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Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nichols

DATE: June 14, 1954

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: "THE TEST OF FREEDOM"
By NORMAN THOMAS
BOOK REVIEW

Tolson _____
Ladd _____
Nichols _____
Belmont _____
Clegg _____
Glavin _____
Harbo _____
Rosen _____
Tracy _____
Mohr _____
Trotter _____
Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Miss Gandy _____

SYNOPSIS: Book Review of above

This memo summarizes the captioned book which was copyrighted 1954 and which is being maintained in the Bureau Library. There are no direct and strong criticisms of the FBI. The Attorney General's activities in connection with the Harry Dexter White case are criticized, and it is noted that FBI reports fell short of completely legal proof of guilt. Thomas indicated that the FBI had been dragged into the White case as a "quasi-policymaking agency" and that policy making is not the function of the police, "least of all the secret police." He wrote that the FBI, among others, had ignored in practice the distinction between conspiracy on one hand and heresy or dissent from popularly accepted belief on the other. Thomas questioned the FBI's estimate of danger of Communists since public opinion now is so strong against Communism. Thomas stated that the Director had placed Communist Party membership at about 21,000. The correct figure would be about 24,000. He mentioned that the Director had estimated ten fellow travelers for every Communist. The Director has on several occasions stated that the Communists have claimed this ratio. The main inquiry in this book was into the application of Jeffersonian principles of freedom of speech, press and association and the right of due process. This book pointed out fallacies of Communism and dangers of McCarthyism. According to Thomas, McCarthyism is more of a challenge to Jeffersonian ideals than Communism in this country. Thomas criticized the McCarran and Smith Acts and suggested they be replaced. Thomas criticized legislative inquiries into subversion and recommended a special committee of distinguished citizens for this purpose. He wrote that the Communists got the martyrs they wanted in the Rosenberg case and that the sentence should have been commuted since the conspiracy was to aid an ally. He concluded with the statement ^{that} neither Communism nor McCarthyism is the end to the American dream.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

RECORDED.

INDEXED.

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DATE 10/23/80 BY SP4TUSK/BJG

COPIES DESTROYED

78 JUN 21 1961

EMV:jbg

But I hope Thomas is not the end of the American dream either.

June 14, 1954.

DETAILS

PURPOSE:

The purpose of this memorandum is to summarize briefly the book entitled "The Test of Freedom," by Norman Thomas, published by W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., Copyright 1954, which is being maintained in the Bureau's Library.

IDENTITY OF AUTHOR:

Norman Thomas is a well-known individual who was the Socialist Party candidate for President from 1928 until 1948. He is the author of a number of books and pamphlets. His address is 39A Gramercy Park, New York City.
(Who's Who in America 1954-55)

CRITICAL REFERENCES TO FBI:

There are no references in this book which can be termed direct and strong criticism of the FBI. The following statements are critical to some degree:

(1) Page 10. Thomas discusses in the Preface the Harry Dexter White case and the recent activities of Attorney General Brownell in connection with that case. In connection with FBI reports on White, Thomas stated that "FBI charges admittedly fell short of completely legal proof of guilt." He stated that an ominous precedent was set by dragging the FBI into the White case as a "quasi-policymaking agency." He added that policy making is not the function of the police "least of all the secret police."

(2) Page 82. Thomas wrote that "high government officials, the FBI, Congressional investigating committees, and plain citizens in their efforts to discover subversion and drag conspiracy into the open are under imperative obligation, as Sidney Hook has ably insisted, sharply to distinguish between heresy, or dissent from popularly accepted belief, and conspiracy--an obligation sadly ignored in practice."

(3) Page 112. The FBI's estimate of the dangers of Communism in this country is questioned by Thomas because the tides of public opinion now run so strongly against Communism.

June 14, 1954

OTHER REFERENCES TO FBI:

The FBI and the Director are mentioned a number of times in this book and the more important references are set out under this section.

(1) Page 62. The Director is quoted as placing the Communist Party membership at about 21,000. This figure apparently is mistaken since the Director placed the membership at approximately 24,000 as of September 30, 1953. (Reprint entitled "Where Do We Stand Today with Communism in the U. S.?" from The American Legion Magazine, March, 1954)

Thomas stated that the Director had estimated that there were ten fellow travelers or persons strongly influenced by Communism for every Communist. It is noted that the Director has said several times that the Communists make this claim themselves. (Testimony of the Director before the House Subcommittee on Appropriations, February 25, 1953.)

(2) Page 81. Thomas wrote that the government is obligated to keep under the active watchfulness of the FBI the record of American Communism and the crimes committed in its name.

(3) Page 83. The Director and others are credited with the estimate that there are between 700,000 and 1,000,000 ex-members or disciplined adherents of Communism in America. The Director stated that there are an estimated 1,000,000 persons other than Communist Party members who in one way or another aid the Communist Party. (Reprint entitled "How to Fight Communism" from Newsweek of June 9, 1947)

(4) Page 103. Thomas stated that there is no "well-grounded criticism" concerning the necessity for the FBI, that its past procedures have usually been proper and that the Director's voice has usually been raised for reason.

(5) Page 124. In discussing the need for official inquiry into acts of disloyalty and subversion, the legal remedies for these acts and punishment of them, Thomas stated that the FBI was properly prohibited by law from conducting such inquiry on its own authority and prohibited from giving publicity to the results of its inquiries.

(6) Page 177. Thomas discussed the "book burning" which was a State Department problem in the overseas libraries recently. He criticized unrestricted book burning and stated that it looked as if the FBI might have to conduct a loyalty inquiry on Mark Twain.

Memorandum to Mr. Nichols

June 14, 1954

REVIEW OF THE BOOK:

Preface

Thomas here discusses the fact that Attorney General Brownell "raised the ghost of Harry Dexter White." Thomas stated that the Attorney General would have been justified in this action only if thereby he could bring to justice guilty men now living or if he could learn how better to protect the administration from Communist penetration and espionage. Thomas questions whether the Attorney General accomplished this. Thomas indicates that the Director was dragged into this controversy by Brownell.

Chapter I Introducing the Subject and the Author

Thomas declared that his book is an inquiry into the application of Jeffersonian principles of freedom of speech, the press and association and the right of due process. He traces his own development into becoming a Socialist.

Thomas' eyes were opened to the true nature of Communism by the purge trials of 1936-1938 and Communist intrigues for power in loyalist Spain during the Civil War.

Chapter II The Jeffersonian Ideal in Practice

In this chapter Thomas traces the history and growth of civil liberties in the United States. He stated that there was no excuse and no moral justification for the wholesale evacuation of Japanese and Japanese-Americans from the West Coast without trial or hearing at the beginning of World War II.

Chapter III Communism, the Foe of Freedom

The historical growth of Communism and many of its fallacies are reported in this chapter.

Thomas stated that in the Fall of 1946 Senator McCarthy "thought it both safe and advisable to accept without protest or even explanation communist and pro-communist support in the 'open' Republican primary in order to defeat Robert LaFollette, Jr., for the senatorial nomination." "McCarthyism is really the ally of the foe it purports to fight," according to Thomas.

Chapter IV American Communism and Liberty

Thomas declared that Communist strength is at a low ebb in the United States today but it is not negligible.

Memorandum to Mr. Nichols

June 14, 1954

He cites the fact that there are seven unions which are dominated by Communism and that these unions have a total membership of between 300,000 and 400,000.

✓ The Attorney General's list (that prepared on Executive Order 10450) is open to criticism, according to Thomas. Thomas admits that most of the organizations on the Attorney General's list were started or were captured by Communists. He stated that lists compiled by state authorities are worse than lists compiled by the Attorney General.

Thomas stated that among the worst of the McCarthyist stupidities is the insistence that Communism is an unforgivable sin or a sin redeemable only by becoming an informer.

Chapter V What Should We Have Done?

Thomas reported that the Liberals committed a serious error when they long minimized the Communist evil. He added that this error contributed to the rise of McCarthyism. Communism has occasioned the rise of McCarthyism, according to Thomas. He reported that within the U. S., McCarthyism is a "more widespread challenge to the Jeffersonian ideal than Communism." He declared that McCarthyism is a kind of sixth column in support of Stalin's successors and that "it too must be fought."

Thomas stated that Louis Budenz has given little trustworthy information on Communism and that this fact is probably because major leaders kept Budenz from knowing much more than gossip during his activity in the Communist Party.

Thomas states that there are certain rights which Communists, who are still loyal to the Communist Party, should possess under our theory of freedom and he reported that they are as follows:

1. Due process of law.
2. Private and secret speech regarding the advisability of changes in government should be protected so long as such discussion does not involve "an overt act" in criminal conspiracy.
3. The Communist Party should not be outlawed according to sound public policy. Thomas stated here that outlawry of the Communist Party would make it harder for the FBI to keep tabs on Communist thought and activity.

June 14, 1954

4. Thomas stated that, if it is unsound to outlaw the Communist Party by direct legislation, it is unsound to reach the same end by such methods as the McCarran Internal Security Act and the Smith Act. He stated that the McCarran Act places requirements on the Communist Party which are impossible to fulfill and the Smith Act has sent successive waves of Communist Party leaders to jail by trials.

5. Thomas stated that Communists have a right to work but not in positions where espionage and so forth are possible. He reported that there can be no objection to Communists acting in plays, or ^{on} the radio or on television which is in the open and which action can be judged on its own merits. He declared, however, that Communists have no right to teach. Thomas concludes this chapter with the statement that he does not approve the clumsy laws and administrative procedures which have been invoked to save us from Communism.

Chapter VI McCarthyism and Liberty

According to Thomas, McCarthy has made himself "the symbol of militant opposition to insidious disloyalty" in the public mind. Senator McCarthy is discussed in this chapter and his rise to his present position in national affairs.

Thomas declared that the fear and suspicion which McCarthyism expresses and increases is the worst feature of McCarthyism.

Chapter VII The Smith and McCarran Acts

These two Acts are discussed by Thomas in this chapter. Trials under the Smith Act are discussed. Thomas stated that about the best that can be said for the trials in 1948 ^{of} the 11 top Communist leaders is that these trials have established many important facts about organized Communism. He noted that these facts were available years ago at a lower price to our country and its ideals. He declared that these trials have not made the United States safer against its enemies and that they have not strengthened a popular sense of security.

Thomas recommended that the Smith Act be replaced by a comprehensive law on sedition which would make it an offense (1) for an individual or a group to teach espionage or sabotage of security operations, (2) for a private, secret or semi-secret military body to be advocated or formed, (3) for an individual or conspiratorial group to advocate acts of force or violence immediately directed to the overthrow of the government on any level.

June 14, 1954

According to Thomas, the McCarran Act has some good features but in effect "it is a clumsy and expensive indirect way of outlawing the Communist Party and various of its fronts."

Chapter VIII Legislative Investigations and Individual Rights

Thomas reported that, "Congress has, on the whole, served the public interest well by legislative inquiry." He stated that it is a legitimate legislative inquiry to make inquiry into acts but that inquiry into opinions and beliefs is not legitimate.

Thomas discussed in this chapter the history of Congressional inquiries which started with the 1938 Special Committee on Un-American Activities of the House. Thomas admitted that Communist activities must be the subject of inquiry but he suggests that the proper method of inquiry would be through a commission of distinguished citizens appointed especially for this purpose.

According to Thomas, present criticism of Congressional inquiries is directed toward the subject matter of investigations, the technical procedures, and the efforts to manipulate publicity to catch headlines and to gain personal or partisan advantage. Thomas criticized the House Committee on Un-American Activities for its fishing expedition into loyalty in churches.

Thomas stated that there is a great need for procedural reform in Congressional inquiries. He again criticized the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations with the statement that hearings often come after an organization has been listed and after the damage has been done. Thomas pointed out that there is no legal justifications for claims of rights under the Fifth Amendment on the part of innocent people. He added, however, that it would be well for committees to respect reluctance of citizens and to refrain from contempt citations unless there is involved very grave danger to peace and safety.

Chapter IX Loyalty and Security Tests

Thomas stated that the Rosenbergs were guilty but that their sentences should have been commuted since the conspiracy was to aid an ally. The Communists got the martyrs they wanted, according to Thomas. He added that the "Communists prefer unjust convictions or convictions which can be exploited rather than acquittals at the hands of 'capitalist' courts." The Communists have no fear that the Rosenbergs will talk, according to Thomas.

June 14, 1954

Thomas stated that the accused should have certain protections which he does not now have. The protections should be as follows.

1. Hearing boards should not be designated from within government departments by department heads but should be appointed by Federal courts from distinguished members of the bar or others specially qualified who are not dependent upon the favor of department heads.

2. Such boards should be given great latitude to examine confidential informants.

3. Boards should be allowed to recommend transfer to less sensitive jobs when the question is on competence and trustworthiness and not on loyalty.

4. An employee should be continued for a reasonable time at his work so that he can prepare his defense instead of being suspended as soon as formal charges are posted.

Chapter X McCarthyism at State and Local Levels

Thomas discussed here certain state statutes and enforcement in the field of security. He stated that the states have been effective to a degree in enforcing penalties against "subversive" organization and that their chief activity has been in the field of loyalty oaths. Thomas reported that loyalty oaths have caught no secret Communists. According to Thomas, the evidence in our public schools does not warrant a general anti-Communist crusade in that field. He stated that the teaching profession should judge the books used as texts in schools.

Chapter XI Unions, Radio-TV, and Communist Suspects

Thomas stated that Communists "are not barred from membership in most unions at least as long as the Communist does not employ tactics which originally got the Communist in trouble." He added that some unions bar Communists from office and a few bar them from membership. Thomas stated that he doubted that the Taft-Hartley Act had helped the situation by requiring officers of unions to take non-Communists oaths. Thomas asked "Are not Communism and McCarthyism sisters under the skin in respect to intolerance?"

Chapter XII The Future of Freedom

Thomas declared that a continuance in the present trend would lead us to the point where we would risk losing to our enemy by our very contempt for freedom which first aroused our fears.

Memorandum to Mr. Nichols

June 14, 1954

According to Thomas, the American government is terribly handicapped by the burden of McCarthyism as it enters into the new feeling about Russia and Communism in the West. Thomas stated that at worst the evolution in Russia toward reasonableness and in America toward McCarthyism would lead to police states in both countries which would sooner or later drench the earth in blood. Thomas concluded his book with the statement that "it is for us to prove that neither Communism nor McCarthyism is the end of the American dream."

INDEXED-75
RECORDED-75

November 21, 1955

61-10767-28

EX-122

Mr. M. P. Durkee
Durkee's Camp
Atlanta, Michigan

Dear Mr. Durkee:

Your letter dated November 10, 1955, with enclosures, has been received, and I appreciate the concern prompting you to bring this information to my attention.

While I would like to be of service, the FBI is an investigative agency, and I am precluded from offering advice on the matters in which you expressed an interest.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

NOTE: Correspondent enclosed Norman Thomas, Socialist Party, literature.

"Iberica" Publication

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DATE 10/23/80 BY SP1/SLK/AN

JRH:jfm:bc
(3)

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

NOV 22 1955

MAILED 6
NOV 22 1955
COMM-FBI

DEC 2 1955

RECEIVED READING ROOM
NOV 24 55 PM '55

JRN/1156H



Durkee's Camp

Atlanta, Michigan



ON M-33, SHORTEST ROUTE
TO THE STRAITS OF MACKINAC

11/10/55

Mr J. Edgar Hoover
Washington D.C.

Dear Mr Hoover:

I get so much trash in the mail
that even I with a college education
can't figure some of it out. Communist
or non Communist. I am enclosing some
for you to study over and advise me on.

I certainly wish the P.O. Dept would
make you O.K. all of the risky stuff so
that one could be sure of what they get.
I do not have any sympathy for nor do I
want any part of this free thinker, social
Communist stuff that is so prevalent
these days. Thanking you for advice.

EX-102

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NOV 28 1955

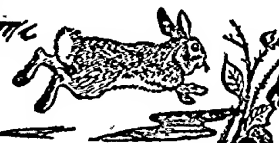
ENCL. C

ENCLO. ATTACHED

Very truly yours

M.P. Durkee

CRIME REC



61 ENCLOSURE 767 288

NORMAN THOMAS

112 EAST 19TH STREET
NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

October 27, 1955

Dear Friend:

I would like to call your attention to *IBÉRICA*, the monthly review and news bulletin which is devoted exclusively to Spanish affairs.

America's relations with Spain are important to Americans. Why? Because we are investing billions of dollars in air and naval bases in that geographically strategic area.

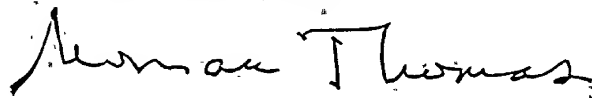
But should military strategy reduce itself to a mere question of geography? What about the human factors? How reliable is the government with which we have made this agreement? What about the Spanish people, and the conditions of their life in Spain today?

According to the Spanish-American agreements of September, 1953, at a time of armed aggression America will have to get permission from General Franco for the use of our bases in Spain. What is there to guarantee that at such a time this permission would be granted?

As *IBÉRICA* has warned, the existence of a new Moscow-Madrid axis is becoming increasingly apparent. Spain's commercial treaties with the Soviet and Soviet satellite countries, Molotov's recent de facto recognition of the Franco government, and other events are indications of a new rapprochement between the two totalitarian countries. New, yes, but inevitable, because, after all, the totalitarian countries should understand each other: they speak the same language.

All of these matters are reported and discussed in the pages of *IBÉRICA* by competent authorities. Edited by an outstanding Spaniard, Victoria Kent, most of its contributors are Spaniards, both from within and outside of Spain. *IBÉRICA* is, in short, the expression of democratic Spain, of the Spain which, in a political sense, does speak our language. That is why I think it is important for us to listen to what *IBÉRICA* has to say.

Sincerely yours,



Norman Thomas

Ibérica

is a bulletin of information on Spanish affairs, sponsored by a group of Americans who believe that Spain's struggle for freedom is an unforgettable part of man's universal struggle for freedom, which must be fought unceasingly on every front against every form of totalitarianism.

Editor:

VICTORIA KENT

Honorary chairmen:

SALVADOR DE MADARIAGA

NORMAN THOMAS

"*Ibérica* is published in this land of the free as a reminder that freedom is indivisible and tyranny contagious; and as a living token of the hope that the land of the free will not forsake the Spanish people in their struggle for freedom."

SALVADOR DE MADARIAGA

"Support of *Ibérica* today is an action taken with faith in the ultimate triumph of freedom over totalitarianisms of right and left. I commend this publication for its determination to print the truth about Spain today, and to keep alive the spirit of the real Spain, which is eternal."

NORMAN THOMAS

Some articles appearing in current issues:

VICTOR ALBA:

Illegal Culture

ALBERT CAMUS:

An anniversary: July 19

JEAN CASSOU:

Spain on the threshold of history

V. R. HAYA DE LA TORRE:

Declaration of allegiance

SALVADOR DE MADARIAGA:

Men and history in Spain

ADOLFO SALAZAR:

Manuel De Falla

EMMANUEL ROBLES:

North Africa and Republican Spain

JOSE MA. DE SEMPRUN GURREA:

Diverse Catholic political positions

RAMON SENDER:

Two opposed strategies

NORMAN THOMAS:

What price bases?

UNCENSORED:

*Monthly reports from
our correspondents in Spain*

STATEMENTS—BY—SOME—OF—THE READERS OF IBÉRICA

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112 East 19 Street
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"In these days of news suppressions and misrepresentations *Ibérica* is important to all who would know the truth. The illustrious names in Spanish literature among the contributors, such as Madariaga and Ramon Sender, give assurance of distinction of style and depth in thought. It should appeal to all friends of freedom and democracy."

VAN WYCK BROOKS:

"I always read *Ibérica* with fascinated interest. The temporarily lost cause of the anti-Franco Spanish Republic will always be dear to everyone who hopes for a free and just world. I am grateful to *Ibérica* not only for keeping this cause alive in American minds but also for enlisting the most brilliant and sympathetic writers."

ALFRED KAZIN:

"*Ibérica* seems to me one of the few links left between the democratic conscience of America and the Spanish people. I have been a subscriber to it almost from its inception, and read it with gratitude for the news it gives me of Spain. I admire its quiet but firm dissent from mob opinion at the present time, and I have utter confidence in its thoroughly humane and anti-totalitarian principles."

HERBERT L. MATTHEWS:

"I find *Ibérica* a most useful and interesting publication. It brings me information about Spain that I could not get from other sources and I have noted that you are able to get an impressive list of contributors to the magazine."

MARIANNE MOORE:

"*Ibérica* is resolute and undecieved—one unequivocally disinterested voice, raised on behalf of civic honesty and the cause of free men."

ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, JR.:

"*Ibérica* deserves all our thanks for helping keep alive the hope of a free and democratic Spain."

October 11, 1954

Mr. Norman Thomas
Chairman, Administrative Committee
American Committee for
Cultural Freedom, Incorporated
35 West 53rd Street
New York 19, New York

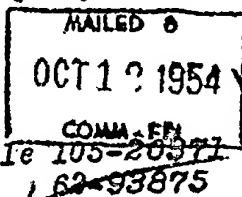
Dear Mr. Thomas:

I wish to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated October 5, 1954, and to advise you that I fully appreciate the interests which inspired your communication.

For your information, based upon the contents of the letter dated September 17, 1954, from Mr. Sol Stein, Executive Director of your organization, to me, to which reference is made in your letter, I have caused an inquiry to be made concerning this matter. I wish to advise you that as a result of inquiries by the Federal Bureau of Investigation of officials of the Chicago Board of Education we have been advised that Murray Wax on no occasion was informed that his dismissal from his former teaching position was based upon information secured from the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

With respect to your request that I indicate some way in which the dismissal of Murray Wax from his teaching position be cleared up, I wish to remind you that the Federal Bureau of Investigation is a fact-finding organization which, under no circumstances, will make any recommendation for clearance or nonclearance of an individual. Furthermore, because of the confidential nature of the files of this Bureau and the fact that information contained in these files is, in accordance with an order of the United States Attorney General, restricted to official use, I am unable to advise you further with respect to your inquiry.

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



OCT 8 1954
J. Edgar Hoover

RECEIVED - BOARDMAN

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FOIA NO # 87-310

NOTE ON YELLOW: See page

cc Main file Norman Thomas

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NOTE ON YELLOW:

The most recent correspondence by the Bureau to Mr. Thomas appeared on letter dated March 31, 1954, and bore the salutation "Dear Mr. Thomas" and the complimentary closing "Sincerely yours" (100-31862-11).

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR CULTURAL FREEDOM, INC.

35 WEST 83 STREET

NEW YORK 19, NEW YORK

JUDSON 6-1132

CONGRESS FOR CULTURAL FREEDOM

International Secretariat: Paris.
Austria, Brazil, Czechoslovakia, Cuba, Denmark, France, England, West Germany, India, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Norway, Sweden, Uruguay

October 5, 1954

Mr. John Edgar Hoover,
Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
U. S. Department of Justice
Washington 25, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Mr. Sol Stein, executive director of this organization, has called to my attention a letter from you dated September 27, 1954, in answer to his own letter of September 17, in regard to the case of Mr. Murray Wax.

I have examined this correspondence, and I find it difficult to relate your answer to the inquiry made by this organization. We did not ask to learn any information contained in FBI files, as we are fully aware that such information is confidential and available for official use only. We were troubled by the fact that unevaluated information from Mr. Wax's FBI file was allegedly supplied by the Bureau to the Chicago Board of Education, with the result that Mr. Wax was fired from the faculty of Wright Junior College and deprived of his opportunity to earn a living.

I assure you that we would not have undertaken to assist Mr. Wax in this case if we had not received information from responsible anti-Communists on the faculty of the University of Chicago, where Mr. Wax worked until recently, attesting to his loyalty. The irresponsible charges against Mr. Wax are similar to those made against another government employee in whose case we assisted recently and who was subsequently cleared. But Mr. Wax is not a government employee and thus cannot ask for clearance, although the Chicago Board of Education advised him that he was being dismissed because of information received from the Bureau.

This deprivation of Mr. Wax's right to work without an opportunity to answer inaccurate charges constitutes a shocking violation of civil liberties.

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DATE 6/10/80 BY SP5/184/gal

EXP. PROC.

OCT 7 1954

To the
10-9-54

10/15/54
no
10/15/54

TO: Mr. Hoover
FROM: Mr. Stein
SUBJECT: Mr. Murray Wax
RE: Mr. Wax's firing from Wright Junior College
Mr. Wax's loyalty
Chicago Board of Education
University of Chicago
Faculty of the University of Chicago
Anti-Communists
Information received from the Bureau
Disproportionate charges
Shocking violation of civil liberties
Mr. Wax's right to work without an opportunity to answer inaccurate charges
Unresponsible charges
Mr. Wax is not a government employee
Chicago Board of Education advised him that he was being dismissed because of information received from the Bureau
This deprivation of Mr. Wax's right to work without an opportunity to answer inaccurate charges constitutes a shocking violation of civil liberties
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DATE 6/10/80 BY SP5/184/gal
EXP. PROC.
OCT 7 1954

Page 2 - Mr. John Edgar Hoover

appeal to your good judgment in this matter and trust that a reply from you will indicate some way in which this matter can be promptly cleared up. For details of the case, I refer you to the original correspondence and enclosed documents.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Norman Thomas".

Norman Thomas

Chairman, Administrative Committee

NT:hs

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

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY SLIP(S) DATE 4/4/80

4/6/56

AIRTEL

FBI WASH FIELD

DIRECTOR

NORMAN THOMAS -
MISCELLANEOUS INFORMATION CONCERNING
IS-R

W.C. Sullivan
10-1

A highly confidential source, who has furnished reliable info in the past, and whose identity may not be disclosed (documentation - anonymous), advised on 4/5/56, that NORMAN THOMAS, 112 E 19th St., NY 3, NY, contacted Soviet Ambassador GEORGI N. ZARUBIN to inquire if present Soviet policy of rehabilitating victims of STALIN extends to Socialists EHRLICH and ALTER. He also asked what would be done about KALMUCKS and others of autonomous regions. THOMAS indicated he has not released the text of his inquiries to the press, but he reserved the right to do so and to release any reply he might receive.

WFO indices contain numerous references to NORMAN THOMAS, former presidential candidate and official of the Socialist Party, none of which pertain to this contact.

Submitted for info.

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- 3- Bureau EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE
- 2- New York
- 2- WFO (105-0)
- (1- 100-16597)

GHP:amo
(7)

EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE
RECORDED - 83

AIRTEL

Belmont

EX-103

17 APR 11 1956

CLASS. & EXT. BY 10/23/80
REASON-FCIM II 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW 10/23/90

CONFIDENTIAL

MR. TOLSON:

The attached note reads as follows:
DSS

"Dear Lou-

This is the letter I mentioned to you and I believe it should counteract the misinformation in the Howard letter, even though it is written in a different context.

IF (Irving Ferman)"

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10/23/80 BY [signature]

INITIALS ON ORIGINAL
PEPS. FILES

| | |
|----------------|---|
| Mr. T. Isen | ✓ |
| Mr. Nichols | ✓ |
| Mr. Boardman | ✓ |
| Mr. Belmont | ✓ |
| Mr. Mason | ✓ |
| Mr. Mohr | ✓ |
| Mr. Parsons | ✓ |
| Mr. Rosen | ✓ |
| Mr. Tamm | ✓ |
| Mr. Nease | ✓ |
| Mr. Winterrowd | ✓ |
| Tele. Room | ✓ |
| Mr. Holloman | ✓ |
| Miss Gandy | ✓ |

A memo
from

IRVING FERMAN

Dear Sam -

This is the
letter I mentioned
to you, and that it
should counteract the
misinformation in the
Howard letter, even
though it is written in
a different context.
IF.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10/23/80 BY SP/YSK/mc

Compliments of LAW REPORTER PRINTING CO.

ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE

230
50 FEB 28 1956

NOT RECORDED
191 FEB 16 1956

8 FEB 13 1956

CRIME REC.

INITIALS ON ORIGINAL

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN

C
O
P
Y

February 6, 1956

Hon. Adlai Stevenson
231 So. LaSalle Street
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mr. Stevenson:

I am writing this open letter to you because in a speech I had expressed substantial agreement with your rejection of the Eisenhower proposal for a non-partisan commission to investigate charges "that Negro citizens are being deprived of their right to vote and are likewise being subjected to unwarranted economic pressures." You told the public on a television interview that there was law enough if the Department of Justice would act to enforce it. I inclined to that belief and in addition felt that the commission might be used to bury complaints or evade action. Many circumstances have led me to change my mind. Inquiry in Washington convinces me that the Department of Justice is doing all that it can for civil rights under existing legislation, and that the administration does not want to bury complaints in the commission but to gain firm, reliable information and recommendations on a level above campaign politics.

