Act of Congress are the

Workers International Relief
Friends of Soviet Union
North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy
American Society for Technical Aid to Spain
Friends of Abraham Lincoln Brigade
Society to Aid Spanish Democracy
International Workers Order
American Student Union
Young Communist League
Young Pioneers of America
League for Industrial Democracy
Kaki Shirts
Silver Shirts
The Italian Fascists
The American Fascists
The American Aryan Folk Association (Portland, Oregon)
The American Guard
American League of Friends of New Germany (Portland, Oregon)
American National Socialist Party."

The Department of State's files reflect a letter of Sumner Welles to Congressman Dies, dated November 29, 1938, which acknowledged Mr. Dies' letter of November 26, 1938, mentioned above. Briefly Mr. Welles stated that the function of the State Department is purely administrative; that the investigation of cases and their prosecution are, of course, functions of the Department of Justice; that a copy of Dies' letter of November 26, 1938, had, therefore, been sent to the Attorney General for his consideration and such action he might deem appropriate.

The State Department files also disclose a letter of Sumner Welles to the Attorney General, dated November 29, 1938, in which he stated:

"I enclose for your information and such action as you may deem appropriate a copy of a letter of November 26, 1938, addressed to me by the Honorable Martin Dies, Representative in Congress, from the Second District of Texas and Chairman of the Committee Investigating Un-American Activities, in regard to organizations which he believes should have registered in compliance with the provisions of the Act of June 8, 1938, requiring the registration of agents of foreign principals.

There are enclosed also a copy of my reply thereto and two copies of the rules and regulations which have been issued pursuant to the Act. I should appreciate it if you would inform me from time to time of any action which you may take in regard to this matter. Should you desire to designate someone to examine the files of the Department relating to the organizations mentioned in Mr. Dies' letter, the Chief of the Office of Arms and Munitions Control will be prepared to make them available to him for examination."

The files further contain a memorandum of [redacted] mentioned above, of January 5, 1939, which states that Mr. McMahon of the Department of Justice called [redacted] asking him to clarify the President's request at a Cabinet meeting of January 4th, at which time the request of Congressman Dies, contained in the latter's letter of November 26, 1938, was discussed. Mr. McMahon told [redacted] that [redacted] the new Attorney General, was new and didn't understand fully all of the details of the matter discussed at the President's Cabinet meeting on January 4, 1939. [redacted] told McMahon that the President wished to announce the investigation publicly, but did not intend to specify the organizations to be investigated. [redacted] further told McMahon it was his understanding that the President wished the Department of Justice to begin its operation by investigating one case involving a Fascist organization, one case involving a Communist organization and one case involving an organization not avowedly under the influence of any foreign ideology but in fact under that influence as a result of "boring from within."

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McMahon said that this explanation clarified the situation for him and asked what cases should be used for the initial investigation. To this [redacted] replied that he was not prepared to say but suggested that McMahon send someone from the Department of Justice to see him [redacted] as soon as possible to go over the material in the State Department files. [redacted] added that after a representative of the Department of Justice had examined the State Department files and had discussed the situation with those interested at the State Department, he might be in a better position to select the particular cases to be investigated immediately. [redacted] added to McMahon that he would cooperate fully with any one whom McMahon might wish to send and would give such advice as he could.

Now quoting from [redacted] memorandum:

"Mr. McMahon said that he would send someone to see me in the very near future."

The State Department files also reflect a memorandum of [redacted] dated January 21, 1939, to the Under Secretary of State. In [redacted]

23375

this memorandum he advised the Under Secretary of State that over two weeks ago the Under Secretary had informed him, [redacted] that the Department of Justice would investigate three cases of those suggested by Mr. Dies in his letter to the Secretary of State, dated November 26, 1938; that an agent of the Department of Justice would visit [redacted] in his office within the next few days; that on January 5, 1939, Mr. McMahon called [redacted] by phone and discussed the proposed procedure and said that he would send an agent to [redacted] office within a day or so.

The last piece of correspondence on file at the State Department of any significance to this matter is a letter of Sumner Welles to the Attorney General, dated March 13, 1939. The first portion of the letter states that on November 29, 1938, Welles sent a letter to the Attorney General enclosing a letter of Congressman Dies of November 26, 1938, which showed a number of organizations which Mr. Dies believed should be registered. He pointed out that this Dies correspondence of November 26, 1938, was discussed at a Cabinet meeting on January 4, 1939, at which time the President stated it was his desire that some of the cases reported by Dies should be investigated immediately; that it might be well to begin by investigating one Fascist organization, one Communist organization and one organization not avowedly under the influence of any foreign ideology, but in fact under that influence as a result of "boring from within." The letter further stated that at the President's Press Conference of January 6, 1939, the President announced that an investigation was under way. The letter further stated that it was Mr. Welles' understanding that the Department of Justice planned to have an investigator examine State Department files on the organizations mentioned by Mr. Dies and consult with officers of the State Department, in order that a decision might be reached as to which three of those organizations should be investigated in the first instance. b7C b6

For the purpose of clarifying the above a bit further, it should be stated that at the inception of the conference of [redacted] Tamm and McIntire with [redacted] [redacted] stated that upon the receipt of the letter of Congressman Dies of November 26, 1938, he frankly didn't know what to do with it and for that reason dispatched the letter signed by Welles to the Attorney General on November 29, 1938, concerning which [redacted] stated frankly that he "passed the buck." He further said that [redacted] McMahon called him telephonically soon thereafter, alleging that he [redacted] had "passed the buck" and that he, McMahon, desired to know just what course of action he should take. At that time and the date of that telephone conversation is not known, [redacted] advised [redacted] Tamm and McIntire that he told Brian McMahon that if the latter would send an agent to the

23376

State Department to go over its records, it might be possible to determine which of the organizations should be investigated. To this McMahon stated he would have someone from the Department of Justice visit Mr. [redacted] within the next few days and go over the information in the possession of the State Department.

[redacted] further informed [redacted] Tamm and McIntire that some time thereafter he had another telephone conversation with Mr. McMahon, the latter again advising that he would have someone from the Department of Justice review pertinent information at the Department of State, but that he, McMahon had to leave town on the Muscia case, for a few days and as soon as he got back he would have someone contact the State Department. The third and last call of McMahon to [redacted] appears to be that one mentioned above on January 5, 1939, when McMahon asked Green to clarify the President's request at the Cabinet meeting of January 4, 1939.

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After an examination of the files stated above, Mr. McIntire, accompanied by [redacted] conferred with [redacted]. It appears that [redacted] is the man to whom the State Department refers all radical and subversive matters and it further appears that the Department will be guided by his opinion as to which organizations ought to be investigated on the basis of agents of foreign principals. It was his opinion that the Bureau ought to investigate the German-American Fund as representing the Fascist side of the picture and the Communist Party itself as representing the Communist side of the picture. Neither of the three gentlemen at the conference were able to determine the third organization which ought to be investigated. Accordingly, [redacted] suggested that they discuss this matter this afternoon mutually and that Mr. McIntire would call [redacted] tomorrow morning to ascertain his decision.

Mr. McIntire after conferring with [redacted] will hold a conference with [redacted] and if the decisions of [redacted] with reference to the investigation of the German-American Fund, the Communist Party and a third organization are agreeable with [redacted] Mr. McIntire will assure him that an investigation to determine whether these organizations are acting as agents of foreign principals will be instituted immediately.

Respectfully,

E. A. Tamm.

TELETYPE

March 16, 1939

23370

Time: 2:45 p.m.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR

I conferred with SAC Brantley at New York and advised him that you wanted preference given immediately to all investigations pending which were requested by the State Department or were predicated upon the ~~Rias~~ ^{Conite} testimony.

I also advised Mr. Brantley that [] and Rosen are to have their report to the Bureau in the next couple of days.

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With reference to a telegram sent Mr. Brantley yesterday to ~~draw~~ immediate attention to three or four cases in which the failure to register on the part of propagandists of the State Department, I instructed Mr. Brantley to get some men off of anything and to get these cases completed at once.

Respectfully,

E. A. TAMM

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DATE 11-29-79 BY SP-1 GJK/KJS

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

EAT:CHS

Time: 11:00 A.M.

March 20, 1939

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR

[redacted] of the State Department called and made inquiry as to whether [redacted] had completed his investigation at the State Department. I informed [redacted] that [redacted] had obtained everything on the three organizations; namely, the Bund, the Communist Party, and the League for Peace and Democracy, that was available at the State Department and was now well into the substantive work. In answer to [redacted] question as to whether I thought the above named organizations were the proper ones to submit to the Attorney General as the three to investigate, I explained to him that those were the three upon which everyone appeared to agree and that it was my opinion that they were the most logical organizations. I further pointed out to [redacted] the fact that we will be able to furnish data from our own files sufficient to establish the agency agreement, the propaganda activities, and everything except the financial connection, which, of course, we will attempt to establish by investigation.

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I advised [redacted] that if there were any further information desired from the State Department, we would feel free to ask them for same.

[redacted] stated that he did not feel that it was necessary to confirm by letter the agreement on these three agencies.

Respectfully,

E. A. TAMM

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American League IX
Peace & Democracy of rate

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Provision League
How Peace & Unity may be

INDEXED

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1939.

___ Mr. E. A. Tamm
 ___ Mr. Foxworth
 ___ Mr. Glavin
 ___ Files Section
 ___ Mechanical Division

___ Identification Div.
 ___ Technical Laboratory
 ___ Crime Records Section
 ___ Crime Statistics

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 SUPERVISOR

Am. Lg.

Earl Browder was an official delegate to the
Pittsburgh Congress Nov. 1937

The "Fight" Jan 1938 p. 6

b7C

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In dealing with the proceedings of this congress
it is stated,

"—the Bureau's report on the need for
reorganization along lines which would bring
wider support to a more positive program
was presented by [redacted] and
supported by Earl Browder."

Ibid

INVESTIGATIVE DIVISION - FBI

1939.

___ Mr. E. A. Tamm
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SUPERVISOR

Am Lg.

A membership application blank and schedule
of dues may be found on the back of 61-7561-
2-61 which is entitled "Insure Peace At Home
and Abroad" This was put out Dec 1937 *by*

Am. Lg.

1939.

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 SUPERVISOR

LEAD

Lead

RE. WITHDRAWAL OF WOMENS INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE
FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM FROM THE AM. LG. FOR
PEACE AND DEMOCRACY.

The N. Y. Times for Oct 17, 1938 has an article
under date line of Swarthmore, Pa. Oct 16, 1938
which states in effect that by unanimous vote
the National Board of Directors of the W. I. L.
on that date (Oct 16, 1938) had decided to withdraw
from the Am LG. An official statement attributed
the cause of withdrawal to a X basic difference
in "policies and methods"

Mrs Hannah Clothier Hull of Swarthmore, Pa.
is listed as the National President of the org
and Dorothy Detzer as National Executive Secy.

61-7559-3210X2

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SUPERVISOR

Am. Lg.

"If America goes to war again, it will not be for the defense of your interests and mine. Rather we will be asked to take up arms for the glory of American imperialism, for the maintenance and developement of foreign markets for American buisness."

Page 12 of National Defense by John Franklin
Published by Am. Lg. 61-7561-2-26

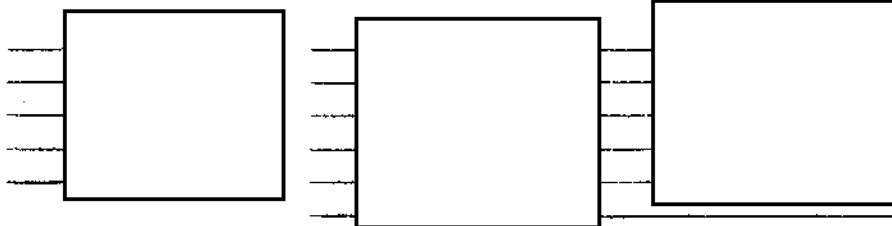
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SUPERVISOR

Am Lg

"The League was ~~XXXXX~~ founded by the U. S.
Congress Against War with over 2,600 delegates
from all over the country, who met in N. Y.
City, Sept 29-October 1, ~~XXX~~ 1933"

Page 195 of Labor Fact Book Number 2

INVESTIGATIVE DIVISION - FBI

1939.

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___ Mechanical Division

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SUPERVISOR

Am Lg.

Its nine point program which was adopted at
the Pittsburgh convention-November 1937.
Daily Worker Nov. 30, 1937 61-7561-216X32

also fought in Jan 1938 p30

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1939.

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 SUPERVISOR

Am Lg

The Pittsburgh Congress was held November
26,27,and 28,1937

Daily Worker Nov 23, 1937 61-7561-216X37

This was its Fourth Annual Convention
61-7561-216X35 D. W. 11/26/37

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Am Lg

See 61-7559-2961X17 which deals with the
proposal made by Earl Browder that "Political
parties" be excluded from the Lg.

Sunday Worker 11/28/37

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SUPERVISOR

1938

Am Lg.

The 1938 Program of Am. Lg. For Peace and Democracy which consists of nine points may be found on page 19 of 61-7561-2-61

In referring to this program there is a footnote which states,

"Above program and purpose adopted by the Peoples Congress For Democracy and Peace held in Pittsburgh, Penn., Nov. 26-28, 1937 and attended by 1,416 delegates representing 4,025,920 people."

INVESTIGATIVE DIVISION - FBI

1939.

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SUPERVISOR

Am Lg.

Resolutions adopted at the Pittsburgh (Fourth)
Congress 1937.

"Fight" Jan 1938 p30

INVESTIGATIVE DIVISION - FE

1939.

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SUPERVISOR

Ann. Lg.

61-7561-216x15-

Boarder's statement
re C.P. withdrawing from
the League

D.W. No 529-37-

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___ Mr. Glavin
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___ Mechanical Division

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SUPERVISORS

Three empty rectangular boxes for supervisor names, each with five horizontal lines to its left.

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One empty rectangular box for supervisor name, with five horizontal lines to its left.

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SUPERVISOR

~~International Connections of League.~~

The American League is one of 33 national organizations that constitute the World Committee Against War and Fascism. This Committee was organized by Henri Barbusse and other European leaders just after the world-famous Amsterdam Congress Against War in August, 1932. The international headquarters are in Paris, and since Barbusse's death, Romain Rolland has become the President of the World Committee. Norman Angell of England and Heinrich Mann of Germany are also members. All five continents are represented by national organizations.

The American League has close and fraternal relations with both the Canadian League Against War and Fascism and the Mexican Frente Anti-Imperialista which is the Mexican organization affiliated with the World Committee."

(Pamphlet - "A Program Against War and Fascism", p. 22-23., issued by the Am. League dated July 1936.)

61-7561-2-8.

* The Am. League for Peace & Democracy represented the U.S. at the World Congress Against War which was held in Mexico City and opened on Sept 15-38
Mexican League notes
Sept 15-38 pg 7-

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1939.

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SUPERVISOR

American League C. P. connections

The following is taken from "The Communists in the People's Front," a pamphlet written by Earl Browder Pages 79, 80, 81 61-7559-2-284 published July 1937

More serious attention must now be turned toward the broader problem of organizing the overwhelming peace sentiment of Americans into a mass struggle for peace for an effective peace policy on the part of the U. S. Government.

The most serious effort in this direction is the American League against War and Fascism, which has three to four million adherents. This important beginning must be supported and strengthened in every way. The American League is now planning its Fourth Congress to be held in Pittsburgh on the Thanksgiving weekend, toward the end of November. The months leading up to this Congress must witness the strengthening of the American League, the rallying of new forces to it, the enlistment of the best active worker, the revival of local League Councils, the rallying especially of the trade unions, the establishment of relations with other peace organizations, the widening of the circulation of the League's excellent magazine, The Fight, a magazine which is unique in the whole world for its quality and effectiveness—effectiveness largely due to the high quality of the work of its editor, Joseph Pass, and his ability to organize the widest cooperative efforts in its production. The American League is composed, in its active membership—some 8,000-9,000—of fully 90 per cent non-Communists, which is a very good thing, except that there has been a distinct falling off of the support given to the League in an organized way by the C. P. in the districts—a defect which must be changed. We demand of every state and city organization of the Party that it shall seriously discuss and act upon the problem of giving practical help and forces to the American League, especially in the coming months before its Fourth Congress.

OK

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SUPERVISOR

American League C. P. Connections

The Communist for July, 1935 contains an article on page 604 entitled "Recent Political Developments and Some Problems of the "United Front", by Earl Browder

The interest of the E. P. in the American League against War and Fascism is demonstrated in the following language of Earl Browder taken from the above-mentioned article: "During this period a whole series of developments demonstrated the possibilities of growth of the American League against War and Fascism. While most of the work of developing the American League has been left in the hands of middle class and church elements, we may say they are not doing a bad job despite our neglect. The American League has been penetrating church organizations in America to an extent most of us do not dream of."

61-7559-1084 authority checked

Oh

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1939.

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 SUPERVISOR

American League C. P. Connections

The following is taken from the pamphlet
Resolutions of the Ninth Convention of the Communist
Party page 52

"Recognizing that the American League Against War
and Fascism has grown into an important force of United
people's struggle against war and for peace, and that it
~~it~~ is acquiring a wider base among the tailing masses
as shown by its Third Congress, the Communist Party
will work untiringly to help widen the base of the
League, especially among the trade unions and farm
organizations, as decided by its congress. At the same
time the Communists will work for systematic united
actions for peace between the League and the trade
unions, such as the CIO and ~~between the~~ others. The
Communists will favor a broadening out of the program
of the League along the lines of struggle for a peace
policy.

OK

1939.

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 SUPERVISOR

American League C. P. connections

The following is taken from pamphlet DEMOCRACY
OR FASCISM Earl Browders report to the ninth
convention of the Communist Party. June 24, 1936
page 34

"The American League Against War and Fascism
is one of the outstanding examples of a broad people's
front organized around issues affecting the whole pop-
ulation. X/-----

It is impossible to speak of the American
League and its work, without noting the outstanding
contribution of its tireless and devoted chairman,
Dr. Harry F. Ward. Such selfless and consistent
service to a progressive cause, as Dr Ward has given,
will always receive the unstinted recognition and
support of the Communist Party. "

It is a matter of regret to us that the
Socialist Party, nationally and in most states, is still
outside the American League, and indeed outside of any
organized movement against war and fascism. -----

----- Within the League, the Communists are a very
small minority.

ok

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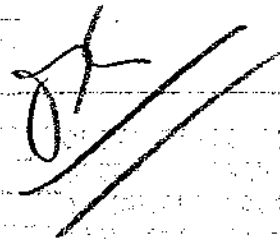
SUPERVISOR

The following is taken from pamphlet THE DEMOCRATIC FRONT FOR JOBS, SECURITY, DEMOCRACY AND PEACE by Earl Browder (Report to the tenth national convention of the C. P. of U. S. A. on the half of national comite May 28, 1938) page 21

" The building of the democratic front of the majority of the people cannot proceed according to a blueprint, no matter who draws it. It must find room to accommodate the widest variety of initiative and organization, and make all of them contribute to the common goal. The Democratic New Deal wing,----- the American League for Peace and Democracy -----ect, all, have something vital to contribute to the building of the democratic front, and all must in some way be brought into effective collaboration.

Also page 69 same source

" CWR Party members are to be found in the widest variety of mass organizations. In the trade unions----- American League for Peace and Democracy -----ect.

A handwritten signature or set of initials, possibly 'JH', written in dark ink. The signature is stylized and appears to be written over a horizontal line.

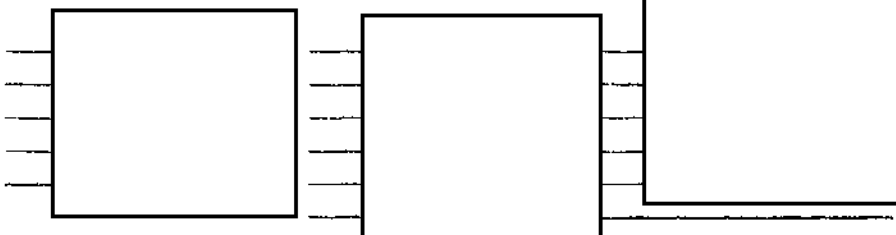
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SUPERVISOR

Am Lg

Its name was officially changed to Am. Lg. For
Peace and Democracy at the Pittsburgh Convention
Nov 1937.

"Fight" Jan 1938 P. 6

INVESTIGATIVE DIVISION -

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Character of Lg -

61-7559-v-516-pr.

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SUPERVISOR

Conventions

Section on

1st - 2nd - 3rd Congress

Delegates attending etc

See 61-7559-2-526.

4th Congress (Pittsburgh -

61-7561-216 x 33.

See also Flight Magazine

5th Cong at Wood St. C.

See Flight Magazine

Feb 1939.

FL
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1939.

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 SUPERVISOR

Francis -

See p. 175 of

Odyssey of a Fellow Traveler.

OK

INVESTIGATIVE DIVISION - E

1939.

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SUPERVISOR

Leads -

Memo - Steele says

Communists issued the

call for the first

Congress. Does he

know origin of money.

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1939.

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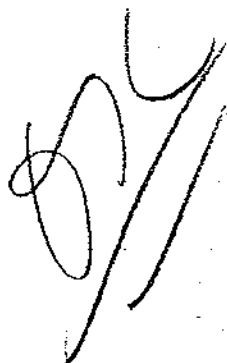
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SUPERVISOR

Ann. Lgs.

1939-Program

Fight May - Feb 39
p 31.

A stylized handwritten signature or set of initials, possibly reading 'S/M', written in dark ink.

INVESTIGATIVE DIVISION - F

1939.

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1938-Program

61-7559-2-575-p 8.

OK

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SUPERVISOR

9. Upton Sinclair
10. Malcolm Cowley
11. J. P. Matthews

See the list of supporting organizations calling the first congress - Some of these may be interested

note members of arrangements Comite some of whom might have info of value particularly the representatives of those groups which are now strongly anti C & P such as U. P. D. L.

INVESTIGATIVE DIVISION - F

1939.

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 SUPERVISOR

J. B. Matthews may
give something on
Finance.

Get full data from
League's headquarters
re International tie-up.

any C. O. tie-up.
List of present officers.

INVESTIGATIVE DIVISION -

1939.

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 Technical Laboratory
 Crime Records Section
 Crime Statistics

SUPERVISORS

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SUPERVISOR

Ann of G

Secrets Law

OK

61-1-51-7A

INVESTIGATIVE DIVISION - R

1939.

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SUPERVISORS

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 SUPERVISOR

Origin of the American League.

In 1932, as world peace grew more precarious, Romain Rolland and Henri Barbusse summoned a World Congress Against War to meet in Amsterdam, ~~Nat~~ in August. The international organizing committee consisted of Bernard Shaw, Madame Sun Yat Sen, Theodore Dreiser, Albert Einstein, Maxim Gorky, and Heinrich Mann.

In response to their call 2,196 delegates representing millions of people - workers and intellectuals, peasants and colonials, youth and war veterans, women and professional people - came from every quarter of the earth. World issues and national conflicts breeding and threatening war formed the agenda of the Congress. Henri Barbusse pleaded for unity of all elements represented in the interest of the most effective results in the struggle against war.

Professor H.W.L. Dana reported to the Congress in behalf of the 32 delegates from the United States. Among them were Sherwood Anderson, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Elisabeth Gilman of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Professor Margaret Schlauch, Scott Nearing, Mrs. Lola Maverick Lloyd of the Women's Society, Maurice Sugar of Detroit and Dorothy Detzer as fraternal representative of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

A manifesto calling for organization and struggle in all countries against impending war was issued by the Congress. To further this work a permanent

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 serialize and route
 ___ Indicate index
 references

b6
 b7C

 SUPERVISOR

international committee was elected. Twelve Americans including Theodore Dreiser, Upton Sinclair and Malcolm Cowley became members of this body.

The danger created by Hitler's rise to power led to the organization of a European Congress Against Fascism early in 1933. Held in Paris, this assembly was followed by the Unification of the two movements and the formation of the World Committee Against War and Fascism.

On returning from the Amsterdam Congress, the delegates from the United States organized the American Comite for Struggle Against War and proceeded in the following year to call the 1st U.S. Congress Against War. In September 1933, over 2,600 delegates from 35 states assembled in New York City in response to the call signed by Theodore Dreiser, Upton Sinclair and Sherwood Anderson and some 60 national organizations. Henri Barbusse who was present to help start the American movement, congratulated the Congress for its excellent work. 'The organized cooperation of the American masses represented here will give to the affiliated national movements abroad, a renewed confidence, support and stimulation. It will show them that this is not merely a movement for struggle in the social conflict, but a movement for struggle against war. Let them know that this Congress comes not to divide, but to unite; that this Congress is a witness of the redoubled motive force of unity; that this Congress is a witness of the indefatigable spirit of brotherhood between men.'

