U.S. Department of Justice

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C. 20535

July 24, 2018

MR. JOHN GREENEWALD JR.
SUITE 1203
27305 W LIVE OAK ROAD
CASTAIC, CA 91384

FOIPA Request No.: 1409925-000
Subject: HOOK, SYDNEY

Dear Mr. Greenewald:

Records responsive to your request were previously processed under the provisions of the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA). Below you will find informational paragraphs relevant to your request. Please read each item carefully.

☐ A search of the Central Records System maintained at FBI Headquarters indicated that records responsive to your request have been sent to the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA). Since these records were previously processed under the provisions of the Freedom of Information Act, we are providing you a copy of the previously processed documents.

Please be advised if this release of previously processed material does not satisfy your information needs for this request, you may make a request to NARA at the following address, using file number insert FILE NUMBER as a reference:

National Archives and Records Administration
8601 Adelphi Road
College Park, MD 20740-6001

☐ A search of the Central Records System maintained at FBI Headquarters indicated that records responsive to your request were destroyed on DATE IF KNOWN. Record retention and disposal is carried out under supervision of the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), Title 44, United States Code, Section 3301 as implemented by Title 36, Code of Federal Regulations, Part 1228; Title 44, United States Code, Section 3310 as implemented by Title 36, Code of Federal Regulations, Part 1229.10. Since these records were previously processed under the provisions of the Freedom of Information Act, we are providing you a copy of the previously processed documents.

Enclosed are 148 pages of previously processed documents and a copy of the Explanation of Exemptions. This release is being provided to you at no charge.

Please be advised that additional records potentially responsive to your subject may exist. If this release of previously processed material does not satisfy your information needs for this request, you may request an additional search for records. Submit your request by mail or fax to – Work Process Unit, 170 Marcel Drive, Winchester, VA 22602, fax number (540) 868-4997. Please cite the FOIPA Request Number in your correspondence.

For your information, Congress excluded three discrete categories of law enforcement and national security records from the requirements of the FOIA. See 5 U.S. C. § 552(c) (2006 & Supp. IV (2010). This response is limited to those records subject to the requirements of the FOIA. This is a standard notification that is given to all our requesters and should not be taken as an indication that excluded records do, or do not, exist.

For questions regarding our determinations, visit the www.fbi.gov/foia website under "Contact Us." The FOIPA Request Number listed above has been assigned to your request. Please use this number in all correspondence concerning your request.

You may file an appeal by writing to the Director, Office of Information Policy (OIP), United States Department of Justice, Suite 11050, 1425 New York Avenue, NW, Washington, D.C. 20530-0001, or you may submit an appeal through OIP's FOIAonline portal by creating an account on the following web site: https://foiaonline.regulations.gov/foia/action/public/home. Your appeal must be postmarked or electronically transmitted within ninety (90) days from the date of this letter in order to be considered timely. If you submit your appeal by mail, both the letter and the envelope should be clearly marked "Freedom of Information Act Appeal." Please cite the FOIPA Request Number assigned to your request so it may be easily identified.

You may seek dispute resolution services by contacting the Office of Government Information Services (OGIS) at 877-684-6448, or by emailing ogis@nara.gov. Alternatively, you may contact the FBI's FOIA Public Liaison by emailing foipaquestions@fbi.gov. If you submit your dispute resolution correspondence by email, the subject heading should clearly state "Dispute Resolution Services." Please also cite the FOIPA Request Number assigned to your request so it may be easily identified.

Sincerely,

David M. Hardy
Section Chief,
Record/Information
Dissemination Section
Information Management Division

Enclosure(s)

EXPLANATION OF EXEMPTIONS

SUBSECTIONS OF TITLE 5, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 552

(b)(1) (A) specifically authorized under criteria established by an Executive order to be kept secret in the interest of national defense or foreign policy and (B) are in fact properly classified to such Executive order;

(b)(2) related solely to the internal personnel rules and practices of an agency;

(b)(3) specifically exempted from disclosure by statute (other than section 552b of this title), provided that such statute (A) requires that the matters be withheld from the public in such a manner as to leave no discretion on issue, or (B) establishes particular criteria for withholding or refers to particular types of matters to be withheld;

(b)(4) trade secrets and commercial or financial information obtained from a person and privileged or confidential;

(b)(5) inter-agency or intra-agency memorandums or letters which would not be available by law to a party other than an agency in litigation with the agency;

(b)(6) personnel and medical files and similar files the disclosure of which would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy;

(b)(7) records or information compiled for law enforcement purposes, but only to the extent that the production of such law enforcement records or information (A) could reasonably be expected to interfere with enforcement proceedings, (B) would deprive a person of a right to a fair trial or an impartial adjudication, (C) could reasonably be expected to constitute an unwarranted invasion of personal privacy, (D) could reasonably be expected to disclose the identity of confidential source, including a State, local, or foreign agency or authority or any private institution which furnished information on a confidential basis, and, in the case of record or information compiled by a criminal law enforcement authority in the course of a criminal investigation, or by an agency conducting a lawful national security intelligence investigation, information furnished by a confidential source, (E) would disclose techniques and procedures for law enforcement investigations or prosecutions, or would disclose guidelines for law enforcement investigations or prosecutions if such disclosure could reasonably be expected to risk circumvention of the law, or (F) could reasonably be expected to endanger the life or physical safety of any individual;

(b)(8) contained in or related to examination, operating, or condition reports prepared by, on behalf of, or for the use of an agency responsible for the regulation or supervision of financial institutions; or

(b)(9) geological and geophysical information and data, including maps, concerning wells.

SUBSECTIONS OF TITLE 5, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 552a

(d)(5) information compiled in reasonable anticipation of a civil action proceeding;

(j)(2) material reporting investigative efforts pertaining to the enforcement of criminal law including efforts to prevent, control, or reduce crime or apprehend criminals;

(k)(1) information which is currently and properly classified pursuant to an Executive order in the interest of the national defense or foreign policy, for example, information involving intelligence sources or methods;

(k)(2) investigatory material compiled for law enforcement purposes, other than criminal, which did not result in loss of a right, benefit or privilege under Federal programs, or which would identify a source who furnished information pursuant to a promise that his/her identity would be held in confidence;

(k)(3) material maintained in connection with providing protective services to the President of the United States or any other individual pursuant to the authority of Title 18, United States Code, Section 3056;

(k)(4) required by statute to be maintained and used solely as statistical records;

(k)(5) investigatory material compiled solely for the purpose of determining suitability, eligibility, or qualifications for Federal civilian employment or for access to classified information, the disclosure of which would reveal the identity of the person who furnished information pursuant to a promise that his/her identity would be held in confidence;

(k)(6) testing or examination material used to determine individual qualifications for appointment or promotion in Federal Government service he release of which would compromise the testing or examination process;

(k)(7) material used to determine potential for promotion in the armed services, the disclosure of which would reveal the identity of the person who furnished the material pursuant to a promise that his/her identity would be held in confidence.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOI/PA
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET
FOI/PA# 1409925-0

Total Deleted Page(s) = 1
Page 25 ~ b1;

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
X Deleted Page(s) X
X No Duplication Fee X
X For this Page X
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

Date: January 5, 1943

To: SAC, New York

838993

From: J. Edgar Hoover - Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

Subject: PROF. SIDNEY HOOK
INTERNAL SECURITY - R

Your attention is directed to an article by Sender Garlin entitled "Constant Reader" appearing on page ~~one~~ seven of the December 12, 1942 Daily Worker. This article states, among other things, that the above-named individual is "the chief carrier of Trotskyite bacilli" at New York University. It reflects in essence that Hook is responsible for the editorial policy of the Washington Square "Bulletin," the semi-weekly publication of New York University.

In the event your office is not familiar with the activities of this individual, you are instructed to open an INTERNAL SECURITY - C case concerning him and to conduct the appropriate investigation with a view of ascertaining his possible Trotskyite sympathies or connections.

COPY OF ENCLOSURE IS AVAILABLE IN PUBLICATIONS FILES

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Ladon
Mr. Kramer
Mr. McGuire
Mr. Quinn T
Mr. Neal
Miss Gandy

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-11-91 BY 16 SAC/LP 222348

100-176573-11

RECORDED & INDEXED 17 JAN 12 1943

SE

MAILED 3 JAN 25 1943

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT NEW YORK, N. Y.

CONFIDENTIAL

NY FILE NO. 100-43719 BEO

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
NEW YORK, N. Y.	5/15/44	2/25;5/2,5/44	[redacted] b6 b7C

TITLE

SIDNEY HOOK

CHARACTER OF CASE

SECURITY MATTER - C

SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR ADD. DISSEMINATION

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

HOOK, reportedly a former advisor of EARL BROWDER but now anti-Communist and regarded as Trotskyite, born 12/20/02, NYC, and engaged as Professor of Philosophy at NYU. Also teaches at New School for Social Research and Rand School in NYC. In 1932 he supported FOSTER and FORD as Communist Party candidates for President and Vice President. In 1942 Daily Worker characterized HOOK as "chief carrier of Trotskyite bacilli" at NYU. He has been affiliated with American Marxist Association, Committee for Cultural Freedom, American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees, and similar organizations. No criminal record. Selective Service status 3AH.

- P -

REFERENCE: Bureau letter dated January 5, 1943.

DETAILS: At New York, N. Y.

This investigation is based upon reference letter from the Bureau advising of information which appeared in the Daily Worker, reported organ of the Communist Party, USA, in the issue of December 12, 1942 in an article by SENDER GARLIN. This article, which appeared on Page 6 of the Worker, referred to Professor SIDNEY HOOK of New York University as the person responsible for the editorial policy of the Washington Square "Bulletin", semi-weekly publication at New York University.

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: C. C. Conroy SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES

RECORDED & INDEXED

COPIES OF THIS REPORT

5 - Bureau
1 - Albany (Information)
1 - [redacted] DIO, 3 N.D.
1 - [redacted] D of I, 2 S.C.
3 - New York

COPY IN FILE

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

b6
b7C

CC TO:
REQ. REC'D. 8-13
AUG 13 1965
ANS.
BY:

CONFIDENTIAL

Among other things the article stated that HOOK is the "chief carrier of Trotskyite bacilli" at the University.

[redacted] of New York University, advised that SIDNEY HOOK has been affiliated with the Washington Square College of Arts and Sciences since September 1, 1927 when he was engaged as an instructor in the Department of Philosophy. In succeeding years Professor HOOK was promoted to Assistant Professor, Associate Professor, Professor in 1939, and he finally became Chairman of the Department of Philosophy. He is married and has two sons and one daughter. According to [redacted] he was born December 20, 1902 at New York City and received a Bachelor of Science Degree in 1923 at the College of the City of New York, an A.M. Degree in 1926, and a PHD Degree in 1927, both at Columbia University, New York City. Professor HOOK has also taught at Columbia. He is a member of the American Philosophical Association. He resides at 606A Third Street, Brooklyn, New York, and spends his summers at South Wardsboro, Vermont. b6 b7C

[redacted] further advised that HOOK has been teaching at the New School for Social Research, 66 West 12th Street, New York City, for about ten years. This institution is well known for its liberal views. [redacted] stated that although he is not too well acquainted with HOOK personally, he knows that he is a keen thinker who is highly regarded in philosophical circles. [redacted] considers him very liberal, but is not aware that he has ever had any Communist affiliations. b6 b7C

[redacted] Professor of International Politics at New York University, stated that he has known HOOK for several years and regards him as more of a pure Marxist in his political and social viewpoints rather than as a Communist or even a Trotskyite. He stated that HOOK is highly regarded in intellectual circles and pointed out that he is now lecturing at the Rand School, an institution similar to the New School for Social Research and located at 7 East 15th Street, New York City.

Communist Activity

In the April - June, 1937 issue of the "Marxist Quarterly" SIDNEY HOOK is listed as a member of the Board of Editors. The "Marxist Quarterly" is published by the American Marxist Association, which describes the "Quarterly"

CONFIDENTIAL

as a journal devoted to critical and creative Marxist scholarship in the social sciences, philosophy, and the arts. It is published at 20 Vesey Street, New York City.

According to information received from Confidential Informant [redacted] b2 whose identity is known to the Bureau, SIDNEY HOOK was at one time a close adviser of EARL BROWDER, but was never acceptable to the Communists as a Party member because of an epistemological dispute. According to this Informant, HOOK is now a foremost opponent of the Communists in New York, often the spearhead of anti-Communist activity. In 1932, according to this Informant, HOOK was listed among a group of persons who supported WILLIAM Z. FOSTER and JAMES W. FORD, Communist Party candidates for President and Vice President. In a pamphlet issued by the League of Professional Groups for FOSTER and FORD entitled "Culture and the Crisis" HOOK'S name appears.

The foregoing information receives some corroboration in the book "The Red Network" by ELIZABETH DILLING, which states that HOOK was a member in 1932 of the League of Professional Groups for FOSTER and FORD. This group, according to DILLING, was pledged to vote Communist and to aid the Communist Party Program and campaign. Its pamphlet, published by the Communist Party Workers Library Publishers in New York, was signed by HOOK among others who stated that "As responsible intellectual workers we have aligned ourselves with the frankly revolutionary Communist Party."

It is to be noted that [redacted] of the National Republic, [redacted] b6 of the American Coalition Committee on National Security, has testified b7C before the House Committee investigating un-American activities that HOOK in 1932 was a member of the League of Professional Groups for FOSTER and FORD.

"The Socialist Call" on Page 2 of the January 16, 1937 issue contains an article by JACK ALTMAN, Executive Secretary of the Socialist Party, which article states, among other things, "The national sponsoring committee of prominent anti-Fascists has organized a FRIEND OF THE DEBS COLUMN. This committee has taken upon itself the task of raising money and transportation for those able to and desirous to joining the International Brigade under the banner of the DEBS COLUMN. Among those responsible immediately are: ..... SIDNEY HOOK."

On January 25, 1937 [redacted] appeared at the New York b6 Field Division at which time he produced a letterhead which reflected that b7C

SIDNEY HOOK was a member of the Sponsoring Committee of the FRIENDS OF THE DEBS COLUMN. The aforementioned article in "The Socialist Call" identified SIEGEL as temporarily in charge of the DEBS COLUMN committee work.

By letter dated January 24, 1940 the Philadelphia Field Division forwarded a copy of a letterhead of the FRIENDS OF THE DEBS COLUMN, which letterhead was received from [redacted] of the Harrisburg, Pennsylvania Police Department, and which identified SIDNEY HOOK with this group. b6 b7C

Information has been received from the Washington Field Division concerning one [redacted] who attempted to enter the United States enroute to Mexico and whose entry was denied on the grounds of his former connection with the Communist Party. The Washington Field Division stated that photostatic copies of letters which were written on his behalf to the Chairman of the President s Advisory Committee on Political Refugees are on file in the State Department at Washington, D.C. and that among persons who had sent these letters was SIDNEY HOOK, Professor of Philosophy, New York University, Washington Square, New York City.

On June 20, 1940 an anonymous complaint was received at the New York Field Division as follows: "The following teachers and journalists are Communists whose records suggest they should be watched to prevent their engaging in further activities hostile to the interests of this country: ..... SIDNEY HOOK, 606A Third Street, Brooklyn."

Confidential Informant [redacted] has advised that SIDNEY HOOK was a member of the Committee for the Defense of JOSEPH ZACK who was the subject of a deportation warrant based on illegal entry into the United States. b2 b7D

Confidential Informant [redacted] has furnished information regarding b6 b7C

[redacted]

A Bulletin of the Committee for Cultural Freedom dated October 15, 1939 listed SIDNEY HOOK as a member of this Committee and as Chairman of a meeting at Town Hall in New York City on October 13, 1939 which was sponsored by the Committee. This Bulletin states that HOOK was Chairman of the Committee on Plans and Organization. The subject of the symposium held at Town Hall on October 13, 1939 was "Cultural Freedom and the World Crisis" and

speakers were General WALTER G. KRIVITSKY, HARRY D. GIDEONSE, President of Brooklyn College, [redacted] b6 b7C

ELIZABETH DILLING, referred to above, also lists SIDNEY HOOK in her book "The Red Network" as a member of the International Committee for Struggle Against War and the American Committee for Struggle Against War. A pamphlet entitled "The World Congress Against War" published by the American Committee for Struggle Against War, 104 FifthAvenue, New York City, in 1939 lists HOOK as an officer of the Committee.

Among other organizations with which HOOK has been affiliated, according to the "Red Network" are the following:

World Congress Against War, which, according to DILLING, was organized and controlled by Moscow's International League Against Imperialism and held at Amsterdam, Holland, August 27 to 29, 1932.

National Committee to Aid Striking Miners.

DILLING states that HOOK has also been a contributor to the allegedly Communist controlled publication "New Masses".

The indices of the New York office further reflect that HOOK in 1938 was a member of the Non Partisan Committee for the defense of FRED E. BEAL, and in 1941 and 1942 a sponsor of the American Friends of Polish Democracy. He was a sponsor of National Sharecroppers Week, February 20 - 27, 1943.

Information has been received from the Indianapolis Field Division that according to the files of the American Legion, in its National Headquarters at Indianapolis, Indiana Professor SIDNEY HOOK of Columbia University was one of the organizers of the Workers Party of the United States, according to information appearing on Page 28 of the March, 1935 issue of the "National Republic".

The indices of the New York office further reflect that HOOK was one of twenty-one sponsors, including Mayor LA GUARDIA of New York, of the American Friends of Polish Democracy, 55 West 42nd Street, New York City, which organization was organized ostensibly to unite all who are concerned about Poland and to aid in creating a free democratic Europe. This group has not been reported as Communist controlled or influenced.

The records of the House Committee investigating un-American activities reflect that SIDNEY HOOK, according to the testimony of [redacted] b6 b7C [redacted] mentioned above, was a member in 1938 of the Committee on Academic Freedom of the American Civil Liberties Union. He was also, according to [redacted] one of the organizers of the American Workers Party, which championed the ideals of LENIN, TROTSKY, and MARX. HARRY FREEMAN WARD testified before the Dies Committee that SIDNEY HOOK was a member of the National Committee of the American Committee for Struggle Against War. In a document issued in 1940 by the Progressive Committee to Rebuild the American Labor Party, which document was introduced before the Dies Committee, HOOK is characterized as a critic from the "Left" of the American Labor Party.

Trotskyite Activity

Confidential Informant [redacted] has advised that on September 23, 1938 b2 a meeting was held in Beethoven Hall, New York City under the auspices of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young People's Socialist League (4th International). This meeting has been described as "definitely a Trotskyite demonstration". A four page bulletin entitled "International Solidarity" published by the American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees, 100 Fifth Avenue, New York City, was evidently distributed at the meeting, and SIDNEY HOOK was among persons named as sponsors of the fund in this bulletin.

Confidential Informant [redacted] whose identity is known to the Bureau, has furnished the New York Field Division with a [redacted] b2 b7D b6 b7C

According to Confidential Informant [redacted] whose identity is known to the Bureau, this Informant was advised by [redacted]

Confidential Informant [redacted] has furnished information that during [redacted]

CONFIDENTIAL

An article in the Daily Worker of May 22, 1943, Page 3, Column 1, captioned "New Trotskyite Attack on FDR" labels SIDNEY HOOK as a Trotskyite in an account of "52 American educators, historians, writers, and trade union leaders", among them SIDNEY HOOK, who denounced the motion picture "Mission to Moscow".

Other Activity

In the 1942 - 1943 curriculum which is on file in the New York office, published by the New School for Social Research, SIDNEY HOOK is listed as an instructor in Contemporary Philosophy and as author of "The Metaphysics of Pragmatism" and "Towards the Understanding of Karl Marx".

Selective Service Status

The records of Local Board 180, 336 Ninth Street, Brooklyn, New York, reflect that SIDNEY HOOK registered on February 15, 1942 and that he was classified 3AH on November 3, 1943.

Criminal Record

The records of the New York City Police Department were checked with negative results.

Description

The following description of SIDNEY HOOK was obtained from the records of Local Board 180:

Name	SIDNEY HOOK
Address	212 East 16th Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Age	41
Date of Birth	December 20, 1902
Place of Birth	New York City
Race	White
Height	5'5½"
Weight	160 lbs.

CONFIDENTIAL

Eyes	Blue
Hair	Brown
Complexion	Ruddy
Marital Status	Married
Relatives	Wife, ANNE; [redacted] Father, ISAAC HOOK; Mother, JENNIE HOOK, both residing at East 13th Street, #1013-23, Brooklyn, N. Y.

b6
b7C

P E N D I N G

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

NY 100-43719

UNDEVELOPED LEAD

THE NEW YORK FIELD DIVISION

AT NEW YORK, NEW YORK

Will follow and report subject's activities.

* * * * *

A copy of this report is being directed to the Albany Field Division inasmuch as it has been ascertained that HOOK spends his summers at South Wardsboro, Vermont, which is in the territory of the Albany office.

Adam Page

CONFIDENTIAL INFORMANTS

The Confidential Informants appearing in the report of Special Agent [redacted] dated May 15, 1944 at New York, N. Y. are as follows: b6 b7C

[ ] The report of Special Agent [redacted] dated November 4, 1940 in the case entitled "HARRY BENTON BRIDGES, with aliases; IMMIGRATION MATTER", New York File 39-155.

[redacted] (C) U b2 b7D b6 b7C

[ ] Letter to the Director dated September 28, 1938 entitled "SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES, GENERAL", New York File 61-507-866.

[redacted] (C) U

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT NEW YORK, NEW YORK

NY FILE NO. 100-43719 DS

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
NEW YORK CITY	OCT 6 1944	8/25/44; 9/14,29/44	[redacted] b6 b7C

TITLE	CHARACTER OF CASE
SIDNEY HOOK	SECURITY MATTER - C

AGENCY OSI DIST OFF-44
REQ. REC'D 9-30-5?
REP'T FORW. 10-15-5?
BY

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

AGENCY G-2 9-1-5?
REQ. REC'D 9-6-5?
REP'T FORW. 9-20-5?
BY

ICC - State 10/12/5?

AGENCY ICC - CIS/A
REQ. REC'D 9-29-5?
REP'T FORW. 9-22-5?
BY

Subject addressing the annual session of the AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL ASSOCIATION in 1934 declared that capitalism and anarchism amount to the same thing, and continued that communism seems to be the only solution for the present crises. He is the author of several books on Marxism and that at one time had reputation of being outstanding exponent of Marxist philosophy in America. In 1934 in a symposium "The Meaning of Marx", subject stated "the time has now come to build a new revolutionary party in America and a new revolutionary international". In books written by subject in 1940 and 1943 he takes a critical view of Marxists' doctrines, and book reviewers point out that subject has renounced his former Marxist beliefs.

SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR ADD. DISSEMINATION.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED - C - DATE 8-12-91 BY 15,5 SAP/ets 282,343

Copyright 15.A 6-7-5?

b6 b7C

REFERENCE: Report of Special Agent [redacted] dated May 15, 1944 at New York City.

AGENCY State - CIC
REQ. REC'D 3-24-5?
REP'T FORW. 3-31-5?
BY

DETAILS: AT NEW YORK CITY:

The 1944-45 issue of "WHO'S WHO IN AMERICA" sets forth subject's biography which agrees in detail with the background information on subject set forth in reference report.

b2

Additional information on subject contained in this work and not previously reported, disclosed that

11-30-5? requested to obtain certain books

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: C. C. Conroy SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE EDC

DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES

FBI NYC 9-13-1944 REC'D CC 10:

COPIES OF THIS REPORT
5 - Bureau
1 - Albany (INFO)
1 - [redacted] D of I, 2SC
3 - New York

COPY IN FILE

RECORDED & b6 b7C
EX - 49

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 7—2034

b6
b7C

RECEIVED SECURITY DIV.
OCT 13 3 48 PM '64

CC TO:
REQ. REC'D
AUG 13 1965
MRS.
BY:

b6
b7C

b6
b7C

b6
b7C

ADD: DISSEMINATION
SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR

subject's first wife was CARRIE KATZ whom he married on March 31, 1924 and that [redacted] of this marriage. The maiden name of subject's present wife is ANN ZINKEN whom subject married on May 25, 1935. b6 b7C

Additional information set forth in "WHO'S WHO IN AMERICA" reflects that subject was awarded the Columbia University Fellowship in Philosophy, 1926 to 1927 and the Guggenheim Research Fellowship in Philosophy for study abroad in 1928 to 1929. Subject was an organizer of the Conference on Methods in Philosophy and Science and the Committee for Cultural Freedom.

He is a member of the International Committee for Academic Freedom, a member of the JOHN DEWEY SOCIETY and author of the following books:

"The Metaphysics of Pragmatism", 1927
"Towards the Understanding of Karl Marx", 1933
"American Philosophy Today and Tomorrow", 1935
"From Hegel to Marx", 1936
"Planned Society - Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow", 1937
"John Dewey: An Intellectual Portrait", 1939
"Reason, Social Myths and Democracy", 1940
"The Hero of History", 1943

"WHO'S WHO IN AMERICAN JEWRY" 1938-39 issue provides the additional information on the subject that the Guggenheim Fellowship mentioned above was for study and research in Germany and Russia, and advised that the subject is a member of the American Civil Liberties Union.

The New York Times on December 29, 1934, Page 6, Column 2, under the heading of "Capitalism Held Forcing a Revolt", reports that the subject was one of seven speakers addressing an audience of one thousand persons at the annual session of the AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL ASSOCIATION, eastern division, held at the Washington Square Center of New York University on December 28, 1934.

According to this news item, subject declared that Capitalism and Anarchism amount to the same thing, "there is no difference between them, capitalism is simply anarchism on a smaller scale". Subject continued that "Communism seems to be the only solution for the present crises".

In the 1933 Book Review Digest, the following is quoted from reviews of subject's book "Towards the Understanding of Karl Marx".

BENJAMIN STOLBERG in his review for the "Nation" magazine, says in part "Dr. Hook's study seems to me by all odds the most significant contribution to Marxism which has yet appeared in America".

The review reported from the "Boston Transcript" says in part "He emphasizes the fact that Marx' philosophy is not an armchair philosophy but a philosophy of social action; more specifically of social revolution".

The Book Review Digest for 1935 lists the "Meaning of Marx", a symposium with introduction to the Study of Marx by SHERWOOD EDDY, "The Meaning of Marx" by SIDNEY HOOK, "Why I am not a Communist, A. By Bertrand Russell, B. By John Dewey, C. Morris Cohen "Communist without dogmas", a reply by SIDNEY HOOK". In connection with the foregoing reply of the subject's it is to be noted that he closes his book with the following paragraph:

"It seems to me that only Communism can save the world from its social evils; it seems to me to be just as evident that the official Communist Party or any of its subsidiary organization cannot be regarded as a Marxist critical or revolutionary party today. The conclusion is therefore clear: the time has now come to build a new revolutionary party in America and a new revolutionary international".

The Book Review Digest for 1940 carries a review on subject's book "Reason, Social Myths and Democracy". The review reported from the magazine "Nation" is as follows:

"No one in America has expounded Marxist philosophy with greater authority and persuasiveness than SIDNEY HOOK. For this reason a book by him in which practically all Marxist doctrines are subjected to some criticism and many completely rejected, is something of an event taken in context of the general mood of Marxist revisionism, it is not only an intelligent event but part of a political movement of real significance. Hook has, of course, always been a critical devotee accused of reversing himself, nevertheless he here extends previous criticism so far beyond their earlier proportions that the progress of his thought may be described as going from heresy to apostasy".

In the review on subject's book "Hero in History" from the general philosophy reported in the 1943 issue of the Book Review Digest, it is set forth that subject's book exposes acutely the fallacies of the social and economic determinists, especially the Marxians.

A copy of this report is being directed to the Albany Field Division inasmuch as it has been ascertained that HOOK spends his summers at South Wardsboro, Vermont, which is in the territory of the Albany Office.

- C L O S E D -

cc - Beum[illegible]dner

SAC, New York

March 18, 1949

Director, FBI

SIDNEY HOOK
SECURITY MATTER - C
Your file 100-43719
Bureau file 100-176573

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-12-91 BY 1565 SOP/tf
232,243

Reference is made in the entitled matter to the report of Special Agent [redacted] dated October 6, 1944 at New York City which places the investigation of the captioned individual in a closed status. b6 b7C

[redacted] is now an informant of the Los Angeles Office. Her identity should not, under any circumstances, be disclosed. b7D

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Egan
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Tele. Room
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

JJM:dhb

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED 12
MAR 21 1949 P.M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

RECORDED - 66 176573-74
EX-1 F B I
31 MAR 24 1949

[redacted] b7D

[redacted] has freely admitted that she formerly engaged in many activities with the Communist Party from 1917 until 1936, when she moved to [redacted]

[redacted]

b7D

Concerning Hook, [redacted] described him as being a Professor of philosophy at New York University who has since terminated his connections with the Communist Party but whose wife is at the present a member of the Communist Party. According to [redacted] Sidney Hook if properly approached would in all probability furnish valuable information concerning Communist Party activities.

[redacted]

The Bureau desires that you summarize all of the information contained in your files concerning Sidney Hook and submit your recommendation as to whether this individual should be interviewed by agents of your office.

Your recommendation should be submitted to the Bureau not later than April 19, 1949.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Egan
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Tele. Room
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

United States Department of Justice
Federal Bureau of Investigation
New York 7, New York

IN REPLY, PLEASE REFER TO
FILE No. _____

April 7, 1949

CONFIDENTIAL

Director, FBI

Re: SIDNEY HOOK
SECURITY MATTER - C
(Bureau file 100-176573)

Reference is made to Bureau letter dated March 18, 1949, in which they requested the files of the New York Office be reviewed and all information summarized on SIDNEY HOOK. The files of the New York Office contain the following information on the above-mentioned individual:

Information was received in August of 1942, from the Office of Naval Intelligence at New York, that SIDNEY HOOK was at one time a close advisor of EARL BROWDER, but was never accepted by the Communists as a Party member because of an epistemological dispute, and at the present time was regarded as one of the foremost opponents of the Communists in New York.

SIDNEY HOOK was described, in the April - June, 1937 issue of the "Marxist Quarterly", as a member of the Board of Editors. This magazine is described as a journal devoted to critical and creative Marxist scholarship in the social sciences, philosophy, and the arts.

According to ELIZABETH DILLING, in her book, "The Red Network", HOOK was a member of the League of Professional Groups for FOSTER and FORD, which group pledged to aid the Communist program and campaign. This book also referred to SIDNEY HOOK as being a member of the International Committee for Struggle Against War.

