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Office Memi

um • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

DATE: November

IN TROM

Director, FBI

Attention: Mr. J. J. McGuire

SAC New York

SUBJECT:

"THE PEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION",

BY MAX LOWENTHAL

Reference is made to my telephone call of November 27th, to Mr. J. J. McGuire of the Bureau, in which I advised him of an editorial which had appeared in the Brooklyn Eagle on November 27, 1950. Pursuant to that conversation, a copy of this editorial is attached hereto.

Encl. 85 62-10498

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Lowenthal Book Blasting F.B.I. Reflects a Peeve Like Truman's

The relationship between Max Lowenthal's attack on the F.B.I. and Philip Murray's keynote speech at the C.I.O. convention denotancing "McCarthyism" is purely coincidental. Lowenthal's book and the C.I.O. convention speech have one thing in common. Both reflect a partisan defense of the present Administration and both approaches are based on superficial liberalism that bode no good for the republic.

Mr. Murray's harangue, defending Dean Acheson, was a red herring which was meant to take some of the sting out of the black-eye that the labor groups got in the recent election. It was an effort to divert attention from C.I.O. political failure. It was at the same time a pretty definite indication that the C.I.O. intends to go on making the same mistakes in the future.

It was not "McCarthyism" that swept the Republican candidates into office in November. It was a public protest against present Administration policies, particularly in regard to Communism here and abroad and a resentment against the crude way in which the labor groups tried to ram their own platforms down the throats of the electorate.

The Lowenthal book is the first postelection shot fired to lay low one of the pet peeves of Mr. Truman. It is common knowledge that Lowenthal and the President are buddles. It is likewise known that the author of the book has been questioned by a Congressional committee on his association with Communist personalities.

Edgar Hoover gets in Mr. Truman's hair more than any government official in Washington. The director of the F.B.I. is sincerely convinced that the Communist movement is a real threat to our American security. Harry Truman does not believe that.

The Communists have carried on a persistent compacts of distribe and vilification against Hoover and the F.B.L. This organization is the one agency in

the country that has stymicd the Stalinists at every turn. Without the evidence of the F.B.I. counter-agents in the Commie party, the conviction of the 11 Red leaders could never have been attained. The stooges of the Kremlin want to discredit Hoover, destroy the F.B.I., and be relieved of any effective check on their own actions more than anything else.

For political reasons President Truman would like to depose Mr. Hoover, but to date he has not been able to do so. The storm of protest in Congress and among the public would be overwhelming.

Truman has no sympathy for the Communists. We are convinced of that. He is and has been, however, a very mistaken man in his judgment of the menace. The President is as much concerned for the security of the nation, most likely more concerned, than any ordinary citizen. But he is also a stubborn man and would like to reduce his dislike of Edgar Hoover to action and remove him. We do not know whether or not Mr. Traman previewed the anti-F.B.I. book, as it is reported he did the volume written by Jonathan Daniels. It can be easily assumed that he is not displeased with Lowenthal's effort to smear Hoover and the F.B.I.

These two incidents, a speech by Philip Murray and the publication of a book reflecting the Administration's opposition to a government agency are separate and isolated events. Both, however, reveal a certain mental attitude toward the Communist issue which has been characteristic of the present Administration and its most avid supporters. It is evident that they look upon the late election returns as merely the result of an off-year protest. We believe they are wrong. Public sentiment has shifted and crystallized on this subject of Communism and political death awaits the politician who has not yet recognized the turn in the tide.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES G. -NMENT MR. TOLSON DATE: November ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED L. B. NICHOLS HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/19/92 BY BYZ 3 SUBJECT: I talked to him we had discussed this in the Bureau and had decided we would not comment upon the book. told him thought he was entirely correct. I told him I would be happy to frankly it would take another book to answer the Lowenthal book and to take each of the literally hundreds of quotations that he uses and put them back into their proper prospective, the time, and then state the full facts; that although Lowenthal did quote Mr. Hoover nevertheless the quotes were of his own choice and selection and that we had declined all comment on the book other than to state in response to inquiries that Mr. Lowenthal had not contacted I told him that the Director could not do the told him that ata not care to.

I told him that there were a lot of objective, jairwended people who knew the Bureau; that he would have no difficultive.

told nim one suggestion occurred to me in that he had done in the for them before and that we

RECORDED - 35 DEC 7 1950

INDEXED - 35

EX-11

LBN:

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I told him I would give the matter some further thought. given some thought to the suggestion that the book. I think that possibly pould doubt. poula doubtless do a good job the affectiveness would be lest as a result of his I am sure, could do bacib an effective job.

A further thought occurs to me this mornin that would be wrong with our suggesting that review the book as he could write from a knowledge of inside the Bureau and of course he would be cooperative with us.

elephone number is

9 think this is a good idea 11-22

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Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNME

Director, FBI

DATE: November 20, 195

SAC, Cleveland

Attention: Assistant Director L. B. NICHOLS

SUBJECT:

"FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION"

By MAX LOWENTHAL

Attached herewith is a book review of the "Federal Bureau of Investigation" by MAX LOWENTHAL as written by W. G. ROCERS, a book reviewer for the Cleveland Plain Dealer.

The fore-oing is being submitted for the information of the Bureau.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

Legal Expen and Reports on His Findings

Reviewed by W. G. Rogers

THE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION. By Max Lowenthal. (William Sloane Associates. \$4.50. 559 pp.)

'N 1908 the 60th Congress, subscribing to the opinion that any "general system of espionage" or "central secret service bureau" was repugnant to democratic principles, refused to empower Attorney General Charles J. Bonaparte to employ detectives. As soon as the session ended, it says here, he employed them anyway, setting up the Bureau of Investigation, now called the FBI.

In a painstaking, detailed examination of the record, Author spite the bureau's wide renown, it Lowenthal claims some of the is actually responsible for about things Congress warned would 1% of "all the arrests effected and come to pass have come to pass. convictions secured" in the United Indefatigably compiling pro and States. Some of its claims to con quotations from public hear-ings, trials, the press and other having caused the arrests of kidsources, without editorializing, he says the FBI has been accused in and even to having protected the responsible quarters of sending country efficiently from spies and agents provocateurs into labor saboteurs, are challenged. unions and radical organizations,

authority" and misbehaving I 'pilice state agency." Figures show, he says, th

Lowenthal is a lawyer whose of making arrests without war- numerous government services inrants, of illegal search and seizure. clude a term as secretary of He gives Editor and Publisher Hoover's National Commission on (a weekly devoted to the interests of the Fourth Estate) as authority ment. He says that an American for the charge that the FBI sup- seems to be suspect to the FBI if, pressed news by "intimidating among other things, he believes a local citizens and ignoring local man should "worship God in his own way," if he thinks the Negro's

weapon is the str (Continued on Page

egal Expert Su His Finding

(Continued From Page 36 3) studies anthropology, even if he walks around inside his own house undressed.

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CLEVELAND PLAIN DEALER November 19, 1950

page 36C, columns 7,8

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SEP 22 1953

Book Events

The Federal Bureau of Investigation, by Max Lowenthal. New York: William Sloane Associates, Inc. \$4.50. Reviewed by Walter Trohan.

By mysterious design, best known to the author and publisher, copies of this book sprouted on the desks of Members of Congress and Federal jurists on the heels of a letter from a Sloane official stating "this unbiased and profoundly conservative approach" would lead to some startling conclusions on the FBI. The dust jacket hails Lowenthal as "a conservative in the most profound sense" and asserts he does not "color his material, editorialize, or draw conclusions".

Now because the book adds up to an attack on the FBI, which can be expected to be a standard reference for years, it is fitting that these claims to conservatism and objectivity be examined. It is altogether proper and conservative to fret over the possibility that a Federal police force can grow into an arm of terror in a police state. When such fears parallel Moscow radio attacks on the FBI and writings of notorious Communist fronters, one can ask: "Who's conservative now?"

Mr. Lowenthal is a wealthy New York lawyer, who has been weaving in and out of Washington in various capacities for 30 years. The most detailed biography of Harry S. Truman to date (The Man of Independence) identifies him as the man who weaned the President from the realistic thinking of Pendergastism to the rarefied liberalism of the late Justice Louis D. Brandeis. Last September Lowenthal acknowledged varying degrees of intimate acquaintance with 22 known Communists, red spies and notorious fellow travellers, including Alger Hiss, John J. Abt, Charles Kramer and Lee Pressman, who is even now seeking to identify himself with conservatism. Lowenthal told the House Un-American Activities Committee: "The number of people I didn't know were members of the Communist party is something that makes my hair stand on end." So much for the new conservatism.

And now to objectivity. The jacket claims that for every quote questioning the practices or efficiency of the FBI, Lowenthal quotes the FBI reply or replies of FBI defenders, "including, of course, J. Edgar Hoover". This reviewer learned that not one question was addressed to Hoover or the FBI by Lowenthal. And it is difficult, if not well nigh impossible, to find a kind word for the FBI in the book. However, it reeks with criticism, most carefully traced to source in the most elaborate set of source notes in many a year. And these are most carefully edited to fit the slant against the FBI.

Much is made of an investigation of the FBI by Robert H.X Jackson when the Supreme Court Justice was Attorney General. Not one word is included from his report, which emphasized the fact that the acts of every FBI agent are subject to examination by defense lawyers. Jackson said that if civil liberties are "in danger in this country, it is not by the FBI" and reported that with a record of 96 per cent convictions in cases brought by the FBI "not one case has been reversed by an appellate court because of 'third degree' or other improper treatment of defendants". Among many other editings "against" the FBI there is a quotation of an attack by former Senator Carl Hatch, but no mention of a virtual retraction two days later. Thus kind words for the FBI die under the Lowenthal scissors.

Lowenthal belabors the FBI as a menace to freedom of speech and freedom of thought. At the same time he criticizes the FBI for not being efficient enough, holding that the atomic spy case and the case of his friend Hiss should have broken sooner. In his brief, which is heavy reading he cites a gamut of cases from Sacco-Vanzetti and the World War raids of A. Mocheli (Paintent) the Judy Coplon affair as offering evidence against J. Edgar Stopfold And offee FBI today.

The verdict of this reviewer on Lowenthal is "not guilty" of conservatism and "guilty" of objectivity "against" the FBI.

52 JAN 1 5 1950 RHODE ISLAND AVENUE, N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

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--- Senator Murray (I Mont.) will become chairman of Senate Labor committee in the next Congress in the place of Senator Thomas (B., Utah), defeated by 22,000 votes. In this change union leaders gain probably their most substantial victory in the recent election. While Thomas has been friendly to the unions in his 18 years in the Senate, he stated several months ago that union leaders preferred Murray to himself as chairman of the Senate committee. The unions gave him no campaign financial aid. As for the GOP minority on the Labor committee, there is talk of placing newly-elected Senator Francis Case (S.D.) to the place left vacant by Donnell's defeat. Case authored a labor bill in the House in 1946 which was vetoed by Truman.

THE GORDON GRAY PLAN: Edna Lonigan writes -- The Gray Report signals the transformation of ECA, from a purely economic project to one of military planning in the economic field. Grants for "technical assistance" -- Mr. Gray proposes -- should be raised to half a billion a year for several years, apart from "emergencies". Private investment is to be kept securely under Governmental control through tax exemptions, Government guarantees and investment treaties. In return the investors are presumably to accept little "Wagner Acts" wherever they operate.

The military characteristics of State planning are more in evidence in the Gray Report than in the Marshall Plan literature, presumably because the climate today is more militaristic (which we should not confuse with defense). Mr. Gray says that the North Atlantic Planning Agencies will try to avoid "an unchecked scramble for supplies", (that is, competition) by a system of priorities under supranational administration. They will also introduce a "system for guiding supplies of scarce materials among the free nations", that is, rationing. They will control the "flow of goods" and contract for long-term production of goods within the member nations.

The U.S. must encourage "other countries" to adopt sound currencies (but who is to encourage us?). The United States must eliminate "unnecessary barriers to imports", or tariffs as they used to be called in days of less elegant language. We must also "adjust" our agricultural price supports and surplus programs so that they will not burden world trade. That sounds like a new Brannan Plan. We should, of course, join the ITO and give the President power to reduce tariff rates unilaterally when he thinks there is an emergency. We should stop the procurement policy of preference for American goods in government purchasing.

Our loans must be "channelled to those areas and for those purposes where reasonable performance in the political and economic fields can be achieved". If that is not the new technocratic imperialism, what is it?

RE-EXAMINATION OF HISTORY: Revisionism ("how-we-really-got-into-it") has apparently won a victory by breaching the inhospitable wall of the standpat American Historical Association. That body will hold a meeting in Chicago during the latter part of December and one of the speakers will be Professor Charles C. Tansill, whose views, critical of our entrance into both World Wars, are well known.

Indeed, the session of December 29 will deal with the subject of "American Entry into World War II", and Professor Dexter Perkins of the University of Rochester is scheduled to talk on "The Roosevelt Foreign Policy and Public Opinion, with some Commentary on Revisionist History". This particular session will be chaired by Professor Samuel Flagg Bemis of Yale, who is scarcely sympathetic with the revisionists (see his recent negative review of William Henry Chamberlin's America's Second Crusade, in the New York Times Book Review). But, on the other hand, Dr. Harry Elmer Barnes, sometimes called the "Father of Revisionism", will be present at the Chicago meeting, and is expected to provide fireworks. Dr. Barnes' latest contribution to Revisionist literature is his pamphlet Rauch on Roosevelt: A Study in Appearance and Realities.

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Hopeaber 27, 1950

Tour kind letter of Hovember 21, 1950, has been received, and I deeply appreciate your commendatory remarks. It is reassuring to know that by associates and I have a friend such as you with abiding faith in this Bureau and its work.

With the able support of low-adiding, loyal citizens of this nation, corruption and subversion can be combated effectively.

Thank you very such for writing as as

you dida

Sincerely yours, J. Edgar Hoover

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Olevia Nicholi

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

FROM: L. B. NICHOLS

SUBJECT:

DATE: November 30, 1950

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It is "The Investigator Pays" which was an attack on the Chicago-St. Paul Railroad reorganization and an indictment of Wall Street. One chapter of this book contains a Supreme Court decision; however, when the Supreme Court decision is analyzed it is found that it was a minority opinion.

I do not see where this would be of any help to us. There are too many important things to look into.

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EX:116

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November 27, 1950

Mit. 3

Mr. Herbe -

Memorandum for Mr. Hoover:

This observation may be completely haywire; however, con-condy sidering the attention that Max Lowenthal's book is presently getting, it appears to me it is a foregone conclusion that Lowenthal's book will be a "best seller" and that as a result, it will repose in libraries all over the country.

As a documented book, it will be reference material for years to come, and in my opinion, there is only one satisfactory answer to a book of this nature and that is, there should be another book with a title such as "J. Edgar Hoover and the Federal Bureau of Investigation."

A book prepared now could be carefully documented and if written by the most prominent author available, it will become likewise a best seller and a reference work so that in the future, when library indices are searched, both books would be referred to simultaneously.

A book such as I have in mind would not be an answer to Wax Lowenthal, but a separate book citing the accomplishments, aims, and ideals of the Bureau together with the aims and ideals of its detractors. All important and pertinent items in Lowenthal's book could be refuted by documented material without reference to the fact that it is a refutation.

I believe that there will be a gigantic, nationwide movement from the entire left wing to use Lowenthal as a constant and continuous source of attack on the Director and the Bureau and that some counteragent is a "must."

Further, such a book written while you are still living and head of the FBI will have far greater effect nationally in helping to render more ineffective the Bureau's left wing critics. Such a book could be an authoritative expose of Red Fascism at work in America. If the Lowenthal book stands unchallenged in the absence of another documented publication, great harm can be done, in my opinion, for the reason that the Bureau's friends and others opposed to the left wing will lack in source material.

There is no doubt in my mind but there will be a book on John Edgar Hoover, it being merely a question of when, and, personally, fam of the opinion that the proper time is now.

There are undoubtedly many reasons why the Director would not wish such a book published at this time; however, it seems to me that the disadvantages of such a book at the present time are far outweighed by th advantages, not only to the Director personally but to the Bureau and the American public as well.

RECORDID 13

at Len Date \$1992 BY \$123

S. J. Tracy

Tederal Bureau of Investigation United States Department of Justice Washington, D. C. Dear Stanleys Your memorandum of Movember 27, suggesting a book, was most thought-provoking. There is certainly considerable merit to what you have to say. You may rest assured that I will be glad to keep your views in mind. At this time we are giving some consideration to a recent request which we received from a very respectable group, although I am fearful that the time required may make it impossible for us to cooperate. With best pishes and kind regards, Sincerely, ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED J. Edgar Hoover HEREIN 'S UNCLASSIFIED' U. S DEPT OF JUSTIF DATE 5/19/92 BY 8/73 - B.I RECTIVED- - L ROCK J. 1 01 1 STIEFT OF INSTICE ECEINED OURECTOR Glave Michol N. Mes & N 30 Belmon 55DEC 141050

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Your letter dated November 24, 1950, has been received and I am sincerely appreciative for your interest in writing as you did.

EX-116

It is reassuring to know that your confidence in and support of our organization are unshaken by the attacks leveled at it in Max-Clopenthal's recent publication. We of the FBI are, of course, of the opinion this book should not be dignified by a comment from me.

I hope that our efforts will always merit your approbation.

Enclosed is some material I thought you might like to read.

Sincerely yours,

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/19/92 BY 8/23

J. Edgar Hoover John Edgar Hoover Director

Mr. Dondero's Statement

105. HY 45 B HOUST BE THE STREET Harbo Balmont DEC 1 - 1950

MR. TOLSON

November 30, 1950

L. B. NICHOLS

th reference to the attached letter from

I would like to suggest

that abbaticchio call he write a strong letter to William Sloane Associates pointing out the inaccurate reference to his article as an illustration of the inaccuracies in the book and to also inquire of William Sloane as to whether they secured permission from the FBI to quote from his article as it appeared in the FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin which is a restricted publication.

I think that this might give them a little something to think about.

A letter acknowledging s attached.

DIRECTOR'S NOTATION:

LBN.

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ADDENDUM, 12-6-50, JJM

SAC Abbaticchio, Cleveland, advised he had talked to Sloane Associates as outlined above. Further, that was writing an article which her was sending on to for inclusion in one of the next issues of

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It was a real pleasure to receive your letter of November 27, 1950, with enclosure, and I want to thank you for your good wishes.

I am enclosing some material I thought you might like to have.

Sincerely yours,

J. Idgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover Director

Enclosure
Unmasking the Communist Masquerader
Excerpt from Congressional Record, 9-1-50

J. M.

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XXXXXX XXXXXX

December 1, 1950

12-25733-109



Your recent note concerning Max Lowenthal's book has been received.

I was extremely gratified by your comments, and I do hope that my administration of the activities of the FBI will always merit your approval.

Enclosed is some material I thought you might like to peruse.

Sincerely yours,

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover Director

Enclosure

Mr. Dondero's Statement, 9/1/50

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Clegg Glavin

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WASHINGTON FROM PORTLAND VIA SFRAN S1 11-24-50

9-30 AM

DIRECTOR FBI URGENT

THE BOOK ENTITLED QUOTE THE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION UNQUOTE. MAX LOWENTHAL. RE SAC LETTER SIX FIVE DATED SEPT. SIX LAST. FOLLOWING EDITORIAL APPEARS ON EDITORIAL PAGE OF THE OREGONIAN, PORTLAND, OREGON, THIS MORNING. QUOTE AN AMERICAN OGPU. WHITE HOUSE SPOKESMAN CHARLES G. ROSS, ASKED CONCERNING REPORTS THAT PRESIDENT TRUMAN HAS "TWICE REJECTED SUGGESTION THAT J. EDGAR HOOVER DIRECT A SUPER-INTELLIGENCE SERVICE. "TELLS THE ASSOCIATED PRESS THAT HE HAS NO INFO ON THE MATTER. OUR LITTLE SIDE COMMENT IS TO THE EFFECT THAT THE PRINCIPAL QUESTION IS AS TO WHETHER THERE IS TO BE A SUPER-INTELLIGENCE SERVICE QUESTION MARK. IF MR. HOOVER WERE. APPOINTED TO SUCH A POSITION, HE PROBABLY WOULD ATTEMPT TO CONDUCT HIMSELF WITH SOME RESTRAINT, THOUGH HE IS NOT GIVEN TO MODESTY. SO, PROBABLY, WOULD ANYONE ELSE UNDERTAKING SUCH A POSITION. BUT DEPENDING ON THE COURSE OF EVENTS. SUCH A SUPER AGENCY COULD EASILY BECOME ONE OF THE CHIEF DOMESTIC ISSUES. JUST A MATTER OF DECLARING THERE IS TO BE SUCH A THING. CONGRESS HAS NOT SURRENDERED ITS POWER TO THAT EXTENT. 78 THE CREATION OF THE FBI UNDER THEODORE ROOSEVELT -- EVEN IN ITS THEN DRODESTOR ROPORTIONS --WAS AN ISSUE OF THE FIRST MOMENT. SOFTAR AS THAT IS OVERALL AGENCY WOULD REALLY GET THINGS GOING. CONCERNED. WE ARE NOT SO CERTAIN THAT UNDER OATH BEFORE CONGRESSIONAL HEARINGS, MR. HOOVER COULD JUSTIFY HIS SELECTION,

THE TARE OFF

Offic Men

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VERNMENT

TO

Director, FBI

Att: Assistant Director
L. B. Nichols

DATE December 2, 1950

FR. I

SAC, New York

w York

CONFLORM TAL

SIBJECT:

On 12/2/50, SA advised that on 12/1/50 he interviewed Republican Congressman Leonard W. Hall, Second District, New York, at his home in Oyster Bay, New York, concerning an applicant for whom the Congressman was given as a reference.

During the interview, Congressman Hall stated that he was in complete disagreement with MAX LOWENTHAL and that he commends the Bureau for its good work.

DEPENDENCE

DECLASSIFIED BY 8123

D

December 6, 1950

KECORDED: 15 HECORDED: 62-25733-171

Honorable Leonard W. Kall House of Representatives Washington, D. C.

Hy dear Congressman:

Special Agent in Charge of our New York Office, concerning your recent conversation with Special Agent

I could not let the opportunity pass without expressing my sincere appreciation for your commendatory remarks regarding my administration of the activities of the FBI and your views on Naw fowenthal's recent publication. I am grateful for your interest and support and trust that our efforts will always nerit your approval.

With expressions of nu highest esteem and best regards,

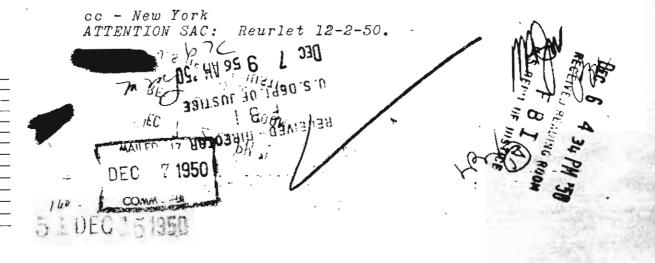
sincerely yours,

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DATE \$19/92 BY \$123

olson

chols

sen_ acy_ rbo_ lmont . Edgar Hoover



December 2, 1950

RECORDED - 17 INDEXED - 17 EX-112

Dean

Thank you very much for your nost welcome letter of November 27, 1950, and the enclosed

I want to take this opportunity to express my deep appreciation for your fine comments. It is most reassuring to know that my associates and I have your confidence in the work we are doing. I commend you for the objective and effective manner in which you have outlined your observations concerning the activities of the FM.

I hope that this organization will always merit your continued faith and approbation. I am enclosing some nuterial which may be of interest to you.

1950

Tolson

Nichol

Tracy

arvo + lacont

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSICIED

dincerely yours,

330 Enclosive Honorable Bondero Speech Congressional Record.

cc - Bostans motion bopy of incoming and copy of

cc - New York, With copy of incoming. Attention SAC: Reur routing slip in clipping.

PUCD

FBI/DOJ

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

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Room 5744 11-25 , 1950

TO: Director

Mr. Ladd

Mr. Clegg

Mr. Glavin

Mr. Harbo

Mr. Nichols

Mr. Rosen

Mr. Tracy

Mr. Belmont

Mr. Mohr

Mr. Sizoo

Mr. Callahan

Mr. Nease

Miss Gandy

Personnel Files Section

Records Section

See Me

For Appropriate Action

Send File

Note and Return

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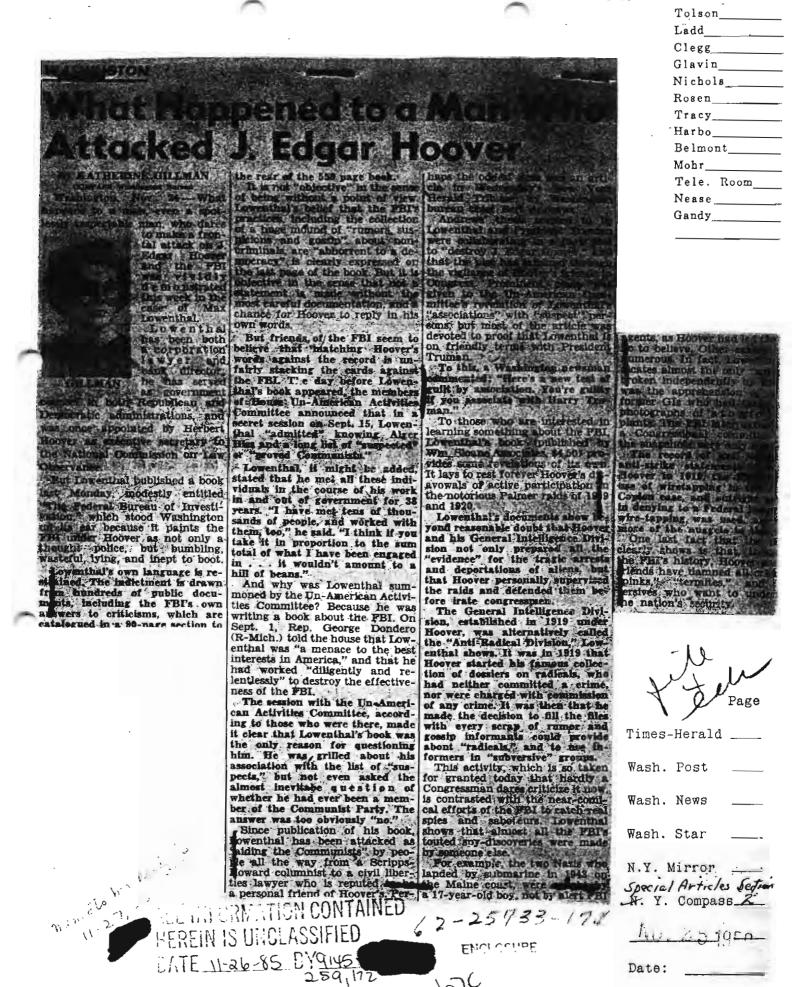
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issued this

statement

Clyde Tolson

ENCLOSURE



FBI/DOJ

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November 29, 1950

58768

MR. TOLSON

L. B. NICHOLS

Two or three people have suggested to me that is back of the Lowenthal book. I am certain that this is not likely because we know that the has no use for Lowenthal. I am going to talk to today and I am going to tell him about the statements that have been coming to us and explain to him just what our position has been and I will tell him that they might desire to come out with a statement which would cauterize in advance any publicity which would link them with the book.

DIRECTOR'S NOTATION: " I would certainly speak to them & let them know the rumors." H.

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62-25733-176

Deal

I have received your note of Movember 20, 1950, together with enclosure, and I do want to thank you for bringing to my attention the copy of your letter to

I do hope you will drop me a line concerning any developments in the situation 3.1.R.-1 mentioned in your letter to

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Sincerely,

J. Edgar Hoover

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Ladd_ Clegg

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Office Men.dum . UNITED SIME GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. TOLSON

FROM : L. B. NICHOLS

SUBJECT: MAX LOWENTHAL BOOK

DATE: Nov. 20, 1950

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Belmont
Mohr
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In connection with the Max Lowenthal book, I feel that it is necessary, as quickly as possible, to check the sources quoted by Lowenthal in his book and to have in one place what Lowenthal says, what the sources actually show, and the facts along with any possible explanation necessary to justify the Bureau's action. I have in mind that we will find in the sources referred to by Lowenthal, statements not used by Lowenthal which would contradict and cast a reflection upon his objectivity.

I think sooner or later we are going to have to meet this book head on

Dince the book is being billed as objective, I feel this is the easiest point on which to base our counterattack.

This, of course, is a big job and with the work assigned in our division, we frankly do not have the supervisory personnel necessary to do this job in the time in which it should be done. I, therefore, would like to recommend that three subervisors, preferably ones who have been in the Bureau for a long period of time and who are good at research, be temporarily detailed to this project.

At the present time I have \mathbf{Mr} . Jones working on the project full time and I have instructed that the duties on his desk be turned over to another supervisor. Assisting \mathbf{Mr} . Jones are two supervisors from this division.

It is believed that six supervisors can do this job in two or three weeks time.

It is contemplated that since this is essentially a research project, as the supervisors complete item by item, I will then go over it personally so that once typed up, it can be typed in final form.

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GRECORDED - 23 INDEXTO - 23

December 5, 1950



Tour letter dated Hovember 28, 1950, together with enclosure, has been received.

I do want to thank you for your expressions of confidence in the PBI and my administration of its activities. I hope that our efforts will always merit your approval.

I am taking the liberty of enclosing some material which I thought you might like to peruse.

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/19/92 BY 8/13

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover Director

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Enclosure

Roe to Freedom

Congressional Record, Hon. Dondero's Speech

How Communists Operate : 18 30 5%

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Room 5744

TO:	MrMrMrMrMrMrMrMrMrMrMrMrMr.	ector Ladd Clegg Glavin Harbo Nichols Rosen Tracy Belmont Mohr Sizoo Callahan Nease Gandy	Mr. Tolson
	Pers	•	les Section
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Clyde Tolson

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request. Information pertained o Documents originated w to that agency(ies) for r Pages contain informatio	nly to a third party. Your name is light another Government agency(ies), review and direct response to you, on furnished by another Government to the releasability of this information es).	sted in the title only. These documents were referre agency(ies). You will be

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Office Menw...

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GOVERNMENT

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UR. NYCHOLS

FROM :

M. ANDONE

SUBJECT: •

MAX LOWENTHAL'S BOOK

"THEX FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION"

DATE: December 2, 1950

Tolson isadd clegg Clavin Nichols

Nichola
Rosen
Tracy
Harbo
Pelmopt
Tele, Room

I thought you would be interested in the progress we are making in checking the various sources in Lowenthal's book. As of 9:00 A.M. this morning we had completed 1.110 of the 3.346 references. Some of the references can be checked quite quickly while others require a great deal of time. It is impossible, of course, to estimate just how long it will take to finish the project but we hope to have it well along by next week end. The chief difficulty at the present time is locating some of the material Lowenthal cites. In some instances it appears that even the Library of Congress will not have the publications.

On the whole Lowenthal has been most accurate in his quotations and we have not found anything really outstanding wherein he has misquoted. The chief thing it appears will be the accumulation of matters, which in themselves, standing individually, do not mean too much.

We have noted that Lowenthal's source references are very badly padded in some instances. On some simple little point that no one will dispute he will cite 10 or 12 references, all of which say practically the same thing.

You will be kept advised from time to time as to our progress. Everyone is bearing down on this particular project and we will, of course, complete it just as soon as is humanly possible.

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Jum • UNITED E Office Mem → GOVERNMENT Mr. Tolson DATE: November 10, 1950 FROM Mr. Clegg SUBJECT: THE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION BY MAX LOWENTHAL Pursuant to the request of Mr. Nichols, called today and advised response to an inquiry from we had recommended him for a review of Lowenthal's book which, as you know, will be released on November 11. that we were vitally interested in this matter and that Lowenthal's book was right down that the purpose of the call was the party line. to advise him that he might receive a request from 67C,D also to advise him of our interest. ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 19/9/12 BY BIZ 36Dic 201 -- HON 10 277 614 .26

Director, FBI

November 25, 1950

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SAC San Antonio

MAX LOWENTHAL

AIRMAIL

Attached is an editorial from the San Antonio Express written by Mr. M. M. HARRIS, editor, which appeared in the issue of Nevember 25, 1950 and which I thought you would be interested in reading.

Encl.

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In Which the Coyote Attacks the Lion

Presidential Press Secretary Charles G. Ross pulled the worst public relations faux pas of his otherwise astute career in emphasizing the long-time friendship of Mr. Truman with Max Lowenthal, New York lawyer who wrote "The Federal Bureau of Investigation," sharply critical of Director J. Edgar Hoover. Mr. Hoover's quarter century of service in building the F.B.I. into the world's best national police system carries more prestige than the record of the President himself.

It is natural that the F.B.I. should be the target of subversive elements which it has so effectively attacked. Lowenthal, described by Jonathan Daniels as responsible for much of Mr. Truman's "liberal" thinking, could bear further scrutiny by the House Un-American Activities Committee. The same goes for Albert E. Kahn, author of "High Treason — The Plot Against the People," whose earlier book, as pointed out by Fulton Lewis, Jr., apparently inspired much of the Lowenthal trash. At any rate the Bureau says that the author did not come to the agency for any research data.

Paradoxically enough, Morris L. Ernst, counsel for the American Civil Liberties Union—which leans over backwards to defend the legal rights of all, including the shadier elements—writes in December Reader's Digest: The Bureau "has a magnificent record of respect for individual freedom, invites complaints against its agents and has zealously tried to prevent itself from violating the democratic process."

Lowenthal's suggestion that F.B.I. Director Hoover was passed over in the Presidential appointment of Lt.Gen. Walter Bedell Smith as head of the Central Intelligence Agency is pretty much beside the point. Hoover's agency has a different job from that assigned to Smith, and the duties are about equally important and should be separate.

Virginia Representative Harrison, member of the House Un-American Activities Committee, put it mildly when he said that Hoover's record of achievement is "so outstanding that no mud; slung at him is going to stick." In fact, it is the mud-slingers who will be called by the carpet to explain their reasons—which are not too difficult to imagine—for vilifying the one man who has not lost his head in dealing with America's internal and infernal enemies.

In conclusion it might be noted that the only time that the F.B.I. has fallen down on the job has been when the President's political-minded Attorney General has applied protection pressure. If Congress wants something juicy along that line, it might investigate the soft-pedaling of the Kansas City scandal.

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE \$19|91 BY \$123

Office Memorandum • United States Government

TO

MR. TOLSON

Im

DATE: November 24, 1950

FROM

L. B. NICHOLS

SUBJECT:

I am attaching hereto a copy of the excellent review of Father Walsh on the Max Lowenthal book.

LBN Attachment

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(Humahahar ephilis)

Man's

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DEC| 5 1954

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UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

In Mood of Prosecutor'

By Rop. Edmund A. Walsh, S. J.

THIS THICK VOLUME of which so pages are devoted to citation of sources and index—reviews the record of the FBI ince it was aret organized in 1908 by Attorney General Charles J, Bona-parts. Benders who take up Mr. Lowenthal's book, as the present, reviewer did, in the pleasurable anticipation of perusing a balanced and objective historical study of the Federal Bureau of investiga-tion will be rudely disappointed. What the author has produced is a lawyer's indistment of the FBI in the style and mond of a resecuting atterner.

Mr. Lowenthal specializes on those chapters of the bureau's record which he describes as "little known, having been forgotten or sparingly publicized." Since he is drawing an indictment, not writing a blography. he selects his material with an eye to getting a conviction. He clearly conceives the FBI as a distinct menace to the security and liberties of the people of the United States. It will take some tell persuading to get such a verdict from the American peothe at the present, most danger-ous crists in our national ex-istence.

PROCEEDING chronologically the his account, Mr. Lowesthal declares the bureau to have been an illegitimate shild from the ery moment of its conception: it was quietly brought into exnaparte, without any approval of Congress, in 1906. This bar sinister, he argues, has characterized its growth and made it a progressively unwarranted and illegal interlopey in the field of orime detection and crims pre-

But before the reader mosts the specific arruments in susport of these allegations, he will notice a choice of words and phrases desirbed to done the mind toward unfriendliness thus the agents of the FBI ere commonly called detectives. With considerable quotation from hostile witnesses who maintain that no detective can have high moral ideals, since he must always lead a life of deception. Increased responsibilities laid on the bureau from time to time by Conswess are described as "greatly augmenting the business of the FBI." When the bureau set itself to analyze communica in directives for its field agents, Mr. Lowenthal refers with sercesm "the detective-historians," By miroducing commercianus between the PBI and the Carriet secret bolice of fermer times, the ersburg," he suggests guill by analogy, Examples of such well-GONE propaganda techniques

In his citation of national Americans who had expressed oposition to FBI interference in matters of a political character, Mr. Lowenthal reproduces with approval the testimony of John Reed, an early enthusiast for freedom of speech in this coun-try during World War L. But he omits entirely the relevant fact that John Reed's loyalty lay with Soviet Russie; he went to Moacow, asponsed the cause of fust outside the Kremlin wall. On a wintry afternoop in November, 1922, the present reviewer wandered through the Bed Square out of a curiosity to see the last resting piace of that brilliant but arratic Harvard graduate.

IN WORKING up to the main allegation of illegality in certain FBI activities, Mr. Lowenthal, at ene point, devotes something like four pages to quetations from Mr. J. Edgar Hooyer's apalysis of communiam as an interbational menace. These reports were compiled while Mr. Hoover was in a subordinate position in the bureau, over 30 years ago. His analyais and foresight, bowever, leveal how accurately be had penetrated even then to the tangled roots and hidden ob-jectives of the Communist organization both in the United States and elsewhere, Communiam, he knew, is like the mass of an iceberg; one-ninth above wa-

ter, the rest out of sight. Mr. Lowenthal's quotations are textually accurate; but the tone of his comment and the choice of words in weaving the excerpts together convey a subtle sense of ridicule and boredom similar to the sophisticated posing of the pseudo-liberals during the unlemented protecte. Always he ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE \$19/92, BY 8/2

If the assecuting attorney, now Indignant and positive, now cainling and losinusting.

He fraquently becomes the difference between unorthogax opinione and Communici advocaoy of violence under pretence of free speech. But he to too late. Verdict has already been banded down-in Korea as well as hy recent history in the captive lands behind the from Curtain and by the performeness of Mr. Malik and Mr. Vishinsky in the United Nations

What Mr. Hoover contended for lo those carly years has now become the law of the land. On May 8, 1950, the Supreme Court, in the case of American Communications Association us. Douds, upheld the provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act in requiring an oath of nonmemberable in the Communist Party from officers of a labor union as a prerequisite to profiting from the law. Mr. Justice Jackson delivered a notable apinion on the difference between the Communist Party and all other legitimate political groups in American history.

After analyzing the objectives of communism and the violent and undemocratic methods it adopts, the Justice declared that every member of the Communist Party is an agent to execute the Marxist program and hence to seize powers of Government in this country by force and violence; the entire conspiracy, he declared. Sedimented and controlled by a foreign government.

AT CERTAIN STAGES IS M long brief, Mr. Lowenthal ste in somewhat firmer ground the ided by dislike for Mr. Hoose an elaborate personal vend The claims of overpasiousness in search and sellure during the Palmer raids and deportuiting at-1919-1920 are resurrected. The legitimate somplaints of segme Senators and discenting lawyer at that time are all with a meticulousness and thore oughness not found in assemactuative nervice and successful daring with kidasping, subplayed and esplonage. The shadows are deep black and the highlights and ways faint

The precipitate actions charged as illegal procedure against sees cases over the 42 years of the acrective influence of the contin the Congress and the press Wire-tapping at present is under public scrutiny and the Attorney General has made a ruling on the limited occasions when it may he employed.

One of the best contributions of the Greak philesophers was their shility to one life steadily and see it whole. Mr. Lawren thal's feare of an American Gos lapo or an MYD ha the United States are manufactured fours. The analogy of a police state, which he labore to pinjara. Isnotes the questiel and permanent difference between police power in a controlled democracy

and in an uncontrolled distator ship. The very publication of

. Letter to: Kee Elmen & H Walit









by Max Lowenthat, was published las ek by William Sloane Associates (559 pp., \$4.50). The Washington Post presents two reviews of this controversial book. One is by the Rev. Edmund A. Walsh, S. J., vice president of Georgetown University, regent of Georgetown's School of Foreign. Jice and an authority on Soviet Russia. The other is by Joseph L. Rauh, jr., former MacArthur staff officer, Jormer Deputy Housing Administrator and now a Washington lawyer. He has been counsel in many important civil liberties cases.



J. Edgar Hoover, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation

time is a shining example of one important difference.

The FBI, moreover, must come, hat in hand, to plead yearly for its budget before a congressional committee. Special investigations are available when required. An alert and vociferous opposition party in the Congress will not let opportunity pass for embarrassing the incumbent administration, should authentic and substantive abuses be discovered in the Department of Justice. The Supreme Court has more than once reversed a policy or action of a President without the intimation being raised that the Presidency be abolished.

Mr. Hoover's immediate superiors have been Cabinet officers responsible to the Chief Executive as well as to the Congrass. Not one of them, Republican or Democrat, has raised the pother of trivia assembled in this book. After every flurry and investigation, Congress consistently voted the necessary funds and refused to hamstring the bureau.

MR. LOWENTHAL is greatly alarmed over secret files. The danger of FBI records being diverted to unlawful use is no greater per se than that attending any accumulation of confidential reports in the State Department, in local police files, in hospitals, in the archives of the armed forces, in the records of practicing physicians and lawyers. The mounting expenses and budget of the FBI are cited as indication of empire building and growing extravagance. No comparable figures are produced to show the over-all increase in all Government departments in recent years, a trend so marked and comprehensive as to bring about the Hoover (Herbert) Commi sion on the reorganization of the Federal Government. The redurrent drive to bring all empleyes of the FBI under Civil Service is renewed by Mr. Lowenthal despite the consistent refusal of the Congress to do so.

The director of the bureau. Mr. J. E. Hoover, is criticized for his speech-making and alleged publicity proclivities; but no mention is made of the frequent appearances of other high Government officials on lecture platforms, at political gatherings, at picnics and on Nation-wide electioneering tours. Exception is taken to the practice of former FBI agents accepting lucrative positions in private industry. No mention is made of the scores of former Government officials and Senators who have opened offices in Washington for the practice of law or for other purposet in which their experience and special knowledge of Gov-ernment is of great benefit to their clients. Mr. Lowenthal himself, when recently questioned by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, was accompanied by a lawyer who had been a distinguished member of the Senate.

THE PUBLICATIONS of the bureau on crime prevention, juvenile delinquency and similar community problems are denounced. But no mention is made of the tons of Government literature published and distributed by other agencies on such subjects as soil conservation, gardening. rotation of crops, fertilizers, pest control, peanut crops and the ravages of termites.

The training programs of the bureau, including both agent training and the Police Aeademy for officers of the various State, municipal and county jurisdictions, are criticized either as inexpedient or an infringement of state jurisdiction... In sober judgment this latter activity, now called the FBL National Academy, has been a highly laudable

demonstration of the voluntary cooperation now existing between the Federal agency and the numerous State and local police units. The lack of such a unified front against criminality and the ready refuge thus afforded to criminals was one of the defects in crime enforcement catalogued by the President's Research Committee on Social Trends (1933).

High officials and men of lower rank from local police jurisdictions throughout the Nation have assembled regularly since 1935 in the halls of the FBI for advanced courses in professional police work. During the past 15 years 2252 of them, including sheriffs and parole officers, came to Washington at their own expense, paid for their own board and lodging for three months and returned to their respective communities fortified in morale and improved in technique. Among the trainees were representatives of Scotland Yard, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police and other foreign governments, such as Egypt, China and the Netherlands. The present reviewer has personally interviewed dozens upon dozens of these graduates of the FBI National Academy and found no evidence of the sinister doubts and suspicions apparently lurking in Mr. Lowenthal's mind.

