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January 31, 2019

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

FOIPA Request No.: 1359005-000  
Subject: WOLFE, BERTRAM

Dear Mr. Greenewald:

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

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

Please be advised if this release of previously processed material does not satisfy your information needs for this request, you may make a request to NARA at the following address, using file number 61-HQ-6050 as a reference:

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

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

Enclosed are 689 pages of previously processed documents and a copy of the Explanation of Exemptions. This release is being provided to you at no charge.

Documents or information referred to other Government agencies were not included in this release.

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

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

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

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

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

Sincerely,



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

Enclosure(s)

## EXPLANATION OF EXEMPTIONS

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

- (b)(1) (A) specifically authorized under criteria established by an Executive order to be kept secret in the interest of national defense or foreign policy and (B) are in fact properly classified to such Executive order;
- (b)(2) related solely to the internal personnel rules and practices of an agency;
- (b)(3) specifically exempted from disclosure by statute (other than section 552b of this title), provided that such statute (A) requires that the matters be withheld from the public in such a manner as to leave no discretion on issue, or (B) establishes particular criteria for withholding or refers to particular types of matters to be withheld;
- (b)(4) trade secrets and commercial or financial information obtained from a person and privileged or confidential;
- (b)(5) inter-agency or intra-agency memorandums or letters which would not be available by law to a party other than an agency in litigation with the agency;
- (b)(6) personnel and medical files and similar files the disclosure of which would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy;
- (b)(7) records or information compiled for law enforcement purposes, but only to the extent that the production of such law enforcement records or information ( A ) could reasonably be expected to interfere with enforcement proceedings, ( B ) would deprive a person of a right to a fair trial or an impartial adjudication, ( C ) could reasonably be expected to constitute an unwarranted invasion of personal privacy, ( D ) could reasonably be expected to disclose the identity of confidential source, including a State, local, or foreign agency or authority or any private institution which furnished information on a confidential basis, and, in the case of record or information compiled by a criminal law enforcement authority in the course of a criminal investigation, or by an agency conducting a lawful national security intelligence investigation, information furnished by a confidential source, ( E ) would disclose techniques and procedures for law enforcement investigations or prosecutions, or would disclose guidelines for law enforcement investigations or prosecutions if such disclosure could reasonably be expected to risk circumvention of the law, or ( F ) could reasonably be expected to endanger the life or physical safety of any individual;
- (b)(8) contained in or related to examination, operating, or condition reports prepared by, on behalf of, or for the use of an agency responsible for the regulation or supervision of financial institutions; or
- (b)(9) geological and geophysical information and data, including maps, concerning wells.

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

- (d)(5) information compiled in reasonable anticipation of a civil action proceeding;
- (j)(2) material reporting investigative efforts pertaining to the enforcement of criminal law including efforts to prevent, control, or reduce crime or apprehend criminals;
- (k)(1) information which is currently and properly classified pursuant to an Executive order in the interest of the national defense or foreign policy, for example, information involving intelligence sources or methods;
- (k)(2) investigatory material compiled for law enforcement purposes, other than criminal, which did not result in loss of a right, benefit or privilege under Federal programs, or which would identify a source who furnished information pursuant to a promise that his/her identity would be held in confidence;
- (k)(3) material maintained in connection with providing protective services to the President of the United States or any other individual pursuant to the authority of Title 18, United States Code, Section 3056;
- (k)(4) required by statute to be maintained and used solely as statistical records;
- (k)(5) investigatory material compiled solely for the purpose of determining suitability, eligibility, or qualifications for Federal civilian employment or for access to classified information, the disclosure of which would reveal the identity of the person who furnished information pursuant to a promise that his/her identity would be held in confidence;
- (k)(6) testing or examination material used to determine individual qualifications for appointment or promotion in Federal Government service the release of which would compromise the testing or examination process;
- (k)(7) material used to determine potential for promotion in the armed services, the disclosure of which would reveal the identity of the person who furnished the material pursuant to a promise that his/her identity would be held in confidence.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOI/PA  
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET  
FOI/PA# 1359005-0

Total Deleted Page(s) = 16  
Page 3 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 4 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 5 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 6 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 7 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 8 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 9 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 12 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 13 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 14 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 15 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 35 ~ Duplicate - page 26;  
Page 37 ~ Duplicate - to pages 27-29;  
Page 38 ~ Duplicate - to pages 27-29;  
Page 39 ~ Duplicate - to pages 27-29;  
Page 40 ~ Duplicate - to page 30;

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61-6050-IX  
~~61-5907-1~~  
BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
AUG 20 1925 A.M.  
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FILE

August 19, 1925.

Mr. Arthur Bliss Lane,  
Department of State,  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Lane:-

Reference is made to your letter of the 8th instant transmitting copies of despatches from the American Consul General at Mexico City, and asking whether we have any information regarding BERTHA WOLFE.

Wolfe has been an outstanding character in the radical movement in the United States and was prominent in the investigations of the so-called Lusk Committee of the New York Legislature. He is understood to be a citizen of the United States.

He was indicted with Larkin, Frains, McAlpert, Ballin, Cohen, Rathenberg, Citlow and Ferguson, under the New York Criminal Syndicalist Act in February, 1920. He was very prominent in the Left Wing movement, was a member of the Committee to pass on the Manifesto of the Left Wing, and was a delegate from Kings County, New York, to the conference of June 21-24, 1919. He was associate editor of the Communist World, official organ of the Communist Party of America; member of the editorial board of the Communist; official organ of the Left Wing of the Socialist Party of Greater New York, first issue of which appeared April 19, 1919.

A confidential report dated June 4, 1922 indicated that Wolfe and Nicholas Horowich were on the Mexican border and were in constant touch with the Third International, the Bureau in Mexico, and the Communist agitators of America.

Wolfe has written a number of articles which have appeared in the official organs of the Communist Party, including particularly the following:-

"Death brings United Front to Mexico" (The Daily Worker)  
April 26, 1924.

BERTHA WOLFE

JUL 15 1959

Mr. Arthur Bliss Lane 2

8/19/25

"Take from Poor in Mexico to Pay Wall Street Debts"  
(The Daily Worker, November 10, 1923)

"Take the Road to the Left"  
(The Liberator, April, 1924)

"A New Page in Mexico's History"  
(The Liberator, February, 1924)

"Mexican Revolution had Big Habit of Being Successful  
Until Obregon Broke the Spell"  
(Daily Worker, February 29, 1924)

"Communists of Mexico in 2nd Congress"  
(Daily Worker, May 6, 1925)

"Pro-Political Action Wins in Mexico"  
(Daily Worker, May 26, 1925)

Very truly yours,

Acting Director.

DAF:GEG

61-6050-2

April 11, 1941

Mr. Earl J. Connelley  
Assistant Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
U. S. Department of Justice  
607 U. S. Court House, Foley Square  
New York, New York

Re: ELLA G. WOLFE;  
BERTRAM D. WOLFE;  
INTERNAL SECURITY

Dear Sir:

Under date of March 27, 1941, the names of Hans Theissen and Ilse Theissen were submitted to the Interdepartmental Committee on Political Refugees. The interested persons in this matter were Fred Strauss, Fullerton, California, and Ella G. Wolfe, 68 Montague Street, Brooklyn, New York. Information was submitted by the interested persons in this matter to the effect that Hans Theissen was a skilled mechanic and a member of the Metal Workers' Union of Germany who eventually became Secretary of the Duisburg, Germany, section of that union. It was further stated he had never belonged to any political party but was a Socialist in his beliefs. Because of Theissen's activities against the Nazi movement, he fled Germany upon Hitler's rise to power in order to save his life. He then established himself in [redacted] district and continued to work against Nazi Germany. [redacted] subsequently fled to Paris, France, where he worked as a technical [redacted]. In 1939, he was interned at Camp Vernet where he is [redacted] at the present time. His wife, Ilse Theissen, is residing in [redacted] Meille, France.

In review of files of the Bureau it was determined that information [redacted] in the Old German section to the effect that a warrant [redacted] for Bertram D. Wolfe in New York City in connection with [redacted] investigation of the Communist Party at that point during [redacted] 1919. It is further indicated that this warrant was not served [redacted] of the fact that this subject was a citizen. It also appears [redacted] an affidavit was submitted with reference to Ella Wolfe [redacted] affiliation with the Communist Party at that time. However, [redacted] details were not set forth regarding these transactions [redacted] of the Bureau.

- Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Foxworth \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

*[Handwritten signature]*



Mr. Earl J. Connelley  
New York

- 2 -

In January, 1926, one Ryoichi Kawashima, age thirty, who was described as a Japanese national, was arrested in Liverpool, England, subsequent to his arrival there on January 22, 1926, for failure to report under the Alien Act. Among his personal effects were found numerous names and addresses, as well as documents relating to the Communist Party and its activities in the United States. Among these names appeared that of Ella G. Wolfe, 632 Huroop Avenue, Brooklyn, New York. The Morning Post of London, England, dated February 1, 1926, reported that Kawashima had admitted he had been a member of the Communist Party in the United States since 1923 and that he had failed to register with the police authorities after arriving at Liverpool, England, on the S. S. Winifredian. He contended he had just completed a course at Columbia University, New York City, and he was in possession of documents which showed that he was traveling to Moscow, Russia, to attend a Congress at the Eastern University. He possessed credentials from the Communist Party - U.S.A., transferring his membership from that organization to the Communist Party of Russia in addition to Communist literature and \$12,000. As a result of the above facts, he was ordered deported.

Referral/Consult

There are numerous references contained in the files of the Bureau regarding Bertram D. Wolfe and his affiliation with the Communist Party movement over an extended period of time. However, no summary is being submitted in view of the fact that it is believed

Mr. Earl J. Connelley  
New York

- 3 -

a majority of this material is already contained in the files of the New York Field Division.

Information was received in August, 1940, from a strictly confidential foreign source to the effect that J. Lovestone, who was expelled from the Communist Party in 1929 and later formed the right-wing opposition and the Independent Labor League of America, was interested in obtaining affidavits to bring about the entrance into the United States of individuals then in Europe who were sympathetic toward his movement. Among the material submitted by this source was [redacted]

[redacted] a copy of which is being attached hereto.

Marceau [redacted] is Marceau Pivert who at that time was reportedly in Mexico and was endeavoring to obtain an immigration visa for the purpose of entering the United States. With reference to this individual, it is noted that he formerly resided in France but emigrated to New York City within the past year or two. Due to the fact that he did not have an immigration visa he proceeded to Mexico where he is making an effort to obtain this visa. Pivert reportedly furnished to the Independent Labor League of America in general and to J. Lovestone in particular a huge list of his European contacts. It was stated further that Pivert had been one of the leading lights of the organization started a few years ago by J. Lovestone, namely, the International Workers' Front Against War, and served Lovestone as the leader of this group in France. The International Workers' Front Against War reportedly issues a quarterly bulletin which is published in New York City by J. Lovestone's printer in the German, French, Spanish and English languages, and is distributed from that point throughout the United States, Europe and Canada.

b7D

The I.R.A. [redacted] is believed to be the International Relief Association, 2 West 43rd Street, New York City, which was located for a number of years at 20 Vesey Street, New York City. This organization, according to a confidential source, claims to be a non-partisan reliever of the victims of the Hitler terror and has managed to collect huge sums of money from the public and to get a number of innocent and unsuspecting people to permit their names to appear on its letterhead. It is further stated that

Mr. Earl J. Connelley  
New York

- 4 -

all persons who have been connected with this organization in an official or office capacity or who are at the present time so connected, are members of the Lovestone group.

In this regard, Francis A. Henson, Miss Ray Michaels, and Sheba Strunsky, the present Secretary of the International Relief Association, are specifically mentioned as members of or sympathetic to the Independent Labor League of America. It is alleged that this organization collected money which has been used by the Lovestone group to further its activities both in France and Germany and that this money is forwarded to Dr. August Thalheimer or to Heinz Brandler, both of whom fled Germany in 1933 to prevent their execution by Hitler. It is stated that, whenever Lovestone wanted to forward money to these individuals in France, he obtained it from the International Relief Association and forwarded it by bank check. On occasions, this association would send the money directly to Paris. The money was used for revolutionary activities against both the German and French Governments, the German comrades receiving their funds after the French comrades had taken what they needed from that forwarded by the Lovestone group.

With reference to the enclosed copy of correspondence, informant states that it was addressed to Ella Wolfe, who, in private life, is Mrs. Bertram D. Wolfe, she being approximately forty years of age, a Jewess and a teacher of Spanish in the New York City schools. It was stated that her husband at one time taught in the New York City schools but was suspended because of his political activities along Communist lines. In conclusion, it was stated that both were extremely active in Mexico and traveled to that country on various occasions under assumed names.

It is desired that an immediate, thorough and discreet investigation be instituted to ascertain the background, present activities and affiliations of the above-captioned subjects. As an incident to this inquiry, it is desired that material contained in the files of the New York Field Division be reviewed and that a summary thereof with reference to both subjects be set forth in the initial report in this matter. It is also suggested that informants who are well-known to the New York Field Division in matters of this character be contacted for the purpose of bringing up to date the available material pertinent to this inquiry.

Mr. Earl J. Connelley  
New York

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In view of the allegations set out hereinbefore and the suggestion that the Lovestone group in general and the subjects in particular are interested in sponsoring the entrance of persons into this country whose activities are possibly inimical to the national defense, it is desired that an initial report be submitted in this matter to arrive at the Bureau on or before April 20, 1941.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

Enclosure

RECEIVED  
APR 19 1941

Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice

Washington, D. C.  
April 4, 1941

EAT:DS

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

*W. J. [unclear]*

*W. J. [unclear]*

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR

At a recent meeting of the Inter-Departmental Committee in connection with the case of Hans Theissen, the name of Ella G. Wolfe, 68 Montague Street, Brooklyn, New York, appeared as a sponsor. A check of the Bureau files indicated that this woman in 1927 was the author of an article which appeared in "The Communist" on page 76. The Bureau files further indicate that in 1926 this woman was associated with a Japanese student who was arrested in Liverpool, England, for failure to register under the Alien Act and who was an active member of the Communist Party.

It appears possible in view of the lack of legitimate sponsorship of Hans Theissen that he is seeking entrance into the United States for an ulterior purpose. The Inter-Departmental Committee has declined to approve his application for a visa pending the receipt of additional, more complete and concise information from the President's Advisory Committee. This memorandum is being recorded, however, in order that an appropriate investigation may be initiated of the background, activities, etc. of Ella G. Wolfe, 68 Montague Street, Brooklyn, New York.

*Ella Wolfe*

RECORDED COPY FILED IN

Who is going to do it? Respectfully,

RECORDED & INDEXED

Edward A. Tamm

61-6050-2

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

APR 24 1941

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

RECORDED

FIVE

*(Encl. A. [unclear])*

*[Handwritten signature]*

MEMORANDUM

March 27, 1941

*NR* - Theissen, Hans  
Nationality:  
Born: Jan. 11, 1906 - Duisburg, Germany

Serial No. 2161

*NR* - Theissen, Ilse  
Nationality:  
Born:

Serial No. 2162

Interested Persons:

*NR* - Fred Strauss, Fullerton, California;  
Ellie C. Wolfe, 68 Montague Street, Brooklyn, New York.

*miss written  
C.P.*

The Committee submits herewith the names of  
Hans Theissen and his wife, Ilse.

RECORDED & INDEXED

Interested persons have provided the following  
information concerning Mr. Theissen and his wife:

61-6050-2

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

4 APR 19 1941

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FIVE

After attending technical school, Mr. Theissen  
became a skilled mechanic and joined the Metal Workers  
Union of Germany and eventually became secretary of the  
Duisburg section of that union. He never belonged to  
any political party but was Socialist in his beliefs.

By 1929 the growing Nazi influence in the factory  
where Mr. Theissen worked and the counter activities of  
the Nazi union put Mr. Theissen in the forefront of the  
struggle against Hitler. Clashes in the factory and  
throughout the city occurred so frequently that when  
Hitler came into power, the union ordered Mr. Theissen  
to flee from Germany in order to save his life. He  
then settled in the Saar District, where he became an  
active organizer for the "status quo" group which con-  
sisted of adherents of the Socialist Party and all  
liberals opposed to the Saar Anschluss with Germany.  
After the Anschluss Mr. Theissen fled to France and  
settled in Paris, where he worked as a technical engineer.  
In 1939 he was interned at Camp Vernet along with other  
Germans who had outstayed their residence permits in  
France because they had no other place to go.

Mr. Theissen is still at Camp Vernet; his wife  
is residing at Marseille.

*cl  
copy*

511.111 Theissen, Hans

*memo - Director  
Hick  
Peters  
W.A. [unclear]*

RECORDED COPY FILED IN

April 1, 1941

MEMORANDUM

RE: HANS THEISSEN  
ILSE THEISSEN

No information is available relative to Hans and Ilse Theissen, nor is there any information available relative to the interested person, Fred Strause.

Information was secured reflecting that Ella G. Wolfe, 68 Montague Street, Brooklyn, New York, was the contributor of an article entitled "The United States and Tacna Arica," which appeared in "The Communist" in April, 1927, on page 76.

Information was also secured reflecting that Ella G. Wolfe of 632 Hiroop Avenue, Brooklyn, New York, in 1926 was known to or associated with a Japanese student who was arrested in Liverpool, England, for failure to register under the Alien Act, and on his person were found credentials from the Communist Party in America transferring his membership to that party in Russia. This Japanese student, whose name was Ryoichi Kawashima, was proceeding to Moscow to attend a congress at the Eastern University.

*She should follow up*

RECORDED COPY FILED IN

RECORDED

61-6050-2
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
4 APR 19 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

*Mary Queen*  
*5/14/41*

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1  
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT

NEW YORK, NEW YORK

NY FILE NO. 100-9078

REPORT MADE AT <b>NEW YORK CITY</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>7/7/41</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>7/2/41</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>H. T. BRUNN</b>
TITLE <b>BERTRAM D. WOLFE; ELLA G. WOLFE alias Ella Goldberg</b>			CHARACTER OF CASE <b>INTERNAL SECURITY</b>

**SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:**

Bertram Wolfe taught in Mexico City High School in early 1920 and served as correspondent for Tass at that time; delegate to 6th Congress of the Communist International from the Workers (Communist) Party of America; was on Executive Committee of Workers Party of America; Director of the Workers School, NY, 1925 to 1929; served on Board of Directors of Workers Library Publishers 1928 to 1929; expelled from CP in 1929; one of original organizers of Keep America Out of War Congress; now connected with J. Lovestone in Independent Labor League of America; spoke at protest meeting of Workers Party of America against the invasion of Nicaragua in 1927; spoke at the rally for the American Committee for the defense of Leon Trotsky, 1938; addressed a meeting of the Independent Communist Labor League on the subject of the Moscow Trials in 1938; author of "Deathless Days" and "The Soviet Union in 1924"; associate editor of "The Revolutionary Age"; co-author with Norman Thomas of a book entitled "Keep America Out of War, a Program" published in 1939; on Board of Editors of the Marxists Quarterly in 1937; editor of The Workers Age in 1938; author of an article "The Silent Soviet Revolution" published in Harpers Magazine June, 1941; presently writing a book "The Three Who Made a Revolution."

CC TO: *Stettin*  
 REQ. REC'D *12-19-60*  
**JAN 6 1961**  
 ANS.  
 BY: *eds*

*U.S. Communications*  
*JE 11-26-52*  
*GB*

AGENCY *151*  
 REQ. REC'D *2-7-54*  
 REP'T FORW. *2-21-54*  
 BY *RE*

*73*

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: *E. J. Connelley*  
 SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES

COPIES OF THIS REPORT  
 5 - Bureau  
 2 - Washington Field  
 3 - New York

**JUL 18**

**3**

**JUL 10 1941**

CH-6



100-9078

REFERENCES:

Bureau letter to New York dated April 11, 1941.  
Bureau teletype dated June 23, 1941.

DETAILS:

A review of the files of the New York Office reveals the following information concerning the activities of BERTRAM D. WOLFE.

The files contain no reference to ELLA G. WOLFE.

The report of Special Agent Daniel F. Dwyer, New York, dated February 7, 1927 in the case entitled "WORKERS PARTY OF AMERICA; COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES" file 61-4, lists BERTRAM D. WOLFE as a speaker at a meeting held at Cooper Union on February 10, 1927 in protest against the invasion of Nicaragua. The meeting was held by the Workers Party of America.

In the case entitled COMMUNIST PARTY - GENERAL SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES, New York file 61-507, there is a letter to the Bureau dated May 15, 1937, Bureau File 61-7559, with which was forwarded a copy of the April - June, 1937 issue of the Marxist, described as a journal devoted to critical and creative Marxist scholarships in the social sciences. The copyright for this periodical was in the name of the American Marxist Association, 20 Vesey Street, and was printed by the Liberal Press, Inc., 84 Avenue, New York City. The editor was listed as LOUIS COREY and BERTRAM D. WOLFE was on the Board of Editors.

The same file contains a letter to the Bureau dated March 10, 1938 in which BERTRAM D. WOLFE, editor of the Workers Age, was listed as a speaker at a meeting at the Hotel Center, 108 West 43 Street, under the auspices of the American Committee for the Defense of Leon Trotsky, with headquarters in Room 1609 at 100 Fifth Avenue.

The same file contains a letter to the Bureau dated March 21, 1938 advising that BERTRAM D. WOLFE addressed a meeting held by the Independent Communist Labor League on the subject of the Moscow Trials. According to this letter, this league is a group opposed to the Communist Party system in the United States.

About 800 were present at the meeting and copies of the Workers Age and propaganda of the Socialist Workers Party was distributed. Also distributed were cards announcing the future activities at the New Workers School, 131 West 33 Street, including an announcement of a talk on April 7, 1938 by J. LOVESTONE.

The same file contains a mimeographed letter dated September 27, 1939 of the "Keep America Out of War Congress," 22 East 17 Street, soliciting membership in this organization. The letter is addressed "Dear Friend." Among those listed as backing the plan was BERTRAM D. WOLFE.

The same file contains a letter to the Bureau dated December 1, 1939 advising that the New York Office was sending a book to the Bureau co-authored by NORMAN THOMAS and BERTRAM D. WOLFE and entitled "Keep America Out of War; a Program," published by the Frederick A. Stokes Company, New York, in 1939.

The same file contains a report of Special Agent A. S. Reeder, Chicago, Illinois, dated November 29, 1939, entitled COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A. REGISTRATION AGENTS OF FOREIGN PRINCIPALS. On page 31 of this report it is set out that BERTRAM D. WOLFE in the past has been on the Executive Committee of the Workers Party of America; Director of Agitation and Propaganda Department and Associate Editor of the Revolutionary Age.

The same file contains a report of Special Agent George J. Starr, dated February 9, 1940 at New York, in which BERTRAM D. WOLFE is named as a member of the Governing Board of Keep America Out of War Congress.

In the case entitled Communist Party, U.S.A.; Registration Act, New York file 65-382, there is a report of Special Agent George J. Starr dated at New York October 16, 1939 reporting the results of an interview with BERTRAM D. WOLFE by Agent Starr. This report sets out on page 13 that BERTRAM D. WOLFE was one of the original members of the Board of Directors as named in the certificate of incorporation of the Workers Library Publishers on March 12, 1928. WOLFE served in this capacity until March 21, 1929.

The same report sets out on page 24 that BERTRAM D. WOLFE was connected with the Independent Labor League of America and that he was interviewed by Agent Starr in the office of J. LOVESTONE. At the time of this interview he stated that he had been a delegate

100-9078

to the Sixth Congress of the Communist International from the Workers (Communist) Party of America. At this time WOLFE stated that he had been expelled from the Party in 1929. He also stated that he became Educational Director of the Workers School in 1925.

In the same file there is a memorandum from the Attorney General listing WOLFE's business address as 43 East 125 Street, New York City, as of November 15, 1939.

It should be noted that the July, 1941 issue of the Readers Digest contains an article entitled "The Silent Soviet Revolution" written by BERTRAM D. WOLFE and republished from the Harpers Magazine, June, 1941 issue. In a footnote to the title of this article a short history of WOLFE is set out in which it is explained that he taught in Mexico City High School in early 1920 and served at that time as a correspondent for Tass. He also made numerous visits to the U.S.S.R. and is personally acquainted with Stalin and Molotov. He was Director of the Workers School from 1925 to 1929 and editor of the Soviet Union in 1924. He was also editor of Keep America Out of War and Deathless Days and is now at work on a book "Three Who Made a Revolution."

100-9078

UNDEVELOPED LEADS:

NEW YORK FIELD DIVISION

At New York City, will contact the Credit Bureau for information concerning BERTRAM D. WOLFE and ELLA G. WOLFE.

At Brooklyn, New York, will conduct investigation at 68 Montague Street which is listed as WOLFE's New York City address in reference letter, and consider the advisability of placing a mail cover on this address.

Will conduct appropriate investigation into the activities of the Independent Labor League of America.

Will obtain the New York City Police Department criminal record of WOLFE.

Will attempt to develop information concerning WOLFE's association with the Keep America Out of War Congress.

Will attempt to develop confidential informants in the Independent Labor League of America.

Will ascertain information concerning the Marxist Quarterly, of which WOLFE was on the Board of Editors in 1937 and the Workers Age, of which he was editor in 1938.

Will contact the New York Times Morgue for any periodicals in their possession.

Will check the International Relief Association, 2 West 43 Street and develop information concerning WOLFE's connection with this organization.

Will check with the Board of Education in New York City to ascertain whether BERTRAM D. WOLFE or ELLA G. WOLFE are now located in New York City high schools.

WASHINGTON FIELD DIVISION

At Washington, D. C., will contact the State Department and attempt to locate passports for BERTRAM D. WOLFE and ELLA G. WOLFE. It should be noted that WOLFE probably traveled to Russia between the years 1925 and 1929. For the information of the Washington Field Division, the Bureau has requested that this case receive expeditious attention.

- P E N D I N G -

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

ODA:IS  
61-6050

Best Copy Available

To: COMMUNICATIONS SECTION.

June 23, 1941

Transmit the following message to:

ASSISTANT DIRECTOR E. J. CONNELLEY  
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

ELLA G. WOLFE, ET AL, INTERNAL SECURITY. SUBMIT A REPORT ON  
THIS INVESTIGATION NOT LATER THAN JUNE TWENTYSIXTH NEXT.

ROUTE

- Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Foxworth \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Drayton \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

RECORDED

61-6050-4

JUL 30 1941

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

SENT VIA \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

RECEIVED  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUN 23 1941

TELETYPE

*AMS*

FBI WASH DC      6-23-41      10-50 PM      BMS

ASSISTANT DIRECTOR E<sup>7</sup>J. CONEXX CONNELLEY

ELLA G. WOLFE, ET AL, INTERNAL SECURITY. SUBMIT A REPORT ON  
THIS INVESTIGATION NOT LATER THAN JUNE TWENTYSIXTH NEXT.

HOOVER

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OK FBI NYC TFC

7

Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice

100-9078  
JRM:PS

New York, New York

July 14, 1941

Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

RE: ELLA G. WOLFE, ET AL:  
INTERNAL SECURITY

Reference is made to your letter dated July 8, 1941, Bureau file #61-6050, wherein you requested that the Bureau be advised why previous instructions were not complied with in the instant case. Your attention is directed to the report of Special Agent H. T. Brunn, dated at New York City, July 7, 1941, which was submitted by this office.

I wish to advise that Special Agent Brunn has been working on a special assignment and that because of the large amount of work presently being handled by this office there was no other Agent available to handle this investigation. Special Agent Brunn is no longer engaged on this special assignment and a complete investigation in the instant case will be furnished the Bureau by July 14.

Very truly yours

*T. J. Donegan*

T. J. DONEGAN, Acting for

E. J. CONNELLEY, Assistant Director

RECORDED 11-6050-5

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
8 JUL 16 1941
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FIVE

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

h

EFE:ESS

July 16, 1941

Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

lc

Dear Sir:

This is to advise that by letter dated  
July 16, 1941 a cover for a period of 30 days was  
placed on all first class mail addressed to

BERTRAM D. WOLFE  
ELLA G. WOLFE  
68 Montague Street  
Brooklyn, New York

Very truly yours,

*T. J. Donegan*  
T. J. DONEGAN acting for  
E. J. CONNELLEY,  
Assistant Director

RECORDED

CH-22  
~~22~~

61-6050-6
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
JUL 16 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

*[Handwritten signature]*

RECEIVED BY 6-2-41 7-12-41



# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT

New York

FILE NO. 100-5172

REPORT MADE AT Washington, D. C.	DATE WHEN MADE 7-24-41	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 7-19-41	REPORT MADE BY LOUIS LOEBL LL:JGM
TITLE <u>CHANGED</u> : BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE; ELLA G. WOLFE alias ELLA GOLDBERG		CHARACTER OF CASE INTERNAL SECURITY - C	

**SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:**

BERTRAM D. WOLFE born in Brooklyn, New York, was issued passport in January, 1937 for proposed recreation trip to France, to sail from New York on January 9, 1937. A previous application for passport was filed in May, 1928 and was denied on the ground of communistic connections. No passport record on ELLA G. WOLFE alias ELLA GOLDBERG.

*ICC-INS. Commis.  
SEP. 11-26-52  
CB*

AGENCY ICC USA  
REQ. REC'D 2-7-57  
REP'T FORM. 2-21-57  
BY [Signature]

- RUC -

REFERENCE:

Report of Special Agent H. T. BRUNN, dated at New York City, July 7, 1941.

DETAILS:

AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR  
ADD. DISSEMINATION

The title of this case is being changed to show subject BERTRAM WOLFE'S middle name.

The passport file as produced for Agent's examination by Confidential Informant S-3, reflected that BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE of Brooklyn, New York filed an application for passport in New York City on May 6, 1928 for travel and study in Germany, France, Italy, England and Baltic States, proposing to sail from the Port of New York on June 9, 1928 on the Isle De France. Identifying witness to this application was LILIAN D. WOLFE, 148 Berriman Street, Brooklyn, New York, subject's sister.

INDEXED *CM*

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: <i>S. K. McKee</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES
		61-6050-8 JUL 25 1941
COPIES OF THIS REPORT		JUL 28 1941
5 Bureau 3 New York (Asst. Dir. E. J. Connelley) 2 Washington Field  <b>CH-6</b>		[Signatures and Stamps] JUL 25 1941 [Signature] [Signature]

The file shows that as a result of an investigation of subject's alleged communistic activities, a passport was refused him and he was notified thereof by letter from the Passport Division dated June 12, 1928. The file reflects that the refusal of the passport was based on an interoffice memorandum from the Division of Eastern European Affairs dated June 6, 1928 setting forth WOLFE'S activities in behalf of the Communist Party, as indicated in the reference report and stating that WOLFES contemplated journey abroad may well be considered to be in furtherance of the interference of the Bolshevik regime in United States affairs and appears to be in connection with his work as one of the leaders in the activities carried on in the United States under the control and direction of the Bolshevik regime, and that there is little doubt that his real destination is Moscow. The passport file indicates a Refusal Notice posted on August 18, 1928 on the ground of the membership in the 1928 National Election Campaign Committee of the Communist Party. This refusal notice was canceled in January, 1937.

The file shows further that BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE was issued passport #360363 with the proviso, on January 7, 1937, that it was not valid for travel in Spain. In the application for this passport, subject declared he was born in Brooklyn, New York January 19, 1896 and that his permanent residence was 632 Throop Avenue, Brooklyn, New York; that he desired a passport for a 3 month's recreation trip to France, sailing from the Port of New York on January 9, 1937 on the SS. LAFAYETTE.

In the application, subject's description was indicated to be 5'11 $\frac{1}{2}$ " tall, hair brown, eyes brown, occupation writer. The identifying witness to subject's application is FRANCIS A. HENSON, 44th Street Hotel, New York City. The file indicates that subject's application for this passport was endorsed by telegram of January 5, 1936 from GEORGE GORDON BATTLE of New York City in which telegram the latter stated that WOLFE did work in connection with the Committee on Fair Play of which BATTLE was honorary chairman.

The file reflects an interoffice communication from the Division of Eastern European Affairs dated January 7, 1937 to the Passport Division to the effect that there was no objection to the issuance of a passport for subject, particularly since it has been marked "not valid for Spain" and since investigation indicated that subject was now opposed to the BROWDER group of Communists.

Confidential Informant S-3 advised that the files of the Passport Division reflect no information on ELLA G. WOLFE alias ELLA GOLDBERG.

REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN

Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice

Post Office Box #2344  
Boston, Massachusetts.

July 24, 1941.

Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

Re: ELLA G. WOLFE;  
BERTRAM D. WOLFE;  
Internal Security - C

Dear Sir:

This is to advise that a thirty day mail cover has been placed on the mail of the two Subjects named above, presently residing at 582 $\frac{1}{2}$  Commercial Street, Provincetown, Mass.

This cover was placed with Postmaster WILLIAM CABRAL.

Very truly yours

*V. W. Peterson*  
V. W. PETERSON  
Special Agent in Charge

100-2068  
HFH:EPL

RECORDED COPY FILED IN 62-23533-7

CH-6

RECORDED

61-6050-9  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
5 JUL 26 1941  
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
*[Signature]*

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

NEW YORK, NEW YORK.

FILE NO. 100-2068. EPL.

REPORT MADE AT <b>BOSTON, MASS.</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>7-24-41</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>7-21-41</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>H. F. HOWARD.</b>
TITLE <b>ELLA G. WOLFE; BERTRAM D. WOLFE.</b>		AGENCY REQ. REC'D REP'T FORW. BY	CHARACTER OF CASE <b>INTERNAL SECURITY - C.</b>

## SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

ELLA G. WOLFE and BERTRAM D. WOLFE presently residing 582<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> Commercial St., Provincetown, Mass. Thirty day mail cover placed on their mail, Chief of Police, Provincetown observing their activities through sources of information.

- P. -

REFERENCE: Bureau letter dated July 17, 1941, Bureau File 100-9078.

DETAILS: AT PROVINCETOWN, MASS:

Chief of Police ANTHONY P. TARVENS, who has previously assisted the Boston Field Division in numerous investigations at Provincetown, Mass., was furnished the information that ELLA G. WOLFE and BERTRAM D. WOLFE were supposed to be residing at 582<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> Commercial Street. Further, that they were supposedly engaged in Communistic activities and that the Boston Field Division would appreciate any information he could obtain regarding their activities in Provincetown this summer.

Chief TARVENS informed Agent that he had several reliable informants who had been assisting him in obtaining information regarding Communistic groups which always became active during the summer months in Provincetown; that he would, through them, place the activities of BERTRAM D. WOLFE and his wife, ELLA, under observation and he would inform the Boston Field Office of any unusual activities by the WOLFES.

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: <i>[Signature]</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES	
		61-6052-10	
COPIES OF THIS REPORT			
Bureau	- 5.		
New York	- 3.		
Boston	- 3.		

Best Copy Available

It should be noted at this time that Agent did not conduct any active investigation due to the type of people residing in the small community of Provincetown, that if such investigation had been conducted it would be very possible that Subjects would be informed of the investigation being conducted.

WILLIAM CAERAL, Postmaster of Provincetown, Mass., advised Agent that ELLA G. WOLFE and BERTRAM D. WOLFE are presently residing at 582<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> Commercial Street, Provincetown; that they had leased a cottage from the owner of the property, a Mrs. WINSLOW, for the remainder of the summer season.

A thirty day mail cover was placed on all incoming and outgoing mail to the residence of the WOLFES.

P E N D I N G.

UNDEVELOPED LEADS.

BOSTON FIELD DIVISION:

AT PROVINCETOWN, MASS., will keep in touch with Chief of Police ANTHONY P. TARVENS and obtain information he may receive regarding the Subjects in this case.

Will obtain results of mail cover from Postmaster WILLIAM CABRAL.

Will inform New York Field Division when Subjects leave Provincetown, Mass. for New York City.

P E N D I N G.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

This Case Originated At NEW YORK, NEW YORK NY File 100-9078 erl

Report Made At <u>NEW YORK CITY</u>	Date Made <u>7/28/41</u>	Period <u>7/16,17,18,21 22/41</u>	Report Made By <u>H. T. BRUNN</u>
Title <u>BERTRAM D. WOLFE; ELLA G. WOLFE alias ELLA GOLDBERG</u>			Character <u>INTERNAL SECURITY (R)</u>

Synopsis of Facts:

NY 100-6574  
 REQ. REC'D 2-4-51  
 REP'T FORW. 2-21-51  
 BY [initials]

Bertram D. Wolfe reported born in Brooklyn, NY in 1896. Additional references set out concerning Wolfe's association with the Communist Party until 1929, his Mexican activities and association with the Lovestone opposition to the Communist Party since 1929. Resides at 68 Montague St., Brooklyn, NY with his wife, Ella G. Wolfe. Ella G. Wolfe born Kherson, Russia 5/10/97; entered US 1905; naturalized EDNY 2/3/11 under name Ella Goldberg; married Wolfe 4/18/17; attended Hunter College 1914 to 1918 receiving B.A. Degree; took advanced study at the University of Mexico 1923 to 1924; received M.A. Degree Columbia University 1931. She was employed as substitute teacher, NYC schools from 1931 to 1935 and as Spanish teacher Bayridge High School, Brooklyn 1935 to date. Wolfe and wife spending summer months at Provincetown, Mass.; reported to receive large volume of registered mail from foreign countries particularly Latin America. Information set out concerning Marceau Pivert, formerly secretary of the French Workers and Socialist Party and now believed in Mexico. Ella Wolfe

Approved and Forwarded [Signature] SAC

INDEXED

61-6050-11 JUL 30 1941

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- 3 - New York

44-23  
17

McIntire  
 JUL 30 1941  
 [Signatures]



identified as Senorita ELLA Goldberg.  
Sponsors of Keep America Out of War  
Congress set out. Information concerning  
the Independent Labor League of America,  
The Workers Age Book Shop, The Workers  
Age and the International Relief  
Association set out.

- P -

REFERENCES: Report of Special Agent H. T. Brunn, dated July 7,  
1941 at New York City.  
Bureau letter to New York dated April 11, 1941.

DETAILS: AT NEW YORK

At 68 Montague Street, Brooklyn, it was ascertained from Mr. H. SEYFRIED, the superintendent, that BERTRAM D. WOLFE and his wife, ELLA WOLFE, had been tenants at this building for approximately three years, residing in Apt. 5D, for which they paid \$70. a month rent.

SEYFRIED knew very little about WOLFE's activities. He thought that WOLFE was a writer and that his wife was a school teacher in Bronxville, New York. SEYFRIED advised that WOLFE and his wife were away for the summer but had no idea where they were, advising that they were either in Massachusetts or Connecticut. He described WOLFE as being "a Communist," stating that his writings were of a Communistic nature.

ANDREW SPENCER, colored, the doorman at 68 Montague Street, advised that ELLA WOLFE was a school teacher in Bayridge High School, Brooklyn. He stated that WOLFE and his wife were quiet tenants but frequently had large gatherings of people in their apartment on Friday evenings. He stated further that WOLFE received a great deal of mail from South and Central America.

According to SPENCER, WOLFE wrote a book last year entitled "Keep America Out of War," but SPENCER advised that WOLFE had been unsuccessful in having this book published. He stated that WOLFE is presently working on another book and that he and his wife are away on vacation on Cape Cod, although he did not have the exact address.

It was noted that the real estate agency for 68 Montague Street was listed as BING & BING, 119 West 40 Street, New York. Mr. E. O'BRIEN, Agent for BING & BING, 119 West 40 Street, advised that he had no personal knowledge concerning the WOLFE family at 68 Montague Street. A review of the file on this apartment indicated that Mrs. WOLFE is a teacher at Bayridge High School, Fourth Avenue and 67 Street, Brooklyn.

WOLFE entered Apartment 5D on November 25, 1938 and his previous address was 632 Throop Avenue, Brooklyn, where he had resided for sixteen years. The application stated that Mrs. WOLFE's father, MAX GOLDBERG, resided at this address. WOLFE listed his banking connections as the National City Bank, Bedford Branch, 556 Nostrand Avenue, Brooklyn. He listed the following references: JULIAN GUMPERZ, broker, 610 Fifth Avenue; LEONARD MENDLOWITZ, manufacturer, 1359 Broadway; Dr. ARTHUR DALLOS, 36 Central Park South.

The file also contained letters of recommendation from Miss BENWAY, the administrative assistant at Bayridge High School, to the effect that ELLA WOLFE had been at that school for three years and had a permanent teacher's license; Mrs. FITZGERALD of the National City Bank, advised that WOLFE had had an account there since 1937; JULIAN GUMPERZ and LEONARD MENDLOWITZ were listed as personal friends.

At the Brooklyn Post Office, HARRY NEGERLE, the carrier for 68 Montague Street, advised that WOLFE and his wife were presently residing at 582 $\frac{1}{2}$  Commercial Street, Provincetown, Massachusetts and that they were expected to be there until after Labor Day. NEGERLE stated that WOLFE and his wife had been going to the same place for about three years during the summer vacations.

He stated further that WOLFE was the "worst pest" on his route because of the fact that he received an average of three or four registered letters a day which necessitated personal delivery. According to NEGERLE, the letters were generally with a foreign postmark and as he recalled, most of them came from Central and South America.

NEGERLE stated that WOLFE was always in the apartment during the day occupied with his writing and he evidently had no other office from which he worked.

JIM NOLAN, Inspector at Brooklyn Post Office, advised that it would be possible to look up the registered letters delivered to WOLFE for the past year, but that this would be a Herculean task and would take a great deal of personnel, a long period of time in view of the fact that registered letter receipts are filed by number and the search would require going through each number for a whole year to pick out those belonging to WOLFE. In view of this fact, no search was requested, but a mail cover is being placed on this address.

At the Credit Bureau of Greater New York, 55 Fifth Avenue, it was impossible to locate any credit record for BERTRAM D. WOLFE or his wife, ELLA G. WOLFE.

At Ellis Island, Bureau of Immigration, it was impossible to locate any record of the entry of BERTRAM D. WOLFE or ELLA G. WOLFE into the United States.

A photograph of BERTRAM D. WOLFE was obtained from the World Wide Photographers of the New York Times. This is a group photograph showing WOLFE with Miss FAY BENNETT, McALISTER COLEMAN, Miss DOROTHY DETZER, Rev. A. J. MUSTE and NORMAN THOMAS. It is being retained in the New York file.

At the New York Times Morgue the following articles were examined in connection with WOLFE's activities. An article dated July 17, 1926 indicated that WOLFE had presided at a debate held by the Workers Party at the Central Opera House in connection with a mass meeting of the I. R. T. strikers. The debate was between HIRAM MANN of the National Security League and J. LOVESTONE of the Workers Party on the subject "Resolved that our present form of government is in the interests of the American masses." LOVESTONE took the negative of this article. SCOTT NEARING acted as chairman of the rally.

An article dated April 12, 1927 carried a Mexico City dateline of April 11, 1927 and set out that the Central Labor Organization of the Federal District had at a special meeting

requested by resolution that President CALLES pronounce Mme. COLLONTAY, the Russian Charge d'Affaires, as persona non grata. The following quotation appeared: "The organization contends that Mme. COLLONTAY is sheltering Bertram Wolfe, the American Communist, who was expelled from Mexico a year ago, but who has returned. The union accuses her of obtaining permission for his return and charges his wife with having received a large sum of money from Soviet Russia to be used in helping Communists in Mexico."

On March 13, 1927 WOLFE sent a letter to the New York Times correcting the above dispatch, advising that he was in New York and had not been in Mexico since he was expelled in 1925.

The file also contained an article dated April 14, 1927 reporting a debate between WOLFE and ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS of the Bronx Free Fellowship on the subject: "Resolved that the American system of government is preferable to the Russian." HAYS, taking the negative, called the American system "A government of the bankers, by the bankers and for the bankers." The article listed WOLFE as being director of the Workers School at that time.

On June 4, 1927 an article reported an address of WOLFE to a meeting of the Workers Party at the Central Opera House, demanding the withdrawal of American Marines from China.

On February 9, 1928 an article reported that WOLFE, together with WILLIAM Z. FOSTER and BEN GOLD, was on the faculty of a new college opened by the Workers-Communist Party, called the National Training Course of the Workers School, the purpose of which was "To teach the art and science, the tactics and strategy of militant revolution."

The file also contained a press release of the National Election Campaign Press Service of the Workers Communist Party dated October 1, 1928 which was a biographical sketch of WOLFE, candidate of the Workers Communist Party for Congress from the 10th Congressional District. This sketch listed WOLFE as being editor of the Communist, <sup>World</sup> Head of the Propaganda Department of the Party and Director of the Workers School.

According to the article, he was born in Brooklyn in 1896 and was a founder of the Communist Party in 1919. He was Editor of their first paper "The Communist World." The historic sketch listed WOLFE as being a member of the San Francisco Cooks Union in 1920. He was editor of Labor Unity, left wing union paper, from 1920 to 1922. From 1923 to 1925 he was in the left wing of the Printing Trades Union in Mexico City, being deported in 1925 for activities in the general railway strike. At that time he came to New York and became a member of the Executive Committee of the Teachers Union in 1927. While in Mexico he was on the Executive Committee of the Mexican Communist Party. He was also a delegate to the Printing Trade Union International with headquarters in Moscow and on its Executive Committee from 1924 to 1928.

An article dated July 7, 1929 related the facts concerning the expulsion of LOVESTONE for factionalism from the Communist Party. This article indicated that WOLFE and BENJAMIN GITLOW followed LOVESTONE.

An article dated August 15, 1929 reported that WOLFE, GITLOW, WILLIAM MILLER, TOM MYESCOUGH, EDWARD WELSH, WILLIAM J. WHITE, HERBERT ZAM, D. BENJAMIN and MORRIS NEMSER were purged from the Communist Party. According to the article, LOVESTONE, GITLOW and WOLFE were charged with leaving Moscow without permission when called there to express their factionalism.

An article dated March 3, 1930 reported a riot which occurred when members of the Communist Party attempted to break up a memorial meeting of the LOVESTONE group in Tuxedo Hall, New York, which was identified as the RUTHENBERG memorial meeting. BERTRAM D. WOLFE was acting as chairman at this meeting.

A book review dated March 15, 1937 indicated that WOLFE had supplied the text for DIAGO RIVERA's portrait of Mexico, a book of paintings and running explanation of RIVERA's work. The article indicated that WOLFE was sailing for six months in Europe to gather material for another book.

An article dated February 9, 1937 published a letter from BERTRAM D. WOLFE in answer to an article dated February 5, 1937 which reported that the Mexican Communists had demanded that BERTRAM D. WOLFE, TROTSKY's American secretary, be expelled. In WOLFE's letter of answer to this article, he stated that he had not been in Mexico since September 9, 1936 and he further denied any association whatsoever with TROTSKY.

An article dated February 2, 1936 reported that WOLFE had urged all of the Communist factions to unite their ranks and join with the Socialists for a united front in presenting TOM MOONEY as presidential candidate.

An article dated March 7, 1938 reported WOLFE as speaking at an anti-war rally in the Hippodrome under the sponsorship of the Keep America Out of War Committee. Speakers listed at this rally were Senator ROBERT M. LaFOLLETTE, HOMER MARTIN, NORMAN THOMAS and ~~Major General WILLIAM G. RIVERS~~, retired.

An article dated March 10, 1938 reported a meeting of the American Committee for the Defense of Leon Trotsky. The speakers, in addition to BERTRAM D. WOLFE, were SUZANNE LaFOLLETTE, CARLO TRESCA, EUGENE LYONS and MAS SHACHTMAN.

A book review dated March 20, 1939 criticized a book by BERTRAM D. WOLFE entitled DIAGO RIVERA: His Life and Times, published by KNOFF.

An article dated September 13, 1939 reported a meeting of the Keep America Out of War Congress held at the Town Hall, in which the speakers were BERTRAM D. WOLFE, NORMAN THOMAS and JOHN T. FLYNN.

LOUIS WALDMAN, attorney, 302 Broadway, New York City, who has been associated with the American Labor Party, repeated information previously reported concerning BERTRAM D. WOLFE. He knew nothing whatsoever concerning WOLFE's present activities.

A mail cover has been placed on the address of 68 Montague Street for BERTRAM D. WOLFE and ELLA G. WOLFE.

The toll calls have been requested from the New York Telephone Company for the telephone Main 4-3177, listed to ELLA G. WOLFE, 68 Montague Street, Brooklyn, New York.

The criminal records for BERTRAM D. WOLFE and ELLA G. WOLFE have been requested from the New York Police Department.

The New York file contains a report from [redacted] [redacted], whose identity is known to the Bureau, dated April 22, 1941 concerning BERTRAM D. WOLFE, as follows:

b7D

" Bertram Wolfe, I believe, joined the Communist Party with or shortly after Lovestone in 1919. Thereafter Wolfe's political career closely paralleled that of Lovestone until they closed shop recently.

" After he returned from the 6th congress in Moscow Wolfe took the assignment of literary hatchet-man against the Trotskyites. He wrote a pamphlet or two on Trotskyism in the approved Communist style of falsification and delivered lectures on the same subject. After his expulsion he admitted he lied and renounced the pamphlets. Wolfe repeated this maneuver during Trotsky's trial in Mexico City. In a rive of the book THE CASE OF LEON TROTSKY Wolfe admitted that he was wrong in believing Trotsky guilty.

" In addition to his literary sorties against the Trotskyites Wolfe undertook practical measures against them. He, in company with Bert Miller, headed so-called steering committees to disrupt all Trotskyite meetings. Wolfe saw that the attackers were furnished with lead pipe encased in paper, knives, knuckles and blackjacks to dispatch the Trotskyites from proletarian preserves. After his expulsion from the Party he said the weapons were not distributed by the committee, but gotten by the hot headed rank and filers without his knowledge. After Miller broke from the Lovestone group, Wolfe, Welsh, Yablin and others said Miller distributed the weapons and pressed the boys to use them.

" In 1929 Lovestone and Wolfe instructed their boys to commit burglary in the Trotskyite office and Cannon's apartment.

"They did a thorough job. Although the Lovestoneites denied the burglary, Emil Rosenberg a minor leader in the group until 1938, admitted the crime after he left. Rosenberg worked [redacted] for three years on the Workers Education Project.

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" Around 1935 Wolfe and Lovestone entered in secret negotiations with Browder for readmission to the Communist Party. The negotiations collapsed when Wolfe and Lovestone insisted that they enter the Party as a group, not individuals.

" Wolfe speaks Spanish fluently. I understand that he taught the language and shorthand in a business school near Union Square. Because of his knowledge of Spanish he was regarded as the group's expert on Latin America and Spain. In 1937 he returned from a trip in Spain. At a lecture in Hotel Delano he gave the O.G.P.U. operating in Spain a whitewash or still better a redwash. He denied that the Communist slaughtered people because they believed differently. "

At the New York City Board of Education, Livingston Street, Brooklyn, the file of ELLA G. WOLFE was reviewed. This file indicated that ELLA G. WOLFE was born at Kherson, Russia on May 10, 1897. The file contained a certified naturalization certificate from the Clerk of the Eastern District of New York to the effect that ELLA GOLDBERG had been naturalized at the time her father, MAX GOLDBERG, was naturalized on February 3, 1911. MAX GOLDBERG's first papers were dated in 1905. The file also indicated that ELLA GOLDBERG had married BERTRAM D. WOLFE on April 18, 1917 who was born in Brooklyn, New York on January 19, 1896.

Her educational history was listed as Public School #147, Brooklyn, from 1907 to 1911, Eastern District High School, Marcy Avenue and Keep Street, Brooklyn, 1911 to 1914; Hunter College, Park Avenue and 68 Street, 1914 to 1918; B. A. Degree; Columbia University, M.A. Degree, June, 1931. Attendance was also listed at the University of Mexico for advanced study from January to November, 1923 and from January to November, 1924.

She listed her teaching experience as follows:



Escuela Superior, Mexico General, 1923 to August, 1925, in the subject of English. Public School #147 from February to June, 1931 as a substitute teacher in typing. Thomas Jefferson High School from September, 1931 to February, 1935 as a substitute teacher in History. Bayridge High School from 1935 to date as a teacher in Spanish. Her previous employment was listed as JULIAN GUMPERZ, University of Frankfort, Frankfort am Main, Germany, Secretary; and research work in coal and steel 1926 to 1928 S.S. KOPPE & COMPANY (J. W. SANGER, President) Times Building, New York as head of Research Department 1928 to 1929; ERNESTINE EVANS of J. B. LIPPINCOTT COMPANY, publishers, 227 South 6 Street as secretary from June to September, 1931.

The file contained correspondence between the Board of Education and ELLA G. WOLFE in which the Board of Education attempted to ascertain when ELLA G. WOLFE entered the United States in order that her birthdate might be verified. Nothing more definite was contained in the file except that ELLA G. WOLFE stated that she had come to the United States in the spring of 1905 but that she could not remember the ship on which her parents had arrived. It is interesting to note that the file listed ELLA G. WOLFE nee GOLDBERG as residing at 632 Throop Avenue, Brooklyn.

Reference letter from the Bureau advised that on March 29, 1926 the Department of State forwarded to the Bureau a copy of a letter addressed to Comrade Ella, Mexico, who it was stated had been identified as ELLA WOLFE of 632 Hiroop Avenue, Brooklyn and who was believed identical with Senorita ELLA GOLDBERG, Rome 39, Mexico City, Mexico. In view of the similarity of addresses, it is evident that Hiroop Avenue, Brooklyn is probably Throop Avenue, Brooklyn.

At the National City Bank, Bedford Branch, it was ascertained that BERTRAM D. WOLFE had an account at this bank from June 12, 1937 to December 3, 1938 and that ELLA G. WOLFE had an account at the bank from May 14, 1936 to August 22, 1937, at which time her account was merged with that of BERTRAM D. WOLFE. The account had been transferred in 1938 to the People's Trust Branch of the National City Bank, 181 Montague Street.

Through the cooperation of Mr. R. F. THOMAS, Assistant Secretary of the People's Trust Branch of the National City Bank,

it was ascertained that the BERTRAM D. WOLFE account had been closed into the ELLA G. WOLFE account as of February, 1940. The Recordak films of ELLA G. WOLFE's statements for the first six months of 1941 were viewed by Agent. These films failed to reveal any pertinent information or particular activity in this account, the average balance being maintained between \$300. and \$400., average deposits being approximately \$125. a month and approximating withdrawals for each month.

Reference letter from the Bureau indicates that WOLFE is probably connected with the International Relief Association, 2 West 43 Street, and sets out that FRANCIS A. HENSON, Miss RAY MICHAELS and SHEBA STRUNSKY, the present secretary of the I.R.A. are sympathetic to the Independent Labor League of America, an organization used by the LOVESTONE group to further its activities in France and Germany.

In connection with all of these individuals, there is no record in the New York files. No record could be located at the Credit Bureau of Greater New York, 55 Fifth Avenue, for HENSON or STRUNSKY.

The New York telephone directory for 1941 lists a telephone for SHEBA STRUNSKY, Chelsea 2-5693, at 282 West 4 Street.  is being requested to furnish the long distance phone calls for this telephone for the past three months. A mail cover has also been placed on this address.

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LOUIS WALDMAN, attorney, at 302 Broadway, who has been intimately connected with the American Labor Party and has a broad knowledge of Communist activities in New York, advised that he was not acquainted with SHEBA STRUNSKY or Miss RAY MICHAELS.

In connection with FRANCIS A. HENSON, WALDMAN advised that he thought this individual was a Norwegian who had been a Socialist some time back but had since turned into a Communist. He advised that the name sounded familiar to him but that he knew nothing definite.

Reference letter from the Bureau also sets out information concerning MARCEAU PIVERT who is reported to have furnished

to the Independent Labor League of America in general and to JAY LOVESTONE in particular a list of his European contacts. No information could be obtained concerning PIVERT at the Credit Bureau of Greater New York, 55 Fifth Avenue.

A review of the files in the New York Office indicates that the Bureau forwarded to the New York Field Division (New York file 54-144) an anonymous letter dated June 18, 1940 addressed to President ROOSEVELT, forwarded by Bureau letter of August 20, 1940 entitled UNKNOWN SUBJECT, NEW YORK, N.Y.; INTERNAL SECURITY. The following is quoted from this anonymous letter:

"When are you going to connect MARCEAU PIVERT of France; who is now in the United States working against the United States, back to France and let them treat him as he deserves? Or are you going to let him sneak into Mexico where he can carry on his good work? You know you have permitted him to stay in America ever since September, 1939 and since that time France has tried him in absence."

The New York files also contain a letter from the Bureau dated April 22, 1941 in the case entitled JACOB WALCHER; INTERNAL SECURITY, New York file 100-9325, indicating that WALCHER who entered the United States as a political refugee in 1940 had been active in sponsoring the entrance of other political refugees engaged in questionable activities in Europe.

The letter also enclosed a blind memorandum prepared at the Bureau on April 18, 1941 concerning WALCHER'S activities from 1922 to 1924 as a Communist in Germany. In this memorandum information is set out from a strictly confidential source that MARCEAU PIVERT, formerly of Paris, France, who was then in Mexico endeavoring to obtain a visa to the United States, had furnished to J. LOVESTONE a large list of his European contacts: JACOB WALCHER, 1 Avenue Payret, Dortail - Plesis - Ribonson, Seine, was listed as one of these contacts.

As a matter of background the memorandum set out that PIVERT was one of the leading lights of the International Workers front against war started a few years ago by J. LOVESTONE and represented that organization in France.

PIVERT, according to the memorandum, is known to have been in contact with LOVESTONE over a period of years. The memorandum continues that LOVESTONE after he left the Communist Party formed the Independent Labor League of America which had a large following but that this organization had become defunct within the past few months.

LOVESTONE is reported to have sent large sums of money collected through the I.R.A. to Dr. AUGUST THALHEIMER or to HEINZ BRANDLER for revolutionary activities against the French and German Governments.

New York file 65-2643 contains a memorandum dated May 14, 1940 submitted by Special Agent A. Franz to the effect that Lieutenant CARSELLO of the ONI had advised that MARCEAU PIVERT, a professor of mathematics at 131 West 38 Street (address of I.L.L.A.) had an assistant by the name of ROSE PELLIQUIN who is stated to be an active Communist presently in the United States on a visit. Attached to this memorandum is a photostatic copy of two photographs, one reported to be that of ROSE PELLIQUIN and the other to be that of MARCEAU PIVERT who is listed under the photograph as a professor of mathematics and head of the French Workers and Peasants Party who is now in America for his health. The source of the photographs is unknown, having been received from Lieutenant CARSELLO.

At Ellis Island the records were checked for ROSE PELLIQUIN with negative results.

The file of MARCEAU PIVERT was reviewed which indicated that he had entered the United States on the Normandie on August 28, 1939 from La Havre, France, giving his age as 43 years, professor and citizenship French. He listed his birthplace as Montmacha, France and his last residence as Paris. His wife was listed as Mrs. G. PIVERT, Rue de Vaugirard 247, Paris. He had \$200. in his possession upon arrival and stated that he had never been in the United States before. He listed as his friend Mr. CHARLES ZIMMERMAN, 218 West 40 Street, New York City. He stated that he intended to stay four weeks. In this connection, it is interesting to note that CHARLES ZIMMERMAN who was Vice President of the International Ladies Garment Workers of America, has been connected with LOVESTONE movement since its inception in 1929. PIVERT's description was given as:

Height	5' 9"
Complexion	Medium
H air	Gray
Eyes	Blue

The correspondence file at Ellis Island indicated that PIVERT had taken up residence at the Sloane House, 356 West 36 Street. In an application for an extension of stay he listed his friends as Mrs. M. DAVIS, 17 Commerce Street, New York, and Mr. J. HOCHMAN, 218 West 40 Street, Vice President of the International Ladies Garment Union. An extension was granted for PIVERT to stay until April 28, 1940. A letter from the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Washington, D. C., contained in the file, indicated that PIVERT had an alias of ~~PELLEQUIN~~ or ~~PELLIQUIN~~.

The file also contained a letter from ROGER BALDWIN, dated May 9, 1940 requesting another extension to PIVERT's visa. This extension was refused on May 6, 1940. The file indicated that PIVERT was supposed to leave for Vera Cruz, Mexico on the MONTEREY on July 17, 1940, however, when the sailing of this vessel was checked it was ascertained that PIVERT's reservation had been canceled.

At a hearing dated July 15, 1940 before T. R. KING, Immigration Inspector at Ellis Island in connection with an application to stay, it was brought out that PIVERT was born October 2, 1895 and that he was residing at that time in care of Mrs. NATALE DAVIS, 17 Commerce Street, New York City.

The file also contained a letter from the French Line dated August 27, 1940 to the effect that Miss RAY MICHAELS had applied for a refund on the return ticket of MARCEAU PIVERT for his original trip from France. Miss MICHAELS indicated to the French Line that PIVERT had departed for Mexico by rail on July 20, 1940.

The file contained a letter from PIVERT dated September 10, 1940 with the return address Tamesis 15, Mexico D. F., informing that he had left the United States on July 22, 1940 by Laredo, Texas.

The file also contained a memorandum from the State Department to the effect that PIVERT had been identified by JOSEPH

100-9078

PALMER, Second American Vice Consul in Mexico, D. F. on September 24, 1940.

The Credit Bureau of Greater New York, 55 Fifth Avenue, had a file on PIVERT consisting of a clipping from the New York Times dated April 10, 1940. This clipping had a Paris dateline of April 9, 1940 and related that MARCEAU PIVERT, Secretary General of the French Workers and Socialist Party, was being tried in absence in France for inciting mutiny arising from the circulation of tracts urging soldiers to disobedience. The article advised that PIVERT was formerly a professor in the Suresne School.

In connection with Miss RAY MICHAELS, set out in reference letter of the Bureau as being active in the International Relief Association and the Independent Labor League of America, the following information was obtained at the Credit Bureau of Greater New York.

A report dated January 20, 1940 listed Miss RAY MICHAELS of 2071 Walton Avenue, Bronx, who formerly resided at 2116 Morris Avenue, Bronx, as a bookkeeper in the Manufacturers Trust Company Branch at 43 Street and Eighth Avenue. She was listed as single in her late twenties and residing with a sister and brother-in-law who is a taxi driver by the name of A. KROTZER. It is interesting to note that Miss RAY MICHAELS was the individual who presented PIVERT's return ticket to the French Line for credit.

At Dun & Bradstreet, 290 Broadway, there was a file for the Workers Age Book Shop, publishers on the premises of the I.L.L.A. 131 West 33 Street. The report was dated August 9, 1938 and indicated that WILL HERBERG, Manager of the Workers Age Book Shop, had referred the investigator to Miss RAY MICHAELS of the I.L.L.A. for information. The investigator indicated that Miss MICHAELS had refused all information in connection with the I.L.L.A. The file indicated, however, that the I.L.L.A. was formed in 1929 and had operated at 51 West 14 Street until 1936, at which time it moved to 131 West 33 Street.

In connection with MARTIN TEMPLE, who is mentioned in a [redacted] and forwarded to the New York Field Division with reference letter from the Bureau, no information could be developed at the Credit Bureau, Ellis

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Island or from the city directory and the files of the New York Field Division.

A review of the New York files in connection with the Independent Labor League of America indicates that in the file entitled Subversive Activities General, New York file 61-507, Bureau file 61-7559, a letter was addressed to the Bureau from the New York Field Division dated December 6, 1938. This letter sets out that the Communist Party opposition is contemplating the enlarging of its newspaper "The Workers Age" and also undertaking the publication of a bi-monthly theoretical journal. A special fund to that end was being raised by a Committee headed by SIDNEY JONAS. The Communist Party opposition is identified as the Independent Labor League of America.

The same file contained a letter to the Bureau dated April 17, 1939 indicating that the Workers Age Book Shop, 131 West 33 Street, which is the same address as the I.L.L.A., had published a pamphlet entitled "Program and Policies of the I.L.L.A." A copy was forwarded to the Bureau. They had also published a pamphlet entitled "Where We Stand - Labor's Road Forward." being the program and policies of the Independent Labor League of America, a copy of which was also forwarded to the Bureau with the letter.

A review of the New York files fails to reveal any information upon the Marxist Quarterly. No record was found on this publication at Dun & Bradstreet.

In connection with the Workers Age, Dun & Bradstreet had a report dated September 1, 1933 indicating that this is published at 51 West 14 Street which is noted as the former office address of the I.L.L.A. BERTRAM D. WOLFE is listed as the editor and WILL HERBERG as the managing editor. The organization is listed as a member of the New York Communist Party opposition. It published at that time a weekly paper entitled "The Workers Age," selling for five cents. At the time of the Dun & Bradstreet investigation a financial report was refused.

In connection with the activities of the Communist Party opposition as identified by J. LOVESTONE of the I.L.L.A., Special Agent George J. Starr, who is well acquainted with the activities of this group, advises that the group has been disbanded for approximately one year and that there is no practical organization existing today.

The Dun & Bradstreet file also contained a report dated May 27, 1941 for the International Relief Association, the address listed being 20 Vesey Street, Room 310. CHARLES BEARD is listed as the Honorary Chairman, FRED A. KIRSCHWEY, Treasurer and STERLING D. SPERO, Secretary.

The organization, according to this report, was founded by ALBERT EINSTEIN, KAETHE KOLLWITZ, GRAF G. VONARCO, EDWARD FUCHS, HELEN STOECKER and H. VOGT. The central European office was listed as 20 Voite Postale, Paris, France. It was reported to be supported by voluntary contributions and acted as a clearing house for local agencies throughout the United States and foreign countries for the purpose of aiding political refugees from Nazism.

In connection with the International Relief Association, reference is made to the report of Special Agent A. N. Carlblom, New York, dated June 11, 1941, in the case entitled HANS STEINICKE, with aliases; INTERNAL SECURITY, SPECIAL INQUIRY - STATE DEPARTMENT, New York file 100-10246. The information from this report is being quoted as follows:

" A check of the New York files for information concerning the INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ASSOCIATION, as well as STERLING SPERO, resulted in certain pertinent information being located in N. Y. File 61-507, a general file concerning Communist activities. A letter to the Director dated May 15, 1937 refers to the MARXIST QUARTERLY, 20 Vesey Street, New York City, and advises that the Managing Editor was LEWIS COREY; that STERLING D. SPERO, as well as four other individuals comprised the Board of Editors, SPERO being Secretary and Treasurer of the AMERICAN MARXIST ASSOCIATION, the publishers of the periodical. A letter dated February 6th, 1939 to the Bureau mentions the I. R. A. Bulletin published by the



"INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ASSOCIATION, 20 Vesey Street; this letter reflects that an insert appeared in this publication bearing the title 'INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ASSOCIATION FOR VICTIMS OF NAZISM.' The American Committee of the INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ASSOCIATION, was allegedly composed of the following:

ALBERT EINSTEIN  
GRAF G. VON ARCO  
EDWARD FUCHS  
HELEN STOECKER  
CARL VON OSSIETZKY  
CHARLES A. BEARD, Honorary Chairman  
FREDA KIRSCHWEY, Treasurer  
SHEBA STRUNSKY, Executive Secretary

To secure information concerning the INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ASSOCIATION, investigation was conducted at its present address, 2 W. 43rd Street. It was observed that the building directory listed not only the INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ASSOCIATION for Room 405, but the following as well:

COMMITTEE FOR CULTURAL FREEDOM  
JOINT CAMPAIGN FOR POLITICAL REFUGEES  
NEW WORLD RESETTLEMENT FUND  
STERLING D. SPERO  
FRANK N. TRAGER

WILLIAM H. McCARTHY, associated with TANKOOS & SMITH CO., Realty Agents, 1457 Broadway, telephone Wisconsin 7-2900, advised that Mr. SPERO is the mainstay of the INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ASSOCIATION, and that little information concerning the organization or Mr. SPERO was available since they had acquired this account from the SCHULTE REALTY CO., present address 386 Broadway, and that the said firm would have information concerning the Association becoming a tenant. Mr. McCARTHY advised that they had accepted the fact that the Association would prove a good tenant and had conducted no investigation in connection with references, or banking connections. The Association presently pays \$65.00 monthly for 506 square feet floor space, which rental has been paid promptly. Mr. McCARTHY further said that the rent had recently been raised from \$50.00 per month and that at that time Dr. SPERO refused to sign the lease personally. He stated that no complaints had been received of any nature indicative of the Association being Communistic or

"pro-Nazi. He was unacquainted with subject and suggested that interview with Mr. MALLOY, the building superintendent, might be beneficial.

Mr. L. MALLOY, Superintendent, 2 W. 43rd Street, stated that Dr. SPERO was the central figure in the INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ASSOCIATION, in which there were approximately five or six women constantly employed. He stated that it was a busy office with numerous refugees visiting, and various supplies consisting of pots, kettles and clothes being accumulated. He believed that all associated with the organization were well educated while advising that all were Jewish. It was his belief that Dr. SPERO was a professor at City College. Mr. MALLOY added that there was much typing in the office and it at all times appeared extremely busy. He was unacquainted with subject, and stated he knew nothing which would reflect against the organization."

At Dun & Bradstreet the following information was obtained concerning the Keep America Out of War Congress, Inc. In a report dated October 11, 1940 the following individuals were listed as being connected with this organization:

JOHN T. FLYNN, National Chairman  
ALICE L. DODGE, Organization Secretary  
HENRY W. DWYER, Associate Secretary  
ALBERT W. HAMILTON, Labor Secretary  
FAY BENNETT, Youth Secretary

The Governing Committee was listed as follows:

FREDERICK J. LIBBY, Chairman  
Rabbi PHILIP L. BERNSTEIN  
Dr. CHARLES F. BOSS  
DOROTHY DUNBAR BROMLEY  
Rev. ALLAN KNIGHT CHALMERS  
DOROTHY DETZER  
JOHN W. EDELMAN  
ALBERT W. HAMILTON  
IRA A. HIRSCHMANN

FRANK LITTELL  
MINNIE LURYE  
LEONORE G. MARSHALL  
MRS. SETH M. MILLIKEN  
RAY NEWTON  
ELLIOTT D. PRATT  
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH  
JOHN NEVIN SAYER  
ROSE M. STEIN  
NORMAN THOMAS  
BERTRAM D. WOLFE

The group was chartered in New York in 1938, the original organization having started in Washington, D. C. The purpose of the organization was listed to educate the American People on peace issues. It operates on an annual budget of \$10,000 raised by voluntary contributions. The New York office is located at 22 East 17 Street and a branch office is located at 740 North Rush Street, Chicago, Illinois. The banking reference was listed as the Amalgamated Bank, New York City.

In connection with the investigation conducted by Special Agent Carlblom as set out above concerning the International Relief Association, it is noted that the New World Resettlement Fund, Inc. has the same address as the International Relief Association.

It is interesting to note that file 66-1326 contains a memorandum dated May 23, 1941 submitted by Special Agent E. F. Emrich to the effect that Inspector WATTS of the ONI had called to obtain information concerning SHEBA STRUNSKY, reported by WATTS to be the sponsor of refugees and aliens entering this country. In connection with the New World Resettlement Fund, Inc. WATTS was advised that there was no record in the New York files.

At the Brooklyn Board of Health it was impossible to verify the birthdate of BERTRAM D. WOLFE as set out above. It should be noted in this connection, that compulsory recording of birth records was not required in Brooklyn until 1910.

100-9078

Reference letter from the Bureau refers to one RYOICHI KAWASHIMA who was arrested in Liverpool, England in 1926 for failure to report under the Alien Act, at which time documents relating to the Communist Party in the United States were found in his possession and among these names appeared the name of ELLA G. WOLFE, 632 Hiroop Avenue, Brooklyn.

A review of the New York files fails to reflect any additional information other than that set out in reference letter. In view of the ancient date of this material, no further investigation is contemplated as to this individual.

Reference letter also indicates that FRED STRAUSS of Fullerton, California was interested in the application of HANS THEISSEN and ILSE THEISSEN for entrance into the United States, whose names were submitted to the Interdepartmental Committee of Political Refugees March 27, 1941. The Los Angeles Field Division has been requested previously by letter to conduct appropriate investigation into the identity and activities of STRAUSS. It should be noted also that the Boston Field Division has previously been requested to conduct investigation into the activities of WOLFE at Provincetown, Massachusetts and also to place a mail cover at this address.

UNDEVELOPED LEADS:

NEW YORK FIELD DIVISION

At New York City, will report the results of the mail covers placed on the subject, BERTRAM D. WOLFE and on SHEBA STRUNSKY and also report the results of the long distance phone calls for the past three months when they are received from the New York Telephone Company. In addition, will report any criminal record of BERTRAM D. WOLFE or ELLA G. WOLFE.

Will interview STERLING D. SPERO of the International Relief Association, 2 West 43 Street. In this connection, it is suggested that an attempt be made to develop from SPERO the financial backing of this organization and obtain from him a roster of those individuals whom the International Relief Organization has sponsored in applications for entry into the United States.

WASHINGTON FIELD DIVISION

At The Congressional Library, will review the index of authors and obtain all publications listed for BERTRAM D. WOLFE.

Will check the files of the Immigration and Naturalization Service to attempt to ascertain whether any applications have been made by MARCEAU PIVERT for entrance into the United States since he left in 1940.

BOSTON FIELD DIVISION

At Provincetown, Massachusetts, will conduct appropriate investigation at 582 $\frac{1}{2}$  Commercial Street into the activities of BERTRAM D. WOLFE and his wife, ELLA G. WOLFE. A mail cover should be placed at this address.

LOS ANGELES FIELD DIVISION

At Fullerton, California, will conduct appropriate investigation into the identity and activities of FRED STRAUSS.

~~- P E N D I N G -~~

GMA: add: ael  
61-6050 -  
100-10026.

July 8, 1941

Assistant Director E. J. Connelley  
New York City, New York

Re: <sup>0</sup>ELLA G. WOLFE, ET AL;  
INTERNAL SECURITY

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to Bureau letter dated April 11, 1941, wherein your office was requested to conduct an appropriate investigation relative to the above subjects, and to submit a report to the Bureau on or before April 20, 1941. Your attention is also directed to a telegram from the Bureau dated June 23, 1941, wherein your office was instructed to submit a report in this matter not later than June 26, 1941.

A review of the Bureau's files fails to disclose that a report has been received from your office in this matter. It is desired that a report be submitted to the Bureau within ten days following the receipt of this letter and that the Bureau be advised why the previous instructions were not complied with.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

RECORDED

SECTION  
D

61-6050-12
JUL 20 1941
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

JTH

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

HTB:ERL  
100-9078

July 28, 1941

Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

Re: BERTRAM D. WOLFE; etal  
INTERNAL SECURITY (R)

Dear Sir:

This is to advise that by letter dated  
July 28, 1941 a cover for a period of 30 days was  
placed on all first class mail addressed to the following:

BERTRAM D. WOLFE  
68 Montague Street  
Brooklyn, New York

ELLA G. WOLFE, alias Ella Goldberg  
68 Montague Street  
Brooklyn, New York

Very truly yours,

*T. J. Donegan*  
T. J. DONEGAN, Acting for  
E. J. CONNELLEY,  
Assistant Director

RECORDED

~~INDEXED~~  
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61-6050-13
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
8 JUL 31 1941
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

*ERL*

CH-23

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **NEW YORK, NEW YORK**

FILE NO. **100-6406**

REPORT MADE AT <b>LOS ANGELES, CALIF.</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>8-11-41</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>8-9-41</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>H. A. SMITH</b> <span style="float: right;">ned</span>
TITLE <b>BERTRAM D. WOLFE; ELLA G. WOLFE alias Ella Goldberg</b>			CHARACTER OF CASE <b>INTERNAL SECURITY "R"</b>
<p><b>SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:</b></p> <p style="margin-left: 150px;"><del>FRED</del> STRAUSS, Fullerton, California, possesses a splendid reputation.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">RUC</p> <p><b>REFERENCE:</b></p> <p style="margin-left: 150px;">Report of Special Agent H. T. BRUNN, New York City, 7-28-41.</p> <p><b>DETAILS:</b></p> <p style="margin-left: 150px;">Reference report requested that investigation be conducted at Fullerton, California, to determine the identity and activities of FRED STRAUSS. This matter was referred to the District Attorney's Office at Santa Ana, California, who conducted a thorough investigation and submitted their report as follows:</p> <p style="margin-left: 150px;">"FRED STRAUSS, residence- 614 Drake, Fullerton, telephone Fullerton 602; business address- Stein-Strauss Company, 100 South Spadra, Fullerton, telephone Fullerton No. 3.</p> <p style="margin-left: 150px;">"Checked the Orange County Clerk's Registration of Voters. FRED STRAUSS registered to vote in Fullerton Precinct No. 12 on January 8, 1936, as a Republican; merchant; 6' 1", born in Germany; received citizenship by decree of court in 1911 in Los Angeles County. His</p>			
APPROVED AND FORWARDED: <i>[Signature]</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE		
DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES			
COPIES OF THIS REPORT		161-16050-14	RECORDED INDEXED
5 Bureau 2 New York City 1 Boston 1 Washington Field 2 Los Angeles		AUG 13 1941	EX-10



wife, Mrs. ESTHER STRAUSS, registered to vote on March 4, 1936, in Fullerton precinct No. 12; giving the address of 644 N. Drake, between Malvern and Union, Fullerton; Republican; housekeeper, 5' 6"; born in Kansas.

"The Orange County Assessor's Office records show that FRED STRAUSS owns the following property:

"TRACT NO. 588 S 10 FT (Ex. E 85.13 ft) Lot 29 All (Ex. E. 85.13 Ft.) 10 FULLERTON CITY.

"A check of the Orange County Directory for 1941 shows FRED STRAUSS and his wife, ESTHER, residing at 644 Drake, Fullerton; his occupation as Vice President of STEIN-STRAUSS CO., a department store combined with a grocery store and market, located at 100 S. Spadra, Fullerton. The directory gives FELIX STEIN as the president, FRED STRAUSS as the vice president.

"District Attorney GEORGE F. HOLDEN states that FRED STRAUSS is a member of Elks Lodge No. 1345. Mr. HOLDEN, being a past Exalted Ruler of this lodge, has known Mr. STRAUSS for many years and states he has always been considered a good American citizen. Mr. HOLDEN states that STRAUSS also is a member of Fullerton American Legion Post No. 142.

"Checked with the Northern Orange County Credit Bureau. Their records show that FRED STRAUSS was 50 to 52 years of age in 1940, and his wife is ESTHER M. STRAUSS. STRAUSS owns his own home at 644 N. Drake, Fullerton, and has been in partnership with FELIX STEIN for over 20 years. In October of 1938 FRED STRAUSS borrowed \$2400.00 from the Fullerton Building and Loan Association, payable at \$28.30 per month. STRAUSS is prompt in his payments and the Fullerton Building and Loan reports that loans made to STRAUSS in the past have always proven satisfactory and been paid promptly. The First National Bank of Fullerton reports a small personal checking account held with them since January 2, 1925; they have made no loans to STRAUSS and he is a satisfactory customer. The Security-First National Bank of Fullerton reported that STRAUSS has a small 3-figure checking account with them since 1935, and this bank has loaned STRAUSS up to \$400 unsecured, and which STRAUSS repaid satisfactorily. The Credit Bureau's record shows that the Tract No. 588, etc., shown above in the Assessor's Office records is the property that the Fullerton Building and Loan has the \$2400 contract on, charging an interest of 7.3/10%. On 3-1-40 this property was homesteaded. The Credit Bureau records also show that STRAUSS has approximately 50% interest in the Stein-Strauss, Inc.; prior to 1924 the Credit Bureau records show that FRED STRAUSS was sole owner of FRED STRAUSS & CO., Fullerton, but consolidated with another firm known as STEIN, HOPPE and HAX. Prior to STRAUSS' going into business for himself he worked as salesman for the firm of STERN and GOODMAN of Fullerton. The store that FRED STRAUSS and FELIX STEIN now operate consists of a men's furnishings store and a grocery and market. This firm does a large amount of business; is well known and highly regarded in the community and is considered one of the oldest and best known in the district. The Credit Bureau reports that they are unable to obtain any definite estimate as to FRED STRAUSS' income.

"Checked with the Orange County Credit Bureau of Santa Ana. They report that the Northern Orange County Credit Bureau asked for a report on FRED and ESTHER STRAUSS, but they had no trade record. In October, 1938, two reconveyances of trust deed and a new trust deed to Fullerton Building and Loan Association was issued on the following property: Part of Lot 30 and Part of Lot 29, Tract 588; for \$2400.00. March 1, 1940, STRAUSS filed declaration of homestead on this property.

"Interviewed THOMAS McFADDEN, Northern Orange County attorney, and a charter member of Anaheim Elks Lodge. Mr. McFADDEN states that he has known STRAUSS since 1918, and that STRAUSS is a German-Jew and from talk around that he has heard, STRAUSS got his mother out of Germany within the last two years and his mother now lives in San Francisco. FRED STRAUSS was in the U.S. Army during the World War and saw service in France, and is also a charter member of the Fullerton American Legion Post. Mr. McFADDEN states that STRAUSS is a great talker, but he has never heard him say anything of a subversive nature; nor has STRAUSS shown any indications of having been interested in any Communistic activities whatsoever.

"Mr. McFADDEN states that it is his opinion that FRED STRAUSS is definitely not disloyal. Mr. McFADDEN states that FRED STRAUSS' partner, FELIX STEIN is also a very good fellow; considered a good citizen and is believed to be a cousin of FRED STRAUSS. Mr. McFADDEN states that STRAUSS is a very good fellow except when he has had a few drinks, and when he is drinking he is obstreperous and has caused some of the boys in the Elks Lodge to set him in his place. Mr. McFADDEN states that the man who knows the most about FRED STRAUSS would be HAROLD STERN, c/o the Stern Realty Company, Hoss Building, Los Angeles, California. Mr. McFADDEN states that STRAUSS' partner, FELIX STEIN has a daughter, BABETTE STEIN, whose nickname is BOBBY, and who is a secretary to the well known Santa Ana attorney, STANLEY REINHAUS. Mr. McFADDEN also is past Exalted Ruler of the Elks Lodge of Anaheim.

"Interviewed LEO FRIIS, City Attorney of Anaheim, and also a past Exalted Ruler of Anaheim Elks Lodge. Mr. FRIIS states that FRED STRAUSS has belonged to the Elks Lodge for years; is a highly respected business man in the City of Fullerton, and on the whole, considered a very good citizen. However, there are certain members of the Elks Lodge who at times, (like himself) did have to sit down on STRAUSS when he was drinking, because he would become obnoxious, and during a meeting was just liable to speak out loud and call to the Exalted Ruler or some of the other officers without recognition from the chair. Mr. FRIIS states that FRED STRAUSS has never been connected with any subversive activities that he knows of, and has served on committees, especially the charity committee for the Elks Lodge and has his duties in first class shape.

"Interviewed ORRIN C. CROOKE, Commander, Fullerton American Legion Post No. 142, 1201 N. Harvard, Fullerton. Mr. CROOKE states that FRED STRAUSS has been a member of the Fullerton American Legion Post for over 20 years and has been very active in relief work, especially during the flood and the earthquake, and has always served his committee duties in good shape, including Americanization committee. Mr. CROOKE states that FRED STRAUSS was telling

about his parents being in Germany and of the hard time he had getting them out of Germany, and mentioned that they (his parents) are now living in San Francisco. Mr. CROOKE states that STRAUSS is a partner to STEIN and the two men are cousins, and are considered good American citizens, and appear to be very patriotic. Mr. CROOKE states that FRED STRAUSS served overseas during the first World War.

"(While investigating a criminal matter over at Fullerton with Chief of Police JOHN GREGORY, the name of FRED STRAUSS was brought up and Chief of Police GREGORY stated that FRED STRAUSS was really all right; having turned in several subversive individuals to his (GREGORY'S) department for investigation.)

"Interviewed ALBERT LAUNER, attorney, Chapman Bldg., Fullerton, California. Mr. LAUNER states that he has represented FRED STRAUSS off and on for the past 15 years; that FRED STRAUSS belongs to the same Masonic Lodge that he (Launer) does, which is Azure Lodge 533, Fullerton. FRED STRAUSS is also a charter member of the Rotary Club and the Elks Lodge and the American Legion. Mr. LAUNER states as far as he knows, FRED STRAUSS and his wife ESTHER STRAUSS do not go to church, but that his little daughter MARYLIN, who is 14 years old, does go to the Methodist Sunday School. Mr. LAUNER states that FRED STRAUSS is a cousin to his partner, FELIX STEIN and STEIN'S daughter, BOBBY STEIN, formerly worked for him (LAUNER) but now works in Santa Ana for STANLEY REINHAUS. MR. LAUNER states that he drew up a paper for FRED STRAUSS which may be of some interest to us. Mr. LAUNER produced this paper, which was an affidavit, giving power of attorney on December 6, 1938 to Mr. SOLLY GOLDSCHMIDT, 804 W. 180th Street, New York City, N.Y. This instrument giving Mr. GOLDSCHMIDT power of attorney was to deal with the U.S. Immigration officials on behalf of FRED STRAUSS' relatives, namely, MRS. RICKA STRAUSS, MRS. IDA STRAUSS and Mr. SEIGMUND STRAUSS, arriving on the steamer Statendam, approximately 12-23-38. FRED STRAUSS in this instrument encumbered himself for all expenses, etc., guaranteeing the care, support, etc., of the above mentioned three individuals. Mr. LAUNER states that the three individuals mentioned in this instrument are residing in San Francisco, but where, he doesn't know. Mr. LAUNER states that FRED STRAUSS is moderately well-to-do, a good citizen and a good business man, well thought of in the community and is considered a very good fellow for a Jew, as is his cousin, FELIX STEIN. MR. LAUNER states that approximately two years ago STEIN and STRAUSS' wholesale creditors in Los Angeles, through the Board of Trade in Los Angeles, took over the store and that after a short time the creditors were paid off and the situation straightened out. Mr. LAUNER states, however, that he didn't represent STRAUSS in this matter. Mr. LAUNER states that FRED STRAUSS is approximately 52 years of age; 6'2", 175 pounds, brown hair, completely bald on top; brown eyes; wears glasses; smooth shaven; medium complexion; neat dresser, and speaks with a German-Jew accent.

"There is no criminal record in Orange County on FRED STRAUSS."

REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN

**Federal Bureau of Investigation**  
**United States Department of Justice**  
Post Office Box #2344  
Boston, Massachusetts

September 24, 1941

Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

Re: BERTRAM D. WOLFE;  
ELLA G. WOLFE, alias Ella Goldberg  
INTERNAL SECURITY (R)

Dear Sir:

This is to advise that a mail cover that was placed on the mail of the above-named subjects with the Postmaster, WILLIAM H. COBRAL, has been removed as subjects left Provincetown, Massachusetts for their residence in Brooklyn, New York.

Very truly yours,

*V. W. Peterson*  
V. W. PETERSON  
Special Agent in Charge

HFH:her  
100-2068

EX-2  
RECORDED

61-6050-15  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
SEP 29 1941  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
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# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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

FILE NO. 100-2068 her

REPORT MADE AT <b>BOSTON, MASS.</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>9/23/41</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>9/6/41</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>H. F. HOWARD</b>
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TITLE <b>BERTRAM D. WOLFE; ELLA G. WOLFE, alias Ella Goldberg</b>	CHARACTER OF CASE <b>INTERNAL SECURITY (R)</b>
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**SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:** Subjects left Provincetown, Mass., Labor Day returning to their home, 68 Montague Street, Brooklyn, New York. Not active with local Communist members during stay in Provincetown, Mass. Pertinent information of mail cover set forth in report.

SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR  
ADD. DISSEMINATION.

R U C

**Reference:** Report of Special Agent H. T. BRUNN, New York City, dated 7/28/41.  
Report of Special Agent H. F. HOWARD, Boston, Mass., dated 7/24/41.

**Details:** AT PROVINCETOWN, MASS.

Chief ANTHONY P. TARVERS advised agent that BERTRAM and ELLA WOLFE left Provincetown the day after Labor Day for their home in New York City leaving a notice for their mail to be forwarded to their residence at 68 Montague Street, Brooklyn, New York. BERTRAM WOLFE and his wife ELLA were observed during their stay at Provincetown this summer by special officers of chief of police who reported the following information that during their stay in Provincetown, they had remained by themselves and had not associated with many of the known communists residing in Provincetown.

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EQ. REC'D 2-7-57  
EP'T FORW. 2-7-57  
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The following additional information was obtained by Chief TARVERS's department regarding subjects:

They resided at 582 1/2 Commercial St., the residence of ELSIE SEARS and WALTER SEARS, SEARS being employed in the Post Office at Provincetown. Further that they had previously stayed at the SEARS' home during the

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	SEP 29 1941	INDEXED

CH-8

past two summers and are well liked by both Mr. and Mrs. SEARS. Further that Mrs. ELLA WOLFE's (former name was ELLA GOLDBERG) brother, BARNETT GOLDBERG, was also staying at the SEARS' home and had stayed there for several years; that he is considered by the SEARS family as a well educated Jewish individual who has expressed his hatred for HITLER on many occasions.

No information was available relative to the residence of BARNETT GOLDBERG or his occupation.

The following information is the result of a mail cover that was placed with Postmaster WILLIAM H. COBRAL of Provincetown, Mass. The following is a list of the publications that were received by BERTRAM WOLFE and his wife regularly during their stay in Provincetown, Mass.:

Letters from "Keep America Out of War Congress"  
22 East 17th Street, New York City, N. Y.

"The New Republic"

One letter from S. REILAN, International Observer,  
142 Lexington Avenue, New York City.

"Fourth International" from the Forth International  
Publication Association, 116 University Place, New York City.

"Argentina Libre"

"The Militant" from the Militant Publishing Association,  
116 University Place, New York City.

Letter from the Citizens' Peace Petition, Committee Room 415,  
22 East 17th Street, New York City, N. Y.

Letter from EDITORIAL ERICLLA, Santiago, Chile, South America.

"The New International Magazine"

"The Socialist Courier" from East 15th Street, New York City.

Letters from "Keep America Out of War Congress", 22 East  
17th Street, New York City.

No leads are being set out to conduct any investigation relative to this mail cover. A list of the mail cover is being retained in the files of the Boston Field Division.

REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **NEW YORK, N. Y.**

FILE NO. **100-5172**

REPORT MADE AT <b>WASHINGTON, D. C.</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>10-1-41</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>9-16-41</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>LOUIS LOEBL</b> <span style="float: right;"><b>LL:LS</b></span>
TITLE <b>BERTRAM D. WOLFE, et al</b>			CHARACTER OF CASE <b>INTERNAL SECURITY - R</b>

**SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:**

List of publications written by **BERTRAM D. WOLFE** obtained from Library of Congress and set out herein. Look-Out Notices posted with the Visa Division, State Department, and the Immigration and Naturalization Service, for information indicative of the entry into the United States of **MARCEAU PIVERT**.

- RUC -

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 INSP. IN CHARGE  
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**REFERENCE:**

Report of Special Agent **H. T. BRUNN**, dated July 23, 1941, at New York City.

**DETAILS:**

AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

**Mr. R. P. HOMES**, Assistant Reference Librarian, Library of Congress, furnished Agent from the indices of the Library, with the titles of the following publications authored by **BERTRAM D. WOLFE**:

"Civil War in Spain", published by Workers Age Publishing Company, New York, 1937

"Diago Rivera", published by A. A. Knopf, New York, 1939

"MARK and America", published by John Dee Publishing Company, New York, 1934

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 JAN 6 1961  
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"How Class Collaboration Works", published by the Daily Worker Publishing Company, Chicago, 1926

"Nature of the Capitalist Crisis", published by the New Workers School, New York, 1935

"Our Heritage from 1776", published by the New Workers School, New York, 1926

"Things we Want to Know", published by the Workers Age Publishing Company, New York, 1934

"Trotsky Opposition", published by the Workers Library, no location given, no date indicated

"What is Communist Opposition", published by the Communist Party, New York, 1933

In addition to the above books, Subject was also the author of the text to "Diago Rivera's Portrait of America - 1934" and "Portrait of Mexico - 1937", both published in New York by COVICI FRIEDL; also, in collaboration with NORMAN THOMAS, Subject wrote a book entitled "Keep America Out of War", published by Frederick A. Stokes, in New York, in 1939. WOLFE was also the Editor of the magazine, "Communist", from November, 1927 until December, 1928, and had written a good many periodicals which are not indexed under the name of the author, however.

With reference to MARCEAU PIVERT, formerly of Paris, France, who was admitted to the United States on August 28, 1939, and who under orders from the Immigration Authorities, departed from the United States on July 20, 1940, for Mexico, requests for appropriate Look-Out Notices have been directed to the Visa Division, State Department, and to the Immigration and Naturalization Service, for any information indicative of PIVERT's readmission into the United States.

- REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN -



# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **NEW YORK, N. Y.**

NY FILE NO. **100-9078 AFW**

REPORT MADE AT <b>NEW YORK, N. Y.</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>11/3/41</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>7/25/41</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>H. T. BRUNN</b>
TITLE <b>BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE; ELLA G. WOLFE, alias Ella Goldberg</b>			CHARACTER OF CASE <b>INTERNAL SECURITY - R</b>

**SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:**

INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ASSOCIATION formed in Germany, in 1927. U. S. affiliation formed in 1933. Has been active in obtaining the emigration of anti-Nazis from Germany. The New York group is headed by DR. STERLING SPERO, Professor of Labor at New York University. Obtain its funds through voluntary contributions and mail solicitations. List of individuals presently applying for visas from France and sponsored by the INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ASSOCIATION set out. BERTRAM D. WOLFE not active in the INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ASSOCIATION but was used as a sponsor for the THESSEN application through his personal friendship with SHEBA STRUNSKY, Executive Secretary of the INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ASSOCIATION. NEW WORLD SETTLEMENT FUND INC., is an organization interested in resettling victims of the Spanish Revolution in a community being developed in Ecuador.

SEARCHED \_\_\_\_\_  
SERIALIZED \_\_\_\_\_  
INDEXED \_\_\_\_\_  
FILED \_\_\_\_\_  
BY \_\_\_\_\_  
  
JAN 6 1942  
[Handwritten initials]

- P -

**REFERENCE:** Report of Special Agent H. T. Brunn, New York, dated July 28, 1941.

**DETAILS:** MRS. SHEBA GOODMAN, who is commonly known as SHEBA STRUNSKY, was interviewed at the office of the INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ASSOCIATION, 2 West 43rd Street, New York City. It

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2- Boston	2- Washington Field		
3- New York			

should be noted that Miss STRUNSKY is a niece of the STRUNSKY who writes a column in the NEW YORK TIMES entitled TOPICS OF THE TIMES. Miss STRUNSKY advised that INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ASSOCIATION was an organization first formed in Germany about 1927 and that ALBERT EINSTEIN was one of the original sponsors in Germany. The purpose of the organization in Germany was to assist victims of fascist aggression in Italy to obtain transportation and visas out of Italy.

After the rise of Hitler in Germany, the organization took for its purpose the relief of victims from Nazi and fascist aggression. A group was formed in the United States in approximately 1933 for this purpose. Miss STRUNSKY stated that the sponsors, as previously set out, were not particularly active in this group. The individuals most active were herself and Dr. STRELING SPERO, Professor of Labor at New York University.

She advised that the organization had originally been formed through Dr. SPERO'S efforts and through the efforts of Miss FREDA KIRCHMEY, who is presently the Treasurer of the organization.

In connection with the individuals whose release from Germany had been effected, Miss STRUNSKY advised that the organization attempts to make a very complete investigation into the background of these persons prior to sponsoring their release. She stated that they were very strict in attempting to weed out communists and also Nazis, being primarily interested in political refugees of a liberal viewpoint in a strict sense of the word.

She stated that prior to the outbreak of the war the organization had effected the release of approximately 200 persons. Prior to the war the organization had a European representative in Paris by the name of OCTAVE BIQUARD whom she described as liberal French businessman. Miss STRUNSKY stated that BIQUARD had not been heard of since the invasion of Paris. She stated that their present contact in Europe was through the EMERGENCY RESERVE COMMITTEE which was formed since the fall of France with headquarters in Marseilles. This organization is headed by Dr. FRANK KINGDOM, who is Assistant Secretary of the organization called DEFEND AMERICA BY AIDING THE ALLIES, with offices at 122 East 42nd Street.

The EMERGENCY RESERVE COMMITTEE has an office in Marseilles under Mr. VARIAN FRY and the INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ASSOCIATION works through this office through an individual by the name of CARL STERNBERG, who is located in Marseilles. Miss STRUNSKY advised that STERNBERG is a political refugee himself and has recently obtained his visa to the United States.

Cases are referred to the EMERGENCY RESERVE COMMITTEE in Marseilles and STERNBERG attempts to investigate and recommend those cases in which he believes the INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ASSOCIATION would be interested. Miss STRUNSKY also stated that cases are also referred to them by relatives in the United States and that these two sources were the origin of most of their cases. She stated that since the war the INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ASSOCIATION has not been able to obtain the release of any individuals from Germany but they are working on those individuals who are in France, having fled from Germany. In connection with the investigation conducted of their applicants, Miss STRUNSKY advised that inquiries were made of references, relatives and also Communist, liberal and labor groups in the United States with world wide contacts in an attempt to eliminate any Communists and bonafide Nazis.

She stated that the association was financed through benefits, mail solicitation and private contributions. In this respect she explained that the INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ASSOCIATION had recently had a drive with the NEW WORLD SETTLEMENT FUND INC., under the title "JOINT CAMPAIGN FOR POLITICAL REFUGEES".

In connection with the application of HANS TH ISSEN, Miss STRUNSKY advised that EDWIN D. WOLFE had been requested to sponsor this application because of his personal friendship with Miss STRUNSKY. She stated that WOLFE was not particularly active in the INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ASSOCIATION although he had been named as a sponsor in the original organization. She stated that WOLFE was unacquainted with THUSSEN personally.

In connection with the sponsor FRED STRAUSS of Fullerton, California, Miss STRUNSKY advised that STRAUSS

was a personal friend of THEISSEN and had no connection with WOLF or the INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ASSOCIATION. Miss STRUNSKY denied any connection between the INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ASSOCIATION and the LOVESTONITES.

In connection with FRANCIS HENSEN, Miss STRUNSKY stated that he was one of the original sponsors of the INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ASSOCIATION. She advised that he was not active now.

It is noted that the COMMITTEE FOR CULTURAL FREEDOM maintains the same address as the INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ASSOCIATION. Miss STRUNSKY stated that this committee was formed by a group of liberal professors to combat Communist Party propaganda in the United States. She stated that the organization paid \$10.00 a month for desk space in the office of the INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ASSOCIATION but that recently the activities of the organization have practically ceased. She advised that Mrs. ISABELL LUEBURG, the wife of FERDINAND LUEBURG, a writer, was head of this organization.

Miss STRUNSKY was questioned concerning MARTIN TEMPLE. She advised that TEMPLE is an American business man who has lived in Mexico for many years. She stated that he is a close friend of BERTRAM D. WOLFE. She recalled TEMPLE had a shoe and fur factory in Mexico City.

In connection with Miss PAUL MICHAELS, Miss STRUNSKY advised that she was connected with the LOVESTONITES in the Independent Labor League of America but that she did not know her very well.

In connection with MARCEAU PIVERT, Miss STRUNSKY advised that this individual was, to the best of her knowledge, still in Mexico. She stated that she had known him when he was in the United States although it was a casual acquaintance. She continued by stating that he was a close friend of BERTRAM D. WOLFE. According to Miss STRUNSKY, PIVERT was not one of the INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ASSOCIATION cases and never had any close association with this organization.

Miss STRUNSKY supplied the following list of INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ASSOCIATION cases presently pending in Washington, with the date on which they were submitted:

100-9078

Name	Date
MARI BOUWSCH	MARCH 20, 1941
WALTER BLASIG	MARCH 17, 1941
HORMANN BORTFIELD	APRIL 16, 1941
WILHELM JACOB DOERTER	FEBRUARY 13, 1941
ALFRED FIEDLER	OCTOBER 30, 1941
SOPHIE GOLDSTEIN	NOVEMBER 7, 1941
WILHELM KESSLER	DECEMBER 31, 1940
ANTON GRYL NICE	FEBRUARY 27, 1941
LEON KLOTH	MARCH 20, 1941
KURT RAFF	MARCH 24, 1941
GUSTAV STERN & fiancée GLARA BERGERT	MAY 12, 1941
HANS TH. USSIN	FEBRUARY 24, 1941
ADOLF WILHELM	APRIL 21, 1941

In connection with the NEW WORLD RESETTLEMENT FUND INC., Miss STRUNSKY referred agent to Miss AMERICA GONZALEZ, Executive secretary. Miss GONZALEZ stated that the NEW WORLD RESETTLEMENT FUND INC. was formed after the Spanish war in 1939. The FUND had entered into a contract with the Government of Ecuador for the purpose of forming a colony in Ecuador for the resettlement of Spanish farmers. In this connection Miss GONZALEZ turned over to agent, a copy of the principle provisions of this contract which is being enclosed with copies of this report to the Bureau. Miss GONZALEZ advised further that the organization was financed in a similar manner to the INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ASSOCIATION. Most of the contributions were received in response to mail solicitations. She stated that because of the war situation the work has been very much interfered with but that they were attempting to get a colony started in Ecuador and hoped that the organization machinery would be set up so that after the war they could colonize a group with Spanish farmers. At present they have moved approximately 50 Santa Dominican families to a new agricultural community in Ecuador.

The officers of the NEW WORLD RESETTLEMENT FUND INC. are:

OSCAR CARRISON VELLARD, N.Y. - Chairman  
JOHN DOS PASOS, New York - Secretary  
MARGARET DE SILVER - Treasurer  
AMERICA GONZALEZ - Executive Secretary

The New York Telephone Company has advised that there were no long distance telephone calls made from the apartment of BETRAN D. JOLES or from the apartment of SHEBA STRUNSKY

100-9078

for the past three months. The New York Police Department advised that they have been unable to locate a criminal record on BERTRAM D. WOLFE or ELLA GOLDBERG WOLFE. To date the mail covers on BERTRAM D. WOLFE and SHUBA STRUNSKY have been non-productive.

ENCLOSURE TO THE BUREAU; COPY OF THE CONTRACT OF THE NEW WORLD RESSETTLEMENT FUND INC. WITH ECUADORIAN GOVERNMENT.

100-9078

UNDEVELOPED LEADS

WASHINGTON FIELD DIVISION

\*At the Congressional Library, will review the index of authors and obtain all publications listed for BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE.

\*Will check the files of the Immigration and Naturalization Service to attempt to ascertain whether any applications have been made by MARCEAU PIVERT for entrance into the United States since he left in 1940.

- P E N D I N G -

NEWARK, NEW JERSEY

November 19, 1941

100-0-2436  
NAP:GEW

Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

RE: UNKNOWN SUBJECTS;  
THREAT ON WRIGHT AERONAUTICAL CORPORATION  
PATERSON, NEW JERSEY  
INTERNAL SECURITY (Bureau File 100-41790)

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to Bureau letter of September 24, 1941, returning newspaper clippings and of laboratory examination results on material submitted by the Newark Field Division.

Inasmuch as a rather complete investigation was conducted in this matter by the Paterson, New Jersey Police Department, and inasmuch as it is believed by them to be merely the prank of a small time crook on a detective, and inasmuch as there is no evidence of any subversive attempt in this matter, no investigation is being conducted by this office.

Very truly yours,

E. E. CONROY,  
Special Agent in Charge

NOV 21 1941  
NEWARK, N. J.



ENCLOSURE



61-6050-18

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES  
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  

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OFFICIAL BUSINESS

PENALTY FOR PRIVATE USE TO AVOID  
PAYMENT OF POSTAGE, \$300

1 Enclosures for Bureau Office

Re: NEW YORK FILE NO. 100-9078

778 - family  
100 - family man

New World Resettlement Fund, Inc.

2 West 43rd Street

New York City

THE CONTRACT

The contract for the resettlement of five thousand refugee Spanish families in Ecuador signed by Mr. John Dos Passos for the New World Resettlement Fund with the government of Ecuador is a document which covers five pages in Spanish. Its principle provisions are:

- 1 - The Government grants the Fund the right to bring in Spanish colonists; to acquire or lease public and private lands; to parcel the land among the colonists; and to supervise the activities of the colonists.
- 2 - To import free of duty seed, agricultural implements and machinery, animals, and personal and household goods for the use of the colonists.
- 3 - To select the colonists for agricultural enterprises in agreement with the Diplomatic or Consular Agent designated by the Government.
- 4 - The Consular or Diplomatic Agent shall grant visas when the information and personal documents of the colonist assure him that the colonist is an honest worker. Collective visas will be granted to family groups.
- 5 - The colonists shall be principally Spanish farmers but the Fund has the right to bring to Ecuador other immigrants who are specialized in fields related to agriculture in no higher proportion than 10 per cent.
- 6 - The Fund shall deposit a sum of seven hundred dollars per family of seven members and one hundred dollars additional for each person over seven. This sum to be used exclusively to settle the colonists and to pay for their maintenance until they become self-supporting.
- 7 - The first agricultural colony to include not less than ten families who are to be established during the first year. The Fund can bring in up to five thousand families during the period of this contract which is for five years.
- 8 - The products raised by the colonists shall be exported free of export duty, as well as the by-products of their farms, whether said products and by-products are exported directly by the colonists or through the mediation of the Fund, but in any case the benefits shall accrue to the colonists exclusively.
- 9 - The colonists are free to acquire Ecuadorean citizenship as provided by the laws of the country. At all times, however, the colonists shall enjoy the same civil rights granted to all other foreigners.
- 10 - The colonists shall always enjoy the constitutional rights of religious freedom.
- 11 - The following Ministers are empowered to execute this Decree: The Ministers of Social Welfare; and Colonization; of Immigration; of Agriculture; of Foreign Relations; and of the Interior. Signed by the Acting President, Andres F. Cordova, National Palace, Quito, May 6, 1940.

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

FLP:JH  
100-9078

December 24, 1941

Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

RE: BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE;  
ELLA G. WOLFE, alias Ella Goldberg  
INTERNAL SECURITY - R

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to the report of Special Agent H. D. Brunn, New York, dated November 3, 1941.

A review of the New York file on instant case reveals that all leads have been covered, inasmuch as Special Agent Brunn advises that the mail cover on subjects have produced negative results.

This case is being placed in a closed status.

Very truly yours,

*P. E. Foxworth*  
P. E. FOXWORTH,  
Assistant Director

RECORDED

EX-13

61-6050-19  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
DEC 26 1941  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

212  
DEC 30 1941

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1  
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **NEW YORK, NEW YORK** FILE NO. **100-2068 hgm**

REPORT MADE AT <b>BOSTON, MASS.</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>12/29/41</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>11/29/41</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>P. H. BAIRD</b>
TITLE <b>BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE ELLA G. WOLFE, alias Ella Goldberg</b>			CHARACTER OF CASE <b>INTERNAL SECURITY (R)</b>

**SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:**

Investigation made by Provincetown, Massachusetts Police Department reflects that Subjects spent summer at Provincetown. Subject Bertram David Wolfe has written articles and books of Mexico and Spain in recent years and one entitled "Keep America Out of War" in 1939. He was stated to have joined the Communist Party in 1919 but as soon as the raids took place he shirked all party activities, disappeared from his post and failed to show up at committee meetings, though his wife continued to insist that his party salary should be paid. Other members of the party disapproved to what seemed to them to be cowardice in a leader, in what appeared to be a flight to Mexico. Mail cover by Provincetown Post Office shows that Subjects have received various periodicals of a Socialist and Communist nature.

AGENCY: \_\_\_\_\_  
 DATE: \_\_\_\_\_  
 TIME: \_\_\_\_\_  
 BY: \_\_\_\_\_

- R U C -

**REFERENCE:** Report of Special Agent H. F. REAS at Boston, Massachusetts, dated 9/23/41.

**DETAILS:** Under date of August 9, 1941 a letter was received from Chief of Police ALFRED P. MARSH, Provincetown, Massachusetts with which was enclosed a copy of a report of a special officer of the Provincetown Police Department. This report described subject BERTRAM D. WOLFE as - - -

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: <i>V. W. [Signature]</i> SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES		
COPIES OF THIS REPORT 5 - Bureau 3 - New York 3 - Boston	20		
	[Faint stamps and markings]		

Height: 6 feet  
Weight: 158 lbs.  
Complexion: tanned  
Eyes: Brown  
Hair: Brown  
Age: About 42 yrs.  
Nationality: U. S.  
Associates: Harry Goodman, Broker  
Sheba Goodman, nee Strongsky  
Peculiarities: Has large nose.

Subject ELLA GOLDBERG is described as follows:

Height: 5' 3" or 4"  
Weight: 135 lbs.  
Complexion: tanned  
Eyes: Brown  
Hair: Brown  
Build: Short and stocky  
Reputation: Good  
Age: about 44 yrs.  
Nationality: Believed to be U.S.  
Occupation: Says she is a teacher  
in Brooklyn.

The report is further quoted as follows:

"According to Who's Who in America, published by the A. N. Larnquist Company, Chicago, 1940-41 Edition, Volume 21; on file at the Provincetown Public Library. Page 2812.

BERTHA DAVID WOLFE, writer, born Brooklyn, N.Y., Jan. 19, 1896; son of William D. and Lay (Santner) W.; B. A. Coll. City of New York, 1916; student U. of Mexico, 1922-25; M.A., Columbia U., 1931; married, ELLA GOLDBERG, April 18, 1917. Teacher English Boys High School, Brooklyn, 1916-17, Miguel Lerdo High School, Mexico City, 1922-25 Director Workers School, N.Y., N.Y., 1925-29; Free lance writer since 1934, member Phi Beta Kappa. Author: Portrait of America, 1934; Portrait of Mexico 1937; Civil War in Spain, 1937; Diego Rivera; His Life and Times, 1939; Deathless Days, 1940; Keep America out of War, 1939; also articles. Home address 68 Montague St., Brooklyn, N.Y.

Reputation: quiet and orderly and good pay.

They were brought to 582 $\frac{1}{2}$  Commercial St. by ELSIE SEARS wife of W. SEARS at Post Office and the Goldbergs will be at Sears house supposed sister of Ella Goldberg or relatives of.

The above address checks with prior information. Came here about July 1st and leave about Labor Day.

Where were they between 1917 and 1922? This is a blank in Who's Who. A BERTHMAN D. WOLFE appears in the index on page #611, of, I Confess, by Benjamin Gitlow, Provincetown Public Library, page 27, 33-34, 38, 140-1, 400, 404-8, 419, 510, 512, 525, 529-30, 533-4, 547-9, 564-8. Mrs. WOLFE, 278.

531 yet Wolfe had written the main attacks on Trotsky for the American Party.

34 One of the leaders and organizers of the Communist party in America.

27 One of the city committee of New York to establish the Party in America.

564 Removed from all positions in the party and in the Communist International.

"652 - Benjamin Gitlow, Plff, in Arr.,  
People of the State of New York.

"69 LAW ED. Oct. Term, 1924 - U.S. 266-268.  
(Argued April 12, 1923, Restored to docket for  
argument May 7, 1923. Reargued November 23, 1923.  
Decided June 8, 1925).

ELLA GOLDBERG's brother, is at present in Provincetown, at William Sears home on Wiley Rd., his name is Barnett Goldberg.

Their friends are a family of HARRY GOODMAN and SHEBA GOODMAN nee Stronsky and have spoken to Mrs. Sears about having

something to do about getting refugees into this country. BARNETT GOLDBERG is a large powerful man, grayish hair, and has stayed with the Sears Family for several years, are quiet and pay well, considered by the Sears family as well educated Jewish people, country of origin unknown. They have expressed their hate for Hitler.

BERTMAN WOLFE and wife ELLA GOLDBERG stayed with the Sears family for two years in summertime and are well liked by them. The wife ELLA GOLDBERG is supposed to be a school teacher in New York and will be retired in a couple of years.

"Who's Who" is blank for five years in referring to this couple. But puts them both in Mexico from 1922-25.

There is a blank between 1917 when they married, to 1922 in Mexico. Gitlow in his book page 140; in charge of this caucus Lovestone placed his crony, BERTMAN D. WOLFE, who came as a delegate from California. Wolfe had been Lovestone's associate when the "National Left Wing" was first organized. He followed Lovestone into the Communist Party, organized jointly with the Russian Federation in 1919. As soon as the raids took place he shirked all party activities, disappeared from his post and failed to show up at committee meetings, though his wife continued to insist that his party salary should be paid. After many months news began to trickle in that Wolfe had left the country and had made his residence in Mexico. The rank and file comrades did not relish what seemed to them cowardice in a leader, and openly expressed their disapproval of what looked like flight to Mexico.

The fact that his wife is or is not a school teacher and will be retired on pension in a few years, does not check with being a free lance writer since 1934.

The Boston Field Office file contains letters which have not been previously reported in this case from the Postmaster at Provincetown, Massachusetts which give the results of mail covers. The letters are dated from August 11th to August 23rd and names the following individuals as having corresponded with Subjects:

"The Leader from the Leader" 318 Regent Park Rd, London, U3; one letter from the "New Republic", 40 East 49 street, N.Y.C.; The "New International" a monthly organ of revolutionary Marxism; one letter from J. SANCHEZ LOPEZ, #28, Mexico, D.F., and one card



from CARMEL M. ROSE, Box 248, Carmel, N.Y.

Letter addressed to BERTRAM D. WOLFE from ALICE L. DODGE, 22 East 17 Street, N.Y.C.; letter from S. SCHEINZ, 424 Beach 127 Hut, Rockaway Parc, L.I., N.Y.; one letter from Editorial Ericlla, S. A. Santiago, De Chile; one paper, "The Call from N.Y.C."; for ELLA G. WOLFE, one insured from R. GOLDBERG, 41-22-42 Street, Sunnyside, L.I., N.Y.

One letter for BERTRAM D. WOLFE from 113 East 19th Street; one letter from ROSE LAMB, 307 West 76 Street, New York City; letter from the "The New Republic, 40 East 49 th St., N.Y.C.; letter from R. H. MACY Co., Herald Sq., N.Y.C.; one registered printed matter from HESTER T. FLEE, Edison No. 40 Lexico; one letter for ELLA WOLFE, from Red Bank, N.J. and one card for both Mr and Mrs. B. WOLFE from E. POEBA, 1/2 Cr. Kehlo, Agnape 22 Aysaeren D-1, Mexico.

Letter addressed to BERTRAM D. WOLFE from S. REHMANN, International Observer, 142 Lexington Ave., N.Y.C.; letter and books from The N. Y. Herald Tribune, 230 West 41 Street, N.Y.C.; one magazine, Fourth International, Fourth International Pub. Association, 116 University Place, N.Y.C.; for both parties on one card from Elaine o Herb, mailed at Newark, N.J.; two papers the Argentina Libre.

Letter addressed to BERTRAM D. WOLFE from M. F. T. Manchester 8, Mexico, D. F. ; one book from William Panon Co., 386 Fourth Ave., N.Y.C. and from 3548 One card 2 cents for magazine; and for Mrs. BERTRAM D. WOLFE, from Ethel, Brooklyn, N.Y. one card.

Letter addressed to BERTRAM D. WOLFE from Thirty third floor, Metropolitan Tower, One Madison Ave., N.Y.C.; one book from Herald & Tribune, 230 west 41 Street, N.Y.C.; Books, Herald Tribune, one newspaper The Call, Miss Ella G. Wolfe, the Nation, and the New Republic, for Mr. and Mrs. BERTRAM D. WOLFE, one letter from Barocharing, The Am. Seninar Holderness School, Plymouth, N.H., one letter to Mrs. B. WOLFE, from Scheger, R.F.D. No. 1., Lebanon, N.J.

Letter to BERTRAM D. WOLFE, from "Keep America Out of War Congress", 22 East 17th Street, N.Y.C.; one third class letter from 112 East 19th Street, N.Y.C. for Ella and Bert Wolfe, one card from Tess, South Wellfleet, Massachusetts.

REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN

ACTUAL HISTORY OF  
BERTRAM D. WOLFE  
BOOK REVIEWER FOR N.Y. HERALD  
TRIBUNE ON RUSSIAN SUBVERTS

This party is entirely competent for the present.  
He is one of the original communists in these Uni.

Wolfe attended the first meeting of the formation of C.P. at Chicago, Feb. 1-4, 1918.

On June 31, 1919 in New York City at the left wing section at 43 W. 29th St., a conference was held at which time the national publication "Revolutionary Age" brought together the leaders and as the results the group took their stand with the Russian Communist Party. At this meeting one of the real leaders was Wolfe. This national conference set up what is now the Communist Party.

Here Ruthenberg--Wolfe--Ferguson--Cohen and 20 or more set up committees and William Gross Lloyd of Chicago was the chair.

A national Council of 9 members was set up, consisting of Prajna-Ruthenberg-Ferguson-John Hallam-James Jarkin-E. McLaughlin Ben Gitlow-Cohen and Bertram D. Wolfe.

This council on June 26th, issued a manifesto which was adopted, was the base of the new powerful communist party.

When the Emergency Peace Federation was in operation at the start of 1st World War, it was Bertram D. Wolfe of Brooklyn who was one of the real leaders. Wolfe also was carrying on his work as one of the chief organizers of new Communist Party. He was associate editor of "Communist World". All this time he was mixed up in just about every pacifist activity operating in the country. He has a police record in New York City, having been arrested in 1921 for criminal anarchy.

NOTE--See copies of Volume 2 & 3 of the Lusk Committee report on seditious activities in New York State--Pages 683-684-678-1000

61-6050-21

On page 27 of "I Confess" by Benjamin Gitlow one of the real original leaders in the party movement Gitlow tells us to know such leaders as Jay Lovestone John "Red" Joseph Brodsky-capt "Pat" Ben Gitlow and Bertram Wolfe were the real heads in so far as leadership was concerned.

When the national convention was held at Dr. Nathan

...the Union like ... authorities ...  
...a ...  
...of ...  
...After the ...  
...going to Mexico, but his wife remained in U.S.A. and was active.

At the party national convention in 1925, William Z. Foster, set up the trade union activity and he just about ordered everybody around. His chief lieutenant was Bertram Wolfe, who then handled the educational features. Other leaders then were Jay Lovestone-Max Shachtman, James Cannon and Ruthenberg. At the caucus held after the convention Ruthenberg was the selected party leader. Jay Lovestone was the under leader while Wolfe was a liaison man.

In March 1927, Charles Ruthenberg the red leader died, and the scramble was on for the vacated leadership. Wolfe was one of the key men at all conferences.

In 1928, Earl Browder stepped into power and the star of Jay Lovestone and Bertram Wolfe went into decline.

Bertram Wolfe was a delegate to the Sixth World Congress at Moscow. After the conference he did not return to United States. He remained in Moscow as the representative of the party, replacing Louis Engdahl who returned to U.S.A. and was made Secretary of the International Labor Defense.

In 1929 Wolfe was ordered to go to Korea for special work. He refused. This caused the red leaders in Moscow to put the squeeze on him. In June 1929, Bertram Wolfe and Ben Gitlow were kicked out of Russia. Lovestone the leader was a prisoner for several weeks. Finally without the consent of the E.C.C.I. he sneaked out of Russia. For this act the American Communist Party expelled him from membership. Wolfe was expelled a few weeks later.

Those that were expelled then set up what was known as the United Party U.S.A. (Majority Group). After a few years of struggle Lovestone-B. Wolfe outfit gave up the struggle. The opposition led by Earl Browder and William Z. Foster was too much for them. They went to new Exec. Secy. of the Labor Division of Citizens for a Committee--which actually is backed by David Dubinsky and ...

Wolfe is a graduate of City College of New York City. He is a writer, knows the radical situation in this country and also ...

.....

67-605221

Conclusion--If our readers desire a full complete story of Wolfe's activities they should purchase a copy of "I Confess", by Ben Gitlow, a charter member of C.P. and for years a high rank officer of the group. This book is tops in its line.

