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structions from P. Officer, Special Agent in C PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: H.J.LENON. Pittsburgh, Pa. 1110v. 14, 1922 Nov. 13, 1922 TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE! REV. NORMAN M. THOMAS, Radical, Lecturer, Teacher and Writer. EHERAL-INTELLIBENCE FACTS DEVELOPED; (0 AT PITTSBURGH, PA. DIVISION NOV 24 1528 This name is appearing frequently in various publications and the question has been asked several times, "Who is this Thomas? What is his pet theory? etc. Believing that further inquiry might be made this data was gathered as a matter of record concerning subject. NC1/241922 REV. NORMAN M. THOMAS is none of a group of about fifty-two persons holding a total of about 325 directorates in about fifty organizations, which are more or less in control of the radical, pacifist and liberal movements in the United States today. Out of a total of 33 extreme pacifist and civil liberties organizations NORMAN M.THOMAS holds membership in 13 of them, and out of 8 radical organizations he 292p holds membership in 3. The Emergency Peace Federation was one of the organizations that occupied MR.THOMAS'S attention in the early part of 1917. ing to a letter written by REBECCA SHELLY, dated May 16th, 1917, to J. Barnard Walton, of Swarthmore College, and the Religious Society of Friends, who had previously described this REFERENCE: Hoover-2 MEWXXXXXXXXXXX

LEO

organization as "all siding with the more radical wing": (J.Barnard Walton to Miss Shelly, March 15,1917), "The Emergency Peace Federation had its beginning on February 3, 1917, the date Count Von Bernstorff was handed his passports. We formed a little "keep out of war committee" which held a mass meeting at Carnegie Hall on February 5th. On February 7th, the Emergency Peace Federation was more formerly organized with the object "to keep America from war and its attendant consequences". This letter goes on to say that between February and May they built up a strong national organization and raised over \$7.6,000 most of which was spent in advertising.

In connection with the Emergency Peace Federation a mass meeting was held in Cooper Union on February 7th, 1917, at which NORMAN THOMAS spoke.

The First American Conference for Democracy and Terms of Peace was another organization to occupy the attention of MR.THOMAS in May, 1917. In the early part of May, Miss Rebecca Shelly wrote concerning The First American Conference on Democracy and Terms of Peace to Dr.C.F.Taylor, of the "Medical World", Philadelphia.

The First American Conference on Democracy and Terms of Peace will be held on May 30th. It will formulate a program of principles and the plan of action on which all supporters of peace and democracy may unite. This program will undoubtedly be in thorough accord with that of the Russian Council of Workmen and Soldiers. We want the

people of America to join hands with the people of Russia in a respectable demand that the government cease to juggle alternately with words and millions of human lives and state concretely what they are fighting for."

Among those who gave active support to Miss Shelly and the movement in general was the REV.NORMAN THOMAS.

In the report of this conference under "American Liberties" the conference protested (among other things) "against conscription, compulsory military training;" and demanded "democratic control of our foreign policy. "The committee in charge of "American Liberties" read as follows:

Richard W.Hogue, chairman; Lola Maverick Lloyd, Winnetka, Ill.;

J.Barnard Walton, Swarthmore, Penna.; Prof.H.W.L.Dana, New York City,
now of Boston; Harry Weinberger, New York City; REV.NORMAN THOMAS,
New York City; Victor Berger, Milwaukee; Dohald Stephens, Delaware;
Alex.L.Trachtenberg, New York City.

The People's Freedom Union was a successor to the People's Council, with offices at 138 West 13th Street, New York City. In this building is located also the offices of the American Civil Liberties Union and Similar organizations. The object of the People's Freedom Union, according to its own statement, is as follows:

"The People's Freedom Union is a federation to which several

New York groups have committed themselves to the end of a more effective handling than any could attain in its separate strength.

IT IS THE ONE BIG UNION IDEA APPLIED TO THE PEACE-AND-FREEDOM MOVEHEMT.

The affairs of the People's Freedom Union are administered by an executive committee, by the officers and departmental directors, and by special committees in charge of specific phases of the work.

One of their committees was known as the Free Political Prisoners

Committee and one of the committee members was the REV.NORMAN THOMAS.

The views of REV.NORMAN THOMAS on conscientious objectors, which follow, is contained in the October, 1919, issue of "The Social Preparation for the Kingdom of God"; issued quarterly by the Christian Socialist Publishing Company; Inc., Utica, N.Y., Rev.A.L.Byron-Curtiss, Secretary.

"THE CHURCH AND CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS"

most ten months after the signing of the Armistice, which ended the war. There are still over 200 conscientious objectors in prison in the United States. Until recently all conscientious objectors were confined at Fort Leavenworth, but during the summer, a large number of them were transferred to Fort Douglas, Utah, and a smaller number to the military prison at Fort Alcatraz in San Francisco Bay. Incidentally it is worthy of note that the government thought it necessary

to transfer these prisoners of conscience handcuffed throughout the long journey although the War Department well knew they would scorn to try to escape. This is not the worst of the story. Possibly today, certainly until very recently, six conscientious objectors are confined in the dungeons at Ft. Alcatraz in solitary cells. These human beings are kept for two consecutive weeks on a diet of bread and water. They sleep on stone floors. Virtually there are no toilet facilities. The walls of the dungeons are so damp that a man's clothing is wet through if he leans against them and the darkness is so dense that a man can scarcely see his hand a few inches from his face. Of course, such cells are infested with vermin. In Fort Douglas, where the men were until recently kept under very mild confinement, save for absurd restrictions of mail privileges, a very rigorous policy has been instituted. Most of the men are on a diet of bread and water; some of them are in solitary cells. One of them, Howard Moore, winner of a Carnegie medal, has been severely beaten up by a guard. Conditions at Fort Leavenworth have been accurately and impartially described in Mr.Lane's articles in "The Survey". In these prisons, clean and unclean, moral degenerates and fine upstanding young Americans, prisoners of conscience, men guilty of slight infractions of military discipline and dangerous criminals, are confined indiscriminately under a policy of iron discipline which has lead to at least two general strikes within the prison..... No other policy is tenable, especially in a church which traces its apostolic succession, back to the man who declared "We ought to obey God rather than man."

the individual conscience may not be infallible; it cannot be corrected by the political state nor can Christians tolerate the doctrine that mistakes of conscience can be cured by chains and imprisonment. The Church which has steadily supported the state in its policy of coercing war's heretics, is a Church which has denied its own right to speak with the voice of God to the hearts of men. The conscientious objectors have not asked for sympathy. One who knows the best of them would not desire to offer to their triumphant courage the insult of sympathy; rather it is the Church that needs our concern ---- the Church which is committing suicide by her neglect of the things which pertain to her salvation.

The REV. NORMAN M. THOMAS is also editor and assistant treasurer of "The World Tomorrow", published by the Fellowship Press, Inc., 118 E. 28th Street, New York City, N.Y.

The Emergency Peace Federation exerted in all possible ways to counteract the working of the Espionage and Selective Draft bills and loans to the Allies. In doing this they received aid and support from pacifists, religious or quasi-religious societies. Among these was the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Under the guidance of REV.NORMAN M. THOMAS in April 13,1917, a plan was developed to "experiment with social, industrial and international problems."

Those who assisted greatly in these activities were the Rev.Dr. Harry F.Ward, Jane Addams, Chicago, Jessie Wallace Hughan, Rebecca. Shelly and others.

The REV.NORMAN M.THOMAS is listed as one of the staff of teachers and lecturers of the Rand School of Social Science, which is owned by the American Socialist Society, a membership corporation. The American Socialist Society was convicted of a violation of the Espionage Act in the United States District Court for the Sourthern District of New York in the Spring of 1919 and was fined \$3,000. The Rand School was established in 1906.

Year Book, 1919-20, gives the following:

that which offers opportunities for the general public to study
Socialism and related subjects, and that which gives Socialists such
systematic instruction and training as may render them more efficient
workers in and for the Socialist Party, the Trade Unions and the
Co-operatives. The former is the more extensive, the great majority
of students being residents of New York and the vicinity, who devote
only an evening or two a week to such courses as they may select from
the large number offered. The second branch is the more intensive
with a smaller body of students. The Workers' Training Course is
taken up each year by a group of young working men and women, mostly
from outside New York, who give their whole time to study for six
months, from November to May. Essentially the same course is followed
also on a part-time plan by a group of local students who attend

classes six hours a week through the greater portion of two years.

Many of the Training Course graduates later enter the service of the movement, as secretaries, organizers, propagandists, editors, or in other capacities.

The REV.NORMAN M.THOMAS is also a member of the association which has to do with the publishing of a paper called the "Intercollegiate Socialist". Its object is to "promote an intelligent interest in socialism among college men and women".

MR.THOMAS is also a member of the executive board of Friends of Freedom for India.

In December, 1920, he was a witness for the five socialist members of the New York Legislature who were twice suspended.

In June, 1919, when addressing a conference of the "Intercollegiate Socialist Society", he said: "Bolshevism is an experiment of extraordinary interest which the rest of the world, had it been wise, would have watched eagerly, in order to learn the tremendous lessons for the future social re-organization. I shall confess that, for my part, Kropotkin's idea of communistic anarchism seems to me the highest and best form for reconciling the interest of the individual and the social group. I question whether we could turn immediately from our present system to Kropotkin's ideals."

MR.THOMAS is a member of the National Committee of the American

(L

.J.Lenon,

November 14th, 1922

Page #9.

Civil Liberties Union, and a member of the National Council of the League for Industrial Democracy. He is assistant editor of "The Nation", a radical publication.

In July, 1922, he spoke on "outlawing war", at an open air mass meeting in New York City in the support of the "No-More-War" movement.

department of Instice,

Bureau of Investigation.

7 Water Street, Boston, Mass.

WJW:D. 199/51. December 8, 1922.

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

Dear Sir:

Enclosed herewith will be found copies, in duplicate, of the Boston Evening Transcript for November 18, 1922, containing a reply by NORMAN THOMAS, New York City, to the articles entitled "THE REDS IN AMERICA" - by R. M. Whitney - which appeared in editions of the Boston Transcript during September and October last.

The enclosed copies are forwarded for the information of the Bureau.

ALL INFORMATION CONTROLLE COMMENTAL MEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

Lawrence Letherman,
DATE 0238BY OWN Special Agent in Echerges

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BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

DEC 9 1922 P. M.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

HOOVEL

Norman Thomas, leader 6: the locialist Party, made an address in the Central Locitical Party, reasont, for which quite a few were foreigners. It the and of the talk, different circulars were handed out, one particularly being issued by the Young Communist Party of America. Some of the high-lights in Thomas' talk were: All talk and immediate that Ressevelt and the New Lockers are leading towards socialism is bunk. All the New Lock has done is to tell big business to go easy.

The Blue Eagle is still like the old eagle, a bird of gray, and has increased the made of millionaires from 20 to 48.

He referred to the T.V.A. as a step toward Socialism, but added: "You can't ride to vistory on one experiment; you need more than a partition."

In strong words, the speaker decried suffering and hunger in a last of planty and abundance. "Scoretary letes" idea of farm relief," he said, "is to pay the farmer to produce less so he can pay more taxes, while thousands are suffering."

He declared the new Deel has failed to solve the problem, and asserted that father coughlin and hery long are only offering superficial cures. Coughlin recently spoke to 26,000 people in Cleveland, and urged the sending of talegrams to Congress, urging support of the Pathan Bonns Bill. This, the speaker said, we a superficial ours that made hig business for the telegraph companies. He said he favored paying off the unemployed veterans long ago, but added that many has have been emoted to give veterans preference in public positions and assist that in other ways. He went on record as opposed to inflation and pointed to conditions in France and Cormany.

Reporting Pasy Lang, he said, "He, (Long) gave himself many in les Moines, when he said: "You don't have to understand, just that your 6- over and believe."

Thomas declared the ration count outries the degreement under the present system:
"You cannot plan for abundance under the prefet system. The evil of capitalism
is that things must be made source in order to take a prefit. Opitalism do so not
went on abundance."

he asserted Secialist Meals are an interpretation of the Declaration of Independence; that if curried ont, collectivism would be turned into cooperation and machines would be made the slaves of labor, instead of labor a slave of machines. "Industry", he said, "will mover mesover until it learns that it must pay a decent wage to enable its workers to purchase that it produces."

he apole of conditions in the onion fields of Bardin County in Ohio, and also evelt the late war. After a collection was texas, Thomas summand that he would always titlers. One was submitted which read: "Would it be possible for the Socialists to magnitude of the machinery of production and distribution now held by the capitalis

Thomas amount "Sure we can, and by lagal means; we can buy some, we can ad others; eas get some by foreclosure; we can pay for them with bouls, and by lovthing a high income tax, take back nost of the interest we have to pay thereon."

nother question asked was: "In year opinion, is the proposed tagner 3111 a good thing or the sorking man?"

mas replied to thought it sould be a worderful thing if passed, but looked for quit, apposition before it would become a law.

DATE 10/23/80 BY SPIESE for

DO YOUR SKLIES

This is the time when Norman Thomas is needed on the air every week.

The Norman Thomas program will be broadcast over stations in cities strategically located throughout the country. The exact extent of the network of stations will pend on the total sum of money available; the cities included will be those from which the financial support comes.

People in any city can arrange to have Norman Thomas on their local station.

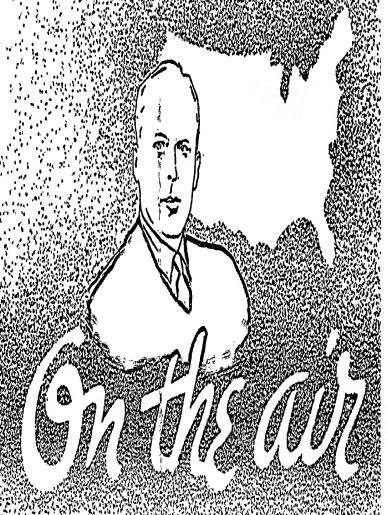
The program will run for an initial thirteen-week period.

This program will go on the air because thousands of people want America to hear the truth. Their financial cooperation is making it possible to bring Norman Thomas' voice into millions of homes every week.

Your help is needed. Please use the coupon below NOW.

NORMAN THOMAS RADIO FUND Harry W. Laidler, Treasurer 303 Fourth Ave., New York, N. Y.

HERE IS MY SHARE to put Norman Thomas on the radio. I WILL SEND A TOTAL OF \$ as my contribution of which \$ is enclosed. The balance of \$
will be sent in installments.
NAME
ADDRESS
COMP C CONTROL



EVERY WEEK

Jie (al.) America's timely Socialist weekly, is presenting Norman Thomas on the radio every week'm a coast-to-coast hookup, starting in March

In every crisis Norman Thomas has turned despair into determination among millions of people. America needs his voice now as never before

His clear analysis of day-to-day events and his presentation of a concrete program to build and extend democracy must reach into millions of American homes. Each week he will discuss frankly and authoritatively events here and abroad. He will present plans to socialize America and achieve total democracy.

Our democracy has been slipping backward; it must be set in forward motion again.

No man in America is better equipped than is Norman Thomas, through experience and character to do this job. You who know the value of this work are making this possible. There are no vast financial resources available for this purpose—this program depends on radio listeners from coast to coast.

Will you help?

CET AMERICA MEAR THE TRUTH ?

Hederal Bureau of Investigation.

A. S. Department of Instice

Memphis, Tennessee March 5, 1941

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HBF:MEN

Director Federal Bureau of Investigation Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

For the information of the Bureau, there is forwarded herewith a form letter received from what appears to be the Call Radio Bureau in behalf of a National Broadcast Program for NORMAN THOMAS, well known socialist, and requesting a subscription or donation.

This letter and its enclosure were received in an envelope bearing no return address, addressed to the Memphis Field Division and postmarked Memphis, Tennessee March 4, 1941.

Very truly yours,

H. B. FLETCHER

Special Agent in Charge

Enclosure

THE FACE OF

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101-10767-1 FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

7 MAR 8 1941

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

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DATE 10/23/80 BY 11/15/6/fuc

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NORMAN THOMAS ON THE AIR EVERY WEEK FROM COAST TO COAST

MAYNARD C. KRUEGER

Chairman

HARRY W. LAIDLER

Treasurer

BEN FISCHER.

Director

FOURTH AVENUE 303 NEW YORK, N. Y.

GRamercy 7-6904

E033

Dear Friend:

How I wish this could be a personal letter, and not the usual mimeographed message you are tempted already to discard! But time and the urgency of our aim forbid.