IT MAY BE ASKED: Has this anthology of anti-Hooverisms no merit whatsoever? Its sole contribution would seem to consist in having swept up and put between bookcovers about all that has ever been said or imagined in defamation of the FBI. Consciously or unconsciously, Mr. Lowenthal has compiled a quick reference manual for all hostile elements, foreign and domestic, who seek ammunition for destroying confidence in one of our most trusted security agencies.

It Is the Civil Libertarian's Brief Against the Natio al Police Force'

THE MOST IMPORTANT TRING about Max Lowenthal's book is that it was written at all. At this time when criticism of the FRI is treated in many quarters as tantamount to subversion. Mr. Lowenthal has written a brilliant exposition on the faults of our national police force. Aftered the witten has suffered the visitations of the House Un-American Activities Committee for his is not to say that the book "presents as objective picture of the FRI" as the publisher's building the lead the unsuspecting reader to believe. Far from it. Rather the book is the civil liber-larin's brief against the national police force; it is a catalogue of FRI offenses. The book is

phort as ebjective as a good brief in a lawful or, for that matter, as the hudstery works written about the FBI from time to time.

Like the excellent brief that Like the excellent brief that it is, the book is documented alimost to the point of tedium. The speakers in the book are less Mr. Lowenthal than the snewspapers, periodicals, Congressmen, lawyers, former FBI agents and Mr. Hoover himself. There are 463 pages of text and 90 pages of references. The book is written in dismassionate terms: is written in dispassionate terms; where the words "Gestapo" and "Ogpu" are used, they come not from the author but from the eading newspapers and men of

THE FIRST two-thirds of the book is a carefully presented history of the bureau prior to 1924. Mr. Lowenthal starts at 1924. Mr. Lowenthal starts at the very beginning of the organ-latation in 1908 and relates how President Theodore Roosevelt's Attorney General created the bureau after Congress had roiced its fears of a national police organization and refused to authorize its creation. The Mann Act gave the or-iganization its first fillip, but it was World War I that gave the

iganization its first fillip, but it was World War I that gave the bureau its first real opportunity. The author traces the slacher raids, the lamb plots and the anti-radical campaigns with great skill. But his account of the Palmer Red Raids in 1920 is far and away his best performance as a reporter.

Documented to the last inch Mr. Lowenthal recounts the story of how 10,000 aliens were arrested mostly without war-rants: how they were held for deportation under intelerable deportation under intolerable conditions without legal counsel or bail: how many were fright-ened into false confessions; how the few who were finally held deportable were whished away penctically without notice to their familles.

It was these actions that led Federal Judge Anderson, after ching the detailed testimony in a Foston trial concerning these

I refrain from any extended or ment on the lawiestness of these proceedings by our supposedly law-enforcing officials. posedly law-enforcing officials.

It may, however, fitly be observed that a mob le a mob, whether made up of Government officials acting under instructions from the Department of Justice, or of criminals, loafers and the vicious classes."

ALL THAT was 30 years ago. L THAT was 30 years cannot avoid the impression, eating Mr. Lowenthal's de-

Hoover any matters of vital importance or interest which may arise during the course of the artists during the course of the artests?); when the Senate Ju-diclary Committee investigated the Palmer Reids, Mr. Roover testified in detail concerning them and at one point Attorney General Palmer stated that "Mr. Hoover, who was in charge of this in the Bureau of Investiga-tion, is more familiar with the history of it then I am."

Since Mr. Lewenthal deemed the Palmer Red Raids and Mr. Howerthal deemed the Palmer Red Raids and Mr. Hower's part is them of sufficient importance to warrant deveting a substantial part of his book to them, one might have expected the suffor at least to have stated the official FBI answer and this ment. The homes have stated the official FBI answer on this point. The bureau has long taken the position that Mr. Hoover could not have been a participant in the raids because Attorney General Stone, who had spoken out against the raids, would not have promoted Mr. Hoover to directer of the bureau in 1924 unless he had assured himself that Mr. Hoover had not here are a settire near the part and himself that Mr. Hoover had not here as a settire near the second of the second o had not been an active participant

Possibly Mr. Lowenthal she-lieved that this contention was leved that this contention was adequately refuted by his account of Attorney General Stone's actions in respect to the bureau when he became Attorney General Mr. Lowenthal recounts bow the new Attorney General immediately and drastically restricted the work of the bureau and limited its functions to enforcing violations of the criminal law. It was thus into a narrowly restricted position of the criminal law. the criminal law. It was thus into a narrowly restricted position that Attorney General Stone actually appointed Mr. Hoover, and his action can hardly be considered a refutation of the record.

THE LAST THIRD of the book is devoted to the actions of the FBI since the outset of World Wer II in September, 1939. The anthor deals at length with FBI infractions of civil liberties during the early years of the war. He quotes the report of the Sensia Commerce Comof the Samatea Commerce Com-mittee, which in 1940 went into the charges that had been made against the FBI. Possibly the most significant thing shout the committee's report was the fact that the committee included among its members two Sensions by the name of West S. These by the name of Harry S. Truman and Alben W. Barkley.

This may help explain the author's implication that it was President Truman's lack of considence in Mr. Hoover that led sidence in Mr. Hoover that led the President to pass over Mr. Hoover, when it came to the chartest of a lead for the Control Marie and the chartest of a lead for the Control Marie and the control of the Control Marie and the Control of the Contro

thal as a longtime friend of President Trumen

The author's account of the wire-tapping activities of size FBI is an exciting story told by a man who has followed the subject constantly for 25 years. But here, possibly more than anywhere class. Hr. Lowenthal falled to tell the whole story. After pointing out that the FBI had resorted to wire-tapping in apparent violation of law and that Atterney General Jackson had overruled Mr. Hoover out this question to March, Fbi6, the author omitted a very important fact. wire-tapping activities of portant fact.

In May, 1940, President Boose welt told the Attorney General to authorize wire-tapping in certain cases and both Attorneys Gen-eral Jackson and Biddle subsequently did exactly that. This is not to imply, of course, that eith-er of these distinguished Attorpeys General would have con-doned the actions of the FBI agents in the Coplon trial in tapping the wires of a defendant falking to her lawyer and then trying to hide the facts in the

ONE OF THE MOST interesting chapters in the entire book is the story of Mr. Hoover's successful efforts in 1940 and 1941 to keep his organization free from Civil Service, Mr. Hoover stated his belief that, under Civil Service, his bureau Service, his bureau would be "bogged down with misfits and in competents or . . . persons possessing communistic bellefs . . ."
The Civil Service Commission responded that "Mr. Hoover believes in a merit system which is operated by one individual."

Mr. Hoover made the arrument that law enforcement agen-cies could not function under Civil Service. The proponents of Civil Service sought to refute Civil Service sought to recent this contention with the experi-ence and outstanding perform-ance of Mr. Elmer L. Irey, was headed up the law enforcement activities of the Treasury De-

How bitter the struggle be-

ment of treorgias courress.

Ramspeck, a great believed in Civil Service on the floor of the House of Representatives:

Civil San Description of Representatives:

"Mr. Hoover appeared before the subcommittee which has further than foot this afternoon and off the record, according to the statement made to me by the statement made to me by the chairman of the subcommittee himself, charged the Civil Servihimself, charged the Civil Service Commission with sending white applicants to colored doctors for physical examination. There is not a word of truth in R because the Domnistics has a section.

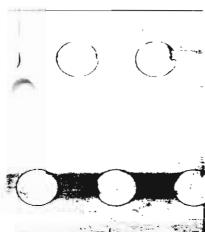
I think Mr. Roover made that statement of the second to prejudice that committee, which was the Mr. Passel Committee of the second to prejudice that committee, which was the Mr. Passel Committee of the second to prejudice that committee, which was the Mr. Passel Committee of the second to prejudice that the second to prejudice the second to prejudi

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FBL Study Is Hardly 'Objective

RAUTH, From Page 7 composed primarily of men from the South.

"It was a dastardly thing for him to do, and he ought not to have done it."

The result of the bitter charges and counter-charges was a compromise: a recommendation that the FBI should some day be placed under Civil Service, but not at that time. Unfortunately, the author leaves the subject hanging there.

MR. LOWENTHAL'S last chapter is one very close to his heart. As one who has devoted his life to civil liberties, he shows his deep concern at the growth of FBI dossiers on men and women in all walks of life. The author also takes up the role of the FBI in obstructing confrontation of witnesses in loyalty cases—an issue now before the Supreme Court.

The author is, of course, less well qualified when he leaves the field of civil liberties and enters the field of crime detection. Even here, by dogged documentation, he carefully briefs the case against the FB1 in an effort to deflate its claims of perfection: "... the New York City police built up the case against Hauptmann ...," Dillinger was run down because of the work of "a local Indiana police sergeant ...," Karpis "was traced following the capture of a number of his gang by Postoffice inspectors;" Brunette was located by New York City police "only to have Hoover dash to New York" and stage "melodramatic raid;" the eight German saboteurs were "detected" by the

Coast Guard only to have "Mr. Hoover ask the admiral at the head of the Coast Guard to reprimand his subordinates, for intruding upon the FBI's jurisdiction;" Whittaker Chambers' pumpkin material "was revealed in the slander suit" of Alger Hiss, Fuchs and Gold were uncovered "due to the work of the Canadian police." It would be fascinating reading if Mr. Lowenthal's book were serialized side by side with Mr. Hoover's answer.

BACK IN 1948, a prominent American had this to say of the FBI:

"There is a disposition in both branches of Congress to idealize the FBI. Those who are in the FBI are people just like we are. Their blood runs through their hearts and goes through their bodies. They eat. They wear clothes. They are simply human beings. There is nothing sacronsanct about the FBI."

The man who said this is no wild-eyed radical. He probably wouldn't even mind being called a conservative. His name is Senator Tom Connally of Texas. The trouble is that Senator Connally wasn't wholly right. The FBI has been treated as sacronsanct, as being beyond the pale of criticism. Mr. Lowenthal's great contribution is his effort to make Connally's dictum come true.

The question naturally arises whether Mr. Lowenthal would have made a greater contribution if he had written the objective study his publisher claims for him instead of preparing the brief that he actually wrote. Mr.

Lowenthal clearly believes that it is time that we take a look at one side of the record of our national police force.

The cause of freedom has seldom been sustained or advanced by objective studies presenting a carefully balanced picture of all sides of the question. It has been advanced by the great writings of such men as William Lloyd Garrison and Thomas Jefferson, who titled eloquently for freedom without thought of personal risk. Mr. Lowenthal has not written with the fire and eloquence of such men. But his powerful documentation is his substitute for the greater literary inspiration offered by his predecessors.

ALL THINKING people ackowledge that there are pro-Russian spies and saboteurs in our midst. But we must not, in our efforts to ferret out spies and saboteurs, discard the liberties which Americans have unhestitatingly defended with their lives.

Solutions to these problems can come only through intelligent public discussion of the isaues. The reactionaries of the right and the Communists on the left seek and serve only to obscure them. It is up to the great bulk of the people in the vital center to see that these issues are thoroughly discussed and carefully evaluated. What we need now is an objective evaluation of bow to obtain maximum security with a minimum antrusion on personal liberties. Mr. Lowenthal has presented a magnificent brief on one side of this problem.

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Reverend Edmund A Walsh, S. J. Georgetown University Washington, D. C.

Dear Father Walsh:

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November 27, 1950

I have had the opportunity of reading your appraisal of Wax Lowenthal's book "The Federal Bureau of Investigation" which appeared in the November 26, 1950, edition of the Washington Post.

I cant you to know that I was tremendously pleased with your comments concerning our organization. It goes without saying that my associates and I are highly encouraged by your words and your keen analysis of the publication which directed such an unjustifiable attack against us. Your review will do much to unmask the real and sinister motive behind the book.

Sincerely yours,

T. Tring Wonver HISTIL HOUR OHIS SEASING RUDY Brudge G LZNIN Toleon Nichola Rosen Tracy

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GOVERNMENT

TO

Director, FRI

DATE: November 29, 1950

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SAC, Memphis

SUBJECT:

EDITORIAL

THE COMMERCIAL APPEAL MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

WEA KONENTHAL

Attached hereto is a copy of the editorial entitled Smearing the FBI," which was reprinted in "The Commercial Appeal," Memphis, Tennessee, on November 27, 1950.

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Enclosure

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Smearing The FB.

Had the FBI been made the detim of an ordinary smear artist the results a would have been deplorable enough. The attack made by Max Lowenthat in his Bureau of investigation") is however reason of its method and circumstances—particularly obnoxious This langthy volume, with its outward pre-tance to authoritativeness and objectivity could easily be mistaken for a factual guide to the course of the FRI during its 32 years of existence. It is only when the text has been examined but the author's manner and aims become lear. Mr. Lowenthal has strung come clear. Mr. Lowenthal has strung together an exhausting series of quota-tions from public records, inconclusive, fendentions and frequently out of context, designed to have the cumulative result of implying that the FBI has been ineffectual, prejudiced, concerned chiefly with notoriety for itself, and careless of the civil liberties of the citizens. The book's publication occurs at a time when the FBI's activities against Communist Infiltration require - as indeed they merit—an unhesitating public confid-derice; and the whole venture is made the disturbing by sugg White House encouragement.

J. EDGAR Hoover has been a vigilar and highly effective agency in the fields of crime over which it has jurisdiction in the mole pervasive and general matriment which the Communication of the mole pervasive and general matriment which the Communication of the mole pervasive and general matrix as it has been fruitful in results. Throughout there has been a sharp awareness on the part of the director of the need for a Federal policing agency to work within the rigid lines laid down by the Constitution, and within the frame of value of a free, liberty-lowing people. The American Civil Liberties Union last Summer wrote to Mr. Hoover, congratulating him on the "fine balance" he had maintained in dealing with "the serious and intricate problem of national security in relation to civil liberties." This judgment finds no place in the pages of Mr. Lowenthat's book, but it is one that will be caheed by every impartial observer who has watched national police agencies in other countries ride roughshod over individual rights.

Americans have every reason to be proud of the FBI and thankful for the record of the man who for more than 25 years has shaped and directed its activities. It would be nothing less than a calamity if, at this crucial moment in the Nation's life, the insinuations and distortions of the LOWENTHAL book were to undermine Mr. HOOVER'S need to or to cast doubt upon his work.

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EDITORIAL

RE: FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

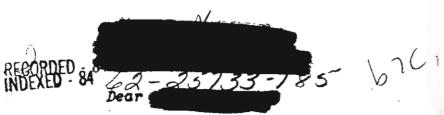
FROM: THE COMMERCIAL APPEAL NOVEMBER 27, 1950

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FBI/DOJ



Your letter postmarked November 27, 1950, has been received, and I want you to know that my associates and I greatly appreciate your generous expressions of confidence. It was thoughtful of you to extend the Season's Greetings, and I hope. that you, too, will have an enjoyable Christmas and a happy New Year.

I am enclosing some material which I thought you might like to have.

Sincerely yours, ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HERCIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/19/92 BY 8123 J. Edgar Bear of

Excerpt from Congressional Record, 9-1-50 450K

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Your letter dated November 28, 1950, has been received. I do want to thank you for your expressions of confidence in our organization.

Enclosed is some material which I thought you might like to read.

Sincerely yours,

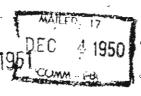
J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover Director

from the Congressional Record, September 1, 1950

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November 30, 1950

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TOLSON:

I told him that I doubted it.

I told him we did and

certainly be done.

L. Br Nichols

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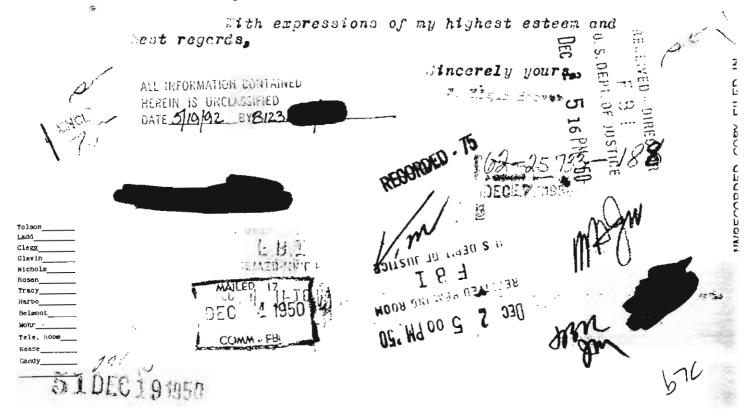
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Honorable George &. Malone United States Senate Washington, D. C.

My dear Senator:

I have reed with great interest an account of your remarks before the Senate on December 1, 1950. I want to take this opportunity to tell you how grateful I am for your strong support of my associates and me in the work of this Bureau.

You presented your observations in a most effective and objective manner. Your clear and succinct statement will certainly do much to focus the spotlight of truth on a book which is filled with distortions, misstatements and half-truths.



Book is as Impartial as Moscow's Lies, Says Nevada Republican

The Mittack on the federal bureau of investigation to concentual's pook on the FEI is the same kind of they as being made on from Manarchur, Some use of Senata paraged.

the author view the work of series of the support of series of the support of the my iction of Community leaders ind Red spies, and the exposure Red handed dabblers in treason and their apprentices, the fellow cabblers."

raise for FBI

Malone, said certain facts brought to his attention regarding the heak's publishers "are sufficient to cause me to believe that the publishers are very definitely on the side of Communist symmetrics."

ps hisers."

The FBI," Malone said, "is the last, stand between the Administration and atter surrender to sub-

Pouring the months of exposure of the connection between certain government officials and those who would bring destruction on this country, it has been a source of satisfaction to many of us to know that we have the FBI, an organization above suspicion of

any kind. subversives who have been investigated by the FRI and their do tenders would like to destroy FRI accords, for personal reasons. The BR has been one organization our government which the railors have not been able to tench. Modern to Modern in Modern

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/19/92 BY 8123

Ajtacks Made Individue

Malone said both the attacks of the FBI and on MacArthur, are being made indirectly, and that the MacArthur smears coming from England and France are inspired here.

"There is no question in my mind," he said, "that Gen, MapArthur was slated for discharge very soon after the election. But as things have turned out, MacArthur is still very popular with

as things have turned out, MacArthur is still very popular with the American people. "It would not meet with oular approval if the Prantiem is State Secretary Acheon, were attack MacArthur, so I seem that the attack is now attack that the attack is now attack of the attack is now attack." Prance

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FBI/DOJ

By Max Lowenthal

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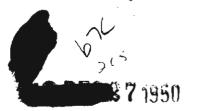
As a by-product of our research into the sources used by Lowenthal, we have developed some rather interesting figures which we thought might be of interest to you.

The following table shows the breakdown of the individual sources used by the author:

SOURCES:

Congressional Record	<i>401</i>
Newspapers	895
Annual Reports of Attorney General	192
Annual Reports of FBI	66
Appropriation Hearings (House and Senate)	479
Palmer Report (Charges against Attorney General Palmer	
made by Louis F. Post and others. 66th Congress,	
2nd Session, 1920)	270
Walsh Report (Charges of illegal practices of	
Department of Justice. 66th Congress, 3rd	
Session, 1921)	351
Brewers Report (Brewing and Liquor interests and	
German and Bolshevist propaganda. Senate Resolutions	
307 and 439, 65th Congress, 1st Session, 1919)	105
Lawyers Report (Report upon the illegal practices	
of the Department of Justice. National Popular	
Government League, May, 1920)	54
Report on Radicalism (Investigating activities of	
Department of Justice. Senate Resolution of	
October 17, 1919, a report on activities of	
Bureau of Investigation. 66th Congress, 1st	
Session, 1919)	51
Miscellaneous Hearings and Congressional Reports	236
Miscellaneous Books and articles	246
Total	3,346
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It is also interesting to note that in connection with the references to newspapers, Lowenthal used 368 references from the New York Times alone. A review of the newspaper references indicates that all of them are from very substantial publications, there being



INDEXED - 99

EX-113

/mb

only several references to the former publication known as PM. Other references are from papers like the Chicago Tribune, the Baltimore Sun, Philadelphia Record, New York Herald-Tribune, et cetera.

These figures revealed two things:

- (1) That Lowenthal has devoted a tremendous amount of time to research and apparently to accumulating material on the FBI.
- (2) It illustrates the magnitude of our problem in our efforts to check back on the many sources to reveal his many inconsistencies and to uncover his technique of distortion.

For your information, we are devoting the early phases of our research to Chapters 28 through 38. These chapters, of course, cover the more recent material.



Section 552 \Box (b)(1) \Box (b)(7)(A) \square (d)(5) \Box (b)(7)(B) \Box (b)(2) \Box (b)(3) \Box (b)(7)(C) \square (k)(1) \Box (b)(7)(D) \square (k)(2) \Box (b)(7)(E) \square (k)(3) \Box (b)(7)(F) \square (k)(4) \Box (b)(4) \Box (b)(8) \bigsqcup (k)(5) \Box (b)(5) \Box (b)(9) \square (k)(6) \square (k)(7) \Box (b)(6) Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request. Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only. Documents originated with another Government agency(ies). These documents were referred to that agency(ies) for review and direct response to you. Pages contain information furnished by another Government agency(ies). You will be advised by the FBI as to the releasability of this information following our consultation with the other agency(ies). Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s): For your information:

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

02-25733-NR 11-28-50

XXXXXX XXXXXX FBI/DOJ

Jack Carley's editorial, which is attached, was excellent. You will note they have been running Fulton Lewis' column on the editorial page of the Commercial Appeal. I can very well see how it would be rather awkward for the paper to review the book. to review the book. L. B. Nichols ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE \$19190 BY 6123 NOT RECORDED 135 ... 18 4860 10

In accordance with a telephone conversation with Assistant Director L. B. Nichols, there are transmitted herewith articles appearing in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch on November 21 and 24, 1950, entitled, "Lowenthal In the Brandeis Tradition" by Raymond F. Brandt, and "Book Attacking FBI Arouses Congressmen" by Eart Andrews. Mr. B. H. Reese is the managing editor of this newspaper.

Enc. Sich and personal in the service and the

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 319 92 BY B123:

NOT RECORDED

Shall be about the all the all the

versation he had yesterday with Mr. McGuire regarding an invitation from of Station WMGM for the Director to appear on a radio program regarding the Lowenthal book,

Mr. Stein advised that this program was entitled "Books on Trial" and was broadcast each Tuesday. Sterling North, book reviewer for the New York world Telgram, acts as moderator.

ASAC Stein called this morning pursuant to Mr. McGuire's instructions and advised him that it would not be possible for the Director to appear on this program. It tated that in view of these facts he was thinking of securing some outstanding man to attack the book and was considering that his plans were not definite; that he was merely thinking the matter over. ASAC Stein did not comment and ASAC Stein does not think the program will go through.

The above is furnished for your information.

M

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 1/0/92 BYENZ

MITIALS ON OKLULYAL ... IL

Ed Delaney of the Fall Rive, Fassachusetts, Herald News called and wants to see me on next Tuesday in connection with the Max Lowenthal matter.

I told him I would be glad to see him.

LBN:ric

Carl

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MR. TOLSON

Jecember 6, 1950

L. B. NICHOLS

that in view of the I have explained to uncertainty, the Director feels that it would be impossible for him to accept the very kind invitation to speak at the banquet of the Grand Lodge of Washington on the night of February 20th. I told him, however, the Director was looking forward to attending his annual breakfast if he were in town.

was very enthusiastic. He is disturbed no end about the Lowenthal book and intends to talk to the President about how ill-timed and unwise this book is.

CC: Jones

LBI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

75 BEC 14 1950



In July, 1949, the Cleveland Plain Dealer did a two-page spread on Bureau firearms training. Again this material was furnished to the Bureau for review.

Occasionally it is true the Plain Dealer publishes material not highly complimentary to the Bureau, as on April 14, 1950, when a story concerning the Knoxville atomic energy installation was published which contained a left-handed dig at the Bureau. When this was pointed out to the Plain Dealer, they were very apologetic and said they had not realized that derogatory comments might attach to the story. It is certainly true that generally our relations with the Plain Dealer have been excellent. It is a morning paper which serves Cleveland and the whole Cleveland area and is generally considered to be the best newspaper in Cleveland.

MR. TOLSON

Jecember 6, 1950

L. B. NICHOLS

I have explained to that in view of the uncertainty, the Director feels that it would be impossible for him to accept the very kind invitation to speak at the banquet of the Grand Lodge of Washington on the night of February 20th. I told him, however, the Director was looking forward to attending his annual breakfast if he were in town.

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CC:

Jones

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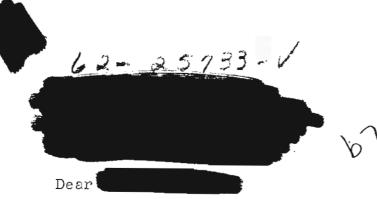
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December 6, 1950



Your letter of December 4, 1950, has been received, and I want to express my sincere personal appreciation for the interest which promoted you to write.

Your continued confidence in our organization is deeply gratifying to all of us in the FBI.

I am taking the literty of enclosing some material which I thought you might like to read.

Please secent my very best wishes for a pleasant Christmas Season and for every handiness, in the New Year.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar hoover

Enclosure Donders's Reserve before House of Representatives 9-1-50

676

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/21/92 BY8125

55DEC 281950

EX-123

December 7, 1950

December 7, 1950

December 7, 1950

It was a real pleasure for me to read your letter of December 3, and I want you to know how much I appreciate it.

I am enclosing some material which I thought you might like to have.

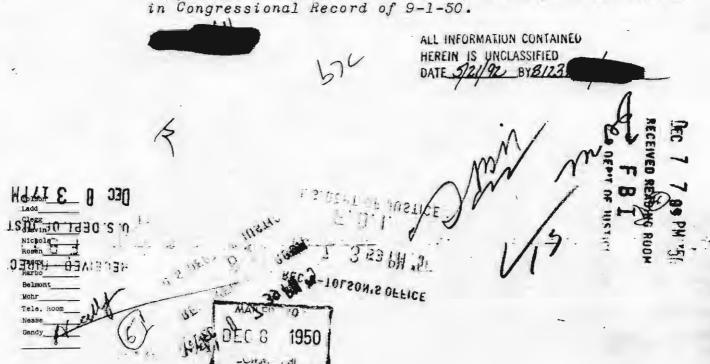
Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover Director

Encloque

Congressman Dondero's statement concerning Max Lowenthal in Congressional Record of 9-1-50.



Section	<u>552</u>	Section 552a
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Imperial de 62-257



Four letter dated December 4, 1950, addressed to the Attorney General, has come to my attention.

It is encouraging to know of your appraisal of the recent publication by Max Lowenthal and I trust that my administration of the activities of the FBI will always marit your approval.

I am taking the liberty of enclosing some material which I thought you might like to have.

Sincerely yours,

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE SUPEL BYSILL

S. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover Director

Enc 1 Sure Dondero's Speech -- Congressional Record Sept. 1, Foe to Freedom How Carmy ust 6 Operalle Tolser Ladd HE' FINED - DINECTOR Clegg Glavin Nichels Address per directories Rosen Tracy Herbo Belmont Tele. Hoc

Director, FBI

December 7, 1950

SAC, Memphis

EDITORIAL "The Nashville Tennessean" Nashville, Tennessee

9K6-1

Attached hereto is an editorial entitled, "Doing Its Job," which appeared in "The Nashville Tennessean" at Nashville, Tennessee on December 3, 1950.

Mr. COLFMAN A. HARWELL is Vice President and Editor of this paper. This editorial defends the Bureau and is critical of MAX LOWENTHAL.

Inclosure: Mounted clipping of editorial,

"Doing Its Job."

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED-HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/21/92 BY8/23

80-14

Nº 100 115

75 DEC 26 1950 - 31 08 CETALLY

December 12, 1950

Mr. Coleman A. Harwell Editor The Nashville Tennessean Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Harwell:

I have had the pleasure of reading your excellent editorial "Doing Its Job" which appeared in the December 3, 1950, edition of The Nashville Tennessean.

I want to take this occasion to express the sincere appreciation of all of us in the FBI for your comments concerning our organization and for your forthright defense against the attack made in Max Lowenthal's recent publication. You have performed a real service to us by bringing to the public's attention some of the real facts regarding the matters discussed.

Thank you for your expressions of confidence and I hope that our efforts will continue to merit your approbation.

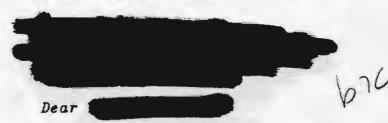
Sincerely yours,

cc - Memphis

ATTENTION SAC: Reurlet 12-7-50

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/2/92 BY 8/2

RECORDED - 7862-25733-199



Thank you very much for your note of November 30, 1950. I appreciate your support and confidence in this matter.

I am enclosing some material which I thought might be of interest.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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Sincerely,

J. Edgar Koorse

nc l baire

Enclosure

Congressman Dondero's statement concerning War Lowenthen

in the Congressional Second of 9-1-50.

HOUR SHICKAR GAVISOR

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65 DEC 29 1950

U. S. DEPT. OF JUSTIC

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- (7) Preparation of memorandum.
- (a) It is proposed that only one item will appear on a page.
- (i) At the top of each page will be the chapter number and the title of the chapter.
 - (c) Immediately beneath will be the page and line.
- (d) The next item on the page will be the pertinent quotation from the book, which, of course, will be typed.
- (e) The next item will be the word "comment." Under this will appear, first, any necessary explanation with regard to the quoted portion of the book which appears above. If the quotation is true and there are no other angles to be considered there will be a statement to the effect that the quotation is accurate. If there is a misquotation or a quotation out of context, of course, this will be set forth. If the entire quotation gives a distorted or completely inaccurate picture, the true facts will be set forth to refute.
- (f) The material will be typed with wide margins. The original will be on unwatermarked bond and there will be five thin whites and a yellow. Straight type will be used. The pages will not be numbered until the project is completed and approved.
- (g) After the project is completed it will be possible to read the book by reading the nemorandum.

Attachment

aber

300 22 87th Cong. Rec. App.

(Sample

As the hearings drew to a close, the question remained whether the using detectives or the Committee, devoting themselves to the distinct on of people's beliefs on legibly contour and issues that some forces prove present in such a semation. During an interruption in Mr. Dec. Is testimony. Senator King cannon of the Committee; the despite to make this proceeding at mere sewer or conduit into which may see imped all the accusations and changes and libelous statements, or a points, of various persons throughout the United States."

62-25133-707

ENG C

Vice Mem Director, FBI Att: Assistant Director DATE: November 2 L. B. Nichols SAC, New York FROM : (ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED Mr. Moh MAX LOWENTHAL; SUBJECT: HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED LOANE ASSOCIATES DATE 5/21/92 BY BY 2123 IMPORMATION CONCERNING On 11/27/50, SA(A) who is on complaint duty ceived the following information telephonically from was advised that we would make appropriate inquiry and that he would then be advised as to the availability of Mr. Hoover. 3. 3 The above information was telephonically furnished Inspector John McGuire, Bureau, 11/27/50, by ASAC C. W. Stein. Mr. McGuire said he would check to see if Mr. Hower would be available for the requested interview on Thursday, 11/30/50. lesired to know whether Mr. McGuire was also advised that Mr. Hoover would be available by about 10:30, 11 ion 30 REBURDLD 1678 THOEXED - 78 WEX 05DEC 281950

Letter to Director

On the morning of 11/28/50. Assistant Director L. B. Wichols said that ASAC Stein should inform that Mr. Hoover was completely tied up on Thursday, November 30, with prior commitments but that he himself would be available to confer with

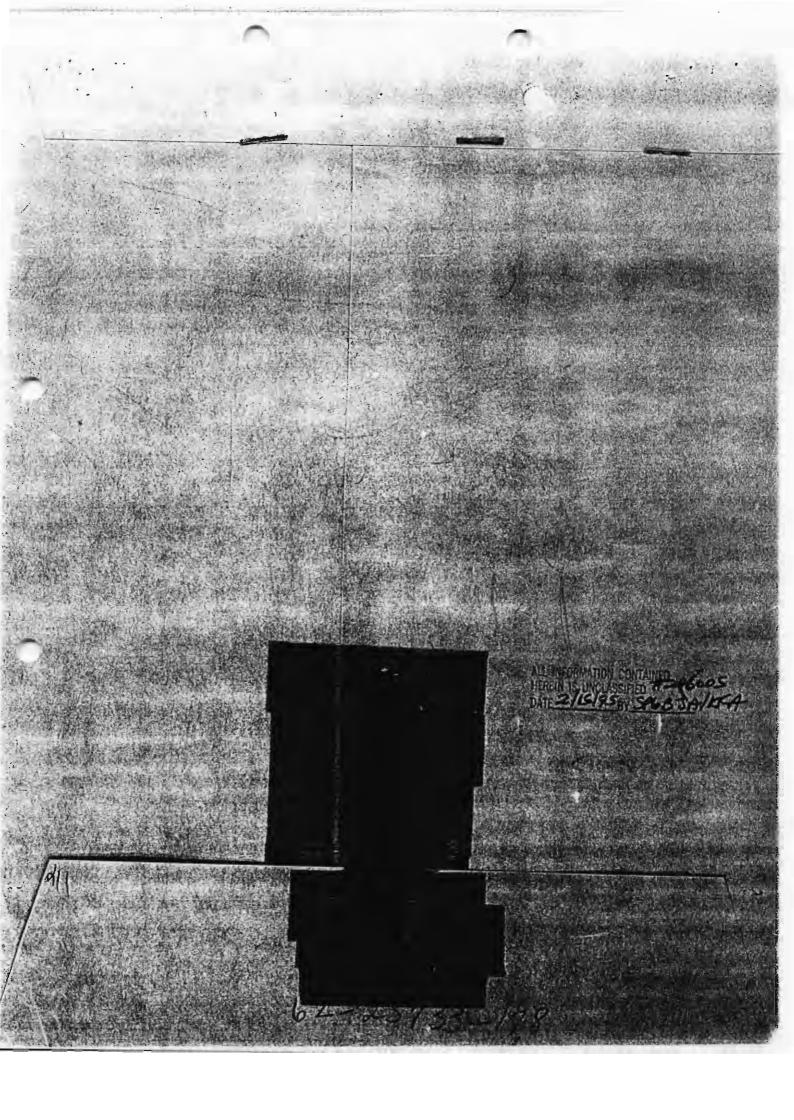
ASAC Stein then telephonically advised that Mr. Hoover would be unavailable for interview on that date due to prior commitments but that his assistant, Assistant Director L. B. Nichols, would be available and would be ready to discuss this case with them.



T then furnished the address of our Bureau and Mr. Nichols' room number.

by D

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advised by the FBI as to	the releasability of this information.	
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☐ For your information:		

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December 9, 1950 04090

RECORDED Dear

MAX LOWENTHALL

INDEXED - IN

Your letter of December 1 has been received, and I appreciate the thoughts which prompted you to write as you did.

Wy associates and I find great satisfaction in this expression of your support. I am enclosing some material I thought you might like to have.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/21/92 BY 8/23

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover Director

Congressman Dondero's statement concerning No in the Congressional Record on 9/1/50.



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1951 194

OF JUSTICE EC 9 15 43 64 21

Glavin Nichola TRET

Belmont

CONGRESS OF THE THITED SLATTS House of Representatives ...

"AUDINGION. D.C.

November 27, 1950

1 10 1 10 William Lloane Associates 11: West 57th Street New York, New York

Gentlemen:

I am returning herewith your book, "The Federal Bureau of Investigation," written by Max Lowenthal. I do not care to have my library contains compositive trash which is typical of that which can be read at anytime in The Daily Worker and other Communist Party publications.

As a former F.B.I. agent, I have the greatest respect for the character and integrity of Mr. J. Edgar hoover and all the F.R.I. personnel, and feel confident this fine organization is canable of protesting our country against soies, selecteurs and subversives. On the contrary, the author of this book has had so many feelings with neferious characters in government that I doubt his capability to criticize the efforts the F.B.I. has made.

I do, however, ampreciate your sending me the book, but Would suggest that this returned contibe sutogramed and forwarded to Moscow where I am sure it will be appreciated.

I went to preume, you in alosing that I do not intend any refliction upon the character or loyalty of the publishers of the book in say way.

Very truly yours,

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

s/ Harold H. Velde,

Harold n. Velde, M.C.

HHV:da

cc: Hon. J. Edgar hoover, Director The Federal Bureau of Investigation

Encl.

75 BEC 15 1950

November 30, 1950

62-25733-6

Honorable marold m. Velde House of Representatives Washington, D. C.

My dear Con ressman:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 41/92 BY 8123

I have read with great interest the copy of your letter dated November 27, 1950, directed to William Sloane Associates, 119 West 57th Street, New York, New York, and I want to take this opportunity to express my personal appreciation for the expressions of confidence concerning this Bureau contained in your communication.

We of the FBI deeply approciate the effective manner in which you have presented your comments, and I am certain that you action in returning the book will give the publishers some food for thought.

With expressions of my highest esteem and best regards,

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover





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ORIGINAL COM FILED IN

December 12, 1950

RECORDED - 19
82-25723-2-00

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE \$12/92 BY \$123

50

I have received your letter dated December 5, 1950, and I want to send this note of appreciation for your comments concerning our organization.

It is reassuring to know of the appraisal you made of the recent publication by Max Lowenthal in which he directs an unjustifiable attack against the FBI. In this regard, I am enclosing some material which I thought you might like to read.

Your Holiday Greetings are most welcome and I appreciate very much the thoughts which prompted them.

May I express to you my sincere good wishes for a joyful Holiday Season and a New Year filled with happiness.

Enclosure - Hon. Dondero's statement

NOTE:

was in communication with the Director.

in May 1947 and was afforded a cordinal reality

correspondent's Holiday Greeting at this time, a Though he is

not known personally with Director.

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DEC 13 1950

COMM.-FB

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102-25733 -V

December 6, 1950

140

Mr. C. Wilson Harder
President
National Federation of Independent
Business, Inc.
Drawer 473
Burlingame, California

Dear Mr. Harder:

By letter dated December 2, 1950.

we forward you the enclosed material which he had previously reviewed.

It is a pleasure to be of assistance in this regard.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED.

Sincerely yours,

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE \$21/92 BY 8/123

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J. Edgar Hoover cc - Springfiedl with cony of incoming. San Francisco with cony of incoming.

Enclosure:

Dandero's statement on Max Lowenthal before House of Representatives, Sentember 1, 1950. Statements in NY Herald Tribune, 11-22-50, NY World Telegram and Sun, 11-20, and Washington Evening Star, 11-20, re Lowenthal's book.

NOTE: Previous correspondence of a cordial nature has been received from

NOTE: Incoming indicates that the National Federation of Independent Business, Inc., has a weekly news letter entitled "Small Business". These are supplied free of charge to over 1400 weekly newspapers by the Western Newspaper Union.

(See next page)

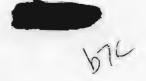
52 DEC 27 1950

NOTE CONTINUED

He requests material be forwarded to the above individual.

NOTE: The tickler copy of a letter from 11-25-50 indicates the following enclosures were sent to him and these therefore being forwarded to Mr. Harder:

Dondero's statement on Max Lowenthal before House of Rep. 9-1-50. Statements in NY Herald Tribune, 11-22-50, NY World-Telegram and Sun, 11-20, and Washington Evening Star, 11-20, re Lowenthal's book.



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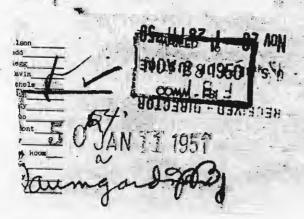
I am most appreciative of your thoughtfulness in sending me the enclosure with your note of November 24, 1950.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

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2.37 Thank you very much for your cordial letter of November 26, 1950, enclosing a copy of a newspaper article.

I appreciate your commendatory remarks and I hope that my associates and I will always merit your confidence in the work of this Bureau. The enclosed data may be of interest to you.

Sincerely yours,

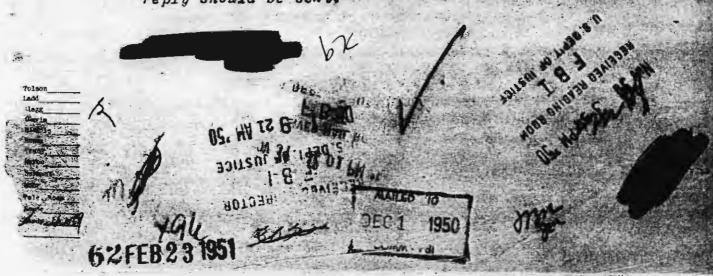
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/11/91 BY 8/123

J. Magu: Hoover

John Edgar Hoover Director

Enclostre
Dondero's statement

NOTE: The chronic card box contains a card on this individual but in view of the cordial commendatory nature of the incoming it is thought a short cordial reply should be sent.



OFFICE OF DIRECTOR	Mr. Tolson
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION	Mr. Ladd
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE	Mr. Clegg
	Mr. Glavin
	Mr. Nichols
Date December 19, 1950 Time 11:29	am Mr. Rosen
	Mr. Tracy
from the White	Mr. Harbo
\ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \	Mr. Belmont
House.	Mr. Jones
	Mr. Mohr
	Tele. Room
	Mr. Nease
Phone No.	Miss Holmes
	Miss Gandy)
DEMYDRG	

He asked if Mr. Hoover were in or out of town and was told that he is out of town but we will be talking with him soon.

He said he just wanted to tell Mr. Hoover that he thought he would be interested that this morning at the President's press conference some reporter brought up a certain book that was written by Mr. Lowenthal not long ago and asked the President if he approved or disapproved the book. President said "I haven't read the book; I haven't read it; haven't seen it, and so I don't either approve or disapprove it - I just don't know anything about it and I suppose a fellow has a right to write anything he wants to in these days."

Then someone else said Mr. President is the fact that Mr. Hoover is still head of the FBI mean that you still think well of him?

said he wrote down this quote: the President said "Mr. Hoover has always been well thought of by me". Nothing further was said on the subject.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED OATESTEIDE. RYPUR

OFFICE OF DIRECTOR	Mr. Tolson
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION	Mr. Ladd
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE	Mr. Clegg
	Mr. Glavin
	Mr. Nichols
Date19 Time	Mr. Rosen
	Mr. Tracy
,	Mr. Harbo
	Mr. Belmont
	Mr. Jones
Account to	Mr. Mohr
	Tele. Room
	Mr. Nease
Phone No	Miss Holmes
	Miss Gandy
REMARKS	

said he expected this to come up several conferences ago and it didn't — and here it comes up. He said this is about what they at the White House had discussed that the Boss would say if they asked him when though there was a lot of discussion about it.

The President hadn't read the book at that time and he said he guessed he would take a look at it sometime; he had been hearing so much about it -but he naturally has been too busy lately - and he said he still hasn't read it.

said he didn't personally think he had missed too much.

hwg

available for release to you		70-70-700
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FBI/DOJ

ice Memorandum UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

: Director, FBI.

DATE: 12/22/50

FROM : SAC, New York.

SUBJECT: "THE FEDERAL BUPEAU OF INVESTIGATION",

BY MAX LOWENTHAL.

ATTENTION: L. B. NICHOLS, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR

Attached hereto are photostatic copies of an unsigned article captioned "A Book That Rocked Washington" that appeared on page 2, columns 2-3 in the December 11, 1950 issue of the "UENEWS", official publication of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America which was received on 12/22/50 by this effice. This article cites material from captioned book which is favorably reviewed.

The incident referred to in paragraph three of this article has been previously reported. No identification of the plant was made in paragraph one, wherein reference is made to man employer in a eastern plant" who told UE Members recently that an FBI Agent had inquired whether any of the union members were "giving him trouble", and that "We'll take care of anyone you want".