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 Crime Records Section
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 Record, search,
 serialize and route
 Indicate index
 references

b6
b7C

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Recognizing that ~~the~~ Fascist developments were rapidly increasing the danger of war and spurred by the counsel of Barbusse, this first American Congress hammered out a manifesto and a ten-point program based on the necessity of fighting war and Fascism as dual aspects of the ~~x~~ same conflict.

Continue copying over to end of first paragraph on p. 6.

(pamphlet - "People's Program
for Peace and Democracy"
by Am. Lg. April 1938
pp. 5-6.

61-7559-2-575

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 Crime Records Section
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SUPERVISORS

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 Bring file up to date
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 Record, search,
 serialize and route
 Indicate index
 references

b6
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SUPERVISOR

ORIGIN OF THE LEAGUE.

"The League was established as an organization through the efforts of the 32 American delegates who attended the historic Amsterdam Anti-War Congress, summoned by Henri Barbusse in August, 1932.

Immediately following the Amsterdam Congress, the American delegates set up an American Committed for Struggle Against War, composed of 60 members. These people planned the First United States Congress Against War. The Call was issued by Sherwood Anderson, Theodore Dreiser, and Upton Sinclair and the Congress met in New York City, the latter part of September, 1933, Over 2,600 delegates attended, representing a host of organizations - trade union, farmer, women's, fraternal, youth, Religious, Negro, veterans' political and cultural. These assembled delegates voted to establish the AMERICAN LEAGUE AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM.

61-7589-2-526.

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SUPERVISORS

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 Record, search,
 serialize and route
 Indicate index
 references

b6
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SUPERVISOR

Origin of the League.

"In the summer of 1932, the communists set up the World Committee for the Struggle Against War ~~which~~ with a world congress convened in Amsterdam, Holland. At the Amsterdam Congress, communists were instructed to set up national committees in their respective countries. The American Committee for Struggle Against War was the forerunner of the American League Against War and Fascism." (61-7559-2-640 p 11 and 12.)

(This is Matthews' testimony before the Dies Comte.)

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___ Identification Div.
 ___ Technical Laboratory
 ___ Crime Records Section
 ___ Crime Statistics

SUPERVISORS

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 serialize and route
 ___ Indicate index
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 b7C

 SUPERVISOR

Am Lg -

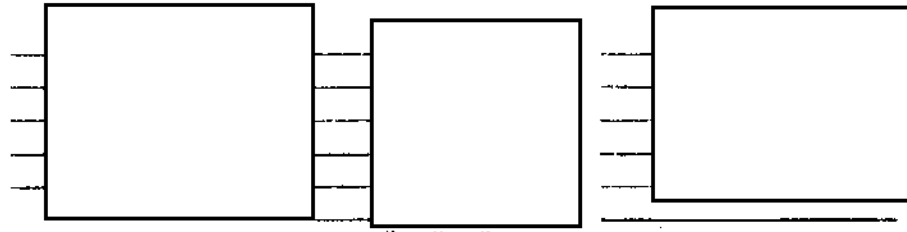
Communist Origin
and characteristics -

See Odyssey of A. Fellow
Traveler by Matthews
pp 136 - 184.

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____ Identification Div.
 ____ Technical Laboratory
 ____ Crime Records Section
 ____ Crime Statistics

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 _____ serialize and route
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b6
 b7C

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Communist Origin -
and Characteristics -

See orig Manifesto and
Program.

Note references to
Soviet Union.

The Communist.

Nov 1933 - p 1120.

1120

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1939.

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Identification Div.
 Technical Laboratory
 Crime Records Section
 Crime Statistics

SUPERVISORS

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 Stenographers 5724
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 Typists 5724

Typists 5236
 Send File
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 Bring file up to date
 Re-date
 Record, search,
 serialize and route
 Indicate index
 references

b6

b7C

SUPERVISOR

C. P. O'Ryan -

See 61-9559-2-526-p1.

See notation c.p.

See P. O'Ryan's
Statement to 8th
Cores on Revolutionary
Character of American
Life -

OK.

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 ___ Mechanical Division

___ Identification Div.
 ___ Technical Laboratory
 ___ Crime Records Section
 ___ Crime Statistics

SUPERVISORS

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 serialize and route
 ___ Indicate index
 references

b6
 b7C

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C. P. Nature -

61-7561-2-8-p 19-20-21-22

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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 ___ Mechanical Division

___ Identification Div.
 ___ Technical Laboratory
 ___ Crime Records Section
 ___ Crime Statistics

SUPERVISORS

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 ___ Record, search,
 serialize and route
 ___ Indicate index
 references

b6

b7C

 SUPERVISOR

Am. Lg.

Resolutions and Program
of the American Lg. V. W. 7.

(These are the first
Resolutions).

(The Communist
Nov 1933 - p 1120.

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 ___ Files Section
 ___ Mechanical Division

___ Identification Div.
 ___ Technical Laboratory
 ___ Crime Records Section
 ___ Crime Statistics

SUPERVISORS

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 serialize and route
 ___ Indicate index
 references

b6
 b7C

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Ann. Lg.

Reasons for change

in name - at
Pittsburgh Congress.

61-7559-2-575-p 6.

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___ Mechanical Division

___ Identification Div.
___ Technical Laboratory
___ Crime Records Section
___ Crime Statistics

SUPERVISORS

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___ Record, search,
 serialize and route
___ Indicate index
 references

b6

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SUPERVISOR

Am. Lg.

Origin - founded by
Americans who attended
Amsterdam ^{Anti} War Congress
1932 -

1st Congress - NYC - Sept 1933
2nd .. - Albany Sept 1934
Third .. - Cleveland - Jan 1936
Fourth Cong. Pittsburgh & Nov 1937-61 7559-2-575 pl.
Fifth Cong. Wash. - Jan 6-8-39.

Its 1936 Program set out.

61-7559-2-526. (Issued Jan 1936.)

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___ Identification Div.
 ___ Technical Laboratory
 ___ Crime Records Section
 ___ Crime Statistics

SUPERVISORS

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b6
 b7C

SUPERVISOR

Am. Lg.

Browder claims the
C.O. is set up the day in
1933. and they had
it.

The Communist Intl -

Jan 15-34 - p 78.

Browder's report to 13th

Plenum of C.C.C.I.

5/11

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___ Identification Div.
 ___ Technical Laboratory
 ___ Crime Records Section
 ___ Crime Statistics

SUPERVISORS

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 serialize and route
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b6

b7C

 SUPERVISOR

Present Organization
and Structure of
League -

61-7559-2-575-p 16.

OK

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 ___ Mr. Glavin
 ___ Files Section
 ___ Mechanical Division

___ Identification Div.
 ___ Technical Laboratory
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SUPERVISORS

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b6
 b7C

SUPERVISOR

1
Finances

where Lg gets its

funds - Budget

for 1937 was

23,299.57

OK

(61-3859-2-575-p 17)

now see Article VIII of its
Constitution providing
for dues.

Then see Fight for Feb
1939 where Membership is broken
down with - Union etc.

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 ___ Files Section
 ___ Mechanical Division

___ Identification Div.
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 ___ Crime Records Section
 ___ Crime Statistics

SUPERVISORS

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 SUPERVISOR

League Character and Activities

The League is a combination of affiliated bodies and individual members , all of which makes it "distinctly a people's organization." ".... the League was a co-founder and a moving ~~spirit~~ force in the North American Committee to Aid ~~Spanish~~ Spanish Democracy. In addition to over 1\$ 14,500 in cash, tons of clothing and thousands of cans of food were collected and contributed for the aid of the Spanish people." " Over \$ 15,000 has been sent to the Chinese peopel when this pamphlet went to press. This sum includes the support and monthly supplies for the medical unit." " In addition to its monthly magazine, THE FIGHT, during 1937 the League published 4 pamphlets, a calendar and 9 leaflets, totalling 209,000 pieces of literat re on various subjects and issues."

61-7559-2-575, p 17 and 18.

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 ___ Mr. Foxworth
 ___ Mr. Glavin
 ___ Files Section
 ___ Mechanical Division

___ Identification Div.
 ___ Technical Laboratory
 ___ Crime Records Section
 ___ Crime Statistics

SUPERVISORS

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b6
 b7C

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Constitution

61-7559-2-575-p/20.

[Handwritten signature]

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 ___ Mr. Glavin
 ___ Files Section
 ___ Mechanical Division

___ Identification Div.
 ___ Technical Laboratory
 ___ Crime Records Section
 ___ Crime Statistics

SUPERVISORS

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b6
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SUPERVISOR

Leeds

Am. L. 9.

Sherwood Anderson

Theodore Dreiser

Lpton Sinclair

J. B. Matthews —

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1939.

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 ___ Mr. Foxworth
 ___ Mr. Glavin
 ___ Files Section
 ___ Mechanical Division

___ Identification Div.
 ___ Technical Laboratory
 ___ Crime Records Section
 ___ Crime Statistics

SUPERVISORS

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 serialize and route
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b6
 b7C

SUPERVISOR

1936 Program

61-7559-2-526.

Adopted at the
Congress of Cleveland
January 1936.



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Identification Div.
 Technical Laboratory
 Crime Records Section
 Crime Statistics

SUPERVISORS

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 Indicate index
 references

b6
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SUPERVISOR

Am Lg.

The American L^g. For Peace and Democracy represented the United States at the World Congress Against War which was held in Mexico City and opened on September 10, 1938

Mexican Labor News Sept 15, 1938 p. 7

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 ___ Files Section
 ___ Mechanical Division

___ Identification Div.
 ___ Technical Laboratory
 ___ Crime Records Section
 ___ Crime Statistics

SUPERVISORS

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 serialize and route
 ___ Indicate index
 references

b6
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SUPERVISOR

Pittsburgh Congress
Cleveland Congress

"The 1416 delegates representing more than four million people, constituted an increase of about one million over the Cleveland Congress of 1936. Even more significant than this numerical increase ~~is~~ ^{is} the changing character. As against 603,511 trade-union members represented by 286 delegates in 1936, there wer 413 labor delegates from A. F. of L. and C. I. O. unions who represented 1,622,231 trade unionists. Similarly there was a rise in farm representation from 61,471 in 1936 to 163,036."

The Fight Jan 1938 p 6

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 ___ Mr. Foxworth
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 ___ Mechanical Division

___ Identification Div.
 ___ Technical Laboratory
 ___ Crime Records Section
 ___ Crime Statistics

SUPERVISORS

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 serialize and route
 ___ Indicate index
 references

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 b7C

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Am Lg.

William Gropper is an art contributor to the
"Fight", organ of the League.

The "Fight" Jan 1939 p.3

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1939.

Mr. E. A. Tamm
 Mr. Foxworth
 Mr. Glavin
 Files Section
 Mechanical Division

Identification Div.
 Technical Laboratory
 Crime Records Section
 Crime Statistics

SUPERVISORS

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 Typists 5724

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 Record, search, serialize and route
 Indicate index references

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SUPERVISOR

Am Lg.

A letterhead dated Feb. 25, 1938 of the Lg. lists S. R. Solomonick as being in charge of "Trade Union" on the "Staff" of the New York City Comte of the Lg.

61-7565-171 enc.

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 ___ Mr. Glavin
 ___ Files Section
 ___ Mechanical Division

___ Identification Div.
 ___ Technical Laboratory
 ___ Crime Records Section
 ___ Crime Statistics

SUPERVISORS

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 serialize and route
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 references

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 b7C

SUPERVISOR

Am Lg.

A letter head of the Lg. which was received during the month of January 1939 lists Israel Amter as a member of the New York City Executive Com'te. of the Lg.

61-7559-3452X1

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___ Identification Div.
 ___ Technical Laboratory
 ___ Crime Records Section
 ___ Crime Statistics

SUPERVISORS

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 serialize and route
 ___ Indicate index
 references

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SUPERVISOR

Am Lg.

Dr Harry F. Ward, at the Pittsburgh Congress
stated;

"I have worked for many years in public life
in relation with all sorts of people and
particularly in the religious world . I have
never worked with people who have played ~~XXXXXX~~
~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ squarer or fairer than the Communist
Party dealing in the work of the American
League."

To this statement, Robert Morss Lovett added;

"I would like to endorse everything Dr Ward has X
said about the helpful attitude of the Communist
Party towards our organization. I say with
him that my association with them has always
been happy and always cooperative. I say
they have set an example to all of us in
subordinating our individual preferences to
the great work that lies before us."

D. W. 1/11/38 61-7562-163X

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Identification Div.
 Technical Laboratory
 Crime Records Section
 Crime Statistics

SUPERVISORS

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 Bring file up to date
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 Record, search,
 serialize and route
 Indicate index
 references

b6
b7C

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Am. Lg.

"Steve Nelson, who has joined the American
Leagues executive staff, is directing the
Membership Drive."
The "Fight" March 1938 p. 27

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 ___ Mr. Foxworth
 ___ Mr. Glavin
 ___ Files Section
 ___ Mechanical Division

___ Identification Div.
 ___ Technical Laboratory
 ___ Crime Records Section
 ___ Crime Statistics

SUPERVISORS

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 ___ Indicate index
 references

b6
 b7C

SUPERVISOR

C. P. Work in the Am Lg.

"I would emphasize for the general attention of everybody the necessity to be at work now to contribute ~~XXXXXX~~ all we can to the common work of preparations so that the coming Congress of the American League For Peace and Democracy which takes place in January in Washington-----should really be a gigantic gathering of the forces of peace of the American ~~E~~ people. There can no longer be any neglect of this question and our Party must furnish that guarantee that all the forces of the American League are ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ really mobilized, activated, organized everywhere for this major action."

Statement of Earl Browder to the National Committee
of the C. P. U. S. A. on Sept 25, 1938 as given in
the Daily Worker for Sept 26, 1938

61-7561-235X17

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 _____ Files Section
 _____ Mechanical Division

_____ Identification Div.
 _____ Technical Laboratory
 _____ Crime Records Section
 _____ Crime Statistics

SUPERVISORS

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 serialize and route
 _____ Indicate index
 references

b6
 b7C

SUPERVISOR

Am Lg

The League was "vastly strengthened" as a result of the changes made at the Pittsburgh congress, "by the neww composition of its national committee. Instead of individuals representing only themselves, the committee is ~~KK~~ predominately to consist of delegated representatives of the national organizations and the state and regional divisions which constitute its membership. This will greatly strengthen the bonds of loyalty between the League and its constituent bodies--"

"Fight " Jan 1938 p7

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Identification Div.
 Technical Laboratory
 Crime Records Section
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 Typists 5724

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SUPERVISOR

b6

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Am .Lg.

At the Fourth National Congress held in
Pittsburgh Nov. 1937 Harry F. Ward
~~Ward~~ was unanimously reelected chairman
and Robert Morss Lovett and Mrs Meta Berger
were chosen Vice Presidents.

D. W. 11/ 29/37 61-7561-216X31

INVESTIGATIVE DIVISION - FBI

1939.

___ Mr. E. A. Tamm
___ Mr. Foxworth
___ Mr. Glavin
___ Files Section
___ Mechanical Division

___ Identification Div.
___ Technical Laboratory
___ Crime Records Section
___ Crime Statistics

SUPERVISORS

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SUPERVISOR

1936

Am Lg.

The Program of the Am Lg. as adopted at the
Third Congress. Consists of ~~XX~~ 10 points.

See - page 18 of 61-7561-2-26
"National Defenses" by John Franklin and
published by Am. Lg.

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice

KRM:JD:1F

Washington, D. C.

March 22, 1939.

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. E. A. TAMM

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11-29-79 BY SP-1 [Signature] RE: INVESTIGATION OF AGENTS
OF FOREIGN PRINCIPALS.

This will refer to a memorandum for the Director signed by Mr. Tamm, dated March 16, 1939, concerning the visit of Messrs. Tamm and McIntire with [redacted] and others of the State Department. b7C
b6

At 2:30 P.M., March 17, 1939, I conferred with [redacted] of the State Department to ascertain the identity of the third organization, the investigation of which might be desired by the State Department on the basis of the Act of June 8, 1938, requiring the registration of agents of foreign principals. [redacted] informed me that all such matters are handled through the office of [redacted] Political Relations for the Department of State. [redacted] had come to no decision as to the third organization to be investigated and he, therefore, introduced me to [redacted]. The situation was discussed very briefly with [redacted] whereupon I told him that in a discussion between Messrs. [redacted] of the Department of State, attended by myself, it had been decided that the Bureau should investigate the Communist Party and the German-American Bund with reference to the possibility of their being agents of foreign principals. I told ~~them~~ that no decision had yet been reached by the State Department as to the third organization to be investigated and that the FBI would be guided by the judgment of the State Department in the selected third organization.

[redacted] then told me that the Department of State did not intend to choose the third organization to be investigated and said it was his opinion that it was within the province of the Department of Justice to decide this matter. I told him on the contrary that we would be willing to defer to the judgment of the Department of State. He insisted, however, that the State Department would make no decision but would be willing to discuss it with me and to make available all of its records for such assistance as the information contained therein might be to any subsequent investigation. Thereupon there ensued a conversation

Copy of Tamm's memo for [redacted]

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61-7591-13

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&
INDEXED

61-7590-8
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

3/22/39

in which both [] and I made strenuous efforts to avoid deciding which organization should be investigated. [] however, proceeded to examine the letter of Congressman Dies to the Department of State, dated November 26, 1938, in which Mr. Dies listed some twenty or more organizations as possibly acting as agents for foreign principals. [] then discussed numerous of the organizations mentioned and [] centered his thoughts upon the American League for Peace and Democracy. All during this discussion I maintained a studied silence so that it will not be understood that I had suggested that the Bureau should investigate the American League for Peace and Democracy.

The discussion having centered itself upon this organization for many minutes and it being obvious that it was the considered opinion of [] that the American League would provide the best basis for an investigation, I suggested then that since it appeared that he considered the American League to be the best possible organization for investigation, the Bureau would be pleased to investigate that body. [] was in perfect agreement and the conference thereupon broke up with [] assurance that everything in the files of the Department of State bearing any materiality upon any of the three organizations to be investigated by the Bureau would be made available.

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I retired then to [] office and discussed the type of material which the Bureau will need concerning these three organizations. [] said that within the next several days he would review his files and documents and obtain all material information showing the Communist Party to be an agent of the Communist International. This will include documentary proof of the joining of the Communist International by the C.P.U.S.A., the official document containing the twenty-one conditions of admission of any Communist Party to the Communist International, originals of membership books, et cetera.

With reference to the German-American Bund, [] stated that his files will disclose no data of a *local nature re the Bund in the* United States. He said that the State Department would possibly have reports submitted by their representatives in Germany which will cover the Congress of Germans Abroad held in Stuttgart, Germany, in August or September, 1938. He will make these reports available.

[] With reference to the American League for Peace and Democracy, [] will arrange to furnish me with documents showing the origin of the world movement which is called the World Committee Against War

3/22/39

and Fascism with headquarters at Paris. He will also furnish documents showing the connection of the American League with the World Committee Against War and Fascism.

At the time of my visit with [redacted] I made efforts to confer with [redacted] Office of Arms and Munitions Control, but he was out. I merely desired to pay my respects and to tell him that I had conferred with Mr. Dunn. I will take care of this matter on my next visit to the State Department.

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[redacted] advised me that since all of the matters pertaining to the investigation of agents of foreign principals are handled by [redacted] it would be highly advisable to direct all correspondence to [redacted]. He stated that oftentimes material of this nature which is sent to the Secretary of State never reaches them.

Respectfully,


[redacted]

KRM:AR

April 17, 1939

MEMORANDUM FOR FILE

One copy of each of the following memoranda was sent to [redacted] on April 13, 1939, with the request that the [redacted] make ten copies of each for future use:

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- Communist Party - April 10, 1939
- American League for Peace and Democracy - April 4, 1939
- German-American Bund, March 29, 1939



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DATE 11-29-79 BY SP-1 [signature]

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61-7589-9

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

APR 18 1939

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FILE

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

EAT:CHS

March 28, 1939

Time: 3:35 P.M.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR

July

[redacted] of the State Department called with reference to a previous conversation between [redacted] and myself regarding the information being obtained from the State Department by Agent McIntire relative to communistic organizations. I advised [redacted] that Mr. McIntire had informed me subsequent to the above conversation that a request was pending with [redacted] of the State Department for certain historical background data.

[redacted] stated that he had told [redacted] nothing more would be required by [redacted] from the State Department and, therefore, the request by [redacted] came as a surprise to [redacted]. He stated further that the information desired by [redacted] was not known to him and that he did not believe that [redacted] knew definitely what [redacted] desired. I advised [redacted] that it was my understanding that there is supposed to be some very old documents or reports that [redacted] is interested in for the purpose of establishing a proper background memorandum.

[redacted] stated that he would suggest that [redacted] contact either [redacted] or himself for additional information in order to avoid any misunderstanding, inasmuch as the other departments are not familiar with what we are endeavoring to find on this matter. I told [redacted] that we would be glad to conduct all of our business in this matter with him to avoid any trouble that might arise in the future.

I informed [redacted] that I would have [redacted] contact [redacted] within the next day or so and furnish him with definite information as to what further data will be needed in this matter and let [redacted] determine whether it is available.

~~Respectfully,~~

[Handwritten signature]

E. A. TAMM
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&
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61-7589-10

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MAR 30 1939
C. E. S.

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DATE 11-29-79 BY [redacted]

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16-17
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ATTENTION

The following documents appearing in FBI files have been reviewed under the provisions of The Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) (Title 5, United States Code, Section 552); Privacy Act of 1974 (PA) (Title 5, United States Code, Section 552a); and/or Litigation.

FOIA/PA Litigation Executive Order Applied

Requester: _____

Subject: _____

Computer or Case Identification Number: _____

Title of Case: _____ Section _____

* File _____

Serials Reviewed: _____ b7C _____

_____ b6 _____

Release Location: *File _____ Section _____

This file section has been scanned into the FOIPA Document Processing System (FDPS) prior to National Security Classification review. Please see the documents located in the FDPS for current classification action, if warranted. Direct inquiries about the FDPS to RIDS Service Request Unit

File Number: 61-HQ-7589 Section 2

Serial(s) Reviewed: ALL

FOIPA Requester: _____

FOIPA Subject: _____

FOIPA Computer Number: 1014583

File Number: _____ Section _____

Serial(s) Reviewed: _____

FOIPA Requester: _____

FOIPA Subject: _____

FOIPA Computer Number: _____

File Number: _____ Section _____

Serial(s) Reviewed: _____

FOIPA Requester: _____

FOIPA Subject: _____

FOIPA Computer Number: _____

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SCANNED BY DocLab (RMD)

DATE: _____

ATTENTION

DO NOT REMOVE FROM FILE

LAST SERIAL: _____

March 27, 1939

KAT:HA

11:25 A. M.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR

After talking with Agent [redacted] of the New York Office on another matter, Agent Rosen desired to know if there were any further instructions for him inasmuch as he does not have much to do. I informed Rosen that there would be forwarded to him within the next several days three requests to determine whether the Communist Party, the German American Bund, and the American League for Peace and Democracy are operating as agents with foreign principals. I informed Rosen that it would be desirable for him to conduct the investigation concerning the Communist Party and [redacted] to conduct the investigation regarding the Bund, inasmuch as it would be best not having someone with a Jewish name investigating the Bund. I advised Rosen that [redacted] and he should "bear down" on these investigations as they are of the utmost importance at this time.

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Respectfully,

E. A. Tamm.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-30-79 BY SP-1 GKK/KP

- Mr. Tolson.....
- Mr. Nathan.....
- Mr. E. A. Tamm.....
- Mr. Clegg.....
- Mr. Glavin.....
- Mr. Ladd.....
- Mr. Nichols.....
- Mr. Rosen.....
- Mr. Tracy.....
- Miss Gandy.....

RECORDED

61-7589-11

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

MAR 30 1939

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FILE

61-7589-11

61-7589

Serial 12 missing when
file was repaired 7/29/48

March 21, 1939

EAT:CHS

Time: 10:30 A.M.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR

RE: SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES

Mr. Rosen called from New York and advised that he had forwarded a report to the Bureau last night covering the investigation in the above entitled matter and that he is preparing a letter to you summarizing this investigation. He stated that the report contains a summary but that same is being condensed into a letter, which letter will be mailed to the Bureau today by special delivery.

I instructed Mr. Rosen to remain in New York and help out on the cases concerning the registration of those foreign principals, that immediate reports were necessary on these matters. I further instructed Mr. Rosen to contact me when these cases are cleared up, inasmuch as there is no more item I may want him to handle while in New York.