SEARCHED  
SERIALIZED  
MAY 12 3 35 PM '44

DIRECTOR, FBI

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA - Brief  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

1969

BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE  
Prospective Witness

7/24/95

6/28/19/20

Both Benjamin Gitlow and Louis F. Budenz have indicated that Bertram David Wolfe is possessed of a considerable amount of information regarding the early history of the Party. Bertram Wolfe is the subject of an Internal Security R investigation, Boston origin, Bureau File No. 61-6050. The investigation in its inception was handled by the Boston and New York Offices and the New York Office has been furnished with copies of all reports in that case. Bertram Wolfe has been interviewed from time to time by the New York Office with regard to the Communist Party and individuals connected with the communist movement. There are definite indications that Wolfe is still a Marxist and possibly a Marxist-Leninist. He is also known to have been in recent years a close associate of Jay Lovestone, former official of the Communist Party, who like Wolfe was expelled in 1929. Wolfe has been associated with Lovestone in various enterprises since that date.

It is reported that Wolfe is now preparing biographies on the great Marxist leaders and recently gave a lecture at Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio. There appears to be no doubt at this point that Wolfe is anti-Stalin and, therefore, anti-Communist in its strict sense. However, the possibility exists that Wolfe might not willingly disclose the advocacy of the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force or violence as a basic tenet of the Communist movement particularly if he is still at heart a Leninist.

Nevertheless, since Wolfe was at one time the head of the Workers School in New York, it is believed that he should be immediately interviewed regarding the educational program of the Party during the time that he was associated with it in an official capacity. You should confer this interview with regard to the educational program in such a way as to obtain the maximum information regarding the curriculum, textbooks, the selection of students, etc., and at the same time look for any further approaches to Wolfe looking toward his ultimate use as a Government witness in connection with the revised brief.

At this time, of course, no indication should be given to Wolfe that he might be used as a Government witness. Wolfe's attitude

EX-64 INDEXED

61-6050-22

toward assisting the Government publicly in court can be discreetly sound-  
out after the historical material, believed to be in his possession, has  
been obtained through interview and after the Bureau has had the  
opportunity to analyze such material. 9970

During the course of the interview with Wolfe his knowledge  
of the historical background regarding the organization and the leader-  
ship of the Party from 1919 until 1930 should be obtained in as much  
detail as possible, predicating it, of course, on your interest in the  
educational program. For assistance in this regard, you should refer  
to the highlights in the chronology of the Party's organization as  
set out in the letter to New York in this case regarding Jay Lovestone,  
dated August 15, 1947.

The results of the interview with Wolfe should be submitted to  
the Bureau in letter form no later than seven days from the receipt of  
communication.

100-3-74

11-6050-22

SEP 6 1947

TELETYPE

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

# 205,723  
 9968  
 HEREIN CONTAINED  
 DATE 7/24/85 BY 1628/BJ/ky

WASH FROM NEW YORK 6 1-16 P

DIRECTOR URGENT

CPUSA, BRIEF. REURLET AUG EIGHTEEN, FORTYSEVEN. BERTRAM DAVID &  
 WOLFE CONTACTED AND INTERVIEW ARRANGED FOR WEDNESDAY, SEPT TEN, FORTY  
 SEVEN. BUREAU TO BE NOTIFIED OF RESULTS BY SUMMARY TELETYPE.

SCHEIDT

HOLD

RECORDED

161-6050-23  
FBI

EX-30 49 SEP 11 1947  
INITIALS ON ORIGINAL

58 SEP 18 1947 121

ORIGINAL FILED IN

DE-INDEXED

DATE: 2-18-59

24

RECORDED | 61-6050-24  
EX-23 | F B I  
62 9/24/47

176



Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice

New York, 7, New York.

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

IN REPLY, PLEASE REFER TO  
FILE NO. \_\_\_\_\_

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
September 11, 1947.

Director, FBI

Attention: Mr. Pat Coyne

7/24/85 11678 RLF/af  
#205,723

Re: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA - BRIEF;  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE  
Prospective Witness

Dear Sir:

Rebulet of Aug. 13, 1947 in which you requested that BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE be interviewed by Agents of this Office for information in his possession concerning his tenure as Director of the Workers School, NYC, as well as information concerning the early years of the Communist Party, USA.

On Sept. 10, 1947, WOLFE was interviewed at his residence, Montague St., Brooklyn, NY, by SA's Richard J. Gallagher and John F. Wacks from 1:55 p.m. until 3:35 p.m. At the outset WOLFE seemed to be agreeable and advised that he was willing to be of assistance to the FBI. However, he could not understand why he was being questioned about the Communist Party since he had left its ranks many years ago. It was appropriately explained to WOLFE that it was essential that the Agents obtain background information on the Party and it was no reflection against him that questions were being asked of him concerning the Party. The point was expressly made that he was being interviewed because it was felt he would be willing to assist the Govt. in making available information concerning the Party in its formation and educational program during its early years.

WOLFE advised that he was Director of the Workers School from 1925 to 1929. During the latter year he was also appointed National



JFTI-RJG:GED  
100-81752

100-81752-1071  
157/24/85  
5-11-47

116-78-11678 RLF/af  
100-81752-1071

Letter to Director  
NY 100-81752

September 11, 1947.

Director of the Agitation Propaganda Department of the Party. He stated that his predecessors as Directors of the school were JULIA STUART POYNTZ and REBECCA GRECHT. He stated that it was his understanding that the former had been liquidated by the OGPU during the late thirties and he had no knowledge of GRECHT at the present time.

According to WOLFE, he issued catalogs for the school twice a year during his tenure and although he had an advisory committee to help him arrange curricula, select teachers, and assist in the running of the school, he considered them but a rubber stamp committee and advised that they had had no authority whatsoever. He seemed to take great pride in the fact that he was solely responsible for the school although he did admit that the central committee of the Communist Party passed on all his recommendations and activities. However, he stated that this committee approved everything he did. His pride also extended to the fact that he made so much money for the school and did such a wonderful job that he was made the National Director of Agit-Prop.

WOLFE advised that these catalogs contained the courses to be offered at the school, the names of the teachers who will teach the subjects, as well as a short description or outline of each course. He also advised that these catalogs in numerous instances contain the names of textbooks to be used in individual courses.

At this point in the interview attempts were made to obtain from WOLFE specific information concerning the contents of each course and the names of the courses and the faculty. These attempts met with failure because WOLFE invariably stated that "You can find them in the catalogs".

It should be noted that WOLFE advised that in the late thirties he had given to the Fifth Avenue Branch of the NY Public Library all the catalogs, outlines, mimeographed material, etc., pertaining to the school which he had in his possession. He advised that at the present time he has no papers, documents or catalogs in his possession which he used at the school or in his propaganda work.

Letter to Director  
NY 100-81752

September 11, 1947.

WOLFE advised that the school was divided into three terms, namely, the autumn-winter term, the winter-spring term, and a summer session. He stated that the first two terms were open to non-Communists as well as Communist students and had on the faculty Communist teachers as well as non-Communist teachers. In passing, he mentioned ROGER BALDWIN and SCOTT NEARING as being typical of the non-Communist teachers. Concerning the summer session, WOLFE stated that this was held solely and exclusively for Party members, the students for which were first picked by the district leaderships and passed upon by the National leadership. He stated that the purpose of the summer session was to train Communist Party members for leadership and further advised that only members of the Communist Party were on the faculty.

WOLFE stated that unlike the Jefferson School the Workers School was held out as a Communist Party school and that the Communist Party approved his holding out the school as an official Party function.

Concerning advocacy of the overthrow of capitalism by force and violence, WOLFE stated that this was never taught as such in the Workers School but in groups it was understood that eventually there must be some type of revolution to achieve the dictatorship of the proletariat. He stated that even in those days was prevalent the thought that the capitalists, when the Communists became powerful enough to take over as a ruling class, would resist with force and, therefore, Communists would have to combat force with force.

WOLFE further stated that the Party did not propagandize force since they had but recently gone through a tremendous struggle to obtain legal status and it would have been "foolish" for them to advocate force and violence at that time because it would have lost for them what public support they had gained. WOLFE stated that even in discussing the attaining of the dictatorship of the Proletariat by the Party, it was felt as well as taught that this could be done through peaceful means. He stated that his position on this question could be found in his pamphlet entitled, "The First American Revolution" while the Party's position on this question

Letter to Director  
NY 100-81752

September 11, 1947

could be found in the pamphlets entitled "Platform of 1924 Campaign" and "Platform of 1928 Campaign", which he furnished the New York Public Library.

WOLFE seemed decidedly reluctant to discuss this question even on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. However, he did state that while the school did not contain any specific courses concerning revolution or forceful overthrow of the government, nevertheless "forceful statements" contained in the writings of ~~MARX~~ and ~~LENIN~~ were highlighted and stressed in various other courses given at the Workers School. He stated in reference to the "forceful statements" contained in the textbooks that the stressing of these statements did not necessarily mean revolutionary action at that time. When questioned as to the particular statements or books in which these statements were contained, he referred the Agents to the catalogs.

Concerning the origin of the Party, WOLFE stated that although he was instrumental in its formation in a remote manner since he was in Mexico at the time, he was not active in the Party until 1925 when he became Director of the Workers School. He advised that he knew nothing concrete about the Party until after this activity began in 1925.

WOLFE stated that at the time he became active in the Party's work, the Communist Party in the U. S. was already closely tied up with the Russian Communist Party and Comintern Agents were in this country directing the activities of the American Communist Party. WOLFE said that there was a constant interchange of Agents and as a result he could not remember the names of any agents. He said that these agents only appeared before small groups of top officials and at the conventions where they usually acted behind the scenes rather than openly.

WOLFE also said that it was a known fact that Comintern agents were in this country and that directives were issued guiding the policy of the American Communist Party from Moscow. He claimed that these directives were even printed at that time on occasion in the Daily Worker. He maintained, however, that the Party started spontaneously with no Soviet or Russian aid, but even in its very beginning looked to Moscow for inspiration and guidance, because Russia was considered the forerunner and the leader in scientific socialism.

Concerning the Party's connection with the Comintern, WOLFE, who had previously advised that he edited the theoretical organ of the

Letter to Director  
NY 100-81752

September 11, 1947.

Party as well as holding the position of Director at the Workers School, stated that the Comintern never gave any directives or issued any orders which would effect the contents of the magazine. He stated that this magazine was under his sole control and consisted mostly of reprints of articles appearing in Russian periodicals and articles on current American topics.

It should be noted that WOLFE throughout the interview exhibited an injured air when attempts were made to discuss revolutionary tactics of the Party, claiming that his faction, which included LOVESTONE, were peaceful and law-abiding citizens who attempted solely to make the Communist Party an American institution independent of Soviet control. He explained that he was guilty of American exceptionalism and although at the time he deeply respected the Soviet Union for its guidance, he felt that the Communist Party should not be forced to follow directives and orders emanating in the Soviet Union.

During the interview on at least three occasions, WOLFE advised that his time was too valuable to be spent talking about his activities in the Party and incidents which occurred during his time in the Party which "happened twenty years ago". He further intimated that the Agents were fishing for information and he advised that all information that the Agents were interested in could be found in the catalogs which he had turned over to the Public Library as well as other books which had been written on the subject.

WOLFE stated that he did not believe the Communist Party to be dangerous to the security of the U. S. nor was he in full agreement with the loyalty probe presently being conducted.

It is the interviewing Agents' opinion that WOLFE is uncooperative and could not be trusted as a witness.

WOLFE was told that his advice concerning the obtaining of material from the catalogs would be followed but should important and

Letter to Director  
NY 100-81752

September 11, 1947.

pertinent questions arise in the Agents' minds the answers to which could not be found in the catalogs, he would again be contacted. WOLFE stated that this would be agreeable to him, but he reiterated that his time is valuable and he did not like to "waste it" in this manner.

WOLFE was not advised concerning his status as a prospective witness nor was he advised of the possibility of the Communist Party, USA, being tried in the courts as a subversive organization.

Efforts will be made to examine the catalogs referred to by WOLFE at the NY Public Library, Fifth Avenue Branch, as well as the aforementioned pamphlets and pertinent material contained therein will be forwarded to the Bureau. It is not deemed advisable to recontact WOLFE unless the Bureau so desires.

Very truly yours,

*Edward Scheidt*  
EDWARD SCHEIDT,  
SAC.

August 23, 1954

RE: POLITICAL ACTIVITIES IN ITALY

Attached hereto are reports concerning political activities in Italy prepared by Harry Goldberg, a representative of Jay Lovestone, located in Rome, Italy. These documents were furnished to the Liaison Agent on August 19, 1954, by [redacted] This material may be destroyed if of no interest to the Bureau.

b7D

Attachment

B&D  
Balfen  
Bergstein  
pic  
(no Wolfe)

file  
61-6050

Comm Div: Wolf

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EX-110

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REPORT FROM ITALY

June 27, 1954

Acknowledging your short note of the 22nd, which arrived yesterday. I'm taken up with "practical" matters, so that I haven't very much time for paper work during the next week (I'm doing this at midnight), not to mention the Ed Millers who will be staying on for the whole of next week (and who are very nice people indeed) and with whom we'll be spending a lot of time, so I'll just put down the outline of the essential points re my past year's activities and leave it to you to take out of it what you want.

Activity Report

A - In Italy

1 - T.U. Work -- In line with the A.F. of L. attitude re the CISL's constituting the main base of the organized democratic, anti-communist labor movement, have worked closely and harmoniously with CISL and its leadership, nationally and locally, discussing problems jointly, making my suggestions, indicating differences (when necessary), helping in specific situation upon the request of CISL, etc.

In line also with the stated policy of the A.F. of L. re the desirability and necessity of building up as strong and united an anti-communist labor movement as possible in Italy, where the com-controlled CGIL represents the chief weapon in the hands of the PCI for creating instability and chaos, have continuously pressed the leadership of the UIL (also locally as well as nationally) to rethink the situation and try to overcome the unrealistic and detrimental ideologic prejudices it has always presented vs. the necessary ideal of democratic t.u. unity. In this connection have also continuously raised the same problem with the leaders of the PSDI and the PRI which are the 2 political parties that influence the line of the UIL behind the scenes.



2 - Discussions with Industrialists -- the future economic health of Italy, the stabilizing of the democratic structure of the country is impossible without a definite change in the direction of social progressivism on the part of the Italian industrialists who today, with very few exceptions, are characterized by narrow vision, social selfishness and especially paternalism (almost neo-feudalism), not to mention lack of courage re fighting communism as witness their playing one union off vs. another, etc. Have discussed these problems with some of the largest and most representative Italian concerns (FIAT, Olivetti, B.F.D., etc) and have pressed them on their paternalistic tendencies, on the necessity of raising wages (since their profits are great, especially in view of the laxity that prevails re paying their legitimate taxes, and which, therefore they can well afford), so as to take away from the coms one of their chief levers of fighting com-unionism and supporting the free, democratic trade unions as being in their own long-term interests as well as that of Italy as a whole. etc.,

3. Politically have talked, agitated, conferenced continuously with the leaders of all the democratic parties, pressing for the largest concentration of democratic forces cooperating on the political level in light of the too-great political strength of the unholy Fog-Nenni alliance, with especial attention being paid during its "mad period" of pressing for the inclusion of Nenni after last Year's June 7th elections -- to the leadership of the PSDI. Have continuously presented the line of the AFL on all outstanding, vital international problems.

4 - With our Governmental Institutions and leading personnel, from the Ambassador down, with the Political Dep't., the USIS, FOA, etc have discussed the outstanding political and economic problems facing Italy and presented the A.F. of L. viewpoint on the fight vs. communism, the trade union question, the character of Italian industrialists

Have applied great and continuous pressure here especially vs. the leadership of FOA to (in line with the discussions and agreement reached for cooperation between Meany and Stassen) direct their economic aid program here in light of consideration of concrete ways and means of helping the free trade unionists specifically and the fight against communism generally.

B - Outside Italy

1 - Work at Geneva -

a. Presented and spread about our viewpoint as expressed in our publications) on the relevant international questions. Personally, in addition, continuous contacting and conferencing with representatives of Asian countries especially -- delegations, diplomatic personnel, journalists -- and presenting of our viewpoint on Indo-China, colonialism, and the fight vs. communism generally, etc.

b. Taking care of the "special business" the Committee had prepared for doing at Geneva.

2 - Maintenance of contacts in Asia, especially with Indonesians here, and in Indonesia, with the view of pressing out critical attitude re dangerous, appeasement-of-communism-developments there, both internally, as well as externally (re Red China).

Since you've raised the question of the Convention, we'd like to ask whether we're coming home for it. We'd like to; we think we ought to (there are things I ought finally to report to you); we have to check up on ourselves re matters physical, etc. Let us know immediately, please, re this, if we're to come home, things being so darned crowded we'd have to make reservations immediately. It might be a good idea to wire us immediately about when you'd want us to get home.

Delivered by Jay Lovett on W.F.O.  
Best Copy Available  
July 3rd

Millions of liberty-loving people through out the world will celebrate tomorrow as a landmark in man's unwill struggle for human dignity, decency and freedom.

July Fourth symbolizes even more than the birthday of our nation. Where would the world be today, if the ideals proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence, the ideals which inspired the American Revolution, had not triumphed? Hitler <sup>and Mussolini</sup> know the answer to this question. So did Stalin. So does the present Communist dictator Malenkov. Fortunately for the future of mankind, so do men and women of every color, creed, and country who love liberty and hate tyranny of every type and stripe.

Humanity finds itself in too grave a crisis to permit us the futile fanfare of jingoistic flag-waving. Those who came with Columbus or on the Mayflower were not born in California, Wisconsin, Illinois or New York. Very likely, quite a number of them would not be able to come into our country today because of the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act. But no legislator can deny and no law can efface from history the fact that: the ideals of freedom and the ideas of just human relationship <sup>which</sup> have made our country great as well as strong were brought to our shores on the ships which have landed our discoverers, the forebears of our Founding Fathers, the pioneers, the builders and the defenders of our land at every critical hour.

Our country was born out of devotion to an ideal--the ideal of political liberty and economic opportunity. This is the distinguishing feature of America as an independent country. With us, it is character not color, capacity not creed, that counts ever more. That is why I am so glad to speak of July Fourth to you who are largely Americans by choice and not by chance. Never forget that we are all equal before the law, foreign born American and native-born American alike. Our nation is truly a people of many peoples.

I can not detail the splendid contributions made by men and women of various national origins, religions and races to the birth and building of our

country. On this occasion, we pay homage to the many millions who are not honored by statues in our public squares or glorified in our history text books. Today, we honor and salute America's unknown soldier of peace, prosperity, and progress, along with our unknown soldier of bitter battle and glorious victory.

When I now spotlight the Italian contribution to America as a fortress of freedom, I do not exclude or belittle the role of any other constituent national group in our history. In merely pointing to one of the various sources of America's inspiration and growth, I actually stress that our country's strength lies in the very diversity of its origins.

The Founding Fathers of our Republic are deeply indebted to the Italian people. If any man typified the spirit of the young and vigorous American democracy, it was Thomas Jefferson. He passionately loved democracy. He hated privilege and tyranny in any form. And if any one person inspired Thomas Jefferson to include in the Declaration of Independence the lofty truths and ideals that "all men are created equal, that they are endowed with certain inalienable rights; that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness," it was his close friend and co-worker, the Italian physician, Philip Mazzei.

The struggle of the Italian people for national freedom has much in common with the war waged by the American people for national independence. The Italian "Risorgimento" was the one great European national revolution which was led, in its victorious phase, by men who were pure liberals. The ideals of Jefferson and Lincoln and the ideals of Garibaldi and Mazzini came from the same mainstream of history -- true liberalism.

Americans of Italian origin can point with justified pride to the contribution their forebears have made to the cause of freedom and national unity during the Civil War. Our government in Washington then extended a most cordial invitation to the former officers of Garibaldi to join the armies of the North. These hardy courageous men responded enthusiastically. They distinguished themselves in the hottest sectors of the battle front. The Garibaldi Guard fought

heroically in the battle of Bull Run, the siege and surrender of Harpers Ferry, and in the surrender of Lee and his army. Ninety-one years ago to the day, July 3, 1863, they fought in the battle of Gettysburg. They helped weave that illustrious fabric of history which was the inspiration of Lincoln's immortal Gettysburg address.

July Fourth 1954 finds freedom-loving mankind again confronted with a choice similar to the one faced by the founders of the American Republic -- "unconditional submission to the tyranny" "or resistance by force." The leaders of the American Revolution "counted the cost of the contest". They found "nothing so dreadful as voluntary slavery." At this critical hour, the ranks of democracy everywhere can gather measureless inspiration from the stirring answer given to British despotism in 1776.

We now face an enemy infinitely more colossal and powerful than the one faced by the founders of our Republic. But today we have the advantage of more than 177 years of additional experience in the struggle for liberty. Many more millions on all continents are now rallying to the banner of democracy.

In this connection, I will again cite Italy as an example. Italy is the only European country where the main part of its democratic underground was born and educated under Fascism. What a tribute to the vitality of Italian democracy! And today the people of Italy are gradually developing a synthesis between Catholic and other social progressive and democratic forces. Here is the path to the ultimate completion of the Risorgimento. Here is the historic significance of the Caluso-Saragat leadership of Italian democracy at this crucial hour of international crisis.

I cannot conclude without expressing my appreciation of the opportunity to deliver this message under the auspices of the American Italian tradition which has no historic rivals. This union is truly a symbol of the American melting pot -- a symbol of living loyalty and dynamic devotion to the great ideal of liberty which belongs to all humanity and binds together all peoples. I speak

of Local 89 of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. Local 89 was conceived and founded in the spirit of 1789, in the triumphant surge of freedom that led to the storming of the Bastille and gave to France and all the world the immortal battle cry of "liberty, equality, and fraternity." This mighty force that runs like a steel rod through the history of all struggles for social justice and human liberty.

The ideals which inspired the Declaration of Independence and the Founding Fathers of our country never before had so much meaning to all mankind. To us, July 4, 1954, is a sacred day for our all-out re-dedication to the preservation and promotion of these ideals. Let us build the real road to a world free from the terrors of dictatorship, the perils of poverty, and the horrors of war, to a world devoted to freedom, well-being and peace for all mankind.

REPORT FROM ITALY

~~CONFIDENTIAL - U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY~~

August 4, 1954

Florence Trip

In our days here, we had a long session with Bacci, CISL Gen. Sec. of the Florence region re general situation and workings of CISL; 2) a 3-hour session with Bacci and all the local secretaries of the region (6 of them) where they discussed their problems; 3) a session with La Pira, the famous mayor of Florence; 4) a session with Reed, Con. General of Florence; 5) a visit through the Pignone works (which was in the news all over Italy some time ago and re which, you may remember, I wrote you a long report) and a discussion on the spot re situation and problems of the plant with Rose, myself, Bacci, some CISL activists and the labor-management relations director of the plant present; 6) a visit to a session of the Municipal Council of Florence; 7) a visit, at midnight, through the plant of "Il Mattino", the outstanding independent paper of Florence and a discussion re Florence and national problems with its editor; 8) odds and ends. From all of which, the following emerges:

A - General Situation

Florence is a town of something less than half a million inhabitants. The villages and small towns making up its periphery in the province has something over a half million people, so that the province as a whole boasts about a million even. Florence itself, though tremendously important as a cultural and artistic center is peculiarly static from an economic and industrial point of view. Some 4 large plants and a few small establishments employ in the neighborhood of about 10,000 workers. The real thick belt of industrial workers is concentrated in the smaller towns and villages on the periphery of the province surrounding Florence. Florence itself makes its living chiefly on the tourist trade (after Rome, perhaps, it has more tourists than any other city of Italy) from the dollars spent directly in the hotels and restaurants and in the arts and crafts establishments (chiefly leather, silver and straw goods.) However in spite of its limited industrial character, it came into the limelight last year and made all the headlines because of the action of Mayor La Pira in the famous Pignone case (of which, later). La Pira himself, of whom, also, later, in an interesting, ebullient, contradictory and controversial figure, but he has certainly succeeded in

keeping Florence in the limelight.

The province itself is one of the strongest communist strongholds in all Italy, close on the heels; actually, of the famous red province of Reggio Emilia. Some indication of communist strength can be gleaned from the fact that of the 50 towns and villages in the provincial periphery around Florence, 46 have communist mayors, either PCI or PSI, most of them of the former persuasion. Florence itself had a communist mayor until he was displaced at the last municipal election by the colorful La Pira, so that the city is a sort of political oasis in a desert completely dominated by the enemy. But the communists are still fairly strong in the city; of the 60 or so members of the Municipal Council they have 16, 32 for the C. Demos, 4 Liberals, 4 Republicans, 1 PSDIer and 2 MSI and 1 independent.

#### B - Labor and Trade Union Situation

The situation being what it is especially in the periphery, you can imagine what a tough row to hoe CISL has here. The overwhelming bulk of the industrial and agricultural workers<sup>is</sup> in the periphery which is where the communists have their t.u. as well as their political strength. There are about 150,000 workers of all categories, mostly in the periphery. Of these about 1/3 or 150,000 are organized. The relative strength here of CISL and CGIL is roughly about 1 to 4, with CISL having about 30,000 and CGIL about 120,000. UIL has practically nothing in the province.

#### C - La Pira

Of this interesting, many-faceted character, I've written you something before. He's regarded as an "enfant-terrible" by his own party and a bit of an embarrassment to its leaders because he raises questions so sharply. He's always fighting around with them, telling them off, telling them what to do, sending heated telegrams to them (as well as to Churchill or Malenkov or what have you) on any and every conceivable question either in national or world politics. He's guided in his personal way of life by the early Christian saints and the purported ideology of primitive Christianity re universal brotherhood and the equality of all souls before eternity and the Creator. St Francis of Assisi - with his ideal of poverty and love - seems to be his



special guide. He owns nothing, has no home, sleeps either in a monastery room or elsewhere (we met him in a room in a Catholic hospital); he gives everything he may come into possession of away.

Re certain elements in his contradictory ideology we can agree. He's moved by social injustice; he thunders continuously vs. the social selfishness of the Italian industrialists (who sure hate his guts); he insists on the necessity of raising the living standards of the workers, plumps for new houses, cooperatives, taking care of the unemployed, etc. In all this - and it's certainly a necessary, fundamental tactic in weakening the hold of the communists over the Italian workers - we can certainly go along.

What creates questionable overtones not only in his thinking but, more importantly, in his proposals for actions, is the specific metaphysical-religious base and motivation to his ideology. Its mystic sentimentality--the all-absorbing, enveloping nature of the "Corpus Christus", the equality of all human souls--blunt the necessary distinctions that have to be made in the practical realm. A communist or a non-communist are both equally suffering under the lash of the common oppressor, the selfish Italian industrialist, and so they must march together against the common enemy, in order to bring him to his senses.

On the latter question I pressed him quite firmly re the necessary distinctions that have to be made between communist and non-communist, for weren't all the values he held precious (individualism, freedom, the strengthening of democracy, which he outlined to us) destroyed by the onmarch of communism? His answer was that in the necessary social struggle one couldn't make the distinction "subito" (immediately); that one would have to make it later (though he didn't and couldn't make it clear when and how) and besides, he said, not all members of the CGIL were communists (which is true but has nothing to do with the question.)

In other words, just as the Gandhians who falsely make a universal panacea out of their non-violent tactic, do not realize that the technique cannot work and is self-defeating and a vain sacrifice when applied to people who are essentially

amoral (like the Nazis and the communists), this saint doesn't realize that the principles of brotherly love based upon the original gospels also will not work with these people and that it is merely a hollow mockery to imagine so.

It's really difficult to say positively whether one basically - in a balanced view - should put him on the side of the angels or the devils. It depends which will prevail in time more, his "pros" or his "cons". Certainly he's hammering away at the central social problem in Italy when he goads the Government and its leaders re the social selfishness of the industrialists but he's terribly fuzzy on the greatest danger facing Italy and the world, viz. communism. If the cap of sentimental unreality can be removed from this basic Christian humanist, if he can be gotten to see that ~~it~~ it is necessary to remove the excrescences in his ideology engendered by his unreality, then he can be of great value. If not, then he can be a great danger. And who can predict with Italians and saints which road they will take?

D - Mr. Reed, "m. Gen. General

Nothing too much, really, a "moderate potato". Here four years; Rose speaks the language better, I think I even do. He knew very little and was very little interested in the "labor question"; indeed he used to delegate that to his vice-consul who was the one Racci had been in contact with. Racci, who knows practically/everybody in Florence had never even met him once. His basic lack of interest was accentuated by the fact that he was practically on his way out; next month he goes to Johannesburg, S. Africa, where he will undoubtedly live a very easy life. He was really more interested in discussing world problems and asked us some questions re Geneva. But both re world affairs as well as Italian there was nothing he said off the beaten track really worth mentioning.

He said he had spent 20 years in the Far East and was really an old Asian hand. That certainly wasn't reflected in his conversation by any particular insight or what have you.

E - Pignone

This was the place, the largest plant in Florence, where the owners

suddenly announced last year that they were going to close down. It had some 1,500 workers. La Pira raised such a howl, made such a national issue of it, literally hounded the Government so tirelessly that something was really done this time. The plant, you remember, was at first "occupied" by the workers (about this I wrote you a long analysis). Anyway, he got the plant to be finally reopened though it has now about 500 workers less who have been "taken care" of in one minor way or another.

The plant at present is one of the best in Italy. The relations between the management and workers is  $A_1$  for Italy, approaching what we might call American standards. CISL has a majority of the plant. The chief communist troublemakers have been "removed". In this sense, therefore, it is a test re American aid, for instance. As I told you we had a thorough discussion of the problems in the plant. Since the communists are in a minority they're always looking for something bad to be able to pounce upon and so turn matters in their favor. In this connection the management of the plant indicated that in about 6 months they would have a problem on their hands, that one department with about 200 workers in it would have to shut down for lack of any more work, and couldn't I help.

I promised to take it up with Tasca. I did when I returned. T. told me that there was a very good chance that Pignone would be given a whopping large order and might be made a central plant in Europe for production of oil-drilling machinery. I urged him to use his influence to help in realizing this if at all possible. He promised. In the meantime, I told Bacci re the matter and the possible prospects, since he was in Rome attending the meeting of the CISL Gen. Council. He was grateful and said he would transmit the matter to Pignone upon his return.

P.S. - Next (and last report) will be re Beck's visit. Have sent you under separate cover some photographs re same.

P.S. 2 - Acknowledging receipt of yours of July 30th which arrived yesterday. Today got a call from the American Export Lines offering us a sailing on the 14th. We grabbed it, thankfully. We arrive on the 23rd. We'll be in the office on the 24th. Please tell nobody else. We'll be rushed like the devil now but we didn't dare take any further chance. See you in three weeks.

Rome, August 2, 1954

Various Conferences Recently (Rome)1 - PACCIARDI

Politically, as steady as ever. For one thing, one of the very few voices here who has consistently estimated Geneva for what it was -- a sell-out -- indicating the weakness in France, the complacent optimism of the British, the regrettable division among the Big Three etc. He has warned against the opacity re the true aggressive character of Communism, the dangers of the "appealing" theory of co-existence and against not realizing that Geneva was only a trench reached by the Communists to be used later as a springboard for a further push.

Re E.D.C. he had continued to be its most consistent supporter, warning against pusillanimity and dragging the feet here, and allowing minor matters like Trieste to stand in the way.

2 - Pascore

Met with him a number of times, also at Milan, after Morelli's funeral. Handled the Montana-Gelo business which I've already reported on. Also reported to him on some matters which he should know re my meetings with Fiat and Olivetti and Tasca. Generally, rapport between us is better these days than previously.

About that question you raised re Pas' attitude toward Valetta: Yes, I think he is right re his perspective and worry about Val. wanting to keep things under his thumb and the Fiat union "in his hand"; although I still would stress that the situation and the split in CISL forces (Pas' expelling some of the most active members) would not have arisen had Pas not made that original mistake of joining with the Communists in the General Strike of last December. But that is now past, the gap between CISL-UIL and the Communists has widened, the atmosphere between CISL and UIL is relatively better (tho' far from perfect by a long shot, as I learned in Florence) after the

"conglobamento" agreement; and the necessity to unify the CISL forces in FIAT is now greater than ever. As I said, I will again discuss this with both Val. and Pas. as soon as I can.

3 - Viglianesi

Separate and apart from the pressure which, together or alone, Vanni, Gelo, Pas and I had put upon him re the Brussels' meeting and the question of unification between and two organizations (as reported to you), I met with him subsequently again and alone and applied some more pressure. He assured me that the Executive of the UIL will sign the document proposed by CISL at Brussels, which will "bring Back" the situation of the "Friendship Pact" days of February 1953. Re unification, he said he though the present situation and atmosphere between the two organizations (after "conglobamento") much better than for a long time and that developments in the near future (political as well as labor), assuming good will on the part of the two organizations, ought to improve the situation even more and put consideration of the possibility of unification on the practical order of the day. In this connection he said it would help if the UIL got some proof from the AFL re our not discriminating against them and considering them on a par with CISL.

This latter, of course, was an old story and I didn't let him get away with it. I reminded him of his attack against the AFL and told him it was stupid; secondly, that he knew the position of the AFL re CISL, that we considered it the basis for unification of all anti-communist trade union forces in Italy; thirdly, that no outside organization like the AFL, no matter how powerful or interested or good-willed, could bring unification in any country of any existing divided movement; that it was essentially the responsibility of the forces inside each country to see to it that breaches were healed; that he shouldn't put the cart before the horse, i.e., if the UIL showed its sincerity and responsibility re the new "Friendship Pact", which Vig. now claimed the Executive was ready to sign, then the attitude of the AFL, which he pretended at the present time to find too reserved re the UIL, might change in a direction more to his liking.

Fig. of course, as always, is a slick talker and one must always take him with a grain of salt. Of course, when he says: "...discrimination of the AFL vs. UIL", I know what "practical" propositions he has in mind. Nevertheless, it is good to have on record his expressed attitude and promise (which he made to me at the end) that UIL would abide loyally by the new pact about to be signed, sealed and delivered. We can always hold it under his nose.

4 - Rashid

The new Indonesian Ambassador here (who replaced Sukardjo). He is a PSI man and a decided change for the better. Of course, his "schizophrenic condition", i.e., his being an official representative of a government line and a member of a Party in opposition (which he shares) to that line, was apparent at the beginning when he sparred with me rather cautiously. But I quickly removed that "barrier" and talked with him as "man to man", off the record as it were. Details I do not have to go into. I expressed our viewpoint/<sup>very</sup>firmly and stressed the dangers to Indonesia in view of the bad internal situation, the idiocy of the FNI, the playing around with the communists -- especially after the bump at Geneva. I warned him flatly that Indonesia was on the time table of the communists. He agrees really. One thing he did tell me, that the various leaders high up are definitely beginning to be worried about the situation (high time!) and wonder about the repercussions in Indonesia of Peking's success at Geneva. He especially mentioned Hatta (incidentally, I've seen some statements of the latter recently bearing this out). It was interesting that he raised with me something which you once told me you tried to do -- in vain -- with our insensitive official agencies, i.e., an invitation by our Government to Sukarno to visit the U.S. He suggested, if at all possible, that it should be done now. It's a good idea, of course, although now, even if you could convince our Wash. big-wigs of same, in my opinion it would be much more difficult given the present Asian as well as Indonesian atmospheres, to get Sukarno to accept than it would have been long ago. Any chance?

I learned that the #2 man here, Tamin, is a member of the Masjumi and a nephew of Ntsir. He may be our most valuable single contact here. I will be trying

1. - Ella and Bertram Wolfe,

123-5791  
61-2050  
NY

REPORT FROM ITALY

August 1, 1954

Your telegram received yesterday; many thanks. I'm darn sorry it didn't come a day earlier; we had that reservation for the 21st offered us which we turned down. After receiving the telegram we rushed down again but it was already too late; it had been gobbled up.

We are in no position at this late date to ask for anything. As we told you, there are three main sailings on the 14th, 21st and 23rd and we are on the list for all. We would infinitely, now, prefer it later rather than earlier since, with some important unfinished business, and the Riesels and Beck here (and Ella and Bert<sup>1</sup> arriving on the 9th) we'll be terribly rushed for time; but we're in no position to choose. Although we'll do our darndest to try to get a booking at the latest date, we'll simply have to take whichever comes through first; we can't take a chance. I will let you know as soon as anything comes through.

Beck and his son, and Ed Cheyfitz, his public relations man and "guid" arrived late last night. They're staying at the same hotel as Vic who, of course, know them. About midnight last night the Riesels, Rose and I bumped into Cheyfitz in the lobby; (Beck was already asleep) and we chatted together until 2 A.M. I have learned already, a good deal. There will be an "interesting" story to tell re Beck and his increasing "international sensitivity".

I'm running down now to meet Beck for the first time (for breakfast).  
More later.



1. Possibly Cardinal Mantini

2. Vanni Montana

3. *Pietro Nenni*

July 30, 1954

Returned from Florence yesterday to find yours of the 21st waiting for me. It certainly leaves us up in the air and left down. Another offer of a possibility of a sailing on the 21st of August came through today but we had to turn it down. This can't keep up much longer because then they'll just not offer us anything. I just don't know what to say. We know all your problems, difficulties, troubles, but still can't understand why a decision takes so long. I just can't keep on carrying my heart on my sleeve. I'm terribly worried re Rose's jaw; am hoping nothing seriously is the matter and we'll certainly have to get home soon to look into it. We're as concerned and disciplined as the next guy, probably more so, but, really ....

While in Florence found time to write (on paper) a report of some of the important conferences we had and on the train-ride home wrote up our Florence trip. Some interesting and important matters there. But getting out these two reports will have to wait on available time since we were piled up with things when we arrived because:

- 1 - Three-day conference of CISL General Council began yesterday.
- 2 - Found a telegram waiting for me from Irv re Dave Beck's coming here for a few days and had to arrange some appointments for him. Have already done so. Will also, I guess, have to squire him around to the extent that he wants to be squired around.
- 3 - Had to take up some matters with Tasca (already have seen him today)
- 4 - Your friend, Vis <sup>W</sup>iesel's in town for a week. That will take some of our time also.

\*\*\*\*\*

Re other points in your notes:

- a - Re that article of Matthews in the "N.Y. Times", had already seen it (while I was up in Milan attending to Morelli's funeral) and had given the piece to Pastore. Had suggested practically the same things to Pas. as you did.

I saw him again this morning and told him re your suggestions and explained the manner in which it would be desirable to have it done. He agreed and will carry your suggestions out as soon as time permits. I will also try to see Matthews personally during the next period of time and have a "chat" with him.

b- I will make further inquiries re this red-hatted man whose name is so similar to Vanni's <sup>1.</sup> second and see what I can dig up re his relations to Nen. <sup>3</sup> inside the august mystical precincts.

Don't get worried if you don't hear from me for some time. In view of the above, you will understand. Remember, I'm always kicking around and will have things to tell you. Will get them out as soon as humanly possible.

P.S. - You never acknowledged my report on Geneva. Just want to know that you got it.

P.S. 2 - Well, how does this new FOA Labor advisory setup to Stassen affect us? Some more "complications" and criss-cross currents?

P.S. 3 - You will have seen my remarks re Morelli?

The Conversion of  
a Communist

# The Conversion of a Communist

*The intimate story of how a famous translator came to leave the party*

By Bertram D. Wolfe

I FIRST became aware of Samuel Putnam through his translations from Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, French and other tongues into English. "There is neither recognition nor monetary reward in translation," he once wrote. "It is probably a compliment when a translation isn't noticed." But his translations were so sensitive, so right, so amazing in the variety of languages and the range of taste, that I came to know his name and to think of Samuel Putnam as one of those rare writers whose genuine vocation is translation.

He had fallen in love with the languages and letters of foreign lands in his childhood in Rossville, Illinois. He learned his first words of German from a Bavarian shoemaker at the age of 9; read the forbidden Rabelais in a hayloft at the age of 12 and, the same year, began to study Latin and Greek; won a scholarship to the University of Chicago as a result of a translation from Latin while a high-school student; failed to take a degree there because of the ill health which dogged him all the days of his life; studied at the Sorbonne from 1909 to 1914, made Paris his mistress, edited an expatriate literary review, wrote poetry, art and literary criticism, biography, literary history, articles on sexual pathology; and, handicapped by frail health, tubercular lungs and other illnesses which caused him to spend a good part of each day flat on his back, he did over 50 translations of novels, plays and poetry, including Rabelais, Aretino, Pirandello, Belinski (from the Russian), Silone, Cervantes, Huysmans, Cocteau and the Marquis de Sade. At 57, he began the study of Rumanian to explore yet another literature for America.

Early in 1944, I reviewed *The Road to Teheran*, by the historian Foster Rhea Dulles, for the New York *Her-*

*ald Tribune*. It was a history of the relations between Russia and the United States from the time of Catherine and the birth of our republic to the moment when Stalin, Churchill and Roosevelt met at Teheran. Only the last chapter troubled me because it was faintly tainted with the Grand Alliance illusions which boded ill for the planning of a decent peace. I hesitated, then decided that the book was so good that a polemical analysis of the last chapter would be unjust to the work as a whole. I decided to say nothing about the last chapter, concluding my review with the words: "unreservedly recommended." Because of its timeliness, the *Herald Tribune* took my brief review of a scholarly book and, dressing it up with an imposing picture of Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill seated on the portico of the Russian Embassy at Teheran, gave it the entire first page of the *Sunday Book Review*.

A few days later, a friend sent me a clipping from the *Daily Worker*. It was a literary column, apparently a regular feature of the paper. "Here," it said of *The Road to Teheran*, "is one book we don't have to read, because it was favorably reviewed by Bertram D. Wolfe in the *Herald Tribune*." The column was signed *Sam Putnam!*

A few days later, my correspondent sent me another clipping from the *Daily Worker*. This time, it was from the "Letters from Our Readers" column. It contained two letters that had every appearance of having been cooked up in the office of the paper. The first praised the literary columns of Sam Putnam, urging that they be reprinted in pamphlet form to show writers and intellectuals the Communist attitude toward culture. The second letter read:

"So! Sam Putnam says that *The Road to Teheran*, by Foster Rhea Dulles, is a book we don't have to read because it was favorably reviewed by Bertram D. Wolfe in the *Herald Tribune*. It's a pity Sam doesn't read the *New Masses*, for if he did he would find in the latest issue a warmly favorable review of two-and-one-half pages by Corliss Lamont."

The letter was signed: "Puzzled Reader." It must have produced a very puzzled Sam Putnam. Obviously, the party nabobs had decided to push the book because of the self-same last chapter which I had decided to ignore. Sam Putnam had condensed a book without reading it because it had been favorably reviewed by a writer of whom he knew only that party leaders had



Bertram D. Wolfe, whose second monthly article we present here, is the author of *Three Who Made a Revolution*, *Diego Rivera: His Life and Times*, and other books in English and Spanish. A contributor to numerous publications in the United States, Europe and Latin America, he has just completed a three-year stint at the *Voice of America*.

Nehru, at whose insistence V. K. Krishna Menon's notion of bracketing Communism with "anti-Communism" was accepted, does not look upon the Soviet and Western camps as rigid, water-tight systems, mutually exclusive and incapable of "peaceful coexistence." His foreign policy, therefore, consists in attempting to bridge the gulf between the two blocs. For this reason, Nehru does not believe in developing a "third force" strong enough to resist the pressure of both. He feels that, if China is not "provoked" but allowed to have its way in Tibet and given UN recognition, the non-Communist countries of Asia have nothing to fear. No other Prime Minister at Colombo seemed to agree with Nehru, except Sastroamidjojo of Indonesia—whose reasons for projecting the Communist line at the conference will be described presently.

By bracketing Communism with "anti-Communism," Nehru was suggesting that politics in Asia is being governed by a kind of Third Newtonian Law—all actions producing reactions—and that both Communists and "anti-Communists" are culprits in this respect. No effort was made to define "anti-Communism," or to clarify whether it meant American efforts to stem Soviet influence, the anti-Cominformism of Belgrade, or the resistance of the independent Socialist movement the world over.

The real significance of Krishna Menon's characterization of Communism and "anti-Communism" as

identical evils was this: It thwarted the attempts of Pakistan and Ceylon to forge the necessary sanctions against further Communist expansion in Asia. The resolution reduced the Communist threat to something more academic than real, on a par with another "evil," anti-Communism, and so there was no question of taking steps against it.

The lonely furrow India was plowing became clear when the Indian delegation declared that Communism was an ideology and no more, and that any expression of a positive opinion on it was tantamount to taking sides in the cold war. Even Burma differed with this view. Burma knew, better than any other country represented at the conference, what Communism was and how it disturbed the peaceful progress of a nation. That left India in the questionable company of Indonesia, whose Prime Minister was present at Colombo primarily to gain temporary political advantage at home. Sastroamidjojo's coalition in Indonesia is dependent on Communist support for its precarious existence; a general election is due early next year. Therefore, he often went out of his way to toe the Communist line.

In this connection, charitable critics have set great store by the Prime Ministers' reaffirmation of their faith in democratic institutions. But the conference refused to countenance any move for collective security in the region; it failed to forge closer economic and other links

among the various nations; it put Communism on a par with what was called anti-Communism. Thus, its reiteration of faith in democracy amounted to no more than lip-service. Surely the Indian Prime Minister would not show the same complacency toward the Communists in India that he advocated toward international Communism.

In this, the declaration only betrayed the extent to which Nehru lent his own schizophrenic character to the conference. Addressing a public meeting in Bombay a few weeks before the Colombo discussions, he reprovably referred to the fact that Malenkov and Mao Tse-tung were honorary members of the Politburo of the Indonesian Communist party. Earlier, during an election campaign in the South Indian state of Travancore-Cochin, he called the Communist red flag the emblem of Russia. The Indian Prime Minister was, on both occasions, describing Communism as an international conspiracy against democracy. Once he was outside of India, however, Nehru found it no more than an ideology.

Summing up, the conference achieved neither unanimity of opinion nor closer regional relations. If it was meant to console the five countries that, though they were not invited to Geneva, their opinions also counted, such psychological satisfaction was doubtless achieved. Beyond that, the conference was all platitudes and polemic.

## BOOM

*According to a London report, there is a boom in the bullet-proof-vest business, especially for politicians of Europe, the Middle East and Asia.—News item.*

It used to be that diplomats  
Were known by gleaming tall silk hats  
And won our awed, admiring glance  
With cutaways and pin-striped pants.

But styles have changed. Today the vest  
Denotes the diplomat well dressed,  
And, such the times, as it is stated,  
The fashion plate is armor-plated.

## SPLITTING HEADACHE

*The British, objecting to "fissionable" as an Americanism, prefer "fissile" as an atomic term.—News item.*

Another split besides the split  
In atoms is developing.  
Our good allies have thrown a fit  
And angrily are yelloping.

The Russians, meanwhile, work away.  
Their pile of bombs is mounting.  
Just what they call them, they don't say—  
They're far too busy counting.

—Richard Armour

attacked him. Thus, Samuel Putnam, the sensitive and conscientious scholar, was brought face to face with Sam Putnam, the party-line literary critic. Two souls in one breast were suddenly forced to confront each other. The resulting dialogue, inaudible to the spectator, puts an end to Act I of this little drama.

A week later, the Books Editor of the *Herald Tribune* sent me a new book to review. It was *Os Sertoões*, translated from the Brazilian Portuguese of Euclides da Cunha under the title, *Rebellion in the Backlands*, "with introduction and notes by the translator, Samuel Putnam."

It turned out to be a great book—to my mind, one of the two greatest books on sociology ever written on the American continent. Published in Brazil in 1902, it was soon recognized by Brazilians as *nosso livro supremo*—"our finest book." As I read it, I was inclined to pronounce it a *livro supremo* of the Americas. Written in a turbulent baroque prose always bordering on drama and poetry—"a monstrous poem of brutality and force," Euclides himself had called it—and filled with Brazilianisms, regionalisms, Negroisms, Indianisms and all the intensity of the human and geological inferno that was its setting, *Os Sertoões* was a work to tax the skill, patience and artistry of the best of translators. My review exalted the book and praised the translation and the translator.

At that point, Daniel Bell, then an editor of the *NEW LEADER*, now labor editor of *Fortune*, took a small part in the drama. Under the heading, "Dilemma of a Literary Hatchetman," he told his readers the story of my review of the Foster Rhea Dulles book and Sam Putnam's reaction thereto. Then he cited my review of *Rebellion in the Backlands*, adding: "Here's another book we don't have to read because it has been favorably reviewed by Bertram D. Wolfe in the *Herald Tribune*."

Here we let the curtain drop on Act II, with Sam Putnam and Samuel Putnam still engaged in a troubled internal dialogue.

For two years, Samuel Putnam labored over another great Brazilian classic, and early in 1946 he produced *The Masters and the Slaves*, a translation from the Portuguese of Gilberto Freyre's *Casa Grande e Senzala*. *Casa Grande* is the "Big House" of the master, and *Senzala* the slave quarters. Freyre uses them as symbols to suggest the original cultural antagonism and social distinction between masters and slaves, blacks and whites, Europeans and Africans over the span of three centuries, and the gradual closing up of that social distance by mating and intermarriage and democratic class fluidity in the course of the formation of the Brazilian nationality and "cosmic race." The book is as vast as Brazil; the author broods over the birth of his land and people until he is "able to feel the life lived by our ancestors in all its sensual fullness."

As if to remind Sam Putnam of my existence, the publisher adorned the jacket of his new book with a quota-

tion from my review of the earlier *Rebellion in the Backlands*. And the Books Editor of the *Herald Tribune*, thereby reminded that I had reviewed the other work, sent me *Masters and Slaves*. I ended my article:

"I cannot close this review without a tribute to the translator. This is the second time that Samuel Putnam has made available to us a great Brazilian masterpiece that is at the same time a masterpiece in its genre and in the literature of our time and hemisphere. . . . In both cases, he has wrestled with an enormous vocabulary of Brazilianisms, Indianisms, Africanisms, and has given these masterpieces a style that closely approximates their originals, yet has comparable literary quality in our own language."

Curtain on Act III.

Thenceforward, fate willed it that Samuel Putnam should be continuously linked up with me and his name with mine. He did a Brazilian novel, *The Violent Land*, by Jorge Amado; a Mexican novel, *Yo Como Pobre . . .*, by Magdalena Mondragon; a brief history of Brazilian literature, and a survey of four centuries of Brazilian writing which he entitled *Marvellous Journey*. Each of them came to me to review.

At last, in the third year after our first strange encounter, he did a *Portable Rabelais*. This was a field in which I have no special knowledge, and here at last was a book which should not have come to my desk. But I received a copy all the same. On the flyleaf were inscribed the words:

"For Bertram D. Wolfe,

*A critic who has been kinder to me than I deserve,  
Samuel Putnam.*"

I sent the giver a note of appreciation, telling him that I was especially moved by the inscription because I thought I understood something of the background from which it sprang. With that began a literary friendship, and, though Putnam found the journey from his home in Philadelphia to New York too much for his strength, we got to know each other very intimately through an occasional exchange of letters.

Here the little drama of the conversion of a Communist might well end, but there is an epilogue.

Early in 1948, one of the editors of the Viking Press called me up: "Bert, we'd like you to read a new translation of *Don Quixote* and give us your opinion."

I expostulated that I was too busy with my own writing, that *Quixote* was too big a manuscript, that publishers did not pay readers enough for readings.

"But you don't have to read the whole thing. Read as much or as little as you please . . . a single chapter . . . a few pages . . . enough to make up your mind. You will be the judge. Printing costs are so high, and this book is so big, that if you say it is merely a good translation we will not publish; but if you say, 'This is the translation of *Don Quixote* that the English-speaking world has been waiting for,' we will go ahead with publication. Let your conscience be your guide as to

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

what test passages you select and how much you read. For your report we will pay you a hundred dollars. The man has worked sixteen years on the translation. He quotes your strictures on other translations in his preface. . . ."

"Who's the translator?"

"Samuel Putnam."

Once more, a capricious fate had linked our two spirits!

I read the manuscript with considerable trepidation. In his introduction, Samuel Putnam stated his translator's credo:

"To come to grips with the author's mind, with what he thought and what he really wrote . . . to present it with the greatest possible fidelity, clarity and simplicity . . . to attain a style which, like the original, shall be free of affectation, colloquial and modern without being flagrantly 'modernized' . . . combining textual fidelity with readable prose . . . to overcome those obstacles that have inevitably been erected by time and distance as precious antiques need from time to time to be refurbished to bring back the original luster. . . ."

My report to the publisher, my congratulations to Sam Putnam and, in due course, my inevitable review in the *Herald Tribune* confirmed that these high and difficult aims had been nobly carried out.

That autumn, it was Sam's turn to read and comment on a book of mine. In a letter to me, he spoke for the first time of his conversion.

"Others," he wrote, "will do justice to *Three Who Made a Revolution* as history and biography and English prose. There is one aspect, however, that I should like to mention to you which they will omit: the cold, cruel but invigorating clarity it brings to one who, like myself, knows what it is to have floundered for a decade and more in the Machiavellian mazes of the party line . . . only to be disillusioned in the end—disillusioned and more than a little ashamed. . . . The value of your book for those like me lies in the fact that, by showing us the historical bases of our error, it restores something of self-respect and affords the basis for a new start. . . . I want to express my personal gratitude. . . ."

In December, he made public acknowledgment of his change of heart in a letter to THE NEW LEADER, in which journal he professed to find the spirit that he needed:

"a deeply rooted faith in a progressively socialized democracy of our own type (by its very nature ever subject to improvement) together with a truly liberal attitude toward differing points of view and an intellectual spirit that for me had come to be summed up in the words of the historian Charles A. Beard: ' . . . walk lightly. Things are not so simple.' . . . This comes as a great relief to one who, for nearly a decade and up to three years ago, out of misguided humility had forced himself to live in the stifling atmosphere of the party line with all its ruthless intolerance for the processes of the mind. . . ."

On May 7, 1949, we finally had our first and only personal encounter. Accompanied by his wife, Riva, who

was also his lover, nurse, companion, secretary, cook, comrade-in-arms and mother of his only son, he made the difficult two-hour journey from Lambertville, New Jersey, his new home, to New York, to have lunch and spend a few hours in talk with my wife and me. I was deeply moved on contemplating his frail figure and realizing that this weak, tubercular man, who spent a good part of each waking day flat on his back, had managed to produce some nine or ten original books, hundreds of articles and poems, and fifty translations from perhaps a dozen tongues. Even then, he was full of plans for more translations and the study of fresh languages.

That autumn, I went out to California on a Hoover Library Fellowship to do research for the second volume of my history of the Russian Revolution. Though I was there on a Slavic Fellowship, Sam wrote to the head of the Romanic Division about me and I ended up with an appointment as Visiting Lecturer in Spanish Culture, giving a course in *Don Quixote*.

On January 16, 1950, Riva Putnam wrote me:

"Sam died, unexpectedly and without warning, of a heart attack yesterday, just an hour after he had put his finishing touches on the *Cervantes Portable*. . . . He talked and planned with me until time for his nap, and he had lain down for only a few moments . . . he died that quickly. I am taking his body to his native Rossville, Illinois tomorrow. . . . I have wished and wished that you were nearer so that you could be there. . . . His dearest wish in case of death was to have friends who knew him and his work deeply speak for him, and he often said that the one he would prefer above all would be you. . . ."

I want only to add the impersonal fact that in 1946, when the United States was badly in need of friendly neighbors, as it is today and always, the State Department sent Samuel Putnam, historian of Brazilian letters and translator of Brazilian masterpieces, on an exchange professorship to Brazil. He lectured on comparative literature at the University of Brazil, made our own literature better known to Brazilian intellectuals, was elected a member (I believe the only Anglo-Saxon member) of the Brazilian Academy of Letters, and was awarded the Brazilian Government's Pandia Colgeras Prize for literature in 1947. He would have served with equal distinction as an ambassador of good will in any one of a half-dozen other lands whose literature and culture he did so much to make known to us.

I have often thought of his conversion thanks to a book review, and of the complexity of the human spirit, as I have watched Congressional committees dealing with the youthful, or not so youthful, errors . . . or dreams . . . of former Communists. We might do well to remember that the human spirit is fearfully and wonderfully made, and that a Wise Man once urged that, in things of the spirit, more can be accomplished by coals of fire than by bullying. In any case, our country is the richer because Samuel Putnam lived in it, and in other lands, from 1892 to 1950.



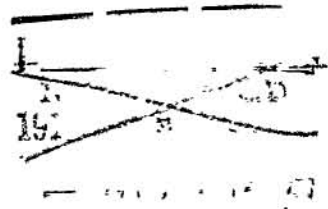
*B. J. WHITE*

*Cultural Research*

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EX-112

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NOT RECORDED  
141 JUL 13 1954



This is a clipping from  
Pages 16-18 of the  
NEW LEADER

Date 6-7-54  
Clipped at the Seat of  
Government  
FIVE

*F-107*  
68 JUL 21 1954

*9*

January 22, 1953

A. H. Belmont

W. A. Branigan

PAUL CROUCH - INFORMANT  
INTERNAL SECURITY - R  
SECURITY MATTER - C

1 cc - NY  
By R/S  
2/20/53  
JG:mlw  
11-1

By memorandum to the Director dated December 9, 1952, captioned "World Tourist," Raymond F. Farrell, Assistant Commissioner, Investigations Division, Immigration and Naturalization Service, furnished information to the effect that Paul Crouch, a consultant for the Immigration and Naturalization Service at Washington, D. C., had submitted a memorandum dated October 8, 1952, to Robert L. Woytych, Officer in Charge, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Washington, D. C., advising that from an examination of passport photographs at the Central Office of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Crouch had been able to identify 105 Communist Party members or former Communist Party members known to him personally. Crouch specified that some were out of the Communist Party or that the present attitude of others was in doubt and they may be working with agencies of the Soviet government.

Blank memoranda have been prepared concerning each person identified, and two copies of each of these memoranda are attached.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

It is recommended that the copies of the memoranda be routed to the Supervisor handling the respective case files for necessary action. It is suggested that one copy of each memorandum be furnished the office of origin in each case. In some cases, it may be desirable to interview Crouch for additional information concerning the extent of his association with the individual mentioned.

Attachment

DET: rmc

✓ cc: Bertram D. Wolfe (Attachment).

ENCLOSURE

ORIGINAL FILE



NOT RECORDED  
17 JAN 23 1953

FEB 24 1953



United States Department of Justice  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington 25, D. C.

IN REPLY, PLEASE REFER TO  
FILE NO. \_\_\_\_\_

January 14, 1953

RE: PAUL CROUCH - INFORMANT  
INTERNAL SECURITY - R  
SECURITY MATTER- C

Paul Crouch, employed as a consultant for the Immigration and Naturalization Service at Washington, D. C., and a former Communist Party member, advised the Immigration and Naturalization Service by memorandum dated October 8, 1952, that from an examination of passport photographs at the Immigration and Naturalization Service Central Office, he was able to identify the following person as a Communist Party member or former member known to him personally:

Bertram D. Wolfe, photograph #329.

Crouch advised that this person is definitely known to him to be out of the Communist Party at the present time.

61 NOV 21 1951

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Swaddling in the 17th century  
by Geoffrey Gorer

# Swaddling and the Russians

Mr. Gorer attacks  
Bertram D. Wolfe's  
criticisms of his  
swaddling theories  
on Russia — and  
Mr. Wolfe replies



By Geoffrey Gorer

IT IS NOT MY CUSTOM to engage in argument with critics of my books; but Bertram D. Wolfe, in his article of January 29, "The Swaddled Soul of the Great Russians," has passed beyond criticism to misrepresentation and falsification. To keep the record straight, I should like to collate four passages from Mr. Wolfe's article with four passages from the book he is pretending to criticize. I have chosen these because of their relative brevity; there is hardly an accurate sentence in his article.

Wolfe: "Mr. Gorer even feels that you do not have to be as highly self-conscious about that ignorance if you attempt to describe the national character of a society without being in the territory of that society."

Gorer, p. 198: "I approach the attempt to describe the national character of a society without being in the territory of that society by the assumption of a highly self-conscious ignorance. This ignorance has to be much more self-conscious than in the case of field-work. . . ."

Wolfe: "'According to one trained informant,' writes Gorer in one of the

few passages in which he deigns to let the reader know the number of observations on which he bases a judgment. . . ."

Gorer, p. 14: "In all, I have had access to between 300 and 400 interviews. About ten per cent of these were with technically qualified informants . . . many of these latter were interviewed several times."

Wolfe: "Stalin's authority, we are assured on the basis of an *ipse dixit*, is of this kind: . . . he grows them carefully and tenderly, like a gardener growing a favorite fruit tree. A truly touching picture. . . ."

Gorer, p. 173: "Somewhat similar is Stalin's instruction to teachers: 'People must be grown carefully and tenderly, just as a gardener grows a favorite fruit tree.' [Footnote reference to Yesipov and Goncharov's *Pedagogy*, published in Moscow in 1946, from which the quotation is drawn.] A gardener may give his favorite fruit trees the best possible care, the most ideal treatment; but this can never imply a feeling of identity or equality between the gardener and what he cares for."

Wolfe: "Forget that the Leader in the modern total state first makes unending war upon his own people be-

fore he drives them into war on other peoples."

Gorer p. 191: "The leaders suspect that those they lead are hostile toward them, and they seek to divert this hostility onto other figures. If the leaders were to feel convinced that the mass of the population (or a sizable portion of it) were becoming disaffected from them and favoring some outside power, this might well exacerbate the leaders' fears and induce them to precipitate a war, as the most efficacious way of diverting hostility from themselves."

Apart from general misrepresentation, Mr. Wolfe's chief criticism appears to lie in the fact that I did not repeat a number of facts known to every constant newspaper reader, even so careless a reader as Mr. Wolfe. I assumed that the readers of my book would be people interested in Russia and aware of material in the public domain, and able to supply the context to the numerous allusions. According to Mr. Wolfe, I respected my readers' intelligence too much. He certainly does not respect his readers'; and I find it interesting that he criticizes my book in almost exactly the same terms as did the Soviet press, for example

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

*Red Fleet* of May 14, 1950. The techniques of misrepresentation do not seem to be culturally limited.

By Bertram D. Wolfe

**M**Y CRITICISMS of Mr. Gorer's book were purely criticisms of method. The central point was that Mr. Gorer was attempting to apply an unhistorical method, derived from individual personality patterns and from closed, fossilized, tribal societies, to a large political state, historically evolved and in a state of rapid historical evolution during the past thirty years. My other major criticism was that Mr. Gorer lacks the spirit which teaches a scientist to distrust his own pet hypotheses, and to devise critical experiments or critical questions in order to test, refine or reject his hypotheses. Singular to relate, Mr. Gorer says not one word on these crucial questions of methodology, neither to defend them, nor to reexamine them, nor to correct them. Instead, he chooses the unwholesome method of personal attack on the man who raised the questions. Let us grant, for the sake of argument, that his critic does not quote or summarize accurately in the particular passages Mr. Gorer cites. How does that affect the central question of methodology?

Actually, two of Mr. Gorer's confrontations of my summaries with his original words serve only to make evident afresh the justice of my strictures as to method:

1. Mr. Gorer's "self-conscious ignorance" concerning the country on which he is dogmatizing. My whole point was that one who writes on historical and political problems, and comes to conclusions on them, has no right to fail to master the entire body of historical and political literature on a country before he comes to such conclusions. No historically changing phenomena can be explained by means of a timeless and unchanging cause such as swaddling.

2. A lesser methodological criticism on my part was that Mr. Gorer

bases a number of generalizations concerning the Russian soul on interviews with a few people, and generally fails to tell even how many of his interviewees gave him his information. Mr. Gorer seems even not to understand that elementary social science requires such statistical basis for *each* judgment. He now quotes himself as having said that "In all, I have had access to between 300 and 400 interviews. About ten per cent of these were technically qualified [*i.e.*, 30 or 40]." Did he reject the evidence given by the unqualified? Did he accept it? Did he weigh it according to the degree of qualification? Not a word. Above all, the fact remains as I stated it that "in only a few passages does he deign to let the reader know the *number* of observations on which he bases a judgment. . . ." He not only confirms this in his letter, but seems not even to understand that *each judgment* should be statistically analyzed. His book bristles with sweeping generalizations, but almost nowhere does he say whether he learned this or that from one, or ten, or thirty of these 300 to 400 interviewees. In the critical passage where he tries to explain how other peoples swaddle but don't produce "Great Russian souls," he specifically contents himself with "one technically trained observer."

3. On the Stalin quotes, since Stalin himself has said it, it is an *ipse dixit*—*i.e.*, the "proof" of which Mr. Gorer makes such great use that it serves as the key to his central theory is that Stalin *himself* has thus described his "tender gardener's" care of his people. The fact that Mr. Gorer found this Stalin quote in Yesipov and Goncharov is irrelevant.

Mr. Gorer points out that he is aware that there is hostility among the led toward the leaders. But what conclusions does this awareness lead him to? I quote:

"It is useless to try to make friends with, or win the sympathy of the mass of the Great Russian people. . . . [If we try] this might precipitate war. . . . Ideological argu-

ments . . . are a complete waste of time and energy so far as the Great Russians are concerned. . . ."

And in the chapter in which he derives the Leader cult from his swaddling-clothes theory, he writes: "It would seem as though this very great idealization of the Leader were a psychological necessity to the mass of Great Russians . . . it would be psychologically intolerable for Great Russians to live for any length of time without an idealized Leader, that a Leader is necessary to save them from political anarchy and personal disintegration."

The reader can now return to my review, and judge whether it presents fairly Mr. Gorer's central thesis and the peculiar "scientific" methodology by which he arrived at his conclusions.

Just one word more. Since Mr. Gorer has tried the certainly unscientific method of discussion by an *argumentum ad hominem* instead of *ad rem* (attack the critic, never mind the issues he raises), it is also interesting to note that he ends with what is known in purge-trial literature as an indictment by amalgam, seeking to link up my critique of his book with the purely *ad hominem* critique contained in *Red Fleet* of May 14, 1950. I took the trouble to locate that issue of *Red Fleet* and find that it calls Mr. Gorer's book a "Filthy Concoction," says that he wrote it to "satisfy his overseas masters and clients" in Wall Street, that his main sources are "an old man who kept a brothel in Kiev" and a "faded ballerina who fled with a police officer," and that his "masters" ordered him "to blacken everything Russian and everything Soviet." This, Mr. Gorer sums up in the words: "Mr. Wolfe criticizes my book in almost exactly the same terms as did *Red Fleet* of May 14, 1950"! What is there left to say except to agree with Mr. Gorer that "one should respect one's readers," and further to agree with Mr. Gorer when he asserts that "the techniques of misrepresentation do not seem to be culturally limited."

*10/19/51*

INDEXED - 161-6050-A -  
NOT RECORDED  
OCT 19 1951

EX-108

*Richard J. ...*

57 OCT 22 1951

This is a clipping from  
Pages 19 & 20 of the  
NEW LEADER

Date 5-21-51  
Clipped at the Seat of  
Government

FILE - 10  
FIVE

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI (61-6050)

FROM : SAC, New York (100-9078)

SUBJECT: BERTRAM D. WOLFE  
IS-R

DATE: 7/7/55

*Handwritten notes and stamps:*  
 [Illegible handwritten text]  
 [Illegible stamp]

Rebulet to Boston dated April 25, 1955, captioned:  
 "INFORMANTS AND WITNESSES—IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE",  
 which set forth instructions relating to the handling of a list of  
 informants and witnesses discontinued by INS.

INS has advised that it deems it advisable to discontinue  
 utilizing [redacted] for the following reasons: "There  
 was no evidence in the file of [redacted] ever cooperating to his  
 fullest extent with this Service. There were, however, indications  
 that he had been reluctant to identify other contemporary Communist  
 Party functionaries. Also attached to [redacted] file were  
 a number of Federal Bureau of Investigation reports which disclosed  
 quasi Communist-Socialist activity on [redacted] part since his  
 alleged expulsion from the Communist Party in 1929."

b7D

For the information of the Bureau - captioned individual is  
 the subject of the following Bureau files: 61-6050 (IS-R) and 123-5791  
 (VOA & LGE). While it does not appear that he was ever a contact of  
 this office in any capacity, this information is being submitted in  
 accordance with Bureau instructions.

R.M.

- 1. Bureau 123-5791 (VOA & LGE)
- 1 NY [redacted]
- 1 NY 121-16979
- 1 NY 123-3898

b7D

JEG:MMK

RECORDED-11

26

58 JUL 20 1955

[Illegible stamp]

[Illegible handwritten note]

*Handwritten notes and stamps:*  
 [Illegible handwritten text]  
 [Illegible stamp]



# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT

DATE: August 9, 1956

FROM : W. C. Sullivan

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

SUBJECT: "SIX KEYS TO THE SOVIET SYSTEM"  
By Bertram D. Wolfe

The above-captioned book has been reviewed by the Central Research Section. It is a consistent, logical, documented study of the nature of totalitarianism which has reached its full development in Soviet Russia.

First Key: The Struggle for Power

A. The Struggle for the Succession

All power in the Soviet Union is concentrated in the "leader." Others get power only by emanation and delegation. At the death of the dictator, there are no parties to establish a legal succession by electoral contest. There is no moral code to restrain the aspirants to the succession from framing and killing each other. The real power levers in this struggle are the Party machine, the secret police, and the armed forces. In the author's opinion, totalitarian difficulty is freedom's opportunity. The world is safer for the moment while a regime based on total force and total dictatorship goes through its convulsive struggles to solve the insoluble problem of a legal and peaceful succession in a system that knows neither laws nor peace.

B. A New Look at that Soviet "New Look"

The Khrushchevs and Malenkovs and men younger still who now form the post-Stalinist "collective leaders" are men Stalin gathered around him in his rise to personal dictatorship. The "new men" who have succeeded to Stalin's power are not so new as they look to the uninquisitive eye for they are Stalin's men. What they bring to their drives is the fresh vigor of younger men and a fresh flexibility of maneuver.

Second Key: The Coordination of Culture

The lords of total power fear and detest whatever they cannot understand and completely control. Thus, historians in the Soviet Union must rewrite history to suit the lords. The theory that total power gives total knowledge has led Stalin and his successors to intervene in every field of culture and thought. Their long-range aim is the total conquest of the world. Everything that the Soviet Government does is done in secret. Secrecy in government means that every communist government is neither more nor less than a conspiracy against its own people.

MJH  
(3) SEP 12 1956  
1 - Section tickler  
1 - Mr. Belmont

RECORDED - 75  
SENT DIRECTOR  
INDEXED - 75  
EX - 120  
10 SEP 6 1956

Book detached HJZ

Memorandum from W. C. Sullivan to Mr. A. H. Belmont

Third Key: The Worker in the Workers' State

The worker in the Soviet Union must accept without discussion or referendum, without negotiation or collective bargaining, the "ukazes" (decisions) of the Council of Peoples' Commissars. Nothing can change his position or status except an order of his superiors, These decrees are given little publicity abroad. By an "ukaz" of October 3, 1940, approximately a million young people between the ages of 14 and 17 were "called up" for industrial training. The youth mobilization "ukaz" reflects the total militarization of the daily life and labor of an entire people. Inevitably the militarization of industry and severe life has reacted in turn upon the structure of the Red Army. Taken together, these decrees added up to an extreme militarization of military life and made the Red Army, from the standpoint of hierarchical structure, absolute command, and internal discipline, the most rigidly organized large-scale army in the entire world.

Fourth Key: The Two Types of Election

I. The Most Democratic Elections in the World

The communist dictatorship has felt compelled to imitate many of the processes and the very terms that have emerged from centuries of struggle for democracy. A totalitarian dictatorship is deeply aware of its perpetual illegitimacy. Its minority seizure of power by force represents a rupture of the fabric of legitimacy.

II. The Other Election: Men Stake Their Lives

The other election is real, dangerous, illegal, and punishable by instant death or concentration camp. This is the election in which men can sometimes choose between communism and the uncertain freedom of the refugee and wanderer. In every communist land, men have made this choice. "They have voted," as Lenin said of the Russian peasant soldiers in World War I, "they have voted with their feet."

Fifth Key: The Kremlin as Ally and Neighbor

Poland lies in an open plain between Germany and Russia. Russia-Poland-Germany: that triangle of relationships is the heart of Europe. When there is sickness there, Europe is sick, and the peace and order existing there are a false order and false peace. The kind of Europe which will emerge from World War II is being determined. Poland has become the test for a normal and enduring peace.

So far, China's nationalism has been a benign nationalism, an awakening of national self-consciousness and the desire for national freedom. William Z. Foster told the Politburo of the American Communist Party in 1945, "On the international scale, the key task is to stop American intervention in

Memorandum to Mr. A. H. Belmont from W. C. Sullivan

China. . . the war in China is the key to all problems on the international front. " In China there is the Kuomintang, led by Chiang Kai-shek, and the Chinese Communist Party, led by Mao Tse-tung. The program of the Kuomintang remains, as in the past, the only force for the defense of the territorial integrity and independence and for the eventual democratization and reconstruction of China. The program of the Communist Party remains, as in the past, a program for Russian penetration, Russian partition, for the tying of China to a world drive for power, for the ultimate introduction of a police-state totalitarianism. In China, the tide must be turned if we wish to stop the spread of totalitarianism and aggressive imperialism, and if we wish to delay, and if possible prevent, the outbreak of another world war, in which the captive masses of Asia are joined to the captive masses of Europe in a "final" effort to overwhelm what is left of the non-totalitarian and democratic world.

Tito, Communist Party leader in Yugoslavia, is called the "puppy who is barking at the elephant" (Stalin). From Tito's communist camp come clear words of truth about Soviet imperialism and ruthlessness, which, when they come from communists, have more effectiveness. This is the true crack in the Kremlin wall of infallibility. Tito can anticipate Stalin's every move. He represents a struggle for the independence of his country against the Soviet empire.

Sixth Key: The Nature of Totalitarianism

The essence of the total state is that it aspires to be total. The totalitarian state seeks to penetrate every aspect of life, assume control of every interest, undertake systematic organization of every activity, convert every individual interest and activity and every social interest and activity into a state activity.

A review of Bureau files reflects that Bertram D. Wolfe was a member of the Communist Party from 1919 to 1929. He reportedly has been anticommunist since he broke with the Party. He has been the subject of an extensive investigation under the Voice of America program and the Federal Employees Security Program. (123-5791; 61-6050) He was subsequently employed as chief ideological adviser to the Voice of America.

RECOMMENDATION: None. This is for your information.

SAC SE

7-1-

P  
110

~~WOLFE, BERT~~

Member, Central Committee and 1927 - 1939  
National Agitation-Propaganda Dept.,  
CP - USA. 1925 - 1931

SE 4

61-6000

RECORDED

OCT 10 1956

64  
OCT 13 1956



DIRECTOR, FBI(100-3-74-34)

11/2/55

SAC, NEW YORK (100-81752sub23)

COMPROS-NEW YORK  
INTERNAL SECURITY-C

Rebuairtel 10/4/55, which authorized an interview with ABRAHAM HELLER and Bulet 10/18/55, authorizing interviews with BERTRAM WOLFE and JOSEPH FREEMAN.

It has been determined that HELLER has moved from his former residence and presently resides in Apartment 11D, 56 Seventh Avenue, NYC. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] who has previously been utilized as a source by the NYO, has advised that HELLER is presently away for an indefinite period, but that he is expected to return in the near future. [REDACTED] stated that he would immediately advise the NYO upon HELLER's return, at which time HELLER will be interviewed in accordance with Bureau instructions, as set out in referenced airtel.

Efforts are being made to interview JOSEPH FREEMAN and it is expected that this interview will be completed in the near future.

BERTRAM WOLFE, 68 Montague Street, Brooklyn, New York, was interviewed on 10/24/55, by SAS J.L. MARTIN and JAMES H. BRICKLEY, at which time he furnished the following information regarding International Publishers Co., Inc., and its relationship with publishing houses in Russia:

WOLFE stated that he has no personal knowledge of any agreement between International Publishers, Inc., and any corporation or person in Russia. He stated that International Publishers Co., Inc., was originally financed

RM

- 1 - Bureau(100-12584)(ABRAHAM HELLER)
- 1 - Bureau(100-287275)(JOSEPH FREEMAN)
- 1 - Bureau(61-6050)(ABRAHAM WOLFE)
- 1 - NY 100-7758(ABRAHAM HELLER)(12-15)
- 1 - NY 100-58657(JOSEPH FREEMAN)(12-15)
- 1 - NY 100-9078(BERTRAM WOLFE)(20-11)

JLM:MAL

16/11/55  
NOT RECORDED  
163 NOV 9 1955  
FIELD ON ORIGINAL

b7D

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN

Letter to Director  
NY 100-81752sub23

by A.A. HELLER. WOLFE related that HELLER was in the confidence of certain Russian leaders and was granted a business permit in Russia, from which he derived a substantial profit, which he used to finance International Publishers Co., Inc. WOLFE stated that he did not believe HELLER ever influenced the operation of International Publishers Co., Inc., from an editorial viewpoint.

Regarding material which was published by International Publishers, WOLFE stated that in the early days, it operated more or less as a free-lance publishing house, in that it published both Communist and non-Communist literature. WOLFE stated, however, that in about 1929, there was a change of policy and International Publishers Co., Inc., ceased to publish non-Communist literature, and ceased to employ anyone who was not a member of the CP. WOLFE related that shortly after he broke with the CP in 1929, ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG hired him to do some translation which he was to do at home.

According to WOLFE, TRACHTENBERG advised him not to bring his manuscripts to the office of International Publishers, but to send them in by someone else. WOLFE stated that in accordance with TRACHTENBERG's instructions, he sent his manuscripts to the International Publishers Co., Inc., office, by his wife, for a short time. He stated, however, that this arrangement came to the attention of the Central Committee of the CP, and that TRACHTENBERG was told to cease his relationship with WOLFE or he would be under serious suspicion from Party leaders.

WOLFE related that it is his personal opinion that after the above change of policy in 1929, that Moscow dictated what was to be published by International Publishers Co., Inc., but that he has no evidence on which to base this opinion.

WOLFE stated that he does not desire to testify because of his literary position, but stated that he would testify if he felt that his testimony was imperative.

Letter to Director  
NY 100-31752sub23

The results of the above interview with WOLFE have been furnished to Special Assistant to the Attorney General David H. Harris by separate communication.

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

DATE: March 20, 1957

FROM : R. R. Roach

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

SUBJECT: BERTRAM D. WOLFE

*Bertram David Wolfe*

The "New York Herald Tribune" of 3/19/57, carried an article entitled "Gates Expounds Red Politics on Columbia University Stage," which reflects that John Gates, editor of the "Daily Worker," an east coast communist newspaper, expounded his political views before an audience at Columbia University, New York City. Norman Thomas, socialist leader, and Bertram D. Wolfe shared the stage with Gates and received enthusiastic applause when they appeared to score debating points against Gates. The Director inquired, "What do we know of Bertram D. Wolfe?"

*Summary*  
Bufiles reflect Bertram David Wolfe, born 1/19/96, Brooklyn, New York, was the subject of an Internal Security - R case in 1941 when his wife's name, Ella G. Wolfe (a CP member during the 1920's), appeared as a sponsor for a political refugee from Germany. He was investigated under the Voice of America (VOA) program in 1950 and rated "eligible on loyalty" for a position as chief ideological advisor with the VOA by the Loyalty Review Board on 8/2/51.

Wolfe was alleged to be a founder of the Workers Party, which later became the Communist Party, USA (CP), and a member from 1919 to 1929. He was director of the Workers School (a CP school in New York City), 1925-29; American delegate to the Executive Committee of the Sixth Communist International, Moscow, USSR; and national director of the Agitation Propaganda Department, CP, 1929. "The New York Times" of 8/15/29 reported that Jay Lovestone and his supporters, including Wolfe, were expelled from the CP for seeking to persuade American communists that the tactics of the Communist International in the U.S. were hopelessly wrong. Another reason for the expulsion was that Lovestone, Wolfe and Benjamin Gitlow left Moscow without permission after they had been summoned to explain their conduct.

In 1950 Benjamin Gitlow advised he felt Wolfe continued to be a pro-Russian Marxist-Leninist, but Lovestone and Louis Budenz advised they regarded Wolfe as a sincere anticommunist since his break with the CP.

A loyalty investigation on Wolfe was conducted in 1953, based on the statement of another employee of the VOA that Wolfe's writings

JJG:awj (6)

RECORDED-59

61 6050-28

\*Former CP member during 1920's.

- 1 - Boardman
- 1 - Belmont
- 1 - W.C. Sullivan
- 1 - section 51
- 1 - Gaffney

INDEXED-59

10 MAR 21 1957

*Handwritten signatures and stamps:*  
 - "SEARCHED" stamp  
 - "INDEXED" stamp  
 - "MAR 21 1957" stamp  
 - "AUG 1957" stamp  
 - "100-6050-28" stamp



Memorandum to Mr. Belmont  
Re: BERTRAM D. WOLFE

were anti-Stalinist but appeared to be in sympathy with the basic communist philosophy of Marx and Lenin. In August, 1953, Charles M. Noone, former Bureau Agent and then Acting Chief, Office of Security, U.S. Information Agency (formerly VOA) advised copies of Wolfe's scripts had been reviewed and did not indicate Wolfe was procommunist. On 8/3/53 Fred Busbey, then Congressman from Illinois, expressed opposition to the employment of Wolfe by the Government in a speech before the House of Representatives. On 1/28/54 the Civil Service Commission advised Wolfe had been retained in his position; however, he resigned in February, 1954. (123-5791-56; 100-15252-41,p.177; 61-6050-11)

Wolfe was interviewed by Bureau Agents on 9/10/47 regarding his CP activities and furnished some information but was considered by the interviewing Agents as uncooperative and not to be trusted as a witness. (61-6050-24) On 10/24/55 he was reinterviewed and furnished information indicating communist domination of the International Publishing Company, cited as the official CP publishing house by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report No. 1920 dated 5/11/48, p.80. He stated he did not desire to testify but would do so if he felt his testimony was imperative. (61-6050, November 2, 1955)

[redacted] advised in 1955 <sup>b7D</sup> that it discontinued [redacted] because it was believed he had not cooperated to his fullest extent and had been reluctant to identify other contemporary CP functionaries. (61-6050-26)

Wolfe has written several books since 1926. His latest book is entitled "Six Keys to the Soviet System," which was reviewed in 1956 by the Central Research Section and found to be a documented study of the nature of totalitarianism which has reached its full development in Soviet Russia. (61-6050-27) He is the author of an article entitled "Marx on the Truman Doctrine," which was distributed by the Bureau to the field in 1954 in connection with the development of security informants. (100-3-99-1801)

ACTION:

None. For the Director's information.

*[Handwritten signatures and initials]*

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

*newspaper article*

# Gates Expounds Red Politics On Columbia University Stage

By John G. Rogers

John Gates, editor of "The Daily Worker," forbidden last week to speak at any of the five city colleges, appeared for nearly two hours yesterday on a Columbia University platform and expounded his political views before a polite and orderly audience which made plain its anti-Communist sentiments.

Norman Thomas, the Socialist leader, and Bertram D. Wolfe, author and student of Russian affairs, shared the stage of McMillan Theater with the forty-three-year-old Communist editor and received enthusiastic applause frequently when they appeared to score debating points against Mr. Gates.

### Asserts Aims

A man who served more than three years in prison on a Smith Act conviction, now regarded as a leader in the so-called new look of independence among American Communists, Mr. Gates insisted yesterday that the American Communist party is becoming more democratic, is not Russian-dictated, and is seeking to lead the country peacefully toward a Socialist Utopia.

Mr. Thomas and Mr. Wolfe were bluntly suspicious of such protestations and made clear in general their belief that American communism is still part of the pattern of Russian Communist imperialism aiming at world domination.

McMillan Theater seats 808 in the orchestra and 458 in the balcony. At the peak of yesterday's forum, sponsored by the

John Dewey Society of Columbia, the orchestra was nearly full and there was a scattering in the balcony. By far the majority were students, both men and women, in casual dress and carrying books.

### Issue Mentioned

The fact that there had been controversy over whether a Communist should be permitted to speak before a college audience was not greatly emphasized yesterday on the blue-curtained stage at Columbia.

Mr. Gates made several mentions of the issue. He used the term "Fearful Five" for the presidents of the city college who, after specific invitations to speak had been given him by student groups at City College and Queens College, agreed to ban him from all five campuses.

Again, he said that by hearing him the Columbia audience had "struck a blow for the Bill of Rights." And satirically he referred to peaceful transition to socialism as the "sinister doctrine" he would have discussed at Queens and City Colleges.

### Controversy Avoided

Mr. Thomas referred to the issue only once. He said he regretted that he had to come to "an institution not supported by the public" to take part in the discussion with Mr. Gates, and then he drew a laugh when he said that this showed there was "some value in the competitive system."

Mr. Wolfe avoided mentioning the issue. Robert Nozick, treasurer of the John Dewey Society, did not mention the controversy

in his two brief appearances. Dr. James Gutman, chairman of the philosophy department at Columbia, the moderator, merely said that the late Mr. Dewey would have liked the idea that his name was associated with an occasion of free discussion.

After each of the three speakers gave his views in fifteen-minute talks, each had five minutes for rebuttal, and then there were questions from the audience. Many of the questions, in tone or content, demonstrated anti-Communist attitude, and all were aimed at Mr. Gates.

### Points in Reply

Among the points he made in reply:

Under American communism there would be other political parties "as long as the people so desire" but ultimately there would be no need for parties. Communists have contributed to American welfare in improvement of social security, Negro rights and growth of unions. He had never in any way received any instruction from Moscow. General experience and many events including the death of Stalin brought about change of mind and "democratization" of American Communists.

Mr. Gates twice ducked the specific matter of getting Russian troops out of Hungary. First, Mr. Thomas invited him to sign a petition requesting such a withdrawal. He countered by saying he would sign any petition for the withdrawal of all foreign troops—American or Russian—from Europe. Whereupon, Mr. Wolfe told Mr. Gates,

"If you are a free man, you will sign the (Thomas) petition."

Again, a questioner in the audience asked Mr. Gates what he thought of substituting Polish for Russian troops in Hungary. He repeated that all troops should get out of Europe.

By far the day's largest applause went to Mr. Wolfe when he ticked off the list of new-born countries receiving freedom through Western initiative since World War II, and then compared it with the list of countries which went under Russian domination since 1940. Seated at the rear of the stage, Mr. Gates did not look up during the applause.

The Communist editor is scheduled to speak at Columbia again today, at 3:15 p. m. in Harkness Theater, under auspices of the Eugene V. Debs Society of the university.

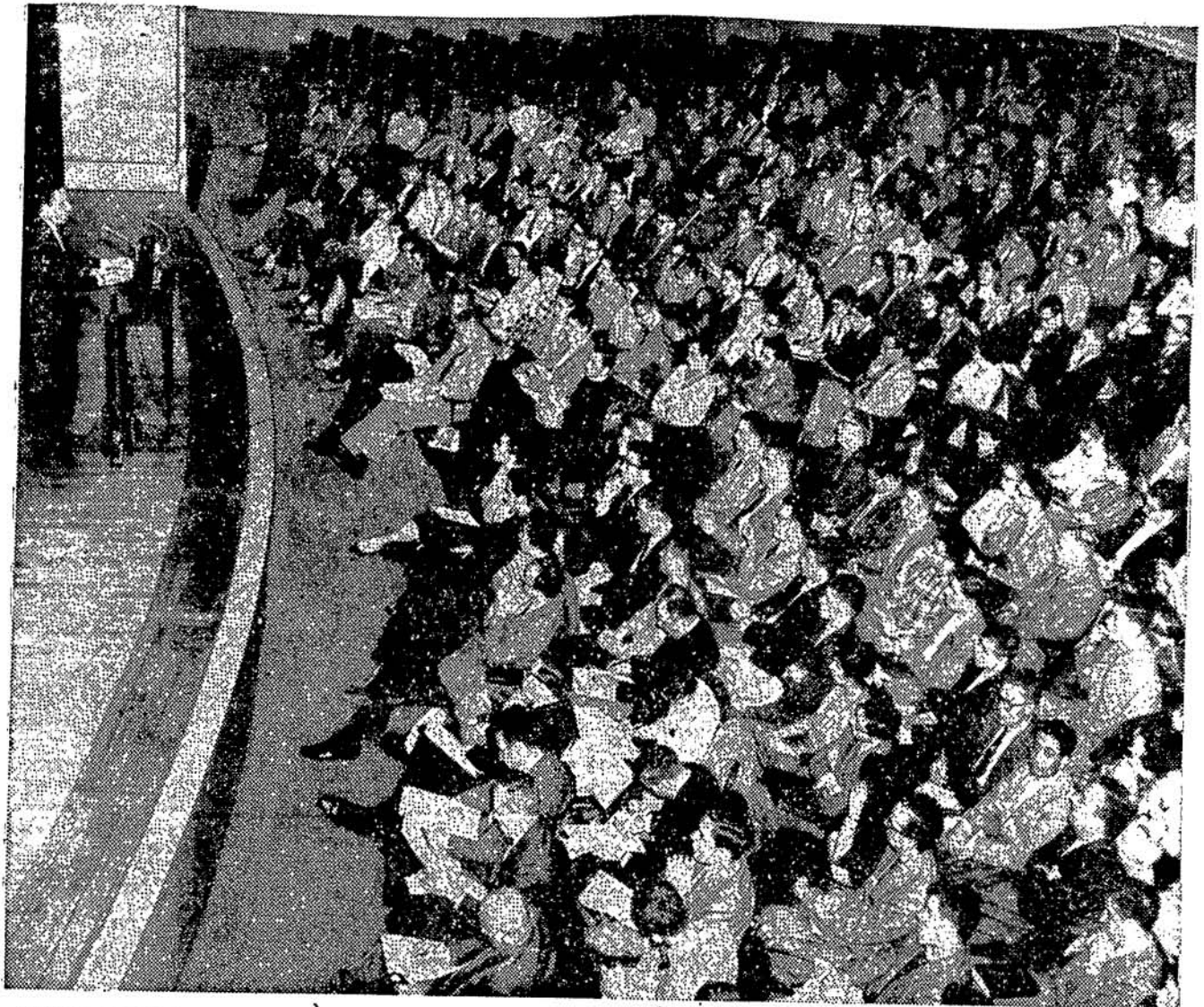
Wash. Post and Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_  
 Wash. News \_\_\_\_\_  
 Wash. Star \_\_\_\_\_  
 N. Y. Herald Tribune 2-1  
 N. Y. Journal-American \_\_\_\_\_  
 N. Y. Mirror \_\_\_\_\_  
 N. Y. Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
 N. Y. Times \_\_\_\_\_  
 Daily Worker \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Worker \_\_\_\_\_  
 New Leader \_\_\_\_\_  
 61-6250-28

MAY 21 1957

RECORDED-59  
INDEXED-89

*What do we know of Bertram D. Wolfe?*

*newspaper article  
3-5-57  
33 G*



COMMUNIST EDITOR AT COLUMBIA—There were some empty seats yesterday as John Gates, editor of "The Daily Worker," spoke at meeting in McMillin Theater sponsored by the John Dewey Society of the university.

Herald Tribune photo by Don Rice

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
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 Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Wash. Post and \_\_\_\_\_  
 Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_  
 Wash. News \_\_\_\_\_  
 Wash. Star \_\_\_\_\_  
 N. Y. Herald \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tribune \_\_\_\_\_  
 N. Y. Journal- \_\_\_\_\_  
 American \_\_\_\_\_  
 N. Y. Mirror \_\_\_\_\_  
 N. Y. Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
 N. Y. Times \_\_\_\_\_  
 Daily Worker \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Worker \_\_\_\_\_  
 New Leader \_\_\_\_\_

8 45 AM '57

RECEIVED DIRECTOR  
 MAR 19 1957  
 Date MAR 18 1957

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. NICHOLS

DATE: 3-5-57

FROM : L. E. SHORT

SUBJECT: BENJAMIN GITLOW  
Internal Security - C  
Bufile 61-1544BERTRAM D. WOLFE  
(61-6050) 15-RCommunist Party U. S. A.  
100-3-4

An indexing project has been completed involving documents furnished by Benjamin Gitlow covering his knowledge of the Communist Party U. S. A. in the 1920's and early 1930's. This material was furnished to the Bureau by the New York Office by letter dated 3-26-43 (100-3-4-1594). There are 2,675 documents involved.

For record purposes a copy of this memorandum will be placed in the main case file on 32 of the most prominent individuals mentioned in the documents. On each copy of this memorandum will be listed the document numbers on which the information concerning these prominent individuals appears. It is felt that this is necessary because it is not logical to add cross reference cards to our index today on such old material.

RECOMMENDATION:

1. That the attached plastiplat be approved.
2. That each copy be routed to the pertinent section of the Domestic Intelligence Division for the interest of the substantive case supervisor.

LML:uk  
(32)

100-3-4-1594 Enclosure, Document Numbers: 35; 39; 40; 41; 45; 46; 51; 52; 55; 56; 57; 59; 60; 61; 63; 64; 66; 67; 68; 69; 70; 71; 72; 73; 75; 77; 87; 104; 184; 187; 188; 189; 190; 256; 271; 280; 329; 680; 709; 795; 1022; 1124; 1125; 1234; 1704; 1715; 1973; 1974; 2127; 2239; 2241; 2245; 2267; 2269; 2277; 2291; 2297; 2512; 2524; 2525; 2536; 2610. page 2.

LW ✓  
NOT RECORDED  
156 MAR 15 1957

63-0  
MAR 25 1957

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-3-4-1594

CORRELATION SUMMARY

Main File No: 61-6050  
(See also: 123-5791)

Date: 7/31/59

Subject:

Date Searched: 4/29/59

~~Bertram David Wolfe~~  
~~Bertram D. Wolfe~~  
~~One Albright\*~~  
~~Al Albright~~  
~~Alfred Albright~~  
~~One Albright~~  
~~Albert Albright~~  
~~"Bertie"~~  
~~Bertram De Wolfe\*~~  
~~Albert Lovell~~  
~~One Shays~~  
~~Daniel Shays~~  
~~One Taylor\*~~  
~~L. Vargas~~  
~~Albert Ward~~  
~~B. D. Wolfe~~  
~~Bert Wolfe~~  
~~Bertram Wolfe~~  
~~Bertram D. Wolf~~

~~Bertram David Wolf~~  
~~Bertram L. Wolf~~  
~~Bertrand Wolf~~  
~~Bertram Wolfe~~  
~~Bertram D. Wolf~~  
~~B. Wolfe~~  
~~B. D. Wolfe~~  
~~Bert Wolfe~~  
~~Bert D. Wolfe~~  
~~Bertram Wolfe~~  
~~Bertram B. Wolfe~~  
~~Bertram Wolfe~~  
~~Bertram D. Wolfe~~  
~~Bertram Davis Wolfe~~  
~~Bertand Wolfe~~  
~~Bertrand Wolfe~~  
~~Bertrand R. Wolfe~~  
~~Bertrum Wolfe~~  
~~Bertram D. Wolfe~~

\* Not searched

Found As:

B. 119-96, Brooklyn, N.Y.

SUMMARY

~~Bertram David Wolfe~~  
~~Bertram D. Wolfe~~  
~~Al Albright~~  
~~Alfred Albright~~  
~~One Albright~~  
~~Albert Albright~~  
~~Albert Lovell~~  
~~One Shays~~  
~~Daniel Shays~~  
~~L. Vargas~~  
~~Albert Ward~~  
~~B. D. Wolfe~~  
~~Bert Wolfe~~  
~~Bertram Wolfe~~  
~~Bertram D. Wolfe~~  
~~Bertram David Wolfe~~  
~~Bertram L. Wolfe~~  
~~Bertrand Wolfe~~

~~Bertram Wolfe~~  
~~Bertram D. Wolfe~~  
~~B. Wolfe~~  
~~B. D. Wolfe~~  
~~Bert Wolfe~~  
~~Bert D. Wolfe~~  
~~Bertram Wolfe~~  
~~Bertram Wolfe~~  
~~Bertram B. Wolfe~~  
~~Bertram D. Wolfe~~  
~~Bertram David Wolfe~~  
~~Bertand Wolfe~~  
~~Bertrand Wolfe~~  
~~Bertrand D. Wolfe~~  
~~Bertrum Wolfe~~  
~~Bertram D. Wolfe~~

REC-114  
MCT

61-6050-29

SEP 3 1959

All identical references marked "A" on search slip.

SEP 10 1959

Analyst

Coordinator

Approved

Also Searched As:

A. Albright  
Dave Wolf  
David Wolf  
Bertram G. Wolfe  
D. Wolfe

Dave Wolfe  
David Wolfe  
Dave Wolff  
David Wolff

*This is a summary of information obtained from a review of all "see" references to the subject in Bureau files under the names and aliases listed above. All references under the above names containing data identical with the subject have been included except those listed at the end of this summary as not having been reviewed, or those determined to contain the same information as the main file.*

*This summary is designed to furnish a synopsis of the information set out in each reference. In many cases the original serial will contain the information in much more detail.*

THIS SUMMARY HAS BEEN PREPARED FOR USE AT THE SEAT OF GOVERNMENT AND IS NOT SUITABLE FOR DISSEMINATION.

*ABBREVIATIONS*

*Additional information.....Additional information appearing in this reference which pertains to Bertram David Wolfe may be found in the main file or elsewhere in this summary.*

*SS.....Search Slip*

*SP.....Socialist Party*

*SWP.....Socialist Workers Party*

*WP.....Workers Party*



The "Proletarian News" of 6/1/35 carried an article entitled "Proletarian Party Fifteen Years Ago," which gave the following information.

The Michigan state organization was expelled from the SP of America. Subsequently the expelled group decided to organize a new party. In June, 1919. they sent delegates to the "Left-Wing Conference" held in NYC. That "conference" was dominated by confusionists who decided to capture the SP for "revolutionary socialism." The leaders of this group included Bertram Wolf.

100-603-288 p.3B  
(78)✓

The report of the HCUA on the left-wing section of the SP stated that a conference of the SP was held in NYC on 6/21/19. A national council of the left-wing section of the SP was chosen, with Bertram D. Wolfe as one of the members.

The HCUA report also stated that in 1920 Bertrand D. Wolfe appeared as a writer for "The Toiler," one of the first communist publications to appear in the US.

61-7582-1298 p.1039,1628  
(15)✓

[redacted] stated that during her CP activities (1905-1925) she became acquainted with leaders of the organization. She recalled among others Bertram D. Wolfe.

In the autobiography "I Confess" published in February, 1940, of Benjamin Gitlow, former General Secretary of the CP, he stated that Bertram D. Wolfe was a member of the city committee of 15 elected at the first Left Wing convention to carry on its work. (Locality not given)

[redacted] (protect identity)

b7D

[redacted]  
(25) ✓

SI 100-155500-1

(26) ✓ (Files of Walter Steele)

By letter dated 7/30/25 the Assistant Attorney General forwarded a copy of a communication from the Department of State which enclosed a letter from the Charge D' Affaires, Mexico City regarding the railroad situation in Mexico.

This letter referred to Bertrand Wolfe, who was stated to have been in Mexico for two years and who was active on behalf of communist agitation. Communist propaganda in the newspapers announced that certain Russian Bolsheviks were to be expelled from Mexico for activities similar to those in which Wolfe had been engaged.

64-200-221-36

(53) ✓

By letter of 8/8/25, the Department of State submitted a copy of a letter from the American Consul General at Mexico City which enclosed a copy of a memorandum prepared by Mr. Loring Olmsted, an American citizen registered in the Consulate General and residing at Calle Reforma No. 3, Atscapozalco, D.F., who was considered loyal to the US.

Mr. Olmsted alleged that they\* were sending north many prapagandists, one especially valuable one, being Wolfe. Mr. Olmsted advised that this referred to Bertrand Wolfe, whom he heard speak at the meeting of the communists on Iqualdad Street on June 13, and who was well known in the US in connection with communist agitation in San Francisco and NY.

64-0-1875  
(52)✓

\* This appeared to refer to the Women's Congress, not further identified.

A letter received from Francis Ralston Welsh on 10/17/25 stated that Bertram D. Wolfe was a communist candidate for alderman from the 23rd aldermanic district in Brooklyn, NY, date not given.

Additional information.

61-105-170  
(9)✓

Correlator's note: Other serials in this file identify Francis Ralston Welsh as connected with Investment Bonds, 20 S. 15th St., Phila., Pa.

By letter dated 5/15/26 the Department of State forwarded a letter from the American Embassy at Mexico dated 4/7/26 concerning the activities of communist agencies in Mexico. The letter reported that Bertrand Wolf, who was expelled some months previously from Mexico, had been conducting communist agitation in Mexico through the "Anti-Imperialist League of the Americas," which had headquarters in Chicago, Ill. While in Mexico, Wolfe was the editor of a communist sheet called "El Machete," understood to be in direct relations with the Third Internationals.

64-200-221-41  
(83)✓

By letter dated 4/29/38 the NY Office forwarded a number of pamphlets, one of which was "The Workers Monthly" issue of July, 1926. Bertram D. Wolfe, prominently identified with the opposition, was as of 1926 a contributor to the above publication.

61-7559-2746X1  
(12)✓

In a signed statement, Theodore MacLean Switz (subject of 100-377452) stated that he taught in the Workers School in Newark, NJ approximately two months in 1927. He probably obtained this job through Bertram D. Wolfe, head of the Workers School in NY. Wolfe put Switz in touch with someone in Newark, where Switz gave one course in imperialism and one having to do with Marxist interpretation of current events. MacLean stated that Lucy Branham, an American girl who was interested in the Soviet Union, introduced him to Wolfe.

100-377452-30 p.8,22  
(30)✓

Hedi Massing (subject of 65-9940) advised that she and her husband, Julian Gumperz, returned to NY from San Francisco in 1927 and found many communist friends, including Bertrand Wolfe and his wife.

65-9940-41 p.4  
(56)✓

Lieutenant W. C. Reynolds of the NY PD advised that one of his undercover informants reported that Mrs. Wolfe was one of three women in charge of an office at 383 Madison Ave., NYC, on the door of which appeared the name "Tass." Mrs. Wolfe was the wife of Bertram D. Wolfe. (According to a newspaper account Wolfe denied Secretary of State Kellogg's charge that the communists had organized the Mexican movement against the US but admitted aiding the Anti-American projects).

This information appeared in a report dated 2/26/27.

61-6215-5  
(11)✓

Confidential Informant [ ] received information from Bertram Wolfe to the effect that the Profintern had sent a communication to the Trade Union Educational League (TUEL) and that it was advisable to call a Congress of all unions affiliated with the TUEL. The purpose was to create an organized communist movement in the Trade Unions to form a strong opposition to the A F of L.

This information appeared in a report dated 4/23/27.

61-818-738  
(52) ✓

The August, 1949 issue of "Political Affairs" magazine carried an article entitled "Communication" written by Michael Salerno (subject of 100-334454). The article consisted mainly of Salerno's discussion of a series of letters exchanged between himself and Bertram D. Wolfe, who was editor of "The Communist." The exchange took place in 1928, and the discussion concerned the Mitchurinian principles of biology, which disputed the idea of heredity vs environment as a positive factor in the development of the human gene. As a Marxist, Salerno believed in the inheritance of acquired characters. (Further details set out)

100-334454-21  
(28) ✓

*This reference, in a review of the history of the New York Workers School, referred to the activities of Bertram D. Wolfe in his relationship with the school 1925 to 1929. At one time he was Director of the school and a member of the Advisory Council and the Executive Committee.*

*Additional information.*

100-155439-61  
(26) ✓

A review of the book "I Confess," written by Benjamin Gitlow, General Secretary and member of the Political Committee of the American CP until removed in 1929, gave the following information.

Bertram D. Wolfe was the U.S. representative to the Comintern. He was assigned to go to Korea on Comintern business (date not given), however, he refused the assignment.

100-295935-74 p.50  
(28)✓

A letter dated 1/10/29 to the State Department made reference to previous communications concerning the All-American Anti-Imperialist League (subject of 61-6065). The following information which was received from Confidential Source  was set out.

b7D

After Emanuel Gometz was removed by the Workers (Communist) Party from his position in the All-American Anti-Imperialist League, the leadership of the League was given to B. Wolfe, of the Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party and Director of the Agitprop Department of the WP.

61-6065-53  
(58)✓

At a hearing of the US Senate, Committee of the Judiciary, Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws, held 10/13/52 in NYC, an article dated 3/11/29 was entered into the record. The article stated that at the sixth national convention of the CP, USA, the new central executive committee was elected. The membership of this committee included Bert Wolfe.

In the above hearing, Exhibit No. 23 was Chapter IV, entitled "The History of the Communist Movement in the NY City Schools" from the proceedings of the Rapp-Coudert legislative committee of NY State. This report stated that the Teachers Union of the City of NY, which gradually became communist infiltrated in the 1920's included Bertram D. Wolfe, the Party's leading American writer.

Additional information.

61-7558-596 p.249,343

(11,63)✓

SI to paragraph 1 above:

61-167-2587

(58)✓

b7D

A letter from the Department of State dated 4/13/29 quoted the following passage from a letter sent by Max Bedacht to Bert Wolfe: "At the time of this writing, we have no news as yet whether or not one or more salesmen will visit our firm. Personally, I do not see much benefit out of salesmen."

It was noted that the term "salesman" obviously referred to representatives of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

61-167-2593

(63)✓

The September, 1929 issue of "The Communist" contained an article entitled "The Struggle for the Comintern in America" by Leon Platt (subject of 100-34616). In this article Platt stated that contradiction of capitalism developed a sharp class struggle among the working class. Jay Lovestone, B.D. Wolf, and Benjamin Gitlow refused to see this change and organized an active opposition to the new course of the CP and the communist International, according to Platt.

100-34616-80 p.62

(89)✓

SI 100-34616-63

(89)✓



A summary memorandum prepared by the Bureau listing leading communist figures in various sections of the country as of August, 1936 included the following information.

Bertram Wolf was assistant "right hand" to Jay Lovestone of the CP Opposition and one of the main field workers. While in Mexico he worked to build up the CP Opposition indirectly while at the same time he was working with the Apparatus, the supposedly secret service organization of the Soviets.

61-7559-4X  
(77)✓

On 5/26/37 circulars were distributed outside of Carnegie Hall, NYC, which announced a talk by Bertram D. Wolfe on "Civil War in Spain" to be held on 5/27/37 at Center Hotel, NYC.

61-7559-1472  
(11)✓

By letter dated 4/1/54, Washington Field Office enclosed photographs and descriptive data secured from the State Department of some 600 persons who travelled to Russia in approximately 1930-1938. Some were Lenin School students and all were known or suspected communists.

A photograph of Bertram David Wolfe was included.

100-202838-176 pt. 1 p.18  
(3,9)✓

In relating the history and background of his life, Jay David Whittaker Chambers (subject of 74-1333) stated that in 1929 Stalin gained control of the CP in Russia, and of the International Communist organization. In achieving control of the American CP, Stalin backed the minority group as against the majority group, whose leaders included Jay Lovestone and Bertram Wolfe.

Chambers stated that during this period (1924-1938) the CP had one school known as the Workers' School. He recalled that Bertram Wolfe had considerable to do with this school and also that Wolfe held the position of National Agit-Prop Director of the CP.

74-1333-3220 p.252

(38) ✓

SI to paragraph 1 above:

74-1333-3221 p.246

(38) ✓

SI to paragraph 1 above:

100-18830-67

(41) ✓

SI to paragraph 1 above:

100-184255-336 p.6

(44) ✓

A summary memorandum prepared by the Bureau regarding Youth Committee Against War gave the following information taken from a pamphlet entitled "Must We Fight This War?" by Robert N. Kelso, Jr., issued by the Youth Committee Against War, 1707 H Street, NW, Washington, D.C.

Continued on next page

The American Youth Congress joined by the Youth Committee Against War, conducted a pilgrimage to Washington D.C. March 10-12, 1938. The Youth Committee presented a petition to President Roosevelt demanding reduction of armaments, armed forces, and plans for industrial mobilization. This petition was endorsed by a number of national figures, including Bertram D. Wolfe.

61-7567-98 p.9  
(15) ✓

A catalog of the spring term, 1938, of the New Workers School to be held at New Workers' School Center, 131 West 33rd St., NYC, listed Bertram D. Wolfe as one of the instructors.

It was noted that this appeared to be a school conducted by the CP Opposition.

61-7559-2317  
(12) ✓  
SI 61-7559-1836X12  
(Fall Term 1937)  
(60) ✓

A report dated 5/2/38 from Robert M. gave the following information.

At the time of the CP Tenth Annual Convention in Madison Square Garden, NYC on 5/26/38, leaflets were distributed outside the entrance by the Independent Communist Labor League, which was the opposition of the CP. This faction was led by Bert Wolf and ran the New Workers School at 131 West 33rd St., NY.

61-7566-978  
(86) ✓

Leaflets and registration card (source not given) for the Independent Labor League of America and the Independent Labor Institute for the fall term of 1938 listed Bertram D. Wolfe as an instructor in the course "The World in Books."

61-7562-190X  
(14) ✓

The radical movement which was in opposition to the CP, USA, solicited support for Russell Blackwell, alias Negrete, through the Russell Negrete Blackwell Defense Committee, 100 Fifth Ave., NYC. A circular letter of 11/12/38 carried a number of names, including Bertram D. Wolfe, presumably as members of the above committee.

(NY Office Files)  
61-7559-3368.  
(12)✓

Information dated 3/28/41 at NY, NY obtained from an outside unknown source stated that James J. Cannon (subject of 100-159214), when expelled from the CP in 1939, joined the Trotskyits faction and stated publishing "The Militant" with the assistance of Bertram Wolfe.

100-159214-1  
(43)✓

A report from G-2 dated 6/21/55 stated that Alexander Guss (subject of 100-25195) named persons whom he knew to be members of the CP during the periods indicated. The list included the name of Bert Wolfe, member of Central Committee 1927-1939 and National Agitation - Propaganda Department, CP, USA.

100-25195-24  
(66)✓

The "DW" of 1/23/39 carried an article entitled "Limestone Joins Moseley in Fascists' Drive on FDR's Defense Program." The article stated that Bertram D. Wolfe had joined the fascist chorus of assault on President Roosevelt's program of national defense against the fascist war menace.

61-7560-1167X  
(14)✓

Material which was obtained from the files of Walter Steele of the "National Republic" magazine contained a page entitled "International Relief Association" dated 5/15/39. This described the International Relief Association as an organization whose purpose was to get relief to victims of persecution. The American Committee was described as forwarding money to the International Treasury at Strasbourg, France. A list of members of the American Committee included the name of Bertram D. Wolfe.

94-3-4-501-77X  
(20)✓

The State Department furnished material which it acquired when prosecuting Browder, et al, for fraud violations. The materials included a 1940 Photographic Album, which contained a photograph of Bertram David Wolfe.

100-3-1838X encl p. A-3  
(3)✓

On 12/9/49 INS, NYC, made available some material which was believed to refer to the State Department investigation into the fraudulent obtaining of passports by members of the CP. In the material was a "1940 Photographic Index" which included a list of names and photographs, including one of Bertram David Wolfe.

40-3923-139 p.47 encl p.585 (Photo)  
(2)✓

Memorandums furnished by  pertaining to Jay Lovestone and his group included the following information on Bertram D. Wolfe. b7D

Wolfe was for years very active in the Independent Labor League of America, having followed Lovestone out of the CP. Wolfe and his wife spent almost a year in Russia during the 1920's, working in some government organization there. During the Spanish Civil War, he went to Spain to carry on work for the organization there. He made frequent trips to Mexico, often visited Diego Rivera, about whom he wrote a book. Wolfe was at one time a teacher in the public schools but lost his job because of his revolutionary activities. He taught a couple of years at the Erol Preparatory School in NY. He was opposed to American participation in the European war. At various times Wolfe and his wife gave haven to visiting revolutionists who came to this country. He often wrote for "Workers Age" under his own name.

The above information appeared in a memo dated 9/12/40.

100-769-48  
(22)✓

In a letter dated 9/25/40 Mrs. Rose V. S. Berry, 2536 Benvenue Ave., Berkeley, Calif., quoted a paragraph from Eugene Lyon's book, "Assignment in Utopia," concerning the Comintern Congress held from July 17 to Sept. 1, 1928 in Moscow. It stated that the American delegation included Bertram Wolfe.

39-915-176  
(33)✓

In a letter dated 8/17/40 on the letter head of Independent Committee for Thomas and Krueger, a list of national committee members included the name of Bertram D. Wolfe. (Source of letter not given)

Norman Thomas and Maynard Krueger were presidential and vice-presidential candidates, respectively, of the SP in the 1940 election.

61-7559-10321X1

(13)✓

SI 61-10498-249

(17)✓

A report from [ ] on Bertram D. Wolfe gave the following information; Wolfe, at one time a moving spirit of the CP, was a writer of note and a friend of the Trotsky, Diego Rivera, the mural painter. Informant read a report handed in from Mexico in which it was stated that Wolfe and his wife were agents of the German government. Informant stated that Wolfe had always been one of the "problem children" of the Independent Labor League of America. b7D

At a meeting of the Independent Labor League of America group on 11/27/40 a heated argument developed over the war question. A crisis was reached in which Wolfe was branded a German agent, and he resigned just ahead of being kicked out.

100-769-496

(22)✓

SI to paragraph 3 above:

100-769-496

(22)✓

The Rapp-Coudert Committee report, a report of the investigation of the public school system made in 1940-1941 by a NY State Legislative Committee, stated that a recommendation was made that offending left wingers be expelled from the Teachers Union. Specific charges were made against six union members, including Bertram D. Wolfe. Accordingly, a trial committee was set up to hear the evidence and report.

100-38784-192

(25)✓

Correlator's Note: The disposition of the charges against Wolfe was not given.

On 9/13/56 [redacted] and  
 (protect identity) [redacted] former CP member, gave the following information concerning officers and executive board members of the Teachers Union of NYC for the period of 1930-1941. Informant did not know Bertram Wolfe to be a CP member during this period but recalled that Wolfe formally broke with the Party and joined the group who were followers of Jay Lovestone, a faction within the Teachers Union who consistently opposed the CP faction.

100-75957-107 [redacted]  
 (43) ✓

On 3/9/41 Mr. Clarence L. Shaw of 716 East Jefferson St., Wash., D.C. furnished a pamphlet which had been handed to him. The leaflet referred to the Washington Keep America Out of War Committee, affiliated with Keep America Out of War Congress, and carried a list of names of the Governing Committee of the Congress. The name of Bertrand D. Wolfe was listed.

WFO files revealed that information taken from the files of the Industrial Squad of the Chicago PD showed that Wolfe was on the Executive Committee, WP of America; Director of Agitation and Propaganda Department; Associate Editor of the "Revolutionary Age."

25-11931-7  
 (54) ✓

On 3/19/43 the files in the office of the Director of Intelligence, 2nd Service Command, Governors Island, NY were reviewed. The file, Communist Suspects, under date of 3/25/41 contained a list of suspected communist fellow travelers. One entry stated that three individuals, including Francis Henson (subject of 100-58019) had a conference with Earl Browder on conditions of a merger of "Marxist Quarterly" with "Science and Society," a CP quarterly. Browder laid down the condition that Bert Wolfe was not to be an editor.

100-58019-26  
 (67) ✓

The second National Anti-war Congress closed its session in the Sylvan Theater in Washington, D.C. on 6/1/41. The congress elected a governing committee of 42 members, including Bertram D. Wolfe.

61-10498-A "Washington Evening  
Star", 6/2/41  
(17) ✓

On 7/30/41 an investigator of the Sheriff's Office, Riverside, Calif., reported the following information.

On the above date Frances Elkins (subject of 61-9568) was overheard to state that she personally knew Bertram D. Wolfe, author of "The Soviet Union in 1924." She stated that he was writing against communism for revenge and was working on a book exposing communism.

Additional information.

61-9568-2 p.13  
(17) ✓

In the January, 1955 issue of "The Political Reporter," (subject of 65-61520) an article entitled, "The Old Stinkpots Are At It Again" by John Henry Monk, contained a paragraph which gave the following information.

In the late '30's and early '40's, the then new American Trotsky Communist Party-Majority, spearheaded by Jay Lovestone, Bertram Wolfe, and others, who were acting for the protocol setup of Zionism, brought into being Anti-Defamation League's first Hate Brigade in this country and moved against certain minority groups.

65-61520-5 p.62  
(38) ✓

b7D

[redacted] (protect identity), advised [redacted] the book "Whose Revolution?" for Irving Dewitt Talmadge (subject of 101-4483). Talmadge advised informant that according to his plan, a number of better known writers, including Bertram D. Wolfe, each submitted a chapter for this book. This was a method of presenting various viewpoints on communism, liberalism, and the like.



*This information appeared in a report dated 5/2/42.*

*Additional information.*

101-4483-5  
(30)✓

*A Postal Censorship form showed that Bertram D. Wolfe received a letter dated 10/31/42 from Julian Gomez, Victoria 104, Mexico, D. F. The Examiner's note stated that Gomez was Julian Gorkin, famous French writer, who was accused by the Stalinists of being a Nazi Agent. The writer appealed to the addressee to ask the Washington government to help obtain necessary authorization for his father to go to Mexico from France.*

64-2704-749  
(19)✓

*A confidential source advised that as of January, 1943, B. D. Wolfe was a subscriber to "The Militant" and "Fourth International," publications of the SWP.*

100-16-35-50  
(61)✓

(protect identity) suggested that perhaps Berthram D. Wolfe and his wife, Ella Wolfe, leaders in the CP who went to Mexico in 1919 to escape the Palmer Raids, would be able to furnish information concerning the activities of Louis C. Fraïna (subject of 100-118061) in Mexico. They belonged to the same CP as did Fraïna, were excellent friends, and had the same political opinions.

b7D

*Inasmuch as Bertram and Ella Wolfe were former leading members of the CP and subjects of a NY case file, it was deemed inadvisable to interview them concerning Fraïna.*

*This information appeared in a reference dated 4/3/43.*

100-118061-28  
(26)✓

A Postal Censorship intercept revealed that in November, 1943 Marceau Pivert (subject of 61-8404) wrote in a letter to Octavio Briquard, a French industrialist who was active in communist affairs, that Bertram Wolfe was a callaborator on "Call", a new Socialist publication in the US.

61-8404-143  
(36)✓

A Censorship report indicated that a letter dated 12/1/43, return address Bertram D. Wolfe, was written to Hilda Patrick Winslow, Hotel Geneve, 7 de Londres, 130, Mexico, D. F. The letter was apparently written by Ella Wolfe. She advised addressee of some people to contact. There was enclosed a chart designed by a representative of the censorship as an analysis of the relationship of individuals living at Luis Moya 19, Mexico, D. F. This chart showed Ella and Bert Wolfe as known contacts of Hilda Winslow Patrick and Frances Toor.

65-43302-3525  
(19,65)✓

It was reported that Marceau Pivert of France and Gustav Regler of Germany, along with many others, were carrying on anti-American, British, and Russian propaganda in Mexico and Latin America. It was also reported that the above men were connected with the powerful Trotsky machine in the US, which included Eugene Lyons, Max Eastman, Sydney Hook, Bertram D. Wolfe, and George Sokolsky.

(NY Office files, 4/8/44)  
64-532-221-4  
(18)✓  
SI 64-2701-1322 (Military Attache,  
Mexico)  
(19)✓  
SI 61-5381-1244   
(11)✓  
SI 100-36676-9 (   
(25)✓  
SI 100-36676-7   
SI 100-268519-8   
(27)✓

b7D

An article which appeared in the "New World" of 6/22/44 entitled "Peace Now Move" reflected a letter written to the mayor and city council of Seattle, Wash. The letter called attention to various individuals alleged to be Trotskyites and stated that Bertram Wolf was expelled from the communist movement many years ago because of his Fascist and reactionary connections. Instant letter was signed by the president and the secretary of Washington State CPA.

100-12997-47  
(78)✓

[redacted] advised that a meeting of the CPA was held on 7/27/44 at the Dorie Miller Hall, Seattle, Wash. Members present were urged to write the Machinists' Local and protest the Local, allowing such "Fascists" as Bertram Wolfe to speak. A member explained that Wolfe was a German spy and that he had been expelled from Russia prior to the war.

b7D

100-26921-21  
(42)✓

This reference dated 8/28/44 referred to the activities of the National Council of American - Soviet Friendship, Inc. (subject of 100-146964) regarding Bertram Wolfe. In July, 1944 Wolfe gave lectures in the San Francisco area on subjects in which the Russian government's international relations and internal policies figured. These lectures were opposed by the CPA and National Maritime Union. Those who opposed Wolfe endeavored to interrupt his lectures in every way possible.

