

January 27, 1951

NEW YORK

DIRECTOR

LEOCIO JOSE WELL
INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF
SOCIAL RESEARCH

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(Bufile 100-106126)

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[redacted] who is known as [redacted] was contacted on a number of occasions concerning the Institute of Social Research and individuals who worked for the Institute. As a result of these inquiries [redacted] stated that he felt that he should furnish the Bureau with a written statement concerning the Institute and the individuals connected with it. He also felt that he should supply documents to supplement his statement.

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During the past few months [redacted] came to this office and dictated the attached statements to a stenographer of this office in the presence of SA [redacted]. [redacted] also furnished this office with a file of material on the Institute. This material was photostated. In his memorandum he refers to this material.

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DEFERRED RECORDING
JAN 31 1951

[redacted] has been an informant of this office since March, 1947. He is anti-Soviet and anti-Communist and has furnished reliable information.

Two copies of the memoranda and two copies of the photostats of material on the Institute are being enclosed for the Bureau. One copy of the memoranda and one copy of the photostats are being enclosed for Los Angeles. Two sets of memoranda are being retained by New York and one set of photostats.

encs. (2)

1887

#260,747
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10/15/01 BY SP5 BTJ/REC

cc: Los Angeles -- encs (2)
NY 62-21

RECORDED - 112
INDEXED - 114

100-106126-30
JAN 30 1951

59 FEB 20 1951

289

INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL RESEARCH

The following information was dictated in the presence of SA [REDACTED], on October 17, 1950, by [REDACTED]

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The Institute was formed in the early 1920's on the basis of a private grant given by the father of Dr. FELIX J. WEIL, well-to-do wheat broker of Argentina and Germany.

The first Director of the Institute was a young German scholar by the name of Dr. KURT GERLACH. GERLACH, however, died before he actually had taken over, and his successor was Professor KARL GRUENBERG, formerly of the University of Vienna.

Under GRUENBERG'S leadership, the Institute became officially affiliated with the University of Frankfurt-Main. GRUENBERG, a historian by training, devoted most of the Institute's funds to the building of a highly specialized library dealing with the history of European labor movements. He was definitely a Marxist in his scholarly approach, but definitely not a Communist. If politically affiliated at all, I would venture to say that he belonged to the Austrian Social Democratic Party, which had the reputation of being a little more radical than the German counterpart. Around 1930, GRUENBERG had to give up the directorship of the Institute on account of ill health and was succeeded by Professor MAX HORKHEIMER.

HORKHEIMER had a full professorship at the University of Frankfurt, the chair of Social Philosophy, which was the only one of its kind in Germany.

Under HORKHEIMER'S regime, the Institution's work became less historical, but theoretical and psychological.

The Acting Director of the Institute was Dr. FREDERICK POLLOCK who, at the time, started his academic career as a Privat Dozent

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 10/16/87 BY SP8 BTJ/REG

Handwritten notes and stamps: "9/16/50", "10/16/87", "260,747", "310", "106", "310".

GROSSMANN had come from Vienna when GRUENBERG took over the directorship of the Institute. He had been one of GRUENBERG'S assistants in Vienna, and continued in this function at Frankfurt.

Of the students who, during those years, gathered around the Institute or had their own little studies in the Institute, I remember KARL AUGUST WITTFOGEL and his wife, ROSE WITTFOGEL; KURT MANDELBAUM; HILDE WEISS; ERNST POSSE; WALTHER BIEHAN and his wife; HEINZ LANGERHANS; KLIMM or KLIMT; RUDJA SELKE; ERNST GUTHEIL. Among the employees of the Institute were EMMY BLOCH and her sister, ILSE; the wife of Dr. SIEGFREID KRACAUER or KRAKAUER, and ROSE WITTFOGEL.

[REDACTED] and lost contact with the Institute for [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] At that time, the Institute was affiliated with Columbia University and had at its disposal a Columbia house on the campus on 117th Street. From then on, [REDACTED] although only occasionally, [REDACTED] The Institute was then headed, and still is, by Professor HORKHEIMER, with Dr. POLLOCK as Acting Director.

HENRYK GROSSMANN'S position obviously had deteriorated although he was still affiliated with the Institute, but actually lived as a private scholar on a salary the Institute gave him.

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Present also at the Institute were FELIX WEIL, LEO LOWENTHAL, THEODOR ADORNO-WIESENGRUND, K. A. WITTFOGEL, JULIAN GUMPERZ, HERBERT MARCUSE, OTTO KIRCHHEIMER, FRANZ L. NEUMANN, ERICH FROMM, JOSEPH MAIER, ARKADI R. L. GURLAND, and a few other people who soon dropped out of sight and whose names I cannot recall.

Of these people, the following had joined or entered some relation with the Institute [REDACTED]

HERBERT MARCUSE, OTTO KIRCHHEIMER, THEODOR ADORNO, FRANZ L. NEUMANN, ERICH FROMM.

ERICH FROMM

FROMM did not belong to the scholars associated with the Institute at Frankfurt, Germany, although he may have given a series of lectures in the early thirties. When [REDACTED] FROMM

[REDACTED] FROMM had already left and as I understand, not on friendly terms. He must have been associated with the Institute here in New York between 1935 and 1937. I have reason to believe that FROMM'S separation from the Institute was caused by personal rather than scientific considerations. He and HORKHEIMER apparently did not get along with each other. I know that up to this very day the men most closely associated with the Institute - HORKHEIMER, POLLOCK, LOWENTHAL and ADORNO, are antagonistic to FROMM, and I also know that FROMM on his part does not like and does not speak well of this group.

To be more concrete, I venture to say that FROMM'S great success as theoretician, teacher and practitioner of psychoanalysis aroused a good deal of envy and jealousy, particularly in HORKHEIMER. FROMM is one of the considerable number of scholars who broke with the Institute's group for personal reasons (incompatibility) and as one of the very few who succeeded in getting a severance pay from the Institute.

In former years I occasionally saw FROMM and visited his home. I am quite certain from all I know of him personally and of his scientific and educational work, that he is a convinced enemy of any form of totalitarianism and never had any organizational ties with either a Fascist or Communist group.

Recently I have heard that Mrs. HENNY FROMM has been ailing and that FROMM is staying with her in Mexico.

Besides his psychiatric practice, FROMM is a lecturer at Bennington College, Bennington, Vermont, and at the New School of Social Research in New York, and at the University in Washington. I know that during the war he participated in a panel of psychologists' advisers for certain Government agencies as to psychological problems in Germany.

FBI

REC-30

~~SECRET~~

Date: 10/16/58

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-183386)

~~SECRET~~

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-60713)

SUBJECT: TASS NEWS AGENCY
IS - R

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

Be

47 cds.
10/23

62
[redacted], this date, furnished the following information: (S)(u)

"Group prominent public figures published full page advertisement in 'Times,' denouncing United States Cold War policy as failure and declaring that time has arrived for adoption of new foreign policy. Signers of statement include Eleanor Roosevelt, Publisher J. David Stern, Publicist James Warburg, Retired General Hugh B. Hester, President Vasar College Sarah Blanding, Writer Lewis Mumford, Quaker Leader Clarence Pickett, Artists Peter Blume and Ben Shahn, and many others." A verbatim description of the advertisement, which is enclosed, including the list of signers but omitting the clip and mail portion, followed. (S)(u)

Handwritten scribbles

DECLASSIFIED BY 507 CEUP
ON 1-18-00

~~SECRET~~

FOSTER

#260,747
Classified by SP 887/RYC
Declassify on OADR
9/19/87

Classified by 5886
Exempt From GDS Category 2,3
Date of Declassification - Indefinite 7/16/77

- 3 - Bureau (100-183386) (Encls.1) (RM)
- 1 - New York (100-60713)

AKD:ml
(5)

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(S) OF Classification DATE 7/16/77

20 OCT 17 1958

ENCLOSURE

REC-30

ESP REC.

Approved: *[Signature]*
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

51 OCT 24 1958

~~SECRET~~

2-D

100-183386-1722

100-15330

#260,747
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/19/87 BY SP8BTJ/RBG

AMERICAN NEED A NEW FOREIGN POLICY

- For twelve years the United States, under administrations of both political parties, has followed a policy of cold war. This policy has carried us time and again to the edge of disaster. Within the past few years we have seen beaches of Lebanon and in the Formosa Strait, we have seen [redacted] undefined and dubious missions which twice have led us to the brink of war. It is time we faced reality. The earth's population is growing so fast that this situation is a global emergency. Since the people of the world are now interdependent, it is imperative that all the world's people be encouraged to work for a peaceful and mutual exchange be encouraged.
- War with modern weapons means total destruction and therefore offers no solution to anything.

HEOBALD IS CONFIDENT

AMERICA NEEDS A NEW FOREIGN POLICY

Administrations of both political
is policy has carried us time
past that
have led us to the brink of

It is time we faced reality. Whether we like it or not, more than one-third
of the earth's population is governed by communist regimes and there is no

...that this ...

Since the people of the world must either live together or die together, it is
imperative that all the world be opened up, and that travel, trade, and cul-
tural exchange be encouraged among all peoples.

● For twelve years the United States, under administrations of both political parties, has followed a policy of cold war. This policy has carried us time and again to the edge of disaster. Within the past three months, the beaches of Lebanon and in the Formosa Strait, we have been committed to undefined and dubious missions which twice have led us to the brink of war.

● War with modern weapons means total destruction and therefore offers no solution to anything.

● Though we are loaded with arms and have laid great store by the deterrent effect of threatened retaliation

Communism has not been contained
 Democracy has not been extended
 A position of strength has not been achieved.

● We are in greater peril of annihilation than we were when the cold war started.

● The world's belief in the United States has been undermined.

● We find ourselves trapped in tight corners where we desperately assume rigid positions that make negotiation virtually impossible.

It is time we faced reality. of the earth's population is Since the people of the world imperative that all the world tural exchange be encourage

We who join in signing this dragged from one crisis to another

We are unwilling to remain, tives of cold war.

We are unwilling to sacrifice been tried and failed.

We reject the dogma that has We believe that a solution can

Therefore, we urge that the States through every generation of our entire

- LARENCE E. PICKETT
- JOHN A. MACKAY
- LEWIS MUMFORD
- CHARLES C. PRICE
- STRINGFELLOW BARR
- SARAH GIBSON BLANDING
- PETER BLUME
- ALEXANDER CALDER
- STEPHEN CARY
- STUART CHASE
- ROBERT A. CHILDERS
- L. C. DUNN
- KERMIT EBY
- D. F. FLEMING
- BROMM

REC-50

- HARRY GOLDEN
- DONALD HARRINGTON
- BRIG. GEN. HUGH B. HESTER (U.S. ret.)
- B. W. HUEBSCH
- JAMES IMBRIE
- HOWARD MUMFORD JONES
- FREDA KIRCHWAY
- ERIC LARRABEE
- M. STANLEY LIVINGSTON
- ROBERT J. McGRACKEN
- LENORE MARSHALL
- STEWART MEACHAM
- SEYMOUR MELMAN
- DONALD MICHAEL
- WALTER MILLIS

- C. WRIGHT MILLS
- WALTER G. MUELDNER
- A. MUSTE
- CLAUD B. NELSON
- JAY O'REAR
- MS. ARTHUR PAUL
- VID RIESMAN
- ANOR ROOSEVELT
- MO ROPER
- BANK ROSENBLUM
- BEN SAHN
- MARY STARR
- J. DAVID STERN
- NORMAN THOMAS
- JAMES F. WARBERG

USA

NY

USA

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administrations of both political
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the past three months, and
if we have been committed to
we have led us to the brink of
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contained
extended
been achieved.
we were when the cold war
een undermined.

where we desperately assume
ly impossible

It is time we faced reality. Whether we like it or not, more than one-third
of the earth's population is governed by communist regimes and there is no
chance that this situation is going to change in the near future.
Since the people of the world must either live together or die together, it is
imperative that all the world be opened up, and that travel, trade, and cul-
tural exchange be encouraged among all peoples.