Respectfully,

E. A. Tamm.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11-30-79 BY SP-1 [signature]
7/25/88 [signature]

RECORDED

61-7589-13

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

MAR 27 1939 A. M.

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

TOLSON [initials]

FILE

ORIGINAL FILED IN 61-7589-46

copy of Rosen's letter, copy of [unclear]

EAT:OOR

March 27, 1979

Time: 3:55 p.m.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR

While in telephonic communication with Inspector [redacted] I was informed that presently there are nineteen men assigned to the Judicial investigation.

I told [redacted] that within the next two days a request for investigation of the Communist Party and the Nazi Bund was to be sent to the New York Office and that about four more Agents would have to be assigned to this; two to work with Agent [redacted] and two to work with Agent Rosen; and that I would like his recommendation as to the personnel for this assignment.

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Respectfully,

L. A. TAMM

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DATE 11-20-79 BY SP-1 GJK/KJ

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61-7589-14

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April 4, 1939

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED ~~HEREIN~~ MEMORANDUM FOR THE FILE
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-20-79 BY SP-1 [signature] GERMAN-AMERICAN BUND

SAC Rosen called from New York regarding [redacted] who has been contacted with respect to getting documentary evidence to support certain of his articles that have appeared in [redacted] and also to get any other information he might have relative to the German-American Bund.

[redacted] apparently is being employed by [redacted] at this time to produce another book or a series of articles. He is presently getting ready for a trip to the West Coast where he expects to remain for about five weeks. In the past he has worked with [redacted]

[redacted] says he is willing to cooperate with the Department of Justice and furnish in addition to documentary evidence supporting [redacted] additional data which would require additional investigation; however he further states he does not desire to furnish this information unless he receives some kind of a statement from Attorney General Murphy that the things on which he furnishes information will be thoroughly investigated. His expressed reason for assuming this position is due to the fact that his information pertains to very prominent people; such people as members of banks and one of the individuals is supposed to be a Jew, who formerly was an agent of the old German Government. [redacted] has offered to postpone his trip to the West Coast for a day or two and come to Washington and furnish his information - not particularly to Mr. Murphy but to some representative of the Attorney General that would be in a position to state definitely that the names and incidents to which he would refer would be given attention. [redacted] has said he is not particularly friendly toward the Dies Committee. He has a number of names of persons who were employed in the Brooklyn Navy Yard who are foreign agents and he has given this information to [redacted] apparently is trying to get a background for a story and should he have a letter from the Attorney General authorizing him to go ahead on this matter, the same probably would be published on the first page of his book.

In connection with [redacted] proposition, he has been informed by Rosen that the Bureau is authorized to investigate cases wherein there are violations over which we have jurisdiction; that he

MEMO FOR THE FILE

4-4-39

could be given no assurance that everything he might furnish the Bureau would be investigated; that such an assurance could not be given any one but that the Bureau is in a position to receive information and if he desired to furnish any, the same would be transmitted to the proper authorities.

I told Mr. Rosen what we want to do is get all possible information without promising [redacted] anything and that we can promise him nothing nor can we give him anything in writing. With regard to [redacted] offer to come to Washington, I told Rosen he should point out to [redacted] that he is a representative of the Attorney General. I also told Rosen that there is no one in Washington who has the background of these matters as is possessed by him in New York; but that if [redacted] desires to come to Washington, that is his business although he can be given no assurance there will be any one in Washington that can represent the Attorney General any more than can Rosen in New York. Rosen also was told to assure [redacted] that any information he might furnish would be incorporated into a report and sent directly to Washington.

b7C

At the present [redacted] is engaged mainly in other matters and Rosen is running out the leads in this investigation. Efforts are being made to determine the source of revenue and the direct connection of the German-American Fund and the American League for Peace and Democracy with any foreign government.

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E. A. TAMM

KRM:RD
61-7589-

April 4, 1939

61-7589

Special Agent in Charge
New York, New York

Re: AMERICAN LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND
DEMOCRACY

Dear Sir:

The Bureau has been called upon to conduct an investigation of the American League For Peace and Democracy in the belief that this organization may have violated the Act of June 8, 1938, which provides for the registration with the Secretary of State of Agents of Foreign Principals.

There has been prepared a memorandum of facts dated April 4, 1939, two copies of which are attached hereto, which may be of some assistance to you in the course of this investigation. Copies of this memorandum have likewise been transmitted to the Criminal Division of the Department of Justice and to the State Department.

It is desired that an immediate investigation be undertaken to determine all facts bearing upon the possible violation by the American League For Peace and Democracy of the Act approved June 8, 1938. The pertinent portions of this Act are contained on pages 1 and 2 of the attached memorandum.

The Bureau has been advised by representatives of the Department of State that it is not essential, in all instances, to prove that the Agent of an alleged Foreign Principal is financed in whole or in part, directly or indirectly by the alleged Principal. It is pointed out, however, that if information of that type can be obtained the case is made that much stronger.

From a review of available data there are set out below suggestions as to persons to be interviewed from whom information of some pertinence might be obtained. It is not intended that these suggestions should circumscribe or delimit the course or scope of your investigation.

*2/3/87 526 by Jaffer 254436
#251,166*
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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 4-23-85 BY 9145 r/ew
8-1-85 SP4CAG/6LM

61-7589-112

You will observe in the attached memorandum that the following persons were instrumental in the organizing of the American League:

Theodore Draiser
H. W. L. Dana
Sherwood Anderson
Dr. Israel Goldstein

(It is understood that this man withdrew from the American League because of its alleged Communist connections.)

Elisabeth Gilman
Margaret Schlauch
Scott Nearing
Dorothy Detzer

(According to the New York Times for October 17, 1938, by a unanimous vote of the National Board of Directors Of The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, it was decided to withdraw from the American League; that an official statement attributed the cause of withdrawal to basic differences in "policies and methods." Dorothy Detzer is the National Executive Secretary of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.)

Upton Sinclair
Malcolm Cowley
J. B. Matthews

Your attention is also directed to the list of supporting organizations contained in the attached memorandum, some of which should be approached for pertinent information.

I likewise desire to call your attention to the list of members of the Arrangements Committee, some of whom may have information bearing upon the subject matter of your inquiry.

A portion of the attached memorandum has been devoted to "FINANCE" in which J. B. Matthews discusses the possibility of the League obtaining funds from the Communist Party through Earl Browder.

April 4, 1939

RE: AMERICAN LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY

*2/2/87 sub by key # 204/236
#33,166*

ACT OF JUNE 3, 1938

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 4/23/85 BY 9/15/16

On June 3, 1938, there was approved an Act entitled "AN ACT TO require the registration of certain persons employed by agencies to disseminate propaganda in the United States....." (Public No. 563-75th Congress, Third Session). *254486*

Section 1 (c) provides:

"The term 'foreign principal' means the government of a foreign country, a political party of a foreign country, a person domiciled abroad, or any foreign business partnership, association, corporation, or political organization."

Section 1 (d) provides:

"The term 'agent of a foreign principal' means any person who acts or engages or agrees to act as a public-relations counsel, publicity agent, or an agent, servant, representative, or attorney for a foreign principal or for any domestic organization subsidized directly or indirectly in whole or in part by a foreign principal."

Section 2 of the Act provides:

"Every person who is now an agent of a foreign principal shall, within thirty days after this Act takes effect, and every person who shall hereafter become an agent of a foreign principal shall forthwith file with the Secretary a registration statement, under oath, or a form prescribed by the Secretary which shall set forth" - et cetera.

Section 5 of the Act provides:

"Any person who wilfully fails to file any statement required to be filed under this Act, or in complying with the

April 4, 1938

AMERICAN LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
I. ACT OF JUNE 8, 1938.....	1 - 2
II. ORIGIN.....	3 - 12
III. COMMUNIST PARTICIPATION AND INFLUENCE.....	13 - 34
IV. FIRST CONGRESS AND PROGRAM.....	35 - 39
V. SECOND CONGRESS AND PROGRAM.....	40 - 41
VI. THIRD CONGRESS AND PROGRAM.....	42 - 43
VII. FOURTH CONGRESS AND PROGRAM.....	44 - 45
VIII. FIFTH CONGRESS AND PROGRAM.....	46 - 47
IX. ORGANIZATION AND STRUCTURE OF THE LEAGUE.....	48
X. FINANCES.....	49
XI. CONSTITUTION.....	50 - 53

2/3/87 SP6 by/ky #254436
CR 251,166
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-20-79 BY SP-1 [Signature]
4-27-85 945 ci/ku
8-1-85 SP4 uds/gm
#254436

SAC-New York City

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4-6-39

It is believed appropriate that direct inquiries be made through the headquarters of the American League where all information available should be obtained showing the connection of the American League with its international body which is now understood to be known as the World League For Peace and Democracy with headquarters in Paris, France, the head of which is believed to be Romain Rolland. I wish further that efforts be made to establish such connections as may exist between the American League and the Communist Party, U.S.A. You will note that there is a possible agency - principal relationship not only between the American League and its international organization located in Paris, but also between the American League and the Communist Party, U.S.A. and/or the Communist International.

Literature should be obtained in all instances and if possible, three copies of each piece of literature should be furnished to the Bureau. It would appear desirable to obtain a list of the officers of the said League for each year of its existence.

This matter must receive your immediate attention. It must be pursued with vigor and completed with the least possible delay.

Please furnish the Bureau five copies of all reports in this matter.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Enclosure

ORIGIN

"In 1932, Rosalia Noyland and Henri Barbusse summoned a World Congress Against War to meet in Amsterdam (Holland) in August. The international organizing committee consisted of Bernard Shaw, Madame Sun Yat Sen, Theodore Dreiser, Albert Einstein, Maxim Gorky and Heinrich Mann.

"In response to their call, 2,196 delegates representing millions of people — workers and intellectuals, peasants and colonials, youth and war veterans, women and professional people — came from every quarter of the earth. World issues and national chauvinists breeding and threatening war formed the agenda of the Congress. Henri Barbusse pleaded for unity of all elements represented in the interest of the most effective results in the struggle against war. 'The toiling masses are not only the source of power for social progress, they are also the power for intellectual progress.'

"Professor H. W. L. Dams reported to the Congress in behalf of the 32 delegates from the United States, 'Our American delegation is primarily a workers' delegation and includes representatives of American metal workers, machinists, marine workers, carpenters, textile workers, ex-service men, and Negroes, waiting men and women of different parts of the country, different racial backgrounds, different classes and different political points of view.' Among them were Sherwood Anderson, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Elizabeth Gilman of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Professor Margaret Schlauch, Scott Nearing, Mrs. Lola Maverick Lloyd of the Women's Peace Society, Maurice Sugar of Detroit and Dorothy Detzer as fraternal representative of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom."

"A manifesto calling for organization and struggle in all countries against impending war was issued by the Congress. To further this work a permanent international committee was elected. Twelve Americans including Theodore Dreiser, Upton Sinclair and Malcolm Cowley became members of this body.

"The danger created by Hitler's rise to power led to the organization of A European Congress Against Fascism early in 1933. Held in Paris, this assembly was followed by the unification of the two movements and the formation of the World Committee Against War and Fascism.

provisions of this Act, makes a false statement of a material fact, or wilfully omits to state any material fact required to be stated therein shall, on conviction thereof, be punished by a fine of not more than one thousand dollars or imprisonment for not more than two years, or both."

Section 7 of the Act provides:

"This Act shall take effect on the nineteenth day after the date of its enactment."

"On returning from the Amsterdam Congress, the delegates from the United States organized the American Committee for Struggle Against War and proceeded in the following year to call the 1st U. S. Congress Against War. In September, (29 to October 1) 1933, over 2,600 delegates from 35 states assembled in New York City in response to the call signed by Theodore Dreiser, Upton Sinclair and Sherwood Anderson and some 60 national organizations. In special commission sessions these delegates dealt with current national and international problems in regard to war. Henri Barbusse who was present to help start the American movement, congratulated the Congress for its excellent work. 'The organized cooperation of the American masses represented here will give to the affiliated national movements abroad a renewed confidence, support and stimulation. It will show them that this is not merely a movement for struggle in the social conflict, but a movement for struggle against war. Let them know that this Congress comes not to divide, but to unite; that this Congress is a witness of the redoubled active force of unity; that this Congress is a witness of the indefatigable spirit of brotherhood between men.'" (1)

The Call for the U. S. Congress Against War was issued by the National Organizing Committee of the U. S. Congress Against War, 104 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York, in the following terms:

"CALL
To The
U. S. Congress Against War
Labor Day Week-End
September 1-4, 1933
New York City

National Organizing Committee
U. S. Congress Against War
104 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y.

"We call every organization to form a united front and we appeal to every individual sincerely opposed to war to begin

(1) Pamphlet - "People's Progress for Peace and Democracy," issued by the American League for Peace and Democracy, pages 3 and 4. See also leaflet, "American League Against War and Fascism - How it Developed.. Distinctive Character...Program...Activities."

"Immediately the work of building this mighty rampart against the forces of war." —U. S. Congress Call.

To All Workers, Farmers, Veterans, Unemployed and Your Organizations:

To all Opponents of War—Men, Women and Youth:

We Call You to the United States Congress Against War.

"We welcome the step taken by Sherwood Anderson, Theodore Dreiser and Upton Sinclair in their call for a united Congress Against War to be held in New York City, September 2nd, 3rd and 4th.

"We are united in the belief that the peoples of the world must arouse themselves to take immediate action against the wars now going on in the Far East and in South America, against the increasing preparations for war, and against the growing danger of a new world war. We appeal to all organizations, all workers, farmers, youth and professional groups to support this Congress against our common enemy.

The Governments Arm

"After ten years of futile preparations and promises, the World Disarmament Conference has met only to adjourn itself with more promises and with all the imperialist governments continuing to prepare for war more intensively than ever. The 4-Power Pact, the latest imperialist gesture to avoid concrete disarmament measures, has solved nothing. The rise of fascism among the Western imperialist nations and the continued aggressive policy of Japanese militarism has increased the dangers of war involving the Soviet Union. The World Economic Conference in London has revealed only too clearly the inability and the unwillingness of the Great Powers to solve the basic international problems which are steadily driving us towards war preparations and war.

Fascism Breeds War

"The recent rapid spread of fascism brings before us another serious problem, one which is closely related to war. It means forced labor, militarization, lower standards of living, and the

accentuation of national hatreds and chauvinistic attitudes. It sets the people in one country against the people in another country, and even exploits the internal racial groups within each country, instead of uniting them for joint action to solve their common problems.

U. S. Prepares for War

"We emphasize that the declarations of peaceful intentions on the part of the United States Government cannot be relied on to keep this country out of war. In spite of repeated statements of peaceful intentions all governments continue to arm, to train, to prepare. In the United States the Roosevelt administration has systematically aided and furthered preparations for war; the concentration of the entire fleet in the Pacific Ocean, the continued maintenance of armed forces in China, give the lie to the peaceful declarations of our own government.

"Under the guise of public works, the National Industrial Recovery Act has become the vehicle for launching the building of a vastly larger navy along the lines demanded by the Big Navy jingos; the widespread unemployment of youth has been utilized to concentrate them in so-called reforestation camps, directly under the administration of the War Department, where semi-militarized conditions prevail; the military training of youth in the colleges continues; and more and more, national holidays become excuses for glorifying the armed forces and stimulating war hatreds. Throughout the country, hundreds of firms are busy shipping munitions and basic war materials to the warring countries in South America and the Far East. With all this, the Roosevelt administration has developed centralized control along the lines of the War Industries Board of 1917. We must organize and act to save ourselves from these war preparations and war forces certain to culminate in suicidal international war.

We Must Act Against War

"It is to accomplish this task that we unite in support of this Congress. It is to formulate a program of concrete struggle against these conditions that we appeal for the widest possible participation by the workers, farmers, youth, and by all opponents of war throughout the nation.

"We call every organization to form a united front and we appeal to every individual sincerely opposed to war to begin immediately the work of building this mighty rampart against the forces of war!

***SUPPORTING ORGANIZATIONS:**

American Committee for Struggle Against War
A. F. of L. Trade Union Committee for Unemployment
Insurance and Relief
Anti-Imperialist League of the U. S.
Bonus Expeditionary Forces, Rank and File of America
Committee on Militarism in Education
Communist Party of the U. S. A.
Conference for Progressive Labor Action
Farmers National Committee of Action
Farmers Union Cooperative Marketing Ass'n
Fellowship of Reconciliation
Finnish Workers' Federation
Friends of the Soviet Union
"Kor" Ass'n for Jewish Colonization in U. S. S. R.
Intercollegiate Council, League for Ind. Democracy
International Committee for Political Prisoners
International Labor Defense
International Workers Order
John Reed Clubs of the United States
Labor Sports Union
League for Industrial Democracy
League of Professional Groups
League of Struggle for Negro Rights
Marine Transport Workers Ind. Union, I. W. W.
Marine Workers Industrial Union
Nat'l Committee to Aid Victims of German Fascism
National Farmers Holiday Association
National Lithuanian Youth Federation
National Miners' Union
National Student Committee for Struggle Against War
National Student League
Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union
Ohio Unemployed League
Pennsylvania Committee for Total Disarmament
Socialist Party of America
Steel & Metal Workers Industrial Union
Trade Union Unity League
Unemployed Councils, National Committee
United Farmers League
United Farmers Protective Ass'n
Veterans' National Rank and File Committee
War Resisters League
Workers & Farmers Cooperative Unity Alliance

Workers Ex-Servicemen's League
 Workers International Relief
 World Passways, Incorporated
 Women's Peace Society
 Workers Unemployed Union, I. W. W.
 Young Communist League
 Young Firebers of America
 Youth Section, American Com. for Struggle Against War

AND OTHER NATIONAL, STATE AND LOCAL
 ORGANIZATIONS

THE MEMBERS OF THE ARRANGEMENTS COMMITTEE FOR THE U. S.
 CONGRESS AGAINST WAR ARE THE FOLLOWING INDIVIDUALS:

Donald Henderson—Executive Director, American Com-
 mittee for Struggle Against War
 Mrs. Annie E. Gray—Director, Women's Peace Society
 J. E. Matthews—Executive Secretary, Fellowship of
 Reconciliation
 Roger Baldwin—Executive Director, American Civil
 Liberties Union
 J. E. Beards—Marine Work, Unemployed Union, I. W. W.
 Herbert Benjamin—Nat'l Organizer, Nat'l Committee
 Unemployed Councils
 Leroy Bowman—N. Y. Chapter, League for Industrial
 Democracy
 A. Davis—Secretary, A. F. of L. Trade Union Committee
 for Unemployment Insurance and Relief
 Anna N. Davis—Treas., War Resisters League
 James W. Ford—Trade Union Unity League
 William Z. Foster—Chairman, Communist Party of U.S.A.
 Mary Fox—Exec. Sec'y, League for Industrial Democracy
 Carl Geiser—Nat'l Sec'y, Youth Section, Amer. Com. for
 Struggle Against War.
 Julius Gerbe—Exec. Sec'y, N. Y. C., Socialist Party
 Dr. Israel Goldstein—Chairman, Social Justice Com.,
 Rabbinical Assembly of America
 Gilbert Green—Nat'l Sec'y, Young Communist League of
 U.S.A.
 Powers Hapgood—Member Exec. Com., League Against Fascism
 J. E. S. Hardman—Editor, 'The Advance,' Amalgamated
 Clothing Workers of America
 Len Harris—Nat'l Sec'y, Farmers Nat'l Com. for Action
 Clarence Hathaway—Editor, 'Daily Worker'

John Herling—Emergency Com. for Strikers' Relief
 Harold Hickerson—Workers' Ex-Servicemen's League
 Roy Hudson Nat'l Sec'y, Marine Workers Ind. Union
 Mrs. Addie White Hutton—Hon. Pres., Int'l Com.
 of Women of Darker Races
 Abraham Kaufman—Exec. Sec'y, War Resisters League
 Dr. Harry Laidler—Dir. League for Ind. Democracy
 Edward Levinson—Pub. Director, Socialist Party of A.
 Aaron Levinstein—N. Y. Sec'y, Young People's Socialist
 League
 Lala Mervick Lloyd—Women's Peace Society
 Richard Lovelace—Nat'l Treas., Vet. Nat'l Bank and
 File Committee
 Robert Marks Lovett—Pres., League for Ind. Dem.
 Robert Miller—Member, Central Exec. Com., Communist
 Party of U. S. A.
 A. J. Ruste—Nat'l Chairman, Conf. for Prog. Labor Action
 Ray Newton—Sec'y, Peace Section, Amer. Friends Service
 Committee
 Albert G. Sellers—Nat'l Treas., Bonus Expeditionary Forces,
 Bank and File Committee
 Upton Sinclair—American Committee for Struggle Against
 War
 Tucker P. Smith—Brookwood Labor College
 Charles Solomon—Socialist Party of America
 Jack Stachel—Acting Sec'y, Trade Union Unity League
 Norman Thomas—Member, N. A. A., Socialist Party of A.
 Louise Thompson—International Labor Defense
 Wm. A. Truax—Pres., Ohio Unemployed League
 Gus Tyler—Young People's Socialist League
 Howard Y. Williams—Exec. Sec'y, League for Indep. Political
 Action
 Alfred Wagenknecht—Exec. Sec'y, Nat'l Com. to aid Victims
 Of German Fascism

***START LOCAL ACTIVITY IN PREPARATION FOR THE CONGRESS:**

1. Set up a city-wide committee with representatives from
 all the locals of the organizations signing this call plus as
 many other local groups, clubs, unions, and other organizations
 as possible; special attention should be paid to securing the
 support of labor organizations and workers' groups in factories,
 docks, war materials industries, transportation industries,
 Civil Conservation Camps, C. W. T. C., etc. This Committee

"should immediately communicate with the National Organizing Committee for the U. S. Congress Against War.

2. See that this Call is distributed and given wide publicity wherever groups of workers, farmers unemployed, youth, war veterans, professionals, white collar workers and peace advocates meet. Get local publicity in the press and in your organizational publications.

3. In every city the organizations must begin to campaign for funds to pay the expenses of the delegates. Funds must also be raised for the national preparations for the Congress and for the holding of the Congress. Hundreds of thousands of leaflets must be sent out. Expenses for delegates from other countries to the U. S. Congress must be provided. This Congress must be the beginning of a nation-wide movement in opposition to war. National Collection Lists should be secured from your organizations or from the Treasurer of the National Organizing Committee.

4. Give publicity to all war preparations in your city through leaflets, letters to the press, meetings; send such information to the National Organizing Committee for national use.

5. Sell 'U. S. Congress Against War' buttons; order these from the National Organizing Committee or from your own organization. Funds to help finance delegates can be raised through sale of these buttons, as well as popularization and support of the Congress.

ELECTION OF DELEGATES

"Delegates should be elected from all local groups and organizations opposed to war. Every organized group is entitled to one delegate for its organization, plus an additional delegate for every 250 members or major fraction thereof.

"National, State, county and city bodies shall each be entitled to two delegates.

NATIONAL ORGANIZING COMMITTEE
U. S. CONGRESS AGAINST WAR

J. B. Matthews, Chairman
Annie E. Gray, Treasurer
Donald Henderson, Secretary

Address all inquiries to DONALD HENDERSON, Secretary, 104
Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. "

The First American Congress prepared a manifesto and a ten-point program. At this time the delegates established the American League Against War and Fascism. Provisions were adopted for a National Council, National Executive Committee, state, city and community organizations, and the publication of a monthly magazine entitled "FIGHT Against War and Fascism." J. B. Matthews was elected National Chairman; Mrs. Annie E. Gray, Treasurer; and Donald Henderson, Secretary. (1)

A World Peace Congress was held at Brussels (Belgium) in September, 1936. This brought about the organization of the International Peace Campaign. A delegation represented the American League for Peace and Democracy at this Congress which was headed by Dr. Harry F. Ward. Later the American League helped to establish the American Committee of the International Peace Campaign, which is made up of ten member organizations. (2)

"The American League is one of 33 national organizations that constitute the World Committee Against War and Fascism. This Committee was organized by Henri Barbusse and other European leaders just after the world-famous Amsterdam Congress Against War in August, 1932. The international headquarters are in Paris, and since Barbusse's death, Romain Rolland has become the President of the World Committee. Norman Angell of England and Heinrich Mann of Germany are also members. All five continents are represented by national organizations.

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- (1) Pamphlet - "People's Program for Peace and Democracy," page 5.
(2) Ibid., pages 5 and 6.

"The American League has close and fraternal relations with both the Canadian League Against War and Fascism and the Mexican Frente Anti-Imperialista which is the Mexican organization affiliated with the World Committee." (1)

(1) Pamphlet - "A Program Against War and Fascism," pages 22 and 23, issued by the American League, dated July, 1936.