100-146964-302 p.26  
(43)✓

On 7/25/44, while a guest at the Clark Hotel, Martin Temple (subject of 64-22166) made a long distance telephone call to Bert Wolfe at the Cecil Hotel, San Francisco. (Source not given)

Bertram D. Wolfe was a guest at the Cecil Hotel from 7/17/44 to 8/9/44. [redacted] protect identity)

b6  
b7C  
b7D

[redacted] reported that Wolfe was on a speaking tour of the Pacific Coast in July and August, 1944. Informants advised that Local communists attempted to interfere with his lectures. [redacted] stated that the National Maritime Union sent letters to different groups in an attempt to have Wolfe's lectures cancelled. [redacted] and [redacted] stated that in an attempt to discredit Wolfe, the CPA sent members to his lectures to ask embarrassing questions.

*Additional information.*

64-22166-60  
 (19, 37, 65)  
 SI to paragraph 1 above  
 64-22166-53  
 (87) ✓ [redacted]

protect identity)

On 7/17/44, [redacted] advised that at a meeting at CP headquarters on 7/14/44, Carl Reeve, Secretary, 12th District, CPA, gave an address which dealt with the Trotskyites. He stated that Bertram Wolfe was a Trotskyite and a traitor to the CP.

On 9/2/44, [redacted] advised that a Workers School sponsored by the CPA was held at CP headquarters on 8/30/44 at which Reeve gave a lecture on Trotskyism. He said that a group of Lovestonites, including Bertram Wolfe, were kicked out of the Party in 1928.

100-16-51-70  
 (40) ✓  
 SI to paragraph 2 above  
 100-12997-48 [redacted]  
 (41) ✓

A copy of an Office of Strategic Services letter dated 10/30/44 discussed a new bulletin "Russian Affairs." The publication was issued in the name of the Institute for Russian Studies of the Rand School of Social Science, 7 East 15th Street, NY, organized by Bertram D. Wolfe, a member of the Social Democratic Federation, and by two members of the right wing of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party.

100-7826-29  
 (23) ✓  
 SI 100-335069-2  
 (84) ✓ [redacted]  
 SI 100-335069-1  
 (46) ✓ [redacted]

A report dated 11/16/44 from the Office of Strategic Services entitled, "American Socialists Organize to Counter Communist Committee for Spain" contained the following information.

American socialists connected with the "New Leader" in NY took the initiative in forming a committee in support of the Spanish Republic as a counter-move to the American Committee for Spanish Freedom, recently organized under communist inspiration. A meeting of the Socialist committee was attended by editors of the "New Leader" and a few others, including Bertram Wolfe, editor of the Menshevik magazine "Russian Affairs." This group was staunchly anti-communist.

100-332851-7  
(45) ✓

The "DW" of 11/22/44 carried an article entitled "Willing Recruits for Hitler's New Volkssturm" which told of a forum in the Rand School\* in which Bertram Wolfe participated. Wolfe stated that Russia was a police state and that insofar as a durable peace was concerned, "Russia and England are a decisive, negative factor."

61-952-A, "DW" 11/22/44  
(34) ✓

\*NYC, serial 9

A Postal Censorship form showed that Mr. and Mrs. Bertram Wolfe received a communication dated 12/7/44 from F. Blum ("Frankie"), c/o J. C. Ferron, Banco De Comercio, SA., Mexico, D. F. The letter stated that the writer, on a visit in Mexico City, contacted Martin Temple (subject of 64-22166-55) regarding an art exhibit. Examiner's note stated that Wolfe had frequently received news items from Marceau Pivert about Socialism.

64-22166-55  
(3,37) ✓  
SI 62-62736-1-537  
(37) ✓  
SI 62-62736-2-18425  
(37) ✓

A Postal Censorship report showed that Marceau Pivert (subject of 61-8404) received a mimeographed paper signed "Tresca Memorial Committee." This leaflet announced a mass memorial meeting for Carlo Tresca, the assassinated Italian radical leader, on 1/11/45. Enclosed was a press release dated 12/13/44 covering the same subject. Under the heading "Preliminary Committee" the communication gave a list of names, including Bertram D. Wolfe.

61-8404-160  
(16)✓

[redacted] (protect identity) [redacted]  
Chicago, an original member of the CP in Chicago in 1919, advised in 1945 that Bertram D. Wolfe should be in a position to give information concerning Ralph Bowmann (subject of 100-258542). According to the Informant, Wolfe currently was in NYC writing for the "Nation" and "Republic." Informant alleged that Wolfe was opposed to the CPA, and in 1928 he was a US representative to the Comintern and was thrown out of the CP.

b7D

100-258542-28  
(27)✓

A Censorship report showed that Ella and Bert Wolfe received a communication dated 2/6/45 from Martin Temple (subject of 64-22166), Mexico. Writer suggested that addressees join him on some of his trips to the beautiful country where he was at that time.

64-22166-58  
(87)✓  
SI 62-62736-2-17619  
(87)✓

The "DW" dated 4/22/45 carried an article entitled "Anti-Soviet Gang Unites in Letter to Times on Poland." This article contained a synopsis of a "NY Times" editorial which editorial condemned the Polish Provisional Government (subject of 100-330600). The editorial was signed by a group of authors, including Bertram D. Wolfe. The "DW" article in turn condemned the signers of the "NY Times" editorial individually, stating that Wolfe, a Trotskyite, did nothing but snipe at the USSR.

100-330600-255  
(28)✓

On 7/14/45, [ ] advised that he recently heard Ignacy Morowski, editor of the NYC Polish language newspaper "Nowy-Swiat," make the statement that certain American writers were presently on the payroll of the Polish American Congress (subject of 100-290700). Morowski named Bertram D. Wolfe as a recipient of money from the Congress.

100-290700-127  
(28)✓  
SI 100-290700-122  
(28)✓

A booklet dated October, 1945 entitled "Who Killed Carlo Tresca?" (subject of 61-1335) contained an article attributed to the Tresca Memorial Committee. Bertram D. Wolfe was listed on this committee.

61-1335-396X  
(10)✓  
SI 61-1335-392  
(10)✓

According to a report dated 11/6/46, Bertram Wolf was interviewed (date not given) regarding the activities of Ralph Bowman (subject of 100-258542), whose picture he identified as Rudy Baker. Wolf stated he knew very little about Baker, but he gave the name of Barney Herman, who could possibly furnish information on Baker.

Additional information.

100-258542-84  
(79)✓  
SI 100-258542-52  
(45)✓(Additional information)  
SI 100-258542-57  
(45)✓(Additional information)  
SI 100-258542-64  
(45)✓(Additional information)

In a letter dated 12/12/46, Hugh G. Morrison, Box 0, Mays Landing, NJ, wrote in detail of his experiences with radical organizations. He wrote of the CP Opposition, later known as the International Communist Labor League, of which one of the prominent figures was Bertram Wolf. Morrison went to the organization headquarters occasionally to hear Wolf lecture on Diego Rivera and his adventures in Spain during the revolution.

100-348285-1  
(79)✓

On 7/22/47 Louis F. Budenz (subject of 100-63) advised that he felt the Bureau should see Bertram D. Wolfe for information on the history of the CP. Budenz stated that Wolfe was at one time head of the Workers School in NY and might have in his possession a private library of CP publications.

100-63-245  
(22)✓

Liston Oak, Labor Editor, International Broadcasting Division, State Department, advised that Johanna Carl Sarason (subject of 123-6516) advised him that in 1947 and 1948 she traveled to Mexico. While in Mexico she saw several Social Democrats, including Bertram Wolfe.

123-6516-8  
(47)✓

On 1/21/49 the NY Office requested Bureau advice as to whether Bertram and Ella Wolfe should be interviewed for information in the case of Jay David Whittaker Chambers.

By reply teletype dated 1/24/49, the Bureau granted authority to interview these individuals.

74-1338-1248  
(38)✓



A reference in the indices of the NY Office indicated that Bertram D. Wolfe was a subscriber to "The Militant" newspaper.

This information appeared in a report dated 2/1/49.

Additional information.

100-352628-22  
(29,61)✓

On 7/14/54, M. M. Witherspoon, 71 West 23rd St., NYC, advised that he first came to know Paulo D. Lysenko (subject of 100-360649) through Bertram D. Wolf some time in the spring of 1949. Lysenko arrived in the US from Russia 5/30/49. According to Witherspoon, Wolf was a friend of Sheba Strunsky, who was associated with the International Rescue Committee which handled the Lysenko case. Because of Witherspoon's extensive contacts, Wolf felt that he might be in a position to assert Strunsky in placing Lysenko in employment.

100-360649-33  
(82)✓

By letter dated 7/25/49 the San Francisco Office requested permission to interview Bertram D. Wolfe, who was associated with the SWP and other front organizations. Wolfe was as of July, 1949 attached to Stanford University, Palo Alto, Calif.

100-233970-119  
(27)✓

The "Palo Alto, California News" for 2/21/50 reported that Bertram D. Wolfe was to speak on the following day on the subject "Stalin, the Man, His Methods, and His Place in History." The article described Wolfe as a biographer of Stalin and indicated that he was speaking from personal observation. This article mentioned that Wolfe was at one time director of Russia's Tass News Bureau in Latin America and attended the World Congress of the Communist International in Moscow, where he met Stalin, Trotsky, Molotov, and other Russian leaders. It indicated that he lectured and studied in Russia as well as in Mexico and throughout the US.

A reference in the San Francisco files indicated that in 1940 Wolfe spoke on behalf of Norman Thomas' Socialist Party.

In view of the above information, the San Francisco Office requested advice regarding advisability of interviewing [redacted]

[redacted] By letter dated 4/10/50, the Bureau advised that an interview was not desired.

b7D

Additional information.

66-2542-3-47-2832  
(19)✓

Bertram Wolfe advised [redacted] (protect identity) that he recalled Emmeruch Lustig (subject of 100-7166) as a member of the Hungarian Federation or Bureau of the CP, as a student in the Workers School of the CP, and as a follower of the Lovestonite Group of the Party in 1926-1928. Wolfe declined to testify concerning Emmeruch Lustig.

This information appeared in a report dated 4/5/50.

100-7166-38 [redacted]  
(40)✓

Bertram Wolfe was given as a reference by Charles Malamuth (subject of 123-7827). Wolfe advised that he met Malamuth about 1941, and the following year the families visited. About 1950 Wolfe asked Malamuth to apply for a job with the Voice of America, inasmuch as he was a good translator. He recommended Malamuth as to loyalty and character.

This information appeared in a report dated 3/3/51.

123-7827-39  
(4,47)✓

In 1951 Bertram D. Wolfe, Chief of the Ideological Talks Unit, International Broadcasting Division State Department, 150 West 57th St., NY, NY, informed that he first met Joseph Gordon in 1924 or 1928 in Moscow, Russia, when both were representatives of their countries at a conference. At that time Wolfe represented the CP of the US and Gordon represented the CP of Czechoslovakia.

65-58681-54 p.25  
(19)✓  
SI 123-7048-14  
(31)✓

In 1952 [redacted] (protect identity) advised that in his opinion the policy direction of Edwin Martin John Kretzmann, of Voice of America (VOA) (subject of 65-62257) was influenced by Bertram Wolfe, also of VOA. Informant felt Wolfe believed that Leninism or Trotskyism was preferable to Stalinism and that he endeavored to convince the Russian people that a return to pre-Stalin government would be beneficial to them.

Mr. Alfred Puhon, Program Manager, VOA, advised that he believed Bertram Wolfe would sometimes submit ideas which were not anti-communist, and he recalled that on Lenin's anniversary some material submitted by Wolfe praised Lenin.

Additional information.

65-62257-4 p.28  
(38)

Bertram D. Wolfe was listed as a reference by Richard Strunsky (subject of 123-12595). Wolfe recommended Strunsky without reservation for a position of trust and confidence with the US government.

The above information appeared in a report dated 1/11/52.

Additional information.

123-12595-21 p.19,20  
(31,47)✓

On 2/23/52 Jay Lovestone (subject of 61-1292) stated that he had spoken with Bert Wolfe, who was interested in obtaining an unidentified report.

In a conversation between Arnold Beitsman, believed to be a union official, and Lovestone, it was mentioned that Bert Wolfe was connected with the American Committee for Cultural Freedom.

(NY-600-S\*)  
61-1292-320 p.11,24  
(77,86)✓

In the book "Witness" by Whittaker Chambers (subject of 74-1333), the author stated that staff members of the "DW" signed a petition asking that the editor, J. Louis Engdahl, be removed. Speaking through its national Chief of Propaganda and Agitation, Bertram D. Wolfe, the Party sternly informed the insurgents that the petition was not permissible and that Engdahl must remain as editor.

The above book was enclosed with a letter dated 4/25/52.

74-1333-5274 p.233  
(19)✓  
SI 74-1333-4785, Part 4 p.65  
(19)✓

b3

100-7964-82  
(40) ✓

In an interview at the American Embassy, Belgrade, on 5/19/55, Edwin Martin John Kretzmann (subject of 65-62257) advised that while he was policy advisor in the Voice of America, 1950-1953, he knew Bertram Wolfe, Chief of the Ideological Unit. A Mr. Kohler and a Mr. Puhan requested that Wolfe be added to the staff as an expert on communism as they felt he was a dedicated anti-communist. Kretzmann worked closely with Wolfe, felt that there could not have been a better man for the job, and he thought Wolfe wrote very effective anti-communist propaganda.

65-62257-15  
(38) ✓

b3

The "Workers Age" of 5/1/34 contained an article written by Bertram D. Wolfe, entitled "Communist Movement and Its Defense in Answer to Earl Browder." The article stated that one of the aims of the CP of the Opposition was to re-unite the CP and the Communist International.

Robert M. advised that in May, 1938 he visited the offices of the "Workers Age" in NYC and observed pictures of Marx, Stalin, Lenin, Trotsky and Bertram Wolfe in prominence there.

Bertram D. Wolfe, named as a reference by Milton Sandor Mautner (subject of 121-40676), advised that he had known Mautner since about 1935, when he worked for the "Workers Age," which was printed by the Independent Labor League, successor to the CP of the Opposition. Wolfe advised that he was active in these organizations, which were anti-communist.

This information appeared in a report dated 1/2/53.

Additional information.

121-40676-9

(46)✓

SI to paragraph 1 above;

140-13263-12

(32)✓

On 1/27/53 Joseph Zack Kornfeder, former member of the CP, advised that Bert Wolf was the official representative on the Anglo-American Secretariat of the Communist International from the end of 1928 to the end of 1929. He added that he "positively resented" the fact that Bert Wolf was employed by the US government.

61-10149-2750

(86)✓

Mr. Joseph Walsh, Regional Security Officer, US Information Agency, 250 West 57th St., NYC, advised on 3/22/54 that material appearing in the "Life" magazine articles of Alexander Orlov (subject of 105-22869) of April, 1953 were used by the US Information Agency in broadcasts. Later a script prepared by Bertram D. Wolfe, based upon the "Life" magazine articles, entitled "A Chief of the NKVD Confesses," was broadcast in nine languages.

105-22869-186 p.27

(30)✓

On 4/3/53 Dr. John T. Cocutz furnished information regarding the loyalty of members of Voice of America personnel, including Bertram Wolfe. Cocutz believed that the persons mentioned, judging from their writings and comments, were sympathetic toward Marxism. These ideas were probably fostered through the influence of Wolfe as Chief of the Ideological Advisory Staff.

123-10756-22  
(31,47)

Mrs. Alice Widener made available a copy of a letter dated 5/3/53 which she forwarded to a Mr. Hawkins, who represented the Senate Investigating Sub-Committee in Washington, D.C., concerning her observations while employed at the Voice of America. In relating her impressions, Mrs. Widener stated that it was her professional opinion that the Features Unit, in which she worked, was staffed with a queer assortment of people. She stated that Bertram Wolfe, the special Ideological Adviser, had written both communist and anti-communist books.

121-43847-22  
(46)

Liston Oak, Labor News Editor, International Broadcasting Division, (Voice of America), advised on 12/2/53 that prior to 1929 Bertram D. Wolfe was Educational Director for the CP in NY State, that he defeated in 1929, and since 1929 was known as anti-communist.

According to an article in the "Brooklyn Eagle," 5/30/48, Bertram D. Wolfe was one of the founders of the American CP. Wolfe had free access to the Kremlin and came to know personally most of the top Soviet leaders.

ONI advised that in 1929 Wolfe was Educational Director of the CP.

On 12-2, 53, Wolfe was interviewed at 1775 Broadway NYC and was unable to identify a picture of John Cushing Varney (subject of 105-17233). Wolfe reminded that he had several connections with the CP in 1929.

105-17233-31  
(30)

On 12/6/53, [redacted] made available information from a conversation between Jay Lovestone (subject of 61-1292) and Arnold (Beichman) concerning one Bert, believed to be Bertram Wolfe, a contact of Lovestone. Lovestone informed Arnold concerning the development in "Bert's Case." He referred to a memo wherein charges were filed against Bert that he withheld information from the government about his membership in the CPO in filing his application. It was noted that CPO possibly referred to the CP Opposition, which was believed to be the original name of the group organized by Lovestone after he was expelled from the CP.

61-1292-578  
(34,63)

The "NY World Telegram and Sun" of 2/12/54 contained an article entitled "'Voice' Official Quits After McCarthy Quiz." The article reflected that Bertram D. Wolfe had resigned as chief of the Ideological Advisory staff. The article stated that Wolfe's name came up when Senator McCarthy asked one of Mr. Wolfe's superiors during the investigation if he knew that Wolfe was a communist in 1929. Wolfe's superior, Edmund Kretzman, replied that Wolfe had been staunchly anti-communist since 1929 and was one of the most effective people the Voice of America had.

140-0-2347  
(4,31)



[redacted] (protect identity), advised that he never knew Joaquin Maurin personally but did know of him. He stated that Bertrand Wolfe knew Maurin well.

b7D

[redacted] advised on 10/14/53 that Maurin at the time of his departure from Spain in 1947 was reported to have indicated his intention of joining a Socialist Party, denying his Trotskyite opinions.

This information appeared in a reference dated 3/19/54.

65-58681-49 [redacted]  
(53)✓

In reference to a suggestion in a WFO letter of 4/5/54 that Bertrand Wolfe be interviewed regarding Frank Jellinek, (subject of 65-28762) NY letter of 4/26/54 advised that Wolfe was not being interviewed. It was noted that Wolfe was expelled from the CP in 1929 and would not likely be aware of the present CP activities of Jellinek.

65-28762-37  
(37)✓

[redacted] who made available the issues of "New Leader" magazine of 10/11/54 and 11/29/54, stated that this was a non-official publication of a Socialist group in the US.

b7D

The issue of 10/11/54 of "New Leader" contained an article by Bertram D. Wolfe entitled "The Strange Case of Diego Rivera." The article set out the fact that Wolfe had been a member of the CP of Mexico with Rivera, who had left the Party and come back in on two occasions. The article discussed the psychological reasons for Rivera's attachment to the CP.

77-25210-28  
(20)✓

The "NY Herald Tribune" of 11/16/54 carried an article entitled "Red Fighters Elect." The article stated that The American Committee for Cultural Freedom, an organization dedicated to active opposition of communism and all other forms of totalitarianism, announced the election of five officers to its executive committee. One of the new officers was Bertram D. Wolfe.

100-115040-A "NY Herald Tribune"  
11/16/54  
(26) ✓

On 4/15/55 Bertram Wolfe advised that the name of Chi Chao-Ting was furnished to him in his capacity as director of agitation and propaganda of the CP. Wolfe recalled making a two-week speaking tour with Chi which took them through the Midwest addressing rallies which had been arranged by local WP organizations built around the theme "Hands Off China." According to Wolfe, in 1929 he travelled to Moscow and by chance met Chi on the street and they had lunch together.

Wolfe stated that while he was generally acquainted with the career and writings of Owen Lattimore (subject of 100-24628), he had no first hand knowledge of his activities or sympathies.

100-24628-6594  
(42) ✓

On 10/24/55 [redacted] (protect identity) was interviewed. He stated that the International Publishers Company, Inc. (IPC) was originally financed by A. A. Heller (subject of 100-12584). Informant related that Heller, in the confidence of certain Russian leaders, was granted a business permit in Russia from which he derived a substantial profit, which he used to finance IPC. Informant stated that he did not believe Heller ever influenced the operation of IPC from an editorial viewpoint. b7D

100-12584-97  
(41) ✓  
SI 100-135569-79 [redacted]  
(26) ✓

On 1/16/56, [redacted]  
(protect identity) advised that Philip E. Mosely (subject of 105-31418)  
had been extremely cordial to Bertram D. Wolfe over the years. Mosely  
invited Wolfe to participate in the Council on Foreign Relations.

105-31418-17 enc [redacted]  
(30) ✓

b7D

The following information was received on 12/5/56 from [redacted] b7D

[redacted]  
"Jay and I went to dine with Elly Brochowitz 27 October, 1956.  
Bert and Ella Wolfe were there. I asked Elly (when she happened to  
speak of being in a concentration camp in France) if she knew a certain  
Mrs. Gova. What she told me adds and confirms my suspicion that she  
is a French agent."

A pencilled notation stated that this information was  
furnished to informant by Louise Page Morris.

Dr. Sabina Gova is subject of file 65-32711.

65-32711-17  
(65) ✓

On 11/19/56 Jay Lovestone advised in regard to the International Publishers, Inc. (subject of 100-135569) and Labor Research Association, Inc. that, during his period in the CP, both organizations were directly subject to the Party's Agitprop Department, headed by Bertram D. Wolfe. Lovestone suggested that Wolfe be contacted for information relative to these organizations.

100-135569-113  
(26,43)✓

On 12/5/56 Departmental Attorney of the Internal Security Division, Department of Justice, interviewed Bertram D. Wolfe concerning the Labor Research Association, Incorporated (subject of 100-35102). Wolfe stated that while he was chairman of the Agitation-Propaganda Department of the CP during 1927-1929, he was assisted by Benjamin Davidson, who he thought would be willing to furnish information regarding Labor Research Association. He also suggested a contact with David Saposs for information regarding this organization.

100-35102-135  
(25)✓

On 5/22/57 Bertram Wolfe was interviewed. He advised that he was an author, researcher, and former member of the CP (opposition) which became the Independent Communist Labor League, then the Independent Labor League (Lovestonites). He stated he was a former member of the Executive Committee of the Comintern in 1928 and 1929 and also served in Moscow. He was also editor of "The Communist." From 1919 to 1922 he was a member of the CP in various capacities.

Wolfe advised that "Novy Mir" was the official organ of the Russian Federation of the American CP. Wolfe sat as a member of the Board of the Russian Federation although unable to speak or understand Russian. As an official of the Party, Wolfe knew "Novy Mir" to be the official Russian language organ of the CP. As the Agitprop Director of the CP, Wolfe furnished articles to the magazine.

Additional information.

100-39588-87 p.2,7,8,9  
(42)✓

The following reference is a Tesur Log and therefore is not being abstracted:

<u>Reference #</u>	<u>Search Slip page #</u>
65-30092-1707	84 ✓

The following references in the file captioned CP, USA, pertain to the activities of Bertram D. Wolfe, former member of the Central Executive Committee of the CP, during his membership and as a speaker and writer after his expulsion from the CP in 1929:

<u>Reference #</u>	<u>Search Slip page #</u>
100-3-2086	(20) ✓
100-3-4-21	(20) ✓
100-3-14-2676	(39) ✓
100-3-20-366	(21) ✓
100-3-20-374	(39) ✓
100-3-20-375	(21, 39) ✓
100-3-20-379	(39) ✓
100-3-20-901 enc p.662	(39) ✓
100-3-21-161	(39) ✓
100-3-21-168	(21) ✓
100-3-23-487	(39) ✓
100-3-23-488	(39) ✓
100-3-23-490	(40) ✓
100-3-14-170X12 p.87	(21) ✓
100-3-4-1594 enc p.3, 137, 144, 187, 195, 201, 219, 259, 282, 296, 309, 322, 378, 379, 396, 424, 441, 508, 629, 641, 642, 836, 920, 961, 991, 1076, 1091, 1103, 1104, 1249, 1272, 1275, 1532, 1543, 1544, 1596, 1603, 1629, 1630, 1643, 1669, 1745, 1747, 1748, 1750, 1754, 1759, 1760, 1761, 1771, 1912, 2063, 2698, 3004	(20, 59, 66) ✓

The following references in the file captioned CP, USA, pertain to the CP activities of Bertram D. Wolfe in the categories set out below:

<u>Reference #</u>	<u>Search Slip page #</u>
<u>Brief</u>	
100-3-74-119	(21) ✓
100-3-74-890	(6) ✓
100-3-74-912	(40) ✓
100-3-74-814	(21) ✓
100-3-74-1269 enc p.8 Appendix A, enc. p.83; Index Pt. I, Part II	(22,40) ✓
100-3-74-914	(40) ✓
100-3-74-920	(4) ✓
100-3-74-931	(21) ✓
100-3-74-1117	(21) ✓
100-3-74-1121	(21) ✓
100-3-74-1194 p.9	(66) ✓
100-3-74-1195 enc p.43,55	(22) ✓
100-3-74-1397	(80,87) ✓
100-3-74-2961	(87) ✓
100-3-74-5191 p.25	(40) ✓

The following references pertain to individuals listed in column 1 below who recommended that Bertram Wolfe be interviewed concerning the activities of various individuals who were subjects of file references set out below:

<u>Individual</u>	<u>File #</u>	<u>Search Slip page #</u>	<u>Subject of file reference</u>
Paul Crouch	100-233970-98X	(27) ✓	Rudolph Shohan
Joseph Zack Kornfeder	100-41393-173	(42) ✓	Gertrude Johanna Haessler
Harry M. Wicks	106-3202-34	(81) ✓	Philip Aronberg
Ben Mandel	100-363963-93	(30) ✓	Milton Berg
Nathaniel Weyl	65-28762-35	(37) ✓	Frank Jellinek

*Additional information.*

The following references pertain to HCUA hearings on Un-American propaganda activities during which witnesses submitted exhibits which contained information concerning Bertram D. Wolfe.

<u>Reference</u>	<u>Search Slip page #</u>	<u>Witness</u>	<u>Date</u>
Dies Committee Report Vol. #1, p.603,630,631	(8) ✓	Walter S. Steele	8/16/38
Dies Committee Report Vol. #4, p.2613	(8) ✓	Sam Baron	11/23/38
Dies Committee Report Vol. #11, p.6865,6867, 6873,6874,6880,7127, 7129,7142,7143,7145	(8) ✓	Dr. Henry R. Linville; Jay Lovestone	11/2/39 12/2/39
Dies Committee Report Appendix #1, p.460,463, 464,891,893	(7) ✓	Jay Lovestone The "Communist" of September, 1929	12/2/39
Dies Committee Report Vol. #7, p.4745	(8) ✓	Benjamin Gitlow	9/9/39
Fish Committee Report Vol. #2, Pt. 1, p.18,19,23	(8) ✓	Walter S. Steele	6/18/30
62-23170-146, p.16	(18) ✓	Walter J. Peterson	10/6/30

The following references pertain to the Third National Convention of the CP of America which was held August 17-August 21, 1922, at Bridgman, Michigan. Bertram Wolfe, as Al Allbright, alias Shays, attended.

<u>Reference Number</u>	<u>Search Slip page #</u>
61-443-342	(103) ✓
338 p.4	(95,103) ✓
375 p.6	(103) ✓
508	(104) ✓
642 p.2,3	(104) ✓
726	(93) ✓
828	(93) ✓
921	(95) ✓
368	(103) ✓
409	(103) ✓
61-817-467	(104) ✓
61-228-104 p.2	(103) ✓

The following references pertain to correspondence between Marceau Pivert, a French Socialist in Mexico, and Bertram D. Wolfe:

<u>Serial #</u>	<u>Search Slip page #</u>
61-8404-23	(63) ✓
28	(63) ✓
29	(63) ✓
34	(36) ✓
77	(63) ✓
89	(64) ✓
90	(64) ✓
96	(64) ✓
97	(16,64) ✓



61-8404-100

(64) ✓

61-8404-101

(16) ✓

61-8404-105

(64) ✓

61-8404-110

(64) ✓

61-8404-111

(64) ✓

61-8404-116

(64) ✓

61-8404-151

(16, 64) ✓

61-8404-184

(64) ✓

61-8404-187

(65) ✓

61-8404-189

(36, 65) ✓

61-8404-216

(65) ✓

100-203581-2394

(67) ✓

100-178944-3

(67) ✓

100-223723-1

(67) ✓

62-62736-2-17602

(87) ✓

61-1335-289

(86) ✓

The following references pertain to the activities of Bertram D. Wolfe in connection with the Keep America Out of War Committee or Congress. He was a member of the Governing Committee.

Reference #

Search Slip page #

61-7559-2442

(48) ✓

61-7559-7597X2

(13) ✓

61-7559-6703

(12) ✓

61-7559-11173 p.4,6

(13, 36) ✓

61-7558-148X6

(35) ✓

61-10123-18

(36) ✓

61-7608-5

(16) ✓

61-10689-29	(17) ✓
61-10689-13 p.4,6	(17,36) ✓
61-10689-30	(37) ✓
61-10689-2X	(17) ✓
61-10689-5	(17) ✓
61-10689-5X	(17) ✓
61-7559-4773X5	(12) ✓
100-118061-2	(26) ✓
100-23462-8	(57) ✓

The following references in the file captioned Jay Lovestone, file # 61-1292, refer to the association of Bertram Wolfe with Lovestone while both were within the CP and after their expulsion from the Party.

<u>Serial #</u>	<u>Search Slip page #</u>
51	(34) ✓
70	(10) ✓
238	(3,10,34,63) ✓
295 enc p.23	(34) ✓
339 enc. p.20,25,12	(10,60) ✓
628	(34) ✓
992 p.13,14,25	(34) ✓
850	(34) ✓
807	(34) ✓
401, enc. p. 21,24,105,106	(2,60) ✓

The following references in the file captioned CP, USA, Registration Act, file number 61-7590, pertain to the activities of Bertram D. Wolfe, formerly a member of the Central Executive Committee of the CP, who was expelled from the Party in 1929.

<u>Serial #</u>	<u>Search Slip page #</u>
39 p.43	(15) ✓
95	(15) ✓
128	(15) ✓
171	(15) ✓
173X	(15) ✓
201	(15) ✓
276	(3, 16) ✓
561	(16) ✓
523	(16) ✓

The following references pertain to articles and pamphlets written by Bertram D. Wolfe. Publication <sup>and date</sup> set out when given.

<u>Title of Article</u>	<u>Publication</u>	<u>Reference #</u>	<u>Search Slip page #</u>
Introduction to "The Russian Revolution" by Rosa Luxemburg		61-7559-2-2032	(13) ✓
"Marx on the Truman Doctrine"	"The New Leader" 3/19/51	61-7559-2-7145	(80) ✓
"Economics of Present Day Capitalism"		61-7559-2-4136	(14) ✓
"Marxian Economics"		61-7559-2-4135	(14) ✓

Introduction to "The Truth About the Barcelona Events" by Lamba	61-7559-1578	(11) ✓
"Keep America Out of War," "A Program"	61-7559-5672	(12) ✓
"What is the Communist Opposition?"	61-7559-11533 p.4,5	(13) ✓
"Class Struggle or Commodity Struggle"	"The Communist" Sept., 1921 or its predecessor "The Workers Monthly"	61-7559-3508 (12, 101) ✓
"Problems of Party Training"	June, 1926	<del>(12, 101)</del>
"Whose Revolution Is It?"	July, 1926	<del>(12, 101)</del>
"A Program for the Period of Prosperity"	July-August, 1927	
A Review "The Economics of the coupon clipper"	July-August, 1927	
"Eastman Revises Marx and Corrects Lenin"	November, 1927	
"Atheism and Evolution"	March, 1928	
"Pacifism and War"	May, 1928	
"The Right Danger in the Comintern"	December, 1928	
"Selling the Russians Short"	61-7242-A "New Leader" 3/26/49	(11) ✓

Introduction to "The Truth About the Barcelona Events," by Lambda		61-7561-2-50	(14) ✓
"Civil War in Spain"		61-7561-2-255	(14) ✓
"Revolution in Latin America"		61-7562-2-851	(14) ✓
"Class Struggle or Commodity Struggle"	"The Communist" Sept., 1921	61-34-29 p.11	(101) ✓
Review of "Russia is No Riddle" by Edmund Stevens	"NY Times" 4/22/45	61-8297-36 p.13	(16) ✓
"Marx on the Truman Doctrine"		64-211-A "New Leader" 3/19/51	(18) ✓
Review of book "Talk About Russia" by Pearl S. Buck	"The New Leader" 2/9/46	64-200-232-143	(18) ✓
"Workers Rallying Against Fascisti Revolt in Mexico"		62-23170-149 p.484	(18) ✓
"How the Communists Black Out the Facts"		61-5124-A "The New Leader" 11/30/53	(10) ✓
"Marx on the Truman Doctrine"	"The New Leader" 3/19/51	100-3-99-1801	(22) ✓
Translation and introduction to "The Russian Revolution" by Rosa Luxemburg		100-13758-64 Changed to 100-3-4-64	(23) ✓
Co-author of "Lenin, the American Working- class and Its Party"	"The Workers Monthly" Feb., 1926	100-20187-59	(24) ✓
Works-unnamed	Workers Library Publishers (subject of 100-24621)	100-24621-12	(24) ✓
(Title not given- historical appraisal of Bolshevism)		100-383236-7 vol. 3, encl p.5	(46) ✓
"Six Keys to the Soviet System"		Bureau Library	(2) ✓

"Keep America  
Out of War"

Bureau Library

(8) ✓

Co-author "The  
Marxists' Reply  
to Carey"

"The Nation"  
3/9/40

100-17826-657

(24) ✓

The following references pertain to lectures given by  
Bertram D. Wolfe which were sponsored by the organizations listed:

<u>Organization</u>	<u>Reference #</u>	<u>Search Slip page #</u>
Forum Policy Association Forum, Syracuse, NY	100-7888-135 p.28	(57) ✓
American Friends Service Committee, Seattle, Wash.	100-8231-20	(23) ✓
American Friends Service Committee, Seattle, Wash.	100-12868-24	(23) ✓
(Organization not given)	100-12049-20	(78) ✓
Fellowship of Reconciliation, Phila., Pa.	100-7660-1989	(81) ✓
American Friends Service Committee, Seattle, Wash.	100-18619-22	(41) ✓
Northwest Institute of International Relations, Portland, Oregon	100-998-40	(23) ✓
Jewish Community Center, San Francisco, Calif.	100-17139-93	(41) ✓
Institute of International Relations, Seattle, Wash.	100-15375-22	(23, 41) ✓
Institute of International Relations, Seattle, Wash.	100-20351-49	(24) ✓
Institute of International Relations, Seattle, Wash.	100-33049-50-13	(25) ✓
American Friends Service Committee, Seattle, Wash.	100-67226-28	(42) ✓
American Friends Service Committee, Seattle, Wash.	100-66887-12	(25) ✓

<i>Institute of International Relations, Seattle, Wash.</i>	100-70409-19	(42) ✓
<i>Institute of International Relations, Seattle, Wash.</i>	100-132686-8	(43) ✓
<i>A peace group, not further identified</i>	100-121145-51	(43) ✓
<i>American Friends Service Committee, Seattle, Wash.</i>	100-120818-1694	(43) ✓
<i>American Friends Service Committee, Seattle, Wash.</i>	100-113159-32	(55) ✓
<i>Jewish Community Center, NY</i>	100-146964-416	(78) ✓
<i>American Friends Society, Seattle, Wash.</i>	100-195217-6	(27) ✓
<i>American Friends Service Committee, Seattle, Wash.</i>	100-170969-8	(26) ✓
<i>(Organization not given) San Francisco, Calif.</i>	100-214312-45	(79) ✓
<i>(Organization not given) Seattle, Wash.</i>	100-206155-7	(44) ✓
<i>(Organization not given) San Francisco, Calif.</i>	100-203581-3702 p.35,440	(44) ✓
<i>Mills College, Oakland, Calif.</i>	100-203581-2837	(79) ✓
<i>Mills College, Oakland, Calif.</i>	100-200162-4	(78) ✓
<i>American Friends Service Committee, Seattle, Wash.</i>	100-202425-16	(27) ✓
<i>Institute of International Relations, Seattle, Wash.</i>	100-202534-191	(44) ✓
<i>American Friends Committee, Seattle, Wash.</i>	100-254116-18	(45) ✓
<i>(Organization not given) Seattle, Wash.</i>	100-275197-2	(27) ✓
<i>Insitiute of International Relations, Seattle, Wash.</i>	100-264170-14	(45) ✓
<i>(Organization not given) Seattle, Wash.</i>	100-258735-7	(27) ✓

(Organization not given) San Francisco, Calif.	100-334143-1	(46) ✓
Jewish Community Center, San Francisco, Calif.	100-334143-6	(46) ✓
Jewish Community Center, San Francisco, Calif.	100-334143-15	(46) ✓
American Friends Service Committee, Seattle, Wash.	100-330822-2	(51) ✓
Institute of International Relations, Seattle, Wash.	100-308095-5	(45) ✓
Northwest Institute of Inter- national Relations, Seattle, Wash.	100-325114-1	(45) ✓
Society of Friends, Seattle, Wash.	100-347280-1	(29) ✓
Society of Friends, Seattle, Wash.	100-347172-1	(28) ✓
American Friends Service Committee, Seattle, Wash.	100-336002-9	(28) ✓
(At Roosevelt Junior High School), San Francisco, Calif.	100-360159-5	(29) ✓
American Friends Service Committee, Seattle, Wash.	100-357025-1	(29) ✓
American Friends Service Committee, Seattle, Wash.	100-421112-9	(50) ✓
American Friends Service Committee, Seattle, Wash.	124-6596-14	(47) ✓
American Friends Committee, Seattle, Wash.	101-6118-4	(54) ✓
American Friends Service Committee, Seattle, Wash.	100-168180-12	(44) ✓
American Friends Service Committee, Seattle, Wash.	100-168153-9	(44) ✓
(Organization not given) Meeting held at Plymouth Church, Seattle, Wash.	100-110609-20	(25) ✓



(Organization not given) Seattle, Wash. and San Francisco, Calif.	100-353453-1 enc p.416	(29) ✓
American Friends Service Committee, Seattle, Wash.	61-777-50-47	(33) ✓
Institute of International Relations, Seattle, Wash.	100-211943-12	(44) ✓
Institute of International Relations, Los Angeles, Calif. (Additional information)	61-4674-A "Peoples World" 7/1/44	(10) ✓
Anti-totalitarian Liberals, NY	100-356137-A "New Leader" 3/26/49	(29) ✓
Antioch Institute of International Relations, Yellow Springs, <u>Ohio</u>	100-0-A "Washington Post" 7/13/47	(39) ✓
Polish American Congress, NYC, NY	65-40955-162	(38) ✓
Independent Labor League of America, NY	61-7559-3653X11	(12) ✓
Howard University, Wash., D.C.	61-7525-3	(35) ✓
Mills College, Oakland, Calif.	65-51593-33, p.866	(78) ✓
Mills College, Oakland, Calif.	100-17139-89	(78) ✓
League for Industrial Democracy, NYC	61-524-87 enc p.15	(80) ✓

REFERENCES NOT INCLUDED IN THIS SUMMARY

The following reference was not available during the time this summary was being prepared:

<u>Reference #</u>	<u>Search Slip page #</u>
100-352546-152	(29) ✓

See the search slip filed behind file for other references on this subject which contain the same information (SI) that is set out in the main file. If the source or informant is different, it will be noted on the search slip.

1 - Mr. Smith

January 11, 1962

Mr. Edgar Downing  
Post Office Box 981  
Long Beach 1, California

Dear Mr. Downing:

Your letter dated January 7, 1962, has been received, and the interest which prompted your communicating with me is appreciated.

A regulation of the Department of Justice prohibits the disclosure of information in our files to other than appropriate agencies in the executive branch of the Federal Government. I am precluded, therefore, from furnishing the information you requested. You should not, however, infer that our files do or do not contain information concerning the matter you mentioned.

Inasmuch as your inquiry relates to appearances before the Committee on Un-American Activities, you may wish to communicate directly with the Chairman, Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington 25, D. C.

I am enclosing some material which may be of interest to you.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

JAN 11 3 59 PM '62  
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FBI

RECEIVED  
JAN 11 1962

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Evans \_\_\_\_\_
- Malone \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
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- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Ingram \_\_\_\_\_
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Enclosures (3)

WLS:pw (3)

SEE NOTE ON YELLOW, PAGE TWO

13 1962

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REC'D - CHIEF CLERK  
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*W-79*  
*J. Edgar Hoover*  
*1-11-62*

Mr. Edgar Downing

NOTE ON YELLOW:

Correspondent is apparently identical with Edgar Downing, 147 East Ocean Boulevard, Long Beach 2, California, who wrote to the Bureau on November 12, 1958, and furnished information he considered to be of interest. His letter was acknowledged and he was thanked for forwarding this information.

Correspondent requested to be advised when Berthram D. Wolfe came forward and gave "Un-American Activities Committee" information as to his communist activities and named communists.

Bertram David Wolfe, born January 19, 1896, was allegedly the founder of the Workers Party which later became the Communist Party, USA. He was expelled from the Communist Party along with Jay Lovestone in 1929. He was described in 1950 by Benjamin Gitlow as a pro-Russian Marxist-Leninist; however, Mr. Lovestone and Louis Budenz advised they regarded Wolfe as a sincere anticommunist since his break with the Communist Party. Wolfe served in the Voice of America Program from approximately 1950 until February, 1954. Bureau Agents interviewed Wolfe on several occasions between 1947 and 1957 at which times he cooperated in various degrees. He also served

until sometime in 1955. There are numerous references listed to his name in the House Committee on Un-American Activities accumulated indexes; therefore, it is believed correspondent should be referred to that Committee. Wolfe has written several books and articles and has made numerous speeches against communism. (61-6052, 123-5771)

The following material was sent to the correspondent:

1. "The Communist Party Line."
2. "The Faith to be Free."
3. Director's Statement Dated April 17, 1961, Regarding Internal Security.

TRUE COPY

Jan. 7th, 1962

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
U. S. Dept of Justice Bldg.  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover

Mr. Berthram D. Wolfe, (author of = "Three Who Made a Revolution") gave a speech at the "Cold War Seminar" at Ft. McNair, Washington D. C. in July, 1959.

Mr. Berthram D. Wolfe was an American delegate of Communist Party for two years and attended the Lenin School in Moscow.

Would like to know when Berthram D. Wolfe came forward and gave the Un-American Activities Committee information as to his Communist activities and named persons who were in the Communist Party. What government book can furnish me this information?

Would appreciate hearing from you soon.

Thank you very much. I remain

Yours truly

/s/ Edgar Downing  
P. O. Box 981  
Long Beach 1  
California

REC-112  
50

61-6050-30

8 JAN 12 1962

REC-8

EX 104

(Critical from [unclear])  
CORRESPONDENCE

TRUE COPY

Jan. 7<sup>th</sup>, 1962

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
U.S. Dept of Justice Bldg.  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover

Mr. Berthram D. Wolfe, (author of "Three Who Made a Revolution") gave a speech at the "Cold War Seminar" at Ft. Mc. Nair, Washington D.C. in July, 1959.

Mr. Berthram D. Wolfe was an American delegate of Communist party for two years and attended the Lenin School in Moscow.

Would like to know when Berthram D. Wolfe came forward and gave the U.S. - American Activities Committee information as to his Communist activities and named persons who were in the Communist Party. What government book can

RESPONSE

PKK  
Werner  
1-11-62  
WLS/pk

furnish me this information?

would appreciate hearing  
from you soon.

Thank you very much. I  
remain

Yours truly

Edgar Downing

P.O. Box 981

Long Beach 1

California

<u>Localities</u>	<u>Pages</u>
<i>NY</i>	4
<i>Mexico</i>	5
<i>Calif.</i>	6
<i>Russia</i>	28
<i>Spain</i>	15
<i>D.C.</i>	18
<i>Michigan</i>	40
<i>Washington</i>	48
<i>Ohio</i>	49



BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE

61-6050

11-3

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (62-46855)  
(ATT: RESEARCH SATELLITE SECTION)

DATE: 8/26/65

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-87235)

SUBJECT: "STRANGE COMMUNISTS I HAVE KNOWN"  
by BERTRAM D. WOLFE  
BOOK REVIEWS

ReBulet 3/15/65.

Submitted is one copy of captioned book.

*m/j F. Row  
3/7/65  
6221 DB*

*RC*

*Note: No Enclosure  
attached when  
it was received in  
New York office  
8/30/65*

**REC-15**

61-650-31

25 AUG 27 1965

- 2 - Bureau (RM) (Enc-1)
  - 1 - New York (41)
- EKD:IM  
(3)

*1 ENCLOSURE in library  
Bureau  
9/17/65 mfp*

*By [Signature]  
6-29-65*  
**RESEARCH SATELLITE**



110

1 SEP 17 1965

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

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C

Wide World of Books

# Their Banners Were Faith and Vision, But Revolution Failed Intellectuals

The book is titled *Strange Communists I Have Known* (Stein & Day; 222 pages; \$6), and author Bertram D. Wolfe contradicts the title in the introduction. Historian Wolfe concedes that 5 of the subjects of his 10 studies are known to him only by research.

No matter. Mr. Wolfe set out to present portraits of 10 intellectuals who were drawn to communism by its twin visions of equality and service to mankind, and has done so with keen insight and great sympathy. It isn't surprising. This book is essentially about people — most of them minor actors in the drama of the Russian Revolution and its subplots in other countries—who endowed the Bolshevik cause with the substance of their own dreams. And Bertram Wolfe, in his youth, was one of them. The stories of their faith and, in most cases, their disillusionment are the stories of his as well. And they are fascinating stories.



Mr. Wolfe

Particularly illuminating are the Wolfean portraits of:

John Reed, the sensitive Greenwich Village intellectual from Harvard, whose search for meaning drew him to Russia as a correspondent during the 1917 revolution. Adventurous, romantic, perpetually immature, Reed offered the most brilliant eyewitness reporting the revolution produced, in Mr. Wolfe's view, but his belief in the holiness of the conflict closed his eyes to the atrocities committed in its name. John Reed ultimately died in Moscow of typhus, having "understood less and misunderstood more" than most.

Rosa Luxemburg, the frail, deformed idealist, who insisted to Lenin that "freedom only for supporters of the government is no freedom at all." The leading theoretician in European communism during World War I, she was murdered by reactionary Prussian officers before she saw the flame of her faith in freedom extinguished by the Bolsheviks.

Inessa Armand, the charming and refined aristocrat who renounced family and fortune at the age of 30 to devote her life to the revolution. As a confidante of Lenin she was privy to many Kremlin secrets, and represented the Soviet leader at several international conferences. Turning detective, Mr. Wolfe produces extracts from correspondence between Lenin and Inessa in an attempt to prove that she was not only Lenin's adviser but also his mistress.

As a biographical historian, Brooklyn-born Mr. Wolfe has few peers. His 1948 study, *Three Who Made a Revolution*, captured the flavor of revolutionary Russia, and offered vivid profiles of Lenin, Stalin, and Trotsky as they plotted their road to Communist victory. And in *Strange Communists* Mr. Wolfe again demonstrates he's a keen observer of human psychology.

To be sure, there are flaws in the book, apparently the result of hasty preparation: On page 91, for instance, Mr. Wolfe records Lenin as opposed to World War I, and on page 124 as welcoming the conflict. But Mr. Wolfe nonetheless is a consummate storyteller, particularly when the stories he's telling are of those who shared with him for a time the giddiness of youthful idealism fulfilled. One feels a sense of pathos when he recounts the experiences of Angelica Balabanoff, who, in a way, typifies the old European Bolsheviks who are still alive. Now in her 80s, this onetime first secretary of Lenin's Communist International lives alone in Spartan surroundings in Italy. "She is too honest with herself," says Mr. Wolfe, "not to realize that her dream has failed to come true, that the lowly and humble to whom she has given her life" are now too proud and too prosperous to be concerned with Communist-style redemption.

—MARK R. ARNOLD

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
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- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Beatty

R. W. SMITH

- The Washington Post and Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_
- The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_
- The Evening Star \_\_\_\_\_
- New York Herald Tribune \_\_\_\_\_
- New York Journal-American \_\_\_\_\_
- New York Daily News \_\_\_\_\_
- New York Post \_\_\_\_\_
- The New York Times \_\_\_\_\_
- The Baltimore Sun \_\_\_\_\_
- The Worker \_\_\_\_\_
- The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_
- The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_
- The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_
- People's World \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

REC 25

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- 80 - William B. Wolf  
82 - William L. Wolf  
83 - Gustav Wolf  
84 - William Wolf  
85 - William L. Wolf  
86 - Bert Wolf  
89 - B. S. Wolf  
90 - David Wolf  
92 - A. Albright  
93 - Al Albright  
94 - Alfred Albright  
95 - One Albright  
97 - Albert Albright  
99 - Albert Lowell  
101 - Daniel Sharp  
103 - One Sharp  
105 - L. Vargas  
107 - Albert Grand

- 111 David Wolf  
114 Dave Wolfe  
115 David Wolfe  
117 Dave Wolfe  
118 David Wolff  
119 David Braun  
120 Hermann Bernhard Waldmann  
121 Hermann B. Waldmann  
123 Hermann Waldmann  
132 Hermann Rose Waldmann  
133 Hermann Waldmann  
134 H. Waldmann  
136 Bernhard Waldmann  
140 Hermann Waldmann  
141 Hermann Waldmann

Analytical Summary

Searched by



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Date: 4/29/59.

David Wolf

Total Ref	Subj A.	562
" "	Subj B.	150
		<u>712</u>

Subj A: Bertram David Wolfe

" " Wolf

61-6050

123-5791

aka  
TCH

Subj B: Herman Bernard Waldman

aka: David Wolf

" Wolfe

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100-389883

Subj A.

Analytical Summary

Searched by:

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Date: 4/29/59

Total Ref: 562

Bertram David Wolfe  
" " Wolf

MF 61-6050

MF 123-5791



WRITTEN UP BY:

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Searched by: [Redacted]

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DATE

5-6-59

NO. OF REFS.

20

date: 4/29/59

WOLFE, BERTRAM DAVID

MF 61-6050 (2 cards)

MF 123-5791

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A AUTHOR OF SIX KEYS TO THE SOVIET SYSTEM

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40-3923-139 p #47, up 585 (Photo)

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100-3-1838x ep<sup>#</sup> A-3 Photo

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A 64-22166-55

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65-6225-7-4 p 28 (1952) (38)

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ASI 138-2341-10 MF 61-6050-3 p 3

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5-6-59

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WIFE, BERTRAM DAVIS

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5-6-59

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date: 4/29/59

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MOIFE, BERTRAM D.

MF 61-6050

MF 123-5791

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DIES Com. Rpt. App. # p. 460, 463, 464,  
891, 893

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H DIES COM. Rpt. Vol. #1 p. 603, 630, 631

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H DIES COM. Rpt. Vol #4 p. 2613

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H DIES COM. Rpt. Vol #7 p. 4745

~~DESTROY~~

H DIES COM. Rpt. Vol #11 p. 6865, 6867,  
6873, 6874, 6880, 7127, 7129, 7142,  
7143, 7145

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A. Fish Comm. Vol. #2, Part 1 p. 18, 19, 23

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Author of "Keep America out of War"

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~~DESTROY~~ A SI

592 p. 780 MF 123-5791-36, p. 2

~~DESTROY~~ ASI 40-3798-548 MF 123-5791-22 p. 13

~~DESTROY~~ DI 40-41572-8

~~DESTROY~~ A 61-105-170

~~DESTROY~~ ASI 61-167-2542 MF 123-5791-55, p. 2 (DW) <sup>b7E</sup>





DESTROY ✓ A 61-1292-70

DESTROY ✓ H 238

DESTROY ✓ H 339 ep #12

339 ep #25

DESTROY ✓ A 401 ep #31, 24, 105, 106 (2 cards)

DESTROY ✓ A + SI 61-1335-392 61-1335-396X(10)

DESTROY ✓ A 396X

DESTROY ✓ H 61-4674 - A Peoples World 7/1/44

DESTROY ✓ A 61-5124 - A New Leader 11-30-53

~~DESTROY~~

✓ A SI 61-5381-1244(ND-91); 64-532-221-4(18)  
(my office file)

~~DESTROY~~

✓ A SI 61-6022-6 MF 61-6050-28

~~DESTROY~~

✓ A 61-6215-5

~~DESTROY~~

✓ A 61-7242-A New Leader 3-26-49

~~DESTROY~~

✓ A 61-7558-596 ep # 343

~~DESTROY~~

✓ A SI 61-7559-1425 MF 123-5191-22p10

~~DESTROY~~

✓ A 1472

~~DESTROY~~

✓ A 1578

~~DESTROY~~

A SI 61-7559-1629 MF 123-5791-22 p. 10

~~DESTROY~~

A

2317

~~DESTROY~~

A SI

2534 MF 61-6050-3, p. 2

~~DESTROY~~

A

2746 x 1

~~DESTROY~~

H

3368

~~DESTROY~~

A

3508

~~DESTROY~~

A

3653 x 11

~~DESTROY~~

A SI

4100 p. 8 MF 123-5791-22 p. 5

~~DESTROY~~

A

4773 x 5

~~DESTROY~~

H

5672

~~DESTROY~~

A

6703

~~DESTROY~~

A

61-7559-7597x2

~~DESTROY~~

A

10321x1

~~DESTROY~~

A

11173 p.6

~~DESTROY~~

A

11533 p.4

11533 p.5

*Do not destroy*  
A SI 61-7559-2-973 MF 123-5791-22 p.5

*Do not destroy*  
A SI 1581 MF 123-5791-22 p.5

*Do not destroy*  
A ST 1591 MF 123-5791-22 p.5

*Do not destroy*  
A 2032

*Do not destroy*  
A SI 2231 MF 123-5791-22 p.5

Do not destroy  
H SI 61-7559-2-4084 MF 123-5791-22 p.5

✓ A Do not destroy 4135.

✓ A Do not destroy 4136.

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ A 61-7560-1167x

✓ A Do not destroy  
61-7561-2-50.

✓ A Do not destroy  
255.

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ A 61-7562-190x

✓ A Do not destroy  
61-7562-2-851.

~~DESTROY~~

A 61-7567-98 p. 9

~~DESTROY~~

A 61-7582-1298 p-1039, 1628

~~DESTROY~~

A SI 61-7582-2-275 p #40  
MF 123-5191-16 p 2

~~DESTROY~~

A 61-7590-39 p. 43

~~DESTROY~~

95

~~DESTROY~~

128.

~~DESTROY~~

171

~~DESTROY~~

173x.

~~DESTROY~~

201

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ H 61-7590-276

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ A 523

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ A 561

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ H 61-7608-5

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ A 61-8297-36 p #13

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ H 61-8404-97

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ A 101

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ A 151

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ A 160

~~DESTROY~~

✓ A

61-9568-2 p.13

~~DESTROY~~

✓ A ST

61-10123-115 MF 123-5791-22, p.11

~~DESTROY~~

✓ A ST

61-10498-249

↳ 61-7559-10331 X1 (13)

~~DESTROY~~

✓ A

61-10498-A-WASH. EVENING STAR 6/2/4

~~DESTROY~~

✓ A

61-10689-2X

~~DESTROY~~

✓ A

5

~~DESTROY~~

✓ A

5X

~~DESTROY~~

✓ A

13 p.6

~~DESTROY~~

✓ A

29



~~DESTROY~~ ✓ H ST 62-23170-143 p. 308 MF 11-51-5-3, p. 4  
(DW 8-14-29)  
(Interview)

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ A 146 p. 16

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ A-ST 147 p. 393 } SIMF  
123-5791-30 p. 2  
22, p. 12  
147 p. 935, 936

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ A 149 p. 484

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ H ST 154 p. 159, 160  
MF 123-5791-22 p. 12

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ H 64-200 sub 232-143

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ A 64-211-A - New Leader 3/19/51

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ A 64-532 sub 221-4

DESTROY ✓ A SI 64-2701-1322 (Military Attaché, Tientsin) -  
64-332-221-4 (18) (Military Attaché)

DESTROY ✓ A 64-2704-749

DESTROY ✓ A 64-22166-60

DESTROY ✓ A 65-43302-3525

DESTROY ✓ A 65-58681-54 p #25

DESTROY ✓ A 66-2542-3-47-2832

DESTROY ✓ A-SI 74-1333-4785 Part 4 P# 65 <sup>cd. not in file</sup>  
74-1333-5274 ep. 255(14)

DESTROY ✓ A 5274 ep #233

~~DESTROY~~

A

77-25210-28

~~DESTROY~~

A

94-3-4-501-77X

~~DESTROY~~

A

100-3-2086

~~DESTROY~~

A

100-3-4-21

~~DESTROY~~

A

100-3-4-1594 ep #3, 137, 144, 187, 195,

201, 219, 259, 282, 296, 309,

322, 378, 379, 396, 424, 441,

508, 629, 641, 642, 836, 920,

961, 1076, 1091, 1103, 1104,

1249, 1272, 1275, 1582, 1543,

1544, 1596, 1603, 1629, 1630,

1643, 1669, 1745, 1747, 1748,

1750, 1754, 1759, 1760, 1771,

1912, 2063, 2698, 3004

DESTROY

✓ A

100-3-14-170X12 p. 87

DESTROY

✓ A

100-3-20-366

DESTROY

✓ A

375

DESTROY

✓ A

100-3-21-168

DESTROY

✓ A

100-3-74-119

DESTROY

✓ A

814

DESTROY

✓ A

931

DESTROY

✓ A

1117

DESTROY

✓ A

1121

~~DESTROY~~

A

100-3-74-1195 ep # 43, 55

~~DESTROY~~

A

1269 ep #8 Appendix A

~~DESTROY~~

A

100-3-99-1801

~~DESTROY~~

A

SI 100-16-35-847 p #11  
MF 123-5791-22, p. 5

~~DESTROY~~

A

100-63-245

~~DESTROY~~

A

SI 100-769-38 x 7 MF 123-5791-22, p. 10

~~DESTROY~~

A

48

~~DESTROY~~

A

SI

495/100-769-496 (1-1)

~~DESTROY~~

A

496

~~DESTROY~~

A

100-998-40

~~DESTROY~~

A

100-7826-29

~~DESTROY~~

A

100-8231-20

~~DESTROY~~

A

100-12868-24

~~DESTROY~~

A

~~100-13758-64~~ CT 100-3-4-64

~~DESTROY~~

A ST

100-15252-41 ep<sup>#</sup> 177, 178 (report on

9m-Ann. in-60th st - in (copy); MF 61-6050-3, p. 5; 11, F. 6;

(Opt. in-60th st; 7/14 June 8-15-29)

~~DESTROY~~

A

100-15375-22

~~DESTROY~~

A 100-17826-657

~~DESTROY~~

A 100-20187-59

~~DESTROY~~

A 100-20351-49

~~DESTROY~~

A 100-24621-12

~~DESTROY~~

A ST

18 MF 61-6750-7, p 3

~~DESTROY~~

A ST

32 x MF 61-6750-7, p 3

Cancelled for GI 6-29-59  
44 (D. J. H. W.)

~~DESTROY~~

A ST 100-28005-880 (Records of County Clerk's Office, NY), MF 123-5714-2 & p. 8 (Records of Newark Library, Inc., NY)

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ A 100-33049-50-13

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ A 100-35102-135

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ ASI 100-36676-7 (NR-91)  
64-532-221-4(18) (7/24 official files)

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ ASI 9 (P. for report N),  
64-532-221-4(18) (7/24 official files)

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ A 100-38784-192 (Per Consolidation 6-30-59)  
(Supp. 69)

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ A 100-66887-12

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ A 100-74289-5

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ ASI 100-75957-101 ep # 77  
MF 61-6050-11, p. 56

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ A 100-110609-20



~~DESTROY~~

H

100-115040-A-N.Y. HERALD TRIBUNE  
11-16-54

~~DESTROY~~

H

100-118061-2

~~DESTROY~~

H

28

~~DESTROY~~

A SI

100-135569-79 p. 4 / 100-12584-97(41)

~~DESTROY~~

A

113

~~DESTROY~~

H

100-155439-61

~~DESTROY~~

H

100-155500-1 SI to 100-74289-5 (25)

~~DESTROY~~

A

100-170969-8

~~DESTROY~~

H

100-195217-6

~~DESTROY~~

H

100-202425-16

~~DESTROY~~

H

100-233970-98x

~~DESTROY~~

H

119

~~DESTROY~~

H

100-258542-28

~~DESTROY~~

H

100-258735-7

b7E

~~DESTROY~~

H SE

100-268519-8



64-532-221-4(18)

~~DESTROY~~

H

100-275197-2

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ A SI 100-287275-30 p#8 MFCI-0002-28

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ A SI 100-290700-122 100-290700-127(28)

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ A 127

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ A 100-295935-74 p#50

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ A 100-330600-255

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ A 100-334454-21

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ A 100-336002-9

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ A 100-347172-1

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ H 100-347280-1

Project destroy  
100-352546-152 File not available  
for review

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ H 100-352628-22

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ H 100-353453-1 ep # 416

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ H 100-356137-A N.Y. Leader, 3/26/49

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ H 100-357025-1

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ H 100-360159-5

~~DESTROY~~

H

100-363963-93

~~DESTROY~~

A

100-377452-30 p. 8, 22

~~DESTROY~~

HSI

100-421606-1 ep # 8 (L. ext. sub. and

L. unit. sub. in committee report) MF 123-5719-22 p. 10 (L. ext. sub. in case)

~~DESTROY~~

H

101-4483-5

~~DESTROY~~

A

105-17233-31

~~DESTROY~~

A

105-22869-186 ep # 27

~~DESTROY~~

A

105-31418-17 ep # 18

~~DESTROY~~ HSI 121-15638-11 MF 123-5791-22 p 5, 12, 20, 21, 23  
65-62257-4 p 28 (1452)(38)

~~DESTROY~~ H ST 123-7048-14 65-58681-54 p 25 (19)

~~DESTROY~~ H 123-10756-22

~~DESTROY~~ H 123-12595-21 p # 19, 20

~~DESTROY~~ H ST 138-2341-10 MF 61-6056-3 p 3

~~DESTROY~~ A ST 140-0-982 MF 123-5791  
Copy from letter serial 52

~~DESTROY~~ A 140-0-2347



~~DESTROY~~

✓ ✓ 14 ST 140-13263-12 121-40676-9 (44)

WRITTEN UP BY:

[Redacted]

Q

DATE

5-6-59

NO. OF REFS.

114

Searched by

[Redacted] b6 b7C

date: 4/29/59

WIFE, BERTRAM

MF 61-6050

AIF 123-5791

~~DESTROY~~

↓ A 39-915-176

~~DESTROY~~

↓ A 61-777-50-47



~~DESTROY~~

✓ A

61-952 sub A - Daily Worker 11/22/44

~~DESTROY~~

✓ H

61-1292-51

~~DESTROY~~

✓ A

238

~~DESTROY~~

✓ A

295 ep #23

~~DESTROY~~

✓ A

578

~~DESTROY~~

✓ A

628

~~DESTROY~~

✓ A

807

~~DESTROY~~

✓ A

850

~~DESTROY~~

✓ A

992 p. 13, 14, 25

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ A SI 61-4674-3 MF 123-5791-12

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ A SI 61-5381-2316 MF 123-5791-3

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ A SI 61-6211-298 MF 123-5791-5

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ A SJ 300 MF 123-5711-5

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ A SI 306 p. 22 MF 123-5791-15

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ ✓ A 61-7525-3

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ ✓ A 61-7558-148x6

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ A SI 61-7559-2531 MF 61-6050-3

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ A 61-7559-11173 p. 4

do not destroy  
A SI 61-7559-2-6422 MF 125-5771-22 p. 5

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ A SI 61-7725-24 MF 123-5791-5 p. 3

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ A 61-8404-34

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ A 143

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ A 189

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ A 61-10123-18

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ A 61-10689-13 p. 4

DESTROY

A 61-10689-30

DESTROY

A SI 62-62736-1-537 (2 cards)  
64-22166-55(3, 57)

DESTROY

A SI 62-62736-2-18425 (2 cards)  
64-22166-55(3, 37)

DESTROY

A 64-22166-55

DESTROY

A 60

cancelled per consolidation, no record in file 7-22-59  
~~65-9940-179 ep #88~~  
Enclosure destroyed per memo 16  
1-28-55

DESTROY

A 65-28762-35

DESTROY

A 37

~~DESTROY~~

A

65-40955-102

~~DESTROY~~

H

65-61520-5 p#62

~~DESTROY~~

A

65-62257-4 p. 28

~~DESTROY~~

H

15

~~DESTROY~~

H

74-1333-1248

~~DESTROY~~

A

3220 ep #252

~~DESTROY~~

A-SI

3221 p#246  
74-1335-3220, p 252(38)

~~DESTROY~~

H

SI 94-1-17998-824X 11F/23-5791-22, p 13

DESTROY

✓✓  
A

100-0-A - THE WASHINGTON POST 7/13/47

DESTROY

✓✓  
A

100-3-14-2676-

DESTROY

✓✓  
A

100-3-20-374

DESTROY

✓✓  
A

375

DESTROY

✓✓  
A

379

DESTROY

✓✓  
A

901 ep #662

DESTROY

✓✓  
A

100-3-21-161

DESTROY

✓✓  
A

100-3-23-487

DESTROY

✓✓  
A

488

~~DESTROY~~ ✓✓ A 100-3-23-490

~~DESTROY~~ ✓✓ A 100-3-74-912

~~DESTROY~~ ✓✓ A 914

~~DESTROY~~ ✓✓ A 1269 ep #83; INDEX PART I;  
PART II

~~DESTROY~~ ✓✓ A 5191 p #25

~~DESTROY~~ ✓✓ A 100-16-51-70 (2 cards)

~~DESTROY~~ ✓✓ A 100-7166-38 p #23,24

~~DESTROY~~ ✓✓ A 100-7964-82

1.  
~~DESTROY~~ ✓ ASI 100-9139-28 MF 123-5791-12, p. 3, 15 p. 12

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ A 100-12584-97

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ ASI 100-12997-48 (SE-221); 100-16-51-70(4)

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ A 100-15375-22

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ A 100-17139-93

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ A 100-18619-22

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ ASI 100-18830-67 74-1333-3220 p. 25 (38)



~~DESTROY~~

A

100-24628-6594

~~DESTROY~~

A

100-26921-21

b6  
b7C

~~DESTROY~~

HST

100-35102-138



Enclosure Director of the Federal Party of NY State; MF 61-6050-24,  
(Under name WOLFE.)

~~DESTROY~~

A

100-39588-87 p #2, 3, 8, 9

~~DESTROY~~

A

100-41393-173

~~DESTROY~~

A

100-67226-28

~~DESTROY~~

A

100-70409-19

~~DESTROY~~

SI 100-75957-101 ep # 43 MF 61-1050-11 p.56

~~DESTROY~~

✓ A

107 ep # 3

~~DESTROY~~

✓ A

100-120818-1694

~~DESTROY~~

✓ A

100-121145-51

~~DESTROY~~

✓ A

100-132686-8

~~DESTROY~~

✓ A

100-135569-113

~~DESTROY~~

✓ A

100-146964-302 p # 26

~~DESTROY~~

✓ A

100-159214-1

DESTROY

H 100-168153-9

DESTROY

A 100-168180-12

DESTROY

H ST 100-184255-336 #6  
74-1333-3220 p252(38)

DESTROY

A 100-202534-191

DESTROY

A 100-203581-3702 pg. 35, 440

DESTROY

A 100-206155-7

DESTROY

A 100-211943-12

~~DESTROY~~

H 100-254116-18

~~DESTROY~~

AST 100-258542-52 / 100-258542-54(73)

~~DESTROY~~

AST

57/100-258542-84(79)

~~DESTROY~~

AST

64/100-258542-84(79)

~~DESTROY~~

A 100-264170-14

~~DESTROY~~

A 100-308095-5

~~DESTROY~~

H 100-325114-1

~~DESTROY~~

H 100-332851-7

~~DESTROY~~ ✓

A ✓

100-334143-1

~~DESTROY~~ ✓

A ✓

.6

~~DESTROY~~ ✓

A ✓

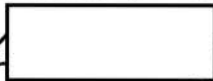
15

~~DESTROY~~ ✓

A ✓

ST

100-335069-1



100-7826-29(23)<sup>b7D</sup>

~~DESTROY~~ ✓

A ✓

100-383236-7 Vol. 3 ep. 5

~~DESTROY~~ ✓

A ✓

ST

121-15038-11 MF 123-5791-22, p. 5, 13; 20; 21; 23

65-42257-4, p. 28(1052)(38)

~~DESTROY~~ ✓

A ✓

121-40676-9

~~DESTROY~~ ✓

A ✓

121-43847-22

~~DESTROY~~

J  
A

123-6516-8

~~DESTROY~~

A

123-7827-39

~~DESTROY~~

A

123-10756-22

~~DESTROY~~

A

123-12595-21 p #20, 19

~~DESTROY~~

A SI

124-2163-10 MF 1-3-5791-22 p. 10

~~DESTROY~~

A

124-6596-14

~~DESTROY~~

A

SI

140-3490-3 MF 123-5791-26 p. 15, 25

WRITTEN UP BY:

[Redacted]

DATE

5-6-59

NO. OF REFS.

1

Search of  
date

[Redacted]

4/29/59

b6  
b7C

WIFE, BERTRAM B.

~~DESTROY~~

JA

61-7559-2442

WRITTEN UP BY:

[Redacted]

DATE

5-6-59

NO. OF REFS.

1

Searched by

[Redacted]

date: 4/29/59'

b6  
b7C

WIFE, BERTRAM C.

NI 123-7646-43 ep # 17, 145



Written up by:

[Redacted]

Date

5-6-59

No. of refs.

Searched by

[Redacted]

Date: 4/29/59

b6  
b7C

WIFE, BERTRAM

~~DESTROY~~

A

100-42112-9

b6  
b7C

Written Up by:

Searched by:   
date: 4/29/59

Date:  
5-6-59

No. of refs.

Molfe, Bertram et.

~~DESTROY~~

✓ A

100-330822-2

Written Up By:

[Redacted]

Searched by: [Redacted]  
date: 4/29/59

b6  
b7C

DATE

5-6-59

NO. OF REFS.

6

WOLFE, BERTRAND

61-5907 case. [unclear] 7-15-59  
(Case: [unclear] 61-600)

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ A 61-818-738

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ A 61-5945-1 MF 61-6050-1X

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ A 64-0-1875

~~DESTROY~~

A

64-200-221-36

~~DESTROY~~

✓ A

65-58681-49 ep #5, 12

Written Up By:

[Redacted]

Date:

5-6-59

No. of refs.  
2

Searched by:

[Redacted]

date 4/29/59

b6  
b7C

Holfe, Bertrand D.

~~DESTROY~~

H 25-11931-7

~~DESTROY~~

A 101-6118-4

Written Up By O.

[Redacted]

Date:  
5-6-59

No. of refs.

Q

Searched by

[Redacted]

Date: 4/29/59

Wolfe, Bertum

b6  
b7C

~~DESTROY~~

✓  
A

100-113159-32

Written Up By: [Redacted]

Date:  
5-6-59  
710. of refs.

Searched by: [Redacted] b6  
date: 4/29/59 b7C

Holpe, Bertand

~~DESTROY~~ A 65-9940-41 p #4

WRITTEN UP BY:

[Redacted]

DATE

5-6-59

NO. OF REFS.

3

Searched by:

[Redacted]

date: 4/29/59

WOLFE, BETRAN D.

b6

b7C

~~DESTROY~~

A

100-7888-135 p-28

~~DESTROY~~

A

100-23462-8



WRITTEN UP BY

[Redacted]

Searched by

[Redacted]

DATE

5-7-59

date 4/29/59

NO. OF REFS.

7

WOLFE, B.

b6  
b7C

~~DESTROY~~

ASI 61-167-2587

[Redacted]

b7E

61-7558-594, p. 249, 342 (1, 63) (Record, US Institute of Hearing)

~~DESTROY~~

A 61-6065-53

NR 61-9894-46 p. 43

NR 65-61666-42 p #19, 20, 21

NR 65-61666-56 p #14

DESTROY

A

100-3-4-1594 ep # 3, 137, 144, 187, 195,  
201, 219, 259, 282, 296, 309,  
322, 378, 379, 396, 424, 441, 508  
629, 641, 642, 836, 920, 961, 991,  
1076, 1091, 1103, 1104, 1249, 1272,  
1275, 1532, 1543, 1544, 1596, 1603,  
1629, 1630, 1643, 1669, 1745, 1747,  
1748, 1750, 1754, 1759, 1760, 1761,  
1771, 1912, 2063, 2698, 3004.

NI 100-370721-1

WRITTEN UP BY:

[Redacted]

2 searched by [Redacted]

date: 4/29/59

b6  
b7C

DATE

5-7-59

NO. OF REFS.

7

WIFE, B.D.

ME 123-5791

~~DESTROY~~

H

61-1292-339 ep #30

~~DESTROY~~

H

401 ep # 21, 24, 105, 106

~~DESTROY~~

AST 61-7559-1836 x 12, 61-7559-2517(12)

~~DESTROY~~

H 100-16 sub 35-50 (2 cards)

~~DESTROY~~

ASI 100-352628-11 p# 11

MF 123-5791-22, p. 13

~~DESTROY~~

H

22

WRITTEN UP BY:

[Redacted]

DATE

5-7-59

NO. OF REFS.

44

Searched by [Redacted]

Date: 4/29/59

b6  
b7C

WIFE, Bert

MF 61-6050

MF 123-5791

NR 31-52410-1

NR 14

NR 24

~~DESTROY~~

✓✓ A 61-167-2593

~~DESTROY~~

✓✓ IT 61-1292-238

~~DESTROY~~

✓✓ IT 437 X ep #124.

~~DESTROY~~

✓✓ A 578

~~DESTROY~~

✓✓ A 61-7558-596 ep #249

~~DESTROY~~

✓✓ IT 61-8404-23

~~DESTROY~~

✓✓ A 28

~~DESTROY~~

✓✓ A 29

~~DESTROY~~

✓✓ A 77

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ H 61-8404-89

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ H 90

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ H 96

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ H 97

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ H 100

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ H 105

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ H 110

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ H 111

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ H 116

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ H 151

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ H 184

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ A 61-8404-187

~~DESTROY~~ ✓✓ H 189

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ H 216

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ A ST 62-23170-147 p. 1155 MF 123-5791-22, p. 5

~~DESTROY~~ ✓✓ A 64-22166-60

~~DESTROY~~ ✓✓ A 65-32711-17

~~DESTROY~~ ✓✓ A 65-43302-3525

NK 86-1140-1-41

NK

91

65



~~DESTROY~~

✓ A

100-3-4-1594 ep # 3, 137, 144, 187, 195, 201,  
219, 259, 282, 296, 309, 322,  
378, 379, 396, 424, 441, 508, 629,  
641, 642, 836, 920, 961, 991, 1076,  
1091, 1103, 1104, 1249, 1272, 1275,  
1532, 1543, 1544, 1596, 1603,  
1629, 1630, 1643, 1669, 1745,  
1747, 1748, 1750, 1754, 1759,  
1760, 1761, 1771, 1912, 2063, 2698  
3004

~~DESTROY~~

✓ A

100-3-74-1194 p #9

NI 100-4326-391

~~DESTROY~~

✓ A

100-25195-24

~~DESTROY~~

A

100-58019-26

NA

100-157426-1

~~DESTROY~~

A

100-178944-3

~~DESTROY~~

A

100-203581-2394

~~DESTROY~~

A

100-223723-1

Cancelled per G.L. 7-7-59

121-40831-2

WRITTEN UP By:

[Redacted]



DATE

5-7-59

Searched by:

[Redacted]

date: 4/29/59

NO. OF REFS.

1

b6  
b7C

WIFE, BERT D.

MF 123-5791

WRITTEN UP BY:

[Redacted]

DATE

5-7-59

NO. OF REFS.

3

Searched by

[Redacted]

b6  
b7C

date: 4/19/59

WOLFE, D.

NT: 100-3-4-6519

Changed to Bertie in D. Wolfe for Consol. Station  
~~100-38784-192~~ NK-6-30-59 Sept. 25

[Redacted]

b7E

WRITTEN UP By:

[Redacted]

Searched by  
date: 4/29/59

[Redacted] b6  
b7C

DATE

5-7-59

No. OF REFS.

4

WOLFE, DAVID

Subj A

NK 93-9249

NI 62-77787-2532 P# 177

NK 100-404038-7

NK 9

WRITTEN UP BY:

[Redacted]

DATE

5-6-59

NO. OF REFS.

4

Searched by

[Redacted] b6  
b7C

Date: 4/29/59

MOIFF, DAVE

Subj A

NI 65-29951-38

NI 65-44610-616

NI 100-26844-553

NR 100-98242-126

WRITTEN UP BY:

[Redacted]

DATE

5-7-59

NO. OF REFS.

20

Searched By [Redacted]

date: 4/29/59

b6  
b7C

WOLFE, DAVID

Subj A

NR 100-393551

NR 40-8857

NR 61-7341-34-441X ep #67

✓ NR 61-7582-1298 IDENT WITH 100-50121 p. 591, 724, 1391, 690, 732

NI 61-9182-1X p. 35

NI 61-10123-312

NI 100-3 sub 4-1025

√ NR 100-4753-26 Ident with 100-57375-1

√ NR 100-12304-7 Ident with 100-57375-1

NI 100-15543-6

NR 100-26844-A Wash. STAR 3/22/45

√ NR 100-57375-8 Ident with 100-57375-1



NR 100-99839-209

√NR 100-190625-901 Ident with 100-39355-1

√NR 100-330591-2 Ident with 100-39355-1

√NR Ident with 100-39355-1  
10 p. 4, 5, 8

√NR 27 Ident with 100-39355-1

√NR 100-340772-8 Ident with 100-39355-1

√NR 100-390468-14 Ident with 100-39355-1

NT 100-418219-4 ep #126A

✓ NR 123-1238-19 T. 1. + with 100-39,551

WRITTEN UP BY:

DATE

5/6/59

NO. OF REFS.

1

Searched by

date: 4/29/59

b6  
b7C

WOLF, BERTRAM DAVID

Subj A

IF 61-6050

WRITTEN UP BY:

[Redacted]

DATE

5-6-59

NO. OF REFS.

15

Searched by

date: 4/29/59

b6  
b7C

WOLF, BERTRAM

Subj A

✓

~~DESTROY~~

A-SI 61-640-69 p. 589 MF 61-6050-1X

~~DESTROY~~

✓ A 61-1292-320 p # 11, 24

~~DESTROY~~

✓ A ST 61-6277-3 MF 61-6050-11, p 6, 9

~~DESTROY~~

✓ A 61-7559-4X

~~DESTROY~~

✓  
✓  
A

65-51593-33 p #866

~~DESTROY~~

✓  
✓  
A

100-603-288 p #3B

~~DESTROY~~

✓  
✓  
A

100-12049-20

~~DESTROY~~

✓  
✓  
A

100-12997-47

~~DESTROY~~

✓  
✓  
A

100-17139-89

~~DESTROY~~

✓  
✓  
A

100-146964-416

~~DESTROY~~

✓  
✓  
A

100-200162-4

~~DESTROY~~

✓  
✓  
A

100-203581-2837

~~DESTROY~~

✓  
✓  
A

100-214312-45

~~DESTROY~~

✓  
✓  
A

100-258542-84

~~DESTROY~~

✓  
✓  
A

100-348285-1

Written UP By:

[Redacted]

DATE

5-6-59

NO. OF REFS.

6

Searched by  
drtw H/29/59

[Redacted] b6  
b7C

WOLF, BERTRAM D.

Subj A

~~DESTROY~~

H

61-524-87 ep #15

✓  
H

Do not destroy  
61-7559-2-7145.

~~DESTROY~~

H

5162-23170-158 p-133 H/61-6050-28

~~DESTROY~~

✓  
H

100-3-74-1397

~~DESTROY~~

H

100-7660-1989

~~DESTROY~~

H

106-3202-34



WRITTEN UP By:



Searches by  
Date: 4/29/59

b6  
b7C

DATE

5-6-59

NO. OF REFS.

1

WOLF, BERTRAM L.

~~DESTROY~~

✓ A

100-360649-33

WRITTEN UP BY:

[Redacted]



DATE

5-6-59

NO. OF REFS.

2

Searched by

[Redacted] b6 b7C

date: 4/29/59

WOLF, BERTRAND

~~DESTROY~~

✓ A

64-200 sub 221-41

NI 100-0-7162

WRITTEN UP By:

[Redacted]



Declassified by

[Redacted] b6 b7C

date: 4/29/59

DATE  
5-6-59

NO. OF REFS.  
2

WOLF, BETRAM

~~DESTROY~~

✓  
A

65-30092-1707

~~DESTROY~~

✓

A SI 100-335069-2

[Redacted]

100-7826-27(23) b7D

WRITTEN UP BY:

[Redacted]

Searched by [Redacted]  
date: 4/29/59

b6  
b7C

DATE

5-6-59

NO. OF REFS.

1

WOLF, BETRAM D.

~~DESTROY~~

A SI 62-23170-142 p. 208 MF 123-5791-22p5

WRITTEN UP BY:

[Redacted]

DATE

5-6-59

NO. OF REFS.

13

Searched by

date: 4/29/59

b6  
b7C

MOLE, BERT

Subj A

DESTROY

✓ A

61-1292-320 p # 1124

DESTROY

✓ A

61-1335-289

DESTROY

✓ A

61-7566-978

DESTROY

✓ A

61-10149--2750

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ A 62-62736-2-17602

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ HSI 17619 64-22166-58(87)

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ ASI 64-22166-53 64-22166-60(19,37,65)

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ A 58

NK 94-1 sub 208-3026

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ A 100-3-74-1397

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ A 2961

NK 100-360543-1

NA 100-397049-1

WRITTEN UP BY:

[Redacted]

DATE

5-6-59

NO. OF REFS.

2

Searched by

date: 7/29/59

[Redacted] b6 b7C

MOLE, B.D.

~~DESTROY~~

✓ ASI 100-34616-63 100-34616-80, p62 (89)

~~DESTROY~~

✓ A

80 ep #62



WRITTEN UP BY:

[Redacted]

6

Searched by [Redacted]  
Date: 4/29/59

[Redacted] b6  
b7C

DATE

5-7-59

NO. OF REFS.

12

WOLF, DAVID

NK 61-5381-3578 p. #18

NK 64-32959-24

NK 65-60696-108 ep #9

NK 65-61448-2

NI 100-3-4-1594 DOCUMENT #1745

~~DESTROY~~

B

100-3-74-10274 ep #196

NR 100-46294-66

NR 100-68343-6

NR

7

NR 100-111426-2

NI 100-117439-12

NI 100-352386-154 p #39

WRITTEN UP By:

[Redacted]

Searched by

[Redacted] b6 b7C

DATE

5-7-59

date: 4/29/59

NO. OF REFS.

2

Albright, A.

~~94-8 sub 69-441 - Consolidation memo~~  
NI ~~94-8 sub 69-37~~ 6-26-59

NI 100-118-446 (2 cards)

WRITTEN UP BY:

[Redacted]

Sounded by

b6  
b7C

date: 4/29/59

DATE  
5-7-59

NO. OF REFS.  
2

Albright, Al

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ A 61-443-726

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ A 828

WRITTEN UP BY:

[Redacted]

Searched by [Redacted]

b6  
b7C

DATE

5-7-59

date: 4/29/59

NO. OF REFS.

1

Albright, Alfred

~~DESTROY~~

H SI 62-23170-141 p. 353

MF 123-5791-35, p. 2; 16, p. 2

WRITTEN UP BY:

[Redacted]

Searched by:

[Redacted] b6 b7C

Date: 4/29/59

DATE  
5-7-59

NO. OF REFS.  
5

Allbright, ONE

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ ST 61-20-36 MF 61-6050-11, p. 6 #1

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ A 61-443-338

~~DESTROY~~ ✓ A 921

NI 61-7587-1322

NK 100-137558-1

WRITTEN UP BY:

[Redacted]

Searched by [Redacted]

b6  
b7C

DATE

5-7-59

date: 4/29/59

NO OF REFS.

6

Allbright, Albert

MF 123-5791

~~DESTROY~~ HMF 123-5791-35

~~DESTROY~~ ASI 140-0-902 MF 123-5791-52

~~DESTROY~~ ASI 982 MF 123-5791  
copy placed after serial 52

~~DESTROY~~ ASI 2135 MF 123-5791  
copy placed after serial 56



D



~~DESTROY~~

A I 140-3490-3 MF 123-5791-36, p 8, 35

WRITTEN UP BY:

[Redacted]

Launched by [Redacted]

b6  
b7C

DATE

5-7-59

Date: 4/29/59

NO. OF REFS.

6

LOVELL, ALBERT

MF 123-5791

~~DESTROY~~ A MF 123-5791-35

~~DESTROY~~ ASI 140-0-902 MF 123-5791-52

~~DESTROY~~ ASI

982 MF 123-5791  
copy + work after serial 50

~~DESTROY~~ ASI

2135 MF 123-5791  
copy + work after serial 50

~~DESTROY~~

1: SI 140-3490-3 MF 12E-5791-36 p.8; 35

WRITTEN UP BY:

[Redacted]

Searched by:

[Redacted] b6 b7C

DATE  
5-7-59

date: 4/29/59

NO. OF REFS.  
9

SHAYS, DANIEL

MF 123-5791

~~DESTROY~~

A 61-34-29 p.11

~~DESTROY~~

A 61-7559-3508

~~DESTROY~~

DI 121-37644-14

~~DESTROY~~ AMF 123-5791-35

~~DESTROY~~ ASF 140-0-902 MF 123-5791-52

~~DESTROY~~ ASF

MF 123-5791  
982 Copy piece after serial 52

~~DESTROY~~ ASF

MF 123-5791  
2135 Copy piece after serial 52

~~DESTROY~~

SI 140-3490-3 MF 123-5791-50, p. 8; 55

WRITTEN UP BY:

[Redacted]

Searched by [Redacted]  
date 4/29/59

b6  
b7c

DATE

5-7-59

NO. OF REFS.

11

SHAYS, ONE

~~DESTROY~~

A

61-228-104 p.2

61-443-330 Eliminated per Consol. 6-16-59

~~DESTROY~~

A

338 p.4

~~DESTROY~~

A

342

~~DESTROY~~

A

368

~~DESTROY~~

A

375 p.6

~~DESTROY~~

A

409.

10

~~DESTROY~~ H 61-443-508

~~DESTROY~~ H 642 p. 2, 3 (4 cards)

NR 797 p. 2

NR 921

~~DESTROY~~ H 61-817-467 -

See also file classification 6-23-59  
62-23170-141-p. 354

WRITTEN UP BY:

[Redacted]

Searched by [Redacted] b6  
date 4/29/59 b7C

DATE  
5-7-59  
NO. OF REFS.  
6

Vargas, L.

MF 123-5791

~~DESTROY~~ AMF 123-5791-35

~~DESTROY~~ A SI 140-0-902 MF 123-5791-52

~~DESTROY~~ A SI 982 MF 123-5791 copy placed aft...

~~DESTROY~~ A SI 2135 MF 123-5791 copy placed aft... 156  
105



~~DESTROY~~

A SI 140-3490-3 MF 123-5791-36, p. 8, 55

WRITTEN UP BY:

[Redacted]

Searched by

[Redacted] b6 b7C

DATE

5-7-59

Date: 4/29/59

NO. OF REFS.

19

Hard, Albert

MF 123-5791

NR 65-30092-4009 p#4,5

NR 73-4082-2

NR 100-3-9-1354 p#24

NR 100-27832-9

NR 23

NR 100-344446-X9

NR X36

NR X37

NR 100-348349-21

NR 100-357934-130

NR 136

NR 100-364375-21

NI 116-4982-47

NR 123-12991-7

~~DESTROY~~

A, SI 140-0-902 MF 123-5791-52

~~DESTROY~~

A SI

MF 123-5791  
982 copy made after receipt

~~DESTROY~~

A SI

MF 123-5791  
2135 Copy made after receipt 56

~~DESTROY~~

A SI 140-3490-3 MF 123-5791-36, p. 8, 35

Subject B.

Analytical Summary

Searched by:



b6  
b7C

Date :: 4/29/59

Total Ref. 150

Herman Bernard Waldman

aka : David Wolfe (Subj B)

; David Wolfe

100-389883

OIC-TCH

Written UP By:

[Redacted]



Searched by

[Redacted] b6 b7C

Date

date: 4/29/59

5-7-59  
No. of Ref  
15

WOLF, DAVID  
Subj B.

MF 100-389883

~~DESTROY~~

B

"The Film Daily" 2-16-53 p 2 (Publication)

~~DESTROY~~

B

I 61-7582-1866 Encl p. 55  
MF Encl. 10, p. 4, 17

NI 65-29951-29

NI

- 38

~~DESTROY~~

B

100-138754-992 ep # 35, 38, 40

NI 100-187923-1

~~DESTROY~~

B

100-340922-283 p # 38

~~DESTROY~~

F

329 p # 23

~~DESTROY~~

B

354 p # 37, 38, 39

~~DESTROY~~

B

100-356137-589 p. 11

~~DESTROY~~

B

595

~~DESTROY~~

B

846 ep 67

~~DESTROY~~

B SI 100-387253-2 p 47 MF 10, A 4

~~DESTROY~~

J  
E 100-411310-13 ep 187



WRITTEN UP BY:

[Redacted]



Searched by  
date: 4/29/59

[Redacted] b6  
b7C

DATE  
5-8-59

NO. OF REFS.  
2

WOLF, DAVE  
Subj A+B

\* Proceed to GIT/3.

MF 100-389883

~~DESTROY~~

f I 100-399257-1 MF 10, p. 3

WRITTEN UP BY:

[Redacted]

Q

Searched by  
date: 4/29/59

[Redacted] b6  
b7C

DATE

5-8-59

NO. OF REFS.

11

WIFE, DAVID  
Subj B.

MF 100-389883

Do not dist<sup>o</sup> B/T

100-3-25-1771 ep # 4207-4214, 4083,  
4098 (TESTIMONY)

DESTROY ✓ B

56-1252-6

DESTROY ✓ B

100-138754-544 p #5

~~DESTROY~~

~~B~~

100-138754-1025 ep #677 Part 3

~~DESTROY~~

~~B~~

100-340922-365 p #11, 12, 33

~~DESTROY~~

~~B~~

413 p #6

~~DESTROY~~

~~B~~

100-340922-A Los Angeles TIMES

4/1/53

~~DESTROY~~

~~B~~

100-370469-14

~~DESTROY~~

~~B~~

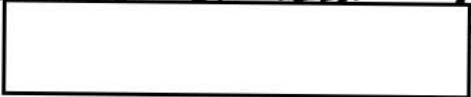
100-387253-5

~~DESTROY~~

~~B~~

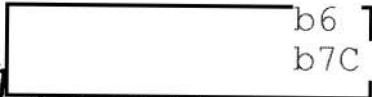
100-392501-10 ep #4

WRITTEN UP By



O

Searched by



date: 4/29/59

DATE

5-8-59

NO. OF REFS.

1

WOLFE, DAVE

Subj: A+B

\* Recall to  
GI 8/3.

MS 61-3615-473 p #7

WRITTEN UP Bui

Searched by:  
date: 4/29/59

b6  
b7C

DATE:  
5-8-59

NO. OF REFS.  
4

WOIFF, DAVID  
Subj B

NI 40-17046

NR 40-19080.

NI 100-389883 (Information checked by supervisor and no change made) memo was sent to fld.

NI 100-15252-39 ep #447

WRITTEN UP BY:

[Redacted]

Searched by:

[Redacted]

b6  
b7C

date: 4/29/59'

DATE

5-8-59

NO. OF REFS.

2

BAUER, DAVID

MF 100-389883

~~DESTROY~~ B MF 100-389883-21

WRITTEN UP FOR:

[Redacted]

Search by

[Redacted] b6 b7C

DATE  
5-7-59

Date: 4/29/59

NO. OF REFS.  
4

WALDMAN, HERMAN BERNARD

MF 100-389883

~~DESTROY~~ B-MF 100-389883-7 (Photo)

B MF *do not destroy* 100-389883-3 Summ. 5-1-52

~~DESTROY~~ B 61-7497-316

~~DESTROY~~ B 100-340922-413, p.6 1 20  
(Added per Consolidation 7-16-59) (See p. 138)

WRITTEN UP BY:

[Redacted]

See OKed by

[Redacted] b6  
b7C

date: 4/29/59

DATE:

5-7-59

NO. OF REFS.

9

WALDMAN, HERMAN B.

MF 100-389883

DESTROY

EST 61-10149-4337 p#28 MFA 11.14, p4

DESTROY

BSI 62-85644-69 100-402161-7 (122,150)

DESTROY

BSI 97-2519-114 P#13 MFA 11.14 p.11



DESTROY

✓✓ B

100-3-25-194

DESTROY

✓✓ B

100-357934-1388 p#93

DESTROY

✓✓ ESI

100-385291-60 ep #8 MF... 14 p. 5

DESTROY

✓✓ B

100-402161-1

DESTROY

✓✓ B

7

WRITTEN UP BY:

[Redacted]



Searched by  
date: 4/29/59

b6  
b7C

DATE:  
5-7-59

NO. OF REFS.  
65

WALDMAN, HERMAN

NA 67-80927

NA 49-12208

MF 100-389883

DESTROY

B

"THE FILM DAILY" 2-16-53 p.2 (Publication)

Don't Destroy B 100-3-25-1771 ep # 4207, 4214, 4083,  
4098 (TESTIMONY)

NR 12 = 1115-15 p.3

~~DESTROY~~ B 56-1252-6

~~DESTROY~~ B SI 61-7582-1789 MF ser. 3, p. 8

~~DESTROY~~ B SI 1842 MF ser. 10 of 17

~~DESTROY~~ B SI 1866 ep # 55 MF ser. 10, p. 4, 17

~~DESTROY~~ B SI 61-10170-767 Form  MF ser. 10, p. 13 <sup>b7D</sup>

~~DESTROY~~

✓✓ B SI 62-85644-69 100-402161-7 (122,130)

NK 65-326-8 p.10

~~DESTROY~~

✓✓ B

100-3-25-1762 p.#3

~~DESTROY~~

✓✓ B

100-3-74-10274 ep.#196

~~DESTROY~~

✓✓ B

100-3-94-26-43 p.#3

~~DESTROY~~

✓✓ B

88 p.#15

~~DESTROY~~

✓✓ B

100-15252-39 p.444

~~DESTROY~~

✓✓ B

100-49675-237

~~DESTROY~~

✓ B

100-138754-637 ep #51

~~DESTROY~~

✓ B

943 p #7

~~DESTROY~~

✓ B

952 p #8

~~DESTROY~~

✓ B

966

~~DESTROY~~

✓ B

986

~~DESTROY~~

✓ B

992 ep #35, 38, 40

~~DESTROY~~

✓ B

995

~~DESTROY~~

✓ B

1020 p #19

~~DESTROY~~

✓ B

1025 ep #703 Pt. 3

~~DESTROY~~

✓ B

1038

~~DESTROY~~

~~✓~~ B 100-138754-A-N.Y. HERALD TRIBUNE

2-14-53

NK 100-273788-8

NK 9

NK 10

~~DESTROY~~

~~✓~~ ✓  
B 100-294936-26

NK 100-333107-9

~~DESTROY~~

~~✓~~ ✓  
B 100-340922-114 p.28

~~DESTROY~~

~~✓~~ ✓  
E 329 p8

DESTROY

B

100-340922-354 p # 37, 38, 39

DESTROY

B

365 p # 11, 12, 33

DESTROY

B

100-340922-A-Wash. Post 10-7-52

DESTROY

B

100-356137-846 ep # 67

DESTROY

B

849

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898 p # 9

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1045 p 4, 17

DESTROY

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1101 ep # 28, 41

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1205 p # 5

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✓✓ B 100-370469-14

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✓✓ B 100-383741-5

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✓✓ B ST 100-387253-2 p #47 encl.  
MF serial p 4

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✓✓ B 5

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✓✓ B ST 100-396449-13 100-399257-7(129)

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✓✓ B ST 100-399257-1 MF serial p 3

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✓✓ B 7 (2 cards)

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✓✓ B SF 11 p #19 MF serial 10, p. 3, 4, 5, 17



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100-399257-33

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116 p 4 M.F. 10.13

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100-402161-7

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100-411310-13 ep 56, 137, 138

NI

102-1-x78 p.54

x78 p 416

DESTROY

✓✓ B

ST 105-1913-181 100-399257-7 (129)

NI

121-19731-35

NA 121-19731-38

NA 138-125-3

WRITTEN UP BY:

[Redacted]

Searched by

[Redacted] b6 b7C

DATE  
5-7-59

date: 4/29/59

NO. OF REFS.  
1

WALDMAN, HERMAN ROSE  
Subj B

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B

100-3-94-26-18 p #5

WRITTEN UP BY:

[Redacted]

Searched by

[Redacted] b6 b7C

DATE  
5-7-59

date: 4/29/59

NO. OF REFS.

1

MAIDMAN, HERM

~~DESTROY~~

✓ B

100-392501-10 ep #4

WRITTEN UP BY:

[Redacted]

Serialized by [Redacted]

b6  
b7C

DATE  
5-7-59

date: 4/29/59

NO. OF REFS.  
7

WALDMAN, H.

MF 100-389883

NI 100-39588-5

NI 100-272931-2

NR 100-273788-1

NR 5

NR 100-333107-16

NR 100-368675-9

WRITTEN UP By:

[Redacted]

Searched by

[Redacted] b6  
b7C

date: 4/29/59

DATE

5-7-59

NO. OF REFS.

23

WALDMAN, BERNARD

Subj: B

NR 100-344556

NR 116-20471

NT 62-35950-3

NA 65-59172-28

NA 66-2542-7-21-1

NA 100-10049-30

NR 100-190625-2031

NA 2136

NA 2142

NA 2537 p.108

NI 100-298500-6



Cancelled per Bureau letter 7-16-59 Sup. 100  
100-340922-413 p#6

NK 100-344452-198 p#35

NK 100-345840-58x

NK 58x3

NK 105-15349-48 ep#12

NK 59 p.8

NK 117-833-21-5

NK 6

NR 140-11562-12 p.1

NR 140-10279-3

NR 7

WRITTEN UP BY:

[Redacted]

Searched by  
date: 9/21/29

b6  
b7C

DATE  
5-7-59  
NO. OF PERS.  
3

WALGREN, HERMAN

MF 100-389883

~~DESTROY~~ B 100-3-25-1541 p #36

~~DESTROY~~ B SI 100-335917-8 MF ser. 3, p. 4

DATE  
5-7-59

Searched by [redacted]  
date: 4/29/59

b6  
b7C

NO. OF PAGES:  
2

WALDYEN, HERMAN

MF 100-389883

~~DESTROY~~

✓  
B

100-138754-1025 ep #677 Pt. 3

Mr. Egan

August 28, 1954

Mr. Stanley

INFORMATION CONCERNING

5701

[redacted] of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy's office forwarded a Photostat of a letter dated August 8, 1954, to Senator McCarthy from [redacted] New York City, who alleged that he had been dismissed from the Voice of America (VOA) after testifying before the McCarthy Subcommittee and after furnishing information to the FBI concerning subversive activities and sympathies of persons at VOA. He claimed he had given the FBI permission in August 1953 to reveal his name to United States Information Agency (USIA) officials so that they could interview him personally about the loyalty of one high VOA official. [redacted] claimed that the USIA officials never talked to him, but that he was called in by the Chief of Personnel, VOA, and told that his services were no longer needed. He said he was permitted to resign as of October 2, 1953.

b6  
b7C

b7D

Although the names of all persons interviewed during a Bureau investigation are not indexed in Bureau files, it has been ascertained that [redacted] was interviewed in at least five cases involving VOA personnel. By letter dated March 3, 1953, the State Department forwarded a letter from [redacted] alleging that certain persons at VOA were pro-Communist. Accordingly, [redacted] was interviewed and he alleged that these individuals were pro-Communist in their sympathies.

With regard to the case of the high VOA official mentioned by [redacted] this is believed to refer to Norman D. Telfe. In that case Telfe was interviewed on April 24, 1953, and the information reported as having been received from New York City Confidential Informant T-15, of unknown reliability, [redacted]

[redacted]

St. Nichols

NOT RECORDED  
170 SEP 10 1954

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

- 105-8701 (Norman D. Telfe)
- 101-43487 (Norman Stanley Jacobs)
- 101-11000 (Wain W. J. Tristram)
- 105-3247 (Cortney Frost)
- 100-2000 (Walter A. Lyons)

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN

alleged that Wolfe was in sympathy with basic Communist philosophies and he questioned Wolfe's loyalty to the United States. By letter dated August 11, 1953, Mr. Charles M. Woone, then Acting Chief, Office of Security, WIA, asked the Bureau to determine whether T-15 [redacted] would consent to being interviewed by representatives of the WIA Security Office concerning Wolfe and radio scripts allegedly prepared by Wolfe. By airtel dated August 27, 1953, the New York Office advised that [redacted] had agreed to be interviewed by WIA provided his identity would be concealed by that agency. On August 30, 1953, Mr. Woone telephonically cancelled his request to recontact T-15 inasmuch as the scripts prepared by Wolfe had been located. Mr. Woone was not advised of the identity of T-15 or that [redacted] was willing to be interviewed by WIA. [redacted] was not identified as New York T-15 to anyone else at WIA.

b7D

[redacted] In connection with the Wolfe case, it is noted that [redacted] stated in his letter to Senator McCarthy, "It is rather evident that those people who contacted the FBI declaring that they want to talk further with me, were not sincere in their intentions; and it is difficult not to draw the other conclusion that they wanted to identify me in order to punish me."

[redacted] is the subject of Bureau file [redacted] a full applicant investigation conducted in 1951. No information indicating disloyalty on the part of [redacted] was developed, but considerable information was furnished by acquaintances who described him as being of rather loose morals. Information was obtained to the effect that [redacted] engaged in an extramarital affair during early 1945 with one [redacted] of Akron, Ohio. [redacted] at the time was [redacted] of the Romanian Baptist Church in that city. He was relieved of the latter post as a result of the affair. During the course of his love affair [redacted] was allegedly caught prowling about the [redacted] home and on one occasion was allegedly caught in a clothes closet there. [redacted] obtained a divorce from his wife one day prior to the obtaining of a divorce by [redacted] from her husband. [redacted] then left Akron, Ohio, and went to Atlanta, Georgia, to live.

b6  
b7C  
b7D

ACTION:

None. This is for your information. Brief summaries reflecting the results of investigation relating to the five cases mentioned above are attached for information. These are full field investigations in which [redacted] was interviewed by the Bureau.

Re: BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE  
Chief  
Ideological Advisory Staff  
Central Program Services Division  
International Broadcasting Service  
United States Information Agency  
New York, New York

On an application for employment with the Voice of America dated July 6, 1950, Wolfe stated that in 1928 and 1929 he was a member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International and served on that committee in Moscow; further, that prior to this period he was a member of the American Communist Party. A Voice of America investigation was conducted by the Bureau regarding Wolfe in 1950. Information was developed that Wolfe had been a member of the Communist Party from 1919 to 1929; Director of Adjudication and Propaganda and the American delegate to the Executive Committee of Communist International, Moscow, USSR. Wolfe was reported to have followed Jay Lovestone out of the Communist Party. An article in the "New York Times" of August 15, 1929, reported that Lovestone and his supporters, including Wolfe, were expelled from the Communist Party for seeking to bend the American Communists to the point of view that the tactics pursued by the Communist International through the Workers Party in the United States were hopelessly wrong. Another reason for the expulsion was that Lovestone, Wolfe, and Benjamin Gitlow had left Moscow without permission after they had been summoned to Moscow to explain their conduct. (123-5791-22)

Gitlow when interviewed during the Bureau's investigation said that following the expulsion of the Lovestone group from the Communist Party, the "Communist Opposition" was formed, which had for its purpose to fight for the democratization of the Communist International. Gitlow said Wolfe was a member of this Communist Opposition and ~~that~~ continued to support Stalin and even as late as 1934 and 1935 was willing to return to the Communist Party but failed to do so because of Lovestone's insistence that the Communist Opposition be taken back as a group and not individually. During the interview Gitlow expressed his opinion that Wolfe continues to be a Pro-Russian Marxist-Leninist. Jay Lovestone, when interviewed during the Bureau's investigation, stated it was his feeling that Wolfe has been a complete and sincere anti-Communist since his break with the Communist Party. (123-5791-22)

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

123-5791

WLW: jh

ENCLOSURE

Louis Budenz during the investigation stated that while Wolfe was in the Communist Party he was regarded by the Communists as an enemy of the Party. It was Budenz's opinion that Wolfe is a sincere anti-Communist over whom the Party exercised no control after his break from the Party. (123-5791-20)

By memorandum dated August 2, 1951, the Loyalty Review Board of the United States Civil Service Commission advised that Wolfe had been rated "Eligible on loyalty" for a position with the Voice of America.

During a supplemental loyalty investigation conducted regarding Wolfe in 1953, [redacted] who was then with [redacted] the Voice of America in New York, was interviewed. He furnished a signed statement on April 24, 1953. His identity, however, was protected and his information was attributed to New York City T-15 of unknown reliability. He stated that during the last year he had an opportunity to read the scripts prepared by Wolfe for use by the various language desks of Voice of America; that through the reading of these articles he came to the conclusion that Wolfe, while being an anti-Stalinist, is still in sympathy with the basic Communist philosophies of Marx and Lenin. He claimed that Wolfe had never in any of his writings condemned the Communist philosophy as advocated by Marx and Lenin and hence it was his opinion that although Wolfe broke with the Party as an organization and is anti-Stalin, he has not abandoned Marxism and Leninism as a political and economic philosophy. The report covering the [redacted] interview was disseminated by the Bureau by memorandum of May 14, 1953. b7D

By letter of August 11, 1953, Charles M. Noone, Acting Chief, Office of Security, U. S. Information Agency (formerly Voice of America) requested that New York City T-15 be contacted to determine if he would consent to being interviewed by representatives of the Office of Security of USIA; that if he is not agreeable to such an interview, T-15 be asked to identify the scripts prepared by Wolfe and referred to by T-15 as a basis for his conclusion regarding Wolfe's present sympathy. New York advised on August 27, 1953, that T-15 was agreeable to such an interview providing his identity would be concealed by USIA; however, prior to dissemination of this



information, Charles Noone advised telephonically that he wished to withdraw his request regarding T-15 as copies of all of Wolfe's scripts had been obtained by officials and they had been reviewed, and it was concluded they did not indicate Wolfe was pro-Communist.

Referral/Consult

By memorandum dated January 28, 1954. [redacted]

[redacted] An article appeared in the "Washington Post" of February 12, 1954, reflecting Wolfe had resigned his position with the Government to return to his writings on the history of the Russian Revolution.

It may be noted that Congressman Fred Busby of Illinois expressed opposition to the employment of Wolfe by the Government and so stated in a speech before the House of Representatives on August 3, 1953.

SAC, New York (100-22530)

March 17, 1954

Director, FBI (100-41393)

123-5791-  
GERTRUDE JOHANNA HANSSLER  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C  
SMITH ACT OF 1940

Re New York letter dated March 1, 1954, requesting Bureau authority before interviewing Jay Lovestone, Bertram Wolfe, and Will Herberg in connection with the captioned investigation.

Bureau authority is granted to conduct interviews with Bertram Wolfe and Will Herberg. Authority to interview Lovestone at this time is denied. You should resubmit your request to interview Lovestone in thirty days.

3 cc - Buffalo (61-55)

cc: Jay Lovestone (61-1292)  
Will Herberg (100-408791)  
Bertram Wolfe (123-5791)

NOTE ON YELLOW ONLY: By let dated 12/23/53 Buffalo requested New York to conduct these interviews to obtain information concerning the subject's activities from 1925 to 1936. Paul Crouch has advised that the subject may have attended the Lenta School. Jay Lovestone was formerly General Secretary of the CP, USA, and was expelled in 1929 when he formed the CP, USA, (Majority), later known as the Lovestonites. He has testified before the HCUA and has been interviewed on a number of occasions by Bureau Agents, however, in view of a recent exchange of correspondence an interview at this time is not desirable. He is the subject of a pending espionage investigation and is employed by the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU). Will Herberg, the former editor of "The Communist," was expelled from the CP in 1929 with Lovestone. He has previously been interviewed by Bureau Agents and has been cooperative. He is employed by the ILGWU. Bertram Wolfe, a former Director of the Workers School was expelled from the CP in 1929 with Lovestone. He is presently employed by the U.S. Information Agency and was the subject of a YOA investigation in 1950 and supplemental data was furnished to the Civil Service Commission under an SGE caption. He was interviewed in 1947 for information concerning the Workers School and was partially cooperative.

52 MAR 30 1954

EFD;nbs;imd

YELLOW  
DUPLICATE  
MAR 18 1954  
MAILED

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI (100-41393)

FROM : SAC, New York (100-22530)

SUBJECT: GERTRUDE JOHANNA HAESSLER, was  
IS - C  
SMITH ACT OF 1940  
(OO: Buffalo)

DATE: 3/1/54

Re Buffalo letter dated 12/23/53 requesting NY to interview [redacted]

b7D

WILL HERBERG of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, formerly a YCL member, who might have known the subject through the Young Pioneers;

BERTRAM WOLFE, formerly of the Workers' School, NYC, where subject once taught Political Economy;

JAY LOVESTONE;

NICHOLAS DOZENBURG;

[redacted]

b6  
b7C

In view of the fact that LOVESTONE is the subject of a pending investigation, "JAY LOVESTONE; ESPIONAGE - IS & R" (Bufile 61-1292, NY File 100-25904), LOVESTONE will not be interviewed, unless such interview is authorized by the Bureau.

The Bureau is aware of extensive ramification in the LOVESTONE case.

- 1-Buffalo (61-55) (RM)
- 2-Miami (RM)
- 1-Washington Field (RM) (100-4607)
- 1-NY 100-25904 (JAY LOVESTONE)

[redacted]

123 3791-2

NOT RECORDED  
156 MAR 24 1954

SEARCHED ON [unclear] 3-2-54  
HVB

b7D

NYC:DAH

*Handwritten notes:*  
EED  
B-10  
4-30-54

*Handwritten signature:*  
HVB

*Handwritten notes:*  
570  
100-25904

ORIGINAL FILED IN

Letter to Director, FBI  
NY 100-22530

BERTRAM WOLFE is known to be an associate of LOVESTONE and is possibly currently involved in security hearings in connection with his government employment.

WOLFE is the subject of an LGE investigation (Bufile 123-5791, NY File 121-16979).

WILL HERBERG is also known to be an old LOVESTONITE and is employed at the ILGWU in NYC, as is LOVESTONE.

In view of the close association between LOVESTONE, HERBERG and WOLFE, the Bureau is also requested to authorize the interviews of HERBERG and WOLFE.

Concerning the interview of [redacted] WFO is requested to cover this lead by contacting JOHN LAUTNER through Justice Department Attorney, [redacted]

If LAUTNER has departed from Washington, WFO is requested to forward the required information to the appropriate office to cover this lead.

Concerning the interview of NICHOLAS DOZENBURG, Miami is requested to cover this lead, since the last known residence address for NICHOLAS DOZENBURG was 425 West Palm Beach, Florida.

It is noted that DOZENBURG, who is an admitted former Russian Intelligence Agent, during the early 1930's as being ill with Parkinson's Disease, and it is not known whether his health will permit an interview.

The Miami file on NICHOLAS DOZENBURG is (65-2159)

NY will attempt to arrange for interview of other persons mentioned in Buffalo letter dated 12/23/53.

For the information of Miami, which has not received previous communications in this case so far as known to NY, the following background information and description concerning the subject is set out:

b6  
b7C  
b7D

Letter to Director, FBI  
NY 100-22530

Name	GERTRUDE JOHANNA HAESSLER
Aliases	Gertrude Johanna Hessler, Mrs. Robert Filtzer, Gertrude Johanna Filtzer, Nancy Hayden, Johanna Watson, Mrs. William Weinstone
Address	746 7th Street, Buffalo, NY
Sex	Female
Race	White
Born	12/25/94, Milwaukee, Wisconsin
Height	5' 5"
Weight	150 lbs.
Build	Medium
Hair	Red, turning gray, cut short, rather bushy
Eyes	Brown
Complexion	Ruddy, freckled
Scars and Marks	None known
Occupation	Stenographer, formerly teacher, social worker, writer and organizer
Marital status	Separated from WILLIAM WEINSTONE; divorced from ROBERT FILTZER
Relatives	[REDACTED]

The subject completed Teachers College at the  
University of Wisconsin in 1917. Her daughter, [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] was born on [REDACTED] at NYC to her and WILLIAM  
WEINSTONE.

The subject and WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, National Chairman  
of the CP-USA, have had a "love interest" in each other, which  
has existed since 1944. She claims friendship with top National  
and Russian Communists.

Letter to Director, FBI  
NY 100-22530

She is the sister of CARL HAESSLER of Detroit, Michigan, now or formerly a leading figure in the Federated Press. She was in Moscow, Russia, from about 1923 until 1925, reportedly in the employ of the Third International. She is also believed to have received some training while in Moscow, and may have attended the LENIN School. There is a further possibility that she was in Russia from 1931 until 1933.

Little is known of the subject's activities between 1925 and 1936, except that she was residing in the NYC area, and was connected with the CP leadership at that time. She is reported to have done considerable writing for Communist publications, including the "Daily Worker".

Since 1936, she has resided at Buffalo, NY, and has been active in Communist activities in that area.

Assistant Attorney General  
Warren Olney III

February 16, 1954

Director, FBI

BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE  
aka Daniel Shays, Albert Allbright,  
Albert Lovell, Albert Ward, L. Vargas  
Chief, Ideological Advisory Staff  
Central Program Services Division  
International Broadcasting Service  
U. S. Information Agency  
New York, New York  
SECURITY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Reference is made to my memorandum dated October 7, 1953,  
and to my previous memoranda transmitting the results of the  
investigation conducted concerning the above-named individual.

Attached herewith for your information is a copy of a  
letter dated January 28, 1954, from the Civil Service Commission  
which reflects that Wolfe had been "retained" under Executive  
Order 10450.

The "Washington Post" of February 12, 1954, revealed that  
Wolfe had resigned from his position with the Government to  
return to his writings on the history of the Russian

The above is for your information and for the completion  
of your file in this case.

Attachment  
123-5791

RHE:bbm

MAR 1 4  
FEB 1 6 1954  
COMM-FBI

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G FEB 23 1954

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70 MAR 3 1954

*Te*

RECORDED - 130

100-5791-1

September 12, 1950

AIR MAIL, SPECIAL DELIVERY

**EX To:** SAC, San Francisco

**From:** J. Edgar Hoover, Director

**Subject:** BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE  
SPECIAL INQUIRY--STATE DEPARTMENT  
Public Law 402, 80th Congress  
(VOICE OF AMERICA)

You are requested to conduct an investigation of the above named individual. The instructions contained in Section 103, Volume 3 of the Manual of Instructions and Chapter 78, Part 3 of the FBI Handbook should be observed in connection with this investigation. This case is to be assigned immediately and reports of the complete investigation must be submitted Air Mail, Special Delivery, where proper, by September 26, 1950.

**Address:** 68 Montague Street, Brooklyn, New York, New York

**Birth date:** January 19, 1896  
**Birthplace:** Brooklyn, New York, New York

WASHINGTON FIELD

CHECK STATE DEPARTMENT, CIA, CSC AND HCUA FILES.

NEW YORK

Refer to your file 100-9078. Review and include pertinent data in your report. Refer to your file 100-87870. The reports of SA Richard T. Hradsky dated 3-26-48 and 2-1-49 in case entitled "Dora Martin, Internal Security-R". Review and include pertinent data in your report. (100-352638-22,11,)

(61)

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Enclosure: cc New York (ENC) (SD)  
Boston (ENC) (AMSD)  
Washington Field (ENC) (SM)

EMH:pep  
Form 79 sent CSC

MAILED 4  
SEP 12 1950  
COMM - FBI

58 DEC 1 1950

*[Handwritten signatures and initials]*



SAC, New York

Refer to your file 100-4013. The report of SA Kenneth M. Bierly dated 1-14-43 in case entitled Socialist Worker's Party, Internal Security-R." Page 95. Review and include pertinent data in your report. (100-16-35-50)

Refer to the report of SA Louis Loebel dated 12-11-39 entitled "Communist Party, U.S.A., Registration Act." A copy of this report was furnished your office. The applicant is mentioned on page 23. (61-7590-276)

The Bureau files reflect that a B. D. Wolfe was a lecturer in the New Workers School the fall of 1937. The course was entitled "Law of Revolution: Central Problems of Marxist Strategy." (61-7559-1836-x12)

Refer to your file 40-241. Review your letter dated 1-5-50. The applicant is mentioned on page 47. (40-3923-139)

BOSTON

Reference Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. should not be interviewed.

ALL OFFICES

It should be noted that the applicant in the attached form admitted that he was a member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International and served on that Committee in Moscow.

Applicant also states he was a member of the American Communist Party which described itself as a section of the Communist International.

This case must be assigned to a mature, experienced well qualified agent.

The deadline must be met in this case.

on \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Room \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Subj: Wolke, Bertram

Address: David

Birthdate: \_\_\_\_\_ SUPV: \_\_\_\_\_

Misc: \_\_\_\_\_

R# 352 Date 9-16 Searcher Initial 122

FILE NUMBER

SERIALS

61-6050

102-3-1838X. E. P. D.

A-3 (X)

100-3923-139 <sup>TOTSE FWD</sup> 247

102-3-74-920 ND

61-7590-276X I

64-22166-55 121

Wolke, Bertram W

61-6050 121

over-100 Serials believed to be identical not searched.

Wolke, Bertram

61-6050

(same as above)



WOLFE, Bertram D.  
68 Montague Street (New York Address)  
Brooklyn 2, New York

5728

HA 4-3177

BERTRAM WOLFE is generally conceded to be the foremost expert in the United States on the history of the Russian revolution and of the Bolshevik party. As he explains, he was for a period a member both of the American Communist party and of the Comintern. However, he makes it quite clear that many years ago he renounced the principles of Communism and has taken no further part in the Communist movement. At the same time, his experience with Communism and Marxism will be most useful to the Voice of America in planning and executing the concentrated ideological campaign against international Communism. It is to conduct this campaign that we wish to add Mr. Wolfe to our staff as Chief of the proposed Ideological Talks Operations Unit.

At the present time Mr. Wolfe is attached to the Hoover Library and Institute in Stanford, California where he is a senior Fellow in Slavic Research specializing in Russian social, economic and political matters and history. In addition to his many newspaper and magazine articles, Mr. Wolfe is perhaps best known for his excellent study of the leaders of the Bolshevik party - Trotsky, Lenin and Stalin - called "Three Who Made a Revolution."

OII:IED:LMClucas:rs:7/11/50

123-5791-1

Complete Employment History (Continued)

*Bertram Wolfe*

VOICE OF AMERICA

1916 - 1917

Substitute Teacher of English

Board of Education Brooklyn, N.Y.

*NY*

5729

123-5771-1



F. B. I. **DI** **OC**

DECODED COPY

FROM NEW YORK

9-22-50

NR 221530

12:08 P.M.

DIRECTOR

DEFERRED

BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE, VOA. REBUFILE 123-5791, BULET TO SAN FRANCISCO SEPTEMBER 12 LAST. DUE TO EXTENSIVE ADDITIONAL INVESTIGATION REQUIRED BY THIS CASE REPORT WILL BE SUBMITTED OCTOBER 5 NEXT.

RECEIVED

9-22-50

12:27 P.M.