We who join in signing this statement are unwilling to let our country be
dragged from one crisis to another.

We are unwilling to remain, along with the Russians and the Chinese, cap-
tives of cold war.

We are unwilling to sacrifice our country in pursuit of a policy which has
been tried and failed.

We reject the dogma that humanity stops where the iron curtain begins.
We believe that a solution can be found.

Therefore, we urge that the Government and the people of the United
States, through every possible means, enter into a discussion and a
re-evaluation of our entire foreign policy.

- GOLDEN
- HARRINGTON
- N. HUGH B. HESTER (U.S. ret.)
- EBSCH
- MBRIE
- MUMFORD JONES
- IRCHWAY
- RRABEE
- LEX LIVINGSTON
- McGRACKEN
- MARSHALL
- MEACHAM
- R MELMAN
- PMICHAEL
- T MILLIS

- C. WRIGHT MILLS
- WALTER G. MUELDER
- A. MUSTE
- CLAUD B. NELSON
- J. O'REAR
- MS. ARTHUR PAUL
- VID RIESMAN
- ANOR ROOSEVELT
- MO-ROPER
- BANK ROSENBLUM
- BEN SAHN
- MARK STARR
- J. DAVID STERN
- NORMAN THOMAS
- JAMES F. WARBURG

CLIP AND MAIL

CLARENCE E. PICKETT
ROOM 809
1201 CHESTNUT STREET
PHILADELPHIA 7, PA.

- I agree that America needs a new foreign poli
and I want to do something practical about it
- I enclose \$_____ to help pay for the publicati
of your advertisement in other newspapers.

Please print or type.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____

CONFIDENTIAL

Origin NEW YORK CITY

File No. 100-51820 eg

Report made at

Date

Period

Report made by

NEW YORK CITY

3/31/44

10/16; 12/30/43;
2/1, 9; 3/15, 18,
D, 21/44

[REDACTED]

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Title

JEFFERSON SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE,
formerly known as Marxist Institute

Character

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

Synopsis:

The Jefferson School of Social Science, presently unincorporated, of 575 6th Avenue, NYC, which early in its inception was termed "Marxist Institute", was conceived and brought into existence by the Communist Party to fulfill a need of an institution for adult education in the principles of Marxism and Leninism. The school ostensibly operates under the banner of liberalism with an alleged purpose of teaching the true concept of democracy to the masses. This institution absorbed the New York Workers School and the School for Democracy, acquiring faculty members, curricula, the Ruthenberg Library, equipment, students and financial deficits therefrom. The Organizing Committee, Board of Trustees, Administrative Staff, and faculty are well saturated with known Communists and fellow travellers. Complete CP domination and control is evidenced in matters of policy and scope. Funds have been raised through donations, loans, subscription dinners, tuition fees and possible CP contributions. The initial term of the school opened on 2/14/44 offering approximately 74 regular session night courses in history, economics, politics, trade unionism, science, psychology, anthropology, philosophy, literature, music, arts, languages, world problems and child education. In addition to the regular night courses, the institution offers an Extension Division, a Trade Union Division (instruction to selected union groups), and a full-time school (short term morning and evening classes). The regular fee for courses is \$6.00 per term. It is stated the school has achieved an enrollment of 3,900 students, approximately 81% of which are female. Detailed data concerning courses offered, u

DECISIONS FINALIZED
BY DEPARTMENT REVIEW COMMITTEE (DRC)
DATE: 3/12/99

9303 4/14/44
3/5/47
12-15-96
Classified by 462 REP/IDB
Declassify on: OADR
77, 78, 93
86-1442

APPROVED: [Signature] SAC

Do not write in these spaces

50528
Copies: 25-Bureau

100-227027-41

RECORDED

- 1-Buffalo (info)
- 1-Syracuse (info)
- 1-Albany (info)
- 1-Capt. W.B. Howe, DIO 3ND
- 1-Capt. S.V. Constant, D. of I. 2SND
- 3-New York

31 APR 6 1944
Classified by [Signature] 6/29/84
Declassify on: OADR 9/10/84
244,108

CONFIDENTIAL

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ABRAHAM WEGELSON, of the staff of the "Morning Freiheit". For four years a journalist on the staff of the newspaper "Davar" in Tel Aviv. Author of several Hebrew works, including "Cain and Abel", an epic poem; "A Shawlful of Leaves", a book of essays; and "The Doll's Journey to Palestine", a book for children.

RABBI LEONARD A. GREENBERG of Temple Israel, New Rochelle, N. Y.

* M.X. PERLOL, Acting Secretary of the Jewish People's Committee. (Vice President, United Furniture Workers of America - CIO).

* THEODORE RYER, Managing Editor of the magazine "Soviet Russia Today".

ALICE ALPERT, of the staff of "New Currents".

JESSE HINZUS, *LESTER ZIRIN and I. GOLDBERG, of the International Workers Order.

The individuals whose names are preceded by an asterisk are considered key figures of Communist Party activities in New York City.

Confidential Informant T7 advises the individuals set forth below were considered by the Organizing Committee of the Jefferson School of Social Science as possible guest lecturers and forum participants. (4)

Berenice Abbott
Herman Baron
Ruth Benedict
Ernst Boas
Earl Browder
Louis Budenz
E. B. Burgum
Charles Collins
Joseph Curran
Lyle Dowling
Julius Emspak
Howard Fast
Frederick Field
Elizabeth Gurley Flynn
James W. Ford
William E. Foster

Vito Marcantonio
George Marshall
Kirtley F. Mather
Elizabeth McCansland
John T. Molanus
Frederic Melcher
Robert Minor
Kate Mitchell
Russ Nixon
David Platt
Michael Quill
Walter Rautenstrauch
Paul Robeson
Earl Robinson
Margaret Schlauch
Isidore Schneider

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Eric Fromm
 Hugo Gellert
 Walter Gellhorn
 Aaron Goodelman
 Harry Gottlieb
 William Gropper
 Harry Grundfest
 Karon Horney
 Leo Huberman
 Roy Hudson
 Langsdon Hughes
 Charles Hulling
 Hulan Jack
 Philip Jaffe
 W. J. Jerome
 Crockett Johnson
 Robert Josephy
 Albert Kahn
 Rockwell Kent
 Canada Lee
 Kenneth Leslie
 James Lustig
 William Malisoff

Henry Siegerist
 Bernard Smith
 Ferdinand Smith
 John Sommerville
 Vilhj. Stefansson
 Donald Ogden Stewart
 Dirk Struik
 Paul Sweeney
 Genevieve Taggard
 Alexander Trachtenberg
 Carl Van Doren
 Harry F. Ward
 Rev. Eliot White
 Doxey Wilkerson
 Claude Williams
 Alban Winspear
 Nathan Witt
 Benedict Wolf
 Rose Wortis
 Victor Yekhotaff
 Max Yergan
 Ruth Young

SCHOOL FACILITIES

[Confidential Informant T7 supplied the following data pertaining to the building at 575 6th Avenue, New York City, which was purchased to house the Jefferson School of Social Sciences: (A)

FOR SALE

Submitted by H. Robert Mandel

ADDRESS: 575 Sixth Avenue

LOCATION: N.W. corner 6th Avenue and 16th Street.

DESCRIPTION: 9 story elevator fireproof left and store building designed by the renowned architect Cass Gilbert

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **PHILA DELPHIA**

CONFIDENTIAL

FILE NO. 100-32106 afb/djr/
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE
mmy

REPORT MADE AT PHILADELPHIA	DATE WHEN MADE 8/2/51	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 7/17, 20, 23, 25, 26/51	REPORT MADE BY [REDACTED]
TITLE CHANGED: [REDACTED] was [REDACTED]			CHARACTER OF CASE INTERNAL SEC. ACT OF 1950 INTERNAL SECURITY - ISL

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

[REDACTED] continues as **[REDACTED]** and is still employed at Westinghouse Electric Corporation, **[REDACTED]**. He is planning to build a new home near his present address, **[REDACTED]** Philadelphia, Pa. He has continued active in the **[REDACTED]** and many articles have appeared in "Labor Action" with the by-line **[REDACTED]** Party name, and **[REDACTED]**, a pen name shared with **[REDACTED]**, an ISL sympathizer. **[REDACTED]** has admitted being a Communist but stated he did not believe in the Russian brand of Communism. However, he stated he would not fight against Russia if drafted. **[REDACTED]** main efforts have been directed toward infiltration of the NAACP. He was appointed with **[REDACTED]**, another active ISL member, as Co-Chairman of the NAACP Labor Committee for 1951.

yes

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4-1
3-1
3-1
Bureau 46 - 11/13/51
ce: drc

#20,747
Classified by **SP8 BTJ/RBG**

DIR ONI

DETAILS: *cc 2 OR*
cc 2 ONI
cc 2 OSR
July 26
8-16-51
The title of this case is being changed to reflect the additional alias **[REDACTED]** which is a pen name which has been shared by **[REDACTED]** with **[REDACTED]**, a Socialist Workers Party sympathizer, in columns entitled "You and Science" which have appeared in "Labor Action" newspaper. The alias **[REDACTED]** is being emitted.

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: <i>A. Cornelius</i> SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES
COPIES OF THIS REPORT	100-352742-45
⑥ - Bureau (100-352742) 2 - G-2 Philadelphia 1 - ONI Philadelphia 2 - OSI Harrisburg 3 - Philadelphia	RECORDED - 58 AUG 7 1951 INDEXED - 58 EX-130
COPIES DESTROYED	EX-90

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Stalinism and capitalism to two parasites living on each other." HARPER stated that "an examination was made of the inability of the capitalist governments to combat Stalinism effectively" but that "Socialists have confidence in the indestructability and viability of the working class. He (SHACHTMAN) was certain that the Russian dictatorship would be smashed from within," and that "a strong Socialist movement in the rest of the world would hasten the day of doom for the Russian rulers." According to SHACHTMAN, "The Independent Socialist League is attempting to build such a wide Socialist movement

The second half of the article by another author described the address by SHACHTMAN before the Temple University Socialist Club on the afternoon of January 10, 1951.

March 1951, [redacted] organized a party which was held at the [redacted] home on March 10, 1951. It was announced that the proceeds of this party were to be for the benefit of the Independent Socialist League. Members of the Independent Socialist League and sympathizers attended this party.