I am, therefore, asking you to re-examine your position on this bi-partisan commission. I am neither a Democrat nor a Republican but as an American citizen long concerned over the race problem and familiar with the atmosphere of presidential campaign years, I believe present dangerous tensions can much more easily be dealt with by government and people if the President's suggestion is carried out by bi-partisan action. And that promptly. Indeed the commission might be instructed to make a preliminary report within two months after it is established.

I am greatly concerned by circumstantial reports I have gathered concerning the growth of bitterness, the imminence of violence, increasing restrictions on the exercise of suffrage (especially in Mississippi) and the inability of the Department of Justice even to get indictments under imperfect legislation in a hostile atmosphere. Complaints are not confined to the South.

ENCLOSURE 41-1171-1

Hon. Adlai Stevenson

February 6, 1956

There is danger that dramatic outbreaks will destroy much of our progress in recent years and shame us in the eyes of the world. It is vital that we show the dictators how democracy can protect individual rights which communism and fascism so grossly deny. Official effort to get at the facts will of itself help to ward off tragedy and to vindicate American regard for the humblest of our fellow citizens.

Therefore, the commission should get us facts about: (1) denials of the right to vote by threats of violence or discrimination in state laws and their administration; (2) the extent of migration out of certain regions because of fear; (3) the use of social and economic pressures against Negroes and whites who may challenge the prevailing local sentiment; (4) in general the conduct of groups, white or colored, which may turn from the ways of democracy to illegal or violent action.

In my desire to get bi-partisan attention to this situation I am sending copies of this letter to the majority and minority leaders of the House and Senate and to Messrs. Kefauver and Harriman who also seek the Democratic nomination for the presidency. The issue of plain justice to our fellow citizens should be removed from purely partisan politics. It is possible that you gentlemen may think that faster action could be taken were the President to appoint his own non-partisan commission. But such action would lose most of its value unless Democratic leaders should endorse it.

After allowing time for my letter to reach you, I shall release it to the press.

Believe me,

Sincerely yours,

Norman Thomas

NT:S

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: 4-24-56

FROM : L.B. Nichols

SUBJECT:

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

No loc.
 Irving Ferman called me on April 23 to advise that the Sobell Committee is stepping up their campaign and is sending letters pertaining to the letters of Professor Perkins, Ferman and Green addressed to Bertrand Russell, claiming that the Ferman letter and the Perkins letter are incomplete. They have been making a play to Norman Thomas.

Ferman, on the other hand, has been seeking to counteract this and states he has been making considerable headway. Ferman stated that he thought that it would be very helpful if I could sit down with Norman Thomas on Saturday April 28, when Thomas was in town for a few moments to discuss this over-all problem with him. Ferman stated that he could guarantee that such a conference would be off the record if we so desired.

I told him I would be very happy to see Thomas if he felt it would do any good. I do not know whether this is a waste of time, but certainly no harm could come from it.

LBN:hpf
 (2)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 10/33/80 BY SP1/USK/hic

8/27/84

9/45/WFB/JUC
 #248-176

*nothing is to be agreed
 in talking with Thomas -
 he is a goddamned nutcase
 is a light pink Communist
 always ready to ripen into a Red
 one.*

RECORDED-11

INDEXED-11

EX - 134

²³
 MAY 11 1956

MAY 7 1956

memo to Mr. Tolson from LBN:hpf, 4/26/56

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE 4/26/56

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT:

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

With reference to the Director's notation that nothing can be gained by talking with Norman Thomas, I frankly did not realish the idea of even seeing Thomas, however, I agreed to do so primarily because Irving Ferman thinks he is making headway with him. I just wonder now after having agreed to see Thomas if we might not do more harm by canceling the appointment than by going ahead and seeing him.

LBN:fc
 (2)

I suggest Nichols indicate ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED will not be available DATE 10/23/80 BY SP1/KSC/uc

Since appointment has been made go ahead with it.

Background Memo
 on Norman Thomas,
 M. A. Jones to Mr. Nichols 4/27/56.
 gws

RECORDED-11
 EX - 134

MAY 7 1956

23
 50 MAY 11 1956

INT. SEC.

REC. SEC.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nichols

DATE: April 27, 1956 ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FROM : M. A. Jones

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

SUBJECT: NORMAN THOMAS; SOCIALIST PARTY;
PROPOSED BUREAU VISITOR

Norman Watson

SYNOPSIS

CLASS. & EXT. BY *pp/psk/hic*

REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2

DATE OF REVIEW *10/23/90*

Tolson _____
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Nichols _____
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Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
 Sizoo _____
Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

Norman Thomas is to see you Saturday, April 28, 1956.

Bureau files contain thousands of references to Thomas. This memorandum restricted to main file. Thomas has not been subject of FBI investigation. He was born in Ohio in 1884; is Princeton graduate; was ordained Presbyterian minister in 1911; has been defeated six times as Socialist Party candidate for Presidency; resides and has offices in New York. Over the years, Thomas has been affiliated, or his name has been associated, with many subversive organizations. In 1956 he stated that there was a united front period in the 1930's in which Socialists and communists worked together in various countries but that this ended with the "deal" between Stalin and Hitler. Thomas has expressed opposition to anti-communist legislation and joined Mrs. Roosevelt in plea for release of communists imprisoned under the Smith Act in 1955. A book by Thomas published in 1954 concerning Harry Dexter White case and danger of communism did not reflect favorably on FBI and criticized "McCarthyism" and the McCarran and Smith Acts. In October, 1954, the Director wrote, in reply to letter from him inferring that Murray Wax was fired on basis of information supplied to Chicago Board of Education from Wax's FBI file. On February 6, 1956, Thomas wrote Adlai Stevenson an open letter concerning Stevenson's rejection of President Eisenhower's proposal for establishment of non-partisan commission to investigate charges that Negro citizens are being deprived of right to vote and are being subjected to unwarranted economic pressures. Thomas stated he was convinced that the Department of Justice was doing all it could for civil rights under existing legislation and that the Administration does not want to "bury" complaints in the non-partisan commission but to gain firm, reliable information and recommendations. Thomas noted he was concerned by reports concerning growth of bitterness, imminence of violence, increasing restrictions on voting and inability of Department of Justice to get indictments under imperfect legislation in a hostile atmosphere. He favors establishment of non-partisan commission. Highly confidential source advised Washington Field Office that Thomas contacted Soviet

Ambassador Zarubin April 5, 1956, to inquire if Soviet policy of "rehabilitating" victims of Stalin extends to Socialists. Irving Ferman of American Civil Liberties Union told you in December, 1955, that Thomas took the Fund for the

cc - Mr. Nichols

cc - Mr. Holloman

SE 43

61-10767 32

GWG:nma:mbk

RECORDED-11

MAY 7 1956

INDEXED-11

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

50 MAY 11 1956

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Memo to Mr. Nichols

April 27, 1956

Republic to task and told Ferman he has known Hutchins for many years, but at a recent conference, Thomas had, for the first time, seen Hutchins shed his demeanor of arrogance. In 1955 Thomas openly favored U. S. recognition of Red China and seating of Red China in U. N. *

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

* In his book, "The Test of Freedom" in 1954, Thomas said Rosenbergs were guilty, but their sentences should have been commuted since conspiracy was to aid an ally; that communists got martyrs they wanted; that communists prefer unjust convictions or convictions which can be exploited rather than acquittals in "capitalist" courts.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Apr 27, 1956

DETAILS

The purpose of this memorandum is to briefly provide identifying data concerning Norman Thomas who is to see you tomorrow. Bufiles contain thousands of references to Thomas; and this memorandum is restricted to his main file. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Norman Thomas has not been the subject of an FBI investigation.

Summary
Norman Mattoon Thomas was born in Marion, Ohio, in November, 1884. He received the A. B. and Litt. D. at Princeton in 1905 and 1932; the B. D. at Union Theological Seminary in 1911 and was ordained a Presbyterian minister in 1911. Thomas has been defeated six times as the socialist candidate for the U. S. Presidency. He has written numerous articles and books and has traveled widely as a lecturer. He lives in Huntington, New York, and has offices in New York City. *N.J.*
11/10

Over the years, Thomas has been affiliated, or his name has been associated, with a number of subversive organizations. In this regard, Thomas was quoted in February, 1956, as having recalled the united front period of the 1930's in which the socialists and communists worked together in various countries and as having commented, "The end of it was the deal between Stalin and Hitler, a deal making possible the second world war, and all the woes that came upon us... in my judgment, communism in action economically is really state capitalism not socialism, not true socialism." (61-10767A; 61-10767-25)

Thomas's name frequently has appeared in the "Daily Worker." These references largely have been unfavorable of him and the Socialist Party. However, Thomas has expressed opposition to anti-communist legislation and has been favorably quoted by the Communist Party in this regard. In August, 1955, he criticized the Army's security program as having wrongfully placed disloyalty labels on many young men, thereby damaging their future job prospects when they were discharged. In 1955, he joined Mrs. F. D. Roosevelt in the plea for release of communists imprisoned under the Smith Act. (61-10767-A)

"The Test of Freedom," a book by Thomas published in 1954, deals, in part, with the Harry Dexter White case and the danger of communism. In this book, Thomas says that the FBI's reports on the White admittedly fell short of completely legal proof of guilt; that an ominous precedent was set by dragging the FBI into the White case as a "quasi-policymaking agency" which should not be a function of the police, "least of all the secret police"; that he questions the FBI's estimate of the dangers of communism in America because public opinion now runs strongly against communism.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"The Test of Freedom" alleges that the FBI, among others, had ignored in practice the distinction between conspiracy on the one hand and heresy or dissent from popularly accepted belief on the other. It presents Thomas's views of the fallacies of communism and the dangers of "McCarthyism". It criticizes the McCarran and Smith Acts and criticizes legislative inquiries into subversion. (61-10767-27)

In October, 1954, the Director wrote Thomas in reply to a letter from him inferring that Murray Wax was fired from Wright Junior College on the basis of information from his FBI file which was supplied to the Chicago Board of Education. The Director advised Thomas of the confidential nature of Bureau files and that the Bureau does not recommend clearance or non-clearance of persons. This correspondence was had in connection with Thomas's position as chairman of the Administrative Committee of the American Committee for Cultural Freedom. (61-10767-27)

On February 6, 1956, Thomas wrote Adlai Stevenson an open letter with regard to Stevenson's rejection of President Eisenhower's proposal for establishment of a non-partisan commission to investigate charges that Negro citizens are being deprived of their right to vote and are being subjected to unwarranted economic pressures. Thomas noted that he had agreed with Stevenson that "there was law enough if the Department of Justice would act to enforce it," and he felt the non-partisan commission might be used to bury complaints or evade action. Thomas advised Stevenson, however, that he had changed his mind; that inquiry in Washington convinced him the Department of Justice was doing all it can for civil rights under existing legislation and that the administration does not want to bury complaints in the commission but to gain firm, reliable information and recommendations on a level above campaign politics. Thomas asked Stevenson to re-examine his (Stevenson's) position on the commission. Thomas noted that he was greatly concerned by "circumstantial" reports concerning the growth of bitterness, the imminence of violence, increasing restrictions on the exercise of suffrage and the inability of the Department of Justice to get indictments under imperfect legislation in a hostile atmosphere; that complaints are not confined to the South. He felt the commission should get facts about (1) denials of the right to vote by threats of violence or discrimination in state laws and their administration; (2) the extent of migration from certain regions because of fear; (3) use of social and economic pressures against Negroes and whites who may challenge the prevailing local sentiment; (4) conduct of groups, white or colored, which may turn from the ways of democracy to illegal or violent action. (61-10767)

Through a highly confidential source, the Washington Field Office learned that Thomas had contacted Soviet Ambassador Georgi Zarubin on April 5, 1956, to inquire if the present Soviet policy of "rehabilitating" victims of Stalin extends to socialists Ehrlich and Alter, who were executed, as well as to others. Thomas indicated that he reserved the right to release any reply from the Ambassador to the press. X

In connection with Thomas's visit tomorrow, it is of interest to

Memo to Mr. Nichols

April 27, 1956

note that several references in his main file show a strong tendency on his part to speak of releasing matters to the press. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

By memorandum dated December 23, 1955, you advised Mr. Tolson that Irving Ferman, of the American Civil Liberties Union, told you that the American Committee of Cultural Freedom had a committee consisting of Norman Thomas, Sidney Hook and others who had conferred with Robert M. Hutchins, Paul Jacobs and Ben Segal; that Thomas and Hook took the Fund for the Republic to task and Thomas specifically told Ferman that he has known Hutchins for many years and at the recent conference, for the first time, Hutchins shed his demeanor of arrogance. (100-391697-325)

In 1955, Thomas expressed himself as favoring U. S. recognition of Red China and the seating of Red China in the United Nations. He also called for universal disarmament and the elimination of weapons of mass destruction as a means of insuring world peace. (100-40-A, Washington Star of 3-12-55)

ADDENDUM:

April 27, 1956. GWG:nma In "The Test of Freedom" Thomas stated that the Rosenbergs were guilty but that their sentences should have been commuted since the conspiracy was to aid an ally; that the communists got the martyrs they wanted; that "communists prefer unjust convictions or convictions which can be exploited rather than acquittals at the hands of 'capitalist' courts"; and that communists had no fear the Rosenbergs would talk.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO :

Mr. Tolson *1/pev*

DATE: 5/1/56

FROM :

L. B. Nichols *1/pev*

SUBJECT:

NORMAN THOMAS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10/23/80 BY SP1/KK/ML

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| Winterrowd | _____ |
| Tele. Room | _____ |
| Holloman | _____ |
| Gandy | _____ |

On Saturday, 4/28/56, I saw Norman Thomas and Irving Ferman, the Washington representative of the American Civil Liberties Union. This turned out to be more of a courtesy call than anything else.

Norman Thomas stated that he had never quarreled too violently with the FBI; that on the other hand, he had always felt the FBI did an honest job although he flatly did not like the Smith Act and opposed everything connected with the Smith Act, however, there was nothing personal so far as the Bureau is concerned, it was just his own personal feelings which he conceded could be wrong.

Thomas brought up on his own volition the Committee to Free Sobell and stated that a lot of people had been pushing him to take up the cudgels of this committee. I told Thomas that I naturally had followed his career over the years with a great deal of interest; that I certainly admired the strong stand he had taken against communist infiltration of our educational institutions; that the one thing that I could never quite reconcile was how he could be used by the communists as he had on innumerable occasions over the years. He stated that he was up on the tricks of the communists; that there were some things that he frankly agreed with the communists on. He cited as one of them the Smith Act. I told him that this, of course, was understandable but the thing that I could not understand was how he, a minister of the Gospel, would fraternize with the tools of the Devil and the instrumentality seeking to obliterate the present day Christian culture. Thomas denied that he would ever help the communists in any such activity as this.

I reminded him of the Leninist concept that the communists will build communism with non-communist hands and pointed out that over the years he had been a very articulate voice; that for example, we had had reports from high levels in the Party wherein Party leaders boasted of their ability to utilize people like Thomas and I mentioned the Amnesty Petition. Thomas stated that Si Gerson had talked to him on several occasions; that he never thought that he was being used to play a communist game but if they thought that he was, then he would fool them. He then pointed out that he had maneuvered Dennis into an appearance

cc - Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont

RECORDED - 15
INDEXED - 15

61-10767-33

MAY 17 1956

EX - 120

68 MAY 23 1956

Memorandum for Mr. Tolson from L. B. Nichols
RE: NORMAN THOMAS

5/1/56

at a meeting of the Fellowship of Reconciliation; that he would use this as a forum to ask the communists all the embarrassing questions that he could; that if I were to follow on the proceedings it would be crystal clear as to exactly what his position is. I told him this was very interesting.

He then raised the question about the disappearance of Dr. Jesus De Galindez and why the Bureau did not investigate it. I told Thomas that this had been answered publicly by Assistant Attorney General Oleny who in his communication to advocates of the investigation had stated that the FBI has kept in close touch with the New York Police Department on the matter; that no evidence has been developed reflecting a Federal violation; that the FBI was following the case and was prepared to take action should facts be developed indicating Federal jurisdiction. I then pointed out to Thomas that one thing that it was rather difficult to reconcile was the position of the true liberals on opposition to a national police; that perhaps the foremost opponent to national police in the entire United States, including our liberal forces, is the Director himself; that every time the FBI is pushed into a situation where there is no Federal jurisdiction, then one more precedent is being created on behalf of the national police concept. Thomas had never thought of this. He conceded the Bureau's position was correct.

Thomas then pointed out that what he complained of was that letters had been written to the Attorney General and never answered. I told him that this was not true; that the Department to my own certain knowledge answered certain letters that had been directed to it pointing out that there were no facts indicating a Federal violation; that if any developed the FBI would take action. He then asked why this could not be made public. I told him that as I had already informed him they had been made public. He then asked if I could tell him to whom the letters were sent. I told him I would have to check and I would be glad to inform him. I am advising Irving Ferman that letters were sent to James C. Stahlman, President, Inter-American Press Association, and Norman De Weaver, Executive Secretary, American Catholic Trade Union Committee on 3/22/56; that an item to this effect was carried on the United Press ticker on 3/27/56. I asked Thomas, when he was complaining about never getting replies, if he had written a letter to the Bureau and never received an answer. He stated that he had not.

Memorandum for Mr. Tolson from L. B. Nichols
RE: NORMAN THOMAS

5/1/56

He then stated that he has become interested in George Dasch, one of the eight German saboteurs, and that he could not understand why the Attorney General would not waive the silly immigration requirement which bars him from returning to the United States and why he could not be given a full pardon. I told Thomas that Dasch had been sentenced to be executed by the Military Tribunal; that the Director had recommended leniency; that the sentence had been commuted when he was deported; that he went immediately into ^{the} Russian zone and I asked Thomas if this were the type of person that he was trying to get into the United States. Thomas stated that it was not; that he never knew this; that this threw additional light on the matter and he asked if I could advise him how long Dasch was in the Russian zone. I told him I would be glad to do this. I am getting the facts and will advise Irving Ferman.

ADDENDUM: LBN:arm 5/2/56. Irving Ferman called me on the morning of May 1 and advised that he thought the meeting with Norman Thomas was very productive and worthwhile; that Thomas had all but committed himself to do some things for the Sobell Committee and that after leaving here, he told Ferman that he was going to go slow.

I then told Ferman that I had checked up on the request for an investigation in the De Galindez matter and that the Department had sent letter to James C. Stahlman and Norman De Weaver on March 22 which had been made public on March 27. He said he was going to call Thomas immediately on this.

I noticed that Thomas has a letter to the editor of the Washington Post in the May 1 issue referring to the investigation of De Galindez wherein he complains about not having a reply from the Department.

✓ ✕ ✓

The De Galindez Case

At a news conference on April 25 the President said he had no knowledge of the de Galindez case. I have, therefore, written him the bare facts about it, and because I think the case is so important for American honor, for the personal security of our people and for our reputation, especially in Latin America, I am summarizing the facts for Washington readers in and out of public office.

Dr. Jesus de Galindez, a Spanish Basque with an honorable record, taught at Columbia University, which has bestowed upon him its doctorate. His thesis was on the Era of Trujillo, an exceedingly well-documented criticism of an extraordinary dictatorship. The next to the

last time I saw Dr. de Galindez alive, he told me he had been threatened because it had become known that he sought to publish his thesis in more popular form to reach the general reader. He was last seen on the night of March 12 after he had left his class at Columbia.

Investigation by the police and de Galindez's friends makes it particularly certain that his disappearance was not voluntary. Such disappearance would have been entirely out of keeping with his character. It is a virtual moral certainty that he was abducted and probably murdered by henchmen of Trujillo. There have been at least two previous murders of Trujillo's enemies in the City of New York.

Eleven organizations of standing asked the FBI to come into the case. On the date of this writing, we have not even received a reply from the Department of Justice. Yet a certain Spanish language publication, friendly to Trujillo, alleges that the FBI had shadowed de Galindez for its own purposes.

The President was, of course, entirely correct in saying that the "Justice Department would have no authority in a foreign country and anything in this regard would have to be taken up with the State Department." It is, however, the Department of Justice which ought to be concerned with the probable abduction of an honorable man under circumstances which prevailed in this case. The reputation of our country as a land of asylum is at stake.

NORMAN THOMAS.

New York, N.Y.

Tolson ☒
Nichols ☒
Boardman ☒
Belmont ☒
Mason ☒
Mohr ☒
Parsons ☒
Rosen ☒
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Holloman ☒
Gandy ☒

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aily Worker ☒
he Worker ☒
ew Leader ☒

Date ☒

61-10767-33

ENCLOSURE

SAC, New York

May 28, 1956

Director, FBI (61-10767)

PERSONAL ATTENTION

NORMAN THOMAS
Socialist Party

6081

In the future no interview should be conducted with Norman Thomas without first obtaining Bureau authority.

cc: 1 - 140-12222
CHS:mal:ml
(5)

See cover memo Stanley to Rosen, ^{5/25/56} same date, captioned, JOHN NEWTON THURBER, Labor, SGE, CHS:mal:bab.

USA 9 28 AM '56

RECEIVED - MICHAEL

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10/23/80 BY

1 MAY 28 10 32 AM '56
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61-10767-34

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MAILED 16
MAY 28 1956
COMM. F. I.

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50 JUN 8 1956

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 140-12222-1

Mr. Rosen

May 25, 1956

Mr. Stanley

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

JOHN NEWTON THURBER
Labor Economist (Administration - Supervisor)
Department of Labor
Washington, D. C.
SECURITY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Referenced memorandum Stanley to Rosen, dated May 23, 1956 (attached), in the captioned case sets forth information indicating Thurber was well known to Norman O. Thomas. This memorandum recommended that Thomas be interviewed during the investigation of Thurber. The Director noted that subsequent to the receipt of referenced memorandum he had received correspondence between Lindsay (Executive Assistant to the Attorney General) and Thomas re the Galindez case written subsequent to Nichols' conversation with Thomas re Galindez's case and since no good was done he saw no purpose in contacting Thomas re Thurber.

The New York Office on May 24, 1956, upon receipt of the Director's comments concerning the proposed interview with Thurber, was telephonically contacted. New York advised that Thomas, pursuant to previous arrangements, had been interviewed by the New York Office in the Thurber case on May 21, 1956. Thomas, according to the New York Office, was most cordial and cooperative. Thomas advised he had first met Thurber while Thurber was an undergraduate student; that Thurber was formerly editor of the Socialist Party newspaper, being associated with the paper during about 1937 and had been an active socialist. Thomas stated in recent years Thurber has not been active in Socialist Party and he has had only casual contact with him during this time. Thomas remarked that he thinks Thurber probably would have liked to be known as a "left-wing Socialist" in his general approach during the 1930s but this approach would not include membership in the Communist Party. He further stated that from 1932 to 1937 it is possible Thurber may have gone along theoretically with certain endeavors of the Communist Party although never allying himself with the party which was attempting to create a "united front" with

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Holloman _____
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140-12222

Enclosures

cc: 1 - Mr. Nichols, Room 5640 (Sent direct)

1 - 61-10767

CHS:mal:bab

(6)

50 JUN 8 1956

61-10767-
NOT RECORDED
46 JUN 4 1956

Memorandum for Mr. Rosen

the Socialist Party. After 1936, according to Thomas, there was a very definite and closely adhered to repudiation by the Socialist Party of a "united front" with the Communist Party. He declared that Thurber was loyal to this repudiation and never advocated unity with the Communist Party. He analyzed Thurber's trend of thinking through the years by stating Thurber has tended to move from a "liberal" or "left-wing Socialist" position to "the right" politically so that he now is not even active in the Socialist Party. Mr. Thomas stated Thurber had never been a communist or a "fellow traveler" but described him as a "nice, clean-cut American type and an honest, straightforward man."

The New York Office pointed out that the interview with Thomas was based on air-tel from the Chicago Office dated May 15, 1956, which requested Thomas be interviewed unless reason to contrary existed since investigation showed he was well known to Thurber. In view of this and since files of the New York Office contain no information reflecting Thomas should not be interviewed, arrangements were made with Thomas for interview. The date for interview was set for May 21, 1956. Such action was taken prior to receipt of Cleveland's air-tel requesting Bureau authorize interview with Thomas as investigation in Cleveland had shown Thomas to be well known to Thurber.

RECOMMENDATION:

In view of the Director's comments, there is attached proposed letter to the New York Office instructing that Thomas not be interviewed in the future without Bureau authority.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: 1-24-57

FROM : L. B. Nichols *LBN*

SUBJECT:

Tolson _____
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I am attaching hereto the draft of a review on the FBI Story by Norman Thomas, which is scheduled for publication in the Commentary. The Commentary is a rather highbrow publication that is circulated primarily among Jewish intellectuals. The Norman Thomas review is somewhat amazing. If he went much further I would be worried.

He does take issue in the Dasch case. We knew, of course, that he had been approached in this case. He is somewhat hazy in his facts. Irving Ferman who gave me the attached draft, did not know whether the issue of Commentary in which it will appear has gone to press or not.

I doubt the wisdom of making any comment to Thomas directly, although I did tell Irving that the Director took a very strong stand in following the death sentence imposed by the Military Tribunal in recommending that the lives of Berger and Dasch be commuted. Irving stated that he thought that he would talk to Thomas about this and get him to insert a line or 2 in the event the article has not gone to press. Ferman stated that the visit which Thomas made to the Bureau several months ago has done considerable in changing Thomas' attitude.

LBN:hpf
 (2)

Enclosure

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EX-127

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EX-127

10 JAN 29 1957

61-10767-35

THE FBI STORY, Report to the People by Dr. Whitehead

Random House, \$4.95

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DATE 10/23/00 BY SP1/BSK/hac

This is the story of the FBI and its hero, J. Edgar Hoover, as Mr. Hoover would like to have it told. It comes close to being a eulogy of the man and the institution - a eulogy written by a skillful journalist with plenty of action and drama in it. It is a predestined bestseller.

It would, however, be very unfair to dismiss the book with these statements. Unquestionably it is an honest piece of work. Nothing in it makes one doubt Mr. Whitehead's sincerity in his initial statement: "I wanted to know how it was that J. Edgar Hoover had survived for 25 years as director of the FBI in a city of politics where the casualty rate runs high among bureau heads. I wanted to know how and why the FBI operates as it does. And I wanted to know if there were any basis to insinuations I had heard that the FBI represented any menace to civil rights."

Mr. Whitehead's two years inquiry have been and, fruitful. He found the FBI cooperative in his search, to me, his book justifies his concluding statement: "In the whole struggle, the FBI represents the people's effort to achieve government by law. It is an agency of justice. And the FBI in the future will be as strong or as weak as the people demand it to be. No more. No less." To which I add that now that the people and their government have so mighty a tool as the FBI, it behooves them to keep it from corruption and from use for political power rather than justice.

The record and Mr. Whitehead's history bear out my own opinion, formed before I ever opened this book, that the FBI

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- 2 -

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under Mr. Hoover had been in itself as good, or better than one would expect an agency of investigation to be in these tumultuous times in so big a nation as the U.S. Clearly it has been better than the police departments of our large cities. Better far than the so-called Bureau of Investigation of the period of the First World War out of which the present FBI emerged in 1924. Its sins of omission and commission have been the consequence of orders to it from the White House or the Department of Justice rather than of its own depravity.

But before indulging further in value judgments let's get back to the well told story. Through its 328 pages of text march the most famous racketeers, gangsters, political crooks, spies, and seditionists of the last half-century, a period crowded by these exciting, if unlovely, characters. The stories of their deeds and the FBI's labors in behalf of justice are vividly told. The author's principle of arrangement is excellent. After a foreword by J. Edgar Hoover himself the story begins by illustrating the FBI in action in the apprehension of perhaps the most despicable criminal of them all, Jack Gilbert Graham, executed only the other day in Colorado, for deliberately planting a time bomb in a United Airlines plane, in order to kill his own mother on whose life he had placed high insurance.

Then Mr. Whitehead reverts to the FBI's beginnings. That was with the Federal Bureau of Investigation in 1903, the Bureau itself being mostly the creation of Theodore Roosevelt in his fight to halt the outrageous thievery of public lands in the Western states. This Bureau almost from the beginning was handicapped by politics. It was dreadfully unprepared for the test of the First

World War which it met badly. How badly the author makes reasonably clear. By 1921 the Bureau of Investigation had sunk so low that big business' pet detective, William J. Burns, was its chief, and the notorious Gaston B. Means one of its agents. Even in those bad years, the Bureau was better than its host of amateur auxiliaries in World War I, better than Attorney General Palmer who ordered the infamous red raids, and better than local law enforcement agencies - although none too good - in dealing with the KKK. But at the time that the Bureau under Burns was doing something to protect civil rights in the South it was sending men to spy on those members of Congress who were demanding investigation of the reported corruption in the Harding administration which culminated in the famous Teapot Dome Scandal. (In these years, Mr. Hoover had been in the Bureau but by no means part of its inner circle. Harlan F. Stone, whom President Coolidge, had appointed Attorney General to clean up the mess in the Department of Justice was responsible for the reorganization of the Bureau and the appointment of Hoover to head it. They drew up a declaration of basic policies which still stands. Hoover's first business was to clean house in the organization over which he was to preside so many years. In the process he served notice on Congress that the FBI was no longer a dumping ground for patronage appointments, and that he would not welcome political suggestions about promotions. From these first days onward, J. Edgar Hoover, as Mr. Whitehead tells the story, while frequently involved in the politics of Washington, was mostly engaged in them in order to keep politicians and partisan politics out of his Bureau. Very likely there are two sides to this part of the story, but this reviewer is in no position to document the other side as well as Mr. Whitehead documents his favorable conclusion.