GW

RECORDED - 130

123-5791-B

EX - 68

*Handwritten signature*

Tolson	_____
Ladd	_____
Clegg	_____
Glavin	_____
Nichols	_____
Rosen	_____
Tracy	_____
Harbo	_____
Belmont	_____
Mohr	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Nease	_____
Gandy	_____

If the intelligence contained in the above message is to be disseminated outside the Bureau, it is suggested that it be suitably paraphrased in order to protect the Bureau's cryptographic systems.

su Wolf, Brent



Address: \_\_\_\_\_

Birthdate: \_\_\_\_\_ SUPV: 70  
4639

Misc: \_\_\_\_\_

R#	Date	Searcher Initial
FILE NUMBER		SERIALS
<del>61-7559-2</del>		<del>6422</del>
61-10498		249 ✓
39-915		507 ✓
61-7559		2534 ✓
61-7561		2-50 ✓
<del>61-7561</del>		<del>85</del> III
61-7569		2-2231, 4136 ✓
66-2542		3-47-2832
61-7559		2-913, 1581, 1591 ✓
61-7590		276 ✓
100-155500	(Have)	1
39-915		592 p. 780
94	(Have)	3-4-501-77 ✓
100-24621		12, 18 ✓
100-24621		32 ✓
61-8404		10 ✓



Sub Wolf, Burton

Address: \_\_\_\_\_

Birthdate: \_\_\_\_\_ *Holiday*  
SUPV: 4639

Misc: \_\_\_\_\_

R# \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_ Searcher Initial \_\_\_\_\_

FILE NUMBER

SERIALS

100 - 33049 - 50 *cont. from [unclear] 7/13*

100 - 16 - 35 - 50 ✓

*Burton*

Form No. 1  
 THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **BUREAU** NK FILE NO. **123-1179 hmc**

REPORT MADE AT <b>NEWARK</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>9/25/50</b>	PERIOD: <b>9/22/50</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>GUS M. MOORE (A) 5725</b>
TITLE <b>BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE</b>			CHARACTER OF CASE <b>SPECIAL INQUIRY-STATE DEPARTMENT Public Law 402, 80th Congress VOICE OF AMERICA</b>
AGENCY <u>ICC - USTA</u> REQ. REC'D <u>2-7-57</u> REP'T FORM. <u>2-81-57</u> BY <u>CCW</u>			

**SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:**  
 Photo State  
 REG. REC'D 12-19-60  
**JAN 6 1961**  
 ANS.  
 BY ada mld

Reference **GEORGE F. KENNAN** advised he had never personally met **WOLFE** but had read **WOLFE's** book "Three Who Made A Revolution."

AGENCY ICC DIST. OFF 2  
 REG. REC'D 11/13/57  
 REP'T. FORM 11/25/57  
 BY CCW - TRS

- RUC -

Washington Field teletype to Newark dated 9/20/50.

**DETAILS:**

ice/photo  
RHE-413  
3-28-53  
ice-photo-Disc  
DET-11-26-52  
CB  
ice-photo-ONT  
10/16-PT  
12/10/57

Mr. **GEORGE F. KENNAN**, member of the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey, who is presently on leave from his position with the U. S. State Department, advised that he did not recall ever having met **WOLFE**. He stated that he had never heard of **WOLFE** until approximately four years ago when he read **WOLFE's** book entitled "Three Who Made A Revolution." **KENNAN** informed that this book was about the biographies of **LENIN**, **TROTSKY** and **STALIN**. **KENNAN** advised that this book indicated no pro-Communist views or fellow traveling on the part of **WOLFE**.

AGENCY ice-photo-Army  
 REQ. REC'D 8-15-56  
 REP'T FORM. 9-4-56  
 BY DA - CCW

Mr. **KENNAN** advised that on one occasion about two years ago he had written **WOLFE** and asked in this letter if **WOLFE** were coming to Washington and told **WOLFE** that he held **WOLFE's** book in high regard. He advised that he had wanted to contact **WOLFE** in connection with some work that he, **KENNAN**, was doing for the State Department. **KENNAN** advised that at that time he considered **WOLFE** to be the most reliable source of information for him. **KENNAN** related that at the time **WOLFE** advised him that he was on the California coast. **KENNAN** stated that he had never interviewed **WOLFE**.

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: <u>S. K. McKee</u>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES
COPIES OF THIS REPORT 3 Bureau (123-5791) 1 Newark 1 cc AAG 4/21/53 dda 52 DEC 4 1950		123-5791-4
		RECORDED - 130 INDEXED - 130 SEP 26 1950 CMB

NK 123-1179

5726

Mr. KENNAN advised that he could furnish no information regarding WOLFE's reputation or character but advised it was his opinion that the book written by WOLFE was written by a man who had no sympathies for Communism.

- REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN -

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Form No. 1  
 THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT BUREAU

FILE NO. 123-937

REPORT MADE AT <b>San Francisco</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>9/25/50</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>9/14, 21, 22/50</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>BURKE MITCHELL, kth</b>
TITLE <b>BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE</b>		AGENCY <i>Photo USA</i> REQ. REC'D <i>2-9-51</i> REP'T FORW. <i>2-21-51</i> BY <i>ALL</i>	CHARACTER OF CASE <b>SPECIAL INQUIRY-STATE DEPARTMENT Public Law 402, 80th Congress (VOICE OF AMERICA)</b>

5724

**SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:**

Employment as Research Fellow, Stanford University 7/1/49 to 8/31/50 verified. Fellow employees, reference, and neighbors recommend. Nothing derogatory. No criminal or credit record Palo Alto, California.

*AGENCY to OSI DIST OFF  
 REG. REC'D. 11/15/51  
 REPT. FORW. 11/25/51  
 BY [initials]*

*AGENCY /cc- photo-Army  
 REG. REC'D 11-15-51  
 REP'T FORW. 9-4-51  
 BY [initials]*

- RUC -

REFERENCE:

Bulet to San Francisco, 9/12/50.

DETAILS:

AT PALO ALTO, CALIFORNIA:

*SEE BUREAU FILE FOR*

Miss LILLIAN OWEN, Executive Secretary, Office of the President, Stanford University, advised her records reflect that the applicant was a Research Fellow in the Hoover Institute and Library from July 1, 1949 to August 31, 1950. There was no derogatory information in her files. She stated she did not know him.

CHARLES EASTON ROTHWELL, Vice Chairman, Hoover Institute, a reference, advised that he knows the applicant only as a fellow employee at Stanford, and as a man who attended many seminars with him. He stated that he has had no social connections with him. He stated that he is aware of the applicant's past association with Communism, but feels that he is now, and has been for many years, an earnest opponent of Communism. He further stated that he has found the applicant to be an honorable gentlemen in all of his dealings with him, and that he does not feel that his opposition to Communism could be feigned for any ulterior motive. He recommended him as a man of good character and reputation, and stated that his associates while at Stanford were above question. He furnished no derogatory information.

HAROLD H. FISHER, Chairman, Hoover Institute, Stanford University, advised he has known the applicant as his superior since he has been at Stanford.

APPROVED AND FORWARDED <i>Harry M. Kimball</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES	
1-CCACG 3-Bureau (123-5791) 1-San Francisco COPY IN FILE 1950		RECORDED - 130 INDEXED - 130 EX-68 SEP 27 1950	123-937-5

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SF 123-937

He stated that the applicant was one of the early leaders of the Communist movement, but that he split with the Party during the 1920s or early 1930s when he became convinced that the Communist Party in practice was a travesty on the ideals he had espoused during its beginnings. FISHER related that the applicant manifested a firm opposition to Communism during the time he was at Stanford. He recommended him as a loyal American of excellent character and reputation. He stated his associates while at Stanford were of the highest type. He furnished no derogatory information.

DANIEL T. LERNER, Executive Secretary and Research Associate, Hoover Institute, advised that he has known the applicant by reputation and through attending lectures given by him as far back as 1937 when he (LERNER) was a student at New York University. He added that he never met him socially until the applicant became associated with Stanford University. LERNER informed that the applicant has been a staunch opponent of Communism all during the years he has known of him. He stated that from his writings, public utterances, as well as his private conversations he has become convinced that the applicant is entirely sincere in his renunciation of Communism. LERNER added that he regards the applicant as a man of excellent character and reputation. He furnished no derogatory information and recommended him for a position of [redacted]st.

Mrs. HEZ G. RICHARDSON, Executive Assistant and Research Associate, Hoover Institute, advised she knew the applicant all of the time he was at Stanford. She stated that she attended many seminars with the applicant at which time Communism and the conduct of the Soviet Union were discussed. She stated, in this regard, that the applicant was always the one in the group who would strike at the heart of the problem and expose the fallacy of the Communist doctrine or the strategy of the Soviet Union. She added in this regard that he is deeply sincere in his attacks on the Communist Party and the actions of the Soviet Union. She recommended him as a loyal American of good character and reputation. She furnished no derogatory information.

Mrs. ZOE V. KNOX, 2034 Sandhill Road, advised that the applicant rented her home at 2026 Sandhill Road during the time he was at Stanford. She stated that she became a close friend of the applicant and his wife as a result of their being neighbors. She stated that the applicant and his wife had informed her that they had formerly been associated with the Communist Party, but that they became disillusioned and had been for many years strongly opposed to Communism. She stated that he subscribed to "Pravda" and often read articles to her from this paper which he would then ridicule or criticize. She stated she had no reason to believe he and his wife were other than loyal Americans. She recommended him as a man of good character and reputation, and furnished no derogatory information.

Mr. and Mrs. LEE R. McBETH, 2022 Sandhill Rd., advised that they knew the applicant and his wife for about fourteen months as neighbors. They stated that during this time they became close friends. They advised that

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the applicant was known by them to have formerly been a member of the Communist movement. They stated that they knew from conversations with him that he has been opposed to Communism for many years. They recommended him as a Loyal American of excellent character and reputation. They stated that they knew nothing of his associates and furnished no derogatory information.

There is no record of the applicant at the Palo Alto Police Department or the Palo Alto Merchants' Association.

AT SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA:

"The Daily Peoples World", (cited as a Communist newspaper by the California Committee on Un-American Activities in its Third Report dated 1947) on July 27, 1944, page four, column six, contained an article reflecting that the applicant spoke at the Jewish Community Center, San Francisco on July 25, 1944. This article described him as a "Trotskyite writer" and stated that the audience "put him through a wringer" when he attacked the unity of the allied powers in a lecture entitled "Russia in the Post War World". This article stated that WOLFE was "visibly nervous as he answered the charges of almost a dozen critics out of the 150 people attending his lecture. Only two defended his shaky thesis." In this regard, San Francisco T-1, of known reliability, advised that prior to the above mentioned lecture, Alameda County Communist Political Association functionaries including STEVE NELSON, whom T-1 has described as Organizer for the Communist Political Association in 1944, considered means of "exposing" WOLFE as a renegade Communist who was antagonistic to the Russian Government and therefore injurious to the United Nations war effort. In this same connection, it was reported by San Francisco T-2, of known reliability, that LOUISE BRANSTEN, was indignant that the applicant was being allowed to speak in San Francisco, and that she was desirous of getting individuals to interfere with the proposed lecture.

San Francisco T-3, of known reliability, has advised that LOUISE BRANSTEN joined the Communist Party in about 1936, and that she has been associated with Communist and Russian groups since that time. She is a woman of considerable financial means and has been a heavy contributor to Communist front groups. In 1943 she was active in the American Russian Institute in San Francisco, and at times acted as Secretary of that Institute. She was the acting Secretary during the period of the United Nations Conference in San Francisco. The American Russian Institute, San Francisco, has been cited by the Attorney General as falling within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

San Francisco T-2 further advised that LUCILLE BURMAN was active in soliciting the cooperation of individuals familiar with Russia to attend this lecture in order that they might ask WOLFE "embarrassing questions".

San Francisco T-4, of known reliability, informed that LUCILLE BURMAN was recruited into the Communist Party in January, 1944, and was an active member of the Communist Political Association during its existence.

- REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN -

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SF 123-937

- INFORMANT PAGE -

b7D

San Francisco T-1 is   
San Francisco T-2 is   
San Francisco T-3 is Anonymous  
San Francisco T-4 is Anonymous.

*John Page*

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Supervisor HA

Subj: Bertman David Wolfe

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<del>61-6036</del>	<del>352</del>	<del>325</del>
<del>63-5791</del>		
<del>100-3-</del>	<del>1838</del>	<del>encl. A3</del>
<del>40-3923</del>	<del>139</del>	<del>247 R 153</del>
<del>100-3-74-</del>	<del>120</del>	<del>390</del>
<del>61-7590</del>	<del>276</del>	
<del>64-22166-</del>	<del>55</del>	
<u>Bertman David</u>		
<del>100-258542-50</del>		✓
<del>100-26921-</del>	<del>21</del>	
<del>64-22166-</del>	<del>60</del>	✓
<del>100-308095-</del>	<del>5</del>	✓
<del>100-16-51-</del>	<del>70</del>	

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4-22a

Supervisor Holby Room 4638

Subj: Bertram Wolfe

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<u>ST 100-3-14-</u>	<u>2676</u>
<u>165-40955-</u>	<u>162 ✓</u>
<u>ST 100-3-20-</u>	<u>901, end of 600-</u>
<u>ST 100-211943-</u>	<u>12 ✓</u>
<u>W 100-334 143-</u>	<u>15, 61 ✓</u>
<u>ST 100-168180-</u>	<u>12</u>
<u>ST 100-203581-</u>	<u>3702, 35, 440'</u>
<u>ST 61-777-50-</u>	<u>47 ✓</u>
<u>I 100-12997-</u>	<u>48 ✓</u>
<u>I 61-8404-</u>	<u>143 ✓</u>
<u>ST 100-206155-</u>	<u>7</u>
<u>ST 100-168153-</u>	<u>9</u>
<u>ST 100-259116-</u>	<u>18</u>

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<u>SI 100-254116-18</u>	
<u>I 100-332851-7</u>	<u>✓</u>
<u>SI 100-18619-</u>	<u>22</u>
<u>SI 100-1321686-8</u>	
<u>SI 100-3-20-</u>	<u>379 375</u>
<u>I 100-3-23-</u>	<u>488 487 490</u>
<u>SI 100-3-74-</u>	<u>5191, 225, 914</u>
<u>I 100-15375-</u>	<u>22</u>
<u>SI 100-264170-</u>	<u>14</u>
<u>SI 21-4-</u>	<u>749138</u>
<u>I 100-0-A-</u>	<u>West Prod 7/13/47</u>
<u>I 100-17139-</u>	<u>93</u>
<u>SI 100-3-20-</u>	<u>375</u>

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Supervisor Volynsky Room 4638

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124-2163-10 ✓  
161-8404-189 ✓  
5161-1292-51  
5161-7558-14816  
~~161-7559-2531~~ ✓  
~~161-7559-2-6422~~  
161-8404-34 ✓  
161-952 out A Daily ✓  
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161-10123-18 ✓  
5161-640 69 p 5-89  
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- ~~561-10689-30, 1304 X<sup>57</sup>~~
- ~~661-7525-3~~
- ~~161-6211-298~~
- ~~139-915-176~~
- ~~161-7559-11173 p4~~
- ~~100-7166-38 p 23, 24~~
- ~~194-1-17998-824 X1~~
- ~~100-335069-1~~
- ~~100-159214-1~~
- ~~174-1333-3220 end 252~~
- ~~142-62736 sub 1-539~~
- ~~142-62736 sub 2-18425~~
- ~~164-22166-55~~

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100-3-74-920 <sup>SI</sup> 890 ✓

101-7590-276

104-22166-55

5400-195897-20

5100-330822

100-769-48, <sup>SI</sup> 3713

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100-352628-11811 ✓

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101-7559-1836 X12

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- ~~ICER~~ Vol 1 p. 603, 630, 631
- ~~ICER~~ Vol 4 - 2613 ✓
- ~~ICER~~ Vol 7 - 4745 ✓
- ~~ICER~~ Vol 11 - 6865, 6867, 6874
- ~~6880, 7127, 7129, 7142, 7143~~
- ~~7145~~ - call 475 for files
- ~~Fish Comm.~~ Vol 2 p. 18, 19, 23
- ~~Hot~~ - 7561 out 2 - 255
- ~~Too~~ - 295935 - 74 p 50 ✓
- ~~Stoo~~ - 287275 - 30
- ~~Stoo~~ - 3-74 - 1195, 1043, 55
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I/100-357025-1 ✓

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I/100-233978-98 X ✓

S/100-3-74-814

I/100-360159-5 ✓

I/101-4483-5 ✓

S/100-356137-A New

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L 64-200- 232-143 ✓

SV 100-3-74- 1121 <sup>574</sup> ✓

Tr 2-23170- 147 <sup>Call 7/15 for file I</sup> 12935/938 149 ✓

I 100-3-74- 1269 <sup>encl. 8 app. A.</sup> ✓

- 117

I 61-7590- 95 <sup>I</sup> 128 ✓

L 61-10498- 249

I 61-10123- 115 ✓

SV 100-23533- 7572 ✓

SV 100-3-14

SV 100-3903- 170 <sup>X2, 1287</sup>

SV 100-3-2nd-4

SV 100-13758- 21 ✓

SV 61-10689- 5X

SV 61-10498- A- West Star 6/2/41

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Supervisor Holroyd Room 4638

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<u>LCt. 61-7590-173</u>	<u>✓</u>
<u>LCt. 7559-5407</u>	<u>✓</u>
<u>I 39-915-</u>	<u>507 ✓</u>
<u>I 61-9568-</u>	<u>2, 12 ✓</u>
<u>I 61-167-</u>	<u>2542 ✓</u>
<u>I 61-6215-</u>	<u>5 ✓</u>
<u>SI 61-105-</u>	<u>170 ✓</u>
<u>I 61-7559-</u>	<u>2746X1, 7597X2 ✓</u>
<u>LC 61-7567-</u>	<u>28, 29 ✓</u>
<u>SI 900-767-</u>	<u>38X7</u>
<u>SI 61-7559-</u>	<u>11533, 104, 4084 ✓</u>
<u>SI 61-23533-</u>	<u>7732, 7928 ✓</u>
<u>SI 61-7559-</u>	<u>1425, 1472, 1575, 1629, 2347 ✓</u>
<u>SI 61-7559-</u>	<u>12534, 3308, 3308, 3653X11 ✓</u>

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Supervisor Holroyd

Room 1639

Subj: Bertram D. Wolfe

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L 61-8404-97, 160 ✓

SI 100-3 sub 20-375

SI 100-7826-29 ✓

SI 100-63-245 ✓

SI 100-74289-5 ✓

SI 100-170669-8

SI 61-8404-151 ✓

SI 100-8231-20

SI 100-258735-7

LI 100-202425-16 ✓

SI 100-66887-12

SI 64-22166-60

SI 61-1335-392 ✓

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Room 4639

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- I 61-7582-2-295 19 20 ✓
- I 100-20187-59 ✓
- I 100-290700-122 ✓
- I 100-20351-4979 ✓
- SI 100-22166-70 ✓
- I 100-330600-255 ✓
- I 100-25854228 ✓
- I 62-23170-154, 159, 160 ✓  
call 475 for files
- I 64-532 sub 22 N 4 ✓
- SI 100-275197-2 ✓
- I 64-2701-1322 ✓
- SI 100-234628 ✓
- SI 100-290700-127 ✓

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Supervisor Kobroyd Room \_\_\_\_\_

Subj: Bertram D. Hoffe

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Date 9-11-50

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I 100-356137-A - New Leader 3/26/49 ✓  
5 I 100-353453-1 encl. 416i  
3 I 5-43302-3525  
I 61-7242-A - New Leader 3/26/49 ✓  
I 61-722-2-851  
5 I 61-7608-5  
I 61-7590-201 ✓  
I 62-23170-146 p. 16i ✓  
call 475 you files  
I 61-1335-3968 ✓  
I 100-334454-2 call 475 ✓  
I 61-7582-12981/1039 1676i ✓  
5 I 100-3-2086  
I 100-352546-152 ✓

SERVICE UNIT  
SEARCH SLIP

4-22a

Supervisor Holroyd Room 4639

Subj: Bertram D. Holt

- Exact Spelling  
 All References  
 Subversive Ref.  
 Main File  
 Restricted to Locality of \_\_\_\_\_

Searchers  
Initial WCC  
Date 9-11-50

FILE NUMBER

SERIALS

SI 100-347280-1  
I 100-233970-119 ✓  
I 61-5381-1244 ✓  
I 100-118061-2  
I 61-7559-2-2032 ~~2231~~ ~~1025~~  
I 100-36676-7 ✓  
I 66-2542-3-47-2832  
I 100-36676-9 ✓  
I 62-23170-147 <sup>Call 475 for files</sup> ~~393~~ ✓  
I 61-7559-5672 <sup>SI</sup> ~~10321X1~~ ✓  
SI 101-10689-5 <sup>SI</sup> ~~13~~ ~~76~~  
SI 100-3-74-931 ✓  
SI 100-347172-1



SERVICE UNIT  
SEARCH SLIP

4-22a

Supervisor Holroyd Room 4639

Subj: Bertram S. Wolf

- Exact Spelling
- All References
- Subversive Ref.
- Main File
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Date 9-11-50

FILE NUMBER

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<u>FILE NUMBER</u>	<u>SERIALS</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>
<u>I 61-7559-2</u>	<u>4135, 473, 1581, 759</u>		
<u>SI 1-7590-</u>	<u>523, 39, 4043, 361</u>		
<u>I 100-13758</u>	<u>64</u>		
<u>I 100-769-</u>	<u>48, 49, 495</u>		
<u>I 10-41572-</u>	<u>8</u>		
<u>SI 100-110609-</u>	<u>20</u>		
<u>SI 1-7559-</u>	<u>4100, p 8, 670, 3</u>		
<u>I 61-7590-</u>	<u>27</u>		
<u>LT 61-7559-</u>	<u>11533, p 5, 11173, 46</u>		
<u>I 100-155500-</u>	<u>1</u>		
<u>I 39-915-</u>	<u>592, 780, x</u>		
<u>SI 1-10689-</u>	<u>2x, 24</u>		
<u>I 100-17826-</u>	<u>657</u>		

SERVICE UNIT

4-22a

SEARCH SLIP

Supervisor

Howard Room 4639

Subj:

Bertam D. Wolfe

- Exact Spelling
- All References
- Subversive Ref.
- Main File
- Restricted to Locality of \_\_\_\_\_

Searchers

Initial

Date

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9-11-50

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<u>61-7559-</u>	<u>4773X5</u>	✓
<u>61-7590-</u>	<u>171</u>	✓
<u>62-23533-</u>	<u>7625</u>	✓
<u>94-3-4-501-</u>	<u>77X</u>	✓
<u>100-24621-</u>	<u>12</u>	
<u>100-3-6-</u>	<u>1594</u>	✓
	<u>187, 195, 201, 219</u>	
	<u>259, 282, 296, 309</u>	
<u>page 400</u>	<u>322, 378, 379, 396</u>	
	<u>424, 441, 508, 629, 641</u>	
	<u>642, 826, 920, 961, 1076</u>	
	<u>1091, 1103, 1104, 1244</u>	
	<u>1272, 1275, 1532, 1543</u>	

SERVICE UNIT  
SEARCH SLIP

4-22a

Supervisor Thurmond, Room 4639

Subj: Berttram O. Wolfe

- Exact Spelling
- All References
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Date 9/11/50

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<u>100-3-41</u>	<u>1544</u>
<u>1596</u>	<u>1603</u>
<u>1630</u>	<u>1643</u>
<u>1669</u>	<u>1745</u>
<u>1747</u>	<u>1748</u>
<u>1750</u>	<u>1754</u>
<u>1759</u>	<u>1760</u>
<u>1771</u>	<u>1912</u>
<u>2063</u>	<u>1698</u>
<u>3004</u>	<u>449</u>
<u>164-2704-</u>	<u>40</u>
<u>561-1292-</u>	<u>28</u>
<u>100-118061-</u>	<u>18</u>
<u>Was-24621-</u>	<u>143</u>
<u>62-23140-</u>	<u>308</u>
<u>100-155439-</u>	<u>61</u>

SERVICE UNIT  
SEARCH SLIP

4-22a

Supervisor Holmquist Room 4639

Subj: Bertrand A. Wolfe

<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Exact Spelling	Searchers
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<u>FILE NUMBER</u>	<u>SERIALS</u>
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<u>100-268519-</u>	<u>8</u>
<u>100-3-21-</u>	<u>168</u> ✓
<u>61-4674-A - Replied</u>	
<u>World 7-1-44</u>	
<u>100-3-20-</u>	<u>366</u>
<u>100-24621-</u>	<u>32X</u>
<u>61-8404-</u>	<u>101</u>
<u>100-336002-</u>	<u>9</u> ✓
<u>100-998-</u>	<u>40</u>
<u>100-15375-</u>	<u>22</u>
<u>61-6022-</u>	<u>6</u> ✓
<u>100-33049-50-</u>	<u>13</u>
<u>100-12868-</u>	<u>24</u> ✓

SERVICE UNIT  
SEARCH SLIP

4-22a

Supervisor Hohoyd

Room 4638

Subj: 68 D Wolfe

- Exact Spelling
- All References
- Subversive Ref.
- Main File
- Restricted to Locality of \_\_\_\_\_

Searchers  
Initial JH  
Date 9/11/52

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SERIALS

LT 100-352628-11, 12, 11; 22 ✓ IV

ST 61-7559-1836X12

W 100-16-35-50 ✓

DEPT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

SEP 27 1950

TELETYPE

- Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

*H.*

*Mr. [unclear]*  
*4688*

WASHINGTON 5 FROM BOSTON

9-27-50

3-08 PM EST

DIRECTOR,..... DEFERRED .....

BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE, VOA. REBUFILE ONE TWENTYTHREE DASH FIVE SEVEN  
NINE ONE. REBULET SEPT. TWELVE LAST. UNABLE TO LOCATE REFERENCE  
KARPOVICH EITHER AT HOME OR UNIVERSITY. INVESTIGATION CONTINUING.

THORNTHON

END

ACK PLS

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8

BS R 5 WA JIM

*aw*

*4/ent*  
EX-68

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*123-5791-10*

NOV 27 1950

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58 DEC 1 1950

100, New York

September 24, 1950

Director, FBI

**BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE**  
SPECIAL INQUIRY - STATE DEPARTMENT  
Public Law 402, 80th Congress  
(WOLF OF AMERICA)

rebutlet dated 9/12/50.

In addition to the information set forth in referenced letter the Bureau files reflect that Wolfe was a writer for the Workers, a Communist Party publication in 1920. Wolfe was also a member of the National Council of the Left Wing Socialist Party. Wolfe was also reported to be a director of the Marx Lenin School in 1929 and 1930. (61-7582-1298 pg. 1628) (61-7582-1298 pg. 1039) (Fish Comm. Report, Vol 2 pg. 18)

For the information of the New York Office the following files should be reviewed for information concerning the activities of Wolfe:

100-10989 The report of SA H. Campbell Garden, dated 4/19/44, in the case entitled "Workers Library Publishers, Inc., Internal Security - C, Registration Act." (100-24621-32X)

100-9078 New York letter to the Bureau, dated 6/14/41, which is a report of Confidential Informant [redacted] dated 4/22/43. (61-10123-115)

100-18965 New York report of SA Russell S. Garner, 6/12/45, entitled "Jacob Abraham Stachel, was., Internal Security - C." (100-20187-59)

The following is a list of publications written by applicant Wolfe:

What is the Communist Opposition?, published by the Communist Party, USA, 51 West 14th Street, New York City. (61-7559-2-1592)

Work and America, published by the John Lewis Company, 300 4th Avenue, New York City (61-7559-2-6422)

The Trotsky Opposition, published by Workers Library Publishers, 125th Street, New York City. (61-7559-2-1581)

Our Heritage From 1776, written by Wolfe in conjunction with Jay Lovestone and William F. Limer, published by the Workers School, 108 East 14th Street, New York City. (61-7559-2-973)

The Russian Revolution, written by Rosa Luxemburg with an introduction by Wolfe, published by Workers Age Publishers, 131 West 13rd Street, New York City. (61-7559-2-2032)

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

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4-27-50

SAC, New York

Things We Want to Know, Workers Age Publishing Company, 51 West 14th Street, New York City. (61-7559-2-2231)

Civil War in Spain, Workers Age Publishing Company, 51 West 14th Street, New York City. (61-7559-2-255)

What Is The Communist Underground, Workers Age Publishing Company, 51 West 14th Street, New York City. (61-7559-2-4136)

Excerpts of Present Day Capitalism, published by the New Workers School, 51 West 14th Street, New York City. (61-7559-2-24135)

Workers Remorse, published by the New Workers School, 51 West 14th Street, New York City.

The San Francisco Office's attention is directed to their letter to the Bureau dated March 16, 1950, which sets forth information concerning [redacted] The San

Francisco Office's attention is also directed to their file 100-10977, the report of SA Warren E. Almond, dated 8/20/44, entitled "The National Council of American Soviet Friendship, Inc., Internal Security - R." Attention is also directed to your file 61-288, report of SA Warren E. Almond, dated 8/2/44, in the case entitled, "American Russian Institute, Internal Security - R."

(66-254-13-47-2832) (100-4964)

For the information of the Seattle Field Division the applicant whom applying for a position with the State Department advised that he was a former member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International and served as this committee in Moscow, Russia. He also advised that he was a former member of the American Communist Party. Your attention is directed to your file 65-406, the report of SA Thomas H. Kennedy, dated 4/28/45, entitled "Otterwald Carl Bronck, wa., Internal Security - C." (100-20351-49)

It is requested that in addition the Seattle Field Division review all references concerning Rolfe appearing in the files of their office and set forth in report form all pertinent information concerning Rolfe's activities in the area of the Seattle Field Division.

The above information is being furnished to the offices receiving a copy of this letter to assist them in conducting their investigation of Rolfe. This investigation should be handled expeditiously and by a mature, experienced, well qualified Agent. Reports should be submitted in this case as soon as possible.



Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Ladd *DL*

DATE: September 12, 1950

FROM : Mr. A. Rosen

SUBJECT: BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE  
SPECIAL INQUIRY - STATE DEPARTMENT  
PUBLIC LAW 402, 80th CONGRESS  
(VOICE OF AMERICA)

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Hesse \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

PURPOSE:

The above-captioned individual is an applicant under the Voice of America Program for the State Department. He has given as a reference Arthur Meier Schlesinger, Jr.

BACKGROUND:

When the applicant filled out Form DS-668 for the State Department, he advised that he was a former member of the Communist Party and was a member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International in 1929, and served on this Committee in Moscow, Russia. Wolfe gave as a reference Arthur Meier Schlesinger, Jr., Professor of History at Harvard University.

On July 21, 1950, a detailed memorandum was prepared concerning the activities of ~~Arthur Meier Schlesinger, Jr.~~ This memorandum sets forth information concerning an article written by Schlesinger which appeared in the August 1, 1950 issue of Look Magazine. It is to be noted that the Director's comment appearing on this memorandum is as follows: "This fellow is a stinker and it is outrageous that Look Magazine included our chart in Schlesinger's article." The above memorandum in its entirety is being attached for your information.

ACTION RECOMMENDED:

In view of the Bureau's past experiences with Arthur Meier Schlesinger, Jr., it is recommended that he not be interviewed. A letter ordering investigation of Wolfe and stating that reference Arthur Meier Schlesinger, Jr. not be interviewed is attached for your approval.

Attachments

*OK*  
*Y/S*

*aw*

EMH:RGB

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*123-5791-7*

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*[Handwritten signature]*

*[Handwritten initials]*

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EX - 68

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

OCT 8 1950

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5723

*H*

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Ladd	_____
Mr. Clegg	_____
Mr. Glavin	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tracy	_____
Mr. Harbo	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Nease	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

*M. J. [unclear]*  
4638

WASH FROM NEW YORK 75 2 900  
DIRECTOR DEFERRED

BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE, VOA. REBUFILE ONE TWO THREE DASH FIVE SEVEN  
NINE ONE. DUE TO INABILITY TO LOCATE CCNY RECORDS AND TO INTERVIEW  
JAY LOVESTONE THUS FAR, WILL SUREP OCT. ELEVEN, NEXT

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123-5791-8  
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# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

71

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **BUREAU**

FILE NO. **123-1425 PHJ**

REPORT MADE AT <b>BOSTON</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>10-3-60</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>9-22, 25, 26, 28-30-60</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>JAMES V. GIBBONS</b>
TITLE <b>BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE</b>	REJ. REC'D <b>12-15-60</b> ANS. <b>JAN 6 1961</b> BY: <i>eds Jvd</i>		CHARACTER OF CASE <b>SPECIAL INQUIRY - State Department Public Law 402, 80th Congress (VOICE OF AMERICA)</b>

**SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:**

Reference KARPOVICH, faculty member, Harvard University, states his association with applicant has only been in effect since applicant renounced Communism. During this period of association he has observed nothing which would militate against him having access to restricted information of the U. S. Government. He believes that the applicant's change in political convictions was sincere. Recommends favorably.

AGENCY *cc photo Army*  
 REQ. REC'D *12-15-60*  
 REP'T FORW. *2-9-56*  
 BY *cel*

- RUC -

**REFERENCE:** Bureau letter to San Francisco, September 12, 1950.

**DETAILS:**

Reference

AGENCY *Photo USIA*  
 REQ. REC'D *2-17-54*  
 REP'T FORW. *2-8-54*  
 BY *...*

MICHAEL KARPOVICH, faculty member, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., advised that he has only been acquainted with the applicant during the period after the applicant renounced his affiliations in Communist affairs. Since that time he has observed nothing in the conduct, conversation or associates of the applicant which would militate against him now having access to restricted information of the U. S. Government. He stated that in his opinion the applicant's break with Communism was sincere and a conscientious undertaking. He apparently has remained steadfast in his present day political convictions and has evidenced no characteristics which would cause his loyalty or patriotism to be questioned.

AGENCY *OSI DIST OFF A*  
 REQ. REC'D *11-17-54*  
 REP'T FORW. *11-17-54*  
 BY *...*

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: <i>J.E. O'Connell</i> SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES
COPIES OF THIS REPORT 3 Bureau (123-5791) 1 Boston	123-5791-9 RECORDED - 13 ex - 68

BS 123-1425

5792

Professor KARPOVICH says that as of the present time he feels that the applicant is a perfectly good security risk and if his services can be utilized in view of his background he would make a satisfactory employee.

- REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN -

123-5791-9

Office

UM • UI

GOVERNMENT

71

to  
HMH  
Star

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: October 6, 1950

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO

SUBJECT: BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE  
SPECIAL INQUIRY-STATE DEPARTMENT  
Public Law 402, 80th Congress  
(VOICE OF AMERICA)  
Bufile 123-5791

Rebulet to New York September 28, 1950.

Report SA BURKE MITCHELL, San Francisco, September 25, 1950, sets forth pertinent information contained in reports and letter mentioned in reference letter. RUC.

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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Ladd	_____
Mr. Clegg	_____
Mr. Glavin	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tracy	_____
Mr. Harbo	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Nease	_____
Miss Gandy	_____
1:40 pm	_____

10-11-50

WASHINGTON AND SAN FRANCISCO FROM WASH FIELD

11

DIRECTOR AND SAC DEFERRED

BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE, VOA. REBULET SEPT TWELVE, BUFILE ONE TWO THREE  
 DASH FIVE SEVEN NINE ONE. FILES OF CSC INDICATE NUMEROUS REFERENCES TO  
 APPLICANT IN INDICES OF TWELFTH CSC REGION. SF REQUESTED TO REVIEW FILES  
 AT CSC AND REPORT PERTINENT INFO THEREFROM WHICH HAS NOT PREVIOUSLY BEEN  
 REPORTED BY YOUR OFFICE.

HOTTEL

HBM:ejb  
123-5405

*Lead SF*

*4/1/51*

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EX-68

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H.

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1  
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **BUREAU**

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ 5720

SE FILE NO. 123-409

REPORT MADE AT <b>SEATTLE</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>OCT 16 1950</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>10/13,16/50</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>ROY W. BLACK</b>	<b>AK</b>
TITLE <b>BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE</b>			CHARACTER OF CASE <b>SPECIAL INQUIRY - STATE DEPARTMENT Public Law 402, 80th Congress (VOICE OF AMERICA)</b>	

STATE DEPT. 12-12-50  
REQ. REC'D 12-12-50  
**JAN 6 1961**  
ANS.  
BY: *adw md*

AGENCY *cc photo - AAMH*  
REQ. REC'D *8-15-50*  
REP'T FORM *9-4-50*  
BY: *J. cele*

AGENCY *Photo to OSI DIST OFF 4*  
REQ. REC'D *11/15/50*  
REP'T FORM *11/25/50*  
BY: *C. S. - W.S.*

**SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:** BERTRAM WOLFE lectured before Institute of International Relations in June, 1944, and June, 1948. On first occasion Communist element in Seattle broke up his lecture and charged him with being a "Lovestonite and Trotskyite and pro-Hitler." No information received as to any activities in Seattle other than foregoing lecture appearances. The subject matter of his lectures reportedly related to historical discussions of past and present Russian-American relations.

- RUC -

**REFERENCE:** Bureau letter to New York dated September 28, 1950

**DETAILS:**

AT SEATTLE, WASHINGTON

AGENCY *Photo USA*  
REQ. REC'D *2-1-51*  
REP'T FORM *2-21-51*  
BY: *all*

HARRY BURKS of the American Friends Service, 3959 15th N.E., was interviewed. BURKS said the American Friends Service, a Quaker organization, sponsored the Institute of International Relations at the University of Washington in 1944 and 1948 on which occasions BERTRAM WOLFE was one of the lecturers and principal speakers. He said he was not connected with the American Friends Service at that time but he produced a file which he said contained all of the pertinent material relating to WOLFE's appearances in Seattle.

As for his appearance in 1948 the file contained no digest or summaries of any of WOLFE's lectures. It appeared that the Institute held

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: <i>J. B. Wilson</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES	RECORDED - 130
COPIES OF THIS REPORT 100 AAG 4/14/53/13 3 - Bureau (AMSD) 1 - Seattle <i>DEC 1 1950</i>		<i>123-4791-12</i> <i>OCT 18 1950</i> <i>8</i> <i>EX-68</i> <i>Photo - INS</i> <i>JEF - jhu</i> <i>12-2-50</i>	
<i>cc State 11/10/50</i>		<del>CONFIDENTIAL</del>	

SE 123-409

its meetings between June 13 and June 20, 1948, and WOLFE appeared on the schedule on five different days. The dates and subject matters of his discussions were as follows:

June 13	"Whither American-Soviet Relations"
June 14	"Old and New in the New Russia"
June 15	"What is the Soviet System"
June 16	"The Struggle for Civil Liberties"
June 17	"Russia and the Peace"

The only printed material relating to WOLFE's lectures appeared in the Institute's report on its annual session which commented on WOLFE's lectures stating that he criticized the aggressive policies and actions of the Soviet Union in such a way as to "lead some in attendance to conclude there was no peaceful solution to American-Russian tension."

BURKS said that LOLA WILLIAMS, who is presently connected with the Unitarian Church in Seattle at the campus, took an active part in the Institute's proceedings in 1944 and 1948 and would be in a position to furnish information concerning them.

Miss LOLA WILLIAMS was interviewed at 1405 East 40th Street, Seattle, and gave the following information. She had coordinated and directed the Institute's meetings during 1948 and had assisted in the proceedings in 1944. To her knowledge no printed material exists of any of WOLFE's lectures or statements other than a printed copy of his initial speech in 1944, which speech was disrupted by the Communists. This printed speech would probably be in the files of the American Friends Service.

Miss WILLIAMS stated she had frequent contact with WOLFE during his appearances in 1944 and 1948. Their conversations were, however, not intimate nor did WOLFE expound his political or social views to her. She said that from his lectures she gained the definite impression that he was violently anti-Communist in so far as the present Russian regime is concerned. She also expressed the opinion that WOLFE impressed her as being a very conscientious and sincere person. She stated she would have no reason to think that his intentions and objectives were any different from those which he stated on the lecture platform. To the best of her recollection he lived at the Edmond Meany Hotel in 1948 and at the Helen Bush school in 1944 during his lecture appearances. To her knowledge he had no close friends in Seattle and confined his activities to the work of the Institute.

100-1791-12



As for the opinion of the content of his talks in 1948 as set forth in the Institute's report on its annual session, Miss WILLIAMS said these comments would have been the editorial opinion of TOM HUNT who was then in charge of the reporting of the proceedings and who is now in Pasadena, California.

With reference to WOLFE's appearances in Seattle in 1944, the official position of the Communist Political Association in Seattle at the time is evidenced by a letter dated June 29, 1944, from the Washington State Communist Political Association, 304 Marion Street, Seattle 4, Washington, addressed to ALLAN POMEROY, Assistant U. S. Attorney in Seattle. This letter calls for an investigation of the activities of the American Friends Service Committee and its conducting an Institute of International Relations. The letter states "This so-called Institute also had as one of its speakers a Lovestonite-Trotskyite, BERT WOLFE, who makes his living by going around attacking Russia and repeating GOEBBELS' propaganda. BERT WOLFE is a member of the Bukharinite group which carried on fifth column - pro-Hitler work in Russia."

With further reference to the Seattle Communist attitude toward WOLFE in 1944, Confidential Informant T-1 of known reliability stated on July 6, 1944, that WOLFE's appearances had been discussed at a branch meeting of the Communist Political Association in Seattle on July 4, 1944. At this meeting CARL REEVE, the then district secretary of the Communist Political Association, told the group that BERTRAM WOLFE had been "kicked out" of the Communist Party in 1929 and was "supposed to be a paid agent of Hitler - that he had been expelled the same time as LOVESTONE." This source also referred to the Communists appearing at WOLFE's initial lecture and by heckling and questioning from the floor succeeded in having the meeting broken up.

It is noted that the file of the American Friends Service contained newspaper clippings and references to the Communist activities at WOLFE's appearance in 1944. The file also contained a transcript of his speech which he was scheduled to give on that occasion and which he gave the following morning before a limited audience. This speech was delivered on June 22, 1944, and was captioned "Russia at the Peace Table." In this transcript WOLFE makes the observation that the present Russian regime is not going toward socialism but rather in the direction of her "national self interests as understood by her leaders." He fixed 1934 as the year when Russia showed a marked change in its objective in that it publicly announced its willingness to deal with fascism, a policy which WOLFE contends Russia followed until the German invasion in 1941.

SE 123-409

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WOLFE called attention to the formation in Moscow of groups known as the German Prisoners Committee, German Officers Committee and German Anti-Fascist Committee. WOLFE stated that these committees were formed as early as 1941 and illustrated Russia's intention of maintaining a military corps which could be of use to Russia following the peace in promoting Russia's welfare. In his transcript WOLFE also made favorable references to the Atlantic Charter and offered the American position as embodied by that Charter as a solution to peaceful negotiations at the peace table.

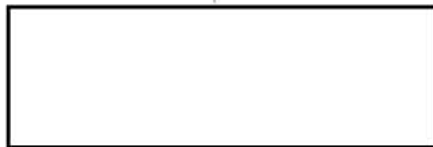
REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

11-16-88

SE 123-409

INFORMANT PAGE



T-1

b7D

*Adm Page*

COMM. DIV.

OCT 20 1951

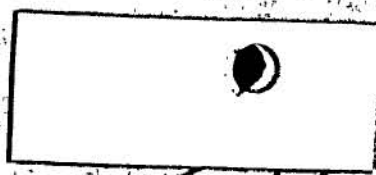
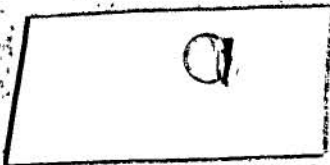
TELETYPE

NEW YORK 38 A FROM WASH DC 20 8-17 P  
SAC DEFERRED

BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE, VOA, REBULET DATED SEPTEMBER SECOND LAST  
AND REPORT OF SA VICTOR A. LEMAITRE DATED OCTOBER TENTH LAST.  
CHECK CREDIT AND CRIMINAL RECORDS ON APPLICANT-S BROTHERS PAUL AND HENRY  
WOLFE. CHECK CRIMINAL RECORDS ON APPLICANT-S WIFE ELLA G. WOLFE.  
SUREP FOR INCLUSION IN REFERENCE REPORT.

HOOVER

HOLD PLS



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	_____

*to*

*Lil*

*H*

10-19-50

*W. J. [unclear]*  
*4/28/50*

WASHINGTON AND SAN FRANCISCO FROM WASH FIELD 19 11a

DIRECTOR AND SAC DEFERRED

BERTHAM DAVID WOLFE, VOA. RETEL FROM S.F. OCT. FOURTEEN AND WFO TEL TO SF OCT. TWELVE. CSC RECORDS HERE REFER TO CSC TWELFTH REGION FILE S DASH ONE ONE FOUR DASH TEN, KLEVEN IN ONLY ONE INSTANCE NOT KNOWN IF ALL TWELFTH REGION INFO IS IN THIS FILE. HANDLE.

HOTTEL

HEM:MK  
123-5405

*[Handwritten signature]*

*Lead SF*

*[Handwritten signature]*

RECORDED - 130 123-5791-13

EX - 68

SAC SAN FRANCISCO

OCT. 13, 1950

3:07 p.m.

SAC WASHINGTON FIELD

DEFERRED

*H*  
5791

BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE, YOA. REURTEL OCT. TWELVE LAST. CSC TWELFTH REGION  
CANNOT LOCATE INFORMATION RE APPLICANT WITHOUT FILE REFERENCES. FURNISH  
REFERENCES AS APPEARING ON INDEX CARDS, CSC, WASHINGTON, D.C.

KIMBALL

FPP/bw  
123-937  
cc: Bureau (123-5791)

*Refer to WFO*  
*123-5791-✓*

*6/12/50*

QW

5719

OCTOBER 20, 1950

DEFERRED

SAC NEW YORK

BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE, VOA, REBULET DATED SEPTEMBER SECOND LAST AND REPORT OF SA VICTOR A. LEMAITRE DATED OCTOBER TENTH LAST. CHECK CREDIT AND CRIMINAL RECORDS ON APPLICANT'S BROTHERS PAUL AND HENRY WOLFE. CHECK CRIMINAL RECORDS ON APPLICANT'S WIFE ELLA G. WOLFE. SUREP FOR INCLUSION IN REFERENCE REPORT.

HOOVER

EMH:PO

123-5791

RECORDED - 130  
INDEXED - 130

123-5711-14

EX - 68

RECEIVED  
FBI  
U S DEPT OF JUSTICE

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

8-171 Em

52 DEC 5

QW

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **BUREAU**

5714 FILE NO. 123-937

REPORT MADE AT <b>SAN FRANCISCO</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>10/24/50</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>10/13,19,23/50</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>FRANK P. POLLNER ml</b>
TITLE <b>BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE</b>		CHARACTER OF CASE <b>SPECIAL INQUIRY-STATE DEPARTMENT Public Law 402, 80th Congress (VOICE OF AMERICA)</b>	

*1 Copy Copy*  
AGENCY Photo USIA  
REQ. REC'D 2-9-59  
REP'T FORW. 2-21-59  
BY all sc

**SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:**

Records of San Francisco T-5, another governmental agency, reflect that the "Militant", Socialist Workers Party publication on 7/8/44 reported that "Stalinist Gangs" broke up a meeting held under the auspices of the American Friends (Quaker) Service Committee in Seattle, Washington, at which WOLFE was to speak. The "San Francisco Chronicle" of 7/22/44 reports answer by WOLFE to protest of him as scheduled speaker in San Francisco.

*100/11/50  
2 H/1/50  
3-23-50  
1/1/50*

AGENCY Photo-Photo  
REQ. REC'D 8-15-58  
REP'T FORW 9-4-58  
BY sc-cab

- RUC -

**REFERENCE:** Washington Field teletypes dated 10/12/50 and 10/19/50.

**DETAILS:** AT SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

The records of San Francisco T-5, another governmental agency which conducts personnel investigations, reflect that the "Militant", Socialist Workers Party publication, under dateline of July 8, 1944 at Seattle, Washington reports that "Stalinist Gangs" broke up Quaker meetings. The article states that at an Institute of International Relations under the auspices of the American Friends and Quaker Service Committee held at the Pilgrim Congregation Church a scheduled speaker, BERTRAM WOLFE, who is described as a former leader of the "defunct Lovestone group and renegade from Marxism" whose subject was to be "Russia at the Peace Table," attempted for ten minutes to deliver his lecture but was finally shouted down by a group described as a "Stalinist Gang" and the chairman was compelled to adjourn the completely disrupted meeting.

AGENCY USIA  
REQ. REC'D 11/15/59  
REP'T FORW 11/25/59  
BY all sc

APPROVED AND FORWARDED <i>Harry M. ...</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES
		RECORDED - 1315
COPIES OF THIS REPORT 1 - Bureau (ALSD) (123-5791) 1 - San Francisco		EX - 68

1950



SF-123-937

Records of this agency also reflect that the "San Francisco Chronicle" on July 22, 1944 reports that BERTRAM D. WOLFE, whose scheduled appearance at a lecture in San Francisco disclosed a protest from local members of the National Maritime Union, gave a vigorous denial to the statements made about him. The National Maritime Union's assertion was that WOLFE is "a known Trotskyite, has made vigorous slanderous statements against the heroic Soviet People, propounds a program of 'peace now' --the program of HITLER and HITLER'S allies."

According to the article, WOLFE stated, "all three statements are falsehoods, I am not now or have I ever been a Trotskyite. The only notice the late LEON TROTSKY ever took of my person was to attack me in an open letter for a critical article concerning him." WOLFE denied that he had ever written a slanderous statement concerning Soviet People, but stated "What they mean is that I have been critical of STALIN at times." He also stated that he was not connected with or had ever been connected with the "Peace Now" movement and stated that he did not favor a peace with HITLER or the present regime in Germany or Japan.

The article described WOLFE as a scheduled speaker on "Russia in the Post War World" to be held July 25, 1944 at the Jewish Community Center, San Francisco, and states that he is one who reviews books on Russia and South America for the "New York Times" and is planning to do research at the Hoover War Library, Stanford University, on a book entitled "Three Who Made a Revolution", which book, according to the article, analyzes the relationship between LENIN, TROTSKY and STALIN.

- REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN -

5716

SF-123-937

SOURCE PAGE

T-5



b7E

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

OCT 30 1950  
J A W  
TELETYPE

NEW YORK ~~36A~~ FROM WASH DC 30 8-10P

SAC DEFERRED

BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE. VOA. REBUTEL DATED OCTOBER TWENTY LAST. SUTEL RESULTS OF CREDIT AND CRIMINAL CHECK REQUESTED IN REFERENCED TEL.

HOOVER

HOLD PLS

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1  
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT BUREAU

5713

FILE NO. 123-5405

REPORT MADE AT <b>WASHINGTON, D. C.</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>10/24/50</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>9/14,18;10/3,6, 9,11/50</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>HUGH B. MC GAHEY HEM:EAM</b>
TITLE <b>BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE</b>			CHARACTER OF CASE <b>SPECIAL INQUIRY-STATE DEPARTMENT Public Law 402, 80th Congress (VOICE OF AMERICA)</b>

**SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:**

HCUA Files reflect applicant was the representative of the American Communist Party at the Sixth Congress of the Communist International in Moscow, Russia, from July, 1925, to September, 1928; member of the National Council of the Left Wing Section of the Socialist Party in 1919; writer for "The Teller," one of the first Communist publications to appear in the United States. Applicant was Communist Party candidate for the Twenty-third Assembly, District of Brooklyn, New York, in 1925, and Communist Party candidate for the Nineteenth Congressional District of Brooklyn, New York, in 1928. Files of the CSC and CIA contained no additional pertinent information. Passport file, Department of State, not available for review. Security files Department of State contained no information pertaining to the applicant. Files of G-2, Department of the Army, contained no identifiable information with the applicant.

TO: State  
 REQ. REC'D 12-17-60  
**JAN 6 1951**  
 BY: *edo* *add*

AGENCY *ice - photo - Army*  
 REQ. REC'D *2-15-56*  
 REP'T FORW. *7-4-56*  
 BY *J. C. [unclear]*

AGENCY *Photo USA*  
 REQ. REC'D *2-7-57*  
 REP'T FORW. *2-21-57*  
 BY *off* *sc*

- RUC -

**REFERENCES:**

Bureau file #123-5791  
 Bureau letter to San Francisco dated September 12, 1950.

AGENCY *to*  
 GSI DIST OFF  
 REG. REC'D *11/15/57*  
 REP'T FORW. *11/25/57*  
 BY *Curd TAS*

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: <i>[Signature]</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES
COPIES OF THIS REPORT 1cc AAG 4/21/53 (3) Bureau 1 - Washington Field 1 - State 11/2/53 52 DEC 11 1950 123-5791-10		RECORDED - 130 INDEXED - 84 EX - 68 Photo - [unclear] JEF 12-2-52

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DETAILS:

AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

The files of the House Committee on Un-American Activities contained the following information regarding the applicant:

On page 39 and 40, their report 209, entitled "The Communist Party of the United States," as an agent of a foreign power, it was revealed that BERTRAM D. WOLFE was the Representative of the American Communist Party at the Sixth Congress of the Communist International in Moscow, Russia, July, 1925, to September, 1928.

He was also called to Moscow in 1929 to discuss the factional situation in the American Communist Party.

It will be noted that the Communist Party has been declared by the Attorney General as coming within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

BERTRAM D. WOLFE was chosen as a member of the National Council of the Left Wing Section of the Socialist Party at the conference held in New York, New York, on June 21, 1919. The objective of the conference was to affiliate the Socialist Party with the Third (or Communist) International.

During 1920, BERTRAM D. WOLFE was a writer for "The Toiler" "The Toiler" was one of the first Communist publications to appear in the United States.

The above information appears in appendix #9, pages 1039 and 1628, of the hearings before a Special Committee on Un-American Activities, 78th Congress, Second Session.

An index card in the indices of the House Committee on Un-American Activities shows that the applicant resigned from the Lovestone Group of the Communist Party in 1930.

This card further reflects that he had served on the Executive Committee of the Workers Party of America; was Director of the Agitation and Propaganda Department of the Communist Party; and was Associate Editor of the "Revolutionary Age."

A copy of the findings of the Joint Legislative Fact-Finding Committee for the State of Washington for 1948, maintained in the files of

the House Committee on Un-American Activities, reflects that a letter, signed by HENRY HUFF and [redacted] President and Secretary, respectively, of the Washington State Communist Political Association, had been sent to the Mayor and City Council in Seattle in June, 1944, in which BERTRAM WOLFE was referred to as follows:

b6  
b7c

"Another faculty member advertised by this institution is BERTRAM WOLFE. He is one of America's most notorious Lovestonite-Trotskyites, who was expelled from the Communist movement many years ago because of his Fascist and reactionary connections. BERTRAM WOLFE is listed as a lecturer on Russia. He is one of the rabid, professional anti-Soviet agitators in this country, and consequently, is opposed to this country's friendly relations and collaboration with Russia."

The Daily Worker issue for October 14, 1925, reflects that BERTRAM D. WOLFE was the Communist Party candidate for the Twenty-third Assembly, District of Brooklyn, New York.

The Daily Worker for March 17, 1927, lists the applicant as one of the speakers at a public meeting held at the Labor Temple, 14th Street, 2nd Avenue, New York, New York, at which time the "Hands Off China Conference" was organized.

The Daily Worker for October 11, 1928, shows that BERTRAM D. WOLFE was the Communist Party candidate of New York State for the Nineteenth Congressional District of Brooklyn, New York.

The investigative files of the Investigations Division of the Civil Service Commission contained no additional pertinent information regarding the applicant.

Special Agent L. RUSSELL WHARRY checked the files of the Central Intelligence Agency and ascertained they contained no additional pertinent information.

The files of G-2, Department of the Army, which were checked by Special Agent KEITH J. STINSON, contained no information identifiable with the applicant.

There was no information regarding the applicant in the files of the Security Division of the Department of State according to information

WFO 123-5405

received by Special Agent JOHN V. JACKOLSKI from MR. LOUIS M. DRURY,  
Security Division, Department of State.

MISS MILDRED SMITH, of the Passport Division, of the Department of State, advised Special Agent GEORGE G. DUFFY that the passport file for the applicant was not available for review at the present time, and she could not furnish any information as to when this file would be available.

-- REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN --

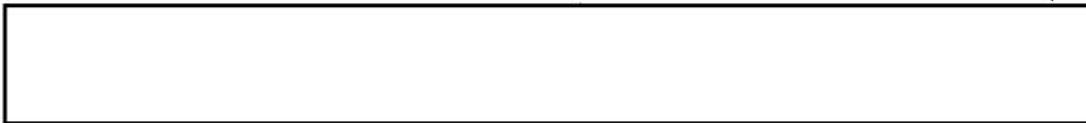
WFO 123-5405


ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

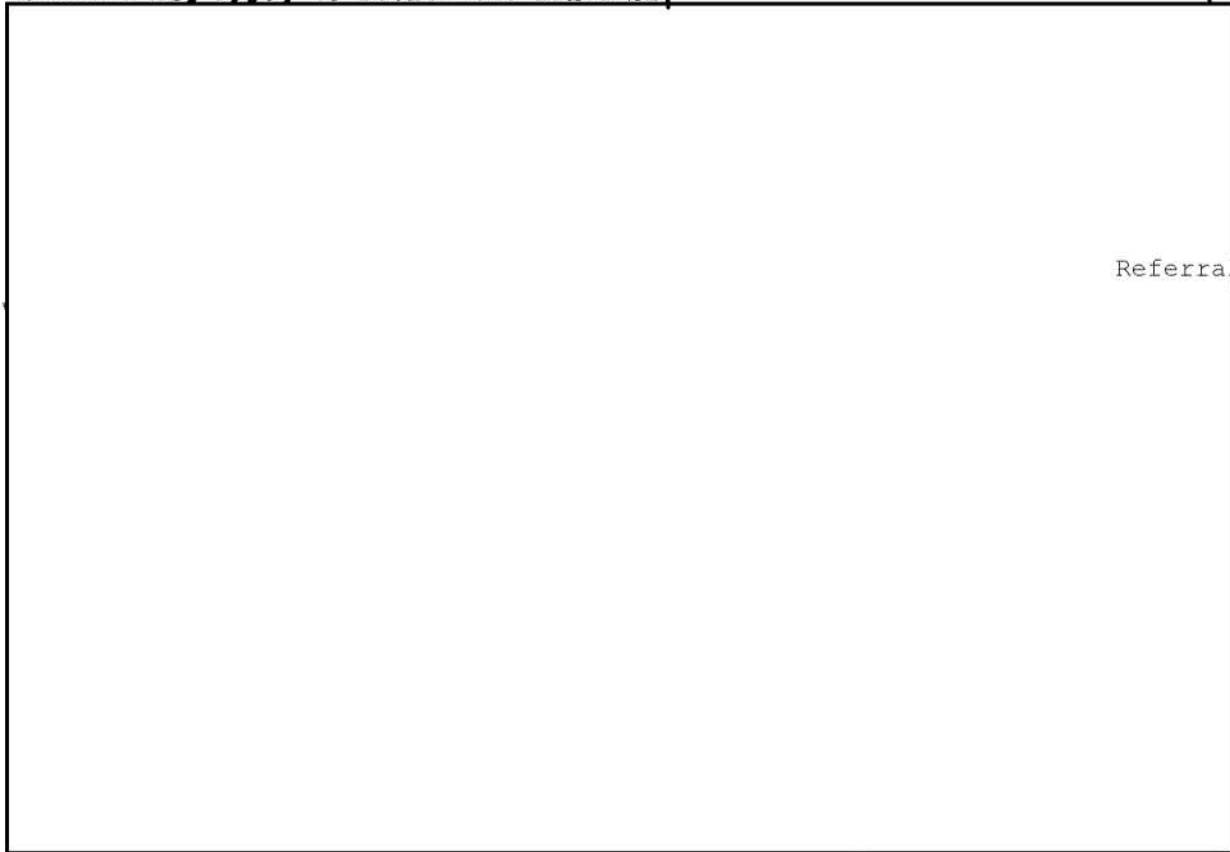
Referral/Consult

*Adm Page*





The San Francisco Division was advised by teletype dated October 11, 1950, to review the files of 



The above information is not included in the details of this report inasmuch as it is believed that the New York and San Francisco Divisions, who have conducted extensive investigations of the applicant, will include same in their reports as deemed pertinent to them.

The information appearing in the applicant's passport file at the Department of State will be made the matter of a supplementary report when this file becomes available.

*Adm Page*

The report of Special Agent WARREN W. RICHMOND, dated October 4, 1944, at San Francisco, California, entitled "BARTLEY CAVANAUGH CRUM, WA., Security Matter - C" contains a reference to the applicant in which it is stated that in July of 1944 many informants in the San Francisco Office advised that office that the Communist Party in San Francisco was planning measures to be taken to protest and prevent a series of lectures in the San Francisco Bay Area to be given by BERTRAM WOLFE, who was described by various Communists as a Trotskyite and renegade Communist who was pledging "Peace Now," and was generally Fascist in his point of view.

The files of the House Committee on Un-American Activities were checked by Special Employee  and the reporting agent.

b6  
b7c*Adm Page*

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

OCT 31 1950

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Ladd	_____
Mr. Clegg	_____
Mr. Glavin	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tracy	_____
Mr. Harbo	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Nease	_____

*H*

*te*

WASHINGTON FROM NEW YORK 14 A 31 1023 P

DIRECTOR URGENT

*Mr. Tolson*  
*4638*

BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE, VOA. REBUFILE ONE TWENTY THREE FIVE SEVEN NINE ONE, AND BUREAU TELE OCTOBER THIRTY. NO CREDIT RATING HENRY WOLFE, GOOD CREDIT RATING PAUL WOLFE. NO CRIMINAL RECORD ELLA G., HENRY OR PAUL WOLFE, NYC. REPORT FOLLOWS.

SCHEIDT

HOLD PLS

*cc*

RECORDED - 130

EX - 68

*123-5791-18*

NOV 27 1950

34

58-1-350

*6/9/51*

To: COMMUN.

Transmit the following message to:

OCTOBER 30, 1950

DEFERRED

SAC NEW YORK

BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE. VOA. REBUTEL DATED OCTOBER TWENTY LAST.

SUTEL RESULTS OF CREDIT AND CRIMINAL CHECK REQUESTED IN REFERENCED  
TEL.

HOOVER

123-5791

EMH:pg

RECORDED - 130

123-5791-17

OCT 30 5 29 PM '50  
RECEIVED READING ROOM

FBI

U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

EX. - 68

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

OCT 30 1950

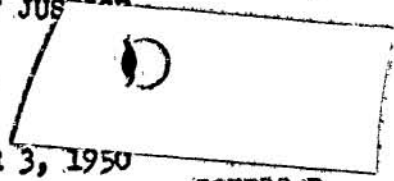
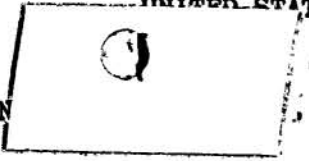
TELETYPE

SENT VIA

5 0 DEC 1 1950

Per

To: COMMUN



Transmit the following message to:

NOVEMBER 3, 1950

DEFERRED

SAC NEW YORK

*to*

BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE. VOA. REURTEL OCTOBER THIRTY ONE LAST.  
ADVISING REPORT FOLLOWS. SUBMIT REPORT TO REACH BUREAU NOT  
LATER THAN NOVEMBER SIX NEXT.

HOOVER

123-5791

EMH:pg *pg*

RECORDED - 130

*123-5791-19*  
NOV 27 1950  
*21*

EX - 68

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

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NOV 3 1 01 PM '50

NOV 3 15 20 PM '50  
RECEIVED-ADJ  
F B I  
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

*Handwritten signature/initials*

SENT VIA TELETYPE 1950

Per \_\_\_\_\_

*Handwritten signature*

NOV 18 1954

TELETYPE

NEW YORK 31 FROM WASH DC

3

6-01 PM

SAC

DEFERRED

BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE. VOA. REURTEL OCTOBER THIRTY ONE LAST. ADVIS-  
ING REPORT FOLLOWS. SUBMIT REPORT TO REACH BUREAU NOT LATER THAN  
NOVEMBER SIX NEXT.

HOOVER

HOLD PLS

*tu*

Date: November 7, 1950  
To: Mr. Donald L. Nicholson  
Chief  
Division of Security  
Department of State  
515 Twenty-second Street, N. W.  
Washington, D. C.

~~PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL~~  
BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

From: John Edgar Hoover - Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

Subject: BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE  
SPECIAL INQUIRY-STATE DEPARTMENT  
Public Law 402, 80th Congress  
(VOICE OF AMERICA)

There are transmitted herewith <sup>eight</sup> ~~the following~~ reports covering the completed investigation conducted by this Bureau concerning the above-named person:

Enclosure: *20*



BY SPL. MSGR.  
NOV 8 - 1950  
COMM - FBI

- Tolson
- Boardman
- Nichols
- Rosen
- Tracy
- Egan
- Gurnea
- Harbo
- Mohr
- Winterrowd
- Nease
- Gandy

52 DEC 5 1950

*R. Star*  
*Shaw*  
*Emt*

Mr. James E. Hatcher  
Chief, Investigations Division  
U. S. Civil Service Commission  
Washington 25, D. C.

Report of Special Agent James V. Gibbons, dated October 3, 1950  
at Boston, Massachusetts.

Report of Special Agent Roy W. Black, dated October 16, 1950  
at Seattle, Washington.

Please advise this Bureau of the ultimate disposition which  
is made of this case.



# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT BUREAU

NY FILE NO. 123-3898 AIP

REPORT MADE AT <b>NEW YORK</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>11/1/50</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>10/23, 25, 30/50</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>C. LEE SNOWY/TBOS</b>
TITLE <b>BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE</b>		CHAS. O. STEINER REQ. REC'D <u>12-1-50</u> <b>JAN 6 1961</b> ANS. BY: <u>ads</u>	CHARACTER OF CASE <b>SPECIAL INQUIRY-STATE DEPARTMENT Public Law 402, 80th Congress (VOICE OF AMERICA)</b>

**SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:**

LOUIS BUDENZ advises WOLFE considered enemy by Communists. States WOLFE now a sincere anti-Communist. No credit rating, HENRY WOLFE; good credit rating, PAUL WOLFE, N.Y.C. No criminal record, N.Y.C., HENRY, PAUL or ELLA G. WOLFE.

*AGENCY: cc-photo-Army*  
 REQ. REC'D 8-15-56  
 REP'T FORM 9-4-53  
 BY cc-cob

- R U C -

*AGENCY Photo USIA*  
 REQ. REC'D 2-1-51  
 REP'T FORM 2-2-51  
 BY cc

**REFERENCE:**

Bureau File #123-5791  
 Bureau teletype October 30, 1950.

*AGENCY photo to DIST OFF 4*  
 REG. REC'D 11/15/57  
 REP'T. FORM 11/25/57  
 BY CC-1 - TRS

**DETAILS:**

Miscellaneous:

In October, 1950, Mr. LOUIS F. BUDENZ, former editor of "The Daily Worker", an East Coast Communist newspaper, advised SA W. J. MCCARTHY, that he knew BERTRAM WOLFE when WOLFE was a member of the Communist Party and after he left the party. Mr. BUDENZ said that while he, BUDENZ, was in the Party, the Communists regarded WOLFE as an enemy of the Party.

Mr. BUDENZ said he considers Mr. WOLFE a sincere anti-Communist over whom the Party exercised no control after his, WOLFE's break from the Party.

*100-470  
1-29-52  
SME/BJA*

*photo - INS  
JFF - Jhm  
12-2-52*

Credit:

The files of the Credit Bureau of Greater New York

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: <i>Edward J. ...</i>	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES
COPIES OF THIS REPORT 3 - Bureau 1 - New York <b>COPY IN FILE</b> <i>1000</i>	123-5791-20 NOV 9 1950 3 <i>6/2/50</i>
	RECORDED - 130 INDEXED - 130 EX-68

NY 123-3898

contain no record of HENRY WOLFE and a good credit rating for PAUL WOLFE.

Criminal:

✓ contain no record, as reported by SA AUGUST J. MICEK, of HENRY, PAUL or ELLA G. WOLFE.

- REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN -

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ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

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*Adm Page*



# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form 1  
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT BUREAU

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY FILE NO. 123-3898 edi

REPORT MADE AT <b>NEW YORK</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>10/10/50</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>9/18-22, 25-29; 10/2-4/50</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>VICTOR A. LEMAITRE</b>
TITLE <b>BENJAMIN GITLOW WOLFE</b>			CHARACTER OF CASE <b>SPECIAL INQUIRY-STATE DEPARTMENT Public Law 402, 80th Congress (VOICE OF AMERICA)</b>

SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR  
ADD. DISSEMINATION.

**SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:**

WOLFE born 1/19/96, Brooklyn, NY. Graduated CCNY, 1916. Studied at University of Mexico in early 1920's. Obtained M.A. Degree from Columbia University, 1931. Employment records set out. WOLFE was member of CP, 1919 to 1929, was Director of Workers School, Director of Agitation and Propaganda, and American Delegate to Executive Committee of Communist International, Moscow, USSR. Followed J. LOVESTONE out of CP and became member of "Communist Opposition" in early 1930's. Was member of Keep America Out of War Congress, 1939. Has published numerous books, latest of which is "Three Who Made Revolution", a study of Russian revolutionary leaders. Reference Professor SIDNEY HOOK and present associates believe break with Communist ideology is completely sincere. BENJAMIN GITLOW believes WOLFE still retains Marxist-Leninist ideology, although opposed to STALIN. Credit rating good, NYC. No criminal record, NYC.

*Ch. 1-2-9-18*

*AGENCY photo - Army  
REQ. REC'D 8-15-56  
REP'T FORW. 9-4-56  
BY J. C. C.*

*AGENCY photo USA  
REQ. REC'D 2-7-57  
REP'T FORW. 2-3-57  
BY J. C. C.*

*IFC-Photo - INS  
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*rec - CIA  
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*AGENCY photo  
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REQ. REC'D. 11/15/57  
REP'T. FORW. 11/25/57  
BY C. D. - J. C. C.*

**REFERENCE:**

Bureau file 123-5791.  
Bureau letter to San Francisco, 9/12/50.  
Bureau letter to New York, 9/28/50.

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: <i>Edward J. ...</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES	
COPIES OF THIS REPORT ④ - Bureau 1 - New York		123-5791-22	SE 28
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EX-125		<i>[Handwritten initials]</i>	

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DETAILS:

AT NEW YORK, NEW YORK

Birth

The records of the Board of Health, Borough of Brooklyn, reflect under Certificate Number 18615 that BERTRAM D. WOLFE was born January 19, 1896 at Brooklyn, New York. His father was WILLIAM WOLFE, a dry goods jobber, age 35, who was born in Germany. His mother was RACHAEL SAMTER, a housewife, age 35, who was born in New York City. At the time of WOLFE'S birth, the family resided at 68 Leonard Street, Brooklyn, New York.

Education

Mr. CARL H. UTSINGER, Assistant to the Registrar, College of the City of New York, 137th Street and Convent Avenue, advised SA ROBERT J. BURTON that according to the records of his office, BERTRAM D. WOLFE entered the College of the City of New York in September, 1913 and graduated with a Bachelor of Arts Degree in February, 1916. The records reflect that WOLFE took general courses, but no other information is available.

Mr. UTSINGER stated that it would be almost impossible to trace the names of WOLFE'S instructors because of the lapse of time and because of the vague records which were maintained during the period 1900 to 1916.

Dean JAMES S. PEACE, Associate Dean of Student Life, College of the City of New York, advised SA ROBERT J. BURTON that there was no record of disciplinary action taken against WOLFE and no record of questionable activities on his part during his years at the College of the City of New York.

The records of the New York City Board of Education, 110 Livingston Street, Brooklyn, reflect that on June 21, 1916, Professor PAUL KLAPPER, Associate Professor of Education, College of the City of New York, described WOLFE as "a young man of ability, initiative and capacity for work".

"Who's Who in America", 1948-1949 Edition, reflects that WOLFE studied at the University of Mexico, Mexico City, from 1922 to 1925.

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On his Request for Investigation Data form, WOLFE stated that he attended the University of Mexico from 1922 to 1925 and that he majored in literature.

The records of the New York City Board of Education, 110 Livingston Street, Brooklyn, contain an application form, dated September 23, 1929, filed by BERTRAM D. WOLFE in which he stated that from 1923 to 1924 he took courses in Spanish, Mexican and Comparative Literature at the University of Mexico, Mexico City.

Mrs. SHIRLEY WHITE, Clerk, Graduate Faculties Records Section, Registrar's Office, Columbia University, advised SA VERNON G. SMITH that BERTRAM D. WOLFE took courses at Columbia University from February to June, 1916, from September, 1929 to June, 1930, and from September, 1930 to June, 1931. He majored in Spanish and received a Master of Arts Degree on December 16, 1931.

Miss OLGA BLONDET, Bibliographer, Spanish Department, Columbia University, advised SA VERNON G. SMITH that she did not recall WOLFE and that no one is available in the department who would be likely to remember him inasmuch as it was twenty years ago that he was a graduate student.

#### Employment

The records of the New York City Board of Education, 110 Livingston Street, Brooklyn, were made available by Mr. IRVING SOMMERS, Clerk, and reflected that BERTRAM D. WOLFE served as a substitute teacher in English at Boys High School, Brooklyn, from September 22, 1916 to September 24, 1917, a total of 188 teaching days. According to these records, WOLFE made a favorable impression on Dr. WILLIAM FISHER, Chairman of the English Department, and on Mr. ARTHUR L. JANIS, Principal of the school.

The Board of Education records further reflect that a Temporary License was denied to WOLFE on June 22, 1917 for failure to pass the oral examination on June 14, 1917.

On September 23, 1929, WOLFE applied to the Board of Education for a position as teacher of Spanish. A license was refused, however, on the grounds of failure in the second interview test. WOLFE'S application reflected that from January, 1923 to July, 1926, he taught at the

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Escuela Superior Dr. Mora, Mexico City, Mexico, and at the Miguel Lerdo High School, Mexico City, Mexico. He was head of the Department of Modern Languages at the latter school.

At the Rand School of Social Science, 7 East 15th Street, Mr. ALGERNON LEE, President, and Mr. THEODORE SCHAPIRO, Executive Director, were unable to verify that WOLFE was employed by the Rand School from 1918 to 1919. Mr. SCHAPIRO stated that no records exist for the years 1918 and 1919 inasmuch as the school is not required by law to keep such records.

On his Request for Investigation Data form, WOLFE stated that he was Publicity Director at the Rand School of Social Science from 1918 to 1919.

At the Eron Preparatory School, 853 Broadway, Mr. GEORGE TOLK, Director of the school, advised that no personnel records are available for the period 1929 to 1934 and that WOLFE'S employment as an instructor at the school during that time could not, therefore, be verified.

On his Request for Investigation Data form, WOLFE stated that from 1929 to 1934, he was a teacher at the Eron Preparatory School,

Mr. SAMUEL FRIEDWALD, an instructor at the Eron Preparatory School, advised that he knew BERTRAM D. WOLFE when he taught at the school in the early 1930's. Mr. FRIEDWALD recalled that WOLFE had been a good teacher and had shown a thorough knowledge of the subjects he taught. Mr. FRIEDWALD was under the impression that these subjects had included English, Spanish and some history.

#### Miscellaneous

*MR. LEE* - According to "Who's Who in America", 1948-1949 Edition, BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE, a writer, was born in New York on January 19, 1896. He is the son of WILLIAM D. WOLFE and RAY SAMTER WOLFE. He obtained a Bachelor of Arts Degree at the College of the City of New York in 1916; he studied at the University of Mexico from 1922 to 1925; and received a Master of Arts Degree from Columbia University in 1931. On April 18, 1917, WOLFE was married to ELLA GOLDBERG. He has been a teacher at Boys High School, Brooklyn, New York (1916 to 1917), and at the Miguel Lerdo High School, Mexico City (1922 to 1925). He was Director of the Workers School from 1925 to 1929 and has been a free lance writer since 1934. He is a member of Phi Beta Kappa. WOLFE is author of the following books:



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- "Portrait of America", 1934,
- "Portrait of Mexico", 1937,
- "Civil War in Spain", 1937,
- "Diego Rivera, His Life and Times", 1939,
- "Keep America Out of War", 1939,
- "Deathless Days", 1940,
- "Three Who Made Revolution", 1948.

WOLFE'S home is at 68 Montague Street, Brooklyn, New York.

The indices of the Library of Congress, Washington, D.O., contain the titles of other books written by BERTRAM D. WOLFE as follows:

"How Class Collaboration Works", published by the Daily Worker Publishing Company, Chicago, 1926,

"Our Heritage from 1776", published by the New Workers School, New York, 1926,

"What is Communist Opposition?", published by the Communist Party, New York, 1933,

"Things We Want to Know", published by the Workers Age Publishing Company, New York, 1934,

"Marx and America", published by the John Day Publishing Company, New York, 1934,

"Nature of the Capitalist Crisis", published by the New Workers School, New York, 1935,

"Trotsky Opposition", published by the Workers Library, no location given, no date indicated.

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The indices of the Library of Congress reflect that WOLFE was also the Editor of the magazine, "The Communist", from November, 1927 to December, 1928.

"The Workers Monthly", organ of the Workers (Communist) Party of America, February, 1926, Pages 154 to 160, contained an article written by BERTRAM D. WOLFE and JACK STACHEL on "Lenin, The American Working Class and Its Party". In this article, the authors declare that dictatorship of the proletariat was valid for the United States and that this country could not escape violent revolution. They advocated the establishment of powerful Communist Party factions in the labor unions.

The Workers Party of America has been cited by the Attorney General as an organization seeking to alter the form of Government of the United States by unconstitutional means and as coming within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

The January 3, 1939 report of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities states: "In December, 1921, the Workers Party of America was formed as a camouflage for the real Communist Party of America, which maintained its existence underground. In 1925, the official name was changed to Worker's (Communist) Party of America, and at a convention held in March, 1928, the Communists finally threw off all camouflage and boldly came out into the open as the Communist Party of the United States of America.

The "New York Times" of July 17, 1926 contained an article indicating that WOLFE had presided at a debate held by the Workers Party at the Central Opera House in connection with a mass meeting of the Interborough Rapid Transit strikers. The debate was between HIRAM MANN of the National Security League and J. LOVESTONE of the Workers Party on the subject "Resolved that our present form of Government is in the interests of the American masses". LOVESTONE took the negative in this debate.

The New York Public Library contains the 1926-1927 Announcement of Courses of the Workers School, 35 East 12th Street, New York City, reflecting that BERTRAM D. WOLFE was the Director of the school.

The 1928-1929 Announcement of Courses of the Workers School, available at the New York Public Library, listed BERTRAM D. WOLFE as Director and as member of the Executive Committee of the school.

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The Workers School, New York City, has been cited in the March 29, 1944 Report of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, Pages 89 and 168, as "an official Communist Party school" whose teachers were invariably members of the Communist Party.

As noted previously in this report, WOLFE was the author of an article entitled "Our Heritage from 1776", sub-title "A Working Class View of the First American Revolution", published in 1926, which is available at the New York Public Library. WOLFE'S article was entitled: "Whose Revolution is It?" and stated that the American revolution of 1776 was the first revolution, while the Communists were the natural leaders and instigators of the second and more complete revolution. WOLFE claimed that conditions in 1926 were very similar to those of 1776. WOLFE compared the Communists to the early colonists who fought against the British. He claimed the revolution of 1776 did not free the American working man who had nothing to celebrate on this occasion because "it was a bourgeois revolution". Elsewhere in the article, WOLFE pointed out that the use of force is not foreign to Americans and that the phrase "The American Way" means "by use of force".

The "New York Times" of May 14, 1927, contained an article concerning the debate between WOLFE and ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS of the Bronx Free Fellowship, on May 13, 1927, on the subject: "Resolved that the American system of Government is preferable to the Russian". WOLFE, who took the negative, called the American system "a Government of the bankers, by the bankers, and for the bankers". Among obstacles to the popular will, WOLFE mentioned the Federal Court system, the two party system, the electoral system and the power of the President.

The "New York Times" of June 4, 1927, published an article reflecting that WOLFE had addressed a meeting of the Workers Party at the Central Opera House, New York City, demanding the withdrawal of American Marines from China.

The "New York Times", on February 9, 1928, reported that WOLFE, together with WILLIAM Z. FOSTER and BEN GOLD, was on the faculty of a new college opened by the Workers (Communist) Party called the National Training Course of the Workers School, the purpose of which was "to teach the art and science, the tactics and strategy of militant revolution".

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On September 18, 1939, former SA GEORGE J. STARR obtained from W. E. DOUGLAS, Secretary of the Workers Library Publishers, Incorporated, 39 East 12th Street, a statement reflecting that BERTRAM D. WOLFE was one of the members of the Board of Directors named in the Certificate of Incorporation of the Workers Library Publishers, Incorporated, dated March 12, 1928. The Board served until March 21, 1929.

The Workers Library Publishers has been cited in the May 11, 1948 Report of the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Pages 72 and 80, as an "official Communist Party, USA publishing house".

The morgue of the "New York Times" contains a press release issued by the National Election Campaign Press Service of the Workers (Communist) Party, dated October 1, 1928, containing a biographical sketch of BERTRAM D. WOLFE, who was a Workers (Communist) Party candidate for Congress from the Tenth Congressional District. According to this press release, WOLFE had been a prominent member of the Workers (Communist) Party since its organization, acting on its Executive Committee at various times. It was stated that while in Mexico, WOLFE had been on the Executive Committee of the Mexican Communist Party and had also been a delegate to the Red Trade Union International (Profintern), with headquarters in Moscow, and a member of the Executive Committee of this latter organization from 1924 to 1928. As of the date of the aforementioned press release, WOLFE was a member of the Executive Committee and also of the Political Commission of the Workers (Communist) Party, head of the Propaganda Department, and Director of the Workers School since 1925. This press release stated that WOLFE was also Editor of "The Communist", official organ of the Party.

Other information contained in the press release is to the effect that WOLFE was one of the founders of the Communist Party in 1919 and was Editor of the first Communist paper, "The Communist World". In 1920, he was a member of the San Francisco Cooks Union and from 1920 to 1922, he was Editor of "Labor Unity", a left wing union newspaper. He was deported from Mexico in 1925 for activities in the General Railway strike. Following his return to New York, he became a member of the Executive Committee of the Teachers Union in 1927.

The "New York Times" of July 7, 1929 related the facts concerning the expulsion of JAY LOVESTONE from the Communist Party for factionalism. The article indicated that WOLFE followed LOVESTONE.

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The "New York Times" of August 15, 1929 reported that WOLFE and a number of other individuals were purged from the Communist Party. According to the article, LOVESTONE and his supporters, including WOLFE, were expelled for seeking to bend the American Communists to the point of view that the tactics pursued by the Communist International through the Workers Party in the United States were hopelessly wrong. Another reason for the expulsion was that LOVESTONE, WOLFE and BENJAMIN OUTLOW had left Moscow without permission after they had been summoned to the Soviet capital to explain their conduct.

The "New York Times" of March 3, 1930 reported a riot which occurred when members of the Communist Party attempted to break up a memorial meeting of the LOVESTONE group in Tuxedo Hall, New York, which was identified as the "Ruthenberg Memorial Meeting". BERTRAM D. WOLFE was acting as Chairman at this meeting.

The "New York Times" of April 19, 1930 contained an article indicating that B. D. WOLFE was one of the speakers at a meeting held at the Stuyvesant Casino (on April 18, 1930) under the auspices of the "Majority Group of the Communist Party". Mass violation of injunctions was urged as the only method of preventing their use in labor disputes.

The "New York Times" of May 11, 1930 reported that under the auspices of the "Majority Group of the Communist Party", BERTRAM D. WOLFE and other speakers denounced British rule in India. They also demanded that WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, ROBERT MINOR and ISRAEL AMTER, all of whom had been recently imprisoned, be set at liberty at once.

The "New York Times" of February 2, 1936 reported that an announcement had been issued by the "Communist Opposition" to the effect that an appeal was being made to the Socialist and Communist Parties to join forces and form a labor party headed by TOM MOONEY as Presidential candidate. According to the article, BERTRAM D. WOLFE of the "Communist Opposition" appealed to the two political parties to "brush aside all petty concerns of partisan or factionary character".

The "New York Times Book Review" of April 17, 1937 contained a review by CHARLES POORE of the book "Portrait of Mexico" by DIEGO RIVERA and BERTRAM D. WOLFE. The reviewer stated "Mr. WOLFE'S text is a guide to the pictures and at the same time a peppery left-of-the-left interpretation of Mexican history... There just don't seem to be any prominent leaders in Mexico radical enough for Mr. WOLFE".

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The April to June, 1937 issue of "The Marxist", described as a journal devoted to critical and creative Marxist scholarship in the social science, reflected that BERTRAM D. WOLFE was a member of the Board of Editors. The "Marxist" was published at 20 Vesey Street, New York City, by the American Marxist Association.

The "New York Times" of March 7, 1938 reported that BERTRAM D. WOLFE spoke at a meeting at the Hippodrome under auspices of the "Keep America Out of War Committee", a new organization of socialists and other liberals.

The "New York Times" of March 10, 1938 reported that WOLFE had been a speaker at the Hotel Center, 108 West 43rd Street, New York City, at a meeting held under the auspices of the American Committee for the Defense of Leon Trotsky. The meeting adopted resolutions denouncing the Moscow trials as a frame-up.

The "New York Times" of September 13, 1939 reported a meeting of the Keep America Out of War Congress, which was held at the Town Hall, New York City, and at which BERTRAM D. WOLFE was one of the speakers.

As has been noted previously in this report, after the outbreak of World War II in 1939, BERTRAM D. WOLFE published a book entitled "Keep America Out of War". NORMAN THOMAS was co-author of this book, which was published by the Frederick A. Stokes Company, New York City.

By report dated June 17, 1941, Confidential Informant T-1, an instrumentality of the City of New York which conducts security investigations, reported that BERTRAM D. WOLFE, author, was a member of the Governing Board of the Keep America Out of War Congress. According to the informant, this organization was formed in the Spring of 1938 by a section of the Socialist Party in an attempt to capture the anti-war movement from the Communist Party.

On October 4, 1939, BERTRAM D. WOLFE was interviewed in connection with another matter by former SA GEORGE J. STARR. On this occasion, WOLFE stated that he had been a delegate to the Sixth Congress of the Communist International from the Workers (Communist) Party. He stated that he had been chosen by the Central Committee of the Party. He added that he had never been a delegate from the Party to any other Party conventions or conferences. WOLFE advised that he entered the Communist Party during the early part of its existence and that he was expelled in 1929. In 1925, he became Director of the Workers School in New York City.

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On April 22, 1941, Confidential Informant T-2, of known reliability, advised that WOLFE had joined the Communist Party with or shortly after LOVESTONE in 1919 and that his political career had closely paralleled that of LOVESTONE. According to informant, after his return from the Sixth Congress of the Communist International in Moscow, WOLFE took on the assignment of literary "hatchet man" against the Trotskyites and wrote one of two pamphlets of Trotskyism in the approved Communist style of "falsification" and delivered a few lectures on the same subject. After his expulsion from the Communist Party, according to informant, WOLFE admitted that he lied and renounced the pamphlets. The informant added that besides literary sallies against the Trotskyites, WOLFE undertook practical measures against them and headed so-called steering committees to disrupt all Trotskyite meetings. WOLFE saw that the attackers were furnished with lead pipe encased in paper, knives, knuckles and blackjacks. After his expulsion from the Party, he said that the weapons had not been distributed by the committee, but had been obtained by the hot-headed rank and filers without his knowledge.

The informant claimed that in 1929, LOVESTONE and WOLFE had instructed their "boys" to commit burglary in the Trotskyite office and in the apartment of JAMES P. CANNON, Trotskyite leader. The informant claimed that in 1935, WOLFE and LOVESTONE entered into secret negotiations with EARL CROWDER for readmission to the Communist Party, but that the negotiations collapsed when WOLFE and LOVESTONE insisted that they must enter the Party as a group and not as individuals.

The informant stated that in 1937, after his return from a trip to Spain, WOLFE lectured at the Hotel Delano, location not mentioned, and gave the OCPU operation in Spain a whitewash.

The July, 1941 issue of the "Readers Digest" contains an article entitled "The Silent Soviet Revolution" by BERTRAM D. WOLFE. In a footnote to this article, a short biographical sketch of WOLFE is set out in which it is explained that the author taught in a Mexico City High School in the early 1920's; that he made numerous visits to the Soviet Union and was personally acquainted with STALIN and MOLOTOV.

On February 21, 1942, Confidential Informant T-3, another governmental agency which conducts security investigations,

Referral/Consult

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On March 2, 1942, Confidential Informant ~~A-4~~, of known reliability, advised that VLADIMIR YAROSLAVSKY, an employee of the Amtorg Trading Corporation, had made the statement that BERTRAM WOLFE was connected with a Trotskyite group which was in contact with an international Trotskyite school being formed in Mexico. YAROSLAVSKY considered WOLFE to be dangerous.

It is to be noted that according to Professor SIDNEY HOOK, Department of Philosophy, New York University, WOLFE was an anti-Trotskyite even before the Communist Party adopted this line.

It has also been pointed out previously in this report that according to Confidential Informant T-2, WOLFE was one of the principal opponents of the Trotskyite group.

The "New York Times" of January 12, 1945 reported that WOLFE presided at a meeting at Webster Hall, New York City, on January 11, 1945 to observe the second anniversary of the death of CARLO TRESCA, a Socialist labor editor who was assassinated on January 11, 1943.

On September 10, 1947, in connection with another matter, WOLFE was interviewed by SA'S RICHARD J. GALLAGHER and JOHN F. WACKS. He advised that he had been Director of the Workers School from 1925 to 1929. During the latter year, he was also appointed National Director of the Agitation and Propaganda Department of the Party. According to WOLFE, he issued catalogs for the school twice a year during his tenure and, although he had an Advisory Committee to help him arrange curricula, select teachers and assist in the running of the school, he considered them to be a "rubber stamp" committee which had no authority whatsoever. He further advised that he had been solely responsible for the school, although the Central Committee of the Communist Party passed on all his recommendations and activities. He added that he made so much money for the school and did such a good job that he was made the National Director of Agitation and Propaganda.

On this occasion, WOLFE stated that advocacy of the overthrow of capitalism by force and violence was never taught as such in the Workers School, but that it was understood that eventually there must be some type of revolution to achieve the dictatorship of the proletariat. WOLFE stated that he did not believe the Communist Party to be dangerous to the security of the United States and that he was not in full agreement with the loyalty probes then being conducted.



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According to Confidential Informant T-5, of known reliability, B. D. WOLFE, 68 Montague Street, Brooklyn, New York, is known to have communicated with MAC GOODMAN, 39 Grove Street, New York City, on December 17, 1947. MAC GOODMAN was the husband of SHEBA STRUNSKY GOODMAN, Executive Secretary of the International Rescue and Relief Committee, Incorporated, 103 Park Avenue, New York City.

Referral/Consult

According to Confidential Informant [redacted]

The "Brooklyn Eagle" of May 30, 1948 stated that BERTRAM D. WOLFE had just completed a book about Russia which was to be published in September, 1948 by the Dial Press, New York City, under the title "Three Who Made Revolution".

On October 13, 1948, "New York Times" published a Book Review by ORVILLE PRESCOTT of the book "Three Who Made Revolution" by BERTRAM WOLFE. The writer stated in part: "The book bears much evidence that he (WOLFE) is bitterly opposed to the tyranny of Stalin, but none as to whether he still approves of Communism as a political-economic ideal."

The "New York Times" of November 3, 1948 contained a Book Review by HANS KOHN of "Three Who Made Revolution" by BERTRAM D. WOLFE. It stated that the book ends with the outbreak of the first World War, 1914, and "promises to become an authoritative source on the Russian revolution from the last part of the Nineteenth Century to the present day".

The "New York Times" of October 28, 1938 reported that BERTRAM D. WOLFE took part in a radio symposium over Radio Station WQXR, New York City, on the difficulty of getting along with Russia as long as her leaders continue thinking of a war with capitalistic nations as "inevitable". According to the article, WOLFE said that Russia was waging unrelenting war on its own people and that the danger was "that the people at home will be kept quiet by expansion abroad".

The "New Leader" of November 19, 1949, Page 8, Column 1, contained a statement reflecting that BERTRAM WOLFE was at Stamford University working on a second volume on the Russian revolution.

Confidential Informants T-7, T-8, T-9, T-10, T-11, T-12, and T-13, all of known reliability, advised that they had no knowledge of BERTRAM D. WOLFE. These informants are familiar with the more prominent members of the Communist Party in the New York City area.

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References

Professor SIDNEY HOOK, Chairman of the Department of Philosophy, New York University, advised that he has known BERTRAM D. WOLFE for approximately sixteen years and considers him the most valuable man in America for the purpose of an ideological offensive against Communism in Western Europe. Professor HOOK stated that this was demonstrated by WOLFE'S attitude in that he is now a "principled Democrat". Professor HOOK said that WOLFE knows the theory and practice of Communism from A to Z and why people are drawn to Communism. He said that WOLFE is in a position to counteract on psychological and logical grounds Communist propaganda. He described WOLFE as a skillful writer and as an eloquent speaker. He said that from the point of view of education, WOLFE can do a very effective job. Professor HOOK said that a man like WOLFE, who believes in social reform and understands that there are social causes for the development of Communism, can most effectively counteract Communist arguments. Professor HOOK stated that WOLFE is a master at pointing out the discrepancies between Communist ideals and practices. He said that WOLFE knows what the workers want and can show that the practice of Communism is much more deadly to their freedoms than anything else in the world. According to Professor HOOK, WOLFE'S "wonderful political sense" would enable him to turn the idealism of the working class in Western Europe against Communist mythology.

Professor HOOK said that he had no doubt whatever that WOLFE'S conversion from Communism was completely sincere.

Associates

Mr. LISTON M. OAK, Information Specialist, International Broadcasting Division, United States Department of State, 1775 Broadway, New York City, advised SA HOWARD H. WALLACE that he has known BERTRAM WOLFE since 1927, at which time OAK joined the Communist Party. Mr. OAK said that his first job was as manager of the Workers Library Publishers at the Communist Party headquarters on East 125th Street, New York City, and that he worked under WOLFE'S supervision. Mr. OAK stated that he also handled publicity in the 1928 political campaign.

According to Mr. OAK, WOLFE was expelled from the Communist Party in 1929 by order of the Communist International and subsequently helped JAY LOVESTONE in the organization of an opposition group.

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Mr. OAK resumed contact with BERTRAM WOLFE upon Mr. OAK'S return in the 1930's from Spain. At this time Mr. OAK noted that BERTRAM WOLFE was "slipping" in his faith in Leninism, although it was not until 1938 or 1939 that the LOVESTONE group dissolved. Since then, most of its members have gradually abandoned the basic doctrines of Communism.

Mr. OAK stated that in recent years he has worked with WOLFE on the Post War World Council of which NORMAN THOMAS is Chairman. Mr. OAK remarked that the Council has endorsed the action of the United States and the United Nations in Korea.

Mr. OAK recalled that while he was editor of the "New Leader", WOLFE contributed a series of articles that clearly indicated his disillusionment with Soviet Russia and Communism.

Mr. OAK described WOLFE as a man of outstanding integrity and stated that there can be no question as to the sincerity of his beliefs.

Mr. EUGENE LYONS, 165 East 60th Street, New York City, Roving Editor of the "Readers Digest", advised that he became acquainted with BERTRAM D. WOLFE approximately twenty-five years ago at the time when Mrs. WOLFE was a stenographer at the Tass News Agency in New York City where LYONS was employed. Mr. LYONS stated that he has kept up his friendship with the WOLFES and followed closely BERTRAM WOLFE'S ideological development. Mr. LYONS is of the opinion that WOLFE became a Communist because of an innate yearning for justice and that, like many others, became disillusioned in the Soviet Union. Mr. LYONS firmly believes that WOLFE is a man who is sincere in everything he does and that his break with Communist ideology is altogether genuine. Mr. LYONS expressed the opinion that WOLFE is one of the best informed people in the world on the subject of Communism.

Mr. THEODORE SCHAPIRO, Executive Director, Rand School of Social Science, 7 East 15th Street, advised that he had known BERTRAM D. WOLFE by reputation for many years and had known him personally for eight years. According to Mr. SCHAPIRO, WOLFE has lectured frequently at the Rand School. He stated that WOLFE is a person of "utmost sincerity" who became disillusioned with Communist ideology and because of character evolution is now a convinced "Democrat-Socialist" who advocates the use of established Democratic forms to bring about social progress. According to Mr. SCHAPIRO, WOLFE is entirely loyal to the Democratic traditions and institutions of the United States.

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Mr. NELSON FRANK, Feature Writer, "New York World Telegram and Sun", New York City, advised that WOLFE has led a more academic existence than other individuals in the LOVESTONE group and, for that reason, appears to have taken less positive action against Russia than others. Mr. FRANK stated that WOLFE'S book, "Three Who Made Revolution", reflects anti-Communist, anti-Marxist, and anti-Stalinist sentiments. In the opinion of Mr. FRANK, WOLFE'S break with Communism is quite sincere.

Mr. NORMAN THOMAS, Post War World Council, 112 East 19th Street, advised that he has known WOLFE well for many years. He considers WOLFE a man who is perfectly open and above board in everything that he does. According to Mr. THOMAS, WOLFE was sincere as a Communist and is now a sincere anti-Communist. Mr. THOMAS stressed the fact that WOLFE'S break with the Communist Party without "fireworks" or fanfare does not make that break any less complete. According to Mr. THOMAS, WOLFE is not a "stunter".

In the book, "I Confess", published in 1940 by the E. P. Dutton Company, New York, BENJAMIN GITLOW, who was a prominent Communist Party official and was expelled from the Party in 1929 at the same time as LOVESTONE and WOLFE, states as follows:

"He (WOLFE) followed LOVESTONE into the Communist Party, organized jointly with the Russian Federation in 1919. As soon as the raids ('The Palmer Raids', 1919) took place, he shirked all Party activities, disappeared from his post and failed to show up at committee meetings, though his wife continued to insist that his Party salary should be paid. After many months, news began to trickle in that WOLFE had left the country and had made his residence in Mexico. The rank and file comrades did not relish what seemed to them cowardice in a leader and openly expressed their disapproval of what looked like flight to Mexico."

On Page 405 of "I Confess", GITLOW declares that JAY LOVESTONE and BERTRAM D. WOLFE had been responsible for the speedy and phenomenal rise of JACK STACHEL to leadership in the Communist Party, USA "solely because of the youngster's aptitude for dirty factionary politics".

~~JACK STACHEL~~ is one of the members of the National Committee of the Communist Party, USA who, in 1949, was found guilty of violation of the Smith Act.

NY 123-3898

On July 9, 1947, BENJAMIN GITLOW advised SA'S CHARLES H. NOONE and JOHN F. WACKS that WOLFE had been active in the Communist Party through 1929 with the exception of a period of two years when he left the country to work with the Communist Party of Mexico. GITLOW stated that WOLFE was an author in New York City and was known to him to be anti-Communist.

On September 25, 1950, Mr. GITLOW advised that WOLFE had helped in the organization of the "Russian Branch" of the Communist Party in Chicago in 1919. Mr. GITLOW stated that following the Palmer Raids, it was the consensus of opinion among the rank and file in the Communist Party that WOLFE had fled to Mexico. However, according to Mr. GITLOW, WOLFE came back to the United States in time to attend the secret convention of the Communist Party at Bridgeman, Michigan in 1924. Mr. GITLOW recalled that in his book, "I Confess", he stated that at the Bridgeman convention, LOVESTONE placed WOLFE in charge of a "neutral" group, which was used as a spearhead against a majority group to which GITLOW belonged.

Mr. GITLOW stated that WOLFE was a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in 1920 and that he subsequently became a member of the Political Commission of the Communist Party. Mr. GITLOW recalled that WOLFE was named Director of the Workers School (which GITLOW described as an official Communist Party school) and subsequently was appointed Director of Agitation and Propaganda Department of the Communist Party. Mr. GITLOW mentioned that WOLFE was also on the anti-Imperialist Committee of the Political Commission.

Mr. GITLOW recalled that in 1928, WOLFE was the representative of the Communist Party of the United States to the Communist International at Moscow and that in that same year he was a delegate to the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International.

Mr. GITLOW stated that following the expulsion of the LOVESTONE group from the Communist Party, the "Communist Opposition" was formed and that its purpose was to fight for the democratization of the Communist International. According to GITLOW, this "Communist Opposition", of which WOLFE was a member, continued to support STALIN and even as late as 1934 or 1935 was willing to return to the Communist Party, but failed to do so because of LOVESTON'S insistence that the "Communist Opposition" be taken back as a group and not individually.

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Mr. GITLOW was of the opinion that WOLFE continues to be a pro-Russian Marxist-Leninist and said that he based this belief on (a) WOLFE'S opposition to the United States entry into World War II because of the "imperialist" nature of that war; (b) approval by the LOVESTONE group, of which WOLFE was a member, of the Russian invasion of Finland; and (c) the indications in WOLFE'S last book, "Three Who Made Revolution", that WOLFE still holds on to Marxian doctrine.

On October 2, 1950, JAY LOVESTONE, who is in charge of International Political Affairs for the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, American Federation of Labor, 1710 Broadway, advised SA C. LEE SNOEYENBOS that he was formerly the head of the Communist Party in the United States and that he had broken with the Party on the grounds of Russian domination of the American Party. He said that BERTRAM D. WOLFE was in the Communist Party with him and broke from the Party at the same time and for the same reasons. Mr. LOVESTONE stated that since his break with the Communist Party, WOLFE has been a complete and sincere anti-Communist.

Mr. LOVESTONE added that WOLFE is a scholarly type of individual; that he has a vast knowledge of Communist activities and personalities; and that he is all the more valuable as an authority on the subject of Communism in that he looks at the problem as an American.

Mr. LOVESTONE stated that WOLFE is completely loyal to the United States and does not subscribe to any form of appeasement of the Communists. He stressed that there is no question as to the completeness and sincerity of WOLFE'S break with the Communist Party.

Mr. LOVESTONE said that WOLFE is a man of good character and reputation and is, in all respects, reliable and trustworthy. According to Mr. LOVESTONE, the main significant feature of WOLFE'S thinking is his unalterable opposition to totalitarianism in any form, either from the left or from the right.

Mr. MURRAY BARON, Chairman of the Liberal Party, New York County, 11 West 42nd Street, New York City, advised SA C. LEE SNOEYENBOS that he has known WOLFE for twelve years. He said that WOLFE, a former Communist, broke from the Party a number of years ago and is now known as an active anti-Communist. Mr. BARON said that WOLFE is considered to be one of the best authorities on the Communist movement in general in the United States. Mr. BARON added that there is absolutely no doubt of the sincerity and thoroughness of WOLFE'S conversion from Communism or of his loyalty and devotion to the United States. Mr. BARON stated that he was convinced of WOLFE'S good personal character and reputation.

NY 123-3898

Neighborhood

At the office of Bing and Bing, 119 West 40th Street, New York City, it was ascertained that BERTRAM D. WOLFE occupied Apartment 5-D at 68 Montague Street, Brooklyn, New York on November 25, 1938. He had previously resided at 632 Throop Avenue, Brooklyn, where he had been a tenant for the preceding ten years.

At 632 Throop Avenue, Brooklyn, Mrs. W. L. CLARK, a tenant, advised that the house was bought by its present owners in 1940 and that the present tenants have resided at that address ten years or less and, for that reason, would not be in a position to furnish any information about anyone who had moved out prior to the change of ownership.

It was noted that the character of this neighborhood has changed completely during the past few years and it was evident that no one in the vicinity would recall WOLFE.

At 68 Montague Street, Brooklyn, Mr. JOSEPH BELL, Superintendent, advised that he has been in charge of the apartment building since 1937 and that, to the best of his knowledge, WOLFE is quiet and studious and, apparently, a solid American citizen.

Mr. WILLARD MEADOWS advised that he has acted as handyman at 68 Montague Street since 1941 and that, in his opinion, WOLFE is an honest, sincere and generous person. Mr. MEADOWS stated that he did not consider himself in a position to comment on WOLFE'S loyalty to the United States.

Miss MARY LYNCH, Apartment 5-B, 68 Montague Street, Brooklyn, advised that she and her sisters have occupied their apartment since 1943, but that they have nothing more than a nodding acquaintance with the WOLFES. Miss LYNCH was unable to comment on WOLFE'S character, associations or loyalty.

Mrs. JAMES HUNTER, Apartment 5-C, 68 Montague Street, Brooklyn, stated that she has been a tenant at the foregoing address, but that neither she nor her husband are sufficiently acquainted with WOLFE to comment on his character, associations or loyalty.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 123-3898

Mrs. E. ROVERE, Apartment 4-C, 68 Montague Street, Brooklyn, advised that she has lived at this address since 1940 and that she has known Mr. and Mrs. WOLFE for over ten years. Mrs. ROVERE stated that she considered WOLFE a capable and loyal person. Mrs. ROVERE stressed that she would not hesitate, in times like the present, to denounce even her closest friends if it was a matter of disloyalty to the United States. She asserted that bearing this in mind, she did not hesitate to state that WOLFE was sincere in his break with Communist ideology and in his devotion to the United States.

Credit

The files of the Credit Bureau of Greater New York reflect that both BERTRAM D. WOLFE and his wife, ELIA G. WOLFE of 68 Montague Street, Brooklyn, enjoy a good credit record.

Confidential Informant T-14, of known reliability, was unable to furnish any information concerning BERTRAM D. WOLFE.

Criminal

The files of the New York City Police Department, which were checked by SA AUGUST J. MICEK, failed to reflect a criminal record for BERTRAM D. WOLFE.

-- REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN --

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



NY 123-3898

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

Records of the Board of Health, Borough of Brooklyn, New York City, were checked by SE GERARD M. LENAHAN.

The files of the Credit Bureau of Greater New York were checked by SE RALPH G. MURDY.

Confidential Informant T-14 was contacted by SE GERARD M. LENAHAN.

*Adm Page*

NY 123-3898

CONFIDENTIAL INFORMANTS

The Confidential Informants mentioned in the report of SA VICTOR A. LEMAIRE, dated October 10, 1950, at New York, are identified as follows:

T-1 Bureau of Special Services and Investigations,  
New York City Police Department.

T-2

[Redacted]

b7D

Referral/Consult

[Redacted]

T-4

[Redacted]

b7D

T-5

Mail cover on

[Redacted]

New York City.

Referral/Consult

[Redacted]

T-7

[Redacted]

contacted by SA EDWARD W. BUCKLEY.

b7D

T-8

contacted by SA EDWARD W. BUCKLEY.

T-9

contacted by SA

[Redacted]

b6  
b7C

T-10

contacted by SA

T-11

contacted by SA

T-12

contacted by SA

T-13

contacted by SA

T-14

*Adm Page*

SAC, NEW YORK (123-3898)

March 30, 1953

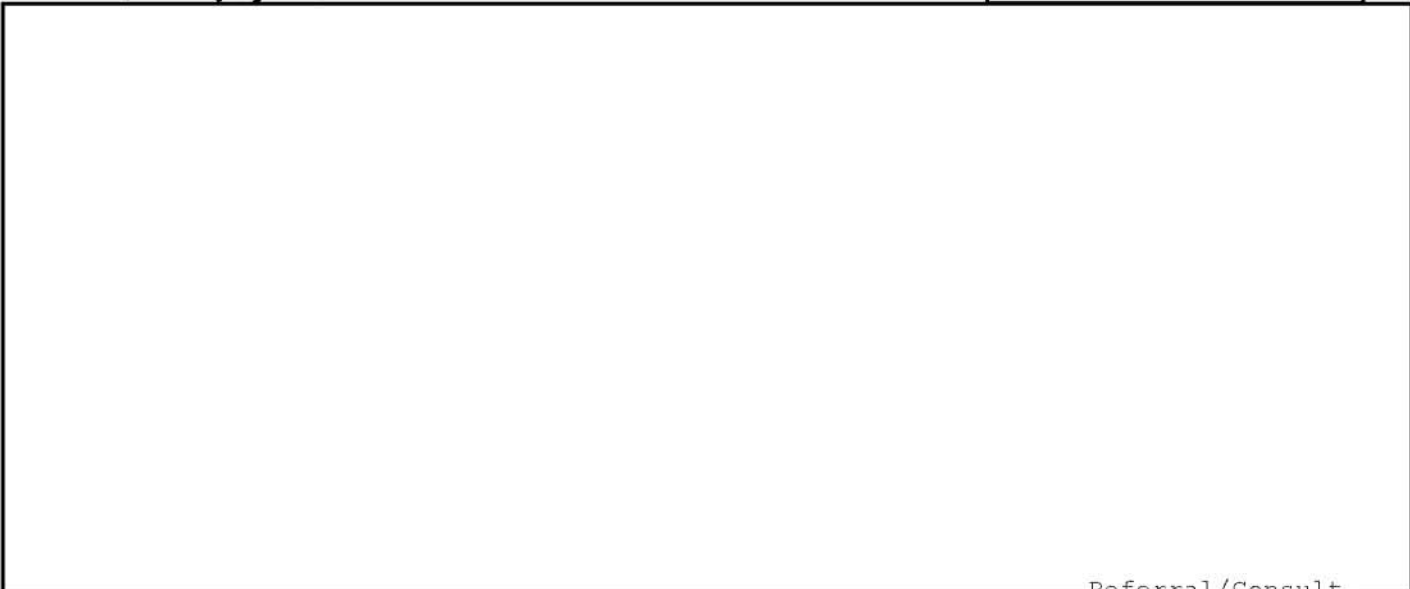
Director, FBI (123-5791)

BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE  
Chief, Ideological Trust Unit  
Voice of America  
Department of State  
New York, New York  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES  
Buded 4/14/53

*0-1 WFO, NY  
5-12-53  
PBD*

*0-1 WFO  
5/2/53  
PBD*

The attention of the New York and Washington Field Offices is called to Bulet dated February 19, 1953, in the case entitled "Edwin Martin John Kretzmann, aka "Kretz", International Broadcasting Service, Department of State, New York, New York, LGE," Bureau file 121-15638, WFO file 121-28142, New York file 121-16698, wherein information was set out from [redacted]



Referral/Consult

The Washington Field Office should check the appropriate records of the [redacted] concerning Wolfe and review the files of the Washington Field Office concerning this individual.

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

cc: (2) Washington Field (123-5405)

RHE/je

*0-1 NY + WFO  
4/1/53  
121-5791-174*

*0-1 NY + WFO  
5/1/53*

20 JUL 20 1953

MAILED 27

The New York Office should review its files concerning Wolfe and attempt to develop the information quoted above. The current position of Wolfe with the State Department should be set forth in your supplemental reports.

For your information, the reports in the Voice of America case involving Wolfe were furnished to the Civil Service Commission. The Loyalty Review Board by letter dated August 2, 1951, advised that Wolfe had been declared "Eligible on loyalty."

Temporary symbols utilized in your supplemental reports should correspond with the symbols previously utilized in the VOA investigation.

Subj: Wolfe, Bertram

Address: David

Birthdate: Jan. 19-1896 SUPV: \_\_\_\_\_

Misc: \_\_\_\_\_

R# 927 Date: 3-21-1953 Searcher \_\_\_\_\_

MAR 27 1953

FILE NUMBER

SERIAL

262

123-5 MAR 25 1953 9-2-51

61-1292-238

123-7827-39

Bertram D

D.C.R. Apo #1 P# 410, 463

" 464, 491, 493

✓ D.C.R. W. Steele #1 P# 399

✓ 326, 327

✓ D.C.R. Vol #1, P# 603, 630, 631

✓ D.C.R. Vol #1, P# 2613

✓ D.C.R. Vol #7, P# 61745

✓ D.C.R. Vol #11, P# 6865

6867, 6843, 6874

6880, 1127, 1129

1142, 1143, 1145

✓ F.C.N. Vol #2, Part #1, P# 18, 19, 23

Subj: W. B. Bertram

Address: David

Birthdate: \_\_\_\_\_ SUPV: \_\_\_\_\_

Misc: \_\_\_\_\_

R# (927) Date 3-24 Searcher Initial 126

FILE NUMBER

SERIAL

ST 123	123-456-78	1
ST 123	123-4048-14	
420	123-347452-30	P# 22
ST 123	123-1333-4785	Part 4 P# 65
3-514	123-1292-339	encl P# 12
3-514		339, encl P# 25
ST 123	123-12595-21	P# 19, 20
	Author "Keep America out of War" Bureau Library	
	Bertram	
ST 123	100-18830-67	
ST 123	100-121145-51	
V	<del>100-9964-82</del>	
2L	121-40676-9	✓

Subj: Wolke, Bertram

Address: David

Birthdate: \_\_\_\_\_ SUPV: \_\_\_\_\_

Misc: \_\_\_\_\_

R# (927) Date 3-24 Searcher Initial 126

FILE NUMBER

SERIAL

11.24.50 Bertram  
123-6516-8

53 123-5791  
124-6596-14

4.3.50 100-7166-38, pp 23, 24

8.24.50 105-9940-179, encl pp 80

I 100-383236-7, Vol #3,  
encl pp 5

V 400-70409-19

N 101-1292-295, encl pp 53

B.N.

53 123-5791  
101-1292-339, encl pp 20

David

NR 100-389883

NR 100-387253-5

2

Assistant Attorney General  
Warren Olney III

April 21, 1953

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Director, FBI

BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE  
SPECIAL INQUIRY-STATE DEPARTMENT  
PUBLIC LAW 402, 80th CONGRESS  
VOICE OF AMERICA  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

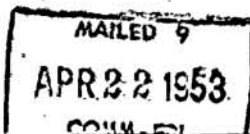
Attention:  
Mr. Archie D. Simpson  
Records Administration  
Branch

For your information, and in order that consideration may be given as to whether any Federal laws have been violated, there is transmitted herewith one copy each of reports reflecting the results of an investigation by this Bureau concerning the above-mentioned individual under the provisions of Public Law 402, 80th Congress (Voice of America). Copies of these reports have been furnished the Civil Service Commission.

Enclosures (32)

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Laughlin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Rm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

JJF:dls  
123-5791



123-5791-25



~~PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL~~  
BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

April 21, 1953

Mr. James E. Hatcher  
Chief, Investigations Division  
U. S. Civil Service Commission  
Washington 25, D. C.

BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE  
SPECIAL INQUIRY-STATE DEPARTMENT  
PUBLIC LAW 402, 80th CONGRESS  
VOICE OF AMERICA

Reference is made to my letter dated  
November 17, 1950, concerning the above-named individual.

There are transmitted herewith four copies  
each of two reports reflecting additional investigation.  
Only one copy of each of the enclosures is being  
transmitted.

Enclosures (30)

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Laughlin \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Rm. \_\_\_\_\_
- Holloman \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

JJF:dls  
123-5791

BY SPL. MESSG.
28 APR 22
COMM. - FE.

*Handwritten:* 123-5791 - 26

*Handwritten:* P.H. [unclear]

*Handwritten:* [unclear]

~~PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL~~  
BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

April 21, 1953

Mr. John W. Ford  
Director, Division of Security  
Department of State  
515 Twenty-second Street, N. W.  
Washington, D. C.

0  
BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE  
SPECIAL INQUIRY-STATE DEPARTMENT  
PUBLIC LAW 402, 80th CONGRESS  
VOICE OF AMERICA

Reference is made to my letter dated  
February 4, 1953, concerning the above-named individual.

There is transmitted herewith one copy  
each of two reports reflecting additional investigation.

Enclosures (24)

(3)

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Laughlin \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Rm. \_\_\_\_\_
- Holloman \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

JJF:dls  
123-5791

BY SPL MESSG  
78 APR 24  
COMM - FD

123-5791-27

46 RDC

26 APR 29 1953

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson ✓

DATE: January 26, 1953

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT:

- Tolson ✓
- Ladd ✓
- Nichols ✓
- Belmont ✓
- Clegg ✓
- Glavin ✓
- Harbo ✓
- Rosen ✓
- Tracy ✓
- Laughlin ✓
- Mohr ✓
- Winterrowd ✓
- Tele. Rm. ✓
- Holloman ✓
- Gandy ✓

Dave Lawrence called. Some individual came into the office of U. S. News and World Reports and advised one of their reporters that Bertram D. Wolfe, presently in charge of the Ideological Talks Unit of the Voice of America, is supposed to be a former Communist, but actually acts like he still is a member of the Party.

Lawrence stated he would send me their memorandum on this and that if after looking it over it was felt absolutely essential to have the name of their informant, he would then give it to me on a personal and confidential basis, with the understanding the individual would not in any way be embarrassed. I told him this might be necessary and if after we got the memo it was found additional investigation should be made, we, of course, could contact his informant routinely without letting him know Lawrence had furnished us this information. He stated this would be satisfactory.

I am attaching the memorandum which Lawrence furnished me. We did have a Loyalty investigation on Bertram Wolfe. He was found eligible by the Loyalty Review Board. He was a member of the Communist Party from 1919 to 1929 and was director of the Workers' School, director of Adjudication and Propaganda and the American delegate to the Executive Committee of Communist International. He followed Jay Lovestone out of the Party. Ben Gitlow believes that Wolfe still retains his Marxist-Leninist ideology although he is opposed to Stalin.

It is suggested that the Loyalty Section review the attached memorandum and if it has not done so it might be well to review some of Wolfe's writings since he allegedly left the Party.

cc: Mr. Ladd  
cc: Mr. Belmont

LBN:MP:HMC

RECORDED - 56

Handwritten notes and stamps: ✓ V. von, 123-5791, 1/4/53, 1/14/53, 6/12

1953

## Ex-Communist or Anti-Communist?

The recent recent revelation that Bertram Wolfe, one-time "chief propagandist and agitationist" of the American Communist Party had been employed for the past year and a half by the VOICE of AMERICA as the Chief of their Ideological Talks Unit highlights the importance of differentiating between an Ex-Communist and an Anti-Communist.

At first hand it may seem to be an unnecessary bit of haggling over the differences between what seem to be basically analogous groups. Actually however, the two groups are more likely to be poles apart in their ideologies. Such is the case with Bertram Wolfe.

Wolfe has been generally recognized since his expulsion from the Communist International in 1929, as an "ex-Communist" but Wolfe or the State Department which hired ~~xxxx~~ because he was an "ex-Communist", would find it impossible to prove that he also became an "anti-Communist". Mr. Wolfe's own writings after 1929 are sufficient evidence to disprove any claim ~~is~~ he, or the State Department may make in behalf of Wolfe's right to the title of "anti-Communist".

The difference in the two terms is simply this.... an "anti-Communist" is against Communist principles and the Marxian philosophy which it embodies, while an "ex-Communist" is a former Party member who for one reason or another has been separated from the official organization. There are very few of the latter group. And fewer still in this latter group have become "anti-Communists" as well as "ex-Communists".

Tito and Trotsky are two of the most noteworthy <sup>examples of</sup> "ex-Communists". Would anyone also classify these two as "anti-Communists"? Hardly. Tito and the late Leon Trotsky became "ex-Communists" ~~as a result of~~ as the result of political differences with the Stalin leadership. Their's were "differences" as Whittaker Chambers expressed it in WITNESS, ~~as a result of~~ "are merely quarrels over a road map by people all of whom are in a hurry to get to the same place". The "same place" being the overthrow of the democratic capitalist society and the abolishment of private property.

And thus it was with Bertram Wolfe in 1933, four years after his expulsion from the official party over differences with Stalin "over the route" to be followed in arriving at the common goal of all Communists, no matter whether they are Stalinists, Trotskyites, or Bertram Wolfe's. His words as quoted from his booklet "What Is The Communist Opposition?" written in 1933, read as follows:

"We (Communist Party Opposition) did not choose expulsion!  
Too many of the best years of our lives went into the building of the Communist Party; it means too much to accept expulsion lightly.

"The Communist Opposition fights for its readmission into

ENCLOSURE

103-5791-28

the official party.....We also fight for the re-admission of the Trotskyite opposition.

"The Communist Opposition' differences with the official leadership of the Communist Party and the Communist International are not with differences of basic principles nor fundamental aims. Our differences with the official leadership are on the question of tactics, the best methods of reaching our goals.

"The fundamental aims of the Communist Movement are the same throughout the world.....overthrow of capitalism, the establishment of Soviet Power, the building of a Socialist Society. But the methods of reaching the goal, the tactics to be applied at a given moment, are ~~the~~ different for each country....and even for each stage of the struggle in a given country.