COMMUNIST PARTICIPATION AND INFLUENCE

The origin of the American League Against War and Fascism, which later became known as the American League for Peace and Democracy, is described by J. B. Matthews, the first chairman of the American League Against War and Fascism, as follows:

"The World Congress Against War was held in Amsterdam in August, 1932, under the chairmanship of the distinguished French Communist, Henri Barbusse. It was called at the instance of the Communist International which had become alarmed over the trends toward war.... The World Congress was overwhelmingly Stalinist in its complexion.... The manifesto issued by the Amsterdam Congress was written in Moscow. It declared that 'All Capitalist powers treat the Soviet Union as a common enemy which they are acting to undermine and overthrow.' The Congress called for a 'program of struggle against growing threat to Soviet Russia', and for the sabotage of 'the manufacture and transport of war munitions against the Chinese people and the Soviet Union.'" (1)

Matthews has also explained that:

"The decision to get up the American League was actually made in Moscow. It all started with the triumph of Hitler in Germany. Hitler's rule spelled the disastrous defeat of the Communist movement in Germany... In Germany, the Communist Party faced annihilation. In France, the United States, and Great Britain, it had no substantial influence. Moscow foresaw a military showdown with Hitler. It was to be a death struggle between the Fascist dictator and the Communist dictator. Stalin began to feel the need for powerful allies in that coming conflict. How should he get these allies among the Capitalist powers? He summoned the Communist leaders of the world to Moscow. They deliberated, and out of their deliberations came the decision to set up the Popular Front in France. But France was farther developed along the road to the final class struggle than was the United States. Sooner or later the Communists must set up a

(1) "Odyssey of a Fellow Traveler", by J. B. Matthews, pages 136 and 137.

"Popular Front in the United States, but first they decided to set up the American League, a prelude to the American Popular Front! Earl Browder brought back the word from Moscow, and I was chosen by Browder and his colleagues in the Communist Party to head the new organization.

"The actual management of the affairs of the American League was turned over to Donald Henderson. Henderson had publicly declared his membership in the Communist Party a year or two before when he resigned from the Socialist Party and while he was still an instructor in economics at Columbia University.....

"The Communist International selected Henri Barbusse as its international midwife in the birth of the American League. The Daily Worker, Communist Party newspaper, stated recently that Barbusse was the founder of the American League. Barbusse died in the Kremlin at Moscow shortly after his tour of the United States on behalf of the newly formed American League."

(1)

Matthews continues to state in his "Odyssey of a Fellow Traveler":

"The World Congress Against War set up the World Committee Against War with Henri Barbusse as Chairman. The American League Against War and Fascism said in its first 'Organization Handbook' (1935) that '...the movement started at the World Congress was carried on!' and that '...the delegates from the various countries went home and began immediately to lay the groundwork for national congresses.' In the same 'Organization Handbook' the American League traces its descent directly from the Amsterdam Congress." (2)

Matthews points out on pages 146 and 147 of his book, the "Odyssey of a Fellow Traveler," that on the letterhead of the National Organizing Committee for the first United States Congress Against War a list of 49 supporting organizations appears. He declares that 32 of these were Communist United Front organizations, in addition to the Communist Party and the Young Communist League, and that only the remaining 15 were in any way independent of the Communist Party.

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- (1) Pamphlet - "The United Front Exposed", containing testimony of J. B. Matthews before the Dies Committee, and issued by the League for Constitutional Government, pages 14 and 15.
- (2) Odyssey of a Fellow Traveler, page 139.

In treating of the first Congress, Matthews declares:

"At the end of September, 1933, a dingy old hall, known as the St. Nicholas Arena in New York, housed the first United States Congress Against War. I presided over most of the sessions of the Congress. Two thousand six hundred and sixteen delegates were registered at the Congress. They were overwhelmingly pro-Stalinist, due to the fact that only the Communist Party among all the participating groups had really shown any enthusiasm for the assembly. Almost from the first moment of the first session of the Congress, it was evident as Browder later told the Executive Committee of the Communist International, that the Communist Party was firmly entrenched in the leadership." (1)

Matthews further declares:

"The American League has been in effect a part of an international Communist conspiracy to involve the United States in a contemplated war on the side of the Soviet Union, or failing that objective, to cripple the United States through policy in the Army and the sabotage of basic industries and to incite class war and revolution here." (2)

"At the adjournment of the first United States Congress Against War the Committee which had been selected by the Congress to form a permanent organization, met and elected me National Chairman of the American League. Donald Henderson was elected secretary, and Ida Dailis was made assistant secretary. Both Henderson and Miss Dailis were members of the Communist Party. Earl Browder was elected Vice-Chairman, as was also William Pickens of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People." (3)

Matthews continues:

"Apart from the facts which I have already cited, there is the fact of Henri Barbusse's connection with the founding of the American League to reveal the hand of the Communist International in setting up this United Front. A recent issue of the Daily Worker states categorically that Henri Barbusse was the founder of the American League. 'Henri Barbusse came here to found

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- (1) The Odyssey of a Fellow Traveler, pages 149 and 151
 - (2) Ibid., page 157
 - (3) Ibid., page 159

"the American League against War and Fascism," is the exact language of the Daily Worker. In the closing years of his life, Barbusse was among the foremost international figures of the Communist International, in fact, this famous French writer died in the Kremlin shortly after completing an absurd biography of Joseph Stalin. He was already a victim of advanced tuberculosis when the Comintern sent him to the United States to appear at the first United States Congress Against War and to tour the country on behalf of the newly found organization. Certainly the United Front Arrangements Committee which convened the First Congress of the American League had nothing to do with inviting Barbusse to this country. Even I as chairman of this Committee was notified of the arrival of Barbusse only a few days before his landing in New York.

"It was in his capacity as chairman of the World Committee Against War that he came to the United States in the fall of 1933 to aid in launching the American League. The Constitution of the Communist International states explicitly that '...the sections affiliated to the Communist International must maintain close organizational and informational contact with each other, arrange for mutual representation to each others' conferences and Congresses, and with the consent of the E.C.C.I. exchange leading Communists.' It is perfectly clear that Comrade Barbusse was in the United States with the consent of the E.C.C.I. and not by invitation of the United Front Arrangements Committee of the United States Congress Against War." (1)

Henri Barbusse, Secretary of the World Committee Against War and Fascism, in an article entitled "The Soviets Lead In The Fight For Peace", explained the character of the movement against War and Fascism as follows:

"The World movement of the Committee Against War and Fascism is supporting with enthusiasm the new efforts of the Soviet Union for organized peace. These efforts are wholly in the spirit of the Manifesto of Amsterdam from which the movement sprang....Cost what it may, and despite everything, we are finding the basis for a mighty mass action for peace, for collaboration with the Soviet Union...." (2)

(1) The Odyssey of a Fellow Traveler, pages 167-168.

(2) Fight Magazine, August, 1935, page 13

"Shortly after the founding of the American League, Earl Browder went to Moscow where he reported to the 13th Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International." (1)

Browder in addressing the 13th Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International declared:

"Our most successful application of the United Front has been in the anti-war and anti-Fascist movement. We led a highly successful United States Congress Against War, which brought together 2,616 delegates from all over the country and unanimously adopted a manifesto and program which is politically satisfactory. The composition of the Congress was overwhelmingly proletarian with a core of 450 trade union and shop delegates; it contained a very satisfactory youth delegation of about 500, a majority from Reformist and Socialist organizations, which in a public meeting openly accepted the leadership of the Y.C.L. in the Congress; a considerable delegation of farmers; representatives from every important pacifist organization in the country; a group of local organizations of the Socialist Party and the mass organizations under its influence; and a few important A. F. of L. trade unions with 100,000 members. We also had a delegate from the United States Army. The Congress from the beginning was led by our Party quite openly but without in any way infringing upon its broad non-Party character, with the Party members at all times in a minority numerically, and leading by the quality of their work. This success was, of course, largely due to the very favorable situation, and the position of our Party as almost a monopolist of anti-war movement in the United States. After the Congress a broad mass campaign has been launched to popularize its results, a campaign which has been highly successful, greatly helped throughout by the assistance of Henri Barbusse and Tom Mann from France and England, whose presence added force and political significance to the Congress and the mass campaign carried on afterwards to popularize its work. The Congress set up a permanent organization on a federative basis, called the American League Against War and Fascism, which is publishing a popular monthly paper." (2)

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- (1) The Odyssey of a Fellow Traveler, pages 167-168.
(2) Article - "Situation in the United States of America" - Speech of Earl Browder at the 13th Plenum of the E.C.C.I. of the Communist International - "The Communist International", January 15, 1934, page 78.

In 1934, Henri Barbusse directed the following statement to the American League Against War and Fascism:

Paris,
April 30, 1934

"Dear Comrades:

I have been informed that the American League has affiliated with the World Committee of Struggle Against War and Fascism. This is a great step in the annals of the American struggle, and I want very much to stress the importance of it and at the same time to indicate to you the deep satisfaction that your decision has aroused among all our comrades of the French Movement and of the other National Movements.

The formal affiliation of your section of the group of sections already in existence is therefore an evidence of the consciously international, unmistakably universal attitude which must from now on be adopted if the social struggle is ever to conquer the future.

Your adherence takes on an additional importance in our eyes by virtue of the great revolutionary value.... The young and clear-sighted American nation, whose comparatively short history is responsible for all its youthful qualities... this people, I am certain, will be among those to take the lead in the movement for the emancipation of the world.

.....the official affiliation of the American Anti-Fascist and Anti-War Movement to ours, has stimulated the hope and energy of our masses.

Fraternally yours,

/s/ HENRI BARBUSSE.* (1)

(1) "Fight Magazine", June, 1934, page 18.

The original character of the League is indicated in the language of its Manifesto adopted by the United States Congress Against War, September 29 - October 1, 1933, New York City, portions of which are quoted herewith as follows:

"The war danger arises inevitably out of the very nature of monopolistic capitalism - the ownership of the means of production by a small capitalist class and a complete domination of government by this class. The imminent war danger is only another expression of the fundamental crisis of the capitalist system, which continues its existence only at the cost of intensification and oppression of the masses at home and in the colonies, and of struggle among the imperial powers for redivision of markets and sources of raw materials.

"Only in the Soviet Union has this basic question of war been removed. There are no classes or groups which can benefit from war or war preparations. Therefore the Soviet Union pursues a positive and vigorous peace policy and alone among the governments proposes total disarmament. Serious struggle against war involves rallying all forces around this peace policy and opposing all attempts to weaken or destroy the Soviet Union." (1)

The original program adopted by the United States Congress Against War and Fascism on September 29, -October 1, 1933, at New York City, provided further:

"To support the peace policies of the Soviet Union, for total and universal disarmament which today with the support of masses in all countries constitute the clearest and most effective opposition to war throughout the world; to oppose all attempts to weaken the Soviet Union, whether these take the form of misrepresentation and false propaganda, diplomatic maneuvering or intervention by imperialist governments." (2)

A League publication dated January, 1936, stated with reference to the original formation of the American League Against War and Fascism as follows:

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- (1) "Manifesto and Program of the American League Against War and Fascism" - the Communist, November, 1933, page 1122.
 - (2) Ibid., page 1123.

"They recognized that War and Fascism spring from the same source - the inability of the profit-seeking economy to solve the problems of feeding, clothing, housing and educating the people." (1)

Earl Browder in his report to the 8th Convention of the Communist Party of the United States of America in Cleveland, Ohio, April 2 - 8, 1934, declared with reference to the American League:

"The broadest movement of mixed-class composition has been the American League Against War and Fascism, formed at the great U. S. Congress Against War, held in New York last October. The Congress itself, while predominantly working class in composition, embraced the widest variety of organizations that have ever been united upon a single platform in this country. It gathered the most significant strata of the intellectuals. The breadth of the movement was not secured by sacrificing clarity of program. On the contrary, while its program is distinctly not that of the Communist Party, it is so clear and definite in facing the basic issues, that to carry it out in practice entails clearly revolutionary consequences. It is a real united front program of immediate struggle against war and fascism." (2)

Browder then castigated certain organizations in the United States for their opposition to the American League, and declared that such opposition "...should be an indication to us of the revolutionary value of this broad united front organization." (3)

Browder continued:

"The American League in its program proclaims that the working class is the basic force for the struggle against war; from the beginning it has never tried to avoid the issue of Communist Party participation in this broad united front. It is our task to see that the American League, organizationally, gets that working class foundation and active participation of the Communists for which its program provides." (4)

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- (1) Pamphlet - "American League Against War and Fascism - How It Developed.. Its Distinctive Character...Program...Activities."
 - (2) "Report to the 8th Convention - Communist Party", by Earl Browder, page 43.
 - (3) Ibid., page 43.
 - (4) Ibid., page 44.

The American League has posed the question, "Is the American League Against War and Fascism an anti-capitalist organization?", and answers:

"When we ask people to join the League, all we ask is that they support our ten-point program. An Anti-capitalist attitude is not a requirement for membership. Our only concern with capitalism is at the points where it breeds war and fascism. We are obliged to expose these points. If people feel that something must be substituted for capitalism and ask what, we refer them to our constituent or other organizations for an answer to this question." (1)

The American League has posed the further question, "Is the American League a 'communist' organization or 'communist' controlled?" and answers:

"The League's program represents the common agreement of many diverse groups. Some of its member organizations, like the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, have long had explicit programs of their own against war and fascism. But the American League's program does not follow that of any other organization. Its similarity to that of any member organization is only on points of common agreement concerning war and fascism. The policies of the American League are quite separate from those of the Communist Party. The organizations affiliated with the League have distinctive programs of their own, but these differing views do not commit the League as such to any program but its own, which is the common denominator of all in fighting war and fascism.

"Membership in the League is open to all groups and individuals who are opposed to war and fascism. There is no other requirement. Communists and Socialists, the Communist Party Opposition and Farmer-Labor groups, Exiles, Utopians, Democrats and even Republicans have taken part in official League meetings and activities. All are welcome. The program of none predominates. Each finds its cooperative basis of action in the common program of the League. The Communist Party as an affiliate of the League confines its activities to the ten-point program, just as all other affiliates do. It, like the other National

(1) Pamphlet - "A Program Against War and Fascism", dated July, 1936, pages 19 and 20.

Affiliates, is represented officially on the National Executive Committee of the League.

"Regarding membership and personnel, the ratio of Communists to non-Communists on the controlling committees, in offices and in the membership of the League is that of a small minority - one of the six elected national officers, two of the fifteen members of the National Bureau, and less than one-fourth of the eighty members of the National Executive Committee.

"The American League Against War and Fascism was founded at the First U. S. Congress Against War, held in New York City in September, 1933. The steering committee which organized this Congress was composed of Communists and non-Communists, the latter being in the majority. Communists have continued in positions of prominence in the League, but they have not given a communistic slant to the program or policies of the League. It is natural enough that they should be proud of their part in founding the League, and should claim a large share of credit for its successes, but this does not mean that the League is in any sense communist controlled." (1)

The American League has also asked: "Is the American League against Communism as well as Fascism? Why not have a League against War, Fascism, and Communism?" -- and replies:

"So far as the economic and political organization of society is concerned, Fascism and Communism are opposites. Fascism is for war; the Fascist state is the war-breeding and war-making state. Communism is for the abolition of war. We can't in any sense be against both on this score, for one destroys the other. We are opposed to fascism because it not only makes for war but also brutalizes human life, and destroys democratic rights and culture. Communists - in Germany and other countries - have shown themselves to be hard, courageous and sincere fighters against war and fascism. The same is true here in the United States. To exclude Communists or other so-called radicals from a common and active movement against fascism would be an actavoring of fascism itself." (2)

(1) "A Program Against War and Fascism", July, 1936, pages 20 and 21.
(2) Ibid., page 22.

To the question, "What is the position of the American League Against War and Fascism in regard to class war?" the American League replies:

"The issue of class war lies outside the scope of the League's program. Our function is to stop the advance of fascism and to thwart the preparations, propaganda and actual initiation of the next war. The immediate concern over such a future event as class war is a rather typical position frequently adopted by certain middle-class intellectuals. In so far as it directs energy into ineffectual channels and results in preoccupation with theory and discussion rather than concrete action against war, such a position robs the anti-war movement of vital and needed forces at a most critical time." (1)

"What international relationships does the American League Against War and Fascism have?"

"The American League is one of 33 national organizations that constitute the World Committee Against War and Fascism. This Committee was organized by Henri Barbusse and other European leaders just after the world-famous Amsterdam Congress Against War in August, 1932. The international headquarters are in Paris, and since Barbusse's death, Romain Rolland has become the President of the World Committee. Norman Angell of England and Heinrich Mann of Germany are also members. All five continents are represented by national organizations.

"The American League has close and fraternal relations with both the Canadian League Against War and Fascism and the Mexican Frente Anti-imperialista which is the Mexican organization affiliated with the World Committee." (2)

(1) "A Program Against War and Fascism", July, 1936, page 22.

(2) Ibid., pages 22 and 23.

Dr. Harry F. Ward, Chairman of the American League for Peace and Democracy, on November 30, 1934, declared:

"The decline of the capitalist economy compels a struggle between nations for the contracting world market even fiercer than that which drove them into the World War in the period of capitalist expansion. The same force leads the nations into the period of fascism. There is no mistaking the signs in the United States. The Red-hunt begins again. The Negro suffers intensified suppression. The Jew begins to feel the flames of hate. Labor is cheated of its promised democratic rights, and where it is necessary, repressed with brutal violence. The workers on the soil begin to suffer the same fate. In the land of the free, concentration camps are a reality." (1)

"A few weeks ago we affiliated with the international organization. We are now an organic part of the world movement and one of the tasks that awaits us in the coming year is to strengthen this international affiliation and make ourselves more effective on the international front." (2)

"Underneath we have the increasing use of the State, not simply in an attempt to keep life in the capitalist economy, but in an attempt to prevent the development of opposing forces from the bottom." (3)

"As this audience knows, this superficial governmental authoritative state turns out to be the arm of the owning and employing class." (4)

"Now, when it comes to participation of different political groups in this movement, my own personal position is this: legitimately, the group which can offer to this movement the most valuable suggestions concerning the program and tactics, which can offer the most dynamic active force for carrying it out, will gain political prestige out of their activity in this League, and they are entitled to do so." (5)

"In our educational material it is necessary to point out to the American people that the present administration is becoming the arm and tool of the owning class." (6)

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- (1) Pamphlet - "Fighting to Live", by Harry F. Ward, page 5.
 - (2) Ibid., page 8.
 - (3) Ibid., pages 9 and 10.
 - (4) Ibid., page 10.
 - (5) Ibid., pages 11 and 12.
 - (6) Ibid., page 13.

The proposal to exclude political parties from affiliation with the American League for Peace and Democracy was supported by Earl Browder, General Secretary of the Communist Party.

In this connection, Browder declared, 'This is not a proposal to discriminate against the Communist Party or to establish rules whereby the Party will not be officially represented in the organization of the American League for Peace and Democracy.' (1)

On September 25, 1938, Earl Browder addressed a public meeting of the National Committee of the Communist Party, U.S.A., at the Manhattan Opera House, New York City, at which time he declared:

"I would emphasize for the general attention of everybody the necessity to be at work now to contribute all we can to the common work of preparations so that the coming Congress of the American League for Peace and Democracy which takes place in January in Washington around the time of the opening of the New Congress should really be a gigantic gathering of the forces of peace of the American people. There can no longer be any neglect of this question, and our Party must furnish the guarantee that all the forces of the American League are really mobilized, activated, organized everywhere for this major action. This we must do, of course, simultaneously with all of the current work that I have already outlined, one of the main channels of which is the American League and the trade unions and all the organizations that naturally belong with the American League. Everything we do now must begin to carry within its preparations for this Congress of the American League." (2)

Earl Browder in an article entitled "Recent Political Developments and Some Problems of the United Front", declared in 1935:

"During this period a whole series of developments demonstrated the possibilities of growth of the American League

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- (1) "Sunday Worker", November 28, 1937.
(2) "Daily Worker", September 26, 1938.

Dr. Harry F. Ward, writing in "Soviet Russia Today", declared:

"There is no way to constructively organize peace except by adopting throughout the world the basic organization on which the Soviet Union is founded." (1)

He further declared the purposes of the American League to be:

"... to promote a wider understanding of the peace policies of the Soviet Union and to cooperate with other agencies to prevent an attack on the Soviet Union." (2)

Ward has further stated:

"In the days of its expansion, the capitalist economy used the democratic state for the purpose of securing and protecting markets for its goods and investments. Thereby it developed not democracy but imperialism. Now in the days of its decline, the capitalist economy seeks to use the state power to protect its investment structure and to remedy its inability, in the contracting markets it has created, to supply its populations with the necessities of life, with jobs and hope." (3)

"Our first use of state power to endeavor to restore the failing capitalist economy, in contrast to its use for capitalist expansion through tariffs, subsidies, and gunboat collection of debts, was the loan of Reconstruction Finance money by Hoover to private corporations. The necessity for doing something more drastic if the capitalist structure was not to collapse led not only to a much wider expansion of this procedure under Roosevelt, but also to the increasing transfer of power from legislative to executive hands. Thus the consolidation of political power followed the concentration of economic power. This tandem development had long been proceeding in American life. The process was now speeded up, and continues to be." (4)

On the occasion of the Fourth Congress of the League, at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, in November, 1937, a discussion was had

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- (1) "Soviet Russia Today", November, 1936, page 18.
 - (2) Ibid., page 6.
 - (3) Pamphlet, "The Development of Fascism in the United States", by Harry F. Ward, page 4.
 - (4) Ibid., page 4.

on the proposal that political parties should not be represented officially in the American League. This proposal does not appear to have been adopted in this exact form, for it is noted that Article II of its Constitution provides in part:

"Whenever a number of political parties signify willingness to affiliate, they shall be eligible." (1)

On the basis of the proposal, however, Earl Browder, in addressing the Congress, deplored the fact that the only political party officially participating in the broad organization has been the Communist Party, and that this has been used in unaffiliated organizations as an obstacle to joining. In withdrawing the representation of the Communist Party officially from the League, Browder explained that the Communists ".....will be as active as ever in the work of the League and will continue to represent many unions and fraternal organizations." (2)

Browder continued:

"I do not think it necessary for me to say that this does not mean the withdrawal of Communists from active participation and support of the League. We are a small minority, but we know that we have a task to do in this organization and we will do our part more energetically than ever before.

"We are perfectly satisfied to have our representation through those who are elected as representatives of non-party organizations through their own recognized work in these organizations. The American League is free to call upon the services of every Communist in the United States. Anything you want us to do just call upon us and we will do it.

"I myself am not only a fraternal delegate from the Communist Party but also an official delegate from the International Workers Order, a fraternal organization of 135,000 people and in that capacity I want to take my part in this Congress and the work of the League hereafter." (3)

(1) "Daily Worker," November 29, 1937.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid.

"Against War and Fascism. For the most of the work of developing the American League has been left in the hands of the middle class and church elements, we may say they are not doing a bad job despite our neglect. The American League has been penetrating church organizations in America to an extent most of us do not dream of." (1)

In February, 1935, Earl Browder discussed the Second Congress of the League, which was held in Chicago in September, 1934, and declared:

"An outstanding feature of our united front efforts was the Second U. S. Congress Against War and Fascism, held in Chicago at the end of September. At this Congress were 3,332 delegates from organizations with a total membership of 1,600,000. That represents an extension of the activities of our movement over about a million organized persons more than we have ever before had gathered around us. The quality of this representation was higher than ever before." (2)

William L. Foster, writing in "The Communist" in November, 1936, declared:

"The Communist Party is likewise a vital factor in the American League Against War and Fascism, a movement which held its Third Congress in Cleveland in January, 1936, with an attendance of 2,973 delegates from 1,840 organizations of 3,291,906 members." (3)

Earl Browder, in addressing the Ninth Convention of the Communist Party on June 24, 1936, declared:

"The American League Against War and Fascism is one of the outstanding examples of a broad people's front organized around issues affecting the whole population.

"It is impossible to speak of the American League and its work, without noting the outstanding contribution of its tireless and devoted chairman, Dr. Harry F. Ward. Such selfless and consistent service to a progressive cause, as Dr. Ward has given, will always receive the unstinted recognition and support of the Communist Party." (4)

(1) "The Communist" for July, 1935, page 613.

(2) Ibid., February, 1935, page 110.

(3) Ibid., November, 1936, page 1044.

(4) Pamphlet - "Democracy or Fascism", containing Earl Browder's report to the 9th Convention of the Communist Party, page 24.