Thousands of favorable letters poured into our offices after several radio speeches by Norman Thomas in the last two months. Almost all of them begged for another chance to put Thomas on the air again and again, so that he could continue to furnish same leadership in this time of hysteria. Virtually every message thanked him for the leadership he has already given.

Now, as never before, Thomas must be heard. Six months from now, many channels of free expression may be closed. Thus, we are starting the nation-wide hook-up announced in the enclosed folder at once. Contracts are now being signed with a network of some 30 stations. Others may be added. This will be a 13-week series and we hope it will become a permanent year-round feature.

The program will start Sunday, March 16th. We can carry this program to a successful conclusion only with the help of the thousands who want Thomas' message to be heard by millions in this crisis.

Will you carry your share by sending in a contribution, large or small, today? Can you get others to do so, or send us their names? Just use the enclosed envelope; it requires no postage.

Send your pledge, check, cash or money order to Harry W. Laidler, Treasurer Morman Thomas Radio Fund, 303 Fourth Avenue, New York City. And, please, write today. Time is very short.

> Cordially yours Zen Fischer

Ben Fischer

Director

afoe 20940 bf:jr

61-10767-1

A'Timely Weekly

PRESS RELEASE

Agrupacion Socialista Espanola Spanish Branch, Socialist Party 95 James Street, New York City.

6078

June 19, 1941 For IMMEDIATE RELEAS

SPANISH SOCIALISTS CONDEMN THE NORMAN THOMAS PACIFIST POLICY AND COLLABORAINFORMATION CONTENTS WITH THE AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

DATE Of the participation of Norman Thomas, national chairman of the Socialist Pantic of Medison Square Garden meeting of May 24th, under the Auspices of the America First Committee, aroused a strong sentiment among the Spanish socialists in the United States; and to that effect the Spanish Branch of the Socialist Party (Agrupacion Socialista Espanola) of New York passed the following resolutions at their general meeting held Wednesday evening, June 18th, at their headquarters, 95 James Street, New York City:

- 1 To send an energetic protest to the Socialist Party against Norman Thomas for his participation in the Madison Square Garden meeting organized by the America First Committee, which was considered by the Spanish socialists as open collaboration with the American reactionary forces and sympathizers of Nazi and Fascist dictators, against the democratic countries and organized labor.
- 2 To declare publicly that they are in favor of the policy laid down by President Roosevelt for all out aid to Great Britain and allied countries in their struggle against the Hitler domination of the world. To do so, they add, will be consistent with the sentiments and policy of all the socialists all over the world, who are 100% in favor of the democracies and are working for the defeat of totalitarianism.
- 3 To submit this protest in the form of a resolution to the next national convention of the Socialist Party, calling for a declaration of principles in conformity with the policy of the Socialist parties of Europe, which consider that pacificism at the present time tends to prolong the war and give more power to the aggressor countries.
- 4 That the close collaboration of Norman Thomas with Senator Wheeler, Charles A. Lindbergh, the German-American Bund and Christian Front, etc., is the beginning of the complete destruction of the Socialist Rarty in the United States, and a cause of humiliation and embangasment to socialists everywhere.

workers he in order to be able to live at peace, the workers he in order to be able to live at peace, to preserve one democratic way of life, and destroy the inhumanity, race discrimination and ruthless exploitation of Nazism.

To defend these principles the Spanish socialists will appeal at the next convention of the Socialist Party. for the support of the Socialist ideal initial appeals of the Socialist ideal initial appeals of the social strategy of the parallel to the policy laid down by flue of ini before he rose to power and destroyed the resort and socialist moves.

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INDEXED.

SOCIALISTS NOMINATE THOMAS FOR PRESIDENT

J. H. Maurer, of Reading, Pa., Named by Acclamation as Running Mate

BOTH PARTY VETERANS

New York, April. 16 (A.P.).—Norman Thomas, of New York, and James Hudson Maurer, of Reading, Pa., were nominated today by the Socialist party as its candidates for President and Vice President, respectively, in the November election.

Prolonged cheering by delegates was heard after both men were nominated by acclamation at the party's five-day convention at Finnish Hall in Harlem. Thomas' name was proposed by Louis Waldman, of New York, while William J. Van Effen, of Pittsburgh, placed Maurer in nomination.

Both men have been long identified with the Socialist movement. Thomas as the party's candidate for State and city office in New York, and Maurer as a veteran member of its national com-

Thomas already has been a Socialist candidate three times for public office and has worked for Socialism throughout his career as a Protestant clergyman, editor and lecturer.

He was defeated as the Socialist candidate for governor of New York in 1924, and as socialist candidate for mayor of New York in 1925, and lost for alderman here last year.

Thomas was born in Marion, Ohio. November 20, 1884; the son of a clergy-man, he was educated to follow in his father's footsteps. After being graduated from Marion High School he attended Princeton University, receiving a bachelor of arts degree there in 1904 and a bachelor of divinity degree from Union Theological Seminary in 1911 He later became associate pastor of Brick Presbyterian Church and laten became minister of the East Harlem Presbyterian Church and director of the American parish.

He has written several books on war and has served in editorial positions on magazines.

Maurer, a shoemaker's son, who started work at the age of 9, after less than two years attendance at school, has written two books dealing with international questions and has contributed to various magazines.

dera Bureau of Investigation

United States Department of Instice 4058 United States Court House Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

March 27, 1941.

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

PROPAGANDA

Dear Sir:

Mrs. SAMUEL S. PRITCHARD, 510 West Coulter Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, forwarded to the Philadelphia Field Division the enclosed literature which she received through the mail.

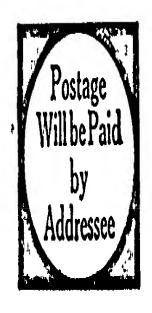
The literature in question consists of a form letter written on the stationery of "The Call Radio Bureau," with offices located at 1303 Fourth Avenue, New York, New York; MAYNARD. C. KRUKGER, Chairman, HARRY W. ALAIDLER, Treasurer, and BEW/FISCHER, Director. The letter is signed by FISCHER and solicits funds to purchase time for NORMAN THOMAS' time on the air.

There is also a printed form advertising that NORMAN THOMAS will be on the radio every week in a coast-to-coast hookup, starting on March 16th, and a form card to be forwarded to HARRY W. LAIDLER, Treasurer, wherein a certain amount is pledged to put NORMAN THOMAS on the air every week, together with a self-addressed franked envelope.

Very truly yours,

Special Ager PEDERAL PROPERTY OF INVESTIGATION 6 & MAR 31 WVMcL:e.s. U.S. DEPARTMENT Enclosures cc New York

ENCLÓSURE APRACHE





BUSINESS REPLY ENVELOPE

First Class Permit No. 36793 Sec. 510 P. L. & R. New York, N. Y.

NORMAN THOMAS RADIO FUND

303 Fourth Avenue

New York, N. Y.

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U. S. Postage New York City Return Postage Guaranteed New York, N. Y. Permit No. 97 309 Mr. K. C. Pritchard 510 W. Coulter St. Phila., Pa.

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TRAVERS CLEMENT, Editor

READ NORMAN THOMAS IN THE WEEKLY PUBLICATION OF THE SOCIALIST PART

109 101/ 303 FOURTH AVENUE • NEW YORK CIT

6074

Dear Subscriber:

Believe me, I'm sorry to write you that your subscription to The Call has expired.

If you renew at once, you won't miss a single issue. Moreover, we can promise you much more for your dollar than ever before.

Norman Thomas, Lillian Symes, Kenneth Foley, Aaron Levenstein, Jim Rorty, "Major Waddle," and many others will continue to write every week. And in addition, we have scheduled a host of new features you won't want to miss. Our new Washington Bureau, under the capable direction of Albert W. Hamilton, will take you behind Capitol scenes. News from labor, farm, co-op, anti-war and anti-fascist fronts will get special attention from capable correspondents, old and new.

To bring you this additional material, we are introducing a new body-type which will increase our reading matter 50 per cent and make The Call more readable than ever. And - if our circulation continues to soar -- by next fall you may receive a 12-page Call with more pertinent news, features, and interpretation than ever!

To get the new, improved Call for a full year, all you need do is to fill out the enclosed sub-blank and send it to us with \$1 (check, cash, or money-order) in the business-reply envelope. I know you'll agree it will be worth many times over the 2c a meek it costs.

Send us your renewal today, before you forget!

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Lewis Conn
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Promotion Hgr.

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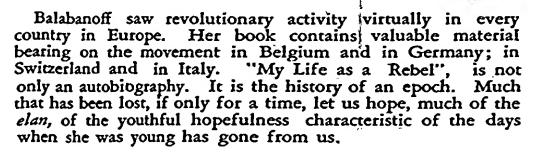
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News Behind the News - Labor and Socialist

CAYOFFE AS PRODUCTION OF Angelies Balabanoss

100 \$ [25 size

~Was \$2.50



It is natural that the portion of her book that deals with her Italian experiences should also include a detailed sketch of Mussolini. It is not an heroic Mussolini that emerges from these pages. She portrays an hysterical, self-pitying weakling; a hypochondriac and a coward. She gives us a picture that strikes the reader as completely authentic of a man shouting to keep up his courage. In the light of her story, the myth of a strong Mussolini vanishes beyond resurrection, and what is left is a wretched, puling thing.

ÁND

each copy will be personally AUTOGRAPHED

Angelica Balabanoff

This offer good for limited time only.

ACT NOW!

ORDER FROM:

LEO W. JOHNSON ROOM 516, 303-Fourth Ave. NEW YORK



BY NORMAN THOMAS

"I believe that democracy has a chance and not only that but a far better chance to give us a good society than any competing ideal or system."

More than ever before in the history of American political folkways, it is a time for a restatement of faith and hope in the democratic way. In We Have a Future, one of America's most challenging figures presents his credo for Americans. It is a stirring testament of faith for the future, yet realistic in its warnings. "Man has a tragic capacity to frustrate his own noblest ambitions," says Mr. Thomas, "but if God is disappointed in us so must be the devil. We have managed to do some remarkable things to create beauty and achieve comradeship. Just when one is most pessimistic comes evidence to feed the light of hope even in the dark night of a world seemingly set upon destruction. Loyalty and courage are not rare virtues. We have even shown some ability to think constructively, unusual and painful as is the process."

It is only by our clearsighted use of that capacity to think that we can avoid the dangers of the present world-wide chaos. War and revolution are the accepted custom of the day, and Americans face a future in which they must make their choice between totalitarianism (in which Mr. Thomas includes both fascism and communism) and the cooperative commonwealth or true democracy. We drift toward the former; we may creatively achieve the latter. But in order to achieve that real democracy, says Mr. Thomas, we must include in our plans some consideration of building a better social order in spite of war.

Mr. Thomas presents no blueprint for utopia, but he does sketch in the framework of a program which will challenge the interest of friend and foe alike. To his usual acute observations of American life, Mr. Thomas has brought a personal touch which adds to the effectiveness of this trenchant study of our times. The outspoken and provocative nature of his suggestions contribute greatly to the real value of the book for all who are concerned with the future of America.

THE AUTHOR

It is Norman Thomas's capacity for clear and courageous thinking which has won for him the respect of virtually all sections of American society except the extreme left. By virtue of his position in a minor party, Mr. Thomas enjoys the privilege of discussing issues with scant regard for political expediency, and in We Have a Future he is at his best—critical and understanding, yet challenging and always stimulating. He poses several controversial questions which strike at the very root of present day thinking. In answering them he presents arguments which will inevitably stir the American public by their honest and straightforward approach to the problems which confront us.

More than any other public figure today, Mr. Thomas epitomizes the traditional American dissenter. In the twenty years of his political activity he has campaigned strenuously in behalf of the Socialist Party of which he is the leader. He was the party's candidate for the Presidency in the last four elections and has also been candidate for the governorship of New York state and the mayoralty of New York City on several occasions.

Mr. Thomas is a graduate of Princeton University and Union Theological Seminary, and received Princeton's honorary Litt.D. degree in 1932. He began his career as a minister, and it was while doing social work in New York City that he became interested in the humanitarian aims of the Socialist Party.

He was for a time an editor of The Nation and has written numerous books on the American scene.

As the outstanding representative of minority groups in this country, what Norman Thomas has to say is of importance to every American.

260 pages. 5.5 x 8.5 inches. \$2.50

CONTENTS

Preface

Chapter

- I. The Lost World of Our Youth
- II. A Failure in Loyalties
- III. Two World Wars
- IV. America and the World War
- V. America Drifts
- VI. Reappraisals
- VII. A Plan in Outline
- VIII. Unfinished Business
- IX. This Nation and World Organization

Epilogue

LITERATURE DEPARTMENT

516

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New York, N.Y.



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NORMAN THOMAS ON THE AIR EVERY WEEK FROM COAST TO COAST

MAYNARD C. KRUEGER

303 FOURTH AVENUE NEW YORK, N. Y.

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HARRY W. LAIDLER

Treasurer

BEN FISCHER Director

May 26, 1941

St.

Dear Friend:

You have undoubtedly heard that Norman Thomas is on the air every week broadcasting from coast to coast. You know Norman Thomas as an outstanding American, a champion of peace and democracy, and a crusader for economic justice.

This program has been made possible ever since March 16th by the cooperation of several thousand Americans whose contributions have been our only source of funds.

In these troubled times, America needs the clear, sober expression of Norman Thomas' viewpoint. His integrity and his courage are needed. The remaining programs, ending June 8th, must be heard.

To complete this series, several thousand dollars is required.

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The successful completion of this splendid series will make it possible for us to get to work immediately arranging a Fall program along similar lines.

For your convenience, we enclose a pledge card and a self-addressed envelope requiring no postage. Please use them to keep Norman Thomas on the air.

Sincerely yours,

EX-9

INDEXED

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Ben Fischer, Director.

61-10767-24

THE CALL — A Timely Weekly

IS CONSCIENCE A COME BY NORMAN THOMAS

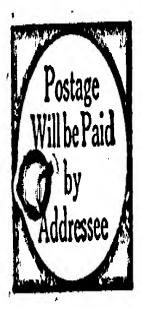
TWAS with the hope of enjoying freedom of conscience that the pilgrim fathers braved the perilous seas to pioneer in a barren and barbarous land...*

Today, many of their descendants in this civilized century regard the exercise of conscience a crime. Here is the record of the men whose ideal of duty prompted them to refuse to fight. It is an enduring memorial, and a handbook of value to those who conduct this war and to those who will not fight in it.

his book is a challenge to all who critize the state for its encroachments upon the personal liberties of the citizen but who fail to realize that the crushing of conscience is by far a more serious violation of American rights and traditions. IS CONSCIENCE A CRIME?

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THE CALL

AMERICA'S TIMELY SOCIALIST WEEKLY

presents

MORMAN THOMAS

Coast-to-Coast

E.V.E.R.Y. W.E.E.K.

STATION	CIŢY	On Your DIAL	TIME	
WADC	Akron	1350	9:15 A.M.	
WORL	Boston	950	1:45,, P.M.	
WBNY	Buffalo	1400	12:45 P.M.	
WHIP	Chicago	1520	4:30 P.M.	
KFEL	Denver ·	950	4:15 P.M.	
'WXYZ	Detroit	1270	1:30 P.M.	
WEAU	Eau Claire, Wis.	1070	2:00 P.M.	
KORE	Eugene, Ore.	1460	4:45 P.M.	
WGRC	Louisville	1400	7:15 P.M.*	
KFWB .	Los Angeles	980	10:30 P.M.	
WIBA	Madison, Wis.	1310	12:45 P.M.	
WKPA	N. Kensington, Pa.	1150	2:00 P.M.	
WHN	New York	1050	10:15 A.M.	
WIBG	Philadelphia	990	6:30 P.M.	
KWJJ	Portland, Ore.	1040	6:00 P.M.	
WSAY	Rochester	1240	10:00 P.M.	
KFBK	Sacramento	1530	10:15 A.M.	
KYA	San Francisco 🕝	1260	11:15 A.M.	
WOL	Washington, D.C.	1230	4:30 P.M.	

^{*} ALL BROADCASTS ARE ON SUNDAY, EXCEPT STATION WGRC, LOUISVILLE, WHICH BROADCASTS THE SPEECH ON TUESDAY.