The above for information.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

Encl.

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIER DATE 42492 BYB12

cc: Bureau File #100-26912 (CI UERMWA) NY 100-13644 (UE)

G. I. R. -7

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FBI/DOJ

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

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FROM :	SAC, New Haven			Mr. Belmont
SUBJECT:	HAX LOWENTHAL		04071	Tele. Room . Mr. Hecne
	INFORMATION CONCERNING		01011	Miss Gand
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No comment	of any nature was made o	f LOWENTHAL to		MC
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the Bureau	for the Bureau's informa	OLUII.		
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OFFICE OF DIRECTOR, FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Mr. Tolson	·
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Mr. Glavin()	
Mr. Ladd()	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Rosen()	
Mr. Tracy ()	
Mr. Harbo ()	
Mr. Belmont()	
Mr. Mohr()	
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Office Memo

UNITED OF ANDREW

ERNMENT

: Director, FBI

December 19, 1950 DATE:

Attn.: Asst. Director L. B. Nichols SAC, New York

INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST LEAGUE: SUBJECT:

INTERNAL SECURITY - I.S.L.

LowenThat

Re N.Y. teletype dated 12/18/50 which advised that a copy of "Labor Action" was being forwarded Special Delivery to the Bureau.

Attached is the 12/18/50 copy of "Labor Action".

100-6680 G. I. R. -7 2 JAN 1 0 195

New Book on FBI Lifts Curtain on Federal Thought-Police

THE FEDERAL BUREAU OF IN-VESTIGATION, by Mox Lowenthal. Associates: 559 pages,

By SAM ADAMS

A few weeks ago, Max Lowenthal, a corporation lawyer, en-gaged for many years in govern-ment service, friendly with Pres-ident Truman and familiar with the ways of Washington, published his lengthy, and document-ed account of the FBI. He traces its origin, development and place in American society.

The picture is not a pretty one. How could it be, since the material deals with a police agency of the government engaged in the primary job of spying on the populace?

Its very nature as a police and spy agency of the federal govern-ment, and the specific tasks assigned to it make it inevitable that the FBI and its individual agents should always threaten the bounds of legality, even when it does not pass them, which is often enough. It lives in a nether social world of its own; its ways ar devious and dishonest; its objectives are the entrapment of individuals or organizations who may or may not be unpopular.
Yet the FBI is a sacrosanct or-

ganization. It is beyond normal criticism. Director J. Edgar Hoover

SI

has done on excellent public-relations job for himself and his agency. That was not difficult since there were altogether too many newspapers, organization individuals, and particular newspaper columnists who acted as self-oppointed publicity agents for the FBI and especially for its director. Walter Winchell the country's outstanding scientist-economist-sociolegist-politician, book-drama- and cinema critic, philologist, and just plain snooper, has carried on a crusade for years in behalf of his friend Hoover.

It is not difficult then to understand why a documented book on the FBI, which could not be anything else but condemnatory, should evoke a dirty campaign against its author even before the book was published. The reactionary press, with classic selfinterest as a big business and monopolistic combine, joined the conspiracy for obvious reasons. The FBI is a reactionary defender of the economic and political status quo and, in turn, must be defended against its critics no matter what the issues and the facts are. In the case of men-like Winchell, who epitomize the prostitution of the capitalist press, there is an adolescent basking in the warm son of a federal police agency. The slight-est criticism of the FBI brings out this harde of venomous truthripers in a frenzied defense of the agency and its director.

The FBI Claque Throws Mud at Lowenthal

Thus the reception of Lowenthal's book. Before the book was published, Hoover's friends in Congress began the campaign against Lowenthal personally. Nothing concrete, you understand. Representative Dondero, the notoriously ignorant reactionary Republican from Michigan, saw to it that the Congressional Record contained his speech of innuendos against Lowenthal. He actually knew Alger Hiss. . he was the friend of Stalinist fellow travelers . . there is doubt about his loyalty. Why not? Didn't he write a book critical of the FBI? Isn't that reason enough to suspect a man?

Dondero's spech found its way into Winchell's column; it was printed in hundreds of newspapers and read by millions of people who are daily titillated by a column which tells them which "celebrities" are getting married or divorced, who is being courted by whom, what happened in this hotel and that party, and throws in . . . the "inside dope" on the polities of the world!

The Scripps-Howard New York World-Telegram and Sun which rarely, if ever, writes an editor-

ial on a book, did so in the case of "The Federal Bureau of Investigation." It protests the vestigation." It protests the "one-sidedness" of the book and its use of quotations from numerous editorials from the Telegram which sustain Lowenthal's description of the FBI. In a rather pathetic manner, The Telegram reminds its readers that it has printed many more editorials and stories favorable to the FBI, at a ratio of 10-1, as a matter of fact, and then rises to the defense of Mr. Hoover, lamenting at the same time that President Truman did not appoint Hoover head of the Central Intelligence Ageney.

Raymond Moley, one-time aid of President Roosevelt, former New Dealer, and presently columnist for Newsteeck, publicly disowned Lowenthel's praise of himself as "the first of the Americans to look deeply into the problems of police and criminal law administration" in the work that he did for the House Jadiciary Committee, Moley does not review the book (there is a favorable review in the same issue of the magazine) but rises to the defense of the FBI.

No Attempt to Refute Facts in Book

"What is really important is the status of the FBI itself," writes Moley, "the confidence of the public in its efficiency and integrity. and the importance that anyone who can speak with some authority, as I can, should say, as I do, that it is by all odds the most competent police and investigative agency that this country has ever seen." You see, it is not the contents of the book, its material and its documentation which is important, but "the status of the FBI itself." What Moley is really saying is that the book threatens that status because it tells the bitter truth about the egency.

These are sufficient examples of the opinion of the Right. On the fence, we have Max Lerner, well-known liberal and columnist for the New York Post. He also thinks the book is one-sided; it does not deal with the good things that the FBI has done. For example, it has practically wiped out kidnapping! Doesn't

Mr. Lerner really know better? One would like to believe so, but with our liberals one can never be sure.

The real question, and this Max Lerner certainly should know, is what role the FBI plays in the social and political life of the country, particularly in relation to the political, economic and social organizations of the labor movement existing in the framework of class society in the United States,

Lowenthal's book is not a thesis on this question and we doubt very much that this is his main interest. His is a classless and timeless interest in civil liberties per se, and his book charges that the Federal Burcau of Investigation, under its successive attorneys general, has violated the basic principles of democratic and legal process and has become the very pernicious spy agency which the Senate and Congress of 1908 feared it would when it

resisted Theodore Roosevelt's demand for such a police agency to fight crime.

The most interesting thing about the campaign against the book by Lowenthal is that not one of its critics dares to question the documented material of the book. Not one of them has found an error in the book. Not one of them has successfully questioned a single reference in this documented work. The criticisms of it are general in tone end defensive of the FBI. irrespective of the frenchast comments of the book. The reason for this, as we shall show in our next article, is that the material of the book is irrefutable.

The FBI has grown from a simple governmental police agency into a vast bureaucratic enterprise, with an enormous dossier on millions of people based largely on material supplied by informants (properly spelled STOOL PIGEONS), "anonymous" individuals, hearsay, tapped wires, self-appointed spics, and its own agents. However's own social and political views very often form the basis for the judgment of an individual's "loyalty." Here,

Moley's dishonest attempt to defend Hoover against the charge of being a leading actor in the "Palmer Raids" is stupid as well as ridiculous. Certainly, Moley could not have read the book for Lowenthal quotes repeated from the instructions of Milhoover. Was Hoover merely a "clerk" as Moley declares? We are pretty certain Hoover would never accept that description of himself, just as we are certain that Hoover believes himself to he not an ordinary policeman by a man of high integrity, greatintellect and considerable knowledge.

In the book's documents, mileast, Hoover represented himself, during the days of the Palmer Raids which he helped direct as an authority on Marxist theory and the politics of socialism. It was he who sent directives to the numerous agents of the department on what Marxism is, the nature of the various socialism movements, the conflicting destribe of the political organizations of the workers at that time and the manner and means to comployed in the mass raids.

Main Function: Thought-Police Agency

One does not need to go back that far, however, to establish the real FBI. We are not too greatly concerned with the FBI's work against crime. We regard crime as a social problem and criminals as anti-social elements, in the same category as professional spies, stoolpigeons, and the part-time informants. But obviously, there has been no reduction of crime in this country; quite the contrary. Kidnapping has not wholy abated; the punishment for its offense has only been made more severe. Sex crimes have not lessened with the Mann Act or its policing by Hoover's department: they have increased.

If Hoovers' organization were primarily concerned with these matters of social crime, we would say little or nothing about it. But that is not its main occupation. Its main activity is policing the economic and political activity of the labor movement in its variey gated forms, in setting up standards for political, economic and social thought, in policing such

thought, in creating a vast dossic, system containing information of a public and private character or individuals which it has no business accumulating, and of operating in devious ways to set itse up as the real censor of the nationaby methods which are the antithesis of democratic and legal

Example: the material of the files of the FBI are unchallenged able. Those supplying information can never be cross-examined. The reason for that is a typically bureaucratic-police reason; is would expose the informant and thereby break down the FBI system.

Example: the attorney general's list of "subversive organizations" is based on FBI material. Organizations placed on this list cannot challenge it by 20% legal process because the list is a product of administrative decree and the material of the FBS cannot be investigated for its veracity of lack of it.

War Brought Out Its Reactionary Role

Example: the standards of political and thought loyalty are set by the FBI and its director. Thus, being a liberal makes one suspect at once as a "soft-headed parlor pink." Opposing Franco and supporting the loyalist government in Spain is proof per se that one is a "communist," or a "fellow traveler," or opposed to our "great traditions and institutions."

Example: "the Observer," columnist for The Nation, once wrote a letter to the State Department protesting "something or other—I forget now what it was, maybe something to do with Spain." One day in 1940 he received a letter stating that his communication had been filed and the contents noted. The reply came from the FB!!

** ********

Such examples are cudless and we shall detail them in our forthcoming review.

The point is that the Federal Bureau of investigation, as a central police and spy ogency, cannot but violate the elementary democratic rights of the citizenry in an effort to encompass either the full scope of the powers given to it by Congress or those which it assumes Itself. The tradition of the FBI has been reactionary and anti-democratic. It is true that during the height of the New Deal, its role was relatively diminished, but the outbreak of war soon

changed that. The present war situation and the struggle agains? Stalinism has only served to increase the activities of the FII and to raise to a new height the sacrosanct, untouchable position of what is after all a subsidiary of the Office of the Attorney General, of the Department of Justice.

A book on this bureau, critical as it is, has brought the wolve out. Even before it was actually off the press, the FBI had already inspired attacks on it and its author. Since its publication, the campaign has become even more virulent. For a police agency cannot stand the light of day.

As to the more specific reasons for the discomfort of the burea and its directors, we will deal with them in our review, next week, and it will indicate why Hoover and his reactionary friends are so concerned.

tice Ivie um • Unitel States Government DATE: December 2, 1950 AIR MAIL SUBJECT: RESEARCH There is attached an editorial entitled "Unfair Book About G-Men", which appeared in the November 30, 1950 issue of the El Paso Herald-Post. It is to be noted that this editorial defends the Bureau in connection with MAX LOWENTHAL's book "The Federal Bureau of Investigation, and is otherwise laudatory. As the Darses is aware Mr. EDWARD M. POOLEY, Editor of the El Paso continues been extremely critical in the past with respect in enforcement agencies and branch offices of Federal agencies here in all Paso. It is thought that the Director may desire to direct a note of appreciation to Mr. POOLEY. ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED 92 BY B128 COPIES DESTROYED AUG 6 1964 107

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For instance, the book includes numerous quotations from editorials in the Scripps-Howard newspapers concerning isolated actions of the FBI—all critical. Nowhere do we find any favorable Scripps-Howard comment about the FBI and its director, J. Edgar Hoover. Yet our offhand recollection is that Scripps-Howard's editorial appraisals of the work of the FBI and of Mr. Hoover have been about 10-to-1 favorable. That's probably a better rating than these columns have given any other government agency or human institution.

We cannot Bl's good reputation will this book. No other that in the elecutive branch of the government is as secure in the confidence of the public and of Congress. The same

goes for its director, Mr. 11 over. And for the good reaches that the can been well earned.

Mr. Lowenthal is the cork lawyer who has been in the out ington over the last 30-odd years, he official and unofficial, cap titles never made any secret of his active for Mr. Hoover and the whole G-men up. Only thing new is that he has written a book about it.

book about it.

One item of news interest in the book is Mr. Lowenthal's confirmation of an oft-repeated runor that President Truman rejected a successful from military advisers that Mr. Hoover be appointed head of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). But that reflects no discredit on Mr. Hoover. To the contrary, the discredit goes to Mr. Truman who missed an opportunity to make something of the CIA.

It is well known that the CIA, under a succession of administrators, has not been worth its salt—and we're not here downrating able Gen. It is Smith, present CIA chief. The office long

the caliber of Marianof operatives of the G-mel

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December 6, 1950

ORDED - 17 INDEXED : 17

lir. Edward H. ditor El Paso Herald-Post I Poso, Teres

gar Mr. Pooleys

entitled "Unfair Book About G-Men" has been brought to my attention, and I want to take this opportunity to express to you my personal appreciation for the commendatory remarks you set forth con-cerning the work of this Bureau.

It is nost gratifying to know · that you have presented this matter to your readers in this objective and effec-tive manner. I hope this Bureau vill continue to merit your faith and confidence.

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> CCS El paso

Sincerely yours,

A. Edgar Hoovar

Ladd Clegg o Hd TO

DE. Hd Lth S

Glavin Nichol Tracy Harbo Belmon

62-25723 - December 6, 1950



Your letter dated November 30, 1950, has been received, and in the absence of Mr. Hoover from the city I am taking the liberty of acknowledging it. I will bring it to his attention upon his return.

Sincerely yours,

Helen W. Gandy Secretary

NOTE: has been in correspondence with the Bureau on several occasions in the past and his letters were acknowledged over Miss Gany's signature.

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JRD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • United States Government

TO

MR. NICHOLS

FROM

M. A. JONES

SUBJECT:

THE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

BY MAX LOWENTHAL

While calling the Bureau on other matters this morning Mr. Scheidt mentioned the attached item which appeared on page 10 of today's issue of the Daily Worker reflecting that on December 18, 1950, there will be a yeview of the Lowenthal book in which Albert Kahn and Stetson Kennedy will be among the speakers. Mr. Scheidt stated that arrangements would be made to cover the meeting through confidential informants and that the Bureau would be appropriately advised.

MAJ.

Attachment

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DATE 5/21/92 BY 8/23

Mr.

DATE:

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December 7, 1950

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CIETAL MATERIA



The Illegal Gestapo Built Up

By

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FBI Against the Foreign-Born

By Harry Raymond

WHEN JUSTICE DEPARTMENT agents launched their midnight and early morning October raids, arresting law-abiding non-citizens in cities from New York to Los Angeles, they were following the illegal and undemocratic pattern of secret police terror devised in 1919 by present

FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover.

The most revealing chapters of the Max Lowenthal's sensational book, "The Federal Bureau of Investigation," describe in minute and carefully documentated detail Hoover's farflung plans for transforming the U. S. into a police state. Hoover, according to Lowenthal, chose the night hours for his brutal 1919-1920 raids on homes and meeting places of men and women singled out for special political persecution.

Night raids, according to Hoover's directives sent out at that time, would catch the victims by surprise, possibly in bed, with less chance for the prisoners to get in touch with lawyers.

Under the FBI raiding tech-

under the FBI raiding technique, Lowenthal points out in his chapter entitled "The Dragnet," Hoover sought his largest hauls in meeting rooms of radical organizations, which were spotted by his band of stoolpigeons. Next on the boss Coman's list of places to raid are choral societies and schools for foreign-born adults.

"Here the Bureau's agents picked up both teachers and students, including those on their way to class, and others on the street suspected of having that destination," Lowerthal writes.

ON HOOVER'S list of subversive establishments are small shops, restaurants, cafes, bowling alleys, billiard and pool parlors, barber shops, concert and lecture halls. Lowenthal quotes Senator Walsh as summing up the testimony about a Detroit raid that netted "merrymakers in a ball in progress, and even the orchestra... a corps of professional, musicians commonly employed about the city."

Men and women walking in the area where the 1919 Hoover raids were made were snatched up by the FBI gumshoes.

up by the FBI gumshoes.

Also included in the Detroit arrests of the foreign-born were an "American-born college instructor who had come down from the university during the holidays to teach . . physical geography"; "a 17-year-old bor who had been caught while at the House of the Masses to see a man about a job" . "a dozen men who had been having

DAILY WORKER Dec. 7, 1950 a drink of near-boor in a cafe on the first floor of the building"; ... "one man who had stopped out of curiosity"; ... "one young man in the cooperative restaurant which had better meals at cheaper prices than any place around there, and he always ate there."

Jackson H. Ralsten, counsel to AFL president Samuel Compers, summed up activities of Hoover's slueths with this parallel: "That sort of thing was, under the government of the Czar, the commonest thing in the world. . . . The police created and discovered conspiracies from day to day."

ONE OF Hoover's big brave night raids in New York City, according to a New York Times report quoted in the book, resulted in the jailing of 700 prisoners, among whom were "twenty-five women, half of them apparently girls of high school age."

The G-men singled out for arrest and special rough treatment "steel and brass workers, carpenters, painters, printers, restaurant waiters, teamsters, mechanics, shoemakers and manual laborers."

Former U. S. Attorney Francis Fisher Kane of Philadelphia described them in testimony to fore a Senate committee at an dangerous people they were the sort of stuff of which we

make good citizens.:.. The great majority of them were workingmen, some doing well, many of them with families here, with ties that would have kept them."

Sen. Walsh called the great bulk of persons arrested and persecuted by Hoover's men during the foreign-born raids as "the raw material out of which the American public school has made and will make in the first generation native to our soil our sturdiest manhood and the peers in devotion to this country and its ideals of any of its citizens."

LONG BEFORE Hitler set up his gestapo, J. Edgar Hoover had worked out methods of torturing "confessions" from his victims.

"The biggest job the G-men had after arresting radicals was to get confessions from them," Lowenthal states.

He goes on to quote a Detroit lawyer, attacked by the bureau's branch chief as a radical, as testifying before the Judiciary Committee how agents went about the job of wringing "confessions" from prisoners.

The men were taken to fifth floor of the Federal Building and were, he said, "taken advantage of by the Federal agents... announcing... that as soon as they sign statements... they would forthwith be

let out, and that anyone who refused to make any admission, whether truthful or otherwise, would be detained. The alien would be sent back repeate!ly ... until his spirit was broken down and he would be willing to subscribe to anything."

A year before this statement was made, Lowenthal points out, Hoover wrote an "urgent letter" to the Immigration Bureau on the subject of "confessions"

the subject of "confessions."
"He asked the Bureau to refuse to free any prisoner on
bail unless he answered the

questions put to him by the Bureau's detectives," reports Lowenthal.

The Justice Department is again seeking to use the old police techniques to break the spirit of not only foreign born but native born Americans as well. But today the spirit of peace and democracy is growing stronger under fire of those who, like Hoover, would prop themselves up with the fascist McCarran Law and destroy our constitution and all democratic liberties.

ASP Forum on 10 Lowenthal's Book On FBI, Dec. 18

Max Lowenthal's book on the FBI will be reviewed at a forum of the Writing and Publishing Division National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, Monday, Dec. 18 at Hotel Cornish Arms, 311 W. 23 St. Albert Kahn and Stetson Kennedy will be among the speakers.

ce Memorandum • united states government

Mr. Nichols

DATE: December 5.

FROM

SUBJECT:

A. Jones

BOOK REVIEW OF LOWENTHAL'S BOOK; 42 202, 914

ALANABARTH IN NEW REPUBLIC December 4, 1950, Issue CLASS. & EXT

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Declassify on: OADR

REASON-ERIN II DARL OF REVIEW Captioned "A Dossier On The FBI: 1908-1950, by Alan Barth, a member of the editorial staff of the Washington Pa Post, appears on pages 18 and 19 of the December 4, 1950, issue of New Republic, under the "Books in Review" section. The review deals with the book "The Federal Bureau of Investigation," by Max Lowenth

REFERENCE TO TRUMAN AND LOWENTHAL

Under the caption "Washington Wire," the December 4, 1950, issue of New Republic (signed by the initials "T.R.B.") states under "Notes" (page 4) the following: "Truman and Max Lowenthal, author of the new book critical of the FBI, used to be close friends. In this intimacy with Truman, Bert Andrews, head of the Herald Tribune's Washington Bureau who reviewed the book, seemed to find sinister implications, a new test of guilt by association."

SUMMARY OF REVIEW

He concludes by stating "Mr. Lowenthal's indictment is much too impressive to be dismissed." He calls for an independent commissi to study our security needs.

Following are the main points within "A Dossier On The FBI: 1908-1950:"

1. One is tempted to praise Lowenthal's courage in writing. a sober indictment of the FBI.

The most significant fact about the FBI today is that disparagement of it may be equated with disloyalty.

J. Edgar Hoover has long answered criticism by impugning naracter or motives of critics. Barth quotes from the book the complaint of a Detroit lawyer concerning treatment of his client in 1920 and Mr. Hoover's estimation of him: "He is regarded as a Bolshevist leader." Also Barth quotes remarks Lowenthal attributes to the Director in 1940 and 1950 to illustrate that the Director still Copies attacks the motives of those criticizing the FBI.

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Memorandum to Mr. Nichols
Re: Book Review of Lowenthal's Book



- 4. The book is "an objective picture" only in the sense that the author refrains until the final paragraph from editorial comment.
- 5. Lowenthal's method, like the method of the FBI, has been to assemble "unevaluated facts"...that serve his purpose devastatingly.
- 6. Barth outlines the method of selective compilation used by Lowenthal and states "He quotes alternately the FBI's critics and its defenders....Often the defense is more damning than the attack." The impact of the book may be diminished because of its unrelieved condemnation of the Bureau. "Credit to Hoover when credit is due might have given it a better balance."
- 7. "The most extensive and perhaps the most valuable portion of the book is the account of the Palmer raids. Mr. Lowenthal makes it plain that Mr. Hoover "bore a heavy responsibility for the actual conduct of the raids a responsibility he has repeatedly disclaimed in recent years."
- 8. "It is a disappointment that Mr. Lowenthal did not analyze current FBI activities with anything like the same thoroughness (Meaning the same thoroughness with which he analyzed the Palmer raids.)
- 9. Commenting on the fact that the American Bar Association did yeoman service following the raids of the 1920's, Barth states "Yr. Lowenthal, himself a lawyer, has written a book which, as a challenge to authority, does honor to his profession."
- 10. Barth says the FBI has passed beyond the limits of which the late Harlan Stone reorganized the Bureau in 1924. It definitely passed them in 1939 and, still further passed them when instructed to investigate the loyalty of Federal employees. "In the course of these activities it compiled great numbers of secret dossiers on American citizens who were guilty of no criminal conduct." It resorted to "wire tapping and the use of anonymous informers..." Barth has here apparently deviated from a review of the book and embarked on an unfavorably critical analysis of FBI authority which has resulted in what he terms "anxiety now experienced by great numbers of loyal Americans..." He refers to these people as being spied upon, their telephones tapped and in fear lest voluntary associations they join may be called subversive.

Memorandum to Mr. Nichols
Re: Book Review of Lowenthal's Book

December 5, 1950



11. "What Mr. Lowenthal fails to make clear is that the danger to individual freedom arises from the power given to Mr. Hoover not from any malevolence on his part....It is beside the point that Hoover has good intentions....A secret police is a police that operates in secret, that maintains secret dossiers, that uses secret agents. The FBI, at least in part, now answers this description."

12. There is urgent need for a commission to make an impartial study of internal security needs and its relationship to individual freedom. Lowenthal's indictment is too impressive to be dismissed.



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New Republic

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A DOSSIER ON THE FBI — 1908-1950 By ALA

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WHY ASIA FEARS
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New Republic

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WASHINGTON WIRE

HATEVER I may think about General MacArthur," said one of Washington's top diplomats here last week, "I have never known him wrong militarily." This is one aspect of as bizarre a situation as this column can remember. Two nations which do not recognize each other, which do not exchange envoys, were fighting each other on the territory of a third with the first (USA) genuinely uncertain what the second

(China) was fighting about. Nor was this all.

Chinese Communists moved down into Korea in mid-October, with fanfare and propaganda, to surprise advancing UN

forces. After a fierce, bloody encounter, they appeared to fall back for a while: UN troops couldn't find them. There was every motive in the world for Russia to embroil America in full-scale war with China. But had she done it? It was like balancing on the edge of a precipice blindfolded. Nobody knew. From Truman down everybody assured China we had no territorial ambitions. With what effect? Nobody knew. But as the 7th Division advanced it enveloped two reservoirs (Changjin and Pujon) which fed power into the grid which supplies both Korea and Manchuria. Our troops did not cut the power lines. Current flowed from behind the battle area from one antagonist to another. It still flows. We had stated this would happen; now it was proved. Furthermore UN troops did not cross the Yalu; they came up and stopped. It was communication by sign language. Nevertheless, it was communication. Did this affect the Chinese decision? Again, nobody knows, but something did.

But at the start of last week in the alternating moods of Washington there was a sudden brief flare of hope. For a time at least it was thought Chinese resistance might be only token. This was promises and judgment have hung in the weeks.

balance. Yet almost certainly, somehow, somewhere, assurance had been given China that we would consider a borderline buffer zone.

With events developing so fast in a situation so fantastic it is impossible to say what happens next. But we feel confidence in outlining the following background. MacArthur planned his wind-up attack three weeks earlier but postponed it to get winter supplies and to protect

> his exposed right flank. Arrival of the Chinese UN mission in New York at the same time as resumption of the offensive was simple coincidence. Again MacArthur was so

confident of the result that he signaled his play in advance (one vehicle was the United Press) and issued one of his characteristically bombastic communiques, besides the promise to troops they would be "home" by Christmas (which to MacArthur apparently means Japan, where he has lived so long it seems home). Finally, MacArthur was not acting in this move alone as some alarmed observers felt; his plans had Pentagon, State Department and White House approval and in this instance were approved by the British. They have confidence in MacArthur the General, gravest doubts about MacArthur the statesman.

Congress is back and Washington seems like itself again. We can settle ourselves now for a comfortable twoyear period of White House-Congressional turmoil. It would be un-American to suggest that this is a bad sysem or that improvement could be made. For the moment the issue is deficit-inflation. The Baltimore Sun's able Mark Watson figures that four months' remobilization outlay is \$12.4 billion on top of some \$25 billion previously authorized. For this staggering obligation it is Truman's job to get more money and higher taxes. disspelled by strong counter-attacks, Ir is the main business of the Lame Duck and the whole issue of MacArthur's session, due to sit only about three



There's a Washington theory that if Acheson shaved his moustache half his troubles with Congress would disappear. We feel he would have to go further than that. His gray-reddish upswept eyebrows would have to go, too. They match the moustache. Then the aristocratic nose that looks so hawklike in profile. But that wouldn't be enough, either; the tailored clothes, the protruding handkerchief and sleeve cuffs, the arched-out necktie: these are an affront to midwest Congressmen. Would that suffice? No. it goes deeper still. As we watched him bantering with reporters last week, lightly and humorously fending off questions whose only purpose was to disembowel him, we saw that internal changes would be needed to scale him down to Knowland-Wherry-Taft size. His independence of judgment must be modified, a ready agreement cultivated to charges that he is a crook, a thief and a Communist and hostility must even be built up to all our European allies. After that everything would be easy for him.

Who are the isolationists? Langer (R, ND) has voted 30 times out of 30 against the Administration on selected foreign issues in three years; Kern has approved only twice, Malone, Butler and Dworshak only three times, Jenner and Williams five, and Wherry, seven. On the other end of the scale, Vandenberg, Morse and Lodge approved every one. . . . Truman and Max Lowenthal, author of the new book critical of the FBI, used to be close friends. In this intimacy with Truman, Bert Andrews, head of the Herald Tribune's Washington bureau who reviewed the book, seemed to find sinister implications, a new test of guilt by association. ... Few observers feel Truman appointees have raised the Supreme Court's calibre; deploring the over-conscientiousness of a colleague in preparing briefs other Government lawyers observed mournfully: "He acts just as though the Court knew the difference." . . . Taft's job in the next two years as Presidential aspirant is to show how liberal he is; he will propose a softer

Washington

T-H law.

T. R. B.

CORRESPONDENCE

"The Traitor"

SIR: Robert St. John's notes on Bill Shirer's The Traitor (the NR, November 11) are insufferably bad, and for all the wrong reasons. Strikes me that St. John, like Shirer, eagerly is rabbit-punching Marshall, Taft and a number of vulnerable set-ups in order to make the ringside judges and referees forget the fouls delivered—albeit with good, woozy, well-intentioned left hooks—by both writers in approximately the same period. I mean that both St. John and Shirer were early, abject left-wing towel-boys who never should have been permitted in the ring in the first place.

The Traitor is a damn bad novel, exciting in spots only because Shirer, despite himself, gets excited by the drama of the events at hand. Like Berlin Diary, this book represents, obviously, much rewrite, after the fact. . . .

New York City

RAY BROCK

SIR: Mr. Brock and I have only one thing in common: we both were once reporters in Yugoslavia for American newspapers.

Mr. Shirer and I have many things in common, among them the fact that Nazi Propaganda Chief Goebbels placed Berlin Diary and From the Land of Silent People on his list of the 10 worst books of the forties. Apparently Mr. Brock agrees, which gives him something in common with Herr Goebbels. He says further that Shirer and I should never have been "permitted in the ring," and that too is akin to the Nazi policy of suppressing the voices of those with whom one does not agree. New York City ROBERT ST. JOHN

Three Decades

SIR: In the course of his uneven critical review in the October 16 issue of the New Republic of The Verdict of Three Decades, edited by Julien Steinberg, A. J. P. Taylor says at one point:

Steinberg, in his anti-Bolshevik zest, would even persuade us that there was no need for the October Bolshevik Revolution: Russia, it seems, was already a Socialist country. . . .

Now, while Mr. Steinberg may have attempted such persuasion "in his anti-Bolshevist zest," he could well have done so on the basis of closer acquaintance with the course of events in Russia at that time than Mr. Taylor has demonstrated in making this observation. For while it may have been *logical* in the context of the time and place, there was no need for the October Revolution, and Russia was a Socialist country.

The tragic history of Russia between the fateful months of February and October of 1917 has been well documented and it would be wasteful of time and space to develop it here; a few basic facts concerning it, however, might be brought to Mr. Taylor's apparently incredulous attention. . . .

The October Revolution was not necessary from any viewpoint save that of the Bolsheviks themselves; the essentials of the revolution had taken place in February, aided by no force as much as by the utter collapse of the old regime. Certainly the material benefit of the Russian people was not advanced. Even before February the standards of national society were rising with rapid and continuing acceleration. . . . This Bolshevik Revolution was not aimed at Czarism, which in October was dead beyond recall, but rather at the forces of the democratic moderate socialism of the Provisional Government. Without it, Russia might well have been spared the unbelievable horrors and miseries of the Civil War and the burden of a regime in many ways as reactionary as that of the Czars and vastly more durable: .

The Provisional Government was doomed practically from the start: deemed because it could not defend itself against the sort of internal attack the Bolsheviks were certain to mount sooner or later; and because it divorced itself from popular support by failing to recognize that the strongest and most insistent force in the Russia of 1917 was an overwhelming longing for peace. But this foreordained doom does not on any grounds predicate the "need" for the October Revolution to achieve a true revolution's objectives in Russia, as Mr. Taylor implies. . . . New York City WENDELL S. RICHARDSON

'SIR: Russia was a Socialist country between February and October, 1918, in the sense that Germany became a Socialist country in November, 1918. There were many social reforms on paper and a democratic constitution. But the later history of the Weimar Republic (or, for that matter, of republican Austria) is a warning against taking this temporary swing to the Left as synonymous with the establishment of Socialism.

London, England

A. J. P. TAYLOR

Los Angeles Censorship

Sm: At a meeting of teachers tonight I discovered that at least two (Canoga Park and Hamilton) high schools, and presumably all other high schools in the city of Los Angeles, have received orders to remove from the library shelves all copies of The Nation and the New Republication, and to lock them up.

Reseda, Calif.



FUTURE OF THE LEFT

RGANIZED labor and liberals are still studying the 1950 elections for future political guidance. The CIO, the AFL, the ADA and independent unions have all been commendably stalwart in stating that they are in political action to stay and will redouble their efforts in 1952. But inside the ranks of all these groups there is uncertainty and concern as to what changes each should make to improve its own performance and what is the best relationship with the Democratic Party for them to seek.

The CIO national convention just concluded did not debate political policy. The official convention line was to stand pat for more of the same. The resolutions on political action pinned labor's hopes for a comeback in 1952 on "an even larger registration" than that of 1950, which would automatically it is presumed—"enlarge the liberal forces" in Congress. The resolution proposed no changes in strategy or policy and simply called for more money and effort to organize along the same lines.

Any soul-searching on the political role of the CIO will have to wait for the Executive Board meeting. The difference in views which existed at Chicago was neither clear enough nor sharp enough to have split the convention. But an open discussion might have helped to draw factional lines that have been threatening to form for some time.

Since the Communist bloc was finally disposed of at the Cleveland convention last year observers have been predicting a new factional formation in the CIO, with Walter Reuther emerging as the leader of a vaguely British-Labor Party kind of left. Whether or not he covets that role, Reuther has tried hard to keep the lines from forming and so far has succeeded. His potential opponents were clearly not anxious for a fight in Chicago, except for an extreme anti-Reuther fringe led by Joe Fisher, head of the Utility Workers' Union, who is rabid against public-power projects like MVA and TVA and announced his intention of "smoking the issues for the Reuther group. A number of his followers privately took an extremely critical view of the outcome. They suggested that the CIO should carefully review it own program in the campaign and seriously

re-examine its relations with the Democratic Party, whose policies they considered largely responsible for their setbacks. Not even the hotheads proposed that labor should start a third party of its own, but there was considerable sentiment in the convention for the CIO either to become more independent of the Democratic Party or to penetrate deeper into its policy-making machinery.

The Americans for Democratic Action are torn between those who would turn from a political action role to one of planning and long-range thinking along the lines of a Fabian Society. Among those who still see planning without organized action in politics as too narrow a role for liberals, there is disagreement on the practical role liberals should play in the major parties what degree of "independence" of the Democratic Fairy they should strive for.

We do not believe that the loss of 28 Democratic seats in the House and six in the Senate is cause for a major shift in the liberal position. As between the two major parties, only the Democratic stands for progressive principles. The idea of a third party remains as impractical and undesirable as we felt it to be in 1948. Liberals must continue to work primarily within the Democratic Party. But they must learn how to be as liberal within the Democratic Party as they are outside. The tendency too often has been to knuckle under in Party affairs to supposedly superior political brains of old-line Democratic leaders. This has been especially true in New York City where the task of working with an Irish Catholic-dominated Democratic organization without accepting its dictates, has admittedly posed a stupendous problem. It compels liberals to function as an organized bloc within the Party to work before the primaries to insist on candidates of real stature and integrity, to always campaign on issues, and to work continuously to overthrow corrupt machines.

TVA and announced his intention of "smoking the socialists out." The November elections raised delicate—matters would be to make the Party convention the real issues for the Reuther group. A number of his followers privately took an extremely critical view of the outcome. They suggested that the CIO should carefully review it own program in the campaign and seriously

organization for off-year as well as Presidential elections. By beginning work now, liberals could influence the Democratic convention of 1952 toward this end.

The principal political need on the left is education. Many of labor's political leaders are privately worried over the fact that so many of the union men they induced to go to the polls this year cast their votes for candidates organized labor was officially opposing. There have been CIO-AFL confidential talks about the problem, but the political chiefs will have difficulty getting the funds and the authority to educate union members between elections. In the AFL, too many powerful union heads are conservative Republicans. In the CIO, too few international unions really believe in broad education of their membership on subjects beyond the "pork chop" matters of wages and hours and working conditions. As a result, the political education needed to produce intelligent political action by labor is likely to be limited and timid. By joint appeal, liberal members of Congress might influence labor to emphasize education more heavily than is now planned.

ADA needs to carry on a different kind of education. As members generally understand issues and vote correctly, but they need training in practical organization, in how to get new members and in how to appeal to non-intellectuals.

The political leaders of both labor and liberals must be prepared to withstand the drive that is sure to develop within their ranks and from some of their trusted friends in the Administration and in the Démocratic Party hierarchy to softpedal "controversial" issues such as health insurance, the Brannan plan, the public development of power and civil rights. These cautious ones think of the PAC and the ADA as liabilities since those organizations replaced the Communist and the Progressive Party as major targets of Republican and newspaper abuse in many of this year's campaigns.

For the Left to temper its views to the right wing of the Democratic Party would be the road to liberal catastrophe. In spite of New Deal and Fair Deal reforms we still do not have either a depression-proof or an equitable economic system. Our civil liberties have rarely been in greater danger, and our minorities still suffer great injustices. Rather than a counsel of caution, the liberal order of the day should be one of advance if the Democratic Party is to be prevented from moving toward the right.

If the Truman Administration allows a Southerner to become Senate Majority Leader and the organization of the next Democratic Convention goes badly with regard to platform and rules, third party talk will surely revive. The main tasks for all the Left in the immediate future, however, are clear: To maintain its own integrity, to educate itself to understand the issues and operate effectively, and to organize itself strongly enough to become the leading spirit of the Democratic Party.

This is one early analysis of the problems of political action this election raised for liberals. We invite the fullest comments from our readers in what must be a continuing discussion.

THE WEEK

WAITING FOR CHINA

LAKE SUCCESS (NR Correspondent)
Six major activities occupied the
United Nations last week. Listed roughly in order of importance, they were:

Communist China. On the all-important question of the Korean War and allied problems, operations at Lake Success came nearly to a halt, pending the arrival of the nine-member Peiping delegation to discuss China's charges of American "aggression" on Formosa. There was no expectation that real progress could be made in solving Far Eastern problems through formal proceedings. It was hoped, however, that pri-

edge a series as a tract

vate conferences between the Chinese Communists and the UN delegations from countries which have recognized their Government might throw some light on whether or not China and Russia want the Korean situation to degenerate into world war.

South Africa. The Union of South Africa has now shouldered aside the United States as the scene of the world's worst relations between the white and other races. The special Political Committee, of the UN Assembly has been discussing this matter, and in particular the South African plan to set up special zones for land ownership by whites, Negroes and Indians. The South

Africans continue to insist that this is a domestic issue and were persuasive enough to make the UN Committee wind up by telling South Africa and India to continue to confer privately until next spring, even though there is no prospect of any real agreement.

Trygve Lie's Peace Plan. By an overwhelming vote of 51-5 the Assembly recommended that all UN bodies should study Trygve Lie's 20-year peace plan put forward some months ago. The Lie Plan would have the Security Council meet regularly and frequently to consider dangers to peace; would make another attempt at control of atomic weapons; would halt the armament race; and would set up a special UN police force. Political Refugees. The World Court has handed down a disturbing decision saying that no country can be permitted a unilateral decision on who is or is not a political refugee. If generally accepted it will curtail the "right of asylum" of a political figure who seeks sanctuary in a foreign embassy within the boundaries of his own country but should not affect the status of political refugees who escape across a border.

Point Fourism. The Assembly has adopted a significant study program on problems of effective aid to undeveloped areas of the world: National income, landlordism, irrigation for arid lands, obstacles to foreign investment and development of farm cooperatives. This is at least a start, and in the right place—the UN.

Eritrea. The compromise solution on the future of Eritrea that has been developed in the Special Political Committee of the Assembly is for Eritrea and Ethiopia to be joined in a federation, with the former given a substantial (but at present vague) degree of autonomy. Like all compromises, this one is wholly satisfactory to nobody; but it might provide a stopgap solution of the question for 10 or 20 years until the Eritreans are ready—as they certainly are not today—for complete self-government.

SCHUMACHER'S SHOW

The waning popularity of Chancellor Konrad Adenauer and his aloof Bonn regime was made clear November 19 when his Christian Democratic Union was badly beaten in the elections for Hesse and Württemberg-Baden which centered primarily over the question of Germany's role in European rearmament. Never loth to take up a popular cause, Kurt Schumacher led the Social Democrats in exploiting discontent over the prospect of war, domestic hardships and. a divided Fatherland, and thereby won a majority in industrial Hesse, while replacing the CDU as the largest party in the Württemberg-Baden parliament.

Unlike Pastor Niemöller, whose attacks on Adenauer's policies are credited with leading many Protestants out of

the CDU in Hesse, Schumacher and the Social Democrats are not "neutralists" and are not against rearmament as such. They say that they are against rearmament without consultation of the German people and without sufficient Allied supporting forces and are repeating their demands for a national election, which they now would be likely to win.

These two states are sufficiently balanced politically to reflect widespread German annovance at Adenauer's highhanded way of handling a complex emotionally-charged subject. Most Germans seem by now to have developed an understandable reluctance to serve on any firing-line. This was reflected in Socialist Carlo Schmid's statement that "We Germans would rather live in houses under the Bolsheviks than in holes as free men." Other party leaders, however, especially Ernst Reuter and Franz Neumann in Berlin, are militantly anti-Communist, and Schumacher is likely to be forced to change his tune if and when he leads the party to national power.

The full extent of the shift in Germany is not quite clear, and is not likely to be clarified by the December 4 balloting in Berlin, where the atmosphere and the issues are far different from the Western Zones. The Catholic-Protestant split, aggravated by Niemöller's agitation and the recent resignation of the Protestant Minister of Interior, Gustav Heinemann, may lead to further CDU losses. There has always been Protestant feeling against Catholic predominance in the federal Government; an intensification of it might relegate the CDU to the role of a traditionally Catholic Center party.

The international effects of the anti-Adenauer shift in Germany are likely to be considerable. If French reluctance against German rearmament is finally overcome, Britain and the US may be faced with a German Government unable to discuss it. The French, in turn, are likely to view a Schumacher victory with a jaundiced eye. Adenauer's leanings have always been much more to the West than have the Socialist leader's, who has continually harped on the lost territories in the East. But each in their own way, the French and German reac-

tions illustrate traditional fears and problems which will have to be overcome if the bolder European programs are to succeed.

ALUMINUM CUTBACK

The National Production Authority, which now controls the distribution of most scarce materials, has ordered a 35percent reduction in the use of aluminum for civilian production - the first of many similar cutbacks affecting strategic metals likely to be ordered soon. Following this announcement Dewey Anderson, director of Public Affairs Institute, warned that federal officials responsible for adequate aluminum for mobilization must do more than cut back civilian use. "They must greatly expand production by backing new producers or we will be caught woefully short of this vital metal," he said in a letter to Secretary of the Interior Oscar Chapman and NPA Administrator William H. Harrison. "Bigger capacity is the real answer, and it must be built under a sound plan," he said.

Anderson has studied this problem in the past, first as executive officer of the TNEC and later as secretary of the Senate Small Business Committee which conducted an extensive investigation of light metals. He points out that World War II brought two new giant producers of aluminum, the Reynolds Metals Company and Kaiser Aluminum & Chemical Company, into existence without increasing the overall amount of aluminum available and without reducing the price of metal previously maintained by Alcoa (Aluminum Company of America). "These two newcomers have traveled regularly, happily and profitably under Alcoa's price umbrella," Anderson said. "They have done nothing to increase aluminum use through lowered prices. They have been in competition really with the 17,000 independent fabricators . . . [and] consider themselves free to cut off or limit the supplies of these independents to favor their own fabricating plants. They have even done this with supplies they have withdrawn from the 375-million pound Government defense stockpile now wholly depleted."

