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File

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

Hutchinson
File

UNDER ANY NAME

Norman O. Thomas, visiting California on one of his many swings around the circuit, finds himself in the position of one who argues with himself.

In denouncing President Roosevelt and the Administration largely on the score that the collectivism of the emergency efforts tends toward totalitarianism, he speaks as a man who for years has been a leading exponent of collectivism. So far as labels are concerned there are "different kinds" of collectivism, yet the result, under any scheme, would be to collect economic and political power into the same hands. Whatever you may call it bureaucracy is bureaucracy. The socialism which Thomas espouses would be no less totalitarian than fascism, nazism, communism, or New Dealism.

There will be agreement with Mr. Thomas that concentration of authority in emergency must be watched and safeguarded, lest it linger after the urgencies and becomes permanent. It may be ironical, however, that this man who adds his word of warning has long been a devoted exponent of the collectivist philosophy.

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OAKLAND TRIBUNE

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OCT 18 1941

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Norman Thomas Hints Some 'Good' In a Hitler Victory

file

61-10767

If one doesn't want America to win, one wants Hitler to win.

There is no escaping this logic: The Socialist Party of Norman Thomas cannot escape it when it officially denounces this war against Hitler.

Norman Thomas cannot escape pro-Hitlerism: His entire position leads to it.

In fact, Norman Thomas has just repeated his favorite idea—that the defeat of Hitler will lead to "Communism." That is also Berlin's favorite idea.

In the Socialist Call (June 5) Norman Thomas explicitly declares that a Hitler victory "would delay" the so-called

"communist" development of the European peoples. Hence, a Hitler victory has some good aspects to it.

Here is how Thomas says it:

"I have long been of the opinion which grows daily stronger that . . . we must expect more and more to see the center of power move towards Moscow. A German victory would DELAY rather than defeat this steady eastward movement of power. . . ."

If a German fascist victory "would delay" this "terrible" thing of which Thomas warns—that is the acceptance of the Soviet Union as a great world power—then does it not stand to reason that such a "delay" would be worth getting? In

short, is there not something "valuable" perhaps in a Hitler victory, or at least in preventing a Hitler defeat? Such is the hidden insinuation in the crafty double-talk propaganda of Norman Thomas.

This hidden agreement with Hitler on the need for a "bulwark against Communism" is what links Norman Thomas' views to Lindbergh's and Coughlin's in the United States. It explains his defense of "Social Justice."

It also explains why Norman Thomas has never once come out with a clear demand for the complete destruction of Hitlerism by the combined efforts of the United Nations. On the contrary, Thomas repeatedly "warns" America against the "dangers" of crushing Hitlerism.

Thomas' latest utterance once again proves that he is one of the most persistent, one of the slickest enemies of a full American victory over Hitler operating in this country.

Mac Cartee

This is a clipping from page 5 of the Daily Worker for

JUN 4 1942

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

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17 JUN 20 1942

Norman Thomas Sells Talk Made in Germany

LAST year Norman Thomas, the phony "socialist" who is scared to death at any prospect of socialism, used to say that he might approve the war, even if "with heavy heart," if only it were against both fascism and Communism.

But since America is now actually at war against fascism, the so-called "socialist" leader finds that his sympathies are on the side of Nazi Germany, because he fears the "danger" of crushing Hitlerism and America sharing victory with the Soviet Union. He is haunted with "fear" of a Soviet victory, so naturally, he finds that a Nazi victory would please him much more. This is just another way of saying he hopes America will be defeated by the Axis.

In the Socialist Call of June 5 he writes about this as follows:

"I have long been of the opinion which grows daily stronger that . . . we must expect more and more to see the center of power move towards Moscow. A German victory would DELAY rather than defeat this steady eastward movement of power."

This is the same old Bolshevik bogeyman that Hearst uses to try to break the alliance between the United States and the Soviet Union and thereby allow Hitler Germany to win. Hearst, however, makes no pretense of being a "socialist." He is frankly and openly a reactionary, anti-Roosevelt, anti-liberal, anti-labor, anti-democratic and anti-Soviet.

But Hearst's treason to America's cause—and it must be understood that splitting America from the Soviet Union would bring defeat and disaster to America—is crude, compared to the slick philosophical manner with which Norman Thomas, the fake "socialist," approaches the job of betraying his country.

He insists that the Soviet Union is the major danger. He tries to inject a fear in Americans of a Soviet Union that is a great world power (though its power is clearly being used in our interest). If the power of the Soviet Union is a "danger," then, naturally, a Nazi victory that would "delay" the growth of that power is something rather good, after all.

That is what Hitler himself has been trying to "sell" to England and America for years. He offered to serve as a "bulwark against Communism." Lindbergh was his salesman, and quite successful for a while. Coughlin, too, was selling the same goods, made in Germany. Now he, too, is pretty much exposed. But here comes Norman Thomas, the so-called "Socialist," peddling the same shoddy merchandise.

It is time that every American be warned that Norman Thomas and his so-called "Socialist" party are on the side of the Fascist Axis.

This is a clipping from
page 6 of the
Peoples World for

JUN 12 1942

Clipped at the Seat
of Government.

1 JUN 24 '42

Stalin Statement Criticized

Call for Second Front Is Regarded as
Out of Place Now

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

There is certainly no debate among thoughtful men concerning the extraordinary heroism of the Russian resistance, its great importance to the cause of the United Nations, and the strategic advisability of the second front if and when it is possible.

Mr. Willkie is correct concerning the right, and even the duty, of civilians to prod the military on occasion. But when the occasion is anything so serious as the opening of a second front civilians who presume to prod the military should have far more definite information concerning the feasibility of the second front than we possess at present. What we do know is that we Americans are engaged in war with Japan as well as Germany, that we have a very difficult shipping problem, and that the raid at Dieppe had in casualties at least 50 per cent of the total force.

I think we can all sympathize emotionally with Stalin and other Russians who urge action. Nevertheless, Stalin's outspoken criticism, coming from him, is something less than fair. Certainly, he did not open a second front against the Japanese when they attacked us at Pearl Harbor. Doubtless he had good and sufficient reason and exactly the same sort of reason which may operate against a great sacrifice of men in an unsuccessful assault just now on Western Europe.

Nor is that all. At the outbreak of this war Stalin not only failed to open a second front; he made a quasi-alliance with Hitler. That is, he gave him the green light to go ahead. If, as his eulogists now insist, he did this from necessity to gain time, he ought to be charitable to others who must gain time.

Moreover if he, Stalin, is so aware of the importance of the second front, why was he not aware of it in 1939 before the collapse of France? As it happened, he did not turn against Hitler until Hitler perfidiously attacked him.

There are excellent reasons, not only in the war but after the war, why our government should work on friendly terms with the Russian Government, but there are no valid reasons for Stalin worship in America or for subordinating American policies to Stalin's wishes.

NORMAN THOMAS.

New York, Oct. 6, 1942.

Second Front

Norman Thomas

61-10767-A

This is a clipping from
page 26 of the
New York Times for
Oct. 8, 1942
Clipped at the Seat of
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52 NOV 2 1942

The POLITICAL SCENE

A Hurry Call

By Milton Howard

MILWAUKEE, Wisc.

THE rising intensity of the election battle in the Midwest is indicated by the fact that Norman Thomas has just been rushed out here. Apparently, he got a hurry call.

On his arrival from campaigning in Illinois and Wisconsin, he was immediately welcomed by the Chicago Tribune, the most violently pro-fascist paper in the country.

It has been noticeable recently that the Tribune and Norman Thomas seem to have some kind of understanding by which that paper is Thomas' leading press outlet in this region. A Chicago Tribune reporter is always on hand to act as a press agent for Thomas' views on the war, the President, and the Soviet Union.

The headline welcoming Thomas' arrival in the Midwest election battle reads: "Thomas Charges FDR Policies Led to Jap War." This is followed by Thomas' direct challenge that "President Roosevelt must explain that whatever course he took prior to Pearl Harbor meant an inevitable conflict with the Japs. . . . It is not the Axis, but Washington which must clean itself of guilt.

BY THIS attack on the government, Thomas is rushing to the aid of a swarm of Bundist and America First candidates who were caught by events. For this is exactly the argument by which they are now trying to save their political hides—that they and the Axis wanted "peace" while the United Nations wanted war which could have been avoided by a different "policy." That this "policy" for "avoiding war" was never anything else than submission to Axis domination is made clear by Thomas' remark that this country should have "shut up" with regard to Axis aggressions if it could not "put up." This is repetition of pure Lind-

berghian, which preached that it was futile to oppose Axis expansion because the world could not stop it.

HAVING thus come to the aid of America First candidates, Thomas then proceeds to more specific business. He warns that "the United States will have a labor front" unless the trade unions break with national unity.

"Labor is being tied to the government" is the way he puts it.

Exactly how, the reader may ask, can this unholy tie to the government be shattered?

Why, by an epidemic of strikes of course; by refusal to place the winning of the war as labor's main goal; by indifference to the progress of war output. How else?

In this manner, Labor is urged to pursue a policy of national disaster because, it is implied, the war to crush Hitler is not labor's war. Above the destruction of Nazi Germany must come what Thomas glibly calls "labor's interests." Such a championing of "labor's interests" delights the labor-destroying Chicago Tribune which appreciates realistically how neatly this fits in with its own plans.

GETTING down to practical politics, the Tribune itself reveals exactly what Thomas is expected to accomplish in, let us say, the Wisconsin elections. The Tribune notes with alarm that the CIO and AFL unions have united in Milwaukee to defeat the pro-Nazi Rep. Lewis D. Thill, and the local admirer of the Nazi Bund, John C. Shafer, running to oust the pro-Administration incumbent Thaddeus Wasilewski.

Worried by this unification of its enemies, the Tribune is pushing the candidacies of the Socialists, and wherever necessary, of Progressive Party candidates whose refusal to unite behind a single candidate has given advantages to the common

enemy. And Thomas is devoting special attention to those areas where Nazi-minded candidates face the strongest opposition. It is there that he will preach the propaganda that unity behind the government's anti-Axis war is wicked since the government "got us into the war" against such innocent powers as Nazi Germany and Japan.

Thomas is trying to elect pro-fascist Republicans in the Midwest with the same strategy that Jasper McLevy is using to elect Clare Boothe Luce in Connecticut.

THE Socialist Party, observation here shows, is acting as the "front" for America First propaganda during the time that this traitorous outfit is compelled to lie low.

Norman Thomas and Maynard Krueger are spreading defeatism but more virulent than the America First outfit ever dared.

Protected for the moment by its "socialist" guise, the Socialist Party is really the advance-guard of all America First-Bundist ideology in this area.

In Illinois, the Norman Thomas Socialists join the Chicago Tribune in viewing with alarm the alleged decline of the two-party system, while in Milwaukee the S. P. candidate for Mayor, Frank Zeidler, attacks the government's war economy as "totalitarian collectivism."

The imbecilities of this Frank Zeidler's "socialism" are among the amusing sidelights of the political scene here. For example, he has delivered himself of this profoundly: "Socialism will have to give more emphasis to the consumer than in the past when it was too much involved with production questions."

To hear the solemn, bespectacled youth who delivers this with an air of Moses Descending With the Tablet is not easily forgotten. After all, a Norman Thomas is not developed overnight.

from

of Government.

20 NOV 2 1942 94

By Norman Thomas: Peace of Hate Means New War

Norman Thomas, four times Socialist candidate for President, before Pearl Harbor was strongly opposed to American intervention in the present war. He is author of "The Challenge of War" and "What Is Industrial Democracy?" In his senior year at Union Theological Seminary Mr. Thomas became associate pastor at Brick Presbyterian Church in New York and worked among the immigrant population of the upper East Side. Later he gave up the ministry and went into the field of education. He is widely known as a writer and lecturer.

For the Germans, as for the Japanese and all other peoples, a lasting peace absolutely requires a prompt agreement on the part of the United Nations on the basis of world organization so fair that it will offer hope and help to all peoples to work out their own destiny. If, instead of this, we impose a peace of vengeance and of imperialism we are making the Third World War inevitable. Such a peace imposed on the people of Germany will probably, within a few years, drive them to become Communists and seek the protection of Stalin or his successor. He will thereby become the dominant figure in Europe and much of Asia.

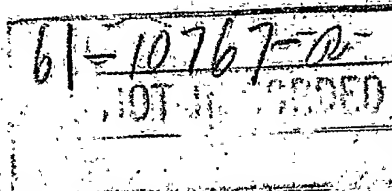
We shall have to show considerable patience in the occupied countries and Germany. Immediate imposition of order will be difficult. The real democratic forces are underground, scattered and divided. It would take them a little time to emerge. It will be fatal if, after following the recognition of a Darlan in North Africa, the United Nations would recognize the first military leader in the European countries who will go over to them and promise to restore order.

I am wholly opposed to the theory that historically or biologically the German people are destined to be the eternal enemies of peace. I am wholly opposed to vengeance on them as a people. Certain Nazi leaders deserve punishment because of cruelty going even beyond the bounds of the accepted cruelties of war. That punishment will be most effective if it is imposed by the peoples themselves. I should, however, prefer an international tribunal for trial to mere mob vengeance. One can wholly understand the thirst for vengeance among the peoples who

have greatly suffered, but vengeance is not of itself a legitimate reason for prolonging war nor is it the road to peace. The degree to which any punishment, even of individuals, will be effective will be the degree to which it is clearly to be distinguished by the world from a blind satisfaction of hate by victors.

Q.: What about the German youth?

A.: I suspect that there is a great deal of exaggeration about the degree of this Nazi indoctrination of the youth. That it was a potent force is obvious, but that it was completely potent is dubious. I have a son who has just been invalided back from Africa. He was with the British Middle East Armies in the American Field Service. He was carried in his own ambulance over a hundred wounded Germans. A few were implacable, but the others, most of them, were just boys or men held by ordinary patriotism and they wanted nothing more than to get home. That is not proof, of course, but it is strong evidence. The one thing that won't reclaim them is vengeance.



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for

JAN 5 1943

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FILE

75 FEB 4 1943

Norman Thomas Paper Attacks U. S. Offensive

While American boys in North Africa are fighting for freedom, the Socialist Call has the brass to compare their fighting with the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor.

Trotskyite Lillian Symes, does just this in the current (Nov. 20) issue of the Call, weekly organ of Norman Thomas Socialist Party, when she refers to the "jubilation over the American offensive in Africa," and adds, "I wonder how many people remember the wave of burning indignation and moralistic condemnation which swept this country in Dec. 1941, after Japan's 'sneak attack' on Pearl Harbor."

It has just been revealed that the Trotskyite sheet, The Militant, is being barred from the mails for publishing subversive matter, yet Trotskyite Lillian Symes is spreading equally dangerous propaganda in the Socialist Call.

Miss Symes even apologizes to the Hitler agents, Petain and Laval, in wondering "what our representatives at Vichy were saying to these gentlemen" and through the press, to the French people while our troops were steaming toward Oran, Algiers and Casablanca. Then, to emphasize her defeatist intent, Miss Symes cynically puts quotation around the expression, People's War.

And while Trotskyite Symes in the Socialist Call actually defends Petain and Laval, the French soldiers in North Africa are fighting side by side with the "invading" Americans against the Hitlerites.

The Hitler degenerates are murdering and torturing and crushing the people of France, Belgium, Yugoslavia, Ukraine, White Russia, Norway, the Baltic countries. But Miss Symes talks blandly of "Marquis of Queensbury rules," and sneers at what she calls "our embattled moralists."

Trotskyite Symes and the paper she writes for are enemies of America, and should be treated as such.

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11-74-42
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

58 FEB 26 1943

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JOB DRAFT SCORED BY NORMAN THOMAS

Socialist Leader Says Forced
Work, Too, Would Be a
Negation of Democracy

FEARS BLOW TO MORALE

He Also Tells Senate Military
Affairs Group Plan Would
Be Unworkable

By FREDERICK R. BARKLEY

WASHINGTON, March 22—

Conscription of civilians for war work, as proposed by the Austin-Wadsworth bill, would be not only a negation of democracy but probably also practically unworkable, asserted Norman Thomas, Socialist leader, appearing as a witness today before the Military Affairs Committee of the Senate.

Giving testimony at the request of the Postwar World Council and in its behalf, but standing alone responsible for his precise arguments, Mr. Thomas asserted that "there could scarcely be a more sweeping grant of arbitrary power to one man" than the authority proposed to be vested in the President "to place men and women at work not of their own choosing."

"It is difficult to imagine a more extreme assertion of totalitarian power than that embodied in total conscription," he continued. "It means a victory at home of the principle which allegedly we are fighting abroad. If civilian conscription is workable at all, it will be only on terms wholly inconsistent with the continued existence of a healthy democracy. Men subject to this kind and degree of control by any executive cannot and will not function as free citizens."

There is a great difference, Mr.

Thomas held, in conscripting men for military service and civilian conscription, because soldiers do not work for the private profit of other individuals but in the direct service of their country.

"Mr. Herbert Bayard Swope," he said, "has recently listed thirteen ways in which he alleges wealth is already more truly controlled than would be manpower under this law. These controls are real but they do not add up to his total. Conscripts would still be working for other men's profits and they would have no such representation in their own controls as big business has in the Washington set-up."

Gives Point for Military Draft

By logic and custom, the witness continued, military conscription is more or less self-limiting, but civilian conscription, once begun, might easily become a permanent aspect of national policy.

"Soldiers, who have accepted conscription now for the sake of victory in a war to end the compulsion totalitarianism imposes on the world," he added, "will have gained nothing if they come home to find the civilian population trained in the habit of submission to a bureaucracy which has final power over the work they do and the wages they get."

The fact that Great Britain has adopted civilian conscription in principle is no argument for its use here, Dr. Thomas held, because the United Kingdom took this action only in the face of imminent invasion and has applied it very cautiously, and also because labor in that country, through its position in the government, has a much greater degree of authority over executive use of this power than would be possible in the United States.

The witness held that the desire of the government for more power in this field "is in part a measure of its failure to use efficiently the power it already has." Admitting that the manpower situation is "serious," he listed some of these failures as reluctance to utilize

600,000 available Negro workers, Spanish-speaking Americans and the underutilized labor reservoir of white sharecroppers in the South and Southwest.

"These workers do not require conscription, but guidance and a fair chance," he said. Mr. Thomas also assailed as particularly objectionable and dangerous to national morale the proposal to include women in the labor-conscription classes.

"I notice with considerable interest that the President and Manpower Commissioner McNutt, having raised the issue, are now content to let good Republicans like the authors of this measure and Secretary Stimson do the fighting for it," he continued. "It is ironic to discover that Republicans and Democrats who in the past have uncritically berated not only communism and fascism but also socialism, as entailing civilian conscription, now advocating it in the hysterical belief that an imperfect bureaucracy creaking under the necessary tasks already laid upon it can successfully move us about like pawns on a chess board. The attempt will be dangerously destructive of that vital factor, morale."

Turning to the practical difficulties of administering such a law over a country as large and as populous as the United States, Mr. Thomas said that "God Almighty might make it work if He were foolish enough to try, but I cannot see its successful administration under our Washington bureaucracy."

"No one has shown how it will be possible to have both total conscription and extreme governmental regulation of wages and yet preserve free labor unions and a genuine right of collective bargaining," he continued. "And what will happen to the family if and when the bread-winner is moved from a region of high wages and social security to a low one, from a high-paid job to a lower-paid job, from his own house to a temporary accommodation in some new area?"

CH-24

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61-10767-A

This is a clipping from
page 9 of the
New York Times for
Mar. 25, 1943
Clipped at the Seat of
Government.

Wrecking War Production In the Name of 'Socialism'

BY MILTON HOWARD

NORMAN THOMAS appeared in Detroit three weeks ago with a political message. He sternly warned a group of his followers, many of them active in the trade unions there.

What was his warning?

That "Victory in the war has been exalted too much." Thomas was hinting that interruptions in war production need not worry labor, that it should strike.

Not long after, there broke out in Detroit destructive auto strikes interrupting vital war production.

Meanwhile, the mine strike had been called by John L. Lewis, also on the theory that labor needn't concern itself with the war.

Thomas's speech was planned to have a certain effect.

It had that effect, in strikes, in rising confusion as to labor's stake in the anti-Axis war, and in growing strain between the labor movement and the Government.

Norman Thomas' propaganda shares a heavy guilt for the outbreak of strikes in war industry.

Everything that Norman Thomas has been doing since the Axis attack at Pearl Harbor has had the political aim of creating those political conditions in the United States which could lead to a negotiated peace with Germany. Interruption of war production is one of those conditions.

Fights This War

Norman Thomas does not believe in, and actively works against, the established policy of the United States government for the unconditional surrender of Germany. His own Socialist Party has officially said that "it does not support this or any other war."

In Norman Thomas' case, his defeatism is conscious, organized, active, and articulate. He has written and spoken pub-



NORMAN THOMAS

licly that he does not want to see Hitler wiped out. And everything he is doing in the United States today springs from this deliberate defeatism.

I have not the slightest doubt that Norman Thomas continues to maintain his connections with the contacts he made in the America First Committee and the Herbert Hoover-Lindbergh movement prior to Pearl Harbor. His public speeches prove that he is continuing their old isolationist-appeaser line.

If any loyal American today wants to understand what makes Norman Thomas "tick," then let him read what Thomas wrote just about the time the Axis was getting ready to leap on the United States:

"Two or three years of war between England and Germany is more likely to see Stalin ultimately victorious than either Hitler or Churchill. Miss Feodor Uteley favors a negotiated peace

if and when there is any possibility of it.

"This conclusion is vitally important and ought to be pondered by those American liberals who write as if the military conquest over Hitler by any sort of alliance would automatically save the world."

Such sentiments would constitute sedition today; they would lead to traitorous deeds if carried out to their logical conclusion. But Norman Thomas has not only never repudiated this belief in the undesirability of defeating Hitler, he has continued to maintain this position in hidden, cunning ways ever since. He is still an apostle of negotiated peace with Germany, in fact, one of the most persistent propagandists for such a deal with Hitler operating in the United States.

Negotiated Peace

But Norman Thomas no longer dares to urge a negotiated peace directly and openly. He is therefore working incessantly to foment those social-economic and political disruptions in America which will be favorable for the negotiated peace intriguers. (It will be noticed in passing, that Norman Thomas' view about a "state-mate" between Churchill and Hitler are exactly the same as propounded by Hitler's puppet, Franco, two weeks ago.)

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This is a clipping from
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THE WORKER

Date May 29, 1943
Clipped at the seat of
Government

CH-24

Thomas' record since Pearl Harbor has been one of violent opposition to any and every war measure; to every move for unifying the nation. He has opposed centralized war planning as "totalitarian." He has fought against Roosevelt's anti-profiteering price-control measures as being "useless" and "undemocratic."

He has mocked at our British allies as "imperialist," our Chinese allies as "fascist," and our Soviet ally as "menacing Europe."

He has repeatedly insinuated that the United States "provoked" the war by its "policies," in this way continuing the "Berlin line"

that the Axis had not aggressive intentions against the United States. Norman Thomas' Socialist Call went so far as to print a letter urging the disobedience of war emergency measures in the same manner as prohibition laws were wholesale violated.

Norman Thomas sneered that "it is mad inconsistency for America to keep Britain as a bulwark between that hemisphere and a United Europe while it utterly destroys Japan as a bulwark between this hemisphere and a united Asia." (Socialist Call, Nov. 27, '42).

This can only mean that Thomas is willing to accept a Europe "united" by Hitler and an Asia "united" by Japan, provided Hitler and Japan will agree "to let America alone" in this hemisphere. This is nothing but the new version of the old Munich treachery which prepared the way for Pearl Harbor; it means negotiated peace.

That is why Thomas bitterly rebuked the United States government for banning the anti-Semitic, pro-Nazi "Social Justice" of Father Coughlin. When the Government indicted the 33 American Nazis, Thomas' paper defended them, said they were only guilty of "illiberalism" while the Government which indicted them "has accepted the totalitarian principles." The ominous record could be greatly extended.

Strike Fomentor

But it is with the Norman Thomas of the present hour that we must be concerned. He has learned the trick of posing all his disruptions in "Socialist" phraseology; but he must be viewed today as one of the most active inciters of strikes in war industries. That is, Norman Thomas is not confining his defeatist views to the realm of theory alone; he is busily putting them into practice.