On page 2 of the January 16, 1937 issue of "The Socialist Call", [redacted] of the Socialist Party, stated that among those immediately responsible for the task of raising money and transportation for those desirous of joining the International Brigade, SIDNEY HOOK was prominent in organizing "The Friends of the Debs Column". b6 b7C

According to the report of SA [redacted] dated May 15, 1942, at Washington, D.C., information was received from the files of the State Department that [redacted]

COPIES DESTROYED 10

was denied entry into the United States because of his connection with the Communist Party. Information was received that SIDNEY HOOK, Professor of Philosophy, New York University, was among those sending letters to the Chairman of the President's Advisory Committee on Political Refugees, on behalf of [redacted]

Former Confidential Informant [redacted] advised that on November 11, 1943, [redacted] b6 b7C b2 b7D

A bulletin of the Committee for Cultural Freedom dated October 15, 1939 listed SIDNEY HOOK as a member of this Committee and as Chairman of a meeting which took place at Town Hall in New York City on October 13, 1939.

The Indianapolis Field Office advised that according to the files of the American Legion in its National Headquarters at Indianapolis, Professor SIDNEY HOOK was listed as an organizer of the Workers Party of the United States. This information appeared on page 28 of the March, 1935 issue of the "New Republic".

On September 23, 1938, a meeting was held in Beethoven Hall, New York City, under the auspices of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young People's Socialist League. This meeting was attended by [redacted] who described the meeting as "definitely a Trotskyite demonstration". SIDNEY HOOK was among the persons named as sponsors of this affair. b2

Confidential Informant [redacted] whose identity is known to the Bureau, advised that on [redacted] b2 b7D b6 b7C

Confidential Informant [redacted] advised that during a [redacted]

Letter to Director
NY 100-43719

An article in the "Daily Worker" of May 22, 1943, page 3, column 1, captioned, "New Trotskyite Attack on FDR", labeled SIDNEY HOOK as a Trotskyite and one of the fifty-two American educators who denounced the picture "Mission to Moscow".

In the 1942-43 cirriculum of the New School for Social Research, New York City, SIDNEY HOOK is listed as an instructor in Contemporary Philosophy and as an author of the book, "Towards the Understanding of Karl Marx".

On March 22, 1949, FREDERICK WOLTMAN and NELSON FRANK, Staff Writers for the "New York World Telegram", confidentially advised SA [redacted] of the New York Office that the organization "Americans for Intellectual Freedom" was founded by Dr. SIDNEY HOOK of New York University and Dr. GEORGE S. COUNTS and was planning to hold a counter rally on May 26, 1949, against the rally of the National Council of Arts and Science Professionals which was to be held at the Waldorf Astoria. b6 b7C

On March 26, 1949, the "New York Times" carried an article which stated that the "Americans for Intellectual Freedom" had more than two hundred prominent persons on their list to denounce the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace as a "Communist front organization". Among the sponsors for Americans for Intellectual Freedom were Dr. SIDNEY HOOK.

On March 26, 1949, on page 9 of the "New Leader", SIDNEY HOOK wrote an open letter to THOMAS MANN. The introduction to this letter stated that on Saturday, May 26, 1949, a group of anti-totalitarian liberals would answer the Communist dominated Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace with a mass demonstration at New York's Freedom House.

On March 30, 1949, Confidential Informant [redacted] advised that SIDNEY HOOK, a well-known Social Democrat and Professor at NYU was responsible for the organization of a group similar to the Arts and Science Professional Group but a distinctly "counter group". b2 b7D

NELSON FRANK, a "New York World Telegram" Staff Writer, who is cooperative with this office, and who advised he was well acquainted with SIDNEY HOOK, stated that he did not believe SIDNEY HOOK could furnish any pertinent information of value not already known to this office. FRANK stated that HOOK'S whole approach to the

question of Communism and Communists is philosophical and abstract and he does not possess any intimate knowledge of the party or of its leaders. FRANK also stated that HOOK is given to impulsiveness and indiscretion and an interview with him might easily prove embarrassing to the Bureau as he would no doubt publish the fact that he had been contacted by the FBI.

Due to the varied activities of SIDNEY HOOK and remarks made by NELSON FRANK, who is well acquainted with HOOK, this office is recommending that Dr. SIDNEY HOOK not be interviewed by agents of the New York Office at the present time, and this case is being considered closed by this office.

Very truly yours,

Edward Scheidt

EDWARD SCHEIDT, SAC

~~SECRET~~

SAC, New York (105-4113) January 6, 1954

Director, FBI (~~105-17833~~)

b6
b7C

[redacted] aka.
INTERNAL SECURITY - R

8-13-91
Classified by ~~[illegible]~~
Declassify on: ~~OADR~~
2,3,3

Reurlet 12/15/53, requesting authority to interview [redacted] and Sidney Hook concerning subject.

Authority is granted. In regard to [redacted] it is noted the Bureau by letter dated November 9, 1953, authorized your office to interview her concerning her activities. It is noted that thus far, several unsuccessful attempts have been made to interview her. If she is found to be cooperative at the time of interview by your office, you are authorized to question her concerning her knowledge of subject. Since each of the individuals to be interviewed in connection with this case is or has been the subject of a Bureau investigation, the interviews should be conducted in accordance with existing Bureau instructions relating to the interviews of security subjects.

Extra copies of this letter are enclosed for your files on [redacted] and Hook (NY 100-43719).

b6
b7C

NOTE: Investigation initiated March, 1952, against one [redacted] reported to have been in Moscow in the early (S)1920's, where he was being trained in the Communist Party apparatus. This info received from [redacted] who advised he received info from an ex-Comintern official, one [redacted] Investigation reflects [redacted] referred to is apparently subject of this case, a [redacted] residing in France and efforts being made to effect an interview with him. Department of State on 4/23/53 took up subject's passport issued 5/9/50. On 6/1/53, subject submitted an affidavit to a Dept. of State official in support of his request for return of his passport. In his affidavit, [redacted] denied being or having been a member of the CP. Bureau making additional efforts to find witnesses who can furnish testimony regarding subject's alleged CP membership.

b1
b6
b7C

(See NOTE on page 2)

100-176573-V

NOT RECORDED
JAN 7 1954

b6
b7C

cc: [redacted]

RPC: egp

~~SECRET~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

CRIME RECORDED IN

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

MAR 19 1964

JAN 8 1954

YELLOW ROUTING
JAN 6 1954
MAILED

100-176537

As set forth above, Bureau has already authorized interview of [redacted] in connection with [redacted] investigation. Investigation indicates each of the individuals mentioned above and who are to be interviewed by NYO could have knowledge of subject's alleged CP membership. NYO files contain a closed YCL-C case on [redacted] he was last reported a CP member in February, 1947. NY files do not give any indication of her present sympathies. [redacted] is presently a subject of NYO. Informants acquainted with CP affairs in NYC contacted in October, 1952, had no info of [redacted] CP activities. However, one informant identified her as a former CP member. In 1949, [redacted] publicly denounced Com unism and when interviewed in connection with Julius and Ethel Rosenberg investigation on 6/15/50, was extremely cooperative. Bulet of 11/3/52 authorized [redacted] to interview Hook re subject of a Bureau case. Results of this interview not known.

b6
b7C

December 29, 1952

SIDNEY HOOK

There are attached hereto the following investigative reports concerning the captioned individual:

Report of Special Agent [redacted] made at New York, New York, dated May 15, 1944. b6 b7C

Report of Special Agent [redacted] made at New York City, New York, dated October 6, 1944.

In addition to the information in the above-mentioned reports, a review of the files reflected an article in the "New York Journal American," dated March 24, 1949, that Sidney Hook of New York University was head of a Communist organization called Americans for Intellectual Freedom. The article stated that the above-mentioned group had urged the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions to identify themselves as "Communist Party members or inveterate fellow travelers that they are." (100-356137-A)

Governor Tom Dewey urged loyal New Yorkers to give their support to the Americans for Intellectual Freedom.

A news item in "The Times Record," of Troy, New York, for April 15, 1950, reported a speech given by Doctor Sidney Hook of New York University in which he stated that Communists should not be allowed to teach in the schools of the United States because they are not free as Communists to come to their own conclusions. (100-3-5-489pg136)

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

Tolson
Ladd
Nichols
Belmont
Clegg
Glavin
Harbo
Rosen
Tracy
Laughlin
Mohr
Tele. Rm.
Holloman
Sandy

Attachment

Original to State Department

[redacted] wlh

100-176573

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-12-91 BY [illegible] 282,343

100-176573-47 b6 b7C

RECORDED-102

INDEXED-102

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : A. H. BELMONT

DATE: September 9, 1953

FROM : [redacted]

b6
b7C

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

SUBJECT: HERESY YES, CONSPIRACY NO
by Sidney Hook
Internal Security - C

This book has been reviewed by Supervisor W. C. Sullivan of the Research Unit.

As you know, Sidney Hook, the author, is Professor of Philosophy at New York University. He has long been active in social and educational circles and is the author of a number of articles and books. There is nothing derogatory about Hook in the Bureau indices.

SYNOPSIS:

This book presents the case of what is described as being the "realistic liberal" as opposed to (1) Cultural Vigilantes; (2) Ritualistic Liberals; and (3) Inept policy-making government officials of the past decade in particular. The main idea conveyed throughout the whole book is indicated by the title: Heresy is permissible but Conspiracy is not. The expression of Communist ideas constitute heresy and should be permitted anywhere. The Communist movement is a conspiracy and should not be permitted, through its members, to undermine the structure of our government society. Mr. Hook insists upon the distinction between heresy and conspiracy in all phases of human thought and endeavor. It is not surprising, therefore, to encounter some confusion in his thought. Mr. Hook condemns Cultural Vigilantes for exaggerating the dangers of Communism and Ritualistic Liberals for ignoring the conspiratorial nature of Communism. Government officials are criticized for their confusion, inconsistencies and ineptness in opposing Communism. The underlying assumption of this book is: the best fortress from which to combat Communism is that of realistic liberalism for it avoids the extremes and occupies the middle position. The fact is ignored that there are people not "realistic liberals" who avoid extremes and occupy a center position.

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-12-91 BY 156 SP/LT 282,363

COPIES DESTROYED 2/10/59

RECORDED - 78 100-176

INDEXED - 78

WCS:lae/bas

b6
b7C

Book plate Bureau Library 9-18-53

EX-126

58 OCT 1 1953

Memo to Mr. Belmont

Re: HERESY YES, CONSPIRACY NO
by Sidney Hook
Internal Security - C

DETAILS:

I. THE PREMISE OF THIS BOOK

A. The premise of this book, Heresy Yes, Conspiracy No, by Sidney Hook is stated by him as follows:
1. "The underlying premise of this book is that American institutions have a vitality and viability which, with a little gumption and intelligence, can effectively meet the threat of totalitarianism from abroad and at home without the loss of our own essential freedoms." (p.12)

II. THE PROBLEM OF COMMUNISM AND CULTURAL FREEDOM IN THE UNITED STATES

A. The problem of Communism and cultural freedom in the United States is complicated and confused by the presence of two militant, articulate groups with influence out of proportion to their numbers. These two groups the author describes as being:
1. The "Cultural Vigilantes"
2. The "Ritualistic Liberals"

III. THE "CULTURAL VIGILANTES"

A. This group is given to extreme and untruthful statements as they greatly exaggerate the threat of Communism as a domestic danger.
1. They cry "wolf, wolf" where there is no wolf.

B. This group of "Cultural Vigilantes" is made up of:
1. Political demagogues in both political parties
2. Religious fundamentalists
3. Zealots and marginal types in patriotic organizations
4. Lobbyists and advertisers who are opposed to "democratic socialism, the New Deal, the Welfare State - the strongest enemies of Communism..." (p.11)*

* It is to be noted that the author indicates here and there that he is sympathetic toward "democratic socialism" without defining exactly what he means by it. Elsewhere he writes: "Communism as a political movement is a conspiracy in the interests of a foreign power scheming to destroy the very process by which we freely decide whether or not to introduce socialism or anything else. Only Communism as a political movement is incompatible with the process of democracy." (p.42) He implies that Communism as an economic system is not.

Memo to Belmont

Re: HERESY YES, CONSPIRACY NO
by Sidney Hook
Internal Security - C

C. These people, claims the author, form pressure groups in:
1. Education
2. Religion
3. National affairs
4. Economic affairs

D. "Cultural Vigilantes," says Mr. Hook, libel and slander, in their anti-Communist campaign, many innocent people, such as:
1. Teachers, professors, scientists
2. Government officials
3. Editors
4. And others in positions of quasi public trusts who disagree with them.

E. Examples given by the author of Cultural Vigilantism are:
1. Condemnation of "progressive education."
   a. E.g., the ideas of [redacted] William George S. Counts, Kilpatrick, etc., whose educational ideas the author approves of
2. Condemnation of progressive economic measures as manifested in the Welfare State concept which Cultural Vigilantism smears as police state economics
3. Denouncement of ideas and views on the basis of the unpopular political past of their sponsors
4. The presence of "needless loyalty oaths" enacted in educational circles and other professional fields
5. Criticism of school textbooks by parents and other private persons and groups and their attempt to substitute textbooks more suitable to them
6. Censorship of stage, screen and radio programs.

b6
b7C

F. Causes of Cultural Vigilantism given by the author are:
1. Fear of Communism
2. Belief that domestic and foreign affairs have been bungled by officials in high places
3. Belief that existing laws are inadequate to meet the danger of Communism.

G. Cultural Vigilantism, says Mr. Hook, can be reduced by:
1. A real understanding of Communism
2. Thoughtful instead of thoughtless public utterances
3. Adequate confidential hearings before dismissing a person from his position because of his Communism
4. The publishing of the Attorney General list of subversive organizations only after hearings have been conducted and relevant evidence published, including that of the demurrers, if any
5. Independent thinking on the part of all citizens
6. Maintenance of a balanced perspective.

IV. THE "RITUALISTIC LIBERALS"

A. This second group goes to the opposite extreme from the Cultural Vigilantes and dismisses too quickly and lightly the very real dangers and conspiratorial nature of the Communist movement.
1. This group is characterized by the phrase "there is none so blind as those who will not see," for the "Ritualistic Liberals" refuse to see the facts which clearly demonstrate the dangers of Communism as a conspiracy.

B. The group of "Ritualistic Liberals" is made up of:
1. "Professional" liberals of all types
2. Humanists
3. Rationalists
4. Pacifists
5. Quaker extremists

C. The members of this second group are quite articulate and influential for they frequent the colleges and universities and other strategic areas where public opinion is molded.
1. Members of this group have contributed greatly to the Communist front organizational network.

D. The "Ritualistic Liberals" err seriously in blindly ignoring the conspiratorial nature of Communism and in smearing all efforts to combat Communism as police state methods, etc. These liberals do a tremendous injustice to their own nation, the United States, both here and abroad by falsely picturing this country as being in the vise-like grip of:
1. Hysteria
2. Witch Hunts
3. Red Baiting

4. Thought Control
5. Censorship
6. Police State methods
7. Fascism
8. Fear, etc.

E. Mr. Hook points out that these conditions do not exist at all in the United States but the Ritualistic Liberals would have not only their fellow Americans believe they do, but worse still, for our international prestige, they would have leaders and the rank and file of foreign nations believe this nonsense of the United States.

F. Mr. Hook says the Ritualistic Liberals do much damage by constantly spreading such ideas as:
1. We need not fear Communism but only the fear of Communism
2. We have spies in foreign nations; therefore, we ought not to be concerned about Communist and Russian spies in the United States
3. The Communist Party, USA is merely a political party like any other and isentitled to all the privileges of such
4. The Communist Party, USA is so small it is of no importance
5. Communist spy disclosures are "red herrings"
6. Freedom in the United States has all but disappeared
7. Academic freedom in the United States is already lost
8. One should not believe the critical statements about Soviet Russia for they come from prejudiced minds
9. Russia is sincere in wanting peace
10. General conditions are much better in Communist nations than before Communism took over, etc.
11. The United States is already a semi-Fascist nation.

G. The author, Mr. Hook, on being specific, quotes and condemns such representative liberals as the [redacted] b6 b7C for saying:
1. "In Germany under Hitler, and in Russia under Stalin, nobody ventured to pass a political remark without first looking behind the door to make sure no one was listening. This used to be considered a mark of a Police State. It is no longer, for when I last visited America I found the same state of things there." "In America almost as much as in Russia, you must think what your neighbor thinks or

rather what your neighbor thinks it pays to think." (pp. 58-59) "Senator McCarthy's emissaries and his allies in the F.B.I. are perpetually snooping and if by some misfortune you were to quote with approval some remarks by Jefferson you would probably lose your job and find yourself behind bars." (pp. 66-67) b6 b7C

H. In addition to [redacted] quoted above, the author also condemns the American liberal Robert M. Hutchins, former President of the University of Chicago, for saying:
1. "Everywhere in the U. S. university professors, whether or not they have tenure, are silenced by the general atmosphere of repression that now prevails." (p.61) "The American people now find themselves blocking the revolutionary aspirations of oppressed peoples abroad and declining at home to permit the kind of criticism that has been our glory, and I think our salvation, in the past." (p.67)

I. Mr. Hook also cites as a third example of Ritualistic Liberal slander, nonsense and smearing of the United States the Public Affairs Committee pamphlet entitled "Loyalty in a Democracy" edited by Maxwell Stewart. Mr. Hook writes:
1. "This pamphlet is an all-out attack on the government security and loyalty program which not only misstates central facts but proceeds from the assumption that the attempt to bar conspirators and other security risks from the government posts flows from the premise that some citizens are not entitled to the rights and privileges of the Bill of Rights." (p.76)

J. Mr. Hook cites the above three examples as being typical of the Ritualistic Liberal mind and position which he believes is false and harmful to the welfare of the United States.

V. LIABILITIES OF GOVERNMENTAL POLICIES

A. The confusion and inconsistencies relative to Communism created by Cultural Vigilantes and the Ritualistic Liberals have been increased and:
1. "...compounded by a government policy whose chief architects have undoubtedly been men of moral integrity and patriotism but either of mediocre

intelligence or the most extraordinary ignorance of the nature of the international Communist movement--an ignorance, sad to say, accentuated by stubbornness in refusing to admit that any errors have been made." (p.10)

B. Examples of this given by the author are:
1. The Truman Doctrine to contain Communism in Western Europe while at the same time in the Orient urging Chiang-Kai Shek to take the Chinese Communist Party into his regime.
2. Dismissal by President Truman of the Hiss case as a "red herring," while at the same time instituting the Loyalty Program.

VI. REALISTIC LIBERALISM

A. This confused and inconsistent attitude toward Communism can best be eradicated, says the author, and effective opposition given to Communism not by inconsistent governmental policy, Cultural Vigilantism and Ritualistic Liberalism but by "realistic liberalism," of which Mr. Hook claims to be an exponent. (p.32,34)

B. "The most comprehensive and adequate definition in positive terms of the meaning of liberalism, from Socrates to [redacted] is suggested by the memorable words of Justice Holmes. It is the belief 'in the free trade of ideas-that the test of truth is the power of thought to get itself accepted in the competition of the market place.' This is not a program of action nor a philosophical theory of truth, but an attitude or temper of mind towards all programs." (p.19) b6 b7C

C. This definition of realistic liberalism includes two presuppositions. These are:
1. "The first is that the free expression and circulation of ideas may be checked wherever their likely effects constitute a clear and present danger to public peace or the security of the country." (p.20)
2. "The second presupposition of the liberal's faith in the free market of ideas is that the competition will be honestly and openly conducted." (p.21)

Memo to Mr. Belmont

Re: HERESY YES, CONSPIRACY NO
by Sidney Hook
Internal Security - C

VII. THE FEARS OF REALISTIC LIBERALISM

A. "What the liberal fears is the systematic corruption of the free market of ideas by activities which make intelligent choice impossible. In short, what he fears is not heresy but conspiracy." (p.21)

B. The distinction between heresy and conspiracy is vital and must be made if liberal culture is to survive.

C. Social destruction follows:
1. When heresies are punished as conspiracies
2. When conspiracies are tolerated as heresies
3. Hence, the need for distinguishing between the two.

VIII. THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN HERESY AND CONSPIRACY

A. "A heresy is a set of unpopular ideas or opinions on matters of grave concern to the community. The right to profess publicly a heresy of any character, on any theme, is an essential element of a liberal society. The liberal stands ready to defend the honest heretic no matter what his views against any attempt to curb him." (pp. 21-22)

B. "A conspiracy, as distinct from a heresy, is a secret or underground movement which seeks to attain its ends not by normal political or educational processes but by playing outside the rules of the game." (p.22)

C. "A heresy does not shrink from publicity. It welcomes it. Not so a conspiracy. The signs of a conspiracy are secrecy, anonymity, the use of false names and labels, and the calculated lie." (p.22)

IX. COMMUNISM, HERESY AND CONSPIRACY CONTRASTED

A. "Communist ideas are heresies, and liberals need have no fear of them where they are freely and openly expressed. They should be studied and evaluated in the light of all the relevant evidence. No one should be punished because he holds them." (p.22)

B. "The Communist movement, however, is something quite different from a mere heresy, for wherever it exists it operates along the lines laid down by Lenin as guides to Communists of all countries, and perfected in great details since them." (p.22)

C. "...members of the Communist Party are not so much heretics as conspirators and in actual practice regard themselves as such." (p.23)

D. "It is or should be now clear that 'association' by way of membership in the Communist Party is not innocent or coincidental but is a form of active co-operation and collaboration in carrying out the purposes of a conspiratorial organization." (p.30)

X. THREE WRONG WAYS TO REACT TO COMMUNISM

A. The way of the "frightened reactionaries;"
1. They fail to distinguish between heresy and conspiracy and "identify Communism with any decent thing they wish to destroy." (p.26)

B. The way of law passers:
1. They wrongly think that Communism can be defeated simply by passing laws against it.

C. The way of the Ritualistic Liberals:
1. They "ostrich-like" hide their heads in the sand and refuse to see the facts or to recognize danger; they very unwisely ignore the conspiratorial nature of Communism.

XI. THREE VITAL AREAS OF CONFLICT

A. Three vital areas in which realistic liberals should combat both Communism and the above-listed wrong ways of opposing it are:
1. The government service which Communists would infiltrate.
   a. The guiding principle here for realistic liberals should be that of Roger Baldwin: "A superior loyalty to a foreign government disqualifies a citizen from service to his own."
2. The labor organizations which Communists would control. (p.32)
   a. Combat Communism here not by "non-Communist oaths" but by allowing organized labor "to clean its own house." (p.34)

3. The educational system which Communists would influence:
   a. Heresy here should be permitted in all educational circles but not conspiracy, hence, Communists should be excluded as teachers and professors as the facts warrant in individual cases. A teacher should be free to study and teach but a Communist is not free, being subjected to the Party line and rigid discipline, hence is not qualified to be a teacher in a liberal society.

XII. GUILT BY ASSOCIATION

A. This method of testing one's political-moral reliability is valid when subjected to evidence, limitations of the approach and individual considerations.
   1. It is more valid in moral guilt than it is in legal guilt.

B. The author writes: "Common sense and common practice reflected in such expressions as 'a man is judged by the company he keeps,' 'birds of a feather,' etc., recognize the wisdom of appraising certain kinds of association in considering the fitness of an individual to fill positions requiring public confidence. A crony of notorious gamblers is not likely to be considered for the post of bank teller even if it is demonstrable that all he does is to hold their money belt or bank their money. He would be eligible to drive a dump truck but hardly an armored money truck." (p.87)

C. On relating the test of "guilt by association" to members of subversive organizations, the following, says the author, should be considered:
   1. The number of such organizations to which the person belongs
   2. The degree and character of his activity in these subversive organizations
   3. The time and place of his activities
   4. The extent of open cooperation between the organizations to which he belongs and the Communist Party.

XIII. THE SMITH ACT

A. The author is of the opinion that the Smith Act is "imperfectly phrased," has defects and that a better law could have been written; however, he accepts the constitutionality of the Smith Act and writes:

Memo to Mr. Belmont

Re: HERESY YES, CONSPIRACY NO
by Sidney Hook
Internal Security - C

1. "...the Supreme Court has so interpreted the Smith Act as to really amend it. Advocacy of violent overthrow is illegal only when such advocacy constitutes a clear and present danger to the security of our democracy. The general principles behind that interpretation is unassailable..."

2. "The aim of the Smith Act was certainly justified in the light of the available facts. But the method of achieving this aim--making powerless the Soviet fifth column--was inept. The proscription should have been placed, not on speech to achieve revolutionary overthrow, but on organization to achieve it, and not merely any organization but an organization set up and controlled by a foreign power." (p.106)

3. "Although the wisdom of enacting the Smith Law was doubtful, the wisdom of repealing it is even more doubtful." "For if the Smith Act were repealed it would give a new lease of life to an illusion whose widespread and pernicious character was to a not inconsiderable degree responsible for the original enactment of the law. This illusion is that the Communist Party is a political party like any other on the American scene, and, therefore, entitled to the same political rights and privileges as all other American political parties. It is amazing how pervasive this attitude has been among certain circles, especially in the colleges and universities..." (p.117)

4. "That the Communist Party, although legal, was an organized conspiratorial movement to destroy the structure of freedom in every aspect of political and cultural life, was either not known or ignored. As a result of the court trials held under the Smith Act, the facts about the Communist Party have become widely known. These facts enjoy the authority of having proven themselves in the sharp debate and prolonged inquiry of the legal process." (pp.117-118)

5. "That a danger to our national survival exists which is clear, present, flourishing and extremely powerful, seems to me to be undeniable to any sober view." (p.105)

Memo to Mr. Belmont

Re: HERESY YES, CONSPIRACY NO
by Sidney Hook
Internal Security - C

XIV. ACADEMIC FREEDOM

A. The author defends academic freedom in the educational system while at the same time asserting that the exclusion of Communists as teachers and professors, on an individual basis, as warranted by the facts, is no threat at all to academic freedom; that it does not really touch the main issue at all.
   1. As elsewhere he defends the right to heresy in educational circles but condemns conspiracy as having no such right.

B. Communist teachers, says the author, violate the educational trust in three spheres:
   1. Teaching in the classroom
   2. With their campus activities
   3. With their research work

C. In each sphere the promotion of Communism and not truth is foremost in their minds and at all times they are subject to Party discipline in so doing, hence, are incapable of fulfilling the educational trust required of them by the community.

D. The author puts the stress not on loyalty oaths, dismissals, investigations of teachers, etc., but on hiring good, competent non-Communist teachers in the first place.

E. On considering the educational aspects of the Communist problem the author writes:
   1. "Another surprising feature was the number of educational administrators, presidents of universities and deans of colleges, who came to the defense of the right of Communist Party teachers to hold their teaching posts on the same terms as any other groups." (p.215) He deplores strongly this erroneous attitude.

F. The author also points out:
   1. "The vast majority of academic fellow travelers were not Marxists and held views in their own fields for which they would be 'liquidated' or dismissed from their posts in the Soviet Union. Yet they constituted the most loyal battalion of that little army of 'progressive' intellectuals who, until yesterday, were invariably found lending their names and prestige

to Communist Party front organizations, championing the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, defending Communists against their liberal critics and never defending, or speaking for, the victims of Communism anywhere....These professionals of good will who play the role of ideological 'typhus Marys' are not, I repeat, the concern of legislators and administrators. They are the concern of educators who must solve the problems of 'totalitarian liberalism' within the framework of democratic education." (p.243)

2. Here as in labor circles the author insists that the houses should be cleaned from the inside by their inhabitants rather than from the outside by non-inhabitants.

G. The author is alarmed by the lack of honesty and integrity on the part of the educated, "cultured" fellow traveller who should display a far higher degree of morality than they do. The author writes:

1. "Perhaps the most depressing feature of the habits of the fellow traveler is the completely unscrupulous character of his intellectual procedures as soon as he discusses a political question which concerns Communists or the Soviet Union." (p.246) Mr. Hook points out that such a person "feels not the slightest compunction, once his political sympathies take on a Communist tinge, about inventing his facts as he goes along, or refusing to investigate and verify evidence crucial to his argument." (p.246)

OBSERVATIONS:

It is not necessary to agree to all of Mr. Hook's views in order to be refreshed by the deft way he punctures the shallow ideas of the "ritualistic liberals" and explodes their ideological myths. A number of his comments about the "cultural vigilantes" are to the point also. Further, he probably makes out about as strong a case as can be made for what he terms the position of the "realistic liberals," allegedly living in the tradition of [redacted] etc. Yet, his own "realistic liberal" position is most vulnerable for its sole foundation is the shifting sands of mobile ideas which get themselves accepted for a time in the "competition of the market place" and then are crowded out by others and the

b6
b7C

endless and pointless process continues on and on and on. This position taken by Mr. Hook to combat Communism is not too dissimilar from the dialectical materialism of the Communists themselves. If the only test of truth is the power of thought to get itself accepted for a flickering moment in time in the hurly-burly, competitive battle of the market place, then truth may well become tantamount to superior power in any form and this would be no truth at all. If there is no absolute truth, existing both in, through and outside of time by which all things, animate and inanimate can be evaluated and judged, then perhaps the Communists with their intense stress on ceaseless change, flux, ebb and flow--may well have the edge in the ideological conflict. Mr. Hook's refusal to take this point into consideration seems to constitute the vital weakness, which permeates this book by him as well as others written by Mr. Hook. Mr. Hook wishes to make man the measure of all things, assuming that all things are to be measured only by Mr. Hook's "realistic liberal" yardstick. But, where any social viewpoint is predicated upon the premise that man is the measure of all things, there will soon be as many different yardsticks as there are men and who is to say that one is right and all the others are wrong? It would seem that the final answer to Communism must be found in a deeper, richer and much more complete a view of man than the one expounded by Mr. Hook. It will be a view which concludes that man, while in the world is not wholly of the world.

Director, FBI (61-5215) 10/27/53

SAC, New York (100-25780)

CORLISS LAMONT
SM-C

On 9/25/53 LOUIS F. BUDENZ, former CP functionary, was interviewed by SA [redacted] b6 b7C

BUDENZ advised that in about 1933 or 1934 he had been told by SIDNEY HOOK that he, HOOK, had induced CORLISS LAMONT to join the CP.

BUDENZ also advised he had been told a few days ago by ALFRED KOHLBERG that KOHLBERG had visited the apartment of FREDA UTLEY in Washington, D.C., a few years ago when HOOK had been present. KOHLBERG told BUDENZ that he heard HOOK declare he had "inducted" LAMONT into the CP.

It is noted the New York "Daily News" edition of 9/24/53 and other NY newspapers reflect that on 9/23/53 LAMONT appeared before the Senate Permanent Investigations Sub-Committee in NY and denied he had been a CP member.

The NY Division is presently reviewing the case file of CORLISS LAMONT in contemplating submitting a special report to the Bureau incorporating testimony of individuals who are able and willing to testify to their knowledge of subject's CP membership. In this connection, it is desired to interview SIDNEY HOOK to obtain complete info as to his knowledge of LAMONT'S CP membership.