At its 10th Convention in May, 1938, at New York City, the Communist Party resolved:

"The role of the Party as the vanguard and organizer of the masses, working systematically for winning a leading position, must be effectively strengthened. In this connection, far more attention will be devoted by the National Committee and state committees to improving the political quality of the daily work and organizational activities of Party members in the trade unions (A.F. of L. as well as C.I.O.), in the American League for Peace and Democracy, the Workers Alliance, American Youth Congress, National Negro Congress, in the farm, cultural, religious, professional, and other organizations, and in the mass organizations of the national groups. In order to contribute more effectively to the building and consolidation of these organizations and movements, and to win the complete trust and confidence of the progressive leaders and all members of these organizations, the Party members in these organizations must more consistently assume their share of all the responsibilities involved in building and promoting these organizations." (1)

In its resolutions at the time of its Ninth Convention on June 24 - 28, 1936, at New York City, the Communist Party, U.S.A., resolved:

"Recognizing that the American League Against War and Fascism has grown into an important force of United people's struggle against war and for peace, and that it is acquiring a wider base among the toiling masses as shown by its Third Congress, the Communist Party will work untiringly to help widen the base of the League, especially among the trade unions and farm organizations, as decided by its congress. At the same time the Communists will work for systematic united actions for peace between the League and the trade unions, such as the CIO and others. The Communists will favor a broadening out of the program of the League along the lines of struggle for a peace policy." (2)

In addressing the 10th Convention of the Communist Party, U.S.A., in New York City on May 28, 1938, Browder declared:

- (1) Pamphlet - "Resolutions of the 10th Convention of the Communist Party, U.S.A.", pages 19 and 20.
- (2) Pamphlet - "Resolutions of the 9th Convention of the Communist Party, U.S.A.", page 52.

"The building of the democratic front of the majority of the people cannot proceed according to a blue-print, no matter who draws it. It must find room to accommodate the widest variety of initiative and organization, and make all of them contribute to the common goal. The Democratic New Deal wing, the progressive Republicans, the Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota, the Progressive Party of Wisconsin, the Commonwealth Federation of Washington, the American Labor Party, Labor's Non-Partisan League, the A.F. of L. and C.I.O. trade unions, the American League for Peace and Democracy, the National Negro Congress, the American Youth Congress, fraternal organizations, farmers' organizations, the Communist Party - all, all, have something vital to contribute to the building of the democratic front, and all must in some way be brought into effective collaboration." (1)

Browder further declared at the 10th Convention:

"The tasks of building the democratic front, and promoting its program, are found most concretely and pressingly in the mass organizations, embracing many millions of members. Each of these organizations has its own special tasks, for the more effective performance of which Communists must strive. Therefore, it is especially the work of the Communists within the mass organizations that must be re-examined and improved, politically and organizationally.

"Our Party members are to be found in the widest variety of mass organizations. In the trade unions of the A. F. of L., the C.I.O., and the Railroad Brotherhoods, they are at work; in the American League for Peace and Democracy; the Workers Alliance; the American Youth Congress; the various organizations of World War veterans; the National Negro Congress; in the farm, cultural, fraternal religious, professional, and other organizations, and in those of the national groups.

"We set as the aim of all Communists in the mass organizations to contribute more effectively to their work, to building and consolidating them and preserving their unity against all disruptive elements. We set as our aim to win the complete trust and confidence of the progressive leaders and all members of these organizations. We call upon the Communists to assume more

(1) Pamphlet - "The Democratic Front" by Earl Browder, May 28, 1938, pages 21 and 22.

"consistently their share of all the responsibilities involved in building and promoting these organizations. Upon the basis of such modest and energetic work, we expect all Communists to broaden their connections among the members, to win them to support of the program and organization of the democratic front of the majority of the people, and to win their most advanced representatives to membership in the Communist Party." (1)

There is an interesting parallel to the above in the statement by N. Brezili in his report to the 7th Congress of the Communist International, in which he declared:

"In the pacifist movement.....Our place is at the side of these masses, explaining to them what they do not yet understand well,.....This is all the more necessary because we are absolutely sure of the path that the pacifist masses will take in the future. If they establish connections with the working class and its vanguard, they may form a formidable barrier against war and the instigators of war....."

"Therefore, we must penetrate among the pacifist masses, and carry out the work of enlightenment among them, using forms of organization and action which are adapted to the level of consciousness of these masses and which give them the possibility of taking the first step in the effective struggle against war and capitalism. We must always take two things into account. The first is that the organization of the pacifist masses cannot and must not be a Communist organization; the second is that in working in this organization, Communists must never give up explaining with the greatest patience and insistence their own point of view on all the problems of the struggle against war.

"In the course of the struggle for the real interests of the proletariat and toiling masses against exploiters and oppressors, the workers and the whole mass of toilers become educated in the spirit of proletarian internationalism.

(1) Pamphlet, "The Democratic Front", by Earl Browder, page 69.

"We must by no means endeavor to destroy this organization; on the contrary, we must discover how to collaborate with this movement in the most varied forms in order to penetrate into its ranks." (1)

In 1935, immediately subsequent to the 7th Congress of the Communist International, the following statement was issued in the "Party Organizer" for September, 1935, which at that time was the organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, U.S.A.:

"The American League Against War and Fascism has grown to be a powerful mass organization, embracing hundreds of thousands of workers and professionals, organized in trade unions, in fraternal orders, in church organizations. It is the American League which must become the main instrument, the most powerful instrument for the mobilization and organization of the broadest masses under the banner of struggle against fascism, against new military slaughter, for the defense of the Soviet Union.....

"Our Party did its utmost at the beginning to build the American League.....

"The shifting of forces in the mass organizations does not help the organizations that we want to build. This is the case with the American League Against War and Fascism. Today more than ever before, the Party is conscious of the tremendous role that the American League must play in developing the struggle against fascism and war.....

"In Districts with hundreds of thousands of Party members, there is no excuse for neglect in placing forces at the disposal of the League. These forces are being requested everywhere. The example given up to date by the Communists in the American League Against War and Fascism has demonstrated to the non-Communists in this organization our sincerity in building the united front, and they are asking for more help.

"We Communists must continue to show to the masses that are streaming in under the banner of the American League Against

(1) "The Communist International", for September 20, 1935, pages 1253 and 1254.

"War and Fascism that we are the most loyal, sincere fighters against war and fascism. We must show them that we are the real driving force of the movement, and in this way, by our example, create new enthusiasm, new impetus for the masses to march forward." (1)

The 7th Congress of the Communist International resolved:

"The struggle for peace opens up before the Communist Parties the greatest opportunities for creating the broadest united front. All those interested in the preservation of peace should be drawn into this united front.....

"....It is necessary to conduct not only general propaganda for peace, but primarily propaganda directed against the chief instigators of war, against the fascist and other imperialist war parties, and against concrete measures of preparations for imperialist war.

".....The Communist Parties of all capitalist countries must fight; against military expenditures (war budgets), for the recall of military forces from the colonies and mandated territories, against militarization measures taken by capitalist governments, especially the militarization of the youth, women and the unemployed, against emergency decrees restricting bourgeois-democratic liberties with the aim of preparing for war; against restricting the rights of workers employed in war industry plants; against subsidizing the war industry and against trading in or transporting arms. The struggle against war preparation measures can be conducted only in closest connection with the defense of the economic interests and political rights of the workers, office employees, toiling peasants and urban petty bourgeoisie." (2)

Earl Browder in his report to the Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, U.S.A., on June 17-20, 1937, declared:

"More serious attention must now be turned toward the broader problem of organizing the overwhelming peace sentiment of Americans into a mass struggle for peace for an effective peace policy on the part of the U. S. Government.

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- (1) "Party Organizer", September, 1935, pages 13 and 14.
(2) "Resolution on the report of M. Ercoli, Adopted August 20, 1935, by the 7th Congress of the Communist International," "The Communist International", September 20, 1935, pages 1353 and 1354.

"The most serious effort in this direction is the American League Against War and Fascism, which has three to four million adherents. This important beginning must be supported and strengthened in every way. The American League is now planning its Fourth Congress to be held in Pittsburgh on the Thanksgiving weekend, toward the end of November. The months leading up to this Congress must witness the strengthening of the American League, the rallying of new forces to it, the enlistment of the best active worker, the revival of local League Councils, the rallying especially of the trade unions, the establishment of relations with other peace organizations, the widening of the circulation of the League's excellent magazine, The Fight, a magazine which is unique in the whole world for its quality and effectiveness - effectiveness largely due to the high quality of the work of its editor, Joseph Pass, and his ability to organize the widest cooperative efforts in its production. The American League is composed, in its active membership - some 8,000 - 9,000 of fully 90 per cent non-Communists, which is a very good thing, except that there has been a distinct falling off of the support given to the League in an organized way by the C.P. in the districts - a defect which must be changed. We demand of every state and city organization of the Party that it shall seriously discuss and act upon the problem of giving practical help and forces to the American League, especially in the coming months before its Fourth Congress." (1)

(1) Pamphlet - "The Communists in the People's Front", pages 79, 80, 81, published July, 1937.

FIRST CONGRESS AND PROGRAM

It has been pointed out heretofore that immediately following the Amsterdam Congress, the American delegates set up an American Committee for Struggle against War, which was composed of sixty members. These persons planned the First United States Congress Against War, which was held in New York City from September 29 to October 1, 1933, and was attended by more than 2,600 delegates representing numerous organizations - trade union, farmers, women's, fraternal youth, religious, Negro, veterans' political and cultural. It was at this time that the assembled delegates voted to establish the American League Against War and Fascism, which later became known as the American League for Peace and Democracy. (1)

This Congress adopted the following manifesto and program of the American League Against War and Fascism:

**"To the Working Men and Women of America
To all Victims of War:**

The black cloud of imperialist war hangs over the world. The peoples must arouse themselves and take immediate action against the wars now going on in the Far East and Latin America, against intervention in Cuba, against the increasing preparations for war, and against the growing danger of a new world war.

After ten years of futility, the World Disarmament Conference is meeting to perform once more the grim comedy of promises, to screen the actions of the imperialist governments which are preparing, more intensively than ever before in history, for a new war. The Four Power Pact is already exposed as nothing but a new maneuver for position in the coming war between the imperialist rivals, and an attempt to establish a united imperialist front against the Soviet Union. The rise of fascism in Europe and especially in Germany, and the sharpened aggressive policy of Japanese militarism, have brought all the imperialist antagonisms to the breaking point and greatly increased the danger of a war of intervention against the Soviet Union. The greatest naval race in history is now on among the United States, England and Japan. The British-American antagonism is being fought out in Latin America already by open war - the so-called local wars being in reality struggles between these imperialist powers.

(1) Leaflet - "American League Against War and Fascism - How It Developed—Its Distinctive Character—Program—Activities."

"The presence of thirty American warships in Cuban waters is itself an act of war against the Cuban revolution. The collapse of the World Economic Conference revealed only too clearly that the great powers are unable and unwilling to solve the basic international problems by peaceful means and that they will resort to a new imperialist war in an attempt to divert the attention of the masses from their misery and as the only capitalist way out of the crisis.

"N.R.A. AND WAR"

Under the guise of public works, the N.R.A. has diverted immense funds from the trumpeted plan of caring for the starving millions to the building of a vastly larger navy and to mechanization of the army. The widespread unemployment has been utilized to concentrate young men in so-called reforestation camps, which the War Department is using for trial military mobilizations. The military training of youth in the schools and colleges is being further developed. More and more, national holidays and specially prepared demonstrations are being used to glorify the armed forces and to stimulate the war spirit among the masses. Hundreds of factories are working overtime to produce munitions and basic war materials for shipment to the warring countries in South America and the Far East. A centralized war control of industry, along the lines of the War Industries Board of 1917, is being established. As in 1917, it is drawing the upper leadership of many trade unions into active collaboration in the war machine.

"SMOKE SCREENS FOR WAR"

This Congress against War warns the masses against reliance upon the League of Nations and the Kellogg Pact as effective instruments of peace. The Congress declares that this illusion becomes particularly dangerous at the present moment, especially when it is put forth as in the recent Congress of the Labor and Socialist International and the International Federation of Trade Unions as a method of combatting the war danger.

"FOR MASS RESISTANCE"

We can effectively combat war only by arousing and organizing the masses within each country for active struggle against the war policies of their own imperialist governments, whether

these governments are working individually or through the League of Nations.

The Congress declares that the basic force in the imperialist countries for struggle against the war danger is the working class, organizing around it in class alliance all of the exploited sections of the population, working farmers, intellectuals, the oppressed Negro people and all toiling masses and all organizations and groups which are generally opposed to war on any basis. The anti-war movement allies itself with the masses in the colonial and semi-colonial countries against imperialist domination, and gives full support to their immediate and unconditional independence.

"FASCISM BREEDS WAR

The war danger arises inevitably out of the very nature of monopolistic capitalism—the ownership of the means of production by a small capitalist class and the complete domination of government by this class. The imminent war danger is only another expression of the fundamental crisis of the capitalist system, which continues its existence only at the cost of intensification and oppression of the masses at home and in the colonies, and of struggle among the imperialist powers for a redivision of markets and sources of raw materials.

Only in the Soviet Union has this basic cause of war been removed. There are no classes or groups which can benefit from war or war preparations. Therefore the Soviet Union pursues a positive and vigorous peace policy and alone among the governments proposes total disarmament. Serious struggle against war involves rallying all forces around this peace policy and opposing all attempts to weaken or destroy the Soviet Union.

"THE U. S. PREPARES FOR WAR

The government of the United States in spite of peaceful professions is more aggressively than ever following policies whose only logical result is war. The whole program of the Roosevelt administration is permeated by preparedness for war, expressed in the extraordinary military and naval budget, mobilization of industry and manpower, naval concentration in the Pacific Ocean, intervention in Cuba, the continued maintenance of armed forces in China, the loans to Chiang Kai-shek,

the initiation of currency and tariff wars—all of which give the lie to the peaceful declarations of the United States government.

***PROGRAM**

The Congress pledges itself to do all in its power to effect a nation-wide agitation and organization against war preparations and war. To this end we join together in carrying out the following immediate objectives:

1. To work towards the stopping of the manufacture and transport of munitions and all other materials essential to the conduct of war, through mass demonstrations, picketing and strikes.

2. To expose everywhere the extensive preparations for war being carried on under the guise of aiding National Recovery.

3. To demand the transfer of all war funds to relief of the unemployed and the replacement of all such devices as the Civilian Conservation Corps, by a Federal system of social insurance paid for by the government and employers.

4. To oppose the policies of American imperialism in the Far East, in Latin America, especially now in Cuba, and throughout the world; to support the struggles of all colonial peoples against the imperialist policies of exploitation and armed suppression.

5. To support the peace policies of the Soviet Union, for total and universal disarmament which today with the support of masses in all countries constitute the clearest and most effective opposition to war throughout the world; to oppose all attempts to weaken the Soviet Union, whether these take the form of misrepresentation and false propaganda, diplomatic maneuvering or intervention by imperialist governments.

6. To oppose all developments leading to fascism in this country and abroad, and especially in Germany; to oppose the increasingly widespread use of the armed forces against the workers, farmers and the special terrorizing and suppression of Negroes in their attempts to maintain a decent standard of living; to oppose the growing encroachments upon the civil liberties of these groups as a growing fascistization of our so-called "democratic" government.

7. To win the armed forces to the support of this program.

8. To enlist for our program the women in industry and in the home; and to enlist the youth, especially those who, by the crisis, have been deprived of training in the industries and are therefore more susceptible to fascist and war propaganda.

9. To give effective international support to all workers and anti-war fighters against their own imperialist governments.

10. To form committees of action against war and fascism in every important center and industry, particularly in the basic war industries; to secure the support for this program of all organizations seeking to prevent war, paying special attention to labor, veteran, unemployed and farmer organizations.

By virtue of the mandate granted by the thousands of delegates from all sections of this country and groups of the population which bear the burden of imperialist war who, though they differ in political opinions, trade union affiliations, religious beliefs and the methods of carrying on the struggle against war, are bound together by their desire for peace, and on the strength of its unshakable conviction that the struggle against imperialist war is useful only to the extent to which it effectively interferes with and check-mates imperialist war plans, this Congress calls upon the working class, the ruined and exploited farmers, the oppressed Negro people, the sections of the middle class bankrupted by the crisis, the groups of intellectuals of all occupations, men, women and youth, together to organize their invincible force in disciplined battalions for the decisive struggle to defeat imperialist war." (1)

(1) The Communist, November 1933, pages 120 to 1124.

SECOND CONGRESS AND PROGRAM

The Second Congress of the American League was held in Chicago in September, 1934. It was attended by 3,332 delegates representing 1,807,210 people. With the resignation of J. B. Matthews, the office of National Chairman of the League was assumed by Dr. Harry F. Ward in March, 1934. (1)

The following program was adopted by the Second Congress:

"The League's Program

1. To work towards the stopping of the manufacture and transport of munitions and all other materials essential to the conduct of War, through mass demonstrations, picketing and strikes; To likewise withdraw the professionals from the service of the War machine and to solicit them in agitation and educational propaganda against War and every aspect of Fascism.
2. To expose everywhere the extensive preparations for War being carried on under the guise of aiding "National recovery."
3. To demand the transfer of all War funds to relief of the unemployed, the distressed farmers and those deprived of education and social services.
4. To oppose the policies of American imperialism in the Far East, in Latin America and throughout the world; to support the struggles of all colonial peoples against the imperialist policies of exploitation and armed suppression.
5. To support the peace policies of the Soviet Union and especially the proposals for total and universal disarmament, which today with the support of masses in all countries constitute the clearest and most effective opposition to War throughout the world.
6. To oppose all developments leading to Fascism in this country and abroad, especially in Germany and other countries under the Fascist dictatorships; to oppose the increasingly widespread use of the armed forces against the workers, farmers and the special terrorism and suppression of Negroes in their

(1) "American League Against War and Fascism - How it developed.... Its Distinctive Character...Program...Activities."

"attempts to maintain a decent standard of living; to mobilize aggressive defense of the civil liberties of these groups and so stop the growing Fascist trend of our so-called 'democratic' government.

7. To win the armed forces to the support of the program.

8. To enlist for our program the women in industry and in the home; and to enlist the youth, especially those who, by the crisis, have been deprived of training in the industries and are therefore more susceptible to Fascist and War propaganda.

9. To give effective international support to all workers and anti-war fighters against their own imperialist governments; and to all who suffer under and struggle against the Fascist State.

10. To form committees of action against War and Fascism in every important center and industry; particularly in the basic War industries; to secure the support for this program of all organizations seeking to prevent War; paying special attention to Labor, veteran, unemployed and farmer organizations."

(1)

(1) Fight Magazine for February, 1935, page 14.

THE THIRD CONGRESS AND PROGRAM

The Third Congress of the League was held in Cleveland, Ohio, in January, 1936. It was attended by 2,070 delegates representing 1,840 organizations composed of 3,292,624 persons. The following program was adopted by the Third Congress:

1. To work toward the stopping of the manufacture and transport of munitions in time of peace or war, and in time of war and transport of all other materials essential to the conduct of war, through mass demonstrations, picketing and strikes; and to enlist the professional classes in educational propaganda against war and for participation with workers and farmers in anti-war actions.
2. To expose at every point the extensive preparations for war being carried on by the government of the United States, (a) under the guise of 'national defense' and (b) by diversion to war preparations funds for relief projects and public works; to demand that relief funds be spent only in constructive work or for adequate relief, and that the huge additional budgets now being spent in preparation for war be transferred to the extension of health and education.
3. To resist the increasing militarization of youth in schools, CCC and OTC camps and the use of their dependence upon relief to get them into the armed forces.
4. To demand total and universal disarmament, as proposed by the Soviet Union to the League of Nations, and to support all measures that move clearly toward that goal.
5. To demand that neutrality legislation effectively cover all war supplies, loans and credits, and permit no discretion to the President; more particularly, to promote and support refusal of workers to handle all materials of war; to organize and support public condemnation of those who seek profit from the sale of war materials and war loans; to organize mass support for every effort, national or international, which in our judgment as occasion arises, is directed toward postponing, restricting, or shortening war.

6. To oppose the policies of American imperialism in Latin America, the Far East and throughout the world; to give the support of our protests and demands to all peoples who are resisting exploitation, aggression and suppression by imperialist powers; to those in all lands who struggle against the war measures and fascist policies of their own governments, and to all who suffer under the fascist state.

7. To demonstrate constantly the relationship between war and fascism; to expose and counteract fascist propaganda, both foreign and native; to prevent the formation of fascist forces in this country.

8. To oppose all developments leading to Fascism, particularly the increasingly widespread use of armed forces and vigilante terrorism against workers, unemployed, farmers, Negroes, and other racial minorities, who are exercising their constitutional rights to protest against unbearable conditions and to organize for their own advancement.

9. To resist the attempts of our American fascists to destroy—by legislation, executive order, judicial decree, or lawless action—our guaranteed civil rights of free speech, free press, free assembly, the right to organize, picket and demonstrate; and further to resist all forms of discrimination against foreign born based on their political or labor activities.

10. To oppose all legislation or orders denying citizens in the armed forces their constitutional right to receive printed matter or personal appeals in behalf of this or any other program, designed to secure peace, freedom and justice; and to defend their right to join organizations on the same basis as other citizens." (1)

(1) American League Against War and Fascism

FOURTH CONGRESS AND PROGRAM

The Fourth Congress of the American League was held in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, on November 26, 27, and 28, 1937. This Congress was attended by 1,416 delegates who represented 4,825,920 people.

The program adopted by the Congress is as follows:

- (1) Organize emergency citizens' committees for labor's rights wherever these rights are attacked either by employers or by public officials.
- (2) Defeat legislative attempts to compel incorporation of unions and to control or inspect union finances by governmental or other outside agencies.
- (3) Press for an anti-lynching law; and measures to guarantee full rights for the Negro people and the foreign born.
- (4) Oppose vigorously the propaganda of race prejudice and discrimination.
- (5) Defeat the War Department plan to conscript labor and industry and to regiment press and radio.
- (6) Support the nationalization of the manufacture of arms, ammunition and implements of war, forbidding export except when ordered by Congress in cases of countries invaded by an aggressor.
- (7) Promote the people's boycott of Japanese goods.
- (8) Seek to remove and prevent restrictions on the access of the governments of China and Spain to our markets, applying regulations to purchases and shipments designed to remove the risk of our becoming involved in war.
- (9) Demand a foreign policy based on:
The distinction between the aggressors and their victims.
The necessity of denying our economic resources to the war-making, treaty-breaking aggressors and opening them up to their victims and conditions designed to remove the risk of our being drawn into war.
The necessity of concerted action to quarantine aggressors. (1)

(1) Pamphlet, "Why and How to Boycott Goods Made in Japan", issued by the American League, February, 1938, page 19.

At the time of this convention, the name of this organization was officially changed from The American League Against War and Fascism to the American League For Peace and Democracy. (1)

(1) Fight Magazine for January, 1938, page 6.

FIFTH CONGRESS AND PROGRAM

The Fifth Congress of the League was held in Washington, D. C., on January 6-8, 1939. It was attended by 1,255 official delegates representing 7,000,000 persons. (1)

The program adopted at this convention is as follows:

*Initial Program for 1939

For Peace

1. Lift the embargo on the Spanish government.
2. Place an embargo on all war supplies, loans and credits to Germany, Japan and Italy.
3. Support all moves to aid the suffering war-torn peoples of Spain, China and any other nations invaded by Fascists.
4. Promote the People's Boycott of Japanese, Nazi and Italian goods.
5. Replace the so-called "Neutrality" Act with legislation which will immediately end all trade and financial transactions with a nation which invades another or otherwise attacks it with military force.
6. Support a Good Neighbor Policy for this hemisphere which provides for cooperation between the democratic forces of all its nations and which excludes all interferences with the rights of these nations to govern themselves.

For Democracy

1. Demand the abolition of the poll tax as a requisite for voting and oppose all restrictions on the right to the franchise.
2. Defend the Wagner Act against all attempts to weaken it by amendment or to cripple its administration; and extend its principles to state labor acts.
3. Support the demand of the unemployed for government provision of socially useful work, under decent standards, and the demand of the aged and all needy persons for genuine social security.
4. Oppose vigorously all anti-Semitic propaganda and acts; defend unrestricted religious liberty, and oppose racial discrimination.
5. Demand equality of political, economic and social opportunity for the Negro people, and specifically the enfranchisement of all Negroes and the passage of an anti-lynching law.

(1) Fight Magazine for February, 1939, page 27.

*6. Defeat the War Department plan to conscript labor and industry and to regiment press and radio, and demand democratic control of the military branches of government.

