

y. The last thing Ho wants is Chinese occupation." (ded.)

# Declaration Of Conscience

Every day that the United States continues to intervene increases the danger of intervention by the Chinese, since China and Vietnam are neighbors. The war in Vietnam could escalate into general war with China and World War III.

HERE ARE OTHER THINGS at stake in the continued American aggression in Vietnam in addition to the lives and freedom of the Vietnamese people, important as these are. It is perhaps impossible for most Americans to compare their present responsibility to speak out against the war in Vietnam with the responsibility of the Germans to speak out in the early days of Hitler. Everyone knows that we have no Hitlers here, in power or close to power. But one wonders what limits there are to the atrocities Americans will go along with, so long as they are explained, however falsely, as necessary for the maintenance of democracy.

Arthur Miller, whose recent play, *Incident at Vichy*, deals with Nazi persecutions of the Jews, has written: "Who among us knew enough to be shocked, let alone to protest at the photographs of the Vietnamese torturing Vietcong prisoners, which our press has published? The Vietnamese are wearing United States equipment, are paid by us and could not torture without us. There is no way around this - the prisoner crying out in agony is our prisoner." (*New York Times Magazine*, January 3, 1965)

The prospects for the future are terrifying if those of us who live in the most powerful nation in the world, a nation loaded with money and overkill, fail to do what we say the Germans should have done when atrocities were being committed in their name and with their knowledge.

WE MUST INSIST on immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Vietnam, even though the situation may remain a tragic one. Many problems will remain, but withdrawal of U.S. troops will provide the only chance that the people of South Vietnam can become masters of their own destiny. Then the way will be open for genuine negotiations about the problems of Southeast Asia, as distinct from manipulation by outside powers, and for friendly aid to the stricken peoples of the region, if they ask for it. This is the only peace with honor that is possible in Vietnam. End the War in Vietnam.

SIGNERS

I join in signing the Declaration of Conscience (stating refusal to cooperate with the prosecution of the war in Vietnam):

Signature \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

Please clip and mail to one of the sponsoring organizations to be delivered to the President on an appropriate occasion.

- Please send me more information about the war in Vietnam, and the organizations sponsoring this leaflet.
- I want to work to end the war in Vietnam:
  - Please keep me informed about future action projects.
  - Please send \_\_\_\_\_ additional copies of this leaflet.
  - Please send \_\_\_\_\_ copies of the Declaration of Conscience in petition form so I may obtain additional signatures.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

Catholic Worker  
175 Chrystie Street  
Att: Tom Cornell  
New York, N. Y. 10002

Committee for Nonviolent Action  
325 Lafayette Street  
New York, N. Y. 10012

5D

Student Peace Union  
5 Beekman Street, Room 1029  
New York, N. Y. 10038

War Resisters League  
5 Beekman Street, Room 1025  
New York, N. Y. 10038

*Because* the use of the military resources of the United States in Vietnam and elsewhere suppresses the aspirations of the people for political independence and economic freedom;

*Because* inhuman torture and senseless killing are being carried out by forces armed, uniformed, trained and financed by the United States;

*Because* we believe that all peoples of the earth, including both Americans and non-Americans, have an inalienable right to life, liberty, and the peaceful pursuit of happiness in their own way; and

*Because* we think that positive steps must be taken to put an end to the threat of nuclear catastrophe and death by chemical or biological warfare, whether these result from accident or escalation --

We hereby declare our conscientious refusal to cooperate with the United States government in the prosecution of the war in Vietnam.

We encourage those who can conscientiously do so to refuse to serve in the armed forces and to ask for discharge if they are already in.

Those of us who are subject to the draft ourselves declare our own intention to refuse to serve.

We urge others to refuse and refuse ourselves to take part in the manufacture or transportation of military equipment, or to work in the fields of military research and weapons development.

We shall encourage the development of other nonviolent acts, including acts which involve civil disobedience, in order to stop the flow of American soldiers and munitions to Vietnam.

NOTE: Signing or distributing this Declaration of Conscience might be construed as a violation of the Universal Military Training and Service Act, which prohibits advising persons facing the draft to refuse service. Penalties of up to 5 years imprisonment, and/or a fine of \$5,000 are provided. While prosecutions under this provision of the law almost never occur, persons signing or distributing this declaration should face the possibility of serious consequences.