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I cannot, however, accept uncritically the adequacy of the treatment of all the episodes with which this history is packed. Some of the ~~known~~ omissions may have been due to the author's desire to confine his history to ~~the~~ one volume. Nevertheless, certain of those omissions, sometimes of topics and names, sometimes in material relevant to the stories which are told, are decidedly surprising. Thus, the name of Senator McCarthy does not appear in the index or text. We are left to guess Mr. Hoover's opinion of him and McCarthyism. There is no clear account of the degree to which the FBI was drawn in to very dubious types of loyalty and security investigation. There are interesting chapters about the FBI's work in uncovering spies and checking sabotage and sedition. (The story of its work in South America was entirely new to me.) But the evacuation of Japanese and Japanese-Americans on the West Coast in the interest of security is not indexed and is briefly told in the text. Mr. Whitehead, however, confirms the report that Hoover looked upon the infamous deportation of some "120,000 Japanese-Americans from their homes and farms...to relocation centers...as a mixture of politics and hysteria, not as an urgent measure of national defense."

In his younger days Mr. Hoover had disapproved of the use of volunteers, virtually vigilantes, in World War I and of the Palmer Red Raids. Nevertheless, he, or certainly the author, assumes too easily that the nascent Communist movement along with the IWW and anarchists were responsible for the bombings which were commonly believed to be revolutionists' contribution to the violence, mostly patriotic, of the times. Both as a member of the Civil Liberties Bureau and an anti-communist Socialist I knew a good deal

about the radical repudiation of individual terrorism which communists, despite their belief in organized violent revolution then shared.

The bombing of Mr. Palmer's house and the later more destructive bomb outrage ~~o~~ in Wall Street were as likely the work of agents provocateur as of wobblies or communists under union or party orders. More likely they were the work of the kind of unstable, potentially violent individuals who respond to violence, confusion, and what they think is repression by resort to terroristic acts. In any case no revolutionist or radical was ever indicted for overt acts of violence during Mitchell Palmer's miscalled crusade. The open mobs were composed of patriots, often led by vigilantes and of them Hoover disapproved. Mr. Whitehead goes rather too far, however, in implying that the better order of security with civil liberty in the Second World War than the First was primarily due to Hoover's improved FBI. That played a part. ^{shame for} So did the record in World War I. But mostly the difference was that in World War II after Pearl Harbor there was no organized political opposition to the war. Even so the treatment of Japanese-Americans was worse in itself and in its implications for the future than any single one of the sins of the Wilson administration.

This discussion of Hoover's consistent opposition to an appeal to hysteria and vigilantism in order to protect the national security interrupted my listing of omissions from Mr. Whitehead's story. One of them was the case of Frank Hague, boss of Jersey City and vice-chairman of the Democratic National Committee. After my deportation from Jersey City by Hague's police, and his mob's violent interference with my meeting in Newark,

I persuaded a grand jury to back my demand for FBI investigation of Hague's rule in Hudson County. In the middle of the investigation, the chief agent was called off by "promotion" to some place in the West. Frank Murphy, by that time Attorney General, got it under way again assuring me that he would "hew to the line, let the chips fall where they may." But the result was silence. When at last I questioned Mr. Murphy he begged me to agree that the Supreme Court, having upheld civil liberty against Mr. Hague in a notable decision, other matters should be dropped. I could not agree. Washington rumor told me that the President himself had ordered the FBI's report pigeon-holed in the interest of Party harmony. Such contacts as I had had with the FBI gave me confidence in the integrity of its proceedings.

Aside from this episode - and another to which I shall later refer - my personal contacts with the FBI were with its agents who were making more or less routine loyalty and security inquiries with regard to individuals. Without exception I found them courteous and intelligent. In one case an agent was both skillful and considerate in handling an inquiry which mishandled might have precipitated a family tragedy. *(What I have not liked is the conduct of some FBI graduates in civil life)* My effort to make the solution of the disappearance, almost certainly the kidnapping and murder, of Professor Jesus de Galindez, the enemy of Dictator Trujillo, was defeated by the decision of the Department of Justice and the President himself. As is usual in important police cases the FBI has given some aid upon request to the New York City police who, I am told, have not dropped the case.

There was one famous FBI case into whose aftermath, to my own surprise, I was drawn. If you will turn to

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Chapter 22 of Mr. Whitehead's book, pp 199-204, you will find the story of George Dasch and his landing with fellow saboteurs on Long Island. You will observe that whatever might have happened otherwise the saboteurs were only apprehended one week after their landing when George Dasch himself went to Washington and told the whole story. (This was not the report made public at the time. It was not publicly admitted, as I recall it, until well after the end of the war.) The saboteurs, as we were all informed, were tried in secret by a military court and all but two, Dasch and Burger, were sentenced to death. The fortunate two received very long prison sentences. Of the trial and sentences Mr. Whitehead says nothing and, at this late date, I should have remembered nothing more had it not been for my curious experience.

One day late in 1946 or early '47, a woman came to see me saying that she did so at the request of her husband, George Dasch. (At the moment the name meant nothing to me.) She herself was a quiet American who made a good impression. Her story was that she herself was a loyal citizen, who had worked faithfully in a war industry. She believed in her husband and the tale he wanted her to tell me. In brief, that was that he had saved the U.S. much damage by revealing the German sabotage plot; that he had some trouble getting a hearing in Washington; that the FBI and the Department of Justice had promised him that, while under war conditions he could not be set free for his services, he would be released from prison after the war was over. Now, he said, that promise was unfulfilled and he asked - rather, ordered, in Teutonic fashion - his wife to ^{seek} ~~ask~~ my help.

I made some preliminary inquiries of the New York

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office of the FBI and partially verified this tale. Then I turned to that great lawyer and champion of civil liberty, Arthur Garfield Hays. We - mostly he - had no great trouble in persuading the FBI, or rather the Department of Justice, to fulfill its promise. This it did upon condition that Dasch would accept deportation to Germany where one FBI man told us he thought he would not live very long. Dasch took the chance and went with his loyal wife. For some years he made a peaceful living there but around about 1952 or '53, his troubles began. His story was known and, he said, his life was threatened. Then I began to get letters from him - whom to this day I have never seen. He demanded help to get back to America where he had long lived. He reiterated his old claim that he had deliberately enlisted as a saboteur in order to help the country in which he had long lived and of which his wife was a citizen. He had almost immediately been disillusioned by Hitler on his return to Germany and now he could earn no living and his life was in danger. (Arthur Garfield Hays, alas, had died before I could do much about this matter. But under repeated appeals by letter from Mrs. Dasch, I took the matter up in Washington. The FBI repeated what it had earlier told Mr. Hays; that Dasch turned informant only after he had run into Seaman 2/c John Cullen on the Amagansett Beach whom he had bribed and threatened. He knew, however, that ~~xxxx~~ sooner or later Cullen would report his adventure and set the FBI on his trail. *Therefore he turned informer to save himself.* To this Dasch replied to me, and repeatedly to Washington that he could and would have killed Cullen and buried him under the sand *or in the sea* except that he wanted no murder on his hands but only the time - which he got - to plan the successful betrayal of ~~xxx~~ the whole German plot. The FBI and the Department of Justice were unconvinced. I argued that in any case

Dasch had performed an important, perhaps an immensely important, service to the United States and was entitled to a chance to live and work in the country of which his wife was a citizen. There were even more than usual bureaucratic delays in the Department of Justice (not the FBI) but at last the Department informed me that it denied further consideration to Dasch not because of its old contention that he turned informer only through fear, but because he had publicly complained against the U.S. in East Germany, where for a time he went. That word I only received a few months ago after repeated efforts to get a definite answer.

The protracted bureaucratic delays were not the fault of the FBI. Its version of Dasch's motives may be correct. But the Whitehead story implies that this case was more of a triumph of FBI techniques than on the record it was. Could a similar comment be justly made of other stories if we knew all the facts? The case of the saboteurs scarcely ranks with the more notable achievements of the FBI such as another and much later case on Long Island. I refer, of course, to the discovery of the kidnapper of the Weinberger baby. That story among other things illustrates the value of fingerprints. And Mr. Whitehead and Mr. Hoover almost have convinced this doubting Thomas that the registry of citizens' fingerprints may be more of a protection than a police state mechanism - anyway the voluntary registry of them. I still doubt the wisdom, psychologically, of requiring them of alien visitors. And on this note I close this rather garrulous review of a very interesting, and, on the whole, convincing book.

- Norman Thomas

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nichols

DATE: March 27, 1957

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: NORMAN THOMAS

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DATE 10/33/80 BY SP10K/HC

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Judge Robert Morris recently furnished me a letter addressed to him by Thomas under date of March 20, 1957, in which Thomas criticizes the Director's recent statement on the communist convention issued by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. In particular, Thomas claims the Director was wrong in characterizing A. J. Muste as a communist "front."

We have worked up a reply to Norman Thomas which could be given to Morris. It is felt that Morris could use this in rebuttal to Thomas.

A short memorandum on A. J. Muste is being attached.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. That Norman Thomas' original letter be returned to Morris.

2. That the attached proposed reply to Thomas also be furnished to Morris.

Enclosures

FCS:mcb
(5)

53 APR 5 1957

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DATE 6-9-00 BY SP10K/HC

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61-10767-36
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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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Dear Mr. Thomas:

DATE 10/23/80 BY SP1/USK/fmc

I have received your letter of March 20, 1957, in which you make unfavorable reference to Mr. J. Edgar Hoover's statement issued by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on the recent Communist Party convention.

First of all, I utterly reject your insinuations - both implied and explicit - that Mr. Hoover, in making available his statement in response to an inquiry of the U. S. Senate, is following undemocratic procedures. For example, your statement that it is "bad procedure in our democracy when a police chief is set up as a final authority in evaluating facts as if he were a judge or, best of all, Sir Oracle," very frankly, shows a lack of appreciation of our democratic processes. Mr. Hoover and the FBI - by no stretch of the imagination - can be compared with any Gestapo agency nor does he attempt, as you insinuate, to set himself up as a final arbiter. Mr. Hoover has always stood for the highest principles of fairness, integrity and justice. His career of almost forty years of public service is a badge of his reliability and honesty. He has followed most closely the communist conspiracy from its very inception. Therefore, he is competent to speak of events occurring in communist life. Moreover, Mr. Hoover, as head of the agency charged with the protection of the Nation's internal security, has every right, constitutional and moral, to speak out on the communist problem. His recent statement, which you mention, is a forthright document, based on excellent investigation, keen observation and a lifelong knowledge of communist operations. The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee felt that it should be issued to the American people. I think, and I hope you will agree, that it has done much good in alerting our citizenry to the nefarious aims of the Communist Party to undermine our democratic way of life.

You assert that you do not agree with Mr. Hoover's characterization of Mr. A. J. Muste as having "fronted" for the Communist Party. That is your privilege, and I would defend your right to so believe. However, if you will candidly and impartially observe certain activities of Muste in relation to communist objectives, you might see the situation in a different light.

Certainly, Mr. Muste had a right to attend the convention. This is true. He had a right, along with his associates, to issue a report which, as you know, was far different from Mr. Hoover's report. I am certain that you yourself would never have issued such a biased report as Mr. Muste's. By his actions, Mr. Muste rendered valuable assistance, whether knowingly or unknowingly, to the communist movement. In my thinking, a communist "front" is not necessarily a person directly or indirectly under Party control. He is

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ENCLOSURE

also a person who through his speech and actions, knowingly or unknowingly, renders aid to the communist movement. Unfortunately, in my opinion, the actions of Mr. Muste at the recent Party convention did much to assist the Party movement.

The Muste report was virtually a whitewash - just about everything the Party wanted. No wonder it was headlined in the Daily Worker: "Observers of CP Parley Hit Eastland Probe, Found Convention Was Run 'Democratically.'" Here is an excerpt: "...we wish to state that the sessions of the convention were democratically conducted with vigorous discussion of all matters brought to the floor." Just what the Party wanted! Again, "There were many indications that no individual or group was in a position to control the convention." This is diametrically opposed to the facts in Mr. Hoover's statement which demonstrated, with chapter and verse, how the convention was carefully manipulated by a small minority, how the same Stalinist leaders remained in power and how the delegates confirmed the same old communist practices. Window dressing in the form of a few superficial changes was made, but underneath the Soviet hand of tyranny retained firm control.

Now, you can see how valuable a role Muste played for the communists. He most surely served as a "front." There was some criticism in the report. Even whitewash, at times, can become too thick and hence self-defeating. Such criticism, as deploring the convention's failure to condemn Soviet military intervention in Hungary, served to hoodwink the unsuspecting into thinking the report was fair and impartial.

It is not my function to question Mr. Muste's good faith. He, and any other individual, has a right to attend conventions, issue statements, circulate petitions and apologize for communists. However, as in circulating the petition urging amnesty for Smith Act defendants, he is doing much to assist the communists - knowingly or unknowingly. The very fact that he is not identified as a Party member gives prestige to his statements and actions. The Party wants to exploit his name, title and energy. As the history of Marxism-Leninism teaches, the Party is highly opportunist - ready to seize support any place, anywhere, any time. An individual may claim to be anti-communist, but if he walks essentially the same road, helping to smooth down hostile barricades, he is doing work for the communists.

To L.B. Nichols
+ Return to me
P.M.

Norman Thomas
112 EAST 19th STREET
NEW YORK 3, N.Y.

March 20, 1957

6079

Judge Robert Morris
Senate Committee on the Judiciary
Senate Office Building
Washington 25, D.C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 10/26/80 BY SP1/KK/uc

Dear Judge Morris:

You may or may not have seen in last night's New York Post a column by Murray Kempton. I am not concerned with the column but I am concerned with the following paragraph and its reflection on A.J. Muste's growth of from the Hoover

"The Communists boasted of having 'impartial observers' cover the convention. However, most of these single 'impartial observers' were handpicked before the convention started and were reportedly headed by A.J. Muste who has long fronted for Communists and who recently circulated an amnesty petition calling for the release of Communist leaders convicted under the Smith Act. Muste's report on the convention was as biased as could be expected. On the other hand, an observer whom the Party did not handpick and who was more objective, Carl Rachlin of the ACLU, has stated that the arguments for democracy within the Party were 'merely tactical and designed to fool the public.'"

A.J. Muste with whom I sometimes agree and from whom I sometimes differ is emphatically not a Communist or a front for Communists. I feel under some obligation to say this because, as you probably know, I also signed that amnesty petition for Smith Act prisoners and, if I had been in New York, I would have gone to as many sessions of the Communist convention as possible as an observer. I know most of those who went as observers and they were all informally "picked" by or through Muste in the same way, Rachlin along with the others. If I had gone to the convention, on the basis of what I have since learned, I would not have signed the statement exactly as it was worded by Muste, et al, or testified as Rachlin apparently testified. I do not think the present controversies in the Communist Party are altogether a play act once more to fool us. That I am not persuaded of their conversion to sound principles is quite obvious by what I have said and written; e.g. in discussion with John Gates at Columbia University.

This, however, is not the point. The point is that a grave injustice is done when a police chief, even as good a police chief as Mr. Hoover, thus stigmatizes a man like Muste before

ENCLOSURE

Judge Robert Morris

March 20, 1957

6088

a committee whose chairman is himself in need of merciful judgment in the field of speech.

I thought it well to talk to Mr. Hoover himself and, failing to reach him, talked to Lou Nichols with whom I have some acquaintance. Mr. Nichols said that Muste was fronting because the original idea of impartial observers came from Si Gerson. I should accept this. I think Mr. Gerson had a right to seek non-communist observers under circumstances and that for Muste to agree to help in this matter no more makes him a technical front for communists than he would have become a front for a man charged with crime if he had become concerned for procedural justice. I should, therefore, like to register with you and with the committee my protest over publicity given to Mr. Hoover's letter containing these charges.

I should accept Mr. Hoover's word on matters of fact. But aside from his unfair characterization of A.J. Muste, I think it is bad procedure in our democracy when a police chief is set up as a final authority in evaluating facts as if he were a judge or, best of all, Sir Oracle. This I would say whoever held Mr. Hoover's office.

Believe me,

Sincerely yours,

Norman Thomas

Norman Thomas

NT:8

P.S. I would be glad to get copies of your committee's report which I think now have come out in a series of seven or eight small pamphlets. Thank you.

N.T.

61-10207-36

RECORDS BRANCH

_____, 1957

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|----------------|---------------------------|
| Mr. Waikart | Mr. Baumgardner, 1509 |
| Mr. Eames | Mr. Bland, 1250 |
| Mr. Medler | Mr. Branigan, 1527 |
| Mr. Short | Mr. Beach, 7133 |
| Mr. Linton | Mr. Callan, 4746 |
| Mr. Runaldue | Mr. Campsey, 5261 |
| Mr. Cleaver | Mrs. Conover, 7107 |
| Mrs. Collins | Cent. Research Sec. 7630A |
| Mrs. Welsh | Chief Clerk, 5517 |
| | Communications, 5644 |
| Classifying | Mr. Conroy, 6125-IB |
| Consolidation | Mr. Deiss, 6127-IB |
| Expedite Proc. | Mr. Donohue, 1243 |
| File Review | Mr. Downing, 6228-IB |
| Filing Unit | Mr. Ferris, 7627 |
| G. I. Unit | Mr. Gardner, 4651 |
| Numbering Unit | Mr. Hartley, 4746 |
| Personnel Unit | Mr. Holroyd, 4645 |
| Recording- | Mr. Innes, 4742 |
| Checkers | Mr. Jackson, 5511 |
| Stop Desk | Mr. Johnson, 331-OPD |
| Ser. Research | Mr. Jones, 4236 |
| Desk | Lab. Mail, 7141 |
| Please Handle | Lab. Packages, 7133 |
| Note & Return | Mr. Litrento, 1734 |
| See Me | Liaison Section, 7641 |
| Call Me | Mail Room, 5533 |
| Miss Holland | Mr. McArdle, 7629 |
| Room | Mr. Moore, 4131-IB |
| | Mr. Renneberger, B-114 |
| | Mr. Rogers, 5236 |
| | Mr. Rosen, 5706 |
| | Routing Unit, 6209-IB |
| | Mr. Shroder, 1649 |
| | Mr. Splendore, 4641 |
| | Mr. Stanley, 2254 |
| | Mr. Wherry, 5537 |
| | Stat. Sec., 6220-IB |
| | Ident Division |
| | EXPEDITIOUS ATTENTION |
| | By Special Messenger |

No further routing necessary.

T. Hare
M. C.
 Routing Unit

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: March 20, 1957

FROM : L. B. Nichols

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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SUBJECT:

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By reference from the Director's Office I talked to Norman Thomas when he called this morning. Thomas opened the conversation after a very cordial greeting by saying he had a matter that was troubling him which he wanted to lay before us; that he knew from experience we were fair minded; that while we might not agree with him, he would like for us to listen. He then referred to the Murray Kempton column in the New York Post on March 19, 1957. In this column Kempton quoted from the Director's statement to the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee regarding the communists' hand-picking the impartial observers which were headed by A. J. Muste who has fronted for the communists.

Thomas stated that in all fairness to Muste, Muste was not by himself in circulating the amnesty petition as he, Norman Thomas, had also signed the amnesty petition. I interrupted Thomas at this point and inquired if Si Gerson of the Communist Party had come to him and solicited his signature and solicited him to circulate the petition. He stated that he did not; that he would not do anything on Si Gerson's solicitation. I then asked Thomas if Si Gerson approached A. J. Muste to get up the petition, would this justify in his mind the statement that Muste fronted for the communists. He stated that it would. I told Thomas that for his own information this was exactly what had happened and that the idea of the petition was born in communist minds who then got others to do their dirty work. He stated this put a different complexion on it. He then stated he did not always agree with Muste. I again interrupted and asked if it was not a fact that many times Muste had fronted for the communists. He stated it was.

He then surprised me by stating that Muste called himself a communist at one time and claimed to be a Trotskyite. He then stated that Muste had been outspoken against Stalinism and was reconverted to the church. I told Thomas that I had been brought up on fundamental Methodist doctrines and I could not understand some of the new Presbyterian doctrines which were being injected which were not truly Presbyterian. I was surprised again when Thomas volunteered that he did not subscribe to the new Presbyterian doctrines and that he knew what

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cc - Mr. Boardman

cc - Mr. Belmont

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STANDARD CONTROL

Memorandum to Mr. Tolson

March 20, 1957

he was talking about and that they were Presbyterian doctrines after all. Thomas then stated that he did not agree with the type of people Muste had gathered together; that if he had been around he would have gone himself to the Party convention. I told Thomas I wished he had gone to the Party convention; that had he gone it would probably not have been necessary for Mr. Hoover to submit his report on the significance of the Party convention because he, Thomas, would have seen through some of the chicanery.

Thomas then started to tell me how he had debated John Gates and told Gates off. He then pointed out that he did not want to argue; that he did not find fault with Mr. Hoover's statement; that he did want to caution; that Mr. Hoover's reputation was so great and so influential that he hoped Mr. Hoover would always be conscious that whatever he said would be projected manyfold; and that he knows of the Director's desire for fair play but that he did think it was going rather far to say that Muste fronts for the communists. I told Thomas that he himself agreed that Muste was doing some of their dirty work. He also stated that Muste has been against the communists. I told him that this, no doubt, was a technical maneuver on Muste's part. I asked Thomas if it was not good doctrine to adhere to the old Biblical admonition that "by their fruits you shall know them." Thomas agreed to this.

N 10 / I then commended Thomas for the manner in which he had taken on Bertram Russell. Again I was surprised to hear him refer to Russell as "that old goat." He further stated that Russell was also anti-American. I told him that was all the more reason why it was reprehensible for some people to be fronting for Russell. Thomas agreed with this.

Thomas then commented that he was surprised recently when Dean Griswald of Harvard had commended him on a matter when he had been most critical of Griswald on the Fifth Amendment situation as he was one who adhered to the right-wing view as laid down by C. Dickerman Williams.

Thomas asked if I would pass on to the Director his observations. I told him I certainly would and with that he said goodby. It is quite obvious that Thomas was put up to making the call.

✓ 1002



Edgar Says No

By Murray Kempton

J. Edgar Hoover has put into the record of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee what has to be accepted as our government's official analysis of the recent Communist Party convention.

This document bears the top label: "United States Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation." Hoover does not presume when he speaks for the Department of Justice; Attorneys-General come and go, but Hoover is eternal. His exact status as against his nominal superiors was best described by Attorney-General Tom Clark, now a refugee to the Supreme Court where no inquisitor can pursue.

Seven years ago, after Victor Reuther was shot, a lawyer for the United Auto Workers visited Clark, then Attorney General, to suggest that the Justice Department interest itself in the pursuit of the gunmen.

"Edgar," Tom Clark answered, "says we can't do it."

Hoover is still there, speaking for the Department of Justice. His report to the Internal Security Sub-Committee was that the Communist Party convention had left things exactly as they were. It is an analysis, I'm afraid, not without its persuasive side, although a little premature, since William Z. Foster has not yet safely immolated the anti-Soviet faction led by John Gates.

But there was another analysis, of which Hoover took judicial notice. This came from eight non-Communist observers who were permitted by the party to sit on the floor of its convention and who agreed that the proceedings, while otherwise murky, appeared "democratically conducted."

What follows is Hoover's characterization of these analysts:

"The Communists boasted of having 'impartial observers' cover the convention. However, most of these so-called 'impartial' observers were hand-picked before the convention started and were reportedly headed by A. J. Muste, who has long fronted for Communists and who recently circulated an amnesty petition calling for the release of Communist leaders convicted under the Smith

Act. Muste's report on the convention was as biased as could be expected. On the other hand, an observer whom the party did not handpick and who was more objective, Carl Rachlin, of the American Civil Liberties Union, has stated that the arguments for democracy within the Party were 'merely tactical and designed to fool the public.'"

J. Edgar Hoover's position as a friend of liberty has been attested on occasion by Morris Ernst of the American Civil Liberties Union and was underwritten a few weeks back in, of all places, the book section of the New Republic. If the paragraph I have quoted had been signed with Joe McCarthy's name, the walls from these quarters would not yet have ceased; from Hoover, it is accepted with complaisant silence.

* * *

As secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, A. J. Muste is a pacifist, that is, a genuine subversive, although not in the sense hitherto described by the Department of Justice. He led the observer team only in the sense of seniority; among those who agreed with him were Miss Dorothy Day of the Catholic Worker and Lyle Tatum of the American Friends Service Committee. The judgment of pacifists may occasionally be bemused by their faith in the possibility of a sinner's redemption, in which faith, as Hoover so nicely puts it, they are "biased, as could be expected."

Hoover says that Muste has "long fronted for the Communists." He supports this serious charge with nothing more than the letterhead of the Department of Justice and the evidence that Muste passed around an amnesty petition for the Smith Act incarcerated. That petition was also circulated by Norman Thomas, Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, and the dean of Union Theological Seminary; in Hoover's book, you are a "fronter" if you try to get an old woman out of jail.

If we didn't have the word of so many eminent citizens that he is the shield of our liberties, you might get the impression that J. Edgar Hoover is just one of those cops who defines a criminal as a man who disagrees with him.

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FBI

TO THE EDITOR OF COMMENTARY:

Some weeks ago you gave me an opportunity to review Don Whitehead's *The FBI Story*. Your readers will observe in this issue my fairly complete acceptance of the author's picture of that important institution.

However, since the book was published and I reviewed it, I have been much concerned at the increasing tendency of J. Edgar Hoover to set himself up as an infallible interpreter of facts. Mr. Hoover's long letter to Senator Eastland wasn't an appropriate letter for the best police official. It was an attempt to play judge or Sir Oracle. Mr. Hoover departed from the facts as well as from his function; for instance, when he denounced A. J. Muste in that letter as fronting for the Communists. What Mr. Muste did as an American citizen interested in truth and civil liberties was to agree to get non-Communist observers at a convention. It isn't the province of the FBI to pass on this sort of service.

NORMAN THOMAS

New York City

Commentary
April, 1957

April 1957

special pains to single out and accentuate in various ways those twists of nature in them which had most to do with their particular corruption or disease. But there is nothing in the recounting of Abraham's slaughter of the cow that legitimately suggests an incipient murderer or psychotic. No unwieldy disturbance attaches to the event, either for the author or for her character; it is all ingested, absorbed, assimilated, and verbalized. Nor does the passage contain anything that establishes the author's right to manipulate her protagonist in the gratuitous and "tragic" way she finally sees fit.

What is most disappointing about Miss Wiseman's novel is that in trying to deal so sympathetically with the relations of past and present, it fails to reveal the enormous and perhaps irreparable chasm that has opened between them for modern man. Miss Wiseman seems not really to have experienced this rift, and intones in its place the lofty notes of affirmation and rebirth. Hidden in the structure of her tale is an intimation of a kind of alienation of Jew from Jew, but it is an intimation never brought to life. What she has actually given us is a domestic melodrama with vitrually no social background. For a story which leans as heavily upon the facts of suffering and disruption as this one does, it is a wonder that so few of the realities behind those facts are permitted to appear.

Agency of Justice

THE FBI STORY, A REPORT TO THE PEOPLE. By DON WHITEHEAD. Random House. 368 pp. \$4.95.

Reviewed by NORMAN THOMAS

This is the story of the FBI and its hero, J. Edgar Hoover, as Mr. Hoover would like to have it told. It comes close to being a eulogy of the man and the institution.

It would, however, be very unfair to dismiss the book with this statement. Unquestionably it is an honest piece of work. Nothing in it makes one doubt Mr. Whitehead's sincerity in his initial statement: "I wanted to know how it was that J. Edgar Hoover had survived for 25 years as director of the FBI in a city of politics where the casualty rate runs high among bureau heads. I wanted to know how and why the FBI operates as it

does. And I wanted to know if there were any basis to insinuations I had heard that the FBI represented any menace to civil rights."

Mr. Whitehead's two years' inquiry have been fruitful. He found the FBI cooperative in his search, and, to me, his book justifies his concluding statement: "In the whole struggle, the FBI represents the people's effort to achieve government by law. It is an agency of justice. And the FBI in the future will be as strong or as weak as the people demand it to be. No more. No less." To which I add that now that the people and their government have so mighty an agency of justice as the FBI, it behooves them to keep it from corruption and from political exploitation.