7. Urge American leadership in international arrangements for refugees from Fascist persecution, opening our doors to as many as can be provided for.* (1)

(1) Fight Magazine for February, 1939, page 11.

ORGANIZATION AND STRUCTURE OF THE LEAGUE

The American League is composed of national and local organizations and individual members. The basis of representation and the structure of the various bodies of the League are set forth in the Constitution.

Individual members of the League are organized in Branches which meet once or twice a month and carry on community or neighborhood programs of education and activity on the current issues and campaigns involving democracy and peace. In cities where more than one Branch exists, a City Council is formed, consisting of representatives from the Branches and from local affiliated organizations. This Council directs the League activities and campaigns for the whole community.

Local organizations affiliating to the League are entitled to two representatives on the City Council. These representatives are responsible for carrying activities for peace and democracy into their organizations. Frequently a special Peace Committee is organized in the affiliated organization for the specific purpose of leading and stimulating anti-war and anti-Fascist activity on the part of the entire membership. Many locals or branches of National Affiliates of the League play a vital part in community activities for the protection of democracy and the achievement of peace. In addition many central and local labor bodies, fraternal, social and farm organizations are affiliated to the League." (1)

(1) Pamphlet - "People's Program for Peace and Democracy," April, 1938, page 16.

FINANCES

"The American League secures its financial support from the membership fees, affiliates' dues, contributions from individuals and organizations and assessments upon its Branch and City Councils. During 1937 the operating expenses of the national organization were \$23,229.57." (1)

Article VII of the Constitution of the League provides as follows:

"Dues of national organizations affiliated to the League shall range from \$10 to \$100 annually. National organizations having more than 100,000 members shall pay the maximum of \$100. National organizations of between 50,000 and 100,000 members shall pay \$75. Those having between 10,000 and 50,000 members shall pay \$50. Those having between 5,000 and 10,000 members shall pay \$25. And all organizations having 5,000 members or less shall pay the minimum of \$10 annually. The basic individual membership fee shall be \$.50 a year except for the unemployed." (2)

J. B. Matthews, in his "Odyssey of a Fellow Traveler", states, "How was the American League Financed?"

"The procedure was four-fold. First there was the nickel -, dime- and quarter-drive upon the masses and the innocents. Next came the money-raising banquets for the upper middle-class with Henri Barbusse, John Strachey, or Tom Mann as speaker. When these were insufficient, money was borrowed on notes signed by Corliss Lamont, and finally, in a pinch, we got Browder on the telephone and had him send over cash from the Party chest, which, I was told, was regularly stocked from Moscow." (3)

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- (1) "People's Program for Peace and Democracy", April, 1938, page 17.
 - (2) Ibid., page 22.
 - (3) "Odyssey of a Fellow Traveler", by J. B. Matthews, page 176.

CONSTITUTION

The Constitution of the American League is as follows:

Article I

The name of this organization shall be The American League for Peace and Democracy.

Article II

The League shall be composed of all organizations, interested in thorough going measures to preserve democracy and to secure peace; and of state or regional divisions made up of individual members interested in the same ends. Whenever a number of political parties signify willingness to affiliate, they shall be eligible.

Article III

The ultimate authority of the League shall reside in a National Congress to be held at least every two years or at the call of two-thirds of the National Committee. In the interim between Congresses the authority shall rest in the National Committee. At the Congress the policies of the League shall be determined and modified. They shall be expressed in as few points as feasible and embodied in a brief but inclusive statement transmitted to all members of the League as its basis and official point of view, for the succeeding biennium.

Article IV

(1) The National Committee of the League shall be composed of representatives of the national organizations and of state and regional divisions making up the membership of the League. National organizations shall be entitled to representation as follows: Organizations of 10,000 or under are entitled to one representative; those with a membership of from 10,000 to 50,000 shall be entitled to two representatives; those with a membership of 50,000 to 100,000 shall be entitled to three representatives; those with a membership over 100,000 shall be entitled to four representatives. Each respective national organization will nominate its representative, and election to the National Committee shall be made by the Congress. In the case of a national organization applying for membership in the League more than six

months previous to a meeting of the Congress, the National organization may nominate its representative or representatives, and the national committee may approve, bringing the representative into full membership privileges. Such approval by the National Committee shall be satisfied by vote of the Congress at its next succeeding meeting.

(2) Where a national organization is not affiliated but has a substantial number of its local organizations represented at the Congress, the representatives of these local groups are to nominate their representatives to the National Committee. If their national organization affiliates subsequently, then the National organization shall nominate its representative or representatives as provided for above.

(3) A local or regional organization of importance whose national organization is not affiliated or a local or regional organization which is independent may have a representative on the National Committee.

(4) The nominating committee has power to nominate members at large for the National Committee; not to exceed in number 25% of the entire committee. In addition to the above plan for representation to the National Committee, wherever individual members constitute a state or regional division of the League, these divisions shall be entitled to one representative each. These members of the National Committee are to be nominated by state or regional conferences and elected by the Congress.

(5) The Executive Board shall proceed to organize state divisions of the League. During the period in which state divisions are being formed, individual members shall participate in the League's work through regional divisions covering more than one state or parts of states. These regional divisions shall be abolished as state divisions are formed to take their places.

(6) A state or region-wide conference of local, state or regional affiliated organizations or individual membership branches shall elect a committee which shall constitute a state or regional organization.

(7) In addition to local affiliated organizations, there shall be branches made up of individual members. Local affiliates and representatives of membership Branches shall constitute a local organization of the League.

(8) The National Committee shall meet at least twice a year at times and places to be determined by the Executive Board. The new National Committee elected as outlined in this constitution shall come into being when the Executive Board finds that a sufficient number of representatives to it have been named by the organizations making up the League membership. It then shall call together the permanent National Committee.

Article V

(1) The administration of the League shall be in the hands of an Executive Board of 18 members. The National Committee shall elect the members of the Executive Board from among its own members. In order to secure continuity of policy, of interest of present members, and of organizational effectiveness, six of the present members of the Bureau of the American League Against War and Fascism shall be made members of the Executive Board of the American League for Peace and Democracy and at succeeding elections 6 members of the current Executive Board shall be continued in office for the succeeding biennium. The membership of the Board shall include at least one person prominent in the work of groups such as the following: Trade Unions, Farmer Organizations, religious organizations, Negro groups, fraternal organizations, peace societies, youth and women's organizations, educational and cultural groups, and a person representing a regional or state division of the League membership.

(2) Full power to carry out the policies and program determined upon by the Congress or National Committee shall be vested in the Executive Board. To that end the Executive Board shall employ a staff, raise money, and supervise its expenditures, publish a magazine, print literature, create committees, and hold such meetings as it may find are needed.

Article VI

The officers of the League shall consist of a Chairman, Six Vice-Chairmen, and a Treasurer, elected by the Congress. These elected officers are to be ex-officio members of the National Committee. A slate of candidates shall be presented to the Congress by a nominating committee proposed by the National Committee and ratified at an early session by the Congress. Additional nominations may be made from the floor at the time of the election. The Executive Secretary, if not elected a member of the Executive Board, shall have a voice in its deliberations but no vote.

Article VII

Dues of national organizations affiliated to the League shall range from \$10 to \$100 annually. National organizations having more than 100,000 members shall pay the maximum of \$100. National organizations of between 50,000 and 100,000 members shall pay \$75. Those having between 10,000 and 50,000 members shall pay \$50. Those having between 5,000 and 10,000 members shall pay \$25. And all organizations having 5,000 members or less shall pay the minimum of \$10 annually. The basic individual membership fee shall be \$.50 a year except for the unemployed.

Article VIII

The constitution can be changed by a majority vote of the Congress. Proposed changes shall be submitted to the meeting of the National Committee just preceding the Congress. Proposed changes can be submitted by any member organization or division of the League or by the Executive Board." (1)

(1) Pamphlet - "People's Program for Peace and Democracy," April, 1938, pages 20, 21 and 22.

KRM:CJ

65-2389-16

April 4, 1939

RECORDED

[Redacted]

Office of Arms and Munitions Control
Department of State
Washington, D. C.

C#251,166
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-30-79 BY SP-1 [Signature]

Dear [Redacted]

I am transmitting herewith one copy of a memo-
randum of facts concerning the American League for Peace and
Democracy prepared by this Bureau and dated April 4, 1939,
pertaining to a possible violation of the Act approved June 8,
1938, requiring the registration with the Secretary of State
of agents of foreign principals.

4-23-85 9145 ci/ev
8-1-85 SP4clw/cm
#254436

I have likewise submitted a copy of this memo-
randum to Mr. Brian McMahon, Assistant Attorney General, U. S.
Department of Justice, with the advice that appropriate in-
vestigation is being undertaken by the Bureau's field offices
interested in this matter.

b7C
b6

When reports are received copies thereof will
be transmitted to you and to Mr. Brian McMahon.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Enclosure

- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. E. A. Tamm
- Mr. Clegg
- Mr. Coffey
- Mr. Glavin
- Mr. Ladd
- Mr. Nichols
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Tracy
- Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
APR 5 1939

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
APR 5 1939

April 4, 1938

RE: AMERICAN LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY

ACT OF JUNE 8, 1938

84000

On June 8, 1938, there was approved an Act entitled: "AN ACT To require the registration of certain persons employed by agencies to disseminate propaganda in the United States....." (Public No. 583- 75th Congress, Third Session).

Section 1 (c) provides:

"The term 'foreign principal' means the government of a foreign country, a political party of a foreign country, a person domiciled abroad, or any foreign business partnership, association, corporation, or political organization."

Section 1 (d) provides:

"The term 'agent of a foreign principal' means any person who acts or engages or agrees to act as a public-relations counsel, publicity agent, or as agent, servant, representative, or attorney for a foreign principal or for any domestic organization subsidized directly or indirectly in whole or in part by a foreign principal."

Section 2 of the Act provides:

"Every person who is now an agent of a foreign principal shall, within thirty days after this Act takes effect, and every person who shall hereafter become an agent of a foreign principal shall forthwith file with the Secretary a registration statement, under oath, or a form prescribed by the Secretary which shall set forth" - et cetera.

Section 3 of the Act provides:

"Any person who wilfully fails to file any statement required to be filed under this Act, or in complying with the

CH 254,166 254436
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DATE 4/22/85 BY 9145 CJE/EN
8-7-85 SP4 EHW/GLM

provisions of this Act, makes a false statement of a material fact, or wilfully omits to state any material fact required to be stated therein shall, on conviction thereof, be punished by a fine of not more than one thousand dollars or imprisonment for not more than two years, or both."

Section 7 of the Act provides:

"This Act shall take effect on the nineteenth day after the date of its enactment."

8490

RM:GJ

April 4, 1939

61-7589-16

PROCEEDED

MEMORANDUM FOR ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL McMAHON.

Reference is made to the letter of Acting Secretary of State, Honorable Sumner Welles, dated March 13, 1939, directed to the Attorney General, concerning the investigation of certain organizations on the basis of a possible violation of the act of June 8, 1938, requiring the registration with the Secretary of State of agents of foreign principals.

There is attached hereto one copy of a memorandum of facts concerning the American League for Peace and Democracy, dated April 4, 1939, which has been prepared by the Bureau.

Please be advised that further investigation is being undertaken by the appropriate field offices and copies of the reports submitted thereon will be furnished to you and to the State Department.

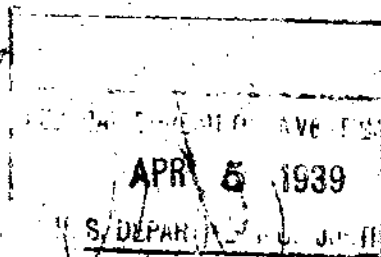
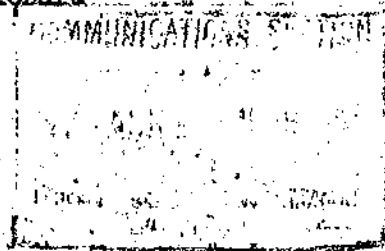
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A copy of this memorandum has likewise been transmitted to [redacted] Office of Arms and Munitions Control, Department of State, Washington, D. C., with advice that a copy thereof has been transmitted to you and that further investigation is going forward.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Enclosure



#2
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-20-79 BY SP-1 H.H.H./kly

9-23-85
P-1-11
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SP-1 H.H.H./kly

- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. Nathan
- Mr. E. A. Tamm
- Mr. Clegg
- Mr. Coffey
- Mr. Crowl
- Mr. Egan
- Mr. Foxworth
- Mr. Glavin
- Mr. Harbo
- Mr. Lester
- Mr. McIntire
- Mr. Nichols
- Mr. Quinn Tamm
- Mr. Tracy
- Miss Gandy

KRM:GJ

61-7589

April 13, 1939

Special Agent in Charge
New York, New York

84578

RE: AMERICAN LEAGUE FOR
PEACE AND DEMOCRACY

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-30-79 BY [signature]

Dear Sir:

In connection with my letter to you of April 4, 1939, I am transmitting herewith photostatic copies of an article entitled "Red Pacifism" by Herbert Wilton Stanley, which appeared in the American Mercury for August, 1936.

You will note that Mr. Stanley writes at considerable length concerning the American League and appears to have a quantity of data with reference thereto. You will note that Mr. Stanley refers to the issues of the Daily Worker for September and October, 1933, which are said to contain considerable information concerning the League. It is desired that a review of these issues be made at the New York City Public Library and all pertinent information be obtained and submitted to the Bureau in conjunction with its investigation.

It is, therefore, requested that during the course of this investigation Mr. Stanley be located and interviewed for full information upon the American League and specifically with reference to a possible violation on the part of the League of the Act of June 8, 1938, requiring the registration with the Secretary of State of Agents of Foreign Principals.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Enclosure

1 End [signature]

61-7589-17
APR 14
KRM

SEARCHED
SERIALIZED
INDEXED
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-30-79 BY SP-1 [signature]

61-7584-17

RED PACIFISM

BY HERBERT WILTON STANLEY

ONE of the most singular spectacles in current American affairs is the emergence of the war-loving communist clique as a purposeful and directing force in the pacifist movement for world peace. Here is a note of incongruity, a touch of sublime inconsistency, as though a member of the House of Morgan were discovered serving as chief equerry to Joseph Stalin. But the Comrades are not ones to quibble over inconsistencies and paradoxes; what counts with them is results. Hence, while thousands of sincere American citizens labor diligently for the genuine pacifist cause, the militant communists labor diligently beside them — but toward an entirely different goal. This is, simply, the exploitation of the world peace movement as another recruiting agency for international communism.

To the informed observer there is, of course, a comic quality in the situation: for the quintessence of incongruity is surely displayed in a campaign which finds the disciples of world revolt, bloodshed, and violence whooping up the slogan of No More Wars. But their antics do not end here, for we are further edified by the sight of the most cynical advocates of atheism employing the Christian pulpits of America as sounding boards for the Social Revolution. By an artful commingling of hokum and sentimental appeal, the communists have hornswoggled their traditional enemies, the conservative pacifists, and have transformed the honored cause

of peace into an instrument of Soviet propaganda. The irony of the situation is that many simple-hearted American peace-lovers are not yet aware of their betrayal.

It is no exaggeration to say that the most articulate and vehement leadership today in the American peace crusade is exercised by men and women who are avowed sympathizers with the Kremlin's ideology. Among them are to be found all the old familiar party hacks, each possessing an open record of activity in the official communist and Socialist campaigns in the United States. In addition to these veteran messiahs, there are thousands of peace-workers and fascist-baiters who have never crossed the dividing line between a parlor championship of Russia and a violent advocacy of Moscow ideals, but who are waiting at the boundary, ready to leap when the hour comes. These groups merge, however, in their consistent willingness to subordinate American foreign policy to the international strategy of Russia; their United Front for Peace is an echo of the realistic diplomatic maneuverings displayed by Maxim Litvinoff at Geneva.

It is the momentary pose of Tovarish Litvinoff to be an ardent defender of the League of Nations and of the European democratic nations. Actually, his objective is not the preservation of democracy at all, but the manipulation of democratic France and Great Britain to the subtle ends of Russian foreign policy. Taking advantage of the divisions among the so-called capi-

newspapers in Canada and the United States, and is at present a member of the staff of the LONDON Sunday Chronicle. . . HERBERT WILTON STANLEY (*Red Pacifism*) is a former member of the Socialist Party, and an authority on the radical movement in America. . . JOHN W. THOMASON, JR. (*Six Novels*), a major in the United States Marine Corps, is well-known as a writer and illustrator. His reviews will appear

INDEXED
NOT RECORDED

the W.I.L. is an affiliate of the former and its delegates attend the annual "Congress Against War." The executive directorate of the two organizations is autonomous, with the League unquestionably the more extreme of the two movements.

During the last two years, the League Against War and Fascism has come forward rapidly as the most advertised of the current peace groups. By ballyhoo, by shrewdly-staged publicity stunts, and by lugubrious pretenses of anti-war sentiment, it has succeeded in drawing to itself much of the general public interest formerly attached to the milder pacifist bodies. The most amazing feature of its advance has been the fact that prominent non-radicals in public life have been willing to aid it as a genuine peace movement, despite its undeniable communist control.

A case in point was the annual Congress staged by the League in Cleveland last January. By clever manipulation, the officers were able not only to persuade Harold H. Burton, the Republican Mayor of Cleveland, to attend the Congress and to deliver an official address of welcome, but they also succeeded in securing the use of the city-owned Public Auditorium for their meetings, the display of advertisements of the Congress in the city-owned streetcars, and traffic arrows pointing to the Auditorium in the streets. Bishop Edgar F. Blake of the Methodist Church, Rabbi Barnett R. Brickner, and Maj. Gen. Smedley D. Butler gave respectability to the sessions by addressing the delegates. But it was at this same Congress that Dr. Harry F. Ward, the national chairman of the League, gave away the whole game by declaring in his opening speech:

A good many times our constituent forces and those who come to our meetings ask us this: Is the American League Against War and Fascism anti-capitalistic? Of

course it is. How, otherwise, could it stop war? We try to show people in our propaganda that today the economic causes of war are rooted in capitalistic economics.

At another meeting of the League, held recently in Chicago, a newspaper correspondent described the scene as follows:

Hanging out from the balcony railing, on poles, were many red banners with the insignia of various units of the Communist Party, Young Communist League, Communist International Workers' Order, etc. . . . There was also a small orchestra which played the Communist *Internationale* when, late in the program, the general secretary of the Communist Party, Earl Browder, was announced, and the mob stood up, broke into cheering, whistling, catcalling, and stamping, waved red flags, and with fervor and clenched fists, sang the *Internationale*. . . . Roger Baldwin of the American Civil Liberties Union was the chairman. He announced proudly that, in addition to organizations of the "parties of the Left", the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom was part of the congress. He said that some organizations had objected to co-operating with the communists in this congress, but that it was impossible to have any worthwhile movement without communists.

The success of the Comrades in thrusting this organizational wedge into the American peace movement may be ascribed, principally, to their unceasing exploitation of the "fascist" issue. The coupling of fascism and war in the title of this new League in 1933 was a master publicity stroke. It coincided with the tumultuous reaction against Adolf Hitler among radical and liberal groups at the time. It disarmed those who otherwise would have attacked the League, because it gave the controlling communist group a pretext for accusing all their critics of being actuated by fascist sympathies. By continuous reiteration of this bogus issue, the accused were able to become the accusers.

brave enough to () a bet either way. Nobody dares hazard a guess as to what will happen next. The Constitution, the Supreme Court, the rights of minorities are derided and assailed; we are surrounded by spies, and tax devisors and collectors, and bureaucrats who want to run our business and our everyday lives. In the words of Dwight Morrow, our best citizens have come to regard their government as "an alien and hostile power". We believe that votes can be bought—are being bought—with our money, and that there are enough of these voters to do as they will with us. We have no faith in our leaders, nor in Congress, nor in most of our courts. We believe that any organized group can grab as much as it wishes out of the Treasury. We would not take our nation's word, or its bond, or its word on its bond, nor will any nation take any other nation's word. Repudiation of debts and contracts is commonplace. Everybody suspects and hates almost everybody else. Class is arrayed against class, section against section, and labor against capital. Everywhere is confusion, alarm, and uncertainty. We grow slack because there seems no virtue in, or reward for, our best efforts. We spend profligately lest it be taken from us. No man has worked so well, or so long, or so hard that he can be sure of bread earned by the sweat of his brow for his old age, or of a competence for his widow and children. . . . If these are the results of three years' muddling to reconstruct the house that tumbled about our ears, isn't it time to remember that houses are reconstructed by architects, not mobs?

The customary phrases with which this view is met are "Tory", "Bourbon", and "Reactionary." Dissenters nowadays are warned not to stick out their chins—but America was not made, nor can it be

saved, by men with () ding chins. Neither can it be saved by apt phrases, sentimentality, and settlement-workers in office. The moment has come for facing facts squarely, and meeting them with a more dependable humanitarianism. Personally, I am willing to become a Bolshevik, a Socialist, an Inflationist, or a Townsendite if I can be persuaded that any of these panaceas can be made to operate to the advantage of mankind. But I can discover no instance where they have operated to the advantage of anyone but their chief protagonists. Famines never empty the stomachs of the Stalins. Printing-press money enriched speculators and politicians in France, Germany, and Austria, ruined the middle class, and left labor wondering how to get the hundreds of francs or millions of marks and kronen needed to buy dinner. Few Tories have occupied a grander suite than that in which Brother Jim Farley recently sailed to Bermuda, and it was not the Bourbons who sent a Jersey pants-presser to jail for charging a nickel less than they thought he should charge.

My deepest conviction is that, as Machiavelli said rather more lengthily, no one can be given more than he can achieve. The happiest land and the highest civilization is that in which every capitalist is an unhampered laborer, and every laborer a potential capitalist. You can't legislate people into the millennium; Utopia is approached by degrees, not decrees—by the slow, toilsome improvement of the race. There never has been nor ever will be a Utopia of and for ignorance, weakness, shiftlessness, and thriftlessness. "Every man a king" is a good trick if you can do it. God couldn't, or didn't. It might be better to inculcate in mankind the aspiration to be royal, and leave the world in the hands of those who can make the grade.

turned 93
 Hay, Sara Henderson: Portrait of a Certain Lady 179,
 Hellman, George S.: R. L. S. and the Street-walker 342
 Holmes, John: Stranger's Question 106

talist powers, Litvinoff is striving to safeguard a militaristic Russia against future German or Japanese attack by driving a wedge—fomenting a war even—between the democratic and fascist nations. By a cynical exploitation of "peace", a grand alliance is being attempted, through the League, between Russia and France for the purpose of crushing anti-communist nations. Thus it is hoped to realize the injunction of Lenin, that "we must build communism with non-communist hands".

As for the actual purposes of the Soviet Government in entering the League, they were disclosed by Bela Kun, member of the Communist International, in the *Daily Worker* of September 14, 1934. He said:

The Soviet Union does not pursue a League of Nations policy any more than revolutionary workers, when they conclude a collective agreement, are pursuing a policy of class collaboration. The Soviet Union when it enters this League will pursue a Soviet policy just as revolutionary workers in an enterprise where they are working on the basis of a collective agreement pursue a policy of class struggle.

Hence, what pacifism signifies to the American communist is simply a "party line" to strengthen the Kremlin's foreign policies. As such, it becomes another strand in the cable of party lines which now reaches into the most obscure places. The technique in all cases is identical. The Comrades, comprehending that communism cannot succeed without world-wide organization, and realizing further that the Red label attached to any socio-economic enterprise is tantamount to failure, are ceaselessly searching for some cohesive structure which can be utilized to their own ends without displaying the provocative label. The pacifist organizations in America happen to be eminently fitted to their needs, for they bear in most cases the imprimatur of honest and altruistic

citizens, as well as the better-known church sects. These organizations are rarely attacked by public or press; indeed, they enjoy the moral support of millions of decent persons. Thus they are vulnerable to the Marxist brethren, who find it easy to manipulate them toward collectivist ends.

It is therefore both timely and enlightening to study the whole sweep of the current American peace movement, in order to appraise the extent to which communist and socialist forces are in control. Such a survey will answer the question, now disturbing many minds, whether money being poured so lavishly into a score of pacifist activities is being employed to subsidize avowed enemies of the American form of government.

II

Viewed in the aggregate, American pacifism reveals itself as a loose amalgam of three distinguishable groups, which may be classified as the Left, the Center, and the Right. Of course, no hard and fast lines may be accurately drawn. For instance, the Left and the Right merge with the Center on many important issues, and individual pacifist groups and personalities appear and reappear in changing combinations with singular rapidity. But it is precisely because of this confused character of the pacifist movement that the Marxists and their fascist-baiting friends have found its leadership so vulnerable to persuasion and manipulation.