"...We stand for the proletarian dictatorship, the rule of the working class. It is the only possible means of overthrowing capitalist political rule and economic domination... .... and the abolishment of private property in the means of production"

Thus spoke a man who had been an "ex-Communist" for four years, Hardly the words of an "anti-Communist". Yet in 1952 the State Department hired Wolfe, presumably because he was an "ex-Communist", to become Chief of their Ideological Talks Unit. An incredible transition from <sup>official</sup> Communist propagandist in the 1920's; to unofficial spokesman for the world-wide Communist Movement in the '30's and finally an "ideological spokesman" for the society which pledged to defeat.

1933

In his booklet "What Is The Communist Opposition?" ~~in 1933~~ he exhorted his fellow Communist "Oppositionists" as follows:

"How long will it take? All we can answer to such queries is: Come in and help us, and the fight will be shorter....if you are truly a Communist....and if you are not content to ignore and condone the errors of our party just for the sake of being a "card holder".....you will join with us for the unification of the party and...the defeta of the most powerful ruling class on the face of the earth".

"Marx and Engels will never be out of date"

Whittaker Chambers who mentions Bertram Wolfe in his WITNESS and refers

to him as the "chief propagandist and agitator of the American Communist Party, has this to say about "ex-Communists":

"By ex-Communists ~~to be understood~~ I mean a man who knew clearly why he became a Communist, who served Communism devotedly and knew why he served it, who broke with Communism unconditionally and knew why he broke with it. Of these there are very few.... ,...an index to the power of the vision and the power of the crisis"

Chambers speaks then of his own <sup>first</sup> break with Communism, about the same time as Wolfe's, as follows:

.....since my break was not intelligent, since I broke with the effects and not with ~~the cause~~ their cause, with Stalin and not with Communism, I would presently return to the party, a more devout Communist than I left it".

Wolfe, if we are to believe his own writings, also broke with Stalin -----not with Communism. His fight with Stalin has been as bitter ~~and more so~~ as his fight with the democratic Capitalist society. In fact his renown as an "ex-Communist" has stemmed almost exclusively from his voluminous writings and lectures denouncing Stalin and his Totalitarian Communist followers, since his expulsion in 1929.

For those who might wish to attribute Wolfe's Communist affiliation to some youthful mischance, it should be noted here that Wolfe was 23 years of age when he helped found the American Communist Party in 1919. He was thirty-three, and had made several trips to Moscow ~~before~~ before he was expelled in 1929. And he was 37 years of age when wrote the afore-quoted passages from "What Is The Communist Opposition?" in 1933.

In 1937 when he was 44 years of age he wrote a booklet entitled Civil War In Spain. At that time he had been an "ex-Communist for eight years, and his battle with the Stalin ~~leadership~~ leadership for readmittance had been unavailing. He was embittered more than ~~ever~~ ever with ~~the~~ Stalin and course he was mapping for world-wide Communism. Wolfe's writings were taking on more of philosophic ~~character~~ character, pointing out the Imperialistic nature of Stalin Totalitarianism, and comparing it with the "true" Communism of MARX.

Marx had been not only the foremost advocate of revolution of the proletariat. He had also advocated "national determination". So did Wolfe. If Marx were living today it is quite possible that he would oppose Stalinism just as much as he did Czarism. Both are imperialistic.

~~Both are counter to the pure Communist principles of MARX. It was because Wolfe was primarily a Marxian Communist or Socialist, believing in the principal/democratic centralism that he was expelled by the Stalin Totalitarians.~~  
Both are counter to the pure Communist principles of MARX. It was because Wolfe was primarily a Marxian Communist or Socialist, believing in the principal/democratic centralism that he was expelled by the Stalin Totalitarians.

Thus after his fruitless tangle with the Stalin leadership, Wolfe turned his literary efforts toward keeping the spirit of Marxian Communism alive in the hearts of untold millions of anti-Stalinists. In the 1937 book, CIVIL WAR IN SPAIN are found the following passages:

"Marxism has taught us the democratic republic is only a masked form of the bourgeois republic.

"The Stalinists in order to justify their monstrous betrayal of revolutionary Marxism, argue that the democratic republic they have in mind will be different from the other.

"The hope of mankind in an hour of great deparation lies in the kindling of the revolutionary spirit of the proletariat.

(An advertisement in the same booklet published by WORKERS AGE read as follows:

Bertram D. Wolfe, Will Herberg and many others including Jay Lovestone, Frederick J. Arnold and Lyman Fraser write regularly for.....

WORKERS AGE

Weekly ~~Communist~~ organ of  
the Independent  
Communist Labor League

Subscribe Now

131 W. 33rd St. NYC.

For those "doubters" who still feel that later events of the post-World War II years may even have altered Wolfe's views ~~on~~ even of Marxian Communism, passages are quoted herewith from a book review written by Wolfe for AMERICAN MERCURY in 1947, entitled MARX---THE MAN and HIS LEGACY. This was the title of his review of Leopold Schwarzschild's "The Red Russian: The Life and Legend of Karl Marx".

In the book Dr. Schwarzschild said, "The tree is known by its fruit---practically all previous biographies of Marx were written before any fruit had ripened"

Wolfe comments on this as follows:

"But which is the fruit? Is it the democratic Socialist

~~XXXX~~

movement or the Totalitarian Communist Movement?"

"Dr. Schwarzchild gives no hint of the existence of the former, though in much of Europe it is today the only hopeful alternative to Totalitarianism, and he gives no sign of having examined the latter to see whether or how much it may be taking Marx's name in vain.

"Dr. Schwarzchild has deliberately and carefully purged the letter of everything which could place Marx in a favorable light.

"What historian could consider the rise of Protestantism without examination of its relationship to the rise of capitalism? Though Dr. Schwarzchild calls ours the "Marxian era" he does not ~~even~~ essay the central task of determining to what extent Marx's contributions are imbedded in our ages thinking. He does not seem to recognize that the problem exists."

This then is the picture of an "ex-Communist" who has been enrolled in the ~~fight~~ "anti-Communist" crusade of America. The hiring of Wolfe to head up the "Ideological Talks Unit" ~~is a~~ ~~most~~ ~~of~~ of the VOICE of AMERICA is a most dramatic example of the fallacy of carelessly ~~hoping~~ assuming that a man is an "anti-Communist" because he is an "ex-Communist".

America and the government which represents this democratic republic of ours must learn to differentiate more carefully between the terms "ex-Communist" and "anti-Communist" if we are to preserve the personal freedom and right to private enterprise which is inherent in our society. Communism and private enterprise are incompatible. It would seem too that a man of Wolfe's background would be incompatible on the VOICE of AMERICA too. Wolfe's philosophy may be compatible with that of some of his employers in the retiring Democratic administration, but it certainly does not represent the true "voice" of the millions of Americans who have instinctively been "anti-Communists" all of their lives.



5709

Jan. 6, 1953

The man who was in today to talk about Communism in Government left the attached memo which is self-explanatory. But before you read it this background will be helpful:

He wanted you to have this information for possible use in your dispatch. He was secretive about his interest in the matter because he could lose his job, and probably would, if it became known that he was in touch with us. (If you are interested, I can tell you his name and more about who he is over the phone, but believe I should not identify him in writing.) He is not a crackpot, and has the dope, that much I am sure.

He is concerned over the employment by the Voice of America of one Bertram D. Wolfe. Wolfe has the title of Chief of the Ideological Talks Unit of the Voice of America. He was expelled from the Communist party in the purge of 1929 or thereabouts along with Jay Lovestone and some of the other Trotskyites. According to our informant, he still is a dedicated Marxist, although Anti-Stalinist, and has sold himself to the State Department as a former Communist when, in reality he still is a Communist at heart but not a Stalin Communist. A sort of Titoist. Anyway the State Department people are unwilling to believe that he is anything but a loyal citizen who has turned against ~~the~~ Stalin and renounced his former beliefs. For that reason, they consider him valuable to have around.

Wolfe's name was brought to public attention last August when Representative Busbey, of Illinois, denounced him for what he really is. Busbey did this in an extension of remarks in the Congressional Record, and his reference to Wolfe was buried and got little or no attention. Congress adjourned soon

and nobody followed up the Busby charges.

Our informant says the Loyalty Review Board called Wolfe before it, but never could get him to admit his Communist views. The reason they got nowhere with him was because no member of the Board questioned him on what he had written in a book entitled "What is the Communist Opposition?" in which he set forth clearly the philosophy of his <sup>wing</sup> ~~branch~~ of the Communist party. I have a copy of this book, which our informant lent me, and excerpts from it are contained in the enclosed memo.

The rest you will get from reading the memo.



0712

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Date: February 4, 1953  
TO: Mr. John W. Ford  
Chief, Division of Security  
Department of State  
515 Twenty-second Street, N. W.  
Washington, D. C.

~~PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL~~  
BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

From: John Edgar Hoover - Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Subject: BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE  
VOICE OF AMERICA

Reference is made to my letter dated November 7, 1950, with enclosure.

Transmitted herewith is a copy of an undated memorandum entitled "Ex-Communist or Anti-Communist?", which contains certain allegations concerning the above-named individual, who reportedly is employed as Chief of the Ideological Talks Unit, Voice of America. This memorandum was prepared by an informant of unknown reliability.

It is noted that the informant quotes in the memorandum from Wolfe's writings, "What is the Communist Opposition?" and "Civil War in Spain." Both of these books were listed among the writings of Wolfe in the report of Special Agent Victor A. Lemaitre dated October 10, 1950, at New York, New York. The informant also quotes from a book review written by Wolfe for the "American Mercury" in 1947 entitled "Marx, The Man and His Legacy." Information concerning this article is not included in reports previously furnished to you and the Civil Service Commission.

In view of the information contained in this memorandum, efforts will be made by this Bureau to obtain a copy of the article in the "American Mercury" and inquiries will also be made concerning any additional writings of Wolfe. No action will be taken in connection with those writings of Wolfe which were set forth in referenced report in the absence of a specific request from your office. You will be advised of the results of this supplemental investigation.

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
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- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Laughlin \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Enclosure

MLI:RYG



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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE, VOA. REURFILE 123-3898. BUDED FEB. 23, 1953. SUREP IMMEDIATELY.

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- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
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# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT

**BUREAU**

REPORT MADE AT <b>WASHINGTON, D.C.</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>3-4-53</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>2/12,13,17,20, 24,27/53</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>FRED J. CASSIDY mlk</b>
TITLE <b>BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE</b>			CHARACTER OF CASE <b>SPECIAL INQUIRY - STATE DEPARTMENT, PUBLIC LAW 402, 80th CONGRESS (VOICE OF AMERICA)</b>

**SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:**

List of articles written by applicant as reflected in indices of Library of Congress set forth. Information concerning applicant contained in the remarks of Congressman BUSBEY of Illinois in the House of Representatives July 5, 1952.

AGENCY Photo Unit  
 REQ. REC'D 3-5-53  
 REP'T FORW. 3-5-53  
 BY mlk

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AGENCY Photo - Dept  
 REQ. REC'D 3-15-53  
 REP'T FORW. 3-15-53  
 BY GG

REFERENCE: Bureau letter dated February 4, 1953.

DETAILS: AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

AGENCY OSI DIST OFF 4  
 REG. REC'D 11/15/52  
 REP'T FORW. 11/25/52  
 BY ...

MISCELLANEOUS

The Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, as maintained at the Library of Congress, reflects the following additional articles have been written by BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE. Photostatic copies of these articles are being enclosed with this report.

- (1) Marxist reply to COREY, pages 329-31, March 9, 1940, edition of the Nation magazine.
- (2) Oil and the Good Neighbor, pages 37-38, April 27, 1940, edition of the Nation magazine.

APPROVED AND FORWARDED <i>[Signature]</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES
COPIES OF THIS REPORT 2 - Bureau (Enclosures 51) 1 - Washington Field (123-5405)		<div style="font-size: 2em; font-weight: bold;">123-5405-32</div> <div style="font-weight: bold; margin-top: 10px;">MAR 26 1953</div>
		<b>RECORDED - 56</b> AGENCY <u>...</u> REQ. REC'D <u>...</u> REP'T FORW. <u>...</u> BY <u>...</u>

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26 MAY 26 1953

WFO 123-5405

(3) LEON FELIPE: Poet of Spain's Tragedy, pages 330-338, 1942-43, edition of the American Scholar.

(4) TROTSKY on STALIN, pages 109-116, July, 1946, edition of The American Mercury.

(5) China's Fate, pages 108-118, January, 1947, edition of The American Mercury.

(6) The Rise and Fall of the Comintern, pages 365-373, March, 1947, edition of The American Mercury.

(7) Dissenting Opinion on TOYNBEE, pages 748-756, June, 1947, edition of The American Mercury.

(8) Letter written by BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE, pages 254-55, the August, 1947, edition of The American Mercury.

(9) Politics and Fiction in Mexico, pages 751-58, June, 1948, edition of The American Mercury.

(10) The Case of HARRY HOPKINS, pages 109-116, January, 1949, edition of The American Mercury.

(11) MARX on the Truman Doctrine, pages 313-318, April, 1951, edition of The American Mercury.

(12) The Soviet Dance of Death, pages 10-11, May 26, 1951, edition of The Saturday Review of Literature.

(13) In Soviet Inferno, pages 13-14, February, 1952, edition of The Saturday Review of Literature.

(14) OPERATION REWRITE, pages 39-57, October, 1952, edition of Foreign Affairs.

(15) TITO and STALIN, pages 114-121, December 1, 1952, edition of Vital Speeches of the Day.

(16) The More Change the More the Same, page 18, December, 1952, edition of The Saturday Review of Literature.

It is to be noted that copies of the above articles are available at the Library of Congress.

WFO 123-5405

The CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Volume 98, published on August 18, 1952, contains extension of remarks of the Honorable FRED E. BUSBEY of Illinois entitled, "RUTH B. SHIPLEY: Patriot and Champion of Americanism." These remarks appear on pages A5203-A5205 of the Appendix and contain information concerning the background of BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE.

Photostatic copies of Congressman BUSBEY's remarks are enclosed with this report.

ENCLOSURES TO BUREAU:

Three photostatic copies of each of 16 articles written by BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE.

Photostatic copies (3) of Congressman BUSBEY's remarks.

RUC



# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1  
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **BUREAU**

AM/TXD

REPORT MADE AT <b>NEW YORK</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>MAR 27 1953</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>2/23-26; 3/3-5, 9,10,16/53</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>57117</b>
TITLE <b>BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE</b>			CHARACTER OF CASE <b>SPECIAL INQUIRY- STATE DEPARTMENT Public Law 402, 80th Congress (VOICE OF AMERICA)</b>

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*State*  
 REQ. REC'D. *11-10-51*  
**JAN 6 1951**  
 RNS.  
 BY: *edw med*

**SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:**

Various articles written by BERTRAM WOLFE set out and synopsized. Digest of material from New York Times Morgue set out.

AGENCY *1cc CIA*  
 REQ. REC'D *5-24-54*  
 REP'T FORW. *6-10-54*  
 BY *[Signature]*

AGENCY OSI DIST OFF RUC  
 REQ. REC'D. *11/15/57*  
 REP'T FORW. *11/25/57*  
 BY *[Signature]*

AGENCY *1cc photo - Am...*  
 REQ. REC'D *8-15-56*  
 REP'T FORW. *9-4-56*  
 BY *[Signature]*

REFERENCE

Bureau letter to New York 2/4/53.

DETAILS

**ENCLOSURE ATTACHED**

Articles by BERTRAM WOLFE

The "Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature" reviewed from January, 1929 to the present, reflects that BERTRAM D. WOLFE was the author of the following articles:

- "Marxists Reply To Corey"
- "The Nation", March 9, 1940

The 5 articles under this heading were contributed by BERTRAM D. WOLFE, whose affiliation was listed as "Independent"

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: <i>[Signature]</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES
		<b>RECORDED - 30</b>
		<b>INDEXED 56</b>
COPIES OF THIS REPORT		<b>EX-100</b>
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<b>26 MAY 20 1953</b> <i>1cc State, 1cc Hqs, 4cc [unclear] 2/21/53</i>		

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Labor League (Lovestonites)", and by NORMAN THOMAS, EARL BROWDER, ALGERNON LEE, and MAX SHACTMAN, on behalf of their respective groups. They were written in reply to articles in the February 17, February 24, and March 2, 1940 issues of "The Nation" magazine by LEWIS COREY; under the title, "Marxism Reconsidered". In his articles, Mr. COREY begins with the title, "The Marxist Failure", and states it is clear that "Democracy is on the defensive as much against the totalitarianism of Russian Communism as against that of Fascism, and since Socialism without Democracy is a monstrosity, Socialism too is on the defensive." He states that Marxism contains the seeds of totalitarianism in that it originally calls for a social and economic centralization. COREY says that, "Actually the situation is this: the Socialist system is compatible with totalitarianism. It is, in fact, the basis of a new, all-devouring totalitarianism, because of the new element of political centralization of all economic power".

Mr. COREY also criticizes the Democratic Socialists for not pushing their program in the European nations sufficiently fast to combat and offset Fascism and Communism; and he pointed particularly to the failure of the German Republic prior to Hitler. COREY'S articles also criticize capitalism, in that although its basic premises of separation of economic and political power and other means of maintaining Democracy and freedom are good, yet the system tends toward monopolistic capitalism and increased state control of economic life, stifling democracy and tending toward Fascism.

In his final article in the series, COREY adopts the thesis that Democracy cannot survive the totalitarian danger and grow if it stands still; "and effective economic measures to solve the crisis must mean the progressive transformation of capitalism toward Democratic Socialism." The program he suggests means gradualism, "Social Democracy was right in its emphasis on Democracy and gradualism; but it misunderstood Democracy, and its gradualism never had any teeth and never drove toward Socialism". "There is no sharp economic break between capitalism and Socialism. If the measures of a transitional program are forthright and direct, if they create a new economic balance, they solve the crisis while safeguarding Democracy; the cumulative effects must mean a progressive transformation of capitalism into Democratic Socialism".

COREY goes on to argue in favor of the Democratic concept of separation of powers as against the Marxist concept of "combination of powers and the abolition of parliamentarianism". He advocates use of the Democratic system, such as found in the United States, with a plea to "Democratize it still further" for the transition to Democratic Socialism. COREY states that, "The alternative is the 'easy' Marxist way, which history shows ends in totalitarianism nightmare."

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The above summary of COREY'S articles is set forth to form a background for BERTRAM WOLFE'S comments thereon, a photostatic copy of which is enclosed.

"Oil and the Good Neighbor"  
"The Nation", April 27, 1940

"Leon Felipe: Poet of Spain's Tragedy"  
American Scholar", July, 1943

"China's Fate"  
"The American Mercury, January, 1947

Mr. WOLFE'S article is a commentary on two then recently published books concerning China, namely KENNETH SCOTT LATOURET'S, "The Chinese, Their History and Culture", and THEODORE H. WHITE'S and ANNALEE JACOBY'S "Thunder Out of China". Mr. WOLFE praises the former book as a scholarly work and describes the latter as bearing "certain telltale stigmata" in that the book states that the Chinese Communists are not merely Communists but "agrarian democrats" having no connection with Moscow. WOLFE condemns the latter book and points out that the Chinese Communists are directly tied to Moscow, and calls for support of CHIANG KAI SHEK'S Nationalist government.

"Rise and Fall of the Comintern"  
"The American Mercury", March, 1947

In this article, Mr. WOLFE reviews the book, "Pattern for World Revolution" by "Ypsilon", the latter name being a pseudonym for two former Comintern agents. On page 373 of this article, Mr. WOLFE refers to GOTTFELD, THOREZ and other Communist agents in Europe, saying that "these men too were originally idealists and lovers of liberty. But...the authors trace their degeneration into puppets... who can swallow even the purges and the Stalin-Hitler pact...."

A copy of this article is being enclosed.

"Trotsky on Stalin"  
"The American Mercury", July, 1946

This article is Mr. WOLFE'S review of the book, "Stalin: An Appraisal of the Man and His Influence" by LEON TROTSKY. On page 113 of

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the review, Mr. WOLFE speaks of TROTSKY'S Marxist heritage as a disciple of the greatest sociological thinker of modern times...".

A copy of this article is enclosed.

"The Case of Harry Hopkins"  
The "American Mercury", January, 1949

"Dissenting Opinion of Toynbee"  
The "American Mercury", June, 1947

"Politics and Fiction in Mexico"  
The "American Mercury", June, 1948

"A Compilation of Russian Jokes, Not Passed By the Censor"  
"The New York Times Magazine", July 22, 1951

"The Soviet Inferno"  
"The Saturday Review", February 9, 1952

This is Mr. WOLFE'S review of the book, "The Accused" by ALEXANDER WEISSBURG, which, in turn, dealt with WEISSBURG'S experiences in the great Russian purges of 1936-1939. Mr. WOLFE states that the overall effect of reading the book was "One of deepened understanding and compassion and pride in the capacity of the human soul to resist torture and preserve its integrity."

"Marx On The Truman Doctrine"  
"The Twentieth Century", April, 1951

On page 317 of this article, Mr. WOLFE asks, "Am I stretching things when I suggest that the author of this now sacred text (namely, MARX) loved freedom and hated tyranny; believed deeply in democracy, politically, economically and socially; feared and opposed bureaucracy and slavery and personal, arbitrary rule; cherished all that was best in western civilization and wished to build upon and enlarge it, not undermine and destroy it; feared the glacial spread of the even then too brutal, too dynamic and too total Russian Empire and insisted that it could and must be contained or both democracy and socialism would be lost."

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A copy of this article is enclosed herewith.

"Soviet Dance of Death"  
"The Saturday Review", May 20, 1951

In this article, Mr. WOLFE reviews the book, "Russian Purge and the Extraction of Confession" by F. BECK and E. GOODIN. The book itself has to do with the ensnarlment of the authors in the great Russian purges of 1936 to 1938. Mr. WOLFE is critical of the purges and of STALIN. Nothing of pertinence was noted.

"More Change The More The Same"  
"The Saturday Review", December 20, 1952

In this article, Mr. WOLFE reviews the book, "The Russian Menace to Europe" by KARL MARX and FRIEDRICH ENGELS, as edited by PAUL W. BLACKSTOCK and BERT F. HAZELITZ. WOLFE pointed out that the editors have therein published writings of MARX and ENGELS which have "never circulated freely in the Marxist Soviet Union or are now unobtainable, unquotable or totally suppressed". Mr. WOLFE states that they have been suppressed because, "MARX and ENGELS considered the ruthless expansion of Czarist absolutism to be the greatest menace to the freedom of the Russian people and the freedom of Europe", and Mr. WOLFE states that STALIN probably believes that an unfortunate comparison might be drawn between his own policy and the imperialism of the Czars.

Pertinent insofar as WOLFE'S attitude to MARX and ENGELS is concerned, is the following paragraph of Mr. WOLFE:

"...that (BLACKSTOCK and HAZELITZ) have failed to note that some of what MARX and ENGELS wrote is out of date, some of it youthful blood-curdling bombast, some of it part of their heritage of German nationalism, though much of it contains deep and illuminating insights favorable for our own day. Their few criticisms are so feeble as to suggest an excessive worship of a sacred text, as if one authoritarianism were set up against another. Thus, they single out to quote without demure in their introduction MARX'S estimate of the Russian Government as a civilized government ruling over barbarian masses".

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"Operation Rewrite; Agony of the Soviet Historians"  
"Foreign Affairs", October, 1952

This 10 page article is an analysis by Mr. WOLFE of the problem of the Soviet historians in following the current "party line" in the rewriting of history. WOLFE is uniformly critical and hostile to the Stalin policies.

"Tito and Stalin; Window Into the Cominform"  
"Vital Speeches of the Day", December 1, 1952

This is a speech by Mr. WOLFE delivered before an interested group of specialists, Washington, D.C., June, 1952.

Of interest is WOLFE'S statement therein that Titoism is "of a special interest to the Atlantic Pact nations for it represents the crack in the armor, the break in the walls. I have every sympathy for the plight of the Yugoslav people who are still under the heel (sic) of a totalitarian dictatorship and from their standpoint, it would certainly be much better of TITO were a Democrat and not a totalitarian Communist dictator. But from the standpoint of our interest at the present phase of the cold war, I couldn't help thinking TITO is more useful as a Communist than he would be as a Democrat."

WOLFE condemns the fact that TITO'S state is Stalinist in character, but approves United States aid to Yugoslavia, not as an endorsement of the regime but because TITO'S opposition to STALIN creates a "better situation rather than a worse situation".

The "International Index to Periodicals" was reviewed from 1928 to the present, and it was noted that Mr. WOLFE is the author of the following articles:

"Balance Sheet of Behaviorism"  
"The Virginia Quarterly Review", October, 1930

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"The Novel in Latin America"  
"The Antioch Review," June, 1943

"Russian Intelligensia"  
"The Antioch Review," December, 1945

"Diego Rivera-People's Artist"  
"The Antioch Review," March, 1947

"The Influence of Early Military Decisions Upon the National Structure of  
the Soviet Union"

"American Slavic and East European Review," October, 1950

"Our Time of Troubles"  
"The Antioch Review," June, 1951

"Science Joins the Party"  
"The Antioch Review," March, 1950

In the last named article, Mr. WOLFE criticized the Soviet attempt to "Sovietize" science by allowing "Bureaucrat-politicians" to make decisions of scientific questions. The other articles listed in the "International Index to Periodicals" were reviewed, but nothing of pertinence was noted.

In his article, "Balance Sheet of Behaviorism," WOLFE criticized both the purely metaphysical psychologist and the behaviorists who conducted their experiments as if man were only a physical being.

The Catalog of Printed Cards, published by the Library of Congress, reflects that WOLFE is the author of the following works:

"The Civil War in Spain"  
1937

"Diego Rivera, His Life and Times"  
1939, and Spanish edition, 1941

"Marx and America"  
1934

"Mundo Sin Muerte" (Deathless Days)  
1942

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"What is the Communist Opposition"  
1933

"Diego Rivera"  
1947

"Three Who Made a Revolution"  
1948

The indices of the "New York Times" was reviewed from 1931 to the present. The following mention of BERTRAM D. WOLFE appears in the "New York Times":

Issue of February 2, 1936, page 5, column 1:

"MOONEY is Proposed to Head Labor Party. Opposition Communists Call on Socialists and Others to Join 'Class-conscious' move."

"The Socialist and Communist Parties, together with progressive and radical labor organizations throughout the country were urged yesterday afternoon by the Communist Party of the United States (Opposition) to unite their forces for the November elections and form a labor party headed by TOM MOONEY, who has been in a California Prison for twenty years, as presidential candidate.

"Announcement of the proposed third party was made by BERTRAM D. WOLFE, at the Communist Opposition Headquarters, 51 West 14th Street. He appealed to the two political parties to 'brush aside all party concerns of a partisan or factional character and advance the cause of united political action at labor by giving their 'whole hearted' support to the contemplated party.'

"He made public a copy of a letter sent two days ago to the Socialist and Communist Party leaders by his organization, in which it was disclosed that a United Labor ticket with TOM MOONEY at the head 'would reach deep into every corner of the American labor movement. It would unite the class-conscious citizens of the working class in a common task' the letter asserted. 'It would win ready access and free questions and even the most conservative unions, and it would provide the firmest and most promising basis for the rapid development of a national labor party in the near future.'"

The article went on to state that the proposal had been rejected by spokesmen of the New York Socialist Party and by the Communist Party of America.



NY 123-3898

Issue of June 10, 1945:

"BERTRAM D. WOLFE was one of the nineteen signers of a letter to the editor of the "New York Times" which counselled that the German people as a whole should not be blamed for the war crimes of the Nazi Party leaders."

It is noted that the current edition of "Who's Who In America" states that in 1950 and 1951, BERTRAM D. WOLFE was a senior fellow at the Russian Institute, Columbia University, and has been on leave since 1951 as Chief of the Ideological Advisory Unit of the International Broadcasting Division, Department of State.

There is also being enclosed herewith a photostatic copy of an article written by Mr. WOLFE, appearing in the September, 1947 issue of the "American Mercury," entitled "Marx-The Man and His Legacy."

ENCLOSURES TO BUREAU - (5)

Copy of ~~"Marx-The Man and His Legacy."~~  
Copy of ~~"The Marxists Reply to Corey."~~  
Copy of ~~"The Rise and Fall of the Comintern."~~  
Copy of ~~"Trotsky and Stalin."~~  
Copy of ~~"Marx on the Truman Doctrine."~~

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Enclosure to Bureau

Copy of "Trotsky on Stalin,"  
American Mercury, July, 1946

123-5791-33

Enclosure to Bureau

Copy of "The Rise and Fall of the Comintern,"  
American Mercury, March, 1947.

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## THE CHECK LIST



### BIOGRAPHY

**STENDHAL**, by Matthew Josephson. \$4.00. *Doubleday*. Mr. Josephson here proves again that he has a considerable diligence in research. All his biographies — of Zola, of Rousseau, of Victor Hugo, and now of Stendhal — are big with facts and quotations and a general show of scholarship. Yet they all fail to satisfy completely in the end, because they are the work of a journalist who seems to be trying hard, and in vain, to be a critic and a literary historian. His latest biography of the author of *The Red and the Black* and *Charterhouse of Parma* is perhaps his biggest failure to date, because Stendhal apparently is the furthest removed from his comprehension. He misses Stendhal's mysticism, his tragic sense of life (even and especially when in the arms of a woman), and his sense of the vanity even of philosophy and poetry. Josephson pictures him as little more than a character in a Grade A movie.

**CRITICS & CRUSADERS**, by Charles A. Madison. \$3.50. *Holt*. Mr. Madison has divided America's critics and crusaders into six well-established categories: the abolitionists, the utopians; the anarchists, the dissident economists, the militant liberals and the socialists. From each category he has selected three representatives to write about. The result is some 550 immensely readable pages of Americana comprising eighteen short biographies and six introductory essays. The material is not, as the author admits, based on any original research, but perhaps the chief defect of the book is the lack of a unifying thread.

**THE MAKING OF A SOUTHERNER**, by Katharine Du Pre Lumpkin. \$3.00. *Knopf*. Katharine Du Pre Lumpkin was born some fifty

years ago in Macon, Georgia. Reared in the reactionary spirit of the Old South, she accepted its values unconditionally. Not until Miss Lumpkin came under the influences of the socio-economic forces in other parts of the Republic was she able to emancipate herself from her early conditioning. Her story is the account of her metamorphosis from the status of a Southern die-hard to that of a person of civilized maturity. Miss Lumpkin has written a fascinating book. One can only wish that her experience were general; that it might be the story of the majority of our Southern citizens instead of a handful.

**NELSON**, by Carola Oman. \$5.00. *Doubleday*. To add to the already long list of books on Nelson may, at first blush, seem quite unnecessary. However, Carola Oman's study has the virtue of being based on some new documents, including a number of Nelson's letters only recently discovered. Miss Oman, who is the daughter of Charles Oman, the eminent historian and professor of Oxford University, has done a scholarly job. Her book makes pleasant reading.

**BRING ALONG LAUGHTER**, by Milla Logan. \$2.50. *Random House*. Milla Zenovich Logan, who was born in California, is the daughter of Yugoslav parents. Her story, written somewhat in the manner of Saroyan, tells of the fantastic doings of a Serbian family living in San Francisco. The book, at times, is extravagantly humorous, but unfortunately Miss Logan has burdened herself with too difficult an assignment. To portray realistically a group of people seeking to make life a long and continuously merry feast is a formidable job, and Miss Logan, unfortunately, has not been equal to it.

Enclosure to Bureau

Copy of "Marx--The Man and His Legacy,"  
The American Mercury, September, 1947.

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## THE LIBRARY

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### MARX—THE MAN AND HIS LEGACY

by *BERTRAM D. WOLFE*

THERE is a strange ambivalence in Leopold Schwarzschild's new biography of Karl Marx [*The Red Prussian: The Life and Legend of Karl Marx*. \$4.00, Scribner]. On the one hand he is determined to prove that his protagonist was trivial, ignorant, mean, lacking in the power of logical thought or intellectual concentration, a *poseur* in the realm of ideas who never set down an original notion or a clear concept, who did not believe what he himself wrote and could not persuade others to believe it, who wrote in order to avoid useful labor and to sponge on his friends while pretending to be at work on important books, or in order to win superiority over some potential rival in a minuscule circle of crack-brains, who was master only of some tricks of plagiarism, logical and

terminological sleight-of-hand and poisonous invective, who ruined every enterprise he ever touched and alienated or destroyed every capable person who came into contact with him, who died friendless, exposed, discredited, believed in by no one but a baker's dozen of unconditional dim-wits, no longer believing even in himself, an utter and absolute failure, "an o without a figure."

And on the other hand, Dr. Schwarzschild would convict this same anti-hero of responsibility for Lenin, Stalin, Mussolini, Hitler and all the major ills of our age. Convict him of responsibility not only for his own views but for those who traduced them, those who perverted them, those who made a political career out of opposing them, and, "in one way or another" (a happy phrase strangely reminiscent of Marx's own too ready use of the expression, "in the last analysis"), make him responsible for "all the most important facts of our

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BERTRAM D. WOLFE'S most recent contribution to THE AMERICAN MERCURY was a "Dissenting Opinion on Toynbee," published in the June issue. He is at present writing a history of the Russian Revolution in the form of a "triple biography" of Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin.

time." Dr. Schwarzchild would even convict his subject of responsibility for the voluntary or involuntary bankruptcy of the liberal tradition, which was neither Marxist, pseudo-Marxist nor anti-Marxist.

"If a name had to be found for the age in which we live," reads the first paragraph of Dr. Schwarzchild's 400-page indictment,

we might safely call it the Marxian era. For, in one way or another, the most important facts of our time lead back to one man — Karl Marx. . . . Without Marx there would have been no Lenin, no Communist Russia . . . no totalitarian states. . . . And after all, it is because of Marx that the rest of the world has for years been obliged to sacrifice one after another of its liberal traditions to the necessity of self-preservation. There can be no doubt that our whole life would be very different if Marx had never lived.

It is possible to attribute the ills of our age "in one way or another" to any great movement or complex of events of the last century — to the French Revolution, for instance, with its revolutionary war, its universal conscription, its bonapartism, its plebiscitary "democracy," its nationalism and its terror. It is even possible to make out a case for attribution of our ills to a single great man, or, if you will, great devil. But it is not possible to attribute such superhuman responsibility and influence to an absurd, trivial, despicable nonentity, a rimless zero. After all, even the Devil owes his powers to the fact that he is a fallen angel.

## II

"The tree is known by his fruit," writes Dr. Schwarzchild in justification of his book, and "practically all previous biographies of Marx were written before any fruit had ripened." To judge the tree by its fruit is surely a valid method. But which is the fruit? Is it the democratic socialist movement or the totalitarian Communist movement? Dr. Schwarzchild gives no hint of the existence of the former, though in much of Europe it is today the only hopeful alternative to totalitarianism, and he gives no sign of having examined the latter to see whether or how much it may be taking Marx's name in vain.

Did not Lenin call himself a Marxist? reasons the author. Does not Stalin call himself a Marxist and a Leninist? But Dr. Schwarzchild evades the real problems of attribution: what elements of Marxism may have been taken, perhaps from their total context, to pave the way for Leninism? How much of Leninism springs from the old Russian tradition, which the greatest of Russian historians, Klyuchevsky — writing under Tsarism — summed up in the formula: "The state swells up; the people diminish." How much of Leninism is a continuation of the Russian centralist, terrorist, conspiracy of the nineteenth century, and how much is in the tradition of West European socialism and democracy? How far did Lenin prepare the way for Stalin, and how far does

Stalinism (which had to falsify the history of Lenin's revolution and murder all of Lenin's closest associates) represent a break with Leninism? The problem is not a simple one, for elements both of continuity and of break are present. But these real problems of attributions and responsibility are not touched upon by the author. It is sufficient for him that Lenin pronounced himself an orthodox Marxist, and that Stalin has awarded himself the title of "the best disciple of Comrade Lenin." But in this not-so-simple world of ours, is every man what he says he is? When Taft pronounces himself a Republican "of the Republican party of Abraham Lincoln," does that mean that if Lincoln had never lived there would be no Taft-Hartley labor bill? Or when Bilbo, Rankin and Talmadge declare themselves faithful Jeffersonian Democrats does that make Jefferson, "in one way or another," responsible for Bilboism, Rankinism and Talmadgism? It is hard to see how any man can write fruitfully about politics if he has not learned the first proposition of the political Euclid: parties and politicians are not to be judged by their labels.

But there is another justification offered for this new biography which has to be taken more seriously:

In recent times a body of material has been made available which was not at the disposal of earlier writers — the complete correspondence of Marx and Engels. . . . A collection of these letters published shortly before the first World War, as it

turned out later, was *deliberately and carefully purged of everything which could place Marx in an unfavorable light.* . . . These letters (complete and uncensored) we now have at our disposal. They reveal to us, the true Marx. . . .

To some extent this material is actually new, although Franz Mehring's friendly and scholarly biography made use of both private letters and public documents to chide Marx for injustice to Lasalle and Bakunin. But the quantity of new material made available by the uncensored letters is enormous, and Dr. Schwarzchild has actually reversed the censorship method he refers to above, for he has *deliberately and carefully purged the letters of everything which could place Marx in a favorable light.* Going over them with a fine-tooth comb he has extracted every spiteful and ill-humored word, every ironical, satirical or cynical side-remark, every private jest at the expense of self or others, every momentary weariness with seemingly endless, fruitless labor, every touch of self-doubt and despair, every attempt to apply egotistical balm to his wounds. He has combed the letters as he accuses Marx of having combed economics books, merely to bolster his thesis and strengthen his indictment. Though Marx endured martyrdom and stubbornly adhered to his purpose, his is no saintly figure but rather a lonely, irascible, difficult one, a man who complained of his boils and his poverty and his obscurity, who begged his friends for help in order that his



family might not actually die of starvation (poverty was the real slayer of two of his children) while he continued to toil on his masterpiece, *Das Kapital*. All too often he solaced himself with sarcastic or poisonous remarks about rivals and opponents, great and small, indulged in demeaning puns like Pissmarck for Bismarck and making snide references to Lassalle's Jewishness (though he himself was descended from a family of rabbis). He was cocksure — this is what sustained him — that he had great truths to communicate. And he was blindly intolerant of all who offered substitutes or alternatives or vulgarized fragments of his views. Everyone who knows Marx only through his public writings would do well to read this cumulative catalogue of the man's weaknesses and deficiencies. But those who are not familiar with the public writings will get a totally false picture of the man and his work from this implacable summary for the prosecution.

Moreover, the use of the letters to present "the true Marx" raises an important question of biographical method. What this question is I can best illustrate from two of my own attempts at biography, those of Diego Rivera and of Lenin. From Rivera's letters and the gossip of his family and friends I learned, among other things, that human beings are fearfully and wonderfully and incongruously made, and that great men may be even more so than ordinary people. My real problem was to discover how much

light his love affairs, his political games and zigzags, his tall tales, etc., really threw upon his achievements as a painter. It was his public work as a public figure, not his private extravagances, that made him rate a biography. Even his playing with politics had to be considered primarily for the light it threw upon the far more serious "politics" of his painting: the choice of a public fresco medium, certain aspects of his technique and much of the content of his painting. Lenin's exemplary private life raises an opposite type of problem. I learned that he loved music, that when he listened to Beethoven he "wanted to stroke the heads of people who can create such beauty while living in this vile hell." He loved his mother, his sisters, his wife, children and cats. But how much (something, no doubt) does all this tell me about his use of public terror?

In a word, public men must be judged first of all by their public actions. And their private lives, foibles, relations are of importance chiefly insofar as they may throw light on the public actions which merited a biography. But Dr. Schwarzschild has not only denied himself all positive light from the letters; he has even tried to substitute the private for the public man as "the true Marx."

### III

If it is indeed a man's public work by which primarily a public man should be estimated — in this case Marx's

main writings and their subsequent influence — then Dr. Schwarzchild's book has little to offer. As with the letters, his method of "analysis" is to comb the works for deficiencies and weaknesses. He employs the device of treating every utterance as an equally valid part of a uniformly sacred canon, so that he can give neither sense of growth nor of structure. Indeed, wherever later formulations of Marx prove to be more qualified, precise and refined, Dr. Schwarzchild, without citing the dates, hastens to oppose them with earlier statements, as if these were refutations or cancellations. Or he seeks to prove that such a private person as he conceives Marx to be could not possibly have meant seriously such a public utterance. But one can neither exhibit nor destroy a thought structure by a prolonged *argumentum ad hominem*.

Our biographer has too much loathing to try to understand what he is trying to refute. He fails to sink his teeth (as against the teeth of his "fine-comb") into the solid structure of *Das Kapital*. If he had, he would have discovered that the essence of Marx's critique of capitalism lies in his humanistic doctrine of "fetishism" — that, as the African fetish-worshiper forgets that the wooden image is the work of his own hands, and lets it assume command over him, so man has forgotten that machinery and goods are human contrivances meant to serve man's humanity, and he has become subject to his own machines and commodities instead of master

over them. Had Dr. Schwarzchild made that discovery about Marxism, the whole thesis of his book would have fallen apart.

He assures us that *Das Kapital* does not have to be taken seriously anyhow, because it was written merely to eclipse Lasalle and Bakunin, and because Volume III "refutes" Volume I. He claims Marx knew this, the sly fellow, so he stopped work on it and left to the faithful Engels the dreary task of publishing it posthumously. But a study of the texts would have shown him that the relevant portions of Volume III were actually written *before* Volume I was published. And a study of the structure would have shown him that Volume I "abstracts" from certain economic phenomena (such as the competition of capital) in order to study certain other phenomena in their "abstract purity." Hence, when in Volume III Marx reintroduces the complicating factor of competition to show how it modifies the laws derived by "abstracting from it," he is no more refuting those laws, if laws they are, than a physicist refutes the law of the uniform rate of acceleration of a falling body (discovered by abstracting from the complicating factor of air friction) when later, in aerodynamics, he reintroduces the complicating factor of air friction and gets a variable instead of a uniform rate of acceleration.

Having proved to his satisfaction that Marx was a mere nullity and a ridiculous charlatan, Dr. Schwarzchild still insists that our age should

be called "the Marxian era." Without attributing as much evil or as much potency to Marx as he does, we may well agree that in a certain sense the present age may be called "Marxian."

If we were to select the two representatives of the last century whose views have had the most obvious influence upon the dominant thought of our own, we might well select Marx and Darwin. Many of their insights, sometimes directly, sometimes by derivation, have become part of our unconscious approach to problems. In retrospect they can be seen to have been terminal points in a long period during which Western thought became accustomed to the idea of change, natural and social, the idea that both nature and institutions have a "history." The Middle Ages might well have inscribed over its halls of learning: "As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, World without end." But cosmography after Newton, geology after Lyell, technology after Watt, history after the French Revolution, accustomed the mind to the idea of ceaseless change, change with a real or an apparent definite direction, even sudden and violent change: genetics, evolution and revolution. Darwin sought to discover the law of change in species; Marx the "law of motion" of capitalist society. Both expressed their century's implicit faith that change, by and large, meant progress. Both got their initial ideas in a flash — which seems so preposterous to Schwarzschild — and spent their lives sustaining, refining,

developing. Darwin's very "English" predisposition to note the gradualness of evolution and Marx's "continental" predisposition to concentrate on those nodal points where prior cumulative change bursts out into rapid, dramatic and radical transformation — both have had to be supplemented and corrected. Mutants, the inheritance of acquired characters where the genes are affected, are some of the corrections introduced into Darwin's picture.

And Marx, who began his political life in the midst of the powder and barricades of 1848 and under the spell of the Great French Revolution, himself began a reluctant process of correction by acknowledging the importance of reforms like the British Factory Laws, and recognizing the possibility of "a peaceful revolution" in democratic countries like England, the United States, Holland and Belgium. So, too, he corrected his early excessive statism, centralism and authoritarianism after witnessing the Paris Commune of 1870. Subsequent events have painfully impressed on latter-day socialists the realization that the decline of capitalism does not automatically lead to socialism, that not every revolution is good, that freedom has to be planned for as well as abundance or we shall have neither, that much of our cumulative heritage is too precious to be scrapped merely for the appearance of a more complete break with the past. "Prove all things and hold on to that which is good," might well serve as the two-pronged

formula of democratic socialism's present attitude toward all existing institutions.

To the political influence of Marx we must add the powerful, if largely indirect, influence he exercises on the intellectual approach of our age to a variety of fields. Besides the emphasis on the "economics of politics," the so-called "mature economy" and the "falling rate of profit," the heightened interest in the economic crisis, and the general sense of social change, we must note more subtle phenomena such as a stronger sense of social pattern (of the interrelatedness of economics, politics, thought, the style or *zeitgeist* of an age or society); a stronger sense of historicity (the necessity of defining institutions, phenomena, concepts not as timeless but as historically conditioned); a stronger sense — perhaps overdeveloped — of what might be called ideological historicity. To be sure, Marx does not stand alone in these respects and his influence is

more often indirect than direct, but his unsystematic, sometimes contradictory, though dramatically stated and always seminal thoughts represent one of the culminating points in a whole congeries of schools and thinkers.

Today no anthropologist approaches a "culture" and no historian a "period" without being unconsciously influenced by these insights. Who today would write of Inca or Egyptian theocracy without some consideration of the formative influence of the need of public irrigation works in the Andes or Nile valley? What historian could consider the rise of Protestantism without some examination of its relationship to the rise of capitalism? Though Dr. Schwarzchild calls ours "the Marxian era" he does not even essay the central task of determining to what extent Marx's contributions are imbedded in our age's way of thinking. He does not seem to recognize that the problem exists.



Enclosure to Bureau

Copy of "Marx on the Truman Doctrine,"  
Twentieth Century, April, 1951.

BUFILE 123-5791-33

~~Copy~~ Enclosure to Bureau

Copy of "The Marxists Reply to Corey,"  
The Nation, March 9, 1940.

BUFILE 123-5791-33

Puerto Ricans are apprehensive and say so freely. And they tell you in the same breath that General Daley, commander of the American forces in Puerto Rico, has closed the Casa Blanca to the public. Now the Casa Blanca is as important a national—Puerto Rican—monument as the Fortaleza. It was the home of the family of Ponce de León, and it has stood through peace and war and sun and hurricane for 417 years. It is now the home of General Daley, who has chosen to close its doors and treat it as if it were a private house. But Puerto Ricans say the Casa Blanca also belongs to Puerto Rico; naturally it is General Daley's official residence, but how could it hurt him to open it to the public on certain days for certain hours? Especially since the General is a bachelor. Behind this quite logical attitude one senses a complex emotion compounded of national pride and possessiveness along with a less conscious resentment that the particular dog in this manger should be the general commanding the American troops, now multiplying so fast and so visibly in the streets of the city.

Do you notice that I use the word "American" in speaking of people or things or influences from the United States? If I were writing from any other Latin American country, I would not do that. I would say "North American" or "United States" (though the latter is an atrocious adjective), because obviously the people of all the countries are equally "American" and the tendency of the United States to apply the term to itself alone is properly resented throughout the rest of the hemisphere.

Except in Puerto Rico. Strange irony, in Puerto Rico, which is part of the United States, the people, who are citizens of the United States, always call themselves "Puerto Ricans" and always call people from the United States "Americans." It is as if, in their anxious national pride and their determination to make the difference felt, they were deliberately forfeiting their claim to the larger title. Since they cannot share it as equals or independents, they will not share it at all. The people from the mainland can be Americans; Puerto Ricans will be Puerto Ricans.

## The Marxists Reply to Corey

[Because of the wide interest and controversy aroused by Lewis Corey's series of articles—*Marxism Reconsidered*—in the last three numbers of *The Nation*, we asked leaders of five Marxist parties to set forth their "first reactions" to Mr. Corey's argument. Their answers are published herewith. We hope in the near future to publish other and more detailed analyses of the issues raised by Mr. Corey.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

NORMAN THOMAS  
Socialist Party

THE era now drawing to its end has been dominated by the interaction of two great loyalties, or concepts, and the institutions based upon them: in the political world, nationalism; in the economic world, private capitalism. The failure of the social order founded upon these concepts is tragically evident. Socialism, which was the most vigorous and scientific critic of that order, is itself today universally on the defensive because of its failure to achieve its own ends, either under the forms of social democracy in Germany or of communism in Russia.

From that double failure we have at least learned this: that the drift toward, or the achievement of, a high degree of collectivism not only is not of itself equivalent to socialism but does not bring socialism inevitably nearer. It is a sign of life and vigor that within Socialist ranks there is such a searching reexamination of the external

situation and of Socialist dogmas in relation to it as Lewis Corey has given us in recent issues of *The Nation*.

With what Mr. Corey has said I am largely in agreement. I have not space in the limits assigned me to clarify my position adequately. Three points I must make, briefly and dogmatically.

1. It is true that "socialism must express and realize the interest of all useful functional groups within society." That fact must lead Socialists to a reappraisal of their definitions of both the "working class" and the "middle class," and they must take respectful account of important elements of society which regard themselves as middle class. But not at the cost of losing their concern for the dispossessed, which *Fortune* recently estimated at 23 per cent of our American population, and their hope in the wage-earning proletariat. Moreover, it is highly important for the achievement of a better society that farmers, engineers, and other useful sections of the American middle class should learn to think of themselves as workers in the best sense of the word, and to realize that labor of hand and brain should bring economic rewards. This is an idea not popular with a middle class which, however blurred the boundaries, is more class conscious than the proletariat.

2. The "final conflict," as Socialists used to envision it, was to be between a vigorous and ruthless class of private owners, symbolized and led by what we call "Wall Street," and a Socialist collectivism for which the workers consistently would struggle. Actually, as

Mr. Corey points out in his third article, "capitalism is already being transformed." The whole world drift is toward collectivism. The real final conflict will be between a fascist collectivism, or more accurately the collectivism of the totalitarian state, and a democratic socialism. Recognition of this fact in time would give new hope, at any rate in America, for the success of non-violent methods of struggle.

Mr. Corey gives a good general picture of his "people's functional socialism" and the steps toward it, but it is imperatively necessary for him, as for all Socialists who agree with the point of view which he has expressed, to fill in the important details of their program more explicitly. I await his fuller treatment eagerly.

3. If the older socialism was mistaken in believing that it was the historical destiny of the "working class" almost automatically to achieve socialism, so will the modern advocates of the glories of "democracy," or even of a "people's functional socialism," be mistaken if they think that there is anything in the untutored and instinctive processes of the democracy we now have by which we shall achieve plenty, peace, and freedom. It is the failure of that democracy which gives rise to fascism. The achievement of our great ends requires socialism, and it requires a creative socialism, a socialism conscious of its goal and of its program, a socialism which must rest on its own organizational power. To be sure, such socialism must work in and through mass movements and mass organizations of various sorts, but emphatically it needs its own political expression. What the New Deal has done, especially if it involves America in war, can be a preparation for fascism just as truly as for the achievement of democratic socialism. Indeed, fascism, military or otherwise, in some form and under some name will win the day in America unless within the next few years a democratic Socialist movement can be built.

#### EARL BROWDER

Communist Party

Your invitation to write a "critical first reaction" to Lewis Corey's articles, *Marxism Reconsidered*, has caused me to read them. Here is my critical first reaction.

The underlying thought, it seems to me, could be most clearly set forth in a syllogism of formal logic:

Major premise: Mr. Corey was the most penetrating exponent of Marxist thought after Marx himself.

Minor premise: Mr. Corey failed.

Conclusion: Marxism is a failure.

Granted the first premise, the conclusion is irrefutable. But it is the first premise that must be rejected. Mr. Corey, in all his independent writings, has always struggled against Marxism, not expounded it (see the pamphlet "Leninism—the Only Marxism Today," by Bittelman and Jerome, 1934). What he has now reconsidered is

not the validity of Marxism but rather the method of struggle against it; where formerly he conducted his fight under the guise of an adherent, he now comes out openly as an opponent. That much, at least is clear gain. May the Lord protect us from our friends; our enemies we have learned how to deal with.

As I plodded through Mr. Corey's "arguments," my subconscious mind was busy rummaging in the dim past, and as I laid the papers aside there was thrust into my consciousness a famous phrase from the age of the good Queen Victoria: "the blessed word, Mesopotamia." Yes, Mr. Corey has his blessed word, which he substitutes impartially for all the missing elements of the rational process, and which casts over all a thick aura of righteousness (or should one say self-righteousness?). It is the magic word "totalitarianism."

With this blessed word Mr. Corey conjures up the whole of his newly acquired ideology, without the inconvenience of having to set it forth in specific terms; with this word he *assumes* as established, without further examination, the propositions which his articles purport to prove to the reader. This little sleight-of-hand performance will not, of course, disturb those whose minds operate from the same assumption. We may fairly expect Mr. Corey to be quite a lion, for the next few weeks, in those circles where the blessed word solves all problems and answers all questions. With equal assurance we may expect that in critical and thinking circles, whether Marxian or otherwise, Mr. Corey's "reconsideration" will gain him but the recognition that here is a man who should go far under a Rooseveltian third term.

As honest and forthright men are more and more driven from public life by the hunger-and-war program of the "national unity" camp forming around Roosevelt, they will be replaced by the most glib devotees of the blessed word "totalitarianism." This word is the battle cry of the American bourgeoisie embarked upon a holy crusade to save Europe from socialism, from proletarian revolution, and to assure itself the lion's share of profit from a salvaged European capitalism.

Mr. Corey should hear the knock of opportunity upon his door with increasing insistence, once these articles come to the attention of the right people.

#### BERTRAM D. WOLFE

Independent Labor League (Lovestonites)

Western socialism, based on traditions of bourgeois democracy and democratic unionism, has for some time been trying to shake off the incubus of blind acceptance—and blind rejection—of the Russian Revolution, a revolution occurring where both bourgeois and proletarian democracy were lacking. The Corey articles now broaden the scope of the discussion and thereby perform a significant service, for out of such discussion alone can



come the necessary clarification, reunification, and new advance toward socialism.

Corey makes it clear that socialism's errors and defeats do not give capitalism new vigor. Decay continues: from free trade to monopoly; toward longer and deeper crises; from productive abundance to legislated scarcity; toward autarchy and recurrent war. Capitalism is in transition toward "some sort of collectivism"—the real choice being between monopolistic, oligarchical, authoritarian forms and democratic socialism. What we have learned is that nationalization of industry does not automatically lead to increased democracy or to "withering of the state," but rather increases the dangers of totalitarianism and the need of a conscious drive to achieve freedom. This emphasis on the inseparability of democracy and socialism is the major service of Corey's articles.

With Corey's analyses I have several disagreements:

1. I think he underestimates the trade union as the most important single institution for the development of economic democracy.

2. Corey rightly emphasizes the need for a socialism expressing the interests of all functionally useful groups. But if socialism is not, in the first instance, the expression of a democratic mass movement of which labor is the most important constituent, then it is nothing at all. Is not the working class the most numerous and significant single class in modern society? Who else is to form the core and driving force? With whom shall Corey's "new middle class" combine, when it is won away from adherence to monopoly capitalism and the status quo? The greater danger is not, as Corey seems to imply, that of dictatorship by the mass of producers over technicians and administrators, but—as happened in Russia—the dictatorship of indispensable technician-administrators over the mass of producer-consumers. If the "new middle class," as some technocrats and other followers of *Common Sense* imply, is to become the core of the movement toward a new order, then bureaucracy and totalitarianism are hardly avoidable.

3. Corey rightly rejects the schematic caricature concept of class often advanced, and would use it rather as "a tool with which to identify and delimit those class interests that must be destroyed in order to realize progressive class interests." But this is quite different from the sweeping title *The Class-War Fallacy*, which I fancy is a cuckoo egg laid in his nest by some *Nation* editor.

At the extremes of the social spectrum there is more class consciousness, actual and potential, than the articles seem to reckon with. At the right, a handful has sufficient power to sway governments, manipulate opinion, subsidize fascist movements. The inclusion in the "popular front" of parties controlled by such monopolists of economic power is the real reason for the sterility of such fronts, which Corey notes but does not analyze.

4. He rightly rejects that caricature revolutionism

which worships violence and upheaval for their own sake; he warns of the destructiveness and "totalitarian potential" involved. Rightly, too, he emphasizes continuity where many have one-sidedly emphasized break; but he seems to fall into an opposite one-sidedness.

In order to move toward, not away from, a new social order we require a sharp break: (a) in the *direction* of development; (b) in the *central purpose* of production—from private profit to social use; (c) in the *control* of the mainsprings of economic and political power. Otherwise, as the "older gradualism was distorted by the upswing of capitalism," Corey will find that his new "gradualism"—an equivocal word—will be distorted by the prevailing downswing into becoming, not a new order, but gradual decay and collapse of the very foundations on which such order might be constructed.

5. Undoubtedly violence is a matrix of totalitarianism, yet history still fails to show examples of transitions to a new order without some violent attempt of the privileged to hold on to power. Against such force a democratic majority might conceivably have to use force, in addition to persuasion and affirmation of its will. The latest examples are Austria and Spain. This dilemma must be faced, not evaded.

6. To what extent is modern industry compatible with Marx's belated rejection of centralization (after the Paris Commune) and advocacy of the non-bureaucratic, decentralized, libertarian commune-state? And with Lenin's hope that "every cook" would become a polytechnic multi-expert on every phase of economic, cultural, and social life?

Incidentally, that approach derives, via France, from Jefferson, who proposed an arrangement where "every man is a sharer in the direction of his ward-republic . . . not merely at election one day in the year but every day . . . there shall not be a man in the state who will not be a member of some one of its councils . . . and every citizen can act in person . . . in all things relating to him . . . and in the offices nearest and most interesting to him." Is Jefferson really as out-of-date as the "horse and buggy" spurners glibly imply?

The major lack in the articles I find to be omission of the overshadowing problem of peace and war. It is inextricably tied up with the problems treated. There can be no healthy socialist regrouping if this is evaded or ignored. Modern war involves maximal totalitarianism. The struggle for socialism and freedom is first of all a struggle to prevent war, limit and shorten it where it occurs, transform the institutional and economic arrangements from which it springs.

Finally, these comments are inadequate both as to praise and difference because of limitations of space; and they are personal rather than "official," since the Independent Labor League possesses no "pontifical" views on these questions; nor does it believe that matters essen-

tially experimental and scientific can possibly be "settled" by a vote of a committee, an "authoritative" citation, or adoption of twenty-one points or ninety-five theses.

### ALGERNON LEE

Social-Democratic Federation

"History," says Lewis Corey, "has played one of her stupefying tricks; for it is now clear that democracy is on the defensive as much against the totalitarianism of Russian communism as against that of fascism."

Poor Mr. Corey! His position is surely not an enviable one. But we could better sympathize with him if he took it like a man instead of blaming History. The fault, poor Corey, is not History's, but yours, if you are stupefied. History may be a Theban Sphinx, who slays those who misread her riddles, but a shabby trickstress she is not.

Mr. Corey had served the Bolshevik Moloch for years, and striven to justify his ways before men; had seen him murder the young republic and slaughter its defenders and make Russia a house of horrors; had heard him revile democracy, ridicule men who valued truth above expediency, and explicitly command his acolytes to lie for his greater glory. Five years ago he had seen his Moloch put on a false-face clumsily simulating the features of democracy—but meanwhile explaining to puzzled worshipers in a whisper that all this was only a maneuver. Last August he saw the mask cast aside, saw Bolshevism and Nazism clasping hands—and was Mr. Corey stupefied! Or was he really?

Anyway, he has now more or less emerged from his stupor. Six months, in such a case, is perhaps no more than a fair equivalent for the ten seconds allowed in pugilistic practice. Barely in time, Mr. Corey has come to—somewhat groggy but still in the ring. He really is not clear as to who it was that hit him—maybe it was History, maybe not—and after three-quarters of a column he decides to "square accounts with Marx." Brave man, after all—or perhaps I'd better say rash man! Marx has taken a lot of pounding since he started to fight, but his assailants' knuckles have suffered most.

Am I being too flippant? Not a whit. Mr. Corey seems to have developed what the psychiatrists call a delusion of grandeur. With a magnificent flourish he makes an "admission of failure" on behalf of everybody in sight—save only himself. Communism has failed, Social Democracy has failed, "all variants of Marxism" have failed, non-Marxian radicalism has failed, democracy has failed, and so on. The field is clear—now just watch.

To follow Mr. Corey through some 9,000 words of pontifical irresponsibility and undertake to analyze and answer his argument systematically within my allotted space of 700 words would be folly. The subjects on which he expatiates are important. They must be adequately discussed. But Mr. Corey does not lay the basis.

### MAX SHACHTMAN

Socialist Workers Party (Trotskyists)

The title of Mr. Corey's articles is misleading. What he is really reconsidering is post-war Social Democratic reformism, and with a few unimportant verbal improvements he finds it quite acceptable. The fact that he attaches to it the not entirely novel label of "people's socialism" or "functional democratic socialism" testifies only to his squeamishness about fathering what is so thoroughly bankrupt and discredited.

What Corey leaves of revolutionary Marxism after his "reconsideration" is scarcely visible to the naked eye. The Marxian theory of the state is dropped down the chute because, you see, the modern democratic state also performs some useful functions. Presumably its principal function of maintaining the social rule of the propertied class by armed force is secondary to its meritorious work of providing farmers with weather reports and regulating traffic. The Marxian theory of the class struggle and the decisive progressive role of the proletariat goes down the same chute, to be replaced by "the interests of all useful functional groups." The Marxian theory of the seizure of power for the socialist reorganization of society meets the same fate, and is replaced by the ludicrous and outworn theory of a parliamentary democracy that will absorb as much social justice as this sinful world makes possible, but absorb it by a process of osmosis, so "gradually" that the crisis-maddened capitalist class will not notice it. What is left of Marxism? A few liberalist phrases.

Corey's criticism of Social Democratic reformism leaves it essentially intact. The central point in the criticism—the stress which the German Social Democracy laid on the proletariat to the exclusion of the middle class—is simply groundless. To an ever-increasing degree, from the days of Eduard Bernstein at the turn of the century, the German Social Democracy put emphasis on the middle class; all its policies proceeded from fear of "alienating" the middle class. It ended by being completely dominated by middle-class elements. Corey is arguing against a Social Democracy that did not exist only to recommend one that did and still does exist.

This becomes quite clear in the programmatic conclusions at the end of his series. His discomfort in shifting from Marxism to reformism sticks out in every apologetic line. Gradualism? "Yes and no." But far more "yes" than "no." The only serious difference between Corey and the German Social Democrats is that he promises to put "teeth" into his gradualism. The promise need not be taken too seriously, however. Otto Bauer used to talk the same way just before he gave way to Dollfuss. Léon Blum swore that he would not be a Kerensky, only to surrender to the economic and political democracy that now flourishes so sturdily under Daladier.

In reality, Mr. Corey's teeth, and those of most middle-class radicals, are chattering with fright in the grow-

5716

May 22, 1953

BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE  
Born January 19, 1896  
Brooklyn, New York

This information is being furnished as a result of your request for an FBI file check only and is not to be considered as a clearance or nonclearance of the individual involved.

A search of the records of this Bureau failed to locate any data pertinent to your inquiry other than that which is set forth below.

For information concerning the subject of your inquiry, you are referred to the files of the following agencies:

Reports furnished you September 7, 1950,  
captioned "Bertram David Wolfe, Voice Of America."  
123-5791

Original to State  
Request received April 6, 1953  
Reason Given: U. S. Specialists to Germany  
H. C. Dillon:jl

VPK/B

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

RECORDED . 9

123-5791-34

shd

23

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ • **MEMORANDUM • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT**

**TO :** Assistant Attorney General  
Warren Olney III

**DATE:** June 29, 1953

**FROM :** Director, FBI

Attention: Mr. Archie D. Simpson  
Records Administration Branch

35

**SUBJECT:** BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE  
aka Daniel Shays, Albert Lovell,  
Albert Allbright, Albert Ward, L. Vargas  
Chief, Ideological Trust Unit  
Voice of America  
Department of State  
New York, New York  
SECURITY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

RECORDED-92

128

Reference is made to this Bureau's memorandum dated May 14, 1953, furnishing copies of reports covering an investigation conducted concerning the captioned individual. These reports were furnished for information and consideration as to whether the evidence developed indicated a violation of any Federal law.

Enclosed herewith is a copy of this Bureau's letter of this date to the U. S. Civil Service Commission together with a copy of its enclosure containing further information regarding the captioned matter. This is being furnished to supplement ~~the data~~ <sup>COMM data</sup> previously forwarded to the Department in this case.

JUN 29 1953  
MAILED 28

*Wolfe*  
*Cliff*  
*YAS*  
*AKC*

123-5791  
Enclosures (2)

BHE: arh

25 AUG 12 1953

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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

5705

123-5791

BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

35

RECORDED-92

Date: June 29, 1953

EX-126 To:

Mr. James E. Hatcher  
Chief, Investigations Division  
U. S. Civil Service Commission  
Washington 25, D. C.

From: John Edgar Hoover, Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation

Subject: BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE  
aka Daniel Shays, Albert Lovell,  
Albert Allbright, Albert Ward, L. Vargas  
Chief, Ideological Trust Unit  
Voice of America  
Department of State  
New York, New York  
SECURITY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Reference is made to my letter dated May 14, 1953, and to my previous letters transmitting the results of the investigation previously conducted concerning the above-named individual.

Additional information has been received which is set forth in the report of Special Agent [redacted] dated June 12, 1953, at Washington, D. C., two copies of which are attached.

b6  
b7c

BY SP. MESS.  
126 JUN 30  
COMM. FILE

The information in the enclosed report is furnished to supplement the data previously forwarded to you in this case.

- Tolson
- Ladd
- Nichols
- Belmont
- Clegg
- Glavin
- Harbo
- Rosen
- Tracy
- Gearty
- Mohr
- Interrow
- Room

cc: (1) Assistant Attorney General (Under separate cover)  
Warren Olney III

RHE:arh arh

*now*  
*W. J. [unclear]*  
*Chase*  
*CHS*

Office 1

UNIVERSITY

VERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (123-5791)

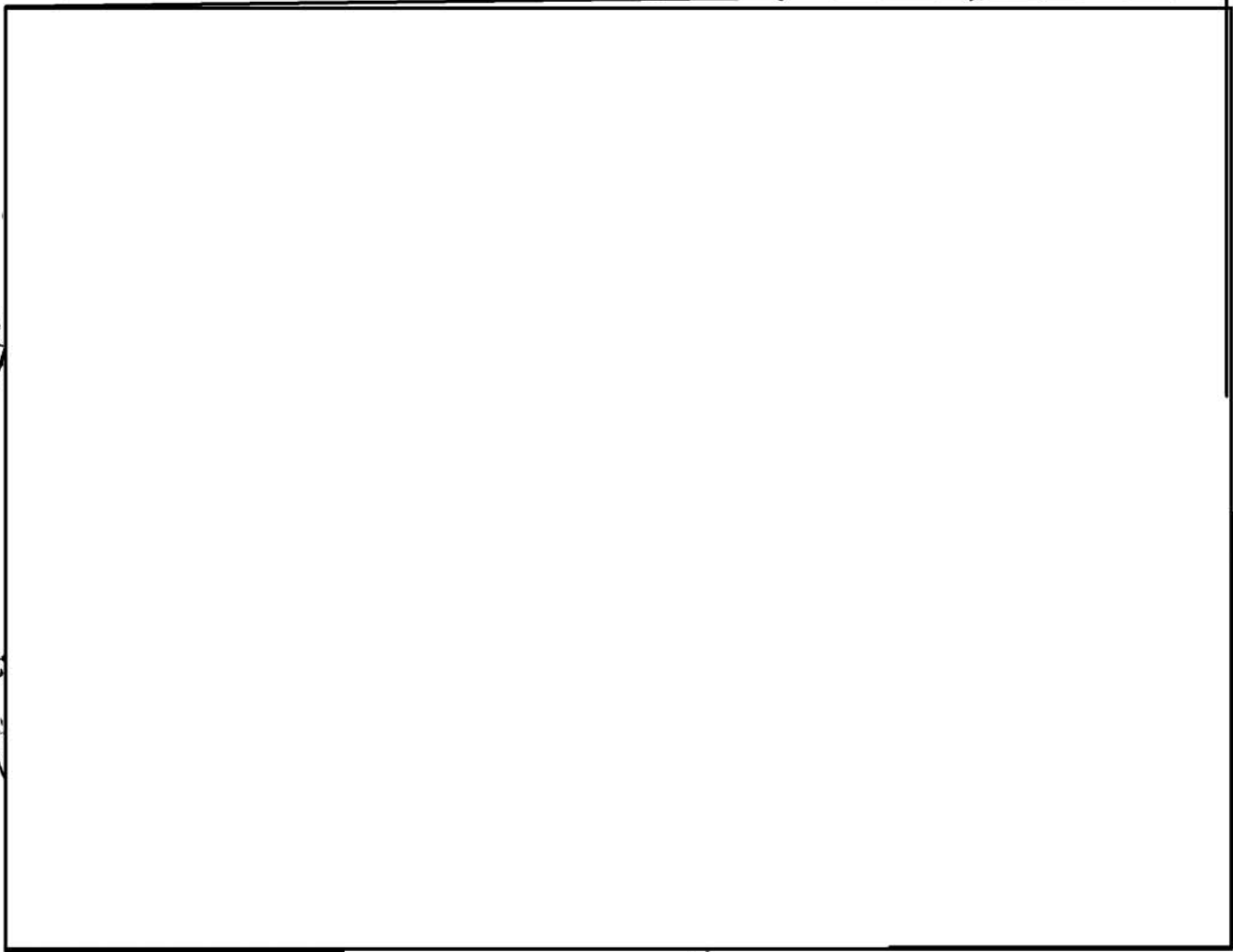
DATE: June 12, 1953

FROM : SAC, WFO (123-5405)

SUBJECT: BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE, aka.  
Chief, Ideological Trust Unit  
Voice of America  
Department of State  
New York, New York  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Re WFO report dated June 12, 1953, copies of which are attached.

Referral/Consult



ABH:wck

2 New York (123-3898) (Enc. 1)  
Enclosures 7

SE 42

RECORDED-92

INDEXED-92

EX-126

123-5791-35

JUN 16 1953

EMP. REC. 100

R.B.H.

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7-ENC

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

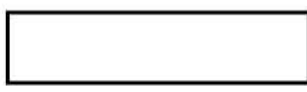
Title:

BENTHAM DAVID WOLFE, aka:  
Daniel Shays,  
Albert Lovell,  
Albert Allbright,  
Albert Ward,  
L. Vargas,  
Chief,  
Ideological Trust Unit,  
Voice of America,  
Department of State,  
New York, New York  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

123-5771-35

Report of:

Special Agent



b6  
b7C

Date and Place:

June 12, 1953, at Washington, D.C.

PROPERTY OF FBI

This confidential report and its contents are loaned to you by the FBI and are not to be distributed outside of agency to which loaned. This is an FBI investigative report and makes no recommendation for clearance or disapproval.

This is amended copy of loyalty report and should not be removed from file for dissemination purposes. If dissemination necessary, copies should be made of this copy.

8-286

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1  
 THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT BUREAU

REPORT MADE AT WASHINGTON D. C.	DATE WHEN MADE 6/12/53	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 4/2; 5/5, 6, 8, 12, 13, 21, 26/53	REPORT MADE BY ANKER B. HARPO vck
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TITLE CHANGED BERTRAM DAVID WOLFF, aka: Daniel Shays, Albert Lovell, Albert Allbright, Albert Ward, L. Vargas	CHARACTER OF CASE LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES
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SYNOPSIS OF FACTS CHIEF, IDEOLOGICAL TRUST UNIT, VOICE OF AMERICA, DEPARTMENT OF STATE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK	AGENCY <u>cc CIA</u> REQ. REC'D <u>5-26-54</u> REPT FORW. <u>6-18-54</u> BY <u>[Signature]</u>
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Information appearing in passport records set out and information appearing in Security Files utilized.

- RUC -

REQ. REC'D 12-24-60  
 ANS. JAN 6 1961  
 BY [Signature]

REFERENCE: Bureau letter dated March 30, 1953

Title of this report has been marked changed in order to include name which WOLFF admitted using, according to information appearing in the Security Records of the State Department. These names are DANIEL SHAYS, ALBERT LOVELL, ALBERT ALLRIGHT, ALBERT WARD, L. VARGAS

AGENCY 10 men [unclear] USA  
 REQ. REC'D 2-25-57  
 REPT FORW. 2-21-57  
 BY [Signature]

AGENCY CSI DIST OFF 4  
 REQ. REC'D 11/15/57  
 REPT FORW. 11/23/57  
 BY [Signature]

2 cc: CIA  
 1 cc: [unclear]  
 6-27-53  
 RHE

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: <u>[Signature]</u>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES
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COPIES OF THIS REPORT 7 Bureau (123-5791) 1 New York (Info.) (123-3898) 1 Washington Field (123-5405)	RECORDED-92 INDEXED-92
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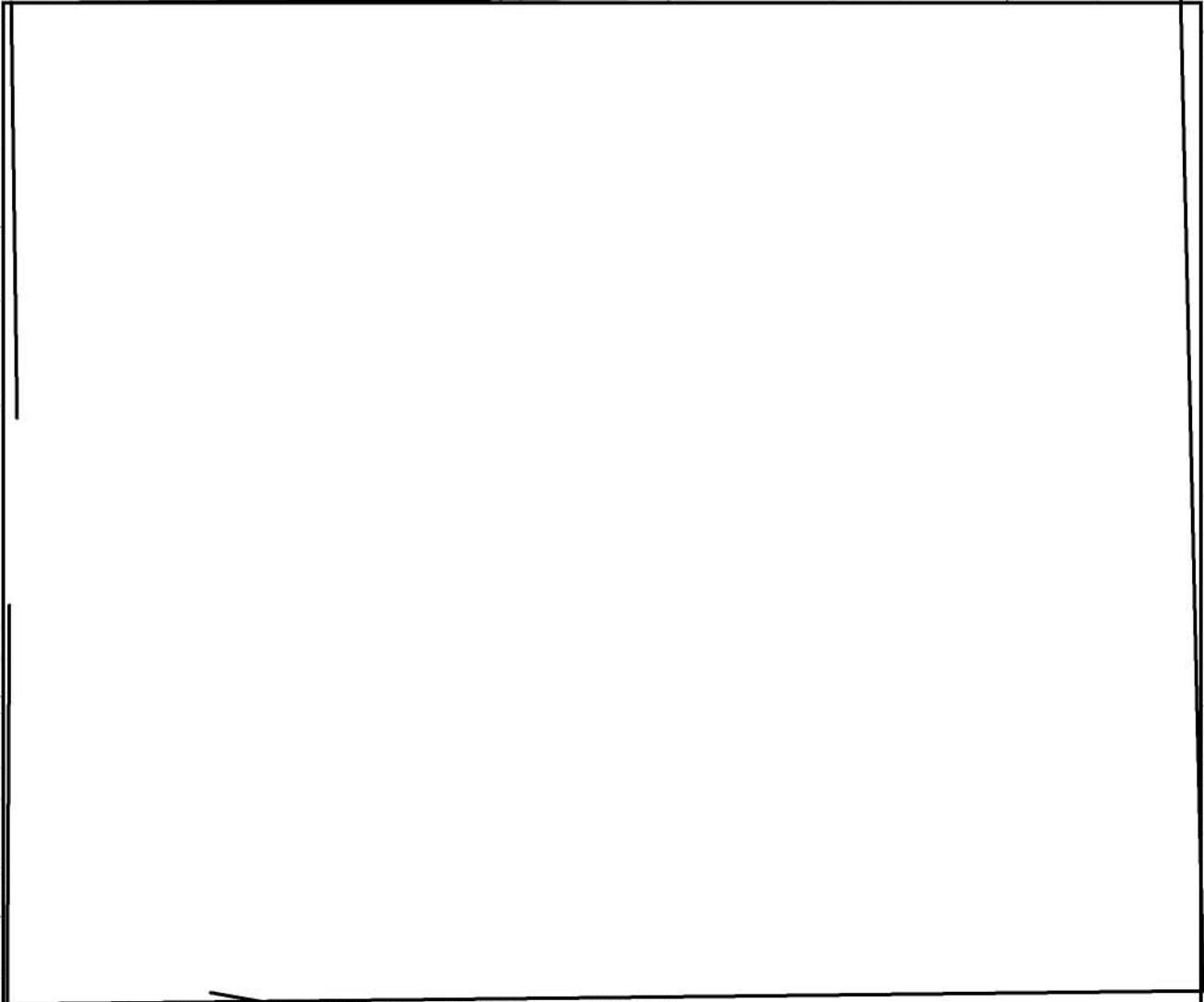
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE, aka:  
Daniel Shays, Albert Lovell,  
Albert Albright, Albert Ward,  
L. Vargas  
Chief,  
Ideological Trust Unit,  
Voice of America,  
Department of State,  
New York, New York  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Washington, D. C.  
June 12, 1953

III. RESULTS OF INVESTIGATION

Referral/Consult



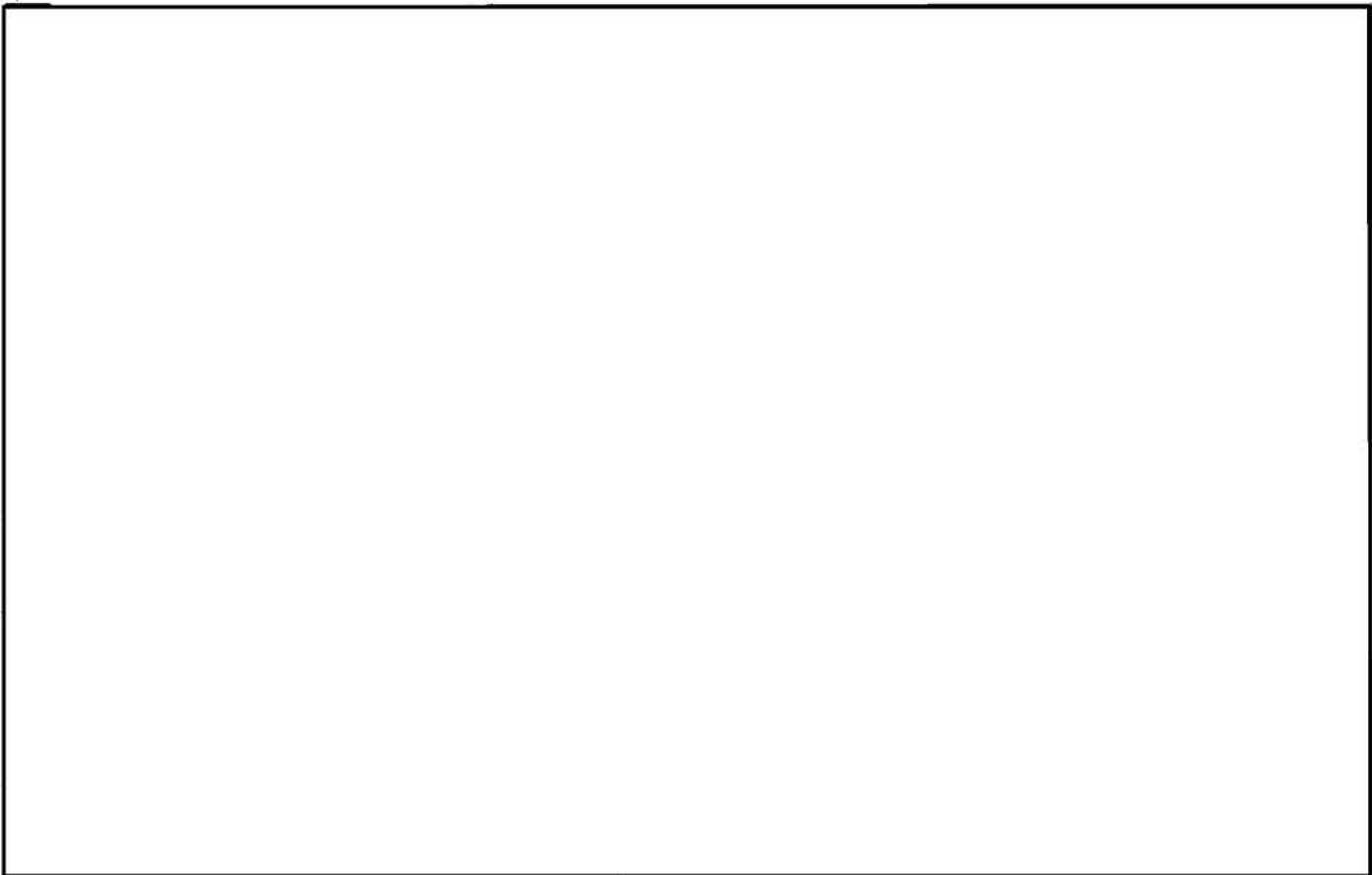
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Referral/Consult



It is noted that an investigation was recently conducted on KOHLER by the FBI in accordance with the provisions of Executive Order 9835.

Referral/Consult



ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

A copy of this report has been designated for the information of the New York City Office, since WOLFE has resided and is employed in the territory that is covered by that office.

INFORMANT

Referral/Consult

- 7 - *Adm Page*

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT

BUREAU

57174

DC

REPORT MADE AT <b>NEW YORK</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>4/30/53</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>4/9,17,20-24,27/53</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>WILLIAM B. HOLLOMAN</b>
TITLE <b>BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE Chief, Ideological Advisory Staff Central Program Services Division International Broadcasting Service United States Department of State New York, New York</b>			CHARACTER OF CASE <b>LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES</b>

**SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:**

Appointee born 1/19/96 in Brooklyn, NY. Confidential Informant NYC T-15 advised appointee has Marxist sympathies although outspoken anti-Stalin. Confidential Informant NYC T-12, of known reliability, advised WOLFE expelled from CP many years ago but still Socialist and that Socialists consider themselves the true Marxists. BENJAMIN GITLOW advised he believes WOLFE still holds to the Communist ideals and principles of MARX and LENIN. Other associates at employment and neighborhood state they consider WOLFE loyal. Files of Credit Bureau of Greater New York and records of BSSI and BCI, NYCPD, contain no information pertinent to this investigation. Confidential Communist informants of the NYC area advised they do not know the appointee. NYC Board of Election records reflect appointee registered Communist in 1933 and ALP in 1938 through 1941.

AGENCY *1 cc of CIA*  
 REG. REC'D *5-21-53*  
 REP'T FORW. *6-10-53*  
 BY *Jaw*

AGENCY *Hand photo Army*  
 REG. REC'D *8-15-56*  
 REP'T FORW. *9-4-56*  
 BY *J. C. C.*

SEE REFERENCE

400:020  
 100:000  
 5-14-53  
 R.H.B.

AGENCY *10 men/1000*  
 REG. REC'D *3-7-54*  
 REP'T FORW. *2-21-57*  
 BY *sc*

AGENCY *CSI DIST OFF 4*  
 REG. REC'D *11/15/57*  
 REP'T FORW. *11/25/59*  
 BY *C. C. D. - TRS*

**REFERENCE:**

Bureau letter to New York, March 30, 1953

APPROVED AND FORWARDED <i>[Signature]</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES
COPIES OF THIS REPORT 7 - Bureau 1 - New York (121-16979)		<p style="font-size: 2em; font-weight: bold;">123-5991-310</p> <p style="font-size: 1.5em; font-weight: bold;">MAY 4 1953</p>
		<p style="font-weight: bold;">RECORDED-99</p> <p style="font-weight: bold;">INDEXED-99</p> <p style="font-weight: bold;">EX-120</p>

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NY 121-16979

DETAILS:

The title has been changed to reflect the appointee's exact position as reflected in the files of the United States Department of State, New York, New York.

121-16979-30

NY 121-16979

BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE  
Chief, Ideological Advisory Staff  
Central Program Services Division  
International Broadcasting Service  
United States Department of State  
New York, New York  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

*New York, New York  
April 30, 1953*

RESULTS OF INVESTIGATION

Confidential Informant New York City T-15, of unknown reliability, on April 24, 1953, furnished the following signed statement concerning the appointee:

"I

[redacted] make the following voluntary statement to William B. Holloman who has identified himself as a Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

"During the last one year I have had the opportunity to read the scripts which have been prepared by Mr. WOLFE for use by the various language desks. Through the reading of these articles prepared by Mr. WOLFE I have come to the conclusion that Mr. WOLFE, while being an anti-Stalinist, is in sympathy with the basic Communist philosophies of Karl Marx and Nikolai Lenin. Mr. WOLFE has on several occasions placed Marx and Lenin in a favorable light, ostensibly for the purpose of attacking Stalin and his deviations from the doctrines of these men. By doing this Mr. WOLFE is in effect indicating some approval of the doctrines of Marx and Lenin.

"I have noticed that Mr. WOLFE has never in any of his writings condemned the Communist philosophy as advocated by Marx and Lenin. In my opinion this indicates that although Mr. WOLFE broke with the Communist Party as an organization and is anti-Stalin, he nevertheless has not abandoned Marxism and Leninism as a political and economic philosophy. For this reason I question Mr. WOLFE's complete loyalty to the United States.

NY 121-16979

"I have read the above statement consisting of two pages and it is true and correct to the best of my knowledge.

s/ \_\_\_\_\_"

Witness:

Special Agent, FBI, 4/24/53

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b7c

The informant advised that he would appear before a Loyalty Hearing Board but not in the presence of the appointee and only if his identity were concealed.

Confidential Informant New York City T-12, of known reliability, advised that Mr. WOLFE was expelled from the Communist Party many years ago and is now very anti-Communist and is so looked upon by members of the Communist Party. The informant advised, however, that Mr. WOLFE is a Socialist and that Socialists consider themselves the true Marxist and fight the Communist Party for this reason. The informant called attention to the fact that the First and Second Internationals were Socialist Internationals and that it was they that employed the slogan "Workers of the World Unite - You Have Nothing to Lose but Your Chains."

The Communist Party is an organization which has been declared by the Attorney General of the United States to be within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

Mr. BENJAMIN GITLOW, associate of ALFRED KOHLBERG Company, Incorporated, 1 West 37th Street, New York, New York, advised that Mr. WOLFE, Mr. LOVESTONE and himself (GITLOW) and others were expelled from the Communist Party in 1929 because of a difference of opinion as to the structural organization of the Communist Party regarding the policies and procedures concerning the method of selecting Communist Party officials. He advised that the above group differed with the Communist Party in that they favored democratization within the Party to the extent that the rank and file members should have some voice in the selection of Party officials rather than having no voice in the matter and accepting the officials as designated by the Comintern. Mr. GITLOW stated that he, WOLFE, LOVESTONE and others were called before the Comintern in Moscow, Russia, because of their above mentioned assertion and upon their refusal to deviate from their opinion they were expelled from the Party.

NY 121-16979

He advised that upon returning to the United States Mr. LOVESTONE formed the Communist Party, United States of America, Opposition. He stated that this organization was devised as an instrument whereby the expelled members hoped to recruit sufficient members to enable the expelled members to be re-admitted to the Communist Party. According to Mr. GITLOW, Mr. WOLFE was an active and able assistant to Mr. LOVESTONE. He stated that the Communist Opposition and the members thereof never broke with the principles of the Communist Party and that the organization continued the Communist Party line, and carried on a violent opposition against Trotsky and his movement in the United States and affiliated with Communist Party front groups such as the "League Against War and Fascism." He stated that LOVESTONE's group, which included WOLFE, hoped to be re-admitted to the Communist Party by the Comintern on the basis of the activities of the Communist Opposition.

Mr. GITLOW advised that as late as 1934 the Communist Opposition, of which Mr. WOLFE was a member, continued to support JOSEPH STALIN and the Communist Party. According to Mr. GITLOW, Mr. WOLFE, Mr. LOVESTONE and others endorsed fully and completely the tactics and campaigns as directed by JOSEPH STALIN. He advised that they were in complete accord with the purges instituted in Russia by STALIN to erase any opposition or potential threat to STALIN's dictatorship. He added that with the exception of their views concerning the selection of officials, the LOVESTONE group, including Mr. WOLFE, were devout Communists.

Mr. GITLOW stated that the Communist Opposition in 1934 and 1935 attempted to be reinstated in the Communist Party and that JACK STACHEL acted as intermediary between the Comintern and the LOVESTONE group in the matter of re-admittance. He advised that Mr. LOVESTONE and his group, which included Mr. WOLFE, were successful in their bid for acceptance into the Communist Party but that Mr. LOVESTONE caused the offer of re-admittance to be rescinded by STALIN. He advised that Mr. LOVESTONE, upon learning of the favorable decision concerning the LOVESTONE group by the Comintern, began publicizing the proposed re-entry into the Communist Party as a victory for the "Opposition" inasmuch as the LOVESTONE group continued to favor democratization of the Communist Party in respect to the selection of officials. According to Mr. GITLOW, the actions of LOVESTONE in this matter angered STALIN, who directed that LOVESTONE and his group were not to be received back into the Communist Party.



NY 121-16979

Mr. GITLOW stated that "The Marxist" was an organ of the LOVESTONE group and that it endorsed the beliefs and doctrines of KARL MARX. He advised that works of MARX were given the same interpretation as received by the Communist Party with one exception, which concerned the view LOVESTONE fostered in giving the rank and file Communist Party member an opportunity for self expression concerning Party representatives.

Mr. GITLOW stated that during the period 1939 to 1941 Mr. WOLFE displayed a continuing adherence to the Communist doctrine inasmuch as the LOVESTONE group condoned the Russian invasion of Finland and was an active participant in the propaganda program known as "Keep America Out of War" and Mr. WOLFE in 1939 published a book entitled "Keep America Out of War." Mr. GITLOW stated that this publication followed the Communist Party line in that it espoused non-intervention in the war on the part of this country on the grounds that American participation would be of an imperialistic nature. He said that the publication reflected Mr. WOLFE's attitude as being that the United States presented a "sham" democracy and was a capitalistic government whereas Russia was reflected as a peoples government.

Mr. GITLOW stated that although a review of Mr. WOLFE's book, "Three Who Made Revolution," which was published in 1948, reflects that Mr. WOLFE is opposed to STALIN, it gives no indication whatsoever that he has relinquished his belief in Communism, Marxism or Leninism. The above book, according to Mr. GITLOW, merely reflects Mr. WOLFE's dislike for STALIN inasmuch as Mr. WOLFE feels that STALIN has not ruled to Communist Party as MARX would have done.

He stated that he has had no direct association with Mr. WOLFE or LOVESTONE since about 1933 when he, GITLOW, left the LOVESTONE group. He stated that he has no knowledge as to the association between Messrs. WOLFE and LOVESTONE subsequent to 1939 when the LOVESTONE group dissolved but prior to 1939 all facts would indicate that Messrs. WOLFE and LOVESTONE were closely associated.

He stated that when he, GITLOW, broke with the LOVESTONE group in 1933 Mr. WOLFE attacked his actions and defended the Communist Party in its entire doctrine with the exception of the representative system. At that time Mr. WOLFE, according to GITLOW, defended STALIN's policies and tactics concerning the Party and Russian dictatorship.

NY 121-16979

Mr. GITLOW said that it is his opinion that Mr. WOLFE, although he has denounced STALIN, still holds to the ideals and principles of the Communist doctrine of MARX and LENIN. He stated that his opinion is based upon the following:

(1) Mr. WOLFE possesses much information and knowledge concerning the Communist Party which he has never offered officials of this country.

(2) Mr. WOLFE has made no declaration to the effect that a democratic government as practiced in the United States is superior to a Communist dictatorship.

(3) Mr. WOLFE has never expressed the opinion that the two party system and representative legislatures is more advantageous to the individual than a Communist regime.

(4) Mr. WOLFE is in a position to be of valuable service to this country by revealing the weaknesses of the Communist government which he has not done.

(5) Mr. WOLFE has never expressed a desire nor presented a concrete program whereby the United States would benefit in an effort to rid itself of the dangers of Communism and Communist infiltration.

(6) Mr. WOLFE has made no positive assertions which would reflect that he has relinquished his belief in Marxism and Leninism.

Mr. GITLOW declined to furnish a signed statement inasmuch as he has had no direct association with Mr. WOLFE since 1933. He advised that at the present time he would withhold his decision regarding an appearance before a Loyalty Hearing Board but that if a Loyalty Hearing is scheduled he would at that time give his decision concerning his availability as a witness.

Employments

Voice of America  
International Broadcasting Service  
250 West 57th Street  
New York, New York

Miss ROSEMARY NICHOLSON, clerk, Appointment and Records

NY 121-16979

Section, Personnel Branch, made available the appointee's personnel records which reflect that he received an appointment on September 4, 1951, as Chief of the Ideological Advisory Staff, Central Program Services Division, International Broadcasting Service, United States Department of State, and that he is currently employed in that position. These records reflect that the appointee was born on January 19, 1896, at Brooklyn, New York, and that he currently resides at 68 Montague Street, Brooklyn, New York.

These records contain no unfavorable information concerning the appointee's loyalty to the United States and Miss NICHOLSON advised that she is not acquainted with him.

Mr. PAUL M. DEAC, Rumanian Service, advised that he has had very little contact with Mr. WOLFE and his only knowledge of him is from discussions which take place at policy meetings. Mr. DEAC stated that he has noticed that in statements made at policy meetings Mr. WOLFE has seemed to be strongly anti-Stalin but not opposed to Marxism as a political philosophy. Mr. DEAC added, however, that he does not doubt the appointee's loyalty to the United States.

Mr. LISTON M. OAK, Talks and Features Branch, advised that he has known Mr. WOLFE since about 1927. He stated that he was active in the Communist Party at approximately the same time as Mr. WOLFE and that he is familiar with Mr. WOLFE's former activities in the Communist Party. He added that since Mr. WOLFE came to work for the Voice of America in 1951 he, OAK, has had many discussions with him concerning Communism and other controversial subjects.

Mr. OAK advised that he has noticed the changes in Mr. WOLFE's thinking since 1927 which included his break with the Communist Party, his joining the Communist Party Opposition lead by JAY LOVESTONE, his abandoning his Communist ideology and becoming a Socialist and finally, in the last four or five years, renouncing his Socialist ideology also. Mr. OAK stated that judging from his conversations with Mr. WOLFE and from observations of Mr. WOLFE's work he has no doubt that Mr. WOLFE has no sympathies for Communism in any form and he added that he believes the appointee is doing a good job in fighting Communism and he has no doubt concerning the appointee's loyalty to the United States.

Mr. JOHN M. VEBBER, Chief, Central Program Services Division, advised that he has been the appointee's supervisor since

NY 121-16979

October, 1952. He stated that because of Mr. WOLFE's background as a Communist Party member he has been alert to any indications that the appointee might still retain some sympathies toward Communism.

Mr. VEBBER stated that he has discussed Mr. WOLFE's past Communist Party activities with him and that he has from time to time discussed matters of policy concerning anti-Communist broadcasts with Mr. WOLFE. He stated that judging from his conversations with Mr. WOLFE he believes that he is not sympathetic toward Communism as practiced either in the Soviet Union or as advocated by the American Communist Party.

He stated that Mr. WOLFE has made some favorable comments concerning NIKOLI LENIN in broadcasts to listeners behind the Iron Curtain but that this was with his (VEBBER's) approval and was for the purpose of creating anti-Stalin sympathy inasmuch as the broadcast asserted that the ideals of LENIN were being betrayed by STALIN. He stated that Mr. WOLFE has told him that he believes our propaganda aims can be best served by creating dissention behind the Iron Curtain by telling the Russian people, who still have great admiration for LENIN, that STALIN has betrayed LENIN's ideals. Mr. VEBBER stated that he does not feel that Mr. WOLFE is at this time sympathetic to the principles of Communism and he considers him to be a loyal American whose interests are directed toward furthering the interests of the United States.

Mr. HOWARD HOTCHNER, Network Service Manager, advised that he has had very little contact with Mr. WOLFE and that this has only been at policy meetings. He stated that judging from Mr. WOLFE's conversations at these meetings he considers him to be anti-Communist and a loyal American.

Mr. HOWARD MAIER, Political Analyst and Commentator, advised that he has worked very closely with the appointee for about two years. He stated that Mr. WOLFE occupies the adjoining office and that he frequently consults Mr. WOLFE concerning the best approach and technique for anti-Communist propaganda. He stated that Mr. WOLFE has instituted several very effective anti-Communist propaganda programs and that he has always found him to be opposed to any form of Communist philosophy. He stated that Mr. WOLFE at times uses material which appears to be sympathetic to MARX and LENIN but that this is used as a means of psychological warfare to influence the Russian people against STALIN.

NY 121-16979

Mr. MAIER stated that he believes Mr. WOLFE's break with Communism and Socialism is complete and that he is in no way sympathetic to any form of Communism.

Mr. STEPHEN A. BALDANZA, Chief, Latin American Division, advised that he is only slightly acquainted with Mr. WOLFE as a fellow employee and that he does not know him well enough to express an opinion concerning his loyalty to the United States.

Mr. ALFRED C. JULIA, Chief, Special Service Section, Personnel Branch, advised that he only knows Mr. WOLFE as a member of the organization and has had no contact with him. He stated that nothing has come to his attention to cause him to question Mr. WOLFE's loyalty to the United States.

~~Mr. ALFRED PUHAN~~ INDEXED-99, Program Manager, advised that he has had several discussions with Mr. WOLFE concerning policy matters in regard to Anti-Communist propaganda and that judging from these conversations, he believes that Mr. WOLFE is in no way sympathetic to Communism and that he is in complete support of the democratic principles of the United States. NY

Residence

68 Montague Street  
Brooklyn, New York

Mr. JOSEPH BELL, superintendent, advised that Mr. WOLFE and his wife, ELLA, are occupants of apartment 5-D at this address and have resided here since about 1937 or 1938. He stated that Mr. WOLFE is a writer employed by the United States Government and that Mrs. WOLFE is a teacher employed by the City of New York. He said that Mr. WOLFE and his wife are quiet persons and reliable tenants. He stated he has no reason to believe that Mr. WOLFE is other than a loyal American.

Mr. WILLARD MEADOWS, building employee, advised that he has been acquainted with the appointee for approximately twelve years. He stated that Mr. WOLFE and his wife are quiet and orderly persons about whom he has no question concerning loyalty.

Mr. EDWIN CRONIN, apartment 5-E, advised that he has resided at the captioned address for only one year and is only slightly

NY 121-16979

acquainted with the appointee and his wife. He stated that he has never seen or heard anything which would cause him to question the loyalty of Mr. WOLFE.

Miss HARRIET WORKMAN, apartment 6-E, advised that she has known Mr. WOLFE and his wife since 1939 and that her association with them has been relatively intimate during that time. She stated that she is aware that Mr. WOLFE was formerly a member of the Communist Party and that he severed his relationship with it many years ago. She stated that Mr. WOLFE is completely in accord with the democratic principles of government as practiced in the United States and is loyal to this government. She advised that from expressions and comments offered by Mr. WOLFE during conversations it is her opinion that he is unquestionably sincere and honest in his break with Communism and his acceptance of democracy.

Miss MARY LYNCH, apartment 5-B, advised that although she has occupied this apartment since 1943 she is not acquainted with Mr. WOLFE other than to speak to him in the hallway. She stated that she has observed Mr. WOLFE and his wife to be quiet persons who keep to themselves and she has heard nothing unfavorable concerning them.

Mrs. ORELLE GEHM, apartment 5-A, advised that she has known Mr. WOLFE for three years on a casual, neighborly basis. She stated that Mr. WOLFE has never given her any reason to question his loyalty to the United States.

Mr. FRED WERTHEIMER, apartment 5-F, advised that he has known Mr. WOLFE for six years and that he has impressed him as being a person of good character and a loyal American.

#### Miscellaneous

The records of the New York City Board of Elections, Borough of Brooklyn, reflect that in 1933 BERTRAM WOLFE registered as an affiliate of the Communist Party. These records further reflect that in 1938 through 1941 the appointee registered as an affiliate of the American Labor Party. In the other years in which the appointee registered he indicated no political party preference.

Concerning the American Labor Party, the following appears in a booklet entitled "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, May 14, 1951:

NY 121-16979

"1. 'For years, the Communists have put forth the greatest efforts to capture the entire American Labor Party throughout New York State. They succeeded in capturing the Manhattan and Brooklyn sections of the American Labor Party but outside of New York City they have been unable to win control.'

(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, page 78.)

"2. Among 'organizations that are victims of Communist domination.'

(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pages 40 and 41.)

The records of the Credit Bureau of Greater New York contain no information pertinent to this investigation.

The records of the Bureau of Special Services and Investigation of the New York City Police Department and the files of the Bureau of Criminal Identification of the New York City Police Department contain no additional pertinent information concerning the appointee.

Confidential Informants of known reliability who are familiar with general Communist activities in the New York City area advised that they do not know the appointee and possess no information concerning him.

NY 121-16979

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

INFORMANTS

NYC T-15



NYC T-12



contacted by SA JOHN W.  
DOOLEY on April 17, 1953.

Regular Confidential Informants mentioned in instant report are:




Contacted by SA JOHN W. DOOLEY


Contacted by SA RICHARD H.  
BLASSER

Contacted by SA RICHARD H.  
BLASSER

The following inquiries were conducted by the indicated personnel:

Bureau of Special Services and Investigation and Bureau of Criminal Identification, New York City Police Department, contacted by SA AUGUST J. MICEK.

SE  checked the records of the Credit Bureau of Greater New York.

SE  reviewed the Election Records, Borough of Brooklyn.

The investigation at 68 Montague Street, Brooklyn, New York, and the interview of BENJAMIN GITLOW were conducted by SA JEFFERSON W. CLARK.

*Adm Page*

b7D

b6  
b7C



U.S. DEPARTMENT OF  
TREASURY  
BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Title: BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE  
Chief, Ideological Advisory Staff  
Central Program Services Division  
International Broadcasting Service  
United States Department of State  
New York, New York  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Report of:

Special Agent

[Redacted Name]

b6  
b7C

Date and Place: April 30, 1953, New York, New York.

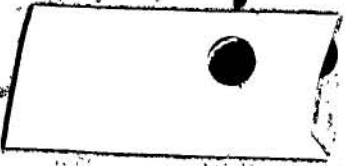
This is amended copy of loyalty report  
and should not be removed from file  
for dissemination purposes. If  
information necessary, copies should be  
made of this copy.

123-5791-36

PROPERTY OF FBI

This confidential report and its  
contents are loaned to you by the  
FBI and are not to be distributed  
outside of agency to which loaned.  
This is an FBI investigative report  
and makes no recommendation for  
clearance or disapproval.

*Handwritten initials/signature*



Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Ladd	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Clegg	_____
Mr. Glavin	_____
Mr. Harbo	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tracy	_____
Mr. Egan	_____
Mr. Gurnea	_____
Mr. Hendon	_____
Mr. Pennington	_____
Mr. Quinn	_____
Mr. Nease	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

5/6/53

WASHINGTON FROM WASH FIELD 5 8:00 p.m.

DIRECTOR DEFERRED

BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE, STATE, LGE. BUFILE ONE TWO THREE DASH FIVE SEVEN NINE ONE. REBULET MAR THIRTY LAST. ON INTERROGATORY DTD FEB NINE FIFTYONE WOLFE SAID HE USED PSEUDONYMS AS PEN NAMES FOR FEW YRS IN HIS WRITING AND IN EARLY DAYS OF COMMUNIST MOVEMENT. AMONG NAMES REMEMBERED USING WERE DANIEL SHAYS, ALBERT LOVELL, ALBERT ALLBRIGHT, ALBERT WARD AND L. VARGAS. THESE NAMES BEING ADDED TO TITLE. REGIONAL LOYALTY BD HEARING AFFORDED WOLFE ON MAR TWENTYTHREE FIFTYONE. IN VIEW OF LENGTH OF TRANSCRIPT, NY IS REQUESTED TO REVIEW SAME AT LOCAL CSC OFFICE. ADDITIONAL AGENCY CHECKS BEING CONDUCTED ON AKA'S LISTED ABOVE.

HOOD

ABH:sjt

123-5405

1-New York (123-3898) (REGULAR MAIL)

RBN  
LVS

RECEIVED

SE 49 123-5797

RECORDED-89

EX-120

37  
5

26 JUL 20 1953

123-5791

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

777 11-1

Date: May 14, 1953

To: Mr. James E. Hatcher  
Chief, Investigations Division  
U. S. Civil Service Commission  
Washington 25, D. C.

From: John Edgar Hoover, Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation

Subject: BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE  
Chief, Ideological Advisory Staff  
Central Program Services Division  
International Broadcasting Service  
Department of State  
New York, New York  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Reference is made to my letters dated November 17, 1950, and April 21, 1953, transmitting the results of the investigation previously conducted concerning the above-named individual.

Additional information has been received which is set forth in the report of Special Agent [redacted] dated April 30, 1953, at New York, New York, four copies of which are attached.

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b7c

The information in the enclosed report is furnished to supplement the data previously forwarded to you in this case.

Enclosure

cc: (1) Assistant Attorney General (Under separate cover)  
Warren Olney III

RHE: arh

RECORDED-99

123-5791-38

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

0-1 N.Y. 4/13/53 - report of 5/1/53 - difficulty in contacting  
some pertinent sources,

0-1 N.Y. 4/17 - report of 5/1/53 - difficulty experienced  
in contacting fellow employees,

0-1 WFO 4/17 - about 4/29/53 - Special Inquiry Work

0-1 N.Y. 5/1 - rec report 5/1/53

0-1 WFO 5/12 - about 5/19 - case requiring  
Investigation being expedited attention.

0-1 N.Y. 5/12 - RUC airtel 5/18/53

0-1 WFO 5/21 - in duplicate

MAY 15 11 03 AM '53

U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

FBI

RECEIVED-MAIL ROOM

COMM - FBI  
MAY 19 1953

# F. B. I. RADIOGRAM

DECODED COPY

*777 11-1*

FROM NEW YORK

5-18-53

NR 181355

10:46 AM

DIRECTOR

DEFERRED

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

BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE, STATE, LGE. RE WFO AIRTEL  
MAY 6, 1953. CSC, NYC, ADVISES THEY HAVE NO FILE ON  
BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE. NYO FILES CONTAIN NO INFO RE  
ADDITIONAL AKAS SET OUT IN REFERENCED WFO AIRTEL.

RECEIVED: 5-18-53

10:51 AM

KH

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*128-5791-39*

JUN 24 1953

*201 215*  
26 JUL 20 1953

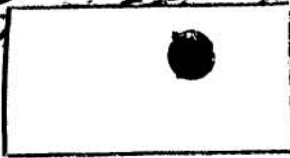
If the intelligence contained in the above message is to be disseminated outside the Bureau, it is suggested that it be suitably paraphrased in order to protect the Bureau's cryptographic systems.

*EX-120*

*20*

*5 MR*

*2256*



Mr. Tolson	_____
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Mr. Belmont	_____
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Mr. Harbo	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
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Mr. Gurnea	_____
Mr. Hendon	_____
Mr. Pennington	_____
Mr. Quinn	_____
Mr. Nease	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

6-4-53

WASHINGTON FROM WASH FIELD

1 PM

DIRECTOR

DEFERRED

BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE, STATE, LGE. BUFILE ONE TWENTYTHREE

DASH FIVE SEVEN NINE ONE. REBUTEL JUNE THREE LAST. REPORT

IN DICTATION, TRANSCRIPTION BEING EXPEDITED.

HOOD

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123-5405

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUN 4 3 18 PM '53

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EX-120

123-5791-

JUN 24 1953

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*Handwritten: RBH*

26 JUL 20 1953

SAC, WASHINGTON FIELD (123-5405)

June 12, 1953

Director, FBI (123-5791)

BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE

State  
SGE

Buded long past. Surep at once. Advise when  
urep will reach Bureau.

*277 1151*

RHE:je

*N*

*AKS*  
*W*

*MA*

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EX-120

123-5791-41  
JUN 21 1953

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

MAILED 6  
JUN 12 1953  
COMM-FBI

26 JUL 20 1953



WASHINGTON FROM WASH FIELD  
DIRECTOR

6-18-59

8 P

DEFERRED

BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE, STATE, SGE. BUFILE 123-5791. REBULET  
JUNE 12 LAST. REFER WFO REPT DATED JUNE 12 LAST.

HOOD

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ABH:AB

123-5405

*RBH  
38*

RECORDED-99

123-5791-57

*Handwritten signature*

EX-120

JUN 24 1959

26 JUL 2019



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

0-9a

To: COMMUNICATIONS SECTION. June 3, 1953

Transmit the following message to SAC, WASHINGTON FIELD (123-5405) AIR TEL

BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE, STATE, SGE. BUDED LONG PAST. EXPIDITE  
TRANSCRIPTION OF URREP. ADVISE WHEN URREP WILL REACH BUREAU.

HOOVER

123-5791

RHE:jps

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- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
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- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
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- Laughlin \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Rm. \_\_\_\_\_
- Holloman \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

COMM - FBI  
JUN 3 1953  
MAILED 30

*Handwritten signature:* [Signature]  
RECORDED-99  
EX-120

*Handwritten:* 123-5791-43  
JUN 20 1953

26 JUL 20 1953

SENT VIA \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Assistant Attorney General  
Warren Olney III

DATE: May 14, 1953

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FROM : Director, FBI

Attention: Mr. Archie D. Simpson  
Records Administration Branch

SUBJECT: BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE  
Chief, Ideological Advisory Staff  
Central Program Services Division  
International Broadcasting Service  
Department of State  
New York, New York  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Reference is made to this Bureau's memorandum dated November 17, 1950, furnishing copies of reports covering an investigation conducted concerning the captioned individual under the provisions of Executive Order 9835. These reports were furnished for information and consideration as to whether the evidence developed indicated a violation of any Federal law.

Enclosed herewith is a copy of this Bureau's letter of this date to the U. S. Civil Service Commission together with a copy of its enclosure containing further information regarding the captioned matter. This is being furnished to supplement the data previously forwarded to the Department in this case.

123-5791  
Enclosures (2)

RHE: arh

COMM - FBI  
MAY 1 1953  
MAILED 31

RECORDED-99

EX-120

28 JUL 20 1953

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P.A.



- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
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- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
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- Gearty \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holloman \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Office Memorandum

GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: July 31, 1953

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT: BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE

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

Congressman Fred Busbey (R., Illinois) called to advise that there are a lot of people who are representing that Bertram David Wolfe, Chief of the Ideological Advisory Staff, Voice of America, was an outstanding foe against the Communists; that he, Busbey, after thorough investigation, has conclusively established that Wolfe is anti-Stalinist, but is a dyed-in-the-wool Communist at heart. Busbey wondered if Wolfe had ever come to the Bureau and made a complete statement about his activities.

I told Busbey that although I had not made a complete check of our files, I did recall that back in 1937 our Agents sought to interview Wolfe and he was not at all cooperative in furnishing information. When asked about certain activities regarding the Communist Party school which he ran, Wolfe just referred to the catalogue and printed literature, and it was the general conclusion of the Agents after interviewing Wolfe that he was uncooperative; that throughout the interview he kept talking about how valuable his time was and he could not talk about details that occurred many years ago.

Wolfe was the subject of a loyalty investigation. There have been recurrent complaints about him. He followed Jay Lovestone out of the Party in the early '30's. People such as Ben Gitlow feel that Wolfe retains his Marxist and Leninist ideology, but is opposed to Stalin.

cc: Mr. Ladd  
Mr. Belmont

LBN:arm

RECORDED - 73

123-5791-45

EX-120

*[Handwritten signature]*  
 SEARCHED  
 INDEXED

25 AUG 24 1953

RECEIVED

RECORDED-29

SAC, New York (121-16979)

August 19, 1953

40  
Director, FBI (123-5791)

BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE  
Chief, Ideological Advisory Staff  
Central Program Services Division  
International Broadcasting Service  
U. S. Information Agency  
New York, New York  
SECURITY OF GOVERNMENT - INFORMATION  
(Buded 9-3-53)

0-1 WFO  
9/11/53  
JOL

Charles M. Noone, Acting Chief, Office of Security, U. S. Information Agency, Washington, D. C., has requested additional investigation in a letter which reads as follows:

"The report of Special Agent [redacted] dated April 30, 1953, at New York City in the above-captioned case sets forth a signed statement of Informant T-15, wherein the informant states that on the basis of his review of scripts prepared by WOLFE, the informant has come to the conclusion that WOLFE, while being an anti-Stalinist, is in sympathy with the basic philosophies of Karl Marx and Nikolai Lenin.

b6  
b7C

"Congressman Fred L. Busby of Illinois made a speech in the House of Representatives on August 3, wherein he questioned WOLFE's continued employment with the International Broadcasting Service, which is now part of the United States Information Agency. This office is preparing a reply to Congressman Busby and in this connection is anxious to receive additional information from Confidential Informant New York City T-15.

"I would appreciate it if you would determine whether T-15 would consent to being interviewed by representatives of this office. If the informant is not agreeable to such an interview I would appreciate it if you would ask T-15 to identify the scripts prepared by WOLFE and cited by the informant as the basis for his conclusion regarding WOLFE's present sympathies."

The New York Office should handle the request made by the U. S. Information Agency. (T-15- [redacted])

b7E

The WFO should interview Paul Crouch who has stated that Bertram David Wolfe is definitely known to him to be out of the Communist Party at the present time. (61-6050)

cc: (2) Washington Field (123-5405)

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
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pose they are GS-8's, at \$75 a week take-home pay. Now, where do they stand? It seems to me that far too many of you folks on the other side of the aisle just love to kick around the little people, the \$75 or even \$100 a week people who have families to support. But you do not kick around big business, do you?

Mr. GARY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROONEY. I yield to the gentleman from Virginia, a distinguished member of the committee.

Mr. GARY. Is it not true the President's loyalty program gives them ample opportunity to get rid of any subversives?

Mr. ROONEY. Of course it does. A subversive may be suspended immediately.

Mr. MILLER of California. Just last week George M. Moore, member of the Civil Service Commission and former chief counsel of the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service made a speech to the American Federation of Government Employees in which he bragged that one of the accomplishments of this administration was that they had removed the threat of summary firing held over the heads of Federal employees. He had reference to the action taken by this House in striking out of the bill appropriating funds for the State, Justice, and Commerce Departments such a provision.

Mr. ROONEY. On Wednesday last that nonsense was called to the attention of the House in the following remarks of the distinguished gentleman from California [Mr. MOSS]:

REMARKS OF HON. JOHN E. MOSS, JR., OF CALIFORNIA, IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, WEDNESDAY, JULY 29, 1953

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, a recent speech made by a member of the Federal Civil Service Commission before the American Federation of Government Employees has been called to my attention. The Civil Service Commissioner listed what he regarded as the 15 achievements of the new administration in the Federal civil-service field.

Parts of the speech were extremely misleading. One particularly erroneous statement made by the Civil Service Commissioner was the claim that the new administration was responsible for the removal of the "arbitrary dismissal authority which had hung over the heads of Federal employees for 3 years in the Department of Commerce and for 6 years in the Department of State."

To correct the mistaken impression held by a member of the supposedly nonpartisan Civil Service Commission—an impression that the administration and the majority party in Congress were responsible for this change—I would like to review the facts.

The House Appropriations Committee had attached riders to an appropriation bill continuing arbitrary dismissal authority in the Departments of State and Commerce and extending the dismissal authority to the Department of Justice. On May 5, 1953, the gentleman from New York [Mr. ROONEY], a Democrat, moved to strike out the appropriation bill riders granting the heads of the Departments of State, Commerce, and Justice arbitrary dismissal power.

The motion by Mr. ROONEY was adopted by a vote of 181 to 163. There were 153 Democrats voting for the motion and 8 opposing it. Only 27 Republicans supported the motion while 160 voted against it.

The authority for the Departments of State, Commerce, and Justice to dismiss employees without regard to civil-service rights or vet-

erans' preference was removed on a motion initiated by a Democrat and the motion was successful only because of Democratic votes. Republicans, on the other hand, opposed it by nearly 6 to 1.

The removal of the arbitrary dismissal authority was, obviously, neither initiated by the new administration nor supported by the members of its party in Congress.

I would like to point out that members of the Civil Service Subcommittee of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee have taken steps to initiate an impartial investigation of the effects of the new administration's civil-service policies. When this investigation is completed, I am sure we will have a much more objective analysis of the civil-service picture than that painted by the member of the Civil Service Commission.

Mr. MILLER of California. I was wondering whether Mr. Moore, now spokesman for the administration in the field of civil service will not have a very red face if this proposal goes through.

Mr. ROONEY. He should. Up to this moment I have not heard of anyone from the United States Civil Service Commission or any part of the Eisenhower administration trying to protect the rights of these little people involved in this matter. The fact is, it is the Eisenhower administration that demands the right to indiscriminately, without notice or hearing, fire these career civil-service employees all the way down to a \$75 a week GS-7. If they can get away with this, perhaps they can get away with the same thing in our post offices, Navy yards, Army bases, Veterans' Administration facilities and other Government establishments. This would work a precedent and I do trust you will defeat the motion of the gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER] to recede and concur.

Mr. Speaker, I shall make every possible parliamentary effort to put every-one on record on this vote.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from New York has again expired.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. BOSEY].

Mr. BUSBEY. Mr. Speaker, in an address delivered in this Chamber just a little over a year ago, I called attention to the employment on the Voice of America staff of Bertram D. Wolfe, one of America's foremost Marxian Communist writers and agitators, and a founder and long-time member of the American Communist Party, and who is still retained at a salary in excess of \$11,000 per year.

I quoted passages from his pro-Communist booklet, *What Is the Communist Opposition?* authored in 1933, verifying his continued participation in the Communist conspiracy against his own native country long after his expulsion from the official party organization in 1929. I call attention today to his continuing loyalty to the principles of Marxism.

Apparently my remarks of a year ago went unheeded, or their significance was not grasped by the Voice and the State Department leadership, for Bertram Wolfe, the lifelong Marxian Communist and propagandist of the Communist

movement, is still employed in the Voice of America. And, of all things, this Marxian disciple of proletarian dictatorship, this enemy of a free society and republican form of government, has been employed in the State Department these past 3 years as an ideologist. He is Chief of the Ideological Talks Unit, a key post in the Voice.

I believe that even some of my more liberal colleagues will agree with me that Mr. Wolfe's ideology, as expressed in the following passages from his 1933 *Opposition* booklet, is contrary to the accepted laws and traditions of this Nation:

We Communists aim to abolish the anarchistic, planless, capitalistic mode of production and substitute a planned society; to abolish private property in the means of production and substitute ownership of the means of production by the producers as social property.

How long will it take? All we can answer to such queries is: Come in and help us and the fight will be shorter. . . . If you are truly a Communist . . . and if you are not content to ignore and condone the errors of our party just for the sake of being a card holder . . . you will join with us for the unification of the party and the Communist International for the future of the party and . . . the defeat of the most powerful ruling class on the face of the earth.

And, I wonder how the following idea from one of Wolfe's 1940 booklets strikes my esteemed colleagues from the great agricultural areas of this country:

Every Socialist economic reform on the land must obviously begin with large and medium land ownership. There the property right must first of all be turned over to the nation, or to the state, which, with a Socialist government, amounts to the same thing.

For those many millions of us who thought that the great human sacrifices and financial outlays for two World Wars in Europe were for the preservation of democratic Christian principles, it will come as a shock, I am sure to learn that the Republican State Department is sponsoring an ideologist who sees the Socialist movement as the only hopeful alternative to totalitarianism. Wolfe expounded on this Marxian solution to world problems in an article in the September 1947 issue of *American Mercury*.

How ironic it is that for the past 5 years we have lent our moral and economic support to the democratic governments in European countries, while snuggling to our bosom an ideologist whose every act and utterance has been synonymous with those of the Communist-Socialist forces obstructing American and native democratic forces in those countries.

Mr. Speaker, we are dealing with an enemy which is both within and outside our society. The Russian Communist imperialist manifestation of mother communism-socialism is the readily discernible outside enemy. Wolfe and his democratic communism-socialism is the enemy within which enjoys the protection of the laws and freedoms of our society while plotting the destruction of that society. Their loyalty is to a materialist philosophy. They have no loyalty to nation or the established order.

and \$70 million for school allotments. That is what we agreed to; yes.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. ROONEY].

(Mr. ROONEY asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, on Friday last the House and Senate conferees on this supplemental appropriation bill met for a total of 8 hours in order to try to resolve the many amendments in disagreement between the two Houses. After 8 hours of actual conference time, and I am not counting the time that was taken out to get a hasty bite to eat along about the early evening, the matters before the conference were duly and finally resolved late that night and a conference report reduced to writing and signed by the conferees.