Reference is made to Bulet to NY, 3/18/49, captioned, "SIDNEY HOOK, SM-C," Bufile 100-176537, wherein the NYO was requested to summarize info in its files, and to submit a recommendation as to whether HOOK should be interviewed re his knowledge of CP activities. By letter, 4/7/48, the NY Division forwarded a complete summary of info re HOOK and recommended HOOK not be interviewed at that time, inasmuch as a source had advised he was given to impulsiveness and indiscretion, and such an interview might cause the Bureau embarassment.

RM 176573
1- Bureau (100-~~176537~~) (SIDNEY HOOK)
2- Washington Field (100-25060) (CORLISS LAMONT) (RM)
1- NY 100-43719 (SIDNEY HOOK)

100-176573 -
~~100-176537~~

DR:RMcN

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-12-91 BY 6565 SOC/tj 282,363

NOT RECORDED
190 OCT 30 1953

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN

However, since 1949 HOOK has publicly denounced Communism, and, when interviewed in connection with the ROSENBERG investigation on 6/15/53, HOOK was extremely cooperative with Bureau agents.

Bureau authority is requested to interview SIDNEY HOOK to determine his knowledge of CORLISS LAMONT.

The WFO is requested to contact sources to determine the complete testimony of CORLISS LAMONT before the Senate Permanent Investigations Sub-Committee on 9/23/53.

SAC, New York (100-25760)(100-137X9)

November 9, 1953

Director, FBI (61-9435)(100-376537) 16573

COMMUNIST PARTY
ESPIONAGE - C
MISC.

Teletype dated October 27, 1953.

Authority is granted to interview Sidney Hook. This interview must be handled in a discreet manner by an experienced Agent.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-12-91 BY 6565 SDP/tp
282,363

JJB:dlf

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

MAR 12 1964

NOV 5

YELLOW DUPLICATE
NOV 10 1953
MAILED

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nichols

DATE: July 15, 1954

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: SIDNEY HOOK

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-13-91 BY 1565 SAP/sfp 282,363

[redacted] b6 b7C

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

Attached is an article entitled "Uncommon Sense About Security and Freedom," written by Sidney Hook, which appeared in the June 21, 1954, issue of "The New Leader," a weekly socialistic, Democratic, anti-Communist publication, which was submitted by the Philadelphia Office under date of June 30, 1954.

Abstracts of the main file on Sidney Hook indicate he was born December 20, 1902, New York City, and that as late as September 9, 1953, he was employed as a Professor of Philosophy at New York University. In 1932, he supported the Presidential and Vice Presidential Communist Party candidates and he is reportedly a former advisor of Earl Browder. In 1942, the "Daily Worker" characterized him as "chief carrier of Trotskyite bacilli" and in 1944 he was described as anti-Communist and regarded as a Trotskyite. (100-176573)

Hook's article discusses the security problems experienced by the United States Government and he suggests the possibility of a Presidential Commission to make a survey of the extent of Communist penetration in the past, its present proportions, the chief problems of a security system, and its present deficiencies. Hook indicates that, in the future, historians will wonder about the American security program, particularly about the inexcusable laxity in permitting Communist infiltration into Government services and the delay in getting rid of the infiltrators "when the pattern of subversion was revealed beyond any reasonable doubt by Krivitsky, Gouzenko, Bentley, Chambers and the FBI." Hook also indicates he is puzzled at the failure of American liberals who do not realize the problem consists primarily in denying access to sensative posts to those whose records indicate reasonable doubt of their reliability. He believes past activities and involvement in front organizations must be assessed; that making an informed and just appraisal of such records is a troublesome matter and says, "All this is completely beyond the authority of the FBI, even if it were within its competence, which it conspicuously is not."

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

RECORDED - 5 100-176573-10
INDEXED - 5
JUL 22 1954

Attachment

GMP:grs

PERS. FILE

1954

SIDNEY HOOK

Sidney Hook was the subject of a Security Matter - C investigation in 1944. The results of this investigation will be set out following the presentation of background data on him.

Sidney Hook was born in New York City on December 20, 1902. He is characterized as an American philosopher and educator and author of many books including one entitled, "Towards the Understanding of Karl Marx" and "Heresy, Yes, Conspiracy, No." He is a member of the teaching staff of New York University, and has been with the University since 1927. Hook is now the chairman of this Institution's Graduate Division of philosophy and psychology. He was the principal founder and chairman of the American Committee for Cultural Freedom, which is an organization organized for the purpose of combating Russian propaganda. During the 1928-1929 academic year he studied abroad on a Guggenheim research fellowship at the Universities of Berlin and Munich, and at the Moscow Marx-Engels Institute where he pursued what he has called his "active interest in the theory and practice of the working class movement." Hook has been the author of articles on determinism, materialism, and dialectical materialism and has also contributed articles to philosophical and educational journals. Hook has been married twice and has three children as a result of these two unions. "Time Magazine" described him as the "ebullient, scrappy" philosopher active in the International Committee for Academic Freedom, the American Philosophical Association, the American Association of University Professors, and the John Dewey Society.

According to the Security Matter - C investigation conducted in 1944 by the New York Office on Sidney Hook, information was developed indicating that he was reportedly a former adviser of Earl Browder but (now "1944") anti-Communist and regarded as a Trotskyite. In 1932, Hook supported William Z. Foster and James W. Ford who were Communist Party candidates for president and vice-president, respectively. In 1942, the "Daily Worker," an east coast Communist newspaper, characterized Hook as "chief carrier of Trotskyite bacilli" at New York University. 100-176272-

The October, 1944 investigative report reflected that Hook had addressed the annual session of the American Philosophical Association in 1934 at which time he declared that capitalism and anarchism amounted to the same thing. He also stated that Communism seemed to be the only solution for the present (1934) crisis. He, at one time, had the reputation of being the outstanding exponent of Marxist philosophy in America. In 1934, in a symposium "the meaning of Marxism," Hook stated, "the time has now come to build a new revolutionary party in America and a new revolutionary international. In books written by Hook in 1940 and 1943, he took a critical view of Marxist doctrines. Reviews of his books pointed out that Hook had renounced his former Marxist belief. (100-176573-2 and 3.)

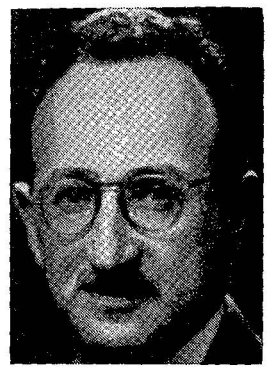
(This should be considered the yellow copy and filed in 100-176573.)

A letter dated June 11, 1952, addressed to the Editor of the "New York Daily News" contained data stating that the Writer had important new evidence concerning the Julius Rosenberg case. The letter was signed by a person using the name of [redacted]" This letter, which was furnished to the New York Office, indicated that the Rosenbergs were being punished for the work of a ring of which [redacted] was a part. This letter also named "some" of the guilty parties. [redacted]' suggested that he would talk concerning this matter to authorities through Professor Sidney Hook of New York University, inasmuch as [redacted]" considered Hook as the only person he could trust. Hook was contacted by Bureau Agents concerning this matter and he advised first that he was unaware of any individual by the name of [redacted]' and second, stated that he would be as cooperative as the Bureau desired and would do whatever they suggested. Sidney Hook went through with the arrangements concerning the possible meeting with [redacted]" but the meeting never materialized. It is to be noted that Hook was completely cooperative with the New York Office and agreed to carry through any arrangements necessary to help effect establishing the identity of the individual who signed the above mentioned letter, [redacted]' (65-62135-2)

b6
b7C

Uncommon Sense About

SECURITY AND FREEDOM



By Sidney Hook

THAT the American public, the Government and all administrative agencies are by now sufficiently security-conscious to satisfy all but Senator McCarthy and his partisans is a proposition which surely needs no demonstration. Even if here and there a loyalty or security risk is turned up, it will probably testify not so much to indifference as to the absence of relevant knowledge, not to speak of infallibility, on the part of those charged with enforcing the security program. The source of legitimate concern today is, or should be, that the administration of the security program often results in unnecessary injustices, as Government officials, fearing the specter of McCarthy's investigative powers, lean over backward to play safe. On the other hand, the fact that errors and injustices result from a screening and clearance program so comprehensively defined that it covers millions is not surprising. It should be an occasion for correcting and improving the security program, not for the wholesale lament that in adopting security measures, forced on us by a systematic campaign of infiltration by the Soviet Union, the declared enemy of all our basic freedoms, we are becoming like our enemy.

It is not libertarianism but obtuseness to deny that there are problems of security in the present juncture of world affairs. It is the dimensions of the problems, and the best ways of meeting them without sacrificing individual rights, which should be the object of liberal concern. If liberals are concerned *only* with abuses, it will be the illiberals who draw up the rules and make the judgments and decisions which generate the abuses. It is not enough to say, as one speaker at the Columbia Bicentennial Conference put it, that our surest safeguard is a system of government "so just and equitable that no one will wish to betray it." For the question remains: What shall we do to prevent betrayals *until* we reach that blessed state—betrayals which, in a time of war between different conceptions of "the just and equitable," may prevent us from reaching that state? Indeed, such a view is much too pessimistic precisely because it is so utopian. There will probably never be a system of government so just and equitable that no one will wish to betray it. Even the Kingdom of Heaven had its Lucifer. The problem of security is much more modest than the Columbia speaker suggested. In the past, before the emergence of crusading totalitarianisms, when our system of government was far from just and equitable, the problem of security was negligible. We were not confronted by ideologically motivated subversion compounded of idealism and Machiavellianism. It will be a decided gain if, even before we reach the Kingdom of Heaven on earth, the security problem returns to the desuetude of the pre-totalitarian era.

Because of past mistakes and present demagogy, the complex of problems bound up with American security will bedevil us until there is an authoritative, objective study of the entire question by a Presidential commission. Such a commission, consisting of leading non-partisan scholars of government, American society and the Communist movement—non-partisan in that they have no commitments to the Democratic and Republican parties—will be in a position to give the country a sober survey of the extent of Communist penetration in the past, its

By Carlos P. Romulo

FOR AMERICANS

offers a set of principles for the defense of democratic institutions in Asia

General Carlos P. Romulo, 55, is a Renaissance personality: He has been a playwright, college teacher, newspaperman, radio broadcaster, Boy Scout leader, soldier, public-relations man, political leader and diplomat. A veteran of Bataan, he won the Pulitzer Prize for distinguished correspondence in 1941 before entering Philippine President Manuel Quezon's war cabinet. Since the end of World War II, he has been the Philippines' permanent delegate to the United Nations, serving as President of the UN General Assembly in 1949. This article is based on a recent address by General Romulo at the commencement of the University of Seattle.

through the responsible nationalist movements in Asia rather than through puppet regimes that have no popular support. By denouncing and opposing genuine freedom movements in Asia as Communist-inspired, the West in fact exposes such movements to Communist infiltration and control. The objective must be to isolate Communist agitation from the legitimate nationalist aspirations of the Asian peoples. After achieving independence, countries like India, Indonesia, Burma and the Philippines have shown themselves quite capable of combating Communist influence in their midst.

5. Military measures are at best a short-term device for staving off an immediate threat of Communist aggression. The long-term struggle against Communism, however, requires economic and financial assistance that will enable the Asian peoples to raise their standards of living.

6. Assistance should be offered on a basis of equality and mutual respect, and not as a special favor with political strings or as a disguised survival of colonialism.

7. As there can be no world peace without Asia, so there can be no economic stability in the world without Asia. You cannot neglect Asia and, by continuing to pour dollars into Europe, expect to stabilize the world economy, including the European economy itself.

8. Asian political, economic and social organization is predominantly on an authoritarian pattern. Therefore, it should not be assumed that the Asian peoples will automatically adopt democracy of the Western type; rather, they will adopt it with necessary modifications and only as it demonstrates its superiority in the actual experience of daily life.

9. Asian neutralism must be recognized partly as the result of a genuine desire for peace, partly as dictated by the serious internal problems of many countries in the region, and partly as inspired by a lingering distrust of the motives of the colonial powers.

10. The Asian peoples will not give their support to any program, policy or course of action affecting Asia that is taken without consulting them. In the Southeast Asia Conference held in Baguio in May 1950 on the invitation of the Philippine Government, the representatives of seven countries in the region solemnly affirmed that "in the consideration of the special problems of South and Southeast Asia, the point of view of the peoples of this area be kept in mind, by any conference dealing with such problems, so that better understanding and cordial relations may subsist between the countries in the region and other countries in the world."

At this juncture of history, America has a splendid opportunity to proffer the hand of friendly understanding to Asia, in the certain knowledge that the hand will be grasped with equal friendliness and with gratitude. People who have traveled in Asia will testify that its people are the humblest, most hospitable and friendly you can find in the world. They have all the fine qualities of men who live close to the soil and cleave to it as to a mother. And their sense of gratitude is the type that leans over backward and manifests itself to excess.

The hardheaded, practical American will sometimes be embarrassed by this Asian trait. But the American is also a generous, warm-hearted human being, and this quality appeals strongly to the Asian character. Therefore, beneath the outward differences there is much that Americans and Asians have in common.

Friendly cooperation between Asia and America is the greatest thing that can happen in the world. To me, as a child of Asia and, as it were, a foster-child of America, nothing could be more inspiring than the spectacle of the oldest and the youngest of continents clasping hands and standing together to defend the frontiers of freedom.

present proportions, the chief problems of a security system, and its present deficiencies. It will not cry havoc on the theory that the public is awake only when it is thoroughly scared.

The proposal is one of those presented in the most illuminating treatment of the subject which has so far been published. I refer to Maurice J. Goldbloom's *American Security and Freedom*, published by the American Jewish Committee. Although here and there some points are not thoroughly explored or issues adequately defined, its pages contain more common and uncommon sense than all the Cornell Studies in Civil Liberty combined, with the writings of Barth, Commager, MacLeish and other ritualistic liberals thrown in. It starts from the premise that there is a powerful threat to the security of the United States which flows from the existence, program, methods and activities of the world Communist movement functioning as an arm of the Soviet state. It recognizes, therefore, the necessity of a security program. It makes all the relevant distinctions—between heresy and conspiracy, between moral guilt, legal guilt and professional unfitness, between civil rights and the right to a specific employment, between employment in Government and employment in private agencies, between sensitive positions and non-sensitive positions, between associations which are innocent and associations which are *prima facie* compromising. It exhibits just as profound a concern for personal freedom as the most ardent civil libertarian, but shows on every page the marks of extensive knowledge of Communism, experience in the struggle against it, and native good sense. Had the point of view developed in Mr. Goldbloom's brochure been adopted when the Hiss case burst upon the country and been embodied in our security practices, and had the grounds for those practices been made clear by authoritative Government spokesmen, McCarthy would never have gotten to first base.

No one reading Mr. Goldbloom's study is likely to see the security problem in false proportion or blown up to a point where it drives far graver problems of foreign and domestic policy out of the public's consciousness. It is treated as resembling a steel particle in the cornea which, when properly extracted with a delicate probe, does not affect vision, but which, when brutally rubbed with the rough hands of a McCarthy, inflames the eye until the entire landscape is blotted out in self-induced blindness.

In the future, historians will wonder about many things connected with the American security program. They will wonder first about the inexcusable laxity in permitting Communist infiltration into Government services and then about the delay in getting rid of the infiltrators when the pattern of subversion was revealed beyond any reasonable doubt by Krivitsky, Gouzenko, Bentley, Chambers and the FBI. They will wonder at the pendular swing from indifference to over-agitated concern, culminating in the spectacle of an entire nation focusing its attention for weeks on the McCarthy-Stevens imbroglio, while the tide of Communist aggression in Asia and Communist influence in Europe rose daily. They will wonder because the only issue of fundamental importance germane to these hearings, *viz.*, the relative autonomy of the Executive Branch of the Government, could have been settled by President Eisenhower long before McCarthy injected himself into Fort Monmouth, and especially before he reduced the Voice of America to an ineffectual whisper.

It seems to me that neither a desire to coddle treason nor a desire to turn America into a fascist state accounts for these phenomena. Partisan or factional political interest led, in the one case, to hushing-up or denial of the facts, and, in the other, to their shameless exaggeration. To this very day, there is evidence that questions of security are often approached not as complex problems affecting the national interest, and requiring as much concern for the preservation of our basic freedoms as for appropriate safeguards against subversion and irresponsibility, but as campaign issues out of which political capital can be made.

Personally, I am extremely puzzled at the failure of American liberals, with some notable exceptions, to *think* about the problem of security or to go beyond making a token acknowledgment of its existence and then dismissing it by consigning it to the FBI. For this shows that they do not have the foggiest notion of a very basic fact: that the problem does not consist in detecting acts of espionage or sabotage after they have been committed, but primarily in denying access to sensitive posts, key policy-making and evaluating jobs, to those whose records indicate reasonable doubt of their reliability. Making an informed and just appraisal of such records is a troublesome matter. Ideological commitments are often involved which may be an index to probable performance. Past activities and degrees of involvement in front organizations, long before they were listed by the Attorney General, must be assessed. All this is completely beyond the authority of the FBI, even if it were within its competence, which it conspicuously is not.

There are a great many pitfalls in any security program, and the great danger is that the heterodox and nonconformist, the man with a critical and independent mind, will be barred from Government service merely because his ideas are unacceptable. But there is an elementary yet often overlooked distinction between ideas which are relevant to the performance of a man's task and ideas which are not. The latter should never be considered as disqualifying an individual from service. Most ideas which human beings hold are of this kind, and inquiry into them is an impertinence. The former may have a bearing on qualification, depending upon the position involved. There seems to be need of a third classification over and above that of loyalty and security to cover cases in which a man's ideas and/or pattern of associations

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

disqualify him for a particular post. For the present connotation of the terms "loyalty" and "security" is too strong where only professional unfitness is at issue. To penalize a man who as a private citizen professes ideas on any subject under the sun, or to penalize someone in Government service for expressing ideas irrelevant to his function, is persecution and utterly repugnant to our liberal traditions. But it is not persecution to hold a man to account if his ideas show him to be committed to a policy incompatible with one which he is required by his post to carry out. It may not warrant dismissal, but at least it warrants inquiry.

During the Roosevelt regime, liberals understood that very often a man's ideas were focally relevant to the job he was supposed to do. They were very much concerned, and properly so, lest the work of certain New Deal agencies be sabotaged by individuals hostile to the purposes and ideas for which they were set up. No man had any business serving on the National Labor Relations Board who did not believe in the idea of collective bargaining. He was free as a citizen to oppose it, but, if he did, it was not depriving him of a civil right to deny him access to, or continuance in, the job. One of the reasons why some Communists were able to infiltrate into the NLRB was the difficulty of finding individuals whose ideas about collective bargaining would permit proper implementation of the Wagner Labor Relations Act. During those days, liberals were also indignant at the notion that any State Department official could be sympathetic to fascism. At the time, any evidence of sympathy for fascism or hostility to New Deal legislation was, in the nature of the case, not organizational but ideological, *i.e.*, it consisted in the expression of ideas in speech and writing. Those who were so disqualified were not characterized as loyalty or security risks. No one regarded them as persecuted because of their ideas, nor did they so regard themselves. We have been reminded recently by Gordon Clapp that, when the New Deal was set up, there was justified fear lest those in policy-making posts wittingly or unwittingly defeat its purposes. This problem was met, in the case of the TVA, by making statutory provision that those appointed to the three-member board of directors be required to profess "a belief in the wisdom and feasibility of the TVA act." If this is the wording of the statute, it seems to me to be objectionable. The tests for an adequate degree of belief in the *wisdom* of a policy would be even more difficult to administer than the tests for an adequate degree of *enthusiasm* in carrying it out. Nonetheless, the intent of the provision is clear and justifiable. The TVA, FHA, SEC, FCC, etc. should not be entrusted to those who do not believe in their purposes. As private citizens, such individuals have every right to criticize these agencies, but they have no right to administer them. If President Eisenhower is correctly reported as having characterized the TVA as "creeping socialism," he is nevertheless under statutory obligation not to appoint directors whose ideas agree with him. It is a safe bet that anyone who talks this way about the TVA is skeptical of its wisdom whatever he things of its feasibility.

The point I am making here is that, although liberals understood the relevance of ideas to professional qualifications in an earlier period, many of them today denounce any concern with, or inquiry into, the ideas of Government officials and their advisers as the worst form of thought control. I am not saying here that the ideas of any of them in fact disqualified them from serving in those posts (although my views about Lattimore's eligibility remain unchanged), nor am I saying that as private citizens they (including Lattimore) had no right to propagandize for their views. What I am saying is that an inquiry into their ideas, when this is relevant to the execution of policies approved by the Legislative or Executive Branches of the Government, is not *ipso facto* inquisitorial persecution. I thought this was a banal commonplace until I discovered that many who proudly think of themselves as liberals regard it as a wild paradox.

One of the great merits of Maurice Goldbloom's discussion is its recognition that, although cases may make a difference to the way in which principles are applied, principles should not be tailored to fit the special interests of a particular case. Otherwise, everything depends upon whose ox is being gored and rules of justice become what Thrasymachus said they were. Principles of security embodied in rules and regulations should be drawn up with an eye to the *class* of cases to be covered, practicability in applying them, and above all the ends to be achieved. The best principles will always have to be applied with certain discretionary powers reserved for some exceptional case or situation, since, as Aristotle pointed out long ago, what holds for a class of situations necessarily ignores particular, individuating features which *may* have a bearing on the ends we aim to realize. That is why it is of the highest importance that the men who administer the principles, or who review the decisions made, be expert in the subject matters adjudged, have common sense, psychological insight, and devotion to the traditions of freedom.

Only because we approach individual cases with some principles to guide us can any be considered exceptional. Otherwise, none or all would be exceptional. Principles to guide action on security matters should be formulated with an eye both to the national interest and to individual justice. The conflicts between these two principles are often only apparent. Sometimes they are real. When they are real, several alternative ways of settling the conflict can be found without endangering free institutions. That alternative should be followed which results in the least amount of individual injustice. Whatever residual amount of injustice remains is the tragic—and, let us hope, temporary— cost we pay for the preservation and extension of free institutions throughout the world.

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : ATTN. DIRECTOR, FBI RESEARCH DESK

DATE: 6/30/54

FROM : SAC, PHILADELPHIA (62-1928)

SUBJECT: SIDNEY HOOK
INFORMATION CONCERNING

The enclosed article written by SIDNEY HOOK appeared in the 6/21/54 issue of The New Leader, published weekly by The New Leader Association, Inc. Publication Office, 34 North Crystal Street, East Stroudsburg, Pa.

The Bureau's attention is directed to the second full paragraph, column 2, page 9, the last sentence of which appears to cast aspersions on the competency of the FBI.

The above is being furnished for your information.

RDN/kgg
Encl. 1

100-176573 maintained Hqtrs. Copy Areas 7/8 gmg 7/15

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-13-91 BY L565 SAP/etj
282,363

RECORDED 13 100-176573-11

EX-103

REC'D BELMONT
FBI - JUSTICE

RECEIVED
JUL 2 6 22 PM '54
INTERNAL SECURITY SECT.
FBI

RECEIVED
JUL 21 3 56 PM '54
INTERNAL SECURITY SECT.
FBI

NICHOLS
b6
b7C

JUL 1 12 13 PM '54

JUL 6 19 09 AM '54

MR. JONES

JUL 8 11 27 AM '54

JUL 2 2 04 PM '54

RECEIVED - BOARDMAN

JUL 2 3 59 PM '54

RECEIVED - NELSON
F B I

JUL 21 3 24 PM '54

RECEIVED - DIRECTOR
DEPT OF JUSTICE

REC'D BELMONT
FBI - JUSTICE

JUL 7 7 28 PM '54

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

2 duplicate
w
1 ion Tickler
1 - [redacted]

b6
b7C

February 8, 1955

SIDNEY HOOK

DECLASSIFIED ON 8-13-91
BY 15465 DAP/LT
282343

Dr. Hook was the subject of a security-type investigation conducted by this Bureau during 1944. Attached hereto is one copy each of two reports reflecting the results of that investigation.

SIDNEY HOOK - SUMMARY N.Y.

In addition to the data set out in attached reports, our files show the following information concerning Dr. Hook:

(100-176573)

An article in the "New York Journal American," dated March 24, 1949, reported that Dr. Hook was the head of an anti-Communist organization, Americans for Intellectual Freedom. (100-356137-A)

A news item in "The Times Record," of Troy, New York, for April 15, 1950, reported a speech given by Dr. Hook in which he stated that Communists should not be allowed to teach in the schools of the United States. (100-3-5-489 P. 136)

On September 25, 1953, Louis F. Budenz, a former Communist Party functionary, advised that in 1933 or 1934, he had been told by Sidney Hook that he, Hook, had induced another individual to join the Communist Party. Dr. Hook was interviewed by Agents of this Bureau on December 22, 1953. At that time Dr. Hook stated that he had never been a member of the Communist Party and that he did not know the individual mentioned by Budenz to be a Communist Party member. (61-5215-64, 70)

In June, 1954, a source of unknown reliability, who was acquainted with Carrie Hook Carroll, first wife of Dr. Hook, advised that Mrs. Carroll had told him that she married Dr. Hook under the impression that he was a Communist. However, after the marriage she discovered him to be a Trotskyite and divorced him. [redacted]

b6
b7C

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

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

Attachments (2)
(100-176573)
Original to FOA - 1mm (5)

[redacted]

FEB 17 1955

RECORDED-32

2-9-55

INDEXED - 32

b6
b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NUMEROUS REFERENCE 4-22a

SEARCH SLIP

Subj: Silvers, Louis

Supervisor _____ Room _____

R# _____ Date _____ Searcher Initial JW

	FILE NUMBER	SERIAL
T	100-176573	NTD
T	100-116040-3	3-10-54
SI NP SI	105-26197-11, 3, 21	
NP	61-7558-A	NEW LEADER 4-19-54
SI	100-409028-4	
NP	65-58681-56	
NP NP NP	61-524-87	9, 5, 12
T	61-5215-89, NP	64 I
I	105-34578-1	
I	100-412504-1	
NP	62-100567-11	
SI SI	61-1292-992	14, 25
NP	62-100769-59	8

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8-12-91 BY 1565 SOP/tj

282363

Confidential

June 25,1955

re: Sidney Hook

Senator James Eastland, Chairman
Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee
Senate Office Bldg., Washington

Dear Senator Eastland:

Please refer to my previous letter about this important professor in New York University—who signed the "Manifesto" in favor of the "revolutionary" program of the Communist Party (see my study: Marxist Communist-Conspirators To Be [illegible], being House Document 213, 83rd Cong., '53, pages 17-20; also see pages 21-25 mentioning Hook). Also note my memorandum of May 20,1955 sent you.

In my files I've just come across his article: "The Problem of the Ex-Communist" in the Sunday NY Times Magazine July 11,1954, which merely identifies him as chairman of the Department of Philosophy of New York University; the Times says nothing to warn the readers of that "manifesto" signing—much less about whether or not Hook was ever a member of the Communist conspiracy.

Since, as I wrote you, I've been told on good authority (named in my letter to you) that Hook was undoubtedly a member in the thirties, this article of his is gross effrontery — posing to the people as a disinterested person entitled to lead their thinking on this subject. When you read the article you will find out why it is almost laughable under the circumstances, if it were not so grave a danger to permit this allegedly hidden ex-Commie to pretend, in effect, not to have ever been in the conspiracy. In other words, why permit this sham to continue — why should not your committee promptly permit the public to know the truth, whatever that may be in this connection, so they can be guided accordingly?

Sincerely

[redacted]

b6
b7C

ENCL. ATTACH.

63

File 100-176573

100-[illegible]-13

RECORDED & INDEXED

JUL 11 1955

5-WF

63 JUL 14 1955

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-26-91 BY 45745 AUC/tp 288,363

Confidential Memorandum for [redacted] April [redacted], 1955

1. Herewith is a copy of my House Document 213, prepared by me in 195[illegible] and honored by its adoption by the U.S.House of Representatives as its own — though I had no official position or connection in preparing it, just a citi[illegible]

2. Regarding Sidney Hook, professor and head of Department of Philosophy at New York University, see pages 20-24 of House Document 213 for material which proves he is utterly unqualified as a guide for the American people's thinking on the grave subject of the fitness of Communists as teachers in the USA. His signing of the "Culture and The Crisis" manifesto in 1932 (pp.19-20) is alone enough to disqualify him as an acceptable counsellor of the American people in this connection. Besides, I am assured by a responsible, well qualified source — who will be called Mr. X herein — that Hook was in all probability a member of the Communist "cell", at New York University in the thirties, which included, according to my source, several faculty members : [redacted] inter alia. In fact, my extreme well informed source said Hook was in his opinion "undoubtedly" a member the

Yet the New York Times Magazine has repeatedly offered Hook to its numerous readers, during the past several years, as a fit authority to advise the American people on the question of "Communists as teachers" in our schools and colleges; and this despite my repeated protests to the Times Magazine editor, Markel, in writing, that the readers should be warned of Hook's own objectionable background in this regard — that he should not be so permitt to impose on the credulity of the readers. The Saturday Evening Post has similarly offended in this respect — and I've protested to them in writing

As indicated in the above mentioned writings of Hook, cited on pages 21-22 House Document 213, his thinking is twisted on this grave subject — unsour his writings give the impression to the unwary reader that he is against letting members of the Communist conspiracy enjoy the privilege of being a trusted teacher in charge of helping mold the minds of the young — yet on adequate analysis his writings mentioned above prove he hedges in some degr So his position, as revealed by these writings, is as objectionable as is h background.

The New York Times Magazine editor, Markel, recently argued in a letter to that he believes Hook has changed and atoned for his past. I believe in hu regeneration, as a possibility, but a man who has sold out God and country - as does every member of the conspiracy, doubly so erudite professors who jo it or subscribe to its philosophy and program — must live a lifetime of tru regeneration to be trusted fully in this connection; and meanwhile he is not fit to be trusted as a teacher — a position of highest, most important, trus any more than a bank officer who has stolen bank funds is fit to be in chai again of bank monies (though certainly entitled to another chance, after se ing his sentence in prison, but in a job such as truckdriver or other jo involving temptation to default again, involving possible further loss to t others whose moneys are entrusted to the bank if he is restored to his old

3. Regarding [redacted] y same source says he was Leon Trotsky's secre tary at one time and "undoubtedly" a member of the conspiracy in the thirti at N.Y.University — in the "cell" mentioned above. Yet publishers permit h to pose as a fit guide for the American people on foreign policy and other such important subjects — without warning readers of his objectionable rec Why should the judgment — aside from integrity — of such a defaulting citi be trusted by other citizens who made no such mistake in the past? Why shou the public not be warned of the background facts for their own guidance?