The two outstanding groups of the pacifist Left are the American League Against War and Fascism and that martial, crusading, distaff organization, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. Strictly speaking, the two movements cannot be regarded as separate, for

An illustration of the manner in which the League holds its fascist-baiting as a club over the heads of public officials was the recent Harvey incident in Queens Borough, New York City. The League sought the use of Borough Hall for a propaganda session. President Harvey, advised that the meeting would be a communist rally under the cloak of an anti-war crusade, rejected the request. Events then moved rapidly. A storm of protest descended upon him from numerous radical and racial groups, accusing him of suppression of free speech. Finally a delegation, hand-picked so as to include no known communists, visited him in the name of the League and served notice that in refusing the use of Borough Hall he was giving comfort to "Fascists and Nazis". They swore solemnly that the League was not a communist organization. At the head of the delegation was James Waterman Wise, son of the most influential church opponent of Nazi-ism in America. The protest placed the Borough President in a dangerous political position, where persistence in his course would have given his enemies a chance to accuse him of Nazi sympathies. In the end he capitulated before this form of communist blackmail and granted Borough Hall to the League.

Of course, it is the firmly-maintained pose of the League that it is not a communist organization. It affects an injured air of astonishment whenever its critics are so rude as to identify it with the Third International. Nevertheless, a brief digression into recent communist history will establish the fact that this much-publicized League is nothing other than what the Socialists have characterized as an "innocents" organization, launched by agents of the communist movement for the purpose of diverting current pacifist sentiment into collectivist political channels.

In 1924, the Fifth Congress of the Communist International at Moscow adopted the new policy of the United Front for all official communist parties throughout the world, including the United States. Briefly, this policy required that communists abandon their former sectarian attitude of total opposition to all other non-communist radical groups, and enter into United Front alliances with Socialists and Left-wing liberals to agitate specific issues.

Two objectives have been accomplished by this strategy. First, a vast public has been brought into the orbit of communist influence by such Red championship of specific causes, a public which the Comrades hope eventually will be shepherded into the actual communist movement. Second, by disguising themselves as champions of civil liberties, or Negro rights, or immigrant welfare, or world peace, communist agitators have won an immunity from attack which they would not enjoy in open roles. Thus, whenever a Hearst or a Chaillaux attacks a communist who at the moment may be doubling in brass as a functionary of the American League Against War and Fascism, the indignant Comrade can shriek "Red-baiter" and appeal to a liberty-loving public to rally to his defense in this "un-American" persecution of a foe of "fascism". It is, indeed, an extremely convenient device for turning defendant into prosecutor before the bar of muddled public thinking.

The issue of pacifism offered a particularly attractive opportunity for such United Front interpenetration. The grotesqueness of communist zeal for peace in view of the bristling militarism of Soviet Russia did not occur to the humorless Marxian mind. Moreover, the achievement of pacifist aims in America coincided directly with revolutionary purposes. It had long been a tenet of the Marxians that dis-

armament of the bourgeoisie is an antecedent step to successful proletarian revolution. Accordingly, by working with the religious and liberal pacifist elements for the reduction of armaments and the crippling of the American munitions industry, communists would be weakening the defenses of a system which it was their purpose eventually to attack.

The first step taken by the Comrades to enter the pacifist field on an organized scale was the holding of the World Congress Against War in Amsterdam, Holland, on August 27, 1932. The overt communist character of this gathering resulted in its being barred from four countries, Switzerland, Great Britain, France, and Belgium, before it was finally permitted to assemble in Amsterdam.

The American delegates to the Congress returned home to establish a similar permanent organization in the United States. There was, however, considerable acrimonious discussion of the project within the communist family at the time. A representative of the Comintern, Comrade Yurevich, was sent to the United States from Moscow to confer with American communists regarding the launching of the Red peace movement. Earl Browder, secretary of the American Communist Party, at first objected to the Comintern's plans. A sharp rejoinder came from Moscow and Comrade Browder quickly saw the error of his ways. He proceeded to mobilize the full energies of the party behind the campaign for the new peace organization. A United States Congress Against War and Fascism was called in New York for September 29, 1933.

A perusal of the files of the *Daily Worker*, the official American communist organ, for September and October, 1933, will leave no doubt concerning the now-disputed parentage of the convention

which launched the American League Against War and Fascism. An official statement by Browder was published on September 15 defining the communist objectives of the meeting. The guest of honor at the Congress was Henri Barbusse, French author and pacifist, who had been the guiding spirit of the World Congress at Amsterdam. "Yes, I'm a communist, and proud of it," Barbusse declared upon his arrival from Europe.

When the delegates assembled, after listening to addresses by Barbusse, Browder, James Ford, Robert Minor, Israel Amter, and Robert Morss Lovett, from a lengthy panel of well-known communist orators, the Congress unanimously passed a resolution declaring an "unyielding struggle against War, Fascism, and for Defense of the Soviet Union". Out of this assemblage was born the American League Against War and Fascism which is now being officially welcomed by conservative mayors, addressed by such men as General Butler and Bishop Blake, and given the cooperation of an incalculable number of befuddled but fundamentally patriotic American pacifists.

Perhaps the best demonstration of the indubitable communist character of the League is seen in the fact that the Socialist Party, after electing a sub-committee to represent it at the New York Congress, withdrew these delegates following the discovery that the movement was merely an "innocents" organization of the communists. In the *New Leader* of August 12, 1933, an official statement of the Socialist Party declared that "the communists have betrayed the United States Congress Against War by attempting to make it a tool to be used against the Socialists". When J. B. Matthews, then a member of the Socialist Party, attended the New York meeting and was elected chairman of the

newly-formed League, the party forced him to resign the chairmanship under penalty of expulsion. Even after the "Militants" captured the Socialist Party at the Detroit convention in 1934, with a presumably friendly attitude toward a United Front with the Comrades, the party continued to persist in its refusal to be drawn into such an alliance with communism as affiliation with the League would infer. And yet, in the face of such evidence, the League continues to protest shrilly that it is non-communist, and that those who attack it are actuated by fascist sympathies.

An examination of the literature of the League demonstrates that peace is not the primary objective of its efforts. "The points of continuous emphasis at present," a pamphlet declares, "are (1) activity toward the stopping of the Italo-Ethiopian war, and the prevention of conflict in the Far East, and (2) opposition to growing American fascism as expressed by the use of troops, the American Legion, 'Law and Order' committees, and vigilantes in strikes and labor conflicts. . . . Opposition to the war-mongering of government officials, military officers, and others is a part of our activity. The League has been aggressive in its attacks on William Randolph Hearst, opposing his papers and newsreels, his war propaganda and Red-baiting, and his drive against the rights of organized workers."

Of course, such a program bluntly reveals the disingenuousness of the pretense of pacifism. None of the above activities has any legitimate place in a genuine peace movement. It should be obvious, even to the most gullible, that American activity against Italy and Japan would lead the United States not to peace, but to inevitable participation in war. But both programs would strengthen Soviet Russia, whose interests demand the curbing of the

fascist nations in Europe and the inveigling of the United States into the expected future war in Manchuria. Of course, such manipulation of American public opinion, in the interests of Russia, is the actual purpose of the League under the cant of pacifist phrases.

Moreover, it is highly difficult to reconcile the campaign of the League against Mr. Hearst with any other but communist objectives. Whatever opinion one may hold of Hearst journalism, there can be little question that during the last eighteen months he has rendered yeoman service in exposing the propaganda maneuvers of the communist movement. It is for this that the League is penalizing him, and not for any mythical "fascist" designs. Since the Hearst press commenced its campaign against communism, a widespread movement has been initiated by the League to inflame racial groups to boycott Hearst papers by appealing to anti-Nazi emotions. In New York, groups of League members have been organized to go from theater to theater, protesting the Hearst newsreels with the object of frightening theater owners into cancelling contracts. The League has actually attempted to set itself up as a censor of the motion pictures to be displayed to American audiences. Any current film which includes strike or labor scenes which may be regarded in any way as unfavorable to the revolutionary movement, or any picture which shows Soviet Russia in an unkind light, is greeted by pickets sent out by the League.

What all this activity has to do with peace is beyond ordinary comprehension. It bears out, however, the fact that the League has little interest in the pacifist cause, apart from the Moscow peace programs which Comrade Litvinoff projects from time to time, and that its primary and unwearying concern is the prosecution

of class war in America. The actual role of the League, in brief, is to serve as a communist spearhead in all controversial situations wherein it is advisable to act in the name of an organization not directly vulnerable to the revolutionary stigma.

III

While the League Against War and Fascism can be pigeonholed as an unquestionably communist subsidiary, it is not so easy to characterize that other conspicuous Leftist group, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. Admittedly its ranks are filled with enthusiasts whose interest in the class war is as keen as their interest in peace. But unlike the A.L.A.W.F., it is not one of the Moscow-inspired "innocents" organizations. Its zeal for peace is genuine, however enmeshed it may be with extraneous political considerations.

The W.I.L. operates primarily as a high-powered pressure movement in Washington. Its lobby is one of the most resourceful and meddlesome on Capitol Hill in all measures relating to national defense, neutrality, or the League of Nations. It has, in Miss Dorothy Detzer, its executive secretary, an extremely capable legislative worker. Miss Detzer has always been classified with the Left-wingers, and she was one of the delegates to the communist-sponsored World Congress Against War in Amsterdam, as well as to the first Congress Against War and Fascism in New York. She is generally credited with the authorship of Senator Nye's resolution which resulted in the Senate Munitions Investigation. She worked closely with Nye and the Socialist, Stephen Raushenbush, throughout the inquisition. That it was her influence which resulted in the disastrous Nye decision to place the main emphasis

of the investigation upon the abolition of profit in munitions manufacture is an open secret.

The W.I.L., since its first appearance in the wartime atmosphere of 1915, has always enjoyed an unusual respect from conservatives, in deference to its founder and long-time leader, the late Jane Addams. Respect for Miss Addams' memory, however, should not conceal the fact that the organization is now openly allied with the Socialist and Communist Parties in a number of non-pacifist interests. In its current statement of policies, the League declares as one of its three principles that "We believe that there can be neither peace nor freedom without justice, and that the existing economic system is a challenge to our whole position. Our duty, therefore, and also our opportunity as pacifists, is to work for a better economic and social order by every non-violent means." In its 1935-36 program, announced in the same publication, it does not confine itself to peace objectives, but ranges widely over the field which socialists and communists have long cultivated as their own, advocating such causes as civil liberties (in the Roger N. Baldwin sense), more rights for Negroes, the admission of German refugees to the United States, and the defeat of the Tydings-McCormack military disaffection bill. Quite characteristically, the publications of the League bristle with attacks upon fascism but do not, in any place, express a similar disapprobation of communism.

Perhaps the most indubitable indication of the kinship of the W.I.L. to the Marxians is the fact that it has been generously endowed by the Garland Fund. The organizations which have been selected by the Fund for subsidies comprise a roll-call of those movements which the Reds themselves regard as forerunners of the Revolu-

tion. The complete administration of the Fund, it will be recalled, was in the hands of a Board of Trustees of thirteen, including such undisguised communists or socialists as Roger N. Baldwin, William Z. Foster, Scott Nearing, Robert Morss Lovett, Norman Thomas, Harry F. Ward, Sidney Hillman, James Weldon Johnson, Lewis S. Gannett, etc. Some of the causes to which the Garland money was allocated by these directors were the *Daily Worker*, the *New Masses*, the *Communist International Labor Defense*, the anarchist Ferrer School of Stelton, New Jersey, the I.W.W., the Socialist Rand School, etc. The stigma which attaches to the receipt of Garland money is recognized clearly by the pacifists themselves, as instanced by the protestation in an official prospectus of Frederick J. Libby, director of the *National Council for the Prevention of War*, that "the National Council has never received money from the Garland Fund".

Countless smaller Left-wing pacifist groups crowd the field beyond the W.I.L. Such organizations as the War Resisters League, World Peaceways, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Committee on Militarism in Education, exhibit virtually the same assortment of pink and red names on their letter-heads, together with a window-dressing of inactive conservative peace advocates. Most of these Left-wing groups have been beneficiaries of the Garland Fund. Each has its specific sector of the pacifist front which it cultivates with aggressive and ardent radical enthusiasm.

IV

It is difficult to chart accurately the many church peace movements, although a general view places them in the Center. Traditionally, the Christian peace groups should belong to the far Right in any scale

of political coloring. Their zeal for peace is theological rather than political. But the human element in these organizations upsets the equation. Actually, the church groups have for years been so wracked by communist and socialist propoganda that there is serious question whether some of them should not be classified close to the Marxian Left.

One has only to recall the No More War demonstration in New York in May, 1935, when eminent churchmen fraternized with communists and socialists in a parade whose marching thousands chanted "Support the Soviet peace policy!" to realize the faintness of the line which separates many of the clerical pacifists from the revolutionaries. With such supposed non-Socialist clergymen as Dr. Robert W. Searle, secretary of the Greater New York Council of Churches, Dr. S. Parkes Cadman, and Bishop Robert L. Paddock among others in the line of march, it was apparent that a large section of Christian pacifism is already prepared to accept the co-operation of the extreme Left.

Each denomination now maintains its separate bureau of peace propoganda, whose activities are continuously co-ordinated by Dr. Walter W. Van Kirk's Department of International Justice and Good Will of the Federal Council of Churches. The programs of these separate agencies, in turn, dovetail into the work of the Carnegie-supported World Alliance for International Friendship. It is all very confusing to the outsider and it is doubtless equally confusing to the clergy, who find themselves sprayed continuously by streams of pacifist propoganda and entreaty from a battery of parallel Christian peace agencies.

The extent to which the church is being mobilized for political action on peace issues was demonstrated early this year

when the ill-fated McReynolds neutrality measure received the brief and ineffectual sponsorship of President Roosevelt in Congress. The official heads of the twenty-five principal Protestant denominations were lined up by the Federal Council behind a crackling manifesto demanding the passage of a neutrality measure which would permit the President to "co-operate with other nations for the prevention of war". It is interesting to note that in the Italian-Ethiopian situation which faced Washington at the time, such a pronouncement was tantamount to a demand that the American government obligate itself to go to war, if necessary, to prevent war. As such it was obviously a contradiction of the Christian peace concept. Since this was precisely the position which was being taken by all the Left elements at that time, it is not difficult to suspect the hand of the Leftists in this formulating of Christian political policies.

As a matter of fact, the peace and "social action" agencies in the various denominations have long been the favored stamping ground of the Reds inside the churches. Many of these denominational committees have been captured by communists and socialists who have committed them to numerous revolutionary objectives. Such outspoken communist or socialist sympathizers as the Rev. Harry F. Ward, secretary of the Methodist Federation of Social Service, the Rev. William B. Spofford of the Episcopal Church League for Industrial Democracy, and the Rev. Hubert C. Herring, secretary of the Department of Social Relations of the Congregational Church, have developed to a fine art the exploitation of these denominational names for the support of radical causes, to the indignation of the conservative majority of their co-religionists.

It is regrettable to note, in view of the

long honored peace stand which has been taken by the Society of Friends, that the Comrades have been particularly successful in injecting socialistic partisanship into the peace work of the Quakers. Indeed, it is something of a jest among radicals themselves that, nowadays, wealthy Pennsylvania Quakers have become, through their peace sympathies, among the most generous financial angels of the Leftist movements.

The spearhead of peace activities among the Quakers is the American Friends Service Committee, which recently sprang into fame as the recipient of Mrs. Roosevelt's radio earnings. It was this committee which sponsored Mrs. Roosevelt's unhappy national lecture tour on behalf of peace. But the Friends Service Committee, ever since the World War, has exhibited an inordinate tolerance of outspoken socialists and communists as participants in its various activities, as well as a willingness to sponsor and support such dubious lobbying movements as the National Council for the Prevention of War. To mention only a few, the committee has maintained on its staff at different times such militant socialists as Karl M. Borders and Paul H. Douglas. In 1922, it employed as its publicity director Robert W. Dunn, a conspicuous American communist who was later to serve as a member of the board of the Garland Fund. One of its most active lecturers at the present time is Kirby Page, outspoken socialist advocate and successor to Norman Thomas as editor of the late Christian Socialist magazine, *The World Tomorrow*. At this writing, the committee is sponsoring a nation-wide lecture tour for George Lansbury, Left-wing Socialist member of the British Parliament, who is using the Quaker platform as a microphone for revolutionary Socialist propaganda.

But probably the most important of the Centrist peace movements is the National Council for the Prevention of War. This powerful lobby at Washington comes naturally into the pacifist story at this point, since it is a stepchild of the Friends Committee. It is generally understood that the Council, which was originally projected at the time of the Washington Disarmament Conference in 1922, was made possible by an annual subsidy of \$30,000 from the Friends. To this date, Quaker opponents of war are its most reliable financial contributors.

It is no exaggeration to describe the Council as the most effective peace agency in America today. It differs from the dreamy and impractical type of pacifist organization in the hard-headed realism of its policies and tactics. It has attempted to exercise in the peace movement the technique of minority political manipulation which was employed so strikingly by the late lamented Anti-Saloon League. Instead of dissipating its resources in vague peace propaganda, the League has adopted as its slogan, "Say it with votes," and it has initiated a drive which, it hopes, will eventually set up a Peace Action Committee in each of the 435 congressional districts in the United States. Through these congressional committees it is attempting to build a political fire behind every unfriendly congressman who refuses to respond to Washington suasion.

The scope of its work is increasing year by year. In its advertising literature, the Council states that it now enjoys an annual propaganda budget of \$150,000. It recently announced the receipt of a gift of \$60,000 from an anonymous Washington woman to aid in the extension of its work. The Council now has a permanent staff of eighty persons, and it has recently taken on 500 additional workers to act as sales-

men of Peace Bonds, through which it hopes to raise a propaganda fund of \$1,000,000 before December 31.

Last year, the Council boasts, it distributed 1,316,688 pieces of peace propaganda literature. Its staff members delivered 2187 speeches in thirty-nine states and the District of Columbia. "Through manifold channels," its literature proclaims, "including press, radio, and mailing lists, the National Council reaches out to the millions of high-school students and teachers, comes into the homes of housewives and mothers, touches 100,000 farmers annually, supplies debating material to college students, stirs churchmen to new zeal for peace, addresses increasing meetings in the ranks of labor."

That the Council is a potent factor in the present hysterical situation at Washington is seen in its 1934 proclamation that "five of the policies of our last year's program have become the official policies of our government." It lists them: "(1) Repeal of the Platt Amendment; (2) Recognition of Soviet Russia; (3) Embargo on the Shipment of Arms to Bolivia and Paraguay; (4) Senatorial Investigation of the Armaments Industry; (5) Membership in the International Labor Organization."

Has the revolutionary Left penetrated this formidable organization? On the surface, there are few signs of such a development. In its literature the Council takes particular pains to point out that "it does not find co-operation possible with the communists nor with the American Legion". It is significant that it does not include the socialists in this disclaimer. But notwithstanding these sharp words, there have been signs of a curious affinity between the executive head of the Council and certain individual communists since the beginning. There has also been a friendly attitude toward those borderline

causes which engage the ardor of the extreme Left.

The personal element plays a strong part in the Council. Its founder and dominating spirit since the beginning has been the Rev. Frederick J. Libby. In many respects, Libby deserves a niche with Wayne B. Wheeler and James G. McDonald as one of the century's master merchandisers of propaganda. The job which has been done by the Council is all his handiwork. Libby stepped into his work with the Council direct from a staff position with the American Friends Service Committee, where, incidentally, Miss Detzer also received her training. Early in his new undertaking, he constituted himself as a one-man lobby to induce American recognition of Soviet Russia. In his official pamphlet of February 11, 1922, he wrote that "Soviet Russia has found an advocate in our bulletin". Despite his public protestation of communist non-co-operation, it is interesting to note that he finds nothing incongruous in the presence of communists on his own staff. For some time, his publicity man at the Council was Seymour Waldman, now a Washington correspondent for the communist *Daily Worker*. At another time, he employed as his field representative and lecturer Thomas Que Harrison, who had previously attained a wide reputation as a communist advocate and as a writer for the *Daily Worker*. Two of the movements which are listed as "participating organizations" of the Council — the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom — are notoriously Left-wing groups.

It would seem that the very militance of Libby's pacifism, a quality which differentiates him from the sedate and decorous peace apostles who draw salaries from the Carnegie funds, brings him into continuous touch with the Marxists. The experi-

ence of the Council illustrates the inescapable dilemma of all militant peace groups today — a dilemma either of inaction or of increasing co-operation with the volatile improvisations of the Left.

V

What may be called the Right of the American peace movement is still overshadowed by the towering figure of Andrew Carnegie. Although a score of years has passed since Carnegie died, the momentum of his money still rules the peace field. In 1919 the various Carnegie endowments added Geneva to the Hague in their peace strategy. Since that time it has been the unceasing impulsion of the foundations which has kept the League of Nations issue alive in the inhospitable atmosphere of American politics.

In an article such as this, it is impossible to do more than list the various foundations which are subsidizing peace propaganda in this country. The pillar of the pacifist Right, of course, is the princely Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. With an endowment of \$11,720,978 and under the astute leadership of Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, this well-oiled propaganda mechanism has influenced much of the unwritten history of the post-war period. It distributes an income of over \$200,000 per year among the various subsidiary bodies which work under its direction. It finances such organizations as the Institute of International Education for the exchange of scholars and lecturers with European nations; the League of Nations Association for the support of its educational program in this country and for the maintenance of the American Committee at Geneva; the International Relations Clubs for peace propaganda among college students, and the Foreign

Policy Association, for lectures and publications. A recently-launched financial beneficiary of the Endowment is the National Peace Conference, a federation of peace societies - which ties in with the Federal Council of Churches through Dr. Van Kirk, its executive secretary. The primary program of this Conference appears to be the committal of the United States to support of the sanctions of the League of Nations. Another Carnegie establishment which has its own separate endowment of \$2,297,000 is the Church Peace Union which, with its subsidiary, the World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches, maintains an elaborate organization for the diffusion of peace propaganda through the American churches.

The power of the Carnegie influence in the peace movement is subtly felt in every direction. Independent peace agencies, hopeful of subsidies from this Croesus hand, are disinclined to diverge from the Carnegie viewpoints. A large professional staff of high-salaried publicists and lecturers occupies these various endowed offices and has a vested interest in the perpetuation of the peace cause. The Carnegie payroll signers are a compact group which jealously endeavors at all times to hold the reins over the general pacifist movement.

Radicalism has penetrated the Carnegie agencies only to a slight degree. The types which are found in the executive chairs of these endowments are mild, middle-of-the-road liberals, whose high sense of social service is tempered by the restraining conservatism of invested money. Occasionally the Carnegie coterie executes a gesture of patronizing tolerance toward the Left as when, last year, the Carnegie Endowment devoted its monthly publication to the reprint of a Stalin speech with a supplementary article by the American Marxist, Sidney Hook. Such episodes, however, are

conspicuous only for their infrequency. Generally speaking, the Carnegie agencies, aside from their fanatical obsession with the League of Nations, may be said to be a dependable Right-wing bulwark amid the oscillations of American pacifism toward the Left.

Belonging also to the Right is the World Peace Foundation which, although not one of the Carnegie chain, closely resembles it in policy. This body was established in 1910 by an endowment of \$1,000,000 from Edwin Ginn. It has identified itself closely with the League of Nations in recent years, and acts as the American disseminator of League and World Court publications.

VI

To summarize, then, a survey of American peace movements from Left to Right reveals an appalling confusion of aims and political attitudes. There is an opportunistic interlocking of activities and personnel among the rival pacifist groups beyond the controlled area of Carnegie endowments and the League of Nations propagandists. There is an irresponsible willingness on the part of both the Centrist and the Left groups to stultify their pacifism by open co-operation with insincere communist and socialist agents. Particularly, there is an alarming disposition on the part of sincere church peace groups to permit their activities to be directed by the Wards, the Pages, the Niebuhrs, and the Schmalzes whose political loyalties have already gone over definitely to the cause of the social revolution.

Unquestionably the number of men and women in the peace movements who are conscious supporters of communist revolution is small. Outside the American League Against War and Fascism, and

possibly the Methodist Federation for Social Service, the revolutionists do not openly control any of the major peace movements. Even in these two groups, their control is disguised by a fiction of phrases. But it is the genius of the revolutionist that he is most dangerous when most disguised. He is fortified at all times by a fixed goal, a unifying plan, and he easily outmaneuvers the drifting majority which is planless before the challenge of events. Particularly does the Leftist find it easy to dominate when he enters the ambiguous environs of pacifism. Since pacifism is an attitude rather than a philosophy, the Marxists with their clearly-defined objectives find it easy to manipulate their peace co-workers toward collectivist ends.