The Senate had added this provision to the bill, known as amendment 16 in disagreement:

*Provided further*, That, until January 1, 1954, notwithstanding the provisions of any other law, the Director of the United States Information Agency created pursuant to Reorganization Plan No. 8 of 1953 may terminate the employment of any person above the grade of GS-7 transferred to said agency.

At the conclusion of those 8 hours, it was agreed by both the conferees on the part of the other body and the conferees on the part of the House that this vicious provision would be stricken from the bill. The next day, Saturday, the conferees on the part of the House brought the conference report back here for your consideration. It was adopted by the House. Thereupon the Member of the other body who acted as chairman of the conference during these strenuous 8 hours and who signed his name to this report—and I do not mean the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES]—brought it to the floor of the other body and promptly recommended that it be recommitted, and recommitted primarily with regard to this provision, the striking of which had been agreed upon in writing the night before.

Saturday night until a late hour the conferees again met and the majority agreed upon insertion of the following language over the objections of the minority members. The language or provision which the gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER] is soon going to offer you for your consideration in a motion to recede and concur and which vitally concerns the little fellows, the career people, the low-paid career civil-service employees in the information program—and this is a big operation; there are 11,000 employees—reads as follows:

*Provided further*, That, until January 1, 1954, notwithstanding the provisions of any other law, the Director of the United States Information Agency, created pursuant to Reorganization Plan No. 8 of 1953, may terminate the employment of any person above the grade of GS-7 transferred to or employed by said Agency, but this authority shall not be applicable to any person entitled to veterans' preference for Federal Government employment.

I must say again, my good friend the gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER], the chairman of the full House Committee on Appropriations, once in a while uses very good judgment. He used good judgment in this instance when, at his suggestion, and acquiesced in by the minority members of the House conferees, war veterans were exempted from this indiscriminate firing power.

But what would this provision do? It would permit the Director of the United States Information Agency, a man just out of big business and into Government only 2 days, to summarily fire career Government employees who make how much a week? The gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER] mentioned the figure of \$4,955. He said:

That grade carries a salary of \$4,955. Those who draw that much or below would not be affected.

But he took the top level for a GS-7 employee, not the \$4,203 stage of a GS-7. The first stage of a GS-8 is only \$4,620 per annum.

Mr. TABER. It applies only to those above GS-7 so that the grade GS-7 is a proper grade to apply or to use.

Mr. ROONEY. A GS-8 employee who is one of employees affected by this provision earns as low as \$4,620 a year. That I submit is \$88 a week gross salary and about \$75 a week take-home pay in these days of high prices. So in order to give carte blanche to this new high and mighty administrator who came up here on the Hill and has been lobbying round the back doors here for 2 days on behalf of this vicious amendment, this gentleman from big business and chairman of the board of the Mutual Broadcasting Corp., who is now going to run or ruin this program and who caused the Senator from Michigan [Mr. FRACUSON], the chairman of the conference committee, to reverse himself overnight completely, just like that, the Republican conferees are willing to throw the merit system out the window. This does not by any means apply to every one of the membership on that side of the aisle, however, because I have always respected our colleague, the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. REES] for his interest in civil-service employees and the merit system.

Over the weekend as I was considering what I might say to the House on this issue today, I thought of certain arguments in behalf of the career civil servants and in opposition to this ruthless firing rider. But when this morning I read the column in today's Washington Daily News by John Cramer, the column entitled "9 to 4:30," I decided to forego some of my ideas and quote some of Mr. Cramer's remarks with regard to what the Republicans are doing to the career civil-service employee. Listen to this from his article:

Starting now, I'm changing my approach to the matter of Government employee gripes.

I'm changing it because I've decided, after long thinking, that a few too many able and conscientious Federal career employees are being shoved around pretty badly as the Republicans, after 20 years, try to learn again what it means to run a government.

How would you like to be a career non-veteran Government employee taking home \$75 or \$100 a week and have the bread and butter taken out of your and your family's mouth?

Further on, Mr. Cramer points out:

The Republicans should realize, too (but apparently they don't), that if there is to be a merit system in Government there also must be a career system—a well-marked promotion ladder to advancement and a fuller career.

They should realize (but they don't) that the one sure way to destroy this ladder is to yield to the pressure of political buzzards, who covet roosts on its better rungs.

Is not that what is happening here today? You want to throw out the career employees and put in your own or Mr. Treibert's friends. It is the old vicious spoils system all over again.

In his conclusion Mr. Cramer says:

Eventually, I'm sure, the new bosses will learn to run a merit system at least as clean as those of the Roosevelt and Truman administrations.

As of now, they aren't.

And they're hurting themselves more than anyone.

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROONEY. I yield.

Mr. BOW. Did I understand the gentleman to say that the minority in both the House and the other body were opposed to this amendment?

Mr. ROONEY. I said or meant to say the minority Members of the House and certain Members of the minority of the other body.

Mr. BOW. But not all of the minority of the other body?

Mr. ROONEY. No, I could not say that, of course.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROONEY. I yield to the distinguished gentleman from New York, who has always taken a keen interest in the rights of career civil-service employees and a merit system rather than a spoils system.

Mr. JAVITS. I thank the gentleman. I have fought to safeguard Government employees' interests consistent with the national interest. What worries me is that I understand there has been criticism of some top employees in the IIA, and the argument is: that they cannot be gotten out to improve the Voice of America service. Though the move from New York will undoubtedly free some positions, I like to see major personnel changes handled by specific legislation or Executive orders, and not on appropriation bill riders. Can the gentleman enlighten us on that?

Mr. ROONEY. Why, if there are employees at any level and they are not faithfully doing their job, all that needs to be done is to bring proper charges against them and try them before the Civil Service Commission. That is the accepted method of removal of career civil-service employees, after notice of the changes and a fair hearing. You have employees engaged in this program who have invested their whole future in it, who have families to support. Sup-

of things. Thus, they can commit fraud, perjury, and espionage without qualm.

Bertram Wolfe's account of his background in the State Department's Biographic Register is a typical example of Communist indirection and misrepresentation, to say nothing of deliberate, willful fraud. If the Department officials based their estimate of him on this fragmentary sketch of his background, it is understandable that they, and others of his backers, would have no knowledge of his Communist career before and after 1929.

No mention is made of the fact that he helped found the American Communist Party in 1919, and that during the next 10 years, under various aliases, he participated in this Soviet-directed conspiracy as an official and chief propagandist. The only hint of this in the Register is a reference to his association "with a political party from 1928-29."

Mr. Wolfe also avoids mention of his connection with a Communist splinter party after 1929.

Now, why is it that Wolfe would willfully misrepresent his background in the Register?

The answer is that Wolfe, in recent years, has been nurturing the legend that he is an ex-Communist and anti-Communist. This legend has been his chief stock-in-trade in the last 12 or 13 years, and it has been his entree into high places inside and outside of Government.

It is understandable that Wolfe would omit from the Register any reference to his Communist Party and subversive activities during the 1919-to-1929 period. They, alone, are enough to exclude him from employment in Government. They are also the key to his post-1929 Communist activities, which he has sought to disguise as anti-Communist.

A true account of his career would not only dispel the legend, but would reveal a record of unbroken Communist devotion and activity subsequent to 1919.

Let us look at the record. Bertram D. Wolfe was one of the founders of the first organized Communist Party in the United States. This was in 1919. I shall not attempt to burden the record with a history of that party's conspiracy during the first 10 years of its existence, but I think every Member of Congress should familiarize himself with that historic period of communism in America. There was constant intriguing, over a period of 10 years, by the party leadership for control, with Moscow making the final decision. Shortly after its formation, the American Communist Party petitioned for admission to the Communist International, and was admitted. Thereafter, most of the leaders, including Wolfe, made their pilgrimages to Moscow and supplicated themselves before the throne of Marxism, pleading their petition for leadership and dictatorship of the Communist movement in the United States. How many such trips Wolfe made, only he can tell. Incidentally, I wonder if he always traveled under his true name.

The expulsion of Leon Trotsky from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was followed by the ousting of

Trotsky's followers from the Communist Party in the United States in 1928. This only added fuel to the fire of discontent that had ravaged the American Communists for 9 long years. But the following year, 1929, Stalin made the decision that, in order that a Communist Party might be able to operate in the United States, all dissidents must go. In one fell swoop, the followers of Jay Lovestone, including Wolfe, were cast out. Stalin put Earl Browder in charge, and, to the day of his death, Stalin ruled the American Communist Party with an iron hand.

After his expulsion, Lovestone, with Wolfe and others, organized another Communist Party, and called it the Communist Party of America—Majority—later changed to Communist Party of America—Opposition. Most all splinter groups die a slow death, and the Lovestone group, after several changes in name, lasted until 1940 or 1941. How long Wolfe remained with Lovestone, I do not know. But I do know that Wolfe's participation in the Lovestone Communist Opposition Party is well documented by his own writings through 1937, and that his writings throughout the post-1929 period reflect the bitterness which he and Lovestone felt toward the man who brought about their ouster from the only organized group recognized by Moscow.

Let us refer once more to statements made by Wolfe in his 1933 booklet, *What Is the Communist Opposition?* in which, as a spokesman, he outlined the creed and aims of the "oppositionists" and described the circumstances of their separation from the official party:

We did not choose expulsion. Too many of the best years of our lives went into the building of the Communist Party; it means too much to accept expulsion lightly . . . we fight for readmission . . . we also fight for the readmission of the Trotskyite Opposition.

The Communist Party of the United States (Opposition) is a part of the Communist movement of the United States and of the International Communist movement.

Its differences with the official leadership of the Communist Party and the Communist International are not differences of basic principles and fundamental aims.

In other words, Wolfe's differences, and those of the opposition, with the official leadership were as Whittaker Chambers had described them: "Merely quarrels over a road map by people all of whom were in a hurry to get to the same place; their differences were with Stalin and not with the evils of communism."

Thus, Wolfe, in his own 1933 account of the conspiracy, continues to identify himself with the Communist Party and the Communist movement in the United States.

Yet, the Acting Deputy Under Secretary of State for Administration, on July 28, 1952, wrote a Member of the United States Senate, as follows:

Bertram D. Wolfe is an ex-Communist who, since 1929, has been devoting his life to an exposé of communism in this country.

Does the record show that Wolfe has devoted his life, since 1929, to exposing communism in this country? I think

not. I seriously doubt that he has given the Department of Justice the benefit of his vast knowledge of this foreign conspiracy. I have searched the reports of the Dies committee and the present Committee on Un-American Activities, and have failed to find any record of any effort on his part to expose communism in America. He has been promoting communism and Communist philosophy in this country and throughout the world.

Mr. Speaker, for those, including State Department and Information Program officials, who wish to go along with the fiction that Bertram Wolfe was an ex-Communist after 1929, who had renounced communism and disassociated himself from Communist activities, it may come as somewhat of a surprise that he proposed in 1936 a Communist-Socialist coalition party, with Tom Mooney—the old radical Communist-Socialist who was then doing time in a California prison for engineering a fatal bombing in that State in 1916—as its candidate for President. In a news story published in the New York Times of February 2, 1936, Wolfe, as spokesman for the Communist Party of the United States—Opposition—was quoted as appealing "for the Communist and Socialist Parties to brush aside all petty concerns of a partisan and factional character, in order to advance the cause of a united political action."

It would unite the class-conscious sections of the working class in a common cause and task.

. . . a United Labor ticket with Tom Mooney at the head would reach deep into every corner of the American labor movement.

Mr. Speaker, and where do you think this key figure in our ideological warfare program of the Voice of America made this announcement? I am now reading from the same article in the New York Times of February 2, 1936:

Announcement of the proposed third party was made by Bertram D. Wolfe at the Communist Opposition Headquarters, 51 West 14th Street.

Keep in mind, now, that this date was 7 years after the date fixed by the Acting Deputy Under Secretary of State as the year of Wolfe's departure from the Communist Party. Mr. Speaker, is it any wonder this program, to date, has been a failure?

Mr. Speaker, one can arrive at any one of three conclusions regarding the statement of this official in the State Department: First, that the official is an ignoramus, wholly and totally unqualified to hold any position in the Government service that requires his opinion on matters of loyalty; second, that he deliberately or impulsively misrepresented the true facts concerning Wolfe; or, third, that he is doing his bit to cover up a State Department employee, who, under any reasonable standard of loyalty, should be removed from the Government service.

Only the grossest sort of administrative incompetence, or fraud, or perjury could permit the entry of Bertram Wolfe into a Government position of trust, and keep him there. I have in hand infor-



mation which indicates that all three figured in the employment and retention of Mr. Wolfe in the Voice of America. I intend to submit this record to the Committee on Un-American Activities, with a request that Bertram Wolfe and those responsible for his employment be called before the committee for a full airing of the circumstances of the entry of this former Communist official into our information program, and to ascertain the reasons for retaining him, despite revelations of his lifelong Marxism.

If, as I suspect, fraud, or possibly perjury, has been committed, we should know how it could escape the notice of Wolfe's superiors, and be advised of the investigative processes which attended his entry into Government service. I am almost certain that a study of his case will provide not only a clue to past deficiencies, but also a guide for building a stronger and more effective information program, as well as a strong loyalty and security program.

The trouble has been, it seems, that no one in the State Department or our superduper Central Intelligence Agency can recognize that Stalin, or Russian Communist imperialism, is simply the logical manifestation of Marxian communism. One faction, the Russian-dominated faction, operating from a state dictatorship in the Kremlin, is advancing the age-old Russian imperialist aims behind a facade of Communist dogma, while the other faction, the orthodox Marxists like Wolfe, Lovestone, and other opposition Communists, are trying to regain the political control of communism for the achievement of national and international Marxian class dictatorships.

In recognizing only the Russian manifestation of the Communist conspiracy, our Government agencies are dealing only with the effects of communism. They are not scratching the surface of the underlying Communist conspiracy which paves the way for the Russian manifestation.

To give another example of Bertram Wolfe's continued Marxist conspiracy long after he was supposed to have embarked on an anti-Communist career after 1929, let us refer to another of his writings:

In 1937, after a stint as a correspondent covering the Spanish Civil War, Wolfe wrote a book for the weekly organ of the Independent Communist Labor League, Workers' Age, entitled, "Civil War in Spain." It was essentially a treatise on the orthodox Marxist opposition to the Soviet totalitarian faction of the Spanish Communists. Wolfe once again was crusading for the true Communists of Spain who, according to him, were being belabored by both the Russians and, what he termed "so-called democratic nations of England, France, and the United States" in support of the Spanish Republic forces.

In the introduction to the 1937 book, Will Herberg writes of Wolfe as follows:

These chapters were written intermittently over a period of 7 months as articles for Workers' Age. . . . It is "living marxism at its best." Of such a work Bertram Wolfe is peculiarly fitted to be the author.

It is utterly impossible for the present administration ever to develop a practical, efficient, and effective propaganda campaign as long as it retains on the payroll of the State Department or the International Information Program a single one of the "opposition" Communists who were inherited from the Truman administration, which they found so exceedingly easy to infiltrate.

While the policymaking people in the executive branch of our Government not only know, but admit, the failure of the Voice program, as it has been and is being administered at present, I have no hesitancy in stating, from the knowledge I have gained over a period of 32 years spent in fighting communism, that it will never be successful until they are able to recognize Stalin Communists and "opposition" Communists, like Tito, as simply political adversaries in the Communist world.

Tito is an "opposition" Communist, and is fighting with all his might the group which is now in control of the Kremlin. But, wait and see what happens if the "opposition" Communists are successful in the present struggle for power in Russia. You will find that Tito's affection for the West will vanish in a hurry, and he will fight to become the Premier in the Kremlin in opposition to all the countries of the free world.

The newspapers of Friday, July 31, 1953, carry a story to the effect that Mr. Theodore C. Streibert has been nominated by President Eisenhower as director of the reorganized United States Information Agency. The article also states that Mr. Streibert is a former radio executive, and has been serving in Germany recently as a consultant on public affairs to the American High Commissioner.

While serving in Germany, Mr. Streibert had a wonderful opportunity to observe the methods and techniques of "opposition" Communists. Nowhere in our International Information Service are the "opposition" Communists so plentiful, or so well entrenched, as in Germany.

While serving in Germany, Mr. Streibert must have seen how our propaganda facilities there, the largest and most expensive of any such United States facilities in the world, failed utterly to exploit the East German demand for freedom which was culminated last June 16-18 in the riots of East Berlin. Mr. Streibert must know that Radio RIAS, a station which won world applause in the days of the blockade of Berlin, has deteriorated into a voice of the West German Socialists, and is under the domination of the German Socialist Party and the anti-anti-Communists.

Mr. Streibert must have met the German public affairs staff here in Washington, former German citizens with no background nor experience whatever in public affairs. He must have wondered why officials here and in Berlin obeyed a mysterious order to deny to the Voice of America, to RIAS, and to the American newspaper in Germany the right to announce that the Presidential food packages being sent to the starving East Germans were coming from America.

These events, following closely one upon another, cannot all be accidental. As the Scripps-Howard newspapers pointed out on the 31st of July:

Our staid old State Department is suspect because it is answering all questions with doubletalk. . . . Yes, it's the same old State Department. Just older, and a little more senile.

On July 29 and 30, that same newspaper was carrying the story, filed by its foreign correspondent in Berlin, to the effect that West Berliners and East Berliners alike were wondering why our information agencies made no mention of the fact that this great humanitarian effort was being played down; the effect indeed destroyed. Can it be that Mr. Wolfe's influence extends beyond the Voice of America; actually extends into the very policy-making apparatus of the Department of State? Can it be that other Marxian ideologists and apologists have managed to remain in their key posts, out-maneuvering and out-playing the responsible representatives of this administration who are pledged to the elimination of communism in all Government offices?

Just recently President Eisenhower brought into Government a man of good character and good reputation as an educator, and placed him in charge of the International Information Program under which the Voice operates. What happened? The "opposition" Communists immediately sold Mr. Robert T. Johnson on the idea that they were exposing and fighting communism because they were so violently opposed to everything and anything that Stalin stood for and did. In other words, Dr. Johnson was taken in. I do not want these remarks to be construed as impugning, in any way, Dr. Johnson's reputation in the field in which he has worked and achieved success. The truth of the matter is that Dr. Johnson was given a job in a field in which he had no previous experience, and which he was not qualified to administer.

Why are we so gullible? Shall we idly sit by and watch these Marxist ideologists infiltrate our Government agencies until they become so strong we can do nothing about it? As far as I am concerned, there is no place in our Government service for Bertram D. Wolfe or persons like him. Let's get the Wolfes and other negativists out of our Government agencies. When this is done, it will probably be found that more and better work can be accomplished.

The authority which has recently been vested in the new head of the Information Agency must be forcefully exercised. Communist sympathizers, such as Bertram D. Wolfe of the Voice of America and of the Public Affairs Staff of the German Division in the Department of State, must be removed from their positions of influence and replaced by people who are dedicated to the United States, to the principle of free enterprise, and to the ideal of freedom for all men.

No amount of excuses, no amount of apology can erase these vital facts from the record:

First. The foreign policy and information program of the United States

in the post-World War II era has failed, both in Asia and Europe.

Second. The people responsible for that failure are still in positions of authority and are making policy.

Third. Many of the people concerned are identified Communists whose only reason for participating in this struggle with the Communist conspiracy is that they are in opposition to the present regime in the Soviet Union.

Fourth. The series of errors in public affairs, particularly in Europe and most particularly in Germany, cannot have been accidental and must not be increased by permitting those responsible for the errors to continue in the policy-making positions.

With this in mind, the conference report on the bill (H. R. 6200) making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1954, that this body has presently under consideration, has granted the Director of the United States Information Agency complete authority to terminate the employment of any persons above the grade of GS-7, except a war veteran; transferred to USIA prior to January 1, 1954.

Furthermore, in directing the transfer of the international broadcasting service operations to Washington, Congress has provided the new director the opportunity for on-the-scene supervision of the Voice.

If Mr. Strelbert is well informed, he will immediately clean out the entire group of pro-Communists and "opposition" Communists who have had more-or-less complete control of our 300,000-watt radio station in Berlin, known as RIAS.

If Mr. Strelbert is well enough informed on the subject of communism, so that he can recognize "opposition" Communists, as well as Stalin Communists, he should be in a position to make a real contribution by correcting the fundamental and basic trouble in our information program.

Mr. Strelbert, like his predecessor, will start off with two strikes against him, and be hamstrung in his efforts, unless he starts operating with a new group of assistants who are completely devoted to the cause of democracy and the American way of life.

The public opinion of the United States was strong enough in November of 1952 to bring about a change in the national government. That same public which demanded the change then, expects it now. I suggest, Mr. Speaker, that, in answer to that demand, we suggest a slogan for the new director of the international information program. That slogan should be the same one which Gen. George Washington published in his order of the day, the night before crossing the Delaware: "Put only Americans on guard tonight."

(Mr. BUSBEY asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. TABER. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Oregon (Mr. ELLSWORTH).

(Mr. ELLSWORTH asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the Appendix of the Record.)

Mr. TABER. Mr. Speaker, I would just like to say that the question that the gentleman from New York (Mr. ROONEY) was discussing mostly, the right to fire, does not come up in the conference report, but will come up on a motion to agree to a Senate amendment with an amendment. That will be taken up later.

I move the previous question, Mr. Speaker.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the conference report.

The conference report was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the first amendment in disagreement.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment No. 13: Page 9, line 6, insert "Provided further, That funds made available under the head 'International Information and Educational Activities' in the Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1950, the Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1951, and the Third Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1951, for purchase, rent, construction and improvement of facilities for radio transmission and reception shall be available for such purposes relating to any radio facilities under the jurisdiction of the Secretary of State and for acquisition of quarters and necessary facilities for personnel required for operation of such facilities at remote locations outside the continental limits of the United States by purchase, construction, and alterations, and for initial furnishing of such quarters."

Mr. TABER. Mr. Speaker, I move to recede and concur in the Senate amendment with an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. TABER moves that the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 13, and concur therein with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed by said amendment insert: "Provided further, That not to exceed \$2 million of the funds made available under the head 'International Information and Educational Activities' in the Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1950, the Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1951, and the Third Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1951, for purchase, rent, construction and improvement of facilities for radio transmission and reception shall be available for such purposes relating to such radio facilities under the jurisdiction of the Secretary of State."

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion.

The motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the next amendment in disagreement.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment No. 16: Page 10, line 9, insert: "Provided further, That, until January 1, 1954, notwithstanding the provisions of any other law, the Director of the United States Information Agency created pursuant to Reorganization Plan No. 3 of 1953 may terminate the employment of any person transferred to said agency."

Mr. TABER. Mr. Speaker, I move to recede and concur with an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. TABER moves that the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 16, and concur therein with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed by said amendment insert: "Provided further, That, until January 1, 1954, notwithstanding the provisions

of any other law, the Director of the United States Information Agency created pursuant to Reorganization Plan No. 3 of 1953 may terminate the employment of any person above the grade of GS-7 transferred to or employed by said Agency but this authority shall not be applicable to any person entitled to veteran's preference for Federal Government employment."

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. ROONEY) there were—ayes 63, noes 35.

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker I object to the vote on the ground there is not a quorum present and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. Evidently a quorum is not present. The Doorkeeper will close the doors, the Sergeant at Arms will notify absent Members, and the Clerk will call the roll.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 147, nays 139, not voting 145, as follows:

[Roll No. 123]

YEAS—147

Adair	Devereux	Merrill
Allen, Calif.	D'Ewart	Merrow
Allen, Ill.	Dondero	Miller, Md.
Andersen,	Dorn, N. Y.	Mumma
H. Carl	Ellsworth	Neal
Andresen,	Fenton	Nicholson
August H.	Frelinghuysen	O'Hara, Minn.
Arends	Gavin	O'Konski
Auchincloss	George	Ostertag
Baker	Goodwin	Pillion
Bates	Graham	Poff
Beamer	Gross	Frouty
Bender	Gwinn	Radwan
Bennett, Mich.	Halleck	Ray
Bentley	Harden	Reece, Tenn.
Berry	Harrison, Nebr.	Reed, N. Y.
Betts	Harrison, Wyo.	Rhodes, Ariz.
Bishop	Harvey	Sadlak
Bolton,	Heseltun	St. George
Frances P.	Hiestand	Saylor
Bolton,	Hill	Scherer
Oliver P.	Hillelson	Scott
Bonin	Hillings	Scrivner
Bow	Hinschaw	Scudder
Bramblett	Hoffman, Ill.	Short
Bray	Hoffman, Mich.	Simpson, Ill.
Brown, Ohio	Holmes	Simpson, Pa.
Brownson	Holmer	Small
Budge	Hruska	Smith, Kans.
Burdick	Hunter	Smith, Wis.
Busbey	Hyde	Springer
Byrnes, Wis.	Jenkins	Stauter
Canfield	Jensen	Stringfellow
Case	Johnson	Taber
Cederberg	Jonas, N. C.	Talle
Chenoweth	Kean	Thompson,
Chipperfield	Kearns	Mich.
Church	Keating	Utt
Clardy	Kersten, Wis.	Velde
Clevenger	King, Pa.	Vorys
Cole, Mo.	Knox	Wampler
Corbett	Krueger	Warburton
Cotton	Laird	Welch
Cretella	Lovre	Wigglesworth
Crumpacker	McConnell	Wilson, Calif.
Cunningham	McCulloch	Wilson, Ind.
Curtis, Mass.	McDonough	Withrow
Dague	McGregor	Wolcott
Davis, Wis.	Malliard	Wolverton
Dawson, Utah	Mason	Young
Derounian	Meador	

NAYS—139

Abbutt	Brown, Ga.	Deane
Abernethy	Broyhill	Donohue
Addonizio	Burleson	Dorn, S. C.
Albert	Byrd	Doyle
Alexander	Camp	Durham
Andrews	Campbell	Eberharter
Ashmore	Cannon	Edmondson
Aspinall	Carlyle	Evins
Balley	Celler	Fallon
Barden	Chelf	Feighan
Bennett, Fla.	Colmer	Fisher
Blatnik	Cooley	Forand
Boland	Cooper	Forrester
Bolling	Crosser	Fountain
Bonner	Davis, Ga.	Friedel
Brooks, La.	Davis, Tenn.	Garmaat
Brooks, Tex.	Dawson, Ill.	Gary

Gentry	Marshall	Rogers, Colo.
Gregory	Matthews	Rogers, Fla.
Hagen, Calif.	Metcalf	Rogers, Mass.
Hagen, Minn.	Miller, Calif.	Rogers, Tex.
Harris	Mills	Rooney
Harrison, Va.	Moss	Secrest
Hays, Ark.	Murray	Selden
Hays, Ohio	Norrell	Shelley
Hertong	O'Brien, Ill.	Sheppard
Hollifield	O'Hara, Ill.	Shuford
Howell	O'Neill	Sieminski
Ikard	Patman	Smith, Miss.
Jarman	Prost	Smith, Va.
Javits	Philbin	Staggers
Jones, Ala.	Pilcher	Steed
Jones, Mo.	Poage	Sutton
Jones, N. C.	Polk	Thompson, Tex.
Karsten, Mo.	Preston	Trimble
Kee	Price	Walter
Kelley, Pa.	Priest	Wheeler
King, Calif.	Rabaut	Whitten
Landrum	Rains	Wickersham
Lane	Rayburn	Williams, Miss.
Langham	Reams	Willis
Long	Rees, Kans.	Wilson, Tex.
Lucas	Rhodes, Pa.	Winstead
McCarthy	Riley	Yorty
Machrowicz	Roberts	Zablocki
Madden	Robeson, Va.	
Mahon	Rodino	

## NOT VOTING—145

Angell	Green	Nelson
Ayres	Gubser	Norblad
Barrett	Hale	Oakman
Battle	Haley	O'Brien, Mich.
Becker	Hand	O'Brien, N. Y.
Belcher	Hardy	Osmer
Bentzen	Hart	Passman
Boggs	Hébert	Patten
Bosch	Heller	Patterson
Bowler	Hess	Pelly
Boykin	Hoeven	Perkins
Buchanan	Holt	Phillips
Buckley	Holtzman	Powell
Bush	Hope	Reed, Ill.
Byrne, Pa.	Horan	Regan
Carnahan	Jackson	Richards
Carrigg	James	Riehlman
Chatham	Jonas, Ill.	Rivers
Chudoff	Judd	Robeson, Ky.
Cole, N. Y.	Kearney	Roosevelt
Condon	Kelly, N. Y.	Schenck
Coon	Keogh	Seely-Brown
Coudert	Kilburn	Shafer
Curtis, Mo.	Kilday	Sheehan
Curtis, Nebr.	Kirwan	Sikes
Delaney	Klein	Spence
Dempsy	Kluczynski	Sullivan
Dies	Lanta	Taylor
Dingell	Latham	Teague
Dodd	LeCompte	Thomas
Dollinger	Lestinski	Thompson, La.
Dolliver	Lyle	Thornberry
Donovan	McCormack	Tollefson
Dowdy	McIntire	Tuck
Elliott	McMillan	Van Pelt
Engle	McVey	Van Zandt
Fernandez	Mack, Ill.	Vinson
Fine	Mack, Wash.	Vursell
Fino	Magnuson	Wainwright
Fogarty	Martin, Iowa	Watts
Ford	Miller, Kans.	Westland
Frazier	Miller, Nebr.	Wharton
Fulton	Miller, N. Y.	Widnall
Gamble	Mollohan	Wier
Gathings	Morano	Williams, N. Y.
Golden	Morgan	Yates
Gordon	Morrison	Younger
Granahan	Moulder	
Grant	Multer	

So the motion was agreed to.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

On this vote:

Mr. McVey for, with Mr. McCormack against.

Mr. Reed of Illinois for, with Mr. Tuck against.

Mr. Westland for, with Mr. Bowler against.

Mr. Taylor for, with Mr. Vinson against.

Mr. Coudert for, with Mr. Morrison against.

Mr. McIntire for, with Mr. Boggs against.

Mr. Coon for, with Mr. Keogh against.

Mr. Pelly for, with Mr. Klein against.

Mr. Bosch for, with Mrs. Kelly of New York against.

Mr. Latham for, with Mr. Heller against.

Mr. Becker for, with Mr. Holtzman against.

Mr. Carrigg for, with Mr. Delaney against.

Mr. Golden for, with Mr. Buckley against.

Mr. Hand for, with Mr. Fine against.  
Mr. Hess for, with Mr. Dollinger against.  
Mr. Holt for, with Mr. Multer against.  
Mr. Kearney for, with Mr. Roosevelt against.

Mr. Jonas of Illinois for, with Mr. Hébert against.

Mr. Seely-Brown for, with Mr. Dies against.  
Mr. Shafer for, with Mr. Gordon against.

Mr. Wainwright for, with Mr. Chatham against.

Mr. Younger for, with Mr. Condon against.  
Mr. Widnall for, with Mr. Mack of Illinois against.

Mr. Miller of New York for, with Mr. Magnuson against.

Mr. Osmer for, with Mr. Barrett against.

Mr. Riehlman for, with Mr. Granahan against.

Mr. Schenck for, with Mr. Green against.

Mr. Kilburn for, with Mr. Chudoff against.

Mr. Robson of Kentucky for, with Mr. Byrne of Pennsylvania against.

Mr. Phillips for, with Mr. Carnahan against.

Mr. Sheehan for, with Mr. Kirwan against.

Mr. Jackson for, with Mr. Kluczynski against.

Mr. James for, with Mr. Yates against.

Mr. Oakman for, with Mr. Engle against.

Mr. Wharton for, with Mr. Hart against.

Mr. Nelson for, with Mrs. Buchanan against.

Mr. Cole of New York for, with Mrs. Sullivan against.

Mr. Bush for, with Mr. Patten against.

Mr. Williams of New York for, with Mr. O'Brien of New York against.

Mr. Curtis of New York for, with Mrs. Sullivan against.

Mr. Martin of Iowa with Mr. Lanta.

Mr. Van Zandt with Mr. Lyle.

Mr. Van Pelt with Mr. McMullan.

Mr. Judd with Mr. Boykin.

Mr. LeCompte with Mr. Battle.

Mr. Miller of Nebraska with Mr. Bentzen.

Mr. Morano with Mr. Elliott.

Mr. Norblad with Mr. Fogarty.

Mr. Patterson with Mr. Frazier.

Mr. Hale with Mr. Rivers.

Mr. Gubser with Mr. Richards.

Mr. Gamble with Mr. Teague.

Mr. Curtis of Missouri with Mr. Thompson of Louisiana.

Mr. Ayres with Mr. Watts.

Mr. Belcher with Mr. Perkins.

Mr. Vursell with Mr. Passman.

Mr. Horan with Mr. Fernandez.

Mr. Hope with Mr. Haley.

Mr. Tollefson with Mr. Hardy.

Mr. BROYHILL changed his vote from "yea" to "nay."

Mr. WILLIS changed his vote from "yea" to "nay."

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the next amendment in disagreement.

The Clerk read as follows:

Senate amendment No. 28: Page 16, line 20, insert:

"SALARIES AND EXPENSES

"For an additional amount for 'Salaries and expenses', \$200,000: *Provided*, That this paragraph shall be effective only upon enactment into law of H. R. 6049, 83d Congress."

Mr. TABER. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House recede and concur in the Senate amendment with an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. TABER moves that the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 28, and concur therein with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the sum of \$200,000 named in said amendment insert "\$100,000."

The motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the next amendment in disagreement.

The Clerk read as follows:

Senate amendment No. 29: Page 17, line 1, insert:

"ASSISTANCE FOR SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION

"For providing school facilities and for grants to local educational agencies in federally affected areas, as authorized by titles III and IV of the act of September 23, 1950 (Public Law 815), as amended, including not to exceed \$500,000 for necessary expenses of technical services rendered by other agencies, \$34,500,000, to remain available until expended, and of which \$10,000,000 shall be available for carrying out title IV of said act: *Provided*, That no part of this appropriation shall be available for salaries or other direct expenses of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare: *Provided further*, That this paragraph shall be effective only upon enactment into law of H. R. 6049, 83d Congress."

Mr. TABER. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House recede and concur in the Senate amendment with an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. TABER moves that the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 29, and concur therein with an amendment, as follows: Change "\$34,500,000" to "\$70,000,000" and change "\$10,000,000" to "\$3,000,000."

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield me a little time?

Mr. TABER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from West Virginia (Mr. BAILEY).

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, I have requested this time in order to clarify the situation because I think there is considerable confusion on the part of the majority of the Members of the House as to the present status of this program.

Let me say that the House bill provided construction money under the new legislation to succeed Public Law 815 approximately \$107 million. Mrs. Hobby, head of the department, asked for \$100 million. The Senate passed a different bill from the House and put in \$84,500,000. The conference committee comes along and cuts the amount down to \$70 million. In doing so they first pared the \$20 million to go for construction in the Indian territory, cutting it first to \$10 million, and under this amendment it is given an additional cut until only \$3 million is left.

The situation is this: There will be available a total of \$70 million, of which \$3 million will go for construction in areas where the Indian population is. Sixty-two million dollars is all that will remain available for implementing the construction program in these impacted districts.

I have asked for this time in order to say that it is totally inadequate and that when the Congress comes back in January it will have to face the possibility of additional appropriations to carry on this program.

# FAIR ENOUGH

By Westbrook Pegler

As I see the line-up and the activities of our Central Intelligence agency in Europe, the

American government is permitting David Dubinsky to use this mysterious bureau to wage a campaign to impose socialism on Germany, France, Italy and other countries, including Britain. In fact, Britain went Socialist on her own initiative under the Att-



Portrait of David Dubinsky

lee government and has not been able to struggle back from socialism under the ailing and obviously waning Churchill because, as J. P. Morgan put it, you can't unscramble eggs.

Now Dubinsky is a Socialist. There is no mystery about that. And his principal political agent in Europe, Irving Brown, is an old Communist and disciple of Jay Lovestone, a former member of the Communist International, who remains a Communist to this day, no matter what Dubinsky's publicity tells you to the contrary.

Lovestone is employed in Dubinsky's union headquarters in New York as a political adviser and there are many other Lovestone Communists in the Dubinsky organization. It should not be necessary to spell out each time the subject is mentioned the fact that these people are rivals of the Russian Kremlin and thus are not Communists with a capital "C," but Lovestone has repeatedly proclaimed his purpose of imposing a Communist form of government on the United States. And the willingness, even the eagerness, of the Lovestone Communist movement to shed our blood in the process is plainly recorded and has never been recanted.

Such, then, are the politics of Dave Dubinsky's political agents. I do not know as many of these characters as I feel that I should but I have sources of information whose knowledge and veracity I rely on. Two of them gave me another short course in these affairs a few days ago. One was Ben Gitlow, the first chief of the Communist party in the United States. The other was Maurice Malkin, another apostate Red who formerly occupied high places in the party. Both have publicly abandoned

communism and have given testimony and written voluminously, exposing not only the works of the movement among us but the names of individuals whom they knew to be Communists.

Gitlow and Malkin both insisted that if Lovestone had at last rejected communism and had a sincere intention to help this country fight the menace, he should have acted as they have. True, Lovestone did give testimony but mainly to reaffirm his Communist principles and ambitions.

They named the following "former" Lovestoneites who are powerful in Dubinsky's union subject to his overall authority as perpetual president-dictator with a treasury of \$166 million:

Louis Nelson of Local 155, the knit-goods local, manager of the "joint-board" of this specialty and vice president of the gigantic parent union. He has 6,000 subjects. Frank Cooper, the owner of a non-union knit-goods shop who is fighting Dubinsky and Nelson, also pegged Nelson as a "former" Lovestoneite. Cooper said he, too, had been a follower of Lovestone about 1935 and knew him well. He said Nelson was an assumed name. The reason I used the word "former" in quotes is that the Lovestone movement or party was dissolved in 1940. The course, that these people abandoned their doctrines or purposes except as shown in individual cases. Cooper says he grew up and got thru with the whole business.

The next one mentioned by Gitlow and Malkin was Charles (Sacha) Zimmerman, first vice president of the parent union, heir apparent to the Dubinsky throne, and manager of local 22 of the dressmakers with from 25,000 to 30,000 workers in the eastern district. They said Zimmerman had been a charter member of the Communist party, meaning the real Russian party, under Gitlow's leadership, went with Lovestone when he broke with the Kremlin in 1929 and stayed with him until the thing "dissolved." There is other information about Zimmerman of the same significance which I cannot find room for here today.

Next they discussed William Herberg, a "former" Lovestoneite. They said he had been another charter member of the party under Gitlow. He is now "educational director" of Zimmerman's local 22.

Next, Dr. Vladimir Bertan, who served a long prison term in our country for passing counterfeit money for the party. He, too, had been a Lovestone Communist. He is now employed in Dubinsky's medical department.

The prize specimen in the discussion was Bertram Wolfe, who, in Gitlow's words, helped him to found the Communist party here and held many high jobs in the movement under the Russian directorate. He was born in Russia. He went along with Lovestone when Lovestone founded his "Communist opposition" as it was formally called. He is the prize specimen of the piece because he is now a leading figure in the Voice of America drawing about \$10,000 a year.

As I have revealed before, the CIA chose Dubinsky and his union as the best available agents to oppose the westward

Howard Lewis, editor of U.S. and Us, is on vacation. His column will be resumed when he returns.

and southward spread of Kremlin communism in Europe. The CIA has put millions of dollars at the disposal of Dubinsky's overseas political conspiracy, but when Sen. Joe McCarthy dared to ask questions about the CIA, he was loudly abused. President Eisenhower's mechanized outburst of religious indignation against J. B. Matthews, the executive director of McCarthy's committee, was a ruse to discredit in advance anything they might expose about the CIA. Mr. Eisenhower is determined to shield this bureau and he has publicly acknowledged Irving Brown, Dubinsky's principal agent in Europe.

The excuse for using these people is that, as "former" Communists, they know the wiles and ways of the Kremlin Reds. But if socialism is their aim, and there is evidence that it is their immediate aim, the next step is Lovestone communism, including bolshevism, everywhere this side of the iron curtain, with an American union running the politics from New York. There are others available with great experience among the Red Communists who have not left any doubt about their apostasy. Ben Gitlow, for one fine example. But Gitlow told me last fall that when he asked Dubinsky for work he was turned away. And he said that when he remarked bitterly that it seemed that the only thing left for a man who had really sacrificed all to fight communism was to jump off Brooklyn bridge, Dubinsky answered, "precisely."

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- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Laughlin \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Rm. \_\_\_\_\_
- Holloman \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

*OK*

123-5791-6

NOTED  
2 OCT 7, 1953

*file 123-5791-6*

- Times-Herald \_\_\_\_\_
- Wash. Post \_\_\_\_\_
- Wash. News \_\_\_\_\_
- Wash. Star \_\_\_\_\_
- N.Y. Herald Tribune \_\_\_\_\_
- N.Y. Mirror \_\_\_\_\_
- N.Y. Compass \_\_\_\_\_

Date: 8/14/53

25 OCT 14 1953 365

Office *L*

*um . U*

GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson *Vim*

DATE: August 11, 1953

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT: BERTRAM D. WOLFE

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

For record purposes, there is attached hereto Congressman Fred Busbey's remarks concerning Bertram D. Wolfe which appeared in the Congressional Record for August 3, 1953.

*Vim* *H. H. ...*

cc: Mr. Ladd  
Mr. Belmont

LBN:MP

*101*  
*at*  
*57*

RECORDED-59 | *123-5791-47*  
OCT 7 1953

*R. H. ...*

25 OCT 16 1953

*283*

# KEY VOICE AID HELD MARXIST THROUT LIFE

## Bertram Wolfe Named By Rep. Busbey

BY WILLARD EDWARDS

A key official in the Voice of America, who posed as "anti-Communist," is a life-long Marxist Communist and propagandist, Rep. Busbey (R) of Illinois, told the House Monday.

Busbey identified the official as Bertram D. Wolfe, chief of the ideological talks unit of the State department's radio propaganda unit. Wolfe, 57, joined the State department in 1951 when it was under former State Secretary Acheson and has been retained in his high post by State Secretary Dulles. His salary exceeds \$11,000 a year.

The Voice of America official has been known for his active antagonism to the Stalin brand of Soviet imperialism since he was ousted from the Communist party in 1925, Busbey noted.

But his subsequent writings and career demonstrate, Busbey said, that Wolfe remains loyal to Marxian solutions of world problems, including abolition of private property. He is opposed only to the Kremlin and not to the philosophy of a "proletarian dictatorship," Busbey asserted.

### Removal Urged

Theodore C. Strelbert, a radio executive, newly appointed director of the United States information agency which is taking over the State department's propaganda functions, should immediately remove Wolfe and other "Marxist ideologists," Busbey said, if he wants to correct past errors in the foreign propaganda setup.

Meanwhile, evidence of administrative incompetence, fraud or perjury in placing Wolfe in a confidential government post will be submitted to the House committee on un-American activities, Busbey said, with a request for a full airing of the employment and retention of "this Communist official."

Recent failures of the State department to exploit the East German riots of June 16-18 and the supplying of food packages to starving East Germans were noted by Busbey. He suggested that Marxian ideologists and apologists were responsible for playing down these incidents in radio propaganda.

The only reference to Wolfe's political past in the official State department biographical register of employes is his connection with "a political party, 1928-1929."

### Called Party Founder

"Wolfe was one of the founders of the first organized Communist party in the United States in 1919," Busbey said. "Shortly after its formation, the American Communist party petitioned for admission to the Communist international and was admitted. Thereafter, most of the leaders, including Wolfe, made pilgrimages to Moscow."

In 1929, Busbey said, Stalin expelled Leon Trotsky and his American followers, Jay Lovestone and Wolfe, from the American Communist party, selecting Earl Browder as his American leader. Lovestone, Wolfe and others organized an "opposition" Communist party which remained true to the principles of Marxism but opposed Stalin.

In 1933, Wolfe wrote a booklet explaining this "opposition" party, asserting that the differences with the Communist international "are not differences of basic principles and basic aims."

In 1936, Wolfe proposed a Communist-Socialist coalition party with Tom Mooney, then serving a prison term for a California bombing in 1916, as presidential candidate.

In 1947, Wolfe wrote in a magazine article that he saw "the Socialist movement as the only alternative to totalitarianism," Busbey noted.

### State Dept. Aid Hit

Despite this record, Busbey said, when a senator last questioned the State department on Wolfe's record, the acting deputy undersecretary of state for administration wrote:

"Bertram D. Wolfe is an ex-Communist who, since 1929, has been devoting his life to an expose of communism in this country."

"One can arrive at any one of three conclusions concerning the statement of this State department official," Busbey remarked. "First, that he is an ignoramus, wholly and totally unqualified to hold any position in the government service that requires his opinion on loyalty matters; second, that he deliberately or impulsively misrepresented the true facts concerning Wolfe; or third, that he is doing his bit to cover up a State department employe who, under any reasonable standard of loyalty, should be removed from the government service."

"A search of Wolfe's record," Busbey said, does not show that he ever gave information to any government agency or congressional committee to expose the Communist conspiracy in which he was involved for so many years.

- Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Rm. \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Holloman \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Sizoo \_\_\_\_\_
- Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

*Spang*

*123-5791*

*6 - R.H. CRAN file 123-5791*

TIMES HERALD  
DATE 8-4-53  
P.# 3

*123-141-47*

AIR-TEL

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

8/27/53, New York

Transmit the following Teletype message to: BUREAU  
 BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE, UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY; SGE.  
 REBULET 8/19/53. T-15 IN REPORT OF SA [REDACTED]  
 NEW YORK, 4/30/53, IN CAPTIONED CASE, AGREES TO BE INTER-  
 VIEWED BY REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES INFORMATION  
 SERVICE PROVIDED HIS IDENTITY WILL BE CONCEALED BY THAT  
 AGENCY. RUC.

FD-36  
 27-52  
 [Handwritten notes and stamps in the top right corner]

b6  
b7C

BOARDMAN

*at*

*0-1  
WFO  
9/30*

3 - Bureau (123-5791) (REGULAR MAIL)

RECORDED-59

123-5791-48

WBH:RJH (#13)  
NY 121-16979

38 AUG 28 1953

*6-11/5*

36's Approved: LUB  
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

25 OCT 14 1953

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : A. H. Belmont *AS 2*

DATE: September 2, 1953

FROM : V. P. Keay *VPK*

SUBJECT: BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES  
(File No. 123-5791)

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Geary \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holloman \_\_\_\_\_
- Sizoo \_\_\_\_\_
- Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. Charles Noone, Security Officer of the International Information Service (IIS), telephonically contacted Supervisor J. S. Ammarell of the Liaison Section at 5:00 p.m., Friday, August 28, and referred to a letter which he had transmitted to the Bureau under date of August 11, 1953, wherein he had requested the Bureau to ascertain if a confidential informant referred to in the New York report of April 30, 1953, in instant case, would consent to an interview or identify certain scripts prepared by Wolfe which indicated a pro-Communist attitude on his part. Mr. Noone stated that he desired to withdraw this request since copies of all of Wolfe's scripts have been obtained by officials in IIS; that they had been reviewed and it was concluded that Wolfe did not indicate in his writings that he was pro-Communist. Mr. Noone said that a letter was being transmitted by his agency to Congressman Fred Busbey, who has been interested in this case, advising him of the result of the review of Wolfe's scripts and that a copy of that letter would be furnished to the Bureau. He also said that a 17-page letter had been submitted by Wolfe, a copy of which would also be transmitted to the Bureau.

The foregoing information was telephonically furnished to Supervisor R. H. Egan of the Employees Security Section in order that any work in connection with Mr. Noone's request could be discontinued.

RECOMMENDATION:

That this memorandum be referred to Supervisor R. H. Egan in the Employees Security Section of the General Investigative Division for his information.

*JS*  
JSA:104

cc - C. H. Stanley

RECORDED-59

*123-5791-49*

13 OCT. 5 11953

*b-RNF*

365  
25 OCT 14 1953





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

*W. Stanley*  
2254

*aw*

SEP 19 1953

9-2-53

WASH FROM WASH FIELD

2

7:30

DIRECTOR

DEFERRED

BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE, USIA, SGE. REBULET AUGUST NINETEEN LAST.

INFO RECEIVED THAT PAUL CROUCH IS TEMPORARILY OUT OF THE CITY  
 BUT IS EXPECTED TO RETURN SHORTLY. UACB, HE WILL BE INTERVIEWED  
 PROMPTLY ON HIS RETURN AND SUBMISSION OF REPORT WILL BE EXPEDITED.

FLETCHER,  
ACTING

ABH:NFR

BUFILE 123-5791

WFO FILE 123-5405

*JH7*  
*Lys*

RECEIVED

RECORDED-59

*123-5791-50*

13 OCT 5 1953

*6-RW*

*305*  
25 OCT 14 1953

AIR TEL

To: COMMUNICATIONS SECTION.

Transmit the following message to: **SEPTEMBER 18, 1953**

**SAC, WASHINGTON FIELD (123-5405)**

**BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE, USIA, SGE. BUDED OF SEPTEMBER 3 LONG PAST.  
YOUR 0-1 FORM OF SEPTEMBER 11 REFLECTS REPORT IN DICTATION.  
YOU ARE INSTRUCTED TO EXPEDITE YOUR TRANSCRIPTION OF YOUR  
REPORT AND SUREP AT ONCE.**

HOOVER

123-5791

RHE: vhh *whd*

*at*

RECORDED-59

*123-5741-51*

*CHS*

*PA*

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Laughlin \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Rm. \_\_\_\_\_
- Holloman \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MAILED 3  
SEP 18 1953  
COMM-FBI

305  
5 OCT 14 1953

SENT VIA

M

Per \_\_\_\_\_

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1  
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **BUREAU**

REPORT MADE AT <b>WASHINGTON, D. C.</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>9/17/53</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>9/2, 9, 10, 14/53</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>JS</b>
TITLE <b>BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE, aka Daniel Spays, Albert Albright, Albert Lovell, Albert Ward, L. Vargas, Chief, Ideological Advisory Staff, Central Program Services Division, International Broadcasting Service, United States Information Agency, New York, New York</b>		CHARACTER OF CASE <b>SECURITY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES</b>	

b6  
b7c

**SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:**

Signed statement from PAUL CROUCH obtained.

2- 9-1  
3- 1-1  
7- 6-1  
11-1  
10-1

AGENCY 100-10-1  
REQ. REC'D 5-26-54  
REP'T FORW. 6-10-54  
BY [Signature]

- RUC -

REFERENCE: Bureau letter dated August 19, 1953.

AGENCY 100-10-1 Army  
REQ. REC'D 7-5-56  
REP'T FORW. 9-4-56  
BY [Signature]

AGENCY 100-10-1 USA  
REQ. REC'D 2-4-54  
REP'T FORW. [Signature]  
BY [Signature]

*Hanna*  
 REQ. REC'D 2-17-60  
 JAN 6 1961  
 ANS.  
 BY: [Signature]

AGENCY 100-10-1  
 REQ. REC'D 11-11-53  
 REP'T FORW. [Signature]  
 BY [Signature]

2cc CSC  
1cc HAG  
7-27-53  
[Signature]

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: <u>[Signature]</u> SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES <b>123-5791-52</b>
COPIES OF THIS REPORT 5 - Bureau (123-5791) 1 - New York (123-3898) (Info) 1 - Washington Field (123-5405)	<b>RECORDED-59</b>

BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE  
aka Daniel Shays, Albert Allbright  
Albert Lovell, Albert Ward, L. Vargas  
Chief  
Ideological Advisory Staff  
Central Program Services Division  
International Broadcasting Service,  
United States Information Agency  
New York, New York  
SECURITY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Washington, D. C.  
September 17, 1953

RESULTS OF INVESTIGATION

PAUL CROUCH, presently employed by the Washington Field Office of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, United States Department of Justice, Washington, D. C., advised that he knew WOLFE personally from about September, 1927 to about the first part of April, 1929. CROUCH stated that he, CROUCH, during that time was a member of the Communist Party and was head of the Department for Work in the United States Armed Forces of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and was also a member of the editorial staff of the "Daily Worker." He said he held several other positions in the Communist Party and in Communist front organizations also. He furnished the following statement with regard to his knowledge of WOLFE:

"Washington, D. C.  
September 14, 1953

"I, PAUL CROUCH, make the following voluntary statement to [redacted] who has identified himself to me as a Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. I am willing to appear before a hearing board to testify as to my knowledge of BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE, to testify in WOLFE'S presence, and to be cross-examined by him or his counsel.

"I knew WOLFE personally from about September, 1927 to about late March or the first part of April, 1929. During that time WOLFE was a member of the political bureau of the Communist Party, head of the educational department of the Communist Party, and in charge of the Workers School in New York City. The Workers School was operated by the Communist Party. WOLFE was also a very frequent writer for the Communist Party press.

"The last time I saw WOLFE was after the March, 1929 convention

of the Communist Party, just before WOLFE went to Moscow, Russia with BENJAMIN GITLOW, JAY LOVESTONE, MAX BEDACHT, WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, and others. They went to Moscow to appeal for changes in instructions that had been given earlier by the Comintern in regard to the organization of the Communist Party in the United States. WOLFE joined LOVESTONE in defying the decisions made in Moscow and later, in May, 1929, he was expelled from the Communist Party together with LOVESTONE and GITLOW. Thereafter he was on the editorial board of Revolutionary Age, the official organ of the Communist Party (Majority Group)--the Majority Group was the group expelled from the Communist Party in 1929.

"As well as I can recall, WOLFE was with the LOVESTONE group as late as about 1940. I have read many of WOLFE'S writings in later years, and since about 1940 he has been best known as the author of books. His biography of Diego Rivera reflects opposition to the present regime in Russia but shows a belief in a great many Marxist ideas. His most recent book is 'Three Men Who Made a Revolution'; I have not read this book carefully enough to tell if it is anti-Marxian, but I have the impression that it is anti-Soviet. WOLFE'S writings of the early part of the period from 1940 to the present show that while he was anti-Soviet he was also pro-Marxist.

"When I was in California in 1950 I was for a time employed by the Senate Fact Finding Committee on Un-American Activities of the California Legislature. I recall that WOLFE made some speeches in California then and that reports were received by the Committee that his lectures were anti-Soviet in tone.

"I have read the above handwritten statement of three pages and its contents are true to the best of my knowledge and belief."

/s/ PAUL CROUCH

Witness:

Special Agent, FBI  
Washington, D. C."

b6  
b7c

The Communist Party has been designated by the Attorney General to be within the purview of Executive Order 10450.

WFO 123-5405

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

One copy of this report has been designated for the New York Office as WOLFE is employed and resides in the area covered by that office.

*Admin Page*

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Title: BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE  
aka Daniel Shays, Albert Allbright  
Albert Lovell, Albert Ward, L. Vargas  
Chief  
Ideological Advisory Staff  
Central Program Services Division  
International Broadcasting Service,  
United States Information Agency  
New York, New York  
SECURITY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Report of: SA

Date and Place: Washington, D. C. September 17, 1953

123-5791-52

b6  
b7C

This is amended copy of Security of Government  
Employees report and should not be removed from  
file for dissemination purposes. If dissemination  
necessary, copies should be made of this copy.

PROPERTY OF FBI

This  report and its  
contents are loaned to you by the  
FBI and are not to be distributed  
outside of agency to which loaned.  
This is an FBI investigative report  
and makes no recommendation for  
clearance or disapproval.

e f-20

## Office Memorandum • UN

GOVERNMENT

RECORDED-59

TO : Assistant Attorney General  
Warren Olney III

DATE: September 28, 1953

FROM : Director, FBI

Attention:   
Records Administration Branchb6  
b7cSUBJECT: BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE  
aka Daniel Shays, Albert Allbright  
Albert Lovell, Albert Ward, L. Vargas  
Chief, Ideological Advisory Staff  
Central Program Services Division  
International Broadcasting Service  
United States Information Agency  
New York, New York  
SECURITY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Reference is made to this Bureau's memorandum dated June 29, 1953 furnishing copies of reports covering an investigation conducted concerning the captioned individual. These reports were furnished for information and consideration as to whether the evidence developed indicated a violation of any Federal law.

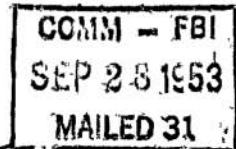
Enclosed herewith is a copy of this Bureau's letter of this date to the U. S. Civil Service Commission together with a copy of its enclosure containing further information regarding the captioned matter. This is being furnished to supplement the data previously forwarded to the Department in this case.

123-5791

Enclosures (4)

RHE:bjb

25 OCT 15 1953



*Handwritten signatures and initials:*  
 VTB  
 OMB  
 [unclear]  
 [unclear]

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



123-5791

RECORDED-59

123-5791-52

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

DATE: September 28, 1953  
TO: Mr. James E. Hatcher  
Chief, Investigations Division  
U. S. Civil Service Commission  
Washington 25, D. C.  
FROM: John Edgar Hoover, Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
SUBJECT: BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE  
aka Daniel Shays, Albert Allbright,  
Albert Lovell, Albert Ward, L. Vargas  
Chief, Ideological Advisory Staff  
Central Program Services Division  
International Broadcasting Service  
United States Information Agency  
New York, New York  
SECURITY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Reference is made to my letter dated June 29, 1953, and to my previous letters transmitting the results of investigation conducted concerning the above-named individual.

Additional information has been received which is set forth in this report of Special Agent [redacted] dated September 17, 1953, at Washington, D. C., two copies of which are attached.

10 SEP 29

There are also enclosed two Photostats of each of the following: An article captioned "Key Voice Aid Held Marxist Thruout Life" which appeared in the August 4, 1953, issue of the "Times-Herald," Washington, D. C.; Pages 11328 to 11331, inclusive, of the Congressional Record for August 3, 1953.

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

This information is furnished to supplement the data previously forwarded to you in this case.

Enclosure  
cc: WAG Warren Olney III (Encl.) (Under Separate Cover)

RHE:bjb

CLOSING SUPPLEMENTAL

1410  
b6  
b7C  
UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (123-5791)

DATE: 9/17/53

FROM : *J. Sec. / JH* WFO (123-5405)

SUBJECT: BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE aka  
Chief, Ideological Advisory Staff  
United States Information Agency  
New York, New York  
SECURITY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

*11-1*

Re WFO report dated 9/17/53, five copies of which are attached. *Encl.*

PAUL CROUCH also advised that he did not remember ever having heard of WOLFE using any aliases, and he said that insofar as he knew WOLFE was always commonly known in the Communist Party as BERT WOLFE and that he always used the signature BERTRAM D. WOLFE. He said he supposed that WOLFE used an alias when applying for passports to leave the United States as that was standard procedure of the Communists at that time. He said, however, that he had no knowledge of the alias that WOLFE may have used at the time. CROUCH also suggested that JOSEPH ZACK KORNFEDER of Detroit and  of Los Angeles, both former members of the Communist Party, be contacted for their knowledge of WOLFE. He suggested also that Columnist WESTBROOK PEGLER might have some information concerning WOLFE of pertinence to this investigation. He made this observation he said after having noted PEGLER'S column in the "Washington Times Herald" for September 14, 1953, in which PEGLER makes some mention of JAY LOVESTONE.

b6  
b7c

It is being left to the Bureau to determine the necessity for having these individuals interviewed. RUC

ABH:JS  
Enclosures - 5

*JS*

*5 ENCL  
59*

*JH*  
**SE 50**

*123-5791 52*

**RECORDED-59**

SEP 17 5 11 53

*6-RHB*

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. A. Rosen *RAM*

DATE: December 16, 1953

FROM : Mr. C. H. Stanley *CHS*

SUBJECT: BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE  
 aka Daniel Shays  
 Albert Albright  
 Albert Lovell  
 Albert Ward  
 L. Vargas  
 Chief, Ideological Supervisory Staff  
 Central Program Services Division  
 International Broadcasting Service  
 United States Information Agency  
 New York, New York  
 SECURITY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Geary \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holloman \_\_\_\_\_
- Sizoo \_\_\_\_\_
- Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

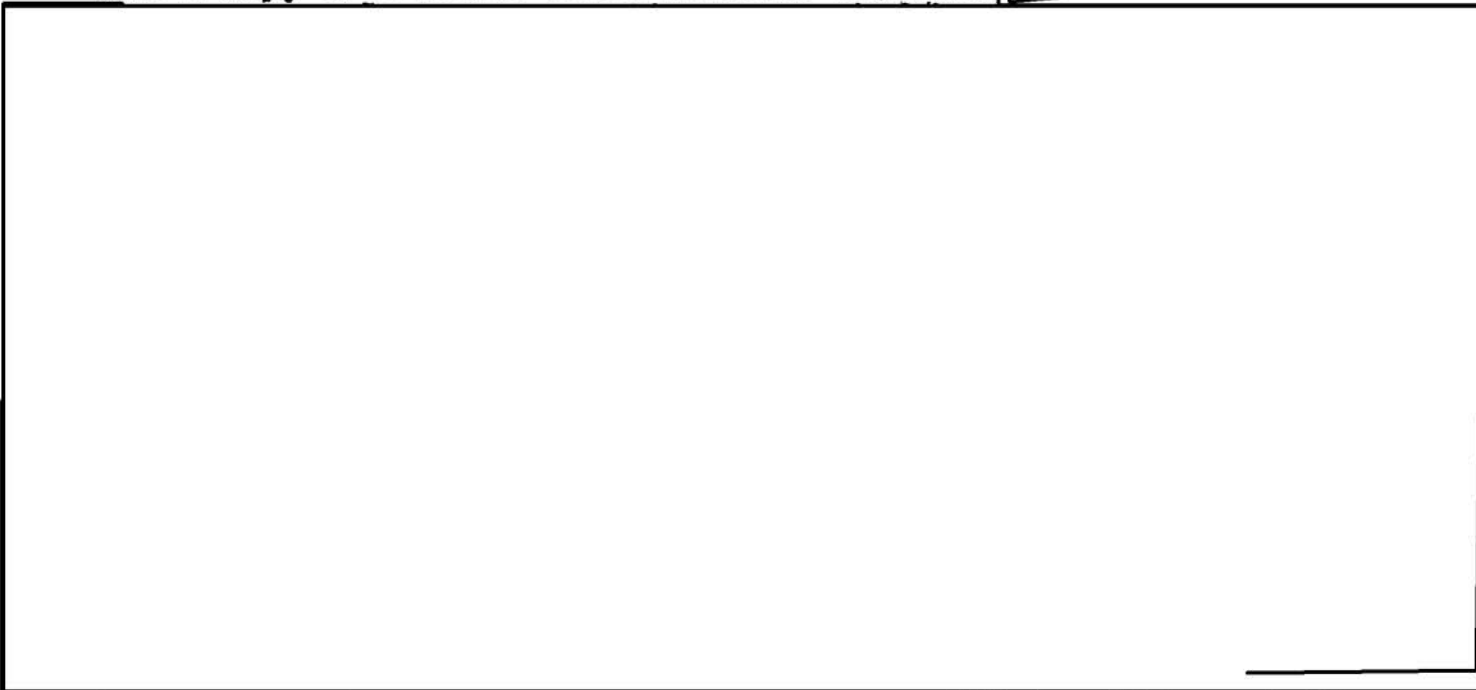
*ad 1-1*  
*ad 11-1*  
*ad 9-1*  
*ad 6-1*  
*Stanley*

*G.I.R.*

Wolfe was investigated as a Voice of America applicant in 1950 and supplemental data was furnished to the Civil Service Commission under SGE caption on September 28, 1953.

Referral/Consult

By memorandum dated December 7, 1953, from Inspector V. P. Key to Assistant Director A. H. Belmont (attached), it was stated that a copy of a letter dated November 10, 1953



123-5791

RECORDED-1

123-5791-53  
DEC 22 1953

JEO:611

*1953*

*EMILY*

20 JAN 5 1954

RECOMMENDATION:

It is recommended that no dissemination be made of the information contained in [redacted] inas-  
much as information from [redacted] has been previously reported.

b7E

OK  
✓  
12-17



Attachment

~~SECURITY INFORMATION~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Assistant Attorney General  
Warren Olney III

October 7, 1953

Director, FBI

Attention: Mr. Archie D. Simpson  
Records Administration Branch

153-3791-~~✓~~

BERTRAM DAVID WOLFF  
aka Daniel Shays, Albert Allbright,  
Albert Lovell, Albert Ward, L. Vargas  
Chief, Ideological Advisory Staff  
Central Program Services Division  
International Broadcasting Service  
United States Information Agency  
New York, New York  
SECURITY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Reference is made to my memorandum dated September 29,  
1953, and to my previous memoranda transmitting the results of  
the investigation conducted concerning the above-named individual.

For your information and for the completion of your  
file there is transmitted herewith one copy of each of the  
following letters:



ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN 140

Enclosure

Referral/Direct

RHE:bbm

- Tolson
- Ladd
- Nichols
- Belmont
- Mohr
- Tele. Room
- Holloman
- Gandy
- Nease
- Tracy
- Harbo
- Quinn
- Nease
- Tele. Room
- Holloman
- Gandy

COMM - FBI  
OCT 10 1953  
MAILED 31

~~SECURITY INFORMATION - CONFIDENTIAL~~

20 OCT 23 1953

Office Memorandum

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT *amb*

DATE: December 7, 1953

FROM : MR. V. P. KEAY *VPK*

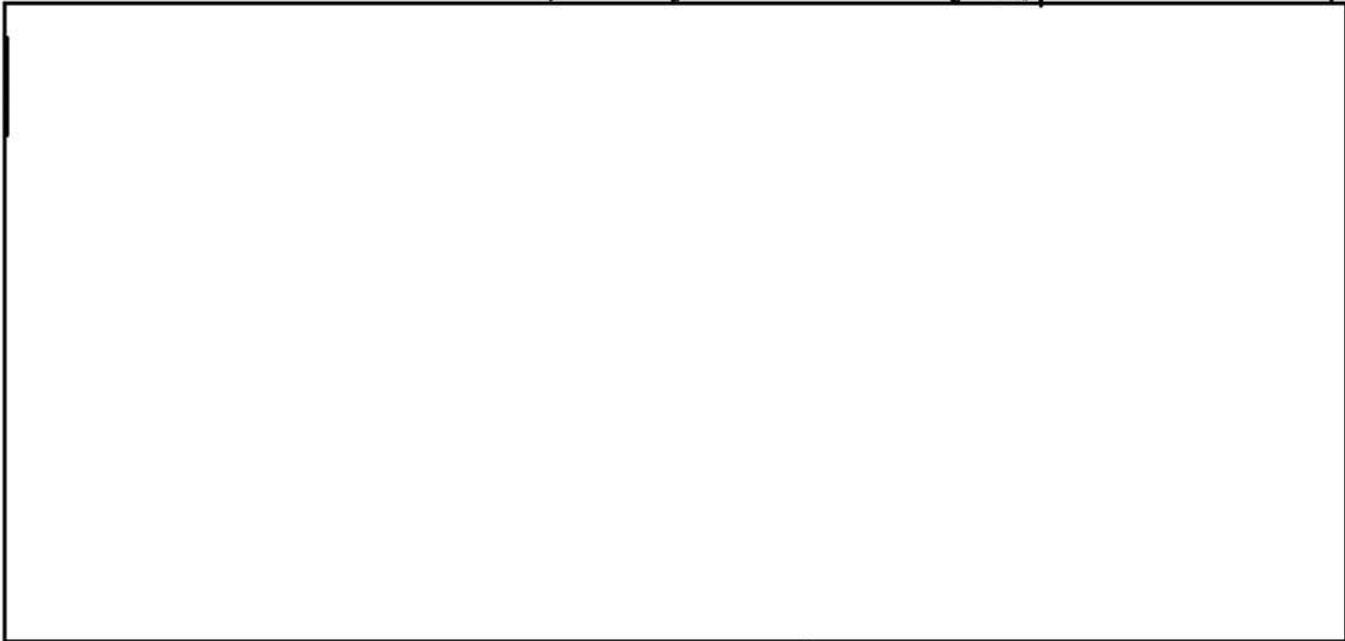
SUBJECT: BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE  
UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY  
SECURITY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

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

*ab 11-1*  
*lu 11-1*

*Stanley*  
*Jen*

The captioned individual was a member of the Communist Party, USA, from 1919 to 1929. In 1930 he joined Jay Lovestone as a member of the "Communist Opposition." He allegedly has been anti-Communist since he broke with the US Party. In 1950 the Bureau initiated a "Voice of America" investigation concerning Wolfe. This investigation was completed in the same year. On August 3, 1953, Congressman Busbey questioned Wolfe's employment with the "Voice of America." The Bureau conducted additional investigation as a result of a request received from [redacted]



ENCLOSURE ACTION:

Referral/Consult

The above information and attachment are being referred to the attention of the Employees Security Section.

Attachment

SJP:djs

1 - Mr. C. H. Stanley

123-5791

RECORDED-1

1183-5791-54

31 DEC 22 1953

20 JAN 5 1954

EMPLOYEES SECURITY SECTION

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. A. Rosen *ARM*

DATE: February 15, 1954

FROM : Mr. C. H. Stanley *CHS*

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Laughlin \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Rm. \_\_\_\_\_
- Holloman \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

*4/*

SUBJECT: BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE  
 aka Daniel Shays, Albert Allbright,  
 Albert Lovell, Albert Ward, L. Vargas  
 Chief  
 Ideological Supervisor Staff  
 Central Program Services Division  
 International Broadcasting Service  
 U. S. Information Agency  
 New York, New York  
 SECURITY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Wolfe was a member of the Communist Party, USA, from 1919 to 1929. In 1930, he joined Jay Lovestone as a member of the "Communist Opposition." He reportedly has been anti-Communist since he broke with the Communist Party. Wolfe has been a controversial figure. In 1953, Congressman Fred E. Busbey (R.) of Illinois publicly attacked Wolfe as a life-long Marxian Communist and propagandist. Wolfe was the subject of an extensive investigation under the Voice of America program and the Federal Employee Security Program.

The Civil Service Commission by letter dated January 28, 1954, advised that Wolfe had been "retained" under Executive Order 10450.

The "Washington Post" of February 12, 1954, revealed that Wolfe had resigned from his position with the Government to return to his writings on the history of the Russian Revolution. His resignation was excepted "with regret" by the Voice of America Director Leonard F. Erikson.

ACTION:

For your information.

*PTZ*  
*[Signature]*

RECORDED - 24

FEB 16 1954

EX-126

EMP. SEC. SECT.

123-5791  
RHE:bbm

FEB 19 1954  
*[Handwritten initials]*

Enclosures to  
WFO Report 3/4/53  
WFO File 123-5405  
Batik 123-579

ENCLOSURE



Encl. #1

Mr. Corey points out in his third article, "capitalism is already being transformed." The whole world drift is toward collectivism. The real final conflict will be between a fascist collectivism, or more accurately the collectivism of the totalitarian state, and a democratic socialism. Recognition of this fact in time would give new hope, at any rate in America, for the success of non-violent methods of struggle.

Mr. Corey gives a good general picture of his "people's functional socialism" and the steps toward it, but it is imperatively necessary for him, as for all Socialists who agree with the point of view which he has expressed, to fill in the important details of their program more explicitly. I await his fuller treatment eagerly.

3. If the older socialism was mistaken in believing that it was the historical destiny of the "working class" almost automatically to achieve socialism, so will the modern advocates of the glories of "democracy," or even of a "people's functional socialism," be mistaken if they think that there is anything in the untutored and instinctive processes of the democracy we now have by which we shall achieve plenty, peace, and freedom. It is the failure of that democracy which gives rise to fascism. The achievement of our great ends requires socialism, and it requires a creative socialism, a socialism conscious of its goal and of its program, a socialism which must rest on its own organizational power. To be sure, such socialism must work in and through mass movements and mass organizations of various sorts, but emphatically it needs its own political expression. What the New Deal has done, especially if it involves America in war, can be a preparation for fascism just as truly as for the achievement of democratic socialism. Indeed, fascism, military or otherwise, in some form and under some name will win the day in America unless within the next few years a democratic Socialist movement can be built.

EARL BROWDER  
Communist Party

Your invitation to write a "critical first reaction" to Lewis Corey's articles, *Marxism Reconsidered*, has caused me to read them. Here is my critical first reaction.

The underlying thought, it seems to me, could be most clearly set forth in a syllogism of formal logic:

Major premise: Mr. Corey was the most penetrating exponent of Marxist thought after Marx himself.

Minor premise: Mr. Corey failed.

Conclusion: Marxism is a failure.

Granted the first premise, the conclusion is irrefutable. But it is the first premise that must be rejected. Mr. Corey, in all his independent writings, has always struggled against Marxism, not expounded it (see the pamphlet "Leninism—the Only Marxism Today," by Bittelman and Jerome, 1934). What he has now reconsidered is

not the validity of Marxism but rather the method of struggle against it; where formerly he conducted his fight under the guise of an adherent, he now comes out openly as an opponent. That much, at least is clear gain. May the Lord protect us from our friends; our enemies we have learned how to deal with.

As I plodded through Mr. Corey's "arguments," my subconscious mind was busy rummaging in the dim past, and as I laid the papers aside there was thrust into my consciousness a famous phrase from the age of the good Queen Victoria: "the blessed word, Mesopotamia." Yes, Mr. Corey has his blessed word, which he substitutes impartially for all the missing elements of the rational process, and which casts over all a thick aura of righteousness (or should one say self-righteousness?). It is the magic word "totalitarianism."

With this blessed word Mr. Corey conjures up the whole of his newly acquired ideology, without the inconvenience of having to set it forth in specific terms; with this word he *assumes* as established, without further examination, the propositions which his articles purport to prove to the reader. This little sleight-of-hand performance will not, of course, disturb those whose minds operate from the same assumption. We may fairly expect Mr. Corey to be quite a lion, for the next few weeks, in those circles where the blessed word solves all problems and answers all questions. With equal assurance we may expect that in critical and thinking circles, whether Marxian or otherwise, Mr. Corey's "reconsideration" will gain him but the recognition that here is a man who should go far under a Rooseveltian third term.

As honest and forthright men are more and more driven from public life by the hunger-and-war program of the "national unity" camp forming around Roosevelt, they will be replaced by the most glib devotees of the blessed word "totalitarianism." This word is the battle cry of the American bourgeoisie embarked upon a holy crusade to save Europe from socialism, from proletarian revolution, and to assure itself the lion's share of profit from a salvaged European capitalism.

Mr. Corey should hear the knock of opportunity upon his door with increasing insistence, once these articles come to the attention of the right people.

BERTRAM D. WOLFE  
Independent Labor League (Lovestonites)

Western socialism, based on traditions of bourgeois democracy and democratic unionism, has for some time been trying to shake off the incubus of blind acceptance—and blind rejection—of the Russian Revolution, a revolution occurring where both bourgeois and proletarian democracy were lacking. The Corey articles now broaden the scope of the discussion and thereby perform a significant service, for out of such discussion alone can

come the necessary clarification, reunification, and new advance toward socialism.

Corey makes it clear that socialism's errors and defeats do not give capitalism new vigor. Decay continues: from free trade to monopoly; toward longer and deeper crises; from productive abundance to legislated scarcity; toward autarchy and recurrent war. Capitalism is in transition toward "some sort of collectivism"—the real choice being between monopolistic, oligarchical, authoritarian forms and democratic socialism. What we have learned is that nationalization of industry does not automatically lead to increased democracy or to "withering of the state," but rather increases the dangers of totalitarianism and the need of a conscious drive to achieve freedom. This emphasis on the inseparability of democracy and socialism is the major service of Corey's articles.

With Corey's analyses I have several disagreements:

1. I think he underestimates the trade union as the most important single institution for the development of economic democracy.

2. Corey rightly emphasizes the need for a socialism expressing the interests of all functionally useful groups. But if socialism is not, in the first instance, the expression of a democratic mass movement of which labor is the most important constituent, then it is nothing at all. Is not the working class the most numerous and significant single class in modern society? Who else is to form the core and driving force? With whom shall Corey's "new middle class" combine, when it is won away from adherence to monopoly capitalism and the status quo? The greater danger is not, as Corey seems to imply, that of dictatorship by the mass of producers over technicians and administrators, but—as happened in Russia—the dictatorship of indispensable technician-administrators over the mass of producer-consumers. If the "new middle class," as some technocrats and other followers of *Common Sense* imply, is to become the core of the movement toward a new order, then bureaucracy and totalitarianism are hardly avoidable.

3. Corey rightly rejects the schematic caricature concept of class often advanced, and would use it rather as "a tool with which to identify and delimit those class interests that must be destroyed in order to realize progressive class interests." But this is quite different from the sweeping title *The Class-War Fallacy*, which I fancy is a cuckoo egg laid in his nest by some *Nation* editor.

At the extremes of the social spectrum there is more class consciousness, actual and potential, than the articles seem to reckon with. At the right, a handful has sufficient power to sway governments, manipulate opinion, subsidize fascist movements. The inclusion in the "popular front" of parties controlled by such monopolists of economic power is the real reason for the sterility of such fronts, which Corey notes but does not analyze.

4. He rightly rejects that caricature revolutionism

which worships violence and upheaval for their own sake; he warns of the destructiveness and "totalitarian potential" involved. Rightly, too, he emphasizes continuity where many have one-sidedly emphasized break; but he seems to fall into an opposite one-sidedness.

In order to move toward, not away from, a new social order we require a sharp break: (a) in the *direction* of development; (b) in the *central purpose* of production—from private profit to social use; (c) in the *control* of the mainsprings of economic and political power. Otherwise, as the "older gradualism was distorted by the upswing of capitalism," Corey will find that his new "gradualism"—an equivocal word—will be distorted by the prevailing downswing into becoming, not a new order, but gradual decay and collapse of the very foundations on which such order might be constructed.

5. Undoubtedly violence is a matrix of totalitarianism, yet history still fails to show examples of transitions to a new order without some violent attempt of the privileged to hold on to power. Against such force a democratic majority might conceivably have to use force, in addition to persuasion and affirmation of its will. The latest examples are Austria and Spain. This dilemma must be faced, not evaded.

6. To what extent is modern industry compatible with Marx's belated rejection of centralization (after the Paris Commune) and advocacy of the non-bureaucratic, decentralized, libertarian commune-state? And with Lenin's hope that "every cook" would become a polytechnic multi-expert on every phase of economic, cultural, and social life?

Incidentally, that approach derives, via France, from Jefferson, who proposed an arrangement where "every man is a sharer in the direction of his ward-republic . . . not merely at election one day in the year but every day . . . there shall not be a man in the state who will not be a member of some one of its councils . . . and every citizen can act in person . . . in all things relating to him . . . and in the offices nearest and most interesting to him." Is Jefferson really as out-of-date as the "horse and buggy" spurners glibly imply?

The major lack in the articles I find to be omission of the overshadowing problem of peace and war. It is inextricably tied up with the problems treated. There can be no healthy socialist regrouping if this is evaded or ignored. Modern war involves maximal totalitarianism. The struggle for socialism and freedom is first of all a struggle to prevent war, limit and shorten it where it occurs, transform the institutional and economic arrangements from which it springs.

Finally, these comments are inadequate both as to praise and difference because of limitations of space; and they are personal rather than "official," since the Independent Labor League possesses no "pontifical" views on these questions; nor does it believe that matters essen-

tially experimental and scientific can possibly be "settled" by a vote of a committee, an "authoritative" citation, or adoption of twenty-one points or ninety-five theses.

ALGERNON LEE

Social-Democratic Federation

"History," says Lewis Corey, "has played one of her stupefying tricks; for it is now clear that democracy is on the defensive as much against the totalitarianism of Russian communism as against that of fascism."

Poor Mr. Corey! His position is surely not an enviable one. But we could better sympathize with him if he took it like a man instead of blaming History. The fault, poor Corey, is not History's, but yours, if you are stupefied. History may be a Theban Sphinx, who slays those who misread her riddles, but a shabby trickstress she is not.

Mr. Corey had served the Bolshevik Moloch for years, and striven to justify his ways before men; had seen him murder the young republic and slaughter its defenders and make Russia a house of horrors; had heard him revile democracy, ridicule men who valued truth above expediency, and explicitly command his acolytes to lie for his greater glory. Five years ago he had seen his Moloch put on a false-face clumsily simulating the features of democracy—but meanwhile explaining to puzzled worshipers in a whisper that all this was only a maneuver. Last August he saw the mask cast aside, saw Bolshevism and Nazism clasping hands—and was Mr. Corey stupefied! Or was he really?

Anyway, he has now more or less emerged from his stupor. Six months, in such a case, is perhaps no more than a fair equivalent for the ten seconds allowed in pugilistic practice. Barely in time, Mr. Corey has come to—somewhat groggy but still in the ring. He really is not clear as to who it was that hit him—maybe it was History, maybe not—and after three-quarters of a column he decides to "square accounts with Marx." Brave man, after all—or perhaps I'd better say rash man! Marx has taken a lot of pounding since he started to fight, but his assailants' knuckles have suffered most.

Am I being too flippant? Not a whit. Mr. Corey seems to have developed what the psychiatrists call a delusion of grandeur. With a magnificent flourish he makes an "admission of failure" on behalf of everybody in sight—save only himself. Communism has failed, Social Democracy has failed, "all variants of Marxism" have failed, non-Marxian radicalism has failed, democracy has failed, and so on. The field is clear—now just watch.

To follow Mr. Corey through some 9,000 words of pontifical irresponsibility and undertake to analyze and answer his argument systematically within my allotted space of 700 words would be folly. The subjects on which he expatiates are important. They must be adequately discussed. But Mr. Corey does not lay the basis.

MAX SHACHTMAN

Socialist Workers Party (Trotskyists)

The title of Mr. Corey's articles is misleading. What he is really reconsidering is post-war Social Democratic reformism, and with a few unimportant verbal improvements he finds it quite acceptable. The fact that he attaches to it the not entirely novel label of "people's socialism" or "functional democratic socialism" testifies only to his squeamishness about fathering what is so thoroughly bankrupt and discredited.

What Corey leaves of revolutionary Marxism after his "reconsideration" is scarcely visible to the naked eye. The Marxian theory of the state is dropped down the chute because, you see, the modern democratic state also performs some useful functions. Presumably its principal function of maintaining the social rule of the propertied class by armed force is secondary to its meritorious work of providing farmers with weather reports and regulating traffic. The Marxian theory of the class struggle and the decisive progressive role of the proletariat goes down the same chute, to be replaced by "the interests of all useful functional groups." The Marxian theory of the seizure of power for the socialist reorganization of society meets the same fate, and is replaced by the ludicrous and outworn theory of a parliamentary democracy that will absorb as much social justice as this sinful world makes possible, but absorb it by a process of osmosis, so "gradually" that the crisis-maddened capitalist class will not notice it. What is left of Marxism? A few liberalist phrases.

Corey's criticism of Social Democratic reformism leaves it essentially intact. The central point in the criticism—the stress which the German Social Democracy laid on the proletariat to the exclusion of the middle class—is simply groundless. To an ever-increasing degree, from the days of Eduard Bernstein at the turn of the century, the German Social Democracy put emphasis on the middle class; all its policies proceeded from fear of "alienating" the middle class. It ended by being completely dominated by middle-class elements. Corey is arguing against a Social Democracy that did not exist only to recommend one that did and still does exist.

This becomes quite clear in the programmatic conclusions at the end of his series. His discomfort in shifting from Marxism to reformism sticks out in every apologetic line. Gradualism? "Yes and no." But far more "yes" than "no." The only serious difference between Corey and the German Social Democrats is that he promises to put "teeth" into his gradualism. The promise need not be taken too seriously, however. Otto Bauer used to talk the same way just before he gave way to Dollfuss. Léon Blum swore that he would not be a Kerensky, only to surrender to the economic and political democracy that now flourishes so sturdily under Daladier.

In reality, Mr. Corey's teeth, and those of most middle-class radicals, are chattering with fright in the grow-

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End #2

## "The More Change the More the Same"

THE RUSSIAN MENACE TO EUROPE. By Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. Edited by Paul W. Blackstock and Bert F. Hoselitz. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press. 288 pp. \$3.75.

By BERTRAM D. WOLFE

IN 1894, near the end of his life, Friedrich Engels wrote an article for the Russian journal *Sotsialdemokrat* on "The Foreign Policy of Russian Tsarism." It was the ripe fruit of a lifetime of thought on this subject, and contained a prophetic warning of a possible world war in which "Russia and France would be on one side, Germany and Austria on the other . . . and the final decision depend on England." In 1914 this prophecy was fulfilled and Russian orthodox Marxism was proud of its prophet. But in 1934, when the Russian journal *Bolshevik* wanted to reprint the article in its number commemorating the twentieth anniversary of World War I, Joseph Stalin secretly forbade this act of Marxist piety. This was one of the first big steps in the censorship of the writings of Marx and Engels by Stalin. Now Messrs. Blackstock and Hoselitz have compiled a book of 215 pages (without counting their own commentary) made up of writings of Marx and Engels which have either never circulated freely in the "Marxist" Soviet Union or are now unobtainable, unquotable, or totally suppressed.

What can there be in these writings of "the Founders" so dangerous that the self-proclaimed "Best Disciple" has decided to suppress them? After all, Marx and Engels were not writing about Stalinism but about Czarism. They condemn Czarist reaction, autocracy, imperialism, and personal rule, but so did Lenin and Stalin. They express hope of a revolution in Russia which would put an end to Czarist absolutism and ruthless expansion, and Stalin can rightly allege that there has been such a revolution. Yet by 1934 Stalin was taking over so many elements of Czarist absolutism and autocracy to build them into his new total state regime, and so much of Czarist imperialist aims that these "sacred" writings became more and more uncomfortable and subversive.

Marx and Engels considered the ruthless expansion of Czarist absolutism to be the greatest menace to the freedom of the Russian people and

the freedom of Europe. Put *Vozhd* where they put *Autocrat*, put *totalitarianism* where they put *absolutism*, put *purge* where they wrote *knout*, and scores of passages achieve a startling contemporaneity.

"The policy of Russia is changeless," wrote Marx. "Its methods, its tactics, its maneuvers may change, but the pole star of its policy—world domination—is a fixed star."

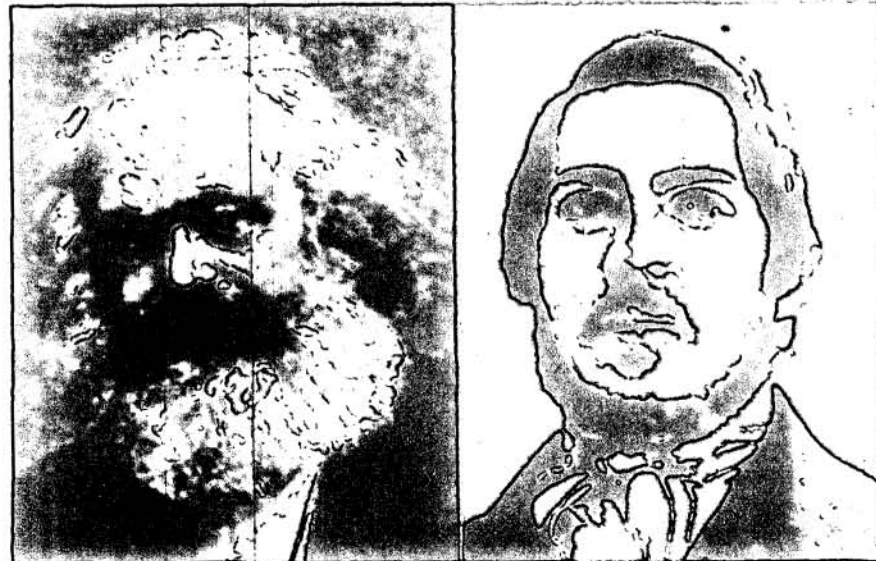
Stalin has taken up Pan-Slavism as an instrument of imperialist policy, but Engels wrote: "The immediate objective of Pan-Slavism is the setting up under Russian domination of a Slavic empire from the Erzgebirge and the Carpathians to the Black, Aegean, and Adriatic seas . . . to convert Austria . . . to cut off one-third of Germany and all of Hungary, to change Vienna and Budapest into Slavic cities." What Marx and Engels wrote about the Balkans, Greece and Turkey, and the Dardanelles during the Crimean War sounds uncommonly like an appeal to all good democrats and all good Europeans to support the Truman Doctrine. The calls for the liberation of Poland sound like a battle cry. Even more startling are the exposures of "Russian agents," of the pose that they are liberating the countries they seek to subjugate, the hope expressed that the Russian people will overthrow their tyrannical despotism, liberate subjugated neighbor peoples, take control of their own foreign policy and domestic affairs, get rid of their oppressive bureaucracy, give land to the peasants. "A people which oppresses another cannot liberate itself."

We must be grateful to Messrs. Blackstock and Hoselitz for having

given freedom of press to Marx and Engels and made available to us these works which are suppressed in the very country that professes to be based upon Marxism and to be the guardian of Marx's and Engels's works. But they have made two serious errors in their presentation which greatly weaken their effectiveness.

First, they have failed to note that some of what Marx and Engels wrote is out of date, some of it youthful, bloodcurdling bombast, some of it part of their unexamined heritage of German nationalism, though much of it contains deep and illuminating insights valuable for our own day. Their few criticisms are so feeble as to suggest an excessive worship of a sacred text as if one authoritarianism were set up against another. Thus, they single out to quote without demurrer in their own introduction Marx's estimate of the Russian Government as "a civilized government ruling over barbarian masses."

Much more serious, in their introduction one feels a total lack of any feeling concerning the fundamental difference between totalitarianism and the more limited despotism of the Czars. In their eagerness to score a debater's point they exaggerate continuity and minimize difference to the vanishing point, concluding their introduction with a passage which must vitiate their work for any sociologist or historian who has the faintest insight into the monstrous features which differentiate the total states of Hitler and Stalin from nineteenth-century despotisms. Their conclusion ("A comparison of Stalinist Russia with Czarist Russia may be summed up by the adage: *plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose*") goes a long way to undermine the very purpose they set out to serve in their work.



—Bertrama Archive.

Marx and Engels—"The policy of Russia is changeless."

Bertram D. Wolfe is the author of "Three Who Made a Revolution" and other works on the USSR.

Encl # 3



## Leon Felipe: Poet of Spain's Tragedy

*Bertram D. Wolfe*

IT IS time that we in the United States knew something about Leon Felipe. Because he is the humblest and simplest of Spain's poets, because he is a solitary who can neither hunt with the pack nor join the clique nor form part of the school nor follow the directives of the party, because he is at once mystic and equalitarian — not today a wonted combination — he is neither written about nor translated into English. For nearly a quarter century his slender volumes of poetry have been going forth, one after another, each of them heralded as a literary event throughout the Spanish-speaking world. His rare public addresses, with no organization of any kind to sponsor them, have been literary events too, crowding the largest halls in Mexico City, Panama, Havana, Madrid, and other capitals. He lived and taught here in the United States for a few years and has sympathetically translated some of the best of our writers, ranging from Walt Whitman to Dos Passos, yet his very name is unknown among us.

For that matter, his private life, his real name, are unknown to many who cherish his poetry in Spain and Latin America. What he thinks and feels about man, God, Spain, and the universe is an open book with no concealments. But what he has been through and privately suffered is fully known perhaps to no one. What I have been able to glean of his personal life from the passionate monologues which are his private conversation — without benefit of that “formalized curiosity” known as research — boils down to little, and some of that uncertain.

His real name is Leon Felipe Camino (prophetic name, for *camino* is road and this man was born to wander unceasingly: he dropped the family name with his first book of poems lest people should think that it was assumed as a pose or inept wordplay). The anthologies, which by their nature seem to give the date of

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birth of all their poets, omit his. Born near the close of the last century in the most *castizo* heart of Castille, in the little village of Sequeros, Salamanca, he has been, among other things, a wandering actor (a *cómico* he told me, with that air of absorption in the tragedy of life which characterizes him); an apothecary in Spain and, for a year, on the penal island of Fernando Po; a professor of Spanish letters at Cornell and the Universities of Mexico and New Mexico; a shepherd expiating his sense of personal guilt with other shepherds on the bare hills of Northern Portugal; a wandering poet in many Latin American countries; a resident on and off since 1922 in Mexico; a returned son of Spain during the Spanish Civil War putting his pen at the service of the Republic; and now, once more, an exile in Mexico. How he got to Fernando Po is the subject of many a legend: for his part, he does not talk of it, nor would he ever commit to paper one of the greatest of his poems which one night in a Mexican café he recited to me, because it excoriates the governor of that penal island and brings back rejected memories.

His published works are often fugitive: a poem handed in manuscript to this or that friend, to whom it has been dedicated, finds its way into a magazine through the initiative of the recipient; public addresses recorded in the ephemeral pages of daily papers, discourses which are masterpieces of Spanish prose with overtones and core of poetry (in Panama there are those who still remember and can recite by heart his bitter *Adiós a Panamá*, which was his response to their farewell tribute). Besides these fugitive things which rank with his best work, there are a number of more formally published slender volumes: *Versos y oraciones del caminante* — Verses and Prayers of the Wanderer (1922); *Versos y oraciones del caminante, Segunda Serie* (1930); *Drop a Star* — the original title is in English (1933); *El payaso de las bofetadas y el pescador de caña* — The Clown Who Gets Slapped and the Man with the Fishing Rod (1938); *Antología* — which includes poems from all of the above works and some not in any of them (1938); *El hacha* — The Axe (1939).

Despite its begetting of Gongorism, Spanish poetry is noted

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for its employment of the simple language of the common folk, but in a land of popular poets, Leon Felipe is probably the most simple and most popular. From the very outset — long before he had discovered and translated *Leaves of Grass* — he had become impatient of the restrictions which even the easy metrics and assonantal rhyme of Spanish poetry impose upon utterance and feeling.

Unmake that verse.  
Strip it of the adornments of rhyme,  
meter, cadence  
and even of the idea itself . . .  
Shake the words to the winds . . .  
and if there still remains something  
that  
will be poetry.

Such is his "theory" of poetry as expressed in one of his earlier writings. Yet, when he chooses to use consonantal rhyme and more complicated cadences, his verse does not for that lose anything of its simplicity. Not only the language and the thought but the very metaphors are as a rule humble and transparently simple. This, for instance, from his first book, expresses the equalitarian spirit of all his work:

I ride with tight rein  
restraining my flight  
for the point is not to be first and alone  
but to get there with all and on time

And in the *Antología* there is the poem *Revolution*:

Always there'll be superior snow  
robing in ermine the high hill  
and humble water toiling below  
to turn the wheel of the mill.  
And always a sun — slayer and friend —  
changing to tears the snow forever  
and to cloud the water of the river.

While in one of his latest discourses (1940) we find: "The whole of my poetry is in the line, Why are there not shoes yet for everybody?"

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But, of course, that is not the whole of his poetry. The second immanent strain is that of the mystic. Not that Leon Felipe is a good son of the Church, far from it. Witness, for instance, *God and the Bishop* (1940):

God who knows everything  
is a simpleton  
and now he is kidnapped  
by some bandit archbishops  
who make him say over the radio  
"Hallo! Hallo! Here I am with them."  
But that doesn't mean that he is on their side  
but that he is there, a prisoner.  
He tells where he is, no more,  
so that we may know  
and may save him.

As a simple expression of the homely religious mysticism that runs through all of his poetry, we can take his

Ascension

*And Thou leavest,  
saintly pastor,  
Thy flock in this  
dark vale . . .*

— Fray Luis de Leon

He came here  
then went away.  
Came, set our task  
and went away.

Maybe behind that cloud  
is one who works  
even as we.  
Maybe the stars  
are only lighted windows  
of a factory  
where God has a job  
to distribute, just as here.

He came here  
and went away.  
Came, filled our safe

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with millions of centuries and centuries,  
left a few tools . . .  
and went away.

He who knows all there is  
knows that let alone  
without gods to watch us  
we do our work better.

Behind you there is no one, No One,  
neither master nor foreman nor boss.  
But time is yours.  
Time and this chisel  
with which God began creation.

Above all, Leon Felipe is the poet of Spain's tragedy. He sought to escape from it by his wanderings, but it followed him. He proclaimed in his first book that he had no fatherland, no *patria chica*, no sunlit house emblazoned with coat of arms, no ancient leathern armchair nor worm-eaten table, no portrait of a grandfather with one arm on his breast and the other on his sword, who had won battles. But wherever he went, he carried Spain with him, and in whatever far corner of the earth he spent the night talking till dawn in a café with a fellow exile, there Spain was communing with itself. (He fled from our Ithaca cursing because, though the university there had been endowed with a beautiful social house with comfortable tables and armchairs and alcoves, "in this accursed country there is no conversation.")

When Spain's darkest hour came, he felt impelled by an irresistible force to return to the land which he had said was not his. Out of the anguish of Spain's betrayal and tragedy has come the greatest of his poetry: "The Clown Who Gets Slapped and the Man with the Fishing Rod," written during the Civil War, a bitter tirade against England and the farce of "non-intervention"; "The Axe," subtitled "Spanish Elegy," wrung from him by the factional fights inside the Republican ranks, by the fratricidal war between Republican and Falangist Spaniards, by what he regarded as the final ruin of Spain. It is dedicated:

To the Knights of the Axe  
To the Crusaders of Rancor and Dust . . .  
To all the Spaniards of the world.

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Space forbids more than a fragment of this long and simple monody of pain with its intolerable iteration of anguish expressed in the (for English) most prosaic words of common speech. Yet a fragment may serve to give the reader some notion of what these thirty odd pages of cumulative pain are like. This is from the invocation:

Ah the sorrow  
this sorrow of no longer having tears  
this sorrow  
of having no more tears  
to water the dust!  
Ah the sorrow of Spain  
which is no longer more than wrinkle and dryness . . .  
screwed up face  
dry grief of earth  
under a sky with no rains  
gasp of a well sweep  
over an empty well.  
Oh this screwed up Spanish face  
this face dramatic and grotesque  
dry dusty weeping  
for the dust,  
for the dust of all things ended in Spain  
for the dust of all the dead  
and all the ruins of Spain  
for the dust of a race  
now lost in History forever!

Dry weeping of dust  
and for dust. For dust  
of a house without walls  
of a tribe without blood  
of ducts without tears  
of furrows without water . . .  
Dry weeping of dust  
for dust that will no longer agglomerate  
neither to make a mud-brick  
nor to raise a hope.  
Oh yellow accursed dust  
given us by rancor and pride  
of centuries

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and centuries  
and centuries . . .  
For this dust is not of today  
nor come to us from abroad  
we are all desert and African . . .

Nobody here has any tears  
and for what are we to live  
if we have no tears?  
For what have we any longer to weep  
if our weeping does not bind?  
In this land  
tears do not bind  
neither tears nor blood . . .  
Sandy earth without water  
wrung flesh without tears  
rebellious dust of rancorous rock  
and hostile lavas  
yellow atoms and sterile  
of unfruitfulness  
vengeful notes  
sand quarry of envy . . .  
wait dry and forgotten  
till the sea overflows . . .

Why have you all said  
that in Spain there are two bands  
if there is only dust?

In Spain there are no bands  
in this land there are no bands  
in this accursed land there are no bands  
there is only a yellow axe  
which rancor has edged sharp  
an axe which falls always  
always  
always  
implacable and tireless  
on any humble union:  
on two prayers that fuse  
on two tools that interlace  
on two hands that grasp each other.  
The order is to chop

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to chop  
to chop  
to chop till dust is reached  
down to the atom.  
Here there are no bands  
there are no bands  
neither reds  
nor whites  
nor patricians  
nor plebeians . . .  
Here there are only atoms  
atoms that bite one another . . .

From here no one escapes  
for tell me, friend ropemaker,  
is there any one who can braid a ladder  
of sand and dust?

Spain  
your envy was mightier  
than your honor  
and better you have guarded the axe  
than the sword . . .  
Under its edge  
has been made dust  
the Ark  
the race  
and the sacred rock of the dead;  
the chorus  
the dialogue  
and the hymn;  
the poem  
the sword  
and the craft;  
the tear  
the drop of blood  
and the drop of joy . . .  
And all will be made dust  
all  
all  
all . . .  
Dust with which nobody  
nobody



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will ever make  
either a brick  
or an illusion . . . .

Leon Felipe wrote "The Axe" when he had first returned to Mexico after Spain's final agony. It seemed to him that Spain was lost forever, and that the Spaniard in exile, unlike the Jew in the Diaspora, had no faith in his own election to sustain him, no mission and no possession left to him, unless he could squeeze from dry, pain-seared eyes a tear in which there might be hope not of Spain's but of man's redemption. In a public address on the occasion of the poem's publication, there is a moving suggestion — which we do not propose now to expound further — of this as Spain's continued mission in exile. And in the midst of the overwhelming sorrow there is, if not a note of hope, yet of defiance of the forces of destruction which have triumphed in Spain. Embedded in the discourse are several fragments of verse, one dealing with his own poetry, from which we have cited the line about shoes for all; one addressed to all Spaniards; one addressed to Franco:

Yours is the treasury  
the house  
the horse  
the pistol.  
Mine is the ancient voice of the land.  
You remain with everything  
and I naked wandering through the world . . .  
but I leave you mute . . . MUTE!  
And how are you going to gather the wheat  
and feed the fire  
if I carry off the song?

The confused voice with which Spain speaks today suggests that the poet may have been right.

Encl #4

## THE LIBRARY

### *Trotsky on Stalin*

BY BERTRAM D. WOLFE

ALL literature there is no more dramatic relation between author and subject than in this biography of Joseph Stalin by Leon Trotsky.<sup>1</sup> It is like Robespierre doing a life of Fouché, Kurbsky of Ivan the Terrible, Muenzer of Martin Luther, Sathanas of the Archangel Michael . . . with the world still beset with controversy as to which was Prince of Heaven and which Lord of the Powers of Darkness.

The hero, or anti-hero, of this biography has already after his own fashion done a life of his biographer: in the purge trials; in the burning of a succession of official party histories and the ultimate dictating of his own; in the retroactive editing of his past and Trotsky's on a scale possible only to the master of a state which possesses a monopoly alike of the produc-

tion and distribution of goods and of the production and distribution of ideas. In Stalin's history of the Party Trotsky is drawn as "Judas Iscariot" betraying Lenin, opposing the Revolution of 1917 with which he somehow got identified, attempting to surrender the new Soviet state to Germany early in 1918, directing the bullet which struck Lenin down later in the same year, trying his hardest to lose the Civil War, and thereafter engaging in "the betrayal of state secrets and the supply of information of an espionage character to foreign espionage services, the vile assassination of Kirov, acts of wrecking, diversion and explosions, the dastardly murder of Menzhinsky, Kuibyshev and Gorky — all these and similar villainies over a period of twenty years."

Trotsky's *Stalin* is only fully understandable when we bear in mind that it is Trotsky's rejoinder, his last word in defense of his own career and in

<sup>1</sup> STALIN: *An Appraisal of the Man and His Influence* by Leon Trotsky. Edited and translated from the Russian by Charles Malamuth. \$5. Harper.

BERTRAM D. WOLFE has known personally both Trotsky and Stalin as well as other Soviet leaders, and has made three visits to Russia totaling more than two years. He also established and directed the Tass Bureau in Mexico. At present Mr. Wolfe is writing a triple biography of Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin to be published under the title, *Three Who Made a Revolution*. He is also the author of *Diego Rivera: His Life and Times and other works on Latin America*.

indictment of his powerful antagonist. A good part of it is chapter and verse refutation of Stalin's official and originally anonymous *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*. Many arid pages are devoted to a detailed re-examination of the actual record, a resurrection of suppressed and flouted documents, an interminable going over the lists of committees in charge of this and that to show that they did not always consist of Lenin and Stalin alone, that Stalin's name was as a rule not even in second place, that often it did not figure in the list at all.

"History is becoming clay in the hands of the potter," exclaims Trotsky. But how different would his tone have been, how much more scornful and devastating his invective, had he known that he was quarreling not with the will-less potter's wheel, but with the potter himself. If he had lived until January 20, 1946, he would have learned from the columns of *Pravda* that Stalin is himself the author of this strange work of historical falsification, endless self-quotation and self-glorification, and that the anonymous *History* first published in 1938 will soon appear as Volume XV of Joseph Stalin's sixteen-volume *Collected Works*!

Read thus together, both Stalin's *History* and Trotsky's biography of Stalin take on enormously more meaning, tension and intellectual excitement. Many an obscure passage, so trivial-seeming that one wondered why Stalin even put it into a book, suddenly reveals itself as a cover for

something far from trivial. The episodes and passages in which Stalin's undocumented assertions seem wildest and most nonsensical turn out to be the places in Trotsky's book where the documents speak most eloquently. Even as these two men were polar opposites bound to each other by antagonistic energies in a single, highly charged magnetic field, so their two books are inseparably bound together as polar complements of each other.

## II

As befits a volume thus conceived in controversy, the manuscript of Trotsky's *Stalin* has had a stormy history. Some of the source material was lugged by its author across Siberia to exile in remote Alma Ata, then to Turkey, Norway, France, Mexico, as he was driven from land to land. The book was written in a semi-fortress home in peaceful-seeming Coyoacan, behind heavily barred doors, guarded by Mexican police and pistol-carrying disciples, beneath specially constructed turrets on which machine guns were mounted. Work on the later chapters was pressed unremittingly in a conscious race with death, after the home had been broken in by Mexican Communists disguised as police, the bed where Trotsky and his wife had been sleeping a moment before riddled with machine gun bullets, his grandson Seva wounded and his secretary-guard, Sheldon Harte, carried off and murdered. "Stalin

strike again," said the author, knowing his subject and knowing how anxious the latter was to prevent his giving his testimony to the world.

A few months later, the long arm of the GPU reached again into his home, by guile this time, and plunged a short-handled alpine pick into his pulsing brain. "On August 20, 1940," writes translator-editor Charles Malamuth, "Trotsky was struck a mortal blow on the back of his head with a pickaxe and his brain wrenched out while he was reading a manuscript. . . . That is why this and other portions of this book remain unfinished."

Seven chapters (out of twelve), and all three appendices, had been completed, translated, and the translation checked by Leon Trotsky. Thereafter the translator, whom Death had transformed into editor, constructed the remaining five chapters out of notes, hints, work sheets, and unfinished fragments. Even if the author had lived to finish it, the work would have suffered from a certain imbalance since Trotsky was more interested in the formative period that made Stalin's character, and in the devices by which he rose to power, than in the uses he made of his power once it was complete and all opponents eliminated. But the pathetic ending of the manuscript in the middle of a sentence adds to the imbalance.

The later chapters, reconstructed like a broken mosaic by Charles Malamuth, are a marvel of patient care and insight. Yet the scope and the sparkle

and polish that Trotsky was wont to give to his finished work are lacking. Here and there the connective passages supplied by the editor — always scrupulously marked off by square brackets — reveal Malamuth's prejudice in favor of democracy rather than Trotsky's prejudice against it. To Trotsky's wife and political heirs a few of these interpolations seemed so alien to the spirit of the original that they were preparing to bring suit to enjoin Harper from publishing, when suddenly the publishing house itself decided that it was not "timely" to let the American people know all they could possibly learn about the man who had just become our ally. So, while Ambassador Davies and others of his school were painting Joseph Stalin as a gentle, pipe-puffing soul at whose feet dogs loved to lie and on whose knees children loved to coo, this well documented, revealing picture was withheld from us for four long years. Whatever its deficiencies, it would have been worth a thousand Davies and Durantys in those war years. This incident, and many like it, should make us reconsider the system of "voluntary censorship" with its amateur judgments by countless censors who are without responsibility to the citizenry and beyond the reach of public protest.

Nor does that end the vicissitudes of the ill-fated work. On page 399 Trotsky wrote:

The part of the Oppositionist writings that I managed to bring out with me at the time of my expulsion to Turkey is now

in the Harvard Library and *at the disposal of all those who may be interested in studying the record of that remarkable struggle by going to the original sources.* [Italics are mine.]

Alas, poor dead man, unable to defend his will! At this writing the Harvard Library has clapped a twenty-five year seal upon these documents — strange fate for the papers of one who once electrified the world by broadcasting the secret treaties of his country and its allies in the midst of war. It is to be hoped that Harvard will soon follow the example of Harper's in giving the American people the right of access to such important material concerning an ally with whom we must cooperate in peace as in war.

### III

Leon Trotsky was a born writer (his earliest underground name was *Pero* — the Russian word for "pen"), with a strong sense of literary form and a fastidious pride in every line he wrote. Doubtless he would have worked hard to make this book, so important to him, more nearly equal to his best. But, in any case, the finished portions betray that it would have sagged far below his masterpieces, *The Year 1905* and *The History of the Russian Revolution*. The completed chapters are inferior, too, to the finished portions of a life of Lenin, likewise interrupted by death. This *Stalin* is not done — to put it mildly — *con amore*, but as a disagreeable duty by one with an

obvious distaste for the machinations and falsifications which he feels obliged to follow with such painful and painstaking detail. The very grossness of Stalin's invective has impelled Trotsky, himself an undoubted master of powerful invective, to assume an unwonted dry and colorless restraint. Moreover, he is haunted by the fear that the unthinking and unconcerned will attribute his book to hate rather than a desire to restore the erased outlines of historical truth.

At times grudgingly, at times freely, Trotsky concedes to Stalin whatever strong points he can: "indomitable will (a will that always immeasurably surpassed his intellectual powers); firmness of character and action; grit; stubbornness; and to a certain extent even his slyness . . . ruthlessness and conniving, attributes indispensable in the struggle" with an enemy class; "personal courage; cold persistence and practical common sense."

But the mainspring of Stalin's personality Trotsky finds to be "love of power, ambition, envy — active, never-slumbering envy of all who were more gifted, more powerful, of higher rank than he."

Trotsky proves from incontestable documents that up to 1917 Stalin was not regarded as a leader, hardly even on a provincial scale, but as a second-string lieutenant, "a small time propagandist and organizer"; that in the fateful year 1917 when all the other leaders "went around with cracked voices" from addressing mass-

meetings Stalin proved lacking in the energy and eloquence to stir the people; that "he emerged from the Civil War as unknown and alien to the masses as he had from the October Revolution." Stalin's secret and spectacular rise to power, Trotsky maintains, "began only after it had become possible to harness the masses with the aid of the machine." Through it all Stalin remained "what he is to this day, a mediocrity, though not a nonentity," with an inherent political "caution" in making up his mind, an utter "lack of initiative, daring and originality . . . never anticipating anything, never running ahead of any one, preferring to measure ten times before cutting the cloth. Inside this revolutionist always lurked a conservative bureaucrat."

In this psychological analysis there are some major difficulties which Trotsky never succeeds in surmounting. How did this incurable "mediocrity" rise to the position of most powerful single individual on the face of the earth? This is a problem comparable to the one so many analysts of Hitler have left unsolved: after they have exhibited the Dictator of Berchtesgaden as ignorant, psychopathic, a mediocre misfit in private life, they are at a loss to explain what forces elevated such a man to leadership of a great and cultured nation. Trotsky rightly shifts his ground from the psychological to the sociological, but his sociological schemata hobble his analysis rather than guide it. As Trotsky sees it, "Thermidorean reac-

tion" was inevitable in Russia unless its revolution spread to the West. Stalin was "the best possible expression of this bureaucratic conservative reaction" and his rise to power inevitable, too. ("Lenin's recovery could not, of course, have prevented the superseding of the Revolution by the bureaucratic reaction. Krupskaya — Lenin's wife — had sound reasons for observing in 1926: 'If Volodya were alive he would be in prison now.'")

But how can one lead a struggle against reaction under the slogan that reaction is inevitable? How unleash the resources of moral condemnation upon a phenomenon as natural and unavoidable as an earthquake? Clearly it is one of the secrets of Trotsky's defeat in the struggle with his antagonist, as it is one of the deficiencies of the present book that its author's mind was paralyzed by this self-disarming dogma of "inevitability."

Akin to it is Trotsky's underestimation of the capacities of the man with whom he had to deal. Trotsky's Jewish heritage as a descendant of "the People of the Book"; his Marxist heritage as a disciple of the greatest sociological thinker of modern times; his literary heritage as a lover of the Russian tongue and master of the written word; his revolutionary heritage as the pre-eminent tribune of the people, able by flaming eloquence to stir the masses, hearten them to struggle, lift them outside their petty personal concerns to the level of action on the arena of history — all these combined to make Trotsky set the highest pos-

sible value upon ideas, originality and theoretical clarity in their formulation, exactness in their expression, eloquence in writing and in speech, contagious personal magnetism and attractive force. In these respects Stalin always was and remains to this day what Trotsky calls him: a gray and colorless mediocrity. But as the builder of a political machine, or, if not as builder, then as master of the art of winning such a machine once opportunity offered and of utilizing it for his purposes, as a manipulator of men and a master of the art of disposing of his forces, Stalin has had few equals. Certainly, Trotsky was not one of them. All his life, when he was apart from Lenin, he proved unable to build a machine. When he entered Lenin's machine, he had no talents for taking possession of it.

If he had lived until 1946, could he have continued to call the master of the greatest state machine in history a mere "mediocrity"? Could he have continued to insist that this dictator was "lacking in initiative, originality, and daring" and "ever prone to take the path of least resistance" while Stalin was surprising his hesitant, would-be allies by making a pact with Hitler to win without war a fifth of Europe; while he was contriving to hold the same gains with Allied sanction when Hitler had broken the pact; while, all through the war and the peace which followed, he was continuing to make gains and to face his Allies with a dizzying succession of audacious *faits accomplis*?

## IV

The central problem of this book and of Stalin's career is one which Trotsky repeatedly touches on, yet leaves unsolved. It is the problem of Stalin's relation to Lenin: to Lenin's, or we may properly say Lenin's and Trotsky's Revolution, and to Lenin's Party machine. "Stalin," writes Trotsky at one point, "represents a phenomenon utterly exceptional. He is neither a thinker, a writer nor an orator. He took possession of power not with the aid of personal qualities, but with the aid of an impersonal machine. And it was not he who created the machine but the machine that created him." What was there in that machine which could create a Stalin? The author nowhere in these pages asks the question clearly or clearly answers it.

Yet there was a time, back in 1904, when Trotsky rose to the heights of brilliant prophecy, and warned Lenin that the machine the latter was creating (undemocratic, centralized, ruled and directed from above, naming professional agents to run each local organization, which nominees would in turn assemble in convention to confirm the Central Committee which had named them) — that such a machine would inevitably breed personal dictatorship.

"The organization of the Party," warned Trotsky, "will take the place of the Party itself; the Central Committee will take the place of the organization; and finally, the dictator



will take the place of the Central Committee."

Why is it that in the present book Trotsky nowhere ventures to recall this brilliant example of scientific prophecy, so painfully verified by history? There are moments when that insight hovers on the threshold of consciousness. "In this connection," writes Trotsky at one point, "it is rather tempting to draw the inference that future Stalinism was already rooted in Bolshevik centralism, or, more sweepingly, in the underground hierarchy of professional revolutionaries." "Rather tempting" — but Trotsky refuses to be tempted.

When Trotsky and Lenin joined forces in 1917, it was on the basis of a political *quid pro quo*. Trotsky accepted once for all Lenin's machine, and Lenin accepted Trotsky's conception of the nature of the Russian Revolution. As Trotsky accepted Lenin's undemocratic machine, Lenin accepted Trotsky's no less undemocratic idea, first formulated in 1905, that the Russian Revolution might dispense with democracy and leap right over to a minority dictatorship by a single minority party acting in the name of a minority class.

An undemocratic machine to seize power and make an undemocratic revolution! That combination contained a mighty potential for totalitarianism: for a one-party dictatorship which would drain the soviets of their political content as parliaments of the working class; for a Central Committee dictatorship which would drain

the Party of its political content as forum for planning and discussion; for personal dictatorship which would drain the Central Committee of its political content as leading body of the Party. Even as Trotsky had predicted in 1904, so with the fatality of Greek tragedy did the drama unfold, until it ended for Trotsky with a pickaxe in the back of the brain.

But there was a complement to Trotsky's warning of 1904, a warning and prophecy uttered at the same time by Lenin against Trotsky's concept of an undemocratic revolution. Wrote Lenin against Trotsky in 1905: "Whoever attempts to achieve socialism by any other route than that of political democracy will inevitably arrive at the most absurd and reactionary results, both political and economic."

Also a brilliant foreseeing! But in 1917, when Lenin accepted Trotsky's concept of the Russian Revolution and Trotsky accepted Lenin's concept of the Party machine, they compounded each other's errors and raised the totalitarian potential to the second power. There was a world war on, and both men had reason to hope that a spread of the Russian Revolution to all warring countries might save Russia from the consequences which each of them had foreseen by halves. But in place of the World Revolution . . . came Stalin! That is the real meaning of Trotsky's "inevitability." Like a cuttlefish in a cloud of ink he shies away from its implications wherever they suggest themselves in these

pages. For he approaches Stalin as a loyal Leninist and Bolshevik, which reduces him, despite his angry scorn, to a species of loyal opposition. He dare not subject Lenin's machine to a real re-examination, that machine which lent itself so easily to the "usurpation" of "the driver's seat" by a totalitarian dictator; which even "created" that dictator; which, once such a man was in the driver's seat, became the juggernaut we know. And he dare not re-examine the seizure of power by a minority party in the name of a minority class or a fraction of that class, in November 1917. Only with this in mind can we understand how he can still describe the Russian totalitarian state as "a workers' state" albeit with "monstrous bureaucratic distortions." Only thus can we understand why he says that state ownership of all property, of the means of production of goods and the means of production of ideas, ownership by the state of the food, the jobs, the bodies and the minds of its subjects, is still "a progressive force."

The real deficiency of this book lies in the unconscious limitations that Trotsky has put upon his task of re-examination of the work of a lifetime. Those limitations reduce him from

the role of a genuine critic to the role of a pretender denouncing a usurper."

As a psychological and personal study of the dictator who was "created by the machine" and of the stratagems by which he contrived to "usurp the driver's seat," Trotsky's *Stalin* is sometimes brilliant and at all points highly informative and revealing. No one who would understand the character and actions of the man who wields greater power than any other on earth today can afford to miss this book. But those who would understand the most important problem of our time — the problem of democracy versus totalitarianism in a world that is moving everywhere towards greater collectivism and greater state intervention — will have to go beyond its pages. They provide only raw materials. For Trotsky is so contemptuous of democracy that he can think of nothing more devastating to say of the master totalitarian of today than this:

"A plebian democrat of the provincial type, armed with a rather primitive 'Marxist' doctrine — it was as such that he entered the revolutionary movement, and such in essence he remained to the very end. . . ."



Encl # 5

## THE LIBRARY

### *China's Fate*

BY BERTRAM D. WOLFE

BOOKS on China have a way of flowing in two divergent channels that have no point of contact with each other. On the one hand, there are the works of scholars — dependable, illuminating, and little read except by specialists; on the other hand, we have books by reporters and special pleaders — brash and arrogant, misleading, but popular in form and intended for wide distribution. The latest example of the former is the new edition of Kenneth Scott Latourette's already classic *The Chinese, Their History and Culture*;<sup>1</sup> and of the latter, *Thunder out of China*, by Theodore H. White and Annalee Jacoby, which is a Book-of-the-Month Club selection.<sup>2</sup>

Like most of the books of the second type, the new White-Jacoby work bears certain telltale stigmata: to wit, the Communists are "not really Communists" but "agrarian democrats"; they have no connection

with Moscow but make their own line; the ousting of the Japanese is made to seem all important to the integrity and independence of China, but not the ousting of the Russians; American troops should be withdrawn from Manchuria, but the Russian troops can stay in Port Arthur and Dairen for the ninety-nine years of their leasehold and the authors will do their demure best not to notice it.

A more serious difference between the two types of book is that the scholarly work is likely to recognize the Chinese Revolution as an attempt to transform China in terms of its own heritage, while the journalist's report ignores China's past and right to a development of her own, and treats the Chinese Revolution either as an obligation to "catch up" with Western civilization and Western institutions, or as an unduly slow and belated replica of the Russian Revolution. Formulas and prejudices and prescriptions are laid down for 400,000,000 people without so much as a

<sup>1</sup> \$7.00. Macmillan.

<sup>2</sup> \$3.00. William Sloane.

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BERTRAM D. WOLFE came to know personally a number of the Russian and Chinese Communist Party leaders referred to in this article during his visits to Moscow in the years 1924, 1928 and 1929. He is at present writing a triple biography of Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin.

hint that theirs is the largest body of mankind under one civilization in the world, a civilization that counts its years in millenniums of continuity whereas we or the Russians count in mere centuries. Neither humility nor knowledge is there to prompt the authors to ask what it is that China can and should — and doubtless will — preserve of its ancient heritage. Or what it can teach the West, whose physical and spiritual eruption into this mighty land has started it on one of the cruelest and most grandiose processes of transformation in the whole history of man.