4. Hence the need for hearings and publication of the facts by a Congressiona[illegible]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED on envelope and
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-13-91 BY 1565 SOPlet
282,343

100 - Riots - 1

ENCLOSURE

83d Congress, 1st Session House Document No. 213

PERMIT COMMUNIST-CONSPIRATORS TO BE TEACHERS ?

UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
86280° WASHINGTON : 1953

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office
Washington 25, D. C. - Price 20 cents

HOUSE RESOLUTION 201

(Submitted by Hon. Fred E. Busbey, of Illinois)

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, U. S.,
July 16, 1953.

Resolved, That the study on the subject of Communists as teachers, entitled "Permit Communist-Conspirators To Be Teachers?" and a statement by the members of the Association of American Universities as to the obligations and responsibilities of university faculties be printed as a House document; and that twenty-five thousand additional copies be printed for the use of the Members of the House of Representatives.

Attest:

LYLE O. SNADER,
Clerk.

Extension of Remarks of Hon. Fred E. Busbey of Illinois in the House of Representatives

Monday, March 30, 1953

Mr. BUSBEY. Mr. Speaker, there has been brought to my attention in the last few days a study, just completed, on the subject of Communists as teachers.

It is an impressive document—well supported by authoritative references, carefully thought out, and quite comprehensive. I believe it constitutes a real contribution to enlightment about this now much-debated topic. The bearing the subject has on national security, and its treatment of the matter of congressional inquiries into Communists in the educational world, make the study of special value at this time.

Its author has been known to me for some years as a reliable citizen and a determined and uncompromising fighter against the Communist conspiracy. I respect his intellectual integrity and sound scholarship.

This study will be of value, truly instructive, not only regarding the educational field, but other fields as well. It merits reading by citizens in general—by all who would make and keep America sound and secure in the face of the threat of the Kremlin-headed conspiracy to our country, from within.

The author has informed me that he desires to make the study immediately available to the Congress and to the American people. As a patriotic service to his country and at personal financial sacrifice to himself, in order that the benefit of his knowledge and research may be made available not only to congressional committees, as well as Members of Congress, the trustees and heads of our educational institutions, but the public in general, he has given me permission to have it published in the Congressional Record.

Mr. Speaker, I commend to every red-blooded, patriotic American the following study entitled "Permit Communist-Conspirators To Be Teachers?" by my good friend, Hamilton A. Long.

NOTE ABOUT THE AUTHOR, HAMILTON A. LONG

Member of the New York State bar; veteran of both World Wars, major, Air Force, in World War II—Combat Intelligence; author of the 1950 booklet entitled "America's Tragedy—Today,"* a report of facts (documented) about the Communist conspiracy's grip on the Nation's defense establishment in World War II; author of the 1951 booklet entitled "Usurpation of Power—Arch Enemy of Individual Liberty," a study (documented) of Federal usurpation of power in violation of traditional constitutional limits; writer and lecturer on public affairs, in support of basic American traditions and principles of government and in opposition to the Communist conspiracy and Communism.

*Published, without profit to the author, by Purcell-Davison Co., 18 Beekman Street, New York, N. Y.

CONTENTS

SECTION I

AUTHOR'S NOTE

The current renewal of acrimonious discussion, in educational and other circles, on the subject of allowing Communists (members of the Communist conspiracy) to be teachers, indicates a still pressing need—despite many years of controversy about this topic.

This need is for a brief but comprehensive statement of the main points involved, with adequate documentation, giving due consideration to the factors of national security and loyalty to country as well as to professional ethics and freedom of inquiry and teaching.

The following statement of "Ten Points About Communists as Teachers," supported by authoritative documentation, is designed to fill this need. The documentation, sufficient to be quite conclusive, could be extended greatly if needed and if space permitted.

The fact that there are comparatively few Communists—among the hundreds of thousands of fine, loyal citizens in the teaching profession and other educational groups—is not the measure of the gravity of the problem involved. The conspiracy's influence, its potential threat to the Republic and American civilization, far exceeds what some might expect if judging by mere numbers, by size of membership. Those who know from bitter experience vouch for this and warn against falling into the trap of belittling the danger on this account. Quotations hereinafter express the opinions of a few such experienced advisers: Professors Counts and Childs, of Teachers College, Columbia University, writing in 1943 for the American Federation of Teachers; Prof. John K. Norton, also of Teachers College, in an address in 1949 to the National Education Association; Dr. William Jansen, New York City superintendent of schools, testifying recently on this subject; and Dr. Bella V. Dodd, former prominent Communist teacher and conspiracy leader in New York, testifying recently from her expert knowledge of the subject. They all agree—don't judge by numbers alone. To the same effect, see hereinafter the first quoted paragraph of the opinion of Justice Jackson in the *Dennis* case.

In this they agree with the statement by William Z. Foster, longtime Communist conspiracy leader in the United States, in his 1921 book, "The Russian Revolution." Speaking of the Communist organization in Soviet Russia, he said (p. 28):

"It is not a mass organization. Mere numbers mean nothing to it. Quality, not quantity, is its very breath of life * * * The Communist Party is * * * the little leaven that leaveneth the whole lump. Its influence and power is enormously greater than its small numbers would indicate."

This applies equally to the Communist organization in any country, including the United States. See also his 1932 book, "Toward Soviet America" (pp. 229–230).

The folly of underrating the Kremlin-headed conspiracy's threat, on account of its comparatively small membership, is all the more

apparent when one considers the factors of national security and loyalty to country—every member of the conspiracy being a pledged traitor to the United States, a pledged and potentially dangerous agent of the Kremlin. These are the main factors which justify an active role for public officials in this connection—including investigations by legislative committees (Federal and State) possessing the needed special knowledge of the conspiracy, the power of subpena, and the power to prove perjury when the facts warrant, and the facilities and funds for thorough investigation—to help educational institutions uncover any and every undercover Communist conspirator in their midst.

Only 10 minutes reading time is needed for preliminary examination of the Ten Points which follow; and another 5 minutes or so to scan quickly the supporting documentation. For those interested in more adequate consideration of the subject, there are included a number of significant quotations of some length and great value. They merit careful study.

HAMILTON A. LONG.

MARCH 30, 1953, *New York City.*

TEN POINTS ABOUT COMMUNISTS AS TEACHERS

1. A Kremlin-controlled conspiracy

The Communist conspiracy in the United States is a section of the Kremlin-headed worldwide conspiracy constituting the Communist movement—a tool of the governing clique of Communists in Soviet Russia—and is falsely labeled "the Communist Party," because never, in any sense, a bona fide political party; as proven officially, and well and widely known, in the United States since 1919. (A) (See References)

2. Aim to overthrow the United States Government

A main aim of the conspiracy is the overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence; as proven officially, and well and widely known, in the United States since 1919. (B)

3. Every Communist pledged to treason

Every member of the conspiracy gives allegiance to Soviet Russia and, therefore, is a pledged traitor to the United States—its pledged enemy, ever ready to obey the Kremlin's orders, even to the point of committing overt acts of treason in war. (C)

4. No innocents in the conspiracy

Before being permitted to have full membership in the conspiracy, all teachers who are considered for membership are exhaustively investigated and rigorously tested to establish their knowledge and acceptance of the conspiracy's tenets, aims, and methods. They surrender entirely their intellectual integrity by submitting unreservedly to the conspiracy's strict, rigidly and ruthlessly enforced, discipline. They agree to work actively for the conspiracy, as it may order; no inactive members—no "sleepers"—are tolerated. They adopt the required role of the conspiracy's agents—usually secret, using false names—in furtively doing its work: in part, seeking to undermine the whole educational world and to infiltrate and control teachers' organizations, to betray scholastic integrity and all other principles of professional ethics, and to corrupt the minds of their students. They cannot otherwise become members of the conspiracy. In addition, after admission, new members are schooled intensively; and schooling and testing are continuous during membership. This system helps to guard against there being among its members any "innocents"—especially about the substance of points 1, 2, and 3 above, which have been matters of wide public knowledge in the United States for three decades. (D)

5. Personal guilt—for joining the conspiracy

Every teacher, on committing the overt act of joining the conspiracy, knowingly becomes a teacher-conspirator and—under long-established and soundly founded American principles applicable to all conspiracies—is chargeable with guilt by association of persons (not guilt by association of ideas) and, therefore, is chargeable with per-

sonal responsibility for the conspiracy's program and actions in executing it. The mere existence of the Kremlin-headed conspiracy against the United States Government, through the act of its members' becoming associated together as conspirators, is the gravamen of the offense against national security. (E)

6. Civic and moral duty rejected

Every teacher-conspirator, by the overt act of joining the conspiracy, thus deliberately rejects the primary duty of every citizen—loyalty to country—and rejects every teacher's primary duty underlying that aspect of individual liberty-responsibility called academic freedom (in truth freedom-responsibility, because there can be no freedom without commensurate responsibility); and thereby evidences utter unfitness for the privilege of being a teacher. (F)

7. To answer "Yes" is to serve the conspiracy

To give an affirmative answer to the question "Permit Communist-conspirators to be teachers?", to tolerate any member of the conspiracy as a teacher, is to promote inescapably the growth of the conspiracy and the success of its program, partly through the teacher-conspirator's everwidening influence. To answer "Yes" is to help make stronger the grip of the conspiracy's cancer on the vitals of the Republic. This means, in effect, to aid and abet planned disaster at the hands of the Kremlin for our country, for all Americans—especially for teachers and students.

8. A fallacy: "catch-them-in-the-act"

Any contention that Communist teachers should be ousted from teaching positions not because of conspiracy-membership alone but only if and when caught in the act of corrupting the minds of students, or other professional misconduct, at best overlooks the fact that any real attempt to catch them would require an endless spying operation aimed at the entire teaching profession. This would be necessary in seeking to ferret out day by day any undercover teacher-conspirators as they furtively do the conspiracy's evil work in educational institutions throughout the country. To be effective, the assistance of faculties and student bodies, as well as others, would be needed in this mass-spying; and constant policing of classrooms would be involved—stifling free inquiry and discussion. Any such operation, if attempted, would wreck the educational world. It would, of course, be impossible to organize—much less to maintain—because so repugnant to teachers, students, and other Americans in general. Other defects, as well as the factors mentioned in points 1, 2, and 3 above, rule out any such contention. (G)

9. The NEA-Eisenhower-Conant stand

Some leading educators and teachers' organizations[1] have taken the stand that a member of the conspiracy should not be permitted to occupy any teaching position—for example, the National Education Association in 1949 on the basis of the report and recommendation of its Educational Policies Commission, then including among its members President Dwight D. Eisenhower, of Columbia University, and President James B. Conant, of Harvard University. (H)

[1]See p. 41, statement of Association of American Universities.

10. The only acceptable answer

The sound answer—the only acceptable answer, one compatible with national security and academic freedom-responsibility—to the question: "Permit Communist-conspirators to be teachers?" is this. Membership in the conspiracy, in and of itself, must be an automatic and absolute bar to holding any position as a teacher. The word "conspiracy" here embraces not only any Communist organization such as the so-called "Communist Party" but the entire Communist movement and its apparatus—underground as well as in the open. The word "membership" here involves the overt act of joining the conspiracy and thereby submitting to its discipline and control.

SECTION II

SOME QUOTATIONS

THE COMMUNIST

(Official organ of the conspiracy)

May 1937 article, The Schools and The People's Front:

Page 437: "The problem is rather to *guide and direct that spirit of rebelliousness which already exists*" (among students against schools).

Page 439: "The Public Schools and The Teachers. * * * The task of the Communist Party must be first and foremost to arouse the teachers to class consciousness and to organize them into the American Federation of Teachers, which is in the main current of the American labor movement." [2]

Page 440 [speaking of teachers]: "They must take advantage of their positions, without exposing themselves, to give their students to the best of their ability working-class education.[3]

"To enable the teachers in the party to do the latter, the party must take careful steps to see that all teacher comrades are given thorough education in the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. Only when teachers have really mastered Marxism-Leninism will they be able skillfully to inject it into their teaching at the least risk of exposure and at the same time to conduct struggles around the schools in a truly Bolshevik manner."

Page 441 [after commenting on antagonism between students and teachers]: "It must be the task of the party to break down this antagonism between students and teachers by arousing both groups to the realization of their common interests, of the fact that they suffer a common oppression from the same group [capitalists] and that improvement of their conditions demands joint struggle."

Page 445: "Marxist-Leninist analysis must be injected into every class. In addition to this, serious education on immediate social problems and in Marxism-Leninism must be undertaken independently * * * The ultimate demand in this realm [the college community] must be * * * presenting its [higher education's] material in such a way as to synthesize knowledge, to impart a scientific outlook upon the world as a whole, Marxism-Leninism being the only such outlook. * * *"

THE COMMUNIST

September 1938, article, The Communist Party and the Professionals, by William Z. Foster.

Page 805 [says entry of numerous professionals into the Party presents problems which must be solved]: "* * * before we can fully utilize our Communist professionals."

[2] AUTHOR'S NOTE: This A. F. of T. expelled, in 1941, three teachers union locals in New York City and Philadelphia for being Communist-dominated.

[3] AUTHOR'S NOTE: The term "working-class education" means education in Communism, Marxism-Leninism.

Page 808: "Selective recruiting: In drawing professionals into the Party, care should be exercised to select only those individuals who show by practical work that they definitely understand the Party line, are prepared to put it into effect, and especially display a thorough readiness to accept Party discipline * * *."

"Intensive education: There must be special attention paid to the Marxian education of professionals entering our party. This should have the definite goal of thoroughly Communizing their outlook and reorientating their previous intellectual training, so that its full value may be utilized in a revolutionary sense by our Party and the masses."

Page 809: "* * * our teachers must write new school textbooks and rewrite history from the Marxian viewpoint * * *."

(AUTHOR'S NOTE: Articles in The Communist are used as a means of issuing official instructions to the conspiracy's members; according to testimony of Dr. Bella V. Dodd, see References (D) 10; testimony of Louis F. Budenz, see references (A) 9, p. 20, of hearings.)

DAILY WORKER

(Official organ of the Communist conspiracy)

April 2, 1936, page 5, stating the member's pledge, which gives the conditions of conspiracy membership:

"In general, membership in the Communist Party is open to any person from the age of 18 up who accepts the program and rules of the Communist International and of the Communist Party of the United States, and who agrees to become a member of a basic unit of the Party, to become active in this organization, to subordinate himself to all decisions of the Communist International and the Communist Party, and to regularly pay his membership dues * * * the applicant is expected to have proven conclusively, in his day-to-day activity, his sincere devotion to the cause of the proletariat and the program of the Party. The conditions for membership in the Communist Party are contained in the following pledge read by Earl Browder to 2,000 workers who were initiated into the party in the New York district in 1935:

" 'I now take my place in the ranks of the Communist Party, the Party of the working class. I take this solemn oath to give the best that is in me to the service of my class. * * * I pledge myself to rally the masses to defend the Soviet Union, the land of victorious socialism. I pledge myself to remain at all times a vigilant and firm defender of the Leninist line of the Party, the only line that insures the triumph of Soviet power in the United States.' "

THE COMMUNIST PARTY—A MANUAL ON ORGANIZATION

(By J. Peters, July 1935, published by Workers Library Publishers, an official publishing organization of the conspiracy in New York City; an authoritative manual; see reference (D) 12.)

Page 104: States eligibility for membership substantially as in above quotation from the Daily Worker, April 2, 1936—including the pledge verbatim; then says:

"Our party application carries this declaration: 'The undersigned declares his adherence to the program and statutes of the C. I. and Communist Party of the U. S. A. and agrees to submit to the discipline of the party and to engage actively in its work.' "

THE ORIGINAL APPLICATION AND PLEDGE—IN 1919

From Constitution of the Communist Party, 1919 Manifesto, page 19: [4]

"SEC. 2. Applicants for membership shall sign an application card reading as follows: 'The undersigned, after having read the constitution and program of the Communist Party, declares his adherence to the principles and tactics of the party and the Communist International; agrees to submit to the discipline of the party as stated in its constitution; and pledges himself to engage actively in its work.' "

(AUTHOR'S NOTE: The official words of the foregoing three quoted items prove that the member knows at time of joining—prove that there are no "innocents" among the members, especially with regard to points 1, 2, and 3 in the Ten Points stated at the beginning of this discussion. The never changing pledge of every member, from 1919 to the present, to be active in the conspiracy's work—per the above quoted three sample items—proves there can be no inactive members, no "sleepers." See References (D) 12 hereinafter about the above-quoted manual's authoritative nature. The words "defend the Soviet Union," in the pledge, are double-talk in reality meaning that the signers will betray their own country in war, fight for Russia.)

TESTIMONY OF DR. BELLA V. DODD, BEFORE THE SENATE INTERNAL SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE, MARCH 10, 1953

(A former leading Communist official and teacher in New York City for years; see References (D) 10.)

(a) *Careful indoctrination, and strict discipline, of members by the conspiracy, with total control*

Page 522—[the conspiracy had a number of training schools for teachers]: "You see, when a teacher became a Communist, he immediately had to be indoctrinated * * *"—by expert Marxists, in Marxism-Leninism.[5]

Page 527: "The strength of an individual in the Communist Party is infinitely greater than the strength of any other single individual. You must not only count noses among Communists, but you must weigh the intensity with which they believe and also the intensity with which they are trained and educated to carry on a campaign. You yourself might believe in something intensively, but if you were a Communist, every two weeks you would be reporting to someone and getting instructions from someone. So, therefore, your line didn't waver. Your intensity would multiply many fold."

Page 528—[she stated that the Communist-teacher has many active, close contacts both on and off the campus with the conspiracy's national apparatus—its agents]: "You are part of an international movement, and you are coordinated with your committees and your organization. You meet at least once every 2 weeks with the people who are the party apparatus. There is no such thing as freedom for a Communist college teacher." [6]

Page 529: She said: "The control commission is the internal police * * * the disciplinary commission * * *" [of the conspiracy]. "* * *

[4] Quoted in the report of Secretary of State Hughes, 1924, p. 241; see reference (A) 8 hereinafter.

[5] AUTHOR'S NOTE: Ample proof is given hereinafter that members of the conspiracy must know, and accept, its tenets and program at the time of joining—including as stated in points 1, 2, and 3 of the Ten Points hereinbefore.

[6] Dr. Dodd means, of course, school teachers as well as college teachers.

If I commit an offense against the Communist movement, either by thought, word, or action, I get brought before the control commission, and there I am tried, to a certain extent, and I am given certain penalties * * * We had that control commission on a national basis, in New York and every other State in the Union, every other district."

Pages 538–9: Question: "Then it is true that you have meetings at intervals where the teachers come and where they are indoctrinated into the Communistic doctrine?"

Dr. Dodd: "There is no doubt about it. They are given the Marxist-Leninist training. As a matter of fact, most teachers who join have to go to a school. They are sent to a school to learn how to become Communists." [5]

Question: "Is it not true that they also report the success they are making?"

Dr. Dodd: "They report both successes and failures, and they are praised and scolded, and they are given new directions * * *. Where they have failed, they are shown how to get success. Where they have succeeded, they are told to go on and make some more."

(*b*) *Misuse of classroom for indoctrination of students*

Page 529: "The Communist teacher has a very definite function to perform. He must not only make himself an agent of the class struggle; he must indoctrinate other teachers in the class struggle, and he must see that their students are indoctrinated in the class struggle. That doesn't have to be in four-syllable words. The class struggle means in the classroom that the schools are regarded, for instance, as part of the apparatus of the bourgeois state, and therefore the student is considered to be in rebellion against the bourgeois state" [in being rebellious against the school]. "It is the function of the teacher to fan that rebellion and to make the student recognize that only by establishing a Soviet system of government will you be able to be free." [This indoctrination is done in and out of the classroom, she says; and quotes from the magazine "The Communist," authoritative instructions about teachers] (p. 530). "This was the function of a Communist teacher: To create people who would be ready to accept the Communist regime."

Page 543 [In converting the class struggle into reality in the schools, Dr. Dodd says, the Communist teacher cultivates class hatred; partly by getting students to be participants in action—mentions "a mass delegation" pressure-group trip to influence the New York Legislature]: "* * * schooling in direct action. This, of course, is part of the thing in which you constantly have to politicalize people to take direct action so they will understand the feeling of illegality." [7]

Page 543 [slanting instruction to fit the "party line" was discussed by Dr. Dodd]: "All Communist teachers who read the literature of the Communist Party and of the Communist movement [8] cannot help but slant their teaching in that direction. I was a teacher of econom-

[5] AUTHOR'S NOTE: Ample proof is given hereinafter that members of the conspiracy must know, and accept, its tenets and program at the time of joining—including as stated in points 1, 2, and 3 of the Ten Points hereinbefore.

[7] AUTHOR'S NOTE: In other words, ready the students psychologically to welcome an illegal role for themselves, ready them for the revolution.

[8] NOTE: Meaning, of course, each and every Communist teacher, because each and every Communist conspiracy member is rigidly required to read the literature.

ics, and of political science, and it was very easy for me to slant my teaching that way. As a matter of fact, I wasn't even conscious of slanting it. That was the way I was thinking, and that was the way I was teaching it, because I had become imbued with the whole philosophy and system of Communism * * *"

Page 544 [regarding slanting her own teaching, she said]: "Yes. Communism is a total philosophy. If you believe in it, you live it, you breathe it, you teach it. * * * you take it with you 7 days a week, 24 hours a day * * * [The students] * * * wouldn't recognize it as Communism; nobody else might recognize it as Communism. But there is no doubt in my mind that the Communist teacher teaches the Communist way."

(c) *No Communist teacher has a free mind*

Pages 528–9—[after stating that no Communist teacher can be a free agent, partly due to the control commission's close and rigid supervision of the teacher's thinking and teaching, to insure adherence to the "party line," Dr. Dodd said]: "There is no such thing as freedom for a Communist college teacher." Then:

Question: "Dr. Dodd, is such a teacher or professor free to pursue the highest ideal of academic freedom and freedom of inquiry?"

Dr. Dodd: "* * * [in Russia]. They had to accept the Communist Party determination as to what was the truth. Within our country, we have any number of illustrations of both professors and writers who from time to time have been called up before the control commission because they have either written or spoken or done that which was contrary to the Marxist-Leninist philosophy."

(d) *Faculties and officials of educational institutions are not specially trained to ferret out Communist teachers*

Page 533 [Dr. Dodd states that educational institutions—faculties, administrative officers—cannot uncover Communist teachers]: "But the home folks do not have the equipment or the information to uncover this conspiracy. This is material which is away down under. Only a committee which has the subpena power, only a committee which has had experience with the Communist conspiracy, can do it." [9]

EXCERPTS FROM OPINIONS IN UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT CASES

American Communications Association, CIO v. *Douds, Regional Director of the National Labor Relations Board (1950) (339 U. S. 382)*

Concurring and dissenting opinion of Justice Jackson (pp. 422 et seq.); the following being a concurring part:

Page 424: "From information before its several committees and from facts of general knowledge, Congress could rationally conclude that, behind its political-party facade, the Communist Party is a conspiratorial and revolutionary junta, organized to reach ends and

[9] On the next day, March 11, 1953, testifying before the same Senate Internal Security Committee, this point by Dr. Dodd was supported by President Harry Gideonse of Brooklyn College. He praised the committee for helping colleges ferret our Communist teachers, stating that college officials and faculty committees could not succeed at this because a suspected teacher's denial left them helpless to contest it and ended the matter. (Hearings, pp. 567–8.)

to use methods which are incompatible with our constitutional system. A rough and compressed grouping of this data would permit Congress to draw these important conclusions as to its distinguishing characteristics."

Page 425: "1. *The goal of the Communist Party is to seize powers of government by and for a minority rather than to acquire power through the vote of a free electorate.* * * * This Communist movement is a belated counter-revolution to the American Revolution, designed to undo the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and our Bill of Rights; and overturn our system of free, representative self-government."

Page 427: "2. *The Communist Party alone among American parties past or present is dominated and controlled by a foreign government.* It is a satrap party which, to the threat of civil disorder, adds the threat of betrayal into alien hands.

"The chain of command from the Kremlin to the American party is stoutly denied and usually invisible, but it was unmistakably disclosed by the American Communist Party somersaulting in synchronism with shifts in the Kremlin's foreign policy * * * [discusses the shift at time of Stalin-Hitler pact]. * * * American Communists, like Communists elsewhere in the world, placed Moscow's demand above every patriotic interest."

Page 429: "3. *Violent and undemocratic means are the calculated and indispensable methods to attain the Communist Party's goal.*

"* * * The international police state has crept over Eastern Europe by deception, coercion, *coup d'etat*, terrorism, and assassination. Not only has it overpowered its critics and opponents; it has usually liquidated them. The American Communist Party has copied the organizational structure and its leaders have been schooled in the same technique and by the same tutors.

"The American Communists have imported the totalitarian organization's disciplines and techniques, notwithstanding the fact that this country offers them and other discontented elements a way to peaceful revolution by ballot. * * * But instead of resting their case upon persuasion and any appeal inherent in their ideas and principles, the Communist Party adopts the techniques of a secret cabal—false names, forged passports, code messages, clandestine meetings. To these it adds occasional terroristic and threatening methods, such as picketing courts and juries, political strikes and sabotage.

"This cabalism and terrorism is understandable in the light of what they want to accomplish and what they have to overcome * * * conspiracy, violence, intimidation and the *coup d'etat* are all that keep hope alive in the Communist breast."

Page 430: "4. *The Communist Party has sought to gain this leverage and hold on the American population by acquiring control of the labor movement.*

"* * * The Communist Party * * * strives for control of labor's coercive power—the strike, the sit-down, the slow-down, sabotage, or other means of producing industrial paralysis * * * (p. 431) [when controlled by Communists] * * * the union finds itself a more or less helpless captive of the Communist Party. * * * The most promising course of the Communist Party has been the undercover capture of the coercive power of strategic labor unions as a leverage to magnify its power over the American people."

Page 431: "5. *Every member of the Communist Party is an agent to execute the Communist program* * * * [not like ordinary political parties] * * * (p. 432) Membership in the Communist Party is totally different. The party is a secret conclave. Members are admitted only upon acceptance as reliable and after indoctrination in its policies, to which the member is fully committed.[10] They are provided with cards or credentials, usually issued under false names so that the identification can only be made by officers of the party who hold the code. Moreover, each pledges unconditional obedience to party authority. Adherents are known by secret or code names. They constitute 'cells' in the factory, the office, the political society, or the labor union. For any deviation from the party line they are purged and excluded.

"Inferences from membership in such an organization are justifiably different from those to be drawn from membership in the usual type of political party. Individuals who assume such obligations are chargeable, on ordinary conspiracy principles, with responsibility for and participation in all that makes up the party's program.[11] The conspiracy principle has traditionally been employed to protect society against all 'ganging up' or concerted action in violation of its laws. No term passes that this court does not sustain convictions based on that doctrine for violations of the antitrust laws or other statutes (p. 433). However, there has recently entered the dialectic of politics a cliché used to condemn application of the conspiracy principle to Communists. 'Guilt by association' is an epithet frequently used and little explained, except that it is generally accompanied by another slogan, 'guilt is personal.' Of course it is; but personal guilt may be incurred by joining a conspiracy. That act of association makes one responsible for the acts of others committed in pursuance of the association.[11] It is wholly a question of the sufficiency of evidence of association to imply conspiracy. There is certainly sufficient evidence that all members owe allegiance to every detail of the Communist Party program and have assumed a duty actively to help execute it,[10] so that Congress could, on familiar conspiracy principles, charge each member with responsibility for the goals and means of the party." (Italics as in the original.)

Dennis et al. v. *United States* (*(1951) 341 U. S. 494*) (*affirming lower courts, regarding conviction of Communist leaders under Smith Act*)

Opinion of Chief Justice Vinson [12] (p. 498):

"But the court of appeals held that the record supports the following broad conclusions: By virtue of their control [over the Communist Party] * * * petitioners [caused it to resume] * * * a policy which worked for the overthrow of the Government by force and violence; that the Communist Party is a highly disciplined organization,[13] adept at infiltration into strategic positions, use of aliases, and double-meaning language; that the party is rigidly controlled; that Communists, unlike other political parties, tolerate no dissension from the

[10] AUTHOR'S NOTE: This means there are in fact no "innocents" among them.
[11] NOTE: This means that, as a matter of law, there are no "innocents" among them.
[12] NOTE: This opinion was concurred in by Justices Reed, Burton, and Minton.
[13] NOTE: These points, based on the record of proved facts, support the conclusion that there are no "innocents" among the members.

policy laid down by the guiding forces, but that the approved program is slavishly followed by the members of the party; [13] that the literature of the party and the statements and activities of its leaders, petitioners here, advocate, and the general goal of the party was, during the period in question, to achieve a successful overthrow of the existing order by force and violence."

Pages 510–511:

"The formation by petitioners of such a highly organized conspiracy, with rigidly disciplined members subject to call when the leaders, these petitioners, felt that the time had come for action * * * convince us that their convictions were justified on this score. * * * It is the existence of the conspiracy which creates the danger."

Concurring Opinion of Justice Jackson
Pages 564–565

"* * * The Communist Party, nevertheless, does not seek its strength primarily in numbers. Its aim is a relatively small party whose strength is in selected, dedicated, indoctrinated and rigidly disciplined members. From established policy it tolerates no deviation and no debate * * * [seeks especially to control labor groups] * * * It also seeks to infiltrate and control organizations of professional and other groups. Through these placements in positions of power it seeks a leverage over society that will make up in power of coercion what it lacks in power of persuasion.

"The Communists have no scruples against sabotage, terrorism, assassination, or mob disorder; but violence is not with them, as with the anarchists, an end in itself. The Communist Party advocates force only when prudent and profitable. Their strategy of stealth precludes premature or uncoordinated outbursts of violence, except, of course, when the blame will be placed on shoulders other than their own. They resort to violence as to truth, not (p. 565) as a principle but as an expedient. Force or violence, as they would resort to it, may never be necessary, because infiltration and deception may be enough.

"Force would be utilized by the Communist Party not to destroy government but for its capture. * * *

"The United States, fortunately, has experienced Communism only in its preparatory stages and for its pattern of final action must look abroad. Russia, of course, was the pilot Communist revolution" [then discusses the *coup d'etat* in Czechoslovakia].

(AUTHOR'S NOTE: In the above case, the Court decided that the evidence warranted conviction for conspiracy to advocate overthrow of the U. S. Government by force in that defendants organized the Communist Party as a group to teach and advocate forceful overthrow of government.)

[13] NOTE: These points, based on the record of proved facts, support the conclusion that there are no "innocents" among the members.