Some signers of this Declaration are:

- Rev. Dan Bellamy, S.J.
- Rev. Philip Ferrigan, S.S.J.
- Kay Doyle
- James Bristol
- William Davidson
- Dorothy Day
- Daniel DeFinger
- Ralph Dista
- Lawrence Ferlinghetti
- W. H. Ferry
- Erich Fromm
- Maxwell Geismar
- Rabbi Everett E. Gendler
- Paul Goodman
- Robert Braggins Gore
- Richard C. Gregg
- Paul Jacobs
- Erich Kahler
- Paul Krassner

- Irving Laysch
- Sidney Lewis
- John Lewis
- Stoughton Lloyd
- Bradford Little
- Miller Mayer
- Stewart Neacham
- Morris R. Mitchell
- Mrs. Lucy Montgomery
- A. J. Muste
- Orrin Nathan
- Linus Pauling
- Jim Peck
- Dionigi Prima
- A. Philip Randolph
- Earle Reynolds
- Bayard Rustin
- Glenn E. Smiley
- Harvey Swados

ENCLOSURE 62-110048-406X

FBI

Date: APR 30 1965

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL  
(Priority)

**CONFIDENTIAL**

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WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (62-110048)

FROM: SAC, PHILADELPHIA (105-11621)(P)

STUDENT MARCH ON WASHINGTON,  
APRIL 17, 1965  
INFORMATION CONCERNING  
INTERNAL SECURITY  
OO: WASHINGTON FIELD

CLASSIFIED BY SP7 JLN  
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X  
ONLY PAGE 1 REVIEWED FOR  
98-31441-75-0152

*Handwritten notes and signatures:*  
6-3  
3  
3  
Bert...

Re Philadelphia teletypes to Bureau 4/6/65, Phila-  
delphia radiograms to Bureau 4/16/65; Philadelphia airtel to  
Bureau, 4/12/65, listing members of the Philadelphia Committee  
for the March on Washington.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 17 copies of  
a letterhead memorandum (LHM) captioned as above. Copies are  
also being furnished to Chicago, New York, Pittsburgh and  
Washington Field for information. INTC, ONI, OSI and  
Secret Service (2) are being furnished copies locally for  
information.

The sources utilized in the LHM are as follows:

First source:

b2 [redacted] (X/10)

Classified by #260,747,009 BTJ/RBC

Declassify on: OADR

Second source:

[redacted]

who furnished information to

b7c SA [redacted]

9/9/87  
62-110048-411

Third source:

b2 [redacted] REC-13

MAY 1 1965

Fourth source:

b2 [redacted] EX-102

who furnished information to

SA [redacted]

b7c

*Handwritten initials and stamps:*  
J...  
MAY 5 1965

*Vertical stamp:*  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

**ENCLOSURE**

SEE PAGE 2 FOR COPIES

WSB:lac

(28)

AGENCY State, Secret Service  
REQ. REC'D 001,056,02  
DATE FORW. 05/11/65  
HOW FORW. AS  
BY WT/pen Sent

Approved: [Signature]  
Special Agent in Charge

69 MAY 1 1965

**CONFIDENTIAL**

UNREC COPY AND COPY OF ENCL FITTED IN Case 61

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"HOW SHALL WE EVER FIND  
APOLOGIES FOR OUR SILENCE?"

- Hochhuth "The Deputy"



A NATIONAL OUTCRY TO PROTEST THE KILLING IN VIETNAM

## **MARCH IN WASHINGTON TO END THE WAR**

### **SATURDAY, APRIL 17th**

On this day many thousands of students from universities and colleges from Mississippi to Minnesota, from California to Cambridge, from New York to Nebraska are planning to pour in to the nation's capital to demand an end to the war in Vietnam.

The students have asked all people of conscience to join them. The national call for this March has been signed by many prominent Americans including Erich Fromm, Dorothy Hutchinson, Norman Thomas, Kay Boyle and W. H. Ferry.

By adding many more thousands of adult voices, this demonstration can become the historic outcry of Americans against further war in Southeast Asia.

--It is time we showed the rest of the world that a multitude of Americans DO understand the suffering of the people in Vietnam!

--It is time we showed President Johnson and our Congress that thousands of Americans decry our dangerous and immoral policy in Vietnam!

--The demonstration is planned to include individuals from many peace and civil rights groups. They will represent differing opinions as to the solution of the Vietnam conflict. But they will be united in one slogan:

**End the war in Vietnam NOW!**

<sup>20</sup>  
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOIPA  
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

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

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

Section 552

Section 552a

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(b)(7)(A)

(d)(5)

(b)(2)

(b)(7)(B)

(j)(2)

(b)(3)

(b)(7)(C)

(k)(1)

(b)(7)(D)

(k)(2)

(b)(7)(E)

(k)(3)

(b)(7)(F)

(k)(4)

(b)(4)

(b)(8)

(k)(5)

(b)(5)

(b)(9)

(k)(6)

(b)(6)

(k)(7)

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64-48876-1

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X No Duplication Fee X  
X for this page X  
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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

**SECRET**

**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. 1  
Case Originated At NEW YORK, NEW YORK

51679

File No. 100-44333

Report Made At WASHINGTON, D. C.	Date When Made 3/1/46	Period for Which Made 1/16-31/46	Report Made By [REDACTED]
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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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OTHERWISE  
FBI:JAG