For example, it was Norman Thomas' paper which encouraged and incited the auto workers to strike with its approving report that auto local leaders had said they would support the coal strike "till hell freezes over." (Socialist Call, May 14).

Following this, it was Thomas who put the case in favor of war-disrupting strikes in its crassest form. In an appeal to the soldiers of the U. S. Army, Thomas said:

"What could they (the miners) do? Take it lying down FOR THE SAKE OF THE WAR?" (Socialist Call, May 21).

In this utterance of contempt for the war, Thomas brings to full expression his sabotaging theory that this is not labor's war, and that the struggle to crush Hitler is not a working class interest or a patriotic duty. Thomas is trying to infect the working class with the Hitler-helping idea that interruptions in production are "necessary" to "defend labor's rights." In this theory, Thomas is deliberately seeking to pit the working class against the Government, to isolate the working class, and make

it a victim of a reactionary onslaught led by the Hoover forces in Congress. At the same time, the Thomas view is to shatter the alliance of labor and the Government, making it impossible for President Roosevelt to continue his war leadership, and opening the way for a Hoover-Hearst seizure of the reins of government.

And what would this lead to if not to that negotiated peace which Norman Thomas approved of before Pearl Harbor?

Every honest man in the labor movement can test and expose this Norman Thomas intrigue which menaces the war effort so dangerously.

Examine Thomas' propaganda, strip it of its fake "radical" pretensions. You will see that in practically every case where vital issues are involved, he is on the side of disruption and appeasement. He is the "Socialist" agent of appeasement.

FILE

Butterworth

Socialists Blame Riots On the War

Special to The People's World

The "Socialist" Call, organ of the Norman Thomas "Socialists," has discovered a new reason for the Detroit riots against the Negro people.

"It's the government's war against Japan that inspired the riots," The Call indicates.

After describing how American planes strafed and killed Japanese soldiers, The Call says:

"If white Americans are stirred up to kill colored people, some will start without military orders."

It goes on to say that there are a great many Southern whites in Detroit who have brought their prejudices with them.

"With the continual preaching of racial war by the government's propagandists," it continues, "the stage was all set for a terrible explosion."

Note what's involved here.

First, it's not the pro-Fascist enemies of the war effort who are back of the riots, but those who are promoting the war effort. Fascism is whitewashed by The Call, and those fighting to destroy fascism are responsible.

The position of The Call had its repercussions at the Michigan State CIO convention. The resolutions committee of the convention, controlled by a combination of Thomas "Socialists" and Trotskyites, brought to the floor a resolution on the Detroit riots in which they made the amazing statement that we should not criticize Hitler for his race theories while events like last week's anti-Negro riots occur in America.

The implication is that it is not Hitler's followers who are responsible for the riots but "we," meaning the leadership of America.

Another echo of the Norman



NORMAN THOMAS

Thomas position that supporters of the war effort are responsible for the riots was the demand that "Communists" be blamed for them.

The second implication inherent in The Call's position is that the killing of Japanese soldiers in wartime is an atrocity.

To give point to its attitude on the question, The Call boxes a story from Newsweek about one of the American heroes in New Guinea, whose "fighters and bombers had killed hundreds of Japanese troops at Buna and (gave the Japanese) the merciless beating during the Battle of the Bismarck Sea."

The Japanese call this hero "The Murderer of Moresby," and The Call reprints the story to show what a ruthless bunch of "murderers" the American soldiers are.

If this isn't peddling enemy propaganda, we don't know the meaning of the term.

It's obvious that The Call's stuff is extremely dangerous. The Japanese are attempting to exploit the riots to build their own movement among the Negro people, basing themselves on the propaganda that Japan is the "champion of the colored races." The Call lends a helping hand.

161-10767-A
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35 SEP 8 1943

This is a clipping from
page 3 of the
Peoples world for

7-7-43

Clipped at the Seat
of Government.

RECEIVED 1 2 1943

Norman Thomas Has 'Answer' to Detroit 'Riot'; U. S. War on Japan Is to Blame

The "Socialist" Call, organ of the Norman Thomas "Socialists," has discovered a new reason for the Detroit riots against the Negro people.

"It's the government's war against Japan that inspired the riots."

After describing how American planes strafed and killed Japanese soldiers, the Call says:

"If white Americans are stirred up to kill colored peoples, some will start without military orders."

It goes on to say that there are a great many Southern whites in Detroit who have brought their prejudices with them.

"With the continual preaching of racial war by the government's propagandists," it continues, "the stage was all set for a terrible explosion."

Note what's involved here:

First, it's not the pro-fascist enemies of the war effort who are back of the riots, but those who are promoting the war effort. Fascism is whitewashed by the CALL, and those fighting to destroy fascism are responsible.

MICHIGAN CIO

The position of the Call had its repercussions at the Michigan state CIO convention. The resolutions committee of the convention, controlled by a combination of Thomas "Socialists" and Trotskyites, brought to the floor a resolution on the Detroit riots in which



NORMAN THOMAS

they made the amazing statement that we should not criticize Hitler for his race theories while events like last week's anti-Negro riots occur in America.

The implication is that it is not Hitler's followers who are responsible for the riots but "we," meaning the leadership of America.

Another echo of the Norman Thomas position that supporters of the war effort are responsible for the riots was the demand that "Communists" be blamed for them.

The second implication inherent in the CALL'S position is that the

killing of Japanese soldiers in wartime is an atrocity.

To give point to its attitude on the question, the Call boxes a story from Newsweek about one of the American heroes in New Guinea whose "fighters and bombers had killed hundreds of Japanese troops at Buna . . . and (gave the Japanese) the merciless beating . . . during the Battle of the Bismarck Sea."

AGREE WITH TOKIO

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This peculiar sympathy for the Japanese fascists is not confined to the Norman Thomas "Socialists."

A few months ago, City Councilman Louis Goldberg, head of the Social-Democratic Federation, had this to say about the execution of American airmen who were prisoners of the Japanese, at a meeting

of his organization:

"The fliers were soldiers in uniform throwing bombs, and it's only natural that the Japanese should avenge it, but after an Ehrlich were innocent non-combatants."

They're against "hate campaigns" when directed at the Japanese fascists, these "Socialists." They confine their "hate campaigns" to the Soviet Union and the firmest supporters of the war effort in America.

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30 SEP 8 1943

Detroit Race Riots

This is a clipping from page 3 of the

DAILY WORKER

Date 7-1-43

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4 SEP 16 1943

Norman Thomas Rages as Liberals Reject His 'Peace Now'

Norman Thomas takes up more than a half page of the current Feb. 14 issue of The Progressive, appeasement and anti-Roosevelt newspaper, on the "Peace Now" campaign. Honest liberals who won't join with him in his "Peace Now" campaign.



Thomas becomes particularly vicious in his article against win-the-war newspapers with liberal leanings.

NORMAN THOMAS, who refuse to join in the "Peace Now" attack upon the Roosevelt Administration, and who won't still consider traitors like Senator Wheeler as belonging in the liberal camp.

"It is not much of a caricature to say that today the self-proclaimed liberal is one who reduces liberalism to hatred of Hitler," Thomas writes. "This self-proclaimed liberal has made Sen. Wheeler a bogey man in spite of the fact that Sen. Wheeler, on the whole, has had during the last quarter of a century as good a progressive record as any man in public life. Sen. La Follette and other isolationists the name itself is a misnomer—fare only less badly."

While Thomas doesn't dare mention his treasonous "Peace Now" movement by name anywhere in the article in The Progressive, he repeats the "Peace Now" cry for a negotiated peace by urging liberals to oppose the Allied determination to militarily defeat the Axis and force them to unconditional surrender.

"I am interested less in an indictment than an appeal," Thomas says. "It is difficult to exaggerate the immediate crisis. The President's policy or lack of policy expressed in terms of unconditional surrender by his support of the British, French, and Dutch imperialism in the Far East, and his underwriting of the Balkanization of Europe by Moscow and London, unnecessarily prolongs this war and makes a third world war almost inevitable."

All one has to do is tune in on any Axis short wave propaganda broadcast to hear precisely the same line which come from deep in the heart of the Wilhelmstrasse.

Thomas' article in The Progressive is encouraging. It shows that many liberals who had in the past been influenced by the phony "Socialist" line of the discredited Socialist Party are more and more coming wholeheartedly into the win-the-war camp.

Meanwhile the "Peace Now" mob was set back on its heels when widespread pressure from win-the-war forces in New York City forced Rev. John Haynes Holmes to cancel a scheduled "Peace Now" meeting in his church at which Thomas' lieutenant George W. Hartmann was to speak.

But while taking a looking on this particular point, the negotiated peace crowd went ahead with preparations to make New York City the scene of another shameful meeting. The extremely active Philadelphia wing of "Peace Now," announced a two-day conference to be held at the Labor Temple, 242 East 14th St., Saturday and Sunday, Feb. 23 and 24. Decision to hold the New York meeting was made by leaders of the "Peace Strategy Board" last Monday at the Whittier Hotel in Philadelphia.

The New York affair is scheduled under the cloak of the United Pacifist Conference headed by A. J. Muste of the Fellowship of Reconciliation; Frederick J. Libby, secretary, National Council for Prevention of War; Mrs. Robert Taft, wife of the appeasement Republican senator and others.

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This is a clipping from page 4 Sec. 1 of THE WORKER
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62 MAR 3 1944

FILE

Norman Thomas' New Seditious Rivals Venom of 30 Indicted

By Louis F. Budenz

Norman Thomas is spouting sedition again.

Few exhibitions in that direction have gone so far as does this self-styled "Socialist" in the latest Socialist Call. What he says there runs neck and neck in depravity with the assertions of the 30 indicted as Nazi agents and about to be tried.

"Massacre" is the word which Thomas dares to apply to the shattering of Nazi war industry by the Allied air forces. The gallant battle of our boys against Hitlerite oppression he dubs "enormous evil."

The blasting of Europe's people by Hitler is nothing to Thomas; it is not to be fought. The black nightmare of fascism is not to be opposed. He indicates such specifically in waving aside the paralysis of Germany's war production by the Allied airmen as something which does not matter.

The Hitler-helping utterances of the defeatist-pacifists against Allied bombing of the Nazis Thomas would put "in every library and in as many homes as possible." Through such devices he would shatter the morale on America's home front.

But it is the morale on the battle fronts which he also wants to break. This he does by telling the American airmen that their brave deeds against the Nazi oppressors will "haunt" them in the future.

This is exactly what a Hitler agent would say. It is sedition. Why is it not treated as such by our government?

What Thomas says is only a prelude to even more direct appeals to treason by one Harry Paxton Howard. His utterances are spread large on the Call's front page.

Against the United States, for furnishing bombers to the Soviet Union, he adopts a threatening tone. He accuses us of murder in Helsinki, of helping to destroy Finnish public buildings needlessly. Waxing maud-

lin, he dubs Mannerheim's fascist Finland "the only breath of intellectual freedom that remains to the east of the Baltic."

Then this seditious copier thought originally put forth by William Randolph Hearst's "military writer" — "Major General" David Barrows — that the United States should deny lend-lease to the Soviet Union unless it quits fighting Finland!

This Hitlerite suggestion appeared in the New York Journal American on March 8. It is copied by Howard in the Call on March 17.

In his zeal Howard rushes out to quote Editor Voigt of the British "Nineteenth Century and After" against the United States and the Soviet Union. That reveals his colors. Voigt is the man who is so dear to the heart of Senator Burton Wheeler, defeatist. Voigt has written also, in deep laudation of Hitler and Hitlerism.

When will the government act against such sedition?

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FILE

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Norman Thomas Will Retire From Politics

LOS ANGELES, Oct. 2 (I.N.S.). After 44 years of campaigning for the Socialist party, Norman Thomas is retiring from politics. The Socialist candidate for President disclosed today that the current campaign would be his last.

The matter of his retirement came up when he was asked if he would oppose Fiorello LaGuardia for mayor of New York in the next election.

"At a meeting of the Socialist party in Chicago next January I shall formally retire from active politics," he said.

file

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

Street
Carson

mk

161-10767-A
NOT RECORDED
87 OCT 16 1944

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Edition No. 8
Date OCT 2 1944

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21 OCT 17 1944

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Norman Thomas Predicts Fascist Movement in U.S.

New York, Oct. 12 (AP).—Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for President, predicted today that a strong fascist movement would develop in the United States within 10 years.

The raw materials for such a movement, he told a press conference, will be unemployment, racial tension, the question "what did we get out of the war," and the national debt.

Declaring that "the choice of the future will be democratic socialism or totalitarianism," Thomas said he was firmly convinced that the policies of both President Roosevelt and Gov. Thomas E. Dewey "are leading us along the road to a hell of chronic depression and new wars."

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

W. J. [unclear]
W. J. [unclear]

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WASHINGTON POST, 10-13-44
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FILE

Devious Trail of Norman Thomas Leads Inevitably to Dewey Camp

By ISRAEL AMTER

It appears impossible, but Norman Thomas has assured us that it is not true as reported, that he "will resign from politics, following the present campaign." This had been reported by the Hearst press but is denied in the Call (Wisconsin edition), Oct. 20, 1944. We felt sure that Norman Thomas would not desert his pals either during or after this campaign.

Norman Thomas is still needed by the reactionary capitalists, as part of the whole pack of Socialists, Social Democrats, and Trotskyites who are carrying on destructive work in every field of activity. They have a foul reputation in certain unions (auto workers and others), where they cooperate with the rottenest anti-labor elements and anti-union capitalists. In addition, they have their "special role" to play in attacks upon the Soviet Union and the Communists. Surely Thomas would not be allowed to leave his pals at this most important stage of world development.



Israel Amter

In the Oct. 20 (Wisconsin edition) of the Call we learn the following:

"Dewey is in full agreement with Roosevelt's war aims and has accepted the reforms of the New Deal Administration."

If this is true, then what is the sharp election struggle about.

Yes, the Call is correct when it says:

"Dewey was one of the first to leap into print with high praise of the results of the Dumbarton Oaks conference."

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SUPPOSES ISOLATIONISTS

Yes, he was, but only with the aim of destroying it. Dewey has refused to repudiate the isolationist Senators—incumbents and those standing for election or reelection. He has not dared to criticize the reactionary, defeatist press of McCormick, Patterson, Hearst, Gannett and Scripps-Howard. In fact, he has given glowing endorsement to Sen. Alexander Wiley of Wisconsin, who is an arch-reactionary and defeatist. Thus Dewey can pretend to be in favor of the Dumbarton Oaks decision, but counts upon a reactionary Senate and House to defeat any proposal for United Nations organization and action.

The purpose of the Call's commentary is the intimation that there is agreement between Roosevelt and Dewey on domestic and foreign problems. This serves to becloud the issue and to make it possible for Thomas and the Call to try to get away as many votes as possible from Roosevelt for Dewey.

Then also we are told that "Dumbarton Oaks offers no hope that the world can be freed of war."

If Dumbarton Oaks offers no hope, then there is no hope and we might just as well prepare now for the next world war. But it is just because Dumbarton Oaks does offer such hope that the struggle has become so sharp between the forces under the leadership of Roosevelt and the reactionary, imperialist, defeatist, fifth columnists behind Dewey, who do not serve our nation or the world.

What in Thomas' opinion is the real aim of the Dumbarton Oaks decision?

"It (Dumbarton Oaks) is aimed at protecting against the peoples of the world the gains of victory that have accrued to Britain, Russia and America."

RESPONSIBILITY AND POWER

The Big Three will be responsible for maintaining peace. That is perfectly obvious, because they alone have the military, economic and political power that can guarantee peace. This does not mean that the smaller nations will not have their say in the Assembly. It does not

say that they must without discussion accept the decisions of the Big Three. But where there is responsibility there must be power. That power is provided by Dumbarton Oaks. The agreement is not a perfect agreement, but is a profound step in uniting the democratic, peace-loving peoples of the world against any and all aggressors. Hence it must be given undivided support.

Norman Thomas and his Socialists have another job, namely, to carry on struggle against the Soviet Union. What does the Soviet Union want and demand? It wants safety from any further attack. It correctly refuses to discuss the question of whether the Baltic States—Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia—are or are not part of the Soviet Union. The peoples of these three states have already spoken and there is nothing to discuss. The Soviet Union wanted and wants protection from the north-west from Finland. It took two wars—the war of Finland against the Soviet Union as a tool of imperialism, and the present war—to convince the leaders of England and the United States that the Finnish government was a tool of Nazism. And yet we are told by Thomas that

"Roosevelt together with Churchill apparently threw the Finns whose cause they had so passionately and justly espoused in 1910, to the Russian wolves."

We are further told that

"If Roosevelt made any protest or proposed any alternative plans for

Poland, he was unsuccessful."

What does the Soviet Union demand of Poland? Since the First World War and up to the time of the Second World War, Poland was under reactionary, militaristic, fascist leadership. Poland was always a threat to the Soviet Union and unfortunately was encouraged, in this attitude by certain circles within the United States and Britain. The Soviet government demands today that there be a government established in the future Poland (which should be strong and independent) that will be friendly to the Soviet Union. It is to be hoped after the experience of the Second World War and the struggle against ferocious Nazi Fascism that the Polish people themselves will understand this better.

Similarly the Soviet Union wants good relations with Czechoslovakia, with whom it has a treaty, and with Yugoslavia, Romania and Bulgaria. Is there anything wrong in such relationships? Thomas seems to think so because it might hurt the interests of some reactionary imperialist circles in the United States and Britain. The Soviet Union naturally wants friendly relations with Italy, France and all other countries of Europe which would prevent the unification of Western Europe against the interests of the Soviet Union and thus act as a corridor sanitaire. This could only create suspicion and lead to trouble.

Thus it is clear that Thomas is still needed. We ask the Hearst reporter—please to have a heart. Don't make our hearts flutter again upon the receipt of such news as that Norman Thomas intends to retire. We can't stand it in these strenuous war days.

FILE

Norman Thomas Wins City's Booby Prize

Norman Thomas, the Socialist, who piled up all of 6,117 votes in New York City for the office of President, is making great progress backwards.

In this direction he even surpassed and outstripped his rival in the race toward oblivion, Edward A. Teichert of the Industrial Government (Socialist Labor) Party. Teichert received 11,902 votes throughout the city.

Of course, Thomas did his best in his own way to aid and abet the Dewey forces against FDR, but even if you add some Dewey votes to Thomas' pile, he'd still be on the winning side of the losing picture. Tch, tch, and after he's been in the picture so long!

161-10767-A
NOT RECORDED
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page 5 of the
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FILE

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[Handwritten signature: Bill Carter]

Norman Thomas and His Political Striptease

READING, Pa. — Political strip-teasing is still being performed on the national stage by the exhibitionist Norman Thomas. He revealed all the Dewey-like body of his

"Socialist" campaign just as the curtain rang down on his act last week.

The best place to see Thomas plain is in the Reading Labor Advocate, weekly official organ of local Berks County, Socialist Party. In Reading, Thomas packs them in. There he and his stage hands give their best and most revealing performance. Honest believers in socialism, who think Thomas wears the distinguished mantle of Eugene Debs, not the open bra of Herbert Hoover, are referred to the Nov. 3 issue of the official Thomasite organ—the last one before the election.

PANDERING FOR DEWEY.

Twelve Steps to Fascism is the title of a leading editorial. "Because we believe them worth while," the Thomasite paper says, "we offer for consideration a warning issued by a group that calls itself 'Labor's

Nonpartisan Committee for Dewey and Bricker.' What follows is quoted by the Committee as 12 steps by which Nazism became all powerful in Germany. Americans should ponder each step."

After quoting this Dewey document in full, with its familiar Roosevelt-hating, schrecklichkeit, the Thomas organ makes sure the spectator has not missed the purpose of the show. It says: "Having submitted the above steps, the 'Labor' Committee urges those who read them to locate one of the 12 that has not been used by the present Administration in Washington.

"We have done just that—and are more uneasy than ever before for the future of American democracy."

There is one step Mr. Thomas did not display in his Dewey dance with its transparent veil of opposition to

both parties. The betrayal of the labor movement by the Thomas brand of "socialists," was necessary to pave the way for Hitler in Germany. With a handful of exceptions, dangerous exceptions, it is true, the American labor movement has repudiated Thomas.

MERE BAGATELLE

The Thomas organ also omitted to identify the "Labor Committee." It quoted so admiringly. It consisted of a few GOP payrollers, repudiated and denounced by the AFL which was unanimously for Roosevelt. Two examples: George Mallon, Philadelphia regional AFL director, whose ouster was unanimously demanded by the Philadelphia Central Labor Union when he said he represented labor in conferring with Dewey; George Williams, forced out of the state AFL when he supported Martin for Governor, against the unanimous opposition of the State Federation.

These were the labor renegades repudiated as such by the AFL itself, with whom Thomas danced Dewey music as the election curtain fell on his shameful campaign act.

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To Tell the Truth

These Men Are Our Brothers

by Robert Minor

IN THE North Atlantic off the tip of Iceland in February last year, four men stood on the deck of the sinking army transport Dorchester. One was a Catholic priest, two were Protestant ministers and one a Jewish rabbi, chaplains of the United States Army. To a line of men under orders to "abandon ship" the chaplains were passing out life-belts. The supply of belts gave out, and still there were men in line. The four chaplains took off their own and passed them out as the last four life-belts.



This rabbi, this priest, these two Protestant ministers, went to death of their own will because they cared more for a great ideal than they did for their own lives. The ideal for which they died is our ideal, and these are our kind of men, our brothers. It may be that each explained his act to himself in terms that came down through 2,000 years of Christian theology, or 30 centuries of Hebrew theology. But that would leave the matter still unexplained; some men speak those terms and stay away from warships. Others go willingly as they did to die for the same cause and do not speak in religious terms at all. Many thousands of political commissars of the Red Army of Russia died this way.

But all of these, the Protestant, the Jew, the Catholic and the Marxist materialist, went into the same fight for the same cause of world democracy. In the things that count they were men of the same noble kind.

TAKE an opposite example.

Norman Thomas also began his adult life as a minister. As pastor of a Presbyterian church he was drawn into quite commendable struggles for civil liberties, one of which was the fight against the unlawful expulsion of the five Socialists elected to the New York State Assembly in 1920. The disturbing changes in American life of the 1920's led Thomas to abandon his pulpit, and he became a member and leader of the Socialist Party.

Unable to reconcile himself to things as they were, yet fearing above all things the great labor

movement with its ideals of socialism, he became a "safe and sane" replacement for old Gene Debs. Norman Thomas never became a Socialist in the only real, the Marxist sense. I once wrote an article in which I quoted a statement of Thomas that he was "not an orthodox Marxist." Reading my manuscript, Earl Browder interjected: "Yes, and most of his troubles come from the fact that history is an 'orthodox Marxist.'" I added Browder's remark to my article.

And history went ahead and left Norman Thomas behind.

History went ahead and left him standing on ground less firm than the decks of a sinking warship. And less firm than the ground that was trodden hard by the feet of John Calvin 400 years ago. John Calvin was a fighting man. Without a star in the sky, Norman Thomas made his calculated wavering the means for destroying the unity of the struggle for social security in the crucial 1930's; his love of civil liberties reduced itself to aid of Trotskyite intrigue. All that he did happened "accidentally" to flow with the flood of reaction in the 1930's of which the typical expression was the Dies Committee. Little was left in him but his growing fear and hatred of the labor movement and of socialism; he worshipped more and more as an empty sectarian abstraction, synthetic "socialism" made of words, while the one great hate of all of life became for him the socialism that exists in the living form of the great Socialist Republic in Russia. More and more hating his own failures, he saw his party sink to a pitiful sect, whose only achievement in the national campaign he led is the "throwing" of the congressional election in Connecticut to the harpy of the war—Clare Luce.

Norman Thomas stands on the

decks of no ship of war. No more in spirit than in body. A confused grab-bag of small middle-class prejudices, pacifism was the only answer his mind could find for war, and this answer is the one that best suits Hitler—for use in the lands he wants to conquer. But no, he found another answer, too, that fits the one greatest hate of his life: that at all costs the world must not follow the path of alliance of the new Socialist state with the western democracies for peace "for many generations." The logic of pacifism.