TESTIMONY OF DR. WILLIAM JANSEN, SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS, NEW YORK CITY, BEFORE SENATE INTERNAL SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE, MARCH 25, 1953

(a) Communists fail on Dr. Jansen's four tests for teachers

Page 652: "* * * there are four criteria that I would like to use in judging a teacher:

"No. 1, loyalty to the country. I think a teacher must be loyal to the country which employs him to teach. Now, on that basis I say a Communist fails because, in the first place, he is disloyal in advocating the violent overthrow of the Government. In the second place, although an American citizen, his allegiance is to the Communist foreign power,[14] so I say on the loyalty basis a Communist doesn't meet the criteria.

"Secondly, I think a teacher should have scholarship and teaching method. Now, I don't believe you can have scholarship if you are circumscribed by a party discipline or party lines.

"Thirdly, I think a teacher should have a love of children and respect for the individual. Well, a Communist fails on that ground because we know that in the Communist countries the state is supreme, the individual doesn't count, and children are asked to testify against their own parents.

"Finally, I think a teacher should have high ethical standards, and here again a Communist fails because, as we all know, the Communist organization definitely advocates lying if it will accomplish their purpose, so on those four tests of a teacher, I'd say that a Communist should not teach in the schools of the United States."

[At p. 655, Dr. Jansen added: "It's a very important part of the Communist doctrine, which is reiterated from time to time, that lying is justified if it accomplishes the end."]

(b) Academic freedom supported, not violated, by legislative committee investigations which help educational institutions to ferret out the Communists and to oust them as teachers

Page 647: "* * * We believe that as superintendent of schools I have the right to inquire into the character and fitness of anyone to teach and, therefore, it is not only my right, but it is my duty, to endeavor to ascertain if any teacher is a member of a subversive organization. On that basis the Board of Education feels that I have the right to question any teacher against whom we have evidence as to whether he is or was a member of the Communist Party, and failure to answer those questions is an act of insubordination. On that basis we have brought charges against a number of teachers and the insubordination has been proven and the Board of Education has dismissed them. The group that was dismissed took the matter to court, but they dropped their appeal."

[Also has used sec. 903 of New York City Administrative Code, providing that any public employee—such as a teacher—who refuses to answer questions by a legislative committee on grounds of self-incrimination, under the Fifth Amendment of the United States

[14] Refers here to Soviet Russia.

Constitution, automatically vacates his position as a city employee. (p. 648.)]

Page 653: Question: "Do you think you have destroyed academic freedom by removing Communists from the public schools of New York?"

Dr. JANSEN: "No, I think on the contrary I have helped academic freedom. What is academic freedom? To my way of thinking, it is freedom to search for the truth. You don't have freedom to search for the truth if your thinking must follow the party line or follow a party discipline, so I think that the Communists are talking nonsense when they shout academic freedom. Academic freedom is for the person who is unbiased, who is free to think. They want propaganda of some kind. Furthermore, academic freedom would be destroyed if they win out because they are trying to destroy the very kind of government which grants academic freedom. * * *"

(c) Legislative (including congressional) committee investigations are needed to help schools ferret out and oust Communist teachers

Pages 651–2: "I would say that legislative committees and congressional committees have been very definitely of assistance to us because the committee [referring to Internal Security Subcommittee] through its facilities for investigation has made it possible for us to get information which we would not be able to get in any other way * * * [the group of Communist-teachers] is a small group, but a dangerous group of teachers * * * I agree completely * * * that private citizens and local bodies can't meet this threat alone. They don't have the legal powers or the funds to make the investigations and get the facts. I think that a committee of this kind can be very helpful" [a committee like the Internal Security Subcommittee].

Pages 654–5: Question: "Dr. Jansen, have you found that the faculties and local school authorities themselves can take the initiative in combating Communist infiltration?"

Dr. Jansen: "Well, I have heard it said by a number of persons. I doubt it because a facu'ty would find it very difficult to get started. The Communists are clever in hiding their membership from anybody but their own party members and the faculties don't have the facilities for investigation. I think there is a real danger that if a faculty started to do all the investigation that you would find the faculty divided against itself, so that I doubt very much that a faculty can do the job effectively."

(d) Comparatively small membership of the conspiracy is not the test of the danger

Page 652: "* * * it is a small group, but a dangerous group of teachers."

Page 653: "We know that some have infiltrated into other organizations where they exert a power far beyond what their numbers would be expected to exert."

Page 654: "* * * I agree that a few can exert an influence far beyond their number."

1949 REPORT, N. E. A.—EISENHOWER—CONANT

[Report of the Educational Policies Commission of the National Education Association entitled "American Education and International Tensions"]

Page 39: *"Members of the Communist Party of the United States should not be employed as teachers.* Such membership, in the opinion of the Educational Policies Commission, involves adherence to doctrines and discipline completely inconsistent with the principles of freedom on which American education depends. Such membership, and the accompanying surrender of intellectual integrity, render an individual unfit to discharge the duties of a teacher in this country.

"At the same time we condemn the careless, incorrect, and unjust use of such words as 'Red' and 'Communist' to attack teachers and other persons who in point of fact are not Communists, but who merely have views different from those of their accusers. The whole spirit of free American education will be subverted unless teachers are free to think for themselves. It is because members of the Communist Party are required to surrender this right, as a consequence of becoming part of a movement characterized by conspiracy and deceit, that they should be excluded from employment as teachers." (Italics per the original.)

(AUTHOR'S NOTE: This report's adoption in 1949 was followed in 1950 by the NEA action barring Communists from membership in the NEA and going on record that they "should not be employed in our schools.")

COMMUNISTS AS TEACHERS

(An abstract of a paper, read by John K. Norton at the NEA convention, Boston, July 6, 1949, as published in "The American School Board Journal," August 1949, page 49; also in "Teachers College Record," October 1949, Columbia University, where he is a professor.)

EXCERPTS

"Communism is more than a political party. It is a movement which would take over and regulate, according to a despotic ideology, every phase of a citizen's life. * * * It tells you what to think—you follow the party line. It regulates your economic life. Freedom of religion and conscience go out the window, when Communism comes in. * * * And it looks upon the school and education as an especially choice means of achieving its evil ends.

"It has as its first and indispensable objective—the seizure of power by a small group—called the dictatorship of the proletariat. It has never come into power in any country by a clear vote or mandate of the people, but always by violence, assassination, conspiracy, double dealing, and the like. * * *

"And it assigns a special role to the teacher who joins this movement—it is his duty to destroy the loyalty of the child and youth and to indoctrinate him with Communist ideology. The teacher is expected to do this insofar as he can without taking too many chances of being caught. The teacher should do this regardless of the subject he teaches—all the way from art to zoology.

"This international conspiracy—Communism—has more than 400 million people under its iron heel today. These things that I say * * * are stated over and over again in official Communist documents, and these things have been acted out wherever and whenever Communism comes into power * * *

"The issue in this whole question may be briefly stated: Should there be freedom to destroy our freedom—and by using the school as a means of doing it?"

AMERICA, RUSSIA, AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN THE POSTWAR WORLD

(1943 report (and book) by John L. Childs and George S. Counts, for, and published by, the Commission on Education and the Postwar World of the American Federation of Teachers (John Day & Co., New York, publishers); the authors being professors at Teachers College, Columbia University)

CHAPTER IX: THE AMERICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Page 62: "This party, not a political party in the ordinary sense, is the Communist International operating in the United States."

Pages 64–65: "* * * essential to an understanding of the American Communist Party is a recognition of its commitment to the philosophy of a proletarian world revolution. * * * The first and supreme loyalty of American Communism is to the Soviet Union; the second is to this revolutionary idea and mission" [then discusses its control by Moscow].

Page 67: "The power of a disciplined, conspiratorial group, operating on the principle that the end justifies the means and having its objectives and its strategy authoritatively determined by centralized leadership, is not to be measured by the number of its members."

Pages 69–70: "It should be clear from the foregoing description of the purposes, control, organization, and patterns of behavior of the American Communist Party that it is a movement whose leaders do not consider themselves bound by either the principles of American democracy or the standards of ordinary group morality."

Pages 70–71: "The actual record of the objectives of the American Communist Party during the past 25 years, however, shows that it has produced consequences exactly as evil as its purposes and methods of behavior would have led one to anticipate. The path of this party is strewn with the wreckage of persons and movements. Experience has demonstrated that it adds not one ounce of strength to any liberal, democratic, or humane cause; on the contrary, it weakens, degrades, or destroys every cause that it touches."

(AUTHOR'S NOTE: Teachers throughout the country had good reason to heed this wartime report of the true, evil nature of the Communist conspiracy—an official report of the Federation to its members, primarily, but in reality to all teachers and the people of the country at large. Its distribution as a book, commercially published, widened the impact of its message. Following the Federation's hard-won victory against Communist-dominated Teachers Union locals (see below) in 1941, when Professor Counts (of Teachers College, Columbia University) was the Federation's president and leader in this fight, the report-book possessed exceptional impact value. It put the teaching world on notice. Another fact gave still greater significance to the report-book in the eyes of teachers—the fact that Professor Counts was one of the leading educators formerly famous for being enamored of the Soviet Union's program and accomplishments but bitterly disillusioned by 1941. See his books: "The Soviet Challenge to America" (1931); Dare the School Build a New Social Order (1932); and compare with his statement: "* * * the Communist Party, as an instrument of popular advance, must be

completely repudiated. My experience convinces me that it poisons everything it touches. * * *" "Frontiers of Democracy," May 15, 1941, pp. 231–232. Already embittered by 1939 through personal experience with Communists at Teachers College, he denounced their tactics in scathing terms. "The Social Frontier," February 1939, pp. 135–140.)

CHRONOLOGY: 1935–41 FIGHT BY AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS VERSUS "RED" LOCALS

New York Times, June 7, 1941, pp. 1, 32: "Red ruled" unions ousted (charters revoked) by American Federation of Teachers: New York Teachers Union, Local 5; New York Colleges Teachers Union, Local 537; Philadelphia Teachers Union, Local 192; as being Communist-dominated.

New York Times, August 26, 1941, p. 15: American Federation of Teachers amended its constitution to bar from membership Communists, Fascists, and Nazis.

The Fight by the A. F. of T. Reached Back to 1935

New York Times, August 29, 1935, p. 23: A. F. of T. investigates Local 5 (New York Teacher Union) for being Communist-dominated; and William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor—[with which the A. F. of T. is affiliated]—demands that the local's charter be revoked, but this was not done.

New York Times, September 14; October 1, 3, 1935 (at pages 17, 23, 15 respectively): Most of officers, and some 650 teacher-members, of Local 5 withdraw in order to form the Teachers Guild, over the issue of Communist domination of Local 5.

The A. F. of T. Struggle Over Local 5 Continued Over the Years

New York Times, January 4, 6, 16; February 15, 16, 1941 (at pages 1, 17, 23, 32, 43 respectively): Action by A. F. of T. Executive Council against "Red ruled" locals, after due deliberation; decision to expel subject to referendum of the A. F. of T. members. As above mentioned, the three locals were ousted, their charters revoked, June 7, 1941, pp. 1, 32.

Some Other Developments

(Author's comment: Teachers, as part of the general public, also put on notice by other widely publicized developments)

In addition to events of special interest to teachers such as the foregoing—regarding the true character of the Communist conspiracy—events of general public interest brought the truth to the attention of all the American people periodically; for example:

(a) The 1935 protest by the United States Government, through the note of Secretary of State Hull to Soviet Russia, regarding subversive activities by Communists—controlled by Moscow—in the United States, in violation of the 1933 recognition agreement. (See this note quoted hereinafter.) Scarcely an adult citizen could then have missed knowing about this dramatic protest and accompanying developments—or missed the point: the United States Government's charge that the "Communist Party" was being directed from Moscow

in its activities aimed at overthrow of the United States Government. For several days especially these startling charges and protests received big press and radio coverage on a nation-wide basis.

(b) In 1940, President Roosevelt addressed a large group on the grounds of the White House, representing the American Youth Congress then in session in Washington. (New York Times, February 11, 1940, p. 44.) This organization was then under sharp attack from many responsible sources as being Communist-dominated (later proved true officially). This was in the period of the Stalin-Hitler pact and the President's harsh criticism of Soviet Russia was received coldly, even with some boos, by this group about which he had something to say as including Communists and warning them against subversion. He said in part:

"The Soviet Union, as a matter of practical fact, as everybody knows who has got the courage to face the fact, the practical fact known to you and known to all the world, is run by a dictatorship, a dictatorship as absolute as any other dictatorship in the world. * * *

"It has been said that some of you are Communists. * * * as Americans you have not only a right but a sacred duty to confine your advocacy of changes in law to the methods prescribed by the Constitution of the United States—and you have no American right, by act or deed of any kind, to subvert the government and the Constitution of this nation."

President Roosevelt thus went on record officially and publicly with respect to the subversive character of the Communists and their conspiracy—in early 1940; and with such publicity for his remarks as to reach the attention of the nation, due partly to his blunt attack on Russia and Communists being during the Stalin-Hitler pact. Mrs. Roosevelt added to the publicity at this time about Communists—about their being potent in this organization, the American Youth Congress—by defending it through a public statement that she thought it was "unfair" to expect it to "expel the Young Communist League. * * *" (New York Times, Feb. 11, 1940, section 4, p. 10 E.) Of this White House event, she later wrote:

"Franklin's first real contact with the American Youth Congress was made after I had become fairly certain they were Communist-dominated. * * * I induced my husband to address them from the south portico of the White House. * * * It was time they realized how other people, even sympathetic people, regarded their activities. * * * They booed the President."

(McCall's magazine, September 1949, p. 112.)

CULTURE AND THE CRISIS

An Open Letter to the Writers, Artists, Teachers, Physicians, Engineers, Scientists, and Other Professional Workers of America.

Published for the League of Professional Groups for Foster and Ford; by Workers Library Publishers, post office box 148, station D, New York City, October 1932 [15]

"PREFACE

"* * * As responsible intellectual workers we have aligned ourselves with the frankly revolutionary Communist Party, the party of the workers. In this letter, we speak to you * * * why we have

[15] AUTHOR'S NOTE: This was one of the conspiracy's official publishing agencies.

made this decision and why we think that you too should support the Communist Party in the political campaign now under way."

Page 17: "Toward a New Society"; (18) "* * * Only socialism can eliminate the exploitation and misery which prevail under capitalism * * *." Under the heading "The Professional Classes Will Be Liberated," it then says: "It is an ideal worth fighting for, and it is a practical and realizable ideal, as is being proved in the Soviet Union * * *."

Pages 23–4: "The Communist Party" discussed, socialism's deeds; then it states: "Already in Soviet Russia, under the leadership of the Communists * * * [extolls their accomplishments there]. * * * Contrast this with capitalist America in which the luxury of a few is flaunted in the face of hungry and homeless millions. The Communist Party proposes as the real solution of the present crisis the overthrow of the system which is responsible for all crises. This can only be accomplished by the conquest of political power * * * usher in the Socialist commonwealth. * * * The Communist Party is the only party which has stood in the forefront of the major struggle of the workers against capital and the capitalist state."

Page 27: "The Communist Road to a New Society" is discussed next; says the Communist Party's program proposes: "* * * the first steps, under existing conditions, toward the overthrow of capitalism * * *. Why vote for the Communist Party? Because it * * * leads in the attack on the capitalist class and its tool, the capitalist state * * * [the ruling class in America] * * * must be forced by the threat of the growing power of a militant revolutionary organization * * *" [to yield concessions to the workers].

Page 30: "* * * It is capitalism which is destructive of all culture and Communism which desires to save civilization and its cultural heritage * * * we call upon all men and women—especially workers in the professions and the arts—to join in the revolutionary struggle against capitalism under the leadership of the Communist Party."

"Vote Communist—for Foster and Ford—on November 8."

Some 52 names given as the signers, including (among professors) Sidney Hook,[16] Granville Hicks, Frederick L. Schuman.

[16] AUTHOR'S NOTE: This Prof. Sidney Hook, of New York University, and his cosigners of this 1932 "manifesto," propagated in it substantially the Communist conspiracy's line of thought—as expressed, for example, in the 1932 book, "Toward Soviet America," by the longtime Communist leader, William Z. Foster previously mentioned.

One of the signers, Prof. Granville Hicks, became a member of the conspiracy in the winter of 1934–5. He had been, according to his testimony, "* * * a rather close fellow traveler for a perod of 3 or 4 years; so close that I was actually an editor of the New Masses, which was, of course, a Communist magazine. I was an editor at a time when I was not a member of the party. It was very natural that I should be at some point or other recruited into the party. And when I was asked * * * I immediately agreed to join the party, and I did so." (Hearings, p. 96, February 26, 1953, House Committee on Un-American Activities.)

This 1932 "manifesto" is one more bit of evidence of the fact that the true nature of the conspiracy—especially its close ties with the Communists of Russia and its revolutionary aim, to overthrow the United States Government—was then well known in educational circles, and earlier of course.

SECTION III

THE CURRENT DEBATE ABOUT COMMUNISTS AS TEACHERS

Two questions are now being hotly debated throughout the country: (1) Should Communist conspiracy membership alone bar a person from holding a teacher-position? (2) Who should deal with this problem of Communist teachers—faculties, or administrative officials of educational institutions, or public officials such as congressional committees?

To the first question, as we have seen, some in the educational world answer "Yes"—for example, the National Education Association in 1949, then led by such university presidents as Eisenhower and Conant. (See point 9.) Some others say "No"; say in effect: "Only Subversive Acts, Not Party Membership, Are Grounds for Dismissal"—these words being quoted from a subheadline (New York Times, March 7, 1953, p. 10); the headline being: "Educators Defend Reds Among Them." This dispatch, from Chicago, reported that a group of professors had taken this stand at a meeting of the National Conference on Higher Education; and it indicated that the discussion was based on a report of the American Association of University Professors to like effect, one of the discussion-group leaders being Prof. Quincy Wright of the University of Chicago. See also later reports of the association's annual meeting at which this stand was formally approved (New York Times, March 28 and 29, 1953, pp. 10 and 20 respectively).

Leading popular publications have in recent years given wide circulation to the views on this subject of one professor in particular and have thus in effect vouched for his being worthy to advise the American people, including the teaching profession, on this critically important topic. He is most articulate and has assumed a role of leadership in its public discussion. His views are therefore deemed to merit special comment here. He is Prof. Sidney Hook, Professor of Philosophy, and Chairman of the Department; New York University. (See Saturday Evening Post, September 10, 1949, p. 33; New York Times Magazine, February 27, 1949, p. 7; July 9, 1950, p. 12; December 14, 1952, p. 9). He is the same Sidney Hook who signed the previously quoted "manifesto" in 1932—entitled "Culture and The Crisis"—in support of the candidates, and the "revolutionary struggle", of the "frankly revolutionary Communist Party"; yet these publications gave their readers no warning of this fact. If warned, would not the readers have asked: Why pick this particular professor to guide our thinking on this particular subject?

Although Hook's articles discuss forcefully the evil characteristics of the conspiracy and repeatedly assert that a member is unfit to teach, nevertheless he gives the "soft" answer—for example as stated in the first above-mentioned article (p. 166):

"Care should be taken to make clear that membership in the Communist Party establishes a prima facie, not a compelling, case

against educational employability. This does not entail necessarily automatic dismissal of some lone Communist teaching in some isolated institution. Nor does it mean, as we have seen, zealous interrogation to discover what teachers are doing in their classrooms. Sensibly interpreted, it means that the principle of dismissal will be applied whenever sufficient concrete evidence of Communist Party activity appears on the campus."

Regarding his point about leaving "some lone Communist" teacher free to do the conspiracy's evil work, in effect, the reader should reread the sharp warning in the testimony of Dr. Bella V. Dodd, previously quoted, about such a teacher's aims and methods; the testimony of Dr. Jansen, about his 4 tests for teachers and how Communists fail all of them; and note again Professor Norton's already quoted warning about the conspiracy: "* * * it assigns a special role to the teacher who joins this movement—it is his duty to destroy the loyalty of the child and youth and to indoctrinate him with Communist ideology."

In his 1950 article, Hook repeats his earlier answer: conspiracy membership is "prima facie evidence of unfitness"—not conclusive evidence. His 1952 article expresses no contrary conclusion. Strangely enough, he has nevertheless come to be considered widely, it seems, as being forthright and unqualified in his opposition to Communists as teachers. An adequate examination of his articles proves this is not so—judged by the above mentioned clear-cut stand taken, for example, by the NEA and the members of its Educational Policies Commission in 1949, including Presidents Eisenhower and Conant of Columbia and Harvard Universities.

THE ROLE OF CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES

Those educators like Professor Hook and the previously mentioned Chicago group, and organizations such as the American Association of University Professors, who answer the first stated question in the negative, also seem agreed upon the answer to the second question. He gave this answer in his 1952 article: "Educators themselves can eliminate from their ranks these few unfaithful ones without the help of the state power." [His words "unfaithful ones" referring to teachers under instructions to betray their trust—such as, he says, members of the Ku Klux Klan and the Communist Party; and "state power" meaning, for example, congressional committee investigations.] Hook's 1950 article had previously put it this way: "* * * This is a matter of ethical hygiene * * * the enforcement of the proper professional standards should rest with the teachers themselves and not with the state or Regents or even boards of trustees * * *."

[AUTHOR'S NOTE: The above 1952 statement of Hook leaves still unchanged his position about conspiracy-membership constituting only a prima facie case against a teacher.]

At the 39th annual convention of the American Association of University Professors in Chicago, on March 27, 1953, it opposed governmental investigations—such as congressional committee investigations—which seek to ferret out undercover Communist-teachers; at the same time that it opposed ousting of a teacher on the ground of conspiracy-membership alone. At the meeting Prof. Quincy Wright outspokenly opposed congressional investigating committees. (New York Times, March 28, 29, 1953, pp. 10 and 20, respectively). The convention also went on record expressly and in detail, in favor of the CATCH-THEM-IN-THE-ACT solution to the problem—which is no solution at all, as indicated in point 8 of the Ten Points. For the reason point 8 states, this alleged solution is so unrealistic as to be a sham; and the very professors who offer it would be among the most vociferous in opposing its application, if ever tried—for that very reason. The convention made its position complete—completely unsound—by also opposing the discharge of a teacher for refusal to answer a legislative committee's questions about his membership in the conspiracy, resting his refusal on the Fifth Amendment's protection against self-incrimination. As usual, this whole position ignores the disloyalty-to-country factor, among its other defects.

To those educators and others who say in effect: Leave it to the faculties to ferret out undercover Communist teachers, a fair question is this—What faculty, or faculty member, has ever acted effectively in this regard without aid by public officials? To leave it to faculties is, in reality, to leave the job undone—as the record for decades proves. This is true primarily because faculties are powerless to do the job, partly for the reasons stated below.

President Conant, of Harvard University, is one of the educators who has taken a sound stand regarding the second stated question:

That public officials, such as congressional committees, as well as administrative officials of educational institutions, do have a proper role in this connection. Testifying before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on February 3, 1953, he said (p. 80): "* * * a university could not undertake, in my opinion, the kind of investigation which would find the really hidden Communists without destroying the life of the university." He conceded (pp. 87, 96) that it is a proper function of Congress to make any such needed investigation.

Only a legislative committee (of Congress or a State legislature) can have the needed special knowledge of the conspiracy's operations and techniques, the needed subpena power, the needed power to punish for contempt or to expose perjury when the facts warrant, and the needed funds and facilities to make a thorough investigation. It is only with these essential tools that an effective job can be done. No educational institution, much less faculty, can possess these tools, can do the job. Note again Dr. Jansen's testimony (pp. 654–5):

"* * * a faculty would find it very difficult to get started. The Communists are clever in hiding their membership from anybody but their own party members and the faculties don't have the facilities for investigation. I think there is a real danger that if a faculty started to do all the investigation that you would find the faculty divided against itself, so that I doubt very much that a faculty can do the job effectively."

Also note again Dr. Dodd's testimony on this point, previously quoted (at p. 533):

"But the home folks do not have the equipment or the information to uncover this conspiracy. This is material which is away down under. Only a committee which has the subpena power, only a committee which has had experience with the Communist conspiracy, can do it."

It is noteworthy that President Harry Gideonse, of Brooklyn College, New York City, in testifying on March 11, 1953, before the Senate Internal Security Committee, stated that the work of the committee had helped his institution rid itself of several suspected Communist teachers who had been questioned some years previously but at that time denied membership in the conspiracy—leaving him helpless to prove they were lying. Yet he was able to force them out when they refused to answer questions about this membership asked by the committee. He lauded the committee's work (for example—Hearings, pp. 557–8, 560).

In the current debate, the two stated questions must be answered compatibly with academic freedom-responsibility and national security: the first, "Yes"; the second: Legislative committees should help educational institutions do the needed job of identifying Communists in teaching positions. (Regarding the first, see especially point 10 of the Ten Points.)

SECTION IV

REPORT OF SECRETARY OF STATE HUGHES, 1924 ENTITLED "RECOGNITION OF RUSSIA," TO THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE; PUBLISHED IN HEARINGS BEFORE A SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, UNITED STATES SENATE. 68TH CONGRESS, 1ST SESS., PART 2.

(See references (A) 8, hundreds of pages of original documents and other authoritative material; supporting points 1, 2, and 3 of the Ten Points.)

THE REPORT'S CONCLUSIONS

Pages 248–249: "From the above it will be seen that the question of whether Communist programs contemplate the use of force and violence has been passed upon by every class of tribunal which could pass upon it, namely, Federal and State courts, administrative tribunals and legislative committees of both Federal and State governments, and in every class the result has been in support of the position that force and violence are inseparable from Communist programs. In addition, the Secretaries of State of the United States, under different administrations, have issued formal expressions on the subject of Soviet Russia and all of them are in line with the foregoing decisions." [Court decisions previously discussed in the report.]

Page 304: "The above quotations are taken from the original documents, and are cited as being illustrative of the complete control exercised by the Third International over all factions of the Communist movement in the United States * * *."

Page 312 (see also p. 144): "In the preceding sections of this memorandum, it has been clearly shown that the Communist International is an organization that advocates the overthrow of all so-called capitalistic governments by force and violence and the substitution of a dictatorship of the proletariat which is to be retained until the moment arrives when the Communist state will come into being. In order to carry out this program, Communist parties were formed throughout the different countries of the world and in the United States a section of the Communist International was established in 1919, which adopted a revolutionary program, including as part of the tactics in carrying out such a program the use of force and violence. From 1919 to date the Communist International has directed in the United States the work of the Communist Party which, in 1921, established what it referred to as a legal political party; namely, the Workers' Party of America, but which, from documentary evidence already submitted, is merely another name for the Communist Party of America and which advocates, as did the Communist Party of America, the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence. It has also been shown that there is in existence an illegal apparatus which directs the legal apparatus or the Workers' Party of America

and that the activities of the entire movement are directed and controlled by the Third International at Moscow."

Page 530 (see also 157–158), concluding paragraph of report: "It is believed that the evidence presented by the Department of State at this hearing has conclusively established three facts: First, the essential unity of the Bolshevik organization known as the Communist Party, so-called Soviet Government, and the Communist International, all of which are controlled by a small group of individuals, technically known as the political bureau of the Russian Communist Party. Second, the spiritual and organic connection between this Moscow group and its agent in this country—the American Communist Party and its legal counterpart, the Workers' Party. Not only are these organizations the creation of Moscow, but the latter has also elaborated their program and controlled and supervised their activities. While there may have existed in the United States individuals, and even groups, imbued with Marxist doctrines prior to the advent of the Communist International, the existence of a disciplined party equipped with a program aiming at the overthrow of the institutions of this country by force and violence is due to the intervention of the Bolshevik organizations into the domestic political life of the United States. The essential fact is the existence of an organization in the United States created by and completely subservient to a foreign organization striving to overthrow the existing social and political order of this country. Third, the subversive and pernicious activities of the American Communist Party and the Workers' Party and their subordinate and allied organs in the United States are activities resulting from and flowing out of the program elaborated for them by the Moscow group."

(AUTHOR'S NOTE: This report by Secretary Hughes, formerly United States Supreme Court Justice and later Chief Justice, proved conclusively, as long ago as 1924, that the features of the conspiracy covered by points 1, 2, and 3 of the Ten Points were then officially proven and well and widely known in the United States; based largely on evidence known since 1919–20.)

Secretary of State Lansing's warnings, 1918–20, about the true nature of the Kremlin-headed Boshevist conspiracy

(a) January 2, 1918, letter to President Wilson, "The Lansing Papers," 1914–20, volume II, pages 346, 348 (State Department publication No. 1421):

Page 348: The Bolsheviks in Russia "have set up over a portion of Russia a despotic oligarchy as menancing to liberty as any absolute monarchy on earth, and this they maintain by force and not by the will of the people, which they prevent from expression * * *. Lenin, Trotsky, and their colleagues are so bitterly hostile to the present social order in all countries that I am convinced nothing could be said which would gain their favor or render them amenable to reason."

(b) September 14, 1918, letter from Lansing to [Sisson] the General Director of the foreign section of the [Creel] Committee on Public Information:

This letter was regarding the Sisson report: "The German-Bolshevik Conspiracy;" published in War Information Series No. 20; Government Printing Office, 1918: containing according to Lansing's letter,

"a scathing arraignment of Lenin and Trotsky and the Bolshevik leaders." Lansing warned its publication would infuriate the Bolsheviks.

(c) Report, "Bolshevist Movement in Russia," Senate Document 172, January 5, 1920, transmitted with October 27, 1919, letter from Lansing to Senator Henry Cabot Lodge for information of Senate Foreign Relations Committee:

Page 7: "Character of the Bolshevist Rule":

"1. Dictatorship of the Proletariat" [Bolsheviks' purpose per statement wirelessed by them from Petrograd (Moscow) on January 23, 1919, in a call for First Congress of New Revolutionary International, later called the Third or Communist International]:

" 'The present is a period of destruction and crushing of the capitalist system of the whole world. The aim of the proletariat must now be immediately to conquer power. To conquer power means to destroy the governmental apparatus of the bourgeoisie and to organize a new proletarian governmental apparatus. This new apparatus must express the dictatorship of the proletariat'. * * *."

Page 11: "4. Terror."

Page 11: Discusses: "* * * legalized terror, an instrument in the class war which is a fundamental principle of the Bolshevist doctrine. * * * Recourse is also had to mass terror."

Page 20: "Bolshevist Program of World Revolution":

"1. Bolshevism International, Not National: It is of the essence of the Bolshevist movement that it is international and not national in character. * * * That the Bolsheviks are playing an international game and aim directly at the subversion of all governments is disclosed by the avowed tactics of their foreign policy. * * *"

Page 21: "2. Typical Proclamations: * * * This propaganda emphasizes the development of the revolutionary movement all over the world. * * *"

"3. Communist International": Established in Moscow, March 1919, by the Bolsheviks, appeals "to the toilers of the whole world"—to revolt against their governments.