THONEXT STEP IN THE FIGHT AGAINST WAR

A Nation-wide Radio Address delivered March 21st, 1941

FTER the passage of the Lend Lease Bill, and the President's fervently belligerent speech at the dinner the White House correspondents, it is a reasonable stion whether there are any "next steps" to be taken inst war. Are we not already in it to such a degree that question of further involvement depends upon the on of our enemies, rather than ourselves?

uch questions must be answered by the honest admisthat by all former standards, and by all ordinary logic, are already involved in a kind of limited war. Neveress, it matters profoundly to every American whether are in war only as an arsenal or as active belligerents.

Ve will not participate in foreign war..."

t is, indeed, significant that in his latest speech Mr. osevelt included no faint echo of his solemn campaign mise of October 23, 1940, at Philadelphia, which I viguote: "We are arming ourselves not for any purpose conquest or intervention in foreign disputes. I repeat in that I stand on the platform of our Party We will participate in foreign war and we will not send our ny, naval or air forces to fight in foreign lands outside the Americas, except in case of attack."

But if Mr. Roosevelt did not renew this pledge, neither hệ specifically commit us to send our sons into battle, d Hitler's speech, which followed the President's, gave indication that he regarded it as yet to his advantage force us into full belligerency by declaring that we are eady at war with him. The official Nazi spokesmen have claimed intention to regard our intervention as equivait to war because, they allege, it will be ineffective. oreover, it must not be forgotten that the clear balance power-in-Congress in favor of the Lend Lease Bill was ld by those who professed to find in the passage of the Il good hope of keeping us out of full belligerency. Many our Congressmen and Senators were gambling on the pe that a partial and undeclared war would not only ake less likely our involvément in total war, but bring eedy victory to Great Britain, Greece and China. Those

If we are recogning "all out for democracy," there is a fitness in insisting as a matter of democratic right that the people who fight war and pay for war should be allowed to vote on the war they choose to fight. This principle is a normal and logical extension of the bold ideas the founders of our republic who deliberately gave to the representatives of the people the right to declare war, which previously had been held only by the King or emperor. A popular vote on war can be taken more promptly today than some Congressional votes or than in earlier times Congress could be assembled, if it were not in session, in order to act on war.

Public discussion of this issue will serve as a brake on hasty action. The demand for a referendum will be a point around which we can carry on in far more construction education than we have yet had concerning the meaning of total war for our country.

The American Way

Heretofore the opponents of American armed intervention in war have been forced by circumstances to fight against this or that positive proposal which seemed to increase the risk of war. Let us now present our own positive proposal, thoroughly consistent with the principles of democracy, thoroughly practicable under the conditions that confront us. There is no time now to enact a Constitutional amendment, such as I should favor, to permit the people to vote on war, but there is nothing in the world, morally or legally, to prevent there is, on the contrary, much to encourage Congress to give us its solemn pledge to consult us before it puts us into war. We have had enough, no, too much, of informal Gallup polls. Let Congress promise us to act according to a formal and official poll, following free discussion, before it will heed anyone's demand that this nation become an active belligerent in Europe's and Asia's wars. This is the democratic, this should be the American, way.

Additional copies of this and other speeches can be had by writing to Norman Thomas at 303 Fourth Avenue, New York.

who thought, and still think, the Oble excessively crous and unnecessary, have now no other recourse to hope that it will succeed in bringing to the world asonably satisfactory peace before our economic reces and the lives of the noblest of our sons are poured like water, in the air, on the ocean and on land, in gles and deserts thousands of miles from home. Never I surer than now that total war will not give us any terican Century but more likely a Century of Exhaustican Century but more likely a Century of Exhaustic or possibly a Century of Stalinist Dictatorship, than in today.

War or Democracy

Every American who believes that full involvement in ar will not extirpate war or tyranny, but black out our wn democracy, has reason to be more zealous than ever efore that no act of our government should bring the alamity of war closer to us. What, then, can we do to keep out of the total war which some 85% of us, if the Gallup poll is correct, still hope to avert?

First of all, we can do straighter thinking than we have been doing in the past, and we can impress the results of that thinking upon the Administration and Congress. It is literally true that millions of Americans have been panicked into taking a great chance on total war because they have been persuaded, contrary to the facts in the case, that our democracy, our economic well being and, perhaps our very lives, are dependent upon the British navy; because they have been scared that we cannot even defend Omaha, they are seriously ready to take a chance on helping the British defend their empire, which today virtually includes the Dutch East Indies, 10,000 miles from home. The British Empire has points of superiority over a Japanese or a German empire, but it is monstrous to have our boys die for that empire at Singapore even if we should become the junior or the senior partner in the process. No imperialism can bring peace and happiness to the world.

The greatness of America is to be found in the conquest of her own poverty and the wiping out of her own race prejudices. Thus can she bless the world. It should be no part of American destiny to invest the lives of her sons to win the profits that Henry Luce, Dorothy Thompson, Paul McNutt, and various of our bankers hope can be derived by making us the senior partner of Great Britain in exploiting the hungry millions of Asia, Africa,

organize the peace of Europe and of World, our wars are vain. Each but sows the seed of new and worse conflict. To rush headlong into the Second World War in the name solely of British victory is to condemn us to a Third World War rather than to guarantee lasting peace.

In the third place, our struggle against total war will be helped by demonstrating that at peace we can do far more for the victims of poverty and exploitation at home, and war and fascism abroad, than if we are caught in the poverty and the madness which will be war's legacy to us.

No political formula that anyone can imagine will save European civilization if the children of the future on both sides of the channel have been broken by years of starvation, punctuated by the nightly horror of bombing. We can do more to help them in the name of our common humanity if we keep out of war.

Referendum for Peace

Many of us who believe these things have been seeking for some positive demand to present to Congress, around which we can organize our discussion of the priceless values of peace. We think we have found it in the proposal that Congress, which told us that it passed the Lend Lease Bill to make our avoidance of total war more likely, should now solemnly pledge itself not to put us into belligerent participation in war, with or without formal declaration of it, until it has consulted us who must bear the tragic costs of war, by referendum. It should accept the result of our vote. The only exception might be in the event of actual attack upon our shores, but such invasion is wildly improbable. Almost any other eventuality, under the curious conditions of this war, would give us time for brief, but effective, discussion of the issue in public meetings and over the radio, and then for a formal

I am aware that an advisory referendum is no panacea for peace. The people may be panicked by propaganda all the way into war, as so many of them have been panicked into an irrational fear for our future safety by the same sort of propaganda. A majority one way or another would not mean that the voice of the people is the voice of God. A determined President could probably get us into total war anyhow — but his determination might be weakened by evidence of our determination to be consulted.

esia. We Oct want our sons to fight in tropical so that England, rather than Germany or Japan, sep a patriot like Nehru in jail in India.

th all the immense propaganda for American entry var, there has never yet been a common sense demition that total war on two oceans and three contiand the islands of the sea can result in complete y or that if it did, our imperialism would be a intee of peace or would be worth the cost of its upstill less has there been any proof beyond assertion the democracy and the economic destiny of 131 mil-Americans on this great continent are absolutely tied with the life of any empire whatsoever. If that is so; the destiny in abject dependence upon the military at of another.

Will Victory Insure Peace

by asking from both Churchill and Roosevelt a clear laration of war aims. Evil as is the tyranny of the ditarian powers, another military victory by the British pire will no more guarantee peace and democracy than the victory of the democracies in 1918 over the Kaiser, eat Britain, with our help, may conceivably win a re complete victory than I now think probable, and impose a peace which will mean another world war less than a generation. So far we have no statement of itain's war aims, or peace terms, in any other than gue generalities; the kind-of language which can be to music in churches.

For this I do not altogether blame Mr. Churchill. agland is now united in resistance to Nazi aggression. Let e veteran imperialist, Winston Churchill, state explictly his war aims and he might divide his people, because me of them are dedicated to the complete destruction, ot only of Nazism, but of Germany; others have a igher and better view. Some of the English falsely believe they can restore the old order by victory. Some of them now that their only hope is a new order of cooperation. These same divisions of opinion exist among American atterventionists. Hence the reluctance of Mr. Roosevelt r Mr. Churchill to state explicitly what should be done.

Nevertheless, until there is a clear concept of some

ther way than the old way of competitive imperialism to

NORMAN THOMAS TELLS AMERICA THE TRUTH EVERY WEEK!

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WBAL	BALTIMORE	1060	SUNDAY,	1:15	P.M.
WORL	BOSTON	920	SUNDAY,	1:45	P.M.
WBNY	BUFFALO	1370	SUNDAY,	12:45	P.M.
WHIP	CHICAGO	1480	SUNDAY.	4:30	P.M.
KFEL	DENVER	920	SUNDAY.	4:15	P.M.
WGRC	LOUISVILLE	1370	TUESDAY,	7:15	P.M.
Θ_{BA}	MADISON	1280	SUNDAY,	12:45	P
WELI	NEW HAVEN	930	SUNDAY,	4:15	P.M.
WHN	NEW YORK	1010	SUNDAY,	4:30	P.M.
WIBG	PHILADELPHIA	970	SUNDAY,	10:45	A.M.
KWJJ	PORTLAND, ORE.	1040	SUNDAY,	6:00	P.M.
WSAY	ROCHESTER	1210	SUNDAY,	10:00	P.M.
KSLM	SALEM, ORE.	1360	SUNDAY,	4:15	
KRSC	SEATTLE	1120	MONDAY,	5:30	P.M.
WOL	WASHINGTON, D.C.	1230	SUNDAY,	4:15	P.M.

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KYA-San Francisco	1230	11:15 A.M.			
KSAN—San Fran.	1420	11:15 A.M.			
KFBK—Sacramento	1490	11:15 A.M.			
KERN—Bakersfield	1380	11:15 A.M.			
KFOX—Long Beach	1250	12 Noon			
KMJ—Fresno	580	12:45 P.M.			
KTMS—Santa Barb.	1220	11:15 A.M.			
KWG—Stockton	1200	11:15 A.M.			

MICHIGAN RADIO NETWORK (All Sun)					
WXYZ—Detroit	1240	1:30 P.M.			
WBCM—Bay City	1410	2:00 P.M.			
WJIM-Lansing	1210	2:00 P.M.			
WIBM-Jackson	1370	2:00 P.M.			
WELL—Battle Creek	1420	2:00 P.M.			
WOOD—Gr. Rapids	1270	2:00 P.M.			
WHLS-Port Huron	1370	2:00 P.M.			
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Who Pays For **9** This Program

We have no secret sources of funds.

THE CALL, which sponsors the Norman Thomas radio program, is barely self-sustaining. Therefore, its readers and others who believe it—is—good—for—America—to—hear Norman Thomas every week, make voluntary contributions, large and small, to finance this program.

Many thousands of Americans are anxious to do this because they know that Norman Thomas is an outstanding citizen, a forceful speaker, a man who speaks the truth, and a thorough champion of a total democracy for America and the world. His leadership of the movement against war has earned him an honored place in American life.

Thirteen broadcasts are scheduled ending the week of June 8th. that time, efforts will be made establish the Norman Thomas radio program as a permanent year round radio feature.

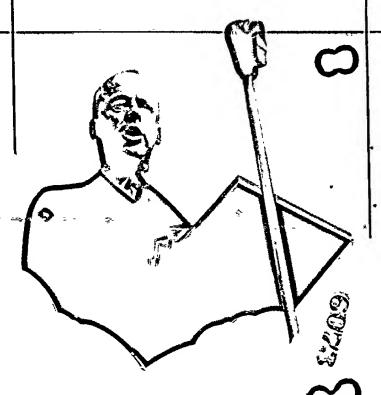
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e actor

303 FOURTH AVENUE

NEW-YORK, N. Y.

309

GRamercy 7-6904

Dear Friend,

The effort to keep us out of war has become the vital job of all patriotic Americans. Only if the people know the truth will they be able to act intelligently to keep America out of war.

To help let America know the truth, the CALL has arranged a series of thirteen broadcasts bringing the authoritative voice of Norman Thomas into homes from coast to coast every week.

Norman Thomas' speeches are good for America. Many thousands of Americans who do not necessarily share all Mr. Thomas' views, nevertheless feel that he is doing a good job of explaining why we should not go to war. They want to see the broadcasts continue as a permanent radio feature.

These broadcasts depend for financial support on you and the thousands of listeners like you. \$25,000 is needed to pay for 13 weeks of broadcasting.

May we count on you as one of the people who is helping to keep Norman Thomas on the air?

You can help us by -

- 1. Contributing as generously as you tan immediate or pledzing).
- 2. Get your friends to listen to Norman Thomas.
- 3. Ask others to contribute.
- 4. Send us the names of people who you think should receive

For your convenience you will find enclosed a pledge card and a self-addressed envelope requiring no postage. Please use them to keep Norman Thomas on the air.

You cannot afford to miss this chance to bring sanity and truth to America.

Sincerely yours,

CH-13116

Director

EX-9 INDEXED

TRAVERS CLEMENT, Editor

ORMAN THOMAS IN THE WEEKLY PUBLICATION OF THE SOCIALIST PAR

NEW YORK CI 303 FOURTH AVENUE •

GRAMERCY 7-6904

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UMCLASSIFIED

July 19, 1941

As editor of The Call, I am continually receiving letters from our subscribers telling us how much The Call means to them and how essential it is that it be kept going in these trying days.

What is more unusual, however, is the number of subscribers who think they are getting too much for their money, who write in and suggest we raise the annual subscription rate. "I have a feeling," writes a California subscriber; "that \$1 may not cover the costs."

Our thoughtful friend's "feeling" is correct. One dollar does not cover the cost, particularly in these days of rising paper and publication prices. But The Call reaches into thousands of humble homes in every section of the United States where even the expenditure of this extra dollar may mean real sacrifice, a denial perhaps of food or clothing.

This is why The Call is determined to keep its subscription rate at \$1. And this is why this letter is so important.

Only once each year, during the summer months when activity slumps and the going is particularly tough, does The Call make a general appeal for contributions. It does this through its Annual Coin Card Drive. We ask every subscriber who can possibly do so -- for the sake of those less fortunately situated -- to dig down in their pockets and send The Call an outright donation.

Our experience in past years indicates that the response to this amoual drive comes not only from subscribers who have jobs and resources; but that hundreds who have no money whatever go out among their friends and collect dime and quarters to fill up their coin cards. In this drive no amount sent in it. too large or too small.

If you are one of the fortunate people who have a bank account, you can ignore the coin card and send us a check -- \$5, \$10, \$25 -- even \$100 if this letter reaches anyone who can afford that much. But if not, just fill the coin card -- it will accommodate bills as well as change. Or if you can't fill it yourself, buy to get your friends to do so. But send something, even if it is only a dime

A nationally known radio, commentator writes that he likes The Call because of its "courage, intelligence, and integrity -- three qualities that are increasangly conspicuous by their absence in almost every quarter." America needs these qualities and The Call more than ever. Help us to keep it going, to make it grow. INDEXED

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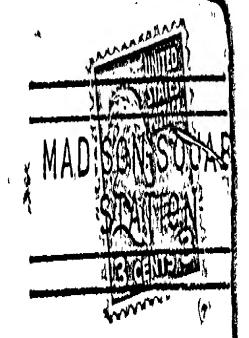
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Agrupación Socialista Española

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New York, N. Y.

GJS:PAS

November 18, 1941

Director Federal Bureau of Investigation Washington, D.C.

RE: "THE CALL"

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to Bureau teletype dated August 29, 1941 and Bureau letter of July 30, 1941 concerning the subscription to the above publication.

Please be informed that this subscription had been entered and a letter had been forwarded to the. Bureau to that effect, and that this was corroborated in a telephone conversation with Mr. KENNETH R. McINTYRE of the Bureau when the above mentioned teletype was received. For that reason, no immediate reply was made to the teletype by mail or teletype.