NORMAN THOMAS last Friday announced that the Socialist Party is dead as a national political entity; that our country which is just now winning the most glorious victories against fascism—"is on the road to fascism." The greatest phenomenon of the century, the victory over fascism and the unprecedented economic collaboration of world democracy—including cooperation of Socialist and Capitalist states—are for his sightless eyes just the road to chronic unemployment.

Thomas' quarter of a century journey from the Presbyterian pulpit brings him at last to retirement as an aged cynic—though fewer in years than the most active leaders of armies today—bereft of all hope or faith and all ambition but to throw his last ounce of venom upon the ideals of mankind.

I think the second Lieutenant Father John P. Washington, Rabbi Alexander D. Goode and the Reverends George L. Fox and Clarke V. Poling, upon whom the Army has just conferred posthumously the Distinguished Service Cross, knew they were not dying in vain.

Here is our homage to a Catholic priest, a Jewish rabbi and two Protestant ministers, chaplains of the United States Army.

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Norman Thomas Now Defends Japanese Imperial House

By ADAM LAPIN

Mr. Norman Thomas has become an advocate of the Japanese emperor institution in his old age. Indeed, the New York Herald Tribune refers to him quite appropriately in an editorial as an "American Shinto."

In a letter to the Herald Tribune, yesterday Thomas repeated his now familiar argument against war to the finish against Japanese imperialism. Thomas is afraid of "Communist agitation among the embittered Japanese" and of possible strengthening of the Soviet Union.

But in this letter Thomas goes a bit further. He is worried lest American occupation of Japan might help the spread of communism. And he opposes "banishment or execution of the emperor" which, he says, "would give to the old regime the sanctity of martyrdom."

The Herald Tribune replies to Thomas with a gentle but pointed lecture on Marxism. It explains that the political philosophy of socialism has long taught that "the actions of societies are a consequence of their institutions."

It point out that Socialists of all people ought to understand that the

problems of Germany and Japan cannot be solved "without radical uprooting and revision of the social institutions which have led to the obscene evils we are now fighting."

The conservative Herald Tribune even rebukes Norman Thomas for adopting the magnolia blossom point of view that occupation of the South during reconstruction was cruel and evil. It emphasizes that military occupations can and frequently do have progressive repercussions.

The rock-ribbed Republican organ is quite correct in dubbing Mr. Thomas a "political shinto." It goes off the track only in one particular — when it also describes Thomas as a Socialist and by inference as a Marxist.

Norman Thomas has never been a Marxist. He has said so himself these many years. And it follows naturally that he is not a Socialist either. For Marxism is the bone and marrow of socialism.

The Herald Tribune may be a little startled, but the Daily Worker is not surprised by Mr. Thomas' turn to emperor worship. He has long been the American counterpart of these European "Socialists" who turned quisling. He has opposed the war against Nazi Germany. He has consorted with notorious America Firsters. He is a bitter old man, consumed with hatred of the Soviet Union, who prefers the rule of Hirohito to the triumph of democracy in Asia.



** Socialist Party*

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file

for Imperialism

Norman Thomas--Drum Major

file

By WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

NORMAN THOMAS is one of the most dangerous of the sinister forces now trying to organize a war against the Soviet Union. He constitutes a special, subtle type of menace, because he carries on his war-making agitation under the guise of pacifism, of anti-imperialism, of socialism, and in the name of the working class. And what is true of Thomas is also true of the Dubinskys, Reuthers, and others who, each in his own way, are carrying out the pro-war line of Social Democracy.



2 The agents of American imperialism, from the Chicago Tribune to Norman Thomas (which is not so far after all) have one basic thing in common: the propagation of a relentless hatred toward the USSR. This anti-Soviet campaign is the very heart of the whole present war instigation. Above all, what the imperialist warmongers want to do is to make the American people believe that the Soviet Government is a menace; that it is on an imperialist expansion rampage which threatens American national interests and the peace of the world. If they could succeed in convincing the American people of this then more than half of their job of developing an anti-Soviet war would be accomplished. From then on the details of organizing the

war would become progressively easier.

THOMAS MISLEADS

Therefore, when Norman Thomas, in tune with the Chicago Tribune, the Hearst press and other imperialists, is carrying on a ceaseless vilification of the Soviet Union, he is thereby laying an ideological basis for another world war. At the same time, Thomas makes a show of opposition to universal military training and to other phases of the Truman Administration's gigantic war program of militarization, but this diluted opposition is in no way a contradiction to, or a negation of, Thomas' positive ideological warmongering against the USSR. It is a necessary part of his warmongering.

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DAILY WORKER

Date 4-16-46

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The very fact that Thomas is mildly critical of the government militarization program lends all the more weight to his war propaganda against the USSR. Because many unthinking persons, listening to the glib Mr. Thomas speaking for what he calls Socialism, can easily reason like this: "See, even Norman Thomas, the Socialist, who speaks out against militarism and war, nevertheless finds the Soviet Union to be a grave danger to world peace and democracy. Evidently, therefore, those who say that that dangerous country must be taken in hand and made to toe the line are correct. Thus, the unctuous Mr. Thomas (like the Reuthers, and Dubinskys) has created more business for the imperialist war-

makers, which is precisely the purpose he has in mind. The great danger of such war propaganda as Thomas' made under the guise of pacifism and radical phrases is that it is directed to the workers and to other democratic forces. It is an insidious flank attack against their natural and strong anti-war sentiments.

IMPERIALISTS HAPPY

The imperialists of this country are quite aware of the net pro-war effect of the line of Mr. Thomas and other Social Democrats regarding foreign policy. They know perfectly well that so long as Thomas keeps on blasting the Soviet Union with charges of imperialism and expansionism he is helping them to prepare their

(Continued on Page 11)

Norman Thomas—Drum Major for Imperialism

(Continued from Page 2)

deeply-desired anti-Soviet war, no matter how much he may sprinkle his Soviet-baiting with milk and water opposition to the government's militarization plans. It is precisely because they are anti-Soviet warmongers that the Thomases, Reuthers, Dubinskys, et al., are presently such darlings of the bourgeois press and radio and are given such friendly and lavish publicity by these capitalist opinion-making agencies.

Mr. Thomas, by his warmongering against the USSR, is continuing the line he followed all through World War II (and long before that). During the war Thomas tended to picture Stalin, not Hitler, as the great danger. The world menace that he saw was not a war victory of fascism, but a spread of Soviet influence in the post-war. Hence, he sneakily opposed the war, condemned the slogan of unconditional surrender, and, with his own slogan of a "peace offensive," he advanced a

program that in effect would have resulted in a negotiated peace with Nazi Germany. That a peace by negotiation must have amounted to a fascist pictory and the subjugation of the world to Hitler never seemed to trouble Mr. Thomas.

USSR HIS MAIN FOE

The main enemy he wanted to stop was the Soviet Union. So it is not surprising, now when World War II is finished, that Thomas should join, under his own glib pretenses of pacifism and Socialism, with the imperialists who are straining every nerve to plunge this country into a war against the USSR.

Norman Thomas, with his special brand of Soviet-baiting, is doing a service to the warmongers of this country very much along the line of that performed by the right wing Social Democratic leaders of Germany for Hitler during this pre-war period. For many years these social Democrats carried on a violent and intensive

campaign against the USSR. They literally poisoned the German working class with anti-Soviet lies. Thus they laid an ideological basis for Hitler's eventual war against the USSR. In consequence, they were primarily responsible for the fact that so many German workers disgraced themselves by fighting against the world's great Socialist Republic. Hitler took up where the Social Democrats left off. He carried their poisonous anti-Soviet campaign to its logical conclusion by waging war against the USSR. Mr. Thomas together with the Dubinskys, Reuthers and their ilk, are trying to perpetrate a similar betrayal of our working class and the American nation.

SOCIALISTS ADVOCATE FORMING THIRD PARTY

CHICAGO, June 2 (AP)—The national convention of the Socialist party endorsed today development "on a nation-wide scale" of a new political party after an appeal in favor of the resolution by Norman Thomas, perennial Presidential candidate.

The resolution adopted 71 to 43, stated that plans for such a third party "must be consistent with its growing devotion to democratic socialism," and "the party must be completely independent of the two old parties, and Fascist and Communist totalitarian groups must be excluded from its formation."

Two new members of the National Socialist Committee of Twelve were elected at the convention's closing session. They are Aaron Levenstein, of New York City, and Carle Whitehead, of Denver, Colo.

Committee members re-elected are: Thomas; Walter Uphoff, of Madison, Wis.; Darlington Hoopes, of Reading, Pa.; Maynard Krueger, of Chicago; Al Hamilton, of Washington, D. C.; Harry Fleischman and Robin Meyer, of New York; William Becker, of Newark, N. J.; Lawrence Piercey, of Detroit, Mich., and Ben Horowitz, of New York.

Mr. Tolson.....
Mr. E. A. Tamm.....
Mr. Clegg.....
Mr. Glavin.....
Mr. Ladd.....
Mr. Nichols.....
Mr. Rosen.....
Mr. Tracy.....
Mr. Carson.....
Mr. Egan.....
Mr. Gurnea.....
Mr. Harbo.....
Mr. Hendon.....
Mr. Pennington.....
Mr. Quinn Tamm.....
Mr. Nease.....

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Don't know

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52 AUG 23 1946

The Myth-Makers

Is Soviet Slave Labor A Bogy?

By Norman Thomas

Prominent Socialist leader, author of *Is Conscience a Crime?; Human Exploitation; We Have a Future; and a number of other works.*

WITH great interest I read in the September issue of *Soviet Russia Today* an article entitled "The Bogy of Soviet Slave Labor." Now, if anyone could prove that slave labor in the Soviet Union is only a bogy, I should be a happier man. I should face with less concern for the future of the world the growth of Communist power if I could be persuaded that it was not responsible for the deliberate re-institution of forced labor or slavery on a scale far greater than that practiced in Hitler's Germany—at least in peace times. The horror of this re-institution of slavery is if possible the greater because it is the work of men who profess to be the only correct interpreters of Marxism which taught that even capitalism had abolished the institution of chattel slavery. The danger of forced labor in the Soviet Union is the greater because it is contagious. It is spreading to the satellite states, and Communists who defend and condone it in other parts of the world can be expected to practice it if they get power.

Before we see what evidence *Soviet Russia Today* offers that slave labor is a bogy, let us summarize the charges concerning such labor. It is alleged with documentary proof and without denial by the Soviet Government that it uses an undetermined number of millions of prisoners, recruited from among its own citizens and prisoners of war and opponents of Communism in satellite states, in forced labor under conditions similar to those in Hitler's camps.

This is not convict labor in the usual sense of the word, because the greater number of victims have not been convicted of any crime. These slaves are

recruited and managed by the most efficient and ruthless secret police in the world, and today they are deliberately used as part of the economic apparatus in certain rough industries where the low costs of such labor make it advantageous to use it under merciless compulsions despite its relative inefficiency. It is further charged that besides actual forced labor in work and concentration camps, other millions of persons, men and women, are removed from their homes and forced to live in areas which the government wishes to colonize under conditions not much better than the prisoners in some of the camps. There is a growing body of literature on this subject which is admirably summarized and presented in *Forced Labor in Soviet Russia*, by David J. Dallin and Boris I. Nicolaevsky (Yale University Press). It is against this book in particular that the article which I am examining was written.

The author of the article is Henry Pratt Fairchild, Professor Emeritus of Sociology at New York University, and a man of some standing among the liberals, who, I believe, has always denied that he is a fellow-traveler. And what evidence does Prof. Fairchild offer in support of his good news that slavery is a bogy? Precisely nothing. He is honest enough to admit that he was not allowed to see any Russian prisons or prison camps. He tells us that "nobody knows" the extent of "correctional labor"—observe his use

question-begging substitute for the word "slavery"—because "the Soviet authorities do not tell us and there is no other way of finding out." Prof. Fairchild makes this statement as a preliminary to discrediting the estimates of the extent of this "correctional labor." Apparently he does not realize that his admission is terribly damaging to the Soviet Government. All of the civilized countries give numbers of their prisoners, and the extent and kinds of convict labor they permit.

SINCE Prof. Fairchild has no facts, he can only seek to discredit the charges that other men present. He does this by several familiar and completely unscientific devices. Thus, he argues that convict labor is legitimate. He then insists without any proof whatever that all forced laborers in Russia are properly convicted prisoners. Even "political prisoners," who are much more numer-

ous than in the United States" (sic), deserve their fate. "The reasons for this are obvious and cannot be discussed in this article," says he, and then he goes on to give the usual excuse of "the aftermath of a difficult and costly revolution" and "a series of military attacks by outside powers." (The war, Dr. Fairchild, has been over for more than two years, and postwar aggressions have been the work of the Soviet Union—out of them it has got some of its slaves. Moreover, Dr. Fairchild, I seem to remember hearing you once argue on the public platform that the Russians so loved not only their country but their Government, that unlike other nations they had no Quislings or traitors. Which position on that issue do you take, Dr. Fairchild, or do you shift sides to suit your immediate convenience in argument?)

Early in his article Prof. Fairchild resorts to the old trick of quoting damning statements concerning changing conditions in some American states. The

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Poles, the allies, supposedly, of the Russians. Said the General: "Why should they complain? We treat them no worse than we treat Russians who have to do the same sort of work under the same conditions."

Concerning camp conditions, our "liberal" comforts himself and his readers with such reflections as these: "The life of a prisoner is seldom easy. And in the case of the Soviet Union, especially during the past seven or eight years, there are particular reasons why existence in penal institutions should not be a bed of roses. . . . It could hardly be expected that prisoners, whether domestic criminals or foreign captives, would fare any better than the working populace or the soldiers in the army." That, Dr. Fairchild, comes close to saying that not only during the war but before and after all Russia is a kind of prison, so that concentration camps aren't much worse than relative freedom. Is that the picture Communists want us to have of their holy land?

Suggestion is that Soviet crimes are somehow excused because similar crimes are also practiced in Georgia and other American states. Decent Americans have bitterly condemned these crimes at home, but it is legitimate to point out that even in Bilbo's state prisoners have some sort of public trial, are convicted on the charge of violating a definite law, and are not the victims of the secret police.

The horrible conditions under which most of the slaves work for the state are extenuated by this "liberal," this sociologist who supposedly knows something about the inevitable consequences of giving men absolute power over slaves. He deliberately understates the body of evidence that Dallin offers about conditions in the camps. He attacks by innuendo the veracity of men and women, one or two of whom I happen to know, and for whom I have unbounded respect. He is caustic about Dallin's appeal to the evidence of the Poles, which the reader can find detailed in such books as *The Dark Side of the Moon*. Says our "liberal" professor concerning Dallin's reference to the Poles: "A considerable portion of camps he is describing are prisoners of war camps; it is obviously confusing the issue to throw these into the same general category, and give them the same treatment, as penal camps for Russian convicts."

To which the answer is: first, that most of these Poles were not in any legitimate sense prisoners of war. They were civilians deported when Stalin and Hitler were allies. In so far as Polish and other prisoners of war were and are used in Russia, it is in violation of every legal and humanitarian convention concerning the treatment of prisoners of war. An American officer, during the war, taxed a Russian general with the Russian treatment of the

DR. FAIRCHILD'S crowning argument is that he saw and liked Bolshevo, a city peopled by convicted criminals who are given a chance under excellent conditions to make good. This, he argued, is probably typical of Russian camps. A dramatic experience of my own enables me to state the precise opposite. I, also, in 1937, was favorably impressed by Bolshevo, to which political prisoners were not sent. It was, as my guide cheerfully admitted, in a class by itself. Shortly after leaving that pleasant spot, we passed as miserable a looking lot of men as I've ever seen—except that they did not wear chains—who were working on some project under armed guard. With difficulty, I had the automobile slowed or halted. But not for long. My guide's comment was: "You see, they have only one soldier to guard them." It is true, only one was in evidence, but I had earlier passed the outside of a concentration camp where plenty more force was visible, even from a moving vehicle.

So completely are all Russians under the control of the police state, so terrible are the wilds into which prisoners would have to escape from many of the camps, that a comparatively few ruthless guards can control a great many prisoners. And that, by the way, is the answer to Dr. Fairchild's attempt to discredit high estimates of slave prisoners, on the ground that there would not be enough soldiers and police to watch them if there were so many.

It is to discrediting high estimates of slaves or, as Dr. Fairchild calls them, "convicted criminals," that he devotes most of his attention. Again he has no figures of his own. His argument implies that we need not worry about slavery if Dallin's estimate is too high. Liberals, it would appear, should be concerned only about the quantity and not about the quality of slavery wherever it exists. Our particular liberal calmly ignores all the evidence that the slave population includes not only Russians in the proper sense of the word, not only prisoners of war, including hundreds of thousands of Japanese

taken by the Russians after the war was over, not only Russian soldiers guilty of the crime of having surrendered to Germans, but also hundreds of thousands of the Baltic peoples and of the five autonomous republics dissolved by Moscow, together with Germans from occupied territories, and Hungarians, Bulgarians, Rumanians and Yugoslavs snatched from the satellite states. Yes; and among the tragic population were and are numerous Jews, Zionists and Socialists, most of them originally very sympathetic to the Soviet Union. In Dallin's book, Dr. Julius Margolin tells his tale, which Professor Fairchild dismisses, along with all similar evidence, by saying: "The stories told by these individuals certainly depicted very harrowing conditions. How much are they worth as factual, scientific, objective testimony?" (And that, Dr. Fairchild, was a question I used to hear asked by apologists for the Nazis.)

I LAID DOWN this article with the thought that if this is the best defense that can be made by partisans of the Soviet Union, its guilt must be obvious. (Continued on Page Fourteen)

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FIVE

Soviet Slave Labor

(Continued from Page Six)

and overwhelming. In ordinary circumstances, I should not give so much space to the analysis of so weak an article, but the circumstances are not ordinary, and the amazingly weak special pleading is in itself evidence of the enormity of the crime. It is for me not a joy but a sorrow to have to face that fact which means so much to the world of my children and grandchildren.

Counting the weight of my words, I charge that precisely the same sort of defense could have been made by a professional apologist for the Nazis for their use of concentration camps and slave labor, at least up until the time that the occupation of Germany gave us overwhelming and indisputable evidence of Nazi crimes. I charge, moreover, that it is impossible to hold Germans generally in some degree responsible for those crimes without declaring one's own guilt for condoning similar crimes in the Soviet Union. Neither Dr. Fairchild nor I is in a position to argue how much worse were the German camps. Apparently, the Soviet Union does not use gas tanks, but hunger and brutality offer less merciful escape. And, alas, we Americans have a higher degree of responsibility for the growth of slavery in Europe after the defeat of Hitler than we had for his enormous crimes. Unquestionably, the agreements reached at Yalta and Potsdam and the military directives

under them gave sanction to a continuance of slavery as it did to the displacements of populations. Americans, officers and men, were forced to help in the repatriation of Eastern Europeans not to their homes but to Stalin's slave camps. Hence the argument whether or not slave labor in the Soviet Union is a bogey should touch our conscience keenly.

Let no one say that in bringing this indictment against the Soviet Union and its apologists I am arguing for war. A new world war even more than World War II would be likely to extend human misery degradation and slavery. But with the possible exception of "preventive war," there would be no more likely road to war than a continuation of the appeasement of the Soviet Union at the price of such apologies for slavery as Dr. Fairchild has offered. It is time for decent men everywhere to oppose the new slavery to a police state as the final crime against humanity.

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FIVE

Thomas to Address A May Day Rally

Norman Thomas, socialist leader, and Luigi Antonni, first vice-president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, will be among the speakers at the United May Day conference rally at Manhattan Center on Saturday afternoon, May 1, it was announced today by Nathaniel Minkoff, chairman of the meeting.

Minkoff stressed the fact that the rally had no connection with either parade scheduled for May 1, asserting that "one parade is a regular Communist-front demonstration" and the other an event "which, though opposed to Communism, would bring to the fore illiberal and reactionary ideas."

Mr. E. A. Tamm	
Mr. Clegg	
Mr. Glavin	
Mr. Ladd	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tracy	
Mr. Carson	
Mr. Egan	
Mr. Gurnea	
Mr. Hendon	
Mr. Pennington	
Mr. Quinn	
Mr. Nease	
Miss Gandy	

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EX-63

The Sun
APR 24 1948

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5-7-48

Universal Disarmament Now?

A Reply to William Henry Chamberlin's Open Letter
from NORMAN THOMAS

WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN in his open letter to me raises question of enormous importance in a dangerous world where there is no absolute safety. Let me answer those questions by first stating my position.

Nothing in the future of humanity is more certain than that a continuance of the present armament race is economically disastrous and heads straight to war. War, as history and psychology assure us, will be the well-nigh inevitable release from the tensions, emotional and economic, of the armament race and the fear and hate which are its necessary accompaniment. It is completely impossible to believe that the United States can achieve such superiority that sheer fear will forever deter the Soviet leaders from war or sheer superiority of American impelments of mass destruction guarantee victory in a world in which breathtaking improvements in means of destruction may ultimately leave us no survivors of conflict.

I therefore, propose a passionate but well-thought-out appeal to the peoples, and necessarily the governments, of the world for the transfer even of conflict from the military plane. I want my country to plead for the universal abolition of peacetime military conscription; for the universal demilitarization of narrow waterways and inland bases; for the international control of the development of peacetime atomic energy under the provisions already approved by the majority of the Security Council; and for the general reduction of national armaments and military establishments to what might be called a police level to preserve internal order, except insofar as there may be quotas for an international force.

All this will require international inspection and the strengthening of the World Court. The ultimate goal is the right sort of world government—a goal which is at present unattainable. I think the United Nations can be reformed to serve an interim usefulness. This will require at least a *de facto* end of the veto power and the establishment of security force, the mobile part of which should be recruited from small nations incapable of sustaining imperial ambitions.

I think the Politburo's acceptance of this appeal with the necessary controls very doubtful. But we shall have done what has not yet been done and what is of vital importance. We shall have launched a great and logical idea. We shall have convincingly answered charges of American militarism and imperialism. We shall appear in a new light to all the peoples of the world, including even the Russians. The Kremlin can distort and conceal news, but not altogether. Stalin can never distort this proposal into an attempt to encircle Russia. Thus he has presented the Truman doctrine and even the Marshall plan to his people. I think we make a serious error in overestimating the permanent ability of a dictatorship to treat men like pawns, simply in accordance with its own interests and without reference to the ideas, like love of peace, which move them. Already the Kremlin has learned that it cannot altogether control the passionate nationalism which it so easily invoked.

I SHOULD make my foreign policy depend largely on replies to this appeal for disarmament. Assuming lack of unanimity, I should seek to set up a security league (under Article 52) within the United Nations of those who, wanting disarmament with proper controls, will temporarily pool their resources, spiritual and material, for defense against aggression, meanwhile

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pleading for all nations to come in. Such defense would be superior to any unilateral defense by the United States. There is no perfect safety but this is the best thing we can do.

Now, as I understand it, Mr. Chamberlain's questions are based on the unlikely chance that the Kremlin would agree to these proposals. He says that the Communist dictatorship has the will, the capacity, for bad faith, the control of its people, and the opportunity in the vast spaces of the USSR to flout its agreement, to baffle inspection, and to produce the most dangerous type of arms.

Nobody can answer this with a flat denial. I can only point out that it would be far harder to evade inspection and carry the Russian people into war under my plan than Mr. Chamberlain assumes. There would be an international force on guard and I doubt if extensive preparations could be altogether concealed from inquiry, protest, and, at the worst, counter-preparations. I think that even the Russian dictatorship may be capable of deciding before many years have rolled by that there is no victory in a universal graveyard and that its main dependence need not and cannot safely be the weapons of an atomic age.

In any case, the danger is immensely less than the continuance of the present armament race which seriously threatens American democracy internally by its economic and psychological effects, and at that price cannot bring us security.

The only other thinkable alternative would be an immediate preventive war based on the assumption that we have a practical monopoly of atomic arms. That alternative is not consistent with the maintenance or establishment of a decent world. The price of victory would come close to destroying America, economically and spiritually. The policing of the sullen survivors of the conquered world would complete our destruction. On this, I agree with Henry L. Stimson. We would not have one Rome and one Carthage but two Carthages.

Both Mr. Chamberlain and I were critics of the process which led to the present crisis. But here we are, and I shall go on insisting that my proposal for universal disarmament under effective international control offers the only hope there is for averting war while we develop the forces that may ultimately establish a sure and lasting peace.