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During April and May 1951, [redacted] was active in attempting to obtain new recruits for the Independent Socialist League and joint cooperation and attendance at meetings, etc., from former members and sympathizers of the Independent Socialist League.
(T-1, 4/28;5/2,5,10/51)

ARTICLES IN "LABOR ACTION"

"Labor Action" dated November 27, 1950, printed a column headed "Labor 'Scope" which contained an article by FRANK HARPER entitled "Can Workers Organize Where The Government Is The Employer?." In this article, HARPER claimed that "Government ownership without workers control is not Socialism." HARPER claimed that it was possible to build strong unions "only if the union movement makes a sharp break with capitalist politics and builds a political party of its own."

"Labor Action" dated December 11, 1950, printed an article under the column "You and Science" by CARL DARTON entitled "Socialist Medicine Needs 'Doctors' Control'." In this article, DARTON stated "..... economic and social planning without workers'

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participation and control is a mockery of the aims of socialism whether under the guise of a 'welfare state,' fascism, Stalinism, or a Labor government."

"Labor Action" dated December 25, 1950, printed an article in the column "You and Science" by CARL DARTON entitled "The Scientist As Observer and Actor." In this article, DARTON objected to the concept that science cannot solve social problems. DARTON stated, "Hypocritically, apologists for capitalism continually emphasize that something more than science is needed to solve our social problems. As a result irrationalism is encouraged to grow in this already mad world. Few other than socialists are available to stress the fact that only through the self-realization by the working people of their power can intelligence be used to find the way out of the present world crisis. However, since the dominant classes would only lose their privileges if science were so applied, every effort is made to hide the revolutionary implications of its social application. Since MARX first laid the basis for a science of society few professional scientists or scholars have attempted to apply his findings in other than a very limited sense. On the contrary, effort has been made to build an aversion in the minds of the masses to science except in its physical or mechanical application. Socialists have long known that this concept is false.capitalist theorists have raised the bugaboo that science cannot be applied by a participant in, but only by an unbiased observer above, the struggle. Today as capitalist misuse of science threatens all values as well as civilization itself with destruction, workers are beginning to realize that they alone by their own efforts can provide the preconditions for a mature science of society."

"Labor Action" dated January 29, 1951, under the column "You and Science" printed a book review by CARL DARTON entitled "FROMM On 'Humanistic Religion'." In this column, CARL DARTON reviewed the book "Psychoanalysis and Religion" by ERICH FROMM. DARTON pointed out that FROMM's definition of religion was a very broad one: "any system of thought and action shared by a group which gives the individual a frame of orientation and an object of devotion." According to DARTON, "such a system gives man a sense of integration and security very necessary in a chaotic world." DARTON stated FROMM described two types of religion: authoritarian or a surrender to a

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power beyond man and humanistic religion centered around man and his strength. DARTON quoted FROMM as saying, "In societies ruled by a powerful minority which holds the masses in subjection, the individual will be so imbued with fear, so incapable of feeling strong and independent, that his religious experience will be authoritarian. On the other hand, where the individual feels free and responsible for his fate, or among minorities striving for freedom and independence, humanistic religious experience develops." DARTON concluded that the book "is helpful in developing a better understanding of the role which religion plays in the life of the individual and society today."

"Labor Action" dated February 5, 1951, under the column "You and Science" printed an article entitled "Science, Conservation and MVA" by CARL DARTON. In this article, DARTON stated, "Under the capitalist system, there is always the exploitation of the natural resources, as well as the exploitation of the working people....."

"Socialists are of course opposed to the exploitation of resources in the interest of the moneyed few." DARTON also objected to the Missouri Valley Development Program of the United States as poorly handled. He stated, "We know that the capitalists, with their emphasis on wars and profits, will do little conservation work. But we cannot be complacent about their failures."

"Labor Action" dated March 5, 1951, under the column "You and Science" printed an article by CARL DARTON entitled "Group Organization Under The Lens." This article consisted of a review of the article "People In Groups" by DAVID B. HERTZ and SANDRA LLOYD LESSER in the February 1951 issue of the "Scientific American." In this DARTON stated, "One of the most important tenets of Marxism is that, in the developed capitalist society, the individual becomes a part of a new group--the workers in the factory. This new group is of more importance than previously existing groups such as the family. Most socialists advocate that the factory groups be organized under workers' control in the belief that, even in matters of factory production, we can do it better democratically." DARTON described the article which investigated various patterns of communication between people in groups which were set up in forms varying from completely democratic to largely autocratic. The results of these investigations indicated that in the autocratic form,

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE LOS ANGELES	OFFICE OF ORIGIN LOS ANGELES	DATE 10/4/61	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 7/5 - 10/2/61
TITLE OF CASE LINUS CARL PAULING		REPORT MADE BY [REDACTED] b7c	TYPED BY slb
		CHARACTER OF CASE SM - C	

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

Classification
11/30/84

REFERENCES: Report of SA [REDACTED] dated 11/4/60 at Los Angeles;
Bulet to Los Angeles dated 6/28/61.

#260,747
Classified by **SP8BJJ/RBG**
Declassify on **9/9/8**
ADMINISTRATIVE

Copy to **NASA**
by routing slip for
 info action
date **5/31/66**
by **[Signature]**

An information copy of this report is being furnished the San Francisco Office in view of the periodic residence of PAULING at his ranch home at Big Sur, California, which is in Monterey County, California.

SA [REDACTED] checked the files of the Pasadena Merchants Association, Pasadena, California, and of the Pasadena Police Department, Pasadena, California, and also conducted the pretext on 5/19/61 to PAULING's office at the California Institute of Technology, Pasadena, California, using the pretext of endeavoring to get in touch with PAULING. SA [REDACTED] also conducted the pretext interview referred to on 4/22/61, using the same pretext.

- COPIES MADE:
- 12 - Bureau (100-353464) (REGISTERED)
 - 1 - FIO, Los Angeles (REGISTERED)
 - 1 - OSI, District 18, Maywood (REGISTERED)
 - 1 - Region II, Pasadena (REGISTERED)
 - 1 - San Francisco (100-40845) (Info) (REGISTERED)
 - 3 - Los Angeles (100-34470)

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

100-353464-276

Agency	Request Recd.	Date Fwd.	How Fwd.	By

Notations

SECRET

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP (S) OF THIS REPORT

Classified by **3832/40/d**
Exempt from GDS Category **1, 2**
Date of Declassification Indefinite

A World Without War

SECRET

Modern weapons transform man's dream of a world without war into a practical necessity. It is possible to organize the world community on principles of freedom and justice under law and mutual trust.

We must act on this conviction, with words and deeds aimed against the spread of nuclear weapons and toward disarmament.

PARTICIPANTS IN THE CONFERENCE
AGAINST THE SPREAD OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS

OSLO, 2 to 7 MAY 1961

AUSTRALIA	Dr. Walter Boas, Physics
CANADA	Sir Robert Watson-Watt, Physics
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	Prof. Frantisek Behounek, Physics
DENMARK	Prof. H. Højgaard Jensen, Physics Docent O. Sten-Knudsen, Medicine Mag. art. Mrs. Else Marie Zeuthen, Intl. Pres. WILPF <i>WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL PEACE LEAGUE</i>
FINLAND	Prof. Goran von Bonsdorff, History
FRANCE	Prof. Jean Salvinien, Chemistry
GERMANY	Prof. Dr. G. Berkhardt, Physics
GT. BRITAIN	Prof. Dorothy Hodgkin, Chemistry Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall, Author Dr. Antoinette Pirie, Ophthalmology Prof. Joseph Rotblat, Physics
HUNGARY	Prof. I. Ruzsnyak, Medicine
JAPAN	Prof. Iwao Ogawa, Physics Mrs. Sumi Yukawa, Vice Pres. JAWF

SECRET

SECRET

CONFERENCE ON THE SPREAD OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS, 1964

U.S.A.
(continued)

Prof. Victor Paschkis, Engineering
Prof. Linus Pauling, Chemistry
Mrs. Ava Helen Pauling, U.S. Vice Pres. WILPF*
Mr. Charles O. Porter, former Congressman
Dr. Edward G. Ramberg, Physics
Dr. Robert Schutz, Economics

SECRET

U.S.S.R.

Mr. Jouri Beliaev, Secretary
Cor. Acad. Vladimir Khvostov, International Law
Cor. Acad. Alexandre Kuzine, Radiobiology
Acad. Alexandre Vinogradov, Geochemistry

*(WILPF is the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom)

SPONSORS OF THE CONFERENCE

AGAINST THE SPREAD OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS
REPORT
July 1964

Karl Barth
Max Born
Boyd Orr
Brock Chisholm
Mrs. Cyrus Eaton
Erich Fromm
J. Heyrovsky
Johan Hygen
Robert Hutchins
Hugh Keenleyside
Francois Mauriac
Alexander Meiklejohn
Lewis Mumford

Gunnar Myrdal
Arne Naess
Mrs. Rameshwari Nehru
Philip Noel-Baker
Marcus Oliphant
Alan Paton
Jean Rostand
Bertrand Russell
Albert Schweitzer
N. N. Semenov
Albert Szent-Gyorgyi
Hideki Yukawa

SECRET

FBI

Date: JUL 31 1962

Transmit the following in _____ (Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL _____ (Priority or Method of Mailing)

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

MW
TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-353404)
FROM: SAC, WFO (100-32433)(P)
LINUS CARL PAULING
SM-C
(OO:LA)

ReLAlet 7/23/62 requesting check of U.S. District Court records at Washington, D.C.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 12 copies, and for LA 6 copies of a letterhead memorandum, incorporating information contained in the records of the U.S. District Court in Civil Action 1986-62 entitled PAULING et al, v. McNAMARA etal, reviewed by SA [redacted] -670

Attorneys for the plaintiffs are listed as OLIVER E. STONE, 1500 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C.; FRANCIS HEISLER and CHARLES A. STEWART, P.O. Box 3996, Carmel, Calif.

In view of the fact that there was but one typewritten copy of the complaint contained in the records of the U.S. District Court, it was not possible to obtain a copy for reproduction; accordingly, the Bureau may desire through its liaison with Defense and/or the AEC, to obtain a copy of the pleading in its entirety.

ACT AEC (Enc)
1-062 (Enc)
1-061 (Enc)
ACSI (Enc)
ASIA (Enc)
State (Enc)
HIA (Enc)
Frank Youngley (Enc)
1-XA
1-WFO
9-2-62
TRC: cgc

The defendants have 60 days from the filing of the complaint in which to file an answer; accordingly, WFO will follow developments in the U.S. District Court, and advise the Bureau and interested offices.

REC-26 100-353404-302

CLOSURE
 3 - Bureau (Encls.12)
 2 - Los Angeles (100-34470) (Encls.6) (RM)
 1 - WFO
 OMS: fmk
 (6)
 AIRTEL C. G. Wick

13 AUG 3 1962

#260,747
 ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 9/3/81 BY SP8 BTR/BBG
 8/15/88 SP4 EWT/ark

54
CONTROL
[Handwritten signature]

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
 Special Agent in Charge

LINUS PAULING

The complaint states further that the plaintiffs will suffer irreparable damages because of the unlawful and unconstitutional acts of the defendants... and plaintiffs are entitled to a declaratory judgment declaring that the acts of the defendants are illegal and void...and are entitled to an injunction directed against the defendants restraining them in the future from detonating nuclear weapons which create radiation and radioactive fallout.

Wherefore, the plaintiffs pray:

"1) That this Court declare that the threatened acts of the defendants to detonate nuclear weapons that produce radiation and radioactive atomic nuclei are illegal.