Appendix contains ample documentation, copies of original Bolshevik regime papers.

Secretary of State Colby's letter August 10, 1920 (from Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1920, vol. III, p. 466)

[To the Italian Ambassador, saying it's impossible to recognize Russia, due to certain facts]:

"These facts, which none dispute, have convinced the Government of the United States, against its will, that the existing regime in Russia is based upon the negation of every principle of honor and good faith, and every usage and convention, underlying the whole structure of international law; the negation, in short, of every principle upon which it is possible to base harmonious and trustful relations, whether of nations or of individuals. The responsible leaders of the regime (p. 467) have frequently and openly boasted that they are willing to sign agreements and undertakings with foreign powers while not having the slightest intention of observing such undertakings or carrying out such agreements * * * [they have declared] * * * that the very existence of Bolshevism in Russia, the maintenance of their

own rule, depends, and must continue to depend, upon the occurrence of revolutions in all other civilized nations, including the United States, which will overthrow and destroy their governments and set up Bolshevik rule in their stead. They have made it quite plain that they intend to use every means, including, of course, diplomatic agencies, to promote such revolutionary movements in other countries * * * the Bolshevist government is itself subject to the control of a political faction, with extensive international ramifications through the Third Internationale, and that this body, which is heavily subsidized by the Bolshevist government from the public revenues of Russia, has for its openly avowed aim the promotion of Bolshevist revolutions throughout the world. The leaders of the Bolsheviki have boasted that their promises of noninterference with other nations would in no wise bind the agents of this body [17] * * * (p. 468) * * * We cannot recognize, hold official relations with, or give friendly reception to the agents of a government which is determined and bound to conspire against our institutions; whose diplomats will be the agitators of dangerous revolt; whose spokesmen say that they sign agreements with no intention of keeping them."

In the same November 20 issue, the Daily Worker had an editorial subheaded thus: "Revolutionary Way Out of Crisis"—and frankly discussed promoting revolution in the United States: "* * * In this country, the Communist Party, section of the Communist International, basing itself on the principles of Lenin and Stalin, will more determinedly than ever strive to win the American workers for the revolutionary way out of the crisis, for the emulation of the Soviet Union and its revolutionary victories * * *." (Daily Worker, New York, November 20, 1933, p. 6.)

See also the editorial, Daily Worker, November 21, again stressing that the Third International was not covered by the promise of the Soviet Government (to refrain from promoting overthrow of the U. S. Government) in the then just signed recognition agreement; basing this stand on the false premise of lack of control by the Soviet Government over the Third International. (Daily Worker, New York, November 21, 1933, p. 6.) The truth, of course, was and is that the same Communist leaders in Moscow control both; and have since 1919 when the Third International was formed.

Note again that the Daily Worker is an official organ of the Kremlin-headed Communist conspiracy.

[17] AUTHOR'S NOTE: This boast—so repugnant to the United States Government in 1920—was exactly in line with what the Russian Government said and did after recognition by the United States in 1933. Within 2 days after announcement of recognition by President Roosevelt and Soviet Ambassador Litvinoff, the latter was asked at a press conference on November 19: "How does your agreement with President Roosevelt on propaganda affect the Third International?" He answered: "The Third International is not mentioned in this (the recognition) document. You must not read more into the document than was intended." (Daily Worker, New York, November 20, 1933, p. 6.)

Secretary of State Hull's note, August 25, 1935, to Soviet Russia, protesting against flagrant violations, by the Seventh All-World Congress of the Communist International, Moscow, 1935, of the 1933 United States-Russia recognition agreement—against subversive activities in the United States, as reported in New York Times, August 26, 1935, and later.

American Communists at the Moscow meeting had reported on subversive activities in the United States by the Communist organization and the resolutions of the Moscow Congress ordered revolutionary activities to be pressed in all capitalist countries. (New York Times, August 26, 1935, pp. 1, 6; August 30, 1935, p. 1).

The Hull note recites the 1933 letter-pledge of the Soviet Government; states that the Communist International operates on territory of that Government and so is known to that Government; that this organization made clear its plans against the Unites States, regarding its internal affairs, through policies and activities of the Communist organization in the United States—decided upon at the Moscow meeting; to be executed by American Communists present at the meeting (and their Communist apparatus in the United States), as was known to both Governments. Hull further stated:

"As I have pointed out to the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs when discussing earlier violations of the undertaking of November 16, 1933, the American people resent most strongly interference by foreign countries in their internal affairs. * * *"

Soviet Government rejected United States protest; denied having any control over, or responsibility for, activities of the Communist International. (New York Times, August 28, 1935, pp. 1, 2.)

President Roosevelt took personal charge of handling the dealings with Soviet Russia; Hull called to the White House. (New York Times, August 29, 1935, pp 1, 2.) (To like effect, see New York Times, September 1, 1935, pp. 1, 2.)

Secretary Hull's statement of August 31, 1935, replying to Russia's answer to the Hull note of August 25 as reported in New York Times, September 1, 1935, pp. 1, 2.

The recent note of this government to the Government of the Soviet Union and the reply of that Government raises the issue whether that Government * * * [in violation of the 1933 agreement] will permit organizations or groups operating on its territory to plan and direct movements contemplating the overthrow of the political or social order of the United States.

"For sixteen years this Government withheld recognition—as did many other governments—mainly for the reason that the Soviet Government had failed to respect the right of this nation to maintain its own political and social order without interference by organizations conducting in or from Soviet territory activities directed against our institutions. * * *"

[In 1933 the United States policy changed on the basis of the pledge mentioned above, Hull said, and then he continued]:

"The essence of this pledge was the obligation assumed by the Soviet Government not to permit persons or groups on its territory to engage in efforts or movements directed toward the overthrow of our institu-

tions * * * [quotes the 1933 agreement] * * *. The language of the above quoted paragraph irrefutably covers the activities of the Communist International, which was then, and still is, the outstanding world Communist organization with headquarters in Moscow * * * [says Soviet Government, in its answer of August 27, in almost so many words repudiates the 1933 pledge].

"Not for a moment denying or questioning the fact of Communist International activities on Soviet territory involving interference in the internal affairs of the United States, the Soviet Government * * * [denies having promised to prevent these activities] * * * that there has been a clear-cut disregard and disavowal of the pledge of the Soviet Government is obvious."

SECTION V

INTERNAL SECURITY ACT OF 1950, TITLE I—SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES CONTROL ACT OF 1950 (U. S. CODE, TITLE 50, "WAR AND NATIONAL DEFENSE," CH. 23, SEC. 781 ET SEQ., PP. 438 ET SEQ.)

NECESSITY FOR LEGISLATION

"SEC. 2. As a result of evidence adduced before various committees of the Senate and House of Representatives, the Congress hereby finds that—

"(1) There exists a world Communist movement which, in its origins, its development, and its present practice, is a world-wide revolutionary movement whose purpose it is, by treachery, deceit, infiltration into other groups (governmental and otherwise), espionage, sabotage, terrorism, and any other means deemed necessary, to establish a Communist totalitarian dictatorship in the countries throughout the world through the medium of a world-wide Communist organization.

"(4) The direction and control of the world Communist movement is vested in and exercised by the Communist dictatorship of a foreign country.

"(5) The Communist dictatorship of such foreign country * * * establishes * * * in various countries, action organizations which are not free and independent organizations, but are sections of a world-wide Communist organization and are controlled, directed, and subject to the discipline of the Communist dictatorship of such foreign country.

"(6) The Communist action organizations so established and utilized in various countries * * * endeavor to carry out the objectives of the world Communist movement by bringing about the overthrow of existing governments by any available means, including force if necessary. * * * Although such organizations usually designate themselves as political parties, they are in fact constituent elements of the world-wide Communist movement and promote the objectives of such movement by conspiratorial and coercive tactics, instead of through the democratic processes * * *.

"(7) * * * such Communist organizations in various countries are organized on a secret, conspiratorial basis * * *. [operate partly through "front" organizations]

"(9) In the United States those individuals who knowingly and willfully participate in the world Communist movement, when they so participate, in effect repudiate their allegiance to the United States, and in effect transfer their allegiance to the foreign country in which is vested the direction and control of the world Communist movement. * * *[18]

[18] AUTHOR'S NOTE: This supports point 3 of the Ten Points. The foreign country referred to above is, of course, Soviet Russia.

"(12) The Communist network in the United States is inspired and controlled in large part by foreign agents * * * [some disguised as diplomatic officials, etc.] * * *

"(15) The Communist movement in the United States is an organization numbering thousands of adherents, rigidly and ruthlessly disciplined. Awaiting and seeking to advance a moment when the United States may be so far extended by foreign engagements, so far divided in counsel, or so far in industrial or financial straits, that overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence may seem possible of achievement, it seeks converts far and wide by an extensive system of schooling and indoctrination. * * * The Communist organization in the United States, pursuing its stated objectives, the recent successes of Communist methods in other countries, and the nature and control of the world Communist movement itself, present a clear and present danger to the security of the United States and to the existence of free American institutions, and make it necessary that Congress, in order to provide for the common defense, to preserve the sovereignty of the United States as an independent nation, and to guarantee to each State a republican form of government, enact appropriate legislation recognizing the existence of such world-wide conspiracy and designed to prevent it from accomplishing its purpose in the United States."

SECTION VI

REFERENCES

A. REFERENCES FOR POINT 1

1. *Dennis et al.* v. *United States* ((1951) 341 U. S. 494); opinion of the Court, page 498; concurring opinion of Justice Jackson, pages 563–4. The Supreme Court here affirmed the decision of the Circuit Court of Appeals ((1950) 183 Fed. (2d) 201), which affirmed the conviction of Communist conspiracy leaders in the celebrated 1949 trial in New York City before Judge Harold Medina. (See quotations hereinbefore.)

2. *American Communications Association, CIO* v. *Douds, Regional Director, National Labor Relations Board* ((1950) 339 U. S. 382); concurring opinion of Justice Jackson, pages 424, 427–428; 431–432. (See quotations hereinbefore.)

3. Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950, being title I of Internal Security Act of 1950; section 2, fact-findings; also see supporting committee hearings and report. (See quotations hereinbefore.)

4. "The Communist Party of the United States as an Agent of a Foreign Power," a 1947 report of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, 80th Cong. 1st sess., House Rept. No. 209.

5. "The Strategy and Tactics of World Communism," a 1948 report of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, especially pages 140–41 quoting Stalin's instructions (to the American Commission of the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International in Moscow, May 6, 1929) to the effect that the Communist organization in the United States must eliminate factionalism, and defining its goals and mission including preparation for revolution in the United States: "* * * forge real revolutionary cadres and a real revolutionary leadership * * *."

6. "Investigation of Communist Propaganda," a 1931 report of the House Special Committee to Investigate Communist Propaganda (Fish, chairman), 71st Cong., 3d sess., House Rept. No. 2290; especially pages, 9–12 giving testimony of William Z. Foster, a longtime leader of the Communist conspiracy; also pages 8–9, 65, 76–77.

7. Daily Worker, New York City, an official organ of the conspiracy, April 2, 1936, stating the conditions of membership in the conspiracy and the members' pledge; quoted hereinbefore under the heading "Daily Worker."

8. 1924 report of Secretary of State Hughes: "Recognition of Russia"—hundreds of pages of documentation (original documents of the conspiracy, in large part)—filed with the Senate Foreign Relations Committee as part of hearings on this subject; especially the conclusions stated at pages 304, 312, 530. (See quotations hereinbefore.)

9. Testimony of Louis F. Budenz, former Communist leader and editor of the Daily Worker; in Hearings, House Committee on Un-

American Activities: Investigation of Un-American Activities in the United States, November 22, 1946; especially pp. 6–14.

10. "Toward Soviet America," by William Z. Foster; published 1932 by Howard McCann Co., New York; especially page 258. Foster is a longtime leader of the Communist conspiracy, as previously stated.

11. See also General References, 1919–52 hereinafter.

B. REFERENCES FOR POINT 2

1. See (A) 1, above, opinion of the Court, pages 498, 510–511; Justice Jackson's opinion, pages 564–565.

2. See (A) 2, above, Justice Jackson's opinion, pages 424–425.

3. See (A) 3, above, section 2 (15); and other references noted.

4. "Report on the Communist Party of the United States as an Advocate of Overthrow of Government by Force and Violence," a 1948 report of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. 80th Cong., 2nd sess., House Rept. No. 1920.

5. "Documentary Proof That the Communist Party, U. S. A., Teaches and Advocates the Overthrow and Destruction of the United States Government by Force and Violence," a 1952 report of Director of the FBI, J. Edgar Hoover, to the Senate Judiciary Committee (McCarran, chairman) sent with a covering letter dated June 25, 1952. 82nd Cong., 2nd sess., Senate Committee print.

6. See (A) 5, above, Stalin's instructions to the American Communists.

7. See (A) 6, above, William Z. Foster's testimony.

8. See (A) 7, above, Daily Worker references cited.

9. See (A) 8, above, Hughes report, references cited and also pages 248–249; 239–240, quoting original (1919) "Manifesto and Program of the Communist Party of America."

10. See (A) 9, above, Budenz testimony, especially page 34.

11. See (A) 10, above, Foster's book: "Toward Soviet America;" especially page 212 et seq.: "The Conquest of Political Power"; page 220: "The Revolutionary Forces in the United States," at page 228, discusses infiltration of the United States Army and Navy; page 268: "The United Soviet States of America."

12. See also "General References, 1919–1952" hereinafter.

C. REFERENCES FOR POINT 3

1. See (A) 2, above, Justice Jackson's opinion, page 427.

2. See (A) 3, above, especially section 2 (9).

3. See (A) 4, above, especially page 9, the conspiracy's pledge of loyalty to Soviet Russia; used in 1935, and afterward.

4. See (A) 6, above, especially William Z. Foster's testimony quoted at page 12.

5. See (A) 7, above, Daily Worker references cited.

6. See (A) 8, above, Hughes report; giving a wealth of documentation bearing out the point about the treasonous character of the conspiracy.

D. REFERENCES FOR POINT 4

1. See (A) 1, above, the Court's opinion, page 498; Justice Jackson's opinion, pages 564–565.

2. See (A) 2, above, Justice Jackson's opinion, pages 424, 431–432.

3. "American Education and International Tensions," a 1949 report of the Educational Policies Commission of the National Education

Association, page 39, regarding the conspiracy's strict discipline of members and their surrender of intellectual integrity; hence members should not be permitted to be teachers, says the report. (See quotation hereinbefore.)

4. See (A) 3, above, section 2 (15) regarding members of the conspiracy being "rigidly and ruthlessly disciplined."

5. See (A) 7 above; also see (A) 6 above, especially page 77, quoting the Communist pledge: "to submit to the discipline of the party and to engage actively in its work."

6. See (B) 4, above, especially pages 80–82: "Communist Discipline."

7. New York (State) Sub-committee Relative to the Public Educational System of the City of New York (known as the Rapp-Coudert Committee) Report, 1942, especially pages 157–159: "The Task of the Teacher-Communists;" and page 265: "The Classroom as a Vehicle for Indoctrination;" and pages 70–71, 159–161, regarding discipline of conspiracy members.

8. Resolutions of the Ninth Convention of the Communist Party of the U. S. A., 1936, page 63, requiring that "* * * all Communists must at all times take a position on every question that is in line with the policies of the Party * * *."

9. The Communist, official organ of the conspiracy, May 1937 issue, article, page 432, entitled "The Schools and the People's Front"; and September 1938 issue, article, page 805, entitled "The Communist Party and the Professionals." (See quotations hereinbefore.) This organ's articles are used as a means of issuing binding instructions to all conspiracy members; per Dodd testimony—see 10 below, and per Budenz testimony—see (A) 9, page 20 of testimony.

10. Testimony of Dr. Bella V. Dodd, March 10, 1953, before Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, she being a former leading conspiracy official in New York City and a Communist teacher. Note her testimony, as quoted hereinbefore, and that she broke finally with the conspiracy in 1949.

11. See (A) 8, above, the Hughes report, page 236, regarding "the iron discipline maintained in every Communist Party," etc.

12. "The Communist Party—A Manual of Organization," July 1935, by J. Peters, a top-rank member of the conspiracy, an underground Moscow emissary in the United States to control the American Communist leaders for some years (see Budenz testimony, p. 13—(A) 9 above); published by the Workers Library Publishers, an official agency of the conspiracy; Preface by Jack Stachel, a leading Communist, who states that the manual is valuable and partly based on resolutions and decisions of the Comintern (Communist International) adopted some 10 years earlier, printed in INPRECOR; International Press Correspondence, volume 6, No. 38. This manual is authoritative in the extreme. It confirms (pp. 23, 104–105) the conditions of membership and the member's pledge (quoted hereinbefore under the heading Daily Worker) and says further: "Our party application carries this declaration: 'The undersigned declares his adherence to the program and statutes of the C. I. and the Communist Party of the U. S. A. and agrees to submit to the discipline of the Party and to engage actively in its work.'" It specifies the numerous schools for members—continuous schooling (p. 109). In closing, the manual states: "Every Communist must become a leader of the workers. Every Communist must know that the party * * * has the mission of

organizing and leading the masses for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, and for the establishment of the new world, a Soviet America."

13. See (A) 9, above, Budenz testimony, especially page 44.

14. " 'Left-Wing' Communism—An Infantile Disorder," 1920, by V. I. Lenin; An Experimental Popular Talk on Marxian Strategy and Tactics. Moscow, Co-operative Publishing Society of Foreign Workers in the U. S. S. R., 1935. Regarding the duty of members, it says (p. 51): "It is necessary to * * * agree to any and every sacrifice, and even—if need be—to resort to all sorts of devices, maneuvers, and illegal methods, to evasion and subterfuge * * * to carry on Communist work * * * at all costs." [Author's comments: Every teacher-member of the conspiracy, like all other members, starts off by practicing this technique of deception when adopting a false name at the behest of the conspiracy, to further its furtive work.] Regarding illegal methods being used, see also pages 62, 96.

The foregoing quotation is from the official Communist pamphlet (copy Library of Congress) which is, in wording, approximately the same as the official English translation of Lenin's Collected Works, vol. X, p. 95, International Publishers, New York, as translated and issued by The Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute, Moscow. A frequently encountered—and a literal and accurate (per Library of Congress authority on the Russian language)—translation of this passage from the Russian language edition of the Collected Works, 3d edition, 1920, vol. 25, p. 198, reads that it is necessary to "* * * use any ruse, cunning, unlawful method, evasion, and concealment of the truth * * *" in promoting the Communist work.

E. REFERENCES FOR POINT 5

1. See (A) 1, above, Chief Justice Vinson's opinion, pages 510–511; Justice Jackson's opinion, pages 572–574.

2. See (A) 2, above, Justice Jackson's opinion, pages 432–433. (See quotations, from the above opinions, hereinbefore.)

F. REFERENCES FOR POINT 6

1. See references under (D), above, especially (D) 3, the NEA report.

2. See references under (C) above, especially (C) 1, Justice Jackson's opinion, pages 424–432.

3. In general, regarding rejection of a citizen's duty, see references under (A), (B), and (C), above.

G. REFERENCES FOR POINT 8

Regarding this point 8, see the discussion hereinbefore under the heading: "The current debate about Communists as teachers." References cited there are sufficient for present purposes.

H. REFERENCES FOR POINT 9

See (D) 3, above, the NEA report and recommendation (p. 39): "Members of the Communist Party of the United States should not be employed as teachers." (See quotations from the report hereinbefore.)

GENERAL REFERENCES, 1919–52

Some material, additional to the foregoing references, supporting points 1 and 2 of the Ten Points, especially; also showing that the true nature of the conspiracy has been officially proven and widely known since 1919:

1. Numerous congressional and State (legislature) hearings on this subject of Bolshevism-Communism in the period 1919–52, including the ones mentioned below as samples and as indicating their frequent occurrence and, therefore, unending official concern in this regard periodically evidenced.

2. Various 1919–20 congressional hearings about Bolshevism, for example:

(a) Senate Judiciary Subcommittee hearings, February 11, March 10, 1919, regarding Bolshevik propaganda, etc.; and report, Senate Document No. 62, 65th Cong., 3rd sess.; discussed at length by Senator Overman, chairman, Congressional Record, June 16, 1919, page 1132 at pages 1140–1147. This report disclosed the true nature of the conspiracy.

(b) Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearings on Ludwig C. A. K. Martens, as the claimed representative in the United States of Soviet Russia; April 14, 1920, 66th Cong., 2nd sess.; subject, Russian Propaganda.

3. 1920 Justice Department publication, by Attorney General Palmer, "Red Radicalism as Described by Its Own Leaders"; with exhibits collected by him (the conspiracy's documents).

4. November 15, 1919, letter from Attorney General Palmer, with a report, in response to Senate Resolution 213, October 17, 1919, requesting the information given in the report on the subject of radical activities.

5. December 3, 1919, memorandum from Secretary of State Lansing to President Wilson, "Policy of the United States Toward the Soviet Government"; in Department of State Papers Relating to Foreign Relations of the United States, 1920, volume III, pages 436–37, describing the Soviet regime as "* * * adventurous revolutionaries, seeking to subvert democratic governments everywhere * * *."

6. Report (memorandum) from Secretary of State Lansing, quoted hereinbefore, entitled "Bolshevist Movement in Russia," with letter of transmittal; presented to the Senate by Senator Henry Cabot Lodge as Senate Document 172, January 5, 1920, 66th Cong., 2nd sess., especially page 20: "Bolshevist Program of World Revolution." Report submitted for information of Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

7. August 10, 1920, letter from Secretary of State Colby to the Italian Ambassador to the United States, explaining why it was impossible for the United States to recognize Soviet Russia. (See quotations hereinbefore.)

8. Lusk Committee Report—Revolutionary Radicalism. New York (State) Legislature Joint Committee Investigating Seditious Activities. 4 v., 1919, 4,450 pages.

9. 1934 McCormack-Dickstein committee (House Special Committee on Un-American Activities) hearings.

10. 1938 Dies committee (House Committee on Un-American Activities) hearings.

11. 1947 Committee on Un-American Activities (House) hearings; Thomas, chairman; especially testimony of Walter Steele, July 21, 1947.

12. 1949 Feinberg law (New York State) against subversives as public officials, as teachers; and related hearings.

13. 1948 State of Washington Joint Legislative Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities (Canwell, chairman), reports and hearings; some 1,000 pages in 2 reports; the second report of some 400 pages pertaining mainly to Communist activities at the University of Washington.

14. California Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activites in California, reports and hearings covering 10 years; also California Senate Investigating Committee on Education, for several years; various reports.

15. 1952 Hearings of the Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act (Senate Committee on the Judiciary); McCarran, chairman; 1953 Hearings, Jenner, chairman.

16. 1919–32 State Department rulings in general against recognition of Soviet Russia, with supporting material.

17. 1933 statements, some formal and lengthy and well documented, from various representative organizations, against recognition of Russia by the United States Government; notably the November 10, 1933, report by the American Federation of Labor, William Green, president, to the President of the United States. It included ample and persuasive evidence of the conspiratorial, subversive, revolutionary character of the Communist conspiracy and its connection with the Kremlin. It was published in 1935 and distributed publicly.

18. August 1935 note of protest of Secretary of State Hull to Soviet Russia—personally approved by President Roosevelt (New York Times, August 26)—warning against continued Communist subversive activities in the United States in violation of the 1933 recognition agreement. See also Hull's subsequent statement of August 31, in reply to Russia's answer (New York Times, September 1, 1935, pp. 1, 2). See quotations hereinbefore.

19. United States departmental rulings in general on this subject, and supporting material, such as:

January 24, 1920, ruling of Secretary of Labor Wilson to the effect that alien Communists are deportable under October 16, 1918, Act by reason solely of membership in the Communist Party due to its advocacy of overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence. U. S. Congress, House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization (Communist and Anarchist Deportation Cases). Hearings, 66th Cong., 2d sess., April 21–24, 1920, pp. 1–3. Also, Wilson's ruling in the same period regarding alien Englebert Preis' membership in the "party," which Wilson concluded, "believes in, teaches, and advocates the overthrow by force and violence of the Government of the United States." (Quoted in the Hughes report; see (A) 8 hereinbefore pp. 241–243.)

May 28, 1942, ruling of Attorney General Biddle, in the Harry Bridges deportation proceedings, page 31, formally recognizing:

"That the Communist Party of the United States of America, from the time of its inception in 1919 to the present time, is an organization that believes in, advises, advocates, and teaches the overthrow by force and violence of the Government of the United States * * *."

(AUTHOR'S NOTE: This was during the war—May 1942. Soon after the ruling by Attorney General Biddle, Mrs Franklin D. Roosevelt wrote a letter, dated August 3, 1942, to a faction leader in the then Communist-dominated American Labor Party (New York) in which she stated, regarding the Communists in that party, that they are "* * * controlled by Russia and Russia's interests. * * * act under the dictates and in the interest of another nation." (New York Times, August 6, 1942, pp. 1, 15).)

November 22, 1950, petition by Attorney General McGrath to the Subversive Activities Control Board regarding the "Communist Party of the United States of America," alleging that it is foreign controlled and a subversive organization; also see the hearings by this Board commencing April 1951—final decision pending at this writing.[19]

20. Testimony of J. Edgar Hoover, Director, FBI, before various committees of Congress over the years; for instance, before the Senate Subcommittee on Appropriations, February 3 and 7, 1950; and before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, March 26, 1947; and before the House Appropriations Subcommittee, February 25, 1953.

21. Pertinent court decisions, Federal and State, 1919–52, providing judicial support for points 1 and 2 of the Ten Points stated at the beginning of this discussion. These include the decisions discussed in the Hughes report—see (A) 8—previously quoted with reference to these decisions, in part. Note again pages 10–13 herein before.

22. 1924 report of the United Mine Workers of America, John L. Lewis, president, entitled "Attempt by Communists to Seize the American Labor Movement." This report was based on a series of widely published newspaper articles issued by the UMW in the period preceding January 3, 1924, when the report was introduced into the United States Senate records as a public document—68th Cong., 1st sess., Senate Doc. 14—by Senator Henry Cabot Lodge. The report presented considerable authoritative material, some documents being original Communist conspiracy items, proving the conspiratorial, revolutionary, subversive character of the conspiracy as well as its Moscow financing and domination. The report also proved the conspiracy's attempt to seize control of unions as part of its broader subversive program, and the ruthless and illegal tactics employed by it. Note that, at page 37, the report forewarned with accuracy of the evils to flow from recognition by the United States of Soviet Russia.

[19] See p. 45, hereinafter, regarding the Board's April 20, 1953, report.

AUTHOR'S CONCLUDING NOTE

This UMW report in early 1924, taken together with the 1924 report of Secretary of State Hughes to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee previously quoted—see (A) 8—left nothing much new to be discovered later, or proved officially, about the conspiracy's tenets, aims, and methods; certainly nothing new in relation to the substance of points 1, 2, and 3 of the Ten Points here under discussion. Practically everything of major consequence about the conspiracy, of interest for present purposes, was thus generally known, officially proven (per the Hughes report), and widely publicized, by 1924; and ever since then wide publicity has periodically been given the subject. The American people as a whole, and teachers in particular, can therefore properly be charged with knowledge of the essential facts as of every year since 1924, if not earlier. From the standpoint of loyalty to country and national security, surely no citizen can justly claim ignorance—sins of omission being in this regard as offensive and inexcusable as sins of commission. It has been proved conclusively, moreover, by the material presented and cited in the preceding pages, that there are no "innocents" in the conspiracy—certainly not with respect to points 1, 2, and 3 of the Ten Points—that there can be no "innocents" because of the extraordinary measures taken by the conspiracy to guard against this very thing, as previously discussed.

The author wishes to call the attention of readers to the fact that his within commendation of the stand of certain organizations and individuals—with respect to the specific particulars discussed, concerning their opposition to the Communist conspiracy—applies solely to these particulars and is not to be construed as having any broader connotation.

SUPPLEMENT

Association of American Universities' statement

"THE RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF UNIVERSITIES AND THEIR FACULTIES"

(Issued March 30, 1953, per New York Times, March 31, pp. 12–13)

Approved and issued by the association on behalf of some thirty members—all presidents of universities—the report was drafted by a committee of five, including Dr. A. Whitney Griswold, president of Yale University, chairman; Dr. Arthur H. Compton, chancellor of Washington University; Dr. Franklin D. Murphy, chancellor of the University of Kansas; Dr. John E. W. Sterling, president of Stanford University; and Dr. Henry W. Wriston, president of Brown University. Those consulted in its preparation included the association's president, vice president and secretary: Dr. H. W. Dodds (president of Princeton University), Dr. J. L. Morrill (president of the University of Minnesota) and Dr. C. E. de Kiewiet (president of the University of Rochester), respectively.

After discussing "I. Role of the University in American Life," and "II. The Nature of a University," the report continued as follows:

"III. The Obligations and Responsibilities of University Faculties

"We must recognize the fact that honest men hold differing opinions. This fundamental truth underlies the assertion and definition of individual rights and freedom in our Bill of Rights. How does it apply to universities? In the eyes of the law, the university scholar has no more and no less freedom than his fellow citizens outside a university. Nonetheless, because of the vital importance of the university to civilization, membership in its society of scholars enhances the prestige of persons admitted to its fellowship after probation and upon the basis of achievement in research and teaching. The university supplies a distinctive forum and, in so doing, strengthens the scholar's voice. When his opinions challenge existing orthodox points of view, his freedom may be more in need of defense than that of men in other professions. The guarantee of tenure to professors of mature and proven scholarship is one such defense. As in the case of judges, tenure protects the scholar against undue economic or political pressures and ensures the continuity of the scholarly process.

"There is a line at which 'freedom' or 'privilege' begins to be qualified by legal 'duty' and 'obligation.' The determination of the line is the function of the legislature and the courts. The ultimate interpretation and application of the First and Fourteenth Amendments are the function of the United States Supreme Court; but every public official is bound by his oath of office to respect and preserve the liberties guaranteed therein. These are not to be determined arbitrarily or by public outcry. The line thus drawn can be changed by legislative and judicial action; it has varied in the past because of prevailing anxieties as well as by reason of 'clear and present' danger. Its location is sub-

ject to, and should receive, criticism, both popular and judicial. However much the location of the line may be criticized, it cannot be disregarded with impunity. Any member of a university who crosses the duly established line is not excused by the fact that he believes the line ill-drawn. When the speech, writing, or other actions of a member of a faculty exceed lawful limits, he is subject to the same penalties as other persons. In addition, he may lose his university status.