Mr. Whitehead's history bears out my own opinion, formed before I opened the book, that the FBI under Mr. Hoover has been as good or better than one would expect an agency of investigation to be in these tumultuous times in so big a nation as the United States. Clearly, it has been better than the police departments of our large cities. Better far than the so-called Bureau of Investigation of the period of the First World War, out of which the present FBI emerged in 1924. Its sins of omission and commission have resulted from the orders of the White House or the Department of Justice, rather than from its own initiative, and today I fear it less than I fear the glamorous sanctity and immunity from criticism with which it has been popularly invested.

AFTER a foreword by J. Edgar Hoover, the story begins by illustrating the FBI in action in the apprehension of the despicable criminal Jack Gilbert Graham, executed only the other day in Colorado for planting a time-bomb in a United Air Lines plane in order to kill his own mother on whose life he had placed high insurance.

Then Mr. Whitehead reverts to the FBI's beginning. That was in the original Federal Bureau of Investigation of 1908, which was mostly the creation of Theodore Roosevelt in his fight to halt the outrageous thievery of public lands in the Western states. This Bureau almost from the beginning was handicapped by politics. It was dreadfully unprepared for the test of the First World War, which it met badly, as the author makes reasonably clear. By 1921 the Bureau of Investigation had sunk so low that big busi-

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ness's pet detective, William J. Burns, was its chief, and the notorious Gaston B. Means one of its agents. Even in those bad years, the Bureau was better than its host of amateur auxiliaries, better than Attorney General Palmer who ordered the infamous Red Raids, and better than local law enforcement agencies dealing with the Ku Klux Klan. But at the same time that the Bureau under Burns was doing something to protect civil rights in the South, it was sending men to spy on those members of Congress who were demanding investigation of the corruption in the Harding administration which culminated in the famous Teapot Dome scandal.

In these years, Mr. Hoover had been in the Bureau but by no means part of its inner circle. Harlan F. Stone, whom President Coolidge had appointed Attorney General to clean up the mess in the Department of Justice, was responsible for the reorganization of the Bureau and the appointment of Hoover to head it. They drew up a declaration of basic policies which still stands. Hoover's first business was to clean house, and in the process he served notice on Congress that the FBI was no longer a dumping ground for patronage appointments, and that he would not welcome political suggestions about promotions. From these first days onward, J. Edgar Hoover, as Mr. Whitehead tells the story, while frequently involved in the politics of Washington, was mostly engaged in them in order to keep politicians and partisan politics out of his Bureau.

CERTAIN of the author's omissions—sometimes of topics and names, sometimes of material relevant to stories presumably told in full—are decidedly surprising. Thus, the name of Senator McCarthy does not appear in the index or text. We are left to guess Mr. Hoover's opinion of him. There is no clear account of the degree to which the FBI was drawn into very dubious types of loyalty and security investigation. There are interesting chapters about the FBI's work in uncovering spies and checking sabotage and sedition. (The story of its work in South America was entirely new to me.) But the World War II evacuation of Japanese and Japanese-Americans on the West Coast is not indexed and only briefly told in the text. Mr. Whitehead, however, confirms the report that Hoover looked upon the infamous deportation of some

"120,000 Japanese Americans from their homes and farms . . . to relocation centers . . . as a mixture of politics and hysteria, not as an urgent measure of national defense."

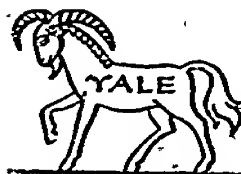
In his younger days Mr. Hoover had disapproved of the use of volunteers, virtually vigilantes, in World War I and of the Palmer Red Raids. Nevertheless, he, or certainly the author, assumes too easily that the nascent Communist movement, along with the IWW and the anarchists, was responsible for the bombings which were commonly believed to be revolutionists' contribution to the violence, mostly patriotic, of the times. Both as a member of the Civil Liberties Bureau and an anti-Communist Socialist, I knew a good deal about the radicals' repudiation of individual terrorism which Communists, despite their belief in organized violent revolution, then shared.

The bombing of Mitchell Palmer's own house and the later more destructive bomb outrage in Wall Street were as likely the work of agents-provocateurs as of Wobblies or Communists under union or party orders. More likely they were the work of the kind of unstable individuals who respond to violence, confusion, and what they think is repression by resort to terroristic acts. In any case no revolutionist or radical was ever indicted for overt acts of violence during Mitchell Palmer's miscalled crusade. The open mobs were composed of patriots, often led by vigilantes. Mr. Hoover disapproved of them. Mr. Whitehead goes rather too far, however, in implying that the better adjustment of the demands of security to those of civil liberty in the Second World War was primarily due to Hoover's improved FBI. That played a part. So did our shame for the record in World War I. But mostly the difference was that after Pearl Harbor there was no organized political opposition to World War II. Even so, the treatment of Japanese Americans was worse in itself and in its implications for the future than any single one of the sins of the Wilson administration.

BUT to return to my listing of the omissions in Mr. Whitehead's story. One of them was the case of Frank Hague, boss of Jersey City and vice-chairman of the Democratic National Committee. After my deportation from Jersey City by Hague's police in 1938, and his mob's violent interference with my meeting in Newark, I persuaded a grand jury to back

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my demand for an FBI investigation of Hague's rule in Hudson County. In the middle of the investigation, the chief agent was called off, by "promotion," to some place in the West. From there, by that time Attorney General, got the investigation under way again, assuring me that he would "hew to the line, let the chips fall where they may." But the result was silence. Washington rumor told me that President Roosevelt himself had ordered the FBI's report pigeon-holed in the interest of party harmony. But such dealings as I had had with the FBI gave me confidence in the integrity of its proceedings.

Aside from this episode—and another to which I shall later refer—my personal contacts with the FBI were with agents making more or less routine loyalty and security inquiries about individuals. Without exception I found them courteous and intelligent. In one case an agent was both skillful and considerate in handling an inquiry which, mishandled, might have precipitated a family tragedy. (What I have not liked is the conduct of some FBI graduates in civil life.)

My request for an investigation of the recent disappearance, almost certainly the kidnapping and murder, of Professor Jesus de Galindez, the enemy of Dictator Trujillo of the Dominican Republic, was turned down by decision of the Department of Justice and President Eisenhower himself. As is usual in important cases, the FBI has given some aid in the matter to the New York City police upon the latter's request; and the city police, I am told, have not dropped the case.

In CHAPTER 22 of Mr. Whitehead's book, you will find the wartime story of George Dasch and his landing from a German submarine, with fellow saboteurs, on Long Island. The saboteurs were apprehended a week after their landing, when George Dasch himself went to Washington and told the whole story. (This fact was not made public at the time, and not publicly admitted, as I recall, until well after the end of the war.) The saboteurs, as we were all informed, were tried in secret by a military court and all but two, Dasch and Burger, sentenced to death. The fortunate two received very long prison sentences. Of the trial and these sentences Mr. Whitehead says nothing. One day late in 1946 or early in the next year, a woman came to see me saying that she did so at the request of her

SPINOZA

The ROAD to INNER FREEDOM

The Ethics

Edited and with
an Introduction by
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THE Ethics of Spinoza is, without question, one of the most profound and basic works in all philosophical literature. Although highly appreciated by professional philosophers, the volume has never received the wide popularity it deserves. One of the main reasons for this situation can be found in the fact that Spinoza couched his ideas in mathematical formulation and scholastic terminology; in part, at least, in order to avoid having his friends and followers come into conflict with the religious authorities of his time.

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husband, George Dasch. At that moment the name meant nothing to me. She herself, an American citizen, made a good impression. Her story was that she herself was a loyal citizen who had worked faithfully in a war industry. She believed in her husband and in the story he wanted her to tell me. In brief, he had saved the country much damage by revealing the German submarine plot; he had had some trouble getting a hearing in Washington; the FBI and the Department of Justice had promised him that, while under war conditions he could not be set free, he would be released after the war was over. Now, he said, that promise was unfulfilled, and he had asked his wife to seek my help.

I made some preliminary inquiries at the New York office of the FBI and partially verified this tale. Then I turned to that great lawyer and champion of civil liberty, Arthur Garfield Hays. We—mostly he—had no great trouble in persuading the FBI, or rather the Department of Justice, to fulfill its promise. This it did upon condition that Dasch would accept deportation to Germany, where, one FBI man told us, he thought Dasch would not survive very long. Dasch took the chance and went to Germany with his wife. For some years he made a peaceful living there, but around about 1952 or 1953 his story became known and, he said, his life was threatened. Then I began to get letters from him, asking for help to get back to America. He repeated his old claim that he had deliberately enlisted as a saboteur in order to help the country in which he had long lived and of which his wife was a citizen; furthermore, he had almost immediately been disillusioned by Hitler on his previous return to Germany, before the war, and now he could no longer earn a living there, and his life was in danger.

Arthur Garfield Hays, alas, had died before I could do much about this matter. But moved by repeated appeals by letter from Mrs. Dasch, I took the matter up in Washington. The FBI told me what it had earlier told Mr. Hays: that Dasch had turned informant only after he had run into an American sailor, John Cullen, on the Amagansett beach, whom he had bribed and threatened. He knew, however, that sooner or later Cullen would report the meeting and set the FBI on his trail. Therefore he had turned informer to save himself. To this Dasch replied to me, and repeatedly to Washington, that he could and would have

killed Cullen and buried him in the sand or in the sea had he been willing to stain his hands with murder; what he had needed was only time—which he got to plan the successful betrayal of the whole German plot. The FBI and the Department of Justice remained unconvinced. I argued that in any case, Dasch had performed an important, perhaps an immensely important, service to the United States, and was entitled to a chance to live and work in the country of which his wife was a citizen. There were even more than the usual bureaucratic delays in getting an answer from the Department of Justice (not the FBI), but at last the Department informed me that it denied further consideration to Dasch not because of its old contention that he turned informer only through fear, but because he had publicly complained against the United States in East Germany, where he had gone for a time.

The bureaucratic delays were not the fault of the FBI. Its version of Dasch's motives may be correct. But Mr. Whitehead's story implies that the solution of the case was more of a triumph of FBI techniques than it actually was. Could a similar comment be justly made on other stories in his book if we knew all the facts? Anyhow, the case of the saboteurs hardly ranks with the more spectacular achievements of the FBI—as, for example, the discovery of the kidnapper of the Weinberger baby on Long Island. That story, among other things, illustrates the value of fingerprints. And Mr. Whitehead and Mr. Hoover almost have convinced this doubting Thomas that the registry of citizens' fingerprints—at least on a voluntary basis—may be more of a protection than a police state measure. But I still doubt the wisdom, psychologically, of requiring fingerprints of visitors from abroad. And on this note I close this rather garrulous review of a very interesting and, on the whole, convincing book.

Englishmen and Jews

BIBLE AND SWORD. By BARBARA W. TUCHMAN. New York University Press. 268 pp. \$5.00.

Reviewed by HERBERT HOWARTH

PROBE into almost any period of British history and you come on men and women strik-

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United States Senate

MEMORANDUM

April 9, 1957

TO: Lou Nichols

FROM: Ben Mandel

For your information.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

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Mr. Nichols ☒
Mr. Boardman ☒
Mr. Belmont ☒
Mr. Mohr ☒
Mr. Parsons ☒
Mr. Rosen ☒
Mr. Tamm ☒
Mr. Trotter ☒
Mr. Jones ☒
Mr. Nease ☒
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NORMAN THOMAS

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The Sun



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April 20, 1957

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| Mr. Nichols | |
| Mr. Belmont | |
| Mr. Mohr | |
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| Mr. Rosen | |
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Dear Lou,

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We're right on top of the news.

Best,

Norman Thomas

Fred
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10 APR 23 1957
FBI

W.T.S - April 10, 1957

Norman Thomas Gives FBI Praise

By FREDERICK WOLTMAN,
Staff Writer

The FBI under J. Edgar Hoover has won an unexpected advocate, Norman Thomas, America's leading Socialist and for many years a mainspring of the American Civil Liberties Union.

To Mr. Thomas it is as good or better an investigative agency than could be expected in these tumultuous times in so big a nation as the United States.

Mr. Thomas paid this tribute in his review of Don Whitehead's "The FBI Story," published by Random House. It appears in the April Commentary, monthly magazine of the American Jewish Committee.

Dispute With Russell.

The former Socialist candidate for President has been carrying on a controversy with British Earl Bertrand Russell over the latter's extravagant attacks on the FBI. Any American who comes out for civil liberties and the rights of Negroes, Lord Russell has charged, will immediately be investigated by the FBI and probably lose his job.

Mr. Thomas challenged this emphatically.

In answer to charges that the FBI is "a menace to civil rights," he seconded the author's conclusion that it "represents the people's effort to achieve government by law" and in the future "will be as strong or as weak as the people demand it to be."

Tells of Own Contacts.

Now that the people and government have so mighty an agency of justice as the FBI," warned the Socialist leader, "it behooves them to keep it from corruption and from political exploitation."

His own contacts with FBI

agents in loyalty and security inquiries have shown them without exception to be courteous and intelligent, said Mr. Thomas, and gave him confidence in the integrity of its proceedings.

Doubting Thomas.

Both the book and Mr. Hoover, he wrote, "have almost convinced this doubting Thomas" that the registration of citizens' fingerprints "may be more of a protection than a police state measure."

Any sins of omission and commission have resulted from orders of the White House or Justice Department, Mr. Thomas said. He added that he fears the FBI less than "the glamorous sanctity and immunity from criticism with which it has been popularly invested."



She's wearing
Peck & Peck stock

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Office Memorandum

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (62-

DATE: 4/25/58

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (62-11740)

SUBJECT:

NORMAN THOMAS

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Caution should be exercised in reporting or disseminating by other means information furnished by NY 2179-S*, since the nature of the information tends to disclose the nature of this highly confidential and sensitive informant.

On 4/21/58, NY 2179-S* advised that a NY State CP Board meeting took place on that date in the Second Floor Board Room at CP Headquarters in NYC.

EVELYN WIENER commented on a meeting took place at Cooper Union (NYC) which was, she said, "noteworthy among other things for its complete lack of red-baiting." (Nature of the meeting and its date were not made known to the informant.)

WIENER stated that she was told that NORMAN THOMAS, a speaker at the Cooper Union meeting, said that he is changing from a position he has always held; that he always felt that the Soviet Union and the USA were equally responsible for the war danger. He now feels that the U.S. is solely responsible.

Above for information.

2 - Bureau (62-

3 - New York (62-11740) (7-3)

(1 - NY 100-126814) (CP, USA N.Y. Dist. - Organization) (19-2)

(1 - NY 100-54555) (EVELYN WIENER) (12-14)

DFG:rag

(5)

103 REC-78

12 APR 23 1958

66 MAY 12 1958

1- NORMAN THOMAS

2- 61-10767

3- YES

4- No

5- No

6- 1924-56.

7- (sec #6)

8- 10

9- No

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DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:

FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE

DATE 09-28-2010

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : F. J. Baumgardner *7/8/58*

DATE: June 30, 1958

FROM : J. J. O'Connor *JJO*

SUBJECT: NORMAN THOMAS

SM-C

Photo **CONFIDENTIAL**
CC TO: ... *5-5-5* ...
REQ. REC'D... *5-5-5* ...
MAY 7 1965
ANS.
BY: *W. J. W. / d. l. m.*

Attached is a memorandum prepared by the New York Office concerning captioned individual, which does not include any information obtained as the result of a file review at Seat of Government. The attached was transmitted by New York letter dated June 6, 1958, captioned "Communist Infiltration of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), Internal Security - C," the original of which is filed in Bufile 61-3176-2557.

EXTREME CAUTION SHOULD BE TAKEN IN UTILIZING THE INFORMATION IN THE ATTACHED AS INCLUDED THEREIN MAY BE INFORMATION, PARTICULARLY THAT FROM THE INDICES OF THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES (HCUA), WHICH HAS NOT BEEN DEFINITELY IDENTIFIED AS BEING IDENTICAL WITH CAPTIONED INDIVIDUAL. THE ATTACHED MEMORANDUM, OR ANY REPRODUCTION THEREOF, SHOULD NOT BE DISSEMINATED IN ITS ENTIRETY.

RECOMMENDATION:

It is recommended that instant memorandum and its attachment be routed to the Records Branch:

☒ To be filed in case file of captioned individual. *my*

☐ To have a new 100 main inactive file opened on captioned individual and for filing therein.

10/2/58
CLASS. & EXT. BY *10/2/58*

REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2

DATE OF REVIEW *10/2/58*

16 JUL 3 1958

3 ENCLOSURE
REC-29

Enclosure

Bufile 61-10767

EX-101

EX-101

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60 JUL 8 1958

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NY 100-7629-subC

JUN 6 1958

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NORMAN THOMAS
Committee of 100
NAACP Legal Defense and
Educational Fund, Inc.

Background information concerning the sex, birth, residence and employment of NORMAN THOMAS was secured from "Who's Who in America, Volume 30, 1958-59."

The confidential informant who furnished information about NORMAN THOMAS contained in the letterhead memorandum b7E is [redacted] who furnished the information to SA JAMES P. HALLERON on May 23, 1958.

CLASS. & EXT. BY _____
REASON (M.F. 1-2.4) _____
DATE OF REVIEW _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

5/2/58

61-10767-40

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JUN 6 1958

NY 100-7029-subC

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NORMAN THOMAS
Committee of 100 NAACP
Legal Defense and
Educational Fund, Inc.

NORMAN THOMAS is a white male who was born November 20, 1884 at Marion, Ohio. THOMAS is currently employed as Chairman of the Postwar World Council at 112 East 19th Street, New York City and as a Co-editor of publications. THOMAS currently resides at 77 Huntington Road, Huntington, New York.

"Who's Who in America, Volume 30, 1958-59" reflects on page 2754 that NORMAN THOMAS was ordained a Presbyterian minister in 1911 and demitted the ministry in 1931; was candidate for Mayor of the City of New York on two occasions, candidate for Governor of the State of New York in 1924, and candidate for President of the United States in 1928, 1932, 1936, 1940, 1944 and 1948, all on the Socialist ticket; and, author of numerous pamphlets on socialism.

A confidential informant, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on May 23, 1958, that NORMAN THOMAS, the Socialist, was anti-communist and had never, to the informant's knowledge, exhibited Marxist-Leninist policies. The informant said that he understood that THOMAS believed in Socialism to be achieved through peaceful means which was in opposition to Socialism under Marxism - Leninism which calls for violent revolution. The informant said that THOMAS had joined and participated in the activities of numerous front or communist infiltrated organizations, but in this capacity, he had held himself apart from Communism. The informant advised that in connection with THOMAS' membership in such organizations, he had tended to advance Socialism and to defend personal liberties. The informant said that he had heard in conversations within communist party circles that NORMAN THOMAS was anti-communist.

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EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

CLASS. & EXT. BY
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW

61-10757-10

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-7629-subC

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The Communist Party has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States as coming within the purview of Executive Order 10450.

The "Daily Worker" was an East Coast Communist daily newspaper which suspended publication on January 13, 1958.

On page 4, column 1 of the August 1, 1956 issue of the "Daily Worker" is a letter to the editor signed "sincerely Norman Thomas" which letter corrects an alleged misquoting of THOMAS which appeared in the July 23, 1956 issue. This letter states in part: "As you know, I am anti-communist and I am anti-Smith Act . . . Obviously I am not more anti-Smith Act than I am anti-Communist, if for no other reason than the fact that Communism in power always imposes far more restrictive legislation than the Smith Act".

NORMAN THOMAS
A Member of the "Committee of 100," N.A.A.C.P.
Legal Defense & Educational Fund, Inc.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

A name check of the indices and/or printed hearings of the HCUA on the name NORMAN THOMAS, on 5/28/58, by SE , reflected the following references which were not checked against the original source:

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b7c

1. "National Republic" for February, 1930, reflected one NORMAN THOMAS as on Committee for permission for entry of Count KAROLYI to the United States.
2. The (Chicago?) "Daily News," 2/22/30, reflected one NORMAN THOMAS, candidate for President on the Socialist Ticket in 1928 and Director of the League for Industrial Democracy.
3. The "Daily Worker" for 7/15/30, reflected one NORMAN THOMAS as on the National Committee of the American Progressive Committee.
4. "New Masses" for 3/31/36, page 2, reflected one NORMAN THOMAS as a member of the Mutual Aid League.
5. "Labor Action" for 10/15/56, page 6, reflected that one NORMAN THOMAS was a witness for the Indep. Socialist League in its case against the Attorney General's list.
6. "Labor Action" for 12/24/56, page 2, reflected that one NORMAN THOMAS refused to appear on a platform with apologist (CARL WINTER) for the "Communist Butchers" of Hungary, at the meeting sponsored by the Detroit Fellowship of Reconciliation Chapter.
7. The "Daily Worker" for 10/24/57, page 2, reflected that one NORMAN THOMAS, in a letter to the editor of the N.Y. Post, 10/20/57, indicated support of the movement for a U.S. Supreme Court review of the MORTON SOBELL case.

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8. A letterhead, dated 9/8/30, reflected that one NORMAN M. THOMAS was a member of the Board of Directors, American Fund for Public Service.
9. The "Daily Worker" for 4/23/57, page 3, reflected that one NORMAN THOMAS, "veteran Socialist leader," was a speaker at a forum on "Socialism in the United States" to be held April 23 at Swarthmore College. Other speakers: JOHN GATES, Editor of the "Daily Worker," and MURRY WEISS, Socialist Workers Party.
10. The "Daily Worker" for 8/1/56, page 4, reflected that one NORMAN THOMAS wrote a letter, referring to comments about him in the July 26, 1956, issue of "Daily Worker."
11. The "Daily Worker" for 4/20/27, page 5, reflected that one NORMAN THOMAS participated in a New Jersey strike.
12. "Labor Action" for 7/1/57, page 4, reflected that one NORMAN THOMAS in a letter written by him to A. J. MUSTE, sets forth a statement of his reasons for strong opposition to an official investigation of the American Forum, by Senator Eastland's Committee despite his own objection to the Forum as it has been set up.
13. "Labor Action" for 12/24/56, reflected that one NORMAN THOMAS sent regrets for his inability to attend the meeting held at the Community Church, Friday, December 14, at which the panelists discussed "Socialism and Democracy: East & West."
14. The "Daily Worker" for 7/30/57, page 3, reflected that one NORMAN THOMAS was a scheduled speaker at a public meeting sponsored by the newly-formed N.Y. Committee Against Testing Nuclear Weapons, to be held August 6 in Town Hall, N.Y.
15. The "Daily Worker" for 6/2/38, page 5, reflected one NORMAN THOMAS as a supporter of a meeting of the Medical Bureau & North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy.

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16. "Volunteer for Liberty," Volume I, No. 3, ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
June 8, 1937, reflected that the name of one
NORMAN THOMAS appeared in a reprint of a telegram
sent by the Abraham Lincoln Brigade to the Brigade
in Spain.
17. "The Struggle Against War" for August, 1933, page 2,
reflected that one NORMAN THOMAS was a member of the
Arrangements Committee, American Committee for
Struggle Against War, for the United States Congress
Against War.
18. A pamphlet, Presenting the American Student Union,
(back cover), reflected that one NORMAN THOMAS was
a member of the Advisory Board of the American
Student Union.
19. The "Daily Worker" for 3/19/38, page 2, reflected
that one NORMAN THOMAS was a speaker at a Progressive
Rally, sponsored by the Medical Bureau and North
American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy.
20. "Champion" for October, 1936, page 8, reflected
that one NORMAN THOMAS was a contributor.
21. "The People vs. H.C.L.," a pamphlet, page 3,
December 11-12, 1937, reflected that one NORMAN
THOMAS was a sponsor of the Consumers National
Federation.
22. The "Daily Worker" for 4/30/27, page 5, reflected
that one NORMAN THOMAS was arrested at Passaic,
New Jersey, at a rally of the International Labor
Defense.
23. A pamphlet, The Second National Negro Congress,
October, 1937, reflected that one NORMAN THOMAS
spoke.
24. The "Daily Worker" for 2/15/38, page 7, reflected
that one NORMAN THOMAS was a contributor to the
official proceedings of the Second National Negro
Congress.
25. A typewritten petition (32 pages), dated 5/12/46,
page 11, reflected that one NORMAN M. THOMAS,
113 West 23rd St., N.Y.C., was a signer of a
petition sponsored by the New Jersey Council of
American-Soviet Friendship, protesting the
citation for contempt of the officers of the NCASF.

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26. "New Masses" for 7/20/37, page 29, reflected that one NORMAN THOMAS was a speaker at the 1st Anniversary of Anti-Fascist Struggle in Spain, meeting at Madison Square Garden, July 19, 1937, sponsored by the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy.
 27. A letterhead, dated 3/20/26, reflected that one NORMAN THOMAS was a member of the Advisory Board of Russian Reconstruction Farms, Inc.
 28. "Soviet Russia Today" for September, 1947, page 21, reflected that one NORMAN THOMAS wrote the book "Appeal to the Nations," reviewed by IRVING H. FLAMM in "Soviet Russia Today."
 29. "Call to the United States Congress Against War," September 1-4, 1933, N.Y.C., page 3, reflected that one NORMAN THOMAS, member, N.E.C., Socialist Party of America, was a member of the Arrangements Committee of United States Congress Against War.
 30. A letterhead, dated November, 1926, reflected that one NORMAN THOMAS was a member of the Sacco-Vanzette Emergency Committee.
 31. A leaflet, "The Job of the Workers Defense League," (filed 5/1/39), reflected that one NORMAN THOMAS was a member of the National Committee of the Workers Defense League.
 32. The "Evening Star" for April 9, 1958, page A-38, reflected that Chairman WALTER of HCUA described as a "propaganda hoax" the legal action to halt United States atom tests, filed in Federal Court here by Mr. (NORMAN) THOMAS and 13 others.
 33. "Peoples World" for 4/12/58, page 5, reflected that one NORMAN THOMAS was one of those who brought suit in Federal Court in Washington to enjoin members of the Atomic Energy Commission from conducting further nuclear tests.
 34. A Dinner Program, May 24, (1939), reflected that one NORMAN THOMAS was a speaker before the Non-Partisan Committee for the Defense of FRED E. BEAL ("Anti-Communist").

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35. A leaflet, March 1 to 8, 1942, reflected that one NORMAN THOMAS was member of the Committee of Sponsors for National Sharecroppers Week.
36. "Ibenia" for 2/15/54, inside front cover, reflected that one NORMAN THOMAS was the Honorary Chairman of "Ibenia" (bulletin on Spanish affairs).
37. A letterhead of 10/10/47, a letterhead of 12/2/46 and the "American Writer" for March, 1947, reflected that one NORMAN THOMAS was a member of the Board of Directors of the American Writers Association, Inc.
38. A Press Release, 6/16/47, page 4, reflected that one NORMAN THOMAS, "Anti-Communist" was on the Executive Committee for the American Association for a Democratic Germany.
39. "Why a Milk Cooperative," back cover, reflected that one NORMAN THOMAS was a sponsor of the Consumer-Farmer Milk Cooperative.
40. Hearings. House of Representatives, 75th Congress, 3rd Session, Testimony of JOHN P. FREY, President, Metal Trades Department of the AFL on August 15, 1938:

Page 161 reflected one NORM M. THOMAS, National Committee of American Civil Liberties Union, was connected with six other organizations and is a clergyman combining intellectual radicalism with religion (quoted from Senate Document No. 14 of 1924).

Page 480 reflects that one NORMAN THOMAS sent felicitations to the imprisoned anarchists MOONEY and BILLINGS (year not given).

Page 488 reflects one NORMAN THOMAS was included in a list of speakers at a 4-day session of the Workers Alliance of America, Washington, D. C., in 1935.

Page 521 reflected one NORMAN THOMAS as a member of Executive Committee of the Civil Liberties Bureau.

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Page 537, a footnote to the Report of the American Civil Liberties Union, 1938, reflects one NORMAN THOMAS as "Leader of the American Socialist Party."

Page 628, under caption "Scottsboro Defense Committee," it was noted that a testimonial dinner was given in honor of NORMAN THOMAS in 1936.

Page 668 reflects that HENRY HODGKIN, in 1915, obtained the cooperation of one NORMAN THOMAS (Socialist candidate for President of United States on many occasions) to assist him with the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Page 685. In December, 1931, the League of Industrial Democracy held a National Student Conference at the Union Theological Seminary, NYC, and NORMAN THOMAS spoke on "America in a State of Revolution."

Page 686 reflected that one NORMAN THOMAS was connected with the American Civil Liberties Union.

Page 689 reflects that one NORMAN THOMAS, in 1929, was one of those who prepared pamphlets dealing with public ownership and Government control of certain industries.