New York City.

THESE DAYS

By GEORGE E. SOKOLSKY

FOR the sixth time, Norman Thomas is a candidate for the Presidency of the United States on the Socialist ticket and while he stands no chance of election, he has gained in stature and public approval. He has neither become a slave of the Kremlin nor has he gone over to capitalism as a reaction to association with communism.

This year, it is anticipated that Norman Thomas will receive a fairly large protest vote.

For there are some who just will not vote for Tom Dewey and the Republicans; who are distressed by Truman's lack of knowledge and his ineptitude; and who abhor Henry Wallace's complete subservience to the Kremlin.

They will vote for Thomas to express their dissatisfaction.

NORMAN THOMAS is a Socialist. He believes in the specialization of the means of production and distribution. He calls attention to his 1928 program, which Roosevelt adopted in 1932 in some of its immediate provisions and which, in some respects, both the Republican and Democratic parties accepted in 1948. Thomas himself points to these provisions:

"... The principle of collective bargaining must be recognized.

(We must have) "An adequate national program for flood control, flood relief, reforestation, irrigation and reclamation.

(We must have) "A system of health and accident insurance and old-age pensions as well as unemployment insurance.

(We favor) "Shortening the work day... securing to every worker a rest period of no less than two days in each week.

"... The farmer is entitled to special consideration because of the importance of agriculture... Because the farmer is unable to control the prices of what he buys and what he sells."

TOO much can be made of this. The American way is progressive and has been for 300 years. American capitalism is premised on the theory that larger quantities of purchasing power should increasingly be made available to all elements in the population so that they can purchase a constantly increasing quantity of the productivity of farm, mine, and factory.

Also, American capitalism has supported the reduction of working hours, introducing labor-saving machinery, with the object of increasing leisure and the use of goods and services designed for leisure.

The eight-hour day did not come into existence as either a Socialist or a New Deal reform, nor did the high wage scale or the high standard of living grow out of the party platforms of any kind.

NEVERTHELESS, it is true of Norman Thomas that he has generally been ahead of his times; that his services to his country have been unselfish and patriotic. At 63 he can point to a record of devotion which must be the envy of every American with a conscience.

His record during the war was extraordinarily sound. He opposed not only nazism but communism.

He says: "We bitterly opposed the slogan 'Unconditional surrender' as purely negative. We attacked the Morgenthau plan, the division of Germany into zones, and the failure of Mr. Roosevelt even to try for peace on a basis looking toward political and economic co-operation—exemplified, for instance, in a United States of Europe.

"Our insistence in 1944 and after was on the impossibility of peace by indiscriminate vengeance against Germany and appeasement of Stalin."

TODAY, when many of those who toadied to the Kremlin and the American Communists and who brought upon us the shame of Yalta, point to an occasional and rare reflection on the abuses of the Communists, and justify their stupidities on the ground that because they were fighting Hitler they could not see Stalin, Norman Thomas can point to a daring and courageous pursuit of peace—a lasting peace—during the entire course of the war.

Now he is opposing Henry Wallace and his party. He says:

"But in the manipulation of the movement, Communists have gained too much power. Bitter experience from World War I down through 1936 taught us Socialists the impossibility of any co-operation in good faith with a party controlled rigidly from Moscow, and which glorifies bad faith as part of its religion."

Thomas may be smiled at as a perennial candidate, but he has the courage to serve without hope of success, to labor without profit, to be American in its most idealistic terms.

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

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S. J.

ADAM

LAPIN

'Safe' man

SAN FRANCISCO

On the surface Norman Thomas's Presidential campaign looks like an exercise in futility by a kindly old man.

And there is much to support this impression in the writing of those liberals who have by a curious twist of the lesser evil theory decided that Norman Thomas is a lesser evil than Henry Wallace.

Max Lerner, the luckless columnist of the New York Star who backed Truman but preferred Eisenhower and hankered for Douglas, has now completed his version of the dance of the whirling dervish by declaring himself flatly for Thomas.



Now it is easy to dismiss liberals like Lerner as men with little following, few principles and no courage and a penchant for futility. I do not quarrel with this judgment. Perhaps it would not be altogether inaccurate to make the same estimate of Thomas.

But I think it would be a mistake to dismiss Norman Thomas's current campaign that easily. This is not because Thomas has somehow, after all these years, captured the popular imagination. It is because he has such influential campaign managers.

Friends of Mr. Thomas

I am referring, of course, to the radio magazines, the big magazine publishers, the well-paid national columnists. They have taken over where Thomas and his miniscule Socialist party must perforce leave off.

Workers at countless mass meetings must dig into their pockets to put Henry Wallace on the air, yet Thomas has little trouble in getting free time on a dozen assorted public forum programs.

And he actually got paid for the free publicity he received when ostensibly covering the Democratic, Republican and Progressive conventions for the press.

Marquis Childs gives Thomas a plug in his nationally syndicated column. And so does Harold Ickes, who says he can now swallow Truman, but advises those of his readers who can't to vote for Thomas.

"There is not even any difference in the international field between Democrats and Republicans on one side, and the Dixiecrats and Socialists on the other," says Colliers in extending the bipartisan bloc to a four party alliance which includes Thomas.

Thomas is 'safe'

As for domestic policy, Colliers notes that Thomas "opposes the Communist idea quite as sincerely as do Democrats, Republicans and Dixiecrats."

The Saturday Evening Post, that respectable repository of ultra-conservatism, says:

"Our advice to those who want to protest against the two major parties is to take either Norman Thomas or the Dixiecrats."

Indeed, the SEP prefers Norman Thomas to Strom Thurmond!

"Mr. Thomas is the outstanding personality of the campaign and a man of character and wit. For those who are unhappy outside a lost cause, he would be our selection."

The billion-dollar Curtis Publishing Company which publishes the SEP is not content with having two parties it can support with equanimity. It must have its pet and thoroughly tame third party, too.

Diversionsary party

This indeed is the real function of the Thomas campaign. It is to act as the ostensibly left-wing satellite of the bi-partisan coalition. It is to pull votes away from Wallace by depicting Thomas as the respectable progressive who stands for the same thing.

Of course, there are limits to what the press and the radio can do for Thomas. His vote will be small at best. But his sponsors are thinking of the future too.

They apparently hope he can give them the nucleus for building in this country something like the Social Democratic parties of Europe, which have served reaction so faithfully, and which could be used to combat the Wallace movement.

That is why the Thomas campaign is getting such bountiful support on the right. And that is why it represents a genuine if still microscopic danger to the progressive cause.

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People World for

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FIVE

Thomas to Speak

Norman Thomas, former Presidential candidate on the Socialist ticket, will discuss whether the Democrats will adopt the Socialist program, at a meeting of the National Press club at 12:30 p.m. Wednesday.

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Samuel H. Jordan

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53 APR 19 1949 ¹⁴

This clipping is from
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The Washington Times Herald

4-9-49
Date

FROM NORMAN THOMAS

New York, Feb. 9—It is good that the case of Cardinal Mindszenty should so thoroughly have aroused Americans to the monstrous denials of justice under Communist or Communist controlled courts. The cardinal's case is but the most conspicuous of a long series of cases in the Soviet Union and the satellite nations in which confessions, or what look like confessions, are extorted by strange means from some defendants in political trials, while others are sentenced to death or the slavery of concentration camps, without any public trial. Indeed, in some of these cases, for instance, the execution of the Polish Jews and vehement anti-Nazis, Ehrlich and Alter, by Stalin during the war, there was no public trial at all, no alleged confession, and no public charge even of technical offenses against the government.

But while protest is good, there are aspects of the current protest which are disquieting. It is one thing, and a good thing, to summon defenders of democracy and sincere believers in religion to crusade against Communist intolerance and injustice. It is another thing, and a bad thing, to use language which seems to suggest that the war of the atomic age is the method which the crusaders must embrace to achieve their ends. Surely, all thoughtful men, including those most deeply stirred by the cardinal's fate, will agree that the answer is not a resort to war by atom bombs.

It is also disquieting that some protest seems to suggest that there is a peculiar infamy in the trial of Mindszenty because he is a cardinal. There is peculiar political significance in it, but not peculiar injustice. A prince of the church is entitled to the same justice as the humblest peasant or worker, neither more nor less. The humble victims of Communist terror are equally our concern with the most prominent. Inquiry into the exact circumstances of Cardinal Mindszenty's trial, the nature of his so-called confession, and the reasons for it, is important because of the light it may shed on a Communist method of wide application.

Finally, the volume and intensity of American protest laid a solemn obligation on us to show new zeal in protesting denials of justice at home. When a Negro is lynched in Mississippi or the white murderers of a Negro in Georgia go scot free, that should be of even more immediate concern to the lovers of justice in America than the sins of the Hungarian court, because our responsibility is greater.

Norman Thomas

G. I. R. - 7.

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

Feb 27, 1949

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Mr. Glavin	_____
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Norman Thomas Blasts Mundt Bill

Norman Thomas, veteran Socialist Party leader, yesterday protested refusal of the House Committee on Un-American Activities to allow him to testify against the Mundt-Ferguson-Nixon Bill.

In a letter to Committee Chairman Wood (D-Ga.), Thomas said the bill would give government officials "dangerous power" and "would inevitably prove an engine of oppression."

Meanwhile, a group of Brooklyn civic leaders announced formation of a Brooklyn Citizens Committee against the Mundt Bill.

The N. Y. State Communist Party issued 500,000 leaflets calling the bill "Joe McCarthy's savings in legislative form."

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G. L. A.

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Security Matter
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76 APR 29 1950

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EMINENT CITIZEN

THAT was an unusual and heart-warming tribute paid on Saturday in New York to Norman Thomas, the veteran Socialist who is the only man ever to be defeated six times for President of the United States.

Thirteen hundred persons representing nearly every shade of political opinion attended a testimonial luncheon for the 65-year-old "champion dissenter" of American politics.

Last November, Mr. Thomas received only 139,000 votes for President, less than one-third of 1 per cent of the total. Yet it is difficult to think of any man in American public life who is held in higher esteem by his political opponents.

The reason for that, of course, is that people know Norman Thomas, tho he is a leader well to the left of center, is first and last an American. They know that he is a man of great intellectual honesty, eminently civilized and thoroly unselfish in his desires for something better for his fellow citizens.

Only the party-line Communists have found cause to hate Mr. Thomas. Tho a Socialist, he has always opposed bringing about social change thru force. He has never loved another country more than America, and he would be the last to look abroad for guidance in his political activities.

We would, as James A. Farley said of Mr. Thomas at the luncheon, be better off with many more Americans like him.

G. I. R. - 1

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83 JUL 5 1950

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Times-Herald

Wash. Post

Wash. News 26

Wash. Star

N.Y. Mirror

Date: 6 1950

53 JUL 10 1950

Norman Thomas Raps Arrest of the 17

The arrest of 17 working class leaders "will be far more effective in paralyzing the liberties guaranteed under the First Amendment than in protecting national security," Norman Thomas, veteran Socialist Party leader said yesterday.

In a statement issued by the Public Affairs Committee of the Socialist Party, of which Thomas is chairman, he said that the "decision of the Supreme Court makes the Smith Act constitutional. It does not make it wise."

"We urge," the statement said, "that Congress exercise its clear right and perform its clear duty by re-examining the whole situation with a view to passing laws which will protect the national security without jeopardizing the freedom which is America's glory to the degree that is now possible under the Vinson opinion."

Chief Supreme Court Justice Fred Vinson delivered the majority opinion upholding the constitutionality of the Smith Act.

Noting the dissenting by two Supreme Court justices and doubts expressed by two others, Thomas said that a "careful reading of the opinions leads one to believe that the court will have to reconsider its position if the First Amendment is to have any clear value in guaranteeing our liberties. This we earnestly hope it will do."

The statement claimed that "communism will go deeper underground and so become more dangerous" as a result of Smith Act prosecution and said that "outlawry of a political party by indirection is a peculiarly bad policy."

"This outlawry of a political party by indirection under a treatment of the First Amendment which greatly qualifies the guar-

antee of freedom of speech and the press may well be a greater danger to American liberty than anything which the 17 leaders of the Communists, now under arrest were doing to endanger the national safety."

Thomas noted that four of the eight judges who passed on the act "expressed or clearly implied doubts of its wisdom" and that two of the ablest judges, Hugo Black and William Douglas, in vigorous language found the act unconstitutional.

He quoted Justice Felix Frankfurter, who found the act constitutional, as saying that "the wisdom of the assumption underlying the legislation and prosecution is another matter."

He further quoted Justice Robert Jackson, who also upheld the act, as declaring that he thought the law of conspiracy, as developed under this act, is "an awkward and inept remedy."

Justice Douglas referred to the statute, which makes a seditious conspiracy unlawful and implied its sufficiency for the present situation, Thomas said.

Justice Jackson disagreed with Justice Douglas in the general discussion of the doctrine of conspiracy.

"It surely is not beyond the capacity of free men to state that doctrine clearly so that it will apply to seditious acts of all sorts which may jeopardize our safety without imperilling our liberty under the First Amendment to the degree that is probable under the precedent set by the Vinson opinion," Thomas said.

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NOT RECORDED
136 SEP 11 1951

This is a clipping from
Page 3 of the
Daily Worker

Date June 22 1951
Clipped at the Seat of
Government.

FILE

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 Belmont ☒
 Clegg ☐
 Glavin ☐
 Harbo ☐
 Rosen ☐
 Tracy ☐
 Laughlin ☐
 Mohr ☐
 Winterrowd ☐
 Tele. Rm. ☐
 Holloman ☐
 Gandy ☐

Baumgardner
A. J. Doyle

File

Thomas Calls for Shift in Socialist Aim

Times-Herald ☐

Wash. Post ☒

Wash. News ☐

Wash. Star ☐

N.Y. Herald Tribune ☐

N.Y. Mirror ☐

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 147 APR 1 1953

Date: FEB 24 1953

79 MAY 1 1953

By Jack Taft
 NYHT News Service
 NEW YORK, Feb.

Norman Thomas, in a new study published today, calls for changes in the thinking and beliefs of American Socialists that would deemphasize the Marxian theory of the class struggle and admit up to a point the virtues of a competitive society.

Entitled "Democratic Socialism—A New Appraisal," the study says flatly "the working class is not the messiah which some of us thought" and urges American Socialists to accept the declaration: "The economic arrangements which are good for my neighbor are good for me."

It warns against pressing State ownership too far because "the State under the most democratic theory and practice will become too huge, too cumbersome."

One of America's top Socialists and presidential nominee of the Socialist Party six times since 1928, Thomas elaborates on his proposal of last year that the party end its practice of putting up candidates for political office. He admits the failure of Socialists in the political field and calls for them to concentrate henceforth on "the education of their fellow Americans, especially in the great labor unions."

The 68-year-old Thomas, apparently seeking through the pamphlet to chart the course of American socialism for the second half of the century, points out bluntly that times have changed and that demands for all out State ownership no longer make sense.

"We have learned," he says, "that it has been possible, to a degree not anticipated by most earlier Socialists, to impose desirable social controls on privately owned enterprises by the development of social planning, by proper taxation and labor legislation, and by the growth of powerful labor organizations."

Thomas refers to nationalization in Britain by the postwar Labor government, says it improved the economic status of British workers, but continues: "But it must be admitted that nationalization of industry in Great Britain and elsewhere has not been the simple solution of all problems which many Socialists in their age of faith had assumed."

On state ownership Thomas says: "Two things have happened since World War I to lessen somewhat Socialist insistence on state ownership. First, not only the dictatorial Fascist and Communist states have sharpened our fears of the state as the master of human society, but experience with the broadened activities of relatively democratic states like Britain and America has made us more aware than formerly of the dangers of a statism—and the economic inadequacies of nationalism—against which we must always be on guard."

But Thomas does not write off State ownership, or social ownership under Democratic control, as he prefers to call it. He believes it necessary, for example, in the fields of natural resources, steel manufacture, and credit and money.

"There is not one perfect formula," Thomas writes, "for what ought to be owned under social legislation. One determining factor is the public attitude, which varies according to time and place. Each generation should be allowed to make its own decisions."

Thomas refers to "advantages for freedom and enterprise in varieties of ownership." He says: "There are men with a deep-seated desire to work for themselves. They will work harder and be more ingenious in so doing."

Thomas notes that "the spirit of emulation or competition is deeply rooted to us." He goes on: "A completely noncompetitive society would be dull and stagnant. Within bounds, competition can be made consistent with an over-all principle of mutual aid (among individuals). Socialism should try to stress competition for the laurel wreath rather than the sack of gold. . . . But it should recognize that material progress has been furthered by competition for material reward."

The equality-in-pay principle is thrown by Thomas and he says there is "no automatic formula for a fair wage." He continues:

"It is of primary importance in Socialist plans and action that the least well paid of our workers should come to understand that the whole answer to the problem of poverty does not lie in any formula devoted simply to a more equitable sharing of the wealth. Even in relatively rich America, the answer to poverty depends also upon more efficient production."

Thomas states that "the concept of the class conflict basic to Marxism needs modification."

"Marx thought that the lines of division between workers and owners were becoming steadily clearer. This, however, has not been the case, least of all in our own country. . . . There is no such tight fusion of all different economic groups into two and only two contending classes of owners and workers, as Marxism postulated."

Thomas disputes the contention that capitalism is the cause

of war. He also says "Socialism is not a panacea against war." He goes on: "In the light of history and logic, Socialists are not warranted in repeating once popular statements that capitalism is the cause of war and that the only hope of peace is universal socialism."



NORMAN THOMAS
... calls for de-emphasis



Conscience

By Murray Kempton

The Earl Browders are in trouble and they are not loaded with cash. There is talk of a committee to raise funds for Browder's pending perjury trial and Mrs. Browder's threatened deportation. And the chairman of such a Committee to Defend Earl Browder may well be Norman Thomas. The functions of General Secretary of the Communist Party periodically require the public statement that Thomas is a mad-dog assassin, and, during his days as party leader, Browder called Thomas many things that a man of normal intolerance would have trouble forgiving.

Now Browder is in trouble; Thomas said he regards the proceedings as an injustice, and would certainly join any committee to assist him. Browder was last in a jam in 1950 when he was jailed on charges of contempt of a Senate Committee. The Commie fronts were busily raising money to bail out various victims of the police state, but of course they wouldn't do anything to assist their discarded leader in his hard time.

In those days, Browder was still suffering from lingering delusions about the Soviet leaders who had liquidated him as party secretary in 1946. The non-Communist left was still suspicious of him; he was thus a man without party or purse.

At that time Norman Thomas wrote Browder and offered to help with his bail. There was a moment when it looked as though Browder might have to turn to this ancient enemy for succor; then a school teacher put up his bail.

In 1932, Browder and Thomas had a theoretical difference over the Communist line on the Negro; Browder calmly informed the Daily Worker's audience that Thomas was an advocate of lynching.

Browder's lawyer is O. John Rogge, an immensely valuable fellow whose career was sullied for a brief period some years ago when he got confused about the Communists.

In 1948, during the height of his delusion, Rogge said Thomas had fascist tendencies. Shortly thereafter, Rogge recovered his senses and broke with

his pro-Communist associates who paid him their customary respects by denouncing him as an agent of Tito and the FBI all along. Rogge goes on taking civil liberties cases at a loss and the Communists go on calling him a police agent and he has come round, too, to recognizing the value of Norman Thomas.

All these things, Norman Thomas can forgive. How many men before Browder have discovered, late and to their surprise, that there are fine values in the American idea and to how many of them has Thomas suddenly and startlingly appeared as the embodiment of those values?

He never amounted to much as a politician, and the reason for that could be that even now he has not put away the sense that man is essentially good and never past redemption. There is a sense in which Norman Thomas has never quite grown up and lost his illusions; there are 12-year-old boys with less of their virtue left intact.

His followers have come and gone; most of them left with the sense that they have outgrown him. The people around him ran like water through his fingers; his standard has been deserted again and again; among some very good citizens, the deserters include Priscilla Hiss and J. B. Matthews; more than anyone I can think of, this man is honored by the character of so many who have found him wanting.

In his old age and his unaltered youth, he will arise and do what he can for Earl and Irene Browder as he has done for so many others before him. Someone once said that Norman Thomas is the conscience of America. It seems to me about time that we gave a dinner for Norman; not an ordinary dinner but one that would involve all the people who were wrong when he was right. The guest of honor might object, but it would seem to me that the ideal co-chairmen would be Frank Hague and Earl Browder. For the business of the guest of honor's life, after all, has been hating, the sin and saving the sinner.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Egan
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Quinn
Tele. Rm.
Mr. Nease
Mr. Starnes
Miss Gandy

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98 JUN 24 1953

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N. Y. POST

DATE: MAY 29 1953

FORWARDED BY N. Y. DIVISION

102 JUL 13 1953

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Thomas Sees Peril in Bill To Outlaw Communists

Norman Thomas, one-time Socialist candidate for President, said yesterday any move to outlaw the Communist Party would give it the "appeal of martyrdom to American youth."

He told a House Judiciary Subcommittee bills to make it a crime to be a Communist would backfire by arousing "sympathy for communism." He said this reaction already has been "one of the direct and more unfortunate results of McCarthyism."

House Democratic Whip John R. McCormack (Mass.) and Rep. Charles E. Bennett (D-Fla.) said there are "no justifiable arguments" against the dozen-odd bills being studied by the subcommittee.

But Thomas said "to outlaw the Communist Party, however objectionable its program may seem to a majority, is to deny a basic democratic principle and invite subversion and ultimately violent action."

At one point, Thomas told the subcommittee that "I was fighting communism long before 1946, in which year Sen. (Joseph R.) McCarthy was accepting the support of Communists to defeat (the late) Sen. Robert M. La Follette, Jr., in the Wisconsin primaries."



United Press
NORMAN THOMAS
before House group

He also said outlawing the Communist Party would:

1. Make it "far harder, not only for the public but even the FBI, to keep tabs on Communist thought and activity... it would make it easier for Communists to practice deceit."
2. Give communism the "appeal of both mystery and martyrdom to thousands of Americans, especially American youth."

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NOT RECORDED

76 APR 9 1954

The Washington Post
and Times Herald *2*

Date: APR 6 1954

5 5 APR 12 1954

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Mr. Tolson ✓
 Mr. Boardman ✓
 Mr. Nichols ✓
 Mr. Belmont ✓
 Mr. Glavin ✓
 Mr. Harbo ✓
 Mr. Rosen ✓
 Mr. Tamm ✓
 Mr. Tracy ✓
 Mr. Mohr ✓
 Mr. Winterrowd ✓
 Tele. Room ✓
 Mr. Holloman ✓
 Miss Gandy ✓

G.I.R. 8

(COMMUNIST PARTY)
 NORMAN THOMAS TOLD CONGRESS THAT ANY MOVE TO OUTLAW THE COMMUNIST PARTY WILL BACKFIRE BY GIVING IT "THE APPEAL OF THE ONE-TIME PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY ALSO SAID IT WOULD ENCOURAGE "SYMPATHY FOR COMMUNISM" WHICH HE DESCRIBED AS "ONE OF THE DIRECT AND MORE UNFORTUNATE RESULTS OF MCCARTHYISM." THOMAS TESTIFIED AT A HOUSE JUDICIARY SUBCOMMITTEE HEARING ON BEHALF OF THE AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION IN OPPOSITION TO SEVERAL BILLS WHICH WOULD MAKE IT A CRIME TO BELONG TO THE COMMUNIST PARTY OR OTHER TOTALITARIAN GROUPS.

4/5--PA309P

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WASHINGTON CITY NEWS SERVICE

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ADD 1 COMMUNIST PARTY

TWO HOUSE MEMBERS -- DEMOCRATIC WHIP MCCORMACK AND CHARLES E. BENNETT (D-FLA.) -- URGED APPROVAL OF THE BILLS, SAYING THERE ARE "NO JUSTIFIABLE ARGUMENTS" AGAINST THEM.

BUT THOMAS SAID THE BILLS ARE OF "DIFFERENT ORDERS OF BADNESS" AND WENT ON TO ENUMERATE:

1. "TO OUTLAW THE COMMUNIST OR ANY OTHER PARTY ENGAGED IN LEGITIMATE POLITICAL ACTIVITIES, HOWEVER OBJECTIONABLE ITS PROGRAM MAY SEEM TO A MAJORITY, IS TO DENY A BASIC DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLE AND INVITE SUBVERSIVE AND ULTIMATELY VIOLENT ACTION."