"2) That the defendants, their agents, servants, deputies and employees, be permanently enjoined and restrained from detonating any nuclear weapons that produce radiation and radioactive atomic nuclei, and that the defendants be enjoined from so doing pending the trial of this action.

"2 (a) That in the alternative, defendants be permanently enjoined and restrained from detonating any nuclear weapons that produce radiation and radioactive atomic nuclei, and that the defendants be enjoined from so doing pending the trial of this action, with the proviso that said injunction should take effect simultaneously with the effective date of the injunction to be issued from the Supreme Court of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, before which Court a complaint was filed similar to the complaint herein pending and in which complaint an injunction is prayed for as it prayed for herein.

"3) That in case this Court shall determine that the issues herein require an injunction restraining the enforcement, operation or execution of an Act of Congress for repugnance to the Constitution of the United States, then in that case the matter be heard and determined by a District Court of three judges under Section 2284 of 28 U.S.C."

Concerning point 2(a), as above, it may be noted that the complaint stated that the plaintiffs had, with the filing of the suit in the United States District Court, forwarded a complaint to the authorities in Moscow, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, requesting judicial authorities of that country to grant them the same relief that is asked for in the United States District Court.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

JUL 31 1962

LINUS C. PAULING

Records of the United States District Court, Washington, D. C., reviewed on July 27, 1962, reflect that Civil Action 1986-62, entitled Linus C. Pauling et al, versus Robert S. McNamara, et al, was filed in that Court on June 21, 1962. In that case, Linus C. Pauling, and one hundred eighty five additional plaintiffs, many of whom were listed as being from Japan, Germany, France, Denmark, and other foreign countries, filed a "Complaint for Declaratory Judgment and Injunction" against Robert S. McNamara, Secretary of Defense; Glenn T. Seaborg, Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission, and other members of the Atomic Energy Commission.

Dr. Linus C. Pauling is described therein as a citizen of the United States; a resident of 3500 Fairpoint Street, Pasadena, California; a Nobel Laureate; Professor of Chemistry at the California Institute of Technology; writer; active worker for peace; and a husband, father and grandfather.

The substance of the complaint, in brief, sets out the fact that between 1951 and 1956, the defendants and their predecessors in office caused to be detonated 63 nuclear weapons in 11 test series; that additional detonations will result in world-wide exposure of human beings to radiation...will cause world-wide fallout of radioactive debris....will increase the radioactive strontium content of the soil and radioactive carbon content of the air, and the amount of contamination of the food supply of the world and of the bones of human beings. It states further that the acts of the defendants will cause the plaintiffs to be damaged genetically, somatically and psychologically; will cause their progeny to be deleteriously affected because of the additional radiation brought about by the acts of the defendants, and, with high probability, did and will cause the plaintiffs to suffer various diseases which they would not suffer but for the additional radiation brought about by said acts.

#260,747
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/3/87 BY SP8 BTJ/REC
8/15/88 SP4 ELW/abk

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

LINUS C. PAULING, S. ADLER, GUNTHER ANDERS,
HUGH H. ANDERSON, DONALD B. ARMSTRONG,
EUNICE B. ARMSTRONG, JON ARNASON, JOHN H.
ARNET, KATHERINE M. ARNET, RALPH B.
ATKINSON, DOROTHY B. ATKINSON, ANTUN
AUGUSTINCIC, JOAN C. BAEZ, BORGE BAK.
MIRKO BASALDELLA, OTTO BASTIANSSEN,
CHRISTIAN BAY, JUANITA E. BAY, CARLETON BEALS,
JAMES BENET, C. F. BENTLEY, EDMUND C.
BERKELEY, SUZANNE S. BERKELEY, BARTE BOK,
JEAN BOULIER, CLAUDE BOURDET, WILLIAM
BRANDON, VAN WYCK BROOKS, L. de BROUCKERT,
BENJAMIN BUFANO, KENNETH BURKE, HENRY J.
CADBURY, JOHN CAUGHEY, LA REE CAUGHEY,
FELICIEN CHALLAYE, C. W. CHANDLER, BROCK
CHISHOLM, MARY CLARKE, JOHN COLLIER, SR.,
L. JOHN COLLINS, EDWARD U. CONDON, EMILIE H.
CONDON, SARA HENRIETTA COTTON, C. A. COULSON,
H. S. M. COXETER, HENRY H. CRANE, ALLARY
DEWITT, JEROME DAVIS, EMMETT DEUSCE,
FABRIZIO, ABRAHAM L. FEINBERG, W. H. FERRY,
CHARLES FERT, STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN, ERIC
FROMM, JOHAN GALTUNG, PHILIP R. GILES,
ROBERT W. GILMORE, JOSIAH W. GITT, ELIZABETH M.
GITT, HELMUT GOLLANTZER, SHINZO HAMAI, F. W.
HANLEY, MARK HARRIS, GEORGE M. HAUSER,
GUSTAV HECKMANN, FRIEDY B. HEISLER, IVAN C. F.
HEISLER, ELIZABETH P. HEISLER, FRANCIS W.
HERRING, WALTER RUDOLF HESS, HUGH B. HESTER,
JOHN HAYNES HOLMES, SAMUEL HOPKINS, NANCY
HOPKINS, GUNNAR INGHE, HOMER A. JACK, JACQUES
JANIN, K. A. JENSEN, TANO JODAI, HERMAN M. KALCKAR,
BARBARA W. KALCKAR, J. GORDIN KAPLAN, SELJI
KAYA, HUGH L. KEENLEYSIDE, GERMAINE KELLERSON,
TAGE KEMP, MRS. GORDON N. KENNEDY, HANS
KIRSCHBAUM, CLAIRE KIRSCHBAUM, DAVID KRECH,
HILDA SIDNEY KRECH, ALFRED KÜHN, K. S.
L'TOURETTE, HENRI LAUGIER, LUALA RUBIODE,
LAVERDE, DORIA LESSING, LEONARD LEVY, GEORGES
LILLAZ, H. LIPSON, FRANK T. LOSSY, KARL PAUL LINK,
GEORGIA LLOYD, WILLIAM BROSS LLOYD, JR.,
MARIE LOUS-MOHR, CURTIS D. MACDOUGAL, NICOLAI J.
MARTENSEN, JOHANNE MARTENSEN, MASATOSHI
MATSUSHITA, STEPHANIE M. MAY, MILTON MAYER,
CHARLOTTE J. MC EWEN, ALFONSO MEDINAT,
GERMAINE MELON, NAOMI MITCHISON, A. J. MUSTE

Copy furnished
by Michael X.
Dorovan.
aec
8/2/62
JMT

10/18/62
Records:
File in
100-353404
5-186

COMPLAINT FOR
DECLARATORY
JUDGMENT AND
INJUNCTION

REC-50
Index all
names on ps
3 thru 17(c)

100 -
353400-300

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

100-353400-300

✓ (41) RABBI ABRAHAM L. FEINBERG is a Citizen of Canada and resides at 154 Old Forest Hill Road, Toronto, Canada. He is Rabbi Emeritus of Holy Blossom Temple and Vice President of the Canadian Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

✓ (42) W.H. FERRY is a Citizen of the United States. He resides at 1709 Overlook Lane, Santa Barbara, California. He is Vice President of the Fund for the Republic.

✓ (43) PROF. CHARLES FERT is a Citizen of France and resides at Toulouse, France. He is Professeur, Faculte des Sciences, Toulouse.

✓ (44) REV. STEPHEN H. FRITCHEMAN is a Citizen of the United States. He resides at 604 Cavanaugh Ave., Glendale, California. He is Minister of the First Unitarian Church in Los Angeles.

✓ (45) DR. ERIC FROMM is a Citizen of the United States. He resides at Gonzales Cosio 15, Mexico D.F. and at New York City, New York. He is a lecturer, writer and psychoanalyst.

✓ (46) JOHAN GALTUNG is a Citizen of Norway. He resides at Bierkealleen 55, Oslo, Norway. He is at the Institute for Social Research.

✓ (47) REV. PHILIP R. GILES is a Citizen of the United States. He resides at 10 Cummings Ave., South Weymouth 90, Massachusetts. He is Vice President of the Unitarian Universalist Association and a father.

✓ (48) ROBERT W. GILMORE is a Citizen of the United States. He resides at Rich Lane, Peekskill, New York. He is a member of Turn Toward Peace.

✓ (49) JOSIAH W. GITT is a Citizen of the United States. He resides at Box 303, Hanover, Pennsylvania. He is the editor and publisher of the York Gazette and a father.

✓ (50) ELIZABETH M. GITT is a Citizen of the United States. She resides at Box 303, Hanover, Pennsylvania. She is a housewife and a mother.

F B I

Date: 7/29/62

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-361031)
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-148623) (41)
SUBJECT: WORLD CONGRESS FOR GENERAL
DISARMAMENT AND PEACE, MOSCOW,
RUSSIA, JULY 9-14, 1962
IS - C
(OO: NY)

1-11-00
CLASSIFIED BY 107CE/JP
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 1
ONLY PAGE 1 of AIRTEL
REVIEWED FOR 98-2144/99-0652

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EXTREME CAUTION MUST BE EXERCISED WITH RESPECT TO
DISSEMINATION OF THE INFORMATION HEREIN SINCE BY ITS NATURE,
IT TENDS TO IDENTIFY NY 694-S*, A VALUABLE INFORMANT, AS THE
SOURCE THEREOF. UNLESS THIS INFORMATION IS OBTAINED FROM A
SOURCE OTHER THAN NY 694-S*, IT SHOULD NOT BE INCORPORATED
EVEN IN PARAPHRASED FORM - IN THE INVESTIGATIVE SECTION OF A
REPORT. (X) (u)

1
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3
4

- 3 - BUREAU (100-361031) (Encl. 1) (RM)
- 2 - BOSTON (Encl. 1) (RM)
- 1 - CHICAGO (134-46) (CG 5824-S) (RM)
- 2 - DETROIT (Encl. 1) (RM)
- 2 - LOS ANGELES (Encl. 1) (RM)
- 2 - MINNEAPOLIS (Encl. 1) (RM)
- 2 - SAN FRANCISCO (Encl. 1) (RM)
- 1 - NY 134-91 (Inv) (41)
- 1 - NY 100-148623 (41)

ENCLOSURE

Action taken
regarding informant
attending Congress

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OTHERWISE

REC-2 100-361031-7

6 JUL 2 1962

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

cc: Wick
286

#260,747
Classified by SP8BTJ/RBG
Declassify on: OADR 9/3/87

NAT. INT. SEC. 10-1-62

cc: Wick

50 JUL 16 1962

CONFIDENTIAL

Even at this late date the number of delegates is not certain. The fact that Homer Jack of SANE Nuclear Policy Committee warned against the Conference on the day after the ad appeared in the N.Y. Times had a discouraging effect. Then the statement issued by Norman Thomas and Robert Gilman of "Turn Toward Peace" against the Conference this past week may also create some difficulties. Some persons especially among the women have debated attendance back and forth, partly because of some of these local pressures - and undoubtedly even stronger pressures have been made.

One other factor applies to some of the women who have a responsibility to attend the International Conference of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom - which will be held during the same July dates in California.

Finally, it must also be said that some of us did not do all that we should have done and could have done to guarantee greater attendance - regardless of various difficulties. This also means that the delegation is lacking in certain politically advanced forces. Some of us cannot use passports and some have been virtually denied passports under the McCarran Act - but that is not the full barrier.