Page 694 reflected that one NORMAN THOMAS was connected with the FERRERO-SALLETTO Defense Committee set up in the U.S. to defend those two anarchists from deportation.

41. Testimony of RAY E. NIMMO on October 24, 1938, on page 1891, under the caption of "Communist International," one NORMAN THOMAS said that confiscation of property by legal procedure could not be overcome.
42. Testimony of HARPER L. KNOWLES, Chairman of the Radical Research Committee of the American Legion, Department of California, on October 25, 1938. On page 1966 and 1967 one NORMAN THOMAS, Socialist candidate for President, was one of sponsors of California Conference of Agricultural Workers held at Stockton on June 6 and 7, 1936.

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43. Testimony of J. B. MATTHEWS, November 5, 1938, reflected on page 2184 that one NORMAN THOMAS who was invited to appear before the investigating Committee of the American League (against War and Fascism?) but declined on the grounds that it was a packed committee, packed by communists.
44. Testimony of SAM BARON on 11/23/38, on pages 2549 and 2550; The Chairman of Committee read a telegram dated 11/22/38, Boston, Mass., from one NORMAN THOMAS, National Chairman, Socialist Party, to Chairman MARTIN DIES--"SAM BARON's appearance before you is completely repudiated by Socialist Party. Ill health may lead him to distort and exaggerate stories of Spanish situation. We are concerned for preservation of civil liberties everywhere but we believe Spaniards are today struggling for them far better than your committee and we again renew support to the heroic Spanish struggle against fascism."

After the telegram BARON stated:

"I want the record to show that I requested that that telegram from NORMAN THOMAS be read into the record. I want to say I think NORMAN THOMAS is one of the greatest living Americans, that wherever civil liberties, wherever there is injustice committed against the freedom of the people, NORMAN THOMAS is in the forefront of that struggle.

"In Tampa, Fla.; where the Ku Klux tarred and feathered JOSEPH SHOEMAKER, who subsequently died from that treatment, NORMAN THOMAS was there fighting the good fight.

"In Terre Haute, Ind., when martial law was invoked, NORMAN THOMAS was there.

"When the sharecroppers were fighting for their rights through Arkansas and other states, NORMAN THOMAS was there.

"In Jersey City, when civil liberties were abridged, NORMAN THOMAS was there.

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"Not only in the United States, and issues concerning it, but even concerning Soviet Russia, NORMAN THOMAS has been in the forefront to point out to the citizens of the United States that the practices of the communists in Soviet Russia are vicious and murderous.

"As to Loyalist Spain, the daily press will continuously show that NORMAN THOMAS has come out and made statements against practices in Spain which I am here now testifying to."

Testimony on 12/6/38 of HENRY G. ALSBERG, National Director, Federal Writers' Project, WPA, on page 2897, he furnished the name of one NORMAN THOMAS as being on the International Committee for Political Prisoners.

Testimony on 12/8/38 of Col. LATHAM R. REED, on page 2979, Reed Exhibit No. 2, reflected one NORMAN M. THOMAS was connected with American Civil Liberties Union as taken from a letterhead of the ACLU dated 6/7/38.

Page 2568 reflected a letter from the Provisional Labor Committee for the Defense of Workers Rights in Spain, N.Y.C., 12/23/37, reflecting that on 1/22 (1938) at 2 P.M., a conference is to be held of all interested organizations at Webster Manor, 119 E. 11th St.; one NORMAN THOMAS was one of the signers of the letter.

Page 2591, an article in "Time" Magazine, 10/24/38, on Trotskyist Trial in Spain, one NORMAN THOMAS among others believed that one ANDRES NIN was murdered.

On page 2596 is reflected the fact that one NORMAN THOMAS sent a telegram to one JOHN MC NAIR in Spain on July 3, 1937(?)

On page 2613 is reflected the fact that one NORMAN THOMAS sent a protest to the Spanish Gov't. in July, 1937, regarding the arrest of JOSEPH M. ESCUDER.

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On page 2625 SAM BARONS told MILTON K. WELLS, American Vice-Consul in Spain, that he wanted him to send a message to NORMAN THOMAS in the United States notifying him that he (BARON) was in the hands of the communists and he didn't know what they intend to do.

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On page 2660 BARON quoted from an appeal to Socialist Voters published by the New York State Committee of the Communist Party--: A vote for THOMAS is in effect an aid to Fascist aggressors-- a helping hand to the American chamberlains.

On page 2664 BARON testified, "Before identifying certain individuals who are operating in public organizations and concealing their identities, I would like the record to show also as one being present during the time that NORMAN THOMAS was forcibly removed from Jersey City, and upon his second deportation I was deported with him on the same train--that the statements made before your committee that the incidents that occurred in Jersey City in relation to Mayor HAGUE were communist inspired is not true."

"The statement was made in the New York City hearings that members of the Federal Writers' Project who were known communists were in Jersey City helping to make publicity arrangements, and other arrangements for the meetings there. I do not recall that it was for the NORMAN THOMAS meeting, but I think it was for a couple of members of the Congress, as I recall it now." He further stated--"But aside from that (Jersey City meeting arranged by Int'l Labor Defense), NORMAN THOMAS, and, as I contend, the American Civil Liberties Union, the Workers' Defense League, and the CIO are not 'fronts' for the communists and were not operating in the interest of the Communist Party. For the sake of the record, there was no testimony to the effect that the Communist Party or, as I recall it, that even communists were sponsors for the NORMAN THOMAS meeting or had anything to do with it."

On page 2673 BARON stated that NORMAN THOMAS was lashed by the communist movement.

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45. Hearings, House of Representatives, 76th Congress, 1st Session, Testimony of WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, Chairman of the Communist Party of the United States on September 29, 1939. A pamphlet entitled "Acceptance Speeches, WILLIAM Z. FOSTER and BENJAMIN GITLOW" - Exhibit A (National Election Campaign Committee Workers (Communist Party 1928) reflected that NORMAN THOMAS, the nominee of the Socialist Party for President, is, in fact, only a camouflaged defender of capitalism - a disguised supporter of the present system of exploiting the workers.

On Page 5406, reflects under caption - Role of the Socialist Party - The result of capitalism is wage cuts, unemployment, poverty, misery, frameups, white terror, fascism and imperialist world war. These fruits of capitalism NORMAN THOMAS favors, but he does not favor revolution to end all this.

Testimony of KENNETH GOFF, on October 9, 1939. On Page 5635, taken from the minutes of the Resident Board meeting, December 24, 1937, "There are some very important developments today on the labor front; there is a revival of the whole NORMAN THOMAS school."

On Page 5689, taken from the minutes of the National Resident Board meeting, Young Communist League, U. S. A., April 9, 1938, under caption "Spain", "Approval of having CELESTE STACKER debate NORMAN THOMAS at the University of Minnesota if he accepts the challenge."

46. Hearings, House of Representatives, 76th Congress, 1st Session, Testimony on October 17, 1939, of Hon. VITO MARCANTONIO, member of Congress, National President, International Labor Defense. On Page 5979 MARCANTONIO stated that many non-communists made appeals for the Scottsboro boys, including one NORMAN THOMAS.

47. Testimony of FRED ERWIN BEAL, former Communist organizer in Lawrence, New Bedford, and Gastonia, on October 20, 1939. On Page 6144, reference is made to a letter from the International Labor Defense, 80 E 11th Street, Room 430, N. Y. C., October 21, 1930, to ROGER BALDWIN, 100 Fifth Avenue, New York City. A paragraph taken from this letter is as follows: "We must say quite frankly that the actions taken by your board are not based upon the interest of persecuted workers but are in effect an attempt to use the Gastonia incident for the political purposes of such of your members as (one) NORMAN THOMAS."

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48. Testimony of HARRY FREEMAN WARD, October 23, 1939. On page 6237, is reflected that one NORMAN THOMAS, member N. Y. C., Socialist Party of America was on the arrangement committee for the U. S. Congress Against War (to be held in New York City, September 2-4, 1933).
49. Testimony on October 24, 1939, of FRANCIS ADAMS HENSON, Consultant on Public Relations. (On page 6359, HENSON stated that only "that section led by MARY FOX and NORMAN THOMAS was a part of the (American) League (Against War and Fascism) in February and March of 1934."

On page 6361, it is reflected that a call on Socialist Party members to revolt against NORMAN THOMAS, was another way of recruiting for the Communist Party.

50. Testimony on November 27, 1939, of GEORGE W. HARTMANN, Associate Professor of Educational Psychology, Teachers' College, New York. On page 6842, he mentioned the fact that the communist would defend a dictatorial regime in order to "exile or kill" a man like one NORMAN THOMAS.

On page 6855, HARTMANN pointed out that he was the Socialist candidate for Lieutenant Governor in New York last year (1938), the running mate with one NORMAN THOMAS.

Statement on November 27, 1939, of Dr. HENRY R. LINVILLE, New York, Executive Director of the New York Teachers Guild. On page 6886 he referred to a pamphlet which made mention of a debate on November 27, 1935, at Madison Square Garden between EARL BROWDER and NORMAN THOMAS. BROWDER challenged THOMAS to cooperate in the Teachers' Union, Socialist and Communist, to take action as they had done elsewhere.

Testimony of JOSEPH P. LASH, National Secretary, American Student Union, New York City, on 12/1/39. On page 7068 he reads from the November-December, 1934, "Student Outlook" from an editorial in which one person with a fictitious name attempted to connect one NORMAN THOMAS and President WILKINS of Oberlin in the granting of a League for Industrial Democracy scholarship.

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Testimony of JAY LOVESTONE, Secretary, Independence Labor League of America, on December 2, 1939. On page 7105, he indicated that one NORMAN THOMAS was a social fascist.

51. Hearings, House of Representatives, 77th Congress, 1st Session, testimony of STEPHEN W. BIRMINGHAM, Investigator, Special Committee on Un-American Activities, on August 11, 1941. On page 8767 is the following under subcaption "V. Tasks in U.S.A.," C., Exposure of the sabotage of the Trotskyites, Lovestoneites, and Socialists (3). The isolationist attitude of NORMAN THOMAS. The main article on 8764 is headed - "Spain and the Peoples Front," March 1, 1938, New York County Committee, Communist Party, Education Department.

On Page 8767, is the caption "Our Election Campaign and Its Relation to the American Labor Party," Communist Party, New York, District, August 26, 1936. On page 8769 under Part IX "The position of the Socialist Party in regard to the American Labor Party," mention is made of a letter of one THOMAS to London and a speech of one -- THOMAS to the Townsendites.

52. House Report #1311, 78th Congress, 2nd Session - Report on the CIO Political Action Committee. On page 75 one NORMAN THOMAS was listed as a Director of the American Fund for Public Service.
53. Hearings, House of Representatives, 78th Congress, 1st Session, Testimony on January 21, 1942, of JOSEPH P. LASH, General Secretary, International Student Service. LASH stated in answer to a query that he, one NORMAN THOMAS, might have denounced the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy in 1938 and asked all socialists to withdraw support from it.
54. Testimony on April 1, 1943, of GOODWIN B. WATSON, Chief Analyst of the Foreign Broadcast Intelligence Service, Federal Communications Commission. He stated that one NORMAN THOMAS was connected with the American Student Union.
55. Testimony on April 8, 1943, of JACK BRADLEY FAHY, Board of Economic Warfare. On page 3457, mentioned is made of people who had been send to Spain by the Socialist Party and that he had gone to talk with one NORMAN THOMAS

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to see if there wasn't some way they could be brought home. On page 3461 he stated that he had never met NORMAN THOMAS up to the time he left for Spain in 1936.

56. Testimony of ROBERT MORSS LOVETT, Government Secretary, Virgin Islands, Department of the Interior on April 16, 1943. He stated that one NORMAN THOMAS was a trustee of the Garland Fund, correctly known as the American Fund for Public Service.
57. Appendix Part 1, Compilation of Original Sources used as exhibits to show the nature and aims of the Communist Party, its connections with the USSR and its advocacy of force and violence - House of Representatives, 76th Congress, 1st Session. On page 497, appears Exhibit #77 (Source: A pamphlet published for the Communist Party National Campaign Committee by Workers Library Publishers, New York, 1932.) "The Fight for Bread by EARL BROWDER" a keynote speech opening the National Nominating Convention of the Communist Party, Chicago, May 28, 1932. On Page 498 one NORMAN THOMAS was listed as leader of the so-called Socialist Party who supported J. PIERPONT MORGAN in attacking the Communist Party.

On Page 739, appears Exhibit #101 (Source: Excerpts from "Why Communism" by M. J. OLGIN, a pamphlet published by the Workers Library Publishers, New York, May, 1935, pages 27-28, 32, 33, 43, 58-72) captioned "No Need of Revolution" - one Mr. NORMAN THOMAS, leader of American Socialists said, "of course, there is the Federal Constitution which prohibits the confiscation of property by legal procedure, but this, can be overcome."

On page 862, appears Exhibit 187 (Source: An original leaflet in the files of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, 1940) - "Unite Against Warmakers - Keep America Out of War" On page 863 under the caption "Lest We Forget" - it states the Roosevelt War and hunger program has the active support of such labor officials and social democratic leaders as one --THOMAS, among others.

On page 865 appears Exhibit #189 (Source: An original leaflet in the files of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities - 1940) - "Save America's Peace." On page 867, is reflected the following: "Beware of the Agents of Wall Street in the ranks of labor, the NORMAN THOMASes, and old guard socialist, the DUBINSKYS, HILLMANS and WALLS. They are blood brothers of the

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European Social - Democrats, the British Laborites, and French Socialist, who sat in the war cabinets of Europe directing the murder of millions of youth!"

58. Hearings, House of Representatives, 77th Congress, 1st Session - Appendix Part V - Transport Workers Union.

On Page 1660, Exhibit 21, one NORMAN THOMAS, National Chairman, Socialist Party is listed as a sponsor of the Consumer - Farmer Milk Cooperative, Inc., 215 4th Avenue, NYC.

On page 1666, Exhibit 25, one NORMAN THOMAS was mentioned in article of the Progressive Party, as Socialist candidate for President.

On page 1699, Exhibit 48 ("Daily Worker", for 5/1/34) "The Taxi Strike as Seen by A New York Transport Worker." It is stated that through the machinations of one NORMAN THOMAS, the priest, among others, the taxi drivers were forced back to work.

59. Hearings, House of Representatives, 79th Congress 1st Session, statement of WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, October 18, 1945, on page 67, mentions one NORMAN THOMAS as being connected with Socialism.

On page 124, FOSTER stated that one Mr. NORMAN THOMAS is one of the bitterest enemies of the Soviet Union in the United States and is a red baiter, adding that he sabotaged the war we have just gone through and considered the Soviet Union, not HITLER, as the main enemy.

60. Hearings, House of Representatives, 80th Congress, 1st Session, on H. R. 1884 and H. R. 2122, on March 26, 1947, is the testimony of Dr. EMERSON SCHMIDT, Secretary, Committee on Socialism and Communism, Chamber of Commerce of the United States. The report of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce - "Communist Infiltration in the United States", on page 164, states numerous liberal-minded individuals, such as NORMAN THOMAS, in sympathy with the struggle against Fascism in Spain, have testified as to the real nature of these organizations which were set up in response to the communist appeals."

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61. Hearings, House of Representatives, 81st Congress, 1st Session, sworn testimony of GEORGE K. HUNTON on 7/13/48, it is reflected one NORMAN THOMAS was one of a group of outstanding, reputable leaders who notified the American Scottsboro Committee, that they wanted to organize, what HUNTON believed, was the first united front in this country.
62. Hearings, House of Representatives, 81st Congress, 2nd Session; testimony of ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS, on March 28, 1950. He stated that he had been asked to join front organizations and he in turn would ask if one NORMAN THOMAS was on the Board.
63. Hearings, House of Representatives, 81st Congress, 2nd Session. Testimony of one NORMAN THOMAS on May 3, 1950, pages 2291/2296, who appeared as a representative of the Socialist Party. He stated "I am not now a member of the Communist Party, I have never been a member of the Communist Party, and at least since 1936 I have had far less to do with members of the Communist Party than have the Democrats and Republicans who accepted the endorsement of the ALP in New York."...

"I appear in behalf of the Socialist Party in opposition to the Mundt-Ferguson-Nixon Bill, with special reference to those sections which require registration of Communist organizations and their members."...

"I believe that the Communist Party is by its nature undemocratic and in many of its activities thoroughly conspiratorial. It is controlled by the same men who are the dictators of a foreign government. Nevertheless, I think it would be a blow to democracy and to sound public policy to outlaw the Communist Party..."

"Whatever the intentions of the authors, the practical effects of this bill would be to outlaw the Communist Party, to drive it still further underground, and to force it to new disguises in the field of electoral action. You gentlemen are sufficiently experienced in the psychology of American politics and the practical workings of parties to realize that no party can function effectively under the regulations you propose. The bill is an indirect way of outlawing the party."

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"I think it ought to be obvious that that is true. Incidentally and parenthetically, if the communists should have anyone who had the nerve-and they mightand, shall I say had a practical joker, he could cause a lot of embarrassment by filing the names of people the Communists hated. These people probably could clear themselves, perhaps easier than Mr. LATTIMORE is now because of the difficulties he faces, not because I think he is a Communist, but nevertheless it would be quite embarrassing. All that would have to be done would be for the communists to turn in the names of people they hated, and these people would be a long time clearing their names. In other words, it is completely impractical bill, and I doubt that the Communist Party would attempt to comply with it at all. They simple would go underground. Despite the sins of the Communist Party, it does not present such a clear and present danger to American institutions and to democratic procedures that we should be justified in outlawing it and driving it still farther into underground conspiracy. The effect of the bill will be to give not only Communists but organizations, dubiously connected with communism the accolade of martyrdom. Through the world America will be advertised as a country which, in a basic respect, violates the democracy it professes.

"Remember that European governments are not in a position to outlaw communist parties. They are too strong. But in France, for instance, there is a very strong non-communist feeling very suspicious to us, and if we simply outlawed the Communist Party, their confidence in us would go by the board. The good American principle that the ballot is the completely satisfactory substitute for the bullet and an entirely adequate way of effecting the changes the people desire, will seem to have been flouted. There is no existing emergency of a magnitude to justify such an attitude.

"What is still worse in the bill before you is the drastic power given to the Government generally, and the special board in particular, to brand individuals, as well as organizations, as "communist" on the basis of highly subjective opinions which cannot be adequately controlled by any set of interpretations of the standards set down in the act."

"This (bill) would exclude well-known converts from communism who are now in displaced persons camps in Europe solely because they are not communists. The

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communists in the displaced persons camps, unless they are placed there as spies, have long since gone home. I think it is justifiable for a government to exclude immigrants who are definitely committed to communism, because of the surrender of their conscience to an outside agency, and that is all."...

In closing he states "This is a subject on which I feel rather strongly, and I have known communists a lot longer than some of you."

64. House Report #1661, 82nd Congress, 2nd Session - Review of The Methodist Federation for Social Action - On page 47 - members of the church are urged "to use the church as an instrument in getting rid of capitalism and inaugurating a decent, humane society," and it quotes one NORMAN THOMAS, socialist leader, as saying in the "Christian Century" that the christian religion "which in the main has been opiate, yet carries in its sacred books so much dynamite," echoes the bolshevist - atheist slogan, "Religion is the Opium of the People."
65. Testimony of Bishop G. BROMLEY OXNAM on 7/21/53. On page 3691, is OXNAM Exhibit #24, a letterhead of the Committee on Militarism in Education, 2929 Broadway, New York City, dated October 1, 1935, on which appeared the name of one NORMAN THOMAS as on Executive Board.
66. Hearings, House of Representatives, 83rd Congress, 2nd Session, Testimony on November 29, 1954, of SAMUEL HIRSCH. He stated that during the first year he was at the University of North Carolina one NORMAN THOMAS spoke before the Carolina Political Union.
67. Appendix-Part IX
Page 520, reflects one NORMAN THOMAS, Princeton, was on the sponsoring committee for a dinner sponsored by the American Student Union ("Student Advocate", February, 1937, page 2).

Page 548, one NORMAN THOMAS, an endorser of the American Youth Act (press release issued by American Youth Congress).

Page 995f, one NORMAN THOMAS is mentioned as stressing the danger of American fascism, but his own party is indirectly helping Fascism by its insistence on democracy and evading the issue of militant organization and struggle.

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Page 1162f reflects one NORMAN THOMAS of Detroit, Michigan, was a sponsor of the Mother Ella Reeve Bloor 45th Anniversary Banquet.

Page 1608f reflects one NORMAN THOMAS, made the following statement in the "Socialist Call" of June 24, 1939 - "The North American Committee contains among its sponsors and members many eminent people who are, of course, not communist, but so far our efforts have failed to arouse these non-communists to the importance of putting the active management of the Committee in America and the distribution of funds in Europe beyond the possibility of partisan control. The tragic conflict of loyalist forces in Madrid at the end of the heroic struggle emphasized the communist control of the North American Committee."

Page 1752 is reflected (During the period 1936-39) "Both wings of the Socialist movement have publicly charged the Workers Alliance with complete domination by the Communist Party. The Socialist group under the leadership of NORMAN THOMAS made such a charge; likewise the Socialist faction known as the Social-Democratic Federation which split from the NORMAN THOMAS group."

68. House Document #206, 85th Congress, 1st Session. -- Trial by Treason - The National Committee to Secure Justice for the ROSENBERGS and MORTON SOBELL.

On page 41 the name of one NORMAN THOMAS appeared on an Appeal to President EISENHOWER to grant clemency to ETHEL and JULIUS ROSENBERG.

69. Hearings, House of Representatives, 85th Congress, 1st Session, - Testimony on March 26, 1957, of JOHN LAUTNER. On page 487 it is stated that "Elements like NORMAN THOMAS, who was called a social Fascist just a few years back; elements like A. J. MUSTE, who was known and so designated by the Party as an enemy of the working class, a social Fascist - there are elements today who find it comfortable to go, and on partial issues find themselves, in the same boat with the Communist Party."
70. Hearings, House of Representatives, 71st Congress, 2nd Session, Part 1, Volume 2. Statement on 6-18-30 of WALTER S. STEELE. On page 6, one NORMAN THOMAS, is listed as being on the National Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union.

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71. Part 1, Volume 4, Testimony on 11/25/30 of FRANCIS RALSTON WELSH. On page 141, one NORMAN M. THOMAS appears on the National Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union in the 1920, also is listed as connected with the League for Industrial Democracy.
72. Testimony of WALTER S. STEELE on page 220, reflects that one NORMAN H. THOMAS was an official of the American Fund for Public Service.

On page 242, appears STEELE Exhibit #2. The Federated Press Labor Letter, Chicago, Wednesday, August 18, 1926, Volume 12, No. 20, page 8, Column 3, article 3, which reflects that one NORMAN THOMAS was listed as a Director of the American Fund for Public Service.

On page 252 appears STEELE Exhibit #4, Committee on Militarism in Education, 387 Bible House, Astor Place, New York City, September 22, 1930. One NORMAN THOMAS is listed as being on the Executive Board of this committee.

On page 262 appears STEELE Exhibit #6 - Pioneer Youth of America (Socialist) 45 Astor Place, N. Y. C., one NORMAN THOMAS is listed on the Board of Directors.

On page 265, appears STEELE Exhibit #10 (From a letter-head of Russian Reconstruction Farms (Inc.) January, 1926). One NORMAN THOMAS is listed on the Advisory Board.

On page 267, appears STEELE Exhibit #12 - The American Progressive Committee for the Support of "Il Nuovo Mondo", 81 E. Tenth Street, New York City. One NORMAN THOMAS is listed on the National Committee.

On page 278, appears STEELE Exhibit #18 - The Vanguard Series, issued by the Vanguard Press, which was organized and financed by the American Fund for Public Service (Inc.) and distributed by the Rand Book Store. On page 279 is listed "Is Conscience a Crime?", written by one NORMAN THOMAS.

On page 281, appears STEELE Exhibit 20 - League for Industrial Democracy, 112 E. 19th Street, New York City - Object: Education Toward a New Social Order Based on Production for Use and Not for Profit. On page 282 one NORMAN THOMAS was listed as among those who spoke to about 50,000 students in 154 colleges and universities in 40 states.

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On page 284, one NORMAN THOMAS is listed as an Executive Director of the League for Industrial Democracy.

On page 285, STEELE Exhibit #22 - Commonwealth College (an editorial from Commonwealth College's "Fortnightly," September 1, 1930), states that a letter dated 4/10/30, to Commonwealth College, Mena, Arkansas, reflected one NORMAN THOMAS as supporting the Commonwealth plan of student-teacher cooperation in academic, industrial and social affairs.

On page 296, STEELE Exhibit #28 - "New Leader" of E. 15th Street, New York City, one NORMAN THOMAS of American Fund for Public Service (Inc.) was listed as a contributing editor.

On page 304 one NORMAN M. THOMAS is listed on the National Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union 100 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

On page 317, one NORMAN M. THOMAS, New York, was listed as being on the National Committee, American Civil Liberties Union (1923).

On page 318, STEELE Exhibit #38 - "The World To-Morrow," 52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York City, one NORMAN THOMAS is listed as Editor of "The World To-Morrow."

73. Hearings, House of Representatives, 71st Congress, 3rd Session, Part 1, Volume 5. Testimony on 12/15/30, of Dr. WILLIAM B. REID. On page 5 he said that an invitation was extended to attend a dinner to be held at the home of NORMAN THOMAS, 118 E. 18th Street, New York City; he accepted the invitation and attended along with 80 to 100 student delegates. Movies were shown on social and industrial Russia. A general discussion of communism, socialism and kindred subjects were headed by NORMAN THOMAS, among others.

On page 12, appears Reid Exhibit #4. - Annual Intercollegiate Conference of the League for Industrial Democracy (LID), New York City - "The Student and the Social Order" - Wednesday, December 28, 1927. At 6:30 p.m. a Buffet supper for delegates at the home of Mr. and Mrs. NORMAN THOMAS, 206 E. 18th Street, New York City.

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On page 13, Reid Exhibit #4 (Continued) - Thursday, December 29, 1927, annual dinner of the League on Political Prospects for 1928, at 6:30 p.m., IRVING PLAZA, 17 Irvin Place (corner 15th Street), New York City - one NORMAN THOMAS, Executive Director, League for Industrial Democracy was to be one of the speakers.

On page 23 appears the "Report of NORMAN THOMAS".
"... With fall begins the more strenuous work of the academic year. This year the Sacco-Vanzetti tragedy during the summer added a burden of work and sorrow to our tasks. Our total failure to move the Massachusetts authorities unquestionably darkens the future for all those who hoped in reason and some sense of fair play to moderate the bitterness and violence of the social struggle. But less than ever can we afford to give up the battle against the terrible caste and class prejudice of which Sacco and Vanzetti were only the most conspicuous of recent victims."...

"Greco and Carrillo are two anti-Fascist Italians now charged with the murder of two Fascists on last Decoration Day in the Bronx, New York City. The murder was a brutal affair but there is a growing body of evidence that Greco and Carrillo had nothing to do with it but are the victims of the thirst of Fascists in America for a victim. America cannot afford another Sacco-Vanzetti case. While there is reason to hope for a fair trial in the Bronx, the funds of these imprisoned workers are wholly inadequate for the expense of investigation, etc., necessary to an adequate defense and the Fascists will probably scruple at nothing to bring conviction."...

On page 31 is noted the following: "The First Fall meeting of the New York chapter of the League (for Industrial Democracy) took place on Thursday evening, October 20, (1927?) at the home of Mr. and Mrs. NORMAN THOMAS.

On page 32 one NORMAN THOMAS is listed as Chairman of the Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief, which was originally founded by the League for Industrial Democracy.

74. Hearings, House of Representatives, 71st Congress, 2nd Session, Part 3, Volume 2, June 17, 1930. On page 566 one NORMAN THOMAS, who is connected with six other organizations, and who is a clergyman combining intellectual radicalism with religion, is listed on the National Committee of American Civil Liberties Union.

On page 568, one NORMAN THOMAS was listed as one of the signers of a letter dated 1/2/24 at New York City regarding the cases of WILLIAM Z. FOSTER and C. E. RUTHENBERG in St. Joseph, Michigan.

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On page 574, one NORMAN THOMAS is listed as one of the trustees of American Fund for Public Service (Inc.) and following information is given about him:

"NORMAN M. THOMAS, who was one of the leading figures in the American Union Against Militarism during the early days of the war; who later was one of the leading figures in the People's Council (The American Soviet), which was one of the organizations most energetic in anti-American propaganda during our participation in the war; and who is today associated with most of the parlor Bolshevik movements.

"NORMAN THOMAS was one of the leading signers of the call for the so-called, "First American Conference for Democracy and Terms of Peace" in May, 1917. The leaders of the conference movement were at the time designated by the president of the AFL as "conscious or unconscious agents of the Kaiser in America." Frantic efforts were made at this time to induce the officials of the AFL to join in this conference. One of the members of the conference wrote at that time asking, "Cannot some strong labor man get after Gompers explaining to him that he 'misunderstood the conference?'"