Here is a people that traces the outlines of its present culture back beyond the second millennium before Christ; that in comparative homogeneity of blood and language and outlook and government has organized a larger number of human beings for a longer period than any nation in Europe, or all of them together, or than India, or Egypt, or America. The Chinese invented the art of writing while Rome was a barbarian village. They invented paper, printing, the compass, gunpowder (with the quaint notion that its highest use was in celebrating festivals!), while Western Europe, which was to make such startling and disturbing use of these inventions, was made up of nomadic tribes ranging the forests. They developed a great network of canals dug by the state (such as Peter the Great was to initiate in the eighteenth century and Stalin in the twentieth), somewhere in the dim past of the

Han dynasty before the Christian era, and lesser canals and irrigation and flood control works even earlier.

The Chinese discovered the laws of soil conservation, irrigation and intensive agriculture, and printed treatises thereon, a thousand years before the Germanic tribes learned to domesticate plants and animals. Even today, lacking our tools and science, a Chinese peasant gets a larger yield out of an acre of land than an American farmer, not to speak of a Russian *muzhik*. Contrary to the deluge of reports by our writers, which speak of "feudalism" and the need of "breaking up large estates" in China, there are almost no such estates in the Western sense of the term or in feudal dimensions. The Chinese abolished feudalism and hereditary aristocracy before the West had even devised those institutions. Some time before the third century B.C., they began to substitute for rule by hereditary lords a system of administration by a scholarly civil service based upon competitive examination and recruitment of the ablest, regardless of birth or status.

The chief agrarian problems of this overwhelmingly peasant land lie in the very success of this reform, which abolished feudal tenure and primogeniture and caused the land to be endlessly divided and subdivided. Not large estates, but little pocket-handkerchief farms too small to sustain a population which is denser in many rural areas than in the thickly populated cities of other lands — that is the basic agrarian problem of China.

Statistics vary from region to region, as does fertility, but more than 50 per cent of the farmers own their own land (even in our wealthy Iowa, more than 50 per cent are tenants), and the average size of a farm is estimated as four to five acres, which means that some large families have mere vegetable gardens of less than an acre to live on.

The area of China is approximately the same as that of the United States or the continent of Europe, including Russia; yet it has sheltered and supported (very badly, to be sure, during this recent fearful cycle of wars, invasions, civil wars and social transformation) a population nearly four times that of the United States, or approximately the same as that of all the busy countries of Europe put together. In that pressure of population on resources; in the eruption of the Western powers into China with the aid of superior material force; in the further weakening occasioned by civil war; in the need for industrialization and the acquisition of the military and mechanical aspects of the invading civilization in order to oust the invaders and restore China's dignity and independence — here lie the real problems of the Revolution. But no one of these makes it desirable for China to reject wholesale her remarkable ancient heritage — to throw out, as the saying goes, the baby along with the bathwater.

The very age of Chinese civilization, its early superiority and high achievements have tended to delay

and slow up the rate of change, and now make change more difficult, more necessary, and more sweeping and unsettling. Dr. Sun first became aware of the need of revolutionizing China when he saw the French slicing off its south lands, the Russians and the Japanese contending in the north over Manchuria, Mongolia, Korea and the Liaotang Peninsula (Port Arthur), and England and Germany cutting spheres from its central coastline. "The rest of mankind is the carving knife and the serving dish, while we are the fish and the meat," he cried in anguish. "We have the greatest population and the oldest culture. . . . But we have only familyism and clanism, there is no real nationalism. In spite of four hundred million people we are but a sheet of loose sand."

"Nationalism, Democracy, People's Livelihood" — these were Dr. Sun's famous "Three Principles of the People."<sup>3</sup> The first two were to give the people the same stake in the fate of the nation as they had in that of the clan and the family and the village. And as for "People's Livelihood," it was the old Confucian formula as to the true purpose of government, but it needed a new implementation through modern industry, enlarged productivity, improved transportation, and new methods of increasing and distributing wealth in a country in which "there are not

<sup>3</sup> *San Min Chu I*. (The Three Principles of the People.) Last Lectures by Dr. Sun Yat-sen. Translated into English by Frank W. Price. Ministry of Information of the Republic of China.

rich and poor; only poor and less poor."

"The purpose of my Three Principles," said Dr. Sun in lectures delivered while cancer was eating at his liver and he knew his time was running out, "is to elevate China to an equal position among the nations, so that she can permanently exist in the world."

While this attempt to save and transform a great nation is going on, the least that can be expected of allegedly sympathetic, or even reasonably informed and moderately humble reporters, is to recognize, along with the scholar Kenneth Scott Latourette, that "the Chinese culture whose disruption the present generation has witnessed, and the civilization of the West which brought about the revolution . . . are *both* notable achievements of the human genius, and it would be difficult to decide which is the more admirable."

And to recognize further, with the same author, that whatever its difficulties in meeting the needs of a modern industrialized and centralized state, "China's political structure has endured longer than any other ever devised by man, and, measured by the area and the number of people governed, was one of the most successful in history."

## II

When the historian of the future looks back upon our epoch, the men who may well loom largest are three

born within a half decade of each other: Lenin (1870); Gandhi (1869); and Sun Yat-sen (1866). Despite profound differences, these three will together be seen to have led one of the greatest movements in recorded history: the reawakening of the East. For thousands of years before Christ, China, India, and other empires of the nearer East were far ahead of the Western World. For a brief period in the tenth and eleventh centuries A.D., Russia, too (not the recent Russia centering around Moscow, but the older Ukrainian Russia centering around Kiev and deriving its civilization from Baghdad and Byzantium), was ahead of northwestern Europe. But thereafter, for three-quarters of a millennium, the current of historical dynamism shifted to the Atlantic seaboard, thence overseas to America, and ever westward until it had circled the globe and reawakened the slumbering East.

It was at this moment that the three were born who were destined to lead the great Eurasian plain of Russia with its over 150,000,000 people; the subcontinent of India with its 350,000,000; and the subcontinent of China with its 400 or 450,000,000.

It is impossible for a contemporary to give final judgment on the comparative greatness of these three. Will it correspond to the moral energies they released? Then the order of precedence may be: Gandhi, Sun, Lenin. The numbers they set in motion? That would make it Sun, Gandhi, Lenin. The power concen-

tration they built up within their own lifetime? That would put Lenin in first place.

Coming as I did to a recent book on the life of Sun Yat-sen<sup>4</sup> after prolonged preoccupation with the life of Lenin, I was struck by their differing approaches to the question of power as a key to the profound differences in rationale, in temperament and in "style" between the two men.

After being aroused by the slicing off of a piece of China by France in 1885 and after declaring war on the degenerate Manchu dynasty in 1895 for not being able to resist further encroachment by Japan and Russia, Dr. Sun engaged in no less than eleven fruitless insurrections before that of 1911 enabled him — to use Lenin's words — "to take power." Then his first proclamation to the people ended with words Lenin could never have uttered: "I, Sun Wen [a variant name of Sun Yat-sen], solemnly declare that I will resign as soon as these things have been accomplished." And resign he did, much sooner than he had promised. Within a month in fact, he had ceded the presidency to another because he thought it would prevent needless bloodshed.

A fool? The tragic decade and a half that remained to him almost made it seem that that surrender of power had negated his lifetime of effort. Local warlords sprang up; would-be emperors; *coups d'état*; attempted restorations. More than once

he fled the country and returned to start fresh uprisings. In 1921, elected president once more, his actual sovereignty was soon reduced to the deck of a single battleship and the command of two hundred sailors under his young chief of staff, Chiang Kai-shek. Yet that renunciation of power, that scrupulous attention to means employed, that touch of "Chinese style," had won him such prestige that his opponents, with guns trained upon his battleship, found it necessary to parley and offer life in return for the legal sanction that would come from his resignation. He answered:

In the age of tyrants, emperors could die for their country. Shall not presidents be allowed to die for their republic? . . . Only if the rebels are severely grief-stricken, shall I open negotiations with them.

In the end they were "grief-stricken" and the influence of Dr. Sun grew, so that at his death in 1925 his armies were already gathering under Chiang Kai-shek for the long-dreamed-of sweep to the north (1926-28) which was to lay the foundations for a united China and begin the expulsion of the invaders and their puppets, and the subjection of the local warlords.

Refusal to treat with rebels until they are "severely grief-stricken" cannot be dismissed as a mere idiosyncrasy of Dr. Sun's. That there is something profoundly Chinese about it was demonstrated afresh in 1936, when his successor, Chiang Kai-shek,

<sup>4</sup> *Sun Yat-sen, A Portrait*, by Stephen Chen and Robert Payne. \$3.00. John Day.



finding himself kidnapped by one of his subordinates, the young Manchurian warlord, Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang, refused to treat with his captor, demanding that the latter either slay him, or repent and sue for pardon. In the end, the young marshal humbly followed his late captive to Nanking to ask for punishment at his hands. From the "face" or prestige which Chiang won as a result of his conduct in that episode, no less than from his victories in the famous March to the North of 1926-28, came the authority which enabled him to unite all China, including hostile warlords and hostile Communists, in the eight terrible years when China had to suffer more and fight longer than any other country engaged in the late World War.

### • III

With the names of Gandhi, Lenin and Sun, three other names are intimately associated. Only time can answer fully the question: to what extent do Nehru, Stalin and Chiang Kai-shek represent continuity, to what extent departure from the aims and ideals of their respective "masters"? Though the evidence is not all in, it is already possible to say that Chiang is much closer to Dr. Sun than Stalin to Lenin; perhaps, too, than the socialistic and pro-industrialization Nehru is to the Gandhi who wished to exclude modern machinery from India. One has only to compare Chiang Kai-shek's wartime

speeches<sup>5</sup> with Stalin's<sup>6</sup> to see how much further the latter has departed from the outlook of his predecessor than Chiang from Sun Yat-sen's. Chiang's speeches, like Dr. Sun's, are grave and sententious, permeated by the ancient Chinese virtues of propriety, justice, loyalty and conscientiousness, quietly hopeful in the midst of apparent hopelessness, always concerned with the defense of Chinese integrity not only against the invader of the moment but against all invaders, and with resistance as but one phase of reconstruction. There is in them no single utterance which would have stuck in Dr. Sun's throat, as innumerable utterances of Stalin during the war would have choked Lenin. Certainly we cannot imagine the Chiang of these speeches addressing any words to the ruler of Japan such as Stalin did to the Nazi leaders during the period of the pact with Hitler for the partition of Poland: "The friendship of the peoples of Germany and the Soviet Union, cemented in blood, will long endure." (Telegram from Stalin to von Ribbentrop on Stalin's birthday. The "blood," of course, was Polish blood.)

The historian of the future could determine the extent of Stalin's rupture with the early anti-imperialism of Lenin by comparing Lenin's words on the Far East in 1904-05 and in 1917 with Stalin's words and deeds in present-day China. Thus, when the

<sup>5</sup> *The Collected Wartime Messages of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, 1937-45.* \$7.50. John Day.

<sup>6</sup> *The Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union*, by Joseph Stalin. \$1.75. International Publishers.

Tsar lost Port Arthur in the War of 1904-05, Lenin wrote an article beginning: "The proletariat has every reason to rejoice. . . ." How strange this sounds placed alongside Marshal Stalin's "Victory Address" of September 2, 1945, when Manchuria again fell into the Russian sphere, along with Northern Korea, Dairen and Port Arthur:

The defeat of the Russian troops in 1904 left grave memories in the minds of our peoples. It was a dark stain on our country. Our people trusted and waited for the day when Japan would be routed and the stain wiped away. For forty years have we, men of the older generation, waited for this day. . . .

Or the historian could compare Marshal Stalin's actions in Persia, Turkey, East Prussia and China with the bitter attack of Lenin on the Kerensky government in July 1917, because it had not repudiated the Tsarist claims "or even published the secret treaties of a frankly predatory nature, concerning the partitioning of Persia, the robbery of China, of Turkey, the annexation of East Prussia. . . ."

Indeed, the true metal of many a more subtle book than that of White and Jacoby is revealed by the simple acid test of an author's attitude towards the Tsar's seizure and Stalin's reseizure of Port Arthur. Here, for instance, is Foster Rhea Dulles' account of the two events.<sup>7</sup> The original act:

Russia exacted leaseholds at Port Arthur

and Talienwan, the very territory from which she had warned Japan three years earlier, as part of her program to make Manchuria a Russian sphere of influence.

And the reassertion of the Tsar's claim by Stalin:

The concessions China had made were important and far-reaching. They did not, however, involve the sacrifice of sovereignty, which had characterized those exacted by Tsarist Russia. The treaty as a whole was a further guarantee of China's political and territorial integrity.

We wonder how Mr. Dulles would like to test that theory of Chinese sovereignty by trying to fly in a Chinese government plane over the guns of the fortress of Port Arthur!

The White-Jacoby book employs a cruder form of double standard: it explains away all the virtues of the Central government that have to be admitted, and explains away all the deficiencies and vices of the Communists which cannot be ignored. However, the trusting reader does not have to wait for these curious exercises in apologetics in order to know whom to applaud and whom to hiss. As in the stock-company melodrama the villain is known by his oily black moustache and the hero by his honest, blond, smooth-shaven features, so the authors give you a key as they introduce each character: "A slim, cold-eyed Chekiang youth named Chiang Kai-shek"; "his brittle wife, Mrs. Chiang"; "a gimlet-eyed character called Chiang Ting-weng." And on the other side: "Mao Tse-tung, a round, unlined, curiously serene face, more vivid and more given to broad smiles

<sup>7</sup> *China and America, The Story of Their Relations Since 1784*, \$2.75, Princeton.

than the disciplined countenance of Chiang Kai-shek"; "Huang Chen, the ruddy-faced, hardy defender of the North"; "the handsome, dark-eyed insurrectionary of the North, General Chou En-lai."

One is never in doubt for a moment, unless one doubts the integrity of authors who would use such devices on their readers.

#### IV

Are the Chinese Communists really Communists or something else? Do they have an organic tie-up with Russia? Do they practice terror and one-party dictatorship where they rule? Are they a Russian fifth column for the disintegration of China? When they call for the withdrawal of American troops, who are temporary and want no territory in China, do they also call for the withdrawal of Russian troops, who are permanent (ninety-nine years) and have taken territory? These are the questions which books of the White-Jacoby type neither clearly ask nor honestly answer.

The Chinese Communist Party was originally organized by Russian agents with Russian money (Vytinsky, Litnovsky, Malin, Borodin and others). After its formation in 1921, Moscow allotted it a monthly subsidy of \$12,000 American. It joined the Kuomintang on Russian orders, split the Kuomintang in two on Russian orders, withdrew from both sections on Russian orders, attempted insurrections in Shanghai and Canton under

the direct leadership of Russian and other Comintern agents. Thus the Canton uprising of 1928 was directed by the Russian (Georgian) Lominadze, the German Heinz Neumann, and the onetime Hungarian Minister of War Pogany (pseudonym: John Pepper). The military command of the insurrection was in the hands of a Russian officer, Vytinsky.

The Sixth Congress of the Chinese Party (in 1928, the last time that this "democratic" party ever held a congress) was actually held in Moscow. Stalin personally decided the main questions. It was always in Moscow that its leaders were selected, trained, removed, purged. Chen Tu-hsiu, its leader until 1928, was also a member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. Li Li-san was his chief assistant. Both were removed on Stalin's order in 1928, and replaced by the present leader, Mao Tse-tung. Chen was expelled and Li Li-san was kept in exile in Moscow for over fifteen years. All of the Party's leaders have been, and still are, commuters between Moscow and China. All this is a matter of record.

For a number of years this Party tried to base itself on the Chinese working class and to set up a proletarian dictatorship. Finally defeated in Canton in 1928, the Communists fled to Central China. That is why they became "agrarian Communists," *i.e.*, tried to set up peasants' instead of workers' soviets. When they could no longer hold out there, they fled to the Far Northwest, to be nearer to Rus-

sian-dominated Mongolia and Turkestan and the Russian border. This forced march to the Russian border is what is described by White and Jacoby as a virtual "severing of ties" with Moscow!

The Communists' arrival in Yenan coincided with a turning point both in their own history and in the party line. By now they had become an independent organization; their ties with Moscow were nominal.

While the Comintern was introducing its new line of "popular front" governments, support of democracy, and "collective security," and while Japan and Russia were engaged in undeclared border skirmish warfare, the Chinese Communists received instructions to propose to the Central Government a united front in the latter's struggle against Japan. Here is an authoritative summary, from the *China Year Book, 1938-9*, of some of the Communists' written proposals of 1937:

1. The Chinese Soviet Government shall henceforth be known as the Government of the Special Area of the Republic of China, which shall be under the control of the National Government and the National Military Council.
2. In their territory, a democratic system shall obtain. . . .
3. All activities to overthrow the National Government shall cease. . . .

The government accepted these proposals, designated the Chinese Red Army as the Eighth Route Army, admitted the Communist Party into an Advisory Grand Council of all political parties. But the armies never

obeyed orders, the Party never abandoned its one-party government, never permitted the Central government to publish or distribute its press in Communist territory (though the Communist press was permitted in Chungking). Instead, in confidential instructions to its functionaries, the Party explained:

To establish a democratic republic is the present strategy of the Chinese Communist Party, and its tactics are to carry on civil wars and to cooperate with the Kuomintang . . . for the present circumstances require a temporary compromise. . . . To give up temporarily the revolutionary régime is merely a change of name and a preparation for a greater victory in the future. . . . Our compromise is designed to weaken the Kuomintang, and to overthrow the National government. . . . In reality, the Red Army should maintain its independent existence. . . ."<sup>8</sup>

However, the Communists did cooperate with the Central government in fighting the Japanese . . . but only until Stalin signed the pact with Hitler in 1939. Thereafter, the Chinese Communists, like all Communist Parties, praised the pact, denounced England and the United States as imperialist warmongers, and limited their military activities to trying to capture territory from the National government. Early in 1941, when the Russians signed a similar pact with Japan, the Chinese Communists approved this, too, even though the pact recognized the Japanese puppet state of Manchukuo (*i.e.*, Manchuria).

<sup>8</sup> *Present Strategy and Tactics of the Chinese Communist Party*. Yenan 1937. Further extracts from this book can be found in the *Congressional Record* for July 26, 1946, "Extension of Remarks of Clare Boothe Luce."

That is the true measure of their "independence" from Russia, and the test of where their true loyalties lie.

Once more, when Hitler attacked Russia in June 1941, the Chinese Communists ceased their attacks on the Chinese government. But late in 1943, when Stalin felt that in the end the war would be won, the Russian press resumed its attacks on the Chinese government, and the Chinese Communists did the same.

The rest of the story — our shameful secret agreement at Yalta to hand over predominance in Manchuria, Northern Korea, Port Arthur and Dairen to the Russians; the moving of the Chinese Communists into Manchuria under the protection of the Russian troops, and the subsequent struggles and negotiations — is too recent to need repeating. Russia intervened hastily in the war in the East, after Japan asked it to use its good offices for peace, precisely in order to move into Manchuria. The Chinese government was thus caught by surprise, with its best armies outside the country, loaned to us for the Burma campaign. Transporting them to occupy territory over which the Russians have by treaty recognized their authority, that is the pitiful extent of our so-called aid to our ally whose troops we had previously taken to Burma. And already Mr. Truman has made the same shameful mistake in China, of refusing to sell arms to a government we legally recognize, which Mr. Roosevelt made during the Spanish Civil War.

Mao Tse-tung, Chou En-lai, his wife, Teng Yung-choo, Chen Shao-yu and other Communists, who were admitted by Chiang Kai-shek into the advisory People's Political Council, continue to take their orders from Moscow.

The first two are still shuttling back and forth, and Li Li-san, purified of political heresy by fifteen years of exile in Moscow, has been sent by the "non-existent" Comintern back to China, as Dimitroff has been sent to Bulgaria and Togliatti to Rome, with the latest orders. Indeed, the constant demand of Mao and Chou for the withdrawal of our temporary forces from China and their tomblike silence on the presence of a vast permanent Russian army of occupation speak for themselves. It is not hard for the least informed American to judge between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party, between Mao Tse-tung and Chiang Kai-shek on this simple and all important basis: the one stands for the unity and territorial integrity and independence of China; the other is a puppet of a foreign power, which today as in the times of the Tsars stands at Port Arthur and Dairen, is infiltrating into the richest province of China, Manchuria, and has even gone beyond the Tsar in lopping off Mongolia. "The purpose of my Three Principles," said Dr. Sun, "is to elevate China to an equal position among the nations, in international affairs, in government, and in economic life, so that she can permanently exist in the

world." Today, as when he pronounced them, these words are valid still.

So far, China's nationalism has been a benign nationalism, an awakening of national self-consciousness and the desire for national freedom. But if Russia's return to the seizure of treaty ports, spheres, concessions, extraterritoriality, and foreign policing armies, is imitated by the other great powers (*facilis descensus Averno*, how easy is the relapse into imperialism), then will this nationalism be exacerbated by another half century of struggle until it becomes chauvinism? Then, equipped with modern arms and modern industry, China's 400,000,000 — perhaps reinforced by India's 350,000,000 and other peoples of Asia — will give that lesser peninsula called Europe, even including Russia, cause to tremble.

Or will this mighty land, demoralized and torn by its fifth-column puppet army and puppet government, be absorbed into the Russian orbit which already stretches from the Baltic-Trieste line to the Pacific? Will the United States be so parsimonious and so timorous in its legitimate help to the ally that suffered most in the late war that it repeats the error it made in Spain, thus making another world war an increasing certainty? Will the government ever get the

rails laid down which the Communists keep blowing up, so that industrialization of China and an increase of "the people's livelihood" become a reality? Will the Civil War be terminated by the Communists' consenting (with Russia's consent) to become a political party, like any other, taking its chances with the vote of the people in a unified China able to settle issues by the methods of democracy, free from the arbitrament of guns?

Despite all the deliberate fog spread by books like *Thunder Out of China* these issues are so simple and so overwhelming that there can be no real doubt as to the desirable outcome. And any honest history of China's forty centuries, like Latourette's, encouraging us to take a long view of this people, that has successfully surmounted foreign invasion and domestic discord for four thousand years, will give hope that the profound transformation the country is going through "will prove the birth pangs of a new and greater China." In that case, China will succeed in incorporating the best features of Western institutions and industry with all that is worthy in its ancient heritage, contributing therefrom to the West as well. For the revolution Dr. Sun dreamed of can be summed up in the Pauline motto: "Prove all things, and hold on to that which is good."

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### THE RISE AND FALL OF THE COMINTERN

by **BERTRAM D. WOLFE**

IN THE endless stalemate of the third year of World War I, the Russian Revolution and its offspring, the Communist International, seemed to millions to be man's best hope. They would provide a people's road to peace and freedom. No more wars would be fought for markets and profits (no one thought then of wars fought for naked power). Man would no longer be subject to his own creation, the machine. A new type of humanity would develop, free from the need of policy or compulsion; the state would wither away; man himself would become the measure of all things and his dignity and freedom and further development the test of each act and institution.

Attracted by that bright promise

amidst the murk of war were the best, the most generous-visioned; those most impatient with a world of monstrous evil and most ardent in their love of equality, freedom, brotherhood, justice. These turned their faces towards the new light in the East. Braving innumerable perils, breaking their way through walls of bayonets of the *cordon sanitaire*, they put gifts of courage, devotion, intelligence, dreams at the service of the world revolution.

Since then a quarter century has elapsed. The revolutions that were to have constituted "the final conflict" have all ended in defeat or, worse, in miscarriage. There has been a second war, more terrible and more nearly total than the first. The model anti-imperialist revolution which began bravely by renouncing all "tsarist booty" has ended by seizing it all back again, and more. The upheaval which was to have made "every cook

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**BERTRAM D. WOLFE** has known personally Stalin, Trotsky and a number of other Soviet Communist leaders. He has visited Communist Russia three times, in 1924, 1928 and 1929, spending a total of more than two years time in the country. A longtime student of Communism, he is at present engaged in writing a "triple biography" of Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin, to be called *Three Who Made a Revolution*.



a master of the affairs of state" has made the state the master of the affairs of every cook. The new order that was to have brought growing equality and freedom moves visibly towards ever greater inequality and ever more atrocious unfreedom. In the form of forced labor it has restored slavery on a scale unknown since the Pharaohs built the pyramids. The state which was to have withered away grows each year more distended, more completely master of thought as well as action, its police more numerous and ruthless, its personal ruler more absolute. It is the individual whose stature has withered while the state has swollen to totality: "All for and through the state, nothing against the state, nothing outside the state." And wherever its "liberating" armies have appeared, there it has begotten a puppet total state in its own image, ruled by its secret police and by obedient Comintern agents who have somehow survived the defeats, the purges, and the transformation and "dissolution" of the International.

That voluntary association of free and rebellious spirits has developed with a strange and tragic fatality into the monstrous opposite of all its founders dreamed of. The founders themselves are gone, their very names besmirched, often their lives taken by the agencies they created. The brave new parliament of fighting and thinking representatives has long since ceased to debate issues or decide them by collective wisdom. One infallible, omnipotent *Vozhd* (Leader), thinks

for all and decides for all. Theirs but the task of discussing how best to carry out his will, how to sense it, courtier-like, when it is cryptically expressed or before it is expressed, how to distribute the blame among themselves when the infallible (as in the Stalin-Hitler pact) has been in grievous error. Such monolithic conformity — that of a piece of granite and not of a living body of men — has made debates and congresses even more superfluous. And one day in 1943, the "best disciple" who so solemnly over Lenin's dead body had proclaimed: "We swear to thee, Comrade Lenin, to devote our lives to the enlargement and strengthening of the Communist International," decreed that body's dissolution without so much as consulting its parties.

What were the causes, what the stages of this startling transformation? Has the International really been dissolved? What has happened to the men who brought it into being? How do those agents of the Comintern who have survived defeats, disillusion and purge now operate? How does a Duclos, who knows nothing of America or of English, get the power to make the American Communists interrupt their unanimous hosannas to Earl Browder and just as unanimously expel him as a renegade and agent of Wall Street? What are the threads that connect Manuilsky (the Russian overseer of the Comintern who replaced Lenin, Trotsky, Bukharin, Zinoviev) with his instruments and agents in other lands: with Pieck

and Ulbricht in Germany, Thorez and Duclos in France, Dimitrov in Bulgaria, Togliatti in Italy, Tito in Yugoslavia, Mao Tze-tung in China? (Like Manuilsky, they too have replaced the original founders of their parties.) What was the effect of the purges upon the functioning of the Communist International? What mechanism now spreads the deadly infection of this "dissolved" and disintegrating organism? What is the real nature of the body which has disappointed so many hopes for the future of those who brought it into being?

*Pattern for World Revolution*, by "Ypsilon" [\$3.50. Ziff-Davis], is an attempt to tell the inside story of the rise and fall of the Communist International, to analyze the process of its metamorphosis, and to answer the above questions. It is an amazing, colorful, incredible and deeply moving story. Amazing and incredible because the truths of our day — crown jewels used to finance revolutionary parties; a bomb planted in the Sophia Cathedral; purge of all the Russian founders save one who died too soon; German Communists as trustees in Hitler's concentration camps; slave labor in the name of workers' rule — are all stranger than the wildest imaginings of fiction. Deeply moving because the authors are men who have given the best years of their lives and the deepest of their loyalties to the Communist International — all the more moving because they strive to preserve an air

of detachment and to keep tight rein on their emotions as they tell the wild and strange truths that have no need of emotional embellishment to stir the reader.

This is an "inside job," a story told by men who not only gave their hearts and minds to the International on the day it was founded but who fought in its battles, served in its secret apparatus of agents and directors, carried out its dangerous and difficult missions in many lands of Europe, followed its development and degeneration with the anguish of men following the disintegration of their own spirit. Even now, after their separation from it, they have never lost touch with its affairs: they follow the latest actions of a Dimitrov, an Ulbricht, a Duclos with the intimate insight and sense of involvement of men whose being is so largely interwoven with the fate of the organization they served so long. Because it is an inside story, there are revelations in it that no mere documentary study like Borkenau's *World Communism* can possibly give. Neither Souvarine nor Angelica Balabanoff, who left the Comintern much earlier and watched its degeneration from afar, nor Kravchenko and Barmine, to whom it was never much more than a resounding name, can possibly give such insights or tell such strange tales. The historians of the future will more frequently consult this book to get a key to the most dynamic force of our time than they will any other work so far published.

The signature, "Ypsilon," is of course a pseudonym. In view of the fate of others who have tried to tell us the truth concerning an instrumentality which set out to serve, then to master mankind, the anonymity is understandable. Moreover, it has a further appropriateness, for these were not top leaders but agents who, in the words of Auden, "made it their mature ambition to think no thought but ours, to hunger, work illegally, and be anonymous."

There are two authors. Without seeking to violate their anonymity, it is easy to deduce from the text that we are hearing from men who were young when the Communist International was born. They joined immediately in the formation of their respective Communist Parties; before long were sent as delegates to Russia; knew the Comintern when its offices and congresses were inside the Kremlin; lived with other representatives in the fabulous Hotel Lux and witnessed its Decameron episodes of political intrigue, personal quarrels, love affairs; participated in the sessions of the Executive Committee of the Communist International; served on committees to supervise and guide Parties; went on difficult missions to various capitals in Europe; formed part of that camaraderie of Moscow agents with whom they exchanged ideas and accounts of their adventures.

One of the authors is of a more

reflective type, with a gift for turning a good metaphysical phrase and a desire to give their whole experience philosophical meaning; the other is more earthy, more proletarian, apparently more "Left" in the traditional sense of that term. They have tried hard to re-examine their old viewpoints, but here and there they still cling unconsciously to unexamined fragments. Thus, when they tell how the Comintern made the error of supporting Pilsudski in 1926 "against the *reactionary* peasant government of Witos," a little further thought would have shown them that it was Pilsudski who represented reaction. One of the authors, who seems to know the Balkans exceptionally well from first hand, contributes a fantastically false picture of Tito's rise to power as a "*sans culotte* revolution" gone wrong, a picture which, by the time of the Stalin-Hitler pact and Tito's rise through Great Power manipulations, had become a complete anachronism.

One of the writers seems to have a special love for Prague, a mellow memory of its beer and lovely landscape and *Gemütlichkeit*; an intimate mixture of amused disdain and affection for the old Czech leader Smeral (who could not save his party from ruin because he had taken a solemn oath to Lenin "never to go against the Bolsheviks"); and an unlimited admiration for that sterling character who may yet save Czechoslovakia if Czechoslovakia can be saved: the Good Soldier Schweik.

Thus a detective armed with the weapons of textual criticism might gradually reconstruct a fair profile of each author. What is important, however, is not their identity, but the patent fact that they were on the inside of so many happenings, committees, congresses, missions, and are able to give accounts of things which hitherto could only be conjectured vaguely even by those who, like the reviewer, have followed the doings of the Comintern most closely.

Several other agents of comparable rank have contributed to "Ypsilon's" account their own reminiscences. There are sections from the "Journal of Comrade X," who spent long years in Moscow, followed closely the controversies in the French, German and Russian Parties, saw the purges from close up, and was intimate with Bukharin, the Comintern's leading theoretician after Lenin's death and the author of its program. And there are other sections from "The Memoirs of Comrade Y," a German of socialist parentage, who became a confidential financial agent for the International, his introduction to his task being a glimpse of "a blinding hoard of riches — golden thrones . . . heaps of precious stones, ikons laminated with gold and studded with jewels. . . ." His experiences in financing Parties, attempting to check on defalcations, watching the use of money to overcome political differences and the degenerative effects of subsidies on Parties which should have depended upon and been under

the control of their own members, are among the most illuminating pages.

Though the two directly responsible for the book now live in the United States, they, as well as "Comrade X" and "Comrade Y," seem to understand little about America. An unconscious feeling of European superiority and belief in the universality of formulas derived from the European scene have prevented them from realizing that underneath the struggle of personalities in the American Communist Party at one time lay real issues concerning dual unionism, attitudes towards a third party or farmer-labor party, efforts to discover the ways in which the American economic, political and social structure differed from that of Europe. Their remarks on Latin American Communism are even less illuminating. But the American fellow traveler they seem to have met and argued with and learned to understand: many will blush as they come upon their naked images in *Pattern for World Revolution*.

III

Most sensational and most illuminating for the future historian is "Ypsilon's" play-by-play account of the desperate "game of poker" played by the Soviet Red Army and the German Army. The game began in 1921 and thereafter was played for high stakes with varying turns of fortune. When the Allies in 1921 delivered an ultimatum to Germany

to close down German aviation factories and other war industries, Count Brockdorff-Rantzau, ambassador in Moscow, General von Seeckt, head of the Reichswehr, and Walter Rathenau, Foreign Minister, secretly proposed to set up arms factories in Russia, furnish the technical know-how, the engineers, and instructors for the Red Army, in return for the secret delivery of a portion of the output to the German Army. The Russian negotiators were Trotsky, as head of the Red Army, some members of his staff, Chicherin as Foreign Commissar, and Radek as expert on Germany and unofficial propagandist for both the Foreign Office and the Comintern. The negotiations began, of course, only after they had received the approval of Lenin:

Chicherin was aware that Brockdorff-Rantzau had come to Moscow in order to prepare Germany's revenge against the Allies. Brockdorff-Rantzau was equally aware that the Soviet Government regarded Germany as only a springboard for world revolution . . . Rathenau dreamed of a reconciliation of Germany with the West as soon as the West saw that it was threatening to play with Moscow. . . .

Radek played the part of his life. With the heads of the German bourgeoisie he negotiated a pact of friendship . . . with the heads of the Communist Party the means to bring the same government down in the shortest time. With the Chairman of the German General Electric he discussed the improvement of German-Russian business relations. With the Communists he went into the chances of a general strike in Germany. With General Seeckt he conferred on how to expand the secret military connections between Ger-

many and Russia . . . with his comrades how to break the power of the German army. . . .

A desperate poker game indeed, with the stakes the European Heartland, the fate of Germany and Russia. With tenacious skill and intimate knowledge the authors trace the varying fortunes of the opposing gamblers: how the Russians took a high trick at Genoa and the Germans (Rathenau's faction) at Locarno; how in 1923 von Seeckt made good his threat that he would not permit the victory of the Communist Party in Germany; how Stalin forced the German Communists to remain passive and fight the Socialists rather than the Nazis from 1929 to 1933 because he gambled on the German generals' preventing Hitler from taking power; how Hitler purged General von Schleicher and Stalin Marshal Tukhashevsky, largely as a sequel to this secret game; how Stalin nearly lost everything in playing what he thought was the trump card of a pact with Hitler; how he continues the game now with a superior hand in the form of the *Sozialistische Einheitspartei*; and the League of German Officers headed by Reichswehr Marshals von Paulus and von Seydlitz and other General Staff members. No one who would understand the last two decades can afford to miss this account.

#### IV

Many strange and exciting adventures are scattered like brilliantly colored beads throughout the book, but all

are strung on a somber central thread: the story of the rise and fall of the Comintern. Now in retrospect that story has about it the foreknown and inevitable fatality of a Greek tragedy.

The Comintern was born in the minds of two people simultaneously: Lenin and Rosa Luxemburg. The former represented a band of conspirative professional revolutionaries, nurtured in the Russian underground, where doctrinaire splits concerning how the masses should be approached and organized came naturally, there being no mass parties in Russia. His whole life was founded on the belief that the masses could be directed, commanded, manipulated by resolute leaders. And behind him, after 1917, was all the prestige that comes from success. But Rosa Luxemburg came from a mass party and had a different attitude. She longed for a new International organization as passionately as Lenin, but thought of it as being organized at the end of a long process of convincing and winning the masses.

When Lenin issued his call for the Comintern in December 1918, Rosa Luxemburg's fight for the soul of the masses had just begun. She warned of the consequences and resolutely opposed the immediate founding of a new International. However, none of the leaders of the newly formed Communist Party of Germany, even then engaged in a revolutionary struggle, felt able to leave for Moscow. In place of Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxem-

burg, Leo Jogiches or Paul Levi, they sent young Eberlein with categorical instructions to vote no. By the time the meeting was held in the Kremlin three months later, all the great German leaders except Levi lay dead. The "Congress" consisted of Russians, delegates from the Russian-influenced borderlands, miscellaneous war-prisoners without mandates from their countries and only one accredited representative from a mass party, young Eberlein, who abstained from voting. Lenin had his way: a Russian organization with international aspirations was formed. Lenin tried hard to keep the Russian Party merely "the first among equals" but the fatal flaw was in the foundation. Every step taken to build the edifice deepened and widened the crack.

When we realize this, all the amazing stories fall into position as part of a picture: the crown jewels and subsidies that corrupted Parties already infected by blind worship of success and power; campaigns led independently of the masses who should have controlled them and provided the funds, after being convinced of the rightness of those campaigns; the splitting of Party after Party as the great mass parties tried to join the Comintern; the selection of pliable if discredited instruments like Cachin, who had been pro-war, rather than Loriat, who had been anti-war, in France; the ousting of Serrati and the splitting of the Italian movement, so timed as to leave it defenseless before Mus-

solini; the premature hardening and enlargement of the split in the German working class, which paved Hitler's road to power; the "Bolshevization" of the Parties after Lenin's death, making them caricatures of the Russian Bolshevik Party; the transmission of the Russian factional struggles to all Parties and the selection of leaders not on the basis of their position on the questions of their own land and working class but on their attitudes towards Zinoviev or Trotsky or Stalin; the growth of personal and police dictatorship in Russia (which the authors do not analyze) and its spilling over into the Comintern until it ends with the blood purges of the leaders of the Polish and German and other Parties, men who were refugees, "guests of honor" and members of the "General Staff of the World Revolution" on Russian soil.

All of the episodes, taken one by one, seem dramatic, or amusing, or grotesque. But as they fall into a pattern, they take on the qualities of a nightmare. The "Pattern for World Revolution" turns before our eyes into the fearful pattern of the world that besets us now.

## v

"When Lenin founded the Communist International," write the authors, "he stated his objective clearly and unequivocally: world revolution." But:

Stalin dissolved the Communist International in an atmosphere of vagueness

and ambiguity. In the dissolution decree one will seek in vain for an unequivocal statement. The successor of the Comintern, the Stalintern, tiptoed from the dissolution decree into the arena of world politics as it behooves the illegitimate child of the totalitarian transformation of the Russian Revolution. Totalitarian transformations usually have no program of their own. Fundamentally they are a process of disintegration, dissolving all order of society, consuming the political, historical and moral traditions of a country, reproducing them in distorted form, robbing them of their real content. . . .

In this process, Stalin transformed himself from a professional revolutionary into a totalitarian leader who has become a substitute for program, thought, and doctrine. Revolutionary manifestoes are no longer issued by the Russia of the 1940s. The fundamental political method is no longer that of frontal attack but of encirclement of the enemy. Its first task is not to carry to victory a political philosophy of its own, but to destroy its real or supposed enemies. . . .

Stalin's foreign policy rests upon one principle — the destruction of the principles of all others. Notwithstanding that it announces no principles of its own the Stalintern has grown at a speed far greater than ever experienced by Lenin's International.

After this introduction the final section of their book — and the grimmest and most grisly — recounts the dispatch of the surviving agents of the purged and "dissolved" Comintern from Moscow to the various capitals and cabinets of the world: Gottwald to the premiership in Czechoslovakia; Dmitrov and Kolarov to the dictatorship of Bulgaria; Pieck and Ulbricht to Germany; Thorez to France; Ercoli-Togliatti to Italy; Rackoczi (alive because he was

in a Hungarian jail when all the old Hungarian Communist leaders were killed by Stalin) back to Hungary; Bierut (formerly known as *Bienkowsky* and *Rutkowsky*, whence the Bierut) and Radkiewicz, both directly from the ranks of the GPU, where they had conducted the purge of all their former Polish Communist superiors, to the posts of premier and security commissar in the land whose very citizenship they had renounced.

These men too were originally idealists and lovers of liberty. But with a relentless clarity fitting to the inexorable process which they are describing, the authors trace their degeneration into puppets and police agents who can swallow even the purges and the Stalin-Hitler pact while all who could not were themselves purged.

How will it all end? We can only give the last word to the authors themselves, for the process continues and the answer still lies in the out-

come of the history we are even now making:

The Stalintern rests on force, suppression, and despair — not on hope and expectation. It is an end in itself. It does not represent a socialist alternative to the breakdown of a capitalist order of society. It is a form of disintegration of human society. Because it has no ends beyond itself, the Stalintern will ultimately end in the extinction of the Communist Parties that compose it. Those which operate within the physical and geographical proximity of Stalin's empire will be transformed into mere appendices of the Russian State apparatus. The contradiction between obedience to the requirements of Moscow and the conditions essential for their political existence in their own countries will defeat the others.

If, on the other hand, the crisis in Russia proper results in convulsions threatening the European and Asiatic expansion of Moscow, the likelihood is that then the parties of the Stalintern will vanish into the dark more quickly than they rose into the limelight of recent events. . . .

They conclude: "The Stalintern has no future, and will produce no successors."

#### PRELUSE ORIGINS — 11

*TO CASE:* Not long ago, in a learned journal, this verb was listed as a "new word," and authorities were cited for this definition: "To study or plan (a crime, especially the setting of a crime) so as to preclude accidents." In the citations quoted, law-enforcement officers are supposed to be speaking, and perhaps the word means this to them, but to criminals it means simply to look at, to watch, or to look over. As a matter of fact, it is a very old word. It derives from the practice in some gambling houses of maintaining an employee to check on those who are playing faro-bank. This man is called a "case-keeper," and generally sits on a high stool overlooking the layout. He has charge of a tabulator resembling an abacus (or "case"), which he uses to keep tab on the cards which have been drawn and played, thereby protecting the house from any clever gentry who might cut into its "legitimate percentage."

DAVID W. MAURER

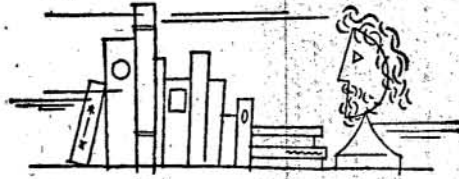


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### DISSENTING OPINION ON TOYNBEE

by **BERTRAM D. WOLFE**

LIKE rumors of a new-found civilization, the name of Toynbee has been bobbing up in historico-philosophical writing with ever-increasing frequency. In 1934 the first three volumes of his *Study of History* were published in this country, and in 1940 three more. After an interruption for wartime service, he is now at work upon the final three volumes of a study that has apparently been massively conceived and fully planned from the outset. The aim is as large as the scope: an empirical-interpretive examination of all known civilizations, living and dead, to discover their natures, the laws of their birth, growth, decline and death, to reveal their meaning, if meaning there be that outlasts their rise and fall, and to wrest from them answers to the unresolved questions of our own time.

In this age of one-sided specialization, the audacity of the effort is enough to compel our admiration. Mr. Toynbee enumerates and examines in some measure 26 civilizations,

including in that number five arrested civilizations and ignoring abortive civilizations. . . . Of these twenty-six, no less than sixteen are dead and buried. The ten survivors are our own Western Society, the main body of Orthodox Christendom in the Near East, its offshoot in Russia, the Islamic Society, the Hindu Society, the main body of the Far Eastern Society in China, its offshoot in Japan, the three arrested civilizations of the Polynesians, the Eskimos and the Nomads.

He moves confidently among the ruins of Aztec, Inca and Maya, Sumeric, Babylonian, Indic, Sinitic, Egyptian, Syriac, Minoan and other vanished or moribund civilizations, drawing even on Eskimos, Polynesians and Desert Nomads in support of some of his conclusions. Of the "ten survivors," he finds that the Polynesians and Nomads are in their

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last agonies; that seven out of the remaining eight are in the throes of assimilation by Western civilization; that one, the Eskimo, was arrested in its infancy; and that the remaining six "bear marks of having already broken down and gone into disintegration." That leaves only one civilization, our own, concerning which this judge, tentative and troubled, withholds his verdict. For that he has three more volumes.

Yet innumerable obiter dicta suggest that he finds our civilization at, or just over, the crucial divide, standing in mortal danger of losing its soul, but worthy of being placed on probation and given a little more time to repent and be saved. No wonder that many, in our time of uncertainty and peril — or, in Toynbee's phrase, our "time of troubles" — are anxiously awaiting the pronouncement of the final judgment.

## II

The present one-volume abridgment of the *Study of History* [\$5.00, Oxford] is a remarkable achievement in its own right, and comes as a boon to those who might not be able to afford the time or cost of the six-volume work so far published, or who might lose themselves in the maze of innumerable illustrations, often from generally unknown fields, of every proposition advanced. The condensation is by D. C. Somervell, a fellow historian and, it would appear from this labor of love, a devoted disciple. "I made this abridgment," writes

Mr. Somervell, "for my own amusement, without Mr. Toynbee's knowledge and without any idea of publication." But Mr. Toynbee, who had long been pressed with demands for an abridgment, was delighted with the result. His original argument is presented almost entirely in his own words, and in a manner which preserves method, atmosphere, texture and proportions. Moreover, and this is most remarkable, the felicity of style and the likable qualities of the author's personality are undiminished.

Even in condensation, one cannot but be struck by the amazing wealth of illustration from such varied and often recondite fields. Mr. Toynbee, who is Director of Studies in the Royal Institute of International Affairs and Research Professor of International History, seems to be a whole institute of historical studies in his single person. He acts at home in places where most historians scarcely dare to tread. "What, for example, was the effect of the *Clades Alliensis* upon the fortunes of Rome? . . . What the effect on the fortunes of the Osmanlis when Timur Lenk took Bayezid Yilderim captive on the field of Angora? . . . How were the Apostles affected by the abrupt withdrawal of their Master's presence so soon after it had appeared to be miraculously restored?" Why did the golden age of the Danubian monarchy coincide with the apogee of the Ottoman Empire and why did the former share the latter's fate in the moment of decline? How much pressure stimu-

lates a civilization to grow? How much is so much that the growth stiffens into catalepsy? And how much is too much, so that the civilization succumbs? All these questions are taken at random from within a few pages of one another. Any specialist may challenge, indeed many will challenge, both facts and conclusions in particular fields, but who save a Spengler or a Hegel would venture thus to embrace the whole human spectacle? The grandeur as well as the manageability of this great mass of materials comes from the fact that Toynbee is interested in no lesser events than the rise and fall of civilizations: "What we propose is to do for civilized societies something of what anthropology is doing for the primitive species."

## III

The "intelligible units of historical study" for Toynbee are not periods or separate nations, but societies or civilizations. Such civilizations issue suddenly by mutation out of primitive societies, or they issue by contact or descent out of earlier civilized societies. But all such civilizations are comparatively recent phenomena in human history, the earliest having originated no more than six thousand years ago. Thus, they are so nearly contemporaneous with one another, differ so strongly from primitive societies, and have so many things in common, that Mr. Toynbee proposes to treat them as "philosophically contemporaneous members of a single

species" in order to extract their common features and deduce some general laws concerning their birth, the process of their growth, breakdown and disintegration.

Following an extremely inadequate concept of Bergson's, our author distinguishes civilizations from primitive societies by selecting as differential the fact that primitive societies are static and "caked in custom" and look backward towards great leaders of the past or towards the old men of the group as the repositories of unchanging wisdom, while civilized societies are dynamic, tending to follow creative personalities in their midst. "A society can be called a civilization as soon as these acts of initiative (by creative leaders) and this attitude of docility are both found together." Toynbee seems a little uneasy when he first advances this criterion of Bergson's. He realizes that primitive societies, too, must originally have been dynamically progressive, indeed, must have made greater advances in the rise of "sub-man to man" than any advanced civilization has yet achieved. Actually, here and elsewhere Toynbee swallows Bergsonian metaphysical distinctions without adequate empirical test. The "basic distinction" is taken from degenerate, pseudo-primitive societies "as we know them" in their last agonies or petrefactions. Indeed, Toynbee himself finds in the course of his "Study" that civilizations in their last agonies may also look backward and become "caked in custom."

However, he needs Bergson's suggestive if inadequate criterion for his purposes, and so, after a few hasty reservations, he moves on as if it were adequate and fully proved. But we soon forget the fatal flaw in the foundation as we watch the magnificent edifice he proceeds to construct upon it.

Why do civilizations arise, is Toynbee's next question, and how do they grow? He finds the answer in life's way of presenting man with perpetually new challenges: a change in environment, a blow from without, a crushing defeat, a constant pressure, a serious privation. Sometimes a group fails to meet the challenge, is checked, stiffens, perhaps is overwhelmed and swept away. Sometimes, however, its élite, or a creative leader, devises an adequate response, gets it accepted, and growth begins. Such are the "virtues of adversity" that without a challenge there is no growth. But such the perils that too much challenge or inadequate response spells stagnation or death. Nor is success itself more than momentary. Each successful response has its perils. The devices used by the creative leader to get his response accepted are themselves perilous. Success, too, goes to the head and causes idolization of a given person, institution or technique. At the same time, life continues to present new challenges. Even the successful responses themselves give rise to new challenges, to which there must be devised new responses. Thus growth itself is an

endless and endlessly hazardous chain of challenge-and-response, until an expanding civilization fails to meet a new test adequately. Then growth is arrested and breakdown begins.

Mr. Toynbee is no mechanical determinist. Neither growth nor breakdown is entirely inevitable, though he ascribes more inevitability to breakdown, once it has begun, than to growth. All life is an "ordeal" but the human spirit is endowed with sufficient spontaneity, inventiveness and freedom to meet the ordeal, when it is not too severe, in ways which occasion the growth of the spirit. There are endless perils in being born to civilization, and endless perils inherent in the processes of growth themselves. These act as brakes on growth but as accelerators on breakdown.

However, society is no biological organism, fated by irreversible physico-chemical-biological reactions to inevitable senescence and death. With each new challenge, the ordeal is renewed afresh and the fate of society is once more in the unskilled yet potentially creative hands of the individuals composing it. Mr. Toynbee moves uneasily in this open field of free indeterminacy. The ordeal is continuous, the chances of meeting it adequately are less so. Again and again, he relapses into an unconscious "Calvinism" with the assumption that a given step is fatal, so that, once taken, it causes a society to pass its apogee, whereafter it can only hope to achieve minor rallies, prolonged pe-

refractions and static epilogues. Probably this is not so much inherent in his metaphysical theories as in the fact that he is considering mostly civilizations that have broken down or perished. Moreover, he tends to place breakdown very early, at a time when most historians have seen a "Golden Age." Thus, having placed Roman society as a mere sub-phase of the Hellenic civilization, the Roman Empire itself becomes but a phase of the Hellenic world's decay, an Empire "already doomed before it was established because the establishment of this universal state was nothing but a rally which could delay but not permanently arrest the already irretrievable ruin of the Hellenic Society." Similarly, the Chinese civilization had its "time of troubles" (the first sign of breakdown or end of growth) in the two and one-half centuries following the death of Confucius in 479 B.C., its rally in a universal state (a rally occurring, according to Toynbee's scheme, only as a phase of breakdown) in 221 B.C., its *Voelkerwanderung* or barbarian incursions in 300 A.D. Viewed in the perspective of this schema, it seems like a mere afterthought to note that the Sinic civilization is with us yet! When Toynbee does note it, it is but to observe that China has virtually succumbed to Western civilization. It does not occur to him to question whether China may not be borrowing some of our perilous technology in order to defend its own Sinic soul against our incursions.

## IV

Indeed, this brings us to a second fatal flaw in the foundations of the Toynbeeian edifice: his attitude of misprision, not to say contempt, for technology and economy, the productive processes by which man masters nature and thereby alters his own nature. We get an early hint of this in his reduction of beneficial technical progress to a single one of its forms: "etherialization." Again his "proof" is to quote a bit of dubious metaphysics, this time from Gerald Heard:

We are leaving the ground, we are getting out of touch, our tracks grow fainter. Flint lasts forever, copper for a civilization, iron for generations, steel for a lifetime. Who will be able to map the route of the London-Peking air express when the Age of Movement is over, or today to say what is the path through the ether of the messages which are radiated and received?

And suppose Mr. Toynbee had asked Heard about buildings of concrete? About the rope bridges of the Incas and the steel bridges over the East River? Whether iron is really more durable than stainless steel? To "say what was the path through the air" of the smoke messages of the ancient savage? To compare the number of durable buildings and underground structures in a modern city with a Mayan temple group surrounded only by long-vanished huts of twigs and grass? But Mr. Toynbee has need of Heard's "etherialization," as we shall see, to soar above the common concerns of pro-

ducing and reproducing the conditions of life and mastering the environment, both natural and social, as he has need to discount man's mastery of nature as a criterion of his humanization (a mastery, by the way, which contains the great secret of his growth from sub-human to human).

Progress, according to Toynbee, is the achievement of creative individuals. Their creative inventions he finds to be invariably the product of a process of "withdrawal-and-return," withdrawal for the purposes of contemplation, reflection and personal enlightenment or transformation, and then return for the purposes of enlightening their fellow men. It is instructive that Toynbee does not make this merely one of the processes of creative growth but the exclusive process, and that he illustrates it from parables of Plato and Paul, from the life of Christ, from the lives of Benedict, Gregory, the Buddha, Mohammed, and the exiled Machiavelli and Dante.

Since all growth originates with individuals and at best is readily communicated only to small creative minorities, the problem is how to convert the rest of society, the mass of men who remain forever essentially on the level of "the primitive." Theoretically, this may be done by a process of saintly contagion or direct sharing of the withdrawal experience, but few indeed are those capable of becoming disciples. Generally and on a mass scale, these few, *i.e.* this

creative minority, must employ "mimesis" or "drill," a procedure which communicates only the externals. And mimesis or drill, being mechanical, contains a fearful peril to the soul of a civilization, easily corrupting those who employ it as well as those upon whom it is exercised. Once more the processes of growth are pregnant with the perils of decay. Moreover, it now becomes clear why Mr. Toynbee is as neglectful of political techniques and the hopes and promises of democracy as he is of scientific techniques. At bottom, they too are "mechanical."

v

Thus, for three reasons, Toynbee is more deeply and extensively preoccupied with breakdown than with growth: first, because the civilizations he deals with (all but one) are either dead or dying; second, because the very tests he gives of breakdown suggest, somewhat hesitantly, that our own civilization has already climbed over the great divide; and third, and emotionally most important, because his inquiry is intended to culminate with a demonstration that civilizations do not always perish utterly but often bequeath to their successors something exempt from the process of decay. That something is not to be confused with the "cumulative heritage" which is the hope of those who believe in the possibility of earthly progress. Nor does it come from the high tide of any earlier civilization. No, it is a product of the period of decline itself. Though that

"something" has appeared in inferior form during the decline of other civilizations, it has reached its highest possible form only in the decline of the "Hellenic" and "Syriac" civilizations, which, while dying, begot and bequeathed to our own, something which is the author's most cherished possession and which provides the basic metaphysical framework of his historical investigation. But let us not run ahead, for Mr. Toynbee not only uses the fourth, fifth and sixth volumes (from page 244 on in the condensed version) to outline this conception, but he has three more volumes in which to develop it fully.

## VI

While growth has about it a sort of lawless and unexpected spontaneity of invention and leads to infinite variety in solutions and civilizations, Toynbee finds that disintegration has about it a compelling trend to regularity and uniformity, to lawfulness. "As differentiation is the mark of growth, so standardization is the mark of disintegration." Creative individuals still exist, but their ability to solve their problems in and through society seems to diminish. Now they either seek to escape from an intolerable present by imaginary solutions, or they seek to save their own souls (withdrawal without return), or they devise mere "mechanical" solutions — devices of law and administration or "universal states" — which serve merely to retard and mitigate the processes of disintegration. In place of

creativity comes "abandon" or the rigid self-control of stoicism; in place of the vital élan which accompanies growth, there develops the "sense of drift" and the "sense of sin," or that disguised form of drift, inexorable determinism. In lieu of truly creative solutions come time-arresting or time-vaulting utopias, dreams of an impossible return to the golden age of the past ("archaism"), or an impossible leap into a golden age of the future ("futurism").

All of these devices are but eddies in the downward course of the stream of doom — that is, all but one! True, archaism may be spiritualized into the expedient of "detachment," a withdrawal into the fortress of the soul, an abandonment of the world. But this gives us naught beyond the feeble consolations of philosophy. (Significantly, Toynbee never uses the term philosophy in any other sense!). Futurism, however, contains within itself the possibility of its own "transcendence" for it may be spiritualized into a hope for the coming of God's kingdom on earth, thereby becoming that action of the soul which produces "the higher religions." The "logical conclusion" of the detachment of philosophy is suicide, or, in religious form, *karma*. But the logical conclusion of the "transfiguration" of futurism is . . . the Christian religion, which proclaims a God who has voluntarily abandoned a detachment which it was clearly within His power to enjoy and has instead submitted to man's fate



and, in its most anguished form, to man's agony, for "God so loved the World. . . ."

## VII

In a revealing personal statement, cited on the jacket, Mr. Toynbee writes: "I see things from the point of view of an Ancient Historian, looking at the modern Western World from the outside." One feels the aptness of this remark in little things and in big: in his casual rejection of modern art as mere "promiscuity" (he cannot conceive of "borrowing" without losing one's own soul); in his virtual writing off of the Orient as having begun to commit suicide by accepting certain Western techniques; in his rejection of the gradual secularization of knowledge since the Enlightenment and of the modern basis of toleration ("this attitude of mind which sterilized fanaticism at the cost of extinguishing faith has lasted from the seventeenth century into the twentieth and . . . is beginning at last to be recognized for what it is . . . the supreme danger to the spiritual health and even to the material existence of the Western body social"); in his pronouncement of secular humanism ("that modern Western process of evicting God to make room for Law") as something which "may be written off as exceptional or even pathological" — and we might multiply indefinitely the instances.

The Russian intelligentsia are to him a species of intellectual "Quis-

lings" — the word is Somervell's in a footnote! — because they sought to borrow from the West. He comes to this conclusion not merely because he rejects the possibility of real borrowing without loss of soul, but because he has simply overlooked the fact that along with the Westernizers there were the Slavophiles. In general, a "treason" is ascribed to all modern intellectuals, following Benda, but it began "centuries earlier, when the 'clerks' repudiated their clerical origin by trying to shift the rising edifice of our Western Christian Civilization from a religious to a secular basis." Hence, we are not surprised when, in another connection, he compares all Western religions for the measure of their comparative vitality, and finds that "unquestionably Catholicism is the most vigorous . . . and in the Church of England, we should unhesitatingly assign the palm of superior vitality to the Anglo-Catholic variety of Anglicism. . . ."

It is useless for the various specialists to criticize his applications of his formulae to their special fields, for it becomes clear in Volumes IV, V and VI that his "empirical method" of studying history is only a pretense, an unconscious tribute to the secular, rational scientific method which at heart he rejects. As early as page 223 (of the abridged version) we find him forgetting his recognition of the plurality and diversity of growth to speak of "the goal of human endeavor." By page 243 this becomes:

The several climbers (*i.e.* civilizations) are

all engaged in an identical enterprise . . . the same goal . . . The underlying unity is apparent . . . The seeds sown are separate seeds, and each seed has its own destiny . . . Yet they are all sown by one Sower in the hope of obtaining one harvest.

On page 417 he discovers "the *anima naturaliter Christiana* in the bosom of primitive man." On page 433 he finds that revolution is a species of Satanism working against the cosmic order. Next he finds that "mankind cannot exist without an Orthodoxy," without a personal God, who must be a jealous God to win out. By page 524, his "empirical study of history" has either been forgotten or has so far confirmed him in his belief that "we" (the editorial we) may . . .

allow ourselves to hold that this spiritual reorientation was a discovery of the One True God, and that a human make-believe about the future of This World had given place to a divine revelation of an Other World. . . . It remains for us to note some of the principal stages in the accomplishment of this immense feat of spiritual reorientation. Its essence is that a mundane scene which was once looked on as a stage for human actors, with or without superhuman backers, is now regarded as a field for the progressive realization of the Kingdom of God.

It is not my intent to challenge this beautifully phrased, deeply held and manifestly comforting belief. All I wish to assert is that a careful reading of this *Study of History* reveals that it is not, as it professes to be, an

empirical study at all, and that, essentially — without the charms of style and the amazing counterpoint of erudition — one could make Dr. Toynbee's findings by first setting down his prior version of the Christian creed and then weaving in and out through the pluriverse of history in quest of applications, illustrations, and confirmations.

Nor do I wish to warn the reader away from what is really a masterpiece of Christian historical apologetics and exegesis. Quite the contrary, it is a richly rewarding book, nobly and grandly conceived, challengingly and beautifully presented. For those who do not know that growth is a constantly new response to a constantly new ordeal, uncertain and fraught with its own perils, there is many a keen home thrust and thought-provoking lesson.

The more history the reader knows, the more challenges to thought and question he will find on every page of this book. For what Mr. Toynbee has written is perhaps the most engaging, and certainly the most erudite Christian interpretation of history that has ever been written. My only wonder is that those who have universally acclaimed it have not been more aware of that fact, or at least more specific in pointing it out and more sensitive to the manifold errors of selection, and interpretation which spring from the theological bias of Dr. Toynbee's *Study of History*.

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Encl # 8

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SIR: Mr. Bondy has taken upon himself the thankless task of trying to justify a fundamentally dishonest book. White and Jacoby wanted to serve as apologists for Chinese Communism, yet cover themselves against the charge that they were doing so. Hence it is easy for Mr. Bondy to pick out "cover-up" sentences. But Mr. Bondy is too honest to let it go at that, wherefore his letter is largely self-refuting and confirmatory of my main points. Thus White and Jacoby could quote the Chinese Communists as saying that they are "Communists in the full sense of the word," because all Communist Parties have gone through that same recent change of line, the latest turn ordered by the "dissolved" Comintern. That statement was the analogue of the American Party's "break with Browderism."

But my main point, that the Chinese Communist Party is *organically tied up with Moscow*, and not an "independent organization," is confirmed by Mr. Bondy, who agrees with me and not with White and Jacoby. He calls them "naive." Having carefully studied the structure of their book, I would use a harsher term.

So do Mr. Bondy's figures on agriculture tend to confirm my main point and not refute it. My point was that it is not large estates and the need for redivision of the land that is the key to China's agrarian reconstruction, but that division and redivision of the land into "pocket handkerchief farms" is China's main problem. This has since been confirmed afresh by joint reports by Dean Claude Hutchison's American mission and the Chinese Department of Agriculture:

"Population pressure has led to the division of the land into small holdings on which many peasants find it difficult to feed their families, let alone supply food for the cities. . . . The average Chinese farm for all China is said to be almost five acres, but there is only one fifth of the acre available per farm inhabitant (compared with thirty acres per farm inhabitant in the United States)."

That is why we can have, and do have, a higher farm tenantry percentage than China, and yet have food aplenty, whereas in China 45 per cent own their own land, an additional 25 per cent are part owners and part renters — and yet misery is universal. The mission recommended plans to increase the yield 50 per cent, to improve roads and marketing, flood and drought control, credits, etc., but *all of these recommendations require a period of peace and reconstruction.*

It is not my desire to endorse everything the Central Government has done, is doing or will do. I know too well that war brings forth profiteering, corruption, brutality and evil, that civil

war compounds those evils and endless war multiplies them endlessly. But it is my contention that the Central Government under Chiang Kai-shek represents an attempt to preserve the integrity and independence of China, and, when peace makes it possible, to undertake its reconstruction and democratization. The Communist Party represents an agency of a foreign power, interested in keeping China in turmoil and chopping off pieces. And the Communist Party, once it got into a coalition government or into sole power, would aim not at democratization but at a permanent police state in peace time, at forced labor, at totalitarianism, and, above all, at subordination to, then annexation by, Soviet Russia.

It approved the seizure of Manchuria by Japan when Russia's relations with Japan required it. It is beginning, together with the army of Soviet Mongolia, a squeeze play upon Inner Mongolia. And, with Russian encouragement, it is trying to detach Manchuria.

The future of China, the future of Asia and the world, depend on China's integrity and independence. Peace, reconstruction, roads, railroads, dams, are China's main needs. Only such a program can end the mass starvation and unite the country with something more than "a rope of sand." Not Chiang, but Sun Yat-sen originally developed the railway and road plan, and even resigned his presidency to become Minister of Communications. But then, as now, foreign interference, civil war, attempts at regional secession, compelled him to abandon construction.

By January, when my article was published, a third of China's railways had been torn up, and half her highways were unserviceable. Since then the Communists have continued to derail trains, burn boxcars, conscript peasants to burn ties, blow up signal apparatus, and reduce bridges and rails to twisted masses of wreckage. With every broken road and rails and bridges and flood barrier, famine increases, and the burden upon children yet unborn becomes greater. Even in peace the reconstruction of such a poor country is a fearful labor.

Mr. Bondy has ventured to mention the "anguish of Sun Fo." In January, as my article appeared, Sun was making one more appeal to the Communists to agree to peace. When the appeal failed, he had this to say in his anguish:

"The Communists are blackmailing the country with the threat of (renewed) civil war. They do not care how much suffering they cause the people." (See the *New York Times* for January 19, 1947.)

Brooklyn, N. Y.

BERTRAM D. WOLFE



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### THE CASE OF HARRY HOPKINS

by **BERTRAM D. WOLFE**

WHO was Harry Hopkins? I have just gone through nearly a thousand pages of his memoranda, state papers, autobiographical fragments, and broadcasts from the center of the whirlwind, all edited, glossed, interpreted and rounded out by the professional writing of his friend and admirer, Robert E. Sherwood. [*Roosevelt and Hopkins: an Intimate History*, by Robert E. Sherwood. \$6.00, Harper.] I have learned that he wore a battered hat, was an ulcerous type, had a frail body, a salty wit and an ardent and indomitable will; that he liked race tracks and night clubs; that he was brash, self-confident, ill-informed, quick to learn and a quick thinker; that he lived through the troubled war years on injections, protein concentrates, packets of pills and borrowed time; and that, slumped sick and exhausted in the bottom of a plane seat, he flew to Moscow, London, Teheran and Yalta, where his wisdom or lack of it contributed

powerfully to the making of the present "peace." Yet I still do not sense the living man or find properly estimated his rôle and place in history.

This is due to the failure in writing and thinking of Robert Sherwood. A dramatist, he does not know how to develop his protagonist's character through the latter's speeches and actions. A stylist, his style bogs down in a mass of undigested papers and his own too uncritical admiration for his hero. This Pulitzer Prize winner permits himself such rhetorical horrors as "essential essence" and "Stalin was not talking through his own or anyone else's hat." Wherever the Hopkins notes are set side-by-side with the Sherwood interpretations, it is Sherwood who is stale, flat and unrevealing. Thus when Hopkins was worrying about the effect of his divorce upon his Presidential aspirations, Sherwood writes that Hopkins was consoled by President Cleveland's having survived "a damaging scandal." But a photostat illustration shows that Hopkins actually wrote the words: "Cleveland — bastard." Again, Sherwood tries to explain Hopkins' Socialist vote in 1917: "Hopkins

was disgusted with both the Democratic and Republican parties, the latter having also rejected [fusion candidate] Mitchell, and he supported Morris Hillquit, the Socialist." But, when questioned in the Senate as to why he "registered and voted Socialist," Hopkins answers more vividly and more truthfully: "I was then profoundly moved by a desire . . . to see the United States kept out of war."

This last "difference in style" carries us close to the heart of the defects in Sherwood's portrait. Having gone from poetry to politics on the issue of bringing the United States into the Second World War, the author cannot understand how anyone could have been anti-war in either conflict. He sets out to "shield" his hero from the "charge," documented by the Hopkins papers themselves, that Harry Hopkins was by conviction a liberal pacifist, who played a leading rôle in the second war only because he was convinced that his "chief could do no wrong."

## II

Sherwood's political illiteracy makes the first 219 pages of his book, on the New Deal, singularly unilluminating. Hopkins was first of all a New Dealer, by training and fanatical conviction a social worker who had got his hand on the spending levers of government. But Sherwood joined the Roosevelt entourage only when the New Deal was being converted into a war-spending project to aid the Allies.

For the earlier phases he shows little understanding. They were to him only and exclusively a series of devices for getting the unemployed back to work. Here too, Hopkins' own notes prove more critical of "leaf-raking" and "boondoggling" than do his biographer's pages.

When Ickes says that government spending should result not merely in relief jobs, but also in roads built, dams constructed, irrigation projects, reforestation, and other long-term capital gains for the money paid out, Sherwood takes Hopkins' part against Ickes. But when Hopkins secretly converts WPA to military purposes, Sherwood defends this as readily as the boondoggling, without ever noticing the difference in meaning and basic direction. One looks in vain for any critical estimate of the monopoly-encouraging features of NRA, the pig-killing and plowing-under aspects of AAA, the higher nonsense of currency manipulation, which sought to cure an economic fever by tampering with the thermometer. For that matter, one looks in vain for any understanding of the positive and permanent achievements of the New Deal: social security, bank deposit insurance, stock market regulation, government concern with the problem of full employment. Each of these requires a balance sheet of pluses and minuses. Hopkins' last notes suggest that if he had lived to do his own autobiography, he might have attempted it. But Sherwood stands as uncomprehending before the New

Deal as GI Joe before the Sphinx in Egypt.

Unconsciously, Sherwood reveals what is wrong with Part I of his book when he entitles Part II: "1941 — More Than Mere Words." To him Hopkins' mighty prewar labors and huge expenditures in WPA are . . . "mere words." Only with lend-lease and wartime negotiations does it seem to him that his hero has got down to business.

But his hero thought differently. After Roosevelt's reelection in 1936, Hopkins told members of his staff as they were driving out to the race track: "Boys, this is our hour! We've got to get everything we want — a works program, social security, wages and hours, everything. Now or never . . . a complete ticket to provide security for all the folks of this country."

For some New Dealers, the war and its automatic full employment came as a welcome relief from the unsolved problems of the New Deal. But for Hopkins it was an annoying, if inescapable, interruption. And, a few days before his death, one of the last memos he dictated for his intended biography concerned itself with the peacetime employment of the returning soldiers. It called for social insurance and public works, but it wisely warned against the dangers inherent in these measures: "It would be a terrible day for America if the rest of us did not want to earn our living by work, or could not. . . . I would hate to see the backbone of full

employment ever be public works for the sake of providing the employment. . . ." Thus the model grows too big for the pen of the artist who is sketching him!

## III

"A welfare worker from the Cornbelt," Sherwood calls his hero, "who tended to regard money, his own as well as other people's, as something to be spent as quickly as possible."

Under the New Deal, Hopkins directed the spending of some \$9 billion. Then he moved into lend-lease, where he played a deciding rôle in the manner of spending some \$60 billion! Once more, as in the fight with Ickes, he was in too much of a hurry to get the spending started to stop and consider fully what long-term value would be received, *i.e.*, to consider what kind of peace agreements would come from the spending.

When Hopkins flew to Moscow, he had only one idea: to find out what the Kremlin wanted and to give it as quickly as possible. "Mr. Hopkins is in Moscow," Roosevelt informed the astonished Stalin, "for discussions on how we can most expeditiously and effectively . . . render assistance to your country." Not a word about war aims! Nor about Stalin's disgorging his conquests in Poland, the Baltic countries and the Balkans, which he had just got by dividing Europe with Hitler. "I told him," Hopkins adds, "that my mission was not a diplomatic one in the sense that I did not propose to make *any formal*



*understanding of any kind or character."*  
[My emphasis — B. D. W.]

Stalin was prepared for anything but this. Having tried to divide Europe with his brigand-partner and then been double-crossed, he fully expected to have to give up his booty and to change sides so far as programs and objectives were concerned, before he could get the aid he desperately needed in his struggle for survival. Especially aid from the United States, which was not even at war, for Hopkins' visit was a full five months before Pearl Harbor. A hard bargainer, he was not used to people with so little sense of political realities and power levers. "Even with its very life in danger," writes Sherwood, summarizing the uncomprehending Hopkins, "the Soviet government appeared to be more anxious to discuss future frontiers and spheres of influence than to negotiate for military supplies." But Hopkins and Roosevelt refused to be tempted!

When Stalin recovered from his astonishment, he asked for 20,000 anti-aircraft guns, a million rifles, and machine guns, planes, aluminum and high octane gas. Being pressed further he added trucks and tanks and jeeps, boots and food, and a billion dollars. Ultimately he received \$11 billion in lend-lease, without ever being asked to do anything but fight for his existence, in a fight forced upon him by Hitler. Naturally, with such "negotiators," he soon concluded that he could keep what he had gained from Hitler, and even enlarge upon it.

He alone seemed to realize that peace is the continuation of the war out of which it issues, and that, by the military and political decisions of the war itself, the peace was being made piecemeal. When Churchill finally woke up, a trifle late, and began to demand that the Anglo-American troops jump from North Africa to the Balkans, it was Hopkins and Roosevelt who preened themselves on blocking Churchill. So little did Hopkins, and so little does Sherwood, understand the meaning of this conflict over "strategy," that the word "Balkans" does not even figure in the index of this book. Yet the situation would be vastly changed today if we had gone into the Balkans instead of Sicily.

#### IV

How different was the attitude of Hopkins and Roosevelt towards Great Britain! With Churchill they kept making conditions and arguing over India and Egypt, colonies and trusteeships, Imperial Preference and post-war trade. To be sure, these were legitimate concerns, but not such a warrant giving them priority over the freedom of the lands to be liberated, which was the very heart of the war itself.

And the Roosevelt-Hopkins treatment of China is enough to move the thoughtful reader to tears. From these pages emerges a picture of neglect, under-estimation, miscalculation and blind folly. For ten years there was no aid because, to use Sher-

wood's own words, "we were attempting to appease Japan." Then no aid "because of distance," though we were pouring billions into distant Russia. Then because apologists for the Chinese Communists had persuaded our officials to withhold lend-lease as a means of forcing the Central Government to enter into what would have been a suicidal coalition with the Communists. And finally, because the appeasement of Russia had taken the place of the appeasement of Japan. "The awful demonstration of the difference between reality and promises," wrote T. V. Soong in desperation, "is underlined by the swiftness with which it is announced that deliveries of aircraft are being made to the Soviet Union. . . . I have now been in the United States over fourteen months pleading for planes. . . . In the fourteen months not a single plane." Sherwood portrays Hopkins as "deeply concerned" about this failure of ours to keep our promises. Yet, two years later, when Mme. Chiang adds her pleadings to those of Soong, Hopkins can think of nothing other than to urge Roosevelt "at least to see her" and let her "get everything off her chest. . . ."

v

The story of Hopkins and of Roosevelt comes to a climax in their meetings with Stalin and Churchill at Teheran and Yalta. Through Sherwood's apologetic pages obtrude the outlines of political unpreparedness, ineptness, and a callousness to the fate

of lesser allies that borders on outright betrayal.

At Teheran, Stalin showed that he had not, even then (this was at the end of 1943), lost his admiration for Hitler and his "methods."

He said that Hitler was a very able man. . . . He did not share the view of the President that Hitler was mentally unbalanced, and emphasized that only a very able man could accomplish what Hitler had done in solidifying the German people, whatever we thought of the methods. [Official Summary by State Department translator.]

Thus warned on how Stalin believed in "solidifying" the people or peoples over whom he might rule, his partners proceeded to give him ample scope to try out his "methods." Churchill implied that he would be glad to give away a slice of Turkey. Roosevelt, not to be outdone, handed out a generous portion of China. ("It was Roosevelt who mentioned the possibility that Russia might have access to the port of Dairen in Manchuria. . . . Stalin immediately expressed the opinion that the Chinese would object to this proposal, but Roosevelt said he thought they would agree to having Dairen made a free port under international guarantee.") Once more the surprised Stalin was not slow to take the hint. At Yalta he was ready to demand what at Teheran his dear allies — no less the allies of China — had so kindly suggested. "And then," continues Sherwood, "there was an agreement on the frontiers of Poland . . . with the evolve-

ment of a formula much like that which was eventually adopted." Here the "credit" goes not to Roosevelt but to Churchill!

Between Teheran and Yalta there occurred the four-day war between Russia and Bulgaria. It should have taught Roosevelt a lesson, but he was so preoccupied with keeping the story from the American people, lest it shock them into an awareness of the problems of an alliance with a totalitarian power in the shaping of the coming peace, that he drew no lessons himself. Sherwood still does not know the story, or does not care to tell it. "By October 1," he writes casually, "both Finland and Bulgaria had quit the Axis and the Red Army had occupied both countries." Not another word! Except that Churchill began to worry about the outlines of the peace, and Hopkins began to worry lest Churchill's talks with Stalin on this question might appear to represent also the thought of the United States.

Since the American people still do not know the story of Bulgaria's four-day war with Russia, it might well be summarized here. Until September 1944, Bulgaria was at war with the United States and England, but not with Russia. On September 2, it overthrew its pro-Hitler government. The new democratic government severed relations with Germany, offered unconditional surrender to England and the United States, and prepared a declaration of war on Germany. The Allies, as a matter of courtesy, notified their partner, Sta-

lin. On September 5, he declared war on Bulgaria, whereupon Bulgaria immediately asked him for peace terms, and the Red Army occupied Bulgaria. The men who had led the democratic resistance, Mushanov, Dmitrov, Petkov, have since been convicted and either escaped (Dmitrov) or been executed (Petkov). Thus, in September 1944, months before the Yalta Conference, Stalin showed in action what he meant "liberation," and by the "cooperation between the United Nations in setting up democratic governments."

## VI

But at Yalta, in February 1945, Hopkins and Roosevelt again gloried in defeating Churchill's proposal for a military expedition across the Adriatic into the Balkans. Thus left without support, Churchill tried to bargain with Stalin as one imperialist trader with another: Poland in exchange for Greece, and share-and-share alike in Yugoslavia — all this without Poles, Greeks or Yugoslavs being represented at the conference. What happened to this deal is by now a matter of painful history.

It was Roosevelt, intent on getting Stalin into the war with Japan, who made the proposals for selling China down the river. "It is quite clear," writes Sherwood, "that even before Teheran, Roosevelt had been prepared to agree to . . . most if not all of the Soviet claims in the Far East. . . . Roosevelt said that he would send an American officer to Chung-

king to inform Chiang Kai-shek of the agreements. Stalin insisted that these agreements be put in writing and that they contain the statement: "The Heads of the three Great Powers have agreed that these claims of the Soviet Union shall be unquestionably fulfilled after Japan has been defeated." Thus, without China being represented or consulted, Russia was brought into Manchuria, into Port Arthur and Dairen, and into Northern Korea; and thus the great flanking operation was begun which has, even as I write, resulted in the loss of Mongolia, all of Manchuria and North China, imperiling the very existence of the Chinese Central Government.

When Roosevelt ran for reelection he was not well. He returned from the wearying Yalta Conference a sick man indeed. Yet a few months more, and he was able to perceive, only too clearly, the terrible outlines of the coming peace, as it was shaping up in Rumania, Yugoslavia and Poland. On the last day of his life, he dispatched his famous warning to Churchill that England and the United States must be firm in their relations with Stalin. But his death left the sick-unto-death Harry Hopkins to make the last trip to Moscow alone on behalf of the still uninitiated Harry Truman. The account of those negotiations is too painful to bear retelling. Hopkins by now knew that the peace would be a "great headache," but he was no match for Stalin, and he possessed no power lever to use in a tug of war

with the most powerful ruler on earth.

That picture does more than all of Sherwood's analysis to answer the question which we posed at the beginning of this article.

Who was Harry Hopkins? He was the twentieth-century version of Jackson's kitchen cabinet. Linked to the President by their common element of physical infirmity, by his worshipful devotion, by his dedication to the New Deal, by a common unpreparedness for the working out of a foreign policy, he was the personal representative of a President who unconsciously drifted into the rôle of an undemocratic "Chief of State," secretly, privately and personally negotiating with two other Chiefs of State. "Churchill," says Sherwood naïvely, "was constantly reporting to and consulting the War Cabinet in London, addressing his communications to Clement Attlee . . . whereas Roosevelt was completely on his own." Unconsciously, Roosevelt fell into the trap of using the Russian *Vozhd's* (Leader's) method of negotiation. This guaranteed that Teheran and Yalta would be corrupted with secret agreements, that both political parties, and even our State Department, would be uninformed, that Truman would inherit a covert mess which only the dying Hopkins could conceivably uncover for him. And Hopkins himself was only partly informed, without legal political status, and virtually on his deathbed. Sherwood closes his book with a plea for the right of Presidents

to have "personal friends and advisers." This right is unquestioned, and given the enormous powers of our President, inescapable. But the duty to work with and through his State Department, the Senate, and, in times of "national unity," through the leadership of both parties, is no less inescapable. Many of the same mistakes might have been made, but it is the theory of democracy that in the long run collective wisdom, working through duly constituted institutions, is superior to the private and secret negotiations of a "Chief of State" working only with his own

personally selected admirers and private advisers.

As we close Sherwood's book, it is impossible not to admire the courage and loyalty of Harry Hopkins, the unselfishness with which a man always near death's threshold drove his exhausted body and spirit in the great enterprises of lend-lease, war planning and peace negotiations. But it is impossible not to conclude that Roosevelt-Hopkins negotiations with Stalin present a model of how the head of a state that would remain democratic should not negotiate with the head of a totalitarian state.

### AFTER READING AN AUTHORIZED BIOGRAPHY OF A SAINT

BY CHARLES ANGOFF

The learned pharisee has spoken  
And once again embalmed the good saint  
For show and safe-keeping in the gilded halls of orthodoxy.

High priests chant the name  
Of the lowly one who would not be of their kind;  
Embroidered linen and ermine,  
Incense and the sound of chimes  
Surround the patient bones of him  
Whose church was the desert,  
Whose only hymns were the hush of the forest  
And the sweet babble of children and birds,  
And whose only God was  
The glorious mystery in them and the most distant star.

Lepers, paupers, and all those heavy-laden,  
Behold the blasphemy upon your lonely saint!

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### **POLITICS AND FICTION IN MEXICO**

by *BERTRAM D. WOLFE*

WHAT the Mexicans call "The Revolution" began in 1910 without a conscious program, as a culmination of countless grievances and types of opposition to the three-decade-long dictatorship of President Porfirio Díaz. What began in 1910 as a mere renovating outbreak to make way for youth and end perpetual reelection, loosed obscure forces that could not be contained again or given fulfillment during the next 40 years. The Revolution is still going on, trying to work out its program and come to self-understanding. Those who would fully understand it in its aspirations, elemental flareups, raw violence, perennial hope and perennial betrayal, can find no better guide than the Mexican novel.

From the outset, painters laid aside their brushes and writers their pens to enter the fray. Being artists, they continued to observe what went on around them with a deeper vision than other men. Some of the writers

put their pens to military-political use, served as literary aides-de-camp of the various guerrilla chieftains, sought to give program and meaning to the formless struggle, adapt the prevailing ideologies of our day to the Mexican scale and scene, voice the inarticulate hopes of the peons and peasants who made up all the armies. These writers meant every large and shining word they put into their manifestoes and programs. That earnest sincerity eventually gave the best of them a standard of comparison between their dreams and the recalcitrant realities, and their habit of organizing their impressions against a background of strongly felt values made them aware sooner or later of the fact that "the revolution" has not necessarily triumphed because "the men of the revolution" have won the perquisites of place and power.

Guerrilla warfare and civil war — region against region, tribe against tribe, band against band, family against family, brother against brother — are a brutal and terrible business at best. The "Federals" raid the village and carry off the cattle,

the chickens, the able-bodied men, the nubile girls; and then the "Revolutionists" come and "liberate" the town, consuming and carrying off whatever crops, cattle, men and girls may have escaped the vigilance of the "Federals." The place changes hands a third and a fourth time, until it is swept cleaner than a wheat field by a locust plague. All this is intensified by the natural poverty of an arid land, by the breakdown of all restraints and standards save the standard of force and temporary possession, and by a deep cult of violence and death in the Mexican makeup.

The *caudillos* (chieftains, bosses, leaders, heads of military bands), lacking as they did any clear or deep-rooted philosophy of society and government, were easily seduced by the privileges of power into believing that the "revolution was the government" and the government the revolution — as soon as their side had triumphed. As "generals" in the field they had "confiscated" enemy property, made forced levies upon those who had goods or money, issued new-printed pesos over their own signatures, provisioned armies with whatever they found in their paths, acquired estates for themselves and their followers by "agrarian expropriation," carried off everything movable.

As victors, these same *caudillos* had their self-designated generalships confirmed, their confiscations legalized, acquired governorships, cabinet posts, presidencies, prestige, laurels,

power and wealth. Many of the writers, especially those who entered into the battle of words when the battle of the camps was nearly at an end, were carried along into the new bureaucracy as state-designated labor leaders and political leaders, as congressmen, senators, heads of civilian departments like education, hangers-on and subsidized propagandists for the real wielders of power. But the only indispensable virtue of the artist, sincerity to the truth of his own vision, caused many of these, too, to forfeit their privileges and comfortable stipends, in a land where no man can make a living by creative writing alone, for the sake of setting down truthfully what they had felt and seen and experienced. Others were freed from their silver chains by the whirling buzz saw of Mexican political fortune, and, after beginning by telling the truth concerning the *caudillo* who had replaced their own chieftain, ended by telling the truth about their own camp and the whole sweep of events. It is at least poetic justice to be able to record that the time-servers, and those skilled in holding on despite change of régime, have not in general been able to write any of the good books that have come out of the Mexican Revolution.

## II

Of all the guerrilla chieftains, the fascinating and alternately attractive and repelling figure of Pancho Villa made the greatest appeal to intellec-



tuals. His audacious and stormy career, his spectacular victories, his humble outlaw origin and deeds of Robin Hood largess, his ferocious animal cruelty, his loyalty to men nobler than himself, his touching humility before the unfathomable problems of power, his baiting of the Yankees to the North, his martyr's death in treacherous ambush, seem to order for the hero of a Mexican folk ballad. Social illiteracy, orgies, sporadic cruelty did not make his figure less attractive to Mexican men of letters. Martín Luís Guzmán, one of Mexico's greatest prose writers and today the editor of *Tiempo*, made his reputation as the novelist-laureate of Pancho Villa's life and miraculous deeds. With a mixture of fascination and fear, Guzmán served for a time as Villa's "Secretary" in the field. ("We were fleeing from Victoriano Huerta, the traitor, the assassin, and we were going by the very force of life and all that was most generous in it, to fall in with Pancho Villa, whose soul was not so much a man's as a jaguar's, a jaguar at the moment tamed to our purposes, a jaguar over whose flank we passed a caressing hand, trembling lest he thrust into it his claws.") Out of this experience he produced two of the masterpieces of the literature of the Revolution, the story of his own life in those storm-tossed years and the story of the life of Pancho Villa.

The first, *El Aguila y la Serpiente*

(1928), translated into English as *The Eagle and the Serpent* (1930), is true autobiography: what happened to Guzmán and his friends after he joined and tried to make sense out of, or give direction to, the blind events of the Revolution. Pancho Villa is at once the hero and the anti-hero. The story is told with a novelist's skill for plot structure and selection of representative detail, and a novelist's talent for bringing men, scenes, events, motives and meanings to life. Its real theme is "the tragedy of the Revolution: the moral impossibility not to be with the Revolution and the material and psychological impossibility of attaining by means of it the aims which it set for itself." It has in it the smell and crepuscular melancholy of the Mexican plateau, "the silence that grows out of the barking of dogs and the distant sadness of muted yet audible singing." It is filled with savagely exact characterizations of chieftains and generals, with scenes of impulsive cruelty and impulsive generosity, with battles, plundering, abductions, executions. No one who has read it can ever forget such episodes as Pancho Villa at the telegraph office, repentantly trying to get the telegrapher to cancel after lunch the orders to execute captives that he had issued before eating. Or of his aide, Rodolfo Fierro, giving 300 prisoners a chance to run to a fence and jump over it — to safety — while he, single-handed, with an assistant to reload his revolvers, kills each fleeing man before

he reaches the barrier. Or the picture of his men "kindled by the racket of the firing, the accuracy of Fierro's marksmanship, the lamentations and frenzied actions of the dying, greeting with shouts of joy the spinning of the bodies as they fell, shouting, roaring, gesticulating with laughter as they fired at the heaps of human flesh wherever they noted the least sign of continued life."

Guzmán's other work on Villa is offered in the guise of an autobiography of the chieftain himself: *Las Memorias de Pancho Villa, Según el Texto Establecido y Ordenado por Martín Luis Guzmán* (*The Memoirs of Pancho Villa, According to the Text Established and Arranged by Martín Luis Guzmán*). It is a novelized or imaginary autobiography in which the Villa he knew so well recounts the story of his own life and apologia therefor in such language as he might well have used if he had lived to dictate his memoirs to his one-time literary aide-de-camp. When finished it will be a six-volume work, of which four volumes have already been published, and is likely to compete with *The Eagle and the Serpent* for the place of Guzmán's masterpiece.

In between his labors on the life and deeds of Pancho Villa, Guzmán turned his attention from the military encampment to the presidential palace and corridors of the Chamber of Deputies, for a close-up of the "men of the Revolution" after they reached the precarious summits of power. His *La Sombra del Caudillo* (*The Shadow*

*of the Chief*) is a vivid and terrifying account of political intrigue, demagoguery, treachery, disloyalty, ambush and assassination: a behind-the-scenes picture of a presidential "election." As in the other works, it is difficult to say where history leaves off and novel begins, for it is a novelized version of an actual "election" of the late twenties, so thinly disguised that it is impossible for the Mexican reader to keep the real names of the personages out of his mind as he reads. In it are revealed the mysterious and quivering springs of Mexican politics: the scarcely-tamed bandits turned governors and political apostles; the mouth-filling revolutionary slogans and party labels with no social content behind them; the "laborites," "agrarians," "progressives" and "revolutionaries" who devote their words to the masses and their deeds to the pursuit of their own interests; the politician-orator who has never been able to say four words together even in the privacy of his own home, or of a brothel, except in the tone and with the bearing of an orator; the generals who pledge themselves in strict confidence to both rival chieftains at once, while they continue to measure the time to jump and the advantages accruing from betraying one or the other of the two candidates they daily embrace; the voice of the crowd and the street, cynical, skeptical, malicious, which spreads rumors, stirs ambitions, plays on weaknesses, arouses passions, speculating all the

while on the pleasurable prospect of witnessing a bloody and thrilling spectacle, akin to that of the bull-fighter finishing off the bull.

## III

If *The Shadow of the Caudillo* shows the Revolution as it looks from the summits of power and *The Eagle and the Serpent* shows it as seen from the stage point of leadership in the field, it is to Mariano Azuela's *Los de Abajo*, 1916 (translated as *The Underdogs*, 1929), that we must turn for a picture of the Revolution as it looked to the obscure local leaders and the fighting, suffering anonymous rank and file, who came from the depths of Mexican society. This series of intermittent struggles of over three decades plowed up the depths of peasant, peon and Indian society, appealed to the down-trodden illiterate mass who supplied the troops of all bands, intoxicated them with promises not really meant and often not fully realizable without a long prior course of economic, political, social and cultural transformation. To the lowly and the humble the Revolution was a release from enforced humility, a chance placed in the hand, a chance to "plunder the plunderers," an escape from simple, monotonous and unrewarding toil to stirring adventure, and a comradeship of danger and death in the field that was to the Mexican temperament as exciting as an endless fiesta. But even the wildest and most intoxicating fiesta palls in time. What began as a bitter hatred and a flaming

hope degenerated into a senseless marching and counter-marching, advancing and fleeing, starving and surfeiting, killing and being killed, for a succession of victorious leaders who were quick to forget the humble on whose backs they had climbed to power. Mexican family ties are notoriously loose and there were women to be had everywhere on the route of march, but sometime a man wanted a home and children, a piece of land to settle down on with dog and horse and rifle, a settled, stable and dignified existence, a chance to live the new way of life that the Revolution perpetually promised and perpetually used as tocsin to sound the cry of betrayal and summon anew into the field. In lean, nervous, staccato prose, in campfire-lit flashes and gunfire-lit charges and flights, a prose as stark and episodic and violent as the deeds it portrays, Mariano Azuela, military surgeon turned novelist, records the scenes of battle, march, camp, deserted and gutted home. The terrible power of the account is heightened by the Homeric impartiality and tight restraint, which forces the reader to react with the greater intensity because the author has held his own feelings back. Sacrifice and suffering, death and debauchery, anguish and orgy, heroism and hope, bewilderment and violence and despair succeed each other through the pages of this, the Revolution's outstanding masterpiece and true image. Its very inconclusiveness is the inconclusiveness of the Revolution itself, which

could destroy and raze and sweep away but so far has been unable to build the new life with the promise of which it summoned the lowly to leave the narrow circle of their common days. Through it all rings the unanswered question: *What for?* The hero is not an individual but, as in so many revolutionary novels, the entire folk.

## IV

One of the undoubted achievements of the Mexican Revolution has been the gradual, sporadic, but ever more substantial redistribution of the land. This, and the accompanying cult of the redemption of the Indian at the bottom of the social pyramid, has represented not a step towards a socialist or post-capitalist society but rather a reversion to primitive, pre-conquest subsistence agriculture. In time this reversal may well lead to a new fusion of the Iberian and Indian culture strains and a greater well-being and power over his own destiny for the tiller of the soil. But how has this great, uncompleted and unintegrated reform worked out so far in practice? Here, too, the novel gives a disturbing but truthful answer. In the thirties, with the active civil war a romanticized, receding memory, we can watch the growing disillusion of the younger novelists.

Thus, Gregorio López y Fuentes's novel of Zapata's rebellion, *Tierra (Land)*, 1933, ends with the assassination of Zapata (which took place in 1919). But the Indians still possess the

land they have seized and their buried rifles to protect it. To them Zapata is living still and will return to lead them in time of need, so that the novel closes on a note of hope. Two years later the novelist jumps a decade to examine the fate of the "redeemed" Indian in his own time. *El Indio*, 1935 (translated into English with the same title in 1937) is a frightening picture of exploitation and betrayal by politicians who rise to power with promises of redemption on their lips.

The same theme is handled with still greater power by Mauricio Magdaleno in his *Resplandor*, 1937 (translated into English as *Sunburst*, 1944). Again the protagonist is not an individual but a community, a wretched, pestilential handful of huts of Otomi Indians on a barren, highland slope. Its personages are members of "a race sick from centuries of humiliation and bitterness," a village which has learned to circumscribe suffering only by narrowing the horizon of expectation. Centuries have passed over this mangy village, régimes have come and gone, battles been fought with its inhabitants as cannon fodder and pitiful prize. Of late, bad has become worse, thanks to the destructive phase of the revolution and the ravages of cumulative degradation. The great estate in the bottom lands that exploited these humble peons has closed down since its owner was slain in a revolutionary foray; the eroded upland barren has ceased to bear at all, poisoned by outcropping lime; the

very lime has ceased to fetch a price and the reptiles and birds which might have been snared have sought less inhospitable places. Even God is leaving, for the parish priest can no longer endure the spectacle of misery and continue to preach resignation. All that remains are fragments of broken-down Indian superstitions, which, though a succession of signs and omens nourish the sudden sunburst of hope, prime mover of the tragic events of the novel. An orphan boy from their village, taken away by a "revolutionary" governor to get an education, now according to the voice of rumor and the signs of witchcraft, is about to return as their redeemer. His visit as gubernatorial candidate is a veritable festival of rejoicing. From their lack they scrape together the means for a reception such as they might give to their patron Saint Andrew himself if he were to visit their village. They sacrifice, to the candidate's casual lust the most beautiful of their maidens, the witch doctor poisoning her betrothed to safeguard the life of their Redeemer. From his demagogic speeches they glean that the rich bottom lands will become theirs and that he will build them a dam to banish sterility and starvation forever. But the old estate is reopened as an "experimental station," the overseer reappears in the guise of a revolutionary bureaucrat managing the station, the *hacienda* commissary once more binds them in debt peonage in the form of "cooperative credits," the old servile labors are extracted

without even the old miserable compensation since "now they are working for themselves and for their future." Tyranny is even greater than of old because henceforth it will operate in their own name. Still they cling to the desperate hope that it is the local tyrants and not the Governor, "their Governor!" When at last they comprehend the full depths of their betrayal and essay a pathetic rebellion, an avalanche of punitive cruelty descends upon them to teach them their place in "the new order." Dumbly they watch at the end while the Governor selects one of their children once more to go to the city to be educated so that he may be their "Redeemer."

It has remained for a woman novelist, Magdalena Mondragón, to write the parable of the present ebb-phase of the Mexican Revolution in *Yo como Pobre* (translated as *Some Day the Dream*, 1947). This is at once the most unusual and the most Mexican of Mexican novels of the Revolution, in its episodes, in its approach to life, to sex, to politics, to civic corruption, to Mexico itself, and, above all, to death. Its protagonist is a community of sorts, a group of people born and raised on the edge of Mexico City's outlying garbage dumps. They subsist and procreate in crude huts of mud and salvaged tin, surrounded by unwholesome vapors and refuse. They make their living by rushing to each cart as it discharges its detritus, to sort therefrom bits of rag, metal, paper,

partly rotted foodstuffs, which they use or sell. Their efforts to earn a living during the rainy season, when the refuse is too soggy to yield much, carries them into the city itself, as street sweepers, garbage collectors, prostitutes, beggars. Their dream — a government subsidy for a cooperative for the commercial exploitation of the city's wastes — takes them into trade unionism, cooperation, politics, which prove to be other forms of waste and corruption. An occasional windfall gives them entry into cheap dance halls, sidewalk "restaurants," cantinas, lockups, hospitals, morgues. An epidemic among their sickly children brings sanitary authorities and clergy to their dump, and culminates in their collective celebration of the greatest of Mexico's fiestas, joining death and revelry.

Thus all of Mexican life is reviewed in a fierce parable in which Mexico itself, the city this time, not the countryside, is a wasteland and abode of stinking corruption. Life is sustained only by the animal will to exist, by pitiful dreams, flashes of hope amidst hopelessness, gleams of sentiment, solid bonds of love, pity, charity. But always the corruption, by its sheer cumulative weight and ubiquity, overwhelms everything, except the determination of these dwellers in the wasteland to cling to life to the end and to celebrate death with the proper joyousness. There is a continuous strain of poetry and there are

moments of wayward beauty in this novel, even as the ravine of the La Morena dump sprouts wildflowers amidst the refuse. The poetic feeling embraces the rare, the absurd, the shocking, the iridescent sheen on the surface of corruption, the violence and cruelty and death that are at the heart of life.

The reader will make a mistake if he lets himself be repelled by maggots in the first line or the vultures perched on roses that adorn the jacket. For along with the stark poverty in its original title and the corruption which is symbolized by its setting, the "dream" of the translated title is in it too; even as, in the very bitterness of the indictment, one can sense the author's love for her land and her people.

Indeed, it is the real source of passion in all these novels. If the reader will read those available in English translation — *The Eagle and the Serpent*; *The Underdogs*; *El Indio*; *Sunburst*; *Some Day the Dream* — he will get a truer picture of the Mexican Revolution than from all the reportorial books and sociological studies that have been published on it. For this is the deeper insight. And, if the verdict of the Mexican novel on the present state of the Mexican Revolution seems gloomy and bitter, it is not cynical or utterly despairing, for it is set down with honesty and supported by the unstated premise of a still-living hope.

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intolerable: U S immigration statistics confirm his picture. It may be that fundamentally Russians and Americans are too alike to accept each other's rival solutions to the problem of human and social relations. Both peoples are historically pioneers, frontiersmen, restless and anarchic individualists; but they have chosen diametrically opposite ways of harmonizing their instincts to the life of a community – the Americans by allowing them to cancel out in free play, the Russians by enslaving themselves to mass tyranny. These speculations carry the argument unwarrantably further away still from Mr Burnham's book, but they suggest at least one heartening conclusion. It is that insofar as the prospect of destroying Soviet tyranny rests in understanding the minds of its principal masters and victims to-day the Americans are the most naturally qualified people to achieve it.

#### MARX ON THE TRUMAN DOCTRINE

Bertram D. Wolfe

In the Soviet Union there are four avowedly Synoptic Gospels: the words of the Master Marx, and the commentaries of the Three Apostles, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. By virtue of a Quarternian Mystery, the four are one and besides them there is none. All cumulative experience, all recorded history, all the scientific investigations of a half century, or a cycle of centuries, in Genetics or Philology or Music, can be whisked away in the thunderclap from a single quotation from any one of the four, or buried under a hail of quotations from all four at once.

Where all utterances large and small, profound or casual, serious or jesting, ill-tempered, sanguine or dyspeptic, are alike erected into a sacred canon, quotations can be found to fit any need, annihilate any questioner, and, the day after tomorrow, prove the reverse of what was proved today. This quotational shock treatment and chain reaction, once started, can no longer be stopped. One quotation calls for another, until the Scripture is gradually reduced to a rubble of fragmentary texts bearing little or no relation to the original structure of thought. There is a curious hide-and-seek censorship in which one utterance is roared into the public's unresisting ear while another utterance is carefully concealed as if it did not exist.

In recent years, the years of the late Stalinist dispensation, there is a whole body of Marx's writings which is buried many feet below the level of the embalmed body of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. This body of the sacred text is literally never unwrapped or exhibited for public contemplation or veneration. For all practical purposes it has been expurgated and its author posthumously purged, for it deals with Russian aggressive expansion over Europe and Asia, with Russian 'Asiatic backwardness and bar-



barism', with the aggressive imperialist nature of Panslavism, with the threat to democracy and socialism that comes from the spread of Russian absolutist state institutions and Russian imperial power. Instead of citing them, explaining them, or explaining them away, the Fourth, and by his own admission, the greatest of the Four Apostles, has preferred to bury them twelve feet or more under the earth.

As a historian of the Russian Revolution, I have increasingly been forced to adopt the 'archæological' method to excavate the true outlines of an event or an idea from under the debris of quotations, falsifications and apologetics. Knowing that Lenin was in the habit of 'consulting with Marx', as Krupskaya has reported, wherever a new situation required him to do some new thinking or dig up some new quotations, I thought it might be useful to follow the Leninist method in order to see what Marx might have to say that would seem apposite to the problems of Turkey and Russia, Iran, the Dardanelles, the Truman Plan. I had barely scratched the surface of Marx's letters to Engels and Marx's and Engels's jointly written articles (signed by Marx alone) for the *New York Tribune*, when I found that there were whole arcana of Marxian utterances on these subjects – on each and every one of them, from the Dardanelles to the Truman Plan.

#### Marx on the Dardanelles

The Dardanelles [wrote Marx in the *New York Tribune* of April 12, 1853] are from the nature of their locality even more important than Gibraltar . . . The narrowness of the strait is such that a few properly erected and well-armed fortifications, such as Russia once in possession would not tarry to erect, might defy the combined fleets of the world. . . . In that case the Black Sea would be more properly a Russian lake than even the Lake of Ladoga, situated in its very heart. The resistance of the Caucasians would be starved out at once; Trebizond would be a Russian port; the Danube a Russian river. . . . When Constantinople is taken the Turkish empire is cut in two . . . Macedonia, Thessaly, Albania, outflanked and cut off from the main body, will not put the conquerer to the trouble of subduing them; they will have nothing left but to beg for mercy and for an army to maintain internal order.

But, having come thus far on the way to universal empire, is it probable that this gigantic and swollen power will pause in its career? . . . With Constantinople she stands on the threshold of the Mediterranean; with Durazzo and the Albanian Coast she is in the very centre of the Adriatic . . . Flanking the Austrian dominions on the north, east and south, Russia will count the Habsburgs [i.e. Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, etc.–BDW] as her vassals. . . . The broken and undulating Western frontier of the Empire, ill-defined in respect to natural boundaries, would call for rectification; and it would appear that the natural frontier of Russia runs from Dantzic, or perhaps Stettin, to Trieste. As sure as conquest follows conquest and annexation annexation, so sure would the conquest by Russia be only the prelude for the annexation of Hungary, Prussia, Galicia, and for the ultimate realization of the Slavonic Empire which certain fanatical Panslavistic philosophers have dreamed of . . .

But let Russia get possession of Turkey and her strength is increased nearly half, and she becomes superior to all the rest of Europe put together. Such an event would be an unspeakable calamity to the revolutionary cause. The maintainance of Turkish independence, or, in the case of the possible dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, the arrest of the Russian scheme of annexation, is a matter of the highest moment. In this instance, the interest of the revolutionary democracy and of England go hand in hand. Neither can permit the Tsar to make Constantinople one of his capitals, and we shall find that, driven to the wall, the one will resist him as determinedly as the other.

So, too, I found in Marx's correspondence to the *New York Tribune* warnings about 'hundreds of Russian agents perambulating Turkey and the Balkans'; about the use Russia was making of the Eastern Orthodox Church and clergy; the imperialist use she was making of Pan Slavist ideology 'to unite all branches of the great Slav race under one sceptre and to make them the ruling race of Europe'; her use of 'insurrections more or less directly urged on by Russian gold and Russian influence'; Russia's ability to work out a 'well-defined Eastern policy' while the Western powers 'grope in the dark' because Russia herself is semi-Asiatic 'in her condition, manners, traditions and institutions'. And Marx has discovered, no less, the germs of the new rule for the Balkans which makes loyalty to Russia the test of loyalty and treason to Russia the test of treason. Of Prince Menshikov, the Molotov or Vyshinsky of his day, Marx writes in the *Tribune* of June 9th, 1853:

What Prince Menshikov now demands is . . . that the Patriarchs of Constantinople, Antioch, Alexandria, and Jerusalem, as well as the Metropolitan Archbishops [throughout the Balkans - BDW] shall be immovable, unless proved guilty of high treason - against the Russians! - and then only upon the consent of the Tsar . . .

We did not start this game of quotations, but since more than one can play at it, it would not be hard for Tito either to find a veritable atom bomb of quotations in these pages to blast Stalinism by quotation shock treatment out of the tabernacle where the sacred writings are kept.

Almost one hundred years ago, it would seem from his news letters, Marx had discovered what is in its present phase known as 'the cold war', namely that glacial expansion of the Russian state over Europe and Asia by a combination of penetration, invasion, puppetry, insurrection, and the activity of its agents in every land. Marx felt that if this autocratic regime continued to spread, democracy, socialism, and Western civilization were alike doomed. But he did not have too high an opinion of Western diplomacy and Western resistance. In the bourgeois camp of free-trade England he found appeasers. He was unsparing in his irony concerning the ease with which particularly Englishmen and English news-

papers were taken in by mere professions of peace by a dictator bent upon seizing as cheaply as possible the fruits of war.

In all essential points [he wrote in the *Tribune* of April 19th, 1853] Russia has steadily, one after another, gained her ends thanks to the ignorance, dullness, and consequent inconsistency and cowardice of the Western Governments.

No pacifist, Marx looked with disdain upon the peace-at-any-price camp in the West:

One thing must be evident at least [he wrote], that it is the stockjobbers and the peace-mongering bourgeoisie, represented in the British government by the oligarchy, who surrender Europe to Russia, and that in order to resist the encroachments of the Tsar we must above all overthrow the inglorious Empire of those mean, cringing and infamous adorers of the golden calf.

What scorn Marx directed towards the fatuous optimism of the London *Times* concerning the peaceful intentions of the Autocrat:

The Tsar has declared for peace [*The Times* is happy to state . . .]. The Tsar has expressed 'pacific' sentiments *by his own lips* . . . He will allow the other powers to occupy themselves with conferences provided they allow him meanwhile to occupy the principalities . . . (*Tribune*, October 4th, 1853). How does it happen [he had written four months earlier] that the poor *Times* believed in the 'good faith' of Russia towards Turkey and her 'anti-pathy' against all aggrandizement? Peter proposed to raise himself on the ruins of Turkey. Catherine proposed dismemberment . . . Nicholas, more moderate, only demands the *exclusive protectorate* of Turkey. [Now extended to the exclusive protectorate of all the 'People's Democracies' - B D W]. Mankind will not forget that Russia was the *protector* of Poland, the *protector* of the Crimea, the *protector* of Courland [The Baltic Provinces - B D W], the *protector* of Georgia, Mengrelia, the Circassian and Caucasian tribes. And now Russia the protector of Turkey!

As to Russia's lip service to anti-imperialism and its declared 'anti-pathy to aggrandizement,' Marx offered in the same article:

the following facts from a mass of the acquisitions of Russia since Peter the Great. The Russian frontier has advanced:

Toward Berlin, Dresden and Vienna about	700 miles
Toward Constantinople.	500 miles
Toward Stockholm	630 miles
Toward Teheran	1,000 miles

Of course, poor Marx is out of date, and the reader will have to add the additional mileages in each of the above directions and the mileage toward Hong Kong and India that stretches across two continents.

And, of course, 'conditions have changed' since Marx's day. One would have to note that Russia has since had a revolution which made its effete empire into a new, dynamic and energetic state machine; that the revolution grew into a counter revolution, and that the state which was to wither away became the total state. One would have to note that the

third of the Four Apostles, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, seized power under the sign of anti-imperialism, renouncing Russia's claims to Poland and the Baltic Nations, to the Balkans and the Dardanelles, to Northern Persia, Manchuria and the lands traversed by the Chinese Eastern Railroad.

The Provisional Government [Lenin wrote indignantly in July 1917] has not ever published the secret treaties of a frankly predatory character, concerning the partitioning of Persia, the robbing of China, of Turkey, the annexation of East Prussia, etc. . . . It has confirmed these treaties concluded by Tsarism, which for several centuries has robbed and oppressed more peoples than all other tyrants and despots together . . . disgracing and demoralizing the Great-Russian people by transforming them into an executioner of other peoples.

Yes, times have changed, and are changing still even as I write. The now not-so-provisional government of the Fourth and Greatest Apostle is bent once more on the 'partitioning of Persia, the robbing of China, of Turkey, the annexation of East Prussia, etc.', and 'is disgracing once more the Great-Russian people and demoralizing them by transforming them into an executioner of other peoples.' Times have changed so much since Lenin wrote his 'Imperialism, the Final Stage of Capitalism,' that it would not be amiss for a Fifth Disciple to arise to write a new work to be entitled: 'Imperialism, the Final Stage of Communism.'

All I have sought here is to rescue from undeserved purge and oblivion some of the earnest words of the First of the Apostles and the Founder of the Faith. A quotation from Marx, in Russia, is supposed to be enough to settle anything, to make or break a theory, a proposal or a man. Am I stretching things when I suggest that the author of this now sacred text loved freedom and hated tyranny; believed deeply in democracy, political, economic and social; feared and opposed bureaucracy and slavery and personal, arbitrary rule; cherished all that was best in Western civilization and wished to build upon and enlarge it, not undermine and destroy it; feared the glacial spread of the even then too brutal, too dynamic and too total Russian Empire and insisted that it could and must be contained or both democracy and socialism would be lost.

If at the outset [Marx wrote in the *Tribune* of December 30th, 1853] they (the Western Governments) had used a manly style of language, adequate to the position they hold, and the pretensions they set up before the world, if they had proved that bluster and swagger could not impose on them, the Autocrat would not only have refrained from attempting it, but would have entertained for them a very different feeling from the contempt which must now animate his bosom. At that time, to show that they seriously meant to preserve Turkey intact, and were ready to back up their intention with fleets and armies, was the sure means of maintaining peace.

Could it be that Harry Truman was reading the unexpurgated Marx when he penned the Truman Doctrine?

Or that Karl Marx was anticipating the Marshall Plan or the Truman Doctrine when he wrote:

It is cheering to see the American intervention in Europe beginning just with the Eastern question. Besides the commercial and military importance resulting from the situation of Constantinople, there are other important considerations making its possession the hotly controverted and permanent subject of dispute between the East and the West — and America is the youngest and most vigorous representative of the West. (*Tribune*, August 12th, 1853).

Whatever we make of these quotations, this much at least is clear, that Marx does not belong to the 'peace camp' of the aggressively expanding total state, nor to the concentration camp system that accompanies its expansion. His voice is stifled and his writings purged and perverted in the land that professes to worship him. When such words can be freely printed in Russia again, then mankind will know that Russia is then more free. In the meanwhile, a closing prophecy from Marx, the chief of the Apostles:

With a worthier and more equal social status, with the abolition of caste and privilege, with free political institutions, unfettered industry, and emancipated thought, the people of the West will rise again to power and unity of purpose, while the Russian Colossus itself will be shattered by the progress of the masses and the explosive force of ideas. There is no reason to fear the conquest of Europe by the Cossacks. The very divisions and apparent weaknesses which would seem to render such an event easy, are the sure pledge of its impossibility.

## GRAHAM GREENE: II. THE LATER NOVELS

Derek Traversi

With the publication of *Brighton Rock* in 1936 the problems behind all Graham Greene's writings are, for an attentive reader, sufficiently defined. The main concern of his later novels is the attempt to resolve these problems, themselves the product of barely definable personal tensions, through their relation to objective religious beliefs. The introduction of these beliefs, however, though presented as a solution to the author's difficulties, raises in turn a further problem of its own: the problem of the relationship in a work of art between subjective experience and objective belief. This relationship is necessarily double in its nature and implications. Whilst it is true that the possession of such belief offers the artist a possible means of transcending the closed circle of his own subjective impressions, it is equally true that it is only through these impres-

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## OPERATION REWRITE

### THE AGONY OF SOVIET HISTORIANS

*By Bertram D. Wolfe*

**F**OR over two decades, Soviet historiography has been in steadily deepening crisis. Histories succeed each other as if they were being consumed by a giant chain smoker who lights the first volume of the new work with the last of the old. Historians appear, disappear and reappear; others vanish without a trace.

Originally, only party history was subject to rigid prescription. Then Soviet history was added. Latterly, the area of command performance and commanded conclusions has spread outward to America and Asia and the wastes of Antarctica, backward to the Middle Ages, to Byzantium, to the shadowy origins of the Slavs and the pre-dawn of the Kievan state, to China's earliest culture. One day a given statement of events or interpretation is obligatory. The next it is condemned in words which seem to portend the doom of the historian who faithfully carried out his instructions. If it is a pronouncement of Stalin which he is following, all the more severely must he condemn himself—of course, without involving the Leader in his "self-criticism."

Often the central personages of an event become *unpersons*, as if they had never existed. The Civil War must now be rewritten as if there never had been a War Commissar named Leon Trotsky. The Soviet theatre, once the subject of so many histories, is historyless once more, until somebody contrives to write a new version without a trace of the great innovator-director, Vsevolod Meierhold. On February 15, 1951, *Pravda* accomplished the feat of "commemorating" the tenth anniversary of the Eighteenth Party Conference, in which Voznesensky delivered the main report, without so much as mentioning the name of the reporter!

Today the Balkarians are missing from Volume "B" of the new edition of the "Great Encyclopedia;" the Volga Germans have become an *unpeople*; and the Crimean Tartars, having been expelled from their centuries-old home to a region under the Arctic Circle, have had the place names of their former habitations extirpated, and are now being subjected to the shrinking of their

historical rôle in the Crimea to the point where they are gradually becoming an *unpeople*, too.<sup>1</sup>

During the past spring even objects began to become *unobjects*, as *Pravda* and the regional press from February to May reported a grim and thoroughgoing purge of scores of local and national museums all the way from Lithuania to Kazakhstan. The Lithuanian museums were rebuked for failing to show the influence of Great Russian culture and the struggles and longings of their peoples for the extinction of their independence, while the Kazakh museums were condemned for the nostalgic splendor of their daggers, guns, harnesses, bridal costumes, and for failing to display any objects showing Great Russia's civilizing influence and the "progressive" character of her annexation of Kazakhstan.

It would require many volumes to give an account of this continual retroactive rewriting of history. The present article aims to give some notion of the scope of this vast *operation palimpsest*, to seek the "line," or rather some of the fragmentary and frequently contradictory lines, discernible in the revisions; to seek the reasons, or a rationale, for what seems to contain an element of the personal and irrational as well; and to ask what these tamperings with the historical record portend concerning the present and immediate future intentions of the régime. History has become a "weapon," an arm of propaganda, the essential function of which is the justification of the changing policies of the Soviet Government through reference to the "facts" and "documents" of the past. The penchant for making every change in foreign relations or domestic policy historically retroactive serves as a vast though distorting glass through which the observer may see these policy changes magnified. It is that which makes *Voprosy istorii* (*Questions of History*) undoubtedly the most interesting and revealing of all present-day Soviet publications.

Macaulay once said that his idea of hell would be to have to listen to fiends endlessly misquoting history and be unable to correct them. But in the Soviet Union, the historian himself must do the misquoting. His own point of view is neither consulted, nor, except by the accident of coincidence with the line of the moment, ever likely to find expression. The textbook writers and lecturers under the limited absolutism of the last Tsars could easily be identified as liberal and democratic, as in the case of a

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Pravda* and *Isvestia*, June 4, 1952.



Platonov, or as conservative and monarchical, as in the case of an Ilovaisky, or as Marxist, as in the case of a Pokrovsky. But under total state absolutism, history, as all of culture, has been "nationalized" and there are no individual viewpoints or private judgments or pluralistic approaches. Tarlé, specialist on Napoleon, is ordered to rewrite his principal work in such fashion as to "prove" that Napoleon himself burned Moscow (no doubt to make it untenable as his winter quarters!). The liberal-democratic Vipper, who first wrote on Ivan the Terrible in the early years of the century, is charged with bringing his book of 1922 "up-to-date" and glorifying the protagonist.

From my experience as a student at Moscow University in 1939-41 [writes S. V. Utechin] I know that the late Professors K. V. Bazilevich and S. V. Bakhrushkin held a negative attitude towards the present régime. Yet in their volumes we find no traces of views different from those professed by Stalin. Thus the personal political opinions of the authors do not necessarily coincide with, and may even be contrary to, the views expressed in their books. These reflect not their political biases . . . but their understanding of the party line.<sup>9</sup>

As the great editing process embraces more and more of the remote corners of the earth and earliest past, there are no longer safe and neutral topics. Nor does the historian enjoy the right to pick his period and theme, nor the right of silence where he cannot in good conscience speak. As in music the politician-critic or the Supreme Critic in the Politburo tells the composers what and how and in what style to compose, so in history. *Voprosy istorii* bristles with menacing strictures upon historians for picking remote, neutral, sharply delimited or apolitical subjects; for neglecting fields which have been given priority in Party directives and the Historical Plan, for drawing their own conclusions or failing to find in the materials the conclusions predetermined for them.

It is suggestive both of the hazards in the field and the real feelings of the historians that, despite urgings, dangled prizes and repeated threats, no one has yet been found to complete a single volume or a single serious article in the field of the history of the Party and the régime, though Stalin himself first suggested it in 1931, has ordered it at regular intervals since, and forced it into the place of top priority in the Five-Year Plan for Soviet Historians adopted in 1946. Fifteen years after the task was first as-

<sup>9</sup> S. V. Utechia, "Textbook on History. Soviet Studies," Vol. iv, No. 1.

signed by the Dictator, the lead editorial in *Voprosy istorii* (No. 8, 1949) warned that the failure to produce the ordered works creates a "completely impermissible situation" which "it would be completely wrong to look for objective circumstances to explain." This stubborn silence, continuing up to the moment in which I write, constitutes the most eloquent page in present-day Soviet historiography.

## II

In the twenties, not a politician but a professional Marxist historian, M. N. Pokrovsky, was the virtual dictator in Soviet historiography. He represented a consistent general line ("history is politics projected into the past") and made life difficult for fellow historians who did not accept it. But he held to professional standards, had regard for documents and evidence, though at times he wrestled mightily with them to compel them to yield what he sought. And as a historian he had enormous prestige, which was further enhanced by Lenin's preface to his "Short History of Russia," praising it warmly and insisting that it become a textbook and be translated into other European languages.

But in 1931 his excessive respect for the facts of Party history came under Stalin's personal scrutiny. In 1934 he was posthumously purged—he had the luck to die in time—along with all his works and disciples. At about the same time, Ryazanov, Russia's outstanding Marxologist, whose headstrong, self-directed devotion to Marxist documentary scholarship closely resembled Pokrovsky's attitude toward history, suffered a similar posthumous fate.

Pokrovsky was accused of being anti-national and anti-patriotic (he shared Lenin's internationalism and disliked Tsarist wars); of neglecting actual events, dates, facts, periods and personages in favor of generalized sociological schemata (until then considered a hallmark of Marxist historical interpretation); of being "anti-scientific" and "anti-Marxist"; of "underestimating" Lenin (he wrote: "Whenever Lenin differs from me I blindly accept his view; he can see ten feet deeper into the earth than any of the rest of us"); and of underestimating Stalin (which was undoubtedly true and the immediate though not the only explanation of his downfall).