Our information shows the following:

1-11-99
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DECLASSIFY ON: 25X
ONLY PAGE 1 REVIEWED FOR 92-2149/1
99-0652

Three persons will attend as observers from SANE, but in view of the Homer Jack statement, their observations may not be so objective. These three are:

Homer Jack - a clergyman who is the most important functioning person in SANE.

Eric Fromm - a writer and lecturer, who has also an independent position - somewhat influenced by a psychoanalysis point of view, and more so from a Social-Democrat viewpoint. His writings on Berlin have called for a new approach by U.S.A. on the basis of no war over Berlin, etc.

Stewart Meachem - of the American Friends Service Committee - is an important secretary with responsibility for international affairs among the Quakers. He is the key associate of Clarence Pickett. Meachem's contacts extend in the labor movement as well as among the pacifist forces of this country. He is well respected.

Each of these men have expressed sharp differences with the Soviet Union and have different estimates of the S.U. and socialism - but they also have differences among themselves. They have possibly an even more negative attitude toward the Communist Party, and have somewhat of a phobia against Communists. In spite of all these differences, they are to be regarded as peace advocates on the American scene.

#260,747

Classified by

Declassify on: OADR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

9/3/87

ALL INFORMATION ON THIS PAGE IS CLASSIFIED
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

100-361031-766

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-361031)

DATE: July 31, 1962

FROM : LEGAT, LONDON (100-53374) (RUC)

SECRET

SUBJECT: WORLD CONGRESS FOR GENERAL
DISARMAMENT AND PEACE
JULY 9 - 14, 1962
MOSCOW, USSR
IS - R

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

REC-65
EX-103

1) was used in
2) B. K. ...
3) Baumhauer

ReBulet to Department of State, dated July 6, 1962.

Information contained in referenced Bulet and other information regarding participants in the above-captioned Congress has been furnished British Security Service, MI-5. In this connection, a list containing 91 names was made available to [redacted] on July 25, 1962. [redacted] furnished information to this office on 72 of the individuals whose names appeared on the list as well as information on six additional individuals whose names did not appear on the list.

This information made available by [redacted] was received from sources in the London Office of the World Peace Council and he characterized these sources as secret and reliable. Two copies of a list of the individuals about whom [redacted] furnished information are enclosed incorporating the pertinent data alongside each name.

This list, which bears a secret classification, is also being disseminated to individual case files where files are known to exist and the letters are being sent to the Bureau under the individual case caption.

CLASSIFIED BY SP7-ELP

DECLASSIFY ON DATE

- 3 Bureau (2 Encls.)
- 1 Foreign Liaison - sent direct
- 1 London

ACM: col
(5)

#260,747
Classified by JPB/TJR/RBS
Declassify on: OADR

CLASSIFIED DECISIONS FINISHED
BY DEPARTMENT REVIEW

DATE: 9-13-00

67 AUG 31 1962
7 SEP 14 1962

592-314/99-002

100-361031-787

18 AUG 6

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WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

REQ. REC'D
DATE FORW.
BY

7-11-00

bi

Handwritten notes and signatures on the right side of the page.

~~[REDACTED]~~ NY, NY

~~SECRET~~

Invited by World Peace Council
to attend the Congress
Described as radical type U.S.S.R.
socialist
Also intended to visit East
Germany

~~[REDACTED]~~

Expected to attend the Congress
U.S.S.R.

~~[REDACTED]~~

Expected to attend the congress
U.S.S.R.

~~[REDACTED]~~

Departed London for Moscow 7-5-62
ENG. U.S.S.R.

~~[REDACTED]~~
FISCHER, BEATRICE MARTIUS
dob 5-15-95, Lodz, Poland
PP C142538

Employed as translator for
Holland De Witte Roberts U.S.S.R.
Desired to go to Congress

~~[REDACTED]~~
FREEDMAN, DAVID
11-17-00, Naugatuck, Conn
PP 1891260

Expected to attend the Congress
U.S.S.R.

b7c

~~[REDACTED]~~ Russia

Expected to attend the Congress
/

~~[REDACTED]~~
FROMM, ERIC

U.S.S.R. Expected to attend the Congress
as observer and to read
a document

~~[REDACTED]~~

Expected to transit England U.S.S.R.
enroute to Moscow on 7-6-62

~~[REDACTED]~~

Invited to attend the Congress
by the World Peace Council
Arrived England 7-5-62 and was
U.S.S.R. to leave for Moscow 7-7-62

~~[REDACTED]~~

ALL INFORMATION ON THIS PAGE IS CLASSIFIED UNLESS OTHERWISE

In contact with World Peace
Council, London about attending
the Congress ENG. U.S.S.R.
Was to depart London for Moscow
7-5-62

~~[REDACTED]~~

Expected to attend the Congress
and then changed her mind about
going

~~[REDACTED]~~ ~~SECRET~~

Enthusiastic supporter of
Congress, associate of Holland
DeWitte Roberts.
To leave England for Moscow 7-5-62

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXX

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

6 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

Deletions were made pursuant to the exemptions indicated below with no segregable material available for release to you.

Section 552

Section 552a

(b)(1)

(b)(7)(A)

(d)(5)

(b)(2)

(b)(7)(B)

(j)(2)

(b)(3)

(b)(7)(C)

(k)(1)

(t)(7)(D)

(k)(2)

(b)(7)(E)

(k)(3)

(b)(7)(F)

(k)(4)

(b)(4)

(b)(8)

(k)(5)

(b)(5)

(b)(9)

(k)(6)

(b)(6)

(k)(7)

Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to the subject of your request or the subject of your request is listed in the title only.

Documents originated with another Government agency(ies). These documents were referred to that agency(ies) for review and direct response to you.

_____ Pages contain information furnished by another Government agency(ies). You will be advised by the FBI as to the releasability of this information following our consultation with the other agency(ies).

_____ Page(s) withheld inasmuch as a final release determination has not been made. You will be advised as to the disposition at a later date.

_____ Pages were not considered for release as they are duplicative of _____

_____ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s): _____

The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

100-361031-788x

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
X Deleted Page(s) X
X No Duplication Fee X
X for this page X
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXX

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-361031)

DATE: MAR 19 1963
24

FROM : SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-63154)

SUBJECT: WORLD CONGRESS FOR GENERAL
DISARMAMENT AND PEACE
Moscow, 7/9-14/62
IS - C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/3/87 BY SP8 BTJ/RBG

On 1/23/63, [redacted] made available to SAS [redacted] and [redacted] various typed letters written by [redacted] while on a [redacted] during 1962. Contained in photographic copies of these letters, which are being retained in Los Angeles file 100-7685-1B4, 5, are various references to [redacted] participation in captioned Congress and data concerning individuals he met at this Congress. Among the individuals described by [redacted] as being present at captioned Congress were the following:

[redacted]

Psychologist ERIC FROMM, who reportedly came to sabotage the Congress by carrying on a fight for an East German pardon for an old anti-Nazi friend now sentenced in a secret trial for alleged espionage.

- (2) Bureau (REGISTERED)
- 2-Chicago [redacted] (REG.)
- 6-New York (ERIC FROMM) (REG.)
(2-100-136787) [redacted]
- (2-[redacted])
- 12-San Francisco (REG.)
(2-[redacted])
(2-[redacted])
(2-[redacted])
(2-[redacted])
(2-[redacted])
- 2-Miami [redacted] (REG.)
- 4-Los Angeles [redacted] (REG.)
(1-100-7685) [redacted]
(1-100-24642) [redacted]
(1-100-33973) [redacted]

100-361031-837

REC-36
b7c
EX - 120
8 MAR 22 1963

NAT. INVEST.
R. [redacted]

62 APR 2 1963 (COMINFIL FIRST UNITARIAN CHURCH)
f43

LA 100-63154

At the first two meetings of the United States delegation, TOMPKINS spoke on the ETZIONI theme of reducing fears and tension as the necessary first step towards disarmament and peace. He subsequently sent a letter dated 7/14/62, to Premier KHRUSHCHEV through Mr. KARLOV, Chairman of the Soviet Peace Committee. In his letter, TOMPKINS urged Premier KHRUSHCHEV to take the first step, if necessary, towards easing the tension between the USSR and the United States and enclosed a copy of ETZIONI's book, "The Hard Road to Peace." As a result of sending this letter, TOMPKINS was bitterly attacked by an un-named United States film writer, who was living in Moscow and undergoing medical treatment. Attorney LLOYD MC MURRAY from San Francisco, came to TOMPKINS' defense, and General HUGH B. HESTER privately told TOMPKINS that he supported his action.

During the middle of the Congress, a letter was received from Reverend STEPHEN FRITCHMAN, Los Angeles, disclaiming any idea that TOMPKINS should represent the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles as a delegate because this church had not sent any delegates to the Congress. TOMPKINS noted, however, that the Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice, an autonomous branch of the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles, had sent a few delegates to this Congress.

b7c [redacted] included among some of his letters, copies and material that he obtained at the Moscow Congress, which are listed below:

A 14 page typewritten "Declaration to the Moscow Congress" to the end of which was affixed the following typewritten names, presumably as endorsers:

WILLIAM C. DAVIDON
ERICH FROMM
ROBERT GILMORE
ALFRED HASSLER

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (100-361031)

DATE: 8/26/63

FROM : Legat, Bern (100-20) (P)

SUBJECT: BULLETIN OF THE WORLD
COUNCIL OF PEACE
IS - R

Remylet 6/20/63.

Enclosed are one copy each of the following issues of captioned bulletin:

1. #9 dated May 31, 1963;
2. #10 dated June 15, 1963;
3. #12 dated July 31, 1963.

With regard to issue #9, a review disclosed the following items of interest:

Page 2: "USA - Peace Fashion Show." Description of a Fashion for Peace Show in New York, organized by the National Guardian with Mrs. CYRUS EATON as guest of honor and with guests from the United Nations. Other guests included FREDA KIRCHWAY, UN representative for the WILPF; JUDITH MALINA, of the Living Theater and General Strike for Peace; SARAH CUNNINGHAM, actress and peace worker; and Mrs. DAGMAR WILSON of WFP.

"In Brief". Description of a peace demonstration at Easter, with speakers including Dr. ERICH FROMM; Dr. MARY BRAZELON of Women Strike for Peace and WILPF; HOMER JACK, Executive Director of SANE; TOM BARTON of the Student Peace Union; DAVID DELLINGER, pacifist and editor of "Liberation"; and BAYARD RUSTIN of the War Resisters League.

- 3 - Bureau (Encl. 3)
- (1 - Liaison)
- 1 - Bern

HDG:mls

(4)

*3 Encl. to Bern
10-28-63*

57 SEP 27 1963

#360,747
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10/15/87 BY SP8 BTJ/REB

*Womens International League
Peace and Freedom*

100-361031-854

REC 22 SEP 4 1963

ENCLOSURE

INDEXED

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

6

Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- Deletions were made pursuant to the exemptions indicated below with no segregable material available for release to you.