From the standpoint of real world peace, the interpenetration of the Reds in the pacifist movement is little short of disastrous. It has weakened the disinterested

moral appeal of peace education by confusing it with the social and economic issues of the radicals. And unfortunately, there is little hope of the reversal of the present pacifist trend toward the Left, so long as the Right remains incoherent.

The Marxist seeks not peace but class war. He marches with pacifism, not to end war but to exploit pacifism for the launching of the most deadly internecine strife which has ever been suffered by mankind. To admit such incompatible allies into its ranks is to forfeit for pacifism the moral respect of the world. Without a resolute and realistic attitude on the part of the genuine pacifist — an attitude which pacifism has not yet exhibited — there can be no checking of the present Red advance. Pacifism will become merely another party line for the resourceful schemers who have determined that American democratic government must perish.



STRANGER'S QUESTION

BY JOHN HOLMES

Do you know a country where the brave are brave,
 Where no one hates the lonely or the wise.
 A country where, till death, no mortal dies?
 It is not childhood. It is not the grave.
 It is a real country, I believe, where skies
 Like these are rainy or with wind blown blue.
 Is it the very country I am passing through,
 Where no man fights the dark with fists and lies?
 Is it somewhere along this common street
 That I may hear man's love for man sung loud?
 Is it in this country that the poor are proud? —"
 The stranger asked, not hearing me repeat
 Denial, not even guessing I was kind
 Because I thought him lost, or mad, or blind.

KRM:GJ
61-7589
61-7589
61-7589

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-30-79 BY SP-1 [signature]

April 10, 1939

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

(37470)

Reference is made to the letter of Honorable Sumner Welles, Acting Secretary of State, dated March 13, 1939, directed to the Attorney General, concerning the investigation of certain organizations with the thought of ascertaining the existence of a possible violation of the Act of June 8, 1938, requiring the registration with the Secretary of State of Agents of Foreign Principals.

In pursuance thereof conversations were held between representatives of this Bureau and representatives of the Department of State attached to the office of [redacted] Office of Arms and Munitions Control. Conversations were also held with [redacted] Adviser on Political Relations, as the result of which it was considered advisable to undertake an investigation of three representative organizations, namely -

- The German-American Bund
- The Communist Party, U.S.A.
- The American League for Peace and Democracy.

61-7589-18
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
APR 12 1939
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With a view to the appropriate consummation of this inquiry the Bureau has prepared memoranda of facts consisting of available data concerning these three organizations. One of each of these memoranda is being transmitted herewith to you for your information.

On March 30, 1939, the Bureau transmitted to Mr. Brian McMahon, Assistant Attorney General, one copy of the memorandum of facts pertaining to the German-American Bund, dated March 29, 1939, with the request that if further investigation were desired concerning the German-American Bund as a possible violator of the Act of June 8, 1938, the Bureau be advised of the particular type of investigation desired.

You are further informed that a copy of the Bureau's memorandum of the German-American Bund, dated March 29, 1939, was transmitted to [redacted] of the Department of State by letter dated March 30, 1939. At that time [redacted] was advised that no further investigation

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61-7591-23

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U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

[Handwritten signature]

Memorandum for
the Attorney General

- 2 -

April 10, 1939

would be undertaken with regard to the German-American Bund until this Bureau had been specifically advised by the Criminal Division of the Department as to the particular type of inquiry desired.

By memorandum dated April 4, 1939, the Bureau transmitted to Mr. Brian McMahon one copy of the memorandum of facts concerning the American League for Peace and Democracy, dated April 4, 1939. On that occasion Mr. McMahon was advised that further investigation is being undertaken by the appropriate field offices and that copies of reports developing further data as to a possible violation on the part of the American League for Peace and Democracy of the Act of June 8, 1938, would be forwarded to him.

A copy of the memorandum on the American League for Peace and Democracy, dated April 4, 1939, was likewise transmitted to [redacted] of the Department of State by letter dated April 4, 1939. [redacted] was advised that further investigation is being undertaken by the Bureau's field offices interested in this matter.

I have today transmitted by memorandum to Mr. Brian McMahon a memorandum of facts concerning the Communist Party, U.S.A., dated April 10, 1939. I am requesting Mr. McMahon to advise me whether, in view of the nature of the information contained in that memorandum any further investigation should be undertaken by this Bureau. A copy of the memorandum concerning the Communist Party, U.S.A. is likewise being transmitted to [redacted] of the Department of State today with the advice that no further investigation will be undertaken concerning the Communist Party until this Bureau has been specifically advised by Mr. Brian McMahon as to the exact nature of such further investigation as he might deem advisable.

Respectfully,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Enclosure

b7C

b6

KRM:CF

April 13, 1939

61-7580

Special Agent in Charge
New York, New York

61-7580

0
RE: AMERICAN LEAGUE FOR PEACE
AND EMIGRANTS

Dear Sir:

Please refer to Bureau letter of April 4, 1939, and advise me by return mail the names of the Agents who have been assigned to investigate this matter and the progress which has been made in the investigation.

It is desired that this entire matter be completed by April 25, 1939. Any leads which may be developed during the course of this inquiry, which will have to be investigated by other offices, should be handled telegraphically.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

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DATE 11-30-79 BY [signature]

- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. Nathan
- Mr. E. A. Tamm
- Mr. Clegg
- Mr. Coffey
- Mr. Crowl
- Mr. Egan
- Mr. Foxworth
- Mr. Glavin
- Mr. Harbo
- Mr. Lester
- Mr. McIntire
- Mr. Nichols
- Mr. Quinn Tamm
- Mr. Tracy
- Miss Gandy

61-7580-19

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G HOTEL
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U S DEPT OF JUSTICE
2266 U S DEPT OF JUSTICE BLDG
WASHINGTON D C

AMERICAN LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY REGISTRATION MATTER.

REFER TELETYPE THIS OFFICE FIFTEENTH INSTANT. INTERVIEW J B MATTHEWS

NOW AT CONFIDENTIAL HOTEL WASHINGTON DC ALONG LINES INDICATED.

MATTHEWS FORMER OFFICIAL OF LEAGUE AND HAS WRITTEN NUMEROUS EXPOSES

RE IT

BRANLEY

cc: Bureau

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 11-30-79 BY SP-1 CLK/BJ

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61-7584-20
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
APR 19 1939
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
ME 11/11

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **NEW YORK CITY**

FILE NO. **61-5**

REPORT MADE AT Richmond, Virginia	DATE WHEN MADE 4/17/39	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 4/15-16/39	REPORT MADE BY <div style="border: 1px solid black; height: 20px; width: 100%;"></div>	JBS:EK
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TITLE AMERICAN LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY REGISTRATION MATTER	CHARACTER OF CASE TREASON
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SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

SHERWOOD ANDERSON, Trout Dale, Virginia, novelist denies ever organizing or ever being an officer of "The American League For Peace & Democracy". States about five years ago he attended, as a delegate, at Amsterdam, a World Peace Conference, but denies any connection with organizations emanating therefrom. States "Comite Mondial Contre La Guerre et Le Fascisme" used his name as "Conseil de Presidence", but that he never acted as such.

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- R U C -

REFERENCE:

Teletype from New York Office to Richmond dated April 15, 1939.

DETAILS:

AT MARION, VIRGINIA

On April 15, 1939, the writer received a telephone call from Special Agent in Charge W. S. Devereaux, who stated that a teletype had been received from the New York Office requesting an interview with **SHERWOOD ANDERSON**, Marion, Virginia, in order to determine his connection with "The American League For Peace and Democracy"; whether this league was formerly known as "The League Against War & Fascism" and whether the former had international connections.

SHERWOOD ANDERSON, author and novelist, was interviewed at the home of his father-in-law, Mr. B. E. COPENHAVER, former Superintendent of schools in Smythe County, Virginia. **ANDERSON** stated that he resides on a farm near Trout Dale, Virginia.

**ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-20-79 BY 12-1 [signature]**

1 ENCL W

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: <i>W. S. Devereaux</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DATE 4/20/39 BY [signature]
COPIES OF THIS REPORT 5 - Bureau 3 - New York City 2 - Richmond		APR 22 1939
<p style="text-align: center;">COPIES DESTROYED MAY 17 1964</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>100-10000-10000</i></p>		<p>APR 22 1939</p> <p>ONE</p> <p>FILED</p>

100-10000-10000
4/21/39

51-5

He related that about five years ago he attended, as a delegate, a "World Peace Conference" at Amsterdam, but claimed that he went "just for the trip" and was not definite as to who paid for the expenses incurred other than to state "some wealthy woman in New York" who was willing to do so if he consented to go.

However, ANDERSON vehemently denied ever organizing any leagues for the promotion of peace and democracy or against war and fascism or ever being an officer in such an organization. Further, he stated that he has occasionally received questionnaires as to whether he is for peace and democracy and that he has answered some of these questionnaires, stating that he was and that later he received literature from such organizations which he "filed in the waste basket". He gave the impression that he was "passively interested in such organizations only in so far as they augmented his literary field and resulted in his personal aggrandizement, adding that when these organizations write and question him as to whether he is for peace he replies "Sure I'm for Peace", "Who wouldn't be?"

As to the connections of "The American League for Peace & Democracy" with any other such body in ^{the} United States, Europe or other parts of the World, ANDERSON professed to have no knowledge, nor did he profess knowledge as to whether the above named organization grew out of "The League Against War & Fascism".

He advised that he might have been classed as a "sponsor" in some of these organizations in that he passively allowed his name to be used, but denies that as such he could be considered an officer or an organizer.

Later his wife called the writer at the Lincoln Hotel and said she had a form letter from the "Comite Mondial Contre La Guerre et Le Fascisme" which was about the only communication or literature they had. The communication listed the following at the top:

*FONDATEUR: HENRI BARBUSSE

PRESIDENT D'HONNEUR: ROMAIN ROLLAND

Conseil de Presidence. - France: Paul LANGEVIN, Jean LONGUET, Andre MALRAUX, Francis JOURDAIN;

(Prasidium-Presidency)

Angleterre: Norman ANGEILL; Allemagne: Heinrich MANN;

Etats-Unis: SHERWOOD ANDERSON, John dos PASSOS."

ANDERSON stated that insofar as he knew he never acted as "Conseil de Presidence" and believed the organization "just used his name".

50-5

The above referred to communication is being forwarded to the Bureau, with copies of this report.

A description of ANDERSON as obtained from personal observation is set out below:

Name	SHERWOOD ANDERSON
Age	58 years
Height	5'11"
Weight	220 pounds
Build	Stout
Eyes	Dark Brown
Hair	Iron gray (thin); receding at temples
Complexion	Florid
Glasses	Horn-rimmed
Peculiarities	Double chin; talks in braggadocio manner
Occupation	Novelist
Marital Status	Married
Residence	RFD, Trout Dale, Virginia

ENCLOSURE: TO BUREAU: Communication of "Comite Mondial Contre La Guerre et le Fascisme".

- REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN -

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-30-79 BY *JP-1 [signature]*

ENCLOSURE

61-7589-21

61-8579-231

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

OFFICIAL BUSINESS

PENALTY FOR PRIVATE USE TO AVOID
PAYMENT OF POSTAGE, \$300.

AMERICAN LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY
REGISTRATION MATTER
TREASON

ENCLOSURE FOR BUREAU

Richmond File #61-5

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

AR:EL
62-688

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

NEW YORK N Y
APRIL 26 1950

Transmit the following Teletype message to:

WASHINGTON FIELD

AMERICAN LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY REGISTRATION MATTER

INTERVIEW [REDACTED] BALTIMORE, MD, AND DOROTHY DENTON

WASHINGTON DC. THIS LEAGUE FORMERLY KNOWN AS AMERICAN LEAGUE

AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM. INVESTIGATION IS CONCERNED WITH ACT

OF JUNE EIGHTH, NINETEEN THIRTY EIGHT PROVIDING FOR REGISTRATION

WITH SECRETARY OF STATE OF AGENTS OF FOREIGN PRINCIPALS.

[REDACTED] DENTON WERE TWO OF PERSONS INVOLVED IN ORGANIZING

AMERICAN LEAGUE. ASCERTAIN WHETHER LEAGUE IS CONNECTED WITH

INTERNATIONAL BODY NOW UNDERSTOOD TO BE KNOWN AS WORLD LEAGUE FOR

PEACE AND DEMOCRACY WITH HEADQUARTERS PARIS FRANCE. DETERMINE

PART [REDACTED] DENTON TOOK IN ORGANIZING LEAGUE, WHETHER

PRESENTLY ACTIVE, PURPOSES OF FORMATION, ASSOCIATION WITH ANY

OTHER GROUPS OR ORGANIZATIONS, POLITICAL OR OTHERWISE, IN U.S.

OBTAIN THREE COPIES OF EACH PIECE OF LITERATURE CONCERNING

LEAGUE. FURNISH FIVE COPIES OF REPORT TO BUREAU

HEANTLEY

CC: BUREAU

RECORDED
&
INDEXED

61-7589-22

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-30-77 BY [REDACTED]

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

DATE 1/2/73

b7C
b6

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

AR:EL
61-638

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

NEW YORK N Y
APRIL 18 1959

Transmit the following Teletype message to:
LOS ANGELES

AMERICAN LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY REGISTRATION MATTER.

INTERVIEW UPTON SINCLAIR PARADISE CALIFORNIA. THIS LEAGUE FORMERLY KNOWN AS AMERICAN LEAGUE AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM. INVESTIGATION IS CONCERNED WITH ACT OF JUNE EIGHTEEN, NINETEEN THIRTY EIGHT PROVIDING FOR REGISTRATION WITH SECRETARY OF STATE OF AGENTS OF FOREIGN PRINCIPALS. SINCLAIR WAS ONE OF PERSONS INSTRUMENTAL IN ORGANIZING AMERICAN LEAGUE. ASCERTAIN WHETHER LEAGUE IS CONNECTED WITH INTERNATIONAL BODY NOW UNDERSTOOD TO BE KNOWN AS WORLD LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY WITH HEADQUARTERS PARIS FRANCE. DETERMINE PART SINCLAIR TOOK IN ORGANIZING LEAGUE, WHETHER PRESENTLY ACTIVE, PURPOSES OF FORMATION, ASSOCIATION WITH ANY OTHER GROUPS OR ORGANIZATIONS, POLITICAL OR OTHERWISE, IN U S. OBTAIN THREE COPIES OF EACH PIECE OF LITERATURE CONCERNING LEAGUE. FURNISH FIVE COPIES OF REPORT TO BUREAU

HANTLEY

cc: Bureau

RECORDED
&
INDEXED

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-30-79 BY SP-1 CLK/KJ

61-7584-23

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
APR 18 1959
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
ONE *mm*

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

AR:EL
61-638

NEW YORK NY
APRIL 15 1969

Transmit the following Teletype message to:

~~Richard~~

8:45

AMERICAN LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY REGISTRATION MATTER.

INTERVIEW ANDERSON [REDACTED] THIS LEAGUE POSSIBLY
KNOWS AS AMERICAN LEAGUE AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM. INVESTIGATION
IS CONCERNED WITH ACT OF JUNE EIGHTH, NINETEEN THIRTY EIGHT PROVIDING
FOR REGISTRATION WITH SECRETARY OF STATE OF AGENTS OF FOREIGN
PRINCIPALS. ANDERSON WAS ONE OF PERSONS INSTRUMENTAL IN ORGANIZING
AMERICAN LEAGUE. ASCERTAIN WHETHER LEAGUE IS CONNECTED WITH
INTERNATIONAL BODY NOW UNDERSTOOD TO BE KNOWN AS WORLD LEAGUE FOR
PEACE AND DEMOCRACY WITH HEADQUARTERS PARIS FRANCE. DETERMINE
PART ANDERSON TOOK IN ORGANIZING LEAGUE, WHETHER PRESENTLY ACTIVE,
PURPOSES OF FORMATION, ASSOCIATION WITH ANY OTHER GROUPS OR
ORGANIZATIONS, POLITICAL OR OTHERWISE, IN U S. OBTAIN THREE COPIES
OF EACH PIECE OF LITERATURE CONCERNING LEAGUE. FURNISH FIVE COPIES
OF REPORT TO BUREAU

b7C

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BRATTLE

cc Bureau

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&
INDEXED.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-30-79 BY SP-1 [Signature]

61-7589-24

APR 15 1969
KAM

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
New York, N. Y.

AR: L.
61-528

April 17, 1939

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

~~PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: American League for Peace and
Democracy. Registration Matter

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-30-79 BY SP-1 GUK/KJ

Dear Sir:

With reference to Bureau letter of April 13, 1939,
in the above-entitled matter, please be advised that Special Agent in
Charge A. Rosen has been assigned to the investigation of this case.

In connection with the progress made to date in
this investigation, please be advised that telegraphic requests have
been directed to other field offices, requesting that they interview
persons who have been suggested in the Bureau letter of April 4, 1939,
as having information concerning the American League for Peace and
Democracy, through former connections or present associations.

In view of the present position of the League, an
appointment has been made with Dr. Harry F. Ward for April 20, 1939,
at which time he will be interviewed concerning his knowledge of the
League.

It is recalled that [redacted] who now
resides at [redacted], wrote an analysis
of the American League Against War and Fascism in 1935, which was re-
vised, bringing its activities to a current status up to and including
1937. [redacted] has been interviewed and has given to this office
various source material which he obtained and used in the compilation
of his analysis. These will be forwarded to the Bureau at the time a
report is submitted.

It is contemplated that certain former members of
the Communist Party who may be in a position to assist in this inves-
tigation will be interviewed. One who has been suggested is Liston
Oak, who was formerly editor of Night Magazine, the official organ
of the American League Against War and Fascism and its successor,
the American League for Peace and Democracy. Mr. Oak, although a
left-winger, has severed his connection with the Communist Party and

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61-528-125
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
APR 18 1939

Director
4-17-39
61-528

is believed to be a Socialist in his inclinations at this time.

Various literature of the organization has been obtained to date and will be transmitted with a report submitted in this matter.

The Bureau's attention is called to the fact that J. B. Matthews, who was prominent in connection with his activities with the League, is presently residing at the Continental Hotel in Washington, D. C. The Washington Field Office has been telegraphically requested to interview Mr. Matthews.

At this time, no additional agents have been assigned to the investigation of this matter, but it is expected that inquiries to be made will require the services of additional agents who will be assigned to this case.

Very truly yours,

Dwight Brantley

DWIGHT BRANTLEY,
Special Agent in Charge.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

To: **FBI:AM**
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION.

APRIL 19 1939

Transmit the following message to:

NEW YORK

① AMERICAN LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY REGISTRATION MATTER

[REDACTED] ILL AT HER HOME NOT AVAILABLE FOR INTERVIEW

b7C
b6

UNTIL APRIL TWENTYFIRST WHEN SHE WILL BE CONTACTED

HOTTEL

CC - Bureau
62-3832

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-30-79 BY [Signature]

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&
INDEXED.

61-7589-26

APR 21 1939

Per	FILE
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SENT VIA

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-30-79 BY SP-1 [signature]

April 17, 1939.

84-1157

Memo for Mr. E.A. Tamm

b7C

b6

Time 4:50 P.M.

At this time I called [redacted] at the State Department after he had called me twice while I was out of the office on a tour.

Chapman

He said that he now has ready for transmittal the material which I requested from him and Mr. Yost a couple of weeks ago, and wanted to know who to send it to; that it had been customary for them to send such material to [redacted] of the Department. Itold him it would be appreciated if he would send it to Mr. John Edgar Hoover, Director, F.B.I., and that it would in turn be sent to me. He said he would do this, though I noted in his words that this was somewhat a deviation from the usual run of business over there.

RECORDED COPY FILED IN 84-1157-27

RECORDED
& INDEXED

& K.R. McIntire

61-7-27
APR 21 1939
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

KRM:AR
Time 4:50 PM

April 17, 1939

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. E. A. TAMM

84059

At this time I called [redacted] at the State Department after he had called me twice while I was out of the office on a tour.

He said that he now has ready for transmittal the material which I requested from him and Mr. Yost a couple of weeks ago, and wanted to know who to send it to; that it had been customary for them to send such material to [redacted] of the Department. I told him it would be appreciated if he would send it to Mr. John Edgar Hoover, Director, F. B. I., and that it would in turn be sent to me. He said he would do this, though I noted in his words that this was somewhat of a deviation from the usual run of business over there.

b7C

b6

K. R. McIntire

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-30-79 BY [signature]

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **NEW YORK CITY**

L. A. FILE NO. **62-1652**

REPORT MADE AT LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA	DATE WHEN MADE 4/19/39	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 4/18/39	REPORT MADE BY <div style="border: 1px solid black; height: 20px; width: 100%;"></div>
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TITLE AMERICAN LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY.	CHARACTER OF CASE REGISTRATION MATTER.
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SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

UPTON SINCLAIR, Pasadena, Calif., states he has not had any connection with any organization for more than 4 years. Before that he was connected with so many organizations that he could not be certain that he was a member of this one. He could not be of assistance in this matter.

- RUC -

**ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-30-79 BY SP-1 MLK/RA**

Reference:

Teletype from New York City dated 4/15/39
#89-122 9/14/39 sp7 copy up

Details:

AT PASADENA, CALIFORNIA:

Agent made investigation in accordance with instructions contained in the teletype of reference, and ascertained that **UPTON SINCLAIR** lives at 1513 Sunset Avenue, Pasadena.

It will be remembered that **MR. SINCLAIR** has been an outstanding Socialist for many years; that is, all his life, and he is now more than 60 years of age and one of the most prolific writers on Socialistic subjects of all time.

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: <div style="font-size: 2em; font-family: cursive;">R.B. Hood</div>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES	
COPIES OF THIS REPORT 5 - Bureau 4 - New York City 2 - Los Angeles		61 7589 20	APR 27 1939
		APR 21 1939	

It will also be remembered that he captured the nomination for Governor of California four and one-half years ago on both the Socialist and Democratic tickets, but the conservative element of the Democratic party revolted against his nomination and caused his defeat in the general election.

The above introduction will aid in understanding what is to follow.

MR. SINCLAIR was found at his home, 1513 Sunset Avenue, Pasadena, in a "jungle retreat," and it took Agent about two hours to penetrate the outer surroundings at this retreat--messengers, servants, and secretaries--in order to secure a personal interview with MR. SINCLAIR. MR. SINCLAIR was most pleasant when Agent finally succeeded in reaching his "den."

MR. SINCLAIR stated that he has had no connection of any kind with any organizations for the past four and one-half years, and that he has not made a public speech during the past four years, and that he has not made a semi-public speech, or in fact any kind of a speech for more than a year; that when he announced after his defeat in the gubernatorial race four and a half years ago that he was through with politics, political parties, and organization of group movements, he meant it, and he has not had and does not intend to have anything to do with any of them; that he has devoted his entire time to writing pamphlets and books on Socialism, and he intends to spend the remainder of his life along those lines.

MR. SINCLAIR stated that about 1904 he helped organize the "Intellectual Socialist System of New York City," which organization had its headquarters at 119 East 12th Street; that this organization changed its name after the World War to "League for Industrial Democracy."

MR. SINCLAIR further stated that he and others, during the year 1925, organized the "Southern California Branch of Civil Liberties Union" with headquarters in Los Angeles; and that DR. CLINTON J. TAFT has been the head of it ever since it was organized. He stated that DR. TAFT lives at Van Nuys, California, but he does not know the present address of the "Civil Liberties Union" in Los Angeles.

MR. SINCLAIR stated that these are the only organizations that he has helped to organize and he has had no connection with them either personally or officially for more than four years.

He stated that he knows nothing about the "American League Against War and Facism." He stated, however, that many years ago he allowed his name to be used as a sponsor in connection with the formation of many Socialist and Democratic organizations, but that he has no connection of any sort with any of such organizations at the present time.

He stated that he has no information which would cause him to know whether any of the organizations with which he was formerly connected are now connected with the present organization of the "World's League for Peace and Democracy" with headquarters at Paris, France.

He stated that since he has no connection with any of these organizations he, therefore, has no literature dealing with the activities and objects of those organizations.

REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN

LAT:CHS

Time: 6:25 P.M.

March 30, 1939

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR

RE: COMMUNIST ACTIVITY

Pursuant to my previous request that a list of the best agents in New York for a special assignment be furnished, [redacted] advised that in his opinion Agents [redacted]

[redacted] were best qualified for this assignment. He stated that [redacted] is on the Judicial Investigation at the present time but could be released from his duties in this connection.

Respectfully,

E. A. TAMM

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-30-79 BY SP-1 [signature]

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61-7581-29