> Very truly yours, ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED Assistant Director

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

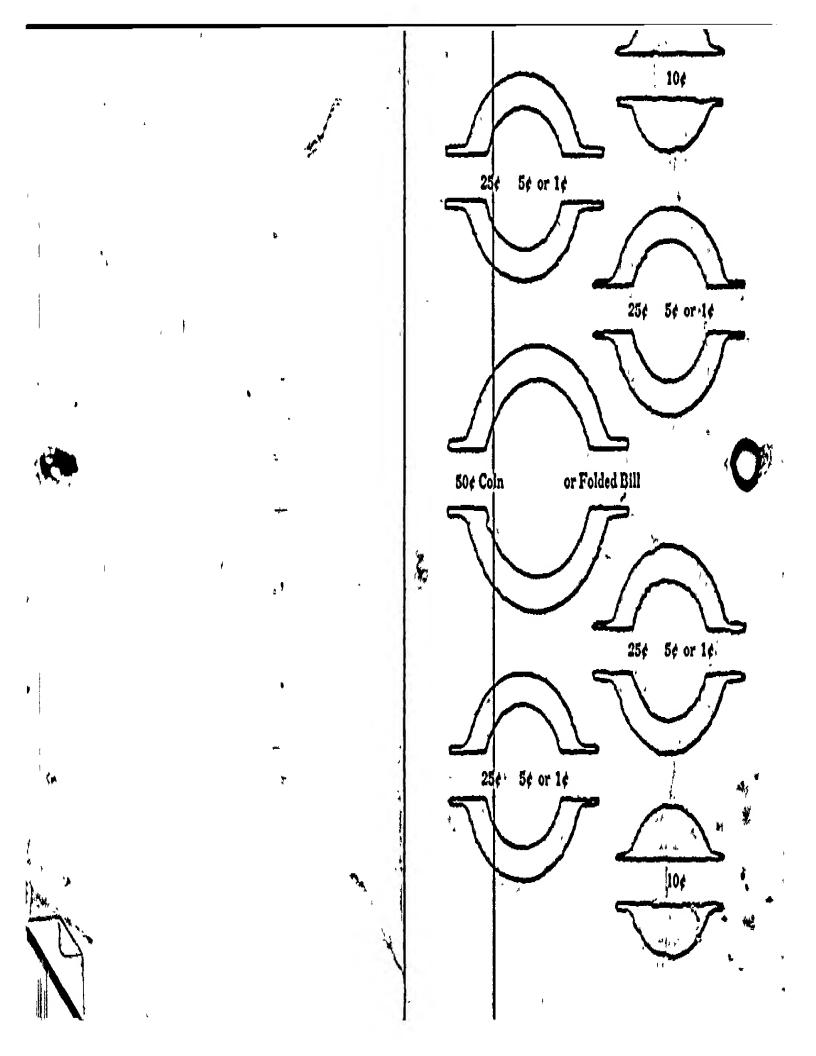
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TRAVERS CLEMENT Editor, The Call

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MAYNARD C. KRUEGER

ROBERT PARKER Director

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Dear Friend:

We have news which we know decision has been made to put Norman Thomas on the air once again in a weekly series of thirteen broadcasts.

The first series which ended on June 6 was, as you know, a great success. More than 5,000 people contributed or wrote us letters expressing their support and interest. That number of lefters means five million listeners, since the radio advertising agencies estimate 1,000 listeners for every letter for this type of program. This means that at a cost of less than half a cent per person, we were able to bring the words of Norman Thomas to a great cross section of the American people.

The number of letters we have been receiving since June has convinced us that the people want Norman Thomas on the air again. . We intend to do our best to make this possible. Our plans call for the program being carried over a basic network including New York, Washington, Boston, Detroit, Chicago, Los Angeles and San Francisco. In addition, we expect to be able to include Louisville, Pittsburgh, Evansville, Madison, Rochester, and Seattle.

These are our plans, but to put them across successfully we need your help NOW. Won't you send as much as you can afford to make this possible? Merely enclose your check, money order, or bills in the self-addressed return envelope. Checks or money orders should be made payable to the Norman Thomas Radio Fund.

The times demand that Norman Thomas be on the air weekly. You can help make it possible.

Sincerely yours,

Robert Parker, Director

NOT RECORDED 61-10767-4-X.

- A Timely Weekly

Norman Thomas
235 EAST 22M STREET
NEW YORK CITY

Oct, 16, 1941

Dear friend:

6070

This little letter will go to Call mesembers and tros who have untien us after me nume of my nadial talks. It assumption the story of my places for a radia series. These places are practical; for commonly them work.

fledge all we can fire to make this series would be aparish was, against fascisin, and by a rither, feller, democracy.

Juns in a prot Course,

norman Shomas

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Ïederal Bureau of Investigation

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Mashington, D. C.

KRM:hr

December 19, 1941

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. LADO

Mr. Quinn Temm Miss Gendy

Reference is made to the attached wire directed to the Bureau by R. A. Rainey of Columbus, Georgia, on December 11, 1941. After receiving this wire concerning the broadcast of Norman Thomas on the night of December 11th, efforts were made to obtain a copy of the speech of Norman Thomas. It was found in The Call, official organ of the Socialist Party for December 13, 1941. There is nothing objectionable contained in Thomas speech. It should be noted that Thomas is the head of the Socialist Party of America.

Respectfully.

K. R. McIntire

INFORM ATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 16/23/60 BY JOI USICILIE

PEDERÁL BUREAU DEC 29 1941 U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

61-10757-6

December 22, 1941

Mr. R. A. Rainey Columbus, Georgia

Dear Mr. Rainey:

I deeply appreciate your courtesy in bringing to my attention the information contained in your telegran of December 11, 1941.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover Director

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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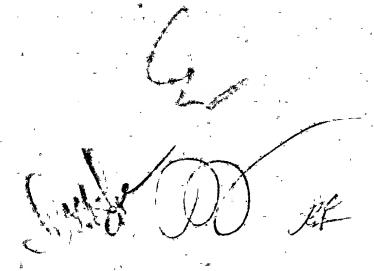
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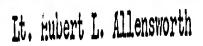
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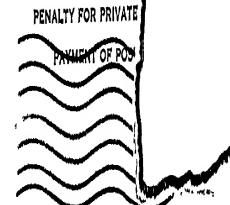
WAR DEPARTMENT

HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY AIR FORCES

WASHINGTON, D. C.

OFFICIAL/BUSINESS





The Director of the FBI, Department of Justice, Washington, D. C.

Attention: Mr. R. K. Grace.

Rev. Lyle S Barnett, Rector

Dec. 11, 1941

ir. Hubert Allensworth

F. B. I.

Department of Justice Jashington, D. C.

ly dear Hubert:

You certainly are in the right work at the right time. I know you are terribly busy, and I do not want to take up a lot of your time. There is a confidential matter which I feel I ought to take up with the F. B. I., however, so I am writing to you as one there whom I know.

This is a small village, approximately 30 miles due east of Tasbington, very near the Chesapsake Bay. It is about 15 miles south of Annapolis. It is a right heavily wooded section in large part. Here in the neighborhood there is a family I am ashared to say I have not attempted to get acquainted with in the 5 years I have been here. I would never have given them at thought now except that one of my parishoners asked me recently if I know anything about them. They are not members of the Parish Church here, but strangers who have lived here a few years, and because they are strongers, I regret that I have not been to see them. However, since the question was brought up, I have made inquiries at the Post Office here, and find that the name of the people is Horman Thomas, that the man

is a loreigner, his present none adopted or Americanized, his wife a native of this county, their business a restaurant in Dashington, apparently no children, but a man named Mardesty is at their little bungalou place here during the day while they are in the city, and presumably they are here at hight. Our Postmaster does not know whether Ir. Thomas is naturalized or not; at any rate, he is not registered here as an alien. He may be so registered in Mashington.

I hesitate to mention this next item, but because an should not take any chanes these days, I am doing so. A colored person in the neighborhood saw a plane last wook that seemed to be trying to land in a field near where these people live, but the plane aid not land. Also last week I was out in one of our fields when some plane circled over me twice. I thought at the time that it seemed strange, and I wondered if the plane was trying to land near there I was citting. But it went on. Nov I land that in war bine we are apt to get hystorical, and I hate the thought of suspecting anyone of un-Imerican activities that I have not even met. However, I am writing you all this because I know that it will be strictly confidential, and because I do not want to brush aside enything today that might later on turn out to be of a serious nature. I am sure you will understand how I feel about this, and that you will check the data that you may have there in Washington.

Lith best trishes, and hoping to have the pleasure of meeting you again sometime, I am,

Yours truly,

Lyle S. Barnott

Ovenoville, Most Liver F.O. Anne Arundel Co., Ma.

moor-61-10767-7

RKQ: OLE

January 21, 1942

Lieutenant Rubert L. Allensmorth: Public Relations Branch Army Air Forces. Lumitions Building Washington, D. C.

Dear Lieutenant Allensworth:

Pursuant to the request set out in your letter of January 2, 1942, I am returning herewith the letter addressed to you by Reverence Lyle S. Barnett and dated December 11, 1941.

Your courtesy and interest in bringing this matter to my attention are appreciated and you may be assured that the subject matter will receive appropriate attention.

Sincoroly yours,

,		John Edgar Hocker		
	,	Director		
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WAR DEPARTMENT

HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY AIR FORCES

WASHINGTON

Public Relations Branch, Army Air Forces, Munitions Building, Washington, D. C.

January 2, 1942.

The Director of the FBI, Department of Justice, Washington, D. C. Attention: Mr. R. K. Grace.

Dear Mr. Grace:

Pursuant to my telephone conversation with you this afternoon, I am transmitting herewith, the letter about which I spoke together with my acknowledgment.

or

Once again let me impress upon you and any one who has occasion to inquire into this matter, the absolute necessity for a confidential treatment of this subject. I think it is self-evident that Mr. Barnett's information should be treated in all confidence and it should be apparent that his position in this community makes such a treatment absolutely essential.

If I may be of any further assistance in respect to this matter, please have no hesitancy in calling me here at my office in the War Department, extension 71101.

I should like to have Mr. Barnett's letter returned

to me.

Very truly yours

Hubert L. Allensworth,

lst Lieut., Air Corps, Personnel and Administrative Officer.

1 Encl.

Ltr. fr. L. S. Barnett.

A LANGE BOULDER

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

JAN 6 1942

U.S. GEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

CANÉ

January 2, 1942

Rev. Lyle S. Barnett, Christ Church Parish, West River, Anne Arundel County, Md.

My dear Mr. Barnett:

You can not imagine how happy I was to receive your thoughtful letter of December 11, 1941, which only reached my desk this morning. As you are doubtless aware, at one time I was an attorney in the Lands Division. Department of Justice but since July of last year I have been on duty with the var Department. At the time I was called to duty I was ordered down to Langley Field, Virginia, where I remained some time until my transfer to Washington was effected where I am now on duty with the Air Staff.

I have considered the matter discussed in your letter and have taken this subject up with the F. B. I. These people will look into the matter and if it is of significance, proper action will be taken, otherwise no further investigation will be made. You may rest assured that anything done will be executed in a most discreet and confidential manner. Of this I have received complete assurance. I can well understand your reluctance in calling this matter to my attention but I believe you are doing the only sensible thing in view of the present war and the necessity of pursuing every suspicious circumstance to a successful conclusion.

I had the good fortune to be at home during the Christmas holidays with my family. They were all well and we spoke of you and lirs. Earnett several times. I would like very much to see you some time and if the occasion presents itself I do hope you will come up to Washington and call on my, either here in my office in the Munitions Building or at my home 1814 "G" St., N.W., Apt. 7,.

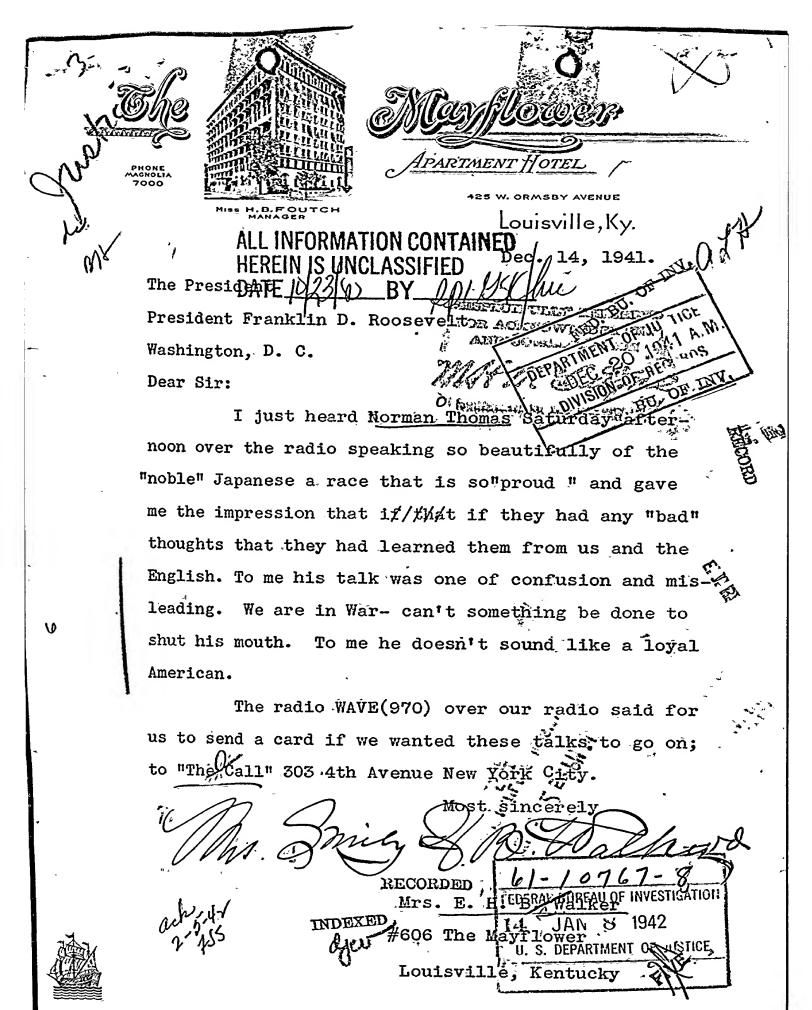
You may rest assured that the information contained in your letter will not be used in any sense prejudicial to the best interest of these people unless their actions and deportment warrants prosecution.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

COPIES DESTROYED 78 JUN 21 1961

Hubert L. Allensworth, let Lieut, Air Corps.



FJS: JEA 61–10767–8 WED

February 5, 1942

Mrs. Emily H. B. Walker Apartment #606 The Kayflower Hotel Louisville, Kentucky

Dear Mrs. Malker:

Your letter dated December 14, 1941, directed to the President has been referred to this Bureau.

The content of your letter has been noted and is being made a matter of official record in the files of this Bureau. Inasmich as the subject matter of your communication, does not come within the investigative jurisdiction of this Bureau, it is impossible for the Federal Bureau of Investigation to act in reference to the subject matter of your letter.

Sincerely yours,

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED John Edgar Hoover

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Kederal Bureau of Investigation

United States Department of Instice

Mashington, D. C. January 3, 1942

Call received 4:30 p.m. 1/2 8:55 a.m.

Dictated

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. LADD

Mr. E. A. Tamm Mr. Cless _ Mr. Glavin _ Mr. Ladd Mr. Hichois Mr. Tracy _ Mr. Rosen Mr. Carson _ Mr. Coffey Mr. Holloman Mr. Quinn Tamm Mr. Harbo Tele. Room Mr. Nezzo Miss Beehm

Mr. Tolson

Chilis cenar Lieutenant H. L. Allensworth, Hoadquarters, Army Air Force, Munitions Building, called at the above time and advised that he had received a letter from a friend of his, which he thought might be of interest to the Bureau.

Lieutenant Allensworth stated that he had formerly been connected with the Lands Division, Department of Justice, and that his friend had assumed that because he was connected. with the Department of Justice that he was with the FBI. Lieutenant Allensworth stated that his friend was a thoroughly reliable individual and was not submitting the information because of "war hysteria".

He said that he would acknowledge receipt of the letter to him and forward it or a copy of it to the Bureau right away. He requested that it be kept confidential and that if he forwarded the original that it be returned to him.

Respectfully,

R.K. Grace

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED. Grace HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

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RECORDED FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATIO: JAN 8 1942 ,20

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

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Box 1503
City P. O.
D. C.

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WASHINGTON CALL BUREAU

1914 "G" STREET, N. W. WASHINGTON, D. C.

January 12, 1942

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UICLASSIFIED DATE 1923 W BY DOLUSY LINE

Dear Friend:

The Washington Bureau of THE CALL is bringing Norman Thomas to town to meet with a group of friends on January 18th, Sunday. The meeting will take place at 3 P.M. at the Workmen's Circle Hall, 1502 14th Street. You are cordially invited to this gathering.

As you know THE CALL has sponsored Mr. Thomas on a series of weekly radio programs. This will be the first opportunity to meet with Mr. Thomas since the war:

We felt that rather than attempt a large formal meeting on such short notice, that we would invite a group of friends to hear Mr. Thomas present his views on the war and what can be done today. member of the Norman Thomas Radio Committee will present briefly the story of the radio series since December 4th, and the problems involved in continuing this type of program in war time.

Admission will be free but there will be a collection to defray the cost of the meeting and Mr. Thomas' expenses.

Please feel free to bring any friends that you believe will be interested.