2. IT WOULD MAKE IT "FAR HARDER, NOT ONLY FOR THE PUBLIC BUT EVEN FOR THE FBI, TO KEEP TABS ON COMMUNIST THOUGHT AND ACTIVITY. . . . IT WOULD MAKE IT EASIER FOR COMMUNISTS TO PRACTICE DECEIT."

3. "THERE IS NOT MORE BUT LESS UNDERSTANDING OF THE REAL EVILS OF COMMUNISM, NOT LESS BUT MORE SYMPATHY WITH IT. THAT IS ONE OF THE DIRECT AND MORE UNFORTUNATE RESULTS OF MCCARTHYISM. THE OUTLAWRY OF THE PARTY WILL ONLY STRENGTHEN THIS MOVEMENT OF SYMPATHY."

4. THE OUTLAWRY OF THE PARTY WOULD GIVE COMMUNISM THE APPEAL OF BOTH MYSTERY AND MARTYRDOM TO THOUSANDS OF AMERICANS, ESPECIALLY AMERICAN YOUTH."

THOMAS INDICATED HE BELIEVES HE IS AS GOOD OR BETTER THAN SEN. JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY (R-WIS.) ON THE QUESTION OF COMMUNISM.

"I MERELY REMIND YOU," HE TOLD THE SUBCOMMITTEE, "THAT I WAS FIGHTING COMMUNISM LONG BEFORE 1946, IN WHICH YEAR SENATOR MCCARTHY WAS ACCERTING SUPPORT OF COMMUNISTS TO DEFEAT SENATOR LAFOLLETTE IN THE WISCONSIN PRIMARIES."

4/5--PA318P

Norman Thomas: 70 Years Old

By WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

ON NOV. 20, Norman Thomas, six times Socialist Party candidate for President, celebrated his 70th birthday. This was made the occasion for many columns of friendly felicitations in the bourgeois press. Such a deluge of capitalist encomiums should surprise no one.



FOSTER

The ruling class are in the habit of knowing their friends and treating them accordingly. They do not take seriously the occasional chatter about Socialism by Thomas, nor does he. His political category is that of a mild liberal. There are few bourgeois politicians in the country who would rate such an outpouring of bourgeois birthday greetings as has been accorded Thomas.

The time was, a generation or so ago, when the Socialist Party was a constructive force in the life of the American working class. It exposed the evils of capitalism, called upon the workers to adopt independent

political action, combatted the reactionary Compers bureaucracy, propagated a perspective of socialism, and otherwise gave a constructive lead to the labor movement. Those were the days of Eugene Victor Debs and other fighters.

But this period of progressive, proletarian leadership has long since passed for the Socialist Party. Under opportunist domination, particularly that of Norman Thomas, that party has systematically degenerated, until now it is just another tiny organization supporting capitalism. The difference between the fighter Debs and the liberal Thomas is the sign of the decay of the Socialist Party.

THE SOCIALISM of Thomas is only a slick defense of the aggressive line of American imperialism, veiled under a few lingering socialist phrases. Thomas and his co-workers support the main war program of Wall St., no less basically than do the Meanys, Reuthers, Dubinskys and their kind. Like them and Wall St., the leading political objective now in Thomas' life is to block and defeat the Communists—that is, Socialism—and to save the capitalist system.

Norman Thomas and the little coterie of Social Democrats who trail along with him play no constructive role whatever in the fight against war and fascism. Every policy put out by the State Department—Marshall Plan, Truman Doctrine, European Defense Community, Paris agreement, or what not—can always depend upon Thomas' agreement, with his usual inconsequential amendments regarding details of enforcement.

The same can be said also about the serious attacks that have been made upon civil liberties, not only by McCarthy but by both the Truman and Eisenhower administrations. Norman Thomas' general position in this respect may be gauged from the fact that in the debate, three years ago, on the McCarran-Walters "subversive control" bill, he championed the administration plan of concentration camps for Communists.

THE DECAY of the Socialist ideas that Thomas may once have flirted with, is part and parcel of the political degeneration of the American Socialist Party and of the whole right-wing Socialist International.

When the real test of the Socialist movement of the world came in World War I and the Russian Revolution which followed it, the right wing Socialists, of which Thomas is a typical leader, exposed its essential character as a defender of capitalism against advancing socialism. This has been its line ever since, and the capitalists of the world, working feverishly to save capitalism by wiping out socialism, understand this fact very well and everywhere look upon the Norman Thomases as their most reliable allies.

The New York Times, in its editorial of birthday greetings to Mr. Thomas, hits the nail squarely on the head when it thus does homage to his devotion to capitalism: "We stand the more firmly because this 'Socialist' (Times quotes) has lived and striven among us for long, unselfish years."

This explains clearly why Norman Thomas is such a darling of the bourgeoisie, and it also explains, far more importantly, why the leadership of the workers of the world is decisively passing out of the hands of right Social Democrats such as Thomas into those of Communist fighters.

This is a clipping from page 4 of the

() Daily Worker
() The Worker
() New Leader

Date 11/22/54
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

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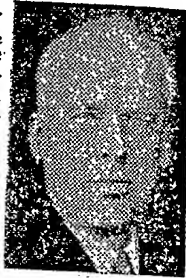
128 NOV 29 1954

60 DEC 1 1954

Socialist Says Reds Are Weak

Socialist leader Norman Thomas today charged that both "legislative and administrative sins against individual freedom in the fight against communism have impaired rather than strengthened national security."

Mr. Thomas, speaking at a conference on Personal Security Programs in U. S. Industry, sponsored by D. C. chapters of the Industrial Relations Research and American Political Science Associations, said he believes communism "is now greatly weakened in the United States" as compared to conditions in the 30s.



Mr. Thomas

He attacked past Government procedures against communism in schools as "clumsy, unnecessary and ineffective."

"It is nonsense," he said, "to hold that past membership in one of the 281 organizations on the Attorney General's list of itself disqualifies a man or woman from teaching."

NO JOB BAN

With a further blistering indictment of the Attorney General's list, Mr. Thomas said that past membership in organizations listed on it, should "under no circumstances" disqualify anyone from positions in Government and industry.

He said any "blanket extension" of current security procedure into defense plants would be a "serious blow to freedom, to morale of workers and to efficiency in production."

Last April, Mr. Thomas said, he asked Defense Secretary Charles Wilson to state the Defense Department's position on an article that appeared in an official military bulletin.

He said the article would make anyone suspect who "had folk dancing or music as a hobby, or liked to talk about McCarthyism."

NO ANSWER

Mr. Norman said he has never received a reply. He challenged Mr. Wilson to answer "so that we may judge in what spirit he, tacitly or openly, would support the indefinite extension of loyalty and security procedures into American industry."

Other scheduled speakers today were Wilber M. Brucker, general counsel for the Defense Department; William F. Tompkins, Assistant Attorney General, and News reporter Anthony Lewis, 1955 Pulitzer Prize winner for national reporting.

Mr. Lewis said the proposed Defense Facilities Act, which would expand security procedures by "an unknown but certainly large amount," is "highly dangerous."

Citing a danger to the free flow of ideas, he told of a recent incident when Post Office Solicitor Abe Goff said he wanted to keep communist literature out of the country because "it is full of distortions about the United States, and if ignorant people read it, they might begin to believe it."

Mr. Tolson ✓
Mr. Boardman ✓
Mr. Nichols ✓
Mr. Belmont ✓
Mr. Harbo ✓
Mr. Mohr ✓
Mr. Parsons ✓
Mr. Rosen ✓
Mr. Tamm ✓
Mr. Sizoo ✓
Mr. Winterrowd ✓
Tele. Room ✓
Mr. Holloman ✓
Miss Gandy ✓

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Times Herald

Wash. News

Wash. Star

N. Y. Herald Tribune

N. Y. Mirror

Date: JUN 3 1955

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Mr. Tolson ☒
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 Tele. Room ☐
 Mr. Holloman ☐
 Miss Gandy ☐

Article Withdrawn

"In speech and in writing on various occasions I vigorously protested an article called 'How to Spot a Communist' in the Air Intelligence Training Bulletin. I acknowledged that it was legitimate for the Government to explain to members of the armed forces the nature of communism, but I felt that the article itself was bad in principle and in substance.

After various complaints of the American Civil Liberties Union and individuals, the Secretary of Defense ordered the article rescinded. I then inquired whether the notice of the rescinding would be carried in the magazine which first printed the article. I received the following reply from Mr. Henry Du Fon, the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense:

"The July issue of the Air Intelligence Training Bulletin (usually distributed between the 15th and 20th of the month) will carry a rescission notice and statement that no further reproduction or distribution of the subject article will be permitted."

In justice to the Department of Defense I want to put on record the fact that it has taken this satisfactory action in regard to the article in question.

NORMAN THOMAS

New York

Wash. Post and Times Herald 14
 Wash. News ☐
 Wash. Star ☐
 N. Y. Herald Tribune ☐
 N. Y. Mirror ☐
 Daily Worker ☐
 The Worker ☐
 New Leader ☐

Date JUL 18 1955

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71 JUL 18 1955

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Thomas Blasts Army Handling Of 'Risk' Cases

By the Associated Press

Norman Thomas charged today that the Army's security program has wrongfully fastened disloyalty labels on many young men and made it impossible for them to get jobs after they were discharged.

The Socialist leader, often a presidential candidate, accused the Army of "assuming the role of censor over all the Nation's young men from approximately the age of 15 to 30."

He said a report on more than 100 cases affected by the security program would be handed to Assistant Army Secretary Hugh H. Milton II today.

The report was prepared by Rowland Watts, Baltimore and New York attorney and national secretary of the Workers Defense League. Mr. Thomas is a director of the league, which describes itself as an anti-Communist organization interested in the defense of civil liberties.

Joined by AVC Official

The two men were joined in the presentation by Kenneth M. Birkhead, national executive director of the American Veterans Committee.

Mr. Watts said material for the report was gathered through

interviews with lawyers and their clients from coast to coast.

An Army allegation in one case, described as "still pending," was that the draftee had a father "who is reported to have said that if communism offered anything good he would accept it."

Mr. Watts said, however, that was only one of many allegations and the only one the lawyer in question would make available.

He said in many of the cases the soldier gets quasi-clearance through a "general discharge under honorable conditions."

But, he pointed out, such a discharge has imprinted upon it "SR 600-220-1 applies." This is the regulation pertaining to security, and "any personnel man knows it," said Mr. Watts. Consequently, a youth with such a discharge has little chance of getting employment, he added.

Cites Draftee's Case

He cited "the fantastic fact of eight jobs in three months" for one draftee separated under the security program.

One of the cases being brought to the Army's attention is Mr. Watts' "Case No. 27."

The youth acknowledged on his loyalty certificate that in a period about five years before he was inducted he attended meetings of the American Youth for Democracy and the Jewish Young Fraternalists.

The Jewish organization as he named it was not listed on the loyalty form as subversive. And he attended the AYD meeting before the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations was in existence.

The soldier had a letter of

recommendation from his company commander praising his work and devotion to duty over a six-month period.

He even took a lie detector test at his own request and the results, according to Mr. Watts' report, were favorable.

The findings of the examining field board were that the subject had been a member of the Jewish People's Fraternal Order but was not a member of the American Youth for Democracy since he was only 15 years old at the time he attended AYD meetings.

Retained Conditionally

Yet, the soldier's retention in service was on a "specially controlled" basis which restricted him from sensitive jobs and in his opinion was short of "complete exoneration."

And when he was discharged last month, he was given the "general discharge under honorable conditions," presumably stamped with the security regulation under which it was issued.

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 138 AUG 10 1955

Wash. Post and
Times Herald

Wash. News

Wash. Star

N. Y. Herald Tribune

N. Y. Mirror

Date: 8-4-55

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 FROM 14-RA-TH.
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10 AUG 10 1955

Norman Thomas Criticizes Army's Security System

WASHINGTON, Aug. 4 (AP).—Socialist leader Norman Thomas called today for changes in Army security rules, contending that many drafted men are wrongfully branded as security risks and their future job prospects damaged.

Mr. Thomas accompanied Rowland Watts, Baltimore attorney and national secretary of the Workers Defense League, to a meeting with Army Secretary Wilber M. Brucker to protest "widespread and flagrant miscarriages of justice."

They outlined a study of 110 cases in which they said draftees were accused of subversive action and associations.

Promises a Study

Mr. Brucker told reporters afterward that the Army's security system has "so far been working very satisfactorily, but that does not mean I don't have an open mind on it."

Mr. Brucker, a lawyer himself, promised to have Mr. Watts' report studied and said he would decide later what action to take. He said all the cases described by Mr. Watts took place prior to changes in Army security pro-

cedures after faults were brought out in the much-publicized Peress case.

The gist of the Thomas-Watts argument was that the Army should base discharges entirely on the character of a drafted man's two years' service. They contended the Army "has assumed the role of censor over the nation's youth by making pre-induction activities a major consideration in determining the character of discharges."

Letter to Eisenhower

They said that, because of alleged association prior to induction, some men are given "undesirable" or "general" instead of honorable discharges although there is no fault to be found with their service.

Mr. Thomas said the alleged problem arose "not from malice in the Army" but from an "over-elaborate concern for public opinion." He told reporters the issue "in the end will be the concern of the President." He made public a letter to Mr. Eisenhower urging Presidential "intervention to obtain drastic changes in the Army's policy."

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Daily Worker _____
The Worker _____
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Communists and Parole

Does conviction of Communists under the Smith Act deprive prisoners of the benefits of the ordinary working of our parole laws? By the time of the next meeting of the United States Board of Parole that question will be highly pertinent. It will be most sharply raised by the medical condition of at least three prisoners. They are not known to me (except by name) but I have seen impressive statements by physicians concerning the grave effect of continued confinement on diseases from which they suffer.

In the Hiss case, the parole board refused parole. But in that case no question of health was involved and Mr. Hiss had been convicted for perjury regarding overt acts of grave wrongdoing. Now there are 17 persons in prison, 14 men and 3 women, convicted under the Smith Act. Fifty-one others, already convicted, are out on bail pending appeal. None of these was proved guilty of any overt act of subversion or of the advocacy of any specific and immediate act of subversion.

In America, unlike certain other nations, we have never had a class of political prisoners as distinct from violators of the common law against murder, theft, fraud, etc. If it is our policy to treat political prisoners like the ordinary criminals without specific favor, surely they should not be denied the rights of ordinary prisoners to fair consideration of application for parole based on good conduct, and, above all, on considerations of health.

I confess that I do not feel that America is more secure or her liberties more inviolate because Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and other Communist leaders of various ranks are in jail. I remember that two Supreme Court judges thought the Smith Act unconstitutional and two others criticized its wisdom. But even if I were a supporter of the necessity of thus dealing with the Communist conspiracy, I should be unable to find in this great Nation any emergency so dire as to justify us in denial of mercy to men and women otherwise entitled to it simply because they were convicted under the Smith Act rather than for tax fraud or bank robbery.

I have confidence in the fair-mindedness of the parole board, but it, like all our other authorities, has to operate in an atmosphere of democratic public opinion. I do not think that American opinion would exact the last pound of flesh from a prisoner to whom the denial of parole might mean the shortening of life. And that, on the basis of medical reports that I have seen, might well be the fate of at least three prisoners eligible for parole.

NORMAN THOMAS.

New York.

Mr. Tolson ☒
Mr. Boardman ☒
Mr. Nichols ☒
Mr. Belmont ☒
Mr. Harbo ☐
Mr. Mohr ☐
Mr. Parsons ☐
Mr. Rosen ☐
Mr. Tamm ☐
Mr. Sizoo ☐
Mr. Winterrowd ☐
Tele. Room ☐
Mr. Holloman ☐
Miss Gandy ☐

Wash. Post and Times Herald ☒
Wash. News ☐
Wash. Star ☐
N. Y. Herald Tribune ☐
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Daily Worker ☐
The Worker ☐
New Leader ☐

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Norman Thomas in Cleveland Urge Amnesty at Debs Rally

CLEVELAND, Feb. 5.—Several people heard Norman Thomas, Socialist leader, denounce the Smith Act and reaffirm his plea, which had been joined in by Mrs. Roosevelt and 45 prominent Americans to grant amnesty to Smith Act prisoners and halt further prosecutions.

"I don't think our country is any safer because bank robbers can be paroled and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn cannot," he told the gathering.

The meeting, which marked the 100th anniversary of the birth of Eugene V. Debs was under the sponsorship of the Socialist Party, the Jewish Socialist Verband and the Workmen's Circle. It was held at the International Ladies Garment Workers Union building here.

In talking about Debs, Thomas said:

"It is a pity to memorialize the past and not think of what to do in the present.

"I want to go on record that the struggle for civil liberties makes me oppose the Smith Act. The act talks about an indefinite, future advocacy... and this is very harmful."

In a direct reference to the amnesty plea, he told the audience that "I will still stand for it, whether Communists are arrested in Pennsylvania, California or Ohio. I think that the government is making a great mistake in these prosecutions."

The 10 defendants now on trial in Cleveland for violation of the Smith Act sent a wire to the



NORMAN THOMAS

gathering, saluting the anniversary. "We face political imprisonment at this moment in the same Federal Court House which witnessed Debs' famous 'free speech' fight 37 years ago," the telegram stated. It called for the unity symbolized by that fight as "the same kind needed today when civil liberties are under sharp attack."

68 FEB 10 1956

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126 FEB 10 1956

Wash. Post and Times Herald _____
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 N. Y. Herald Tribune _____
 N. Y. Mirror _____
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 Daily Worker ✓
 The Worker _____
 New Leader _____

Date FEB 6 1956

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Mr. Tolson ☒
 Mr. Nichols ☒
 Mr. Boardman ☒
 Mr. Belmont ☒
 Mr. Mason ☒
 Mr. Mohr ☒
 Mr. Parsons ☒
 Mr. Rosen ☒
 Mr. Tamm ☒
 Mr. Nease ☒
 Mr. Winterrowd ☒
 Tele. Room ☒
 Mr. Holloman ☒
 Miss Gandy ☒

BAUMGARDNER
 T. J. [unclear]

(THOMAS)

NEW YORK--SOCIALIST PARTY LEADER NORMAN THOMAS SAID HE HAS ASKED ADLAI STEVENSON TO RE-EXAMINE HIS STAND IN OPPOSITION TO A BI-PARTISAN COMMISSION TO INVESTIGATE CHARGES THAT NEGROES IN THE SOUTH ARE BEING DEPRIVED OF THEIR RIGHT TO VOTE AND SUBJECTED TO ECONOMIC PRESSURES.

THOMAS SAID HE PREVIOUSLY AGREED WITH STEVENSON'S OPPOSITION TO CREATION OF THE COMMISSION, WHICH HAS BEEN SUGGESTED BY PRESIDENT EISENHOWER.

THOMAS SAID HE HAD FELT, AS STEVENSON DOES, THAT THERE WAS LAW ENOUGH TO HELP NEGROES IF THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE WOULD ENFORCE IT.

BUT, THOMAS SAID HE HAS DECIDED THAT THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE IS DOING ALL IT CAN FOR CIVIL RIGHTS "EXCEPT POSSIBLY IN THE FIELD OF DENIAL OF THE RIGHT TO VOTE."

HE SAID HE HAD JOINED IN STEVENSON'S EXPRESSED FEAR THAT A COMMISSION "MIGHT BE USED TO BURY COMPLAINTS OR EVADE ACTION" BUT NOW FEELS THAT THE ADMINISTRATION DOES NOT WANT TO BURY COMPLAINTS IN THE COMMISSION "BUT TO GAIN FIRM, RELIABLE INFORMATION AND RECOMMENDATIONS ON A LEVEL ABOVE CAMPAIGN POLITICS."

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WASHINGTON CITY NEWS SERVICE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
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Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
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Mr. Winterrowd	_____
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Mr. Holloman	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

RED LINK OPPOSED BY NORMAN THOMAS

A Communist-Socialist united front would be "disastrous," Norman Thomas, six-time Socialist candidate for President, has declared.

"I fear Khrushchev bearing gifts," Mr. Thomas said in commenting on the Moscow appeal last week by Nikita S. Khrushchev, Soviet party chief, to Socialists and Communists to cooperate all over the world despite their differences.

Mr. Thomas recalled the united front period of the Nineteen Thirties in which Socialists and Communists worked together in various countries and added, "The end of it was the deal between Stalin and Hitler, a deal making possible the second World War, and all the woes that came upon us."

The American Socialist leader's remarks, recorded for broadcast to the Soviet Union over the anti-Communist station Radio Liberation, rebutted Mr. Khrushchev's assertion that Communists and Socialists differ primarily in their views on the transition to socialism. Mr. Thomas declared that "in my judgment, communism in action economically is really state capitalism not socialism, not true socialism."

BAUMGARDNER

MR. BRANNIGAN

W. J. Dwyer

CLIPPING FROM THE

N. Y. *Sun Times*

DATED 2/19/56, Sec 8 I, p. 3

FORWARDED BY N. Y. DIVISION

P. 3

RE: NORMAN THOMAS
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5-13-56
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"Right-to-Work" Laws

Louisiana Union Leaders Criticized for Aiding "Anti-Labor" Act

The writer of the following letter, Socialist party leader, is author, among other books, of "Human Exploitation."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

Eighteen states have so-called right-to-work laws which organized labor, with much justice, regards as anti-union. Except in one of these states, labor never tires of denouncing these laws. Only in Louisiana has the right-to-work law been blessed by the State Council of the A. F. L.-C. I. O. and its action, despite the protest of the National Agricultural Workers Union, has been approved, or at any rate not condemned, by the National Executive Council of the A. F. L.-C. I. O.

Why? Because the Louisiana law applies only to the poorest, most exploited workers in the United States, agricultural laborers in the sugar, rice and cotton industries. An earlier right-to-work law applying also to industrial labor was repealed in favor of this new law. To get support of the great sugar interests for this repeal the labor leaders were willing to throw the unorganized and exploited agricultural workers to the wolves. They not merely accepted, but worked for the passage of, this law and praised it as a "good, outstanding legislative accomplishment."

Farm Workers Defined

In the process of passing the bill it was amended to stretch the definition of agricultural workers to include labor engaged in the earlier stages of processing sugar, rice and cotton. Spokesmen for organized labor did finally oppose this extension of definition, but only after praising the passage of the bill as amended in the House. No wonder the bulletin of the American Sugar Cane League (representing the big corporations) commented: "Well, gee-whiz! We admit we asked for it, but not this much."

At no time did the officers of the State Council of the A. F. L.-C. I. O., who dealt with the big interests, consult any representatives of the National Agricultural Workers Union, A. F. L., which had put up a great fight—broken by injunction—in the Louisiana sugar cane fields. The strike, in the fall of 1953, was to win recognition of the union for the purpose of negotiating for higher wages. The workers now get 40 cents to 50 cents an hour when weather lets them work.

Strike Criticized

In accepting the present law the State Council is also pledged to the American Sugar Cane League to do nothing to change it for at least two years. It actually criticized the Agricultural Workers Union for its strike against "the men of stature and influence who controlled the system," i. e., the sugar corporations, not the small farmers.

This Louisiana story is of national importance because it indicates a pattern which may be followed elsewhere, a pattern of deals between big business and big labor at cost to the most exploited of workers.

As a member of the board of the National Sharecroppers Fund, long concerned for the fate of the poorest of our fellow citizens, I believe that this situation demands public attention. In the end big labor may lose, for out of the miserable workers whom it is willing to sacrifice may yet be recruited armies of anti-union men not only in agriculture but in industry.

The strong A. F. L.-C. I. O. unions which have done so much for their own members may avert this possible calamity and prove the brotherhood of workers by giving far better support to work for and among agricultural workers than in the past.

NORMAN THOMAS.

New York, Sept. 11, 1956.

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Right-to-work laws; Louisiana Union
and the National Labor Relations Board
National Labor Relations Board
Sept. 13, 1956

Interesting because of its writer.