To provide the needed supply of new

aluminum and to help rather than injure competition, Anderson recommended a five-point program that would include the following elements:

Bring in several new producers in addition to the Big Three.

In each contract for Government funds require that new producers turn over all or a major part of their production to independent fabricators or to the Government stockpile.

Make these new producers really independent of Alcoa by helping them obtain a bauxite supply and establish a Bayer plant that would be jointly owned and operated by all of them.

Obtain a large proportion of emergency aluminum requirements from Canadian sources at or below current prices dunder conditions safeguarding our comestic industry.

Give the independent fabricators an early opportunity to get defense orders.

"If these new producers really compete in prices, as Kaiser and Reynolds were expected to do," Anderson said, "the savings to the economy would not be inconsiderable. On a national consumption of two billion pounds in 1955, a three cent per pound reduction would represent the interest on \$2 billion worth of Government debt."

"I'm doing my best to get you in, pot"

CONGRESS AND THE CENSUS

When the 82nd Congress convenes in January, President Truman will report the number of members of the House of Representatives to which each state is entitled. The 1950 Census, which recorded a 14.5 percent rise in the population since the 1940 census, will result in a reshuffling of House seats and is sure to cause a political spat. Because of the shift in population, seven states will gain and nine will lose seats in the 435-member House to be elected in two years. And, of course, if statehood for Hawaii and Alaska is passed during the interim session, the total number of House seats will either be increased, or again reapportioned.

The size of the House is left up to Congress. The Constitution simply provides that whatever the total number of seats, they must be apportioned among the states according to population. In 1790, there were 105 members of the House. As new states were admitted to the Union and as the population increased, Congress added new seats rather than reapportioning the 105. However, when the size of the House reached 435, after the 1910 census was taken, Congress called a half to any further increase

and agreed to redistribute those seats among the states after each 10year population count.

Under the Congressional Apportionment Act, Congress has 15 days after it receives the latest official census totals to enlarge the House membership by the necessary 14 seats or to reapportion on the basis of the present 435 members. California, which accounted for about one-fifth of the population growth of the entire United States, will gain seven House. seats. It advanced from the fifth most populous state in 1940 to a posi-

Florida will gain two seats, and Maryland, Michigan, Texas, Virginia and Washington, one seat each.

If Congress does not enlarge House membership, New York will lose two seats but will still have the largest delegation with 43 members. Pennsylvania, which will lose three seats, will rank with California as second largest delegation with 30 Representatives. Missouri and Oklahoma stand to lose two seats apiece. Arkansas, Illinois, Kentucky, Mississippi and Tennessee each lose one.

The real battle will begin in the states losing House seats if Congress decides to redistrict rather than enlarge the House. Governors and state legislatures will be notified to make the necessary changes in state districts in time for the 1952 elections. In states like New York and Pennsylvania, where Republican and Democratic factions often control certain districts, political parties will attempt to seek advantage for themselves in mapping out the new districts. If a state losing seats has not done its redistricting by the next Congressional election, all its Congressmen must be elected "at large" and that could spell disaster for the political party in the minority during the Presidential election year.

RACE TAG ON BLOOD

For decades it has been an established scientific fact, known to every freshman student in biology, that human blood is all alike, from whatever race it comes. There are classifications for blood, according to "type" or the presence or absence of the RH factor, but the color of one's skin has nothing to do with such classifications. In the past the Red Cross, more for political than medical reasons, dutifully tagged blood according to race-white, Negro, Oriental or any other. Last week, however, the national board of governors, meeting in Chicago, finally moved to eliminate the racial designation of donors in the Red Cross blood collecting program.

seats. It advanced from the fifth most populous been noted on his medical history card. State in 1940 to a position second only to it is a form of racial discrimination. New York in 1950. The question even arose before

It is gratifying that the Red Cross has finally moved to help clear up the blood myth.

PHONE STRIKE ENDS

The 11-day-old telephone strike ended last week with satisfactory gains for the 33,000 telephone equipment workers involved. Seventeen thousand CIO Western Electric workers obtained average wage increases of 11.3 cents an hour. The union had asked for 15 cents an hour over the former basic scale of \$1.55 and \$1.62. In Detroit 16,000 other members of the Communications Workers of America settled their separate controversy with the Michigan Bell Telephone Company, with the company agreeing to a \$5-a-week raise for workers earning \$78 or more, \$4 for those who earn \$50-\$77 and \$3 for those making \$49 or less.

Major victory for the unions was an agreement to shorten the duration of the new contract. Both Western Electric and Michigan Bell had at first insisted on a two-year contract allowing wage reopening only after 18 months. The final agreement reduced this provision to 15 months. In addition, the contract provides wage progression payments as employees accumulate service and periodic merit wages for workers with long employment records. The union announced that the contract is the biggest and best negotiated this year in the Bell system.

THE RELUCTANT BANKERS

The Federal Reserve Board has issued a stiff "last warning" to the banks to curb the present record volume of inflationary credit or take the consequences in the form of tighter Government controls. Mixing mild words with implied threats, FRB Chairman Thomas B. McCabe wrote the System's 7,000 banks that "the sacrifice of some bank earnings at this time is a small price to pay" for curbing inflation. So far Government authorities have relied on bankers' self-discipline, but the figures show that their resistance to the lure of quick profits has not been very high.

Apologists for the banks point out that while the volume of commercial credit has risen very sharply, the total amount of outstanding obligations has risen only \$1.5 billion. This means that the banks have been heavily unloading their holdings of Government securities for inflation-feeding business loans. Stressing that the "persistent and unprecedented rise in bank loans has been the major factor in the country's increasing money supply," McCabe has again called on the banks to cease undercutting the Government's attempts to stabilize the dollar.

LETTER FROM INDIA

NEW DELHI

On the crisp afternoon of November 11, India spread the regal red carpet at Palam Airport in New Delhi to receive His Nepalese Majesty. The King that stepped down was in commoner's clothes, a fugitive breathing free air for the first time in 45 years. On November 5, the Indian Ambassador in Kathmandu, Nepalese capital, had put in a telephone call to Prime Minister Nehru in Delhi. The next day the "Incarnation of Vishnu," accompanied by his family and a number of tiffin boxes filled with jewels, left his palace "prison," ostensibly for a picnic. 'As their route passed the Indian Embassy, the party in a split second was inside the gates. For the first time in history, a foreign embassy gave asylum to a king on his own soil.

The ruling Ranas of Nepal had mis-

calculated. The repeated visits to Kathmandu by the American ambassador and the British High Commissioner from Delhi had left Maharaja Mohan Shumsher Jung Bahadur Rana, the hereditary Prime Minister, with the belief that Nepal could go over India's head. But when the test came, the Rana found both those countries following India's lead. A stern note was dispatched from Delhi, demanding the safe passage of the King, or else. . . ! The King's departure for India was a signal for public mourning in Kathmandu, and popular revolt on the Indo-Nepalese border.

Still under the impact of events in Tibet, Delhi oscillated between a sense of danger and a sense of opportunity in the period of turmoil that followed. The troops of Red China are still 450 miles northeast of Simla across the snow-capped mountains. And now that the "roof of the world" has blown away, there is great anxiety to save the ceiling.

The interplay of six forces will decide the outcome:

First, the ruling Ranas. About a century ago, this clan, descendants of an Indian Rajput family, effected a successful coup. They turned the King into only a spiritual head, made him a palace prisoner and began a system of hereditary prime ministership by which the office passes to the younger brother from the elder one. The Ranas have provided most of the generals in Nepal—as numerous as Kentucky Colonels in America. By protecting and glorifying their own blood-purity, they have kept power away from the "native" Gurkhas.

The ruling Ranas have been traditional friends of India, marrying among the Raiput families of this country. At present, they are estranged because their fugitive King has been given asylum and India has refused to recognize the "boy king" they have put on the throne in his place. But the Ranas are bound to be even less friendly to an eventually Red Tibet and an already Red China, so a compromise with India is not out of the question.

Second, the Dissident Ranas. Victims of periodic coups, palace revolutions and family feuds, these and their descendants live in India, where they have property worth one billion rupees. These "half-

castes" are the financial mainstay of the current revolt.

Third, His Majesty the King. A descendant of another Indian Rajput clan surnamed "Shah," he is grateful for India's support, and prefers to be a "Constitutional head" to an "imprisoned head."

Fourth, the Nepali Congress. A composite body of Nepali democrats, disillusioned Gurkha soldiers, neo-Communist agitators, dissident Ranas and Indian sympathisers, this group operates from a base in India along the lines once followed by the Indian National Congress. They hope that India will back them to the full. The Delhi authorities dashed those hopes somewhat by confiscating 3,500,000 rupees their President was bringing to the fugitive King.

Fifth, the Gurkha troops. The loyalty of these renowned fighters with their famed Kukris holds the balance. Their oath of allegiance is to the King, but their bread and butter come from the ruling Ranas. The Gurkha troops form not too negligible a part of the Indian Army and of the British Army in Asia. However, the 100 percent Hindu Nepal has flatly refused Pakistan any troops.

Sixth, the Indian attitude. Even though still neutral between the Eastern and the Western blocs, India is apprehensive about Communist infiltration in and around the sub-continent. Only a stable regime in Nepal can give liberal-mocratic India a stable buffer. The strong autocracy of the Ranas would make the people amenable to Communist appeals. On the other hand, it would take time for a Gurkha democracy to put down firm roots in that rocky soil—and this is the moment in Kathmandu!

Both sides have appealed to India, and possible compromises are in the Delhi air. Some of the alternatives are: an invitation to the Indian Army to stabilize the situation; the return of the King with enhanced powers; with India helping to frame a more democratic constitution and supervising its implementation; "accession" to India in regard to the neighboring kingdoms of Bhutan and Sikkim, and a sharing of defense, communications and foreign policy.

Outside reactions to events in Nepal have underlined the trend toward greater

cooperation between India, America and Britain that started with Korea. The "faithlessness" of Red China with respect to Tibet rankles in Delhi's bosom, and India is fast losing its color-blindness, fostered by centuries of friendship, and is beginning to see red for the yellow. For the first time in 2,000 years, India is facing the prospect of China as a rival, and as a result Delhi is on the eve of a re-orientation of its "external affairs."

K. L. SHRIDHARANI

OUTSIDE AMERICA

Europe lost the American elections. And for the European Left it was more than merely a defeat—the results of the voting, especially in terms of the make-up of the Senate, contain the makings of disaster.

"Setback for Europe," the title of Charles Ronsac's editorial in the Paris Franc-Tireur, one of the best anti-Communist Left dailies on the continent, gives the keynôte of editorial comment both in France and Britain, and in Right and Center as well as Left publications. He wrote:

Let's not hesitate to face the fact: Europe's freedom of opinion and social democracy have suffered a crushing defeat. For with Robert Taft, champion of isolationism and anti-laborism, the two real winners—though they were not candidates were McCarthy and MacArthur. It would be difficult and premature to predict the repercussions of the disasters (which may result from the election in domestic policy) on American policy in the world, that is on the future of peace. But the elections provide a lesson equally valid for the democratic parties of Europe. . . . Truman might not have avoided political defeat if he had disavowed the 'Caesar of the Pacific" by acts, if he had fought politically for Europe, if he had exposed the hysterics and witch-hunters to public contempt, and if he had proudly waved the Fair Deal banner; but he would surely have won morally a contest which he must now try to re-win. . . .

The Paris Combat wrote:

Europe risks losing its last freedoms. Now Europe will get arms and munitions only if it submits entirely to the will of the American strategists and their moneylenders. Atlantic policy, as conceived and corrected by Taft, will be the policy of the Pentagon and United States heavy industry with all the organism of control over Europe that this implies-or there will be no policy. . . . We regret that Socialism and planning were so badly defeated and that the Fair Deal was condemned. But we fear, above all, that Europe may now really become a field of maneuver and a bastion for the American Government.

The London Daily Herald, which speaks for the British Labour Government, wrote quoting an unnamed American Labor leader as saying:

Politically, American Labor is just where you were in Britain in 1905. We have still a long way to go. With big business taking over, we haven't much time to organize politically.

The London Times writes:

The position of Secretary Acheson and of the State Department will be made infinitely more difficult and will become to an even greater extent than before the captive of his critics. . . . We can probably look forward to a very nasty Presidential campaign two years from now.

The Daily Express comments:

The United States swings to the Right. It seems likely that a veto over policy, domestic and foreign, has passed into the hands of the Right-wing Democrats who often think and sometimes vote Republican. . . There will certainly be a sterner insistence that European nations should show more convincing proof of self-help in self-defense. The balance of American interest may swing further over from Europe to the Far East.

In general, the British Conservative newspapers were torn between worry over the effect on Europe-firstism in the United States and satisfaction over the strengthening (they believe) of their chances in the coming effort to expel the Labour Government from office. Lord Beaverbrook's Express said:

The change in American opinion gives this country a new opportunity for a wise decision. Britain should never have accepted Marshall aid. She has now a chance, not to be missed, to end that generous subvention.

Paris

PERCY WINING

EXCESS PROFITS TAX - PROS AND CONS

UNLY A FEW short weeks ago, an by Louis Walinsky excess profits tax seemed almost certain of passage when Congress reconvened after its election recess. Today, the prospects for enactment of an excess profits tax, whether in this Congress or the new one, seem doubtful indeed. This change in outlook is due to more than the election results. It is due in large part to the extremely effective criticism which has been advanced, not only by conservative businessmen, but also by business moderates like the Committee for Economic Development, and outstanding economists like Sumner Slichter and Arthur Davies. The caliber of this opposition and the apparent logic and cogency of their arguments certainly warrant a reconsideration of the entire question.

Let us start out by recognizing that most businessmen do not dispute the necessity for higher taxes on corporate profits. No responsible business spokesman has taken such an untenable position. There is general recognition that the Government's pospective deficit in fiscal 1952 (beginning July 1, 1951) will be in the range of \$10-15 billion, depending chiefly on the rate of acceleration of military expenditures. Further, there is general agreement that since we face continued high level military outlays for years ahead, we must come as close as we possibly can to paying for them out of taxes as we go, if inflation and an unmanageable public debt are to be avoided. Enlightened businessmen recognize that a large part of the added tax burden will have to be borne by corporate enterprise, by virtue both of equity and ability to pay.

The issue, therefore, is not one of choice between an excess profits tax on corporations on the one hand and higher taxes on other segments of the economy (higher individual income taxes, manufacturers' excise taxes, retail sales taxes) on the other. It is rather a question of how much more revenue should be raised by new taxes on corporate profits and what form these higher taxes on corporations should take. No matter what decision is made with respect to corporate profits, we shall have to impose new or larger taxes in other fields before very long.

How much more revenue should be derived from additional taxes on corporate profits? It would be tess difficult to answer this question if we knew more about the

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course of defense expenditures in the next 12 to 18 months.

One needs only to examine the figures (See Table on page 12.) to see that corporate enterprise is capable of contributing substantially to the rapidly mounting costs of defense without serious hardship. The postwar period has been one of unparalleled prosperity for America's corporations. By whatever criterion one chooses—profits before taxes, profits after taxes, dividends paid to stockholders, profits retained in the business or profits after taxes as a percentage of net worth—the figures are truly amazing. Profits at the present time fully justify the adjectives which have been used in recent weeks by business journals—"astronomical" and "out-of-thisworld."

One can best judge the overall effect which various proposals for increasing tax revenues from corporate profits would have by projecting the 1951 situation. It is estimated that in 1951 corporations will earn some \$45 billion before taxes—a new record. At present tax rates-45 percent-some \$20 billion would be taken in taxes, and profits after taxes would be approximately \$25 billion. The Committee for Economic Development's proposal to take an additional \$3 billion in taxes would leave corporations with some \$22 billion after taxes-about \$1 billion in excess of the previous historical high attained in 1948. The Administration's proposal to take an additional \$4 billion would leave them with some \$21 billion—just about equal to the previous historical high. The AFL's proposal to take some \$5 to \$6 billion would leave corporations with \$19 to \$20 billion, and the CIO's proposal to take some \$6 to \$7 billion would leave them with \$18 to \$19 billionlevels which may still be regarded as handsome in relation to previous experience and returns on investment.

In aggregate terms, American corporations could certainly pay an additional \$6 to \$7 billion without experiencing any real hardship. Within that aggregate, however, a great many corporations could suffer very real hardships indeed, depending on the kind and degree of the taxes imposed. It is precisely this question which is basically at issue in the current debate about the excess profits tax, as we see-if-we let the supporters and the opponents of the excess profits tax state the pros and cons in their own terms.

The Equity Argument

Pro: Under an excess profits tax, by far the largest share of additional taxes paid will come from the rela-

tively small number of corporations whose earnings have increased as a result of the defense effort. Most corporations will not be required to pay more taxes than they are paying now. By taxing away that part of corporate profits which is in excess of "normal," we shall be taxing in accordance with ability to pay, and we shall eliminate profiteering on the national emergency.

Corr: No formula or base period can be devised which will affect all corporations equitably. An excess profits tax will be particularly inequitable in its effect on new corporations which lack a base period of previous earnings; on companies which had depressed earnings during the assigned base period; on young and growing companies whose earnings were bound to expand in the absence of defense expenditures. Moreover, no one formula can apply equitably to corporations in different industries, different companies within the same industry, large and small companies. Finally, excess profits can best be recaptured by renegotiation of defense contracts, rather than by an excess profits tax.

Rebuttal: No tax can do more than rough justice. Most of the difficulties cited can be mitigated in whole or in large part by appropriate provisions in the law. So far as renegotiation is concerned, that process cannot recapture excess profits earned indirectly from the defense effort.

The Inflation Argument

Pro: An excess profits tax would be anti-inflationary, because when corporations know that they will be able to

retain only a small part of the additional profits they might get by raising prices, the incentive to raise prices is considerably dampened.

Con: An excess profits tax is inflationary, because when virtually confiscatory taxes are imposed on profits in excess of a given amount, corporations are encouraged to spend money wastefully and extravagently on such items as advertising, entertaining, travel, etc. They also lose interest in improving production techniques and reducing costs. Their resistance to higher wages is also weakened. All these effects are highly inflationary.

Rebuttal: The "confiscatory" nature of the excess profits tax is reduced by lowering the effective rate to a reasonable level like 75 percent. The extravagence argument has been considerably overdone. Corporations know they inevitably face the day when the emergency will be gone, and they will have to meet tough competition again. They simply cannot afford to fall into sloppy production techniques and permit costs to inflate. Corporations never raise wages unless they have to. Provision should be written into the law disallowing abnormally high outlays for certain categories of costs which lend themselves to such corporate abuse.

The Incestment Argument

Pro: Corporations will have less money and less incentive to invest in plant and equipment for the production of luxury and non-essential goods, thus conserving scarce materials, manpower and facilities for the defense effort.

SELECTED DATA ON CORPORATE PROFITS

	Profits Before Taxes	Taxes	Profits After Taxes	Dividends Paid	Undivided Profits	Profits After Tax as Perce of Net World	ent
		— — — billions	of dollars			%	
1939	6.5	1.5	5.0	3.8	1.2	6.8	
1941	17.2	7.8	9.4	4.5	4.9	8.4	
1943	25.0	14.4	10.6	4.5	6.1	9.1	
1944	24.3	13.5	10.8	4.7	6.1	8.4	•
1946	23.5	9.6	13.9	5.8	8.1	12.1	
1947	30.5	11.9	18.5	6.6	11.9	13.0	
1948	33.9	13.0	20.9	7.5	13.4	16.1	
1949	27.6	10.6	17.0	7.8	9.2	11.7	
19501	37.0	15.0	22.0	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	
1st Q=	29.2	12.0	17.2	8.1	9.1	12.0	
2nd Q* .	37.4	- 15.1	22.2	8.1	14.1	15.6	
3rd Q2	42.0	17.6	24.4	9.1	15.3	n.a.	•
19511	45.0	?	?		?	?	

²Estimated.

Annual Rate. Third Quarter Estimated.

^{*}For manufacturing corporations only. Figures through 1947 from "Statistics of Income," after 1947 from S.E.C.-F.T.C

Con: The tax would destroy the incentive and the ability of corporations to invest in plant and equipment for the expansion of production in precisely those industries where such incentive and ability are most needed. Profits tend to be highest where goods are in short supply, and prices rise in response to shortages. It is these very industries which would be hit hardest by an excess profits tax. While the profit motive cannot be permitted to guide expansion of industry in wartime, what we face is perhaps a very long period of partial mobilization, and normal economic incentives will work best in such a period.

Rebuttal: Adequate incentive to expand plant and equipment where necessary will be provided through accelerated amortization, as was done during the last war. Expansion loans can be extended by the Government, if necessary. The excess profits tax did not stifle the incentive or the ability of industry to expand during the last war and will not do so now.

The Administration Difficulty Argument

Pro: In order to raise large sums of money, you've got to go where the money is. The corporations, particularly those whose earnings have risen tremendously since Korea, have got it.

Con: An excess profits tax would be almost impossible to administer. Thousands of corporations will appeal for relief on the grounds of inequity or hardship. No administrative set-up can be devised that can settle these cases both equitably and promptly. Even today, five years after the termination of the last excess profits law, there are still 2,700 cases pending involving a far larger number of claims.

The Political Argument

Pro: Workers, consumers, "little" people generally, have identified the excess profits tax with the elimination of profiteering and a just sharing of the rearmament burden. Their morale will be adversely affected if such a tax is not enacted.

Con: The excess profits tax is just another "soak-therich" proposition which panders to popular ignorance and prejudice and is politically motivated.

The Alternative Tax Argument

Pro: In preference to an excess profits tax, we should impose a higher tax rate on all corporations. A defense supertax should be added to the current normal and surtax rate of 45 percent, bringing the total rate paid by all corporations to 50 or more percent. A rate of 57 percent, it is estimated, would raise an additional \$4 billion, which is the amount the Administration proposes to raise by an excess profits rate of 75 percent on earnings in excess of 75 percent of those averaged in any three years of the 1946-49 period.

Con: A higher flat rate on all corporations would be

decidedly unfair to the great majority of corporations which will not enjoy increased profits, or even as large profits during the defense period as theý did before the emergency. Whereas an excess profits tax might work an inequity on a relatively small number of corporations which could apply for and obtain relief, a higher flat rate would impose inequities on most corporations which could not be ameliorated.

How are these arguments to be evaluated? To what conclusions do they lead? Obviously, the case is not a clear-cut or one-sided one. It is an issue which must be decided on balance, on the side that has the most weight. On balance, the argument favors the excess profits tax. Much of the criticism advanced today is pertinent to the excess profits tax of World War II. We need not, however, think of the tax in those terms exclusively. The experience gained—indeed, the very criticisms which are now offered in opposition to an excess profits tax—make it possible to write a much better law than we wrote last time.

The recommendations submitted by the Treasury have already made considerable, were in this direction. The recent hearings before the House Ways and Means Committee should result in even more.

The Treasury recommendations for a base period of 75 percent of the average earnings of any three years during the 1946-49 period, with an alternative base of about 10, 8 and 6 percent on invested capital (depending on the size of the corporation), should make the tax tolerable for most corporations. Further, the Treasury's recommendations with respect to minimum credits and allowances for borrowed capital, new capital and "growth" corporations should go a long way toward minimizing or eliminating the inequities which might otherwise be involved for many corporations. We might go beyond the Treasury's recommendations and consider whether new corporations, or new enterprises of established corporations, should not be exempted from the excess profits rate on their earnings. We might consider, too, whether additional credits against the excess profits tax rate should not be granted in certain industries on behalf of profits reinvested in plant and equipment (in such an event, of course, presently-planned accelerated amortization would have to be reconsidered too).

The current debate should be evaluated, not in terms of the excess profits tax we had during the last war, but in terms rather of an *improved* excess profits tax we are undoubtedly able to formulate now. Considered in these terms, a good deal of the cogency of the opposition's argument vanishes, and the case for an excess profits tax becomes relatively clear.

WHY ASIA FEARS THE WEST

THE REVOLUTION that is tormenting Asia was aimed at economic misery and foreign rule. Today these two aspects of the revolution are in conflict with each other. Formerly, economic misery was blamed on the imperialist power; national independence would end it once and for all. Now, increasing misery is the responsibility of the new governments of Asia. They must turn to the imperialists for aid.

The need for aid starts with technical assistance to maintain the services established in colonial days, and to do all that the colonial powers failed to do. Health is only one problem. The health needs of the Asian village are analyzed in a recent survey by a private agency, the ennsalt Health and Agriculture Service.

"Various doctors advised that the death rate for children was very high due in large part to malaria, infant diarrhea, typhoid and many other infections. Some of these infections are spread by the common housefly. In many villages visited it was noted that most of the children who were too small to fan off the flies had flies gathered on their faces and bodies, especially on areas where open sores appeared. One particularly significant aspect was the presence of flies crawling on nursing mothers and their infants during feeding.

"Flies were found to breed in the manure piles in the stables, in the human feces scattered throughout the villages and in the pads of manure which were being dried to be used as fuel."

This survey happens to describe conditions in Iran. But the same words would describe any one of four million villages throughout Asia and in all the under-developed areas where technical assistance is urgently needed today.

Asia's second need is for short-range economic aid, to start rehabilitation in war-torn areas, and to combat inflation. The most dangerous aspect of inflation is rising food prices. The immediate cause of rising food prices is speculation and hoarding. A million tons of rice and grain, held in warehouses throughout the region, and released by governments whenever speculation develops, would lower food prices and help to bring inflation under control.

Asia's third need is for capital. She needs equipment to raise industrial production. She needs raw materials for use in plants now idle, or restricted to one shift, because of shortages caused by lack of foreign ex-

This is the fourth in a series. The final article will be published next week.

change. She needs consumers' goods to permit a diversion of domestic manof the revmerly, ecopower; na"The economic situation in Southeast Asia," according
to an Indian economist, N. V. Sovani, "has become so
acute that without a bold and drastic attack on the situation there is almost a certainty that the whole area will
go the way of China."

This bold attack must be led by the peoples of Asia. But it may never develop without the stimulus of foreign aid. Diplomats, civil servants, industrialists and labor leaders in Asia all insist, in public or in private, that foreign aid is necessary. Our Government agrees. The Gray Report estimates that Western rearmament will substantially aid the economies of Indonesia, Malaya, Thailand and Ceylon. But it adds that India cannot survive without aid. Gray concludes that about \$1.3 billion in loans and grants is needed each year for the underdeveloped areas. India alone needs \$200 million a year for five years to maintain minimum safe standards of living.

Private enterprise is not going to invest one-tenth of these sums overseas when the average rate of profit is 15 percent at home. And it is not welcome. Asians are suspicious of private investment, fearing that it will strengthen the political power of their own irresponsible capitalists, and wanting to strengthen their own struggling governments instead. The solution they seek, as Sovani states, is "the reorientation of the Point Four program along the lines of the Marshall Plan."

assistance at once raises explosive religious, social and political issues. Short-range aid involves the West in domestic programs to combat inflation. Above all a Marshall Plan means a clear diminution of sovereignty. Courageous men in Asia understand this. Sovani adds, "In some respects the Plan will have to go much further than the Marshall Plan. . . . It will be imperative for the US to give the capital equipment and the technical personnel, to provide the consumers' goods to ease the strain of absorption, to plan the program more directly than in Europe and to take a more active part in the actual execution of plans. . . . "

In addition economic aid can succeed only if it is preceded by political and military settlements and by social reforms. The US, for example, is certainly not going to give up needed supplies to finance either a trade war or a military conflict between India and Pakistan.
Sovani concedes that in South Asia a wild armaments
race, and a drive to develop competitive light industries
is forcing economic nationalism and a diversion of
needed resources. He concludes that: "The US will
have to combat these tendencies by a guarantee against
mutual and outside aggression. . . A regional pact regarding the treatment of minorities will also help to
ease growing tensions in these plural societies."

For these reasons, revolt against misery in Asia ends in reliance on foreign governments for aid. There it clashes with the revolt against foreign rule. For this revolt is still boiling in Asia.

It may not express itself in open resentment of the former colonial powers. In fact in India, Pakistan and Ceylon there is a kind of patronizing sympathy for Great Britain as America's newest colonial possession. There is no widespread hatred of Americans comparable to the feelings stirred up by Communists in industrial France and Northern Italy. But there are tensions that place limits on the help that Asians are willing to accept, even if aid is available.

These tensions cannot be overcome until they are understood. And mutual understanding, is hard to achieve. Subject peoples are trained to conceal their true feelings. And we are not famous for patience and discernment. An American accused of every crass and wicked motive tends to be so hurt and outraged by these charges that he fails to search for the true feelings that they serve to conceal.

I was helped, in Delhi, when after weeks spent with high-minded intellectuals I was visited by two reporters from a small Hindustani paper. I complained to them about Nehru's sanctimonious attitude on Korea. They quickly interrupted me.

"You must never pay too much attention to what our leaders say," they insisted. "You must ask why they say it."

"Our leaders may express their own convictions," they added. "But their words are significant only because they correspond to our unspoken desires. On Korea our leaders elevate to terms of morality and principle our sympathy for the North Koreans, our fear of becoming involved on your side, our belief that if Indian soldiers are to fight they should fight Pakistan." They asked: "Is not your country the same at heart?"

For these reasons, an attempt to catalogue the underlying tensions between Asia and the West is a dangerous but worthwhile task. They seem to derive in part from the following fears, antipathies, misunderstandings and conflicts of interest.

The fear of loss of prestige. British Socialists after

lifetimes spent in damning capitalism choke in defending capitalist America. Liberals in the US hate to admit that they flirted with Communism too long. In the same way the inertia of the national revolution in Asia is still strong. Men who rose to power by arousing ardent nationalism find it humiliating to admit that independence solves few problems, and to plead for aid from nations they thrust aside.

The fear of loss of sovereignty. National sovereignty, for most of Asia, is five years old or less. Naturally it is guarded with passion against all encroachments. No colonial power can regain politically the power that Asia has won by political action. But Asians fear that economic control may transfer to America the dominating role that the colonial powers lost.

Political leaders, in search of issues, work naturally on these fears, although at the same time they welcome pressures if they are applied on the right side. An example at Lucknow was the outspoken and engaging secretary of the Indian Socialist Party. By night he warned mass meetings to guard against the twin evils of Soviet and US imperialism. By day he insisted that US aid should be given to India, Pakistyn, Burma and Ceylon but only on condition that they form a South Asian federation with free trade and a single armed force.

The fear of foreign involvement. The conflicts within Asia are more bitter than those between Asia and the USSR. The domestic problems of Asian governments are overwhelming. They are hard pressed in peace time. They know that like Nationalist China they will be destroyed by involvement in a Third World War. They can contribute little in wartime. They intend to keep out of the world war they see approaching. They believe, with good reason, that the West sees them as pawns rather than peoples, and is concerned not with their welfare but with their contribution to the welfare of the West. The Western nations may protest that the struggle against Communism is world-wide. The nations of Asia are unmoved. They are not anti-Communist. They are not finally committed, for democracy or against the police state. 'And lacking modern armies and stable economies they are certainly not going to provoke the USSR. They have not experienced direct pressures from the USSR. They have been subjected to direct pressures from the West. Those are the pressures they recognize and resist. Beyond these fears there are several sources of antipathy.

Psychological antipathy. The basis of nationalism is pride. In newly-formed nations pride is inflamed. Nothing wounds national pride more than to depend on the charity of another nation. For that reason anti-American feeling was strong in Britain in 1946. For

the same reason Asians resent having to lean on the US today. They prefer to believe that we are selfish and ruthless rather than to admit that they depend on our generosity and goodwill.

Economic antipathy. All those who thrive on superstition and misery in Asia fear the intrusion of a nation committed to science and modern technology. And with some reason. When the gears of a high speed industrial machine are meshed with those of a slowly turning economy the results are bound to be painful. For example, we assume that technical assistance is welcomed in Asia. On the contrary the Indonesians do not want it on the terms that it is offered. A press made for Detroit is useless in Malaya. In Pakistan and India wells are infested and roads are worn down, yet there is a high unemployment rate among graduates of MIT.

In addition, the tensions between haves and have-nots are bitter and cause resentment of the US. In contrast Asians sympathize with Russia as a have-not nation.

Racial antipathy. Resentment against attitudes of white superiority is a natural and bitter feeling in Asia, perpetuated by the treatment of Indians and Moslems in Africa, and by continued prejudices of Westerners in Asia. It is not openly discussed. But every attack on the status of the Negro in America is fully reported throughout the press of Asia. Partly the emphasis on discrimination overseas represents a transfer of guilt. "Indignation at South Africa's policy of apartheid," as an article in the Indian magazine Thought declared, "has always been keener with us than any concern at the ageold and continuing practice of untouchability in our own midst."

Cultural antipathy. The traditional line drawn beween the mysticism of Asia and the materialism of the West is misleading. "The East in its great beginnings in India and China," as the Eastern Economist argues, "was scientific and rational; the West taking its religions from the East, was mystical and religious even in the throes of the Renaissance." The US is an individualist rather than a materialist nation today, and the crying need of Asia is for a rise in material standards,

At the same time there are deepseated sources of cultural antipathy between Asia and the US. Nehru certainly feels that American culture is shallow, mechanistic and mass-produced. He distrusts a society in which the man of learning is held in such contempt, and the man of wealth can purchase political power with so much ease. He senses that Americans lack subtlety and the wisdom to handle the immense power thrust upon them.

The man of peace is still the great man of Asia. The way to peace is conciliation and deals made behind the scenes. Asians fear our apparent willingness to accept a Third World War. Above all they fear our methods

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of waging war. Survival has been the first objective of the individual in Asia. As long as the common man could shut himself in his house through wars and revolutions, it did not greatly matter which side in a succession of foreign and domestic tyrants oppressed him. The B29, blasting away the house itself, has given him a new sense of insecurity. The Communists, of course, have squeezed the last drop of political benefit from their mechanical inability to match the strategic air power of the West, and its atom bomb.

Beyond these antipathies are the misunderstandings concerning the West, and above all, the US. There is the quaint notion of the US hanging suspended in the 19th century, with Adam Smith in one hand and Herbert Spencer in the other, seeking to convert the world to laissez-faire capitalism. There is the ugly notion of the US as a country thirsting for war. There are three persistent illusions that lead Asians to believe that US aid can be taken for granted and public opinion in the West safely ignored.

The first illusion is sired by Marxism and teaches that since capitalist nations are bedevilled by falling profits, idle capacity and mass unemployment, they must export their capital to foreign nations gracious enough, or foolhardy enough, to accept it.

The second illusion is sired by Hollywood, and teaches that the US is a huge storehouse of unlimited wealth where at the twist of a spigot goods pour out in such profusion that the most miserly nation would not begrudge giving peoples overseas all that they need.

The third illusion is sired by our Government and our press. It teaches Asia that the US is gripped by such an unreasoning hysteria that if any nation conjures up an apparition of Communism we shall insist that it accept a blank check on our limitless account.

There are other illusions in Asia that create dangerous optimism and destructive fear, just as false complacency is created in America by Asian diplomats who draw a Fenares veil across the crying needs of their peoples.

Beyond these misunderstandings are genuine conflicts of interest between Asia and the West. They have been significant. Efforts to organize Asian neutrality, to keep the UN as an organization to which neutrals can safely belong by restricting its anti-aggression role, and to play balance-of-power politics by backing Communism as the weaker side in the world struggle, have run counter to legitimate Western aims. Now as Soviet pressures bear down on Asia the values that we share become far more important than the conflicts and fears that divide us. Our deepest antagonisms must become superficial in comparison to the overriding determination of all independent peoples not to be crushed in the Soviet milt.

7.

HAROLD L. ICKES: A Pardon for Dewey

York official will remember his oath of office and proceed against Candidate Dewey for his promise of a state job during the recent campaign to Lieutenant Governor Hanley, it is suggested that Governor Dewey grant an anticipatory pardon to Candidate Dewey. It might make it possible for Governor Dewey to take the oath to enforce the laws again with a clearer conscience. It will be remembered that Dewey sought to persuade the voters of New York that Hanley voluntarily led the drive organized by certain financial interests of Wall Street to "draft" Dewey to run again for Governor, while he took the chance of running for Senator against Herbert Lehman.

I wonder whether Governor Dewey thinks that a man who has committed a crime against the public interest should be prosecuted regardless of his rank? Or is it his view that, while lesser personages should be rigorously prosecuted for violating a law, the Governor of New York is immune? If a man can violate the law with impunity, then it would seem that we are not a Government of laws but one of men. The immunity thus far enjoyed by Candidate Dewey from Governor Dewey so far as the Hanley letter is concerned would seem to indicate that the Government of New York State is a one-man Government.

When confronted during the campaign with his moral lapse, this man, who apparently thinks that laws are made for others but not for himself, was clearly caught off guard. His stammering and evasive "explanation" explained nothing, except that even the self-confident Governor of New York, on occasion, can stammer and be evasive.

I carefully read the New York papers at the time of this episode and on through election day. I have yet to see any, even a weak, denial on the part of any of Dewey's supporters that the Hanley letter exposing the Dewey bribe was not true. Even the great and undeserved victory won by Dewey did not serve to cover this stain upon the escutcheon of the titular national leader of his party.

But indefensible as was this offer of a price to Hanley to withdraw as a candidate for the Republican nomination for Governor, it was an act of civic virtue as compared with the behavior of certain newspapers in New York City that in times past have fought for political decency.

Excepting only the New York Post and Compass, every newspaper published in greater New York at-

tempted to gloss over what they would have stridently denounced as an offensive crime if committed by Dewey's opponent. They not only pooh-poohed this affront to public morality; by suggestion at least, they attempted to give it the appearance of a rare chastity. It was just "Great-Hearted Tom," the Eagle Scout, trying to allay the anxiety of "Poor Old Joe" as to his future security.

To be sure, "Great-Hearted Tom" was violating the law, although this was never admitted in so many words. He was improperly promising an appointment to a lucrative public office, but one cannot be too strict when warm-hearted generosities are displayed, even if momentarily, by a heart that can be cold and exacting when an errant straying of another is involved. Who would be so uncharitable as to begrudge "Poor Old Joe" the wellpaid job that he has every right to expect after the induction of Governor Dewey for his next term? After all, the prospect of a well-padded state job was the consideration that made it possible for Governor Dewey conveniently to forget an earlier promit that he had given-this time to the people of his state-that, "for reasons of health," he would not be a candidate again for Governor.

But, according to Hanley's letter, every word of which rang true, other promises were made as an inducement to Hanley to play a touching, if somewhat dissembling, role in the make-believe "Draft of Dewey." According to his letter, Hanley was promised cash to pay his debts. This promise was to be carried out so that Hanley might reimburse his creditors "within 90 days." Surely the generous friends of Mr. Dewey who tossed this promise into the pot as a further inducement to Hanley to forget the ambition of a lifetime do not intend to keep "Poor Old Joe" on the anxious seat until the expiration of 90 days from the time that the promise was made. The debts, or at least some of them, have been publicly identified. They are past due. Undoubtedly the cash to pay them can be made available forthwith, thus resolving any worries that Hanley may still have as to his ability to pay his debts. Every one, including Governor Dewey, wants to be nice to "Poor Old Joe."

It is not-impossible that Hanley may be uneasy about the state job that has been promised by the New York Governor. And well he may be, since Dewey's previous promise to support him for Governor to succeed himself turned out to be a broken reed upon which it was not possible to lean.

HAROLD L. ICKES

BOOKS IN REVIEW

A DOSSIER ON THE FBI: 1908 - 1950

Tr says a good deal about the current climate of opinion that one is tempted to praise Max Lowenthal's courage in writing a sober indictment of the FBI and to wonder at the hardihood of William Sloane Associates in publishing it. Anyone may disparage other agencies of the Government, the Department of State for example, and be hailed as a

THE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTI-GATION, by Max Lowenthal (William Sloane Associates; \$4.50).

anificant fact about the FBI today is that disparagement of it is likely to be equated with disloyalty.

J. Edgar Hoover has long had the habit, as Mr. Lowenthal demonstrates, of answering criticism by impugning the character or motives of his critics. Thus, when a Detroit lawyer complained to the Senate Judiciary Committee about the treatment of his clients in the aliendeportation raids of 1920, Hoover promptly replied: "He is regarded as a Bolshevist leader. . . . His associates are persons who are active in radical circles." When the Bureau came under fire in 1940, its director told a radio dience that "Your FBI is respected by the good citizens of America as much as it is feared, hated and vilified by the scum of the underworld, conspiring, Communists and goose-stepping bundsmen, their fellow travelers, mouthpieces and stooges. . . ." His rejoinder to recent complaints that the FBI had tapped telephone wires illegally in the Coplon case was: "Statements have been made which are so untrue and legally unsound that I am forced to conclude that they were motivated for the purpose of confusing the public. . . ." Shortly after his book was announced, Mr. Lowenthal himself had the honor of a subpoena from the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

The publishers call this book "an objective picture." It can be consid-

by Alan Barth

ered so only in the sense that the author refrains, until the final paragraph, from any editorial comment. It might more accurately be called a dossier. Mr. Lowenthal's method, like the method of the FBI itself, has been to assemble "unevaluated facts"-which is to say a great variety of data and opinions expressed by others-and to let them speak for themselves. They serve his purpose devastatingly. By selective reference to debates in Congress, Congressional hearings, official reports and contemporary newspapers, he has compiled a history of the Bureau from its illegitimate birth—it was created in 1908 by Attorney General Charles J. Bonaparte after a requested authorization had been expressly rejected by the 60th Congress-down through the espionage and sedition trials of 1949-50. He quotes alternately the FBI's critics and its defenders, but this even-handedness is deceptive. Often the defense is more damning than the

For all its effectiveness, Mr. Lowenthal's method has limitations. It hampers him in developing and clarifying some of the salient points in his indictment, The impact of his book may be somewhat diminished also because of its unrelieved condemnation of the Bureau. Credit to Hoover when credit is due might have given it a better balance. The director of the FBI has instilled a fine esprit de corps in his organization; he has kept it, apparently, free from venality—although some of his former agents have not been above profiting from their employment under him; he had the good sense to resist Congres--sional efforts to saddle him with the responsibility of passing on the loyalty of Government employees; his treatment of enemy aliens in World War II was discriminating and just; he had no part in,

and indeed opposed, the Army's mass evacuation of Japanese Americans from the West Coast in 1942.

The most extensive and perhaps the most valuable portion of Mr. Lowenthal's book is its account of the aliendeportation raids of 1920. Aliens of all shades of opinion-and a number of citizens as well-were rounded up indiscriminately and treated with an extraordinary combination of stupidity and sadism. They were arrested in meeting halls-to which some of them had been led by undercover agents acting as 'agents provocateurs; they were routed out of bed in the early hours of the morning by officers who had no warrants to enter; they were held incommunicado; they were terrorized in many instances into signing confessions the meaning of which they did not understand. The evil genius behind this ugly episode in American history was Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer, But Mr. Lowenthal makes it plain that J. Edgar Hoover, then chief of the General Intelligence Division of the Bureau of Investigation, bore a heavy responsibility for the actual conduct of the raids—a responsibility he has repeatedly disclaimed in recent years.

The story of the 1920 hysteria is illuminating because it shows how readily overzealous officials can be led to ignore the laws, the procedures and the civil liberties they are entrusted to uphold. It is a disappointment that Mr. Lowenthal did not analyze current FBI activities with anything like the same thoroughness. The Bureau is different today, and so is the situation in which it operates

The United States recovered its sanity and repented in the early 1920s—in large measure because members of the bar, many of them pillars of conservatism, spoke out in protest and acted to defend the traditions of their calling. The contemporary threats to freedom have evoked no comparable response.

datory loyalty oaths for all lawyers. Mr. ten a book which, as a challenge to authority, does honor to his profession.