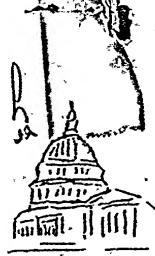
Sincerely.

Albert Hamilton

Albert W. Hamilton . Washington Representative

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23 FEB 6 15 *7



CAPITAL ROUNDTABLE

Announcing a series of radio forums over station W W D C - 1450 KC on your dial.

EVERY TUES - 10:15 P.M. -- WWDC

- Jan. 13. -- Post War Problems. Jack Barbash, Office of Education: Ezra Glazer, Nat'l Resources Planning Board: Albert Hamilton, The Call
- Jan. 20 -- Victory A Discussion of Peace Aims. Kendrick Lee; Editorial Research; Elmer Lewis Dept. of Labor Albert Hamilton, The Call
- The Consumer and Democracy Jan. 27 Jacob Baker, Pres. Konsum Cooperative; Margaret Gerber, Sec. Co-op League of the District of Columbia; and others.
- Feb. 1 Prices, Wages and Profits: A Factual Discussion. Charles Stewart, Bureau of Labor Statistics; Albert Hamilton, The Call and others.

(This is an incomplete program. [A number of other people have been asked to participate. in these forums.)

uesday, nights Let the station

23 FEB 1. USK/tuc

WASHINGTON CALL PUREAU 1914 "G" STREET, N. W. WASHINGTON, D. C.

ALBERT W. HAMILTON - WASHINGTON REPRESENTATIVE -

ALL INFORMATION CONTARGO HEREIN IS UNICLASSIFIED COGS
DATE 16/23/60 BY MUSIC DUE 6063

Dear Friend:

When I read and heard Norman Thomas! radio speech for Sunday Jan. 25th, I folt it was worth passing on, so I am sonding you a copy of it, If you would like a copy for someone else, send me a three cent stamp and the name and address of your friend and we will put a copy in the mail.

As you may know, this is the ninth of a series of thirteen weekly broadcasts by Mr. Thomas. In this series, he and his Sunday guests are the only weekly national commentators with a liberal approach to both domestic and foreign questions. Mr. Thomas was the only man active in national affairs who dared to make reference to past administration foreign policy within the week after the attack on Pearl Harbor. Last Sunday, Mr. Thomas and his guest Aaron Levenstein discussed frankly and from the standpoint of the consumer and worker, the problem of "shortages" and how they have been handled Next Sunday, Maynard Krueger, of the University of Chicago will discuss with Mr. Thomas the question of "Paying for the war." You can see why this series of talks sponsored by The Call, the Socialist Weekly, is more than well worth while.

Others who have thought them worthwhile have made the broadcasts possible by contributing \$455.00 to pay the costs of the radio time to date. However, the broadcasts are only paid through Jan. 25th. Money must be raised for the remaining broadcasts.

The largest single contribution has only been fifty dollars. Most of the money has come in dollar and five dollar amounts. We feel that the record until now is good, We want to finish the series.

If you have not already sent a contribution will you now plan to make one to help cover costs on the remaining broadcasts? I know it is difficult and bothersome to put a check or a bill in an envelope and address it to Albert Hamilton, 1914 G St N. W. . I know that sometimes a stamp is hard to find, but won't you do this immediately?

If you have already given, we don't feel that we can ask you again We do thank you for what you have done. Of course if you do have a spare dollar or five dollar bill, it will help.

This radio series is one of the channels of free speech in Washington Will you help keep it open?

Sincerely.

Jaiort Hamilton

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NORMAN THOMAS

Ninth speech in the CALL Radio Series, by Norman Thomas, January 25th, 1942.

6064

HATE, HUNGER AND THE FUTURE

British lack of foresight and bungling in Malaya have aroused a storm which, beginning in Australia, has reached England and threatens sooner or later a Cabinet shake-up. American bungling, lack of foresight and grant of excessive profits to favored individuals and corporations, documented by the unanimous report of the Truman Committee to the Senate, cannot under our system result in the same kind of shake-up. Nevertheless, at long last President Roosevelt seems to have abandoned the effort (illustrated as recently as in his dealing with the Office of Civilian Defense) to oure failures by appointing another coordinator to coordinate those who cannot coordinate or another administrator or administrative committee further to confuse the existing confusion. He has given Mr. Donald Nelson power to get results, and we shall see what will happen. Production for war ought to go forward.

But for civilian needs there is no such hope. The best that can be said for the Price Control Bill is that it is better than nothing. No competent observer believes that it will stop the dangerous price rise. And this is true irrespective of the much controverted agricultural provisions. The quarrel about them illustrates one of the problems which social planning frankly must face; namely, the problem how to divide between different economic groups with different interests a limited total of spending power. City workers certainly have a case for more, and so do farmers. Both can point an accusing finger at business and investment groups which increased their profits despite taxes in 1941. Nevertheless the inescapable fact is that very soon almost everybody will suffer from the inflationary process indicated by a rise of wholesale prices on food stuffs amounting to 25 percent in a year. This ideapite the fact that on January first the United States had on hand the largest supply in its history. (The figures are the Department of Agriculture's own.) Obviously consumers must organize not only in Consumers! Cooperatives but in neighborhood and regional groups to exert political pressure against a situation even more hurtful to America and its morale than the loss of a battle.

Although much of the news is disquieting, one gain for freedom and economic sanity is worth recording. A few weeks ago I called attention to the Taylor has then pending before the Supreme Court. It involved a Georgia statute ich strengthened the ugly practise of debt slavery among sharecroppers, ite and black. The Court unanimously found the Georgia law unconstitutional, and, significantly, the opinion was written by Justice Byrnes of South Carolina.

Negroes happen to be the principal although not the only gainers by this decision. In other matters they have not fared so well. Discrimination against them in the military services still continues, and tends to arouse increasing bitterness at a time when it is wholly to our interest to convince the colored races of Asia that American democracy stands everywhere for fair play. Race riots in and around army camps do not help. It takes more than the praise deservedly showered on Joe Louis to take out of the mouths of American Negroes the bitter taste of discrimination in the Army and Navy and in job allotment. It is not fair simply to blame the Government for a situation which is born of American customs and American prejudices. Public opinion must change it.

This business of hating or despising other nations and races entails a horrible cost which we shall pay unto the third and fourth generation. Those who insist on indicting the whole German people, not simply their Nazi rulers, as a race peculiarly and immemorially the enemics of peace and mankind are talking nonsense. It is a type of nonsense which will prolong the war and make lasting peace impossible. There is now a hope which we dare not yet indulge too far that German morale is breaking. The surest way to unite the people and their rulers in a kind of desperate courage is to proclaim that Germany must be broken up and her whole people punished because history from the time of Tacticus down has adjudged them impossible neighbors. That is not true. All that can truthfully be said is that at various periods in history the Romans, Arabs, Turks, Spanish, French, British, Germans and so on have under certain tircumstances willingly responded to an aggressive, militarist and imperialist leadership.

These remarks apply to the Japanese. Unquestionably they have qualities that make them brave and even fanatical soldiers, but for centuries they lived a life of comparative peace in a hermit kingdom from which they were awakened by enforced contact with the western world. Just as there is no hope of peace in Europe on the basis of the enslavement of clavs today or Germans tomorrow,

so there is no hope of peace on the basis of enslavement of Chinese today and Japanese tomorrow. The passion for vengeance is very human, but unless the cycle of revenge of nation against nation and race against race can someday be broken, mankind must say an everlasting farewell to all its dreams of peace and plenty.

I do not say these things because a sermon is appropriate to Sunday but because they are true and immensely important. Their timeliness is evidenced by a shocking cartoon which recently appeared in a newspaper which preens itself as the champion of virtue. The cartoon depicts a war monument with the inscription "To John Haynes Holmes who spoke the beautiful words: 'the unhappy people of Japan are our brothers'." On the pedestal stands an ugly, headless figure, presumably of Dr. Holmes. Beside it stands the far uglier figure of a living Japanese in uniform; wearing an artificial halo, and holding in one hand a knife and the distorted head of the statue.

For this sort of thing there is no possible excuse. We men of all races are brothers very similar in our crimes and in our virtues. If by any chance the people of Japan, who are paying a terrible price for the mad ambitions of their rulers, can be made to understand that the kind of world for which Americans are fighting will be a world of brotherhood and opportunity for men of all races and nations, that understanding may mean life not death to tend of thousands of our sons.

I do not mean that the world will be saved by nohle sentiments alone or that I expect the miracle of war without hate, or that I would condone the crimes of dictators and tyrants. I do mean that no lasting, much less a democratic peace, can be built on hate. And of this principle I have two immediately practicable applications to suggest. The first is to reiterate my insistance on the mpid working out of better war aims and peace terms than those embodied in the Charter of the Atlantic, terms which by their reasonableness may appeal to peoples on both sides of the struggle. My second is that the Sovernment and people of America put into effect experimentally some much plan for feeding the starving children of Europe as Herbert Hoover has worked out with such changes as America's complete involvement in the war may make necessary. This winter the situation is growing rapidly worse. Hunger and disease are almost as mapant in unoccupied France and Spain as in the excupied countries. In recent days newspapers and radio have carried stories of starvation and sickness ranging from the alarming increase of tuberculosis and other diseases connected with malnutrition in Belgium and Holh and to the horrors of tholesale starvation in Greece and in the Chetto in Warsaw where the monthly death rate rose from three thousands to fifteen thousand between June and September. Typhus, serious enough to arouse grave concern in Gernany has broken out in the miserable countries behind the Gernan Arny's eastern front. And typhus is of itself proof of hunger. It is a lice-born disease. Lice flourish where there is no soap and there is no soap where there are no fats, all of the dwindling supply having been consumed for food by a starving people.

For this situation, of course, war is primarily responsible, and the Nazis who made the war and robbed the rest of Europe to feed their armies. But when men are faced with fire or flood or disaster at sea they do not think their duty done when they have found and cursed the knave or fool who may have started the fire, or destroyed the dam or wrecked the ship. They seek to save their own and their fellows! lives. There was black guilt in the Thirty Years! War, but we remember it not primarily because of the crimes of those who caused it, but because in the years from lels to leas hunger and disease took a toll of life far greater than the violence of war and entailed not alone upon Germany but much of Europe biological as well as political effects felt not through decades but through centuries. No perfection of formula for peace can save a Europe whose children, the builders of tomorrow, are decimated, wasted and broken, by hunger and illness. The German armics have not starved; British children are not better fed; nor has the strength of conquered peoples for resistance been nourished, by the refusal of the British and American Governments to permit any such attempt at relief of the children as was successfully undertaken in the First World War. Actually, under the present system, the Germans bought 400 tons of Swiss milk which the American Quakers might have bought for relief if our Government had consented.

61-10767-10

Of course it is not certain that the Nazi Government would grant safe conduct to food supplies or permit a fair distribution of canned milk and fats and medicines in the occupied countries or even in France and Spain. It has not interfered with the limited work undertaken by the American Friends or Quakers. It has, I understand, permitted a Swiss Committee to supervise a distribution of a small quantity of American medicines since December 7th. At no time could the Nazis steal enough to supply their armies for more than a day or two. If the failure of any scheme for the feeding of children, even in occupied France or Spain, could, by experiment, be proved to be solely the fault of the Nazis, the popularity of the English and Americans would be greater then it now is in occupied Europe. Moreover to supply food would give automatically an honorable sort of pressure on the people and Government of France and Spain. And nothers in Europe, watching their children die, would not curse the British blockade after they have cursed the Nazis.

So great is the tragedy in Greece that it is reported that the British Government is considering relaxing the blockade on certain food stuffs, even though Greece is an occupied country. The precise plans in different tplaces would have to vary. There are capable neutrals, Swiss, Swedish and Irish, who could be trusted efficiently to supervise any plans. Right now the American Friends Service Committee at 20 South 12th Street in Philadelphia is bringing some relief especially to the children of unoccupied France. With your generous help and with the permission of the British and American Government that help can be increased.

Our National Resources Board in its admirable plans for post-war recovery definitely includes the feeding of a hungry Europe. Is not this the time to begin? It is true that even in America there may be shortages of sugar and certain fats, largely as a result of the Administration's mistakes of omission and commission. Certainly we must fight price inflation here at home. Great are our stores, and in most lines so great is our potential production, that we should not be giving like those who in the desert share the last jar of water. We would be giving out of relative abundance. Our President has told us that we fight for freedom of religion and for the great ethical principles of the Hebrew Prophets and Jesus of Nazareth. At their heart is the command to feed the hungry, and to care for the little children. From that command not even war can absolve us, and to obey it will help to pave the way for a more lasting peace.

61-10767:-10.

JREAL RADI

NORMAN THOMAS ON THE AIR EVERY WEEK FROM COAST TO COAST

303 FOURTH AVENUE

MAYNARD C. KRUEGER Chairman

NEW YORK, N. Y.

#31 - 1914 G StaRameicy 7-6904 Washington D.C.

JOHN PAUL JONES D ear Friends:

Treasurer

ROBERT PARKER Director

Washington station WOL was one of the stations which banned Norman Thomas' program. After a two week silence a tentative agreement has been reached with the station to carry the program on a week to week basis. It wont on last Sunday and will be on next Sunday at 1 p.m.

However, it will be under possible restrictions.

With the break-up of the national net-work the responsibility of financing and publicizing of the program is now in the hands of a local Call Radio Committee. Rathor than submit to the hysteria indicated by the sudden dropping of Mr. Thomas' broadcasts, we decided to try to maintain the program.

Over the holidays a small group of real friends of democracy pledged enough to pay the costs for last weeks program and the next! Now we must put the issue squarely up to you.

We must raise or guarantee \$440.00 for the remaining eight weeks.

If it is worthwhile to fight for free speech, will you make possible the exercising of that right. Will you send us as large a check as you possibly can? Dollar bills will help, but the five and ten dollar bills and checks, will help more.

We have won a preliminary skirmish with war hystoria, it will now be up to you to determine whether it will be worth anything.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

Albert W. Hamilton

Washington Ropresentative

P.S. If you have already given, will you forgive us for writing again but the urgency of the occasion bears on all of us.

SE / 1942 INDEXED hn l

THE CALL — A Timely Weekly

A WORD FROM NORMAN THOMAS

On the basis of a speechschoduled for December 14, half of the most important stations in the network carrying my weekly broadcasts exercised their legal right to cancel their contract for the series and others have indicated standards of judgement which would destroy the value of the speeches as honest, independent discussions of public issues.

This unwarranted consorship threw our well planned radio series into a state of confusion which threatened complete abandonment of the project.

The zeal and interest of our friends, particularly in the cities of New York, Boston, Chicago, Detroit, Madison Wis. however, makes it seem possible for us to carry out our plans on a limited scale.

It should be recognized that our limited program presents added difficulties. Transcription costs become disproportionately high with a program of fewer stations. The situation is further complicated by the fact that my recordings must be made on Tuesday for a speech to be delivered on Sunday and in war-time, developments in the intervening days may somewhat affect the value of the speech and the attitude of station managers.

Under the difficult conditions, the Call Radio Bureau and it invaluable supporters in all parts of the nation deserve every encouragement in their heroic efforts to carry on. May I appeal to all who read these lines to give them every possible co-operation?

We must all deplore this interference with the right of free speech. We can give a vigorous answer to it by seeing that the Call Radio Bureau in the different cities where we shall have the Gall program on the air receives the funds to continue.