It is because of this kind of activity, which at this time was beginning to take such definite organized form, that the AFL found it necessary to organize the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy for the specific purpose of combating disloyal, pro-German propaganda during the period of the war.

75. Hearings, House of Representatives, 71st Congress, 2nd Session - Part 3, Volume 3, July 18 to July 24, 1930, New York City. Testimony of former Police Commissioner GROVER M. WHALEN of New York on July 18, 1930. On page 17, he related that one NORMAN THOMAS representing the Socialist Party appeared before the Board of Estimates regarding the unemployment situation.

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76. Hearings, House of Representatives, 71st Congress, 2nd Session, Part 5, Volume 4, Los Angeles, California. Testimony on 10/9/30, of Captain WILLIAM F. HYNES, in charge of the Intelligence Bureau of the Los Angeles Police Department.

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On page 549 is a paragraph entitled - The Socialists - reflects "The little that remains of the Socialist Party of Debs has fallen on the 'apostolic' successor, one Reverend NORMAN THOMAS, a former preacher of the fashionable brick Presbyterian Church. The Socialists have become so bankrupt that they openly stated that there is no class struggle. The Socialist Party has nothing to offer white workers, much less Negroes."

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NY 100-7629-Sub C

Re: Norman Thomas, House Committee on Un-American Activities.

The following organizations have been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450:

Abraham Lincoln Brigade

American Youth Congress

International Labor Defense

National Council of American-Soviet Friendship

National Negro Congress

North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy

Workers Alliance of America

Independent Socialist League

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NY 100-7629-Sub C

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The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., contains the following concerning the American Fund for Public Service (Garland Fund):

- "1. 'Established in 1922 * * * it was a major source for the financing of Communist Party enterprises' such as the Daily Worker and New Masses, official Communist publications, Federated Press, Russian Reconstruction Farms, and International Labor Defense. William Z. Foster, present chairman, Communist Party, and Scott Nearing, a leading writer for the Party, served on the board of directors of the Fund.

(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, pp. 75 and 76.)"

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The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications", revised and published as of January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., contains the following concerning the American Student Union:

- "1. Cited as a Communist front which was 'the results of a united front gathering of young Socialists and Communists' in Columbus, Ohio in 1935.¹ The Young Communist League took credit for the creation of the organization, which offered free trips to the Soviet Union. It claimed to have led as many as 500,000 students out in annual April 22 strikes in the United States.

(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Annual Report, H. R. 2, January 3, 1939, p. 80 also cited in Annual Reports, H. R. 1476, January 3, 1940, p. 9, H. R. 2277, June 25, 1942, p. 16; and in House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 159.)

- "2. Cited as subversive and un-American.

(Special Subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations, Report, April 21, 1943, p. 3)"

- "1. Date incorrectly appears as 1937 in H. R. 2 of January 3, 1939

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The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications", revised and published as of January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., contains the following concerning the Champion of Youth (or Champion):

- "1. 'Official organ of the Young Communist League and also of the International Workers Order.'
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Annual Report, H. R. 2277, June 25, 1942, p. 17; also cited in House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 139.)"

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NY 100-7629-Sub C

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications", revised and published as of January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., contains the following concerning the Consumers National Federation:

- "1. Cited as a Communist front.
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 155.)"

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NY 100-7629-Sub C

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications", revised and published as of January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., contains the following concerning the Daily People's World (Peoples World):

- "1. 'The official organ of the Communist Party on the west coast.' (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 95; also cited in Annual Report, H. R. 1, January 3, 1941, p. 10.)"

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The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications", revised and published as of January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., contains the following concerning the Labor Action:

- "1. The official organ of the Independent Socialist League, formerly the Workers Party.
(Attorney General J. Howard McGrath, letter to Loyalty Review Board, released September 29, 1949.)"

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NY 100-7629-Sub C

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications", revised and published as of January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., contains the following concerning the Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy:

"1. 'In 1937-38, the Communist Party threw itself wholeheartedly into the campaign for support of the Spanish Loyalist cause, recruiting men and organizing multifarious so-called relief organizations.' Among these was the above.

(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 82.)"

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The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications", revised and published as of January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., contains the following concerning the National Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case (and local affiliates):

- "1. Cited as a Communist front 'organized at least as early as November 1951' to conduct the United States phase of 'a mammoth propaganda campaign designed to obliterate the crime (of) and exploit the Rosenbergs' (Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, convicted atomic espionage agents who were executed on June 19, 1953) 'and their codefendant, Morton Sobell, for the purposes of international communism.' Headed by Joseph Brainin as chairman, the committee had national headquarters at 1050 6th Avenue, New York City, and more than 40 local affiliates throughout the country.

(Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 'Trial by Treason: The National Committee to Secure Justice for the Rosenbergs and Morton Sobell,' August 25, 1956, pp. 1, 13, 21, 63 and 120; also cited in Annual Report for 1955, House Report 1648, January 17, 1956, originally released January 11, 1956, pp. 3 and 29-33.)

- "2. 'To defend the cases of Communist lawbreakers, fronts have been devised making special appeals in behalf of civil liberties and reaching out far beyond the confines of the Communist Party itself. Among these organizations are the * * * National Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case. When the Communist Party itself is under fire these offer a bulwark of protection.'

(Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 91.)"

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NY 100-7629-Sub C

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications", revised and published as of January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., contains the following concerning the New Masses:

- "1. A 'Communist periodical.'
(Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7688.)"

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The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications", revised and published as of January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., contains the following concerning the Russian Reconstruction Farms, Inc.:

- "1. Cited as a Communist enterprise which was directed by Harold Ware, son of the well-known Communist Ella Reeve Bloor. It received funds from the Garland Fund.
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 76.)"

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NY 100-7629-Sub C

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications", revised and published as of January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., contains the following concerning the Soviet Russia Today - New World Review. Name of publication, Soviet Russia Today, changed to New World Review, March 1951. Citation of Soviet Russia Today applies to new title.

- "1. Cited as a Communist front.
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 167; also cited in Annual Report, H. R. 2277, June 25, 1942, p. 21.)
- "2. Cited as a 'Communist-front publication!
(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1953 on the Congress of American Women, April 26, 1950, originally released October 23, 1949, p. 108.)
- "3. Cited as a 'Communist-controlled' publication.
(Senate Judiciary Committee, Senate Report 2050 on the Institute of Pacific Relations, July 2, 1952, pp. 96 and 146.)"

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NY 100-7629-Sub C

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications", revised and published as of January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., contains the following concerning the Scottsboro Defense Committee:

- "1. Cited as a Communist front.
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Annual Report, House Report 2, January 3, 1939, p. 82; and House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 177.)"

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The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications", revised and published as of January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., contains the following concerning the United States Congress Against War:

"1. 'The American League Against War and Fascism was formally organized as the First United States Congress Against War and Fascism held in New York City, September 29 to October 1, 1933. * * * The program of the first congress called for the end of the Roosevelt policies of imperialism and for the support of the peace policies of the Soviet Union, for opposition to all attempts to weaken the Soviet Union. * * * Subsequent congresses in 1934 and 1936 reflected the same program.' (Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7683.

"2. '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.'"

(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 119; also cited in Annual Reports, House Report 1476, January 3, 1940, p. 11; and House Report 2277, June 25, 1942, p. 14.)"

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November 19, 1959

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EX-135

MR. NORMAN THOMAS

Reference is made to your communication dated
November 4, 1959, your number B/C311, requesting any
adverse information concerning Mr. Norman Thomas. ~~X~~

Norman Thomas was born November 20, 1904, in
Larion, Ohio. He is currently employed as chairman of the
Postwar World Council at 112 E. 19th Street, New York City
and resides at 77 Huntington Road, Huntington, New York.
Thomas has been defeated six times as Socialist Party
candidate for Presidency of the United States since 1933.

Down through the years Thomas' name has been
associated with many subversive organizations within the
United States. A source in May, 1959, advised that
Thomas had joined and participated in the activities of
numerous front or communist infiltrated organizations,
but in this capacity, he had held himself apart from
communism. This same source advised that Thomas tended
to advance Socialism and to defend personal liberties. ~~X~~

1 - London

1 - Foreign Liaison Unit

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REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW 10/23/90

FROM DIVISION FIVE

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EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
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THOMAS TALK CLARIFIED
View on Emigration to Israel
Was Reported Incorrectly
Norman Thomas said yesterday that an account in The New York Times had incorrectly reported that he had urged the end of emigration to Israel in a speech on Monday.
What he actually said, he explained, was that Zionism would do an enormous service to mankind if it would give up attempts to bring all Jews from every land to Israel. The word "all" had been omitted from a release on his speech that was issued by the American Council for Judaism.
The council said yesterday that the omission had been inadvertent. The speech was delivered before the annual meeting of the council's New York Chapter.

CLIPPING FROM
N.Y. NY TIMES
EDITION LATE CITY
DATED 21 MAY 1958
PAGE 24
FORWARDED BY NY DIVISION
RE: NORMAN THOMAS
IS-C

BUFILE -
61-11767 - A
NOT RECORDED
44 MAY 28 1958

39
52 JUN 2 1958

File *S. Ryan*



S/8811

~~SECRET~~

[4 November, 1958.]

[Mr. Norman THOMAS]

[112, East 19th Street,
New York, 3, New York.]

We should be grateful if you would inform us whether you have any adverse record of the above named individual whose name has been supplied to the Secretary of the Mombasa African Democratic Union by a Kenyan African, [redacted], who is of security interest to our Head Office.

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10/23/80
CLASS. & EXT. BY 2P1 YSK/hic
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW 10/23/90

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

61-10767-41
[EX-135] [NOV 24 1958]

FROM [redacted]

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NOV - 4 1958

~~NAME CHECK~~
~~SECRET~~

Letter to [redacted]
dated 11-19-58. ODM: [redacted]

61-10767-41

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Records Branch

, 1958

| | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Name Check Unit - Room 6523 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Service Unit - Room 6524 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Forward to File Review |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Attention _____ |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Return to _____ |
| | Supervisor Room Ext. |

Type of References Requested:

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| <input type="checkbox"/> | Regular Request (Analytical Search) |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | All References (Subversive & Nonsubversive) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Subversive References Only |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Nonsubversive References Only |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | Main _____ References Only |

Type of Search Requested:

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| <input type="checkbox"/> | Restricted to Locality of _____ |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Exact Name Only (On the Nose) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Buildup <input type="checkbox"/> Variations |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Check for Alphabetical Loyalty Form |

Subject Thomas, Norman
 Birthdate & Place _____
 Address _____

Localities _____

R# _____ Date 11/15 Searcher Initials 25
 FILE NUMBER SERIAL

| | |
|--------------------------|----------------|
| <u>61-10767</u> | <u>(L) 30</u> |
| <u>NI 62-12299</u> | <u>(10) pp</u> |
| <u>NR 705-36421</u> | <u>(4) pp</u> |
| <u>NR 707-42300, 121</u> | <u>(10) pp</u> |

See ref. Not
searched

Per. Contr. with Mr.

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wait

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. Mohr

DATE: March 2, 1962

FROM : C. D. DeLoach

SUBJECT:

NORMAN THOMAS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 10/23/88 BY SP1/MSK/mc 3-0

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

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By letter dated 2-26-62, Norman Thomas, the well-known perennial candidate of the Socialist Party for the presidency and leader of the Socialist Party, wrote the Director with regard to the fact that the Director was a recipient of an award from the Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge. He points out that he knows how strongly the Director is opposed to racism and believes that the Director is opposed to the summary evacuation of Japanese and Japanese-Americans from the west coast in World War II. Thomas wonders whether the Director is well informed about the Freedoms Foundation and indicates that the Foundation has given a number of awards to "Birchites" and others of an extremely reactionary stripe. He quotes Dr. [] of the Foundation as stating in a speech in 1958, "I have a daughter in Temple University and she comes home in tears almost every night from the socialistic things she hears there. I believe, and this is not a special case I'm taking either, that the reason for it lies in the fact that of the 35 students in one of her classes, 17 are Jews and 12 are Negroes. That is where these ideologies that are not in keeping with our American heritage are coming from."

Thomas asks the questions as to whether the Director is well informed about the Freedoms Foundation; whether the Director's acceptance of its highest award is inconsistent with his position of opposition to the ultras and concludes by asking the Director if he consider either returning the Freedoms Foundation award or making a statement of disapproval of some of the acts of the donors? Thomas claims he does not want ultra-right extremists to have the Director's blessing.

I talked with [] Vice President (Awards Committee), Freedoms Foundation at 4:00 p. m., 3-2-62. I told him of the contents of the Thomas letter. He stated that Thomas was a liar. He advised that the Freedoms Foundation has never knowingly given any award, minor or otherwise, to a member of the John Birch Society. He admitted the possibility that some minor award, among the hundreds given over the years, may have been given to some school teacher or other personality who might later have joined the John Birch Society. He reiterated that they have never knowingly given it to any member of the John Birch Society. I recall that Dr. [] made this same statement to the Director on 2-22-62 prior to the Director's speech at Valley Forge. I raised the question that Thomas claimed that Dr. [] had made in a speech in 1958, which Thomas claims appeared in the "Texas Observer" of 12-25-59, "I have a daughter in Temple University---(as mentioned above)." [] stated this was an absolute lie.

1 - Mr. Jones
 1 - Mr. Morrell

REC-24

CONTINUED NEXT PAGE

53 MAR 21 1962

CDD:sak (3)

EX 107

CC MR. TOLSON

CORRESPONDENCE

DeLoach to Mohr 3-2-62
re; Norman Thomas

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He did advise that [] made the statement, "I have a daughter in Temple University and she comes home in tears almost every night from the socialistic things she hears there." [] stated [] made this statement in connection with the advance of socialism and communism on college campuses.

This is not the first time Norman Thomas has either attacked the Freedoms Foundation or supported an individual who would attack the Foundation. Thomas prepared a foreword for a publication entitled "The American Ultras" by Irwin Suall, National Secretary of the Socialist Party--Social Democratic Federation (SPSDF). This book was extremely critical of "ultra right-wing" or professional anticommunist groups and the book was a subject of a previous memorandum last month. Among organizations attacked in the book was the Freedoms Foundation and the book was critical of the fact that the Director had endorsed the Foundation. Thomas also took occasion to denounce the Freedoms Foundation and Mrs. [] who is well known to the Bureau []. He was critical of [] because of an article that had appeared in her publication and originally Mrs. [] was to debate Thomas at a mass meeting which Thomas called for 2-23-62 in Philadelphia. The debate was originally to be telecast but in the end Thomas declined to debate anyone except a director of the Freedoms Foundation. The mass meeting was held, however, and several of the SPSDF representatives were the principal speakers. While Mrs. [] did not attend the meeting she learned that Thomas, during his speech, made slurring remarks on the Freedoms Foundation award conferred on the Director and other representatives of the SPSDF made derogatory references to the Bureau and the Director.

It is noted that earlier this week the Bureau received a copy of a mimeographed publication, "The Delco Veteran," Delaware County, Pennsylvania, which contained views of Thomas regarding the Director's acceptance of the Freedoms Foundation Award. This current letter to the Director from Thomas was described in detail in this publication.

There are thousands of references in Bureau files to Norman Thomas and a perusal of his Main File reflects briefly that, although he has been outspokenly anticommunist at times, he has been either affiliated with or his name associated with many subversive organizations. He contacted former Assistant to the Director Nichols on several occasions here at the Bureau and their conversations were cordial with Thomas indicating a high regard for the FBI. Thomas has favored U. S. recognition of Red China, has at times expressed opposition to anticommunist legislation and joined Mrs. Roosevelt in a plea for the release of communists imprisoned under the Smith Act of 1955. More recently, in 1960, he wrote the U. S. Board of Parole regarding the release of Henry Winston, convicted Smith Act subject. Thomas was desirous of Winston's and Green's, another Smith Act subject, release from prison. (61-10767)

DeLoach to Mohr • 3-2-62
Re: Norman Thomas

RECOMMENDATION:

I do not feel we should dignify Thomas' letter with a reply from the Director or either with an in-absence reply. He is a liar and is deliberately attempting to bait the Director into a controversy that will gain him (Thomas) publicity. This premise is obvious on its face inasmuch as Thomas's referenced letter of 2-26-62 was referred to in "The Delco Veteran" before it was received at FBI Headquarters. Should the Director write Thomas and tell him that the Freedoms Foundation has never knowingly given an award to any member of the John Birch Society, the Director, in effect, is evaluating the John Birch Society publicly to the extent that no member of this organization should ever receive a Freedoms Foundation award. The Director should not be placed in this position. Thomas is a "screwball" and would only use the Director's letter to further publicity for himself.

// It is recommended his letter be ignored.

Right
✓
3-6

RM

DZ

✓ HRC

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-1425-1641

March 21, 1962

(100-1472) 100-5553)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8/5/80 BY RP4 Jex/JC

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The letters appear to be, for the most part, from communists or communist sympathizers and urge parole for Henry Winston, the convicted Smith Act subject who is serving an eight-year sentence in the Atlanta Penitentiary. Some letters also urge parole for Gilbert Green, convicted Smith Act subject who is serving an eight-year sentence.

You should search your indices for references to the writers of the enclosed letters and thereafter open security investigations where warranted in accordance with current Bureau instructions.

61-10767-

NOT RECORDED

142

ENCLOSURE
ATTACHED - 37
100-44
(112)

YELLOW
DUPLICATE
MAR 31 1960

WATERS

1 - 100-41967
1 - 100-41968
1 - 100-10115
1 - CI-1991 (?)
1 - 100-405149
1 - 100-405150
1 - 100-405151
1 - 100-405152
1 - 100-405153
1 - 100-405154
1 - 100-405155
1 - 100-405156
1 - 100-405157
1 - 100-405158
1 - 100-405159
1 - 100-405160
1 - 100-405161
1 - 100-405162

[illegible]

b6
b7C

51 APR 25 1960

CONFIDENTIAL FILE NUMBERS

Letter to SAC, New York
Re: HARRY WILSON; CILBERT GREEN
100-1428; 100-34123

There are also enclosed 2 photostats each of 5 sheets
containing communications from [redacted]
Mr. and Mrs. [redacted] and [redacted] 3 photostats each of
2 sheets containing communications from Mr. and Mrs. [redacted]
[redacted] and [redacted] and [redacted] and 4
photostats of a telegram from [redacted], [redacted],
[redacted] and [redacted].

Indices indicate that the following individuals appear
to be identical with senders of communications to the Board of
Control:

[redacted] urfile 100-54033
[redacted], urfile 100-42000
[redacted], urfile 100-110773
[redacted], urfile 100-114314
[redacted] urfile 100-64423
[redacted] aka [redacted] urfile 100-00453
[redacted] urfile 100-03776
[redacted] urfile 100-10561
[redacted], urfile 100-150100
[redacted], urfile 100-131548
[redacted] urfile 100-130419
[redacted] urfile 100-101500
[redacted] urfile 100-100044
[redacted] aka [redacted] urfile
100-50025
[redacted], aka [redacted] urfile 100-01024
[redacted], urfile 100-508
[redacted], urfile 100-101102
[redacted], urfile 100-100053
[redacted], urfile 100-7707
[redacted], urfile 100-100077
[redacted], urfile 100-100073
[redacted], urfile 100-50578
[redacted], urfile 100-10070
[redacted], urfile 100-500
[redacted], urfile 100-00000
[redacted], urfile 100-00070
[redacted], urfile 100-110013
[redacted], urfile 100-50170
[redacted], urfile 100-50022
[redacted], urfile 77-0001
[redacted], urfile 100-07753
[redacted] urfile 100-00000
[redacted] urfile 100-00104

1 - 100-335571
1 - 100-10022
1 - 77-17535
1 - 100-16057
1 - 61-8042
1 - 100-204073
1 - 100-800821
1 - 100-530821
1 - 100-205024
1 - 100-207523
1 - 100-207225
1 - 100-531123
1 - 100-507029
1 - 100-17023
② - 61-10707
1 - 100-102222

Norman Thomas
112 EAST 194 STREET
NEW YORK 3, N.Y.

Area Code 212
Glenn 7-9770

January 18, 1960

RECEIVED

JAN 19 1960

Office of Parole Executive

Parole Executive
U.S. Board of Parole
Washington 25, D.C.

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Dear Mr. [redacted]

If I am correctly informed, you are the officer of the Parole Board who was good enough to give an appointment to Clarence Pickett and myself to discuss the Green-Winston case. I have another very important engagement on the 21st and cannot come with Mr. Pickett to see you.

I want you to know that I fully share the interest which he will express. I shall not presume to burden you with a long repetition of the argument a great many good Americans have advanced in favor of parole for Messrs. Green and Winston. I, who am a stalwart opponent of communism, agree with those arguments. What puzzles me is that there seems to be some suggestion in the handling of this case that prisoners under anti-Communist laws are put by the Board in a separate category and are not treated on the same basis as other prisoners in the matter of parole. Is this impression, which I have formed, right or wrong? If it is right, I should be deeply interested to know the reasons for it.

I am aware, of course, that the fact that Messrs. Green and Winston jumped bail is against them but they later gave themselves up and the time they have served, as I understand it, more than covers the period of extra sentence for bail jumping. It does not seem to me that it can be argued that the continued confinement of these men will be beneficial to their characters; that is, that it will make for reform. Neither do I believe it necessary for deterrence. Certainly it isn't necessary for the safety of the United States which is too proud and strong a country to be endangered by their release under parole.

I am sure Mr. Pickett will state our general position more persuasively in person than I can in writing. This letter is intended simply to assure you of my agreement with his general point of view. I should like to thank you for your willingness to see us and to communicate what we say to the Board. Believe me,

Sincerely yours,

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2-21-80 BY [redacted]

Norman Thomas

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10/27/80 BY SP1/JSK/huc

SAC, NEW YORK (100-127)

NORMAN THOMAS

SUBJECT: CARIBBEAN POLITICAL ACTIVITIES
IS-LATIN AMERICA

L 10-1

Enclosed are 11 copies ^{each} of a dissemination memorandum dated and captioned as above, at New York. re: 100-127 MEMO

The source mentioned therein is [redacted]

[redacted] who furnished the information to [redacted] on 9/9/57. [redacted] is [redacted]

SA [redacted]
with [redacted]

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[redacted] and has been contacted by the NYO on [redacted] occasions in the past.

ENCLOSURE

2 Bureau (100-127) (100-127-13-22)

1 - New York
1 - New York

NYO-NEW (100-127)
(6)



United States Department of Justice
Federal Bureau of Investigation

New York, New York
September 10, 1959

Re: Caribbean Political Activities

A confidential source advised on September 9, 1959, that Jose Figueres, former President of Costa Rica, together with a group of individuals closely associated with him, are actively working on a long range plan the purpose of which is to foster a better understanding of the basic principles of democracy among the masses in Latin American countries. According to this source Figueres and his friends feel that the present unrest in the Caribbean area resulting from the overthrow of dictatorial regimes in several Latin American countries has shown that the broad masses have little or no understanding of democratic processes and therefore are an easy prey for Communist agitators. Source stated that Figueres and his friends further feel that the same situation prevails in the Dominican Republic where the people are totally unprepared for democracy and where chaos would result if and when the dictatorship of Generalissimo Rafael L. Trujillo should come to an early end.

As a first step in their efforts to spread a better understanding of the theory and practice of democracy there has recently been set up an Institute for Political Science (Instituto de Ciencias Politicas) in San Jose, Costa Rica, which was organized and functions under the leadership and with the active participation of Figueres, Father Benjamin Munez (former Ambassador of Costa Rica to the United Nations), and Luis Alberto Monge, minority leader in the Costa Rican Chamber of Deputies and ex-Secretary General of the Inter-American Federation of Labor.

Source stated that Father Munez has within recent weeks visited a number of Latin American countries and conferred with a large number of political leaders of various groups interested in the cause of democracy. The purpose of these discussions was to obtain the widest possible support for this Latin American democratic movement and to expand the activities

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 10/27/80 BY SP1/MSK/ENCLOSURE

65-10767-

Re: Caribbean Political Activities

of the aforementioned Institute to other Latin American countries.

Source advised that the following political groups have expressed their support and have agreed to spearhead the movement in their respective countries:

Accion Democratica (Democratic Action) in Venezuela
Partido Liberal (Liberal Party) in Colombia
Partido Liberal (Liberal Party) in Honduras
Partido Revolucionario de Guatemala (Revolutionary Party of Guatemala)
Partido Revolucionario Institucional de Mexico (Revolutionary Party of Mexico)
Movimiento 26 de Julio (July 26th Movement) in Cuba
Partido Autentico de Cuba (Authentic Party of Cuba)
Directorio Revolucionario de Cuba
Partido Revolucionario Dominicano en los Estados Unidos (Dominican Revolutionary Party in the United States)

Also, unidentified groups of political exiles from Nicaragua.

Source stated that Herman Thomas, Social-Democratic leader in the United States, has also been approached and has expressed his willingness to support the movement.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of any kind. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and is a loan to your agency; it and/or its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.



United States Department of Justice
Federal Bureau of Investigation

New York, New York
September 10, 1959

Re: Caribbean Political Activities

Reference is made to the attached memorandum, dated and captioned as above at New York.

The source mentioned in instant memorandum has furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of any kind. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and is a loan to your agency; it and/or its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 10/27/80 BY SP7 HSC/mw

161-16161-
ENCLOSURE

Mr. Tolson _____
 Mr. Belmont _____
 Mr. DeLoach _____
 Mr. McGuire _____
 Mr. Mohr _____
 Mr. Parsons _____
 Mr. Rosen _____
 Mr. Tamm _____
 Mr. Trotter _____
 Mr. W.C. Sullivan _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Mr. Holloman _____
 Miss Gandy _____

Norman Thomas True to Ideals Father of U.S. Socialism To Be Honored Tonight

By WM. MICHELFELDER,
 World-Telegram Staff Writer

A glorious dissenter is
 Norman Mattoon Thomas.

On the threshold of his
 75th birthday, the "father of
 American socialism" is deliver-
 ing a speech tonight at the
 Waldorf which is at logger-
 heads with all recorded his-
 tory of mankind.

The title: "There Will Be a
 World Without War."

But this is the thinking of
 a man who has lived all these
 years with the impossible
 hope of a perfect world, of
 good men and true and with a
 dream, technically called "so-
 cialism," which he shall
 never relinquish.

Honors at 75

Seventy-five on Friday, this
 gaunt, fierce-eyed man steps
 up to the Waldorf rostrum to-
 night to be officially honored
 for that birthday. Many of his
 oldtime admirers (including
 respectful foes) cannot help
 but remember him, dripping
 with rotten eggs, implacable
 and fearless, standing up for
 poor men, strikers, civil liber-
 ties and peace.

A six-time loser as the
 presidential candidate of his
 party, denounced and scoffed
 at by the opposition, Norman
 Thomas has never lost his
 brilliant mind and basic in-
 tegrity as a man.

Political labels, as far back
 as 1908, were as meaningless
 to Norman Thomas as social-
 ism spelled backward. He
 voted for a man, or a belief
 he heard that man express.
 Thus his voting record shows
 his approval of a Republican.

CLIPPING FROM THE

N.Y. N.Y. WORLD TELEGRAM & SUN

EDITION 7th SPORTS

DATED 18 NOV 1959

PAGE 27

FORWARDED BY NY DIVISION

EDITOR: ROY W. HOWARD

RE: NORMAN THOMAS
 INFO CONCERNING

BUFILE -

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 10/23/84 BY SP1/USK/luc

61-10767-A
 NOT RECORDED
 47 NOV 23 1959

NOV 27 1959



NORMAN THOMAS.

a Bull Moose Progressive and many Democrats.

So often tagged, falsely, a "radical," Norman Thomas despised the Progressive Party of 1948, ridiculed "make believe liberals," and reserved his deepest hatred for communism.

Born the son of a Presbyterian minister in Marion, Ohio, Nov. 20, 1884, he was graduated from Princeton and emerged as a dynamic minister of the gospel in 1911.

Brooding Pastor.

For a time he was the pastor of a New York church and it was during these six years as a theologian he began to brood about the abject living of the "common man"—except to Norman Thomas he was never common.

"Dignity" and "freedom" and the "rights of the individual" stud most of Mr.

Thomas' speeches, then and now. In 1917 he decided that being a Socialist was more realistic than being a preacher.

All during World War I, with his lucid logic, he denounced the nation-wide hysteria over "Bolshevism"—but he never did approve that political philosophy himself.

In the mid-1930s, he was fighting for the wretched Southern sharecroppers. He helped them organize a union.

New Jersey dumped him on a ferryboat to New York in 1933, saying he was "deported" for making a speech without a state license.

Target of his speech: the late Mayor Frank Hague of Jersey City; an iron-fisted political dictator whom Norman Thomas hated, not so much

for his politics, but for his effect on the common man.