The problem presented by the FBI stems not from the character or intentions of the agency and its director but from the activities it has been authorized to undertake by Congress and the President. When Harlan Stone became Attorney General in 1924, he reorganized the Bureau of Investigation, named Hoover its director and laid down this rule about its functions:

The Bureau of Investigation is not concerned with political or other opinions of individuals. It is concerned only with their conduct, and then only with such conduct as is forbidden by the laws of the United States. When a police system passes beyond these limits, it is dangerous to the proper administration of justice and to human liberty, which it should be our first concern to cherish.

The Bureau had passed beyond these limits under Attorney General Palmer. It passed beyond them again in 1939 when President Roosevelt authorized it to investigate espionage, sabotage and subversive activities. It passed still farther beyond when it was instructed to investigate the loyalty of federal employees.

In the course of these activities, it compiled great numbers of secret dossiers on American citizens who were guilty of no criminal conduct. It resorted to methods such as wiretapping and the use of anonymous informers which did violence to settled American traditions and which had a profoundly inhibiting effect on many law-abiding persons. The anxiety now experienced by great numbers of loyal Americansthe fear that they are being spied upon or that their telephones are tapped or that the voluntary associations they join may be called subversive—has a stultifying effect, whether or not the anxiety is justified, on the operation of the democratic process. When men fear that they opinions or associations which a police with the answers.

freedom arises from the power given to on his part. He is a man of unquestionable patriotic zeal. But in no area is the influence of power so corrupting as in the work of the police. Policemen can be kept useful to society only as they are kept rigorously under control. It is beside the point that Hoover has good intentions, that he does not mean to direct a secret police. A secret police is a police that operates in secret, that maintains secret dossiers, that uses secret agents. The FBI, at least in part, now answers this description.

Mr. Lowenthal's indictment is much too impressive to be dismissed. It ought to be brought to trial. Congress is now too torn politically to hear it in an atmosphere of reason. The appropriate tribunal would be an independent commission of universally respected private citizens. There is urgent need for such a commission to make an impartial study of internal security needs and of the relationship between national security and individual freedom.

Alan Barth, a member of the editorial staff of the Washington "Past," is the author of "The Loyalty of Free Men," to be published by Viking in January.

THE PROBLEM OF OUR TIMES

THE PROSPECT BEFORE US, by John Dos Passos (Houghton Mifflin; \$3.75).

AN ACADEMIC REVIEWER approaches with some trepidation the work of a literary fellow. Mr. Dos Passos' publishers describe him as a "recorder of contemporary society without peer in all literary history." Without question, the "recorder" himself would regard such characterization as nothing more than a ritualistic observance of the conventions of the book trade. Yet such assertions arouse hopeful expectations in the mind of an academic fellow who is troubled by the same sort of questions that worry

.... de corporacions of bureaucracies that boss us. Whether the Lowenthal, himself a lawyer, has writ- Mr. Hoover-not from any malevolence top management calls itself Capitalist or Socialist, the man who works at a bench or at a desk occupies about the same position in the hierarchy of administration. And even the Dictatorship of the Proletariat has its resemblances to the hierarchies of Capitalism. Whatever the political label, industrial society erects corporation, trade-union or governmental bureaucracies with enormous power over the individual.

> In essence the book consists of a series of brief sketches of personalities, situations, events chosen to suggest the nature of the hierarchical world in which we live. The author casts himself in the role of a "lecturer" and equips himself with an audience, including a farmer, a manufacturer, a "labor skate," whose neckfing compels a sharpening and elaboration of the "lectures." Part I, "The Preparation of a New Society," discusses Great Britain of the blitz and of the Labour Government: "Ordeal by Fire" and "Ordeal by Government." The upshot seems to be that one set of bosses has been substituted for another. Part II, "Principles of Power," contains glimpses of South America, an area teetering between dictatorship and government by consent. In Part III, "Dedicated to a Proposition," the "lecturer" returns home and reports on farms in Iowa and two corporate organizations: a milling company and the Rubber Workers International. And here he argues the proposition that increased participation is the solution.

The grand architecture of social systems is kept in the background; the focus is individual, episodic, personal. Barrow boys in Golden Square sell peaches on the move. Stopping, they would require a license to set up a stall: "It's a cyse of regulytions." The cooperative manager at Evesham is plagued by surpluses: "In London cauliflowers Mr. Dos Passos and who has a curiosity are a shilling and here we give them about how to get the answers. Perhaps, away." Dr. Penido is a Brazilian health may be under surveillance because of one is led to believe, here is a book officer in the Vale do Rio Noce, where "a privy was a monstrous novelty five

of the police." The Ohio labor spokesman on the grievance committee: "They've got all the money and brains on their side and all we've got is the union." The Rubber Workers' official on time study: "We'd rather have men out of the shop than hired experts, they have the thinking of the working people." The Buffalo grain-elevator superintendent with twenty-three years' service: "If you get into it when you're young you stick to it . . . it becomes part of your life."

It is doubtful that the sketches add up to much that we did not know before. Yet the book has great merit and interest as a piece of perceptive reporting-a sort of a sociological travelogue in first-rate English—on the anxieties, beliefs and hopes of real people scattered over the Western world. We have no means of knowing whether Dos Passos' random test borings give a valid general picture of the societies he inspects. His vague prescriptions are based on faith, a faith which this reviewer shares, yet nevertheless a faith: "We've got to invent new methods for the participation of more people in the apparatus of industrial society."

Dos Passos' uncertainties are his strength. Unhampered by ideological blinders or by dogma, he gropes to understand, and he believes a solution can be found, although its precise form cannot be discerned. "An entire science [of human behavior] lies ahead. In that science we may find the tools with which to build out of our runaway institutions a society which will be tolerably stable because it will offer participation to each individual man." And Dos Passos writes his own review: "About all a moderately observant man of letters with a certain amount of experience in a somewhat special sort of journalism can do to add his nickel's worth to these solutions is to set forth what he has seen and what in his opinion it means." V. O. KEY JR.

V. O. Key Jr., author of "Southern Politics," Is a professor of Government at Yale University. Brace; \$2.75).

GEORGE ORWELL's writing and character can be described by a somewhat overworked idea: he was extremely "Hamletish," not in the sense that he was a morbid brooder-he was never that-but in the deeper sense of being able to see both sides of many questions with equal and therefore puzzling sympathy. He was an essentially paradoxical man. He was a person who saw through prejudice, but was never rid of his own. He hated the use of un-thought-out political catch-phrases, and yet he could use words such as "Left" and "reactionary" as though they contained precise meaning. He ridiculed the pretensions and affectations of people who regarded themselves as advanced thinkers, "the Pansy-Left" as he sometimes called them, but he never lost an absurd conviction that everyone on the opposite political side was basically mad or wicked. I believe he would rather have been killed than have committed any action in the least treacherous to the rights and liberties of artists, but his understanding of pictures and poetry was negligible. This saintly man regarded sanctity as rubbish.

The present book has nine of his longer essays (not hitherto published in book form) and nine lighter pieces from his contributions to the English Labour weekly, Tribune. He was a philosophical writer whose descriptive essays contained almost as much of his thought as did his political work. The first two of these pieces-"Shooting an Elephant" and "A Hanging"-are examples of his formidable evocative power and also acute studies of the experience of guilt combined with authority. An essay on Tolstoy's hatred of Shakespeare, and another on Gulliver's Travels, are as good literary criticism as his great essays on Kipling and Dickens, essays which have had a deci-"Pansy-Left" narrowness; but I think it is a pity that the two essays, "Politics and the English Language" and "The Prevention of Literature," have been included. They contain much admirable

of the longer pieces.

All the same, I will make one prophecy myself. George Orwell will be read for a long time to come, but for a reason which might not have much pleased him—namely, that he is such splendid entertainment. His themes are usually distressing, but somehow his valiant treatment of them sends our spirits up. On the few occasions when I met him we talked of melancholy subjects—and he made my day. CHRISTOPHER SYKES

Christopher Sykes, the British novelist and critic, is the author of "Four Studies in Loyalty," "Answer to Question 33" and the recently published "Character and Situation."

DEATH IN THE FAMILY

THE TROUBLE OF ONE HOUSE, by Brendan Gill (Doubleday; \$3).

In The Trouble of One House, Mr. Gill has cast a clear and wise eye on the interplay of emotions, the sudden twists and wild proliferations of cause and effect in family relationships. The central force in this group is Elizabeth Rowan, a young mother of three children who is dying of cancer. She is a woman with a boundless capacity for loving, an effulgence of generosity and happiness which casts its glow on everyone around her.

A lesser writer would make of such love a balm for all wounds; Mr. Gill is too knowing to take a view so simple and false. Instead, we see Elizabeth's husband shrinking from its smothering warmth; her barren sister is driven by envy of it into a frenzy of nasty little plots to gain an ultimate triumph over Elizabeth, the control of her house and children. On the other hand, Miss Gately, the nurse attending the dying woman, is enough moved by Elizabeth's quality to start divesting herself of her own icy armor.

Dickens, essays which have had a decisive influence and rescued many from children, the doctor in attendance, the "Pansy-Left" narrowness; but I think it is a pity that the two essays, "Politics and the English Language" and "The Prevention of Literature," have been included. They contain much admirable the links are a series of brilliant scenes,

of his children giggling uncontrollably as they view their dead mother, vents his misery and bewilderment on his little son.

Not a false note is struck in this mature and honest novel. Although the book is beautifully contrived, there is no creak of machinery. Each person, down to the wry, engaging little son, is vivid, complex and always understandably motivated, and the style is consistently quiet and subtle. KATE SIMON

Kate Simon has worked for the Book-of-the-Month Club and the Limited Editions Club. She is now a free-lance reviewer.

For want of space . . .

The editors offer these notes to describe briefly current books that may be of interest to their readers.

Challenge and Decision, by Edgar Ansel Mowrer. McGraw-Hill; \$3.75.

The Pulitzer Prize foreign correspondent, political commentator and critic of recent American foreign policy offers his program for world peace under American leadership. A world federation, including the Russians or "containing" the Russians, is his proposal.

The Wrath of Achilles, by I. A. Richards. Norton; \$2.50.

A "reader's" text of The Iliad, re-translated into colloquial English and cut "in the interest of action."

H. G. Wells, by Antonino Vallentin. John Day; \$4.

The "Prophet of Our Day" in a popular biography that stresses Wells's gifts of foresight and the "lesson" he offers for the future.

The Idea and Practice of General Education. University of Chicago Press; \$3.50.

An exhaustive description of the theory, curriculum and teaching methods that comprise the "Chicago idea." By past and present faculty members of the College of the University of Chicago.

The Purse and the Sword, by Elias Huzar. Cornell; \$4.50.

A specialized history of the past 17 years in US Government affairs. By showing how Congress appropriates funds for the Military Establishment the author illuminates two touchy subjects: the relation between legislative bodies and administrative agencies and the relation between civil authority and military power.

editors of Life is for anyone who wants, and can afford, the most comprehensive picture

ductions to the several theatres and phases of the war. It is vivid, if surface, history.

MUSIC: Bing Comes to Town

HE OPENING-NIGHT performance of the Metropolitan Opera's sixty-sixth season on November 6 aroused a public, interest such as the old yellow-brick building at Broadway and Thirty-ninth Street had not witnessed in many years. No single seats were sold for the opening, but nearly 3,500 patrons bought tickets in a compulsory package deal that also included, at a \$60 top, the subsequent first nights of "Die Fledermaus" and "Fidelio." It was not the opera-Verdi's stirring but relatively littleknown "Don Carlo," revived after 28 years—that attracted so extensive a public. This was the first performance presented by Rudolf Bing, who took over as general manager when Edward Johnson retired last spring after 15 years of steadily diminishing artistic returns.

Bing had kept his promise to renovate the staging at the Metropolitan. When the curtain rose on the first scene, in the cloister of the Spanish monastery of St. Just, it was instantly apparent that a new era had begun. Soaring Gothic arches, planned to make use of the full dimensions of the stage rather than to fit in a baggage car on tour, dwarfed the human figures on the stage and symbolized the vast power of the Catholic Church and the Inquisition, with which the opera deals. The lighting, instead of pouring a fixed glare upon the upper reaches of the setting at the expense of the people on stage level, was expressively focused on the monk whose solo begins the piece. Most remarkable of all, the Metropolitan now has a spotlight capable of following key figures around the stage. With this production, it sloughed off 25 years of sterile tradition and proclaimed itself a modern theatre.

The felicitous settings for "Don Carlo" were designed by Rolf Gerard, a craftsman from the legitimate theatre whom Bing engaged because he admired his work for Katherine Cornell's production of "That Lady," a piece concerned, like "Don Carlo," with the triangular intrigue of Philip II, his son Don Carlos, and Elizabeth of Valois. Gerard also designed the rich costumes, deriving his values and color harmonies from El Greco. The visual ensemble was as tasteful and imaginative as the best to be seen on Broadway, but on a scale few Broadway productions have achieved since the demolition of the Hippodrome.

Bing had also persuaded Margaret Webster to stage and direct "Don Carlo." This was her first operatic direction, and she is said to have felt some uncertainty about her ability to live up to what was expected of her. Paradoxically, a kind of staging she has never undertaken before turns out to be the kind she can do best. In her Shakespeare productions she has often failed to get to the bottom of the motivation and relationships of the characters, and has tended to rest a large part of her case on her skill with pageantry. In an opera performance, the stage director's task consists precisely in making the pageant look as handsome and as reasonable as possible. Fine details of characterization-except in the case of a few extraordinary operatic actors-are more to be found in the nuances of the performers' singing than in their bodily movement. The operatic stage director has no control whatever over the way lines are delivered; this falls to the conductor and the composer. Consequently Miss Webster's defect as a Shakespeare director-becomes her virtue as an operatic director, and I do not think any regisseur in the world could improve materially upon her clean, spacious, natural deployment of the people on the stage.

score with the sort of teamwork only extensive and careful rehearsal can bring about; the chorus, superbly trained by Kurt Adler, sang magnificently without engaging in its habitual gesticulations. Three foreign stars, having successfully cleared Ellis Island, made their debuts. Cesare Siepi, a 27-year-old Italian bass engaged for the role of Philip when the State Department refused a visa to Boris Christoff, proved to be an excellently disciplined artist whose best days lie ahead (he is already an admirable actor), when age has given him stronger authority and a darker, heavier vocal timbre. Fedora Barbieri, an Italian mezzo-soprano of similar age but considerably greater weight, impersonated the scheming Countess of Eboli in volatile fashion and sang effectively in a rough, provincial way. As Elizabeth, the Argentine soprano, Delia Rigal, maintained a queenly presence and sang with deeply affecting tragic inflection. Her voice was recalcitrant until the last act, but then it poured forth with a splendor that is rare today in the operatic world.

The incoming foreigners were joined in the cast by the first-line regulars, Jussi Bjoerling, Robert Merrill and Jerome Hines. If there were weaknesses here and there, notably in young Hines's inadequate realization of the blind, 90-year-old Grand Inquisitor, the performance was nevertheless one of quality, and certainly by far the best the Metropolitan has given in many seasons.

Bing followed "Don Carlo" immediately with a second new production, Wagner's "The Flying Dutchman," provided with settings executed by Charles Elson from sketches by Robert Edmond Jones. This production, while creditable, did not match "Don Carlo." Both Jones's imagination and Herbert Graf's ideas about stage direction petered out, and the last act bore an uncomfortable resemblance to what the Metropolitan has been doing all along. But the opening scene, with the misty seacoast and the eerie arrival of the Dutchman's phantom vessel, was a masterpiece of illusion. And in the title role the Austrian bari-

ner, in both song and action, the Metropolitan has known since the retirement of Friedrich Schorr.

And so, in his first two productions, Bing has in large measure fulfilled his ne be able to revivity the routine repertory — "La Traviata," "Faust," "La Bohème" and the like—for which, the budget being what it is, neither new productions nor extensive rehearsals are possible? CECIL SMITH

MOVIES: Holiday Build-up

ALMOST NO CRITIC, when speaking officially, has a good word to say of Edmond Rostand's "Cyrano de Bergerac." It is grossly improbable and emotionally absurd, a play for the groundlings that reeks of grease paint, stale dust and mice in the upholstery. But just because of that sharp, exciting aroma, no one with a love for the theatre can resist a capable performance of "Cyrano"; it is the most completely theatrical play in the standard repertory, and addicts return year after year to gorge themselves on its staginess.

You would expect, then, that a screen version of this gasconade would suffer in the translation to another medium, and the current Stanley Kramer production, dragged from its native element, gasps a bit for life. Nevertheless, José Ferrer, this generation's Cyrano, turns in a bravura, gas-lit performance, and it is just possible to imagine yourself into the right environment. How this "faithful" picture will appeal to an audience raised on movies and with no theatre memories to fall back on, I cannot say; such observers may find it tame and miss the excitements of Tyrone Power and Orson Welles.

As inevitably happens in a production of Rostand's drama, Ferrer is a one-man show. But even so, he could have been given more able support, particularly by Mala Powers, the Roxane of this revival. No one would call Rostand's heroine a rewarding part, for it is compounded of treacle and silliness, but the actress assigned to the role can throw herself into it at least to the extent of heaving her bosom during the balcony scene. Miss Power undergoes that emotional cloudburst as though she were

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standing patiently while the dressmaker completed a fitting.

It may be frivolous to say so, but I thought that Ferrer's nose was too large. As I observed a couple of weeks ago, the screen is a more intimate, though less immediate, medium than the stage, and details are easily overstated. Cyrano's nose was certainly a misfortune, but only he suggested that it was a promontory, and the proboscis that Ferrer wears is so alarmingly unstable that it distracts attention from Cyrano's personality and dwarfs the humanity that he must at times convey. I would have had it about five centimeters shorter. On the other hand, I would not spare a foot of the sword play; it is virtuoso fencing, deft, witty and seemingly dangerous.

J. B. Priestley, the cosmosentimentalist, is one of the great puppeteers of our times. A man of unfailing compassion and sufficient ego, he puts his beloved Lilliputians through one transcendental experience after another for the good of their souls and the satisfaction of his sense of what is fitting. He pulls the strings with such jolly good fellowship, to say nothing of ingenuity and skill, that only a churl will complain that human beings don't really behave so neatly. Priestley's stories always spin well and they dispense a feeling of convivial love for humanity, like a warm drink on a damp day.

Thus it is with "Last Holiday," a new British import starring Alec Guinness and written by Mr. Priestley. George Bird, salesman of farm implements, is under sentence of death by his doctor; thus relieved of temporal worries and worldly scruples, he is able to work con-

Priestley knew you would and slyly outguesses you.

Guinness plays the part of a diffident man, growing in authority as he burns his inhibitions behind him, with ingratrating and modest humor. He is an actor who studies to make the "business" of acting amusing in itself, and this is fun to watch, particularly in farce, if you don't have to see it too often. As usual in British pictures, the incidental characterizations are cleverly worked out, attractive portraits being contributed by Beatrice Campbell, Kay Walsh, Muriel George, Sidney James and one or two others whose names mean nothing in this country. "Last Holiday" is full of "yes, but's" that may come back later to annoy you, but they won't spoil your pleasure while the yarn is unreeling.

The two new French pictures might get by all right in a neighborhood theatre in Paris, but you expect something more of films that have been carted all the way across the ocean.

"L'Affaire," starring Claude Dauphin and Anne Vernon, may be taken as a terrible warning to busy husbands. It concerns a seduction that comes so close to succeeding as makes only a technical difference and it is played out with the suave sensuality that is called "Continental" by people who live elsewhere. The principal actors are adept at that game: M. Dauphin, cast as a ravissant pianist, is an authentic boulevard specimen, and Mlle. Vernon, beautiful herself and beautifully turned out for the play, makes this travesty of a farce worth looking at in snatches. But the story is too thin to support even this couple's graceful frivolities.

Julien Duvivier's "The Sinners" is scarcely trivial but it is a surprisingly confused picture to have been written and directed by so estimable a craftsman. The action takes place in a girl's reformatory, the inmates of which are shockingly young for their prevailing offense. They are a racy crowd, good-humored in their shamelessness.

love of her boy friend (Serge Reggiani). The rest of the picture, involving riots, frightful mistreatment with overtones of perversion, a savage dog and a cloudburst, is taken up with the efforts of the girls to reunite their heroine with her Abélard.

The film is an uneasy combination of social documentary, Dickensian caricature and Cocteau romance. The emotional flavor (and some of the scenes) recall "Maedchen in Uniform," and members of the supporting cast, billed tastelessly as "ten future stars of the French screen," are shaped by Duvivier into appealing and interesting individuals. But the picture lacks the consistency that would have made the fate of its principals convincing or meaningful.

Lorgetting Rider Haggard's story, forgetting the foolish behavior of the white actors in the movie, "King Solomon's Mines" is a superb "location" picture of Africa. It is the best African Technicolor I have seen and it was made by men who may very well have studied such documentaries as the Denis-Roosevelt "Dark Rapture" and the later Armand Denis "Savage Splendor." At any rate, they had the wit to let Africa tell its own story. Not entirely unprompted, however: the parade of fearsome, exotic and loathsome beasts is too eventful even for the jungle and the plains, and the native villages have been glorified a little. But the scenery is magnificent, the natives are real, beautiful and, in the case of the Watusis, tremendously impressive. These narrow-headed, aristocratic giants may well be the most regal and graceful of living peoples; they inspire speculation as to the lost Egyptian civilization whose kings and heroes they so much resemble.

Stewart Granger and Deborah Kerr, as Allan Quatermain and Elizabeth Curtis, play their parts with such shreds of dignity as the script permits them. I was grateful to them, and to the M-G-M technical staff, for letting me see so much of Africa again. ROBERT HATCH

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FROM

Director, FBI

SAC, Portland

SUBJECT: EDITORIAL

OREGON STATESMAN SALEM, OREGON

.. DATE: December 13

AIR MAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY



Transmitted herewith is an editorial which appeared in the Oregon Statesman, Salem, Oregon, on December 9, 1950.

I am advised that this editorial was written by Mr. CHARLES A. SPRAGUE, Editor and Publisher of this paper. It is noted that this editorial deals with the book written by MAX'LOWENTHAL concerning the FBI and that the editorial is complimentary to the Bureau.

For the Bureau's information, Mr. SPRAGUE is a former Governor of the State of Oregon and is now a member of the Northwest Regional Loyalty Board. He is friendly to the Bureau, and it is suggested that the Bureau might desire to write him a letter of appreciation.

80-185 Enclosure

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Lowenthal and the FBI

Judging by the speeches and reprinted editorials in the Congressional Record the book by Max Lowenthal on the FBI has stirred up a horner's nest. Out here we have heard little about it. In Washington senators and congressmen have leaped on Lowenthal with fury, and the Times-Herald and News have risen to the staunch defense of J. Edgar Hoover and the FBI. The book gets more attention because Lowenthal is one of the men described as menter to President Truman in Jonathan Damels' new book, "The Man from Independence." Lowenthal sort of took Truman in hand and led him to the confairs in Justice Frankfurter's home, which, in Damels' estimation, gave Truman indoctrination in the Frankfurter brand of Interalism.

Some of the congressmen call Lowenthal a communist or at least a pinko, and they darm him in their defense of the FBI. Perhaps the most telling quote is from Morris Ernet, New York lawyer famed as a defender of card right, who praises the FBI under Hower.

The gist of Lowenthal's book is that the PBI is getting to be an OGPU or NEVD. Not it was read it we cannot comment directly or it. But our impression is that the FBI has the interved becoming any such type of organization. Statificatly it is refused to render its verification to all the control that want to be a small intercontrol that some Africa's may have given off to be but in a control that it will take more that it control to the properties of the FBI transference in the FBI transference in the FBI ganization but also as a basis reconstitution responsibility in a star make so

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Honorable Charles A. Sprague President and Publisher Oregon Statesman Salem, Oregon

My dear Mr. Sprague:

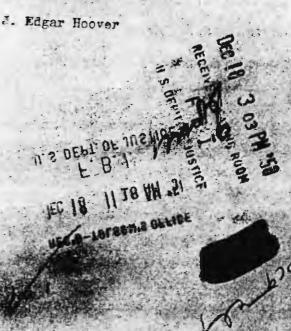
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Tour interesting editorial entitled *Lowenthal and the FII" which appeared in the Oregon Statesman on December 9, 1980, has come to my attention and I want to take this opportunity to thank you for your commendatory remarks concerning the FBI. I deeply appreciate the forthright and effective manner in which you have presented this matter to your readers.

on behalf of my associates and myself, may I extend the Season's Greetings and express our sincere good wishes for your happiness in the New Year.

Sincerely yours,

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Director, FBI SAC, Birmingham NEWSPAPER EDITORIAL SUBJECT: I am enclosing herewith an editorial from the Birmingham Postissue of Saturday, December 2, 1950. The Editor is Mr. JAMES E. MILLS. ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE \$21/92 EYB/23 RECORDED - 99

Untair Book About G-Men

Max Lowenthal's book, "The Federal Bureau of Investigation," has attracted more attention than, in our opinion, it deserves.

It is primarily a voluminous compilation of all the criticisms publicly aftered against the FSI since its creation, with no balancing evaluation of the criticism, and spin like space or waight given to the FBI's solid accompilationals and to favorable comment thereon even from the same sources Mr. Lowethal quotes as critical.

LOF Instance, the book includes numerous quotations from editorials in the Scripps. Howard Newspapers concerning isolated actions of the FBI—all critical. Nowhere do we find any favorable Scripps Howard comment about the FBI and its director, J. Editor Hower. Yet our offnand recollection is that Scripps Howard's editorial apprecials of the work of the FBI and of Mr. Hoover have been about 10-to 1 favorable. That's probably better rating than these columns have given any other government agency or hu-

time delicate the publy a good condicated by shirt rook gives enod reason that the confidence has well fearned.

Mr. Lowenthal is a brilliant, well head New York lawyer who has been in still of Washington over the last 30-ond years, various official and unofficial espacifies the has never made any secret of his distinct Mr. Hoover and the whole G-Kom sets Only thing new is that he has written a bound it.

One item of news interest in the book is Mr. Lowenthal's confirmation of an of repealed rumor that President Truman rejected a suggestion from military silviers that Mr. Hoover be appointed head of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIAC) But that reflects no discredit on Mr. Hoover to the contrary, the discredit goes to Mr. Truman who missed an apportunity to make something of the CIA.

It in web known this the CAL under succession of administrators, his not bear worth its said—and were not here to accreting able Gan. Beddil Smith present the chief who has no been a cree to a continue of the chief and the chi

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BIRMINGHAM POST-HERALD BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA DECEMBER 2, 1950 JAMES E. MILLS, EDITOR James E. mills Jed-fileady 12/9/50

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Wr. James E. Wills
Editor
Birmingham Post-Herald
Eirmingham, Alabama

Dear Mr. Mille:

I have read with great interest your excellent editorial entitled "Unfair Book About G-Men" which appeared in the December 2, 1950, issue of the Birmingham Post-Herald. I deeply appreciate your commendatory remarks concerning my associates and me in the work we are doing.

It is most reasouring to know that we have a friend such as you who has brought to the attention of your readers the truth about a book of this nature. I hope we will continue to perform our duties so as to merit the support and confidence of all law-abiding, loyal American citizens.

Sincerely yours, ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED J. Edgar Hoover HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/21/92 BY 8/23 cc - Birmingham ATTENTION SAC: Reurlet 12-6-50: Ben inchici 3 23 PH 30 Ladd SECEINED WAREOTON Mes & Clerg Olavin Nichols HINEUTOR AEC 13 1950 COMM - FB

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Office Interitoraliant • United States Government

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: December 20, 1950

FROM : SAC, Miami

SUBJECT: Favorable Editorial
"Smearing A Success"

Prepared by Edwin D. Lambright

Editorial Director Tampa Morning Tribune

Tampa, Florida December 18, 1950

Enclosed is a copy of a very favorable editorial.

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Enclosure

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July 1869

THAS been said that the surest way to provoke an indignant comeback is to say mything against motherhood, the U.S. farines or the FRL. President Truman bund that true when he disparaged the Mathrest Author Max Lewenthal is now finding it true in the reaction to his book attacking the Federal Burbau of Investigation.

Not that the FBI is immune to public riticism—no official agency can possibly njoy that distinction. Yet the FBI has for so long occupied an exceptional position in the Federal Government that any attack on it is generally and widely resented. That is because the FBI has stood out as one governmental agency that has been free of any apparent taint of graft, improper influence, self-interest, partisan prejudice or favoritism an agency that has gone stead, ily and fearlessly ahead in doing its duty through crisis and emergency, through changes of administration and party control, and that has, in nearly every case, succeeded in "getting its man" or its men as the job happened to require.

Lowenthal, who has been characterized as a "man of mystery," devotes his 559-page book, The Federal Bureau of Investigation, to what he claims to be a fair and thorough study and analysis of the record of the FBI. However, the purpose of the book cannot be disguised. It is clearly an attempt to smear the agency and its chief, J. Edgar Hoover, in a premeditated effort to discredit their achievements in the enforcement of law and the protection of the nation against subversive influences and activities.

against subversive influences and activities.

Sinearing an established success is a difficult business. The immediate response to Lowenthal's book indicates the nation-wide feeling. Members of Congress spoke first. Senator Hickenlooper called it Jan utterty biased piece of propaganda. Representative Cok denounced it as an optrage that an American who has carried the flag as Hower has carried it should be amended as was done to the ranks and affect it to be committeed.

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the confidence the American and the FBI and its able for bright and less chief Attempts to smear the guardian of national section has made intermittenty before but the been traced to persons having sall sons for impeding its work and allies of those whose grunnial managers operations it has discovered squelched. The people of the Unit of tical contributions to the maintain and tires in them honesty, its efficiency and their purposes.

Perhaps the stronges testilibria FBI is the fact that it is passon to targets of the anti-America must that is spewed out of Mornouth. Surely the singular not favorably in every pleasant of that propagation questionable America vainty intemputing to and outstanding succession.

Tampa Tribune Tampa, Florida December 18, 1950

Edwin D. Lambright: Editorial Director Ed Lambright
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on Bus mid

Mr. Edwin D. Lambright
Editor
The Tampa Morning Tribune
Tampa, Norida

Dear Mr. Dambright:

Mr. Edwin D. Lambright The Tampa Morning Tribune Tampa, Florida

Dear Mr. Lambrights

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/21/92 BY8123

I have read your excellent editorial entitled 'Smearing A Success" in the Tampa Tribune, December 18, 1950. We of the FBI are nost grateful to you for your commendatory remarks, and we deeply appreciate your bringing this matter so effectively to your readers.

It is reassuring and very encouraging to know that we have a friend such as you. Te hope we will be able to continue to perform our duties in a manner which will merit the faith and confidence of all law-abiding, loyal Americans.

Thank you for your fine job of reporting.

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Sincerely yours, J. MERT HOUVET

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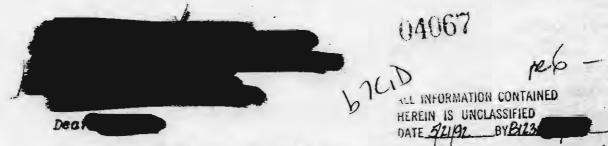
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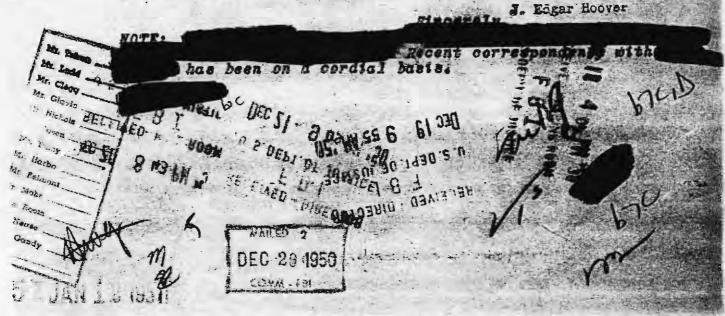
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Thank you so much for your letter of December 13, 1950, and I certainly do appreciate your interest in forwarding the Congressional Record containing the Honorable L. Mendel Rivers' speech in the House of Representatives on November 30, 1950.

I was deeply impressed by Congressman Rivers' extensive, factual and farthright presentation of the situation surrounding <u>Far Lowenthal's recent</u> publication. It was indeed gratifying to all of us in the FBI, and I have previously communicated with Congressman Rivers in this regard. As you so well pointed out he did a magnificent job in laying open the real motive behind Lowenthal's publications

Hay I take the opportunity at this time to extend the Season's Greetings and to express every good wish for the New Year.



January 3, 1951

Engl.

Honorable John S. Food House of Representatives Fashington, D. C.

My dear Congressment

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/21/92 BY 8/123

Assistant Director Louis B. Nichole
has brought to my attention the copy of the book
review by Louis Valdman which you forwarded to
him December 29, 1950.

I appreciate your thoughtfulness in making this available to this Dureau and I have read it with a great deal of interests

Tith expressions of my highest esteem and best repards,

Sincerely yours.

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The Federal Bureau of Investigation.

By Max Lowenthal.

Wm. Sloane Associates. 559 pp. \$4.50

Reviewed by Louis Waldman
Counsel for numerous trade unions
and author of "Labor Lawyer"

MAX LOWENTHAL, a New York lawyer, has written a book about the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the investigative agency of our Federal Government. It was first established in 1908; in 1924, it was given its present name and J. Edgar Hoover took office as Director. Throughout its existence, the Bureau has been under the supervision and control of the Attorney-General.

As far as I am concerned, no branch of the government is sacrosanct or immune from criticism. The FBI and its Director should be no exception to the rule. But criticism must be fair. If the record is relied upon, it must be the whole record. If a branch of government is to be blamed for activities not properly performed or performed outside of cauthority, the blame should be laid not only to the one who performs the act, but also to the officials ultimately responsible, whether it be Congress, the President, a member of the cabinet, or anyone else.

The FBI is a relatively large organization, with approximately 4,500 special agents and nearly 5,000 clerical and administrative personnel. It has a budget for this fiscal year of \$64,000,000. It investigates and prepares evidence in civil cases involving the Federal Government, in Federal criminal prosecutions and in the enforcement of Federal regulatory statutes, duties imposed upon it by Congressional act.

More recently, the FBI has been required to investigate the loyalty of Government employes and those who apply for Government or Federal jobs. Since World War II, a great deal of the Bureau's time has been taken up with the investigation of problems relating to national security. We cannot help but recall with great satisfaction the appearance at the recent trial of the 11 top Communists of FBl agents who had been



J. EDGAR HOOVER: WHO'S AFRAID?

placed within the Communist party. Only through these agents was the government supplied with the necessary direct evidence of the conspiratorial nature of the Communist party as a body dedicated to the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence whenever such action was deemed propitious.

The American people will also reeall with great satisfaction the thoroughness with which the FBI prepared the evidence in the case of Alger Hiss; who had risen meteorically in the State Department and other branches of the United States government service. These and similar activities of the FBI are imposed upon it by Congressional enactment. When directed against Nazis and Fascists, they did not incur the opposition of self-styled "liberals." But now that the FBI is using the same efficient methods and techniques in tracking down Communist espionage, disloyalty and treason, it has ineurred the hostility not only of Communists and fellow-travelers, but of confused liberals as well. They raise the hue and cry that the FBI, under the direction of Mr. Hoover, is dangerously close to becoming an Ameriean thought police, a Gestapo, an MVD. This fear is also the central thesis of Mr. Lowenthal's book.

I know Max Lowenthal is not a Communist. His publishers say in their blurb that he has presented "an objective picture of the FBI." But this book can in no sense be regarded as a true biography or history of that organization. Even a friendly review in the New York Post, a newspaper which has defended Mr. Lowenthal, refers to the book as "an indictment of the FBI and J. Edgar Hoover." The same description appears in a Post editorial.

John O'Donnell, in his Daily News column of November 24, seems to share Mr. Lowenthal's fears. "We thoroughly agree," says Mr. O'Donnell, "with Lowenthal's fundamental premise that any Federal police, operating with the power, secrecy and millions of the FBI, is a potential danger to the citizens of the Republic."

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ferring to Communist tactics, it says:

"This is the kind of thing J. Edgar Hoover and the FBI have been fighting for years, and are still fighting. They have to fit their methods to the enemy's tactics and strategy, or they can't hope to win."

The dignified Herald Tribune devotes an editorial to the same theme. Under the title "Smearing the FBI," the Tribune says:

"Had the FBI been made the victim of an ordinary smear artist the results would have been deplorable enough. The attack made by Max Lowenthal in his newly published book is, however—by reason of its methods and circumstances-particularly obnoxious. This lengthy volume, with its outward pretense to authoritativeness and objectivity, could easily be mistaken for a factual guide itativeness and objectivity, to the course of the FBI during its forty-two years of existence. It is only when the text has been examined that the author's manner and aims become clear. Mr. Lowenthal has strung together an exhausting series of quotations from public records, inconclusive, tendentious and frequently out of context, designed to have the cumulative result of implying that the FBI has been ineffectual, prejudiced, concerned chiefly with notoriety for itself, and careless of the civil liberties of the citizens. The hook's publication occurs at a time when the FBI's activities against Communist infiltration require—as indeed they merit-an unhesitating public confidence; and the whole venture was made the more disturbing by suggestions of White House encouragement."

The head of the New York *Times* Washington Bureau, Arthur Kroek, comments on the book:

"Ever since FBI reports necessarily became part of the record on which tests of loyalty and security of government employes are decided, Mr. Hoover and his agency have come under increasing fire. Some citizens are sincerely alarmed over the relation of its activities to Constitutional sided and at points distorted."

Of the 559 pages, 87 pages are devoted to "Source Notes," that is, to the authorities constituting the basis of Mr. Lowenthal's "indictment." In evaluating these authorities, Cabell Phillips, Washington correspondent for the Sunday edition of the New York Times, reviewing the book rather favorably in the Times, said:

"The bulk of this data appears to have come from the study of massive piles of documents, and some of the facts he has got wrong. For example, Mr. Hoover never condoned the A. Mitchell Palmer 'Red raids,' although it is implied in the book that he did. Mr. Lowenthal suggests that the wiretapping activities of the FBl are in contravention of a Supreme Court ruling. They are not. He says that the FBI's first break in one of its most celebrated World War II spy cases came when one of the ring leaders was run down by a New York taxi. Actually, the G-men had been tailing this man's confederates for weeks before he was killed, and so on.'

IN LIKE VEIN

Both a Journal-American eolumnist and a Herald Tribune reporter believe that the book will backfire. Louis Sobol of the Journal-American comments that "in attacking the FBI—and particularly its Director, J. Edgar Hoover—Mr. Lowenthal will discover—has discovered already, in faet—that our great national sleuthing organization and its energetic head have more friends and admirers than foes."

In like vein, Bert Andrews, chief of the Herald Tribune's Washington Bureau, writes that "A book written by a close friend of President Truman—a book which many believe was done with the hope of destroying J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation—is having many effects that are just

issue with the selection of sources, the manner of presentation, the author's concept of civil liberties and the timeliness of the book's publication. Joseph L. Rauh, former Deputy Housing Administrator, argues that "Mr. Lowenthal has written a brilliant exposition on the faults of our national police force" and that "the book is the civil libertarian's bridgagainst the national police force."

Another defender of Mr. Lowerthal and his book is Max Lerner. Mr. Lerner, writing in the New York. Post, says that "it is . . . important because no one up to now has dared to dissect the FBI's record against its initial purposes, its pretensions and the values of democratic freedom. Lowenthal cares—and dares."

I now hear complaint that I have not in fact reviewed Mr. Lowenthal's book, that I have just given the opin ions of critics, writers, columnists and editors. The answer to this charge is that I, in reviewing the book, have done, with much greater justification in the facts, precisely what Mr. Lowenthal did in reviewing the FBI and the record of J. Edga: Hoover. In presenting this type o review, I hope that I have demon strated the inadequacy and unfairnes of Mr. Lowenthal's book and the methods employed by him. By com piling a one-sided record, a carefall selected, critical set of quotations with an oecasional friendly quote to lend an air of objectivity, one doe not reveal the truth about a public agency, a public figure or a book Only by viewing the record as whole, selecting fairly the good pas and the bad, can an author conve to his readers a fair picture of hi subject matter. Anything short c that method results inevitably in distortion.

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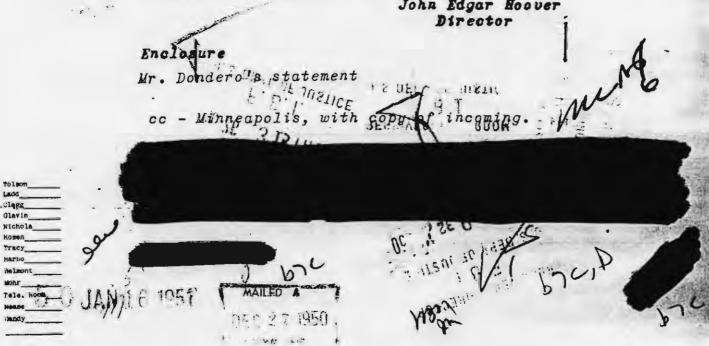
Thank you very much for your letter of December 15, 1950, and the enclosed clipping. I deeply appreciate your commendatory remarks concerning this Bureau and my administration of its activities. It is gratifying to have your prayers for my welfare.

Enclosed is some material which I thought you might like to have concerning the book to which your clipping referred.

I hope that joy and happiness will attend you throughout the New Year.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED Sincerely yours, HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED J. Edgar Hoover DATE 5/21/92 BY 8/23

> John Edgar Hoover Director



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Your letter postmarked becember 20, 1950, together with enclosure, has been received.

EX-4

I do want to thank you for your very commendatory remarks concerning my administration of the activities of the FRI and also your interest in bringing to my attention.

I do hope that the efforts of all of us in the FBI will continue to merit your approval.

inclosed is some material I thought you might like to have.

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/21/92 BY 8/23

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Sincerely yours,

. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover Director

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EX-123

Thank you very much for your letter of December 6. 1950, enclosing a copy of your letter to the and a copy of the publication, itself.

You have done a superb job in pointing out the truth about Lowenthal and his book. It is most gratifying to know that you have taken the initiative in thus expressing your views on this matter.

I hope that my associates and I will always merit your faith and confidence in our work. I am enclosing some material which may be of interest to you.

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Sincerely yours,

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Dondero's statement concerning Max Lowenths

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December 15, 1950



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attention your kind letter of Movember 24, 1950.

I enjoyed noting your comments concerning Lowenthal's book and I thought you might like to review the enclosed material.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/21/92 BY 8/13

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

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Washington, D. C. December 14, 1950 Mr. Tolson . Mr. Lodd Mr. Clev3 -Mr. Glavin Mr. Nichols Mr Rosen 04058 Mr. Mohr My dear Sir: Tele. Room Mr. Necse I am very grateful to you for your kind letter of December 13, 1950. As you observe, surely these are times when we must make sure that an agency such as the Federal Bureau of Investigation is pro-Mirs Gandy tected from those who would destroy it. I am sure that Mr. Hoover would like to know the contents of your fine letter. Therefore, I am taking the liberty of sending him a copy thereof. With kindest regards and best wishes for a happy Christmas, I am Very respectfully, seph R. Bryson DEC 18 2 46 PH '50 3 18. 220-DIRECTOR EP! OF JUSTICE ENCL. EX-123

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XXXXXX XXXXXX INDEXED - 65 EX-123 December 19, 1950 62-25753-240 04057 Deal I have received a copy of a letter to you dated December 14, 1950, from the Homorubia Joseph B. Bryson and he very thoughtfully brought to my attention your letter of December 13, 1950. I am indeed grateful for your interest in commenting on the very timely statements which Congressman Bryson made recently on the floor of the House of Representatives concerning our organization. ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED Sincerely, HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED J. Mear Bound DATE 472 42 BY 8123 NOTE: A letter was forwarded to Congression on December 1, 1950, expressing the approximate which appeared in the Congressions November 30, 1950. 4 2 bks of meth. 1 10 35 HH 35 H 1 HAL usner a mence de 3 men ET THEO - DIBERTOR

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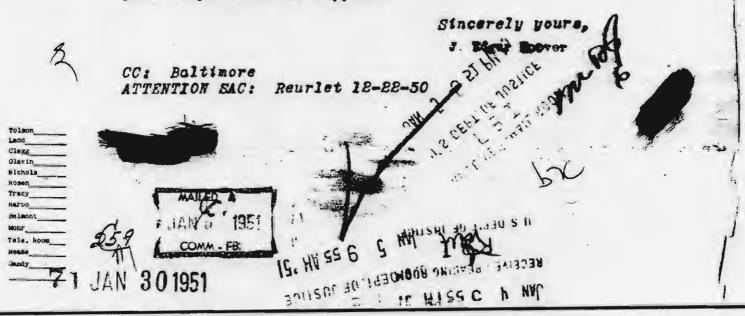
Dear !