At first it seemed to historians that a new line might emerge which would put pluses where he had minuses, and offer them

considerably more freedom for examination of sources without regard to Marxist interpretive schemata. But alas, life was not to be that simple. Though Pokrovsky had been condemned for neglect of concrete historical facts, ere long *Voprosy istorii* (No. 12, 1948) was to give warning that "the proper historian" must be free from "objectivism" and from "an exaggerated attachment to facts," and at home in the citation and application of the "theoretical generalizations" and dictates of the Party line. Now it was not a single, simplicist, recognizable line like Pokrovsky's, but a continuous bombardment by *ad hoc* fragments of lines, changing with each political shift or change in mood, frequently internally contradictory, constantly being altered and even suddenly reversed.

Apparently these fragments issue from Stalin's latest pronouncement or some earlier one exhumed from context after four decades, or from the quotations from Lenin or Marx or Engels which adorn their promulgation. But study of such texts will not help the historian, nor is there any real defense in an umbrella of quotations, for in any vast and historically evolved sacred scripture you can find quotations for any side of anything. To quote yesterday's Stalin may today be "talmudism and scholasticism." The historian must divine the Dictator's coming pronouncement, for his latest word is always the last word in history even though Marx, Engels, Lenin and yesterday's Stalin all be united against it. A sudden reversal in Stalin's relations with Germany or England or America is pushed backward retroactively so that the present enemy is absolute evil, and though yesterday an ally, must always have been an enemy. All books, articles and documents that testify to the contrary must be consigned to the Orwellian "memory hole" to be consumed in flames, or must be "rectified" and brought up to date without any mention of the fact that there was ever an earlier version.

Not only changes in relationships, strategy and tactics, even changes in the Dictator's awareness of the nature of his own régime, or his subjective identification with some deed of a figure of the past, say an Ivan IV or a Marshal Kutuzov, can require a complete retroactive revision of the figure thus honored. Such revaluations cannot be deduced by the historian from a study of sources, but only by sensing the reactions of the Dictator whose attitude toward history has been summed up by Orwell in the formula: "Who controls the present, controls the past."

## III

Stalin first entered historiography through the field of personal and party history. In January 1924, one week after the death of Lenin, he chose the occasion of a Memorial Address to predate by some four years the beginning of their personal acquaintance.<sup>9</sup> At the time it might have seemed merely a faintly ghoulish example of the natural human inclination to reshape the past nearer to the heart's desire. But when one remembers that Lenin had just called for the removal of Stalin as General Secretary, and when one contemplates the subsequent revisions that carried Stalin from "loyal disciple" to "best disciple" and then "only loyal disciple," and on to "faithful companion-in-arms" (*soratsnik*) and "wise guide and counsellor" and more than equal partner, one cannot but be struck by the meticulous attention to detail and long-range planning implied in this first little retouching of history.

A Napoleon, a Trotsky, a Thucydides, a Xenophon or a Josephus may wait to turn his energies into the writing of history until defeat has deprived him of the opportunity of making it. But Stalin engaged in writing history as one of the means by which he climbed to power. That explains the ruthless political utilitarianism, the pugnacious factionalism or *partiinost* which he has impressed upon it. That is why first "rotten liberalism" and then "objectivism" were to become the gravest of historiographical crimes. History was one of the "weapons" with which he fought his way to power, and he enlarged the scope of his revisions with every increase in the actual power drawn into his hands.

There was much to revise. First there was that personal symbol of the Revolution and the régime: the duality-unity, *Lenin-Trotsky*. Mountains of books, newspapers, pamphlets, decrees and documents had to be consigned to the "memory hole," mashed to pulp, or brought out in "corrected" editions, in order to substitute for *Lenin-Trotsky* a new duality-unity, *Lenin-Stalin*.

Then there were the other close associates of Lenin, glorified as "Old Bolshevism" in the struggle with Trotsky, and then themselves destroyed. To obscure all traces of their actual deeds and substitute nameless and monstrous evils that would justify

<sup>9</sup> For the evidence, see the writer's "Three Who Made a Revolution." New York: The Dial Press, 1948. p. 424-7.

their murder is another task that Stalinist historiography has never ceased to concern itself with. With notable impartiality Stalin has barred foreign and domestic accounts, pre-Stalinist Bolshevik histories, Stalinist histories written to order by Krorin, Popov and Yaroslavsky, the footnotes to the Second and Third Editions of Lenin's "Works," the "Great Encyclopedia," and all the telltale passages in the letters, writings and speeches of Lenin, and of Stalin himself. There is a mass of Lenin-Trotsky correspondence at Harvard that can never be published in the Soviet Union. There is Lenin's "Testament." Typical of Stalin's self-censorship is his omission from his "Collected Works" of his tribute to Trotsky published in *Pravda* of November 6, 1918, on the occasion of the first anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution.

For the foreign observer, the most important document that Stalin has omitted from the corresponding volume of his "Works" is a letter he wrote Lenin in 1920, criticizing the latter's "Theses on the National and Colonial Question" because they failed to provide an intermediate or transitional form for the annexation of new Soviet states, like a "Soviet Germany, Hungary, Poland, Rumania," which have never formed part of the old Tsarist Empire and therefore may object to immediate incorporation in the Soviet Union. This early foreshadowing of the future "People's Democracies" can be found, however, as a footnote to Lenin's "Theses" in the Second and Third Russian editions of his "Works," Vol. XXV, p. 624.

The present writer was in Moscow during the first six months of 1929, when on central command every periodical and paper in the Soviet Union broke out with a picture of Stalin on the front page. This was the beginning of the Stalin cult. At first it seemed to me wholly "rational". Having just eliminated Bukharin, the last of the close comrades of Lenin, Stalin had now to become "Old Bolshevism." But a number of circumstances have since caused me to conclude that there is an irrational element also.

First, there was the fury of the purges, with the arrest, execution or reduction to unskilled slave labor of millions: the neutral, the indifferent, the innocent, the loyal, including entire technical, bureaucratic and military layers desperately needed for the enhancement of the very power of the state. It may be urged that such random terror was "needed" on the principle: "If you want to make your enemies afraid, begin by cutting off the heads of your friends." And that total state power in a populous state can

spend a few million lives on the process of completely atomizing society so that every particularized atom depends absolutely on the state and no man can depend upon any other. Still, it is hard to believe that so many millions were required, or that the state had so greatly to weaken itself technically in the process.

Second, there is the insatiable and unappeasable appetite of the dictator for the enlargement of the incense, the trembling obedience, the worship, to the point where he is now the "Coryphaeus" of all the arts and sciences (history of course among them), and is increasingly being endowed with the attributes of a living god.

Third, there was the unexpected discovery while going through the pages of *Zhizn natsionalnostei* (*Life of the Nationalities*—Stalin's personal organ when he was Commissar of Nationalities) that Stalin had retroactively inserted two minor "prophecies" into one of his articles when he included it in his "Collected Works." And more startling still, the discovery of an item headed, "Greetings to Comrade Stalin," with the following (slightly abbreviated) text:

The Conference of National Sections . . . sends you its greetings and declares its conviction that by following firmly along the path pointed out by you for the solution of the national question . . . we will create throughout the world a united, brotherly Communist family which we will teach to appreciate those great merits which belong to you—the leader of the oppressed peoples.

Here is the beginning of that *potok privetstvi* (flood of greetings) which has filled the columns of all the Soviet papers and journals for these many years. But the date was December 24, 1920! Lenin was still alive and in leadership, and, by general consent, it was Lenin who had pointed out the solution of the national question and who was the leader of the oppressed peoples of the world. Stalin was still outranked by five or six of Lenin's associates and had neither expropriated their deeds, nor executed them. Thus the craving for flattery and the need that "the world appreciate his great merits" preceded by almost a decade the "rational" motivation of the Stalin cult.

In 1931 Stalin issued his first public directive on the spirit of the new historiography, in the form of an angry open letter to the editors of *Proletarskaya Revolyutsia* (*Proletarian Revolution*) charging them with "rotten liberalism" for having printed a "discussion article" on the problem of why Lenin had continued to

admire Kautsky and the Orthodox-Marxist majority of the German Social Democracy until he was shocked by their stand on the war of 1914. *Bolshevik* (No. 22, 1931) published Stalin's Open Letter with its own appropriate editorial gloss, headed: "Give the Study of the History of Our Party a Scientific Bolshevik Footing!" All the earlier histories, from Shlyapnikov's to Yaroslavsky's and Popov's, were attacked. "There must be a thorough housecleaning in all book, textbook and journalistic literature dealing with the history of the Party. . . . The ruthless struggle against every manifestation of rotten liberalism must be intensified. . . . The significance of Stalin's letter far transcends the gateposts of history. . . ."

The Dictator next turned his attention to a close supervision of a new history of the Civil War which was to eliminate all trace of Trotsky—except as a secret agent of the other side. Then he began to dictate all the details of the now renowned "History of the Communist Party: Short Course." On January 20, 1946, *Pravda* reported that Stalin was himself the author of this strange work of historical falsification, endless self-quotation and self-glorification, and that it would appear as Volume XV of his "Collected Works."

But even Stalin's mighty name has not protected the "Short Course" from the ravages of retroactive obsolescence. Thus the first edition had substituted for a number of *unpersons* the new chief purger, Yezhov, as the "preparer of an uprising of the soldiers on the Western Front in Byelorussia."<sup>6</sup> It soon developed that Yezhov was only 16 at the time, and, moreover, that the chief purger must himself be purged. Stalin's "Short Course" keeps appearing in revised editions as the greatest, dullest and most mendacious best seller in the history of literature. But he himself has streamlined the Great October Revolution further and further, until the latest version to appear, in the Chronology in the back of the corresponding volume of his own "Collected Works," actually reads:

Oct. 24 (Nov. 6, New Style)—Lenin arrives at Smolny in the evening. Stalin briefs him on the course of political events.

Oct. 24-25—Lenin and Stalin lead the October uprising.

Whether it be wholly "rational" in terms of the rationale of the total state and the absolute ruler, or whether there be also an irrational element, it should be clear that we are dealing with

<sup>6</sup> *New York: International Publishers, 1939, p. 226.*

the most striking example in all history of a man who has succeeded in inventing himself. It takes total organization and total power—not propaganda skill, but the union of pen and sword in a single hand—to do so complete a job. Once the total state has concentrated in its control not only all the means of production of material but no less of spiritual goods—all the modes of expression, communication, criticism, thought, feeling, all cheers and boos, all love and hate, all paper, ink, type, loudspeakers, microphones, cameras, cinemas, montage and cutting rooms, theatres, walls, schools, churches, streetcorners, all books, magazines, newspapers, leaflets, caricatures, pulpits, chairs, lecterns, meeting halls, all import and export of and traffic in ideas—it becomes possible to reshape the public past nearer to the heart's desire. Having worked so efficiently in personal and party history, this spirit and method were now applied to general historiography.

IV

Since the beginning of the thirties, Stalin's policies have determined with steadily increasing rigor and detail the character of Soviet historiography. His letter of 1931 on "rotten liberalism," his brief dogmatic remarks of 1934 on what a Soviet history text and a modern history text should be; the successive liquidations of the two professional journals that preceded *Voprosy istorii*; the spiritual trauma of the purges—all serve as urgent reminders to the historian that "Stalin is the Creator of Soviet Historical Science" (title of article in No. 2, 1949). Yet, if we except his "History of the Communist Party," all his historical writings, directives and overworked *obiter dicta* which are supposed to serve as guides to historiography would not together make a single chapter. How, then, does the Soviet historian divine what is expected of him? And how shall the observer deduce from the twists and turns of the historiographical line what the real policies and intentions of the Kremlin are?

An especially revealing moment for the examining of these questions is the end of World War II. Dictatorship thrives on war, and total dictatorship thrives on total war on two fronts: against its own people and against the outside world. Hitherto it had offered three justifications for the cruelty, ubiquity and perpetual strain: 1, it was necessary to crush the enemy within; 2, to protect the land of Socialism from a completely hostile world; 3, and it was justified by the fact that it was already pro-



ducing an incomparably more glorious life than that beyond its borders. Now all three justifications were suddenly called in question, and the régime was faced with an acute, all-embracing crisis:

(1) The internal enemy had been officially liquidated some time ago, in the late thirties, when it was proclaimed that classes had been abolished, that Socialism had been achieved, that every one loved the Government and the Leader. The "Stalinist Constitution" was supposed to have institutionalized this new state of affairs.

(2) The theory that the Soviet Union was surrounded by a completely hostile world in which it could find neither friends nor allies but only enemies collapsed the day Hitler attacked and—perhaps contrary to Hitler's expectation and Stalin's—Churchill and Roosevelt called upon their peoples to give unstinting support to the Soviet Union. The Soviet people noted with warmth that they had friends and allies. They heard Stalin himself, on the anniversary of the October Revolution in 1941, proclaim that "England and the United States of America possess elementary democratic liberties . . . trade unions . . . parties . . . parliaments." They saw that the Kremlin was summoning them not to defend the dictatorship but the Fatherland and democratic freedoms. Confidently they looked forward to the dawn of a new day in return for their unstinting sacrifices.

(3) As in 1813, once more the many-peopled Russian armies entered the outside world, and felt its impact. The whole fictional world of evil and misery without, and of superiority and perfection within, fell to pieces. Either the dictatorship had to relax, or new enemies and new superiorities had to be synthetically created.

Out of this crisis came Stalin's address to his electors on the inseparability of war and capitalism and the need to continue the strain-and-storm tempo to prepare for future wars; Zhdanov's attacks on the permeation of the "world's most advanced" music, painting, literature and philosophy by "servility to everything foreign," "rootless cosmopolitanism," "kowtowing to the West," lack of *partiinost* and *ideinost* (party spirit and high level of ideas, literally *party-ness* and *idea-ness*); the "revival" of the Comintern; the rejection of Marshall Plan aid by Molotov who, while his régime hesitated, took 89 advisers to Paris, in the end only to advise him on how to say *nie!*

In June 1945, exactly one month after V.E. Day, *Istoricheskii*

*zhurnal* (meaning, simply enough, *Historical Journal*), which had naturally been edited in the spirit of the Grand Alliance, was informed that it had been unequal to its tasks, had lowered the level of historical scholarship, and was forthwith liquidated in favor of a new journal to be called *Voprosy istorii*, or *Questions of History*. The "questions" or "problems" it has had to handle were those of this spiritual reconversion and rearmament.

v

The first problem was to make the Soviet people forget their most recent and greatest experience. They must forget, or press down into the un verbalized, unthought, un felt unconscious, the memory of the fact that their Leader had joined in a pact with Hitler, which touched off the war. Since the *Vozhd* had made one of the greatest mistakes in history, the extravagant cult of his infallibility and wisdom must now reach new and unheard-of heights. The memory of lend-lease, the memory of the titanic joint effort and the embrace on the Elbe, of England's valiant holding out alone during the period of the Stalin-Hitler pact—so many memories had to be forgotten, or rather, transformed into their opposites.

A sample will serve. The collective history text on the "History of the U.S.S.R.," edited by Pankratova, in its 1945 edition quotes Joseph Stalin on the Normandy landing:

A brilliant achievement. . . . The history of war knows no other enterprise like it for breadth of purpose, grandiose skill, and masterful execution.

One year later the book had been replaced by a new edition in which the passage reads: "On June 6, 1944, Allied forces accomplished a landing in Northern France."

And the latest approved history text, that of textbook prize-winner, Shestakov, describes the Normandy landing in these terms:

England and the United States, in the course of three years of war, dragged out in every way the opening of a second front. . . . But when, after the gigantic victories of the Soviet Army, it became clear that the Soviet Union might alone defeat the enemy, occupy the territory of Germany and liberate all Western Europe, including France . . . in June 1944, the English and American armies left England and landed on the coast of Northern France.<sup>9</sup>

Every such revision of history has its *resonance effect*, spilling over into a score of unexpected places, reverberating backward

<sup>9</sup> Moscow: 1951, p. 277-8.

into the past, so that the enemy of the moment must always have been the enemy. Especially must the high points of alliance and friendship be turned into sinister and hateful acts. And every such revision is the product of *multiple determination*. Thus the Russia-won-the-war-alone-against-a-Hitler-Anglo-American-Imperialist-conspiracy version of World War II inevitably reverberated into the hate-America campaign. But the latter campaign had many additional causes and implications.

It was the United States that had contributed the greatest help and evoked the greatest warmth. It represented the greatest power. Its productivity was the envy and admiration of the materialistic, technocratic official culture. Its conduct in the Philippines and Latin America, above all in war-ruined Europe (like that of Great Britain in India) was the startling refutation of the Lenin-Stalin dogmas of "monopoly capitalist imperialism" and of "capitalist encirclement." And the living refutation, no less, of the dogma that total statism was the most productive system. America represented the possibility of social reform without revolution ("reformism"), a land of plenty and freedom, visibly achieving an expanding economy and an ever greater measure of social justice and labor-farmer welfare, without the liquidation of entire classes.

The war ended with the Soviet Union as the only Great Power astride the Eurasian land mass, with a power vacuum to the west, and a power vacuum to the east of it. The United States represented the only possible obstacle to the rapid expansion of the Soviet Empire into both vacuums. America sought to restore a balance of power by restoring Europe, and—a little more hesitantly and uncertainly—by reconstructing and restoring a free Asia. Not only was its postwar use of its unprecedented power a reproach and a refutation. Increasingly, it was the main obstacle to the march of Soviet power to world conquest, as America moved from the blind illusions of the Grand Alliance to the sadder and wiser policy of "containment;" from containment to "defense of the free world from positions of strength;" and then to collective defense of Korea as a victim of aggression. The Truman Doctrine stood between the Soviet Union and the Dardanelles; the Marshall Plan and the North Atlantic Pact blocked the road to Western Europe; American troops formed the backbone of the United Nations armies holding the narrow waist of Korea.

The slow development of America's postwar policies began to

inspire hope in all those who dreamed of ultimate liberation. It offered refuge (a little too niggardly) to escaping fighters for freedom. And when it decided that it would not be a party to the forced repatriation of those who had escaped or been taken prisoner, it adopted—almost unwittingly—a policy which makes the Soviet armies and all auxiliary armies potentially unreliable. In this writer's judgment, the decision not to return the Chinese and North Korean prisoners by force will prove to be the turning point in the great conflict between slavery and freedom.

All of these elements, and others like them, enter into the calculations of the Stalin régime, but none of them can be so much as mentioned in overt expression. The vocabulary of *newspeak* and the "researches" and "documentation" of Soviet historians must be employed to make each of these look like its opposite, and to envelop the whole concept of America in hatred. It is sufficient to look at the list of books that are praised and awarded Stalin prizes, to see the volume and the titles of the articles in *Voprosy istorii*, or to note that the articles vilifying the United States are criticized only because they do not go far enough.

If it were an individual instead of the head of a great state and its passive members that were making these statements, ranging from assertions regarding bacteriological warfare to those about castration of colored peoples, we would regard it as pure pathology: loss of memory of recent events, loss of the reality principle, persecutory delusions. But there is "method in his madness," as proved by the fact that while Stalin's Ministry of Hate is filling all the earth with its roars, his Ministry of Love is cooing in a tiny whisper in the *Moscow News* . . . in English.

## VI

No field of historiography is now exempt from this inexorable process of retroactive reëditing. The early Middle Ages must be revised to predate by three or four centuries the origins of a high Great Russian culture and of a centralized state. The Varangian theory has to be rejected, not on the basis of the evidence, but because it implies that the Great Russians did not know how to set up a powerful centralized state of their own, except by conquest from without. The new total state is very sensitive about this matter of a "centralized, powerful state." That which the democratic and earlier Marxist historians regarded as oppressive has now become "progressive." It is no longer permitted to sug-

gest that this great state arose in the course of the defense of the Eurasian plain against outside invasion, nor that bondage in its wide and sparsely settled lands arose through political imposition, so that the recruiting sergeant and tax collector might know where to find the peasant. Ivan the Terrible must become a progressive and heroic tsar because he enlarged the Russian lands, strove to take the Baltic, set up the *Oprichnina* which Stalin recognizes as an analogue of the G.P.U., purged his opponents and even faithful servitors and son in ways which in his heart Stalin also recognizes, and because he completed the centralization of the state and the absolute power of its ruler.

Soviet Byzantine scholarship has to break with Western, in order to refute the idea that the declining Empire was "rigid, static and obscurantist," in order to show that the countries of southeast Europe, "which have embarked on the path of the People's Democracies," had an early, "progressive and original culture." Soviet historians must discover "the influence of the Slavs on the history of Byzantium." They must "expose" the Ottoman conquest of Byzantium in 1453 and show that "the Turkish assimilators are the most brutal of all assimilators who tortured and maimed the Balkan nations for hundreds of years." Indeed, "the very fact that the 1953 Congress of Byzantine scholars (on the 500th anniversary of 1453) is being held in the capital of Marshallized Turkey" is evidence enough that it will serve "American imperialist and Pan-Turkish aims." After all, Istanbul is but another name for Constantinople, and that for Byzantium, always the Tsargrad of imperial dreams, and the gateway, to boot, to the Mediterranean and the Near East for the Stalinist Empire.

If Turkey or Iran is slated as victim of the next forward move in the Near East, then Lenin's friendship with the new Turkey and denunciation of Tsarist aspirations in Iran must be buried seven fathoms under the ground. The influence of the high Iranian civilization upon the Tadjiks must be denied, or, as has actually been done, reversed. So must the influence of the Turks upon the Turkic peoples of the Soviet Union. Only Great Russian influence remains, even if it has to be invented. Adding to the multiple determination of the process, there is the restlessness of these Soviet Iranian and Turkic Mohammedan peoples, the growth of their national feelings, the specter of Pan-Turanianism and Pan-Iranianism as possible counterfoils to Pan-Slavism.

The history of the Balkans and other "People's Democracies" is also being rewritten in the Soviet Historical Section of the Academy of Sciences, and particularly in the Slavic Studies Section. Bulgaria is getting a new look. Non-Slavic Albania has "longed for centuries for liberation from the Turkish yoke and has long sought the friendship which now binds it to the Soviet peoples." Rumania's animus toward old Russia is being retroactively transformed, and her language being considered for honorary Slavic citizenship. Tito has become the eternal traitor, and in 1941 was simultaneously serving Hitler and the Anglo-American imperialists.

Two successive editings of Czechoslovak history have been scrapped, and the third, only a year old, is already under fire. The Polish historians are in continuous torment. Poland's culture must of course be decisively influenced by the Great Russian, but not by Rome or the West, while all trace of Polish influence upon Great Russian culture is being deleted or equipped with a minus sign. "The task of scientific history is to relate events truthfully," the Poles are admonished by *Voprosy istorii* (Nov. 4, 1949) "and to show that the responsibility for the policy of hostility toward Russia in the past rests not with the Polish people but with the governing classes." In all the partitions, the Russian share of Poland was justified.

To the "memory hole" have been consigned all the works of Marx and Engels on the menace of Russian absolutism, imperial expansion, Pan-Slavism, in favor of the restoration of Poland "with the boundaries of 1772," in favor of Shamil and Georgian independence. After 15 years of suppression, Stalin published his secret attack of 1934 on Engels' article "On Russian Foreign Policy." But Marxism is still needed as an ostensibly invariant philosophy to refer to in vindicating changing policies, so for the most part this censorship proceeds in absolute silence. With the retroactive purging of Ryazanov, no Marxist scholar dares continue the publication of these articles in the *Gesamtausgabe*.<sup>o</sup>

In 1934 Stalin could still rebuke a textbook for failing to brand "the annexationist-colonializing rôle of Tsarism . . . the Prison-House of Peoples;" its "counter-revolutionary rôle in foreign policy . . . as the international gendarme;" and for failing to show the influence of Western thought upon the democratic and Socialist

<sup>o</sup> This autumn these suppressed writings will furnish material for a book, edited by Blackstock and Hoelitz, entitled "Marx and Engels on the Russian Menace."

revolutionary movements in Russia. To quote the 1934 Stalin in Russia in 1952 would be to take one's life into one's hands.

Now Great Russian nationalism is inextricably blended with "Soviet patriotism." Internationalism is for use abroad, and is defined by Stalin as "unconditional loyalty to the Soviet Union." At home it is "cosmopolitanism" and "servility to all things foreign." Nationalism of any other variety than Great Russian is "bourgeois nationalism" and is fatal. A Sosyura may not "love the Ukraine" except he remember to love above all its yearning for annexation and the Great Russian imprint upon its culture. With each revision, the Balkan states move longingly another step toward incorporation.

Each of the "autonomous republics" is rewriting its history, revising its poetry, remaking its memories. Heroes become anti-heroes (Shamil, Kennessary); insurrections against tsarism until yesterday celebrated are today execrated; epics become anti-epics ("Dede Korkut") or the versions that have lived so long in oral tradition and are the very national memory of illiterate peoples are purged and reissued in "new authentic texts."

The expurgation of the epic ["Manas"] should be strictly scientific and principled. It should take into account all the historical circumstances in the life of the people. This demands a suitable selection of variants, songs and episodes, a selection of which the fundamental principle must be the preservation in the epic of all the best elements inherent in the past of the Kirgiz people.<sup>7</sup>

Even so did Orwell picture a functionary in his Ministry of Truth whose task was to "produce garbled versions—definitive texts they were called—of poems which had become ideologically offensive but which, for one reason or another, were to be retained in the anthologies."

Thus the great operation rewrite which began with Stalin's obliteration of his contemporary political and personal history and the invention of a new past for himself has spread outward through the boundaries of the Old Russian and the New Soviet Empires, and backward to the beginning of recorded time. The process is vast and all-embracing, even as the total state is total. But the immediate aims are simple enough:

To strengthen the power of the state over the minds of men and make it ever more complete and absolute.

To enlarge the power of the Leader and the cult of his infalli-

<sup>7</sup> *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, May 27, 1952, 2.

bility and grandeur by identifying him with every mighty tsar and military leader, with every hero of thought and deed, with the deepest historical memories of the people over whom he rules, for his omniscience, omnipotence, omnicompetence and infallibility are the very fulcrum of all the levers of totalitarian organization and power.

To destroy the critical sense, the historical perspective, the possibility of objective check or comparison from outside the system.

To "justify" the global ambitions and "demonstrate" the inevitable global triumph of the total state régime as well as its inexorably intensifying total organization within its own borders and its empire.

To strengthen its centralization by the increasing Russification and Stalinization of the "autonomous" units of the "federation" and the "sovereign People's Democracies" of the empire.

To root out all memories of comradeship with recent allies and as far as possible all friendliness and all common human fellow-feeling for the peoples who have been selected as the next victims and for those selected as the long-range enemy.

To counteract the war-weariness and the weariness with the unending internal war on the part of a people who have been kept unremittingly on the stretch for over a third of a century.

To provide, in the form of a synthetic national glory and glory of the state and system, *ersatz* satisfactions as a substitute for any real fulfillment of the revolution's promises.

To close the eyes of Soviet citizens and conquered subject peoples to the shabby and cruel realities that the régime inflicts upon them and to close their ears to the peaceful, friendly and attractive message of the outside, non-totalitarian world.

To prepare the next steps in the long-range aim: the total conquest of the world.

By an examination of each sudden historical revision or reversal one can deduce what the next tactical objectives of the Kremlin are, even though not the tempo of its moves—for into the actual moves themselves enter other calculations of power and of relations of forces that reside in the non-totalitarian world.

We can, however, deduce from the spirit and sweep of the new Soviet historiography that there will be no relaxation in the cold and not-so-cold war of the total state on its own people, on its neighbors, and on all the peoples of the earth. The unending war



of nerves of which the rewriting of all history is a significant segment grows sharper not gentler, more reckless not more cautious, more inclusive not less.

As long as all the more spacious cities of the world have not been reduced to slums and rubble, Stalin's 1947 address proclaiming the 800-year-old Moscow the only city of the world free of slums is in danger of objective refutation. As long as anywhere in the world there is more freedom, more happiness, more comradeship and love, or simply a higher standard of living and higher productive power, Stalin cannot make good his boast that the Soviet system and way of life are superior.

Indeed, as long as anywhere in the world there is a lone surviving copy of any document which he has consigned to the "memory hole," or a single historian writing and pursuing research in freedom from the "guidance and control" of the total state, there is always the danger that world history, Russian history, Soviet history, Party history and the personal history of Joseph Stalin may once more be reconstructed, and that History itself, embodiment of the human memory and consciousness of self, may revive out of the ashes of its works.

End # 12

1931 accepted an invitation to the Soviet Union to work in one of the world's biggest institutes of theoretical physics. His achievements won him recognition both inside and outside the country. He founded and served as editor of its *Journal of Physics*. He planned to devote the rest of his life to the service of the new world of Socialism, equality, and freedom that he believed was abuilding. Then in April 1936 his wife was arrested, allegedly for hiding two pistols under her bed to kill Stalin and for smuggling fragmented swastikas into ceramic designs. Though no longer living with her, Dr. Weissberg saw the absurdity of the charges and attempted to help her.

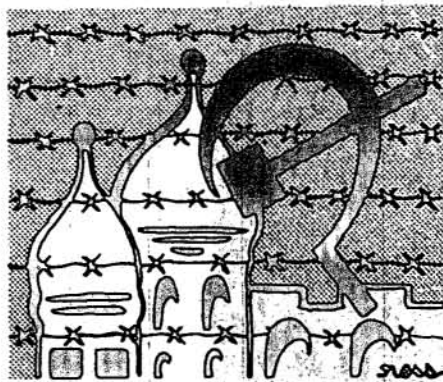
"Your wife was arrested as an enemy of the people," they warned him. "By intervening in her behalf you are giving support to an enemy of the people."

"I'm certain she is innocent."

"Still worse! Now you're saying that we arrest innocent people."

And so the mad logic of the purges, which acts on the theory that whoever questions is an enemy of the state, that whoever is injured or made the victim of injustice must thereby become anti-state, that arrest makes a man guilty, that punishment must be meted out and a crime invented to fit the punishment and a confession extorted to fit the crime—this mad logic sucked in Dr. Weissberg, too. Having been arrested, he must have been a member and organizer of a non-existent counter-revolutionary organization. "Who recruited you?" demanded his torturers endlessly. "And whom did you recruit?" He realized that this involved a chain reaction. Each man he might mention would automatically be arrested and would have to name others, who would be arrested, who would have to name others who would be arrested, in an endless chain. Even as he suffered and fought, "confessing" when the strain became intolerable and withdrawing his confessions each time the strain let up, his powerful mind was engaged in trying to understand what was happening, seeking to salvage his sanity and a modicum of his illusions concerning the regime.

The combination of Austrian citizenship, the letters from the world's great physicists, and the irrepressible strength and elasticity of his spirit saved him from death or breakdown. After three years in various prisons, years which saw his interrogators join him as victims, Dr. Weissberg, Jew and Communist though he was, was turned over to the German Gestapo as part of the "mutual assistance" program of the Stalin-Hitler Pact. He es-



caped to take part in another type of nightmare as a fighter in the Polish underground, but with a fine sense of literary form, he ends the present work at the moment when he is being handed over to the Gestapo.

Using his statistical training, Dr. Weissberg worked out a method of calculating the number of victims who were streaming into the prisons of the Soviet Union from the serial numbers on receipts issued to them for personal belongings. He cross-checked by statistics derivable from prison kitchens, and by reports from NKVD officials as they in turn landed in jail. Carefully allowing for a margin of error he arrived at a figure of nine million victims during the peak years of the purge.

This same intellectual curiosity and power of reasoning, observing, ordering, and generalizing was applied to every experience, every person he came in contact with. A phenomenal memory enabled him to reproduce the details of every conversation and argument. This gives his book much of the solidity and vital fulness of a great novel and the esthetic clarity of outline of a well-reasoned scientific theory. Weissberg is so completely absorbed with his experience, with the fate of every prisoner high or low, every jailer or inquisitor, and the fate of Everyman caught in the toils of a Kafka Trial multiplied by nine million, that every detail is as sharp as if the reader were living it himself. Only the last chapter, which attempts a theoretical explanation of the purges, is weak by comparison with the spontaneous fragmentary explanations that spring out of every page of the book.

In this reviewer's opinion "The Accused" will take a place among the great works of autobiography and eyewitness reporting of history. Thanks to a brave spirit and an unquenchable intellect, the over-all effect of the entrance into the inferno of the purges with Dr. Weissberg is one of deepened understanding and compassion and pride in the capacity of the human soul to resist torture and preserve its integrity.

## Patriot or Spy?

MASTER SPY. By Ian Colvin. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co. 286 pp. \$3.50.

By LEO LANIA

THE Kaiser went, but the generals remained. For a while, right after the close of World War II, their careers as grave-diggers of the German Republic and their complicity in Hitler's crimes seemed certain to seal their doom. Alas, once more the German generals have proved indestructible. A few were executed by Hitler when they tried to save the sinking ship by throwing the mad captain overboard. A few were brought to trial at Nuremberg. But the vast majority survived the debacle of the Third Reich as easily as they did the wrath of their outraged victims. After a short outburst of moral indignation the world decided that the German generals were irreplaceable.

Stalin, in no need of justifying his complete lack of moral scruples, even uses former Gestapo chiefs and SS generals, and has made them honorary comrades. The West, plagued by a bad conscience, tries to rationalize its "realistic policy": "After all, the German generals were never really Nazis. In fact, they were victims of Hitler, opposed his plans of conquest, and most important, were first and foremost gentlemen."

This argument is now being propagated in books, plays, and films. Thus a legend has been created. It already has its mysterious and glamorous heroes. Rommel was the first, Canaris is the next in line. After the "Desert Fox," a very noble patriot, we are now introduced to the "Master Spy" whose patriotism led him to become "a secret ally of the British."

What kind of man was Admiral Wilhelm Canaris? What was his place in the recent history of Germany? Ian Colvin, a British newspaperman, deserves our gratitude for having asked these questions. He must be given credit for having written a fascinating book. As Berlin correspondent of the *London News Chronicle* from 1933 to 1938, Mr. Colvin made the most of the opportunity to study the workings of the Nazi Reich from close range. He had excellent contacts with certain German generals and aristocrats. He is not only a trained observer but also ex-

Leo Lania, who has covered Europe for American newspapers and magazines, is the author of "Nine Lives of Europe" and other books.

very much in evidence, take their stand upon the basic tenets of American political philosophy. The eighteenth-century concepts of freedom and equality, they argue, are as applicable today as when they were made the foundation stone of the Declaration of Independence; and they are as valid across the globe as on this continent. The task is to make them operative within the modern context. The inalienable right of a man to realize his potentialities, to fulfill himself, to enter upon his destiny is "the Proposition" upon which all else rests. To the extent that this is rendered meaningful in economic relationships the fabric of capitalism is shot through with the gold threads of spirituality and humanism.

What has actually happened to American capitalism becomes, therefore, of crucial importance. It is not necessary to maintain that the economic system conforms to everything Jefferson would have desired in a commonwealth; all that needs to be shown is the leaven of the ideal at work. The authors of both books undertake a convincing demonstration. Dr. Osusky writes about "The People's Capitalism"; the *Fortune* editors about "The Transformation of American Capitalism." The development of capitalism in Europe, Dr. Osusky contends, was greatly influenced by the feudal order out of which it emerged. The triumph of the new system was won at the price of important concessions to the old. A certain rigidity, a continuance of caste, an emotional aloofness from the masses was carried over to temper the spirit of the bourgeoisie. Big business keeps the form of cartels; and smaller firms, as in France today, have remained in the exclusive ownership of small families with an almost pathological aversion to borrowing from the banks or to selling stock on the open market. In contrast to this American capitalism is ventilated, popular, diversified, and free. It is destined to become more so as it is brought within the circle of the ideals and values that have animated American government from the start.

**T**HE EVIDENCE presented by *Fortune* is indicative of future trends. Big modern enterprise is being run by hired management, and the manager is becoming increasingly a professional. His concern is "doing a good job" in the sense of making money steadily year in and year out through an institution that serves and satisfies a number of groups and interests. His responsibility is not merely to the owners nor to the stockholders, employees, or consumers but ultimately to society itself. Within the individual  
(Continued on page 32)



## The Soviet Dance of Death

**RUSSIAN PURGE AND THE EXTRACTION OF CONFESSION.** By F. Beck and E. Goodin. New York: Viking Press. 277 pp. \$3.50.

By BERTRAM D. WOLFE

**N**O ONE knows what kind of government it is," Tolstoy once wrote, "until he has been in its prisons." The authors of this study have been in Soviet prisons, and in serene, detached fashion, as if their personal suffering had been no more than an opportunity to study a fearful yet fascinating phenomenon, they have written a treatise on Soviet prisons, concentration camps, purges, and confessions, and offered some thoughtful and seminal conclusions as to what these teach concerning the true nature of the Soviet state.

The history of mankind reveals no phenomenon quite like the mass purges of 1936 to 1938, purges which embraced a wide variety of humanity: idealists and cynics, Old Bolsheviks, Red Partisan heroes of the Civil War, close associates of Lenin, presidents of Soviet Republics, secretaries of regional Communist parties, members of the Soviet General Staff, veterans of the Czarist underground, Soviet scientists and intellectuals, "honored guests" and Comintern leaders from other lands, members of the Central Committee and the Politburo, holders of the Order of Lenin and the Order of the Red Banner, high officers of the NKVD. Examining magistrates often landed in the same cells and concentration camps with men whom a few months earlier they had tortured, "confessed," and sentenced to jail. And there were millions of common workers, simple peasants, members of national minorities, as well as nomadic tribes that would not settle down and nomadic tribes that had settled down.

With incredulity and wonder the world has asked an unending series of questions to which there have been but dim and fragmentary answers. Could virtually the whole General Staff be agents of foreign powers? Did Lenin really surround himself with traitors . . . all but one? Could a leading committee of traitors carry through a revolution they wished to betray? Does the Soviet regime enlist so little loyalty that the plotters against it run into the millions? Was there ever in the whole history of mankind any regime that produced treason on such a mass scale? What manner of "trials" are these which turn off prisoners faster than America's belt conveyors do bolts and nuts? What makes men confess to crimes they manifestly could not have committed? How did it happen that even the judges, the prosecutors, and the chiefs of the secret police followed each other into death or oblivion? What is the rationale behind this irrational parade to the prisons and dance of death?

The only response so far to these troubling questions has come from two novels: Koestler's "Darkness at Noon" and Victor Serge's "The Case of Comrade Tulayev." The answers were suggestive, even harmonize with the present study; but in this fantastic realm fiction lags far behind fact. Now fate has enabled two able observers, who shared one cell in prison, to return from the "dark side of the moon." One was a Soviet historian, the other a German scientist. Both were sympathetic to the regime that ensnared them in its monstrous net. No cry of anguish, no word of personal suffering escapes their lips. With the detachment of scientist or historian they questioned cellmates, elicited stories from former NKVD men and examining magistrates, re-

corded the mechanism of confession; gathered reports at second hand and third from men transferred from other prisons and veterans of more than one arrest and sentencing. The result of their involuntary and voluntary investigations is the first scientific treatise on this weird phenomenon. It is by no mean overtitled when it calls itself: "Russian Purge and the Extraction of Confession." Indeed, it does more than it promises, for the last chapter, laconically entitled *The Theories*, analyzes the insights these phenomena give into the nature of the whole regime.

They tend to underplay the personal element—the role played by the temperament and character of Stalin himself. They miss the fact that when a "secretary" of a Central Committee purges fifty out of seventy-one members of the Committee whose "servant" he is, and a majority of all State officials, Party secretaries, and Party members, a coup d'état has taken place. But with these two reservations I cannot think of a single theory which the entire literature of Soviet studies has turned up that is left out of their reckoning. When the authors soberly calculate that the purge has made more enemies for the regime than it has removed and that the very nature of this state makes more such purges inevitable no one who has read the book can disagree. For government by purge is an integral part of this new system of state-decreed fixity of the citizen, state-decreed official truth, state-determined categories of "potential" and "thought-crime" enemies, state determined feelings, thoughts, and culture, in an absolutist, bureaucratic, *apparatchik* state that is total in its scope and universalist in its aspirations, that wages psychological and physical war on its own people even more than it does on other peoples, and is presided over by an autocratic leader who is infallible in all fields embraced by the all-embracing state.

Bertram D. Wolfe is the author of *Three Who Made a Revolution* and other works on Russia.

SOLUTION OF LAST WEEK'S  
DOUBLE-CROSTIC (No. 895)  
[ARTHUR M.] SCHLESINGER,  
JR.:

#### THE VITAL CENTER

Ideology and logic play a minimal part in the appeal of totalitarianism. . . . Members of the party enjoy the discipline, . . . the release from individual responsibility, and the affirmation of comradeship in organized mass solidarity.

## When the Devil Is Sick...

BALKAN CAESAR: *Tito vs. Stalin.*  
By Leigh White. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 229 pp. \$2.75.

By I. D. W. TALMADGE

LET IT be said at the very outset that Leigh White has written a highly readable, informative, sober estimate of the Tito regime in Yugoslavia.

There is a saying in Washington that if all the experts on Tito's Yugoslavia were stretched end to end they still could not reach a conclusion. Broadly speaking, our experts and "experts" seem to fall into three categories.

Category A are the apologists who would have us believe that since Tito is against Stalin he is therefore a democrat.

Category B are the "purists" who admitting that Tito may be helpful to the Western cause still would not have us "soil our hands" by entering into any deal with him.

Finally, there is Category C—the "realists." They are the boys who favor all-out aid to Tito, with no strings attached, lest we "antagonize" a powerful potential ally.

Leigh White's position, we are happy to report, does not fit into any of these categories. He has no illusions about the true nature of Titoism. To him "Titoism is a lesser evil than Stalinism for one reason only: Yugoslavia, alone, is but a minor threat to our security."

He warns that we must not make a false distinction between Titoism and Stalinism. "If we depend on Titoism to stem the advance of Stalinism, as we depended on Stalinism to stem the advance of Hitlerism, we shall end up by coming to terms with Titoism as we came to terms with Stalinism to our undoing in 1945."

Mr. White concedes that Tito's Yugoslavia is essential to the defense of Western Europe. But he suggests that

we be just as skeptical and as hypercritical in dealing with our erstwhile enemy Tito as we have been in dealing with our Greek, Turkish, and Iranian allies. If it is the course of wisdom to demand reforms in Greece, Turkey, and Iran is it not the course of folly to tolerate the myriad abuses of Communism in Yugoslavia? We have no right nor have we the desire to exact material concessions from any of our beneficiaries. But we do have the right, indeed we have the most solemn of moral obligations, to exact the utmost in spiritual concessions from every tyrant who presumes to traffic with our alms.



—Erich Hartmann.

Leigh White—"no illusions about Titoism."

Mr. White is in no mood to forget and forgive. He had covered the Balkans during the war years and had the opportunity to observe first-hand the "bolshhevization" of that region and the part played in it by Tito and his henchmen. A keen and competent reporter, he foreshadowed many of the subsequent developments in his book *"The Long Balkan Night,"* published in 1944.

In his present volume he serves to remind us of facts frequently overlooked by people with short memories. It was only a few years ago that Tito, still at the time Uncle Joe's favorite "nephew," had shot down our unarmed planes. Up to the very day of his rift with Moscow Tito continued to aid the Communist guerrillas in Greece in defiance of U. N. protests. To be sure, Tito sings a different tune today. But so did Stalin in 1942, when he needed our lend-lease aid. "When the devil is sick the devil a saint would be . . ."

It was Stalin who put Tito in the saddle. But he did it with an able assist from us and the British. We followed Britain's lead in switching our support from Drazha Mikhailovich's Chetnicks to Josip Tito's Partisans. Both London and Washington were taken in by Moscow. Winston Churchill, who should have known better, declared in Commons on January 18, 1945: "I am the earliest outside supporter of Marshal Tito. It is more than a year since in this House I extolled his guerrilla virtues to the world. . . . I earnestly hope that he may prove to be the savior and unifier of his country as he is undoubted-

Encl ~~4~~ 13

**Personal History.** *The men whose life stories are reviewed on this and the succeeding pages are a motley group—an American general, a Nazi admiral, a Communist physicist—but their careers were shaped by World War II. Now that Dwight Eisenhower has become an all but avowed candidate for the Presidency, his fellow Americans would do well to study his record in John Gunther's tightly packed, revealing pages (see below) for help in the great decision they must make later this year. The case of Admiral Wilhelm Canaris, whom Ian Colvin presents as a hero in "Master Spy" (page 14), provides provocative commentary on the slippery morality of our times. And in "The Accused" (page 13), his account of the living-death of a Soviet prisoner, Alexander Weissberg offers an indictment of totalitarianism as moving as a novel, as objectively precise as a scientific treatise.*

## Portrait of a General

**EISENHOWER: The Man and the Symbol.** By John Gunther. New York: Harper & Bros. 180 pp. \$2.50.

By JONATHAN DANIELS

**F**EW reporters in the world can be more confidently counted on for a sharp and vivid picture of any subject than John Gunther. And so far as the picture is concerned he has produced a lively and impressive one in this pertinent portrait of General Eisenhower. Unfortunately, however, it remains a fairly familiar picture, new only in its technicoloring. Gunther is added but not much more Eisenhower.

It is still, at a time when many may be seeking one, the best brief facsimile of the General whose military eminence almost adds to his political mysteriousness. Gunther's book was finished before General Eisenhower announced that he was at least willing in the Presidential race. Already the book is a little dated (in view of activities by Senator Taft and statements by President Truman) in terms of Gunther's statement that Eisenhower could practically have the Presidency from either party and on a platter. The book stands up all the same as a good Eisenhower handbook for those who have their hopes in him.

In no sense is this a biography of the General. Only fifty pages are devoted to Eisenhower's background and career. The greater part of the book is devoted to a description of Eisenhower in his present job, that job itself, and to Gunther's own political prognostications. Strangely, while it is Gunther's idea that the "essential master point" about Eisenhower is his "civilian touch" Eisenhower appears on

most of this book's pages as the soldier—a genial, friendly, modest, humble, and very human general but very much the five-star soldier all the same.

This is strangely so despite a remarkable collection of details about the General's human and personal interests which Gunther here discloses. There is a full discussion of Eisenhower's bridge, golf, and poker playing (Eisenhower's pre-war poker winnings were \$3,900 a year). There was some interesting material, new to me, on Eisenhower as an amateur landscape and portrait painter. (He has trouble as a painter with eyes and hands.) Gunther has explored his reading habits and finds that, like President Truman, Eisenhower likes swift-paced Western stories.

This is all very interesting, but my impression is that lively information about these details takes up almost as much space in the brief book as the recital of facts about the domestic and non-military views of the General, about which there is now proper political curiosity. Gunther's portrait of a General who is really at heart a civilian—or at least has that civilian touch—seemed to me a bit like that of a clergyman who can readily dismiss by his hale heartiness any qualms among the laity which may be created by the cloth. It is easy to share Gunther's admiration but it would be easier to feel the greatness of Eisenhower if in his picture or in his personality there were signs of a life shaped by a little more trouble and pain, personal struggle, and public sympathy.

This book makes good reading. It may make fine politics. The one thing it seemed to me to fail to make was a portrait—wart and all and heart and all—of a man.



—Harris & Ewing.

Familiar Eisenhower plus "technicoloring."

## In Soviet Inferno

**THE ACCUSED.** By Alexander Weissberg. New York: Simon & Schuster. 518 pp. \$4.

By BERTRAM D. WOLFE

**A**LEXANDER WEISSBERG is an Austrian and a Jew, but when he rose to testify in the celebrated libel suit of David Rousset against the Communist *Lettres Françaises*, the counsel for the defense and his claques kept interrupting with such outcries as "What, another German!" and "It turns my stomach to see a Nazi German testifying before a French court!" Finally Rousset's counsel read a warm letter to Stalin from Einstein, and another, invoking the names of Blauvelt and Niels Bohr, and signed by Jean Perrin, Irene Joliot-Curie, and Frederic Joliot-Curie. The letters asserted Weissberg's innocence, his loyal services to the Soviet Union, his distinction in the world of physics. It was not the names of the five Nobel prize winners, but the fact that the Joliot-Curies are the leaders of the French Communist intellectuals that caused the rest of his testimony to be heard in silence. This episode suggests many of the features that make Dr. Weissberg's account of his three years in the inferno of the Soviet purges unique.

A convinced Communist and a physicist of high rank, Dr. Weissberg in

Bertram D. Wolfe is author of "Three Who Made a Revolution" and other works on Russia.

Encl #14



Ruth B. Shipley: Patriot and Champion  
of Americanism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRED E. BUSBEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, July 5, 1952

Mr. BUSBEY. Mr. Speaker, I want to add my voice in the defense of a conscientious, honest, honorable, and faithful Government servant, Mrs. Ruth Shipley.

An employee of the State Department for 38 years and head of the Passport Division for nearly a quarter of a century, Mrs. Shipley is representative of that type of individual who devotes a lifetime of service to her country.

The task of determining what American citizen should be issued a passport for travel abroad has always been troublesome. Many American citizens have traveled abroad using spurious, faked, or illegal passports. We have learned by sad experience that the Communist Party in this country specialized for years in the business of collecting passports. Not too many years ago the titular head of the Communist Party was convicted for passport fraud, only to obtain his release by commutation of sentence. Many similar cases have been brought to light by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, the culprits escaping conviction due to the statute of limitations on such offenses.

It is the duty and obligation of Mrs. Shipley to deny passports for travel abroad to those American citizens when the available information discloses that the presence of such persons abroad would be a hazard to the security of the United States, or whether the traveler, by his conduct, would create prejudice against the United States.

Because of her refusal to issue passports to certain individuals, Mrs. Shipley has been the target of criticism, vilification, and abuse. The Communist Party of the United States, through its mouthpiece, the Daily Worker, is the prime mover of this attack. The American Civil Liberties Union, as usual, has chimed in with its usual hue and cry about "hearing and review." The Yale Law Review made its contribution with an unsigned article entitled "Passport Refusals for Political Reasons."

What are the known facts about this sudden attack on Mrs. Shipley? According to the New York Herald Tribune of June 1, 1952, the Communist bosses ordered key underground party members to step up their attack on the State Department's policy of "denial of passports for political reasons." They designated Mrs. Shipley as the main target of their attack.

The Daily Worker of June 10, 1952, carried an article to the effect that Paul Robeson cannot travel abroad and earn a livelihood with his magnificent voice because, in the opinion of Mrs. Ruth B. Shipley, his trip would not be in the interest of the United States. The Daily Worker further says that not only Com-

munist are being denied passports by Mrs. Shipley but the vast majority are progressives, New Dealers, or extremely moderate liberals.

This is the typical Communist smear technique. As a matter of fact, the political officers and security division of the State Department are consulted on all such matters. The person applying for a passport has the right to appeal to Mrs. Shipley and to be represented by counsel. And even then, Mrs. Shipley is not the final authority.

We are well aware of what happened to many of the smaller countries of Europe. We have seen this Communist conspiracy grow from an insurrection in Russia to the proportions of a threat to the entire world. We are well informed as to the part played by fifth columns and front organizations. We are informed as to Americans attending these front organization meetings in Europe and belittling the country of their birth while praising the Soviet Union. It is because of such conduct that it became necessary for the State Department to deny passports in cases when it was believed that the travel of such persons would be detrimental to the best interests of the United States.

It has been reported that among those who have been denied passports were two writers for the Daily Worker; Paul Robeson; Max Weiss, educational director of the Communist Party; Rockwell Kent; Howard Fast; Dr. Linus Pauling; Dr. W. E. B. DuBois; and William Patterson.

The educational director of the Communist Party and the writers for the Daily Worker would have but one objective in traveling abroad and that would be to further the cause of international communism. I do not intend to devote any time or space to Paul Robeson. In this individual we have the unfortunate example of one who has turned sour on the country of his birth. Well educated, recipient of many honors, Robeson preferred that his own son be educated in the Soviet Union. On his last trip abroad Robeson had the unmitigated gall to claim he spoke for the American Negro, a claim that was immediately repudiated by the honest and patriotic colored citizens of America. Is it any wonder he was denied a passport?

Dr. DuBois was one of those indicted in connection with the Peace Information Center. Time does not permit the inclusion of his long record of Communist-front affiliations here.

Howard Fast is a Johnny-come-lately in the ranks of Communist frontiers, but in a short time he has accumulated an amazing record of front affiliation.

Rockwell Kent has one of the most outstanding records of Communist-front affiliations of anyone in this country. For his activity on behalf of Communist causes he was rewarded with the job of heading the International Workers Order, a simon-pure Communist organization.

William L. Patterson is one of the old-timers in the Communist conspiracy. He was formerly a top functionary of the International Labor Defense, the legal arm of the Communist Party.

Later he was the head of the Abraham Lincoln School in Chicago and presently he is the Communist functionary in the Civil Rights Congress. His wife, Louise Thompson, was a member of the women's committee and the national committee of the Communist Party.

It has been reported that the Daily Worker identified a Professor X as Prof. Linus Pauling one of America's most prominent and able scientists and that Dr. Pauling had been denied a passport to visit England. For the sake of argument let us concede that Dr. Pauling is one of America's most prominent and able scientists. Does that, of itself, qualify Dr. Pauling to receive a passport? Klaus Fuchs was considered one of England's most distinguished nuclear physicists, but he received one too many passports. Of course, I am making no comparison between Dr. Pauling and Klaus Fuchs, but let us take a look at Dr. Pauling's record.

Pauling was born in Portland, Oreg., February 28, 1901. He graduated with a bachelor of arts degree from Oregon State College and received his doctor of philosophy degree from the California Institute of Technology in 1925. He holds honorary degrees from Oregon State College, the University of Chicago, and Princeton University. He took post-graduate courses at the University of Munich, the University of Copenhagen, and the University of Zurich. He has been a lecturer on the faculties of the University of California, the University of Chicago, and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Since 1931 he has held a professorship at the California Institute of Technology.

Despite all of this record of academic and scientific attainment, Dr. Pauling has shown a more than passing interest in communism and things communistic. He was affiliated with the American Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born, that Communist organization so active against the Walter-McCarran immigration bill. He protested the deportation of Hanns Eisler, brother of Gerhard Eisler, both European Communists of long standing. He signed a statement in defense of Harry Sacher and other lawyers convicted of contempt of court in the trial of the 11 top Communist Party officials. He signed an open letter in defense of the trustees of the bail fund of the Civil Rights Congress. It is to be remembered that these trustees refused to reveal the sources of the bail fund posted to guarantee the appearance of the convicted Communist Party leaders. Pauling was an initiator of the National Committee To Repeal the McCarran Act, an act wherein the Congress said:

That there exists a world-wide Communist revolutionary movement, the purpose of which is by treachery, deceit, espionage, and sabotage to establish a Communist totalitarian dictatorship in countries throughout the world; that due to the world-wide scope of the movement, the travel of Communist members, representatives, and agents from country to country is a prerequisite for the carrying on of activities to further the purpose of the revolutionary movement; and that individuals in the United States, by participating in this movement, in effect, repu-

date their allegiance to the United States and transfer their allegiance to the foreign country which controls the Communist movement.

Dr. Pauling has been active in several movements to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Since the ending of hostilities in World War II and especially since the resurrection of the Communist International as the "Cominform" the Communist Party line has been to advocate peace. But "peace" to the Communists means no war or preparation for war against the Soviet Union; no aggression against Communist-controlled so-called democracies, but, at the same time, a reversion to the Marxist-Leninist line of carrying on agitation and infiltration of imperialist and capitalist countries.

One of the first groups to raise the phony cry of "peace" was the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace. Dr. Pauling was one of the sponsors. He was also affiliated with the Mid-Century Conference for Peace, the Conference on Peaceful Alternatives, the American Peace Crusade, and the American Continental Congress for Peace. Is it any wonder that Dr. Pauling was denied a passport?

Objection has been made to the actions of Mrs. Shipley in refusing passports to certain American citizens on the ground that she possesses unchecked discretionary power in the Passport Division of the State Department, and her decisions are treated as final and are not subject to review by independent minds. Further objection is made because Members of Congress are denied access to the information upon which the denial of a passport was based. It has been contended that no division of government should be allowed to exercise unchecked, discretionary, and arbitrary powers.

Are we, the Members of Congress, "ye blind guides which strain at a gnat and swallow a camel" when we raise our voices in protest that the denial of a passport to an American citizen for travel abroad is the grant of an unchecked, discretionary, and arbitrary power? Are there not other matters vastly more important to the security of our country than the reasons why certain individuals are not permitted to gad about over the world proclaiming to the high heavens why socialism is better for the United States than our own particular and highly successful form of government?

I say, Mr. Speaker, that if the State Department and other Government agencies were as careful in screening their employees as Mrs. Shipley has been in screening applicants for passports, then there would be less ado about the pinkos, Communists, fellow travelers, and radicals in the Government service.

Bear with me for a moment while I give you an example of what I have in mind. There is a man employed in the State Department—I believe he holds one of the high positions on the Voice of America programs—by the name of Bertram D. Wolfe. While the name may mean nothing to most of us, there is no room for a misunderstanding of this man and his background. Wolfe was one of the founders of the Communist move-

ment in the United States, an intellectual and dyed-in-the-wool Marxist, a charter member of the Communist Party in America.

Wolfe was a member of the left-wing section of the Socialist Party, the founding fathers of the Communist Party in America. Like others in the Communist hierarchy, he made his pilgrimage to Moscow to sit at the foot of the throne of the dictator of international communism. In 1929, along with Jay Lovestone and others, he was ousted from the Communist Party on direct orders from the Communist International for failure to abide by a decision of that body. His appeal to the Comintern from the expulsion is couched in words and terms that leave no doubt as to his devotion to world revolution and sovietization of the world.

When his appeal failed, Wolfe, with Lovestone and others, formed the Communist Party of America (Opposition). Let us not be confused that the word "opposition" in the title of the organization means that the group was opposed to the Communist Party.

Wolfe is the author of a book entitled "What is the Communist Opposition?" Let us quote from this book on page 15:

The fundamental aims of the Communist movement are the same throughout the world—the overthrow of capitalism, the establishment of Soviet power, the building of a Socialist society. But the methods of reaching that goal, the tactics to be applied at a given moment, are different for each country and even for each stage of the struggle in a given country.

From page 37:

The Communist opposition stands unswervingly for the reuniting of the Communist movement.

From page 50:

The Communist Party of the United States (Opposition) is a part of the Communist movement of the United States and of the international Communist movement. It stands for the reunification of the Communist Party of the United States, which has been split into three currents or tendencies, and for the reunification of the Communist International, which has been similarly divided. . . . We stand for the proletarian dictatorship, the rule of the working class. It is the only possible means of overthrowing capitalist political rule and economic domination.

From page 51:

The defense of the Soviet Union against all attack by any and all of the capitalist powers is the unconditional duty of the working class of all lands.

Thus wrote a man who now holds a high-level position in the State Department. How did he get there? Is it not more important to the Members of Congress and the safety and security of our country to find out how such people are able to worm their way into Government positions, rather than concern ourselves as to why a mere handful of rabble-rousers are denied the privilege of traveling in foreign countries?

Is it not of far greater importance for Congress to concern itself as to why we are denied access to information about such people as Bertram D. Wolfe than the reason some one was denied a passport?

By Presidential edict Congress is denied the right to review the files of such persons and determine for themselves how these ultra left-wingers manage to infiltrate the Government.

The case of Bertram D. Wolfe could be but one of many. But has any voice been raised in protest? Has the Communist Party, the Daily Worker, or that self-styled champion of civil liberties, the American Civil Liberties Union, protested the appointment of a one-time top functionary of the Communist Party to a high position in the State Department?

Mr. Speaker, it is time for the Congress of the United States to take a step in the right direction. Millions of dollars have been appropriated to the Civil Service Commission for the purpose of ferreting out those in the Government service concerning whom there is a reasonable doubt as to their loyalty. Yet, when Congress inquires as to how the program is operating, we are told that "in the interest of national security" it is none of our business.

I suggest and I urge that, in the future, no funds be appropriated to any Government agency unless it be specifically provided that Congress have access to information from that agency so that it can determine if the funds are being expended for the purpose for which such funds were appropriated.

Let me remind you of the words of Mr. Justice Jackson in the recent decision affirming the conviction of the 11 top Communist Party leaders. Mr. Justice Jackson said:

The Communist Party, nevertheless, does not seek its strength primarily in numbers. Its aim is a relatively small party whose strength is in selected, dedicated, indoctrinated, and rigidly disciplined members. From established policy it tolerates no deviation and no debate. It seeks members that are, or may be, secreted in strategic posts in transportation, communications, industry, Government, and especially in labor unions where it can compel employers to accept and retain its members. It also seeks to infiltrate and control organizations of professional and other groups. Through these placements in positions of power it seeks a leverage over society that will make up in power of coercion what it lacks in power of persuasion.

It cannot be said now that we are uninformed as to the aims and objectives of the Communist conspiracy. We should demand the right to review the file of the likes of Bertram D. Wolfe, and determine who has been asleep while on guard.

Knowing the feeling of the Members of Congress toward the very fine and efficient manner in which Mrs. Shipley has conducted the Passport Division over the years, I have no hesitancy whatever in stating that at least 98 percent of the Members not only appreciate her work but have nothing but praise for her. Their only regret is that we have not had more people of her character, integrity, spirit of patriotism and devotion to the best ideals of citizenship and Americanism in charge of some of the other departments of government.

Notwithstanding the fact that many so-called left-wing liberals in our Government from time to time have as-

tempted to have Mrs. Shipley removed from office, they have not succeeded. The Congress of the United States is determined that this element in our Government will never succeed. Mrs. Shipley has, indeed, been a symbol of courage for having withstood the vicious smear and undermining tactics of unpatriotic people, both in and out of Government. She has done this with calm and dignity.

Mrs. Shipley has done much to protect the good name of the United States of America abroad and to keep the Communist Party from using the Passport Division as a transmission belt for its nefarious schemes for world revolution.

Mr. Speaker, the good citizens of the United States, and Members of Congress in particular, must make certain that the Communists working through their many front organizations and publications, as well as all the fellow travellers and self-styled left-wing liberals, never succeed in having Mrs. Shipley removed from her present position. In any such situation the Members of Congress would rise up for her as they would for J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

All patriotic Americans should pray to God that Mrs. Shipley continues in good health with the strength and courage to stand firm for those ideals and principles for which she has been recognized all through her life.

Tribute to Hon. Robert L. Doughton

SPEECH

HON. CARL T. CURTIS

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, July 5, 1952

Mr. CURTIS of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, had the Honorable ROBERT L. DOUGHTON never introduced a bill in Congress or piloted a measure through the House of Representatives he would go down in history as one of America's great.

He is great in mind and in character. His honesty has never been questioned. His rugged individualism is an inspiration to the most ambitious and puts the lazy and indolent to shame. He never hesitated to stand up and be counted. When others may have been tempted to be carried away by false notions, Uncle Bob always held steady. He has set an example in his fairness and courtesy to his colleagues. He has been interested in, and considerate of, every taxpayer in the United States.

Mr. DOUGHTON is a true patriot. To him, living within our national income and the payment of our national debt are absolute musts in the maintenance of our national honor. No one will ever be able to take the place of the Honorable ROBERT L. DOUGHTON in the Halls of Congress—what the Nation needs is more Members who will try to emulate him.

One of the rare privileges that has been mine as a Member of Congress has been to serve under this great man, the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means.

The Road to Secular

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM E. JENNER

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Saturday, July 5, 1952

Mr. JENNER. Mr. President, I take pleasure in asking permission to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the following editorial from the National Grange Monthly for June 1952, by Herschel D. Newsom, master, National Grange.

As Mr. Newsom says, the problems of the attempted seizure of the steel industry by President Truman will be with us for a long time to come:

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE ROAD TO SECULAR

(By Herschel D. Newsom, master, National Grange)

While it is to be hoped that, by one means or another, the Federal Government's seizure of the steel industry will be a matter of history rather than a state of actuality by the time this editorial appears in print, it seems obvious that the scars and other effects including the bitterness, the misunderstanding, and the short tempers, certainly will not be forgotten, but are likely to exist for some time to come. It, therefore, seems appropriate that we think about the subject, its causes, how the situation might have been or should have been prevented and, as we look to the future, we might well ponder whether or not America can afford this sort of experience.

"THEY ASKED FOR IT"

The president of the United Steelworkers of America complained that they had been denied the privilege of engaging in collective-bargaining processes and had seen substituted in lieu thereof the necessity of pleading their case before the Wage Stabilization Board of the Economic Stabilization Administration. He further complained that they have been and are now told by their Government they cannot strike in order to gain acceptance of their demand. We cannot refrain from commenting "they asked for it." It should be recalled that at the time of the "labor walk-out on stabilization" in early 1951 the leaders of American labor had demanded that, under price control and wage stabilization, an official Government agency should be established and authorized to consider all labor disputes, economic and un-economic. They gained that objective. The Wage Stabilization Board was established and authorized to consider the so-called fringe demands as well as actual wage demands. The union's contention that "price discussions were thrust into the steel-wage controversy because and only because the companies wanted it that way" is hardly an accurate statement.

It is obvious that under a control program, or to use the actual official title—under Wage and Price Stabilization—it is impossible to divorce wages, and other costs of operation of business, from the subject of price. We are not prepared to justify any specific price demands of the steel industry. Neither are we prepared to justify any of the demands of the union or recommendations of the Wage Stabilization Board. We only say that it seems reasonable that the need of price change might readily be created by a substantial change in wage scale or in any other cost of operation, and conversely that it

seems unrealistic to insist they are two completely separable and unrelated problems.

FUNDAMENTAL LESSON

But there is an even more important fundamental lesson to this unhappy experience in modern American social, economic, and political history. Free labor unions were born and have grown out of the necessity of joint action on the part of the wage earners of America to employ the tool of organization to improve their economic and social conditions and those of their families. Collective bargaining, as originally conceived, is a part of the normal function and legitimate practice of such organizations, but we cannot refrain from expressing a personal feeling that the effect of industry-wide collective bargaining is that of creating a new monopoly which is potentially more powerful than any other agency in the Nation except the Nation itself, or in other words, the Government. This may well be another example of how our farm-family fraternity may be compelled to take a position on a matter that seemingly is somewhat removed from agriculture and rural life but which, nonetheless, affects all of us vitally. We have long felt that industry-wide collective bargaining should be prevented because it is as monopolistic in its concept as industry-wide pricing. In this particular crisis approximately 85 percent of one of the Nation's biggest industries has clashed head-on with an industry-wide demand of an industry-wide union and in the battle of these two giants, Government has assumed new and additional powers largely as a result of an effort to effect stabilization.

It is not our position here to discuss the propriety nor the effectiveness of any particular action of our Government in this controversy. It is our purpose to point out that seizure was a result of the road that we have traveled. It is difficult to see why we continually refuse to concern ourselves with the cause.

DOWN THE ROAD

Controls and increasing governmental authority are no satisfactory substitute for moral, political, or economic responsibility. If we fail to understand that the history of expanding liberty and freedom of the individual is likewise the history of restricted rather than extended power of Government, we will continue to travel the road that leads to seizure of property and conscription of manpower.

GI Bill of Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALVIN F. WEICHEL

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 18, 1952

Mr. WEICHEL. Mr. Speaker, I am including herewith the following news item from the Toledo Blade:

GI RIGHTS ASKED FOR KOREA VETS—WEICHEL JOINS GROUP IN SPONSORING BILL.

WASHINGTON, February 7.—Representative ALVIN F. WEICHEL, Republican, of Sandusky, Ohio, joined yesterday in sponsoring a bill to extend the GI bill of rights to cover Korea veterans.

The bill would provide 1½ days of training for every day of service, up to a total of 86 months—sufficient for the ordinary college degree.

An education of training allowance would be paid directly to the veteran \$110 a month for a single man, \$150 for a man with one or more dependents. This is intended to

# Oil and the Good Neighbor

BY BERTRAM D. WOLFE

APRIL 8 to 15 was Pan-American Week. With due solemnity the President issued a proclamation countersigned by the Secretary of State calling upon churches, schools, and the people generally to observe "with appropriate ceremonies" the occasion on which the "twenty-one American republics commemorate their peace, friendship, and solidarity." Then, with an ineptness that has not before been shown by the State Department under the present Administration, Cordell Hull chose this same week to release his note to Mexico on oil and land claims. Inevitably, Mexico celebrated Pan-American Week with great popular demonstrations of protest. And the other Latin American countries looked on with mounting disquiet.

The best that can be said for the timing of the Hull note is that the Secretary's mind and that of the President were on other matters. The most charitable interpretation would make of it a pre-convention maneuver intended to short-circuit Republican-Garner criticism of Roosevelt and Hull for alleged passivity in the face of Mexican expropriations. Other aspects of the timing do not lend themselves to such charitable explanation. The suspicion will not down that the note was intended to stiffen the united front of the Anglo-American oil companies and forestall a compromise agreement between Sinclair and the Mexican government. All through March these difficult negotiations were progressing satisfactorily, and it was rumored that a draft agreement had been reached.

It is unfortunate that the note came at a time to influence not one but two Presidential elections. Mexico's electoral campaign is long past the convention stage, in fact, is nearing its culmination. The voting takes place in July, and may be followed—as has so often happened—by an uprising of the opposition. Fortunately, such an uprising seems less likely than usual—unless one, or both, of the opponents of the Administration's chosen candidate is led to think that he can count on oil-company subsidies, gun-running from Texas, and other forms of extra-official encouragement. The oil question has figured as a campaign issue, both the opposition candidates having criticized the Cárdenas administration for alienating foreign capital. The Hull note will inevitably be construed in some quarters as an attempt to influence the election and an encouragement to the preparation of an uprising this summer.

In justice to Roosevelt and Hull it should be said that worse notes have been sent to Mexico. But the senders

were less emphatic about their good neighborliness. And the document was after all stiff enough to be headlined in the *New York Times* as a "warning." The nub of the note lies in a doctrine which is enunciated at least four times in its pages. It challenges the "right," the "legality," and the morals of expropriation without "adequate, effective, and prompt compensation." Even a promise to pay in the future is rejected as "not expropriation but confiscation."

History, less severe than Mr. Hull, "recognizes" two distinct kinds of expropriation. One is the kind Mr. Hull is prepared to recognize: a normal action of a government engaged in exercising its right of eminent domain, perhaps to build a bridge or enlarge a harbor. It does not involve any social upheaval or any challenge to the legality or morality of the title to the property "condemned" or purchased. But there is also another form of expropriation, in which a government or people calls in question the legality of the title and its mode of acquisition. Examples of the latter type in our own history are the expropriation of the Crown lands and Tory estates after the American Revolution, the liberation of the slaves during the Civil War—both without compensation—and the repudiation of the loans contracted by the Southern states during the rebellion. This repudiation was made by retroactive, constitutional amendment, as in Mexico, and although many of the bondholders were Englishmen we would not hear of compensation or arbitration or foreign intervention.

An example even closer to the Mexican case is our nullification, without compensation, of the Teapot Dome oil concessions, an act which affected some of the same companies that are complainants against Mexico. The nullification was not by revolution but by simple court action. What a howl we would have set up if some foreign government had attempted to intervene on behalf of a foreign stockholder or company! Yet in law and in ethics the action of the government in the Teapot Dome case paralleled the present contentions of the Mexican government. The bulk of the Mexican oil concessions were secured from the self-perpetuating Díaz dictatorship in ways which violated the fundamental law and public interest of Mexico. Díaz and his actions were later repudiated by the Mexican people by revolution and by retroactive constitutional provision. Thus the Hull note is tantamount to a refusal to recognize the Mexican Revolution. To add insult to injury, the note specifically refuses to recognize the right of the Mexican courts to decide the

matter. If Mexico accepted the note's central contention, the country would, in fact if not in form, return to the colonial-feudal status of the Díaz period.

During the course of years of badgering, Mexico, ever conscious of the great power of its neighbor, has let drop its claimed right to undo Díaz's acts without compensation. It professes a willingness to pay, but not at such a rate as would bankrupt its weak economy and force it to grind the life out of its own people. In these years of crisis and debt repudiation we have sent no such hectoring notes to the non-paying European governments. The suspicion is inescapable that our readiness to lecture Mexico in this fashion springs from a consciousness of its nearness and our overwhelming military superiority.

But how, the Mexicans ask, can they pay whatever their courts may determine unless they can sell the oil and break the silent, powerful blockade of the oil companies upon their petroleum export? How can they pay considerable sums while their finances are in crisis, in part as a result of the deliberate raids upon their banking system engineered by the oil companies?

The Mexican peso—whose nominal par is two to the dollar—is selling now at six to the dollar. In this connection also the timing of the Hull note becomes significant, since it followed closely on a recommendation of a Senate subcommittee that silver purchases from Mexico should be discontinued. In that event a further drop in the peso might be expected. (The whole system of silver purchases at inflated prices is silly, but no more so than the silver policy pursued within this country, or the purchase of gold from the South African and Canadian mines at inflated prices.) Moreover, 70 per cent of Mexican mining is done by American companies—with Mexico deriving benefit only from the payment of wages and taxes and the support given to the peso. If we cut off that support to force an oil "settlement," we may find that American-owned silver mines will close down, that the Mexican government will intervene to keep them open by expropriation, and that there will be still more mouths clamoring at the State Department.

The Mexicans distinguish, and rightly, between foreign capital invested in Mexican factories to produce consumers' goods for sale in Mexico, and capital invested in the extraction of Mexico's natural subsoil wealth for sale in the foreign market. The former, the Mexicans contend, has some interest in raising the standard of living of the Mexican masses and thus expanding the domestic market for consumers' goods. But the capital invested in oil and mineral extraction has no such interest—quite the contrary. Since it extracts virtually the whole product for sale abroad, it has a natural affinity for corrupt officials easily suborned to give generous oil and mining concessions and for dictatorial regimes that permit a maximal exploitation of cheap native labor. It is significant that the break with the oil companies came not so much over

the amount of wages to be paid as over the amount to be spent on schools, recreation centers, sanitation, potable water, housing, vacations, and social services for employees.

Automatically, such notes as Hull's tend to revive the latent hostility that long divided the Americas into two unequal and unfriendly camps. We may be ready to forget our past history, but our southern neighbors cannot forget so easily. They welcome our recent better manners but insist that it takes more than fair phrases to make good neighbors or convince them that our economic penetration is not to be feared and that the big stick will never again be flourished in the Caribbean. Mexico is the outpost of Central and South America; all of Latin America is watching our treatment of it to see what our good-neighbor speeches mean when translated into action. By pressing the dubious claims of oil, land, mining, power, and railroad corporations, by encouraging them to refuse to come to an agreement with the Mexican government, by demanding that a Mexico in crisis devote all its meager resources to immediate payment of those claims, we are steering toward a new head-on collision with Mexico.

Woodrow Wilson followed a curiously similar trajectory, getting himself involved with Mexico over oil while Europe was at war. He came in the end to regret it. If the present Administration nourishes the idea that intervention in a European war is again a possibility, it is hard to believe that the State Department will deliberately press things to an open break. But one step is apt to lead to another, and error, too, has its own logic. We are dealing with a proud and sensitive nation that is being pressed dangerously close to the wall and is keenly conscious of its material weakness and past grievances. And we are acting in behalf of Anglo-American oil companies that are among the world's most arrogant aggregations of capital. Under such circumstances an open break could come easily.

The Hull note was a serious error, but not an irretrievable one. It preserved enough of the diplomatic amenities to leave a way out other than that of open conflict. Mexico's answer, it is safe to forecast, will be polite, dignified, but in essence unyielding, since to yield would mean bankruptcy and fresh turmoil.

A policy of generosity and neighborliness toward Mexico now would help that unhappy country to solve some of its basic problems. It would even be in harmony with the interests of the oil companies, which may thereby some day receive compensation in the form of a royalty percentage on oil sales. It would raise the domestic market and level of common life in Mexico, to the ultimate advantage of the American consumer-goods industries. In a time of spreading conflict, it would help to create a genuine, tolerant neighborliness which would enrich life throughout the Americas.

Encl # 15

are as vital a part of medical tradition as its science and its art. Practice, it is true, may lag behind principles, but at least such failure is regarded as discreditable; and it is hard to imagine any kind of civilization in which the ethical principles of medicine were disregarded. That is one reason why the future possibility of biological warfare is particularly repugnant. Today science finds itself, unexpectedly and without those centuries of tradition and experience, in a position no less important to the community than medicine: and its ethical principles have not yet clearly emerged.

Every candidate for admission to the earliest of American learned associations was required to answer yes to the question, "Do you love truth for truth's sake, and will you endeavor impartially to find . . . it for yourself and communicate it to others?" That affirmation might have its place in a modern scientific version of the Hippocratic Oath. But again the same dilemma arises—"endeavor impartially . . . to communicate it to others." Apart altogether from considerations of national security, in many fields today much of the best research is done, and done increasingly, in industrial laboratories. Those who have seen and admired such work, and the people who do it, cannot but applaud the foresight which made it possible. But if all the results are to be communicated at once and impartially to others, could directors and shareholders be reasonably expected to continue their support? Indeed, if an industry were nationalized could it afford to give away its secrets to competitors abroad? Not in any real world, in which a nation must remain solvent and industry must depend for success on the rapid application of new knowledge. The dilemma must be met by reasonable compromise, of which perhaps the most hopeful sign today is that many of the directors of industry come up through research departments. A friendly and familiar contact between management and research, and between industrial and outside scientists, can reduce this particular dilemma to manageable size.

A graver problem is provided by research under government, when considerations of security come in. In the emergency which became evident in 1935, the secret development of radar for purposes of air defense aroused no obvious pangs of conscience; and many other developments come in that class. But the surest of military maxims is that counter attack is an essential part of defense; to limit scientific methods to defensive weapons would be to ensure defeat, indeed it is quite impracticable. But let us be realists; so long as offensive weapons may be used, the part played by the scientist is no more immoral than that of the engineer, the workman, the soldier or the statesman, and the attitude of "holier-than-thou" is unbecoming. We all bear, as citizens, an equal responsibility. But is it practical to suggest that all scientists in all countries should agree, and hold to their agreement whatever happens, to take no part in research on offensive weapons? or at least should endeavor impartially to communicate its results to others? The answer is evident. There

are individuals in all free countries who find such work intolerable. In those countries their scruples are respected and they are at liberty to do something else; but let them not imagine that the problem is solved that way, or that those who think otherwise are necessarily stupid or immoral. The first condition of freedom is freedom of conscience, and the scientist has the same right to that as any citizen: but freedom does not extend to giving away other people's property, whether of goods or knowledge.

There seems to be no simple answer to the riddle. All knowledge, not only that of the natural world, can be used for evil as well as good: and in all ages there continue to be people who think that its fruit should be forbidden. Does the future welfare, therefore, of mankind depend on a refusal of science and a more intensive study of the Sermon on the Mount? There are others who hold the contrary opinion, that more and more of science and its applications alone can bring prosperity and happiness to men. Both of these extreme views seem to me entirely wrong—though the second is the more perilous, as more likely to be commonly accepted. The so-called conflict between science and religion is usually about words, too often the words of their unbalanced advocates: the reality lies somewhere in between. "Completeness and dignity," to use Tyndall's phrase, are brought to man by three main channels, first by the religious sentiment and its embodiment in ethical principles, secondly by the influence of what is beautiful in nature, human personality or art, and thirdly by the pursuit of scientific truth and its resolute use in improving human life. Some suppose that religion and beauty are incompatible: others, that the aesthetic has no relation to the scientific sense: both seem to me just as mistaken as those who hold that the scientific and the religious spirit are necessarily opposed. Co-operation is required, not conflict: for science can be used to express and apply the principles of ethics, and those principles themselves can guide the behavior of scientific men: while the appreciation of what is good and beautiful can provide to both a vision of encouragement.

Is there really then any special ethical dilemma which we scientific men, as distinct from other people, have to meet? I think not: unless it be to convince ourselves humbly that we are just like others in having moral issues to face. It is true that integrity of thought is the absolute condition of our work, and that judgments of value must never be allowed to deflect our judgments of fact. But in this we are not unique. It is true that scientific research has opened up the possibility of unprecedented good, or unlimited harm, for mankind; but the use that is made of it depends in the end on the moral judgments of the whole community of men. It is totally impossible now to reverse the process of discovery: it will certainly go on. To help to guide its use aright is not a scientific dilemma, but the honorable and compelling duty of a good citizen.

## Tito and Stalin

WINDOW INTO THE COMINFORM

By BERTRAM D. WOLFE, *Chief, Ideological Advisory Section, Voice of America, Dept. of State, United States International Information Administration, New York, N. Y.*

*Delivered before an interested group of specialists, Washington, D. C., June, 1952*

### I. AMBIGUITIES IN THE MARXIST ATTITUDE ON THE NATIONAL QUESTION

**T**HERE is a certain ambiguity in the Marxian attitude towards the national question, which is the first matter which I propose to examine. If you read the

Communist Manifesto, you will find on the one hand a declaration that the workers have no country to defend; next, that their aim is to establish themselves as the nation; next you will find an economic or market theory of Nationalism and Internationalism—that the idea of nationality

grows up only when the nationwide market has developed so that you would automatically expect a feeling of nationality to coincide with the size of a given national or nationwide market.

On the other hand, you also have a declaration concerning the rights of complete restoration of Poland as an independent nationality in the Communist Manifesto. Poland was geared at that time part into the German market, part into the Russian market, part into the Austrian-Hungarian market. So it is quite obvious that Marx has abandoned his own economic interpretation of Nationalism in favor of recognition that there is a kind of demi-urge that has lived underground, something of the spirit of the Polish people which demands the restoration of Polish national independence. Thus even in the Communist Manifesto we find an ambiguity on the national question, which I take as the first background point in an approach to the question of Titoism.

Second, you will find in the relations between Lenin and Stalin a certain ambiguity on the national question. In 1920 Lenin was preparing a document (a series of propositions or theses) for the Communist International Congress on *the National and Colonial Question*. He sent a copy of it to Stalin for his opinion (as he did to a number of other people) and Stalin wrote back a criticism, expressing a disagreement with Lenin's thesis. Now that criticism (and I call your attention to the early date—June 12, 1920)—that criticism is extremely interesting.

Stalin writes:

"For nations which made up part of old Russia, our Soviet-type of federation may and must be accounted expedient as the road to unity. These nationalities either did not have a state of their own in the past or have long lost it, in view of which fact the Soviet centralized-type of federation will graft itself onto them without any serious friction. But the same cannot be said of those nationalities which did not make up a part of old Russia—which existed as independent formations, developed their own states and which, if they become Soviet, will be obliged by force or circumstances to enter into one or another governmental relationship with Soviet Russia.

"For example, a future Soviet Germany, Soviet Poland, Soviet Hungary, Soviet Finland—" (now this is 1920, and is a basic document which we might call Stalin's "Mein Kampf") "these peoples, having had their own state, their own army, their own finances, will hardly agree—even though they become Soviet—to enter at once into a federal bond with Soviet Russia of the type of the Bashkir or Ukrainian. For a federation of the Soviet type would be looked upon by the mass as a form of diminution of their state independence, as an attack upon it. I have no doubt, therefore, that for these nationalities the most acceptable form of rapprochement will be a Confederation." (By which he means a kind of alliance or loose union of nominally independent states). "I say nothing of the backward nations; for example: Persia, Turkey—in relation to which or for which the Soviet type of federation and federation, in general, would be still more unacceptable."

This criticism of Lenin's thesis (which, by the way, Lenin rejected) indicates that as early as June 12, 1920 Stalin already had a concept of a future Soviet Germany, a Soviet Finland, a Soviet Hungary. He recognized that they could not directly enter into the Soviet Union "Federation" and he proposed a transition form which today he calls "The System of People's Democracies." Thus the first approach

of Stalin to what today we call "Titoism" can be found in this document. Now where can you find this document today? It is not in Stalin's Collected Works. He has excluded it from the canon of his Collected Works because it is too revealing. Nevertheless, you can find it in Lenin's Collected Works—in the Russian Third Edition, Volume XXV, page 624, as a footnote, in which Stalin's criticism written to Lenin is given in full. It is a document worthy of much more study than our leaders have so far given it.

The third point in Stalin's special views on the national question to which I wish to call your attention, is a contempt on Stalin's part for the right of borderlands and neighbors to genuine independence. On October 10, 1920, he wrote:

"Central Russia, this fireplace of world revolution, cannot hold out long without the help of the borderlands rich in raw materials, fuel, food . . . The separation of the borderlands would undermine the revolutionary might of Central Russia . . . for the borderlands, there are possible only two outcomes:

EITHER together with Russia. . . .

OR together with the Entente. . . .

There is no third possibility.

The so-called independence of the so-called independent Georgia, Armenia, Poland, Finland, etc., is only a deceptive appearance covering up the full dependence of these governments (if you will excuse me for calling them governments) from this or that group of Imperialists." (PRAVDA, October 20, 1920; Stalin's Collected Works, Vol. IV, pp. 351-363).

The fourth constituent element in the Stalinist attitude on Titoism I find in his definition of an "internationalist." On August 1, 1927, he said,

"A revolutionary is one who, without reservation, unconditionally, openly and honestly is ready to defend and protect the U.S.S.R., since the U.S.S.R. is the first proletarian revolutionary state in the world. An internationalist is he who unreservedly, without hesitation, without conditions, is ready to defend the U.S.S.R., because the U.S.S.R. is the base of the world revolutionary movement. And to defend, to advance this revolutionary movement is impossible without defending the U.S.S.R."

The last point of ambiguity in this Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist attitude towards the national question I offer in the form of a conversation between Bukharin and Armstrong, who wrote a book on Tito. Bukharin said to Armstrong:

"National rivalry between Communist states is by definition 'an impossibility.'"

By definition it is impossible for the Soviet Union to be Imperialist; by definition it is impossible for the United States not to be Imperialist; by definition whatever the Soviet Union does is peaceful and by definition whatever the Soviet Union does is democratic. And so we are not surprised to find that national rivalry between Communist states is by definition "an impossibility." Just as Capitalism cannot live without war, so war cannot live with Communism.

Bukharin did not live long enough to learn better.

## II. THE BREAK BETWEEN STALIN AND TITO

We turn now to the open break between Tito and Stalin. This open break is as significant for our understanding of the Communist International, or the Cominform, as that famous unhealing fistula was for gastro-intestinal observa-



tion. You remember there was a doctor who once tried to operate and heal a fistula in the stomach of a living man. He failed, so he finally put in a window, took advantage of that open porthole, and continued to examine the functioning of the stomach and the intestines through it. Thus modern gastro-intestinal science developed. In the same sense the break between Tito and Stalin opened a window into the deeply secret processes that go on inside the Cominform. In the early days of the Comintern there were public debates, rival proposals, and thus we could get some notion of what went on. But, increasingly, the Comintern became monolithic, and with it came unanimity and overwhelming blanket secrecy. Were it not for this break we would have very little notion indeed of how the Cominform functions.

How shall we interpret the break between Tito and Stalin? We can interpret it first in emotional terms and say that Stalinism underrates the everlasting determination of peoples to be themselves. The 20th Century's chief lesson thus far, I should say, is that national independence is one of the few things for which men are willing to fight and die.

Secondly, we can interpret it in historical terms—people with different experiences, different traditions, different cultures, inevitably have differing values. Even a World State would never be able to bleach out all the varied national colors from life.

Third, we can interpret it in terms of national interest and national traditions. The Yugoslavs have a tradition of resistance to outside tyrants—a tradition formed in the struggle against the Turks, strengthened in the struggle against Hitler, and now given fresh life and meaning in the struggle against Stalin.

Fourth, we can interpret it in terms of a special Balkan political tradition. Every Balkan Communist, every Balkan Socialist, every Balkan Democrat, every Balkan Liberal, has been brought up in the tradition of the need for a Federation of Balkan Republics. When we speak of "The Balkanization of Europe" we have in mind the same thing which has been the curse of life in the Balkans. The Balkan peninsula has been the playground of Great Powers—France, Austria-Hungary, Germany, Russia—and Balkan patriots have long felt that the only way their lands could cease to be a playground of the Great Powers was if they were to federate and form a genuine Federated Power of their own. So it was almost automatic for Communists in Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Rumania, as it would have been automatic for Socialists or for Republicans and Democrats, the moment they came to power in all those countries and felt a kinship with each other—it was automatic to propose a Balkan Federation. But, at that moment there was only one great power that was still to be kept out of the Balkans by a Balkan Federation: namely, the Soviet Union. And Stalin reacted angrily to the proposal of a powerful Balkan Federation which might have stood up against him.

Fifth, we can interpret the Tito break in terms of personal conflict, and this is the more instructive because Tito is a kind of "pocket" Stalin. Of all the disciples of Stalin, the one that learned most from him and was closest to him was Joseph Broz, known as Tito. Now Stalinism is a jealous "ism." It is a kind of ersatz religion in which Stalin has become the infallible, the omniscient, the omnipotent leader and father of the peoples. The *vozhd* is a jealous *vozhd* and beside him there is no other *vozhd*. He may have disciples—twelve, or twelve times twelve, or any number—but he may not have partners, associates, or second-string leaders. The disciple who challenges this becomes by definition a "Judas Iscariot."

Sixth, we might interpret Titoism in ideological terms. We might bear in mind that orthodoxies tend to breed heresies; dogmas—challenge; commands—disobedience. Then the heresies, in turn, will claim to be orthodoxies, even as so many heresies in the Christian churches appeal to "primitive Christianity." So Titoism has appealed to "primitive Leninism," against Stalin's modifications or "betrayals" of what Tito claims to be orthodox Leninism. It is within this closed circle that Titoism has developed, and only now—reluctantly, hesitatingly, dubiously—some of Tito's ideologues are beginning to question certain tenets of Leninism itself.

### III. THE MULTIPLE APPEAL OF TITOISM

Having made this multiple interpretation of the development of Titoism, I want to suggest something of the multiple appeal of Titoism. It appeals to national patriotism against treason to one's country; yes, and even to the class that a Communist professes to represent. Wherever you have to put the interests of the Soviet government above the interests of your own country, your own people, and against your own working class—then you are faced with the problem of treason. Reluctance to commit these forms of treason is one of the appeals that Titoism makes to the Communist in other countries.

Second, it appeals to "primitive Leninism" as a return to purity of doctrine and true equalitarian internationalism.

Third, it appeals to fellow travelers "out on a limb" and anxious to climb down without any loss of revolutionary posture. I refer to an O. John Rogge in this country or a Ziliakus in England. The cold war having created an intolerable situation for people out on that limb, the problem was how they could climb down, yet still appear faithful to some kind of revolutionary doctrine. Tito gave the answer, which I think helps to explain why a Ziliakus or a Rogge becomes so ardent a Titoist.

Fourth, Titoism has an appeal to his neighbors still needing a Balkan Federation to defend themselves—to Italy and to Greece.

Fifth, it is of especial interest to the Atlantic Pact Nations, for it represents the crack in the armor, the breach in the walls. I have every sympathy for the plight of the Yugoslav people who are still under the heel of a totalitarian dictatorship and from their standpoint it would certainly be much better if Tito were a Democrat and not a totalitarian Communist dictator. But from the standpoint of our interest at the present phase of the cold war, I can't help thinking Tito is more useful to us as a Communist than he would be as a Democrat.

### IV. FACTORS WHICH MADE TITOISM POSSIBLE

Now I turn to the genesis of the Tito break. The first aspect that we must consider is the special circumstances under which Titoist Yugoslavia was born. Like Poland, Yugoslavia resisted German invasion from the outset. There is this difference, however, that Poland resisted both Hitler and Stalin while Titoist Yugoslavia resisted Hitler only when Stalin and Hitler broke.

Second, Yugoslavia is an ideal terrain for guerrilla warfare and although its main armies were easily smashed by the Wehrmacht, yet in the mountains of Yugoslavia guerrilla warfare was never abandoned.

Third, the Tito forces participated in the final liberation of Yugoslavia and functioned as a kind of junior ally to the Soviet Army.

Fourth, their mountains were never fully occupied by Hitler as their country was never occupied by Stalin. It was

the only East European state to escape Red Army occupation, therefore theoretically self-liberated.

Fifth, geographically, Yugoslavia is farthest from Russia of the so-called "People's Democracies." It has no contiguous border with the Soviet Union. It has direct contact with the non-Communist world—with Italy, with Greece and with the open sea along the shores of the Adriatic. These, then, are the special circumstances which made possible the rise of Titoism.

#### V. DIFFERENCES WHICH LED TO THE BREAK

Now I should like to examine some of the differences—muted, but stubborn—that developed between Tito and Stalin long before either of them recognized that these differences were leading to a break. On March 5, 1942, Moscow sent a cable to Tito, criticizing him for being too pro-Soviet and too openly Communist in his conduct of the struggle inside Yugoslavia. I quote a few sentences from the Moscow Cable:

"WITH SOME JUSTIFICATION THE FOLLOWERS OF ENGLAND AND THE YUGOSLAV GOVERNMENT BELIEVE THAT THE PARTISAN MOVEMENTS IS ASSUMING A COMMUNIST CHARACTER AND THAT IT INTENDS TO SOVIETIZE YUGOSLAVIA. THE BASIC AND IMMEDIATE TASK CONSISTS NOW IN THE UNIFICATION OF ALL ANTI-HITLER ELEMENTS IN ORDER TO CRUSH THE OCCUPIER AND ACHIEVE NATIONAL LIBERATION. IS IT REALLY TRUE THAT BESIDES THE COMMUNISTS AND THEIR FOLLOWERS THERE ARE NO OTHER YUGOSLAV PATRIOTS TOGETHER WITH WHOM YOU COULD FIGHT AGAINST THE ENEMY?"

Now this is an instruction—not to cease to plan for a Soviet Yugoslavia, but to slow up and dissimulate the tempo of progress in that direction. We thus find that Tito is more Communist and more openly pro-Soviet than Stalin wishes him to be at that moment. A similar instruction went to Mao and, as you know, Mao Tse-tung accepted the instruction and continued to collaborate with Chiang Kai-shek, but Tito stepped up his campaign against Mihailovich after receiving this cable. The Soviet Union continued to maintain a "hands off" appearance until very late.

There was no Soviet mission in Yugoslavia until February, 1944, although there was a Military Mission from Britain from May, 1942 on. In 1944 a Yugoslav brigade, trained in Russia, came equipped with uniforms with royal Yugoslav emblems and only after Tito protested were the emblems removed. In 1943, while Stalin was still uncertain whether Mihailovich or Tito would come out on top and still wished to avoid alarming the Western powers, he gave no direct help to Tito. Tito was puzzled, angered, and the only answer he knew was to step up his offensive and campaign of propaganda against Mihailovich. Only when the Americans and the British showed no unfavorable reaction and when all sorts of people in America and in Britain began to echo Tito's propaganda that Mihailovich was a Nazi collaborator—only then did Stalin conclude that his cautions and fears were exaggerated and only then did he begin to give open help to Tito.

Another curious document of 1942 is a lecture from Stalin to Tito on what "Internationalism" consists of during World War II. I quote:

"The defeat of the Fascist bandits and the liberation from the occupier is now the basic task and is above all other tasks. Take into consideration that the Soviet Union has treaty obligations with the Yugoslav king and government and that any open actions against these would create new difficulties in the common war efforts in the relations between the Soviet Union and England and America. Do not consider your struggle only from your own national viewpoint, but from the international point of view of the English-Soviet-American coalition. Strengthen your positions in the people's liberation struggle," (you see Stalin is not averse to what Tito is trying to do), "and at the same time show more elasticity and ability to maneuver."

On this Tito commented to his close crony, Mosa Pijade, "I did not give too many explanations to Grandpa, I merely asked for more weapons to carry out his instructions." And Grandpa, in turn, sent word that there were "technical difficulties" which prevented the sending of more weapons.

Next, it is well to remember that the party which Tito now leads is truly a Titoist Party. A bit of biography will help. Tito was born Joseph Broz in 1892 in Hapsburg, Croatia. He was a war prisoner of the Russians in World War I. There he was indoctrinated by the Bolsheviks, joined the Red Army, and got his first military training in the civil war that followed in Russia after World War I. Sent back to Yugoslavia, he became Secretary of the Metalworkers' Union of Zagreb. In 1928 he did a tour of duty of five years in jail, where he met Mosa Pijade, who was a fellow inmate, and their close friendship and collaboration began. When he got out of jail, he got a postgraduate course in the Lenin School in Moscow.

From the Lenin School he was sent to Paris to carry on some important Comintern duties in connection with the Spanish Civil War. In Paris he steeped his hands in the blood of "The Purges" when the Blood Purges were carried into Spain and served to demoralize the Republican side in the Spanish Civil War. By this participation in the Purge, Tito rose from an obscure second rank figure in the Yugoslav Communist Party to the chief of that party. For, those earlier leaders who had stood in his way and were his superiors largely disappeared in "The Purges."

In 1941 the Yugoslav Party numbered 12,000 members. Less than 3,000 of them survived at the end of the Second World War, but by 1948 those 3,000 had swelled to 470,000—most of whom never knew any leader but Tito.

Now a glance at the Balkan Federation question. Dimitrov visited Tito at Bled in the summer of 1947. Their principal subject of conversation was the setting up of a Balkan Federation. Dimitrov for Bulgaria and Tito for Yugoslavia issued a joint communique about the immediate steps for the setting up of a Federation of Balkan People's Democratic Republics. Stalin reacted instantly with anger. Dimitrov was forced to retract and disclaim their joint initiative in articles which were published in PRAVDA and IZVESTIA. But Tito did not publish a disclaimer. This, therefore, is a key point in the break.

Nevertheless in the autumn of 1947 (when the Cominform was established as a public body with the primary aim of fighting the Marshall Plan and a secondary aim of setting up a federation of satellites in the Balkans under Soviet domination which would be just the opposite of a Balkan Federation such as Dimitrov and Tito had envisaged)—at that point Tito was still the shining example and his country the most advanced of all the People's Democracies that had been created during World War II. The Cominform headquarters were in Belgrade. Tito was regarded as

the outstanding of the Balkan leaders. Every one admired him for his power, for his having attained that power independently, and for his general manifestation of independence. Yugoslavia was being used throughout the world by Communists and fellow travelers as the model Communist state of those that had been newly born. Only after the open fight between Stalin and Tito were headquarters of the Cominform switched from Belgrade to Bucharest.

Now let us examine the relations between Stalin and Tito during the critical period. Tito visited Moscow in April, 1945. He came back with a twenty-year treaty of friendship and mutual aid, with a military mission to run his army, an economic mission to integrate his industry into the Soviet economic plan. And he learned, to his dismay, that that plan envisaged Yugoslavia as a kind of second-class agricultural, raw material, metal-producing land, subordinate in rank to Czechoslovakia, to Poland and to Hungary, for Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary were slated for a greater degree of industrialization. I do not have to tell you that Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary possessed a greater degree of industrialization at the moment they were taken over by the Communists.

Tito was, moreover, at that interview urged into open battle with his own people. One way in which Stalin keeps puppets as puppets is to get them thus into open struggle with their own people. He was urged to go head-on into forced collectivization of Yugoslav agriculture. He recognized that his army was to be reduced to an auxiliary troop of the Soviet Army and that the whole scheme reduced Yugoslavia to a subordinate part in a detailed blueprint from Moscow to all her satellites. He recognized, too, that far from "withering away," this form of state domination was destined to grow stronger and the Soviet Empire would be ever more unified, and the Balkan portions of it ever more subjected and coordinated into that Soviet Empire. He was put before the dilemma that Yugoslavia was to remain as before—poor, backward, weak, dependent, and subject to the will of greater powers, in this case the Soviet Union.

He paid a second visit to Stalin in May and June, 1946. Here they went into more detail on the same matters. He learned that the U.S.S.R. was going to reorganize the Yugoslav Army with modern tactics and modern equipment. There was to be no national manual of arms in this thoroughly national Guerrilla Army, but it was to take the Soviet manual of arms, just as, a little later, Hungary was ordered to teach its soldiers to take commands in Russian as well as in Hungarian. There was to be no national arms industry—generous equipment with weapons but if at any time they wore out or at any time Tito needed new munitions for them, he would have to come "hat in hand" to the Soviet Union once more. There was a Soviet Mission to go to Yugoslavia and take virtual command of the Yugoslav Army, just as the Yugoslavs were permitted to send a Mission to Albania to take virtual command of the Albanian Army.

The Soviet Intelligence was to teach the Yugoslav Intelligence how to operate and was to have such plenary powers that it could easily by-pass the Yugoslav Intelligence and act as an espionage system on Tito and his fellow Communists. The Soviet technicians were to get notably higher salaries, and, as the Soviet Army officers, were to get plenary powers, and be in key spots.

#### VI. TITO DRAWS FIRST

Tito left Moscow crestfallen and conferred with his Balkan confederates for closer cooperation to make counter-pressure so that the Communists of the Balkans would be treated with more wisdom (as he thought) and more dignity

than had thus far been the case. For the moment all the leaders of the other Balkan countries looked to Tito for leadership, not realizing how far things would go. There followed a period of maneuver. The Comintern, or Cominform, was ordering a sudden drastic turn to the "left," in connection with the stepping up of its "cold war." In America, Browder was "ditched." In Czechoslovakia, Masaryk and Benes were driven to their doom. Tito, as a good Stalinist, recognized the symptoms and made a sudden ultra-left swing himself—went away to the "left" of the orders which he expected would come from Moscow any day, and announced that he would be determined "to liquidate immediately all remnants of Capitalism in trade and in industry and agriculture." This drastic turn to the left is something for which Yugoslav economy and Yugoslav agriculture are still paying the penalty at the present moment, as each day's budget of news indicates.

Stalin was as smart as Tito and when he saw Tito taking this left turn on his own so that he could not be criticized as an "opportunist," he recognized that this meant "fight." And so the Politburo of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union began secret consultations with selected members of other Central Committees concerning Tito's "errors" and Tito's "excessive independence." And the Cominform (which had been set up for the fight on the Marshall Plan) now sharpened its offensive instruments for a major war on Tito and Titoism.

In late 1947 the Cominform met in Belgrade—on September 27—and Tito was still a leader among the Cominform leaders. He criticized heads of other Communist Parties for their timidity. He was shown sympathy by Dimitrov, by Gomulka, by Gheorghiu-Dej of Rumania. Even Thorez and Togliatti, who were present, were hesitant and showed some admiration for the courage and the independence that Tito was showing. Zhdanov, representing the Soviet Union, was also friendly to Tito, but he was in the beginning of his eclipse in the Soviet Union and died in 1948. His people were rapidly removed from places of power.

At the beginning of March, 1948, the Vice Premier of Yugoslavia, Kardelj, went to Moscow in a vain effort to persuade Moscow to send more machinery for the purpose of the industrialization of Yugoslavia. He came back empty-handed. On March 18, the Soviet government secretly withdrew all military advisors and instructors from Tito's Army, charging that they were "surrounded by hostility." On March 19 they withdrew all civilian missions, charging "a lack of hospitality and a lack of confidence." On March 20, Tito demanded an explanation.

He wrote to Molotov, "We are amazed. We cannot understand. We are deeply hurt. Openly inform us what the trouble is."

On June 29, 1948, the unsuspecting world was startled by the publication of a Cominform blast against Tito entitled, "Concerning the Situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia"; and a Tito counter-blast, defensive in character but nevertheless obviously a counter-blast. The break was in the open. The period is an instructive one; it was a period when the Berlin crisis had come to a head. Berlin was being blockaded by the Russians. We were debating whether we should smash the blockade by running armored trains, properly defended, through the blockade lines.

At that time the Soviet military men were considering a military plan in case open war should begin. That military plan involved something which was of great importance to Tito and helps to explain Stalin's attitude towards Tito's Army. The plan was to smash westward, through Germany, in a frontal attack towards France and the Atlantic; but, at

the same time to outflank France by sending an army through the relatively less mountainous areas of Yugoslavia into Italy, following the valleys of the Po and the Adige and the Plains of Lombardy; then striking up into France through the most accessible of the passes, thus hitting our troops from the rear at the same time they were being hit from the front by the major forces of the Soviet Army.

This makes clear why it was that Stalin conceived of Tito's Army not as a guerrilla force to defend the mountains against invasion (for the only conceivable invader was the Soviet Union), but as an auxiliary troop to serve the Soviet Army and to become a part of it in that outflanking movement in case war should actually break out. Stalin insisted upon equipping Tito's troops to be such an auxiliary force in a Soviet regular army while Tito dreamed of maintaining his troops as essentially mountaineer guerrillas to defend the sovereignty and independence of Yugoslavia in case of any attack.

This period was one in which U.N.R.R.A. supplies had been completely used up and the Yugoslav Trade Delegation in Moscow was begging in vain for aid in the industrialization of the country to get its Five Year Plan of Industrialization under way. It was directed instead to gear its minerals and ores into the more advanced industries of neighbor countries and of the Soviet Union.

#### VII. SOVIET IMPERIALISM

This brings us to the notion of Kremlin Imperialism, which Tito's break has made so clear. The subordination of the Yugoslav economy into the over-all plans and profits of Soviet industry; the attempt by the Soviet Union to get pro-consul's rights and extra-territorial status for its agents; its ambassador to be entitled to interfere in Yugoslav internal affairs; its agents to have the right to access to state secrets; its right to organize its own intelligence service to spy on the Yugoslav leaders, to be exempt from Yugoslav espionage and to recruit Yugoslav citizens as Soviet spies; its insistence that Soviet officers should get three or four times as much salary from Yugoslavia as the Yugoslavia generals and to have over-riding powers; its insistence of the rights of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to interfere in the affairs of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and of the Yugoslav state.

Now Soviet Imperialism combines all the imperialisms that have ever been invented in the long history of man: from the most ancient direct pillage and plunder and kidnapping of populations and extermination of elites to leave peoples leaderless, and the sowing of waste lands for strategic purposes, to the early 20th Century form of economic penetration, and then it has super-added its own forms of expansion of the total state through terror, concentration camps, deportations, police systems and the like.

Let us examine for a moment what we might call "classic economic Imperialism." The Soviet Union had set up (as Tito has now made clear by publishing the documents) mixed companies, *juspad* and *justa*—shipping and aviation. Theoretically, the stock is owned 50-50 by the Soviet government and the Yugoslav government, but the Soviet government paid in only 9.83% of its share during the period in which the Yugoslav government had paid in 76.25% of its share. The managing director in Yugoslavia was a Soviet appointee; his assistant was a Yugoslav who was ignored for all practical purposes. Soviet planes were allowed to fly into Yugoslavia, but Yugoslav planes were not allowed to fly into the Soviet Union. Yugoslavia paid 52% more for her freight shipments on the Danube than the Soviet Union did and 30% more (for reasons that are not clear to me) than any

other satellite did. In other words, here was a system of direct economic exploitation thinly disguised under the guise of an equal partnership.

Similarly, the army equipment of Yugoslavia was left without replacement parts to keep it in subjection. Yugoslavia sent metals (principally iron) to Czechoslovakia and had asked in return for machinery in order to manufacture trucks. Czechoslovakia under Soviet orders sent not machinery to manufacture trucks, but sent trucks, meaning "you will never manufacture your own trucks." Yugoslavia found all its molybdenum monopolized by the Soviet Government. Its cost of production was fantastically high—500,000 dinars per ton, according to the Yugoslav White Book; but the Soviet monopoly paid only the world price—instead of 500,000 dinars, 45,000 dinars—so that Yugoslavia lost 455,000 dinars on every ton that was delivered, and the more it delivered the more it lost.

Finally, in this relation of metropolis to colony there was an ill-concealed basic contempt. One example will suffice: In one of the notes of the Soviet government to the Yugoslav government, dated August 30, 1949, you will find this sentence: "The puppy is feeling so good that it barks at the elephant." Nevertheless, the puppy has so far checked the elephant, so we must now examine how the puppy managed to hold the elephant at bay.

First, Stalin had unexamined illusions as to the absoluteness of his own power. Up until that time no one had been able to stand against him. Trotsky, Bukharin, Zinoviev—they all looked bigger to him than did little Tito, but at his breath they were blown over. He had only, he thought, to sound the trumpet and the walls of Tito's pocket Kremlin would collapse; he had only to hurl an anathema and Tito would vanish in a puff of smoke. Not only Bukharin, Trotsky and Zinoviev proved vulnerable to his anathema, but he had no difficulty with Poland, Hungary and Rumania. However, Tito had a power center of his own just out of reach. Moreover, he was the perfect disciple—a kind of pocket Stalin.

#### VIII. THE CRACK IN THE KREMLIN WALL

In the chess game which now ensued they both played by the same book. He was able to anticipate each move. Every time Stalin touched a piece, he envisaged the entire alteration of configuration of the game—for he was playing the same game. He was invited to Moscow to parley—he politely declined the invitation. He was invited to Bucharest to parley at the Second Cominform session—he stayed away. Attempts were made to assassinate him—he protected himself well, though not as cautiously as Stalin does.

But there is an invisible wall which helps to protect him. There is danger in assassinating him before he has been discredited, before he has gone through the process of acknowledging his errors, discrediting himself, spitting in his own face, crawling, apologizing and doing all the other things that Cominform leaders have to learn to do at certain stages in their careers. Only then could he be safely exterminated, confessed—"purged," or assassinated. But to assassinate him before this has happened is to make a banner and a martyr of him. This, too, protects him. A coup d'etat was tried against him, but he comes from a land where people, as they say in Mexico, "learn to get up early"; that is, he drew first.

In April 1948, before the open break, he threw Hebrang and Zujovic in jail, recognizing that they were secretly organizing a Stalinist faction in his party. Hebrang is still in jail. When General Jovanovic, who was trained in Moscow and returned to serve in his army, packed his bags one night and made for the frontier, Tito seemed to get the jump

again and Jovanovic was shot trying to escape.

A "revolution" in Yugoslavia has been called for, and called for, and called for—but the call falls on deaf ears. Tito, who had enormous opposition in his own country, undoubtedly has less opposition today than he had when Stalin attacked him, rather than more opposition. With his internal opposition, every knock from Stalin is a kind of boost. He was gradually moved over into the position of a national hero. Without ceasing to be a Communist, he is also in the position of a national hero defending Yugoslavia's independence against a great bullying power. Therefore, Stalin's committees in exile have been branded as "puppets," "traitor," and Tito himself is a hero even with the people who resent his total state regime.

Charging Tito with ingratitude and lack of discipline has not proved effective, so Stalin has tried more complex ideological attacks. But an ideological attack permits an ideological defense. The Cominform has said that Yugoslavia has a police regime, terror, no party democracy, holds no party congresses. Tito answers, "You have a police regime; you have terror; you, also, have no party democracy; you hold no party congresses."

So every article of the indictment has become a fortiori an article of the indictment of the Stalin regime itself and this is the most distressing thing that had happened to Stalin since he came to power. Gradually Tito has stepped up his defensive until it has become an offensive, and he has done it with rare tactical skill. Today the Soviet regime is truly on the defensive against this tiny, ridiculous "puppy who is barking at the elephant"; on the defensive because from inside the Communist camp come the clear words of truth about Soviet Imperialism and Soviet terror and Soviet ruthlessness which, when they come from non-Communists, have less effectiveness. This is the true crack in the Kremlin wall of infallibility. Therefore, Stalin cannot tolerate it and refuses to tolerate it but he tries expedient after expedient, move after move, and every time playing by the same book, having gone through the same hard school, having a somewhat better moral case, Tito out-guesses him and blocks each move on his party.

There are only two possible moves which might bring results. One of them is to run all his neighbor states into an attack—an open war upon him. This is too dangerous. Danger No. 1—that the armies of the Balkan neighbor states are themselves infected with some admiration for this assertion of independence of a Balkan power; Danger No. 2—Tito has (on a Balkan scale) a mighty good army and may not be overthrown without the intervention of the Soviet Union. Danger No. 3 (and largest of all)—during the period when Stalin wants neither total peace nor total war he cannot risk an open attack upon Tito, for out of a local war too easily can come a total war.

Now there is a certain logic to Tito's position which we in the democratic lands watch with the closest attention. He is engaged in a critique of Stalinism which has ended with a complete rejection of Stalinism. Nevertheless, the structure of his own state is still basically Stalinist in character: that is to say, he still has his political prisoners; he still has his forced collectivization; he still has his one-party state; he still has his secret police; he still has his terror—all the things he learned from Stalin. He has glossed them over a bit, undoubtedly softened them a bit as his relations with his own people become less tense; nevertheless, the structure is there. But the logic is one which compels him anxiously to reexamine that structure. I do not say to dismantle it—that is what we are watching with interest—but certainly he is constantly reexamining it.

The logic also of his position requires him to seek allies. He has been forced into calling off the war on Greece and in Greece. He has been forced into closer relations with Greece, Turkey, Italy and Austria (which is all that is left of the possibilities of a Balkan Federation against Soviet aggression). He has been forced to apply for help from the Free World, and we have given him help, and that too has its logic. We have not made conditions. We have had much debate as to whether we ought to make conditions and what conditions we ought to make, but the fact is that we have made no conditions. We are not endorsing his internal regime, but, on the other hand, neither are we making our critique of this internal regime a major criterion at present. The major criterion is that he represents a crack in the Cominform. He represents a Communist defiance of Communist aggressive Imperialism that emanates from the Soviet Union, and he represents a struggle for independence of his country against the Soviet Empire. These things we are prepared to support to the extent that we are now supporting them because in the kind of world in which we live they are definitely assets, creating a better situation rather than a worse situation.

The full logic of his position is limited by his own dogmas and predispositions. I have recently spoken with Bebler and I found that Bebler, Kardelj and Pijade (who are the major theoreticians of Tito-slavia) are approaching very tenderly the question of re-examining Leninism. They are grave and bold in re-examining Stalinism. They are at the point now in their thinking where they are asking themselves, "Shall we also re-examine Leninism to see if in Lenin, too, there was some imperfection which gave rise to Stalinism?" And they are beginning to come to the conclusion that there was. How far that process will go, I do not venture to predict.

The final thought that I would like to leave with you is this: there is also logic to Stalin's position. Leninism was defined by a Russian Marxist once as "Marxism a la tartar" (Marxism with tartar sauce). If that is true, we will have to find a much more drastic qualification for Stalinism. It is a kind of mountaineer blood-feud Marxism, geared to a total state and an aspiration to total rule of the world. But there within the Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist camp Stalinism has suffered its first check. And I do not believe that Stalin is so dumb as not to learn from what has happened.

Just as the British after 1776 never lost another colony, so Stalin has determined after June, 1948, never to permit another Tito and never to lose another Yugoslavia. But Britain's response was appropriate to the organic nature of the British regime. It was a slow, hesitant, blundering but incessant loosening of the bonds, until the British Empire changed (and is still changing under our eyes) into the British Commonwealth of Nations.

We have watched India break the bonds and yet remain a part of the Commonwealth. I hope (and believe) that we will yet watch Egypt break the bonds and remain in organic relation to the Commonwealth. We have watched Ireland (where the situation was more tense certainly than in Egypt) break the bonds of colonialism and yet remain a part of the Commonwealth. So with Burma. In other words, the process continues and Britain has never lost another colony because according to its own inner nature it has gradually loosened the bonds.

Now according to the inner nature of the Stalin regime the direct opposite procedure is taken—to tighten the bonds. Being the ruthless total state that it is and Stalin being the kind of man he is, he can think of nothing but to squeeze

tighter; to coordinate the countries more rapidly into his machine; to hasten the conflict between rulers and ruled; to remove those who have any roots in their own country and put in their places puppets who are completely dependent upon him; to let loose a hail of blood purges, executions of faithful and devoted Communists like Laszlo Rajk, Traicho Kostov, Clementis, Gomulka, and like loyal collaborators such as Foreign Minister Jan Masaryk of Czechoslovakia. There has been a hail of accusations of Titoism, and one by one the men who have national roots in their own country. In their own Communist Parties and in their own labor-

ing classes—these men have been executed in advance of the possibility that they may some day commit the crime of considering the interests of their country as different from the interests of the Soviet Empire.

However, there is also a danger in that method of solving the problem of Titoism. When you draw the bonds tighter and tighter you augment the potential discontent. Thus the Soviet Empire appears to grow tighter and stronger with its more ruthless coordination of all of its parts, but at the same time that introduces fresh elements of weakness into every one of the lands that Stalin dominates.

## The Consumer is King

WHAT RETAILERS CAN LEARN FROM THEIR EXPERIENCES IN RECENT YEARS

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**I**F one takes a very quick and superficial glance at some of the census figures on retailing, he might conclude that nothing much has happened in recent years—that the field is one of great stability, at least as far as type of operation is concerned. Even if he should go back as far as the first census figures covering 1929, he would find department stores doing from 8 to 9 per cent of all retail business, a figure which is still valid today. Twenty odd years ago and still today he would find mail order sales at between 1 and 2 per cent of all, cooperative and house-to-house sales at something less than one per cent, chain store sales of 21 to 22 per cent and sales of independent stores (including the retail outlets of voluntary chains) of 67 to 69 per cent.<sup>1</sup> There are no lessons here, he might exclaim, since nothing has happened! Retailers, he might continue, have not had twenty years of experience; they have just had the same yearly experience twenty times!

### THE LAW OF CHANGE

To those who have lived in retailing these last twenty years, such a conclusion would be absurd indeed. It overlooks the fact that within such designations as "department store," "independent store," and "chain store" many changes have taken place. Shopping centers, self-service, cycle billing, lifo, supermarkets, branch stores are but a few of the developments which occupied little, if any, space in retailing literature twenty years ago.

Moreover, there have been great changes in the fortune of individual firms. Many independents of twenty years ago are now the successful operators of rapidly growing chains; others have closed their doors in failure. In 1914 both Frederick W. Loeser Company, one of greater New York City's most respected department stores, and nearby Abraham and Strauss had yearly sales in the neighborhood of \$15 million; today Abraham and Strauss is "in the black" at the 70-odd million dollar sales level while Loeser's is closed following a liquidation sale.<sup>2</sup> While total grocery and combination store sales have gained about 360 per cent since 1940, Food Fair Stores, Inc. has shown the astonishing growth of nearly 900

<sup>1</sup> For sources and analyses of these Census data cf. C. F. Phillips, *Marketing* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1938), XII-XVIII and D. J. Duncan and C. F. Phillips, *Retailing Principles and Methods* (3rd ed.; Chicago: Richard D. Irwin, 1951), chap. II.

<sup>2</sup> F. J. Viser, "Requiem for a Department Store," *The New York Retailer*, April, 1952, p. 2.

<sup>3</sup> 1952 *Annual Report* for year ending April 26, 1952, p. 8.

per cent.<sup>3</sup> Even as late as 1945 the sales of Sears, Roebuck & Co. were but one and one-half times larger than those of that other retail giant, Montgomery Ward; today it sells two and one-half times as much as does Ward.<sup>4</sup>

In other words, instead of stability, the story of retailing in recent years is one of change, change, and more change. In fact, this is the first, and one of the most important, lessons we can draw from recent retail history. And it is an important lesson because it suggests that even today's most modern retailer can not rest on his laurels, that he must continue to change with the times or he, too, will be left behind in the fast-moving procession. Unless he follows new experiments in retailing, unless periodically he is willing to spend money to modernize his store or stores, unless—in brief—he is willing to be progressive, someone will be standing here twenty years from now and point to him as the horrible illustration of the retailer who refused to recognize the law of change.

### SPECULATIVE BUYING

A second lesson—one which the experiences of recent years indicate that we have not yet learned—is that speculative buying is an evil.

Back in 1944 when Professor Duncan and I published the first edition of *Retailing Principles and Methods* we included a paragraph in one of the chapters on buying which appears essentially unchanged in the current third edition, as follows:

Many retailers follow a policy of varying the length of the period for which they purchase according to whether they expect a rising or a falling price level. When rising prices are expected, buyers place large orders, in the hope of being able to resell at the higher prices and thus obtaining a larger-than-usual gross margin. When falling prices are expected, a very close hand-to-mouth buying policy is pursued. In regard to this policy, it may be said that, if the retailer is quite consistently right in predicting price-level changes, retailing is not the field for him. He could make a much larger income speculating on some commodity exchange and not have the worry connected with the operation of a store. In other words, a retailer is in business to make a merchandising profit, not a speculative profit. If he wants to speculate, he does not need to bother with operating a store at the same time. To put it very

<sup>4</sup> *Business Week*, April 5, 1952, p. 114.