Section 552

Section 552a

(b)(1)

(b)(7)(A)

(d)(5)

(b)(2)

(b)(7)(B)

(j)(2)

(b)(3)

(b)(7)(C)

(k)(1)

(b)(7)(D)

(k)(2)

(b)(7)(E)

(k)(3)

(b)(7)(F)

(k)(4)

(b)(4)

(b)(8)

(k)(5)

(b)(5)

(b)(9)

(k)(6)

(b)(6)

(k)(7)

- Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to the subject of your request or the subject of your request is listed in the title only.

- Documents originated with another Government agency(ies). These documents were referred to that agency(ies) for review and direct response to you.

_____ Pages contain information furnished by another Government agency(ies). You will be advised by the FBI as to the releasability of this information following our consultation with the other agency(ies).

_____ Page(s) withheld inasmuch as a final release determination has not been made. You will be advised as to the disposition at a later date.

_____ Pages were not considered for release as they are duplicative of _____

_____ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s): _____

The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

100-301031-2107x

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
X Deleted Page(s) X
X No Duplication Fee X
X for this page X
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

XXXXXX
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XXXXXX

- Tolson _____
- Belmont _____
- Mohr _____
- Callahan _____
- Conrad _____
- DeLoach _____
- Evans _____
- Malone _____
- Rosen _____
- Sullivan _____
- Tavel _____
- Trotter _____
- Tele Room _____
- Holmes _____
- Gandy _____

Some sidelights on the Moscow peace conference

B RITAIN'S LORD RUSSELL, a sponsor of the World Congress for General Disarmament and Peace, could not go to Moscow but sent a tape-recorded message. In it he urged the neutral powers to draw up a disarmament plan and to take charge of inspection. He called on western statesmen to affirm: "I am firmly convinced that a nuclear war would be worse than the world-wide victory of communism." He asked communist leaders to make the same statement in regard to war and capitalism. "Those on either side who refuse to make such a declaration," Russell said, "would brand themselves enemies of mankind and advocates of the extinction of the human race."

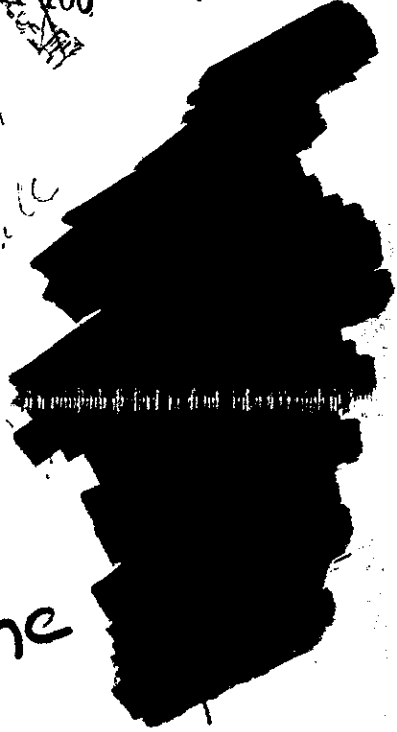
C ANON L. JOHN COLLINS, chairman of the British Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, in a speech at the Congress was critical of both sides in the cold war and denounced all nuclear testing. His speech was reported in Russian papers and on the radio. He was also granted a one-hour interview with Premier Khrushchev. For his sponsorship of the Congress, Collins was threatened with expulsion by the Labor Party.

On his return to London, Collins said that the Congress sponsors "scrupulously fulfilled" their promise of genuine dialogue. "The Soviet authorities have given every facility for full and fair reporting of non-communist speeches in the Soviet press," he said. "The public in Moscow has been given free access to the conference and to peace organizations of the West."

He added: "In my interview with Mr. Khrushchev I pressed that the U.S.S.R. should give a lead by making a unilateral decision, whatever the advice of the military advisers might be, against any further tests. I was ashamed when, in face of his courteous but forceful arguments, I was unable to give him any assurance that the churches would support me in asking for equivalent unilateral initiatives on the part of the West."

CND members at the Congress distributed 10,000 leaflets in Russian to Moscow residents. Some British delegates were criticized by others in the delegation for distributing leaflets written by an industrial subcommittee of Lord Russell's Com-

REC 57
EX 100



b7c

- The Washington Post and Times Herald _____
- The Washington Daily News _____
- The Evening Star _____
- New York Herald Tribune _____
- New York Journal-American _____
- New York Mirror _____
- New York Daily News _____
- New York Post _____
- The New York Times _____
- The Worker _____
- The New Leader _____
- The Wall Street Journal _____
- The National Observer _____
- Date 7/30/62

"National Guardian"
Page 4

Carol

~~53 AUG 27 1962~~

AUG 31 1962

~~53 AUG 31 1962~~

REC 7

100-361031-A
1705-112344-A

NOT RECORDED
176 AUG 6 1962

mittee of 100. The leaflets challenged the Soviet Union's Marxism and questioned if it was truly a socialist state.

English

THE BRITISH DELEGATION split over a plan by some members of the Committee of 100 to march with banners to the American Embassy and then to demonstrate outside the Kremlin. Kingsley Martin, former editor of the New Statesman, and others argued that it would be interpreted as a Soviet insult to the U.S. Soviet officials said no demonstrations would not be permitted. After heated debate, the issue was compromised.

About six British pacifists and some Danish and U.S. delegates unfurled banners in Red Square, inscribed with messages denouncing nuclear tests. Several Russian men and women quickly took away the banners. The pacifists remained in the square for more than an hour explaining their views to interested Soviet citizens.

11/11

ALTHOUGH THE FINAL resolution was adopted with only two objections and seven abstentions, some Western delegates were not satisfied with the final statement, which about 100 persons signed. Signers included Kingsley Martin, Sydney Silverman, Bruce Reid and Christopher Farley of Britain; Dale Poulus, Homer Jack, Erich Fromm and Mr. and Mrs. Warren Mills of the U.S.; and August Sandberg, Swedish MP.

107-
2/11

215

The statement denounced nuclear tests and urged both sides in the cold war to run "limited risks" by unilateral actions toward disarmament. It also called on peace advocates to criticize their own as well as foreign governments.

The statement said: "It is clear that the United States is stalling disarmament by making it conditional on the previous setting up of an impossibly strict system of inspection unacceptable to the U.S.S.R."

"The U.S.S.R. is also obstructive when it insists that all inspection be postponed until general and complete disarmament has actually been agreed and begun."

The statement was explained to the congress and went into the official record with the main resolution.

All
R.S. 319

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 8/15/61

FROM : SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-NEW)

SUBJECT: [REDACTED]

SM-C

OO: Richmond

#260,747
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/3/87 BY SP8 BTJ/RBG

11-1

FD 217

The two photostats enclosed to the Bureau and the photostat enclosed to the Richmond Office are from an original mimeographed document of 14 pages received from and subsequently returned to [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (conceal per request) who has furnished reliable information in the past.

As shown in the photostat, the series of letters reproduced were dictated by [REDACTED] prior to his leaving for vacation in Vermont. Rough drafts were apparently furnished to [REDACTED] by his secretary which he amended. It is assumed that these letters were eventually put in the mail in finished form about July, 1961.

[REDACTED] contributor of the mimeographed document, advised that he had received it from an individual whom he regards as reliable, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (conceal at [REDACTED] request). [REDACTED] was described by [REDACTED] as a long time acquaintance of his and as a writer, researcher, connected with the [REDACTED] described by [REDACTED] as a pro-right group concerned mainly with political and socio-economic issues nationally and locally.

No concerted attempt has been made by the Los Angeles Division to document individual identities shown in the enclosed photostats because they are persons possibly known to the Bureau and to field divisions in the eastern part of the United States.

- 3-Bureau (REGISTERED MAIL) (Encls. 2)
- 1-Richmond (REGISTERED) (Encl. 1)
- 1-Los Angeles

TWC/jmp
(5)

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

EX - 107

SUBV. CONTROL
Central Research
p2+enc
[Signature]

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 62-43719-

3X seraf c's made 10/15/61
see CIA report 9/15/61 Bufile 100-348619
JCM/jmp

ilt. DC
GC
9-1-61

Page Eight

not go to a man's loyalty. It goes to his beliefs. In America we have consistently followed the fundamental principle, spelled out in the first amendment to the Constitution, that all Americans shall enjoy freedom of belief, just as they shall enjoy freedom of religion and expression."

Doubtless you have read the testimony by William P. Fidler, General Secretary of the American Association of University Professors, submitted to the House Committee on Education and Labor on June 14, 1961. The repeal of this Disclaimer Affidavit is urged, not only by the American Association of University Professors, but also by nearly all of the major academic associations in the country, including the American Council on Education, The Association of American Colleges, The State Universities Association, The National Educational Association, The American Association for the Advancement of Science, and others. The Presidents on executive boards of over a hundred and thirty colleges and universities have publicly voiced disapproval of this requirement, and twenty-nine of the major institutions have refused to participate in the National Defense Educational Assistance Program because they object to this affidavit. These institutions include Harvard, Yale, Princeton, The University of Chicago, Oberlin, Amherst, and other major institutions in the country. As you know, both Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy have spoken before the Congressional committee, is that the requirement is vague, unconstitutional and invidious. It is uncertain what organizations and beliefs are referred to. It seems probably that it violates the first amendment of the Constitution. In any case, it singles out students as a class under suspicion.

There is no objection to a positive oath of the kind taken by government officials. A negative or test oath, by which the individual swears that he does not have subversive beliefs or does not belong to organizations with such beliefs, is an entirely different thing. The student who signs this affidavit may be subjected to harassment and a perjury trial on the grounds that his beliefs are subversive or that he belongs to organizations with subversive beliefs. However innocent, it may be difficult for him to prove a universal negative.

On reflection, I am sure you will agree that this provision has no place in American education. Sincerely yours,

Erich Fromm, c/o Doubleday & Company, Inc., 575 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N.Y. --Dear Mr. Fromm: Thank you very much for sending the prepublication of your book "Is World Peace Still Possible". In general I agree with your point of view. However, I think peaceful coexistence should be interpreted to mean mutual respect for the territorial integrity and political independence of all states under their actual governments. This is Groushchev's interpretation, and of course means acceptance of existing alliances arrangements, but, as to an international lawyer, I prefer the term which conforms to the basic principle of that law, rather than recognition of present "spheres of interest".

I am sure your book will cause a great deal of important discussion. Your psychological analysis ought to be instructive to many people. Sincerely yours,

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-366428)

DATE: December 3, 1952

FROM : SAC, ALBANY (100-12498)

#260,747

SUBJECT: STANLEY EDGAR HYMAN
SECURITY MATTER - C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 9/3/87 BY SP8BTJ/RBG

b7c

Re summary report of Special Agent [redacted] dated May 29, 1952, at New Haven, Connecticut; New Haven letter to Bureau dated May 29, 1952; and New York letter to Bureau dated June 12, 1952; Bureau letter to Albany dated October 28, 1952.

STANLEY EDGAR HYMAN is presently residing at the home of ERICH FROMM, Bennington College Campus, Bennington, Vermont, and according to informants, is not visibly employed. However, reports indicate that the subject is employed as a writer for the "New Yorker" magazine. The subject and his wife are of the white race.

Records of the Bridgeport, Connecticut, Credit Rating Bureau indicate that the subject is married to SHIRLEY JACKSON HYMAN, who is reportedly a free-lance writer who writes under the name of SHIRLEY JACKSON and that she has a contract for stories with the "Good Housekeeping" magazine.