Conv.of

by Assistant Special Agent in Charge R. J. Lally of our Faltimore Office.

I could not let the opportunity pass without expressing my sincere personal appreciation for your efforts on our behalf. Such action as yours is most effective in spotlighting the ulterior motive behind wax Loventhal's book. I must commend you for the very forthright manner in which you pointed out the inaccuracies, distortions and incompleteness of the publication. In this regard I am enclosing some material which I thought you might like to read.

I trust that our efforts will always merit your confidence and support.



MR. NICHOLS

FROM

SUBJECT:

REVIEW OF MAX LOWENTHAL'S BOOK

"THE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION"

By Harrison Smith

Winston-Salem, North Carolina,

Journal and Sentinel

December 3, 1950

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/22/92 BYS123

The attached review was received without cover letter from the Charlotte Division. The review is very uncomplimentary.

DATE: December

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEW:

of the Bureau.

Smith begins by saying that there is no other Department of the Government which has received as much adulation and publicity over the past twenty years as the FBI.

He says that although there are five other "detective forces" in the Government, the FBI "under J. Edgar Hoover, has become of paramount importance. He is known to the public as our sure defense against wrongdoers and our only shield against the foreign enemies, spies, and saboteurs who are presumably plotting the downfall of our democratic way of life."

Smith, basing his observations on Lowenthal's book, says that the FBI, since its unorthodox birth, has been "regarded by legislators and thoughtful citizens everywhere with alarm and suspicion.

"If this fear is not to spread and put an Smith continues: end to the splendid achievements of the FBI in protecting us from criminals and law-breakers, then a thorough and fearless investigation from the highest Government sources must be instituted and carried out. Mr. Lowenthal's careful and restrained book has opened the way."

Smith then points out that only twice has the FBI been subjected to an official investigation by congressional groups and only then when the abuses of its power had led to its defiance of the provisions of the Bill of Rights in our Constitution.

Smith says that at last a "readable, solid, and thoroughly / documented book on the history and growth of the FBI has been published..." Smith notes that this book will undoubtedly be widely

INDEXED - 29

COPIES DESTROYED

AUG 6 1964

read and will lead "without question, to a thorough research into the value and the inherent dangers of its (FBI) increasing activities."

Smith then goes on to say that the author is a distinguished, conservative lawyer who has served in the Government. He points out that Lowenthal has spent fifteen years examining the FBI and has documented his work from pertinent sources.

Smith points out that it would be difficult to name an author entering into a "difficult, and indeed a dangerous controversy, who has more carefully guarded himself against accusations of sensationalism and malice."

Smith points out that Lowenthal rarely expresses his own opinions and that it is obvious from examining the book that Lowenthal belongs to a large group of citizens who believe that a "secret Federal police" may become a menace to free Government.

In reviewing the book Smith points out that Mr. Hoover, who "knows well how to defend his organization against declamatory shouts," might find it difficult to ward off the "reasoned inferences contained in this book." Smith continues, "The record of the FBI in its most vital aspect stands against him (the Director), as do many of the inflamatory and exaggerated statements of its chief."

Smith then goes on to discuss the IWW, the bomb in Chicago and the so-called Palmer Raids.

In concluding his review, Smith points out that a new wave of criticism against the FBI began ten years ago in that there was concern about the extending range of the FBI's operation.

He concludes by stating, "The hundreds of thousands or perha; millions of 'dossiers' of private citizens that have been collected and filed are most alarming."

Smith winds up with the following sentence: "In a time of future emergency and hysteria who but the silent and opinionless man could feel safe from a midnight arrest unless this agency can be check and brought under the law which it has so often defied."

RELATIONSHIP WITH WINSTON-SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA, JOURNAL AND SENTINEL:

A review of the main file, 94-8-486, reflects that our relationship with the paper has been generally satisfactory. The following points are noted:

- (1) In July and August of 1950, we conducted tours for carriers of this paper.
- (2) On February 3, 1950, the Director wrote the editor and thanked him for a complimentary editorial regarding the Hiss Case.
- (3) In March of 1950, we furnished a statement to the paper over the Director's signature regarding "Better Books For You!"
- (4) In October of 1949, carriers from this paper were given tours of the Bureau.
- (5) On September 9, 1949, at the request of the paper, the Director sent a letter of greetings to the Newspaper Carriers of North Carolina.
- (6) In July of 1948, the Director wrote the editor and thanked him for a complimentary editorial on the Loyalty Program.

On May 19, 1947, the paper carried an editorial regarding the institution of the Loyalty Program. The editorial asked the question, whether or not it was necessary to spend twenty-four or twenty-five million dollars to remove Communists from the Federal payroll. The editorial said, "It might require that much (meaning twenty-four or twenty-five million dollars) if it is deemed necessary to employ thousands of special FBI or Gestapo agents, as it were, to tread on the heels of all Government workers..."

By letter dated June 9, 1947, the Director took issue with this statement, particularly with reference to the term "Gestapo." The paper in turn printed the Director's letter and said that Mr. Hoover was correct and that the paper had no intention of comparing the FBI with a Gestapo.

"The Federal Bureau of Investigation" December 9, 1950

There are numerous other items in the file but these are the highlights.

The Winston-Salem Journal and Sentinel prints both a morning and evening paper. It is put out by the Piedmont Publishing Company; Gordon Gray is President and Publisher; Santford Martin is Editor. It has a combined daily circulation of 80,941.

HARRISON SMITH:

Smith, according to the attached review from the New Orleans Times-Picayune, is described as being connected with the Saturday Review of Literature. Who's Who for 1950-51 (page 2555) describes Smith as an Associate Editor of the Saturday Review of Literature. He has been connected with the publishing business in various capacities since 1911 and from 1915 to 1918 worked for the New York Tribune, both as a reporter and a foreign correspondent and in the latter capacity lived in Japan and Russia. From 1919-1928 he was an editor in the publishing house of Harcourt Brace and Company and from 1929-31 was Vice President of Cape and Smith. From 1931 to 1936 he served as President of Harrison Smith and Robert Haas, Inc., and from 1936 to 1938 was an editor in the publishing house of Doubleday Doran Company. He also served as Vice President of Durrell and Company (dates not indicated). He is a graduate of Yale University and lives in New York City.

In connection with our investigation of under the character "Espionage - J; Registration Act,"

Harrison Smith and a New York promoter named caused Scribner's magazine caused Scribner's magazine to combine with the Commentator magazine, forming Scribner's Commentator Smith cacted as supervisory editors for approximately six months beginning in October, 1939. According to informants qualified

(97-781-18, page 1)

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Additional information contained in our files concerning Smith is set out below: 11/00 - 369 442 11

1. The Dies Committee reports classified the Political Prisoners Bail Fund Committee as a Communist Party front. The reports reflect that on January 31, 1935, this Committee held a meeting at the New School for Social Research in New York City. On the letterhead of this organization dated in January, 1935, one Harrison Smith is listed as a sponsor. (61-7582-1298, page 1472)

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(100-829-1065, page 31)

Attachment

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TIGATION BY MAX LO 6lpan. \$4.50.

By HARRISON SMITH (C. Saturday Review of Literature) No other important department of the United States government has received as much adulation and publicity over the last 20 years as the Federal police organization now known throughout the world as the FBI.

, Although there are at least five separate detective forces operating for various departments of the government, including the treasury, the post office and the department of justice, the FBI, under its chief, J. Edgar Hoover, has become of paramount importance. Hoover is known to the public as our sure defense against wrongdoers and our only shield against toreign enemies, spies, and sabo-turs, who are presumably ploting the downfall of our emo-

At last a readable, solid, and thoroughly documented book on the history and growth of the FBI has been published which is certain to be widely read and which may lead to a thorough research into the value and the inherent dangers of its increasing activities.

The author of "The Federal Bureau of . Investigation" is Max Lowenthal, a distinguished, conservative lawyer who has served the government for a quarter of a century as legal counsel for congressional and executive commissions. He has spent 15 years examining the FBI and has docu-mented his work with quotations from pertinent sources, balancing attacks on the secret service with statements from its defenders, including excerpts from the speeches and writings of Hoover.

It would be difficult to name an author entering into a difficult, author entering into a difficult, and indeed a dangerous controversy, who has more carefully guarded himself against accurations of sensationalism and maille. Though he rarely exclusive his own opinions, it is given that Lowenthal belongs a that body of scittzans who believe that a secret federal police may become



MAX LOWENTHAL AND 15-year task

a menace to free government and free institutions.

"Fear of the danger of the FBI became cumulative," writes Lowenthal. "There was the concern about its desire for extending the range of its operations, for em ploying techniques providing e pionage over private life as we as over numberless innocent persons, and for securing access to data obtained by the government in income tax and census re-turns."

The prospect of a secret police free from supervision and used as an instrument of oppression has terrified people during the intervening years.

"The FBI, unchecked and un-bridled, could become an Ameri-can Gestapo," a national instatina declared, and statements of the same, kind have appeared all through our press.

The hundreds of thousands perhaps millions of doeslers to private cluzeus that have been collected and filed are most aldrin ing. In a time of future sency and hysteria who,

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RE: MAX LOWENTHAL

Attention: RESEARCH

THE TIMES-PICAYUNE NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA DECEMBER 3, 1950 PAGE 10, COLUMNS 7 & 8

Wenter 18

IL Avert Mr. Mac o ... Miss Candy ___

THE PEDERAL BUREAU OF IN-VESTIGATION, by Max Lowenthal. William Sloan, 350 pp. 44.50.

By Harrison Smith

O OTHER important department of the important department of the important department of the important department of the important department has received as much adulation and publicity over the last twenty years as the Federal police organization now known throughout the world as the FBI. Although here are at least five separate leactive forces, operating for various departments of the Government, including the Treasury, the Post Office and the Justice departments, the FBI, under J. departments, the FBI, under J.

Edgar Hoover, has become of paramount im-portance. He is known to the public as our public as our sure defense against wrengdoers and our only shield against the foreign enemies, spies, and se boteurs who are presumably



HOOVER

plotting the downfall of our democratic way of life. Through the radic and comic strips everybody in the land now knows that the FBI always gets its man.

From its amorthodox birth in 1908, under Attorney General Charles Bonaparte, to its overwhelming strength and power today it has nevertheless, been

whelming strength and power today, it has nevertheless been regarded by legislators and thoughtful cliness everywhere with alarm and suspicion.

If this tear is not to spread and put mendo be a pread and put mendo be a pr s investigation

vestisation by congressional groups, and then only when the abuses of its powers three ted to its defiance of the provisions of the Bill of Rights in mr. Constitution, which was supposed to secure threover the essential liberties of our people.

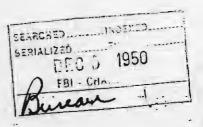
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thoroughly documented book on the history and growth of the FBI has been mublished which is certain to be widely read and which will lead without question, to a thorough research into gers of its journasing activities.

THE AUTHOR of this volume the distribution of this volume the distribution has served the Government for a quarter of a century as legal counsel for congressional and executive com-missions. He has spent 15 years missions. He has spent 15 years examining the FBI and has documented his work with quotations from all pertinent sources, balancing attacks on the Secret Service with statements from its defenders, including excerpts from the speeches and writings of has, floover, it would be difficult to name an author entering into a difficult, and indeed a dangerous controversy, who has more correfully guarded has more corretully quarter himself each accusation of constitutions; and make

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ENCLOSURE

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organization against declaratory should about the rise of an American Gestapo; nevertheless, in may find it difficult to ward of the reasoned inferences continued in this book. The record of the FRI in its most vital aspect stands against him as do many of the inflamatory and exaggrarated datements of its chief."

In 1918 a nomb exploded iff the Government building in Chicago, killing four people, and other outrages followed. The FBI announced that the maverick labor organization, the TWW, was responsible, or more generally, "radicals," whose purpose was the overthrow of the Government of the United States. The resulting search for the criminals was a complete fiasco. Later a campaign against anarchists, Communists, and crackpots of all kinds was instigated. In the same year Congress enacted a sedition law for the deportment of cliens who held objectionable views on economic and political matters. It opened the door to departation raids in which hundreds of bewildered and powerless men were held "incommu-

Ten years
criticism began. Pear of the
danger of the FHI becare currolative, writes Mr. Lowent al.
"There was the concern about its
desire for extending the range of
its operations, for emptoying
techniques providing expensive
over private life as well as over
numberless innocent persons,
and for securing access to data
obtained by the Government in
income tax and census returns.

The prospect of a secret police free from supervision and used as an instrument of oppression has terrified people during the intervening years. "The FBI, unchecked and unbridled, could become an American Gestapo," a national magazine declared; similar statements have appeared time and time again in our newspapers. The hundreds of thousands or perhaps millions of "dossiers" of private ritizens that have been collected and filed are most alarming in a time of future emergency and hysteria who but the silent and opinion less man could feel safe from midnight arrest unless this again of the defield and brought under the law which it has often defield.

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FBI/DOJ

Mr. W. C. Bussing President The Evansville Press Evansville, Indiana

Dear Mr. Bussing:

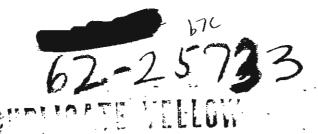
I read with considerable pleasure the editorial "Unfair Book About G-Men" which appeared in the December 6, 1950, issue of The Evansville Press.

I could not let the opportunity pass without expressing my sincere appreciation for the confidence you expressed in our organization, and the manner in which you characterized the recent book by Max Lowenthal. I am sure that your sentiments are shared by your many readers.

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Sincerely yours,

CC: Indianapolis
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INVESTIGATION.

THAT WAS THE PRESIDENT'S ANSWER TO A NEWS CONFERENCE QUESTIONS ABOUT A RECENT BOOK BY HAX LOWENTHAL WHICH CRITICIZED SOME OF THE FBI'S ACTIVITIES.

PUBLICATION OF THE BOOK GAVE FRESH IMPETUS TO REPORTS THAT THE PRESIDENT WAS COOL TOWARD THE FBI CHIEF. LOWENTHAL SERVED AS COUNSEL FOR A SENATE COMMITTEE HEADED BY MR. TRUMAN WHILE HE WAS A SENATOR.

HR STRUMAN WAS ASKED TODAY WHAT HE THOUGHT ABOUT THE BOOK, WHETHER HE APPROVED OR DISAPPROVED OF IT.

HE REPLIED HE HASN'T READ IT AND COULDN'T ANSWER THE QUESTION.

SINCE J. EDGAR HOOVER IS STILL ON THE JOB, A REPORTER ASKED,

VOULD IT HE RIGHT TO FIGURE THAT THE PRESIDENT DID NOT SHARE ALL THE

AUTHOR'S YIEVST

MR.HOOVER HAS ALWAYS BEEN WELL THOUGHT OF BY ME, HR.TRUMAN SAID.

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DATE 5/26/97 BY 8123

Dr. Ruth/4lexander New York Mirror 235 East 45th Street New York 17, New York

Dear Dr. Alexander:

fread with considerable interest and pleasure your comments which appeared in the becember 31, 1950, caition of the Los Angeles Eximiner. Four comments on wax Lowenthal are particularly reassuring and will do much to present an accurate picture concerning one who has sought to discredit our organization. You were indeed most forthright in pointing out the reasons behind the unjustifiable attack against the FBI.

I trust that our efforts particularly in combating the menace which Communism presents to our democratic form of life will always merity your javorable comment.

Sincerely yours,

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Mr. Louis Nichols Federal Bireau of Investigation Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Nichols:

You will be interested in the enclosed quotation of Justice Jackson.

Would it be possible for you to compare the Lowenthal book with the attacks on the FBI made on a number of previous occasions by the national Lawyers Guild to see how they compare? Please note in this connection a demand for an investigation of the FBI in the National Lawyers Guild le ter dated about June 20, 1949. Another request was made to President Truman about January 23, 1950.

If you do not find it expedient to make these comparisons, I should like to go over these documents myself.

Very sincerely,

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Benjamin Mandel

Director of Research

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Attorney General Jackson Jn .

"Attorney (meral Jackson delivered a speech on May 7, 1961 before the American Judicature Society on the general subject of 'principles and techniques for guarding our freedoms.' . . . These are his words:

And let me say to you that the enemies of inerica are not idle. They show up at Congressional nearings to oppose every move to a trengthen our law enforcement; they show up in court astutely to raise every legal difficulty to prevent convictions and to obstruct obtaining evidence; they propagandize endlessly against investigative officials and agencies, against prosecution policies, against law enforcement itself."

source: International Juridical Association Monthly Bulletin, June 1961, Vol. 9, No. 12, page 133

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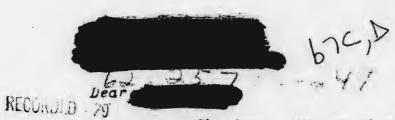
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	Mr. Glavin
	Mr. Harbo
	Mr. Nichols Mr. Glovin
	Mr. Tracy Mr. Mobile V
	Mr. Belmont Mr. Tracy
	Mr. Mohr Mr. Horbo
	Mr. Sizoo Mr. Belmont Mr. Callahan Mr. Mohr
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FBI/DOJ



Thank you very much for your letter of December 30, 1950, and the enclosed publication which you forwarded. It was thoughtful of you to think of me in this regard.

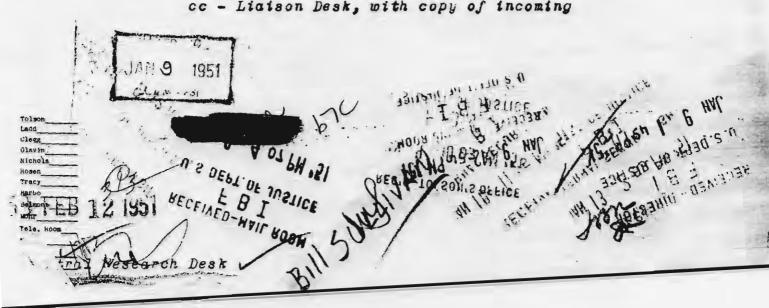
I shall let you know in the event I need additional copies of your work. I appreciate your offering them to me.

I enjoyed receiving your New Year Greetings, and I hope you too will have a happy and prosperous 1951.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 126/92 BY 8123

Sincerely yours,

cc - Liaison Desk, with copy of incoming



Tom Donegan called me
this afternoon and when advised that
you were out of the office asked
that you be advised that Newsweek
Magazine will have a book review
on Lowenthal's book which is
critical of the book; that
will also write a review which
is critical of the book. He stated that
will read the book over the
weekend and that he has briefed both;
and
on the background
of Lowenthal and he wants you to know that
everyone there is doning what he can. He
asked also to speak with Mr. Nichols.

GAN

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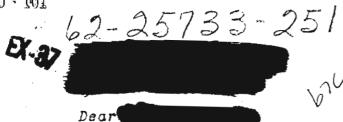
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EX-132



Thank you very much for your most welcome letter of January 3, 1951. It was thoughtful of you to write me your observations concerning the Lowenthal book. In this regard I thought you might like to review the enclosed material.

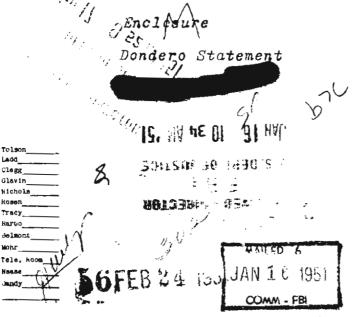
I deeply appreciate your expressions of confidence in my associates and me. I trust that we may always perform our duties in a manner which will merit your continued faith and approbation.

It was kind of you to extend greatings for the New Year, and I hope that you, too, will have a happy and successful 1951.

ALL HITORMATION CONTAINED
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Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover Director



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RECEIVED - MAIL ROBINGE

US DEPTION JUSTICE

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	☐ (b)(5)	□ (b)(9)	☐ (k)(6)
	☐ (b)(6)		□ (k)(7)
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	Information pertained only to	a third party. Your name i	s listed in the title only.
	Documents originated with ar to that agency(ies) for review		s). These documents were referred
	Pages contain information fur advised by the FBI as to the with the other agency(ies).		ent agency(ies). You will be ion following our consultation
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FBI/DOJ

Dear 3 bac

Jude very pleased to receive your letter of Jensery 10, 1931, and I am grateful for the opportunity of having the benefit of your additional comments concerning the Lowenthal book.

You may be assured, I am certainly in agreement with your observations.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE SUPPL BY 8123

Sincerely yours,

CC: New York, with copy of incoming.

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670

Thank you very much for your most welcome letter of November 27,1950. I cannot tell you how much I appreciate your offer to be of help in connection with the Lowenthalmatter.

I know I can rely upon you to choose the right time and place to comment upon this compilation of innuendoes and distortions of fact. I most assuredly will keep you in mind and I will call upon you if a situation arises wherein you might be of assistance.

As of possible interest, I am enclosing some data which I trought you might like to review.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

Sincerely,

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 526 92 BY 812

J. Edgar Hoover

Enclosure

Dondero's Remarks before House of Representatives September 1, 1950.

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65 FEB 1 1951,

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□ (b)(6)		☐ (k)(7)
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Your thoughtful letter of November 25, 1950, has been received, and I deeply appreciate your kind comments about this Bureau and my administration of it.

I hope my associates and I will always have your abiding faith and confidence.

I am enclosing some material which I thought you might like to review.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE OF LEPT BY 8123

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover Director

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7.11

Congressman Dondero's statement concerning Max Lowenthal 931-50 CC: New York with copy of incoming.

Milwaukee with copy of Incoming.

Previous cordial correspondence has been had with Name per previous cordial correspondence. 8 S 12 58 PM '5: rec'b-tolson's office Tolson Ladd Clegg Nichola Rosen 4 1950 DEC Tracy Harbo Belmont Mohr Tele. Room_ Gandy

EIGHTY-FIRST CONGRESS

JOHN S. WOOD, GA., CHAIR.

FRANCIS E. WALTER, PA. BURR P. HARRISON, VA. JOHN MCSWEFNEY, OHIO RICHARD L. NIXON, CALIF. FRANCIS CA., E, S. DAK. HAROLD H. VELDE, ILL. CONGRESS OF THE LINITED STATES Mr. Cloyd

Mr. Tolson

Mr. Ladd

DATE 3/210/92 BYB123

Dear Er. Foover:

I appreniate the kind works in pour letter of November 24. Vic

It had seemed to be that the substantial review space given the Lowenthal book had served to rive it unmerited prominence and, terms, helped Lowenthal to sell books. This space having been given, however, a few werds of our entitle not seem inappropriate.

I had considered, further, the possible advisability of preparing a point-hy-scint recly to the look, for inclusion in the four ressional knows, but remained undecided because of the thought this pinks serve purel to well tional coverage.

Tr. Penjania a. el, cir mar al muscareli for the North fee on The inverse for the North fee on The inverse feet and the feet and the contract of the first series of the feet of the first feet on the series of the feet of the first feet on this series.

If you condition it similable from a detailed refutation of the Icumnthal allegations to make, I shall be very hoply to undertale its pressnation and presentation in the Record, or in a speech on the Floor, with the co-operation of such rephers of the Tureau as you might designate to assist.

In any event, it would be a pleasure to have your views as to weether further souice should be taken of the Lowenthal book.

Sincerely yours,

RECORDED - 18

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EX-91

Aug A 18huri

Burr P Harrison

MAR 23 1951

BURR P. HAT, SCA.

COMMITTEES:
House Administration
Un-American Activities

House of Representatives
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Ben:

I read with interest your comments on the Lowenthal book.

It had been my thought I might undertake such a refutation as you had in mind, in which case I should certainly want your advice.

I have not gone forward on this, so far, because I have considered the possibility such a reply might serve merely to add to the undue public notice already accorded this book. On the other hand, I have not ruled out the possible desirability of doing something more about it.

I intend to talk with the Chairman on several matters as soon as possible, and I shall discuss the other report you mentioned with him.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

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Burr P. Harrison.

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EX-91 Honorable Burr P. Harrison House of Representatives Washington, D. C.

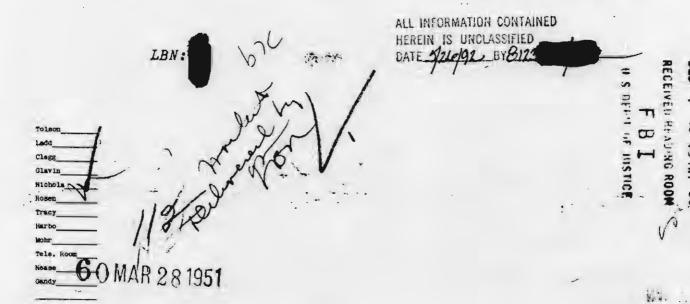
My dear Congressman:

I read with considerable interest your letter of November 28, and I am thoroughly sympathetic with your viewpoint on the Lowenthal book; however, in view of widespread circulation and the attempts made by the publisher to provoke public discussion, I see no other way but to point out the inaccuracies contained in the book whenever possible.

I think that there is much merit to Mr. Mandel's position. I shall be only too glad to be of any assistance possible. If you have any questions on any of the Bureau's activities, if you will let us know we will be more than happy to furnish you with the facts.

With expressions of my highest esteem and best regards,

Sincerely yours, 5 m



or, or the publishers. Every Memof Congress was presented with a by the publishers.

r, President, this book is evil, and it entomatic of an internal threat to security. Never in our history has United States been in a more critical tion than it is today. The Commu-menace threatens the entire world we are even now againng for our in Asia. We cannot tell the day or e even nearer. This menace opernot only abroad; it operates here at

r. President, in the last extremity, no man can hope to defend himalone, the community closes ranks eserve itself. Most of the time we our Nation and society for granted, every man knows in his heart that st we have to join together to our lives. This has been so with all ons from the beginning of time, and is why the greatest of all crimes is son. The man who betrays his ptry to the enemy, betrays his neighand his neighbors know it.

r. President, our position in the

comy is supplied by private enter-e. Our Government is a representa-republic, based upon a written Con-tion. In that Constitution is a Rift tion. In that constitution is a min rights, which contains the secred nises of trial by jury of protogion of speech and press and of reference blishments, the right of petition, so on. The fathers who wrote this stitution were not so simple minded ot to know that the responsibility of ntaining these rights rested upon the case and their Government of the fact that intermittently through all history these rights have bad fred structions after to make the structure of the con-managed by and large to been pod have bad the surece years ago a bank

How to handle this problem predifficulties which no govern ever faced Bestate. inadvertently some portion of the of Rights would be jeopardized.

But all this while it was clear enough to everybody that whatever Congress might do in the way of legislation, the Communists must be watched and in-formation of their activities gathered.

Last Friday we read in the press that the Communists said they must have mass action, that they could no longer abide by boards set up by Government, by Congress, or by the courts. That was by Congress, or by the courts. That was said in connection with the 1956 security law. The task of watching the Communists developed, under the statutes, upon the Federal Bureau of Investigation, with the chief responsibility resting upon its director. Since 1924 the director has been Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, who was appointed to the place by Attorney General Stone later Chief, Justice of the General Stone, later Chief Justice of the United States. Mr. Stone, when he made the appointment, was disturbed about expenses of the Bureau during the secalled Palmer raids in 1919 and 1929. He wanted the Bureau of Investigation over hauled, its method of personnel selection made more careful and severe, its morale heightened Mr. Hoover was given the of doing this, and has held the position gyer since. He has done this whill the position gyer since where he has done this whill the state of the single mooned when him by the state to a

imposed upon him by the waterage. At In line of duty the PRI, among oth things, but for years, Of oderne. the FM has no power information which it can only act upon the es the Attorney General and the Depart

What the auth of a generaliting withers lecte his meterial with

But the book is even more It is the work of an epitonia alloker. Never does Mr. Lowe a categorical statisment wit leave his defenses open; he poison by implication and if For a man who represents his so concerned about the state

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the mission of the FRI and to the unsuspecting and uninformed it could very easily be one of the most expensive booby traps ever contrived by the human intelligence to subtly undermine the mos indispensable, effective, honorable, and honored department of our Government on organization which, during its 42 years of existence, has won fame and respect in every town, hamlet, home, and firefide throughout the length and breadth of this Nation. Its Director, the Honorable J. Edgar Hoover, towers today above any man on the Pederal payroll. He has more influence and prestige in both branches of the Congress than any servant who ever took an oath of office to defend our institutions and the philosophy of our democratic form of government.

Mr. Speaker, will the rentleman yield?

Mr. RIVERS. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois, my distinguished friend and former agent of the Federal Bureau

of Investigation.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Speaker, I received a copy of this book written by Max Lowenthal: It was on my desk when I returned to Washington last Monday. I questioned my staff and asked them if they had ordered it. They informed me they had not, and I know for certain I did not order the book. It apparently was sent to me by the publishers, probably at the request of the author, Max Lowenthal

I was quoted in this book, I believe on page 442, in a speech I made on the floor of the House in May 1950. In that speech I criticized the Department of Justice and the Attorney General for failure to prosecute some known espionage agents which I happened to have investigated during the time I

The author, of course, is a very elever lawyer. He is a great artist at inisting the facts. He quoted me in order to get his point across that I was criticising the Federal Bureau of Investigation and

the Federal Bureau of Investigation and J. Edgar Hoover, my former boss, which is very far-from the truth. I had no intention of criticizing Mr. Hoover or any of the staff or members of the FRI.

As a matter of fact, we sell know that Mr. Hoover and the FRI have nothing to do with prosecution of scorym explanate eases. The principal staff is a property of the principal miles of the FRI. In the latest the principal staff is a principal of the principal miles of the FRI. In the latest the staff is a principal miles of the FRI. In the latest the staff of the FRI. In the staff is a staff of the principal miles of the FRI. In the staff of the staff of

RIST HOOF MY. PROOASE TH nition of the outstanding work that he has done to suppress communism, and otherwise better the conditions of this

It is an outrage that an American who has carried the flag as Mr. Hoover has carried it should be smeared as was done by this pinko, and alleged to be Communist, Max Lowenthal.

Mr. RIVERS. I may say to the gentleman from Georgia that no man in this Nation has done more for the Nation under so many obstacles.

Mr. Rpeaker, will the gentleman yield to in in.

Mr. RIVERS. I yield to the gentle-

man from Mississippi. Mr. RANKIN. This Max Lowenthal said to be a Communist. That this

book smearing the PBI is nothing but Communist propagands. If you have any doubt about that, check up on his

J. Edgar Hoover is one of the great men of this Nation. If the Congress of the United States had followed the suggestions I have been making for years and made the FBI an independent agency and relieved J. Edgar Hoover of the embarrassment that he now suffers as a result of those who try to tell him what he may investigate and what he may not, if the Congress would make the PHI, the Federal Bureau of Investi-gation, an independent agency J. Edgar Hoover could be worth more to us today than any other man alive in letting us know what is going on throughout the world. But he cannot do it with Communists like this abusing him and that little group down there in the Depart ment of Justice trying to stultify him and prevent him from carrying out the duties of his exalted position;

Mr. RIVERS. I thank the gentleman

from Mississippi Mr. 182 1802 genticipan 1996 Mr. Erygns 17 Speaker, will the

man from South C

Mr. BRYRON - Co.
multiudinous Pederal
I can tilnk of note a
highest degree of resp

J. Edgar Hoover, and exactly what he les

The public a is represented as a One who truly the is first of all honest justice. The mere las did not call upon the side of the case establish adventure of doubt that he terested only in smearing the

Beyond that the author does not quote the public record. Let me be specific and proye my point. I was intrigued by one reference in the most. On page 320 the author says:

FBI practices were summed up in March 1940 by a Senate committee.

A review of the report of the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce a companying Senate Resolution 224, do not even contain the name of the Pe eral Bureau of Investigation. On page 5 of this report, in reciting the abus ferred to in Lowenthal's book, sheh se

tence is preceded by the words "seen police" did this and that. Howhere doe it my the FHI committed the abuses.

Lowenthal's book admits that while the report did not "specifically state that it charges were directed against the the reau Charman Burken. E. Whiteir." report the charges were directed against the charges were directed against the real, Chairman Burton & walker, in a press interview acknowledged that the report was, in fact, aimed at that willow unit." The children than the charge in the charge of only one—the long of the charge. checked on only one—Ch Daily News, March 13, 1946 how former Senator Wh

One other item on the same page 230 thracted my attention. Lowernthal reserved to the Spanish Loyalist cases in merels and says Attorney General Jack on "sent an investigator of his own to negate into the facts; the latter reported hat the FBI agents had engaged in conjuct which might constitute a violation of the Constitution." I have learned hat the investigator is now Poderal udge Henry Schwetnhaut. "His lengthy eport was relased to the press by the hen Attorney General, now Mr. Justice tobert H. Jackson, who also released a citer to the late Semator George W. Juris to the late. Semator George W. Juris to this letter in his book because ot support his amear upon the his letter, the then Attorney id:

m of course anxions, as you are, that we enforcement we do no violence to our khonal civil liberates. I am convinced if those liberates are generally endantin this country it is not by the FEL.

If the rest of the book is as one-sided, inaccurate and conveys the false impressions which the two items do on page 324, then the publisher and the author are entitled to an award for the book of the year southing the most errors and the greatest smear. In fact, I am sure that they will be heartly ourseended by bloody Joe Stalin as the Consentrate. atest smear. In fact, I am sure by will be heartly cummended by Joe Stalin as the Communist sould not have done a more effec-

man of opin-orment agen-matter, wide is in the field speciality for agents in De-agents in De-defectors, and of faith, eagen markances the

Inderwider any view of the master, with the ymast act in the fase of opposition and perhaps deager, and without opposition and colliberation. That the speaks in Date that acted within thair finite action, and extend the fact of opposition and rection acted within thair finite action, and extend the fact of the speaks in Date to me. Under such chromatanes they have entitled to my support.

L. I am of course auxious, as you are, that a lew entimements we do no violence to our traditional civil liberties, as an contract that if those liberties, are generally endangered in this country it is not by the Fall. In weighing the general attitude of the Bureau, it is important to bear in mind that a very agent acra under the probability that his condited will be examined by abrired lawyers for defendants, every confession may be shallenged, and every act opposed in open court. The Bureau is thus under continuous and heatile examination.

Under this severe test of cases investigation to accurate the Fall by the Faderal Bureau is thus under continuous and heatile examination.

Under this severe test of cases investigation and prescriptions are had in se percent. In the years since Mr. Hoover became head of the Bureau are one see he been reversed by an applicate come bount of defendants. These, to ma, are very inspressive facts, and of overseal will from time to the occur, and to the actions of the Bureau are explored the facts are only by themselves both to the former had of overseal will from time to the occur, and to the actions of the Bureau are explored to the secret became head of the secret will be action and the occur, and the occur will be actioned with a residue state that the more had on the secret will be present and of the Bureau as explored the control of the Bureau are explored to the secret and the secret will be control to the secret will be control to t

such a widesproad gratis distribution is paid for by other and superar on the sum can this paid four superar on the sum can this paid four either to the American poor vidually or collectively? What sood can the undermining of a do at a time when the Congruenced a subversive and arti-Computer of legislation which the Affecteral has at best been persuant page of legislation which the Affecteral has at the weeken proposition in some wise, implement purposition I further ask the weeken, how many of between the page of the page

raids on the homes and premises of individuals and organisations suspected of radical

Hoover was appointed special assistant to a man who contributed one of the most gloomy and bloody pages to the history of the United States—A. Mitchell Palmer, a po-lice tyrant who was fond of calling himself the Fighting Quaker. It was Palmer vengineered the anti-Red drive of 1919-20.

In his day Palmer gained notoriety as the police dictator of America. But the chief and direct organizer of the violence and lawlessness against progressive leaders was young J. Edgar Hoover.

Napoleon referred to the famous spy Schulmeister as a man of destiny. This was Wall Street's opinion of Edgar Hoover. At the age of 26, his career was assured. He was appointed Assistant Director of the Bureau of Investigation, and very soon after was made its Director, it having by then been renamed the Pederal Bureau of Investigation, or FBI,

The special agents of the FBI are known as G-men, which is short for "Government men." It is Hoover who was responsible for the appearance of the G-men in the United States. His first measure as Director of the FBI was to purge its staff. Gradually the old and very heterogeneous personnel of the Bureau, both as regards age and detective experience, was replaced by young men of a definite type, the kind usually employed by gaming dens and saloons as bouncers.

The G-men are instructed in the technicalities of man-hunting in special schools maintained by the FBI in Washington and other centers, as well as at the National Police Academy. Some of them are tutored in such arts and sciences as public speaking, psy-chology, and sociology. These are the men who are specially trained to fight the labor

movement.

In addition to his special training as a epy, every G-man is expected to master the various arts of physical assault and the bandling of every type of modern personal weapon. The American Gestapo-men are taught how to attack strikers and are initiated into the gentle arts of secret manslaugh ter, terrorism, and intimidation. Instruc-tion in methods of search, detection, and apprehension holds an important place in the training of a G-man.

The special agent is the central figure in the FBL. Moormous attention is paid to his training, the fundamental purpose of which is to turn him into a man hunter and manalaughtering automaton. His guiding maxim must be the one laid down by Ignatius Loyola for the members of the Jesuit Order: he is expected to be "as obedient as a corpse."

Hoover saw to it that his thugs were given the broadest powers, or, rather, enjoyed unlimited opportunity for the commission of violence. In the thirties Congress enacted legislation considerably salarging the powers of the FRI and its special agents. They were given permission to egect arrests and to use given permission, Hoover also saw 50.15 and is drawing under the Allien Registra, too Act.

On December 1, 1946, Roover's files contained approximately 113,000,000 finger prints. The FRI has a register of practically and is drawing under the Allien Registra, too Act.

On December 1, 1946, Roover's files contained approximately 113,000,000 finger prints. The FRI has a register of practically and is drawing under the Allien Registra, too Act.

COUNTRY TDEA COTTRACTOR which G-men are drawn.

With Hoover's appearance in the FBI the system of registration, investigation, and identification of Reds was thoroughly reorganized. He perfected and standardized it. The bulky files and multiplicity of filing cabinets were replaced by a card-index sys-tem and mechanical methods of analysis. In 1919 and 1920 Hoover card-indexed

500,000 Americans suspected of radicalism and dangerous thoughts. This was the first big measure in this broadly conceived program for putting the fight against progress on scientific lines. Much later the New Republic wrote in this connection:

In that dark period Hoover compiled a list of half a million persons suspected as dangerous because of the ultra-radicalism of their economic or political beliefs or activities. The equivalent of 1 person out of every 60 families in the United States was on the list. • • • Hoover beat Heinrich Himmler by 14 years."

Hundreds of thousands of names added every year to Hoover's files, which are known as the national security index. Before the outhreak of World War II Hoover set himself the task of keeping a secret tah on every progressive-minded American with-out exception. Several million names were entered in the black list. In order to reassure public opinion, Hoover had the rumor spread that the purpose of his card index was to keep a check on Fascist agents in the United States. Actually, his detective activities continued to be directed as hereto-

fore against progressive elements.
Since the war Hoover has developed political spying to monstrous limits. Envy of Himmler's laurels gives Hoover and his mas-ters no rest. We know that the Nazi superspy set himself the aim of not only tahbing every disaffected German, but of keeping a record of every adult inhabitant in general.

Hoover also took great pains to perfect system of identification which is a comonent part of the national security index. It was he that initiated the fingerprinting of every American listed in the index. He set up a civil section of the FBI fingerprint files. Before the war the national fingerprint records already contained fingerprints of 11.000.000 Americans.

Hoover exploited the prewar and war situation for the furtherance of his program. A full-hiast campaign was started to get Americans to register their fingerprints voluntarily. It was made compulsory for certain categories of utilizens—Government servants, members of the Armed Forces Agoptoposes of plants working on military supersums, and persons coming under the Alien Registra, tion Act.

detective literature designed to constitute American that both before and difficulties. detective literature de war America's counterespionage service prompt in detecting and affectively che the activities of Japanese and Service But it is well known that the Jary Service Counter of the Counter of allowed German and Japanese spice to ate with impunity in the United S Hoover endeavors, by distorting fac-suade the American that United suade the American that United States na-tional security in 1940 and 1941 was water-tight, and that he, the all-seeing Roover, and his special agents were fully up to their

The object of Hoover and his underlines in spreading this legend is to instill the belief. that now, too, after the war, the FRI is faithfully and honestly protecting the interests of the American people. The fact of the matter is that in these postwar years Hoover and his Bureau have been engaged Hoover and his Bureau have been engaged in a foul and despicable work on a tremen-dous scale, the purpose of which is to pre-pare the rear for a piratical aggressive war. The FBI is actually the central operations staff of the rabid campaign against every thing progressive in America. Planting stool pigeons in progressive organisations, frame-ups, blackmail—all these are the common everyday weapons of the FBI.

Hoover extended his activities into foreign countries as well. In the years 1937-39 the FBI set up an espionage and sabotage net-work in Latin America which thrust its tentactes into every department of the government service, into political parties, and into the economies of the countries concerned. It is with the help of Hoover's agents that coups d'état, provocation, and sedition are engineered in the Latin-American coun-

Since the close of 1945, in connection with the law coordinating Federal intelligence activities abroad, the functions of Hoover' Bureau in foreign countries have been considerably curtailed. In 1947, the FRI fils-banded the undercover system which it had created during the war in Latin America focunteract Japanese and German apploinage. But Hoover retained the right in maintain an inspection system in ward of the Jakin American countries. Its Imputing the local police in comballing the latin and democratic insequences thus play that you still the latin and the latin in Bureau in foreign countries have been con

...

receive to coordinate the work of the product bodies empaged in investigating subwarder activity. Preparing as they are for engreative war, America's rating circles want to be sure of having a reliable rear, purped, with the aid of the potice machine, of progressive elements.

Present-day America is potten-platent and descritive-lidden. No other accountry is so intested with alcuthe as the United States: no other people are so subjected to all-purading prying and syring as the Americana. The monopolules have created a pottos state in the full meaning of the term.

Hoover's wisely remised system of smooping and informing is creating an atmosphere of terror in the United States. By boosting the almighty power of the FMI and the superisaire talents of its agents, Boover and training to intimidate the ordinary American. The object of his spring system is to suppress all independent thinking and to make the people a pliable and submissive instrument of the imperialist ventures the American monopolies are picting in their hid for world domination. Boover and his machine, are diligently working to create an atmosphere of fear and terror in the United States and in this they are being aminted by the monopoly-owned press and readlo.

Hoover draws widely on the arperience of the Maid appling and terrorist system. But he fails to draw the other and paramount lea-

Hoover draws videly on the experience of the Mad spying and terrorist system. But he fails to draw the chief and paramount lea-son from this experience, namely, that the efforts of the Huter-Hummler gang ended in complete and disservous failure. Hoover's G-men are powerless to eithe the expirations of the American masses for peace and progress.