NORMAN THOMAS

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by styring that "The From the Paparase es as bad as Hitter's Evacuation of Droples. does mot take into Consideration the fact That Fitter Separates Jamiliet; which is not true regarding the Japanese. Should be done Stop Her Somman Promise the Country and sew Seeds of Rate 15 and sew Boston. I will be vight

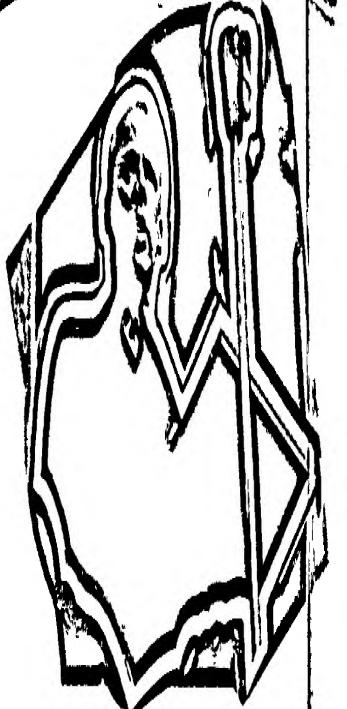
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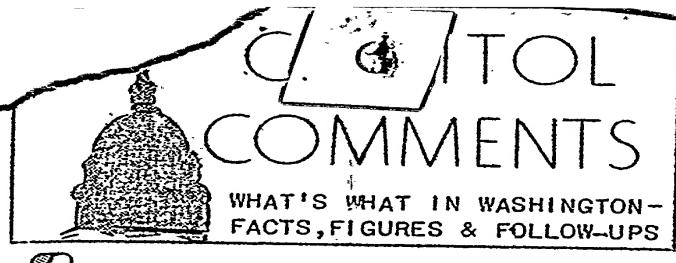
HEAR NORMAN THOMAS EVERY SUNDAY FROM NOV. 30 to Feb. 22

City	Station	Time	Kilocycles
New York City,	WQXR—I:	45 to 2:00 i	p.m1560
Boston	WCOP-3:	45 to 4:00 i	p.m1150
Detroit	WXYZ—I:	15 to 1:30 p	o.m,1270
Washington, D.C.		_	
New Kensington, I	Pa.WKPA-2:	00 to 2:15 p	o.m.¶1150
Madison, Wis	WIBA2:0	0 to 2:15 p	o.mJ310
Chicago	WHIP-3:3	10 to 3:45 p	.m. 1520
Los Angeles	KHJ5:4̃5	to 6:00 p	
San Francisco	KFRC-5:4	5 to 6:00;	
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Portland, Ore	KALE—5:4	5 to 6:00	•
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One clear, sane voice can now be heard in millions of American homes regularly each week, dealing with the tremendously important issues of our time. Tune in every week. Get your friends to listen.

Hear NORMAN THOMAS





ome of you have seen the above column head in the Socialist weekly, THE CALL. Perhaps you have wondered how it is possible to obtain a weekly column as well as other exclusive material from Washington on national affairs.

We want to tell you of the doings of our Washington office, because it is one of the important activities of the Socialist Party.

WASHINGTON CALL BUREAU

ast year the Socialist Party of Washington and the National Executive Committee decided to place a full time worker in the Capital. Albert Hamilton, member of the National Executive Committee, was selected to head up this Washington work.

One of the first activities was the organization of the Washington Bureau of THE CALL. The co-operation of a mumber of newspaper men, labor journalists and research workers has been secured in preparation of material which has appeared in THE CALL, and other publications.

CAPITAL COMMENTS over the last year has consistently been ahead of the daily press in giving the facts on Jesse Jones and the rubber situa-

THIS WAS FOLLOWED BY THE DRIVE.
COOPERATIVE LEAGUE AND THE FARMER.
FOR DEMOCRATIC COLLEGE OF THE O.P.A.

HE CALL sponsored Norman Thomas in a nationwide series of weekly radio broadcasts. Research workers at the Washington office helped in the preparation of material for these talks.

he Socialist Party has helped many causes: sharecroppers week; the fight to free Odell Waller; the effort of the Post War World Council to secure justice for American citizens of Japanese origin; the efforts of the Southern Electoral Reform League to abolish the poll tax. Personnel, office, telephone have been made available to these and other causes when they needed action in the nation's capital.

<u>EXPÂNSION</u>

ow - we want to expand these activities. We believe there is greater need than ever before for believers in democracy to wage the fight against fascism at home and abroad. We want to increase the work which can be done from Washington.

We need your help. Last year, a modest budget of \$150 a month covered expenses. The more an organization does, the more it is called on to do - and the more it costs. Will you help us to meet the costs of our increasing work?

We need, by the end of the summer, assurances that \$ 500 is on hand or pledged for the next twelve month period.

Will you, if you can help, send the enclosed blank to Falc Harbash, Treasurer, 1215 Under wood St. N. Washington, D.C.?

alcohol and sugar controversy; it has no only column to consistently name names in the fight against race discrimination in government agencies and private industry; it gave the first inside story on the Southern anti-labor drive against the 40-hour week.

READ THE RECORD

he Bureau prepared a study for People's Lobby on dollar a year men, their activities and their influence in the defense agencies. This expose appeared in THE CALL, the People's Lobby Bulletin, and Rep. John Coffee franked over 50,000 copies of the report for People's Lobby.

THIS WAS OVER A YEAR BEFORE THE THUMAN COMMITTEE REPORTS ON THE SUBJECT.

-000-

Disclosure that Detherage, well-known fascist, was working in a naval plant holding naval contracts amounting to millions, was <u>first</u> carried in THE CALL.

THIS APPEARED OVER A WEEK BEFORE THE STORY WAS CARRIED IN PM OR THE WASH-INGTON POST.

-000-

THE CALL carried from Washington the first inside story on the effort of public employment agencies to institute a system of labor priorities, and a labor draft.

THIS WAS MONTHS BEFORE THE APPOINTMENT OF THE MANPOWER COMMISSION HEADED BY MCNUTT.

-000-

he Washington office helped launch a national campaign for direct consumer, labor and farm representation in O.P.A. programs.

SOCIALIST PART READ NORMAN THOMAS IN THE WEEKLY PUBLICATION OF THE

303 FOURTH AVENUE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED Duly, 1942

Dear Friend:

CD.

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

IS IT POSSIBLE TO MAINTAIN A FREE PRESS/DURING THIS WAR?

The answer to that question will not be decided by the millions of subscribers to the big daily newspapers throughout the country with their enourmous advertising contracts, devotion to the status quo, and willingness -- in the last analysis -- to accept government censorship when pressures grow great enough and profits are endangered,

It will be decided by the readers of papers such as THE CALL -- by you, in fact, and by a comparatively small number of people like you.

The voice of THE CALL can be stilled in an even more deadly way than by government edict. It can be silenced by the carelessness and neglect . of its friends -- even those who understand "theoretically" the vital importance of maintaining a free press through support of minority organs of opinion.

DON'T LET THIS HAPPEN: SAVE THE CALL AND STRIKE YOUR BLOW FOR FREE-DOM OF THE PRESS BOTH DURING AND AFTER THIS WAR.

Only once each year, during the summer months when subscriptions slump; does THE CALL make a general appeal for contributions. It does this through its Annual Coin Card Drive. We ask every subscriber to send THE CALL an outright donation.

Our experience in past years indicates that the response to this anmual drive comes not only from subscribers who have jobs and resources. Hundreds who have no money whatever go out among their friends and collect dimes and quarters to fill up their coin cards. In this drive, no amount sent in is too small -- and none too large!

If you are one of the fortunate people who have a bank account, you can ignore the coin card and send us a check -- \$5, \$10, \$25, even \$100 if this letter reaches anyone who can afford that much. But if not, just fill the coin card -- it will accommodate bills as well as change. Or, if you can't fill it yourself, tryeto get your friends to do so. something, and send it NOW!

Fraternally,

Traverse\Clement

Fleischman

Samuel H.

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JOHN EDGAR HOOVER		>-287	Mr, Tolson
DIRECTOR	G	U	Mr. E.A. Tamm
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KRM:alo'd	Date: October 6, 1942		Mr. Coffee
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ا کم الا	100000000000000000000000000000000000000	_((_)} _ ,)	Mr. McGuire
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let	ter from the Washington Field Offi	led to the Bureau by	
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Thelma DuVinage, Treasurer 1734 F St. N.W. Washington D.C.

Washington D. U.	f A
YOU CAN COUNT ON ME I Will pledge the following monthly sum: \$1.00 \$5.00 \$10.00	•
I will pledge to be paid within the next six months.	7 h
I Enclose \$	i

Name Phone Phone

Address

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

WASHINGTON, D. C.

, OFFICIAL BUSINESS

PENALTY FOR PRIVATE USE TO AVOID

PAYMENT OF POSTAGE. \$300







READ NORMAN THOMAS IN THE WEEKLY PUBLICATION OF THE SOCIALIST PART

303 FOURTH AVENUE . NEW YORK CITY ALL INFORMATION CORNAMERCY 7-6904 HEREIT IS UNCLASSIFIED

Dear Mr. Kimmerel:

Over a year ago, the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party in cooperation with local people, and as part of expanding activities decided to open a Washington office with emphasis on service to THE CALL. With Washington becoming an ever growing center of governmental activity affecting the life of the country, our judgment has been more than vindicated.

The Washington office of THE CALL and the Party has been of service not only to Socialists, but has given help to the Southern Electoral Reform League, to the Workers Defense League, and the Post-war World Council nono of which have Washington offices. Only recently, Albert Hamilton, our Washington representative, served as press representative for the delegation of Negro leaders headed by A. Phillip Randolph, who sought Presidential intervention to save the life of Odell Waller, the Virginia sharecropper. Our research group has given valuable help and assistance to trade unionists, to the cooperative movement and individuals through the country.

The Washington Bureau of THE CALL has not only supplied a weekly column and special features to THE CALL but also has provided similar services to labor, farm and co-op papers throughout the country.

Much work has been done by the Washington Office on legislation. Other work has been done through negotiations with administrative agencies on problems of civil liberties and on consumer and labor problems.

Special memorandums have come from the Washington office on "The Repeal of the Oriental Exclusion Acti by Harry Paxton Howard, "Post-war Problems", "The Poll Tax", "A Consumor Program for O.P.A.", "Memo on Evacuation of Japanese-Americans".

Work has increased so much this year that we are having to expand the Washington Office. As of August 1st, a joint office and Bookshop has been opened at 1734 F. St. N.W.

While a minimum budget has already been underwritten by local Socialists, we still must raise the modest sum of \$500,00 between now and the first of January. It is to help raise this amount that we are writing to you.

Enclosed is a folder recounting some of the work of the Washington Call Bureau, plus a pledge mrd. Will you help democracy work by making either as large a pledge or contribution as possible? May we count on your help? Make payments to Thelma DuVinage, Washington Call Bureau, 1734 F. St.,

Sincerely yours,

Maynard C. Krueger

Norman Thomas

Wational Chairman



NORMAN THOMAS ON THE AIR EVERY WEEK FROM COAST TO COAST

MAYNARD CAKRUEGER Chairman 303 FOURTH AVENUE NEW YORK, N. Y.

96

JOHN PAULIJONES

Treasurer

HARRY FLEISCHMAN

Director

October 21,1942

Dear Friend:

Freedom of speech in wartime is difficult to preserve. That's why I know you'll be glad to hear that, since Pearl Harbor, the generous help we have received from thousands of people like you has enabled THE CALL to sponsor two series of weekly talks by me over the radio.

Our present series, carried by 50 stations throughout the nation, Alaska and Puerto Rico, has already run for thirteen weeks, and we have enough funds on hand to continue for five more weeks. This is indeed cause for rejoicing, but our concern over the critical months ahead prompts us to ask for your continued support for this series.

Of the value of what I and my guest speakers have been able to say, you must judge from the talks you have heard or from your knowledge of my position. It may interest you to know that my demand for freedom for India and opposing the use of American men or lend-lease equipment against the democratic Indian masses was the first to be voiced over America's air waves.

Our present system is to provide stations with records on condition that they carry the records regularly without charge to us. We have also bought time on Stations WOL, Washington D.C.; WLIB, New York City; and KYA, San Francisco. If we had more money we could pay more stations in key cities. As it is, our weekly budget is \$370.65 to cover the cost of recording, making and distributing the records, plus a modest and inescapable overhead.

May I ask in behalf of our Radio Committee for a contribution or a pledge for this Fall series? And may I ask to hear from you promptly?

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 10/23/SI BY

Norman Thomas

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De troit "ich. April 25th. 1943.

Wm Lyman Jr., has been very active around Detroit lately, and tonight he is at C. Morrows house, where he is again trying to get Morrow to go ahead with the Nationalist Movement, which Morrow will do.

Did not think it advisable for me to get into this direct, so think this the best way to keep track of events without coming into the picture.

Lyman is now working out of Pontiac, through Alderman, and from the Shores through Roberts, and he has already brought Roberts in contact with Morrow. He continually carries a brief case full of literature, and some

samples will be forwarded in a couple of days.

Lyman intends to make his home with his mother in Fairfax Va., where he can be close to Washington, and his Father who is supposed to be operating the biggest Music Store in Washington.

The big plan under way at the present time, is a gathering of speeches by various Congressman etc. in Washington, and their distribution throughout the Country, these to be obtained at about 3 for a cent in Washington. These of course all the speeches made criticising the Administration and all its functions.

A list of names interested in the movement, and ardent followers of it will be forthcoming shortly, and also a list of friendly publishers, most

of them no doubt now on record, but possibly some new ones.

The strongest place he claims for the Nationalist movement, and one place that it seems to be too big to disturb, specially its leader, is in Birmeton Wash. Next in line he says is Miami Florida, where the Hotels and Police also refuse to get rooms in Hotels for any Jews.

Lyman left Morrows around midnite tcnight.

Mr. Solomon of the FBI called Price on Friday night April 23rd., about 8 P.M., and asked Price if he knew anything about Norman Thomas, who was due in the City on this day, but would not arrive until Saturday 24th. He said that Thomas was going to talk to some Fress men at 2.30 P.M. Saturday and wanted to know if anything had come into the Ford Motor Co. on it.

He received the answer that Price did not know anything about it, and this appears to be true, as Price was trying hard to look up something on it for the Bureau, but without success.

Price also added here that the Bureau was also very interested in the Iron Guardist movement, but he did not say whether Solomon had mentioned it or not in his conversation, and of course I did not ask him at the time.

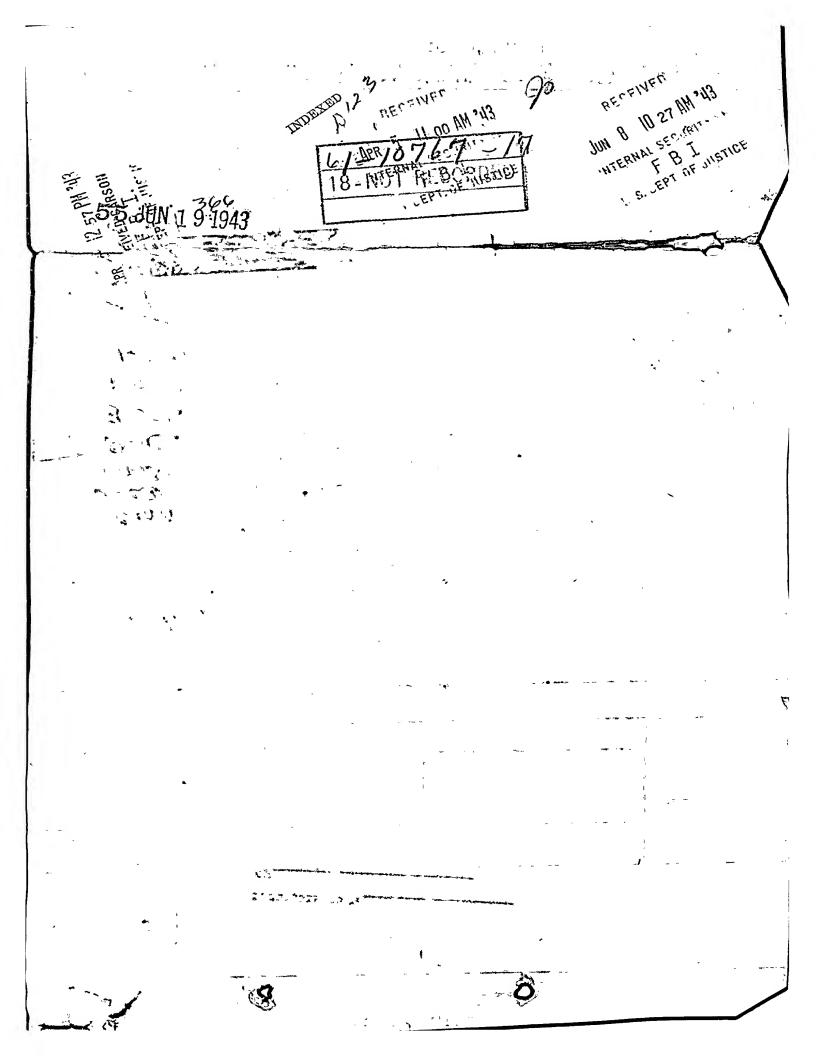
Here Price swung onto the subject of Bugas' two secretaries, and said that the Korea girl, had been transfermed up here from Boston, from a comparitively small position, to succeed the former secretary who apparently

paritively small position, to succeed the former secretary who apparently went with Larson after he left the Bureau.

Price still delivers the schedules regularly, but does not have very much conversation with the men when up there, being mostly in contact with the secretaries.