"NO ENDORSEMENT OF VIEWS

"Historically the word 'university' is a guarantee of standards. It implies endorsement not of its members' views but of their capability and integrity. Every scholar has an obligation to maintain this reputation. By ill-advised, though not illegal, public acts or utterances he may do serious harm to his profession, his university, to education and to the general welfare. He bears a heavy responsibility to weigh the soundness of his opinions and the manner in which they are expressed. His effectiveness, both as scholar and teacher, is not reduced but enhanced if he has the humility and the wisdom to recognize the fallibility of his own judgment. He should remember that he is as much a layman as anyone else in all fields except those in which he has special competence. Others, both within and without the university, are as free to criticize his opinions as he is free to express them; 'academic freedom' does not include freedom from criticism.

"As in all acts of association, the professor accepts conventions which become morally binding. Above all, he owes his colleagues in the university complete candor and perfect integrity, precluding any kind of clandestine or conspiratorial activities. He owes equal candor to the public. If he is called upon to answer for his convictions, it is his duty as a citizen to speak out. It is even more definitely his duty as a professor. Refusal to do so, on whatever legal grounds, cannot fail to reflect upon a profession that claims for itself the fullest freedom to speak and the maximum protection of that freedom available in our society. In this respect, invocation of the Fifth Amendment places upon a professor a heavy burden of proof of his fitness to hold a teaching position and lays upon his university an obligation to re-examine his qualifications for membership in its society.

"In all universities faculties exercise wide authority in internal affairs. The greater their autonomy, the greater their share of responsibility to the public. They must maintain the highest standards and exercise the utmost wisdom in appointments and promotions. They must accept their share of responsibility for the discipline of those who fall short in the discharge of their academic trust.

"The universities owe their existence to legislative acts and public charters. A State university exists by constitutional and legislative acts, an endowed university enjoys its independence by franchise from the State and by custom. The State university is supported by public funds. The endowed university is benefited by tax exemptions. Such benefits are conferred upon the universities not as favors, but in furtherance of the public interest. They carry with them public obligation of direct concern to the faculties of the universities as well as to the governing boards.

"Legislative bodies from time to time may scrutinize these benefits and privileges. It is clearly the duty of universities and their mem-

bers to cooperate in official inquiries directed to those ends. When the powers of legislative inquiry are abused, the remedy does not lie in non-cooperation or defiance; it is to be sought through the normal channels of informed public opinion.

"IV. THE PRESENT DANGER

"We have set forth the nature and function of the university. We have outlined its rights and responsibilities and those of its faculties. What are the implications for current anxiety over Russian Communism and the subversive activities connected with it?

"We condemn Russian Communism as we condemn every form of totalitarianism. We share the profound concern of the American people at the existence of an international conspiracy whose goal is the destruction of our cherished institutions. The police state would be the death of our universities, as of our Government. Three of its principles in particular are abhorrent to us: the fomenting of world-wide revolution as a step to seizing power; the use of falsehood and deceit as normal means of persuasion; thought control—the dictation of doctrines which must be accepted and taught by all party members. Under these principles, no scholar could adequately disseminate knowledge or pursue investigations in the effort to make further progress toward truth.

"Appointment to a university position and retention after appointment require not only professional competence but involve the affirmative obligation of being diligent and loyal in citizenship. Above all, a scholar must have integrity and independence. This renders impossible adherence to such a regime as that of Russia and its satellites. No person who accepts or advocates such principles and methods has any place in a university. Since present membership in the Communist Party requires the acceptance of these principles and methods, such membership extinguishes the right to a university position. Moreover, if an instructor follows communistic practice by becoming a propagandist for one opinion, adopting a 'party line,' silencing criticism or impairing freedom of thought and expression in his classroom, he forfeits not only all university support but his right to membership in the university.

" 'Academic freedom' is not a shield for those who break the law. Universities must cooperate fully with law-enforcement officers whose duty requires them to prosecute those charged with offenses. Under a well-established American principle, their innocence is to be assumed until they have been convicted, under due process, in a court of proper jurisdiction.

"Unless a faculty member violates a law, however, his discipline or discharge is a university responsibility and should not be assumed by political authority. Discipline on the basis of irresponsible accusations or suspicion can never be condoned. It is as damaging to the public welfare as it is to academic integrity. The university is competent to establish a tribunal to determine the facts and fairly judge the nature and degree of any trespass upon academic integrity, as well as to determine the penalty such trespass merits.

"As the professor is entitled to no special privileges in law, so also he should be subject to no special discrimination. Universities are bound to deprecate special loyalty tests which are applied to their

faculties but to which others are not subjected. Such discrimination does harm to the individual and even greater harm to his university and the whole cause of education by destroying faith in the ideals of university scholarship.

"V. Conclusion

"Finally, we assert that freedom of thought and speech is vital to the maintenance of the American system and is essential to the general welfare. Condemnation of Communism and its protagonists is not to be interpreted as readiness to curb social, political, or economic investigation and research. To insist upon complete conformity to current beliefs and practices would do infinite harm to the principle of freedom, which is the greatest, the central, American doctrine. Fidelity to that principle has made it possible for the universities of America to confer great benefits upon our society and our country. Adherence to that principle is the only guarantee that the nation may continue to enjoy those benefits."

Other members of the association, all of whom have approved the report, are:

Lee A. DuBridge, president, California Institute of Technology;
The Rev. Patrick J. McCormick, rector, Catholic University of America;
Howard B. Jefferson, president, Clark University;
Grayson Kirk, president, Columbia University;
Deane W. Malott, president, Cornell University;
A. Hollis Edens, president, Duke University;
Paul H. Bush, chairman of the administrative committee, Harvard University;
Herman B. Wells, president, Indiana University;
D. W. Bronk, president, Johns Hopkins University;
F. Cyril James, principal, McGill University;
J. R. Killian, Jr., president, Massachusetts Institute of Technology;
J. Roscoe Miller, president, Northwestern University;
Howard L. Bevis, president, Ohio State University;
Virgil M. Hancher, president, State University of Iowa;
Robert G. Sproul, president, University of California;
Lawrence A. Kimpton, chancellor, University of Chicago;
George D. Stoddard, president, University of Illinois;
Harlan H. Hatcher, president, University of Michigan;
F. A. Middlebush, president, University of Missouri;
R. G. Gustavson, chancellor, University of Nebraska;
Henry T. Heald, chancellor, New York University;
Gordon Gray, president, University of North Carolina;
William H. DuBarry, acting president, University of Pennsylvania;
James P. Hart, chancellor, University of Texas;
Sidney E. Smith, president, University of Toronto;
Bennett Harvie Branscomb, chancellor, Vanderbilt University;
Colgate W. Darden, Jr., president, University of Virginia;
Edwin B. Fred, president, University of Wisconsin;
Henry B. Schmitz, president, University of Washington.

REPORT OF SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES CONTROL BOARD, APRIL 20, 1953: (83D CONG., 1ST SESS., SENATE DOC. 41)

This report was based on a record compiled in hearings extending from April 23, 1951 to July 1, 1952, in the matter of *Herbert Brownell, Jr., Attorney General of the United States, Petitioner* v. *The Communist Party of the United States of America, Respondent.* [Initiated by Attorney General McGrath.]

The report concluded with the finding that: "* * * the Communist Party of the United States is a Communist-action organization and required to register as such with the Attorney General of the United States under section 7 of the act" [referring to the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950]. (P. 132.)

The report, comprising some 138 pages of detailed summary of evidence and subsidiary conclusions based thereon, closed with this "conclusion" in part:

"The evidence in this proceeding discloses the history and activities of the Communist Party of the United States (Respondent herein) over the period of its entire existence. From its inception in 1919, it has been a subsidiary and puppet of the Soviet Union.

"Since the late 1930's, when it was faced with adverse legislation, Respondent has become increasingly diligent and resourceful in its efforts to appear as a domestic political party while continuing its subservience to the Soviet Union. Many of its practices were contrived to conceal its revolutionary objectives. * * *

"It is so innate in Respondent's nature that it seek and accept Soviet Union direction and control that, in actuality, it does not function as the purely domestic political party whose role it would, de jure, assume. Rather, nurtured by the Soviet Union, it labors unstintingly to advance the world Communist movement.

"With consummate patience, the Party strives for the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat in the United States; a goal which would rob the American people of the freedoms they have forged. While using the cloak of the United States Constitution, it struggles unremittingly to synthesize from the complexities of our time a condition in this country which would enable it to shackle our institutions and preside over a Soviet America, under the hegemony of the Soviet Union.

"Upon the overwhelming weight of the evidence in this proceeding, we find that Respondent is substantially directed, dominated, and controlled by the Soviet Union, which controls the world Communist movement referred to in Section 2 of the Act; and that the Respondent operates primarily to advance the objectives of such world Communist movement.

"Accordingly, we find that the Communist Party of the United States is a Communist-action organization and required to register as such with the Attorney General of the United States under section 7 of the Act * * *"

THE LUMPKIN TESTIMONY

The shocking testimony of Grace Lumpkin on April 2, 1953, before the Senate Permanent Investigations Subcommittee (Senator McCarthy, chairman), merits special mention because it shows the depth of degradation to which the Communist conspiracy can bring its members.

This woman of 60, of sound American family background—a sister of former United States Senator Alva Lumpkin, of South Carolina—admitted that in the 1930's, while she was an active supporter of the Communist conspiracy and subject to its discipline, she acquiesced in the murder by the conspiracy's agent of one of its prominent members, Juliet Poyntz, in 1937. This murder was perpetrated as part of the iron discipline of the conspiracy—to punish Juliet Poyntz for trying to break with the conspiracy after years of active work with it in the New York City schools.

When the conspiracy's leaders decided that the murder should be carried out, Miss Lumpkin gave silent assent because—she testified—she was under the conspiracy's rigid discipline. Shortly after this decision was reached, she said, a member of the Soviet Union's secret police arrived in New York; and Juliet Poyntz disappeared suddenly and inexplicably—a fact which caused a furor at the time, as press accounts make clear. (See report of Lumpkin testimony and additional statement in Washington Times-Herald, April 3, 1953, p. 3.)

Miss Lumpkin made these further observations, in her testimony, which are of special interest and value—speaking as one who broke with the conspiracy in 1941 and has been working ever since to rid herself of the conspiracy's corrupting influence—working during these years as a worker in the Episcopal Church:

"I want to say why it is good for me to be here. I felt when I went back to the church in 1941 that it was the end of this whole thing. But it took me years to get rid of the corrupting influence that teaches that lies do not matter and that you have to give your consent to murder. I believe that a committee like this is imperative because the country needs to have this thing cleared up here and abroad."

REBECCA WEST ARTICLE: "McCARTHYISM"

This famous English writer's articles in an English newspaper, republished in U. S. News & World Report, May 22, 1953, p. 79, exposed brilliantly the fallacies and falsities—the unsoundness—involved in the use of this term "McCarthyism" as an attack on those who expose Communists and their conspiracy's evil operations. Of special interest for present purposes is her discussion of how the American woman, Elizabeth Bentley—confessed and reformed Communist and author of "Out of Bondage" revealing her experiences as a Communist—was involved in the conspiracy's murder operations, mainly due to her love for the Communist leader, Golos. This supplements strikingly the Lumpkin testimony on this subject of involvement in the conspiracy's murders—how low it brings members. The lengthy West article said in part:

"* * * But Elizabeth Bentley's book, 'Out of Bondage,' shows that this highly respectable woman was brought into contact with repulsive crimes simply by her membership of the American Communist Party. Through the Soviet secret police man who was her Mr. Right, she was involved with the two Mexicans who murdered Robert Sheldon Hart, a young American who had gone to Mexico City as a volunteer to serve as one of Trotsky's bodyguards. * * * [regarding Trotsky's attempted murder] * * * it seemed to the orthodox Stalinists after that attempt that he knew too much, and he was decoyed to a lonely cottage and shot while he lay sleeping.

"Later the pitiless Mr. Right helped to arrange the attempt to murder Trotsky which was successful. This time a trusted woman member of the American Communist underground set herself to win the friendship of a Brooklyn girl, a social worker and Trotskyite. She accompanied her to Paris, where she introduced her to a young man who was not only a professional revolutionary but the son of a professional revolutionary. There was nothing idealistic or spontaneous about his war with society; it was the way his family earned its living. Deceiving the Brooklyn girl about his origin and his political sympathies, he pretended to fall in love with her. Later he traveled to Mexico, where through her influence he gained admittance to Trotsky's home. When he had won Trotsky's confidence he presented him with an essay he had written, and asked him for his opinion on it. As the old man bent over the paper he smashed in his brain-pan with an ice ax.

"It is not a matter for complacence that many educated people should blame a woman [Elizabeth Bentley] for going to the police when she found herself involved in such squalor and helping them to take steps to prevent others from suffering a like degradation.

"Nor is it a matter for complacency that many educated people should be unperturbed by such nauseating events when they are revealed by the investigating committees, but are moved to protest by relatively unimportant flaws in investigatory manners. * * *

"Part of the time [of the investigating congressional committee] was given to the story of the Brooklyn girl, the rest to the story of an unsuccessful attempt to organize the escape of Trotsky's murderer from his Mexican prison, said to have been planned by nine residents in New York, all of whom refused to co-operate with the committee in their evidence. Some of these nine persons were highly educated. Five were or had been employed by the New York Board of Education, four as teachers and one as a school clerk. * * *"

Unspeakable is the only word to describe the degradation to which the conspiracy brings its members, including women members, including teachers: involvement in betrayal of country, betrayal of the teaching profession, betrayal of civilization itself through complicity in murder and other great sins of omission or commission.

○

[redacted]

MAILED
JUL 26 1955
NAME CHECK

Sidney Hook

July 25, 1955

SIDNEY HOOK
Born: December 20, 1902
New York, New York

Summary

Dr. Hook was the subject of a security-type investigation conducted by this Bureau during 1944. Attached hereto is one copy each of two reports reflecting the results of that investigation.

In addition to the data set out in attached reports, our files show the following information concerning Dr. Hook:

An article in the "New York Journal American," dated March 24, 1949, reported that Dr. Hook was the head of an anti-Communist organization, Americans for Intellectual Freedom.

A news item in "The Times Record," of Troy, New York, for April 15, 1950, reported a speech given by Dr. Hook in which he stated that Communists should not be allowed to teach in the schools of the United States.

On September 25, 1953, Louis F. Budenz, a former Communist Party functionary, advised that in 1933 or 1934, he had been told by Sidney Hook that he, Hook, had induced another individual to join the Communist Party. Dr. Hook was interviewed by Agents of this Bureau on December 22, 1953. At that time Dr. Hook stated that he had never been a member of the Communist Party and that he did not know the individual mentioned by Budenz to be a Communist Party member.

In June, 1954, a source of unknown reliability, who was acquainted with Carrie Hook Carroll, first wife of Dr. Hook, advised that Mrs. Carroll had told him that she married Dr. Hook under the impression that he was a Communist. However, after the marriage she discovered him to be a Trotskyite and divorced him.

100-176573-12

100-176573-1f

Enclosures (2)

RECORDED - 4
INDEXED - 4

Orig. to: G-2
Req. Rec'd: 7-6-55
[redacted]: jak
(4)

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

b6
b7C

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

4-22 (6-15-55)
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Records Section

_____, 1955

- ☐ Name Check Unit - Room 6523
- ☐ Attention _____
- ☐ Service Unit - Room 6524
- ☐ Forward to File Review
- ☐ Return to _____ Ext. _____

Supervisor _____
Room _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-13-91 BY 1565 SP1 tf 282, 283

- ☐ All References
- ☑ Subversive References
- ☐ Main _____ References Only
- ☐ Restrict to Locality of _____
- ☐ Breakdown ☐ Buildup ☐ Variations
- ☐ Exact Name Only
- ☐ Exact Spelling
- ☐ Check for Alphabetical Loyalty Form

JUL 16 1955

SUBJECT Hook, Sidney
Address _____

Localities _____
Birthdate & Place _____

DEADLINE

R# 323 Date JUL 21 1955 Searcher Initial 204

250

FILE NUMBER	SERIAL
STD Num 100-176573 (Num. 28-5)	
I 100-176573	I
~~I Ho-13660~~	
NCO 100-115040-3 (Num. 3-10-54)	
LT 100-176573-12 (Num. 2-8-55)	
I 7 (Num. 12-27-52)	
~~I Ho-13660-5~~ (Num. 10-27-42)	
I 105-34578-1	
~~Ho~~ 62-100567-16, 11, 15, 17	
~~Ho~~ 100-412504-1	
~~Ho~~ 100-6325-2	
141-0-6 (NY Times Magazine, 1-30-55	
Author of "The Meaning of Marx"	
(a symposium) Bureau Library	
Author of "Towards the Understanding	
of Karl Marx" Bureau Library	
Author of "Reason, Social	
myths and Democracy"	
Bureau Library	

CONFIDENTIAL

May 25, 1956

MAILED
MAY 29 1956
NAME CHECK

SIDNEY HOOK
Born: December 20, 1902
New York, New York

Dr. Hook was the subject of a security-type investigation conducted by this Bureau during 1944. Reports of that investigation were furnished to your agency on November 2, 1950.

In addition to the data set out in those reports, our files show the following information concerning Dr. Hook:

An article in the "New York Journal American," dated March 24, 1949, reported that Dr. Hook was the head of an anticommunist organization, Americans for Intellectual Freedom.

A news item in "The Times Record," of Troy, New York, for April 15, 1950, reported a speech given by Dr. Hook in which he stated that communists should not be allowed to teach in the schools of the United States.

On September 25, 1953, Louis F. Budenz, a former Communist Party functionary, advised that in 1933 or 1934, he had been told by Sidney Hook that he, Hook, had induced another individual to join the Communist Party. Dr. Hook was interviewed by Agents of this Bureau on December 22, 1953. At that time Dr. Hook stated that he had never been a member of the Communist Party and that he did not know the individual mentioned by Budenz to be a Communist Party member.

In June, 1954, a confidential source, an individual who was acquainted with Carrie Hook Carroll, first wife of Dr. Hook, advised that Mrs. Carroll had told him that she married Dr. Hook under the impression that he was a communist. However, after the marriage she discovered him to be a Trotskyite and divorced him.

DECLASSIFIED ON 12-18-81
BY 1545 SOP/lf
292,363

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

Orig. and one to [redacted]
Req rec'd: 5/2/56
[redacted]
(4)

RECORDED-11
INDEXED-11

15

b2
b6
b7C

JUN 5 1956

[redacted]

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

Enclosures (2)

[redacted]

4-22b (11-23-55)

SEARCH SLIP

Subj: Sidney Mook

Searcher

R# 639 Date 5-2 Number 8-60

MAY 4 1956

FILE NUMBER SERIAL

cond	UTD Summary 5-25-55	
L	100-176573	I
cond	L 40-13660	I
W	100-115040-3	Summ 3-10-54
cond	L 100-176573-12	Summ 2-8-55
cont.	L 100-176573-14	Summary 7-25-55
cond	L 100-176573-7	Summary 12-29-52
SL	40-13660-5	Summary 10-27-42
cont.	L 100-326732-25	19
SL	100-397697-338	326
SL	100-44620-53	
SL	100-381523-54	
	Mio Sidney Mook	
cond	L 100-326732	
SL	100-412504-1	

MAY 7 1956

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-13-91 BY 15658 DPL/etp

282,343

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nichols

DATE: July 15, 1957

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: "COMMON SENSE AND THE FIFTH AMENDMENT" BY SIDNEY HOOK (BOOK REVIEW)

Tolson
Nichols
Boardman
Belmont
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Trotter
Nease
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-13-91 BY 15458 DMH/tp 282.363

PURPOSE:

To set forth salient impressions and observations concerning captioned book.

THE AUTHOR:

Dr. Sidney Hook is a Professor of Philosophy at New York University. He is also Chairman of the Graduate Department of Philosophy at that University, and an organizer of the Conference on Methods in Philosophy and Science, and of the Congress for Cultural Freedom. Author of many books on philosophy and education, he is a frequent contributor to the New York Times Magazine, Partisan Review, Commentary, and New Leader. In 1945 he was awarded the Butler Silver Medal by Columbia University for distinction in philosophy.

THE BOOK:

"Common Sense and the Fifth Amendment" is, in effect, Dr. Hook's reflective criticism and commentary on a previous work on this subject written by Dean Erwin N. Griswold, of the Harvard Law School, in 1955, which was titled "The Fifth Amendment Today." In this latter work, Dean Griswold held that the privilege against self-incrimination is "one of the great landmarks in man's struggle to make himself civilized"; that this privilege has been "a protection for freedom of thought," and that recourse to it is by no means the equivalent of admission of guilt.

Dr. Hook, however, argues that on logical, psychological, ethical, and other grounds, use of the privilege establishes a fair but not necessarily determining presumption of guilt on the part of the man who uses it. He does not, however, insist that all who take refuge in the Fifth Amendment are self-convicted, nor would he abolish the privilege.

57 AUG 2 1957

Enclosure See detached F-401

RECORDED - 14

INDEXED - 14

COPIES DESTROYED

27 NOV 5 1974

7 JUL 23 1957

CRIME REC.

CFM:pwl
(7) cc Mr. Nichols
cc Mr. Boardman

The author, in five chapters, develops the thesis that common sense and logic suggest guilt on the part of witnesses who resort to the Fifth Amendment. He also recognizes other aspects of the situation, however, warning that we must guard "both against the view that no reasonable judgment of presumptive guilt or unfitness can be made in cases where the privilege is invoked, and against the view that such judgments justify automatic action."

REFERENCES TO THE FBI

Dr. Hook makes just three references to the FBI. These all have a favorable connotation, and appear as follows:

(P. 80) In discussing the non-existence of Constitutional or moral rights of any individual to any specific employment, Dr. Hook writes that this also includes communists, and that "Only political lunatics would say that members of the Communist Party as such should have the same right to work in atomic energy research plants, in the F.B.I., or C.I.A. as members of other political parties as such."

(P. 138) "There are some individuals subpoenaed by Congressional committees who say that they will answer truthfully all questions about their involvement in the Communist Party or Communist front organizations provided they are not asked to give the name of others either privately or even to the FBI; otherwise they threaten to invoke the privilege in reply to all questions of this kind. They are always refused by the investigating committees; whereupon they usually take the privilege...."

(P. 140) In discussing some criticisms of Congressional investigating committees investigating communism, Dr. Hook writes "Their blunderbuss efforts have been contrasted with the quiet and efficient work of the F. B. I. It has been asserted that they have really usurped what are or should be the legitimate functions of the F.B.I.. The record shows, however, that the Director of the F.B.I. has paid the highest tribute to these committees and their contributions. This testimony may not be altogether persuasive; but it cannot be ignored, particularly by those who regard the F.B.I. as the watchdog against conspiracy."

RECOMMENDATION:

None. There is attached a chapter by chapter analysis of the book.

Chapter I: "Logic and the Fifth Amendment"

Dr. Hook devotes considerable effort in developing the idea that a full understanding of the meaning and scope of the provision in the Fifth Amendment against self-incrimination requires adequate reference to the various decisions of the U. S. Supreme Court and its interpretations of the wording of the original provision. Hook points out that the Supreme Court, for example, has interpreted the original phrase "....in any criminal case..." as applying in non-criminal court proceedings as well. Although clearly stating the phrase "...to be a witness against himself...", the provision, according to Hook, has been interpreted by the courts to permit the refusal of a witness to answer any question, the truthful answer to which might furnish "a link in the chain of evidence" required for prosecution under some criminal statute. The courts likewise have held that no witness is required to state the ground on which he believes his answer to a question might be self-incriminating, since he could not state the ground without running the risk of incriminating himself. The courts have further ruled, says Hook, that the privilege of the witness also extends to questions in which by common agreement his answer could not possibly incriminate him, -- provided those questions are in a field or about a subject which could give rise to questions, answers to which would be self-incriminating. Thus, Hook points out, the comprehensiveness of the self-incriminatory clause of the Fifth Amendment depends, in the final analysis, upon how justices of the Supreme Court interpret it in the future.

Holding that the wisdom and justice of the privilege against self-incrimination are far less evident than most of the rights and privileges of the Bill of Rights, Dr. Hook points out that this privilege is singularly not found in Roman law, canon law, in Magna Charta, the English Bill of Rights or the Petition of Right, the Declaration of Independence, or the French Declaration of the Rights of Man, and asserts that there is actually an obvious need for a defense of the privilege against self-incrimination. Even Dean Griswold, he writes, recognizes that there is something curiously unsatisfactory in the character of the justifications previously offered in behalf of this privilege, which Griswold regards as "a symbol of our moral striving."

In this chapter Dr. Hook also refers to a pertinent conclusion of [redacted] based on common sense, that there is a general psychological b6 b7C connection between innocence and truthfulness, and between guilt and delinquency, in giving honest and candid answers to relevant questions. An innocent man normally protests his innocence. He normally does not refuse to answer on the ground that a truthful answer would tend to incriminate him, but on some other

ground. That, writes Hook, is why the invocation of the privilege always gives rise to some legitimate presumption, weak or strong, depending upon the attendant circumstances and evidence, but nonetheless a presumption of guilt, with respect either to the specific question or to the class of related questions to which answers are refused. Dr. Hook decries the fact that this view is denied by Dean Griswold and others, and, more unfortunately, by some Supreme Court justices. He then analyzes the logic of the arguments of those who oppose this view, and pinpoints the major problem by concluding that, while Dean Griswold is undoubtedly correct in asserting ~~that~~ the vulgar jump from an inference or presumption of guilt to an automatic conclusion of guilt, it is precisely those who are not vulgar, especially many sophisticated liberals who have read Griswold's book, who seize upon hypothetical cases discussed, blandly generalize, and overlook what Griswold himself now regards as a commonplace.

Chapter 2: "Psychology and the Fifth Amendment"

Dr. Hook, in pondering the legitimate presumption of guilt on the part of those who claim the privilege of this provision of the Fifth Amendment, sees justification therefor in our knowledge of the behavior of human beings who are innocent in contradistinction to what we know of those who are guilty. In this he finds support in the writings of [redacted] who, on considering five comprehensive classes of reasons advanced for granting the privilege, rejects all of them on various grounds. b6 b7C

While the self-incriminatory provision of the Fifth Amendment is often described as a shield for the innocent as well as a shelter for the guilty, Dr. Hook points out, it is a very good shelter for the guilty because it suppresses evidence of guilt, but a rather poor shield for the innocent, because of the presumption of guilt which invariably attends its use "wherever common sense has not abdicated".

He also indicates that the psychological tendency to draw an adverse inference from the invocation of the privilege, while not innate, has been acquired as a result of experience, and is so strong that it might today be characterized as natural or normal.

Dr. Hook also holds that, unless there existed immunity laws which make it possible to receive relevant and truthful information in cases involving murder, kidnaping, and treason, in exchange for immunity from prosecution on the basis of that information, retention of the privilege against self-incrimination in an unqualified way could scarcely be morally upheld. He also cites legal recognition of both the right to speak and the right to withhold speech, but holds that no law worthy of approval by reflective moral judgment can make either right absolute.

Thus, he feels, when the security of the country is at stake, or the life and death of other individuals is concerned, personal legal immunity from the consequences of his own truthful testimony is all that an individual can reasonably expect.

Chapter 3: "Ethics and the Fifth Amendment".

Here Dr. Hook reaches the core of his feelings concerning public discussion of the privilege against self-incrimination, which has centered not so much around the legal justification of the Fifth Amendment but the moral implications of its invocation. He reasons that popular discomfiture at the invocation of the Fifth Amendment can be explained as a consequence of the fact that the actions inquired about pose a moral issue.

Recognizing the interchange of the terms "right" and "privilege" with regard to this provision of the Fifth Amendment, Dr. Hook maintains that, from an ethical standpoint, we are here dealing with a "privilege" rather than a "right," because of the general reasonableness of requiring testimony if we wish to develop a system of just law.

The great moral issue that has arisen over the Fifth Amendment, says Dr. Hook, is not whether its invocation is legally justified, but over the inferences from its use that may be legitimately drawn outside the legal context, particularly with reference to eligibility for employment. He points out that, while anyone may keep out of jail by invoking the privilege against self-incrimination, there are many posts which may legitimately require standards of conduct higher than those sufficient to keep out of a jail. Nevertheless, despite his awareness of this situation, Dr. Hook feels that an automatic inference from the presumptive evidence of unfitness to a justified conclusion of ineligibility is not warranted, without a hearing to ascertain that the individual is aware of the choice he is making and its probable consequences.

The author then deals rather extensively with use of the privilege against self-incrimination by "sensitive" civil employees, and by teachers, and educators generally, highlighting the [redacted] case, and various measures of control by municipal employing agencies against those who resort injudiciously to this privilege. With regard to educators, he points out that the American Association of University Professors, zealous guardian of the rights of teachers, acknowledges that the mere invocation of the privilege is sufficiently compromising to justify inquiry into the good faith of a teacher. b6 b7C

Dr. Hook also observes that the individual who invokes the Fifth Amendment in order not to incriminate others is invoking it illegally, and, if aware of the fact, perjuriously. He cites, as typical of this use of the privilege,

the good party member, who is guided in shielding fellow party members from incrimination not so much by personal loyalty to his friends as by Party directive to obstruct investigation by any means.

Our sense of justice, -- individual and social, -- says Dr. Hook, is at times offended by the extreme views in the matter, that no reasonable judgment of presumptive guilt or unfitness can be made in cases where this privilege is invoked, or that such judgment justifies automatic action, and a mode of procedure is indicated which is more reasonable and more just than the alternatives of automatic dismissal from a post or no action at all.

Chapter 4: "Politics and the Fifth Amendment"

In this chapter the author, continuing his analysis of current evaluations of the Fifth Amendment and public reaction toward those who have invoked its privilege against self-incrimination, concludes that politics, (the Kefauver Committee, House and Senate Investigating Committees, et al) has undoubtedly played a notable role in the matter. He then points out certain contrasting attitudes on this question over the past twenty-five years, even on the part of a single individual, and cites specifically the development of an extremely liberal point of view on this subject on the part of no less a figure then Mr. Justice Black, of the Supreme Court, who, as a U. S. Senator in 1936 reflected a much more conservative view.

The major political parties, says Dr. Hook, have made of communism and communist penetration a political football in domestic politics, and in an attempt to retrieve the errors of the past, went to extreme and unnecessary lengths in establishing "a faulty security program." Thereafter, "a highly vocal and influential group of ritualistic liberals," seizing upon the excesses of the security program, in agitating for the elimination of any kind of security program and a curbing of all investigations of communist penetration, has made itself heard in discussions about the Fifth Amendment.

Dr. Hook decries what he terms "Fervent and impassioned" defense, notably recently, of this Amendment "in the name of Freedom." He also indicates that some newspaper editorials have lionized those who have invoked it.

Dr. Hook, noting a tendency to see high moral significance, not in invoking the privilege, but in permitting it to be invoked, analyzes Dean Griswold's justification of this, and develops the thesis that this justification is without the claimed historical basis, insofar as relevancy is concerned.