OROWIN OF THE PEACE MOVEMENT

Chower or tax Place Movement (Review of the Journal In Defence of Peace)

(By Y. Borisov)

The permanent Committee of the World Peace Congress daily receives letters and telegrams from all parts of the world reporting the progress of the day-to-day struggle of the sommon people against the imperialist preparations for a new war. The scale and character of the struggle is graphically reflected in the mouthly review, in Defense of Peace, published by decision of the World Congress in Prench, English, and Spanish. The six issues that have appeared since August 1940 mirror the progress made by the peace organisation and show how the movement has gained in strength und stope, Among the journal's contributors are distinguished public leaders and noted scientists, artists, and writers of thewards countries. In its pages are to be found letters from workers and farmers, from workers are the superior of the peace struggle in wirlows countries; it supports every have effective type of action and tries to make it as widely known as possible. Written in a militant and assertive subtricts he grides are and

e fin

birthday.

What he recouragement this is to all the fighters in the great battle of life against the forces of destruction and death. The institution of the international Scalin prime is one more striking proof of the passable aspirations of the Soviet state, which were aince its inception has fought indefstigably for wurld-wide passes.

aince its inception has fought indefatigably for well-wide peace."

As late as November 20, 1950, there appeared an article written in Moscow and directed in English to North America, entitled "Every United States Citizen Understady at FEI." A commentary by Pablov entitled "Thought Constroi in the United States." Is very significant.

Look, Mr. Speaker and America, what comforting words this book gives to these people to whom I have just referred. Sad indeed, significant indeed.

In addition to these, Mr. Speaker, I next call to testify on behalf of the terrific damage this book can do to the FBI articles appearing in the New York Hersald Tribune. I am sure that everybody knows the New York Hersald Tribune is not siven to going off half-cocked. Under date of November 23, which, Mr. Speaker, as you know was Thanksgiving Day, the above-mentioned paper wrote an editorial entitled "Smearing the FBI." It is significant indeed of the import of this book's insidious attack.

This editorial is as follows:

Sexuance riss FBI.

Sex the PRF been made the victim of an ordinary smear artist, the results would have been deplocable encough. The stuck made by Max Lowenthal in his newly published book. The Federal Eursun of Invasitation, is, however—by reason of the method and discussments—merited and results and results

them, too. I have dealt with many organ-izations. I think if you take it in propor-tion to the sum total of what I have been

tion to the sum total of what I have been engaged in, all these questions, even if the answer was 'yes,' to them, wouldn't amount to a hill of beans in proportion."

One Washington opinion of the Lowenthal book was voiced by Rex Collier, in the Evening Star. It noted that the publisher, william Sloene Associates, Inc., of New York, said the book with its "unbased and profoundly conservative approach" would lead "to some startling conclusions." Mr. Collier said: "One conclusion of this reviewer is that this is the most nonobjective object or book on the FBI ever published." ject or book on the FBI ever published."

John Keats, in the Washington Dally News, noted that no one can ever do an inside job on the working of the FBI, because the PBI won't yield the necessary information.
Mr. Keats added:

"No evil can come from the public's critical examination of the country's Pederal police, if it is done thoughtfully and objectively. This book starts the discussion. This coun try has been singularly free from activities of secret police. The time is probably now to find out whether it needs more or less of this commodity, and how to check its activi-ties in terms of our budget as well as our political philosophy."

All in all, it's quite a "rhubarb."

In the Washington Star, under date of November 20, Rex Collier had an arti-cle entitled "The FBI: How 'Objective' Can You Get?" It reads as follows:

THE FEI-HOW CAJECTIVE CAN YOU GET? (By Bex Collier)

An interesting book is off the press today. The author is Max Lowenthal—his subject, the FBI. It is, I say, an interesting book,

But it is not a good one.

The title of the book is printed plainly on the cover: "The Federal Bureau of Inves-However, the contents of this sotion." tigation." However, the contents or this so-called objective volume are apt to have the average reader quite confused. He will find it hard to believe that Mr. Lowenthal really was writing about the FM, that has ite headquarters at Minth Street and Pennsyl-vania Avenue—the agency that has gained so much fame for its war on gangsters, spics,

and aboteurs.

This is a different, a strange FEI that Lawyer Lowenthal; a long-time critic of the Burseu, describes: "This unbiased and profoundly conservative approach" to the FEI, says the publisher. William Stoare Associates, Inc. of New York, "will lead to some startling conclusions." One conclusion of this reviewer is that this is the most non-objective objective bottomy from the FEI swer published.

In his search for material Mr. Lowenthal Consumerated Burnelly in Consumerated Burnelly in Consumerated Burnelly in Consumerated Burnelly in Consumerate Burnelly in Street, in those said, the Street, and the Street, are accreed. But no mention in the Street, and the Street, in those said, the Street, and th

And perhaps the best evidence of Mr. Hoo-ver's innocence of blame was his selection afterward by Attorney General Harian Stone (later Chief Justice of the Supreme Court) to subject the Bureau to a sweeping recryan

The late Mr. Stone was one of the first persons publicly to denounce the Palmer raids. He would hardly have shosen Mr. Hoover to clean house if he had believed him in any degree responsible for the Burseu's tactics.

As one goes on through succeding chapters, it becomes evident that Mr. Lowenthal has been busy with his ahears for many years. In no other way could be conceivably have collected all the newspaper and maga-zine clippings critical of Mr. Hoover and the FBI included in this veritable acrapbook. Apparently nothing of derogatory import apparenty intining of designating in the part of that has been printed about the FBI since World War-I has escaped his eye. In his own objective way, he has included virtually nothing that could be considered laudatory.

Thus, he devotes considerable space to criticism by the late Senator Norris of an FEI roundup in Detroit of persons indicted for recruiting men for armed services abroad, viz, the Spanish Loyalist cause. Not to be found in the book, however, is a letter to Benator Norris from Robert H. Jackson, now a Supreme Court Justice and then the Attorney General, stating that a careful inves-tigation had shown that the agents in De-troit acted within their instructions and exercised their discretion in good faith. Mr. Jackson added: "I am, of course, anxious, as you are, that in law enforcement we do no violence to our traditional civil liberties. I am convinced that if those liberties are generally endangered in this country, it is not by the FBL"

not by the FBL."

Mr. Lowenthal indicates his disapproval of FBI activities in white slavery, automobile theft, bank robbery, and kidnaping cases, he does not explain how the agency can avoid handling these cases in view of the acts of Congress requiring the Bureau to do so. He cites the FBI's publication, Uniform Crime Reports, as providing proof that crime is on the increase in this country, despite the FBI. He neglects to point out that the crimes reported in this periodic bulletin are "offenses reported by police," hence purely local crimes over which the FBI has no jurisdiction. He might have added (but did not) that white alsway, kidnaping, and heak robbery were brought under control only after Congress projected the Bureau.

Onder the heading Investigation of healthy respect register for the Bureau.

Under the heading Investigation of healthy respect register for the Prefidential.

Now, Mr. By ther to fine the Congress and design by Walter Windshift & al commentator, and Fulton) well-known commensator by Lowenthal. Is if not strange.

Speaker, that we should find the winchell and Pulton Lewis in the bed on this subject. Lany it is strange, Mr. Speaker, because took these men have fought for the right individuals and have defended the i tutions of this Nation

I will say this for these gentlements have differed on many eccasions in Mr. Winchell and on many occasions with Mr. Pulson Lewis, but I do not a lieve it can be said of them that they a afraid to propound and defend to positions. They have been consistent defending the institutions of which FBI has been in favor, and they have upheld the hand of J. Edgar Hoover. It is not funny or unusual that they should come to the aid of that great organ tion and the great leader who tower high in this Nation, Mr. J. Edgar Hoo

The articles I have referred to are as follows: [From the Washington [D, C.) Post of 1 veraber 24, 1980]

WALTER WINCENEL IN MEN TORK

Two publications of national first peared this week. The first was a objective study of the Jist by Man that, which to this writer is nother nor less than a violous one stant w J. Rigar Hoover, The o J. high Hoover, and the term to the top House Un-American Active Lee Pressman, Nathan Will Yohn J. Abt, and the same Pressman, education the term of t

Tourgeois organisation. Then the cause of the PBI is also considered an American institution, then Lowenthal has spared no houses, however hallowed, in his attack. Gleverly, he does not make the charges himself. Following is a sample of his devious technique on the memory of President Theodore Roosevelt. Lowenthal says: "Newspaper articles appear, disclosing the fact that does ders had been assembled for President Theodore Roosevelt containing information about the personal affairs of various Congressmen active in the campaign to investigate the Peteral detectives. News accounts conveyed the President's intention to publicize this collection, if the congressional investigation of Federal secret police were carried to the lengths of provoking him."

To this writer, that is an objectionable—and not an objective charge—that President Theodore Roosevelt was a criminal blackmaller. It comes, it must be objectively mated, from May Lowenthal, whose own loyable with a strenged on the floor of Congress. It should also be objectively noted that even Theodore Roosevelt's bitterest opponents called him a great American.

American.

The the FBI to be an enduring and growthg complines since 1806 the Attorneys General of the United States must have been
part of it. At any rate, Lowenthal lists them
at the beginning of his book. By any obsective standard, they are an honor roll of
the American par. Republicans and Democraits. Protestants and Catholic, rich and
poor, conservative and liberal, they are a
cross section of some of the most distinguished names in American history.

Five of them, for example, went to the
United States Supreme Court. Most Americans will be revolted by an inference that
conservative Republican George Wickersham,
conservative Republican George Wickersham,
conservative Republican Serves Harlan Stone,
and Michigan's Frank Murphy as Attorneys
General, either diol's know what was going
on or were part of the same expanding conspiney. The records show, for instance, that
Supreme Court Justice Frank Murphy, practeally the American aposits of civil rights—
fought as 'Attorney General for a double
brodget for the FBI. To this writer, Max
Lowenthal's book virtually and didotically
charges that all these great Americans remained quiescent or actively helped the
proveth of a great conspiney against the
american people.

or may throw overthal wrote main Downers's ron the Rasses of thirties Lower weakening our sil-out Ooft.

seman Dosreso's drastic opin-good American would care to ked by Lowenthal's known pres-certain typical, very dry Ameri-m of Lowenthal appears from of his testimony before the nerican Activities Committed, y: Mr. Lowenthal: "The num-that I didn't know were mem-communist Party is something see makes my hatr stand on secal: "Ours, too."

Preddent Truman has a close personal friend and adviser who is credited with great influence in and around the White House. In fact, Jonathan Daniels, in his recent book. The Man of Independence, described this Presidential intimate as having influenced Mr. Truman's liberal thinking more than any other American.

The man is Max Lowenthal, and his intimacy with the Freddent is reason enough to take a look at him. But there is another reason, but as good, which we can work on today.

Lowenthal has written a book about the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It reveals a life-long concentration of distasts for the Federal Bureau of September 1, 1950, cropped out a time or two prior to this recent writing effort.

In the 1880's, the record reveals, Lowenthal directed another attack against the Bureau; in 1940, the same record discloses, he sent out to Washington newsmen an anonymous memorandum "smearing" the FBI.

Representative Genera A. Dosmano (Republican), of Michigan, reparts Lowenthal as a man of mystery, and as a man dedicated to "dever, dishothesi scheming to undermine our national security." He so characterized him on the floor of the House.

A graduate of Harvard University, Lowenthal is a chose friend of Superme Court Pastop Front Him. He sho has been stothing around with a number of Johns with interesting records, the Dosmanistics Hacon prevents.

ree sen Lowenthal's plc-irness it should be point-sen't stulk down alleys rein New York and Wash-

been in the limelight for her, and is beldom seen at

ome receion or another, and
Washington contrall parties.

He was born in Minneapols, Minn, and
after grad astom from Harbard have shoot had
a series of jobs in law diffuse in New Tork tofore migrating to Washington in 1917.

Just what point there is in a committee to
dialite for the PHI is a bit shoot at the minment. His book is not a bacod and thristian
ment. His book is not a bacod and thristian
recital of PHI case, but a full documents
then instead.

It is heavy going, the type that tentally
winds up in libraries on the reference book
abelves.

Maybe that is just where he wants it to go
then it will be a source of information for
the young minds of America.

From the New York Journal-American of
November 21, 1989.

man more responsible for Mr. Truman's lib-scal thinking than any other American.

Fig. 1 thinking than any other American.

Nobody would ever suspect Kahn of being a conservative. So let's compare him to the publisher's version of one.

On page 8 and elsewhere in Kahn's book, high Treason—the Flot Against the People, he quotes from the report of the Inter-Church World Movernment which was critical of the Descriptor of Institute countries. tool of the Department of Justice roundup of Communists in 1920.

Lowenthal, in his first 260 pages, does like-

on pages 11 and 18, Kahn blames FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover for the roundup of Heds, and goes into critical detail regarding the Department of Justice General Intelligence Division. Lowenthal devotes chapters on end to this ancient situation.

Eahn, on page 18 of his book, quotes FBI Director Hoover regarding the roundup of the Beds. On page 173, Lowenthal mess al-

the Reds. On page 178, Lowenthal uses almost an identical quote.

Another almost identical quotation appears in Eahn's book on page 18, Lowenthal's on page 288.

on page 238.
On page 20, Kahn goes into detail in ac-On page 20, Kahn goes into detail in accusing agents of acting as "inquisitors" in the trials of the Communists. Lowenthal, on page 217, blasts the FBI on the same count and aimost in the same language.

Both Kahn and Lowenthal discuss a jail in Hartford, Conn., and a Federal building in Detroit, Mich. In Kahn's book the references

ere on pages 20, 21, and 22. In Lowenthal's, on pages 201 and 208.

er Island, where one Communist com mitted suicide and one was adjudged insane, is mentioned in both books in exact detail.

Example 18 both boost in start cetair.

Lowenthal gets around to it on page 207,

Kahn on page 23.

William Sicane Associates, Inc., make a

point of the fact that Lowenthal quotes

PBI's defenders in his book, "including, of

course, J. Edgar Hoover." That sounds fine and dandy. But Lowenthal has yet to talk to Hoover, visit the FBI, or request research data from the Bureau. I know. I asked the FBI if they had ever seen anybody resembling Lowenthal around the place. A Bureau spokesman said "No."

[From the New York Journal-American of November 21, 1950]

WASHINGTON REPORT

(By Pulton Lewis, Jr.)

Washington, November 21.—Max Lowen-thal, one of President Truman's ace instruc-tors in liberal thinking, considers the Fed-eral Bureau of Investigation a waste of taxpayers' money and a detriment to the welfare of the United States of America.

In his new book on the PEI, Lowenthal expresses these views in chapter after chapter, and in one instance goes back 20 years to game about J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the PEI.

In 1920 the Justice Department ordered a round-up of Communicat and other Higgs aliens in the United States for the purpose of instituting deportation proceedings. This

On the flyical of the cover Lowenthal is de scribed as a conservative who does not edi-torialize or draw conclusions carelessly. Lowenthal's career is sprinkled with a

Lowenthal's career is sprinkled with asso-ciates who are anything but conservative. As for conclusions, he bleams the FEE for running a police state, and then immediately bawls out Heover for hot catching chough atom spice.

On the record, Hoover's agents followed a spy trail that was 4 years old in order to half into court the Americans who worked with Rights Placks would never home

with Elsts Fuchs. Pachs would never have happened if the British Secret Service had been on the ball. As it was, the FEI and Canadian agents handed the first tip on Fuchs to the British.

Scotling at FRI detection methods, Lowenthal indicates that the only reason G-men ever broke a pre-Pearl Marbor spy ring was that a German agent had the bad luck to be involved in a traffic accident in New York.

The truth of the matter is that German agents in the Ludwig ring had been under FBI surveillance for months. The first tip came to the FBI not as a result of the traffic accident, but via a British censor who inter-cepted a letter that did not read right. He turned it over to the FBI and it was through the wringer. Invisible ink writing, calling for data on shipments to England, set the FBI counterespionage experts in op-

All of this is a matter of record in the

court where the Germans were convicted, but Lowenthal missed it in his research. Lowenthal quotes former Senator Carl Hatch, Democrat, of New Mexico, to beister his argument that the FBI, as it now operates, is a threat to our welfars. He quotes Hatch as saying:

"Granting everything I say about the ability with which Mr. Hoover has conducted the FBI, every one of us knows that it is a wery great power he now exercises. Senators would further broaden that arbitrary power—giving control to the police just as the people of Osschoslovskia did in their poor country."

What he could have added, but did not, is

wother Hatch quote:
"I want, again, as I did the other day, to
mmend Mr. Hoover himself for the attitude

"I want, again, as I did the other day, to commend Mr. Hoover himself for the attitude he has taken on this and other matters, and for his very efficient administration of the Pederal Bureau of Investigation."

Lowenthal necesses the FMI of lying to a Pederal judge about wire tapping in the Coplen case. This should be news to the judge. The facts on record are that on January M. 1860, the Pederal judge presiding in the onesested publicly that the FMI had independent proof of the apying activities of Judith Coplen and her Soviet playmate which had not been obtained by wire tips.

The fact is, also, that it is legal to any wire when the Attorney General didars M dame, The only restriction is that the syndemic philipsed must not be used in sourt.

In this, as a further testimonial to the integrity of Edgar Hoover, Mr. Speaker; I insert lastly an excerpt from an article

sort of rumor, that the special ways when indiscriminately serving private business.

Byer since I read that passess have been belong to the passess of the passess of the passess of the passes of the passess of the passes of the

wires indiscriminately learning years private business.

Ever since I read that naturalized have been attacying the wall. I would have been attacying the wall. I would see what I have instruct.

As a liberal with a long record of save fighting for the presurvation of save fighting for the presurvation of save fighting. I am inclined to view a enforcement officers with a wary syanot without reason; too many time break the law in the performance to duties. duties.

I grew up in New York where there often a wanton disregard for the rights a dignity of human beings. Large numbers dignity of human beings. Large mumbers in newcomers to American freedom let the en-buildoss them. In their native lands is had been used to police brutalities, and their new home they did not know that the laws protected them. Such disregard of individual rights, are pended on a national scale, seemed to as a positive danger, for national police have almost invariably abried their power.

was therefore utterly confounding to me discover that our Federal police agency of doing its work with a fervid insistence specting the rights and privileges of it viduals.

When a skeptical person like myself is that of all the trials in which the FM. that of all the trials in which the Fig., involved last year 97 percent ended in or victions, he is likely to have cynical reservitions, and when he learns that 94 percept the convictions were based on pleas of good he is bound to ask: "How were these of fessions obtained?"

fessions obtained?"Hast and Communist courts have t us that a piec of guilty may prove noth more than that a man's will sen be knot One rarely hears such charges against FRI. In our courts of appeal—where se One revely hears such many where appearance are heard of unfair treatment as violations of constitutional rights. charge is almost never raised as

However, I did not rely on this indi-However, I did not rely on this indi-alone, nor even on my study of case seed. I wrote articles in which, when it send me any evidence they might be the FRI had violated a monthly that you was a series of the property of the shortest of the property of

I saw my friend Jan Masaryk, Ozechoslovakia's democratic Foreign Minister, in Prague not long before he come to his end. I know intimately the story of Quisling. I know how helpless democratic forces can be, they do not protect their people against the petret discipline, the abominably careful cheming of totalitarian minorities.

The Communists could never win an elec-tion in the United States. They do not expect to do so. The Communist program, like the Ku Klux Klan, can grow only by stealth in dark cellars. J. Edgar Hoover was right when he stood firmly against a plan to outlaw the Communist Party when the to outlaw the Communist Party when the first public outcry was made against the Communists. Why drive more of them underground? All that such an act could ever outlaw would be a name. The next day the next day the same revolutionists would turn

up under a new title.
Until Congress is wise enough to par laws which force open operation of all, mass movements, we shall have to protect our-selves against secretly organized attack. We can bring all subversive outfits into the open by requiring all mass movements to report to the Government the essential facts about emselves the names of all their officials. the money they take in, and from whom it comes, and how it is spent.

I suggest that the McCarran bill recently

passed by Congress will not work because the Communists will either put their organi-zations underground or shandon them to start other organizations for the same pur-

poses under other names.

The requirement to disclose essential facts is no invasion of privacy. The President's Committee on Civil Rights unanimously recommended that such laws be passed; represented on the committee are members of the AFI., the CIO, and various minority groups. No decent organization hesitates to identify elf; why should any other kind of organi-

sation be protected?

Even without such laws, the PBI has handled delicate problems well. On Pearl Harbor Day the Bureau was able to advise the Attorney General of the best for suffern the Attorney General of the basis for authorizing the arrest of some 16,000 persons. A few of the 16,000 became my clients. I defew of the 18,000 became my chants. I de-fended them before hearing boards and was able to help free some of them. In every case there were fair hearings, with every consideration being shown to the defense.

And although I was the lawyer for certain acquitted suspects. I must admit that Mr. Roover had a justification in picking up my clients; there was cause for suspicion, and no injustice was done.

no injustice was done.

One Jewish refugee was picked up because she had entertained one of Hitler's most potent underground spies. But it was easy for me to produce conclusive evidence that my client flid not know her guest was a Nasil. She was set free—but the authorities had been right to bring her in for question-ing.

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a.

aged in espionage or sabotage against the United States.

This statement was made by President Franklin D. Boosevelt. In fact, he 'established the policy which has since been adhered to by the Attorneys General. Note, however, that FBI agents never undertake wire tapping on their own authority; per-mission must first be obtained from the Attorney General. Furthermore, wire-tapping evidence cannot be used in Federal courts. Its only value to the PBI is in opening up leads for inquiry.

The loyalty-investigation program has created a misconception about the PBI's func-tion. Every American should understand that the PBI does not try Government employees. It merely serves various Govern-ment bodies as a reporting agency. When a reporting agency has the power to edit, it can make anyone appear a devil or a hero. But the PBI does not edit. It gathers the facta about a Federal employee and turns over its findings to the head of the depart-ment. And that is all it does, or can do, except that it frequently is able to save suspect in his job when rumor is doing its best to get him fired. J. Edgar Hoover cannot fire a single person. His reports do not even contain recommendations. The FBI turns in all the evidence it finds—including unverified tips, rumors, goesip—everything. It adds comments and evaluation of their accuracy, and there its responsibility ends. It is up to the heads of administrative agen-

It would be folly to ignore rumors, or even anonymous messages; an unsigned note was instrumental in sending the notorious General Myers to prison. Ditto for thousands of less spectacular examples. To abandon that policy would be to assign to Hoover's assistants the duty, and the power, to acreen the reports. I should be very much disturbed if police agents were permitted to withhold evidence on their judgment of its value. Par better the present system: the complete re-ports go to the responsible official; every-thing is in the dossier, with a careful com-ment on each item, whether it is a fact, probability, or rumor.

ability, or rumor.

In my study of the FBI it soon, became clear that lies were being spread against it. For example, it has been said and printed repeatedly that agents in loyalty investigations demand to know whether a suspect reads certain magazines of leftist tings. This charge is a lie. Whenever he hears of the statement being made, Hoover calls for the facts—and invariably swaybody backs down. They heard it consewhere, they can't remember where. Directives to FBI agents specifically forbid such questions, unless the read-

¹ Maj. Gen. Bennstt E. Myers, former Air Perce purchasing officer, convicted of matter ing a former business associate to lie under cath about irregular war contracts in which Mayors was involved.

. . .

This minority being furt This minority being further invisority Sto amployees were finally; In 163 cases the employees appeale given their jobs back. One significant he noted—1,474 resigned help cases came up. Actually, the Filt being criticised for not having 2 many subventives as it should have A real "smear" campaign has been on against Hoover's work. These whom

on against Hoover's work. Those who fee the Bureau—as I once did—will be glad to know the facts. The FBI is unique in the history of national police. It has a magnithistory of national police. It has a magnif- of ident record of respect for individual freedom. It invites documented complaints against its agents. It has realously tried to prevent itself from violating the remocratic:

Among liberals I am by no means alone in this opinion. A while ago Roger Baldwin, formerly director of the American Ci-Liberties Union, wrote to J. Edgar Hoover:

'It seems to me that your Bureau he accomplished an exceedingly difficult task with rare judicial sense."

. 3-.

For me, that sums up the record.

It is also interesting to note what that distinguished Washington -columnist, George Dixon, has to say about his research in an effort to find out who is paying for the distribution of this masterpiece of libel. I enclose George Dixon's excerpt:

[From the Washington (D. C.) Times-Herald of November 29, 1980]

(By George Dison)

A strange little creature, with an even stranger history of associations and addis-tions, has written a 550-page book attacking the PBI.

tacking the FEI.

This peculiar little fellow, Max Lowenthal, is described on the jacket as "a lawyer with a long and distinguished record in both private practice and Government service,"

He is distinguished all right in that he has the distinction of having been summoned before the House Committee on Dy-American Activities with such distinctive you-know-whats as Wathan Witt, Lee Pressuman, Charles Kramer, John J. Abt, and downpany.

But I couldn't find anyholy coots vettes so exhibition of institution of

Cart Sale of Green Solding Hickory or at the cargo of and South of the land of the sale of

The book retails for \$4.50 which would seem to make this free list a pretty expansive operation. I phoned the publishers, William Sloans Associates, in New York, and was connected with a Mass Bleamor Fishels, who said she was in charge of publicity.

But when I saided who was putting up the money to flood Washington with free copies she said, "Hold the line," and passed me up to a Isliow who said he was Norman Hood, vice president in charge of promotion. Mr. Hood admitted that 1,100 free copies had been sent out, but insisted this wasn't

had been sent out, but insisted this wasn't out of line.

se books only cost us \$1 each to print (so the profit on a book is \$8.50 yet?—I'm in the wrong racket: Dixon) which means a cost to us of only \$1,100," said vice president in charge of promotion Hood. "That is in charge of promotion Hood. "That is really nothing in these days of high promo-

I asked Hood who was paying for this free

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distribution.

"We are," he maisted.

"Let's get this definite now," I said. "No outside interest organization or group is

outside interest organisation or group is putting up any money?"
"No. We are defraying it all."
Unless William Stoane Associates are in the publishing business for their health I can't see how they can justify such costly promotion for a 569-page book that will not appeal to the general reader.
Well, there's one consolation for J. Edgar Houser. He doesn't have to recover about the

Hoover. He doesn't have to worry about the book making any wide impression upon the American public because few people who have to work for a living will be able to find the time to read it.

Lastly, Mr. Speaker, I include what shother distinguished American has to say about this man and for the Recomp I msert an article by George Sokolsky as it appeared in the Times-Herald, November 30, 1950. He gizes a little light on one Max Lowenthal. I want the American people to have a little squint at this, Mr. Speaker, as it may help them arrive at a proper conclusion on what lies behind the sudden arrival of Lowenthel's piercing penmanship,

THE DAYS

(By George Bokolsky)

Most of my actionques have written about Max Lowenthal's book on J. Edgar Electer and the FEL Apparently they have read the book, but I must plead that I had other bestness on hand.

Committee on Un-American Activities

Ed.):
"It was a confidential mission that I don't

"It was a confidential mission that I don't care to go into. It was only for a short time, and I never discuss that kind or government work with anybody."

You would imagine that in 1917 this somet mission was so terrific that it sould only have been to Lenin or Trotsky or somebody like that, although I was in Petrograd in those days, and do not recall Lowenthal, whose mission must have been too important even for history.

Max Lowenthal has held innumerable jobs

Max Lowenthal has held innumerable jobs with various branches of the Government from 1912 almost up to date. Some of them

were of this character, to use his own words:
"In 1942 or 1948 there was some kind of
problem, it is not quite clear in my mind; there was a war commission, I don't remember its name; it was headed by Mr. McNutt.
"Mr. WHERLER. Paul McNutt?
"Mr. LOWERTHAL Yes, Paul McNutt. I was sworn to satist them for a very temporary period on acceptance or other, trying to

was sworn to assist them for a very temporary period on something or other, trying to straighten out some difficulties among some men who were not part of the Government. "Mr. Chairman, I wouldn't remember these things too definitely, and anything any records would show that would correct me, I would accept those corrections."

would accept those corrections.

"Toward the end of 1943 or early 1944 I left that work. During all that period and since that period I have been consulted informally by various people in the Government, but so far as I can recollect at this moment, I don't think ever in any official capacity. There might be some, and I would be very glad to have those noted for the record."

It is a buttle allower.

neord."

It is a little difficult to believe that Mr. Lowenthal cannot remember what he did for Paul McNutt. It was not so long ago nor could it have been very important. Mr. Lowenthal's lapse of memory at this point is, to say the least, fascinating.

Mr. Lowenthal's lapse of memory at this point is, to say the least, fascinating.

Mr. Lowenthal was asked who had recommended him for employment by the War Department. This is his reply:

"I couldn't say for certain. I was asked by a group of organisations whether I would permit my name to be submitted for recommendation by General Cisy, and I agreed."

What are those organisations? He must know, but he dose not say. No names of organisations. "Ho manes of organisations. "Ho manes of programmations. "Ho memory and anythery."

the book, but I must passe have a continue on hand.

Anybody can be negative about such a joi as J. Bigs: Hoover does. Hid Roover batch tay to Judge Roover does. Hid Roover batch tay to Judge Roover does. Hid Roover batch tay to Judge Roover does in a dogs the fellows who stole the hallot bones in the follow who will be to take in a dogs the Kansas City, Mo. election? No. He find to have the heart who were the Roover of Covernment style to have a contraining the Salate City wing the salate on the Roover of Covernment style to have a contraining the Salate City wing the salate on the Roover of Covernment style to have the heart of the salate City wing the salate on the Roover of the Roover of the Salate City of the salate on the Roover of the Roover of the Salate City of the salate

that from Adams's propose to stale and but for the timeson the distinguished the Honorable Choose Domino could on this very flow and the September 1, 1860, entitled A. M. Mystery. Mr. Dokesto drotte light on who Max lowenths is. It be very handy and my artists will be very handy and my artists will be very handy and my artists will be very handy and my artists. very compact for those who want is about one Max Lowenthal and to r your memory of one 5, Migar Hoove The SPEAKER. William object

it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Prom the Conventence at Maconi of September 1, 1960) A Man or Myselet

Mr. Downeso. Mr. Speaker, I want to erms a man of mystery this afternoon and for the first time take of the mask before, which he has been hiding for years and even avoiding service from the Committee on Una American Activities.

avoiding service from the Committee on Samerican Activities.

The sharp pen and penetrating insight a Washington editorial writer has para Washington official writer has para washington official on a citorial, "No is man?" The writer then core on to destruct him:

"He places these agents of destruction our Government agencies. He are tribe in when our loyal stipens cannot jobs. He can move his posens up the to better paying and more sensitive why? Hot so they can get more established because they can apy more effectively. "A man who is not unknown at the Wallous. Otherwise, he would see him power or the knowledge to so the lot is doing.

"And now is the time to go attended will be a transmontour job. It will seem ing on the toes of some say," and man the account say, "a man to fidule and place the provincial of the loss of some say," and man the account say, "and man the account say," and the toes of some say, "and man the account say," and the toes of some say, "and the toes of some say," and the same of the same say in the same of the same say in the same of the same say in the same

S. C.

He is native born. His name does not appear in Who's Who. To secure even a sketch of his biography has been a task.

Born in Minneapolis in 1688, he attended

Born in Minneapolis in 1888, he attended the University of Minnesota; graduating with a bachelor of arts degree in 1900. Then like many other parior plaks, fellow travelers, communists, and convicted perjurers, he attended Harvard Law School, graduating in 1912. In those early days he came under the influence of another man who through the years has manipulated the Charlie McCarthys in Government office. There is a striking kinship between the master, Justice Felix Prankfurter, and the pupil, Max Lowenthal. And as is so often the case, the pupil rises to outdo the master.

Following his Harvard days, he served as a secretary to Judge Julian M. Mack in New York, and then infiltrated the highly respectable law firm of Cadwalader, Wickersham & Taft. After a few years he founded his own firm of Lowenthal, Smold & Brandwen.

Later he secured an appointment as as-

...

Later he secured an appointment as assistant secretary of the President's Mediation Board in 1917, in 1918 he was in the War Department, in 1920 he was an assistant secretary to the President's Industrial Conference. Then he secured the appointment as executive secretary for the Wickersham Commission on Law Enforcement, but when he found he could not run it he resigned in a huff. Lated he became research director of the Banking and Currency Commission. In 1935 he was appointed to the staff of the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce, also becoming amiliated with the Board of Economic Warfare.

By pulling strings he acquired the title of advisar on disposal of Jewish property to Gen. Laicius Clay, head of our military government in Germany. Within a matter of weaks he was known as the general counsel to General Clay and had as an assistant George Shaw Wheeler, the American traitor, Communist, and renegade who shocked all America when he denounced the land of his hirth and asked Communist-controlled Czechoslovakia for saylum. I exposed him

America when he denounced the land of his hirth and saked Communist-controlled Czechoslovakia for saylum. I exposed him several years ago on the floor of this House.

Within a matter of weeks a change occurred in Germany. The usually accurate Human. Events of September 25, 1946, reported, "It may be mere coincidence, but since Mr. Lowenthal's appointment General Clay has permitted leaders of the Soviet-sponsored SED (Socialist Workers Party) to address mass meetings in the American some of occupation." This was the opening which the Russians were awaiting because it gave them the opportunity to sponsor a Communist Party under our protection. A few weeks later the commentator, Walter Winchell, warned on his Sunday night program that as a result of Lowenthal's activities a rife had occurred between the American and British sones.

Lowenthal's influence began to mount in

British somes.

Lowenthal's influence began to mount in the early thirties, he his influence grew, so did its effect. Men he had selected and nursed became more powerful.

sons were inducted forms act; however, the indictformia Securities Act; however, the indictments were later dismissed. Behind the
scenes powerful forces went to work. Prof.
Pelix Prankfurter; of Harvard University,
started a chain of letters to his former students who were members of the bar, asking,
as a personal favor to him, for them to look
after the interests of the defendants.

Lowenthal also lent his prestige to other groups. He was reported to be one of the endorsers of the Conference of the American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born in 1940, an organization listed as subversive by the Attorney General. He was a member of the left-wing National Lawyers Guild. He was a member of the National Committee of the International Juridical Association with Lee Pressman, who once defied a congressional committee. He ad-mitted his Communist affiliation this week. Lowenthal also was associated in this organization, cited as subversive by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, with the late Joseph R. Brodsky, the attorney of the Communist Party; Shad Polier, friend of Alger Hiss; Nathan Witt, an accused Com-munist; Edward Lamb, a left-wing newspaper and radio-etation operator; Abraham J. Isand radio-elation operator; abraham J. is-serman, who was cited for contempt by Judge Medina in the New York Communist trial, along with others of a dubious background. The activities of the International Juridical Association incidentally at one time were carried on in the offices of Carol King, the well-known lawyer for Communists. Some other well-known members of the Inter-national Juridical Association are Lowenthal's friend, Prof. Thomas I. Emerson, Yale Law School and president of the National Lawyers Guild; Buth Weyand, discharged attorney from the National Labor Relations oard; and Abe Portas, of Lattimore fame.

Carol Weiss King, who has probably represented more Communists than any other lawyer in America, once was a law clerk in Lowenthal's office, where she was well grounded and trained for her later years.

Lowenthal has always found time for his extracurricular pursuits of aiding and abetting Communists. For example, he has been given the credit for the offensive launched against the House Un-American Activities Committee in the Hollywood hearings. Lowenthal was conveniently in Washington in October 1947, and naturally was extremely eautious in working behind the senses with David Wahl, Charles Krame, Bartley Crum, and others. At the time, write laaked out of the Council of the Hollywood District Ingulars of the committee in order that insulters of the committee in order that the Congressions sould be removed. In fact Lowenthal total the Hollywood from high that the Congressions and the Hollywood Council of the Hollywood Story and the house that the Congressions and the Hollywood Character at the Congressions of the Hollywood Character at the Congressions and the Hollywood Character at the Congressions and the Hollywood Character at the Lowenthal that the Hollywood Character at the Lowenthal that the Hollywood Character at the Lowenthal Story who leve to Washington Manner at the Lowenthal Story who leve to Washington Manner and Lowenthal Story and Lo

Lowenthal's record is one of the American Institution which dentification actuates for the American way of the attacked railroeds, banks, and the cause of liberalism has a stacked railroeds, banks, and the cause of liberalism has a stacked record the cause of liberalism has a stacked to the seance. For example, in 1928, showing great liberal and denouncer of property william O. Douglas, was allewated to the Supreme Court, Lowenthal got been trained norganize opposition because he feared norganize opposition because he hear apparent to F. D. R., and should this happen communism would have a stalwart for.

munism would have a stalwart 109.

His friends boast of Lowenthal's authoring Presidential veto messages and sven more recently of his master-minding the M-savised more to thwart the anactment of antisuhverwive legislation at a time when members of both political parties in Congress and throughout the country have united as one to secure a law which would make America safer in its hour of trial and crisis. The Federal Communications Commission, under James Lawrence Fly, was not unbouched by the tentacles of Lowenthal's influence.

The influence for evil of this man of mystery can best be gaged by viewing a few of his intimates:

Al Bernstein, director of negotiations, United Public Workers of America, a union so left-wing and Communist-directed that it was expelled from the CEO several months ago: At one time Bernstein worked for Lowenthal and has been a contact of his for years. Bernstein & known to have been a secret member of the Communist Party work, with his chief, Abe Plaxer, in Washington.

with his chief, Abe Flaver, in Washington.

Bjorne Yngware Halling, Samalito, Dalif.
secretary-treasurer of the old California CiG
council, which was expelled from the TIG
because of its Red tings, has a long record
of Communist activities. According to the
Communist paper, the People's World, for
Cetober 19, 1946, Halling protected his rela
of the Communist leaders in New Yorld.
Halling's secretary was facile manously meanber of the executive committee of the Communist Party and Wife of Samily Communist Party and Wife of Samily and
washington. But here the Comwashington. But here the Compolitical support
placed in about

als his true colors. One of Lowenthal's assistants in the Board of Economic Warfare was George Shaw Wheeler. Wheeler had previously served in Government agencies such as the National Labor Board, the Department of Labor, and the State Department. He also was investigated several times because of his reported affiliations with Weshington Committee for Democratic Action, the American League for Peace and Democracy, the Washington Bookshop, and the American Peace Mobilization, all of which have been ruled by the Attorney Generl to be subversive organizations.

The files of the Civil Service Commission

contain testimony that he was a member of the Communist Party, and if made public, they would reveal that the Civil Service Commission found Wheeler was ineligible for Government service because of his Com-munist activities. Then, a pressure cam-paign developed that had all the earmarks of a Lowenthal manipulation. In no time at all, the Civil Service Commission reversed its position and Wheeler was cleared. When Lowenthal was appointed to go to Germany on General Clay's staff, he took as his first assistant none other than George Shaw Wheeler. Soon after Wheeler's arrival in Germany, he established contacts with the Germany, he established bullete. German Communist Party. The Army final-derman Communist Party. The Army finally dropped him on November 1, 1947. Wheeler, by his acts and words, has proven the correctness of the early Civil Service action insisting Wheeler was a Communist. I hope our Government has taken steps to record Wheeler's disavowal of his citizenship and Sorever will bur him from our shores.

But Lowenthal is back, living in New York

But Lowenthal is back, living in New York but spending much of his time in Washing-ton; his influence still a menace to the best interests of America. I have no doubt we shall hear further either from him or his stooges and when we do, it will be because of some sinister act, designed either to protect Communists, infiltrate further into our Government, or to undermine our internal

Every person still in the Government who has had a Lowenthal endorsement, should be identified and their loyalty determined but not by the standards that freed George Shaw Wheeler.

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, in closing, let me say this to you, my colleagues, freedom of speech and press is a great and priceless possession. It is unfortunate when this freedom leads men to doing the things which Lowenthal has either consciously or unconsciously done in his book. Only in this Nation can such successfully be done. I neither have the time, money nor inclination, much less the ability, to write in the subtle manner of Lowenthal. I do not have the power of distribution which he possesses, but, Mr. Speaker, I want the archives of the Congress of the United States to know what I and the rest of my bolleagues who resent this book have had to hours. Mr. Speaker, saving America is everybody's job. Giving aid and comfort to our enemies at home and abroad should be anybody's shame.

That is all I have to say about Lowenthal, Mr. Speaker. I ask permission to insert various articles as a part of my statement here this morning.

The SPEAKER. Without objection,

it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

[From the New York World-Telegram and Sun of November 20, 1950]

CIVIL LIBERTIES CHAMPION POINTS OUT FRI RECORD OF RESPECT FOR PEREDOM-VICTOUS BOOK CALLED RED ATD

(By Prederick Woltman)

WASHINGTON, November 20.—Congressmen, Pederal judges, and others here have been receiving advance copies of a 559-page book aimed at picturing the FBI under J. Edgar Hoover as incompetent, a menace to civil liberties and a virtual Gestapo.

The volume, published today by William Sloane Associates of New York City, is entitled "The Federal Bureau of Investiga-

ASSAILED BY KENST

Its author, Max Lowenthal, is a New York attorney who has held numerous Federal posts in the past and has been waging a one-man battle against the FBI for more than a decade.

In New York City, meanwhile, the book was excordated today as vicious and thoroughly unfair by one of the Nation's foremost authorities on civil liberties. He is Morris L. Ernst, counsel to the American Civil Liberties Union-

"It will give great aid and comfort to the Communist Party," Mr. Ernst said.

According to Sloans Associates, Mr. Lowenthal has been collecting material for the book for 15 years and he documents it with

A spokesman for the FBI said today the author never had consulted the Bureau, either for basic information or for its answer to the many attacks quoted to discredit the FBI.

the FRI.

A brief section on the America case of the stolen Government documents gives the impression that FRI mishandling spotied the prosecution. It neglects to mantion that TRI mishandling spotied the prosecution. It neglects to mantion that TRI handled the investigation with an efficiency and thorpughness in keeping with the best traditions of that agency.

Another tection classes the FRI for letting the spowieted German Communication of the property to decide the time and the PRI had no supplies the time and the FRI had no supplies the time and the FRI had no supplies the time and the FRI had no supplies that the time and the FRI had no supplies that the time and the FRI had no supplies the time and the FRI had no supplies that the time and the FRI had no supplies that the time and the FRI had no supplies that the time and the FRI had no supplies that the time and the FRI had no supplies that the time and the FRI had no supplies that the time are the time accorded to investigate the time to have the time to the time the time to t

authority on the FET.".

Mearly two-thirds of the

Mr. Hoover has long store described for the raids and said he dof them at the times.

bility for the raids and said is continued that it is chapter, investigation of listing.

In a chapter, investigation of listing lowerthal sets out to discredit the long-term program of dealing with Commist subversives and, the Red underson the tones it off as 'racking down per listing to the listing down per listing and listing down per listing the listing down per listing the listing that the listing down per listing the listing that the listing the listing that the listing that the listing the listing that t and organizations whose views it (the 27

feare."

The problem of the Communist gas is passed by. Indeed, neither Communist party is even listed in

Last July 26 Mr. Hoover declared: PEI is interested in receiving facts; we not interested in what a person thinks in what he does which undermines our ternal security. Bysteria, wind hunts, and vigilantes weaken internal curity."

The American Civil Liberties Union was the PBI chief expressing thanks for the fine balance which you are showing in state ments dealing with the serious and tent-cate problem of national security in the tion to civil liberties."

That appraisal appears nowhere in the Lowenthal book.

" MATERIAL CAMPAINING

Mr. Ernst, in an article, Why I No L Pear the PHI, which will be published a December issue of the Reader's Digest

"A real smarr exception has been con against Ecoyer's work, is unique in the lattery of national in it has a magnificant record of purpose incividual freedom. It havins down complaints against his against. It is complaints against his against his democratic process.