VE

Eighteen states have a so-called right-to-work law which
operates like, with such fiction, words as anti-union. Most in one
of these states, labor never likes the law. In Louisiana
the right-to-work law has been passed by the State Council, 1954.
And in action, besides the protest of the National Agricultural Workers
Union, has been received, or at least not considered, by the
National Labor Relations Board. But because the law is only to the
protest, the "exploited" workers in the U.S., agricultural workers in the
sugar, rice and cotton industries. The law is also to indust-
rial labor and repealed in 1955. This law. To get rid of the
most so-called workers law this is the law. The law is also to
them the law is not only agricultural workers but also to them.
not merely to them, but to them for the reason of, this law is also to
as a "good, anti-union law" and also "anti-union." In 1954 the
State Council, 1954, passed an act which is also to them, which
had put in a great fight - broken by objection - to "the law" and
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Mr. Belmont	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Parsons	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tamm	
Mr. Winterrowd	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Holloman	
Miss Gandy	

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SEP 20 1956

NEW YORK TIMES

THOMAS IS URGED AS LEFTIST CHIEF

Browder Suggests Socialist
Lead a Restudy—Latter
Plans No New Party

Earl Browder, deposed Communist leader, has urged his once bitter foe, Norman Thomas, to take the lead in a re-evaluation of the leftist movement in the United States.

Mr. Browder made the proposal during a visit with the Socialist leader at the latter's office, 112 East Nineteenth Street, on Sept. 14.

Mr. Thomas, confirming the meeting yesterday, said that the visit had been "unexpected." But he said: "He and I aren't starting any new movement."

The purpose of the visit presumably was to let Mr. Thomas see the text of a speech Mr. Browder was to deliver the following night at a Socialist party meeting at Massapequa, L. I.

Mr. Browder said yesterday that he had made no definite proposal for a new party but had pursued the proposition that "the time is ripe for a reassessment of the situation on the Left." He said he believed such a review should be undertaken by all involved.

In his Long Island address he had said: "A key role must be played by Norman Thomas who over the years has won a special moral authority among large masses, who has always stood superior to faction, and who spoke for one of the main currents when the Left was strong."

Mr. Thomas said he agreed with the thesis that a re-evaluation of the Left was needed and had been saying it for years. With this in mind, he said, he had started a little organization called the Union for Democratic Socialism.

Mr. Browder said of his visit that he was "happy to find that he [Mr. Thomas] listened with interest and at least did not reject the idea."

The Socialist leader said that the last meeting he could recall with Mr. Browder took place about ten years ago at a forum at New York University. He said he had received Mr. Browder as a matter of courtesy and added, "I will always talk with him."

Mr. Browder was ousted as head of the Communist party in the United States in the mid-Forties when, contrary to the Kremlin's wish, he sought to continue the party as a political association, as it had been in World War II.

Mrs. Nelson
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Parsons
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Trotter
Mr. Nease
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Mr. Holloman
Miss Gandy

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138 OCT 25 1956

51 OCT 27 1956

NORMAN THOMAS HITS 'AGGRESSION'

Condemns Britain, France
and Israel Over Egypt and
Soviet Action in Hungary

Norman Thomas criticized Britain, France and Israel last night for "aggression" in Egypt. He also denounced the Soviet Union for its military occupation of Hungary.

The Socialist leader said the events in the Middle East and Hungary pointed up the need to strengthen the United Nations.

Mr. Thomas discussed the recent foreign developments at a forum in Cooper Union held under the auspices of the adult education department of the institution.

He said that while Israel had received "great provocation" from President Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt it was "not an excuse which justified her aggression."

"She did not come into court with clean hands on the basis of her own record in the Middle East," he asserted. "Nor did she exhaust all possible appeals to the United Nations before aggression."

Mr. Thomas declared that Great Britain and France had less excuse for their action than Israel. Britain, he asserted, did not have "even the excuse of sound national interest."

He said he was "proud" that the United States had stood "firmly" by the principle of supporting the United Nations, "imperfect as it is as an instrument of peace."

The Socialist leader said Americans were "bowed with sorrow and anger" at Soviet actions in Hungary.

"The Communist bosses have acted like Communists in contempt of every dictate of humanity," he asserted.

He counseled against our becoming involved in a war in Europe.

"We should bend every conceivable effort to support passive resistance against the Kremlin wherever possible, and to bring every practical pressure of discipline and restraint upon the bosses of the Kremlin who have shown themselves the enemies of mankind," he declared.

Mr. Thomas said the world situation called for national unity in the United States.

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

CLIPPING FROM THE

N. Y. NY TIMES

DATED NOV 6 1956
FORWARDED BY N. Y. DIVISION
P.19- LATE CITY.

RE: FOREIGN POLITICAL
MATTERS- ISRAEL.

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Thomas Tells Students Why CP Parley Worried Hoover

By LESTER RODNEY

THE VISITOR to Queens College to hear Norman Thomas wind up Academic Freedom Week received, as he entered Remsen Hall, a student program for the week which still included the name of John Gates as a featured guest. The Daily Worker editor had not spoken, but a lot more students at Queens were talking about him than if Provost Garvey had not decided to bar him, and considerably more students of the city colleges are going to hear him this week than the 350 who might have crowded into the Queens lecture hall.

Starting about ten minutes before 3 p.m. this balmy Thursday afternoon, the boys and girls, school books under arms and a few wearing shorts to salute the two day spring, quickly filled the 200 seats in the modern down-sloping lecture hall and began sitting cheerfully on steps and standing five deep in the rear. If one thing was clear about their feelings, it was a deep resentment against being treated as children to be protected from controversial thoughts. On Wednesday, one of the two student publications, the Rampart, in an editorial entitled "Theory and Practice" to feature the irony of undemocratic suppression in a week celebrating academic freedom, cheered the college Cabinet's vote to "assure that an atmosphere of free inquiry and discussion prevail on the campus," called for students to take their stand unafraid of outside pressures and concluded "if the battle for freedom of thought is lost on our country's campuses how can it be won anywhere?"

The other student paper, the Crown, cut deep in its editorial on the decision of the five city college heads to back up Garvey and bar Smith Act victims from

the campuses. It said "There is something basically wrong with a system which can so summarily exclude an important minority point of view, so summarily exclude an important minority point of view, which can, through one man's politically provoked personal opinion, negate the whole concept of student government and the larger ideal of the democratic process." It called for future city college presidents to be "chosen on an educational rather than a political basis by the faculty of the college" and added that a student-faculty committee should be "allowed to provide a check on presidential powers."

THIS WAS the setting of fer-



J. EDGAR

ment, protest and curiosity as Thomas, veteran anti-Communist leader of the Socialist Party, opened his talk with an eloquent attack on the barring of Gates.

He went on to establish his own anti-Communist Party position beyond doubt, saying that in spite of "changes for the better" in the CP, he opposed socialist-Communist unity in the fight for

socialism "until the Communists reject Leninism, which contains the seeds of Stalinism" and saying, as if this were not a good thing, that the Communists would gain more by the undemocratic ban than if Gates had spoken at Queens. "This," he interjected quickly with a smile, "is no insult to Mr. Gates, just a general proposition."

Thomas admitted he was "not without prejudices and memories" in his feelings toward the CP, claiming that when he attacked a theory of a separate Negro republic in the south, he was denounced in the Daily Worker as "an advocate of lynching." He said his right to run for president once was denied by the Communists "because I was not sufficiently loyal to Stalin," and that the Peoples World had called for the preventing of a meeting of his in California. "I remember too their cheers for the prosecution of the Trotskyists under the Smith Act," he said.

Nevertheless, he said vigorously, J. Edgar Hoover was way out of line and had "no business" telling Congress that the recent Communist convention registered no change and was a fraud. "How does he know?" he asked, "Where is his evidence?"

Thomas said it was clear to him there was a "different quality" to what the CP was saying these days. "Are we to condemn people never to change their minds because under no circum-

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Handwritten signature: J. Edgar Hoover

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Date MAR 18 1957

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stances their change would be believed?" he asked rhetorically. He pointed out that there was no concealment at the convention, that non-Communist observers were invited, and whatever else their impression differed on all agreed that nobody at the convention "put loyalty to Russia ahead of loyalty to the U.S."

There are some people in this land, he went on, who have "a vested interest in no change. Hoover is one of them."

HE BROUGHT roars of delighted laughter by reading a clipping from the N. Y. Times about the un-American Committee hearings, in which Rep. Sherer, after hearing stoolpigeon Lautner estimate there were about 18,000 CP members, bemoaned the fact that there were "only" 6,000 FBI agents "combating subversion part time, to three times as many subversives."

"If this means anything," said Thomas sardonically, "it argues that by right there should always be as many secret service men as Communists! What became of the wonders of the FBI?" he asked to gales of laughter, "I thought one FBI man could put a regiment to rout?"

Returning to the question of Gates, he said if he were a student he would ask "politely, I hope" such questions as how far you could go for freedom and still be a communist. "This is the place for Gates to answer such questions," he said, "Not the kind of committee which summoned him to Foley Square!"

We are "failing to be loyal to our great traditions when we don't fight for freedom, he said. "There is this serious matter of damning by name. Since it happened that Communists were for their own freedom and also appeared generally as advocates of other freedoms, it became too easy to say that those who want freedom are communists." There was a rustle of appreciation for this simple picture of the real aims of McCarthyite red-baiting. "When for example," the long, lean socialist continued with waving arms, "A bloody dictator of the right like Trujillo is questioned he just shouts 'Communist, Communist!'"

It was time, he said, "for common sense and a sense of humor." He pointed out what many of the students did not seem to know, that the Smith Act jailings involved no overt acts. He said students must participate in the problems of life, that freedom from taking part in life

(Continued on Page 7)

Thomas

(Continued from Page 4)

is not real freedom, that one who detaches himself from the issues of the world is "only half a person."

Freedom in this H-Bomb era must include the ending of war, he observed. The students broke into wry laughter and applause when he said "You know what happened to the flying saucers? They came from a highly developed planet and as they neared the earth and got a look at the madness going on and on in a race to destruction while there aren't enough schools and hospitals, they said Home James!"

Pushing aside his notes and waving his finger he concluded, "That freedom can not be maintained by the kind of nonsense that keeps John Gates from speaking here!" The ovation continued for several minutes, forcing him to stand and bow.

THEN THE QUESTIONS poured forth in a stream. Asked if he felt the U.S. should disarm, Thomas says yes, but not unilaterally now. His quarrel with U.S. policy on armament he said, was its failure to push through UN an "immediate moratorium on the testing of these monstrous bombs, something most governments appear willing to agree on." He said this agreement would curtail the further development of "super weapons" and lead toward real disarmament.

"Do you believe the Communist Party poses no clear and present danger?" was a question. "Yes, I believe that," was the prompt reply. "Repression of the Communist Party offers much greater danger, in addition to weakening our position in the world, and hindering our ability to criticize bad things elsewhere in the world."

Another student pointed out that Dr. Buell Gallagher of CCNY had said Communists could speak on the campuses, the ban was just aimed at those convicted under the Smith Act. "Do you feel that position is wrong?"

Thomas began by saying he didn't want to quarrel with individuals, that Gallagher was his friend, then said bluntly "It's a quibble. There is no difference between Communists and Communists convicted under the Smith Act except they were prosecuted by that bad act. Right now the Supreme Court is considering the cases of Lightfoot and Scales which makes mere membership a crime. What happens to Dr. Gallagher's argument then? No, I'm afraid the presidents were desperately looking for an out which would not make them look TOO bad and wouldn't impair their next appropriations from the city."

A question which provoked a lot of attention was the plaintive: "Mr. Thomas, why isn't it possible to build a good radical party in this country?" The answer centered on the difficulties posed by the two party system.

Finally, "Mr. Thomas, is it possible to learn about Communism from anyone but a Communist?"

Thomas said of course it was, in his opinion, "But one certainly ought to be able to HEAR what the Communists have to say themselves, for the proper balance on the subject."

And so, it was becoming clearer and clearer, though 99 percent of the student body of our city's colleges.

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Norman Thomas Raps Congress

By the Associated Press

Norman Thomas, veteran United States Socialist leader, says the present Congress is "one of the least satisfactory Congresses in my memory."

Mr. Thomas added that he would have been "more emphatic" on this subject two weeks ago because since then, he said, the Senate has done "a little" to "redeem" the situation.

He referred to Senate passage of a bill authorizing a Federal dam at Hells Canyon, between

Idaho and Oregon, and Senate action to place civil rights legislation on its calendar.

Discussing the 85th Congress in a television program, ABC's Celebrity Parade, Mr. Thomas said the legislators this year have "a record of almost total neglect" in fields which he deems most important. He mentioned aid to school construction, public power, inflation, budget cutting and civil rights, among other things.

In a half-serious vein, he declared:

"The worst thing you can say about Congress is that it is representative."

Getting into the subject of foreign policy, Mr. Thomas said Americans are acting like "polish and indecisive children" on the matter of disarmament.

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Red Proposals Called Decent

By the Associated Press

Norman Thomas, veteran United States Socialist leader, says the United States should negotiate on what he termed "surprisingly decent" Soviet proposals for a Middle East settlement.

Mr. Thomas said last night the Russian proposals for ending big power military influence in the Mideast are so decent "I would not want to believe it right off the bat."

But he said this country should make "a frank attempt to negotiate with the Soviet Union" if it is to recoup good will which he said has been lost in the area.

He commented in a recorded radio interview on CBS' Face the Nation:

"I think we made an enormous mistake in not proposing sincerely what Bulganin and company may have proposed insincerely, that is, to talk about the whole problem of relative disengagement of the big powers in the Middle East, and about a program of demilitarization, rather than rival militarization, there."

Mr. Thomas, just back from a trip to the Mideast, said United States policy there has been "very stupidly carried on" and he said Secretary of State Dulles is generally believed to be responsible, rather than President Eisenhower. Mr. Eisenhower "still has some popularity in some respects," he said.

Mr. Thomas said that Mr. Dulles "is regarded with confidence by nobody that I talked to and, believe me, I talked to plenty of people just because I was unofficial."

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A Plea to the White House

TO the N. Y. Herald Tribune: A Washington dispatch in this morning's issue of your paper (Jan. 28) reports that the Supreme Court has denied writ of certiorari to the only two Communists who remain in prison by reason of convictions under the Smith act.

As a layman, long interested in civil liberties, I have become familiar enough with legal proceedings to guess at the legal reasoning which made the Supreme Court deny certiorari. All the more do I think the cases would be appropriate for Presidential clemency. An administration blessed with constructive imagination might well see how the general position of the United States as defender of individual liberties would be strengthened in the world, notably in Russia and China, were the President to do what Communist governments would not. Indeed, what the Chinese government has not done in the case of the American airmen.

Messrs. Green and Winston were originally convicted, together with Eugene Dennis and

eight others, top leaders of the Communist party, on Oct. 14, 1949, in the long trial before Judge Medina. They skipped bail while the case was under appeal but voluntarily surrendered themselves some years later. For skipping bail they were each given three years sentence added to their original sentences for five years. Of these eight years they have now served two years.

In judging this case it must be remembered that neither Green nor Winston, nor any of their co-defendants was found guilty of advocacy of specific action to overthrow the government of the United States by force and violence. The present court in its decision on the Yates case held that to be legal a decision of guilt under the Smith act must be based on proof not only of general principles involving advocacy of a future overthrow of the government of the United States by force and violence but of advocacy of a specific action to that end. In other words, to a layman it seems highly improbable that Messrs. Green

and Winston would have been convicted if the ruling in the Yates case had come earlier. Certainly today American communism is no present menace to the security of the United States. All Communists convicted under the Smith act whose convictions were not later set aside by the Supreme Court are free except Messrs. Green and Winston. The government in Washington is still secure, far more secure than the American Communist party has proved to be.

These men have suffered for jumping bail and it is hard to imagine that any good end is served by keeping them in prison at the taxpayer's expense. On the contrary, American strength and regard for individual rights could well be advantageously advertised to the world by executive clemency. Such clemency would be more likely if the Department of Justice and the President should be convinced that it would meet the approval of thoughtful Americans.

NORMAN THOMAS.
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Norman Thomas to Sue Soviet to Bar A-Tests

By the Associated Press

Socialist Leader Norman Thomas says all possible is being done to file a court suit in Russia to outlaw nuclear tests.

At the same time Mr. Thomas chided Representative Walter, Democrat of Pennsylvania, chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, for saying Mr. Thomas served as a screen of respectability for Communist sympathizers by joining in last week's suit to halt United States atom tests.

"I think I've been more effective in fighting communism over many years than Mr. Walter," Mr. Thomas retorted last night in New York. "I think there are better ways of fighting communism than getting ready to kill off mankind."

Mr. Walter, in a statement yesterday, described as a propaganda hoax the legal action filed in Federal Court here by Mr. Thomas and 13 others. He suggested that Mr. Thomas go to Moscow and file a similar suit aimed at forcing Russia to accept international control of bomb tests.

Fear Fallout Threat

In bringing the action here last week, the group said it planned similar suits in both Russia and Britain, contending nuclear tests threaten mankind through radioactive fallout. Russia earlier last week, in a gesture denounced by President Eisenhower as a propaganda

gimmick, announced it was suspending further tests provided other nuclear powers did likewise.

Commenting on Mr. Walter's statement, Mr. Thomas said he and his fellow plaintiffs are exploring legal channels in both Britain and Russia.

"We are doing our best to file suit in Russia," he said. "My proceeding to Moscow would not do it. We are doing what we were advised by whatever legal channels are open. We are pressing it, I assure you."

Hit as Red Defenders

In criticizing the suit, Mr. Walter said some of the plaintiffs "are, and for years have been, the leading defenders of Communist causes."

Mr. Walter specifically mentioned Dr. Linus Pauling, Nobel Prize winning chemistry professor at the California Institute of Technology, and A. L. Wirin, Los Angeles attorney who filed the anti-nuclear suit.

"The list of their associations with Communist actions and Communist agents," Mr. Walter said, "is as long as it is lethal." Mr. Wirin denounced Mr. Walter's statement as untrue, declaring:

"I am not a Communist and I have publicly opposed communism because of its denial of civil liberties to others. I have defended the rights of Communists as guaranteed by the United States Constitution on the same basis as I have defended the rights of anti-Communists."

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ACLU Loses Thomas

Norman Thomas has retired as a director of the American Civil Liberties Union. The six-time Socialist candidate for President, who is 73, will be a director emeritus of the organization he helped found in 1920.

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N.Y. WORLD TELEGRAM & SUN

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Loss for Liberty A-14

On June 8 the majority of the Supreme Court by close decision greatly impaired our confidence in it as a bulwark of the constitutional liberties of free speech, free press and free association.

The *Uphaus* and *Barenblatt* decisions taken together practically grant what Justice Black calls the virtual power of "attainder," of itself forbidden in the Constitution. That is, they permit legislative committees to expose for the sake of exposure in the certainty that exposure of unpopular positions will bring to him who is exposed heavy penalties in public esteem and loss of job.

All this is justified on the slim pretext that the scattered remnants of the Communist Party present a danger worth a sacrifice of our personal liberty. If anything, the Communist Party is helped when democracies thus imitate its own tactics.

The situation is the more serious because if the Legislature of New Hampshire can authorize its attorney general to undertake a fishing expedition into the religious and political opinions of Dr. Uphaus, the Legislature of Mississippi can surely authorize similar procedures to punish any man suspect of believing in racial equalities of right.

Even in the field of protecting its own unanimous decision in the matter of school integration, the Court has gone backward. It has postponed indefinitely action against the vicious Virginia laws of massive resistance to school integration in the name of "equitable abstention" under which the state courts must first act.

Justice Douglas disposed of the pertinence of this position in his dissenting opinion. Justice so long postponed tends

to be justice denied and we have little right to expect the extraordinary patience of our Negro fellow countrymen to last forever.

I am a strong defender of the Supreme Court against the powerful attempts in Congress to limit its jurisdiction in the name of an unsound interpretation of states' rights. It is not likely, however, that the Court will endear itself to racial bigots and social reactionaries in Congress by the kind of concessions the majority made in the decisions announced last Monday.

NORMAN THOMAS.

New York.

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These Days

Trujillo and Castro

By George E. Sokolsky

NO END OF TROUBLE has come to the world because Franklin D. Roosevelt thought that he could distinguish between a good and a bad dictator. Stalin was, to Roosevelt's mind, a good dictator but Hitler was a bad one. Since then, at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of Soviet Russia, it was established that Stalin was a bad dictator and now we are doing business with Franco, another bad dictator, because we need to.



Sokolsky

I have received a mimeographed letter from Norman Thomas along these same lines. He is all excited about the wickedness of Trujillo of the Dominican Republic, a bad dictator, he says, nothing about the wickedness of Castro of Cuba. On the subject of Castro, I have received no mimeographed letter from Norman Thomas or the Institute of International Labor Research, Inc. Does that make Castro a good dictator?

Had Norman Thomas denounced Castro as well as Trujillo, had he opposed left as well as right dictatorships, it might have been possible to support his stand. In this mimeographed letter, Thomas says:

"American public opinion is shocked and revolted by the recent events in the Dominican Republic. The Trujillo dictatorship has unleashed a campaign of terror against the Dominican people which, according to reports reaching us, has assumed mass proportions. Thousands thrown into prisons and their

lives are in grave danger. If our Western civilization and the ideal for which it stands is to survive we cannot accept in silence this brutal act of extermination carried out against our brother Dominicans."

LET ME REWRITE this material to read:

"American public opinion is shocked and revolted by the recent events in Cuba. The Castro dictatorship has unleashed a campaign of terror against the Cuban people which, according to reports reaching us, has assumed mass proportions. Thousands of innocent people have been thrown into prisons and their lives are in grave danger. If our Western civilization and the ideals for which it stands is to survive we cannot accept in silence this brutal act of extermination carried out against our brother Cubans."

I could add more. Where Thomas says "and their lives are in grave danger," I can substitute and substantiate "and Castro shot opponents and conducted mass trials to justify a slaughter of the innocents."

Apart from being a Socialist, Norman Thomas is a Christian clergyman and his training has been within the moral law. How then does Norman Thomas satisfy his moral sense when he chooses one dictator as evil and is silent about another? Does it mean that he condones Castro's crimes? Does it mean that he only sees wickedness and evil when it occurs among those whose politics he dislikes, but is willing to overlook evil among those whose politics does not displease him?

LET IT NOT be said that I do not know that Thomas

has, at times, opposed the brutality of Stalin, but the record will show that there have been times when the protest was not sufficiently forceful to be noticed or to be significant. Is politics to be regarded as a substitute for morality?

It is a pity because Norman Thomas is a more profound person than Franklin D. Roosevelt and from him is to be expected a more moral outlook on life. He has not been required, either by ambition or by occupation to make the compromises which were characteristic of Roosevelt. Roosevelt could distinguish between good and bad when both were identical. Roosevelt could say that Hitler was bad but Stalin was good and perhaps believe it. But does not Norman Thomas have a higher criterion for judgment?

The Castro revolution in Cuba is a direct, specific, unmistakably anti-American movement. It is designed to develop an anti-American, pro-Russian youth articulation in Latin America. When in Chile and Uruguay not only the Communists but the anarchists demonstrated against President Eisenhower, they displayed pro-Castro banners. The very name, Castro, means anti-American in Latin America and President Eisenhower had to face that as a fact—a living, dangerous fact. He could not have been blind to it because we witnessed it on television and saw the President pass such signs.

Surely, Norman Thomas' sincerity cannot be questioned, but why does he not speak of Castro as he does of Trujillo, whom he disdains? It is hard to understand.

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U. S. AND RUSSIA MOVE TOWARD EACH OTHER

Norman Thomas Sees Little Future for

Socialism

By F. M. WINSHIP
 UPI Staff Correspondent

NEW YORK, Nov. 16

Norman Thomas, Socialism's chief spokesman in America for two generations, predicted today that neither socialism nor communism will prevail in the world of 1980 but rather a new form of capitalism.

Both the United States and Russia are moving toward this form, he said, but it still will be "garrison state capitalism . . . for security thru military strength will be the prime motivating factor."

BIRTHDAY

"It is not socialism or communism that will prevail 20 years from now, if we are to continue as we are now without catastrophe," said the six times unsuccessful candidate for the presidency who will be 75 years old next Friday.

"What we will have is capitalism practiced by the state for the benefit of the state."

This will approximate the Russian system, so there will be little to fight over."