I personally had a very nasty fall last week that necessitated some stitches in my face, and has left it rather badly bruised, and way also caused my left hand to be practically useless for a short while at least. Have been laid up a while, and am running the last week or so by typeing with one hand, so have been as brief as possible.

Am coming aleng fairly well now, and hope to be active very shortly but will contact by phone if anything of immediate importance comes up.



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ADB AG Mr. Cunningham.CONEMNS POLITICAL MURIERS BF BR. Mr. Fitch						
In 1936 when writer left URSS hundreds of thousands of Communists and Socialists were already in the concentration camps and prisons. The Democratic Movements, they were still represented under the abominable rule of the G.P.U. by a few hundred Social-Democrats, Anarchists at Socialist-Revolutionaries of the Left and Right, alroth all of the The opposition of the Left P. C. (EXAMINER: Communist Party) had in the prison and concentration camps about 400 known members, most of them imprisoned after 1928. Writer has learned that many of these have been shot- without trial of any kind and that there were many executions in the prisons at the beginning of the Russian War. The Marxist Historian Riazanov, one of the founders of the Labor movement in Russia, a man of high intelligence and moral courage,						
Form OC-8 (Rev. April 1, 1942) info	SPECIAL NOTIC rmation must be as made, or the in	JE—The attached information was confided only to those officials who aformation used in legal proceeding	s taken from private comm ose knowledge of it is necess s or in any other public way	unications, and its extreme sary to prosecution of the w without express consent of	ly confidential character must be preserver. In no case should it be widely district the Director of Censorship.	ed.
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is said to have died in exile, in solitude, and in misery in 1941; Karl Radek to have been murdered in prison in 1938; and Christian Racovski to have died in prison, no one knows when The murder of Ehrich and Alter whips the socialistic conscience of the whole world, but the blood of those comrades did not run in vain if their death causes movements of protest which will be capable of saving a few lives precious to the Russian Democracy of the future. COI COM EXAMINER'S NOTE: Writer is author of Retrato De Stalin' Ediciones Libres, Mexico, D. F. (1940). Addressee is a former Socialist Party candidate for President of the U. S. Enclosures: None				8; and when nscience not run h will be emocracy
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Form OC-8 lov. April 1, 1942)			om private communications, and its extremely confide edge of it is necessary to prosecution of the war. In no other public way without express consent of the Direction of the D	ential character must be preserved. The cocase should it be widely distributed, etter of Censoralip. BYRON PRICY

CONFIDENTIAL

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN

CCM:eh

61=626 6/-167011-18 SAC, Chicago

January 15, 1944

RE: SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMERICA INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to your letter dated December 20, 1943, in the above-entitled matter wherein you request to be advised as to whether or not investigation of the subject group in the Chicago area is desired. Your letter also requests that your office be informed as to whether other field divisions are conducting an active investigation of the activities of this group and what office is considered the office of origin.

This is to advise that the Bureau is not presently conducting an active investigation of the subject group in the same manner that it is conducting an investigation of the general activities of the Communist Party, USA, throughout its various districts. The Bureau, and the New York office which is the office of origin in this ratter, subscribe to "The Call," the official publication of the subject group. The Bureau reviews this publication for any information or statements on the part of leaders of this group which might be considered in violation of any existing Federal statutes, particularly the Sedition statutes. Although the Bureau is not conducting a specific investigation of the activities of this group, it does desire that the various field offices generally follow the activities of the group and that they be particularly on the alert for any statements on the part of leaders of the group which appear to be detrimental to the war effort and possibly in violation of the Sedition statutes.

Various other field offices have, from time to time, submitted investigative reports concerning the general activities of the Party in their field office districts. The Bureau does not desire that you conduct any specific or comprehensive investigation of this group at this time, but desires that the same be followed in the above-mentioned manner. Any activity on the part of this group or its leaders which you feel is of outstanding importance should naturally be called to the attention of the Bureau.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover Director

Communications Section Mailed 10 Jan 15, 1944 P.M.

28 JAN 20 1049

Director
ALL TITAINEL

23/300 Applica

Chicago 99, Illinois.

December 20, 1945.

Director FBI

RE: SOCIALIZE PARTY OF U.S.A. NORMAN THOMAS, ET AL INTERNAL SECURITY

En n

Dear Siri

There is presently pending in the Chicago Field Pivision a file containing information of a miscellaneous nature, such as publications including "The Call", regarding the Socialist Party of U.S.A. of which EUMAN THOMAS is the head.

Active investigation has not been conducted by the Chicago Field Division in view of of the apparent legality of the activities of the Eccialist Party.

The Pureau is requested to advise as to whether or not investigation of the Scoialist Party in the Chicago area is desirable. The Eureau is also requested to advise as to whether or not there is presently pending in other field division active investigation of the Socialist Party and it so what office is the office of crigin.

In view of the fact that the Socialist Party is apparently not operating in violation of any federal law, it is contemplated that, unless the Euroau requests investigation at Chicago, the Chicago Field Division file in this matter will be placed in a closed status.

Very truly yours.

JEJ: MAH 100-C5X2ALL INFOR MATION O HEREIN IZ UMCLASS	CONTAINED	DRAYTOH, SAC	-
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SIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM: AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICA ON GUIDE DÂTE \$5-20-2010 INFIDENTI KRM:ESK APPROPRIATE AGENCIES 61-10767 February 4, 1944 AND FITTE OF THES ADVICE SLIP (S) OZ SAC, New York "THE CALL" INTERNAL SECURITY - C. Dear Sir: Attached hereto is a notice that the Eureau's subscription to "The Call" entered in the name of Dixon Kimmerel is about to expire. It. is desired that you arrange to enter an additional year's subscription to this publication. Please observe that the notice was sent erroneously to Box 1403, City Post Office, Washington, D. C. The correct address is Box 1503. Very truly yours, ME INT AND STREET BIRGET IN THE THOME RECORDEL Mr. Tolson Mr. E. A. Tamm FECERAL ENTON OF A CONCATION Mr. Clegg____ Mr. Coffey___ FEB 7 1944 Mr. Glavin_ Mr. Ladd U.S. DEPLATITION OF JUSTICE Mr. Nichols Mr. Rosen Committee 1 des (17) CLASS. & EXT. BY Mr. Acers REASON-FCIM II, Mr. Carson DATE OF REVIEW Mr. Harbo Mr. Hendon Mr. Mumford With DEPAR MANT OF TOwn & FEDERAL BUREAL IN INVESTIGATION ir. Quinn Tamm_ iss Gandy

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FBI(AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 05-20-2010

KPM:MIP 61-10757-20

SAC, Hew York

CONFIDENTIAL Larch 27, 1944

J. Edgar Hoover - Eirector, Toderal Burcau of Investigation

THE CALLY
INTERNAL COCUMITY - C

In view of the fact that your office already subscribes to the above-stiled publication, you may disregard the request contained in the Jureau's letter of lebruary 4, 1744.

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Kederal Bureau of Investigation

United States Department of Iustice

234 United States Court House Foley Square New York 7, New York

efh/fd

February 29, 1944 .

Director, FBI

RE: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to your letter dated February 4, 1944 in the abovestyled case (Bureau File No. 61-10767) requesting this Office to enter subscription to "The Call" in the name of Dixen Kimmerel, Post Office Box 1503, City Post Office, Washington, D. C.

As the Bureau is presently aware, this Office subscribes to "The Call" at the request of the Bureau and the same is submitted promptly to the Bureau as received.

It is further noted that the Bureau recently requested this Office to secure a subscription to Science and Society" in the name of Dixen Kimmerel, same Post Office Box, which publication is, likewise, subscribed to by the New York Office and submitted promptly to the Bureau.

In view of the fact that this Office already subscribes to "The Call", the Bureau is requested to advise immediately whether it is still desired that the requested subscription be entered in the name of Dixen Kimmerel.

If possible, this Office would like to be informed of other publications subscribed to under the name of Dixen Kimmerel so that duplicate subscriptions will not be entered by this Office.

REASON-FCIM II, 1-2. DATE OF REVIEW

Very truly yours,

E. E. CONROY, Special Agent in Charge

ORVICTORY

H. .

APPROPRIATE AGENCIE

FIELD OFFICES

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THOMAS, NORMAN NCFORURE Corres Papernoyau 38 JUN 21 1961



of the Marxian Socialist tent in U.S.
I from June 1937 issue of pall Republic, 27.

(T)

Mr. Tolson DATE: July 3, 1950 Mr. Nichols FROM: SUBJECT: Glavin Congressman Clarence Brown called this morning. Nichol: He was considerably exercised over an individual named Charles (Tabis who is connected with The Call, 303 4th Avenue, New York. Tracy He wondered if we could tell them anything about the background Belmont of Call. After checking, I advised Congressman Brown that The Tele. Room Call is the official publication of the Socialist Party with offices located at 303 4th Avenue, New York. The editor is Harry Leischman and the Associate Editors are: Herman Singer, Aaron Levinstein and Norman Thomas. Congressman Brown stated that this was what he needed and expressed his appreciation. He asked that his regards be given to "Edgar" and if at any time he could help out that we not hesitate to call him. I have had occasion to see Congressman Brown on numerous occasions over the years. I have always been somewhat impressed. minded me of a conversation that occurred three years ago, which is a pretty good indication that he does keep abreast of the Bureau's activities. LBN:MP

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October 4, 1951

ED 59

133/r. Max W. Johnstone 803 United Building Akron 8, Ohio

Dear Mr. Johnstone:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED PEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 16 23 18 BY 201951 Juc

Your letter dated September 24, 1951, has been received. In response to your inquiry I thought you would like to know that the FRI is strictly an investigative agency and it is not within the province of this Bureau to label any organization as subversive.

It is suggested that you may desire to obtain a copy of a publication entitled "Guide To Subversive Organizations And Aublications" which was prepared and released by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, which can be purchased for the price of thirty-five cents from the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Corner of North Capitol and H Streets, Northwest, Washington, D. C.

Sincerely yours,

G.I.R.-5

John Edgar Hoover

NOTE: Abstracts on Bufile 121-20819-40 reflect an exchange of correspondence with Max W. Johnstone on 3-13-51 wherein he set forth comments concerning one Edwin Beal who was seeking employment as an economist. Bufill 61-92-16 if news clipping entitled "Tells Union Side in Precision Strike" indicates that Max W. Johnstone served as thrial examiner.

LIR:mcf:gej 901

COMM- FOIL I STAND ROCH

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My H

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OCT 5 - 1951 MAILED 19

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JOHNSTONE AND GABALAC 803 UNITED BUILDING AKRON 8. OHIO

September 24, 1951

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED 6059
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10 23/80 BY April 18 10 - 1

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

Dear Sir:

I have been requested by a member of the Social st Party of the United States (headed by Norman Thomas) to write you to ascertain whether or not the Socialist Party of the United States has been labeled "subversive."

I would appreciate any information you might be able to give me on this point.

Sincerely,

JOHNSTONE & GABALAG

By Max W. Johnstone

MWJ: mm

SEA reli Slips only

RECORDED 133

MOEXFEX-133

STANDARD FORM NO. 64 Memorandum UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT TO Mr. A. H. Bell DATE: May 10, 1952 FROM: V. P. Keay SUBJECT: NORMAN MATTOOM THOMAS NAME CHECK REQUEST PURPOSE: To advise of a request received from G-2 for any information of assubversive derogatory nature concerning Socialist Norman Thomas. DETAILS: A request has been received from G-2, Department of the Army, for any information of a subversive derogatory nature concerning Norman Mattoon Thomas, periodic Socialist candidate for the Presidency of the United States. G-2 advised that the information was desired for use in connection with the issuance of a military entry permit, however, no further details were furnished. No investigation concerning Thomas has been conducted by the Bureau; however, voluminous information is contained in our files concerning the activities of Thomas in connection with the Socialist Party. In response to the specific request from G-2 for information of a subversive derogatory nature, the data found in the attached memorandum cancierns only Thomas' membership in various cited organizations and concerning his quoted views on Communism. RECOMMENDATION: That the attached memorandum be furnished G-2 by the Name Check Desk of the Correlation :dmcdmc Attachment copies destroyed ANY 12 88 Jun 21 1961 4 34 PH *52 69 JUN 4 1952' U. S. DEPT. OF JUSTIL RECEIVE:

CLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM: FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE DATE 09-27-2010

May 10, 1952

DECLASSIFIED BY 0

NORTH HOOTTAN HAMRON Born Hovember 20, 1884 Karion, Ohio

No investigation has been conducted by the FBI pertinent to your inquiry concerning the above-named individual.

Mowever, the files of this Eureau contain information concerning the activities of Norman Thomas, periodic Socialist candidate for the Presidency of the United States, in connection with the following listed organizations which have been cited as being of a subversive nature:

American Fund for Public Service (Carland Fund):

The American Fund for Public Service has been described by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in a report dated Warch 29, 1944, as "Established in 1922 **** it was a major source for the financing of Communist Party enterprises" such as the "Daily Norker" and "New Masses," official Communist publications, the Federated Press, Lussian Electristruction Farms, and International Labor Defense. Eneport-further stated that William Z. Foster, Chairman, Communist Party, and Scott Mearing, a leading writer for the Party, served on the Board of Directors of the Fund. O. July

Halter S. Steele, Chairman of the American Coalition Committee on National Security, in testifying before the Special Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, on August 16, 1938, stated that Norman Thomas was a nember of the original Board of the American Fund for Public Ceruice (Garland Fund). (Dies Committee Report, Volume 1, Page 388)

American Student Union:

The American Student Union has been cited by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in various reports, the latest of which was issued March 29, 1944, as a Communist front which was "the result of a united front gathering of gang Socialists and Communists" in 1937. The report state The report stated

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SECURITY INFORMATION - CONFIDENTIAL

that the Young Communist League took credit for the creation of the organization, and the Union offered free trips to Russia. The Union reportedly claimed to have led, as many as 500,000 students out in annual April 22 strikes in the United States.

Malter S. Steele, in testifying before the aforementioned Special Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities, on August 17, 1938, advised that Norman Thomas was a member of an Advisory Board set up in connection with the organization of the American Student Union. (Dies' Committee Report, Volume 1, Page 474,5)

The "Student Advocate," a publication sponsored by the American Student Union, in its February, 1937, issue listed Norman Thomas as a member of the Sponsoring Committee for a dinner being given by the American Student Union. (SCUA, House of Representatives, 78th Congress, Appendix-Part 9, Page 519)
The January 11, 1938, issue of "New Masses," contained an article entitled "The Students Reject Isolation" by Joseph Searobin. This article stated that by a vote of nearly four to one, the third annual convention of the American Student Union, attended by approximately 500 delegates, abandoned its pledge "not to support the United States Government in any war it may undertake." Named as a speaker at the convention was Norman Thomas, who appealed to the attending delegates not to abandon the Oxford Pledge, which was a pledge against war.

(61-7558-144)

The "Socialist Call," official organ of the Socialist Party, USA, on January 1, 1938, pointed out that the American Student Union had been founded on the Oxford Pledge, a pledge against the support of any war undertaken by the United States Government. It was stated that the Union had "about faced" with reference to its position on war, and "under the pressure of the Young Communist League is about to swing its support behind the pro-war forces in America who seek to involve the United States in a world war through the devices of collective security." This paper further stated that this change in attitude on the part of the American Student Union had been brought about by "Communist forces who wish to see America at war with Japan for Soviet purposes." (61-7558-144)

American Youth Congress:

The American Youth Congress has been cited as a Communist organization within the purview of Executive Order 9835 by the Attorney General of the United States.