Harry Truman does not believe that.

The Communists have carried on a persistent campaign of diatribe and vilification against Hoover and the FEI. This organization is the one agency in the country that has stymied the Stalinists at every turn. Vithout the evidence of the PBI counter-agents in the Commie Party, the conviction of the 11 Red leaders could never have been attained. The stooges of the Kremlin want to discredit Hoover, destroy the FBI, and be relieved of any effective check on their

own actions more than anything else.

For political reasons President Truman would like to depose Mr. Hoover, but to date he has not been able to do so. The storm of protest in Congress and among the public

would be overwhelming.

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Truman has no sympathy for the Communists. We are convinced of that. He is and has been, however, a very mistaken man We are convinced of that. in his judgment of the menace. The President is as much concerned for the security of the Nation, most likely more concerned, than any ordinary citizen. But he is also a stubborn man and would like to reduce his dislike of Edgar Hoover to action and remove him. We do not know whether or not Mr. Truman previewed the anti-FBI book, as it ds reported he did the volume written by Jonathan Daniels. It can be easily assumed

that he is not displeased with Lowenthal's effort to amear Hoover and the FBI.

These two incidents, a speech by Philip Murray and the publication of a book reflecting the administration's opposition to a Govpernment agency are separate and isolated events. Both, however, reveal a certain mental attitude toward the Communist issue which has been characteristic of the present dministration and its most avid supporters. It is evident that they look upon the late election returns as merely the result of an off-year protest. We believe they are wrong. Public sentiment has shifted and crystallized on this subject of communism and political death awaits the politician who has not yet recognized the turn in the tide.

EVERY UNITED STATES CITIES UNDER STUDY BY PBI

(Moscow, in English to North America, November 20, 1980)

(Commentary by Pavlov: "Thought Control in the United States")

One of the distinguishing features of a Pascist state is the liquidation of civil lib-erties and the establishment of police control over thought. It was that way in Pascist Italy under Mussolini, and things were the same in Nasi Germany under Hitler. Today these abominable characteristics of a police state are appearing openly in the United

Harold Ickes, using the words of the late Judge Oliver Holmes, called this practice of the FBI a "dirty business." The well-known progressive writer, Howard Fast, said in his recent letter to the editor of the Dally Compass that it has become the customary thing today for the honest and innocent United States people to be thrown into prison.

MOCKAGANS SPERAD SPY MANIA

You listeners probably know of cases where people were accused of disloyalty and were dismissed from their jobs on the insistence of the FBI. Not one of them was able to clear himself and to restore his good name. These people did not even know who was accusing them and what their so-called crime was.

Hoover's Pascist hooligans are spreading a spy mania. They are trying to intimidate the United States people and to close their mouths. By means of police spying and provocation they seek to break the will of the United States people to fight for peace and their rights and are trying to turn the people into doclie tools of the imperialists whose tasks it is to unleash a new world war. Fascism and war cannot be separated.

Alongside the colossal expenditures

preparing a new war and for the arms drive, the ruling circles of the United States are appropriating huge sums for the fascistisation of the state apparatus. More than \$100,000,000 of the taxpayers' money is used every year to maintain the secret service.

The Morgans, Rockefellers, and du Ponts need fascism in order to force the United States people to serve without a murmur as cannon fodder for their criminal adventurous policy.

Throughout the United States there is a growing movement of protest against Fascist despotism. The United States people have no desire to be decile tools in the hands of

the Pascist warmongers.

[From the Daily News, Washington (D. C.), of November 24, 1950]

CAPITOL STUFF

(By John O'Donnell)

(By John O'Donnell)

Washington, D. C., November 28.—An accepted article of political feith among all elected officials in this Capital is that one certain way to invite election damnation is to say anything agains; motherhood, the United States Marines, or J. Edgar Moover.

Traman, before the election, 3c; fly with a petitich crack at the marines will tromptly made his penitential pligrimes to Cantesa by way of visiting a Marine John convention to confess the error of his way and ask forgiveness.

Control over the thoughts of the United
States people is the primary duty of Hoover and his G-men. Making mee he the drags was written by an individual susherinately of decisated wismants. She FRI deported to be its passon was personal into the front that flooded the United States Fifth thoughness this Senator Resry Translet.

The book we're talking about is this Fe eral Bureau of Investigation, by Mari Loyer that. (New York: William Stoams Association; 500 pp.; \$4.50.)

We'll go along with the author in his pref-ace and his publishers on their dust-jacket blurb that every statement is correctly docu-mented and that he's done a swell job of

We'll grant that Lowenthal does not color his material, editorialize, or draw conclu-sions. We'll admit as truth that the author

is a conservative in the most profound sense.
But when they say that this heavy tome
is unbiased and purely objective, we'll say
it's about as unbiased and objective as a
carefully drawn indictment handed down by a smart grand jury guided by a skilled prosecutor.

This book will hurt Hoover and the FBI. It will give Hoover's every foe in Congress easy access, thanks to the expert and authentic references for every statement, to an anti-PBI ammunition dump.

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But it's unfair. Lowenthal has certainly made the evils of the Department of Justice investigation force live after tham. And he's interred the FEI good with the bones of gangaters he doesn't mention.

BACKETS OF TWENTIES PORGOTTEN

It is all right, as a matter of erudite source It is all right, as a matter of arudite source dredging, to recall the bonshead (and worse) activities of the old Department of Justice Bureau of Investigation in the days of Woodrow-Wilson's fittery Attorney General & Mitchell Palmer or Warren Harding's thieving and cynical Harry Daugherty: Those were the days when the two William J.b.—Flynn under Palmer and Buring under Tanachest. under Palmer and Burns under Daugherty-headed up the Bureau. But why blame, by inference, Hoover of today for the sins of his predecessors?

Where Lowenthal is mifair in that he doesn't beer slown on the fact that J. Edgar Hoover only got into action during the kidnaping and gang-killing recent of the latt twenties. Until Hopslong Consider galloped onto the national scene, it is the Consen, and top G-man Hoover in in the lattice captured and hild the intertainment of small captured and hild the intertainment of small

like a revolver. If you or a pal has it, OK, but if an opposite number has it and you or your pal is unarmed, then you can supect

Because this volume is going to teach off a battle in the next Congress which will be exciting, important, and reach into the lives of every citisen, we'll have more to say about it.

[From Human Events of November 22, 1950] BOOK EVENTS

(The Pederal Bureau of Investigation, by Max Lowenthal, New York: William Sionne Associates, Inc. \$4.50. Reviewed by Walter Trohan)

By mysterious design, best known to the author and publisher, copies of this book sprouted on the desks of Members of Congress and Pederal jurists on the heels of a letter from a Sioane official stating "this un-biased and profoundly conservative ap-proach" would lead to some startling conclu-sions on the FBL. The dust jacket halis Lowenthal as a conservative in the most pro-found sense and asserts he does not color his s and Pederal jurists on the heels of a

material, editorials, or draw conclusions.

Now, because the book adds up to an attack Now, because the book adds up to an attack on the FBI, which can be expected to be a standard reference for years, it is fitting that these claims to conservation and objectivity be examined. It is altogether proper and conservative to fret over the possibility that a Federal police force can grow into an arm of terror in a police state. When such fears perallel Moscow radio attacks on the FBI and writings of notorious Communist frontexs, one-cem sak: "Who's conservative now?"

Air. Lowenthal is a wealthy New York lawyer, who has been weaving in and out of washington in various capacities for 80 years. The most detailed hiography of Harry B. Truman to date, The Man of Independence, identifies him as the man who weaned the President from the realistic thinking of Pendergestism to the rareded liberalism of the

President from the respect dergastism to the ravelled liberalism of the late Justice Louis D. Brandels. Last Beplate Justice Louis D. Brandels. Last Beptember Lowenthal admowledged varying degrees of intimate acquaintance with 22 known Communists, Red spies, and notarious fellow travelers, including Alger Elm, John J. Abt. Charlie Eramer, and Lee Pressman, who is even now seeking to identify bimedi with sometwaters. Lowenthal told the Rouse-Un-American Activities Committee: "The number of pubple T Bide't. know were members of the Committee: The number of the Committee of

mention of a virtual retraction 2 days later. This kind words for the FRI dis under the Lowenthal scissors.

Lowenthal belabors the FRI as a messee to freedom of speech and freedom of flowing that the name time be criticism the FRI for not being efficient enough, holding that the atomic spy case and the case of his friend Ries should have broken sooner. In his brief, which is heavy reading, he eller a gamut of cases from Seco-Vansetti and the wirld war raids of A. Mitchell Palmer to the Judy Coolon afair as offering evidence Judy Copion affair as offering evidence against J. Edgar Hoover and the FHI today. The verdict of this reviewer on Lowenthal

is "not guilty" of conservatism and "guilty of objectivity against the FBL.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Speaker, will the

gentleman yield?
Mr. RIVERS. I am delighted to yield to my friend, the gentleman from Illi-

Mr. VELDE. I compliment the dis tinguished gentleman for the fine dissertation he has made on the record of Max Lowenthal in this book. However, I am fearful lest our explanation of the fraud in which he was engaged when he wrote this book may further enrich his pocketbook by the sale of books. So I would like at this time to ask the Amerioan public to place a boycott against the book, Pederal Bureau of Investigation, by Max Lowenthal. This gentleman has had his mout at the trough of the New Deal bureaucracy too long now, and I would regret very much to see him fur-ther enriched by the sale of this book. Mr. RIVERS. I thank the gentleman

for his observations.

Mr. DOYLE, Mr. Speaker, will the

gentleman yield? Mr. RIVERS. I gladly yield to my distinguished colleague on the Armed Serve ices Committee, the gentleman from

air warfare are a Nation court

THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATI

Thyrsday, November 30, 1950

JENSEN. Mr. Speaker, if
is, cutthrosts and Communication and their way, then not rederal Bureau of Investigation every law enforcement agency if worthy of the name, would eith shed or corrupted.

one who has known that rican, J. Edgar Hoover, person he past 12 years, and having clayed the activities and good we fell in stopping sabotage in ar and in bringing to the bece thousands upon thousand inals of every stripe, it is alarme, as I am sure it is to every Assembly of the protection guarant he laws of our land, to read the law of the FBI, while the organization fights to protect hallenable rights to be at liber free land of ours.

We is the appointed time for American to come to the and decent government and true A lam by everlasting and wholehe ort of the FBI and its Director of the FBI

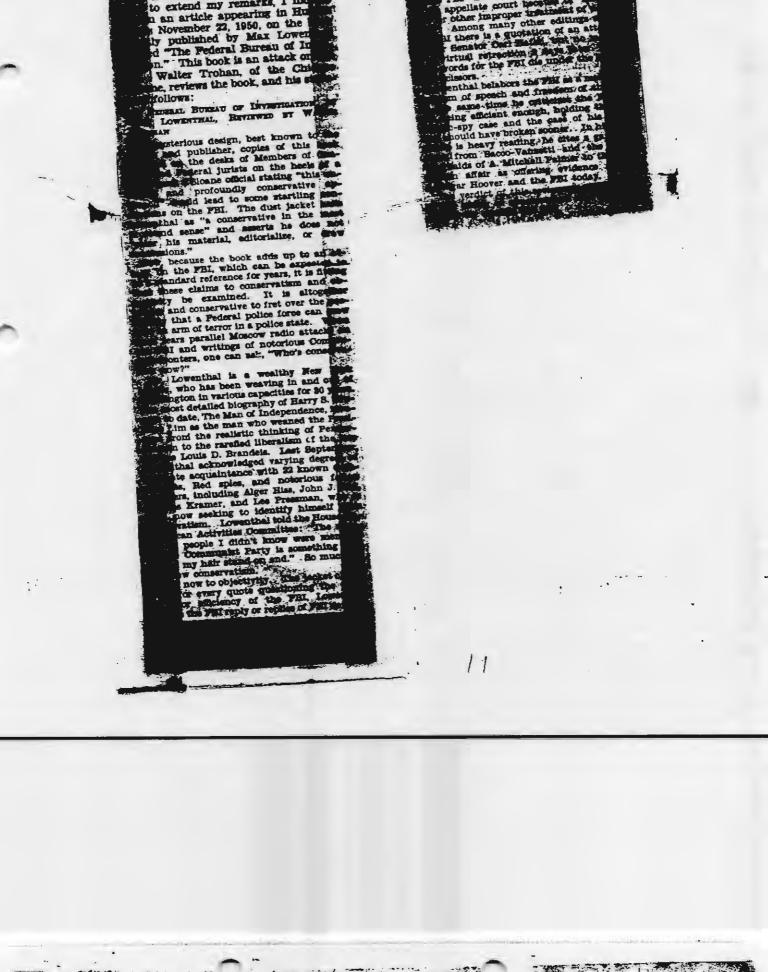
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Trucy
Mr. Karbo
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Tele. Room
Mr. Wenne
Miss Gendy

17

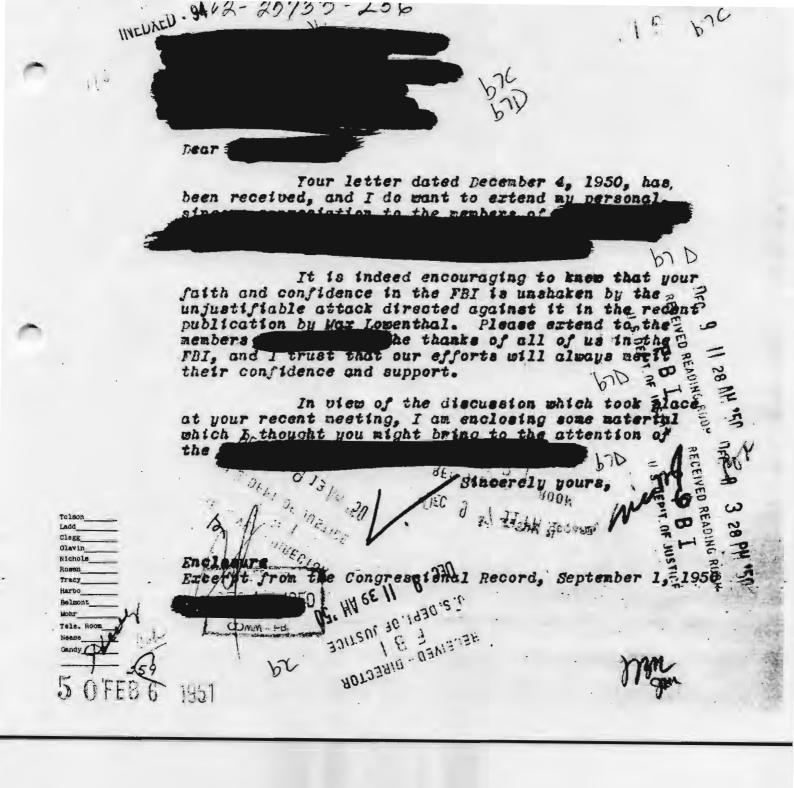
s, as well as abroad, are this doing all in their power to do Rederal Bureau of Invalid h has done so much for American every law attiting and patr

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with the military, and as the n directly responsible for er Red raids in 1919 and 1920. is book is advertised as an objet. But that is something of ground of bias against which was written.
President, if we had had no nee with Communist infiltration d not know from the Wadleigh ons, the Marzani and the Co ctions, from the Hiss case, and us others how far the Commercation of Government had gone id not have the documentary is of subversion and sabotage printed in the daily press we may be printed in the daily press we may be printed in the daily press we may be printed in the daily press we may be pressed in the printed in the daily press we may be pressed in the daily press we may be pressed in the press of the press we may be pressed in the press of the press we may be pressed in the press of the press we may be pressed in the press of the press we may be pressed in the press of the p t we do know about this infiltrative are opened to the desperator of the situation in which ourselves. We know of the present danger in which we a e of the most successful tacti Communist technique has been t character and to undermine it ins. And this book is designed to desiroy the character of a mistrator, Mr. Hoover, and facter of a well organised and tution, guarding the freedom less of our people, the FHI. o months ago, after labor covided of 5 years, Copgress passed arran Act. The first part of as originally known as the Mulison bill. When it was first d to the House it was the Mulish bill. It had been altered in the, and therefore the changes a spplying to it. character and to undermine i a applying to it.
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FBI/DOJ

Dear Mr. Clarvoe: The editorial entitled "An Unfair Book 4-6×C-About the G-Men" which appeared in the December 1, 1950, edition of the San Francisco News has been brought to my attention, and I want you to know that I read it with a great deal of pleasure. Your support in this matter is a source of extreme satifaction to my associates and to me personally. Sincerely yours, ORIGINAL FILED IN J. Edgar Hoover cc - San Francisco ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/26/92 BY 8/23 60 FEB 13 1951

> Mr. Ladd Mr. Cle-

About the G-Men

Max Lowenthal's book, "The Federal Bureau of Investigation," has attracted more attention than, in our opinion, it deserves.

It is primarily a voluminous compilation

of all the criticisms publicly uttered against the FBI since its creation, with no balancing evaluation of the criticism, and with little space or weight given to the FBI's solid accomplishments and to favorable comment (owenthal quotes as critical.

For instance, the book includes numerous

quotations from editorials in the Scripps-Howard Newspapers concerning isolated actions of the FBI—all critical. Nowhere do we find any favorable Scripps-Howard comment about the FBI and its director, J.

Edgar Hoover.

Yet our offhand recollection is that cripps-Howard's editorial appraisals of the vork of the FBI and of Mr. Hoover have been about 10-to-1 favorable. That's probably a better rating than these columns have given any other Government agency or human institution.

We cannot believe the FBI's good reputa-tion will be damaged by this book. No other unit in the executive branch of the Government is as secure in the confidence of the

Washington over the last 30-odd years, in various official and unofficial capacities. He has never made any secret of his active dislike' for Mr. Hoover and the whole G-Men setup. Only thing new is that he has written a book about it.

One item of news interest in the book is Mr. Lowenthal's confirmation of an oftrepeated rumor that President Truman rejected a suggestion from military advisers that Mr. Hoover be appointed head of the Central, Intelligence Agency (CIA). But that reflects no discredit on Mr. Hoover. To the contrary, the discredit goes' to Mr. Truman who missed an opportunity to make something of the CIA.

It is well known that the CIA, under a

succession of administrators, has not been worth its salt—and we're not here downrating able Gen. Bedell Smith, present CIA chief, who has not been in office long enough to

warm his seat.

But the obvious fact is that the CIA will never amount to anything until it gets permanent chief of the caliber of Mr. Hoove and builds a staff of operatives of the G-Men's

11. 12- 9-5 to 1-1 tublic and of Congress. The same goes for ts director, Mr. Hoover. And for the good teason that the confidence has been well Theologian Moch SEARCHED SERIALIZED DEC FB. - SAN TRANCISCO SAN FRAHCISCO MELS PAGE 22 - COL. 2 DECEMBER 1, 1950

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of captioned report has been reviewed by the Security Section.

Background:

The above copy contains a transcript of the testimony of the following individuals: Lee Pressman, august 29, 1950; Abraham George Silverman, August 31, 1950; Nathan Witt, September 1, 1950; Charles Kramer, September 1, 1950; John J. Abt, September 1, 1950; and Max Lowenthal, September 15, 1950.

Action:

The Bureau has Security Index cards on Pressman

The New York Office has already been furnished with a transcript of the testimony of Pressman, Witt, Kramer, WC and Abt, after it was reviewed by the Security Section of the Bureau. In the case Pressman, the Department has already been furnished a ort reflecting the complete transcript of his testimony. Bureau

ion Being Taken:

Additional copies of this report have just been obtained and a copy of same is being forwarded to the New York Office in order that that office will have a complete transcript of the testimony on Silverman and Lowenthal. The testimony of Lowenthal was recently reviewed by Crime Records Section in connection with the publication of the book on the FBI. This testimony was also reviewed in the Security Section.

The above is for your information. No further action is necessary.

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

EIGHTY-FIRST CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

AUGUST 28 AND 31, SEPTEMBER 1 AND 15, 1950

Printed for the use of the Committee on Un-American Activities



UNITED STATES

GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE :
. WASHINGTON: 1950

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MONDAY, AUGUST 28, 1950

United States House of Representatives, COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES Washington. D, C.

PUBLIC HEARINGS

The committee met, pursuant to call, at 10:50 a, m. in room 226. Old House Office Building, Hon, John S. Wood (chairman) presiding. Committee members present: Representatives John S. Wood, Francis E. Walter, Burr P. Harrison, John McSweeney, Morgan M. Moulder, Richard M. Nixon, Francis Case, and Harold H. Velde. Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; Louis J. Russell, senior investigator; Donald T. Appell, and Courtney Owens, investigators; Benjamin Mandel, director of research; and A. S. Poore editor.

Poore, editor.

Mr. Wood. The committee will be in order.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I would like at this time to call four witnesses who were subpensed for this morning, and ask that they be sworn in and then discharged until tomorrow morning. Their names are, Alex Leith——Mr. Wood. Please answer to your names.

Mr. TAVENNER. Alex Leith.

Mr. Leith. Here. Mr. Tavenner. Henry Fiering.

Mr. FIERING. Here.

Mr. TAVENNER. Winchard Dec.

Mr. DEE. Here. Mr. TAVENNER. And Ben Riskin.

Mr. Riskin. Here. Mr. Wood. Come forward, please, gentlemen. Will you hold up your right hands, please. You and each of you solemnly swear that the evidence you give before this committee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. LEITH. I do. Mr. FIERING. I do. Mr. DEE, I do.

Mr. Riskin. I do. Mr. Wood. You are excused until 10 o'clock in the morning,

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I would like to call at this time Mr. Lee Pressman.

Mr. Wood. Let us have order, please.

right hand, please. You mmittee shall be the truth, a, so help you God?

ESSMAN

name?

ord of proceedings of this it on August 20, 1948, and grounds, to answer certain ion with the Communist

es has learned through the gned from the American effect that you were doing organization. The commoportunity to witnesses eir Communist affiliations knowledge of Communist blic service, especially at are being committed by t would also be evidence hist association has been taken in good faith.

n a mere perfunctory resuggested, will the Amerow if you are willing to Communist activities by nded to you with regard [this hearing?

this time for the oppormuittee.

ccorded the privilege of you have just been asked a a direct answer to that

on was rather lengthy.

which will be very brief, recisely what my position

answer questions asked

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propose at as moment

In the early 1930's, Mr. Chairman, as you may well recall, as well as other members of this committee, there was a very severe depression in our country. The future looked black for my generation just emerging from school. At the same time, the growing specter of nazism in Germany presented to my mind an equally grave threat.

In my desire to see the destruction of Hitlerism and an improvement in economic conditions here at home. I joined a Communist group in Washington, D. C., about 1934. My participation in such group extended for about a year, to the best of my recollection. I recall that about the latter part of 1935—the precise date I cannot recall, but it is a matter of public record—I left the Government service and left Washington to reenter the private practice of law in New York City. And at that time I discontinued any further participation in the group from that date until the present.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I state the following at this time:

There were three other persons in that group in addition to myself. They were all at the time with me in the Department of Agriculture. They have all been named before this committee by others.

I state to you that I am prepared, as I will indicate, to answer any and all questions regarding my activities in the past up to the present, and possibly project my viewpoint into the future. It would be offensive to me, as it would be to practically all people, to have to name individuals with whom I have associated in the past.

What I have stated to you would indicate that I offer no additional information that this committee does not already have. However, that is a decision which this committee will have to make in propounding its questions to me and the directives you issue to me.

Bear in mind, sir, there may be others like myself who, out of deep convictions, will change their beliefs. If this committee assumes the position that those who do change their convictions and beliefs, as I have, must also be compelled to take what I submit would be an offensive—offensive to one's own personal self—position, that might well be discouraging to other people to do what I have done. But, I repeat, that is a decision which this committee will have to make.

Now, I believe it of interest to comment that I have no knowledge regarding the political beliefs or affiliations of Alger Hiss. And when I say I have no knowledge, I am not endeavoring to quibble with this committee. I appear here, as I necessarily must, as a lawyer. I am a lawyer. When one asks me for knowledge, knowledge to my mind is based on fact, and I have no facts. And bear in mind, sir, that as an attorney, to be asked to comment on a case now pending in court is a very unusual experience for an attorney, because anything I say undoubtedly may have an impact one way or another on that case, and for that reason I am trying to be very, very precise. I do know, I can state as a matter of knowledge, that for the period of my participation in that group, which is the only basis on which I can say I have knowledge, Alger Hiss was not a member of the group.

Now, those two statements of mine are based on knowledge, which embraces facts within my possession. I do not believe that this committee would want me to hazard conjectural surmise. That is not my function. You want from me, I assume, facts and nothing but facts.

Now, there has been a great deal of wild speculation, a great deal of unfortunate. Tortion, regarding my name as it arose in the course of previous test, only before this committee by a man named Chambers.

I desire to me before the chair but it we Stripling, the record colloquy, date, eve many repit until to asked this Mr. We

Mr. We Mr. PR

Has there committee t the Federal

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What I believe qui be develope the wildest the past.

For exam in the press views. Act Contrary to my assertion of the CIO counsel of tresignation their behalf under the in

I say the assertion the the reasons contribution

on a previous appearance by the Congressman Nixon was rethen in executive session as a colloquy between Mr. at myself. At page 1023 of 1948, there appears this repeat this, because up to olloquy to the attention of has seen fit to date to print as follows. Mr. Pressman rebeen any charge"——sked that question?

d the question:

s that has appeared before this ge activity while an employee of

quote: "No, there has not

urred after Mr. Chambers me in the course of his

very brief, Mr. Chairman. of the ClO. Actually, I ad in June 1936 as general ommittee. The ClO did At that time I was in the and continued such until when I returned to Washor the ClO and the Steelhat time might well have. In 1948 I resigned, for

l quite irrelevant, but I to the facts which will g, I hope, there has been tetivities and my views in

, statements now appear the CIO because of my was of my own accord. rs may say, I can prove a letter by the president contribution which I had in the capacity of general ore important, after my Mr. Murray to appear in with their indictments

the correctness of my r of my own accord, for MI I can sav is that my r 1938 und 948 when I acted for the ClO is a matter of public record on which I do not at this moment intend to comment.

Now, I think it would be in order, Mr. Chairman, for me again to make one or two brief observations regarding present conditions which

have had a bearing on the position which I have taken.

A grave crisis confronts our Nation and all humanity today. The warfare raging in Korea threatens to unleash a world conflict which would destroy our civilization. All my life I have opposed aggression. I therefore denounce the fighting initiated by the North Korean forces in South Korea. The Communist Party and its forces in the labor movement, as they have expressed themselves publicly, are the supporters and apologists for an agressive war. I vigorously oppose this position. I desire to support the United Nations and my country. It is my fervent hope that the United Nations can devise immediate steps which can bring about a quick end to the present bloodshed and assure world peace.

The onrushing frightful conflict between ideological forces today threatens our destruction. We find the resurgence of nazism assisted by the release of die-hard Nazis who were convicted of the most horrible crimes. We are confronted by the driving aggressive Communist attack. Our survival must be based upon the people's understanding of the true meaning and worth of American democracy and their determination to fight for its preservation and full enjoyment.

Each individual, Mr. Chairman, must constantly peer into his own conscience to evaluate his convictions upon which to base his faith and creed. The position that I have taken today was not taken hurriedly. It was taken after careful and due consideration and deliberation. The position I have assumed today, Mr. Chairman, stems from very profound convictions. There may be questions in people's minds regarding the position I have taken. I can only say that I state as a matter of fact that the position I have assumed stems from a profound sincerity on my part.

I deeply appreciate that within our democratic way of life, when past beliefs prove false, when a human being finds that he has made mistakes, there is the opportunity for change and to contribute in whatever way possible toward the dignity and well-being of man and the

preservation of peace for all humanity.

Those are my observations, which express my knowledge of my activities of the past and my present viewpoint. If you have questions of me, Mr. Chairman, I shall endeavor the best I can to answer the questions.

Mr. Wood. Before members of the committee are given an opportunity to ask questions, Mr. Counsel do you have questions to ask?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. Pressman, what is your present address? Mr. Pressman. 225 Broadway, New York City. Mr. Tavenner. That is your residential address? Mr. Pressman. My office address.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your residential address?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Is there need for that, Mr. Chairman, to be in the record?

Mr. TAVENNER. You have furnished the committee with a statement of your employment since 1936 when you were appointed as general contact of the ClO, but will you go back and give us a state-

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irvard Law School in June when I was employed at a ction is that I was with the latter part of 1932 or early another law firm.

called down to Washington neral counsel of the Agriculked whether I would accept in assistant general counsel. ike to take the opportunity eedings, to lay low, I hope . It has been asserted time esponsible, for example, for te as a fact, and the public e to Washington to become or Hiss was already working e triple A. I had nothing

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employment of Alger Iliss

Jerome Frank asked me to riple A because I had been aw firm from which I came. ur knowledge, endorse you

Is there a suggestion, sir,

Jerome Frank was the on at that time.

6, Mr. Chairman—and you ers it is a little difficult to general counsel of what I yment Relief Administra-

in, please?

That agency was transogress Administration, of rator, and I was general s Administration when it

me legislation, an agency ministration; I forget the ement Administration, of s created, and I acted as general counsel for WPA, latter pan 1935, in the

winter of 1935, that I resigned from both of those positions, left Washington and the Government service, and returned to New York to reenter the private practice of law. I became a partner in a law firm in New York City.

In June 1936 I was asked by Mr. John Lewis, then chairman of the Committee for Industrial Organization, if I would become general counsel for the Steelworkers Organizing Committee, set up, I believe, June 15, 1936. I said yes, and from that time until June 1938 I was in the private practice of law in New York and acting part time as counsel for the Steelworkers Organizing Committee as one of my clients.

In 1938, I moved to Washington and acted as full-time general . counsel for the CIO and the Steelworkers Organizing Committee.

In 1948, I resigned from the CIO and went back into private practice of the law in New York City, where I am now engaged in the practice of the law.

Mr. Tavenner. If I understood you correctly, you came to Wash-

ington in the spring of 1933?

Mr. Pressman. Sometime around May or June. I forget the

Mr. TAVENNER. Where did you reside in Washington?

Mr. Pressman. I believe it was 3000 Connecticut Avenue, my first residence here.

Mr. Nixon. Right opposite the zoo?

Mr. Pressman. That is right, a large apartment house there. Mr. Nixon. Weren't you on the second or third floor there?

Mr. Pressman. That is correct. Were you my neighbor, Mr. Congressman?

Mr. Nixon, I just know Washington.

Mr. TAVENNER. When you left your employment as general counsel for the AAA, will you state the reason for your change?

Mr. Pressman. When I left what, sir?

Mr. TAVENNER. You were general counsel or assistant general counsel of the AAA. When you left that employment and went to be general counsel of FERA and then Works Progress Administration, what was your reason for making that change, and what were the circumstances surrounding it?

Mr. Pressman. Mr. Counsel, you know very well I had no reason. That change was forced upon me. At that time, as is well known, Mr. Wallace, who was Secretary of Agriculture, asked for the resignation of Jerome Frank, who was general counsel of Triple A, along with several assistants of Mr. Jeronie Frank. I was among them. My resignation was submitted. Immediately thereafter Mr. Harry Hopkins asked if I would accept employment as general counsel of FERA and lassented.

Mr. TAVENNER. What were the circumstances surrounding your leaving the Government service in the winter of 1935?

Mr. Pressman. I had decided that I had, to my way of thinking, sufficient experience in Washington and in the Federal service, and I wanted to return to the private practice of law.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was your resignation in any way suggested by a

superior?

Mr. Pressman, Absolutely not.

Mr. Ta NNER. Or was it a purely voluntary act on your part?

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e time or ther as being point I de sloped. As a ation in the possession of naming these individuals who were then with me in —not just as Communists the three individuals who

e same time.

Mr. PRESSMAN. But not in the Department of Agriculture.
Mr. Nixon. Your point is that the three people you refer to were in

the Department of Agriculture?

Mr. Picessman. I have stated that repeatedly.

Mr. Nixon. And that they were the only three persons in the Department of Agriculture who have been named as members of the Communist Party?

be of great assistance to the committee by corroborating charges which have been made previously concerning individuals who have been named. If some have been named falsely, or some have been named correctly, I think your testimony could bear on that point very effectively and it would be of assistance to the committee.

Nr. Watten. As I understand Mr. Pressman, he is fearful that in mentioning those names, other people who feel as he does would be discouraged from appearing before the committee. Mr. Pressman. Who have been named as members of that group. Mr. Nixon. Then they have been named, haven't they? Mr. Pressman. That is up to you to decide. Mr. Chairman, I am not trying to quibble. I think we have a very important question involved here, and it is up to the committee to decide.

Mr. Nixon. What is the question in your mind about the desirability of naming these people? As I understand it, what you desire to do is to be of assistance to this committee and to the Government. standing for. It seems to me, certainly at this point, that you could the United States, since you yourself have indicated that you have left the party and that you oppose what the party is doing, what it is in taking effective action to stop the Communist movement within

Mr. Nixon. Because they would be fearful they would be asked

only way we can effectively get at the underground activities of the Communist Party is through individuals who have broken with the party and who can give us information. I think it is extremely important at this time, if you, who have formerly been a member of experience we have had over the years bears out the fact, that the that information so that we can have it for our use. there were other members at the time you were, that you disclose expose his friends or his former friends, and that therefore, if an individual like Mr. Pressman is forced to expose his friends or former the same question?
Mr. Walten, Yes.
Mr. Nixon. I can understand the personal moral issue that Mr. Pressman and Mr. Walter seem to be standing for. In other words, the Communist Party and are not now a member of the party, know Party will not come to expose their friends. I state, and I think the individual who comes before a committee of Congress is hesitant to they are concerned—and I can understand their concern—that any friends, other individuals who were members of the Communist

have they not? Mr. Hannison. As a practical matter they have been named

Mr. Wood. Let me just ask a couple of questions. Do you have knowledge of any other individuals being members of the Communist Agriculture? arty other than the three you have said were in the Department of

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Mr. Pior tax. The answer is absolutely not Mr. Wot. At any time? At any time?

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were four who were members Agriculture. You have not s of the group who were not lture.

in the group, in the Department of Agri-

Mr. Case. You said Harold Ware recruited you into the Communist Party. Was he an employee of the Department of Agriculture? Mr. Pressman. No.

Mr. Case. Was he a member of the group?

Mr. Pressman. We did not consider him a member of the group.

Mr. Case. But you know he was a Communist?

Mr. Pressman, I assume so. He recruited me into the party.

Mr. Wood. Any further questions, Mr. Nixon?

Mr. Nixon. Yes.—I think it is important to develop this point for this reason: I think that we are certainly quibbling over whether or not Mr. Pressman should be required to give the names of the members of this group.—I don't think the committee should set a precedent that when an individual comes in as Mr. Pressman does—and we appreciate his coming in—he can come in and answer only those questions he determines he should answer.—I think he should be required to answer the question before him about others in or out of the Government who were members.—I think it is extremely important that he answer the question, and that the precedent that would be set if he is not required to answer would be a very bad one to be set.

Just so there will be absolute charity of the record, as I understand, the records of this committee show that the three members of the group who were in the Department of Agriculture were John Abt, Nathan Witt, and Henry Collins?

Mr. Pressman. Henry Collins, to my knowledge, was never an employee of the Department of Agriculture.

Mr. Nixon. Then for that reason you should answer the question.

Mr. Pressman. Your records are wrong.

Mr. Nixon. You yourself said you wanted to clear up distortions about yourself, and I assume other individuals, in the files of this committee. Apparently the files of the committee are wrong in respect to Mr. Collins. Obviously Mr. Abt and Mr. Witt are two of the members of the group. I think you should name the other one. Nathan Witt and John Abt are two. That I am sure of myself. I think Mr. Pressman should clear up who is the third one.

Mr. Wood. You say the record of this committee, if it includes Collins, is wrong?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I think your own record will show that Mr. Collins was an employee of the National Recovery Administration and not of the triple A.

Mr. Wood. I will ask you to name the other employee of the

Department of Agriculture who was a member of the group.

Mr. Pressman. The third person among the individuals who have been named as members of this group who was an employee of the Department of Agriculture when I was in 1934 was Charles Kramer.

Mr. Wood. Charles who?

Mr. Pressman. Kramer, K-r-a-m-e-r. He was employed by the Department of Agriculture at the time I was.

Mr. Wood. Any further questions on that point?

Mr. Case. You say Henry Collins at that time was an employed of another branch of the Government?

Mr. Pressman. Are you stating a fact or asking me a question?

Mr. G .E. I am asking you that question.

Mr. 1 .ssman. I take that from your own record.

you know him?

knew him socially.

you know him as a member of the Communist

I did not. He was not a member of my group. e there other Government employees who were oup?

No, sir. I have stated there were only four.

have made a distinction between those who were Department of Agriculture and other Government

No. I have said there were four, only four, no

I understand you to say that the only individuals es of the Government who were members of the to your knowledge were these four?

Repeat your question, sir?

e the only individuals who were employees of the who were members of the Communist Party to

any time these four and these four only?

That is absolutely correct. Mr. Nixon, I am glad lestion, because there has been, again, this wild press with all kinds of inside stories of what Mr. to disclose. If you are asking me your questions t I am going to give you what I know as fact and knowledge is confined to precisely what I have the wild speculation of what I have done is comand speculation. The fact is exactly as I have

y. May I ask a question?

McSweeney.

r. How would a man solicit your membership in rty? This man Ware was a member?

I assume he was a member of the Communist ed me to join.

id he recruit all these other people in Agriculture?

I do not know.

e was an adviser in the Department of Agriculture was he not?

I do not know. I came there in 1932 or 1933.

r. How did he ask you to become a member?

He stated the benefits and advantages of the and asked me to join, and for the reasons I have

way we can have knowledge of Communist Party m the admission to others. Were you ever told employee that he was a member of the Communist

I was not. I have not been told by any other ot inquired. I cannot state of my own knowledge sons were members other than the members of my ree persons other than myself.

What was the function of or real for having your

Mr. Pressman. I think it is advisable to explain that situation, because, again, there has been what I consider to be considerable misunderstanding. Bear with me, I am talking now solely of the period during which I was a member of that group. During that period what we did was receive literature of a Communist nature, daily newspaper, monthly magazines, books, and things of that nature. Communist literature; we would read the literature and discuss problems covered by the literature.

Mr. Moulder. As a group? Mr. PRESSMAN. As a group.

Mr. MOULDER. Did you have regular meetings?

Mr. Pressman. We would meet once a month or twice a month, as the occasion developed, where we would be reading the literature and discussing these problems.

Mr. Moulder. Would the four of the group be the only ones

present?

Mr. Pressman. Those four were usually the only ones present.

Mr. Wood. You say usually. Were there others present at any time, and if so, who?

Mr. Pressman. This literature which I have described would be brought down to Washington and delivered to one of the group.

Mr. Wood, By whom?

Mr. Pressman. It was not delivered to me during that period. It was delivered to one of the others in the group.

Mr. Wood. You knew who delivered it?

Mr. Pressman. I just knew that it was an individual. Let me make clear what my position is. My recollection by way of names of people is that on one or two occasions at the most to my knowledge let me start again. Harold Ware was the person who stands out distinctly in my memory as the person who delivered the literature to the group by delivering it to one of the group. I forget the precise date, but sometime during that period he was killed in an automobile accident. That date is fairly close to the date that I left Washington, Between the day of his death and the time I left Washington, when I disconnected myself from the group, that literature came down, and I have a hazy recollection—and I cannot state this as an affirmative fact—that one person on one such occasion who may have brought the literature down and may have sat in with the group was this man named Peters.

Mr. Woop. Do you know his first name?

Mr. Pressman. No. 1 just knew him as a man named Peters.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is that a photograph of the man whom you knew as Peters?

Mr. Pressman. That is correct.

Mr. Wood. I believe, Mr. Counsel, the witness has answered your original question. You may proceed with additional questions.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer the photograph identified by the witness in evidence, and ask that it be marked "Pressman Exhibit

Mr. Woop. Without objection it will be received.

(The photograph above referred to, marked "Pressman Exhibit No. 1," is filed berewith.)

Mr. N. . . When did you first meet Peters?

I. My recollection is that it was once, and possibly say definitely once. I can't remember the second

ou say once and possibly twice?

N. That is correct, which followed the death of

As I understand your testimony, you met Peters occasion?

. That is correct.

nd possibly on two occasions?

f. That is correct.

There did you meet him?

v. 1 do not remember. I recall I met him with the

lave you ever met Peters since you broke with the

v. In later years I may have met him socially, because fe was secretary for some union and I may have seen casions, but I had no organizational relationship with

How many times have you met Peters? You first n once and possibly twice.

N. That is right, with the group.

Then you have met him since you broke with the

N. Under the circumstances I have stated,

You say they were purely social occasions?

v. To the best of my recollection that is correct. You recall no business relations with Peters after 1935?

N. To the best of my recollection that is correct.

a. May I ask counsel to continue the questions along d, as to who was present at the meetings other than

et counsel proceed, then the members of the committee portunity to ask such questions as they may desire. on. Did you know J. Peters by any other name?

N. No, I did not, just as Peters. R. Did you know his occupation?

N. I knew him as a member of the Communist Party ashington under the circumstances I have stated.

n. Did he appear at your meetings? N. On one occasion, or possibly twice.

n. What did he do at the meetings? N. Participated in our discussions.

R. Did he make a talk to the group?

N. My recollection is on that occasion 15 or 16 years articipated in the discussion we were having.

ER. Who were the other persons who attended your

N. In addition to members of the group?

ER. Yes, and in addition to Mr. Peters.

N. In addition to members of ften group those are the recall attending our meetings I ng the period I was Mr. TAVENNER. Where were those meetings held?

Mr. Pressman. Usually at our respective homes; sometimes at some place other than our respective homes; maybe once or twice elsewhere. The incident would not stand out in my recollection

Mr. TAVENNER, To whom did you pay your Communist Party

Mr. Pressman. Usually the person who came and delivered our literature would accept our dues.

Mr. TAVENNER, Did you pay dues only twice during that year? Mr. Pressman. No. Harold Ware would dome down more frequently, obviously.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then who were the persons to whom you paid

your Communist Party dues?

Mr. Pressman. I have just stated, Harold Ware, and Peters on the occasion he came down.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where there any others?

Mr. PRESSMAN. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were any of the other employees of AAA members

of that group before you joined, or did they join after you?

Mr. Pressman. Mr. Counsel, I have attempted, as I was preparing for this meeting, to refresh my recollection, and, frankly I cannot state accurately just what the order of precedence was, how it occurred. I believe others may have joined the party before I flid. In any event, there wasn't a long period of time between the others and myself. My recollection is we all appeared about the same time.

Mr. TAVENNER, Did you recruit any of those members in the organ-

Mr. Pressman. I did not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you endeavor to recruit any of those members

in the organization?

Mr. Pressman, I did not endeavor to recruit any of those individuals, and have not endeavored to recruit any individual into the party from 1932 to date.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who were the officials of this group or cell to which

Mr. Pressman. We had no officials. It was just a group.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was there not a leader of that group, or someone

Mr. Pressman. There was absolutely no leader. We were a group. However, it may make a much more colorful story for me to talk about leaders, but giving you facts, this is precisely what occurred; we were a group. If there was a task to perform, one individual would be assigned to that task, such as receiving literature. If there were dues to be collected, an individual would be assigned to the task of collecting dues. It would be left to the discretion of an individual to call the next meeting and arrange whether it would be at my home or at the home of another member. That is the way it worked out during the period I was in the group.

(flon. Francis E. Walter left the hearing room.)

Mr. TAVENNER. You spoke of assignments being given to various ones to do certain jobs. Who made the assignments?

Mr. 1 ISSMAN. The members of our group, or by volunteering. One would say, "I will do this or that," or we agreed to do this or that,