Ran Best in 1932.

Back in 1932 when the late Franklin D. Roosevelt was sweeping the nation it was Norman Thomas, ironically, who ran up the largest vote in the history of the U.S. Socialist party—900,000 votes.

Norman Thomas has said this about the Republican and Democratic parties: "They are like identical glass bottles with different labels—and both empty."

Yet it was James A. Farley, who managed two of the Roosevelt campaigns, who said of Norman Thomas: "I shall never stop admiring his intellectual honesty. We would be better off with more Americans like him."

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10/23/80 BY SP1 P354/hic

Norman Thomas
112 EAST 19th STREET
NEW YORK 3, N.Y.

February 26, 1962

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

Hon. J. Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington 25, D.C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10/23/80 BY SP1/KAC

Dear Mr. Hoover:

You were recently a recipient of the ^{award of the} Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge award. I venture to wonder whether you are well informed about that Foundation. I know how strongly you are opposed to racism and, if I remember correctly, you were privately much opposed to the summary evacuation of Japanese and Japanese-Americans from the West coast in World War II.

I have been shown a report from the Texas Observer which would seem to concern the Freedoms Foundation and especially [redacted]. In the Observer's issue of December 25, 1959, [redacted], in a speech to some 300 school teachers in Lampasa, Texas, in November 1958, was quoted as follows: "I have a daughter in Temple University and she comes home in tears almost every night from the socialistic things she hears there. I believe, and this is not a special case I'm taking either, that the reason for it lies in the fact that of the 35 students in one of her classes, 17 are Jews and 12 are Negroes. That is where these ideologies that are not in keeping with our American heritage are coming from."

I am also well informed that the Foundation has given a good number of awards to Birchites and others of an extremely reactionary stripe

In view of these facts, certain questions arise in my mind: Were you well informed about the Freedoms Foundation? If so, do you not think that your acceptance of its highest award is inconsistent with your own position of opposition to the ultras? Would you, therefore, consider either returning the award or making a statement of your disapproval of some of the acts of the donors?

REC-24

10 MAR 15 1962

EXP. PROC.

MAR 1 1962

CORRESPONDENCE

53 MAR 23 1962

Hon. J. Edgar Hoover, Director

February 26, 1962

I should not raise this question except that
I take a very serious view of this ultra-right extremism and do
not want it to seem to have your blessing.

Sincerely yours,

Norman Thomas

Norman Thomas

NT:S

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
Memorandum

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 10-04-2007

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 11/30/64

FROM : SAC, HONOLULU (100-6359) (RUC)

SUBJECT: NORMAN MATTOON THOMAS
INFORMATION CONCERNING
(OO: NY)

20713

CF
12/7

Enclosed for the Bureau are five copies of letterhead memorandum covering speeches made by THOMAS at University of Hawaii, 10/21/64. Enclosed for New York are two copies of letterhead memorandum.

The government agency mentioned in the letterhead memorandum is the Commission on Subversive Activities. [redacted] of the Commission, on 11/4/64, requested that identity of the Commission and employees be concealed, but in the event any prosecution was actually entertained, copies of reports of T-2 and T-3 could be made available, and those individuals could also testify.

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| INFORMANT | DATE AND AGENT TO WHOM FURNISHED | FILE LOCATION |
|---------------------------------|---|---------------|
| HN T-1 is [redacted] identified | 10/4/64 CLASS. & EXT. BY [redacted] REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2 DATE OF REVIEW 11/30/84 | 100-6359-1A |
| HN T-2 is [redacted] | 11/4/64 in writing to SA [redacted] | 100-6359-1A |
| HN T-3 is [redacted] | In writing to SA [redacted] | 100-6359-1A |

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APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY SLIP

ENCLOSURE

- 3 - Bureau (encl. 5) (RAM)
- 2 - NORMAN THOMAS
 - 1 - Socialist Party
- 2 - New York (encl. 2) (RAM)
 - 1 - NORMAN THOMAS
 - 1 - Socialist Party
- 2 - Honolulu
 - 1 - 100-6359
 - 1 - 80-71 (University of Hawaii)

LSB/amf
(7)

REC-47
EX-100

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DEC 2 1964

SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR ADD. DISSEMINATION.

SUBV. CONTROL RECORDS

56 DEC 9 1964



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

b6
b7c

Honolulu, Hawaii
November 30, 1964

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HN 100-6359
CLASS. & EXT. BY *pp/1 BSK/fmc*
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW *11/3/88* NORMAN MATTOON THOMAS

On October 16, 1964, [redacted], Counselor, University of Hawaii, reported that the Associated Students of the University of Hawaii was sponsoring a political symposium to be held on the campus on October 19-23, 1964. The program has received wide publicity in Honolulu. The purpose of the symposium was to bring speakers representing diverse ideologies to talk to the students. The speakers will include GEORGE LINCOLN ROCKWELL, Commander of the American Nazi Party, a characterization of which appears in the appendix hereto; NORMAN THOMAS, President of the Socialist Party of America; STUART GERRY BROWN, a visiting professor to East-West Center of the University representing a moderate viewpoint; and GUS HALL of the Communist Party, USA. *Hawaii*

On July 21, 1964, Honolulu T-1 identified HALL as General Secretary, Communist Party, USA. *29*

[redacted] related that the program for each of the speakers would be the same. In the morning from 9:00 to 11:00, they will give two one-hour lectures at the John F. Kennedy Theater at the East-West Center of the University. From 11:00 to 12:00 the speakers will be entertained at a luncheon at the East-West Center, and from 12:00 to 1:00, each speaker, on his scheduled day, will give his main address at the University's Andrews Outdoor Theater. Afterwards, each speaker will be present for a reception and question and answer period at Hemingway Hall at the University.

On October 19, 1964, [redacted], 401st INTC, made available a leaflet passed at the University of Hawaii that day, describing THOMAS as follows:

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

DATE *10/14/80 gmd*

ENCLOSURE

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HN 100-6359

"NORMAN M. THOMAS

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"He is regarded as the elder statesman of American Socialism. He has used his abundant talents to champion unpopular causes which in many cases have emerged as part of the social code and American law. A minister by training and a graduate of Harvard and Union Theological Seminary, he is still active today as a supporter of civil liberties and a commentator-critic of the American scene. The six-time candidate for President is also the author of many books: The Conscientious Objector in America (1923); We Have a Future (1941); A Socialist's Faith (1951); and The Pre-requisite for Peace (1959)."

On November 4, 1964, another government agency conducting security and personnel types of inquiry, made available written reports from two confidential sources who had attended the lectures of NORMAN THOMAS at the University of Hawaii on October 22, 1964. The written report received from Honolulu T-2 on November 4, 1964, in part is as follows:

"At the first two lectures THOMAS was introduced as President of the American Socialist Party. After the second introduction SUBJECT corrected this by stating that the Socialist Party had no President as such and that he was Honorary Chairman of the Party. A synopsis of the lectures follows:

"1. Time: 0900
Place: John F. Kennedy Theater
Subject: 'Role of Government and Society'
Attendance: Approximately 650

"SUBJECT started his lecture by stating that Hawaii consisted of rational people living in harmony, and added that he hoped that ROCKWELL (GEORGE LINCOLN ROCKWELL, the previous speaker, hereafter referred to as ROCKWELL) had learned something from this.

"THOMAS then went into a description of man's emergence from the beginnings of time into the present era. He prefaced his remarks with the statement that man is the most dangerous of animals, and has killed more of his kind than any other animal.

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"SUBJECT then moved into the field of government and politics. His remarks were rapid and at times the subject matter was disjointed; therefore a verbatim account is not possible. The following are excerpts from the remarks made during the period:

"In modern society there have been two types of government:

- "1. Feudal-based on land ownership
- "2. Capitalism-based on competing classes

"The United States has a military nationalism. At this point THOMAS made a travesty of the ten commandments by reciting a series of commandments as a militarist would.

"THOMAS stated that we (the U.S.) are more rational with things outside ourselves, such as science, than we are with things with which we are individually concerned, such as politics.

"SUBJECT stated that in the last century we've gotten enough control through socialistic measures to use the government. SUBJECT does not consider the U.S. Government as an exploiter, but rather as an imperfect democracy rendering imperfect service to the people.

"THOMAS doubts that the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution would be passed if put to a popular vote today. However SUBJECT stated that it was a mistake to blame the government not society for all errors.

"Communism is the most powerful form of government today, and this is odd for Communism is based on the promise that communism will abolish government. SUBJECT stated that it would be foolish to abolish the state as long as that state was free from religion and politics. THOMAS stated that a good state incorporates the following points:

- "1. Never totalitarian
- "2. Has free trade unions, free religion, etc.
- "3. Has a proper balance between local and national aims.

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"THOMAS conducted a short question and answer period after his lecture. The following were asked:

"Q. Would you socialize our means of production?

"A. There would be social ownership of all natural resources. Property owners would pay a tax equal to the rental value of their property. Great private firms, steel, automotive, etc., would be owned by the state.

"Q. Can socialism be obtained through religion?

"A. Through dogmatic religion, no.

"Q. What is the difference between the Northern Democratic Party and the Socialist Party?

"A. It's becoming less each year. The Northern Democratic Party has few principles, and is guilty of patchwork planning, i.e., it plans just to correct faults while the socialist party plans for the future.

"Q. How can socialist countries help others in foreign aid?

"A. We have. The Marshall Plan and the Peace Corps Plan is very good. I am against military aid.

"Q. How can you speak of for the good of all, when all don't agree?

"A. I mean for the common good. There will always be conflict but this can be good as it generates new ideas, and no one group can gain control (there will always be dissenters).

"2. Time: 1000

Place: John F. Kennedy Theater

Subject: 'Freedom, Ideal and Reality'

Attendance: Approximately 750

"SUBJECT opened with this definition of Freedom. Freedom is the right and the ability to organize our lives as we desire. However there is no such thing as complete freedom as we must live with others, THOMAS recommended the

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book 'Escape From Freedom' by Fromm (phonetic) as an example that the reason that Hitler was so successful was that the German people were running away from freedom. In many instances causes that are carried out in the name of freedom actually deprive the individual of his freedom:

- "1. Protestant Reformation. Freed the people from Roman Catholic Church, then promptly put their own restrictions on individual beliefs.
- "2. U.S. - as a cited example he states that we are supposed to be free yet we have military conscription.

"At this point THOMAS stated that 'Goldwater (Senator Barry GOLDWATER, Republican Party candidate for the Presidency, hereafter referred to as GOLDWATER) was afraid the government will do too much for the people and not enough for the military.' THOMAS also used as an example the oil tycoon Paul GETTY who THOMAS said does nothing for the individual American.

THOMAS then said he would discuss the difference between himself and the other speakers on the program. ROCKWELL has no economic or social program, his doctrine is based entirely on hate (hate Jews, hate Negroes). ROCKWELL is a man who fought to defeat the Nazis and now calls himself an American Nazi. (Note. This said with great emotion and a tremor in the voice of the speaker). However SUBJECT found there was hope for America since the University had invited ROCKWELL to speak. On Robert WELCH, THOMAS said that anyone who called President Eisenhower a communist is a witch doctor. SUBJECT then stated that Communism is a great force with many people believing in it, and Gus HALL will just speak on Civil Liberties.

"On Communism THOMAS made the following comments:

"Communism is good and the Russian people are not exploited. To see this look at the great recovery made from WW II, Russian athletes, and the recent space exploits.

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"Lenin was a great man although he did carry his policies too far.

"On China. Look where it has progressed to under Communism.

"THOMAS thought the Smith McCarran Acts were unfair and stated that the American people do not have to fear Communism coming like Napoleon on a white horse with the Russian people behind it to conquer us.

"SUBJECT stated there were more injustices in the U.S. system, and listed some of the following as examples:

- "1. Some U.S. laws are unjust
- "2. There were, until recently, no civil liberties for negroes.
- "3. Smith McCarran Act
- "4. No rights for the poor in court

"THOMAS stated that the U.S. cannot go around 'policing the world' just because we're strong and can threaten people with a bomb. The Civil war in Viet Nam is an example, and it is a civil war.

"On Civil Rights the SUBJECT stated that the Civil Rights Act was a good one and did not infringe on anyone's rights except the rights of the Southern white to discriminate against the negro. THOMAS stated that the Declaration of Independence was not a declaration of independence for anyone except white men in the U.S. SUBJECT then stated that slavery in ancient Greece was not bad, but that U.S. slavery prior to the civil war was bad, and the Civil War did not free the slaves; but the recent Civil Rights Bill did. Further, GOLDWATER has always been against Civil Rights.

"During the question and answer period the following were asked:

- "Q. If you were a non-white in the U.S. and there was no Civil Rights Bill, would you pay taxes and fight in a war?

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"A. Yes. You must be careful of this Civil disobedience thing. I believe in using the vote and demonstrations to accomplish the same ends. (Note. THOMAS either omitted or evaded making a reply to the part of the question regarding defense of the U.S.)

"Q. If a Socialist were elected President in November what changes would be made?

"A. Try to control (purchase) all natural resources.

"Q. Is American Society coming under control of the military?

"A. Yes the danger is real with the cold war. We should end the cold war; do this by telling the truth and using political organizations either the old ones or, if necessary, new ones.

"Q. What price should we be prepared to pay for social freedom?

"A. We can't do it by continuing to stress the military status of the U.S. vs the USSR. We should show them that Democracy works.

"3. Time: 1200

Place: Outdoor amphitheater at the University of Hawaii

Subject: 'Political Philosophy and Ideology'

Attendance: Approximately 2000

"THOMAS repeated many of his comments of the previous hours, but did stay close to the theme of the subject on the coming election. SUBJECT stated that the principal issue of the election was GOLDWATERISM. That GOLDWATER wanted to turn the clock back and return us to the past. SUBJECT feels the campaign is being conducted on a low intellectual plane, with the exception of Senator Hubert Horatio HUMPHREY. THOMAS stated that States Rights is not an honest issue, but is one that is always used by racists and exploiters. THOMAS claims that with the 'urbanization' of the country State lines are no longer valid legislative boundaries. THOMAS

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went on to point out that those who cry for States Rights the loudest are the first to turn to the Federal Government for funds, i.e., GOLDWATER for money for dams, Mississippi for highway construction funds (THOMAS stated that the highway signs in Mississippi never mention the Federal funds, only the fact that the state maintains the road). THOMAS stated that Federal control is vital in certain fields, drugs and water to mention two.

"Addressing the students SUBJECT said that they occupy a unique position in history now that we are in the jet age. THOMAS cited as some of our new powers the following:

- "Nuclear Power
- "Electronics
- "Computers
- "Jet Age

"THOMAS then said that in spite of the foregoing we do not have the pride of spirit that we should have based on our accomplishments. SUBJECT blamed this on the fact that we are becoming decadent and depraved with our bad art, poor music, and pornographic literature. THOMAS said that we have always failed to keep up with ourselves and our advancement and cited the two world wars we have fought since the turn of the century. SUBJECT likened adult behavior to juvenile delinquency with gang wars vs adult wars, and maintained that if you substituted fighting for a gang for fighting for a country you had the same thing.

"THOMAS stated that if decent society is to live we must concentrate on the following areas:

"CIVIL RIGHTS. The Civil Rights Act is a good one, but we must enforce it. The Negro must have equal opportunity for education and employment. Cited ROCKWELL as against this:

"POVERTY. We must fight this. With Automation we have the chance to be the first affluent society, with the government assuring each individual a standard wage whether he works or not (in fact, the point may be reached where a grant may be given to a child at birth by the Federal Government - in SUBJECT's words, 'Like the Rockefeller's get').

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This could be done by a project of slum clearance and construction, which would create jobs, rather than putting money into defense. We should end the cold war and use the military appropriations to further this scheme.

"PEACE. We should end the cold war. Have universal disarmament under universal police and international law. The U.S. should stop policing the world such as giving aid in the Viet Nam Civil War -- more aid than the Chinese or North Viet Nameese are giving. The U.S. should stop trying to 'make the world safe for Democracy or something'. We should 'wipe America's record clean of the stain of hypocrisy'.

"THOMAS concluded at this point and left the platform to loud applause.

The report of [Honolulu T-3] is as follows:

"Subject: Norman THOMAS, Speeches at University of Hawaii
(October 21, 1964)

"1. The opening of the lecture, scheduled for 0900, was delayed a full 20 minutes for installation of amplifying equipment which was not put into use. A girl student introduced THOMAS as 'President of the Socialist Party of America' (as listed on the printed program). In his speech, he corrected the title, which he said was 'Honorary Chairman', rather than 'President'.

"2. After the usual amenities, and compliments on Hawaii's racial harmony, THOMAS launched into the history of 'man, the most dangerous animal', who has killed more of his own kind than any other animal in the world's history. This covered primitive man, whose weakness and long period of infancy required the establishment of the family, and later, the tribal systems. Some individuals rose to leadership and power, and governments were established for protection against enemies. These governments later were used

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by the ruling class for purposes of exploiting the masses, which nevertheless gained a certain sense of security thereby. After the agricultural and feudal period came the manufacturers and traders of the 18th century, i.e., the Capitalists.

"3. Under capitalism, we have a military form of nationalism, which is dangerous. Here, the speaker made a partial parody of the Ten Commandments as they are used today, e.g., in the case of Senate and House Committees, 'Thou shalt not bear false witness--unless it helps the Government'; and in the case of the military, 'Thou shalt not kill--retail.'

"4. In some instances we have been able to use the State for the benefit of the people, as in health and welfare programs, but ideally the State should be the servant of the people at all times.

"5. THOMAS briefly discussed the case of India to illustrate his argument that the State is not always wrong. This nation, under Mohandas Gandhi, gained its independence from Great Britain by non-violent means, later lost 1,000,000 people through hunger and violence, with about 8 or 9 million persons displaced through riots and intolerance when India was divided to form Pakistan. This was not the fault of Government, but rather of Society and Religion. We need a state which is free from both militarism and religion and which does not control communications media.

"6. In the question and answer period, one student asked if THOMAS was in favor of socialization of means of production. He replied that there should be some 'pluralism', but the State should own all natural resources, and should be able to 'guide' such basic industries as steel. When asked about the possibility of attaining Socialism through religion, THOMAS said that 'dogmatic' religion is the 'greatest curse'. To the question, 'What is the difference between a Socialist and a Northern Democrat?' he replied 'Not too much.' (Note: News reports quoted him as saying, 'Well, it's getting somewhat less.') He qualified this by saying that the Democrats have only a patchwork plan. One student asked him 'How can you speak of what is 'good for all the people', when no two people agree on what is 'good'? ' THOMAS

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agreed that the point was well taken, and explained that he means 'what is good for most people', and that certain groups owe the people something. (Note: The above passage is based on the most fragmentary of notes and a faulty memory. Some of this exchange was missed, because the audience began to break up for 10 o'clock classes.)

"7. THOMAS, in his second lecture (1000-1055) defined freedom as the 'right and ability to order our own lives'. Nazism, he said, was an 'Escape from Freedom' (after the title of a book of this name.) 'Emerging nations' of Africa are interested in national freedom, rather than that of the individual. Without any passing mention of atrocities and abuses of individual freedom in Africa, THOMAS went on to blast American compulsory military service as 'anti-freedom', then took off on GOLDWATER, who he said would have us believe that the fall of the Roman Empire was due to its 'Health, Education and Welfare program'. After GOLDWATER, he derided George Lincoln ROCKWELL as having no following nor political theories; and as having shamefully demonstrated against the mass Negro march on Washington.

"8. With regard to Communism, he called it a great world force, and not 'diabolism', as some would have us believe. It is 'entirely appropriate' for Gus HALL to speak before the University. (Note: THOMAS had previously criticized the student body bitterly for permitting George Lincoln ROCKWELL to speak.) As for the Soviet Union, THOMAS said there is a 'growing satisfaction' of the Russian people with their government. He remarked on their performance in recovering from World War II, and cited their space achievements as proof. The Communists have 'offered something to people, otherwise they wouldn't be where they are.' Communism is not monolithic, and poses no danger to the rest of the world; and it is up to us to show the world that we can provide a better way of life. He closed this talk with a blast against the Smith Act and the McCarran Act and our participation in the Vietnamese war, which is a civil war and nothing else. He would up with the usual platitudes on 'civil rights'.

"9. For the question and answer period, I have only a note on one question, asked by a member of the audience, the young Negro woman who had been present at the

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ROCKWELL session. She asked to the effect: 'If you were a Negro without civil rights, would you pay taxes or fight for this country?' His reply was that he thought he would pay taxes. The Honolulu Advertiser of 22 October 1964 included an additional quoted statement which I recall in general, but did not record in my notes:

"I believe in the right of civil disobedience, but you have to exercise it very carefully.

"I think it's better to pay taxes in a democracy than to express civil disobedience and I think I would feel that way if I were not white. Non-payment of taxes is not a very effective way of protest in a democracy".

"Whether purposely or not, the speaker did not answer that part of the question with regard to fighting for this country in time of war.

"10. The noon session, as usual was late in starting. THOMAS blasted GOLDWATER again, saying that GOLDWATER and GOLDWATERISM are the problems of the American people. GOLDWATER is trying to 'stop the clock'. He 'loves' the poor, but is against legislation to help them. Generally, he said, the whole presidential campaign is being carried on at a 'low intellectual level', except for the part played by Hubert HUMPHREY. States rights advocates are always on the defense against doing anything for the worker and the Negro. Yet, every state goes to the Federal government in case of need. THOMAS sees the main campaign issues as:

- "1. Civil Rights
- "2. Struggle against poverty
- "3. Struggle for peace

"11. In the latter part of his speech, THOMAS praised Hawaii for being a wonderful example of 'civil rights' in its racial harmony, and criticized New York for de facto segregation. Due to 'cybernetics', or automation, we are near the time when 'grants' will have to be made to all Americans who otherwise do not have a decent level of existence. He said in essence that the Rockefeller children received 'grants' at birth, and he didn't see why that should not be applicable to any American child. The

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Socialist Party calls for a 'total war against slums'. We are also obliged to help the 'emerging nations'. But we cannot cope with these problems and still continue military appropriations for the cold war. Some of his final points, as recorded in my notes, which are far from complete, were:

- "1. End the arms race and establish coexistence.
- "2. Carry out universal disarmament 'down to the police level'.
- "3. Increase the agencies of international control, i.e., the United Nations."

The October 21, 1964 edition of the Honolulu Advertiser, a daily newspaper of Honolulu, quoted THOMAS as stating that he might not agree to speak here if he had known American Nazi leader GEORGE LINCOLN ROCKWELL was on the same political symposium. THOMAS was quoted: "It was a shock to me to hear that ROCKWELL was coming...I am not at all sure I would have accepted had I been informed. I know I would have given it an awful lot of thought."

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A P P E N D I X

AMERICAN NAZI PARTY OF THE WORLD UNION
OF FREE ENTERPRISE NATIONAL SOCIALISTS
also known as
GEORGE LINCOLN ROCKWELL PARTY

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In his book "This Time The World," copyrighted in 1961, George Lincoln Rockwell identified himself as Commander, American Nazi Party of the World Union of Free Enterprise National Socialists (ANP - WUFENS), Arlington, Virginia.

The April 4, 1963, issue of "The Richmond News Leader," a Richmond, Virginia, daily newspaper, reported that George Lincoln Rockwell had, on the previous day, again applied for the American Nazi Party to be chartered in the State of Virginia, but this request was turned down by the Virginia State Corporation Commission. This action was taken pursuant to an act of the 1962 Virginia Assembly, which prohibits use of "Nazi" or "National Socialism" in a Virginia charter. This article further pointed out that Rockwell's party is presently chartered in the State of Virginia as the George Lincoln Rockwell Party.

On August 14, 1964, a source advised that the ANP - WUFENS was organized by George Lincoln Rockwell at his residence in Arlington, Virginia, on February 26, 1959, as an international "National Socialist" movement based on the German Nazi Party headed by Adolf Hitler. He added that Rockwell is the dominant force and personality in this party; that he is espousing a "line" of hatred against the Jews and Negroes; and that he is seeking, through speeches, distribution of literature and picketing, to establish a cohesive and dominant political party in the United States and in foreign countries.

According to the "Stormtrooper's Manual," an official publication of the ANP, the phases of ANP struggle for power are fourfold, namely, first "to make ourselves known to the masses;" second "the dissemination of our program and the truth about the Party;" third "organizing the people who have been converted to our propaganda;" and fourth "the attainment of power through the votes of the newly-won masses."

On February 17, 1964, Karl Rogers Allen, Jr., former Deputy National Commander of the ANP, advised that George

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Lincoln Rockwell believes that he has completed the first two phases in his struggle for power and is now well into the third phase. Allen said, however, in his opinion, Rockwell has only completed phase one.

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**UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Honolulu, Hawaii**

NOV 30 1964

In Reply, Please Refer
to File No. HN 100-6359

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TITLE: NORMAN MATTOON THOMAS
CHARACTER: INFORMATION CONCERNING
REFERENCE: Letterhead memorandum
of SA [REDACTED],
dated
at Honolulu, Hawaii.

b6
b7C

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referenced communication have furnished reliable information
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Date: 10/11/63

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Via AIRTEL REGISTERED
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TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (61-3176)
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-7629-Sub D)
SUBJECT: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE NATIONAL
ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF
COLORED PEOPLE
IS - C
(00: NY)

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
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CLASS. & EXT. BY SP11/15/86 Huc
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW 10/11/83

ReBuairtel 8/15/63, NYairtel 8/28/63 and NYairtel 10/4/63.

Enclosed are three copies of a LHM and one copy of a cover memorandum, as well as an additional copy of each for the Bureau file, where known, on the following individuals:

LEONARD BERNSTEIN

DR. RALPH J. BUNCHE
JOHN HOPE FRANKLIN

LLOYD GARRISON
HARRY D. GIDEONSE
JOHN GUNTHER

MAX LERNER

SAMUEL I. ROSENMAN
DR. THEODORE M. SANDERS

NORMAN THOMAS

ROY WILKINS

b6
b7C

To date 50 LHM have been submitted in this matter. Ten remain outstanding from the NYO.

- 3 - Bureau (Enc-25)(RM)
1 - New York (100-7629 Sub D)

AEC:IM

(5)

C. C. Wick

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180 OCT 14 1963

OCT 12 1963

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Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

New York, New York

OCT 11 1963

61-3176

~~SECRET~~

Norman Thomas
Member The "Committee of 100"
in Support of the National
Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
Legal Defense and Educational
Fund, Inc.

Norman Thomas is a white male who was born
November 20, 1894 at Marion, Ohio. Thomas currently
has his office at 112 East 19th Street, New York,
New York, and resides at 77 Huntington Road, Huntington,
New York.

"Who's Who In America", Volume 32, (1962 -
1963) reflects that Norman Thomas was ordained a
Presbyterian Minister in 1911 and demitted the
ministry in 1931; was candidate on the Socialist
ticket for Governor of New York in 1924, twice for
Mayor of New York City and for United States President
in 1928, 1932, 1936, 1940, 1944 and 1948.

In "Who's Who", Thomas is listed as:

"Founder, Editor 1918-21, World To-Morrow;
also Secretary Fellowship of Reconciliation, Associate
Editor 'The Nation' 1921-22; Director League for
Industrial Democracy 1922; Chairman, Postwar World
Council; columnist Denver Post and Trenton Times,
N.J."

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10/28/10
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REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW 10/11/23

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downgrading and
declassification

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 10-08-2010

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Norman Thomas

Further, Thomas is listed as Chairman of the Institute of International Labor Research. Several of Thomas' books are listed and it is indicated that he authored numerous pamphlets.

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A source advised on September 18, 1963, that Norman Thomas, the Socialist, is anti-Communist. He has never, to the source's knowledge, espoused Marxist-Leninist policies. It is his understanding that Thomas is a believer of Socialism through peaceful means, which is in opposition to Socialism under Marxism-Leninism, which advocates violent revolution. Thomas has joined and participated in the activities of front or Communist Party (CP) infiltrated organizations but in this capacity has held himself apart from Communism. In connection with his membership in such organizations, he has tended to advance Socialism and the defense of personal liberties. The source had heard in conversations within the CP circles that Thomas is anti-Communist. ~~X~~

On page 4, column 1 of the August 1, 1956 issue of the "Daily Worker" is a letter to the editor signed "sincerely Norman Thomas" which letter corrects an alleged misquoting of Thomas which appeared in the July 26, 1956 issue. This letter states in part: "As you know, I am anti-communist and I am anti-Smith Act.... Obviously I am not more anti-Smith Act than I am anti-Communist, if for no other reason than the fact that Communism in power always imposes far more restrictive legislation than the Smith Act".

The "Daily Worker" is characterized in the Appendix.