Reports in the possession of the Albany Office fail to indicate that the subject is connected with the Communist Party; however, it has been reported that the subject, an instructor in folklore and literature, was listed for a special weekend course at the Samuel Adams School, Boston, Massachusetts (dates not indicated).

The Samuel Adams School was cited by the Attorney General as coming within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

The subject, according to an informant, was a member of the League of American Writers as of February 3, 1950. The League of American Writers was cited by the Attorney General as coming within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

The subject has no official capacity at the Samuel Adams School or in the League of American Writers, according to reports in the possession of the Albany Office.

Reports failed to indicate that the subject's wife, SHIRLEY, has been a member of the Communist Party or affiliated with any subversive groups.

There is no indication in the Albany files that any relatives of the subject or of the subject's wife are members of the Communist Party or are affiliated with any subversive groups.

JH:EFV
REGISTERED MAIL

RECORDED - 70
INDEXED - 70

100-366428-18

DEC 4 1952

18

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(EMPL. CARD)

COMMUNICATIONS INDUSTRY
EMPLOYED BY
(EMPL. CARD)

CONFIDENTIAL

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE CLEVELAND	OFFICE OF ORIGIN CLEVELAND	DATE 10/11/61	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 9/7 - 10/4/61
TITLE OF CASE [REDACTED], aka. b7c		REPORT MADE BY SA [REDACTED]	TYPED BY EPV
		CHARACTER OF CASE b7c SM - ISL	

REFERENCES

Report of SA [REDACTED] 10-4-60.

b7c

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OTHERWISE

- C -

1-11-00
CLASSIFIED BY **SP7CEH/N**
DECLASSIFY ON: **25X 1**
ONLY PAGE A REVIEWED
FOR 98-3144/99-0652

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source

Location

CV T-1
[REDACTED] **(X)(U)**
b2

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EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

[REDACTED] **b2**
(X)(U)

APPROVED <i>[Signature]</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW	
COPIES MADE: 4 Bureau (100-366613)(RM) 3 - Cleveland (100-17777) #260,741 Classified by SP7 BTJ/RB Declassify on: OADR 11/187 OCT 18 3 30 PM '81		100-366613-34	REC-47
DISSEMINATION RECORD OF ATTACHED REPORT		NOTATIONS DIA	
AGENCY RAO	REQUEST RECD.	CONFIDENTIAL <i>[Handwritten notes]</i>	
DATE FWD. OCT 25 1961	HOW FWD. 0-6		
BY WTF			

58 OCT 25 1961

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L

Copy to:

Report of: SA [REDACTED]
Date: October 11, 1961

Office: CLEVELAND, OHIO

Field Office File No.: 100-17777

Bureau File No.: 100-366613

Title: [REDACTED]

1-11-00
CLASSIFIED BY SP7CE/IN
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X
ONLY PAGES 1, 4, 5 REVIEWED
FOR 98-2144/89-0152

Character: SECURITY MATTER - INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST LEAGUE

Synopsis: [REDACTED] Subject currently active in Cleveland SPSDF and reportedly the [REDACTED] branch. Continues as [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Ohio State SPSDF publication. Reportedly has not changed his Socialist belief or convictions since he was an [REDACTED] Believed by source to be [REDACTED] where his purpose is to spread the cause of Socialism. Another source identified subject in March, 1961 as one of the [REDACTED] Still employed and residing in Cleveland. (S)(u)

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WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

- C -

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OTHERWISE

DETAILS: AT CLEVELAND, OHIO and SUBURBS.

I. BACKGROUND

A. Residence and Employment

Source: CV T-1

#260,717
Classified by SP8 BTJ/RBG
Declassify on OADR 9/11/87

On March 28, 1961, source advised that as of that date subject was still employed by the [REDACTED] and was still residing at [REDACTED] Cleveland, Ohio.

C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L

CONFIDENTIAL

CV 100-17777

150 to 175 persons attended this meeting and that THOMAS spoke very strongly for Socialism in America. He advocated the democratic vote to obtain socialism but stated that in the United States we do not have democratic elections because of our two party system. He attacked the policy of the various states which made it so difficult for other than the two main political parties to obtain a place on the ballot. THOMAS also spoke against the Soviet Union's form of Socialism.

On October 19, 1960, source advised that subject was present on October 15, 1960, at a meeting sponsored by the Cleveland SP-SDF where the featured speaker was the Educational Director of a Labor Union, identity unknown to source. The speaker's topic was "Democracy in the Labor Union" and he contended that there was no democracy in labor unions in America and blamed the individual members because of their lack of interest and poor attendance at labor union meetings. (X) (u)

b7c On October 26, 1960, source advised that on October 19, 1960, subject attended the regular Cleveland SP-SDF meeting [redacted] Very little business was transacted however, [redacted] details not obtained by source. (X) (u)

On November 21, 1960, source advised that on November 2, 1960, subject was in attendance at the regular Cleveland SP-SDF meeting held at Workingmen's Circle Hall, 1846 Coventry Road. One of the YPSL members present told of the YPSL's plans to picket the election polls on November 18, 1960, protesting that the ballot had a place for only the Democratic and Republican parties. (X) (u)

u.3. At the above meeting, one of the members reported on an article written by one ERICH FROMM, an SP-SDF member, which article had been printed in the SP-SDF publication, "The SOCIALIST CALL" and was entitled "Let Man Prevail" (X) (u)

The following is [redacted] concerning the above mentioned article, "Let Man Prevail" (X) (u)

107 [redacted] Party - Social Democratic Federation

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

On February 16, 1961, source stated that the article by ERICH FROMM was written as a proposed program for the SP-SDF and submitted to the Special Program Committee of the SP-SDF at their 1958 National Convention in Detroit, Michigan. He stated that as of February 16, 1961, the members of the SP-SDF had not as yet accepted this document as their program but were giving it considerable study. (S) (u)

On January 11, 1961, source furnished a copy of the Summer, 1960, issue of "The Socialist Call" (self-identified as official organ of the SP-SDF) which issue was devoted in its entirety to reprinting a major part of the above mentioned article by FROMM. The article contains a preface by the editors which states that FROMM's "Socialist Manifesto and Program" was at once a restatement of Socialist principles and a suggested program for the SP-SDF. Following is verbatim from the last three paragraphs of the editorial preface.

"Where other documents have either been rephrasings of theoretical formulations or proposals for adoption by Socialist Parties in election campaigns, Dr. FROMM's discussion combines an historical-theoretical analysis with a detailed presentation of an intermediate program offered for acceptance by the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation, its friends and sympathizers.

"In his books and lectures, Dr. FROMM has placed the socio-psychological needs of man to the forefront, asserting that the Marxian concept of alienation, deriving from the failure of workers to realize inner satisfaction in an industrialized society, can be one of the major keys to social change in our time.

"Dr. FROMM's boldness and imaginativeness in the fields of psychiatry and psychology have made a significant impact on the intellectual thought of our period. Dr. FROMM recently elected to the National Committee of the SP-SDF, presents a number of distinctive proposals for consideration by socialists in this paper. He has thereby opened a new era of discussion for socialists presently engaged in revising socialist doctrine so as to make it more meaningful for our time."

CONFIDENTIAL

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT LOS ANGELES

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY FILE NO 100-97848 MCG

REPORT MADE AT NEW YORK	DATE WHEN MADE 6/8/50	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 5/23-26, 29, 30/49 6/1-3, 5-6/50	REPORT MADE BY [REDACTED]
----------------------------	--------------------------	--	------------------------------

TITLE CHANGED: [REDACTED] was.; [REDACTED]	CHARACTER OF CASE SECURITY MATTER - C
---	--

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

ADMINISTRATIVE

Subject was one of the sponsors of the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace held 3/25, 26, 27/49 at NYC. Informant stated that subject was one of the sponsors of the Bill of Rights Conference held 7/16, 17/49 at NYC. On 7/9/48 informant stated subject was a member of the Los Angeles CP. No info known concerning subject's wife. Info regarding [REDACTED] and Dr. ERICH FROMM set forth. NY indices contain no info regarding Dr. [REDACTED], or [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] NY Confidential Informants T-4, T-5, T-6, T-7, T-8, T-9, and T-10, all of known reliability, could furnish no info concerning any of the above named persons.

2-8-00
CLASSIFIED BY SP7CJ/110
DECLASSIFY ON: OX
ONLY PAGE 1, 3, 4
REVIEWED FOR
98-3144/9P-0452

b7C
(all)

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- RUC -

#260,747
Classified by SP8 BTJ/REG
Declassify on OADR
9/14/87

DETAILS: At New York City, New York

The title of this case is being marked changed to reflect the additional name of [REDACTED] as furnished by Confidential Informant T-3, of known reliability.

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: <i>Edward Schmitt</i> SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES
COPIES OF THIS REPORT 5 - Bureau 3 - Los Angeles (100-31143) 2 - New York	100-367860-6 CONFIDENTIAL SECRET RECORDED - 117 INDEXED 117 571-10

~~SECRET~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-97848

Consulting physician of neuropsychiatry, Beth David and Goldwater Memorial Hospitals; attending physician of neuropsychiatry, Beth Israel Hospital.

As a result of a mail cover during December, 1944, it was determined that [redacted] New York City, had mailed a letter to one [redacted] Street, New York City, who is believed to have been a contact of [redacted], one of the subjects of the [redacted] Case.

b7c

The December 28, 1943 issue of the "New York Herald Tribune" carried a declaration sponsored by the Reichstag Fire Trial Anniversary Committee, 55 West 43rd Street, during the list of signers appeared [redacted]. The name of PABLO ROBESON appeared as the Chairman of the Committee.

The following confidential informants advised that [redacted] was unknown to them: Confidential Informants T-3, T-4, T-5, T-6, T-7, T-8, T-9, and T-10.

The records of the Bureau of Special Services and Investigation, New York City Police Department, as reviewed by SA [redacted], contained no information concerning [redacted].

Dr. ERICH FROMM

The 1950 New York Address-Telephone Directory revealed that Dr. ERICH FROMM resided at 322 Central Park West, and that no person by the name of FROMM resided at that address.

On October 16, 1943 Confidential Informant (T-11), of known reliability, advised that ERICH FROMM was considered by the Organizing Committee of the Jefferson School of Social Science as a possible guest lecturer and forum participant. *(Handwritten initials)*

It is to be noted that the Jefferson School of Social Science has been cited by the Attorney General of the United States as coming within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

On February 18, 1944 Confidential Informant (T-12), of known reliability, furnished a 1943 catalog for the New School of Social Research, 66 West 12th Street, New York City. This catalog lists ERICH FROMM as an instructor, and gives the following biography:

~~SECRET~~ - 3 - ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-97848

CONFIDENTIAL

SECRET

X

"Ph.D., Heidelberg; psychoanalytic training under HANNS SACHS. G. WITTENBERG, Munich and Berlin. Formerly guest lecturer, Columbia; Chicago Institute of Psychoanalysis; lecturer, Psychoanalytic Institute of Frankfurt; Institute of Social Research; University of Frankfurt. Formerly member, Institute of Social Research, New York; member, American Ethnological Society; New York Academy of Sciences; Berlin and International Psychoanalytic Societies; Author, 'Escape from Freedom'; articles."