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SECURITY INFORMATION CONFIDENTIAL

The April 2, 1938 edition of the publication
"Workers Age," on Page 5, set forth information concerning
the American Youth Congress Pilgrimage to Washington, D. C.,
Warch 10-12, 1938. According to the publication, the Youth
Committee Against War was at that time known as the Youth
Committee for the Oxford Pledge, and joined in the Pilgrimage.
The article continued that during this Pilgrimage, the Youth
Committee presented to the then President Roosevelt a petition
demanding drastic reduction of armaments, immediate withdrawal
of armed forces from China and from all other foreign territory,
passage of a war-referendum amendment and abandonment of all
plans for industrial mobilization. This petition was
reportedly endorsed by Norman Thomas, among others. (61-7567-98)

The Washington "Times Herald" on February 11, 1940, contained an article captioned "Youths Form Rebel Bloc at Parley Here." This article stated that a militant anti-Communist group within the American Youth Congress had announced on the previous evening that it had formed a rebel youth group opposed to "Concentration Camp Cultures" of Russia, Germany, Italy and other dictator countries. The article quoted Lewis Conn, Director of the group, as appealing for the support of all "progressive non-Communist young people united in the conviction that democracy can live only if it meets human needs." Departing from the American Youth Congress program which then permitted affiliation of Communist and Fascist groups, the new group, according to the article, repudiated the support of any group upholding totalitantanism anywhere in the world. The article listed Norman Thomas, National Chairman of the Socialist Party, as a sponsor of the new organization. (61-7567-133x)

Communist Porty, USA:

It has been reliably reported that the February 5, 1926, issue of "American Appeal" contained an article authored by Norman Thomas captioned "Socialism." In this article Thomas reportedly made the following statement:

"I am opposed to the secular Jesuitism of Communism. I am opposed to its catastrophic theory of salvation, that is, the notion that we are inevitably headed to some sort of great disaster probably new world war, after which will come world revolution. So terrible are the consequences of

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SECURITY INFORMATION - CONFIDENTIAL

modern warfare on so great a scale that a new Dark Ages would be a more likely consequence of such war than an orderly Communist dictatorship rising eventually to an emancipated world. Perhaps we cannot avoid the great catastrophe to which the working out of capitalism in these international aspects logically leads. I believe in trying. And in trying I am willing to cooperate with liberals or Communists." (62-12299-12)

The League for Industrial Democracy, a Socialist organization, published a pamphlet entitled "Karl Marx - An Essay," written by Harold J. Laski, in commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the death of Karl Marx. The pamphlet, published March 14, 1938, in addition to the aforementioned essay, contained an English translation of the Communist Manifesto written by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. The introduction to the pamphlet, written by Norman Thomas, described Laski's essay as a brilliant document concerning Karl Marx, who fostered the Communist Manifesto in 1848. Thomas further stated that the modern, world-wide Socialist movement had antecedents far back in history, but in its present scientific formulation it began with the appearance of the Communist Manifesto. (61-7559-2-826)

Norman Thomas reportedly addressed a May Day. Communist meeting held at the Ashland Auditorium, Chicago, Illinois, in 1936. Thomas reportedly stated that this (May, 1936) May Day would go down in history as this was the first time the Socialists and the Communists were out for a united front. Thomas was said to have stated that with this united front "we can stop Fascism in this country just as they did in France, Spain and other countries." (61-3963-162)

Consumer's National Federation;

The Consumer's National Federation has been cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in a report issued by that Committee dated March 29, 1944.

On Page 660 of the afore-mentioned report, Norman Thomas is named as a sponsor of the Consumer's National

SECURITY INFORMATION

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SECURITY INFORMATION - CONFADENTIAL

Federation. Thomas, among others, was so listed on a Federation publication, not dated, offered as an exhibit by the Committee. (61-7582-1298)

League for Mutual Aid:

The League for Mutual Aid has been cited as a Communist enterprise in a report dated March 29, 1944, issued by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities.

It has been reliably reported that the League for Mutual Aid was organized by Roger Baldwin, Norman Thomas, and others after World War I for the purpose of aiding conscientious objectors who, like Baldwin, had been jailed during the War. After several years, according to the informant, the League expanded to give aid to all kinds of liberals, radicals, Anarchists, Communists and Socialists.

(61-570-92)

The March 31, 1936, edition of the magazine "New Masses" contained an article captioned "Art Young Salutes the League for Mutual Aid on its 16th Anniversary." The article set forth a partial list of prominent members of the League, which list included the name of Norman Thomas. (61-570-70)

<u>Vedical Eureau and North American</u> <u>Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy:</u>

The Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy has been described in a report dated March 29, 1944, issued by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities as a so-called relief organization, organized along with others in 1937 and 1938 by the Communist Party in the Party's campaign to wholeheartedly support the Spanish Loyalist cause.

The March 19, 1938, issue of the "Daily Worker,"
Page 2, contained information that among speakers at a conference held in 1938 at the New York headquarters of the Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, were Earl Browder, General Secretary of the Communist Party, USA, and Jack Stachel, Executive Secretary of its Central Committee. The publication further stated that indicative of the united front with the Socialist Party, Norman Thomas was present as one of 33 conferees. (61-7582-1298, p. 1608)

SECURITY INFORMATION - CONFIDENTEAL



North Imerican Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy:

The North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy has been cited as a Communist organization within the purview of Executive Order 9835 by the Attorney General of the United States.

It has been reported that Norman Thomas was a speaker at a mass meeting of the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Danocracy held at Madison Square Garden, New York City, on July 19, 1937. The meeting was described as overwhelmingly Communist with only a handful of Socialists in the audience. It was further reported that Earl Browder and Norman Thomas, though sitting on the same platform, did not greet each other. Browder was stated to be the only person on the platform who did not applaud Thomas speech and Thomas reportedly left before Browder spoke. (61-7566-609)

Russian Reconstruction Farms, Inc.:

The Russian Reconstruction Farms, Inc. has been cited by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in its Narch 29, 1944, report as a Communist enterprise which was directed by Harold Nare, son of the well-known Communist Ella Reeve Bloor. The report further states that the organination received funds from the Garland Fund.

A letter dated April 2, 1925, bearing the letterhead of the Russian Reconstruction Farms, Inc., Presbyterian Building, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York City, was furnished this Bureau by a source believed to be reliable. This letterhead listed Norman Thomas as a member of the organization's Advisory Board. (61-570-113)

United States Congress Against Tar:

The United States Congress Against War has been described by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in its March 29, 1944, report as "Convened in St. Nicholas Arena, New York City, on September 29, 1933. ****it was completely under the control of the Communist Party. Earl Browder was a leading figure in all its deliberations. In his report to the Communist International, Browder stated: 'The Congress from the beginning was led by our party quite openly'."

SECURITY INFORMATION - CONFIDENTIAL

SECURITY INFORMATION - CONFIDENTIAL

Norman Thomas, Socialist Party of America, was listed as a member of the Arrangements Committee for the United States Congress Against War in a publication of that organization issued previous to a meeting of the Congress, scheduled September 1 through September 4, 1933, at New York City. This publication was captioned "Call to the United States Congress Against War." (61-7589-16)

Workers Alliance:

The Workers Alliance has been cited as a Communist organization within the purview of Executive Order 9895 by the Attorney General of the United States.

On August 17, 1938, Walter S. Steele, in support of his testimony before the Special Committee to Investigate UnAmerican Activities, House of Representatives, filed a memorandum on the Workers Alliance. This memorandum described
the four-day session held by Communists and Socialists in the
Labor Department Building, Washington, D. C., in 1935. The
memorandum stated that approximately 900 delegates arrived
in Washington allegedly representing 500,000 or more duespaying members of the Socialist Workers Alliance of America,
the Communist National Unemployed Councils, the National
Unemployed League, and others. Norman Thomas was listed
as a specker at this convention, which convention was
described as the forerunner of the Workers Alliance.
(Dies Committee Report, Volume I, Page 488)

It was reliably reported that Norman Thomas was a

It was reliably reported that Norman Thomas was a speaker at the Second Annual Convention of the Workers Alliance of America held in the Labor Department Auditorium, Washington, D.C., from April 7 to April 10, 1936. (61-7586-116-p. 118)

The files of this Eureau also contain the following information concerning the activities of Norman Thomas in connection with the Socialist organization, League for Industrial Democracy.

Walter S. Steele, on August 18, 1938, furnished the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, a document entitled "The League for Industrial Democracy," which organization was described as the main propaganda and

SECURITY INFORMATION - CONTIDENTIAL

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"Norman Thomas is Executive Director of the League for Industrial Democracy and is a member of numerous Social-Communist groups, including the American Fund for Public Service, which organization has for several years subsidized Red radicalism in the United States." The document also contained the statement that while "addressing The Forum of Revolution' held at Barnard College, December 27, 28, 29, (1929), attended by the Intercollegiate Student Council of the League for Industrial Democracy, Norman Thomas, well-known radical, discussed plans for the revolution which they feel is bound to come, and envisioned a world built of, by, and for the proletariat."

The foregoing information is furnished to you as a result of your request for an FBI file check only, and is not to be construed as a clearance or nonclearance of the person involved. This information is furnished for your confidential use only and should not be disseminated outside of your agency.

SECURITY INFORMATION

CONFIDENTIAL

7-0/33 7/16/5

Scott McLeod
Dept. of State
Washington, D. C.



Expressing appreciation for courtesy in seeing me and inspiration you give me.

129

Subje Hismiles Address: Birthdate: SUPV: Misc: R#___ SERIALS FILE NUMBER -135-34-292 5-34-291 - 442-14, NR. 54930 3798-460.

July 21, 1953

PERSONAL

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INDEXED-39

EX-103

Mr. Scott McLeod
Administrator
Bureau of Security, Consular Affa
and Personnel
Department of State
Washington, D. G.

Dear Mr. McLeod:

I want to thank you for your letter of July 16, with which you were kind enough to enclose a copy of the correspondence which passed between you and Mr. Norman Thomas. I think that you handled this matter excellently and trust that the views you expressed may gain wide circulation. Certainly it is a very succinct presentation of what I consider sound administrative procedure.

It was good to see you again and don't hesitate to drop by any time that you desire.

With best regards, I am

Sincerely,

Ja Edgar Hoover

JEH:mpd

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SERT FROM D. O.
THE 12:25 PM
DATE 1/22/53
BY

Mr. Tol Mr. Ladd. DEPARTMENT OF ST Mr. Nichols. Mr. Belmont_ ADMINISTRATOR' Mr. Clegg_ BUREAU OF SECURITY, CONSULAR AFFAIRS, AND PERSONNEL Mr. Glavin... Mr. Harbo. WASHINGTON Mr. Rosen Mr. Tracy Mr. Gearty Mr. Mohr __ Mr. W nterrowd Tele. Room July 16, 1953 Mr. 14. Mr. S ** 10

Dear Mr. Hoover:

In view of your very kind comments with respect to Fulton Lewis. Jr. 's report of the letter I wrote to Norman Thomas, I thought you might be interested in seeing a copy of the exchange of-correspondence. Accordingly, there is enclosed a copy of Mr. Thomas! letter to me and my reply.

Thank you again for your courtesy in seeing me and the continuing inspiration you give me.

Sincerely yours,

Scott McLeod Administrator

Bureau of Security, Consular Affairs, and Personnel

Enclosure:

Copies of letters as stated.

The Honorable

J. Edgar Hoover,

Director,

Federal Bureau of Investigation,

Department of Justice.

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EXPEDITE PROCESSING

May I add a personal note in closing to the effect that, though I thoroughly disagree with you, I have always admired you for the forthright position you have taken on public questions.

Sincerely yours,

SCOTT McLEOD

Administrator

Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs

Enclosure:

Application forms

NORMAN THOMAS 39A Gramercy Park New York 10, N.Y.

June 8, 1953

Hon. Scott McLeod Department of State Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. McLeod:

I understand that you are the official in general charge of personnel and, therefore, the proper person to whom to address an inquiry. What is your policy and the policy of the administration on the employment of socialists in civil service positions? In general, what is your position on the employment of socialists in some branch of the State Department, for the Mutual Security Agency in particular?

It is by now clear that the Eisenhower administration, like its predecessor but unlike considerable sections of the public, recognizes the very important distinctions between socialists and communists. I assume with confidence that you do not challenge the loyalty of socialists as socialists and that any challenge would be related to particular acts of particular socialists as to particular acts of members of other parties. There are, of course, other matters than loyalty to be considered. I should assume that a socialist would scarcely be appointed to a policy determining position involving, for example, the management of our natural resources, but there have been socialists who have worked honorably and successfully in the State Department and in various lines of State Department activity abroad, where often America must deal with socialists in office or as the major party of opposition. What is your present policy with regard to the employment of socialists in such positions?

I think this is the kind of policy statement which ought to be made public. From time to time it falls to my lot to advise young men and women, democratic socialists in their general beliefs, on the matter of their seeking employment in the government. I want to be able to speak with some authority.

Moreover, I am writing a book for W. W. Norton and Co., publishers, on some general problems of civil liberties and in it I wish to speak accurately concerning the policies of the present administration. These are the reasons for my seeking from you a statement which I can quote.

Sincerely yours, (s) NORMAN THOMAS Dear Mr. Thomas:

I am glad to reply to your inquiry of June 8; 1953, about the policy of the Department of State on the employment of socialists in the various branches of the Department.

The policy of the Department on this matter is one of public record, since the employment application form used by the Department is the Standard Form 57 developed by the Civil Service Commission for Government-wide use. This form does not ask for information concerning the political affiliation of an applicant except whether an applicant is or was a member of the Communist Party or any group advocating the overthrow of our constitutional form of Government.

In addition to Form 57, the Department has a special form, DS-668, which asks for information for investigation purposes. In asking about organizational affiliations, however, this form specifically excludes religious or political affiliations. I am enclosing copies of the two application forms used by the Department.

Th summary, then, the Department does not ask for information about the political affiliation of an applicant for general employment, except with respect to membership in the Communist Party.

Your letter makes particular mention of the Mutual Security Agency. This agency, headed by Director Harold Stassen, is not under the administrative supervision of the Department of State. We have been responsible for the Technical Cooperation Administration, or Point IV program, but by Executive Order this program is being transferred to the Mutual Security Agency.

In amplification of the above general statements, I feel bound to point out to you certain additional facts relating to the filling of policy-making positions within the Department. You will appreciate, I am sure, the Administration's feeling that such positions must be held by persons who are sympathetic to and prepared to carry out the Administration's policies. Although I cannot, of course, speak for the Administration at large, I am delighted to give you my personal views with respect to the employment of socialists in policy-making positions within the Department of State.

T would never knowingly employ a socialist to fill such a position within the Department. It is undoubtedly needless for me to point out that this opinion has no reference to the loyalty towards the United States of American socialists. As you correctly pointed out, the loyalty of any individual must be determined by the particular actions of the particular individual. I simply feel that it would be impossible for a socialist to make or influence policy in a manner which would carry out the intentions of President Eisenhower and the Republican Administration.

Mr. Norman Thomas
39A Gramercy Park
New York 10,

0, N.Y. 61-10767-25X

I

I might add that I cannot agree with your implication that it is necessary for the Department of State to employ socialists in order to deal successfully with the socialists in the governments of other nations, any more than I feel it necessary to employ communists to conduct our negotiations with the Soviet Union. Neither would I expect other nations to provide capitalists or Republicans to conduct their negotiations with this nation.

I am particularly interested in your statement that "there have been socialists who have worked honorably and successfully in the State Department and in various lines of State Department activity abroad".

Insofar as I have knowledge, this is the first public acknowledgment that socialists have been employed in the State Department, as the Republican Party alleged in the last campaign. I think your statement is noteworthy for this reason, and I share your view that our correspondence should be made public.

Just as I am strongly opposed to appointing any socialist to a policy-making job within the Department, I am equally opposed to retaining any socialist who may presently hold such a job. I must tell you that whenever I become aware that any person who occupies such a position is a socialist, I shall use my best efforts to see that he is removed from that position:

With reference to the last paragraph of your letter, if I understand you correctly, you are linking the question of civil liberties with the subject of government employment. I cannot concede that the two have any relationship in the sense which you imply.

Employment by his government is a privilege which may be accorded to any citizen if he is deemed worthy. The Constitution does not guarantee, insofar as I am aware, the right of a citizen to government employment. It does guarantee the right of a citizen to advocate any form of government that he chooses, and our laws permit that advocacy insofar as it does not involve the overthrow of our government by force and violence:

In the best tradition of our Republic, I would fight vigorously for the right of a man to think as he chooses and, within the limitations of our laws, to advocate any type of government which he believes to be desirable. At the same time I am prepared to resist fiercely any attempt which may be made to expand the concept that it is the privilege of a citizen to work for his government into a concept that he has a right to do so. The government on the other hand has not only the right but the duty to employ those citizens who are devoted to our republican system of government and who are best qualified to carry out the functions of government.

Subj: Mormac, normalisma Address: Birthdate: SUPV: Searcher Date 4-10 Initial 9 1 1952 SERIAL arman mat 44-250-4, o manes, man more 61-7559-485 (1931 203-48 12-54095-44-254-1, 66-25-42-3842 Umas. narman m 1-2928 (1235) 62-53029-5 Fish comme. Hearings yal 2, part, p.6: red. not WERDA. 35 Dec

Harry a Lang

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION **FOIPA** DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

No Duplication Fees are charged for Deleted Page Information Sheet(s).

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Page 135 ~ Duplicate