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Norman Thomas

~~SECRET~~

According to a second source, Norman Thomas had written a letter to Arnold Johnson, dated May 29, 1959, part of which stated, "The weakness of your position, as I see it, is that you Communists have to say, 'Do as we advise in the name of liberty but not at all as we do in Russia to liberties.'" C

"The Worker" edition of February 24, 1963, contains an announcement on page 11, columns 4-5, that refers to Arnold Johnson as Public Relations Director of the Communist Party, USA (CP). X

"The Worker" is an East Coast Communist newspaper. X

According to a third source, Norman Thomas spoke on May 24, 1960, at a meeting regarding Morton Sobell at the Community Church, 40 East 35th Street, New York City.

Thomas spoke in behalf of amnesty for "political prisoners". Thomas said he was "anti-Communist" but feels that Communists are being unjustly picked on. In the case of Sobell he said the sentence was too severe. Thomas then cited the case of Henry Winston who was operated on while in prison. He was refused a medical parole and was only allowed to go to a rehabilitation hospital after pressure had been brought. He said that this was characteristic of the way Communists are treated. Thomas said the question is not whether Sobell is guilty or not guilty but why he should not be paroled.

Morton Sobell was convicted on March 29, 1951 in the United States District (Southern District of New York) of conspiracy to commit espionage in behalf of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and was

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Norman Thomas.

sentenced on April 5, 1951. He is currently serving his sentence at the Federal Penitentiary in Atlanta, Georgia,

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A fourth source advised that at a CP, USA National Committee meeting held in New York City on August 12-13, 1961, Henry Winston was elected to the CP, USA National Committee, National Executive Committee and also Vice-Chairman of the CP, USA. ~~X~~

[A fifth source advised that on April 27, 1961,] at the Finley Building at City College of New York (CCNY) in Room 217, Mr. Norman Thomas of the Socialist Party spoke at a lecture sponsored by the CCNY chapter of the Americans for Democratic Action.

Mr. Thomas stated he was opposed to United States intervention in Cuba, criticized the "Big Five" in the United Nations (UN) and he condemned Russia's proposal for a triumvirate setup at the UN in place of Secretary General Dag Hammerskjold. He said that Adlai Stevenson should resign from his UN post for not knowing the true facts of the United States involvement in Cuba.

According to the June 24, 1962 "New York Times" article, "Americans Ask Soviet to Halt Executions in Economic Crimes" (page 14), Norman Thomas was listed among 223 signers of a petition to the USSR urging the USSR to abandon the death penalty for economic crimes.

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Norman Thomas

A sixth source advised that Norman Thomas was a speaker at the Louise Pettibone Smith 75th Birthday Testimonial Dinner which took place on October 12, 1962 at the Hotel Astor in New York City. According to the source, Norman Thomas spoke about the Morton Sobell case and others. Thomas stated that the charges against Sobell have never been proven and every effort should be made to secure the release of these men in prison. Thomas added that he ~~was not~~ a Communist.

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A characterization of the Louise Pettibone Smith 75th Birthday Testimonial Dinner appears in the Appendix.

A seventh source advised that the Socialist Party is offering in 1963 a candidate, Richard Parrish, for the office of New York City Councilman. According to the source, William Albertson, while at a meeting of the New York District Board, CP, USA, held at 85 East 4th Street, New York, New York, on August 5, 1963, said that he recently met with the "Socialist people" in regard to Parrish's candidacy on the Socialist ticket. Albertson said that Norman Thomas, who is one of the persons running Parrish's campaign, said the Communist Party was not welcome to participate in Parrish's candidacy.

An eighth source advised on November 18, 1962, that William Albertson is the Executive Secretary of the New York District, CP, USA.

According to the ninth source on September 8, 1958, Robert Thompson said Norman Thomas is heading the drive for sponsors for Henry Winston and Gilbert Green who were then in prison.

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Norman Thomas

According to the seventh source, by action of the New York District Board, New York District, CP, USA on October 29, 1962, Robert Thompson was elected District Organizer of the New York District CP, USA. ~~✓~~

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Gilbert Green, a member of the National Board, CP, USA, and Illinois State Chairman of the CP, USA, was indicted on July 20, 1948 for violation of the Smith Act of 1940 and convicted in the United States District Court, Southern District of New York (SDNY) on October 14, 1949. On October 21, 1949, he was sentenced to a term of five years and a fine of \$10,000. He was released on bail on November 3, 1949, and became a fugitive upon the issuance of a bench warrant in SDNY on July 2, 1951. On February 27, 1956, Green surrendered to the United States Attorney, SDNY, and after a trial was sentenced to three years imprisonment for Contempt of Court. ~~✓~~

A tenth source advised on June 28, 1959, that Norman Thomas was to be Robert Thompson's "parole" advisor. ~~✓~~

On May 28, 1960, an eleventh source learned that Norman Thomas, among others, was to sponsor a public meeting in May, 1960, in behalf of the Morton Sobell case. ~~✓~~

The eleventh source reported on June 14, 1962, that Norman Thomas made a tape recording wherein he said he was slowly and reluctantly drawn into the

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Morton Sobell case, not that he thought Morton Sobell should be freed because of innocence, but because he believed the sentence was too severe. ~~X~~

The January 4, 1959 issue of "The Worker" (page 5) contained an article titled "35 Notables Ask Dropping of Denver Smith Act Case" which listed Norman Thomas as one of the petitioners.

The November 28, 1960 issue of the "National Guardian" (page 10) contained an article which named Norman Thomas as a sponsor of the "Freedom Weekend" conference held November 19-20, 1960 in Washington, D. C. to call for Presidential clemency for Morton Sobell, which conference was under the auspices of the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell.

Characterizations of the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell and the "National Guardian" appear in the Appendix.

The April 12, 1959 issue of "The Worker" (page 14, column 5) contained an article which listed Norman Thomas among others as supporting a nationwide campaign for amnesty in the cases of Henry Winston and Gil Green.

The November 6, 1962 issue of "The Worker" (page 5, column 3) in an article titled "Make Film Documentary on Morton Sobell Case" stated that Norman Thomas appeared in a documentary movie prepared and released by the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell regarding the Sobell case.

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On May 28, 1959, the files of the House Committee on Un-American Activities were checked by Special Employee [redacted] and the following pertinent references were not checked against the original source.

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Testimony of Walter S. Steele on page 220, reflects that one Norman H. Thomas was an official of the American Fund For Public Service.

A characterization of the American Fund for Public Service appears in the Appendix.

On page 242, appears Steele Exhibit number 2. "The Federated Press Labor Letter," Chicago, Wednesday, August 18, 1926, Volume 12, Number 20, page 8, Column 3, article 3, which reflects that one Norman Thomas was listed as a Director of the American Fund for Public Service.

The "Federated Press" is characterized in the Appendix.

On page 296, Steele Exhibit Number 28 - "New Leader" of E. 15th Street, New York City, one Norman Thomas of American Fund for Public Service (Incorporated) was listed as a contributing editor.

Hearings, House of Representatives, 71st Congress, 2nd Session, Part 3, Volume 2, June 17, 1930 - on page 574, one Norman Thomas is listed as one of the trustees of American Fund for Public Service (Incorporated).

A letterhead, dated September 8, 1930, reflected that one Norman M. Thomas was a member of the Board of Directors, American Fund for Public Service.

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Norman Thomas

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House Report number 1311, 78th Congress, 2nd Session - Report on the CIO Political Action Committee. On page 75 one Norman Thomas was listed as a Director of the American Fund for Public Service.

Testimony of Robert Morss Lovett, Government Secretary, Virgin Islands, Department of the Interior on April 16, 1943. He stated that one Norman Thomas was a trustee of the Garland Fund, correctly known as the American Fund for Public Service.

"New Masses" for July 20, 1937, page 29, reflected that one Norman Thomas was a speaker at the 1st Anniversary of Anti-Fascist Struggle in Spain, meeting at Madison Square Garden, July 19, 1937, sponsored by the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy.

The "North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy" has been cited as pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

"New Masses" is characterized in the Appendix.

The "Daily Worker" for March 19, 1938, page 2, reflected that one Norman Thomas was a speaker at a Progressive Rally, sponsored by the Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy.

The "Daily Worker" for June 2, 1938, page 5, reflected one Norman Thomas as a supporter of a meeting of the Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy.

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"Volunteer for Liberty", Volume I, Number 3, page 8, June 8, 1937, reflected that the name of one Norman Thomas appeared in a reprint of a telegram sent by the Abraham Lincoln Brigade to the Brigade in Spain.

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The Abraham Lincoln Brigade is cited pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

"Volunteer for Liberty" is characterized in the Appendix.

"Call to the United States Congress Against War", September 1-4, 1933, New York City, page 3, reflected that one Norman Thomas, member, National Executive Committee, Socialist Party of America, was a member of the Arrangements Committee of United States Congress Against War.

The United States Congress Against War is characterized in the Appendix.

A pamphlet, Presenting the American Student Union (back cover), reflected that one Norman Thomas was a member of the Advisory Board of the American Student Union.

A characterization of the American Student Union appears in the Appendix.

Testimony on April 1, 1943, of Goodwin B. Watson, Chief Analyst of the Foreign Broadcast Intelligence Service, Federal Communications Commission. He stated that one Norman Thomas was connected with the American Student Union.

Appendix-Part IX

Page 520, reflects one Norman Thomas, Princeton, was on the sponsoring committee for a dinner sponsored by the American Student Union ("Student Advocate", February, 1937, page 2).

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Norman Thomas

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"Champion" for October, 1936, page 8, reflected that one Norman Thomas was a contributor.

A characterization of "Champion" appears in the Appendix.

"The People vs. H.C.L.", a pamphlet, page 3, December 11-12, 1937, reflected that one Norman Thomas was a sponsor of the Consumers National Federation.

A characterization of the Consumers National Federation appears in the Appendix.

The "Daily Worker" for April 30, 1927, page 5, reflected that one Norman Thomas was arrested at Passaic, New Jersey, at a rally of the International Labor Defense.

The International Labor Defense has been cited pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

A pamphlet, "The Second National Negro Congress," October, 1937, reflected that one Norman Thomas spoke.

The National Negro Congress has been cited pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

The "Daily Worker" for February 15, 1938, page 7, reflected that one Norman Thomas was a contributor to the official proceedings of the Second National Negro Congress.

A typewritten petition (32 pages), dated May 12, 1946, page 11, reflected that one Norman M. Thomas, 113 West 23rd Street, New York City, was a

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Norman Thomas

signer of a petition sponsored by the New Jersey Council of American-Soviet Friendship, protesting the citation for contempt of the officers of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship.

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The National Council of American-Soviet Friendship is cited pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

A letterhead, dated March 20, 1926, reflected that one Norman Thomas was a member of the Advisory Board of Russian Reconstruction Farms, Incorporated.

Russian Reconstruction Farms, Incorporated, is characterized in the Appendix.

Hearings. House of Representatives, 75th Congress, 3rd Session, Testimony of John P. Frey, President, Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor (AFL) on August 15, 1938:

Page 628, under caption "Scottsboro Defense Committee," it was noted that a testimonial dinner was given in honor of Norman Thomas in 1936.

The Scottsboro Defense Committee is characterized in the Appendix.

Appendix - Part IX

Page 1162f reflects one Norman Thomas of Detroit, Michigan, was a sponsor of the Mother Ella Reeve Bloor 45th Anniversary Banquet.

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Norman Thomas

Concerning the late Mother Ella Reeve Bloor, in Appendix 9, page 1162 of a report entitled "Investigation of Un-American Propaganda Activity in the US" by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, 78th Congress, referred to as the Dies Report, Ella Reeve was described as being one of the most notorious leaders of the CP in the United States for many years.

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House Document number 206, 85th Congress, 1st Session. - - Trial by Treason - The National Committee to Secure Justice for the Rosenbergs and Morton Sobell.

On page 41 the name of one Norman Thomas appeared on an Appeal to President Eisenhower to grant clemency to Ethel and Julius Rosenberg.

Ethel and Julius Rosenberg were convicted in United States District Court, SDNY, on March 29, 1951, of conspiracy to commit espionage on behalf of the USSR. They were sentenced to death on April 5, 1951 and legally executed at Sing Sing Prison, Ossining, New York on June 19, 1953.

Hearings, House of Representatives, 79th Congress, 1st Session, statement of William Z. Foster, October 18, 1945, on page 67, mentions one Norman Thomas as being connected with Socialism.

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Norman Thomas

On page 124, Foster stated that one Mr. Norman Thomas is one of the bitterest enemies of the Soviet Union in the United States and is a red baiter, adding that he sabotaged the war we have just gone through and considered the Soviet Union, not Hitler, as the main enemy.

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The late William Z. Foster was
Chairman Emeritus of the CP, USA.

Hearings, House of Representatives, 81st Congress, 2nd Session. Testimony of one Norman Thomas on May 3, 1950, pages 2291/2296, who appeared as a representative of the Socialist Party. He stated "I am not now a member of the Communist Party, I have never been a member of the Communist Party...."

"I believe that the Communist Party is by its nature undemocratic and in many of its activities thoroughly conspiratorial. It is controlled by the same men who are the dictators of a foreign government. Nevertheless, I think it would be a blow to democracy and to sound public policy to outlaw the Communist Party...."

"Whatever the intentions of the authors, the practical effects of this bill would be to outlaw the Communist Party, to drive it still further underground, and to force it to new disguises in the field of electoral action. You gentlemen are sufficiently experienced in the psychology of American politics and the practical workings of parties to realize that no party can function effectively under the regulations you propose. The bill is an indirect way of outlawing the party."

"I think it ought to be obvious that that is true. Incidentally and parenthetically, if the communists should have anyone who had the nerve- and they might-and, shall I say had a practical joker,

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Norman Thomas

he could cause a lot of embarrassment by filing the names of people the Communists hated.... All that would have to be done would be for the communists to turn in the names of people they hated, and these people would be a long time clearing their names. In other words, it is completely impractical bill, and I doubt that the Communist Party would attempt to comply with it at all. They simple would go underground. Despite the shs of the Communist Party, it does not present such a clear and present danger to American institutions and to democratic procedures that we should be justified in outlawing it and driving it still farther into underground conspiracy. The effect of the bill will be to give not only Communists but organizations, dubiously connected with communism the accolade of martyrdom. Through the world America will be advertised as a country which, in a basic respect, violates the democracy it professes.

"Remember that European governments are not in a position to outlaw communist parties. They are too strong. But in France, for instance, there is a very strong non-communist feeling very suspicious to us, and if we simply outlawed the Communist Party, their confidence in us would go by the board. The good American principle that the ballot is the completely satisfactory substitute for the bullet and an entirely adequate way of effecting the changes the people desire, will seem to have been flouted. There is no existing emergency of a magnitude to justify such an attitude.

"What is still worse in the bill before you is the drastic power given to the Government generally, and the special board in particular, to brand individuals, as well as organizations,

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"as 'communist' on the basis of highly subjective opinions which cannot be adequately controlled by any set of interpretations of the standards set down in the act...."

"This (bill) would exclude well-known converts from communism who are now in displaced persons camps in Europe solely because they are not communists. The communists in the displaced persons camp, unless they are placed there as spies, have long since gone home. I think it is justifiable for a government to exclude immigrants who are definitely committed to communism, because of the surrender of their conscience to an outside agency, and that is all...."

In closing he states, "This is a subject on which I feel rather strongly, and I have known communists a lot longer than some of you."

Appendix Part IX

Page 1752 is reflected (During the period 1936-39) "Both wings of the Socialist movement have publicly charged the Workers Alliance with complete domination by the Communist Party. The Socialist group under the leadership of Norman Thomas made such a charge; likewise the Socialist faction known as the Social-Democratic Federation which split from the Norman Thomas group."

The Workers Alliance (since April, 1936) is cited as pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

On September 16, 1963, the files of the House Committee on Un-American Activities were checked by Investigative Clerk Wayne E. Holland and the following pertinent references were not checked against the original source:

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Norman M. Thomas was listed as a Member of the Board of Directors of the America Fund for Public Service (Garland Fund) according to reports of the organization dated May, 1931 and November, 1934.

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According to the "Daily Worker" of December 21, 1955 (pages 1 and 8), Norman Thomas was a signer of a petition asking for Christmas amnesty for 16 men and women imprisoned under the Smith Act and also urged the President to hold in abeyance further proceedings under the Smith Act.

The February 23, 1960 issue of the "New York Times" contained a letter from Norman Thomas in which Thomas requested a medical parole for Henry Winston.

According to a letterhead, August 21, 1962, Norman Thomas was listed as a sponsor of a dinner held in New York City on October 12, 1962 in honor of Louise Pettibone Smith's 75th Birthday and the late Royal W. France and in protest against the Mc Carran Act.

According to the "National Guardian", October 22, 1962 (page 5), Norman Thomas spoke at a dinner honoring Professor Louise P. Smith and Royal France. Thomas characterized the Mc Carran and Smith Acts as a "disgrace to our administration of justice".

"The Worker", Midweek Edition of November 6, 1962 (page 5) carried a story that Norman Thomas was featured in a film documentary made for showing to the United States Parole Board in the hope of convincing its members to free Morton Sobell.

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The film was produced under the name of Veritas Productions and the Sobell Committee was paying the cost of the prints.

The "Peoples World" of December 3, 1960 (page 9) listed Norman Thomas as one of the sponsors of a conference held in Washington, D. C. to formulate plans to try to secure release of Morton Sobell. As shown in the program for "Freedom Weekend", dated November 19-21, 1960, this conference was sponsored by the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell.

The "Peoples World" is a west coast Communist newspaper.

According to a petition attached to a letterhead dated March 9, 1961, Norman Thomas was listed among the petitioners in an "Appeal to Stop the Spread of Nuclear Weapons" and distributed by the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship.

According to the December 4, 1961 issue of the "National Guardian" (page 8), Norman Thomas had signed a petition in behalf of Braden and Wilkinson.

Carl Braden and Frank Wilkinson were convicted for contempt of Congress in United States District Court, Atlanta, Georgia, and sentenced to serve one year in prison. Their convictions were upheld by the Supreme Court of the United States on February 27, 1961.

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Mrs. Alberta Ahern, 2311 Payne Street, Louisville, Kentucky, a self-admitted member of the CP, USA in Louisville, Kentucky from January, 1951 to December, 1954, on December 11 and 13, 1954 testified in Jefferson County, Kentucky Circuit Court, Louisville, Kentucky, that she had known Carl Braden as a leading member of the CP, USA in Louisville, Kentucky during the period of her membership. ~~/~~

On September 17, 1952, a twelfth source advised that Frank Wilkinson was a CP member as of September, 1952. ~~/~~

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Norman Thomas

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APPENDIX

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AMERICAN FUND FOR PUBLIC SERVICE (GARLAND FUND)

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., contains the following concerning the American Fund for Public Service (Garland Fund):

- "1. 'Established in 1922 * * * it was a major source for the financing of Communist Party enterprises' such as the Daily Worker and New Masses, official Communist publications, Federated Press, Russian Reconstruction Farms, and International Labor Defense. William Z. Foster, present chairman, Communist Party, and Scott Nearing, a leading writer for the Party, served on the board of directors of the Fund. (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, pp. 75 and 76.)"

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Norman Thomas

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AMERICAN STUDENT UNION

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., contains the following concerning the American Student Union:

- "1. Cited as a Communist front which was 'the result of a united front gathering of young Socialists and Communists' in Columbus, Ohio in 1935. The Young Communist League took credit for the creation of the organization, which offered free trips to the Soviet Union. It claimed to have led as many as 500,000 students out in annual April 22 strikes in the United States.

(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Annual Report, House Report 2, January 3, 1939, p.80; also cited in Annual Reports, House Report 1476, January 3, 1940, p.9, House Report 2277, June 25, 1942, p.16; and in House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 159).

- "2. Cited as subversive and un-American.
(Special Subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations, Report, April 21, 1943, p.3.)"

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Norman Thomas

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CHAMPION OF YOUTH (OR CHAMPION)

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., contains the following concerning Champion of Youth (or Champion):

- "1. 'Official organ of the Young Communist League and also of the International Workers Order.'
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Annual Report, House Report 2277, June 25, 1942, p.17; also cited in House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p.139.)"

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APPENDIX

COMMITTEE TO SECURE JUSTICE
FOR MORTON SOBELL

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"Following the execution of atomic spies ETHEL and JULIUS ROSENBERG in June, 1953, the 'Communist campaign assumed a different emphasis. Its major effort centered upon MORTON SOBELL, 'the ROSENBERGS' codefendant. The National Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case - a Communist front which had been conducting the campaign in the United States - was reconstituted as the National Rosenberg-Sobell Committee at a conference in Chicago in October, 1953, and 'then as the National Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell in the Rosenberg Case'. . . ."

("Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications" dated December 1, 1961, issued by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, page 116.)

In September, 1954, the name "National Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell" appeared on literature issued by the Committee. In March, 1955, the current name, "Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell," first appeared on literature issued by the Committee.

The Address Telephone Directory for the Borough of Manhattan, New York City, as published by the New York Telephone Company, on April 16, 1963, lists the "Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell" (CSJMS) as being located at 940 Broadway, New York, New York.

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Norman Thomas

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APPENDIX

CONSUMERS' NATIONAL FEDERATION

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The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., contains the following concerning Consumers' National Federation:

- "1. Cited as a Communist front.
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p.155.)"

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"DAILY WORKER"

The "Daily Worker" was an East Coast Communist daily newspaper which suspended publication on January 13, 1958.

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Norman Thomas

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APPENDIX

LOUISE PETTIBONE SMITH
75TH BIRTHDAY TRIBUTE,
Also known as Louise P.
Smith Birthday Committee,
The Royal W. France Memorial Fund

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[On July 19, 1962, a source] made available information on letterhead stationery of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship (NCASF) dated July 14, 1962, that the Louise Pettibone Smith Birthday Committee (LPSBC) had been recently formed through cooperation of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born (ACPFB), the NCASF and the Religious Freedom Committee (RFC) to hold a birthday dinner for LOUISE PETTIBONE SMITH on October 12, 1962, at the Hotel Astor, New York City. The affair was to be an "independent and individual sponsorship."

[On July 11, 1962, a second source] made available a letter printed on the stationery of the Louise Pettibone Smith 75th Birthday Tribute (LPSBT) dated June, 1962, and signed "RUTH C. FRANCE (Mrs. ROYAL W. FRANCE)," the Executive Secretary. This letter stated "the occasion will be used to launch a renewed effort for the defeat of the Mc Carran Internal Security Act."

[The second source on July 11, 1962] made available a printed resume of the activities of LOUISE PETTIBONE SMITH issued by the LPSBC which states that "for the past twelve years she has served as Honorary Co-Chairman of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born."

[On September 26, 1962, the second source] made available a letter dated September, 1962, printed on letterhead stationery of "The Royal W. France Memorial Fund," Room 405, 49 East 21st Street, New York 10, New York. The letter contains information that at the time of his death, July 10, 1962, ROYAL W. FRANCE was working on plans for the LPSBT to be held on October 12, 1962, and it seemed fitting that a tribute to his memory should be held at this affair in the form of a fund, with the money to be used in the fight to defeat the Mc Carran Act.

[On February 5, 1963, a third source] advised that the Royal W. France Memorial Fund, the LPSBT, as well as the ACPFB and Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade (VALB) occupy Room 405 at 49 East 21st Street, New York, New York.

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LOUISE PETTIBONE SMITH
75TH BIRTHDAY TRIBUTE,
Also known as Louise P.
Smith Birthday Committee,
The Royal W. France Memorial Fund

The ACPFB, the NCASF and the VALB have been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

On March 15, 1963, a fourth source made available a copy of a letter dated March 7, 1963, signed RUTH C. FRANCE which indicated more than \$3,500 was being held in the Royal W. France Memorial Fund to be used for legal fees to press the fight against the Mc Carran Act. ~~X~~

[On February 25, 1963, a fifth source advised the checking account for the LPSBT was closed March 19, 1963, and the balance of the account was transferred to the Royal W. France Memorial Fund. ~~X~~

Information from the fifth source is not to be made public except in the usual proceedings following the issuance of a subpoena duces tecum. The person to be subpoenaed is [redacted] Assistant Manager, Chemical Bank, New York Trust Company, 29th Street and Park Avenue, South, New York City. The source no longer has the original documents in which the check information was obtained.

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[A sixth source advised on May 28, 1963, that the Royal W. France Memorial Fund continues to be located in Room 405 at 49 East 21st Street, New York City. ~~X~~

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"NATIONAL GUARDIAN"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the "National Guardian":

"National Guardian

- "1. 'established by the American Labor Party in 1947 as a "progressive" weekly * * *. Although it denies having any affiliation with the Communist Party, it has manifested itself from the beginning as a virtual official propaganda arm of Soviet Russia.' (Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, Trial by Treason: The National Committee to Secure Justice for the ROSENBERGS and MORTON SOBELL, August 25, 1956, p. 12.)"

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Norman Thomas

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NEW MASSES

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., contains the following concerning New Masses:

- "1. 'New Masses, a weekly publication, * * * was an officially controlled organ of the (Communist) Party which dealt principally with problems in the arts and sciences from the Party point of view.'

(Subversive Activities Control Board, Docket No. 108-53, Report and Order with respect to the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, December 21, 1955, p.8.)

- "2. A 'Communist periodical.'
(Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p.7688.)

- "3. 'Nationally circulated weekly journal of the Communist Party * * * whose ownership was vested in the American Fund for Public Service' (Garland Fund).

(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, pp. 48 and 75; also cited in Annual Reports, House Report 2, January 3, 1939, p. 80; and House Report 2277, June 25, 1942, pp. 4 and 21.)"

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Norman Thomas

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APPENDIX

FEDERATED PRESS

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the Federated Press:

- "1. Cited as a Communist-controlled organization financed by the American Fund for Public Service and the Robert Marshall Foundation, both principal sources of funds for Communist enterprises.
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, pp. 76, 143, and 147.)
- "2. Cited as a 'Communist-controlled' news syndicate.
(Senate Judiciary Committee, Senate Report 2050 on the Institute of Pacific Relations, July 2, 1952, pp. 95 and 146.)
- "3. 'Certain Communist fronts are organized for the purpose of promulgating Communist ideas and misinformation into the bloodstream of public opinion. Examples of such organizations are the *** Federated Press. ***'
(Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 91.)"

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APPENDIX

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RUSSIAN RECONSTRUCTION FARMS, INC.

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., contains the following concerning the Russian Reconstruction Farms, Inc.:

- "1. Cited as a Communist enterprise which was directed by Harold Ware, son of the well-known Communist Ella Reeve Bloor. It received funds from the Garland Fund.

(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 76.)"

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APPENDIX

SCOTTSBORO DEFENSE COMMITTEE

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The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., contains the following concerning the Scottsboro Defense Committee:

- "1. Cited as a Communist front.
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Annual Report, House Report 2, January 3, 1939, p.82; and House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p.177.)"

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APPENDIX

UNITED STATES CONGRESS AGAINST WAR

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The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publication," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., contains the following concerning United States Congress Against War:

- "1. 'The American League Against War and Fascism was formally organized at the First United States Congress Against War and Fascism held in New York City, September 29 to October 1, 1933. * * * The program of the first congress called for the end of the Roosevelt policies of imperialism and for the support of the peace policies of the Soviet Union for opposition to all attempts to weaken the Soviet Union. * * * Subsequent congresses in 1934 and 1936 reflected the same program.'

(Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7683.)

- "2. '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.'

(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 119; also cited in Annual Reports, House Report 1476, January 3, 1940, p. 11; and House Report 2277, June 25, 1942, p. 14.)"

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APPENDIX

VOLUNTEER FOR LIBERTY (SPAIN)

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The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., contains the following concerning Volunteer for Liberty (Spain):

- "1. 'The official ALB (Abraham Lincoln Brigade) organ in Spain, called the Volunteer for Liberty, was supervised by Communists and reflected the Communist position depicting the struggle there as a parallel to the war then raging in China and as but part of the international struggles of communism against fascism.'

(Subversive Activities Control Board, Docket No. 108-53; Report and Order with respect to the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, December 21, 1955, p. 16; see also p. 120.)"

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APPENDIX

VOLUNTEER FOR LIBERTY (UNITED STATES)

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., contains the following concerning Volunteer for Liberty (United States):

- "1. 'The VALB (Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade) at this convention (its initial convention, December 23-24, 1939) adopted as the title of its official organ, which states its views and policies, Volunteer for Liberty. This organ is published for the national organization in New York and there has also been a Chicago supplement by the same name.'
(Subversive Activities Control Board, Docket No. 108-53, Report and Order with respect to the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, December 21, 1955, p.26; see also p. 31.)"

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York

OCT 11 1963

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

61-3176

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|----------------------|--|
| Title | Norman Thomas Member The "Committee of 100" in Support of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People |
| OBJECTIVE | Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc. |
| Reference | is made to the memorandum, dated and captioned as above. |

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

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The Attorney General

Dec 20, 1944

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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