By 1980, Mr. Thomas said, Government and Big Business will have merged, a trend already clearly defined by the mushrooming economic power of a relatively small number of great industrial corporations and the appointive posts of enormous executive power in Washington occupied by their representatives. The vast and expensive efforts of waging a cold war with Russia serve to magnify and hasten this development.

"Americans seem prostrate before the trend," Mr. Thomas said. "All they want is security. State capitalism will give them this, but at what a price!"

NEW DEAL

The still-handsome veteran of many a proletarian crusade is the first to admit that socialism itself has made little progress in America since some of its social welfare and economic planning precepts were incorporated

into Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal.

He says he sometimes feels like a voice crying in the wilderness—but it is a voice that has the respect of some of the nation's best minds.

Mr. Thomas' role as something of an elder statesman is amply demonstrated by the impressive list of sponsors for a gala birthday dinner at the Starlight Roof of the Waldorf-Astoria Wednesday night. The list includes cabinet members, senators, and State Department officials, both in and out of office.

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fice, and philosophers, union leaders, newspaper publishers and theologians.

"Pretty nice friends for an old gadfly like me," said Mr. Thomas, who last ran for president in 1948.

He has slowed down very little with the years because "I don't feel any different except when I realize I have 15 grandchildren." He still travels up and down America lecturing and writing proficly "to earn my bread and butter," but he no longer supports the Socialist Party's bid for the White House.

Mr. Thomas has had no formal post in the party since he was 70 and does not take a salary from any of the many organizations in which he is an officer. He works out of a sparsely furnished office near Gramercy Park in Manhattan and lives alone in an apartment over his son's garage in Huntington, Long Island.

"There is so much to be done if the Socialist ideal of making things work for men instead of making men work for things is to be achieved," he said. "This everlasting

exaltation of profit as king is mainly responsible for our lack of morality as revealed in the TV quiz-rigging scandals."

In Mr. Thomas' opinion, capitalism in America is neither what Adam Smith nor Karl Marx said it would be. He describes it as "a weird combination of everything—a loose and chaotic type of state capitalism with a lot of free enterprise thrown in."

These Days

Lost Causes

By George E. Sokolsky

THE HISTORY of man is replete with lost causes, with high hopes that disappear like a river in a desert. There are men and women in the United States who used to vote for Norman Thomas as an expression of protest against the inadequacy of both political parties. I have, in my day, voted for Norman Thomas as a protest against inadequate candidates.



Sokolsky

The lost cause is not always lost. The New Deal accepted many of the ideas of the revisionist socialists; the Soviet Communists accepted some of the ideas of the Bakunin anarchists. Emma Goldman would be regarded as a reactionary square in 1960 by many young ladies.

WHAT HAPPENS is that ideas never die and whereas the fashion of the day may require ridicule of the reactionary or the radical, at the Right or the Left, at those who advocate great changes

and those who believe that the changes are already too great, the historic fact is that the mind of man reverts to thoughts and solutions which at one time or another others held to be true. When President Eisenhower extolled those who walk neither in the Left nor the Right gutter but remain in the middle of the road, he employed a metaphor which in these days is absurd because whoever blocks traffic by walking down the middle of the road would be arrested as a jay-walker.

President Eisenhower would never favor a lost cause because he is a man of the moment, a man of fashion. Perhaps that is why he is so beloved. His very passivity satisfies a public that wearies of heavy thinkers—the President is, really a man of the people; an average man, born and brought up in an average small town, who has had some extraordinary breaks after pursuing an average Army career. To the American people, he is O.K. because he is like that.

SENATOR Barry Goldwater is a characteristic Lost

Causér. There are always such men and they become very attractive to a particular following. Robert A. Taft was such a man. He once sat up here in the Berkshires on a summer day and we were discussing his chances for the Presidency. I cannot forget the incident because at that moment, Taft displayed the full characteristics of a New England Lost Causér. He would not, by statement or gesture, give ground even for his own advantage.

Barry Goldwater rose to ask his followers not to violate Party unity by voting for him. That too is normal with the man who never tries to win small battles when there is a great war to be fought. Theodore Roosevelt made the mistake of organizing the Progressive Party prematurely. He did not create a new party; he lost an election for the Republican Party; his influence was shattered.

The Lost Causér does not worry about this or that year. He lives in a world of ideas, of the realities of thought not the insubstantial world of action.

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UPI-166

(BIRCH-NAVY)

NEW YORK--THE U.S. NAVY IS USING "PARANOID" ANTI-COMMUNIST FILMS AND LITERATURE IN ITS TRAINING PROGRAM, SOCIALIST NORMAN THOMAS CHARGED TODAY.

THOMAS SAID THE "FALSE AND MISLEADING" MATERIAL WAS DISTRIBUTED BY A TAX FREE FOUNDATION ASSOCIATED WITH THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY, AND CALLED ON THE GOVERNMENT TO STOP DISTRIBUTION OF THE MATERIAL.

THOMAS TOLD NEWSMEN THE NATIONAL EDUCATION PROGRAM (NEP), A TAX-FREE FOUNDATION LOCATED IN SEARCY, ARK., APPARENTLY HAS "VERY GOOD NAVY CONNECTIONS" AND THE SUPPORT OF HIGH NAVY OFFICIALS. HE SAID 50 COPIES OF AN NEP FILM, "COMMUNISM ON THE MAP," HAVE BEEN PURCHASED BY THE NAVY AND SHOWN TO NAVY TRAINEES IN GEORGIA, CALIFORNIA, TEXAS, NEW YORK, FLORIDA, TENNESSEE AND WASHINGTON, D.C.

"THE FILM SHOWS THE UNITED STATES SURROUNDED AND ISOLATED BY COMMUNISM AND ITS PAWNS AND IN MORTAL DANGER FROM PRO-COMMUNIST FORCES WITHIN WHO DOMINATE ITS LABOR UNIONS AND ARE POWERFUL IN GOVERNMENT, THE SCHOOLS, AND THE PRESS," THOMAS SAID.

"ALL THE MATERIAL IN THIS FILM IS EITHER FALSE OR MISLEADING, CHARGING THAT COMMUNISM IN VARYING DEGREES HAS TAKEN OVER OR DOMINATES ALL OF WESTERN EUROPE AND THE MIDDLE EAST, ALL OF ASIA EXCEPT FORMOSA, MOST OF AFRICA AND LATIN AMERICA, GREENLAND, AND HAWAII. IT'S THEME IS THAT SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM ARE IDENTICAL, WHICH COULDN'T BE FARTHER FROM THE TRUTH."

THE SOCIALIST ELDER STATESMAN SAID THAT IN VIEW OF THE SERIOUS EFFECT THE FILM COULD HAVE ON U.S. RELATIONS TO ITS ALLIES, HE HAD ASKED SECRETARY OF DEFENSE ROBERT MCNAMARA TO BAR USE OF THE FILM BY ARMED SERVICES PERSONNEL. HE SAID MCNAMARA'S REPLY, THROUGH AN AIDE, WAS "UNSATISFACTORY" AND "EQUIVOCAL."

"I AM GOING TO GO STRAIGHT TO PRESIDENT KENNEDY WITH THIS, EVEN IF I GET ANOTHER REPLY FROM THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE AND IT IS SATISFACTORY," THOMAS SAID. "THE GOVERNMENT HAS A RESPONSIBILITY IN SEEING THAT THE BOYS BEING TRAINED FOR MILITARY DUTY ARE NOT MISLED BY LIES."

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WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

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191 APR 27 1961

Norman Thomas Deplores U.S. Role in Cuban Invasion

Norman Thomas, six times the Socialist Party candidate for president, last night criticised America's role in the unsuccessful invasion of Cuba.

"What we did in Cuba is terribly wrong," Thomas said. "It is incredible that we have such an expensive Central Intelligence Agency with so little intelligence."

Thomas spoke at the annual dinner meeting of the Old York Road Community Committee for the United Nations at the Casa Conti in Glenside.

Playing Hand Batter

"President Kennedy," Thomas said, "although he has made no change in the Latin-American line, has been playing the hand better than Eisenhower."

"He inherited the CIA, but then he reappointed Allen Dulles, whose record behind him was no record at all."

Thomas said that the United States needs "an economy of peace" to regain Latin America's confidence.

Calls UN Crippled

"We need to implement Kennedy's policy in Latin America," he said, "but not by coddling the dictators who gave him land

to train soldiers for the Cuban invasion."

He told the 400 supporters of the United Nations attending the meeting that the UN is "only one strand in the line of peace."

"The UN," he continued, "is crippled because it can't follow its original principles. The wonder is that the UN has lived as well as it has."

Charter Not Adaptable

He named the other factors for peace as disarmament, honor among nations, equality of people and literacy.

"It would have been more honorable for us to say we would intervene in Cuba," Thomas said.

He added that the United States "never has sought disarmament with the same passion it sought to create the A-Bomb."

Thomas said he believes Soviet Premier Khrushchev really wants disarmament "because he believes he can win in other ways."

"The United Nations Charter is not adaptable to the things we need in the world today. Liberty will not be among the survivors in a nuclear attack. We need a stronger UN and we need it used more and more."

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Mr. Ingram _____
Miss Gandy _____

PHILADELPHIA DIVISION

The Philadelphia Inquirer
EDITOR: WALTER H. ANNENBERG

The Evening Bulletin XX
EDITOR: MELVILLE F. FERGUSON

Philadelphia Daily News
EDITOR: J. RAY HUNT

DATE: 4/25/61

EDITION: Night Extra

PAGE: 76

COLUMN: 5-6

TITLE OF CASE:

SEARCHED _____ INDEXED _____
SERIAL _____
APR 26 1961
Bureau

19 MAY 2 1961

62 MAY 2 1961

Cuban Policy of U.S. Criticised



Norman Thomas, who ran for President six times on the Socialist Party ticket, talks with Mrs. Leonard Peller, program chairman, before addressing the Old York Road Community Committee for the United Nations at a dinner meeting last night in Glenside.

Thomas Hits Right-Wing Radicals

Special to The Gazette

TEMPE—Norman Thomas, fiery leader of American socialist thought, attacked "ultra-patriotic organizations, desperately reactionary radicals on the right" in a talk on the Arizona State University campus here.

Thomas was critical of Sen. Barry Goldwater, R-Ariz.; the John Birch Society; the Stay American Committee; the Anti-Communist Christian Crusade; and of a leaflet distributed before his talk, bearing the name of Free Enterprise Advocates.

THE SIX-TIME candidate for President of the United States will speak at 8 o'clock tonight in the Phoenix Public Library auditorium, under sponsorship of the New American Forum, and will address the regular meeting tomorrow of the ASU Young Democrat Club. His appearance yesterday in the ASU Memorial Union ballroom also was sponsored by the Young Democrats.

Describing Phoenix as "the holy of holies in radicalism of the right," Thomas said he was familiar with ultra-conservative groups in the East, but not until his arrival here did he discover "your own particular possession, the Stay Americans."

HE REFERRED to the group which sponsored an ultra-conservative ticket in the recent Phoenix municipal election.

Thomas urged his listeners to attack such organizations with ridicule.

Goldwater, according to Thomas, wants to repeal the income tax and return the nation to the time of President William McKinley.

He praised Franklin D. Roosevelt, and noted the Socialist label had been attached to such conservative presidents as William Howard Taft and Herbert Hoover by persons who disagreed with their actions.

THREE PERSONS distributed the Free Enterprise Advocate leaflets at the memorial union entrance before Thomas' talk. The leaflets bore quotations attributed to various American presidents and Communist leaders, seeking to show that socialism is a step toward control of the United States by the Soviet Union.

Thomas claimed some of the quotes were inaccurate and that all were taken out of context in order to prove a point—"a completely illogical and unscientific approach."

ASU Young Democrat President Dick O'Hara, who introduced Thomas, said the organization is interested in hearing all viewpoints.

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

*Logan
Klein
Rosen*

PHOENIX GAZETTE
Phoenix, Arizona
11/28/61
MASON WALSH
Managing Editor

RE: NORMAN THOMAS

PX 100-0

PHOENIX DIVISION

161-15767-A
NOT RECORDED
46 DEC 20 1961

82

Socialist Norman Thomas Attacks Ultraconservatives

By BERNIE WYNN

TEMPE — Norman Thomas, American socialist leader, last night described Phoenix as "the holy of holies in radicalism of the right" in a blistering attack upon ultraconservative groups.

Thomas, 77-years-old but still full of vinegar, leveled his attack on the John Birch Society, the Stay American Committee and the Anti-Communist Christian Crusade.

He addressed an audience of 200 persons in the Arizona State University ballroom in a session sponsored by the university's Young Democrats.

HIS IRE was aroused particularly by distribution of a leaflet by three persons representing an organization called Free Enterprise Advocates at the entrance to the Student Union Memorial Building.

The broadside, quoting excerpts from remarks purportedly made by various American presidents and Communists leaders, sought to show that socialism was the first step toward control of the United States by Soviet Russia.

Thomas charged that some of

the quotes were inaccurate and all were taken out of context to prove a point, "a completely illogical and unscientific approach."

He noted that various times in American history, Presidents William Howard Taft and Herbert Hoover had been called socialists by those who disagreed with their official acts.

BUT THE bulk of his fire was aimed at "those ultrapatriotic organizations, desperately reactionary, radicals on the right."

He said he was familiar with a proliferation of such societies springing up in the East, but it was not until he arrived at Phoenix that he discovered "your own particular possession, the Stay Americans."

Such groups spring up, he said, because of the general fear of the international situation in a "tumultuous time which breeds fear and suspicion."

Their leaders, many of whom enjoy playing the demagogue, take the position they can deal with evil by "blaming it on the devil," he added.

Communism is their substitute for the devil although the Communist Party in America is weak, he said.

"If they blame hard enough, the FBI will get more money and have more jobs," Thomas declared. "Dig shelters and join the John Birch Society and the country will be saved."

Thomas urged his audience to bring the powerful weapon of ridicule to bear on these groups as an effective means of destroying their influence.

Thomas was critical of the film entitled "Communism on the

Map" which he contended is being shown in Arizona schools under the sponsorship of the Arizona Highway Patrol. He read a letter allegedly from an Arizona high school teacher condemning this practice.

HE CHARGED the film was full of inaccuracies and should not be shown in schools or on military installations unless competent persons are allowed to refute the errors.

He also castigated Sen. Barry Goldwater, R-Ariz., whom he charged wants to repeal the income tax and return the nation to the time of President William McKinley.

Thomas praised Franklin D. Roosevelt as the president who gave socialism its greatest aid through the New Deal "for which we should be grateful."

Thomas was introduced by Dick O'Hara, president of ASU's Young Democrats. O'Hara explained his organization was interested in hearing all sides "left, right and the middle."

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

ARIZONA REPUBLIC
Phoenix, Arizona
11/28/61
J. EDWARD MURRAY
Managing Editor
Article by BERNIE
WYNN

RE: NORMAN THOMAS

PX 100-0

PHOENIX DIVISION

*File - 5-E
"Norman Thomas"*

161-10761-A

NOT RECORDED

46 DEC 21 1961

62 DEC 21 1961

Patrol Denies Film On Reds

The head of the Arizona highway patrol denied yesterday that he or any of his officers are sponsoring showings of any films on communism.

"We're not sponsoring any films anywhere," said Supt. Greg Hathaway of the patrol.

The denial was in answer to a statement made in Tempe by Socialist Norman Thomas, who charged the patrol was sponsoring showing of a film entitled "Communism on the Map."

Thomas was critical of the film. He contended it is full of inaccuracies and should not be shown in schools or at military installations unless competent persons are allowed to offer rebuttal.

Hathaway said the report about the patrol apparently came from a teacher in White River.

He said one of his officers had told a teacher where to get the film.

"My officers always attempt to help anyone when asked to do so," Hathaway said. "In this case, all the officer did was tell the teacher where she could obtain the film."

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

ARIZONA REPUBLIC
Phoenix, Arizona
12/1/61
J. EDWARD MURRAY
Managing Editor

RE: FILM "COMMUNISM ON THE MAP"

PX 100-0

PHOENIX DIVISION

*file 5 - Tmm

161-10707-A

NOT RECORDED

46 DEC 22 1961

6: DEC 22 1961

The Phoenix Gazette

Eugene C. Pulliam, Publisher

"Where The Spirit Of The Lord Is, There Is Liberty"

II Corinthians 3: 17

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

Are We Already So Far Gone?

The U.S. military establishment is reported "in a stir"—a phrase one news service dispatch used—about charges by Norman Thomas and the American Socialist Party that "radical rightist" indoctrination of men in the armed forces continues. By "radical rightist" the complainants appear to mean anything that is anti-Socialist, anti-Communist or, for that matter, anti-Liberal.

The campaign to frighten service men into being ideological eunuchs with no more affection for Americanism than for communism is reaching alarming proportions when an Air Force officer can be officially cold-shouldered for making speeches in civilian dress at service clubs against communism, as Lt. Steven Huffaker was at Oxnard, Calif.

If one is a radical rightist who believes in preserving the U.S. Constitution, then we had better begin to have a great many radical rightists in this country.

If it makes a person a right-wing extremist to prefer the system that built America above the system that degraded Russia, then this country will be in a bad way in-

deed if it cannot continue to produce right-wing extremists.

Are we so far gone on the road to socialistic centralism that we will permit it to become our nation's official policy that our military apparatus must be neutral between America and America's enemies? What insane stupidity is it that countenances the argument that on one extreme is communism, and on the other extreme is Americanism, so everyone should take a stand halfway between them?

There are right-wing extremists, certainly. They are such as the New Jersey Nazi, and the black nationalist cultist, and a few others. They want to change our kind of government. There are left-wing extremists, too, and their identity may be discovered by the same test. They want to change our kind of government.

In between are Americans, and whether in or out of the armed services, they should have the right to speak up for the preservation of the kind of government the others want to destroy. If being a patriot is taboo in America, then may God save America!

PHOENIX GAZETTE
Phoenix, Arizona
11/27/61
MASON WALSH
Managing Editor

RE: EDITORIAL ENTITLED "ARE WE ALREADY SO FAR GONE?"

PX 100-0

PHOENIX DIVISION

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46 DEC 20 1961

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Tolson ☒
 Belmont ☒
 Mohr ☐
 Casper ☐
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 Conrad ☐
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 Trotter ☐
 Tele Room ☐
 Holmes ☐
 Gandy ☐

*Fifty-two days late and 713 miles from "home," the Communist Party of the United States celebrated the 40th birthday of its publication, *The Worker*, at Carnegie Hall here Thursday. The original *Worker* was first published on Jan. 13, 1924, in a shop at 1113 West Washington Blvd. in Chicago; it moved to New York in 1927, became not the *Daily* but the weekly *Worker* in 1958 because of hard times. It now comes out twice a week. Here is an appraisal of the party it serves by Norman Thomas, six times candidate for President of the United States on the Socialist ticket.*

Two Decades of U. S. Communism As Norman Thomas Saw Them

By Norman Thomas

At the editor's request, I attempt this brief appraisal of the American Communist party with principal reference to its effect on American life and American opinion. It is obvious that I write as a democratic Socialist.

From the time that Lenin, successful in Russia, broke with the Socialist International, his communism created a profound stir wherever, in a confused post-war world, there were socialists and radical workers. The Socialist party lost heavily to the rival Communist factions. But it was not until 1924 that, under pressure from Russia, these factions formed a strictly disciplined party which managed to present a monolithic front despite internal struggles over doctrines and for power. In all important matters American Communist policies were determined by the Comintern in Russia; struggles within it between Borodin and Trotsky and Stalin were faithfully echoed in the American party. Stalin won. From Russia came the word which deposed Jay Lovestone from power in 1929, although he nominally had a large majority in the American party. For many years he led a steadily dwindling independent party, dissolved in World War II. He is now an anti-Communist stalwart in the AFL-CIO.

In somewhat similar fashion, Earl Browder, for many years the Communist leader, was deposed shortly after World War II. Although his party had docilely supported his policies, it thereupon savagely denounced him for following them. The explanation for all this was to be found in the Kremlin.

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 The Washington Post and Times Herald
 The Washington Daily News
 The Evening Star
 New York Herald Tribune 33
 New York Journal-American
 New York Mirror
 New York Daily News
 New York Post
 The New York Times
 The Worker
 The New Leader
 The Wall Street Journal
 The National Observer
 People's World
 Date

MAR 8 1964

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As late as 1935, with the beginning of the "united front" period, the Party Manual on Organization, written by J. Peters, who was not an American, declared that "The Soviet Union is the only fatherland of workers all over the world." While the Manual supported the need of the party to win "allies" and favored the policy of the united front which Stalin had advocated late in 1934, it also gave directions how to capture that united front.

The Communist party was always loyal to the great Communist objective: power to impose a Marxist-Leninist order on society, but its tactics to outsiders were bewildering in their sudden shifts. For example, in the campaign of 1932 when the party was not persecuted and won the support of numerous writers and intellectuals—many of whom are now vehement anti-Communists, its program was to establish a Soviet America. It was immensely scornful of us Socialists "reformists." As late as 1934, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and I were bitterly cartooned in *The Daily Worker* for shaking hands at a "reformist" housing conference. By 1936, Earl Browder, in behalf of his party, sought a united front with us Socialists and a common labor ticket. Falling to get this, he and his party, although he was nominally himself running for President, virtually campaigned for Roosevelt and in conversation rebuked me for not following a similar course.

GYRATIONS

The gyrations of the party in the period of World War II were even more extraordinary. To its credit, it had been bitterly anti-Nazi; it shifted overnight when Stalin made his pact with Hitler. Then its slogan became, "The Yanks are not coming." When Hitler attacked Stalin, and a few months later when Japan and Germany declared war on the U. S., it shouted, "The Yanks are coming," and became 212 degree Fahrenheit patriots.

In 1944 its publications asked the government to suppress my campaign meetings: in Seattle its organ unsuccessfully urged mob action to break up my meeting; this, because we Socialists were critical of Stalin and our government's approach to a post-war settlement. Earlier a group of Communists had tried by heckling to break up a pitifully small meeting which I had organized to protest our government's action in putting all Japanese and Japanese-Americans on the West Coast into concentration camps without trial or hearing.

Such shifts were easier because of the conviction that truth and right are in the last analysis what advances the Communist cause. To them that triumph will mean the final emancipation of mankind. They carry far the notion which in action most men are inclined to accept; namely, that the end justifies the means. For a long time they were convinced that the Kremlin was an infallible authority on the means to be used.

A small illustration of what this doctrine does to truth was a personal experience. At a hearing on preparedness back in Hoover's time, I testified that, while I was somewhat critical of a certain Constitutional amendment, which had just been proposed by Rep. Fiorello La Guardia, "in the event of war I should be for it." The Communist press, then very anti-military, deliberately took the sentence out of context and all over the country charged me with saying that "in the event of war, I should be for it"—war.

In Mississippi I have come across instances of the same sort of conviction among otherwise decent people that the decision of white supremacy justifies lies, perjury, perhaps even murder. Khrushchev has brought some moral standards into criticism of Stalin, but it is to be noticed that he has never attacked the cruel dictator's crimes against Socialists and other non-Communists.

ZIG ZAGS

Given this zigzag tactical policy, it is not surprising that the Communist party had little effect on governmental or labor policies, even in periods when it had achieved, directly or indirectly, considerable power and influence in many labor unions, "front" organizations, and to some extent in liberal church circles. Its influence exceeded its devoted hard-working membership. But the party, even during the depression years, never tried, in the labor unions, for instance, to make revolution.

Today party power and influence is at a very low ebb. The reaction against communism has been very strong in the labor unions. In this cold war period the party is fighting for its life against legal prohibitions under the Smith and McCarran Acts. It looks as if it would win in the courts, but not in Congress or in mass public opinion.

The outrageous excesses of "McCarthyism" have helped it in some quarters, that is among many non-Communist liberals who think that any criticism of communism or Communists must be McCarthyist and hence false. That is incorrect. But nothing is more ridiculous than the McCarthyist and Birch Society devil theory which attributes to a weak party the nature and power fundamentalist Christians attribute to Satan.

The Communist party has been an open political party. Communist defectors and the FBI have been able to bring no convincing evidence of subversive acts or sabotage against the party and its political leaders. Today the most radical Communists are of the Chinese brand, mostly outside the party, and hence not yet touched by our clumsy anti-totalitarian laws supposed to destroy the Communist party. Chinese Communists described Russian Communists much as Russian Communists have described democratic Socialists.