On April 11, 1946 Confidential Informant (T-13,) of known reliability, advised that Mr. and Mrs. ~~CEDRIC BELFRAGE~~ would spend the evening with Dr. FROMM. (S)U

On November 30, 1945, ELIZABETH BENTLEY in a signed statement stated that CEDRIC BELFRAGE was one of the persons who had supplied material to her, or J. N. SOLOS who was her predecessor in the Washington Soviet espionage apparatus. BENTLEY advised that BELFRAGE was known as "BENJAMIN" to the Russians, and that he had been connected with British Intelligence in the United States. BENTLEY stated that BELFRAGE had specifically supplied the carbon copy of a report emanating from Scotland Yard, and also information regarding British policy concerning the Middle East and Russia.

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Confidential Informant T-14, of known reliability, advised that [redacted] received the following letter dated May 14, 1946 from ERICH FROMM, 322 Central Park West. (S)U

"Thank you for your letter and for your kind remarks on 'Escape from Freedom'. I shall be glad to see you when you are in New York, and suggest Thursday, May 23rd at 6:00 P. M.. (S)U

"Would you be good enough to give me a ring Thursday morning between 10:00 and 12:00 to confirm this appointment. (S)U

[/s/ "Sincerely, ERICH FROMM" (S)U

b7c

In a signed statement dated November 10, 1945 ELIZABETH BENTLEY stated that [redacted] had been employed with the CIAA in Washington, and had, during 1942 through 1944, turned over to her information from ONI, G-2, and FBI reports. BENTLEY further advised she had collected Communist Party dues from [redacted], and that he was known as "GREEN" to the Russians.

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On January 10, 1949 [REDACTED] Bennington College, North Bennington, Vermont, advised that [REDACTED] for Dr. FROMM, who taught one day a week at the above college, she saw among FROMM'S papers letters bearing the letterhead of the Socialist National Committee, and that ERICH FROMM'S name was listed as a member of that committee.

On February 1, 1942 EDWARD SIMMONS, Chief of Police, Tupper Lake, New York, furnished a victrola record bearing the label with the print of two hands, one grasping the wrist of the other, and which held a dagger with the emblem of the Nazi Party on the blade. On this label also were the words, "United Front". SIMMONS stated that this record was found by a [REDACTED] in a house which she had rented to Dr. FROMM at 440 Central Park, New York, during part of 1941.

The records of the Bureau of Special Services and Investigation, New York City Police Department, as reviewed by SA [REDACTED], reflected no information concerning Dr. FROMM.

b7c
(all)

The following confidential informants advised that Dr. FROMM was unknown to them: Confidential Informants T-3, T-4, T-5, T-6, T-7, T-8, T-9, and T-10.

[REDACTED]

It was determined through an anonymous telephone call that [REDACTED] is residing at [REDACTED] Street Place, New York City, and has an office at [REDACTED] Avenue, New York City.

The New York Medical Directory for 1949 reflected the following information regarding [REDACTED]

Licensed medicine, 1937; general practice; member of Mt. Sinai Alumni Association; Assistant Physician City Hospital; Center Clinical Physician, Mt. Sinai Hospital, Out-Patient Department.

The New York files reflected no information which could be determined to be identical with [REDACTED]

The following confidential informants advised that [REDACTED] was unknown to them: Confidential Informants T-3, T-4, T-5, T-6, T-7, T-8, T-9, and T-10.

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- Tolson _____
- Belmont _____
- Mohr _____
- Casper _____
- Callahan _____
- Conrad _____
- DeLoach _____
- Evans _____
- Gale _____
- Rosen _____
- Sullivan _____
- Tavel _____
- Trotter _____
- Tele Room _____
- Holmes _____
- Gandy _____

68 Notables Urge Repeat of Smith and McCarran Acts

A GROUP of 68 prominent Americans, including attorneys, clergymen, union officials and persons active on the civil liberties front, last week called for the repeal of the Smith Act of 1940, the McCarran Internal Security Act of 1950, and the Communist Control Act of 1954.

They urged President Kennedy to suspend further enforcement of the Internal Security Act "until the constitutionality of its several provisions is finally determined in the courts under litigation already in progress."

The signers of the statement charged that these "authoritarian" laws would punish "mere expression and association."

THE SIGNERS

- Signers are:
- Ernest Angeli, Thurman Arnold, Roger Baldwin, Saul Bellows, Robert Bjerstedt, Julian P. Boyd, Ralph S. Brown, Jr., James B. Carey, Stuart Chase, John Clark, Greenville Clark, Benjamin V. Cohen, Albert Sprague Coolidge, Henry H. Crane, Babetta De-

- J. Frank Dobie, Helen Fabagan, Douglas, Harry Fleischman, James Lawrence Fly, Osmond Fraenkel,

- Walter Frank, Samuel Friedman, Erich Fromm, Lewis Gannett, Harry Golden,

- Patrick J. Gorman, Donald Harrington, Michael Harrington, Robert Heilbroner, Isidor Hoxman,

- John Haynes Holmes, Darlington Hoopes, Mark DeWolfe Howe, Ben Huebsch,

- H. Stuart Hughes, Robert Hutchins, Homer Jack, John Paul Jones, Dorothy Kenyon,

- James Kerney, Jr., Benjamin H. Kizer, Robert E. Knowlton, Robert S. Lynd, Lenore G. Marshall,

- Wesley H. Maurer, Sylvan Meyer, Lewis Mumford, Emanuel Murawchak, A. J. Muste,

- Reinhold Niebuhr, Clarence Pickett, Robert Pickus, Joachim Prinz, Joseph Rauh,

- Victor Reuther, Elmer Rice, Harold Regelman, Elmo Roper, Frank J. Rosenblum, Howard Schomer,

- Virginia Sinclair, Irwin Sull-

- Norman Thomas, J. Waties Waring, Howard White, Marion A. Wright,

The Smith Act, they said, punishes persons for the "mere teaching and advocacy of unpopular doctrine."

The McCarran Act, they said, "is similarly directed against the mere expression of ideas." Under it "ideas and associations" would "be the objects of repression and punishment."

GRAVE ISSUES

The Communist Control Act of 1954, they declared, "has raised the gravest constitutional issues."

They said that the "failure to abide by our traditions of free expression," like "our failure to provide equality of opportunity and equal justice for our Negro population," "downgrades our world reputation and influence."

"It is a baseless insult to the patriotism of our people and to our constitutional tradition to outlaw political parties, associations and ideas, which in a free society should find their rejection in the public mind and not in the public jail."

They cited, as one effect of the Communist Control Act, the banishing from the election ballot of Communist candidates.

"To the extent that entire organizations and their members are virtually made outlaws in the community, forbidden even to advocate their ideas and doctrines, we have unnecessarily forsaken fundamental principles of liberty upon which our free society is based."

The prohibitions and penalties of the Internal Security Act, "the validity of which has not yet been tested in the courts, are so dangerous and constitutionally questionable that the Government should be slow to seek their imposition."

The burdens imposed by this Act include fantastic penalties for non-registration, the disallowance of tax deductions, the public stamping of mailings, the prohibition of government employment and of private employment on government work, denial of passports, identification, and voting privileges, and similar drastic provisions. Members of listed organizations are thus made

"outlaws" in our society. "By these means the most grievous punishment is inflicted on persons who have not been convicted nor even accused of the commission of any crime."

The statement also includes doctrines which stem directly from the McCarthy period. They said, as McCarthy did, "it is doubtless true" that the Communist Party "may be today a source of recruiting for illegal action."

They condemn Communists for having "sympathies . . . with the Soviet Union."

The statement hints at a relation between Communists and persons "actually engaged in espionage or other illegal action."

They proclaim themselves the supporters of "free institutions against communist totalitarianism."

They are concerned that the continuation of the anti-communist laws will hamper the effort to "arrest the allegiance of emerging peoples" in the underdeveloped nations.

~~REC-26~~

Handwritten signatures and initials

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The Washington Post and Times Herald _____
 The Washington Daily News _____
 The Evening Star _____
 New York Herald Tribune _____
 New York Journal-American _____
 New York Mirror _____
 New York Daily News _____
 New York Post _____
 The New York Times _____
 The Worker PG 4 _____
 The New Leader _____
 The Wall Street Journal _____
 The National Observer _____
 People's World _____
 Date 11/5/63

100-372598-DR



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
 FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
 New York 7, New York

In Reply, Please Refer to
 File No.

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

June 28, 1951
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APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
 AND FIELD OFFICES
 ADVISED BY ROUTING
 SLIP(S) *class*
 DATE *7/20/84*

Director, FBI

Re: PETER STEFAN TOLGY, wa. Peter S. Gluck
 SECURITY MATTER - C

Dear Sir:

** an alleged former Comintern representative whose credibility is not known since he has in the past furnished both reliable & unreliable information (XU)*

b7c

LOUIS GIBARTI, a former Comintern agent operating in the United States during the years 1928 to 1938, was interviewed by SA [redacted] of the New York Division in Paris, France, on January 15th through the 29th, 1951 *(a)*

GIBARTI became a member of the Communist Party of Hungary in 1920 and later was recommended by the Communist Party to work with WILLI MUENZENBERG in the Workers International Relief (WIR) in Berlin, Germany. MUENZENBERG was a Comintern representative operating in the WIR for the relief of the famine stricken regions of Russia during the early part of 1920s. Later the WIR was used by the Soviet Union for propaganda purposes.

GIBARTI entered the United States in 1928 to reorganize the WIR branch in the U.S. While in the U.S. he also organized other relief and propaganda agencies for the benefit of the Soviet Union. While in the U.S. he was frequently at the Communist Party headquarters in New York City where he became acquainted with Communist Party functionaries and other members of the Party.

During the course of the interview with GIBARTI in Paris, France, he furnished information in answer to specific questions which are hereinafter set out. It is believed that the information GIBARTI furnished is of interest in instant case *(a)*

If any of the information furnished by GIBARTI is to be reported, it should be designated by symbol and referred to as a ~~Confidential Informant~~ believed to be reliable who has furnished accurate information in the past *characterized as above...*

cc: Bureau File 61-6629
 NY 105-1261

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He attended University in Paris from 1934 to 1935.

His previous employment was listed as follows:

War Department, Language Unit, 165 Broadway, New York City,
October 13, 1943.

Office of European Economic Research, 110 West 40th Street,
New York City, September, 1942 to September, 1943.

American Labor Education Service, 435 West 59th Street, New
York City, March, 1942 to September, 1943.

"Survey Graphic", 112 East 19th Street, New York City,
November, 1941 to March 1942.

Professor H. WEHBERG, Geneva, Switzerland, November, 1939 to
May, 1940.

P.A.S. Literary Agency, 6 Rue A. Moissant, Paris, France,
October, 1933 to July, 1939.

He advised that he had been a member of the American
Federation of Democratic Hungarians, 325 East 80th Street,
New York City, for two years.

He indicated he first entered the United States on
June 3, 1941 at New York. He further indicated that he had
been in Germany from 1930 to 1933 as a resident; in France
from 1933 to 1940 as a resident; in England during the summers
of 1938 and 1939 for vacations; and in Spain and Portugal in
1940, giving his reason for the visit as "transit".

References were listed as follows:

~~ERICH FROMM~~, 320 Central Park West, New York City, a psychologist,
whom he had known seventeen years.

~~EMERY I. GOUDOR~~, 385 Central Park West, New York City, a
Government employee, whom he had known for twenty-five years.

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