The fundamental political reason for the fervent defense of the existence and the invocation of the Fifth Amendment, according to Hook, is that many worthy people visioned it as a weapon against various legislators who aroused their ire. He claims, however, that independent evidence shows that almost all who invoked the privilege before various committees were present or former members of the communist party. Defenders of the liberal tradition, he maintains, fell into the trap of appearing to condone defiance of Congressional inquiries, not by heretics and civil-libertarians, but by communist party members officially instructed concerning their behavior before any judicial body.

Hook attributes the wholesale resort to the Fifth Amendment today by communists to their reluctance to tell the truth about their conspiracy, coupled with their fear of prosecution for perjury, which suggests only the alternative, to them, of the Fifth Amendment. He blames the late Senator McCarthy's monopolization of the role of leading anti-communist, with his extremism and irresponsibility, as being responsible for a communist propaganda campaign of martyrdom and an attitude of fanatical and unreasoning suspicion of all anti-communists in some liberal quarters.

In summation, Dr. Hook states that the privilege against self-incrimination is a procedural principle not strictly necessary for due process of law or for the determination of justice. He feels that, while not in the past a symbol of the dignity of the individual vs. the unlimited power of the state, it can today be legitimately considered such. He regards it also as a much more secure shelter for the guilty than a trustworthy shield for the innocent. Judicial determination, he feels, must make clearer than it has to date, that there is both a legitimate and an illegitimate use of the privilege, and that its conscious illegitimate use is as much a form of perjury as lying under oath. He points out that the tendency of judicial opinion in the last few years has been to countenance the use of the privilege, even in cases where there was not the remotest danger of self-incrimination, and that this tendency, if continued, may in time result in invocation of the privilege by witnesses who may then refuse to answer any question which they find inconvenient to answer, for any reason whatsoever. Fear of condemnation by the robust common sense of public opinion, rather than fear of judicial punishment, argues Hook, prevents witnesses today from taking greater advantage of the unjustifiable latitude of recent judicial decisions and withholding answers which are not in the least self-incriminatory, though perhaps personally embarrassing. Thus Hook discreetly suggests that judges refer to [redacted] and the major decisions preceding Blau vs. U.S. rather than to Dean Griswold and [redacted] in order to have a determination based strictly on the facts alone as to proper justification for the invocation of the privilege, rather than the anticipation of the witness, as to whether his answer would "reveal a link in the chain of evidence."

b6
b7C

Finally, Hook states, the issues surrounding the Fifth Amendment can and should be grasped without political parti pris. In the debate, it is not necessary, communists aside, to impugn anyone's patriotism or integrity or devotion to liberal values; the issues are resolvable by common sense, just as we employ this in our daily affairs.

Chapter 5: "The Individual and the Fifth Amendment"

In the interest of justice in the individual case, the test of all law, and certainly among the foremost aims of any humanistic system of law, particularly of the Anglo-American tradition, -- we try, in applying a rule intelligently, to make provision for the exceptional case or circumstance in which application of the rule would result in undesirable and unjust results, writes Hook; although the law cannot attempt to see men as God sees them, there is always a better and worse human way of seeing men. Temperament, intellect, education, the internal character of an act, the actual consciousness of the individual -- all these and more may be part of the relevant complexities of an action, in addition to its consequences.

However, he maintains, any procedural principle which improves the prospects of justice for the individual should be strongly approved and defended against criticism. He then questions whether the privilege against self-incrimination enables us to do justice to the individual, providing perhaps an additional reason for its retention. The truth is, writes Hook, that respect for the privilege and its desirability has no special connection with the desire to do justice in the individual case, flows from an entirely different set of considerations, as evidenced by the fact that the privilege against self-incrimination, for example, is a shelter for the guilty as well as a shield for the innocent.

Hook distinguishes between two different questions involved in our concern for justice in the individual case. The first, an ethical question, involves the wisdom of allowing the privilege; the second, a logical question, involves the evidential significance of invocation of the privilege, once it is allowed in assessing guilt or innocence.

The sore point of the controversy of the invocation of this privilege, according to Hook, is its use before Congressional committees. Under these circumstances Hook holds that in general there is a common-sense presumption of guilt when the privilege is taken.

Following his recounting of the more popular criticisms of Congressional committees (including one that they have really usurped what are or should be the legitimate functions of the F.B.I.), Hook concludes that these committees have on the whole done more good than harm, and that the harm they

have done could have been avoided, had the liberal members of Congress taken, if not the leading role, a more prominent part in their deliberations. The chief function of these committees, he feels, has been educational.

Justice, in the court of public opinion, to individuals who invoke the Fifth Amendment before Congressional committees, Hook feels, depends upon a fuller and more adequate coverage of their testimony in the press. Headlines and inadequate summaries are prejudicial to a fair estimate. Published proceedings of the committees, while invaluable, often appear too late and are not widely read. The community, in attempting to judge justly, should be as well informed as possible.

Final Observations:

b6
b7C

Dr. Hook in this book takes strong issue, not only with Dean Griswold and his views on the subject, but also with [redacted] and [redacted] all of whose viewpoints are generally regarded as influential in the consideration of this controversial Constitutional provision.

He subscribes neither to the view that invocation of the Fifth Amendment is conclusive evidence of guilt, nor to the view that it is no evidence of guilt whatsoever. He sets forth many of the complex problems connected with this Amendment and introduces several scholarly and illuminating distinctions in the use of the "self-incrimination clause in non-legal contexts, and in situations involving positions of trust."

His conclusion, on pondering the subject and its many ramifications in the light of many actual recent applications of the Fifth Amendment, is that invocation of the privilege against self-incrimination "always gives rise to some legitimate presumption of guilt, " not a "conclusive" presumption, to be sure, "but a strong inference. "

Hook feels too, that popular reaction to the invoking of the privilege by an individual is commensurate with popular knowledge of all facts and circumstances attendant. Thus, to achieve just public judgment of each such incident, he feels, the press should afford fuller and more adequate coverage to the complete testimony of a witness. He regards headlines and inadequate summaries as prejudicial to a fair estimate by public opinion, and urges that published proceedings of Congressional committees hearing such witnesses appear more promptly than is now the custom.

Analyzing the trend of judicial opinions on this subject over a period of the past twenty-five years, particularly devoting considerable attention to some of the more recent opinions, Dr. Hook finds the evolution, particularly on

the part of certain Supreme Court justices, of a greatly liberalized attitude toward the invocation of this privilege, with resultant judicial latitude. The judiciary, says Hook, might do well to refer to [redacted] and major decisions preceding Blau vs. U. S., rather than merely or in the main to Griswold and [redacted]

b6
b7C

Finally, Hook insists that judicial determination must make clearer than it has yet succeeded in doing, that there is a legitimate and an illegitimate use of the privilege, and that the knowing illegitimate use of it is as much a form of perjury as lying under oath.

October 21, 1957

SIDNEY HOOK — Summary
Born: December 20, 1902
New York City, New York

You will find enclosed one copy each of two reports regarding Hook. (100-176573-2,3)

In addition to the data set out in enclosed reports, our files show the following information concerning Dr. Hook.

An article in the "New York Journal American," dated March 24, 1949, reported that Dr. Hook was the head of an anticommunist organization, Americans for Intellectual Freedom.

A news item in "The Times Record," of Troy, New York, for April 15, 1950, reported a speech given by Dr. Hook in which he stated that communists should not be allowed to teach in the schools of the United States.

On September 25, 1953, Louis F. Budenz, a former Communist Party functionary, advised that in 1933 or 1934, he had been told by Sidney Hook that he, Hook, had induced another individual to join the Communist Party. Dr. Hook was interviewed by Agents of this Bureau on December 22, 1953. At that time Dr. Hook stated that he had never been a member of the Communist Party and that he did not know the individual mentioned by Budenz to be a Communist Party member.

In June, 1954, a confidential source, an individual who was acquainted with Carrie Hook Carroll, first wife of Dr. Hook, advised that Mrs. Carroll had told him that she married Dr. Hook under the impression that he was a communist. However, after the marriage she discovered him to be a Trotskyite and divorced him.

The foregoing information is furnished to you as a result of your request for an FBI file check and is not to be construed as a clearance or a nonclearance of the individual involved. This information is loaned for your use and is not to be disseminated outside of your agency. 100-176573-1

Enclosures (2)
Orig. and one to OSI
Req rec'd: (9/30/57
jm/ckb

(4)

MAIL ROOM

INDEXED - 64
RECORDED - 64

CONFIDENTIAL

b6
b7C

19 OCT 23

Tolson
Nichols
Boardman
Belmont
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Trotter
Tease
Tele. Room
Holloman
Sandy

STANDARD FORM NO 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : F. J. Baumgardner

DATE June 30, 1958

FROM : [redacted]

b6
b7C

SUBJECT SIDNEY HOOK
SM-C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-13-91 BY 1565 SOP/etp
282,363

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 61-3176-2553.

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.

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

REC 28

3 ENCLOSURE

REC 28

5-

20 JUL 3 1958

Enclosure
Bufile 100-176573

53 JUL 9 1958

2274

JUN 6 1958

NY 100-7629 Sub C

SIDNEY HOOK
"Committee of 100"
NAACP Legal Defense
and Educational Fund Inc.

Background information pertaining to HOOK's birth, residence and occupation was obtained from "Who's Who In America," Volumn 29, 1956-1957, Page 1225.

Information pertaining to HOOK's race was obtained from the records of Local Draft Board Number 180, 336 9th Street, Brooklyn, New York, in 1944.

The information received from the Office of Naval Intelligence, 3rd Naval District, New York City, is maintained in NY 100-43719-1, 2.

JUN 6 1958

NY 100-7629 Sub C

SIDNEY HOOK
"Committee of 100"
NAACP Legal Defense
and Educational Fund Inc.

SIDNEY HOOK was born December 20, 1902, in New York City. He is a caucasian, male, and resides at 606A 3rd Street, Brooklyn 15, New York. He is employed as a University Professor.

The April - June, 1937, issue of the "Marxist Quarterly" reflects SIDNEY HOOK as a member of the Board of Editors.

The "Marxist Quarterly" describes itself as a journal devoted to critical and creative Marxist scholarship in the social sciences, philosophy, and the arts.

Information received from the Office of Naval Intelligence, 3rd Naval District, New York City, in August, 1942, reflects SIDNEY HOOK, of New York University, was included on a list of individuals who supported WILLIAM Z. FOSTER and JAMES W. FORD, Communist Party candidates for President and Vice President in 1932.

The Communist Party, United States of America, has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

The "Daily Worker," December 12, 1942, page 6, contains an article captioned, 'Constant Reader", which reflects that SIDNEY HOOK was "the chief carrier of Trotskyite bacilli" at New York University.

The "Daily Worker" was an East coast Communist newspaper which discontinued publication on January 13, 1958.

The "Daily Worker", May 22, 1943, page 3, column 1, contains an article captioned, "New Trotskyite Attack On F. D. R." This article refers to an attack which had just been launched on the picture, "Mission To Moscow." Among persons signing the protest against the picture was SIDNEY HOOK.

"The Red Network", a book by ELIZABETH DILLING, reflects that SIDNEY HOOK was a member in 1932 of the League of Professional Groups for FOSTER and FORD. This group, according to the author, was pledged to vote Communist and to aid the Communist Party program and campaign.

Regarding the above mentioned Professional Groups, the Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications, revised January 2, 1957, on page 29, cites the "Committee Of Professional Groups For BROWDER and FORD" as follows:

> "... a Communist front, which operated when WILLIAM Z. FOSTER and EARL BROWDER were candidates for President and Vice President, respectively, on the Communist Party ticket."
> (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, pages 47 and 48.)

"The New York "Times", December 29, 1934, page 6, column 2, under the heading, "Capitalism Held Forcing a Revolt," reports that SIDNEY HOOK was one of seven speakers addressing an audience of one thousand persons

at the annual session of the American Philosophical Association, Eastern Division, held at the Washington Square Center of New York University on December 28, 1934.

According to this news item, HOOK declared that Capitalism and Anarchism amount to the same thing, "there is no difference between them, capitalism is simply anarchism on a smaller scale." HOOK continued that "Communism seems to be the only solution for the present crises."

According to information received from the Office of Naval Intelligence, 3rd Naval District, New York City, in 1942, SIDNEY HOOK of New York University was formerly a close adviser to EARL BROWDER. This information disclosed that HOOK was never acceptable to the Communists as a party member because of an epistemological dispute; he is an opponent of the Communists in New York and often the spearhead of anti-Communist Committees.

The "New York Herald Tribune", October 1, 1952, refers to EARL BROWDER as the General Secretary of the Communist Party, United States Of America, from 1930-1944.

An article by LOUIS BUNDEZ in the "Daily Worker" May 23, 1944, page 2, reflects that EARL BROWDER was elected President of the Communist Political Association on May 22, 1944.

The Communist Political Association has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

During the course of another investigative matter, SIDNEY HOOK advised SA [redacted] on December 22, 1953, that he had never been a member of the Communist Party. b6 b7C

SIDNEY HOOK
A Member of the "Committee of 100,"
NAACP, Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.

A name check of the indices and/or printed hearings of the HCUA on the name SIDNEY HOOK, on 5/13/58, by SE [redacted] reflected the following references which were not checked against the original source: b6 b7C

1. "The Struggle Against War," June, 1933, page 2, indicated that one SIDNEY HOOK was a member of the American Committee for Struggle Against War.

2. The "Daily Worker," on 9/14/32, page 1, indicated that one SIDNEY HOOK was a signer of the call for the support of the CP National Elections and its candidates.

3. "Masses and Mainstream," for Aug., 1955, on page 4, indicated that one SIDNEY HOOK was referred to as a "Communist-hunter" in an editorial.

4. The "Daily Worker," for 7/1/31, contained the name of one SIDNEY HOOK, Saratoga Springs, N. Y.

5. "The Communist," for Feb., 1933, page 133, contained an article entitled, "The Revisionism of SIDNEY HOOK, " an article by EARL BROWDER criticising HOOK's writings.

6. "The Communist," for Mar., 1933, page 285, contained an article entitled, "The Revisionism of SIDNEY HOOK," an article by EARL BROWDER criticising HOOK's writings, (part 2 of article which began in Feb. issue).

7. A Letterhead, dated 1/30/33, indicated that one SIDNEY HOOK was a member of the National Committee to Aid Striking Miners fighting Starvation.

8. A Letterhead dated Nov., 1931, indicated that one SIDNEY HOOK was a member of the National Committee to Aid Striking Miners fighting Starvation.

9. "Culture and the Crisis," page 32, indicated that one SIDNEY HOOK was a member of the League of Professional Groups for FOSTER and FORD.

10. "New York Times," for 3/4/57, page C-11, indicated that one SIDNEY HOOK, Professor, NY University, was a member of the American Committee for Cultural Freedom, identified as having "headed" the Committee and as a member of the Custodial Committee. The article stated the organization had decided to suspend its activities for lack of funds.

11. A Leaflet, 3/1-8/42, indicated that one SIDNEY HOOK was a member, Committee of Sponsors, National Sharecroppers Week.

12. Hearings before a Special Committee on Un-American Activities, 75th Congress, 3rd Session, Vol. I, page 379, 8/16/38, on this page is reflected the caption: "League of Professional Groups," founded in 1932 in the US to throw support to WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, Candidate for Pres. of the US, and JAMES FORD, Candidate for Vice-Pres. on the CP ticket. Headquarters were located in the communist den, 35 East 12th St., NYC, and one of the leaders of the league was one Professor SIDNEY HOOK.

13. Hearings before a Special Committee on Un-American Activities, 75th Congress, 3 Session Vol. I, page 51, 8/17/38. On this page is the "Committee on Academic Freedom," which was a part of the American Civil Liberties Union (1937). The name of one Professor SIDNEYHHOOK appeared as being on this committee.

14. Hearings before a Special Committee on Un-American Activities, 75th Congress, 3rd Session, Vol. I, page 631, 8/17/38. On this page is the caption: "American Worker's Party." This movement is led by A. J. MUSTE and a group of left wingers. While it claimed to have no communistic connections , it united with the Communist League of Americaunder the above name, adding "of U.S.A." The program adopted by the organization was in line with the ideals of LENIN, TROTSKY, and MARX. It claimed to be more militant than the Stalinist movement in the U. S. of America. Professor SIDNEY HOOK, of Columbia University, was one of the organizers of the new movement.

15. Hearings before a Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, 76th Congress, 1st Session,

Vol. 10. On Mon., 10/23/39, HARRY FREEMAN WARD, Chairman of the American League for Peace and Democracy, testified. On page 6233 appeared the names of the American Committee for Struggle Against War, 104 Fifth Ave., NYC. The name of one SIDNEY HOOK appeared on this list.

16. Hearings before a Special Committee on Un-American Activities, 76th Congress, 1st Session, Vol. 11. Testimony of [redacted] Teacher's College, NY, on 11/27/39, begins on page 6839. On page 6840 [redacted] related that among those who have notably contributed an enormous mass of printed material to the CP was one SIDNEY HOOK. b6 b7C

17. Hearings, House of Representatives, 77th Congress, 1st Session Appendix Part V - Transport Worker's Union, 1941. On page 1666 is Exhibit No. 25 (cont.), Main heading: "The Liberal and Labor Committee," reflects that one SIDNEY HOOK, among others, had been criticising the Labor Party from the "left" for many years.

18. Hearings regarding the communist infiltration of the Motion Picture Industry, House of Representatives, 80th Congress, 1st Session. Testimony of [redacted] on 10/22/47. On page 183, [redacted] testified that a friend of his, Dr. SIDNEY HOOK, of NY University, called up the White House, informed them of the nature of the League (of American Writers), and the President's membership was withdrawn and all publicity on that was withheld. b6 b7C

19. House Report, 1954, 81st Congress, 2nd Session, Review of the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace, arranged by the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Profession, and held in NYC, 3/25-27/49. On page 13, in an open letter to the Conference signed by Professor GEORGE S. COUNTS of Teacher's College, Columbia University and (one) SIDNEY HOOK, well-known philosopher, they pointed out the plight of culture under the Soviet system represented by FADAYEV and his associates. We quote the letter in part:

"Over the last three decades, the Soviet dictatorship has mercilessly imprisoned, exiled, or executed distinguished men of letters in that country. These were not just ordinary individuals of mediocre attainment. They were men of stature, renowned throughout the civilized world to those who know literature and poetry. Not one of these men is to be found anywhere in the Soviet Union. They have

disappeared without a trace. Some we know are dead. Some are, perhaps dragging out their last days in a Siberian prison camp."

Addressing themselves to Dr. HARLOW SHAPLEY, the conference chairman the writers asked:

"When the delegates from the Soviet Union appear at your conference, to make inquiry of them as to what has happened to the purged artists, writers, and critics of the Soviet Union, what has happened to KORNILOV, KYRILOV, BORIS PASTERNAK, BABEL, IVAN KATAYEV, ORLOV and PILNYAK?"

20. Communist infiltration of Hollywood Motion Picture Industry, Part 7, Hearings, House of Representatives, 82nd Congress, 2nd Session. On page 2331, appears the testimony of one MICHAEL SEYMOUR BLANKFORT. On 1/28/52, he stated that he met through [redacted] member of Magazine "Modern Monthly," one Professor SIDNEY HOOK. He stated that HOOK was among a group who were under attack by the "New Masses" and the "Daily Worker." b6 b7C

On page 4267 appears the testimony on 9/29/52, of one [redacted] He stated that he remembers that one of his answers was that SIDNEY HOOK was a Marxist, and he did not belong to the CP, and, in fact, he wrote articles every week condemning it. He said, "well he (HOOK) was a different kind of Marxist. Well at that time I had discovered the differences, and I read SIDNEY HOOK right along with all of the other Marxists, and found them to be, as far as I could see, in basic agreement about what Marxism was all about, and so I did not join the CP and I knew no communists."

21. Communist Methods of Infiltration (Education), House of Representatives, 83rd Congress, 1st Session, Testimony on 2/25/53, by [redacted] On page 33 he stated that he has been from the beginning a member of the Committee for Cultural Freedom, headed by SIDNEY HOOK. b6 b7C

22. Testimony of Bishop G. BROMLEY OXNAM, Hearings, House of Representatives, 83rd Congress, 1st Session. On page 3766, appears OXNAM Exhibit No. 37, taken from "Parade," the Sunday picture magazine, 6/28/53, an article, "How to Uncover Communists", by Bishop G. BROMLEY OXNAM. On page 2 of this exhibit is reflected a photo of one SIDNEY HOOK of NY University.

NY 100-7629 Sub C

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR STRUGGLE AGAINST WAR (Page 14)

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 Committee For Struggle Against War:

"1. 'Cited as a Communist front which was formed in response to directives from a World Congress Against War held in Amsterdam in August 1932 under the auspices of the Communist International. Avowed Communist Donald Henderson was executive director of the American Committee.'
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, pp. 47 and 119.)"

MASSES AND MAINSTREAM (Page 104)

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 Masses and Mainstream:

"1. 'Cited as the successor to New Masses, "a Communist magazine.'
(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1953 on the Congress of American Women, April 26, 1950, originally released October 23, 1949, p. 75; also cited in House Report 1694 on Organized Communism in the United States, May 28, 1954, originally released August 19, 1953, p. 98.)"

NY 100-7629 Sub C

THE COMMUNIST (Page 100)

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 Communist:

"1. 'On July 19, 1919, the National Organizing Committee issued the first number of The Communist as the official organ of the Communist Party of America. Dennis E. Batt was the editor."

(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1694 on "Organized Communism in the United States", May 28, 1954, originally released August 19, 1953, p. 29; also cited in House Report 209 on "The Communist Party of the United States as an Agent of a Foreign Power," April 1, 1947, p. 15.)"

NY 100-7629 Sub C

The League of American Writers has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

NY 100-7629 Sub C

CULTURAL AND SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE
FOR WORLD PEACE (Page 36)

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 Cultural and Scientific Conference For World Peace:

"1. 'Cited as a Communist front set up to "Mobilize American Intellectuals in the field of arts, sciences and letters" as a propaganda forum for Soviet foreign policy and "Soviet culture." It served to "prepare the way for the coming World Peace Congress in Paris."'
(Committee on Un-American Activities, Review of the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace arranged by the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions and held in New York City on March 25, 26, and 27, 1949, House Report 1954, April 26, 1950, originally released April 19, 1949, p. 1; also House Report 378 on the Communist "Peace" Offensive, April 25, 1951, originally released April 1, 1951, p. 11.)"

1. ~~Sidney~~ Hook
2. 100-176573
3 yes
4 no
5 no
6 no
7 1933
8 - 2
9 no

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-13-91 BY 1565 SAP/etj
282, 363

100-176573-18
ENCLOSURE

file

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MAILED
OCT 2 3 1960
NAME CHECK

1 - [redacted] b6 b7C

October 27, 1960

PROFESSOR SIDNEY HOOK
Born: December 20, 1902
New York, New York

In response to your name check request, you are referred to a memorandum concerning Sidney Hook which was previously furnished to your agency on December 29, 1952. (100-176573-7)

Attached hereto is one copy each of three reports concerning Carrie Lyons Carroll, who is believed to be the former wife of the subject of your inquiry. (100-326732-14,22,26)

On September 25, 1953, Louis F. Budenz, a former Communist Party functionary, advised that in 1933 or 1934, he had been told by Sidney Hook that he, Hook, had induced another individual to join the Communist Party. Sidney Hook was interviewed by Agents of this Bureau on December 22, 1953, and at that time he stated that he had never been a member of the Communist Party and that he did not know the individual mentioned by Budenz to be a Communist Party member.

In June, 1954, a confidential source, an individual who was acquainted with Carrie Hook Carroll, first wife of Hook, advised that Mrs. Carroll had told him that she married Hook under the impression that he was a communist. However, after the marriage she discovered him to be a Trotskyite and divorced him. (100-176573-15)

Upon removal of classified enclosures, this transmittal letter becomes unclassified.

REC 89

Enclosures (3)

100-176573-13

ORIGINAL AND 1 - State (CU:OCE/PR

OCT 28 1960

Request received: 10-10-60

NOTE: Memo classified "Confidential" inasmuch as reports being transmitted are so classified.

ADS:fjb (4)

Tolson
Mohr
Parsons
Belmont
Callahan
DeLoach
Malone
McGuire
Rosen
Tamm
Trotter
W.C. Sullivan
Tele. Room
Ingram
Gandy

51 NOV 2 1960

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency. This in answer to your request for a check of FBI files.

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐ ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED ON 8-13-91
BY 1545 SAP/LT
882 363

4-22b (11-23-55)

CONFIDENTIAL

SEARCH SLIP

Subj: Ark, Sidney

R# Date 9/30 Searcher Number 872

	FILE NUMBER	SERIAL
NY	61-5215-229	RAW
	Mrs. Sidney (Dec.)	
I	~~100-326732~~	
✓	100-412504-1	
	One	
MI	65-60424	
HP	121-22409-18	Encl. P.I.T.
SNIF	65-4279-684	9/30

CONFIDENTIAL

NUMEROUS REFERENCE 22a

CONFIDENTIAL

SEAROW SLIP

Subj: Hook, Sidney

282,343 - 8-13-91

Supervisor Classified by 1575 COPY

R# (40) Declassify on: OADR Searcher Initial BTL

Date 8/8/90

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

FILE NUMBER SERIAL

100-176573 BB 5/2/56

I 100-176573 X I

II 40-13660 I I

Dies Com. Rpt. Vol I, p 379,531, I 330

Dies Com. Rpt. Vol 10 p 2336 I

" " " Vol 11 p. 6840 I

" " " Walter St I I

p. 102, 207, 327

100-115040-3 Summ: 3-10-54

100-176573-7 Summ: 12-29-52

100-176573-14 Summary 7/25/55

100-176573-15 Summary 5/25/56

100-176573-12 Summary 2/8/55

40-13660-5 Summary 10/27/52

105-52448-12 E.O.4

101-2668-230

140-0-87 N.Y. Times 1-30-55

100-326735-25

62-58217-2030 E.O. 3

105-23510-

12-1565

105-40-16 pGA

DECLASSIFIED BY 1-22-94 ON APR 1993-0110

CONFIDENTIAL

4-22a (Rev. 11-17-59)

NUMEROUS REFERENCE 6118-IS

SEARCH SLIP

Subj: Hook Professor Sidney

~~SECRET~~ ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

Supervisor _____ Room _____

R# 90 Date 10-11-60 Initial 126

8-18-98

Prod. Classified by 60324 auc baw/mlt/cal

282,363 Declassify on: OADR

OCT 12 1960

FILE NUMBER	SERIAL
Hd 100-176573	SL 9-30-57
I 100-176573	DATE: 09-18-2006 CLASSIFIED BY 60324 auc baw/mlt/cal DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(6) 09-18-2031
[illegible] 40-13660	
IV 100-115040-3	Sum.
3-10-54	
V 40-13660-5	Sum 10-27-42
VI 100-176573-7	Sum.
12-29-52; VII 2	Sum 2-9-55;
VII 4 Sum 7/25/55; IX 5	
Sum 5/25/56; X 7	Sum.
10/21/57	
XI 105-52448-12	Encl.
P4 [illegible]	
[illegible]	
[illegible]	
[redacted]	b1
101-2483-A	01.4;
Sinen 2-16-60	
100-[illegible]	Encl
CLASSIFIED BY DEPARTMENT REVIEW COMMITTEE (DR DATE: Sept. 17, 1997	
P1 [illegible]	10-27-97
62-105278-22	Encl
P56, 57	
61-3176-2281	Encl
P142	

~~SECRET~~

CLASSIFIED BY 60324 auc baw/mlt/cal
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(6)
09-18-2031

4-22a (Rev. 11-17-59)

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP

Subj: Hook, Professor Sidney

Supervisor _____ Room _____

R# _____ Date 4-4-60 Searcher Initial 126

Prod. _____

SECRET

SECRET

FILE NUMBER	SERIAL
S.	
S	
Sidney Mrs. (Spouse)	
F 100-326732	
SI 100-412504-1	

SECRET

4-22a (Rev. 11-17-59)

NUMEROUS REFEREN[illegible] CONQUEST 6118-IB

SEARCH SLIP

Subj: Hook, Sidney

Supervisor _____ Room _____

R# 1169 Date 7-12 Searcher Initial 139

Prod. 139

FILE NUMBER JUL 13 1961 SERIAL JUL 14 1961

	100-176573-19
I	100-176573
SI	40-13660
SI	100-115040-3 Dom 3-10-54
SI	40-13660-5 Dom 10-27-42
I	100-176573-17 Dom 10-21-57
	I-15 Dom. 5-25-56
	I-14 " 7-25-55
	I-12 " 2-8-55
	I-7 " 12-29-52
	I-19 " 10-27-60
AF	140-0-A-NY Times Magazine 1-30-55 Sydney (Dom)
SI	62-60527-48689 Dom 12-10-56
	Mrs. Sidney Hook (D)
SI	100-326732
	See on rel not listed

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-13-91 BY 1565 SP1 et al 282,363

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1 - [redacted]

b6
b7C

July 26, 1961

DECLASSIFIED ON 8-13-91
BY 1545 SOPI etj
202 323

MAILED
JUL 2 7 1961
NAME CHECK

SIDNEY HOOK
Born: December 20, 1902
New York, New York

Reference is made to your request for any information in addition to that furnished to your agency by memorandum dated April 29, 1954.

There is enclosed one copy each of three reports revealing results of investigation conducted between 1953 and 1956 concerning Carrie Lyons Carroll who may be the former wife of the subject of your inquiry.

On September 25, 1953, Louis F. Budenz, a former Communist Party functionary, advised that in 1933 or 1934, he had been told by Sidney Hook that he, Hook, had induced another individual to join the Communist Party. Sidney Hook was interviewed by Agents of this Bureau on December 22, 1953, and at that time he stated that he had never been a member of the Communist Party and that he did not know the individual mentioned by Budenz to be a Communist Party member.

In June, 1954, a confidential source, an individual who was acquainted with Carrie Hook Carroll, first wife of Hook, advised that Mrs. Carroll had told him that she married Hook under the impression that he was a communist. However, after the marriage she discovered him to be a Trotskyite and divorced him.

Upon removal of classified enclosures, this transmittal letter becomes unclassified. (100-1765-73-19)

Enclosures (3)
ORIG AND ONE TO USIA
Request Received: 7-11-61
BVG:ems
(4)

REC-14 100-176573-20

31 JUL 27 1961

NOTE: ...Memo classified "confidential" inasmuch as reports being transmitted are so classified.

Belmont
Callahan
Conrad
DeLoach
Evans
Malone
Rosen
Tavel
Trotter
C. Sullivan
Tele. Room
Ingram
Gandy

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI, and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency. This is in answer to your request for a check of FBI files.

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐ ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~