HT—WARMAN
Norman Thomas

We fight totalitarian communism best by analyzing it; by acknowledging that it has arisen in response to grave evils; by recognizing the devotion of many of its disciples in fighting social injustice.

We do not fight it well by emulating its denials of freedom of speech, press and association. We have plenty of laws against subversive acts. Perhaps communism's worst disservice has been that it seems illogically to have inspired government and people in America in the interest of democracy to begin to copy its disregard, when in power, of the individual right "to know, to utter and to argue freely according to conscience," which Milton prized above all others.

Footnote: If I may be so unconventional, I should like to cite some authorities on the history of the Communist party. First and foremost are Theodore Draper's two books, "The Roots of American Communism" and "American Communism and Soviet Russia"; "Communism and the Churches," by Ralph Lord Roy; and "The American Communist Party: A critical history 1919 to 1957," by Lewis Coser and Irving Howe. I have elaborated my general opinions in two chapters on communism in my latest book, "Socialism Re-examined."

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Norman Thomas at 79:

'I've Been Lucky'

By JOHN MORGENTHAU

Associated Press Writer

Norman Thomas, the old Socialist, says that the only people who practice free enterprise these days are "small boys playing marbles for keeps."

Thomas, 79, has seen government adopt many of the socialist programs he fought for in six campaigns for the Presidency. He says his chief regret is that he won't leave behind a Socialist Party with real force in American politics.

Talking about his long career and his ideas for the future, Thomas says, "I've been lucky. No long jail terms, no long illnesses. I've been arrested several times, but I usually won."

"If I had it to do over, I wouldn't do many things differently. I'd do them better."

Thomas was interviewed in the small Manhattan office where he works five days a week. The sign on the door says "Post War World Council" one of dozens of councils, committees and leagues for which he works without pay.

In the lapel of his brown suit was the Order of Solidarity, which the Italian government recently awarded him for his opposition to Mussolini after World War I.

Although slowed down a bit by arthritis and other infirmities

ies of age, Thomas writes two columns a week for the Denver Post, and lectures frequently throughout the country. He's working on a new book to add to the 19 on his office bookshelves.

Wife's Legacy Helps

He says he could live on his lecture fees, but money left by his wife, who died in 1947, makes things easier for him. "I personally owe something to a system I don't like," he said.

Thomas lives in a hotel room with a kitchenette, near his office, and visits a daughter's family on Long Island as often as he can on weekends. He has five children, 15 grandchildren and five great-grandchildren.

Thomas said he was "happily surprised" with President Johnson's performance. Commenting on the President's "war on poverty," he said: abundance, not poverty, is the big problem. Automation, he believes, will produce plenty without everybody working — a problem neither Karl Marx nor Adam Smith thought of.

Thomas has no plans for more world travel because "it's too much embarrassment to drop dead abroad."

"I keep hoping I'll drop dead though," he said. "Not immediately, you understand. I just don't want people saying, 'that poor old man.'"

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

23 NEW YORK POST

Date: 6/8/64
Edition: LATE CITY
Author: JOHN MORGENTHAU
Editor: DOROTHY SCHIFF
Title: NORMAN THOMAS

61-10767-A
NOT RECORDED: SM-MISC.
46 JUN 19 1964

Classification:
Submitting Office: NYO
☐ Being Investigated

74 JUN 19 1964

Socialist Norman Thomas at 80 Still Is an Active Campaigner

By Milt Freudenheim
Chicago Daily News Service

NEW YORK — Norman Thomas, the six-time nominee for President on the Socialist ticket, turned 80 last Friday without any signs of slowing down.

He gave campaign speeches on a platform of "Part of the Way with LBJ" in 14 states this year. Once he left New York for Hawaii on a Tuesday noon, making three speeches and two other appearances there, and returning to New York by 6 p.m. that Thursday.

His fellow Socialists and his colleagues in the peace and civil rights movements have been giving him a series of birthday parties in Los Angeles, Chicago and New York.

A reporter who caught him between birthday parties in his office at the Postwar World Council emerged 75 minutes later with Thomas



NORMAN THOMAS

... elder statesman speaks

comments on the following subjects:

Sen. Barry Goldwater—"If

he'd kept on long enough, he would have got an even lower vote."

President Johnson—"I was for him because he was part of the way with what I believe in, and Goldwater was none of the way. I don't approve of the Johnson policy in Viet-Nam or this multilateral nuclear force. I think his war against poverty is grossly inadequate. But I was for his election."

Two-Party System—"It's time for the major parties to exchange their heroes and political saints. The Democrats should take Lincoln. The Republicans could take John C. Calhoun (Vice President under John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson). His doctrine of states' rights was to protect the 'peculiar institution' of chattel slavery. The new Republican Sen. Strom Thurmond (S.C.) uses

it to protect white supremacy. "But I still think in America we should have two broad parties, one moderate socialist, and one conservative, rather than the present conglomerations."

Russia—"What they've got is really state capitalism, with the state taking the place of the employer, and with very little democracy for workers. In economics, I'm inclined to believe Russia and the United States are approaching a sameness with a rivalry on the order of that between

Tolson ☒
Belmont ☒
Mohr ☒
DeLoach ☒
Casper ☐
Callahan ☐
Conrad ☐
Evans ☐
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Rosen ☒
Sullivan ☒
Tavel ☐
Trotter ☐
Tele Room ☐
Holmes ☐
Gandy ☐

The Washington Post and Times Herald **F2**
The Washington Daily News _____
The Evening Star _____
New York Herald Tribune _____
New York Journal-American _____
New York Mirror _____
New York Daily News _____
New York Post _____
The New York Times _____
The Worker _____
The New Leader _____
The Wall Street Journal _____
The National Observer _____
People's World _____
Date _____

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Westinghouse and General Electric. Asia, is a kind of a mystique in men's minds. Karl Marx would never recognize it, especially when it goes along with hypernationalism. They make it up as they go along, I sometimes think."

"Russia is unquestionably becoming more pluralistic, and we are becoming more centralized. This is just a guess, not something I feel deeply about. And it does not apply to the two political systems."

"I hope we would keep some advantage on civil liberties. I hope we would not get to the point where a dictator sends love and kisses to his astronauts on one day and then two different guys deliver the hugs and kisses when they come down to earth the next day."

Marxism — "I always acknowledged that I was not an orthodox Marxist, although I thought he was a great man who had a fundamental influence on history."

"A great deal of what passes for Marxism, especially in

Poverty—"I favor a total war against slums on the magnitude of the cold war. Of course, construction work generates more jobs than defense industries do."

Progress — "When I was young before World War I, we believed in progress with

a capital 'P.' We thought it was sort of inevitable and that it was happening. The Socialists, Eugene Debs, for example, were very optimistic. So was Jane Addams and the other reformers.

"Then came the two world wars. As Lloyd George said, we staggered and stumbled into the first war through competitive militarism. The

second war was calculated by Hitler. Now I think we are even more dangerously militarized than ever.

"Now I do not believe in any preordained progress with a capital 'P.' Nor do I believe that we are preordained to be damned either by our gods or by our genes. It's a mixed verdict, ideally suited for a college debate."

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

2,000 HAIL THOMAS AT 80TH BIRTHDAY

He Gets \$17,500 Check and
Sees His Life Dramatized

By PHILIP BENJAMIN

Norman Thomas sat somewhat apologetically on a small red plush chair at one end of a long room yesterday and received hundreds of people gathered to congratulate him on his 80th birthday.

Mr. Thomas, six times the Socialist party's Presidential candidate, and the man who has helped make Socialism in the United States respectable, if not magnetic, was 80 last Nov. 20.

He is tall and spare; his face is bony and his clothes hang loosely; he walks haltingly. Yet his voice still rings when he speaks of Socialism and the future of the world.

A reception was arranged for him at the Astor Hotel, and nearly 2,000 persons paid \$2.50 each to do him honor. In the course of the afternoon he received a huge birthday cake, heard actors dramatize his life, accepted a check for \$17,500 and delivered a speech in which he attacked this country's role in South Vietnam.

As he walked to the red plush chair, which sat on a low dais, Mr. Thomas said, "I have to sit for this, because later I have to stand up to make a speech."

The line in the Rose Room moved slowly as well-wishers seemed unable to tear themselves away. They asked for autographs, clasped his hand and tried to make the moment more personal. "Do you remember that time in Yonkers?" "Do you remember me? It was 20 years ago."

"How could I ever forget you?" Mr. Thomas said.

One man said, rapidly: "I want to congratulate you on your victory over the years and the victory of your cause. The whole world is going your way, sir."

"I'm not so sure," Mr. Thomas said.

Messages Relayed

Virgilia Peterson, the writer and literary critic, grasped Mr. Thomas's hand. "Gouverneur, sending masses of love," she said.

In the grand ballroom of the hotel, A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, read a telegram from Vice President-elect Hubert H. Humphrey, who said that Mr. Thomas had "challenged the evil faces of fascism and communism" and that "America is a better land because of you."

There were also messages of congratulations from, among others, Chief Justice Earl Warren; Associate Justice Tom C. Clark; Martin Luther King Jr., who is on his way to Norway to receive the Nobel Prize for Peace; and members of Congress, union leaders and present and former heads of foreign governments.

The audience had coffee and Danish pastry, and then, with the lights dimmed, a huge cake was brought in on the shoulders of two waiters. Besides "Happy Birthday," the cake said, "Cake Bakers Union Local 151."

There was one candle on it which Mr. Thomas blew out as the crowd sang "Happy Birthday, Dear Norman, Happy Birthday to You."

Among the singers were members of Mr. Thomas's family. He is a widower.

Thank You Is Sung

In reply, Mr. Thomas sang, "Happy Thank You to You," using the tune of "Happy Birthday."

The actors, Robert Ryan, Ruby Dee, Ossie Davis and Frederick O'Neal, and the folk singer Tom Glazer, then performed a dramatic sketch called "The Very Many Children of Norman Thomas."

When the sketch was over, Mr. Thomas accepted the \$17,500 check for him to spend as he saw fit. The fund was raised by the birthday committee, of which Mr. Randolph is chairman.

"It won't last long," he said, "because every organization I'm connected with is going bankrupt."

Then he delivered his speech; he had a prepared text, but he ignored much of it. He reviewed the years: "I never thought," he cried at one point, "that I'd live to see the cruelty of Hitler, and, yes, the cruelty in Mississippi today."

He touched on the population explosion and called for control of the birth rate; he called for a stronger United Nations and urged President Johnson to "negotiate a cease-fire in Vietnam." The audience applauded vigorously.

"Are we defending democracy in Vietnam—when the people have to be forced to fight for a Government they don't want?" Mr. Thomas asked. "We shall not defeat Communism that way; we shall help Communism in the long run."

When the birthday party had ended, Mr. Thomas shook more hands.

"What will you do now?" someone asked.

"The same thing I've always done," he said, "as long as I've got the strength."

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

42 NEW YORK TIMES

Date: 12/7/64
Edition: LATE CITY
Author: PHILIP BENJAMIN
Editor: CLIFTON DANIEL
Title: NORMAN THOMAS

Character: SM-MISC.

or

Classification:

Submitting Office: NYO

☒ Being Investigated

61-10762-4
NOT RECORDED
126 DEC 14 1964

66 DEC 15 1964

File 5-1011

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

the successful failure



News Photos by Gary Goepferman

**At 81, the Nation's
No. 1 Socialist, Norman
Thomas, Is Still Dissenting**

JUL 7 1966

F30

61-10767

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Wick _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

62 THE DETROIT NEWS
DETROIT, MICHIGAN

PICTORIAL MAGAZINE
SECTION

Date: 6-5-66
Edition: 7 STAR FINAL
Author: WILLIAM T NOBLE
Editor: MARTIN S HAYDEN
Title:

Character:
or

Classification:

Submitting Office: DETROIT

☐ Being Investigated

NOT RECORDED
JUL 29 1966

HIS EYES ARE dimming now, his faltering step is aided by a cane and he keeps a hearing aid tucked away in a pocket, but Norman Thomas' voice of dissent is as loud and clear as ever.

For more than 60 years the "respectable rebel" has stood on the sidelines of the American game of politics and tut-tutted every play. Now 81, the six-time Socialist Party candidate for president expects to keep dissenting until he dies.

He maintains a speaking schedule that would overwhelm 40-year-olds. Currently he is the hero of campus rebels. The topic, of course, is Vietnam.

Thomas has been a spokesman for peace since 1917. The fact that the world has paid little attention to his pleas, or even his candidacy for office, deters him not.

In Detroit for a Wayne State University teach-in on Vietnam, he exhibited sparks of his old fiery self. In spite of pain incurred a week earlier when he was dragged several feet by a New York cab, and the nagging twinges of arthritis, he spoke at several gatherings.

At 6 a.m. the morning after his Detroit appearances he left for another engagement in Pennsylvania and from there he went to Kentucky. At least four demanding appearances had been arranged for him in a seven-day span.

Embarrassed and slightly resentful of the mantle of infirmity age has forced upon him, Thomas vowed he'd keep speaking until death stills his voice.

"My daughter insists I use the cane," he said.

He keeps a hearing aid out of sight and uses it only on rare occasions. He does not wear glasses and struggles unaided to peer through the mist.

"I keep going like this," he said, "to take my mind off all the things that are wrong with my body. I can't stand the thought of sitting at home with my children and grandchildren and having them say 'how's the poor old man today?' Brrrrrr," he trilled in disgust at the thought.

Dressed in a lint-flecked blue serge suit, frayed white shirt and red tie, tall and rail-thin, he held an audience of young students, teachers and well-wishers entranced as he spelled out his horror of America's current policies.

His voice remains loud and shrill and his line of thought has not wavered. When he gets warmed up on politics, the subject closest to his heart, he raps the table with

By WILLIAM T. NOBLE



Despite the frailties of age, Norman Thomas vows he'll keep speaking 'til he dies.

*'If young folks want me to speak,' he
says, 'I'll come for nothing'*



The Socialist Party leader, who on more than one occasion was met with
a barrage of eggs, delivered a "peaceful address" in Hyde Park in 1938.

the knuckles of his pale fingers.

He uses mimicry and sarcasm to emphasize what he considers a political leader's fallacies. His penetrating voice reaches deep into an audience he cannot see.

He has been doing it thusly since 1926—a successful failure. Once, he recalled with a smile, a man so moved by his speech on Socialism borrowed Thomas' hat to take up a collection and disappeared with it into the night.

Voters have been equally as cruel. The greatest number of votes he received was 88,781 in 1932. But he gets satisfaction in that many of the "radical" ideas he promulgated in the '20s and '30s long since have been adopted. Social Security, shorter work weeks, abolition of child labor, and unemployment insurance were taken up by President Roosevelt and now are considered a part of the American way of life.

Financially independent due in part to an inheritance left by his late wife, Thomas will speak anywhere he is asked.

"I'll take the going rate for speakers," he says, "but if young folks like students want me, I'll come for nothing. My inheritance makes it easier to do these things, but I'd do it anyway even if I had to ride the upper berths the way I did in the old campaign days."

His time is not wasted, he says. He believes his voice of dissent at teach-ins and peace marches has started people thinking.

"I never dreamed I'd live to see the day that in time of war a nation would be engaged in a debate about the morality of that war," he said. "It's a healthy thing because this war is unlike any other one and could lead to world disaster."

For more than an hour Thomas talked



At a recent Wayne State University teach-in, Thomas exhibited sparks of his old fiery self (right) which saw him repeatedly nominated as his party's presidential candidate.



***I never thought I'd live to see
liberals praising Bobby Kennedy
and turning against Humphrey***

with salty vigor about the world, its leaders and his gloom. Some of his observations:

"President Kennedy, if he had lived, would have done exactly the same thing in Vietnam as President Johnson is doing.

"The President is sincere in seeking a peaceful settlement. He would like to get out gracefully."

The nation's military leaders frighten him.

"They talk casually of 50 years' war against Communism everywhere."

"I never thought I'd live to see liberals praising Bobby Kennedy and turning

against Humphrey. But Humphrey had to change. He was asked to go along on the administration's Vietnam policy and Humphrey just doesn't go along. When he flips he goes all out zroooooooooo, pltttttt," as Thomas sonically described it.

"The Great Society is in danger of becoming a bread and circus event like the old Roman philosophy aimed at quieting the proletariat.

"China and Russia will not enter the Vietnam war until the last Vietnamese is killed. They are gaining too much favorable world opinion over our role there."



At dinner at the Belcrest Hotel, Thomas is greeted by Wayne State professors (left to right) Dr. Murray Seidler, Theodore Goldberg and David Wineman.



NORMAN THOMAS

Thomas Dies At 84, Head Of Socialists

HUNTINGTON, N.Y. (AP) — Norman Thomas, six times Socialist candidate for president and throughout his life a prodigy of the American conscience, died today. He was 84.

The announcement was made at the Hilaire Farm Nursing Home in this sedate Long Island community by Mrs. Margaret Gottsegen, director of nursing.

He was moved to the nursing home a year ago from Huntington Hospital, where he was hospitalized after suffering a stroke.

Before his stroke, the tall, lean, white-haired old man was crippled by arthritis and nearly blind. He walked with a cane and had to be helped from platforms when he made speeches.

His son, Evan Thomas, a publishing executive, said his father died of "complications of a chronic illness."

He said that at his father's request the body would be cremated and that instead of a funeral a memorial service would be held at the Community Church at 40 East 35th St. in Manhattan at 1 p.m. Monday.

Surviving are the daughters: Mrs. Rolly Miller of Kansas City, Mo.; Mrs. Frances Coates of nearby Cold Spring Harbor; Mrs. Rebecca Friedly of Plainsfield, N. J., and the sons, Evan and William of Newport, R.I.

Norman Mattoon Thomas, the gentle militant, lived a life that was as much a contradiction as the age in which he was born and the one in which he died.

The only American ever to win wide and genuine affection while a follower of socialism, Thomas' life was devoted to ending the contradictions of a society maturing into industrial and technological complexity.

He was born Nov. 20, 1884, in the "age of comfort," when gentle ladies played croquet on the lawns, and white teeth and sweet

breath could be guaranteed by Soudont. And the elegant James Blaine had just run for the presidency.

But there was an "other America" then, too: Pinkerton's detectives stood guard as strikebreakers went to work in the mines. The farmers were in trouble, from floods and because of railroad freight rates. And the "robber barons" of capitalism were becoming new monopolists.

Typical of the age, Grover Cleveland had fought for—and won—the presidency in a campaign in which neither he nor Blaine bothered much about labor unrest, the farmers' woe, the excesses of business.

Norman Thomas began life just two weeks after that presidential election. It was appropriate: For all of his life, the presidency and politics, and the supposed failure of each to conquer misery, preoccupied Thomas.

The Democratic and Republican parties, he would say later, were "Tweedledum" and Tweedledee, like identical glass bottles with different labels and both empty.

And this language from the left was to be picked up by the right—by third-party candidate George C. Wallace in the 1968 campaign.

Thomas never a barricades revolutionary, fought for his causes within the established political order and by its regular procedures. Yet, in one of those contradictions, it was a new order that he was after.

Vigorously opposed to dictatorial communism, Thomas wanted an economic order in which the satisfaction of want was assured by public ownership rather than private control of essential resources and basic industry. He called it "democratic socialism."

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

The Washington Post
Times Herald

The Washington Daily News _____
The Evening Star (Washington) 4-1
The Sunday Star (Washington) FINAL
Daily News (New York) _____
Sunday News (New York) _____
New York Post _____
The New York Times _____
The Sun (Baltimore) _____
The Daily World _____
The New Leader _____
The Wall Street Journal _____
The National Observer _____
People's World _____
Examiner (Washington) _____

Date DEC 19 1968

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He wanted central planning "for the common good," and he worked for that for decade after decade when "planning" was as much a scare word as "communism." But the idea became respectable—under the more acceptable label of "New Deal economics."

And, finally, at the beginning of the "Fair Deal" in postwar America, one of Thomas' notions of central direction of at least the ambitions of the economy became federal law in the Full Employment Act of 1946.

Norman Thomas was, to be sure, more popularly known as the man who tried six times to be president.

But he was more important as a kind of transitional figure in social philosophy, a man who could speak for the old socialism without the violent aggravations stirred by a Eugene Debs, and yet could claim some fatherhood for the new "socialism" of benign government regulation and stimulation promoted by a Franklin Roosevelt, Harry Truman, John Kennedy, or Lyndon Johnson.

Thomas was not totally opposed to private business ownership. He felt that business' focus on profit-making diverted attention from social needs.

Almost 20 years ago he said: "Peace, plenty, freedom and the fraternity of men can never exist under the supremacy of King Private Profit."

Although much of America repeatedly spurned his basic ideas, Thomas himself seemed never to yield in his devotion to America. It extended to the symbols of patriotism, and just a year ago, he spoke strongly against burning the flag:

"I don't like the sight of young people burning the flag of my country, the country I love. A symbol? If they want an appropriate symbol, they should be washing the flag, not burning it."

Another time, after being cheered and applauded by a young crowd, he turned and said, "I wish they would cut their hair."

Totalitarianism and dictatorship, anywhere, were his frequent targets.

In the summer of 1941, as World War II was gathering, Thomas condemned Russia's Stalin along with Germany's Western ally. Yet Thomas remarked, prophetically:

"By miracle, Stalin, with British aid and possibly some from us, should conquer Hitler; he would become the master of Europe and eventually perhaps as much a threat to the Western Hemisphere as Hitler now seems."

"The choice between Stalin and Hitler is not worth the life of a single American boy, still less the jeopardy of our own democracy."

Opposed to war, he had come to feel recently that much of the nation had begun to share that view. On the Vietnam war, he said:

"Are we defending democracy in Vietnam — when the people have to be forced to fight for a government they don't want? We shall not defeat communism that way; we shall help communism in the long run."

It was on the homefront that Thomas most clearly had been proved a prophet. Among the now-commonplace social changes which he had promoted ahead of their time were the income tax, women's right to vote, social security pensions for the aging, and the right of a worker to join with co-workers in labor unions.

During the election campaign of 1960, Thomas could twit both parties for having become — at least, partly — the program imitators of old-time socialism. The

only difference, he said, was that "Republicans take very reluctantly what the Democrats take quite cheerfully from our past platforms."

Although he became much honored, the aging socialist seldom could claim acknowledgments from his somewhat unwitting followers. Indeed, Thomas could regularly expect commentators to rather benignly dismiss him as a nice old eccentric.

As he approached the age of 80, Thomas said he would never run for the presidency again.

"Six times are enough," he said. "It gets to be a joke after that many times. Maybe it got to be a joke before that."

One of the biographies of Thomas, by Murray B. Seidler, labeled him the "Respectable Rebel."

It was from respectability that Thomas began. Far from the proletarian origins of the stereotyped Socialist, Thomas' beginnings were in a family of ministers in middle-class Marion, Ohio.

He carried newspapers as a boy, went to Princeton as a young man, and began his career as a Presbyterian minister. In 1911, while associated with a church of some social rank in New York City, Thomas decided to join in a program of help for the slum residents of East Harlem.

His pacifist views and his support for the Socialist candidate for mayor of New York led to trouble with his church superiors, and he left the ministry, finally giving up his frock in 1931.

In 1924, he began running for public office. He tried first for the office of governor of New York, on the Socialist and Progressive tickets. Among the other, lesser offices he sought from time to time were mayor, state senator, and alderman.

Two years after he became head of the Socialist party, succeeding Eugene Debs in 1926, Thomas was chosen as the party's nominee for the presidency. He continued running, every four years through the 1948 campaign. The highest number of votes he ever got was 884,649, in the 1932 election, which Franklin Roosevelt won.

Thomas married Frances Violet Stewart, from an old New York family, in 1910 while both were social workers in the city's slums. They had three sons, one of whom died as a child, and three daughters.

His wife died in 1947, and 20 years later Thomas said the high point of his life was the day he got her to marry him.

Mrs. Thomas left her husband a small inheritance which enabled him to keep up his Socialist activities.



—Associated Press

A shower of eggs greeted Norman Thomas (center) as he tried to speak in a park in Newark, N.J., on June 4, 1938.