Title: **NATHAN GREGORY SILVERMASTER**  
with aliases et al

Character of Case: **ESPIONAGE**

**STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL**  
**CONF. INFT.**

According to confidential source FITZGERALD is socially acquainted with subjects PERAZICH, KAPLAN, and MAGDOFF. Same source advised ELIZABETH SASULY contacted Mr. and Mrs. GOLD on January 16, 1946. BELA GOLD contacted [REDACTED] in New York City on January 31, 1946. [REDACTED] left Washington for New York City on January 25, 1946, and returned January 28, 1946. HARRY WHITE contacted GLASSER on January 22, 1946, and gave him advice concerning speech GLASSER was to make in Denver, Colorado. GLASSER departed Washington for Denver on January 22, 1946, and returned on January 28, 1946. Background data re [REDACTED] set out. [REDACTED] received letter from [REDACTED], New York City, postmarked January 24, 1946. Selective service data re [REDACTED] set out. [REDACTED] presently working on Argentine matters for BRAIDEN at State Department. [REDACTED] had appointment with [REDACTED] in New York City on January 11, 1946. [REDACTED] departed for New York again on January 31, 1946, for dental appointment. Indices of confidential informant [REDACTED] reviewed from September, 1944, to December, 1945, concerning GREGOV's contacts in an effort to identify "JACK" with negative results. MAURICE HALPERIN visited New York City from January 23, 1946, to January 25, 1946. Confidential source advised HALPERIN presently seeking new employment in Washington or New York City. ALGER HISS still in London with UNO. KAPLAN traveled to New York City on January 25, 1946, and returned on January 30, 1946. Confidential source advised KRAMER accepted invitation to a party home of [REDACTED] of Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(S) DATE 1-6-51 1-6-51

Classified by [REDACTED]  
Declassify on [REDACTED]

Approved and Forwarded: [Signature] Special Agent in Charge 8-8-47 5/20/83

Copies of This Report: 30 42 20 15 10 5 64 02 - 6 73

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- 3 - New York
- 3 - Washington Field

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DECLASSIFIED BY 107610 [REDACTED]  
DATE 10/2/92 BY [REDACTED]  
FOR 92-3144/99-05

MAY 8 - 1946

**SECRET**

~~SECRET~~

Date

To

From

Jan 27, 1946  
Lake Wales, Fla.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]  
Mountain Lake  
Lake Wales, Fla..

Jan 28, 1946  
Durham, NC

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]  
Duke Univ. School of  
Medicine, Dept of Phy-  
siology & Pharmacology  
Durham, NC..

Jan 28, 1946  
NY

[REDACTED]

Chemical Bk & Trust Co.  
Bank Window, Church  
St. PO. NY.

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b2 Information set forth hereafter was obtained from ~~Confidential~~ Informant [REDACTED] during the period of this report from January 16th to January 31st inclusive. (u)

On January 15, 1946 [REDACTED] discussed with [REDACTED] Jewish problems and [REDACTED] told [REDACTED] that she was going to hear a woman name not mentioned who had been quite a success in New York and who was going to give a talk here at 8 PM on Thursday. [REDACTED] stated that the topic for discussion would be on the Soviet Union and that the lady had discussed Social Security matters at her last meeting. [REDACTED] characterized the unknown woman as a fearless speaker and that she speaks freely and does not mind stepping on peoples toes. (u)

b7c

On January 17, 1946 [REDACTED] inquired of [REDACTED] whether or not her guest had left. [REDACTED] told her that everybody was fine and they discussed a young girlfriend at length. On that same day [REDACTED] made arrangements for attending a meeting on R Street near Connecticut Avenue and she stated that she was going to call [REDACTED] and tell her to come over to Arbours for dinner. (u)

On January 18, 1946 [REDACTED] inquired fr [REDACTED] and when she learned that she was not at home she left her number and wanted to be contacted. (u)

On the same date [REDACTED] tried to contact [REDACTED] but without success. (u)

On January 20, 1946 [REDACTED] contacted [REDACTED] stating that she was to attend a meeting at the Book Club tonight and asked for suggestions for her reading list. She also inquired as to who the author was of "Faints and Strangers" (phonetic). She was advised that GEORGE WILLISON (phonetic) was the author of the above book. He suggested that [REDACTED] (u)

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have the book "Aglama" (phonetic) put on her list. She advised [redacted] that she already had "Marx the Communist Manifesto" and [redacted] also suggested that she add to her list "Days and Nights by Sound," "Escaping from Freedom" by ERIC FROMM, "Patterns of Culture" by RUTH BENEDICT and also "Black Metropolis" a book on Negroes. [redacted] advised that she had a book on the list "Reveille for Radicals" by PAUL LINSKI. *RLY*

On January 22, 1946 [redacted] contacted [redacted] and discussed some unknown woman who [redacted] stated was a smart Russian and [redacted] agreed!

On January 22, 1946 [redacted] of the State Department contacted [redacted] and stated that [redacted] wanted to talk with him. [redacted] asked [redacted] about [redacted] December report, and [redacted] thought it was in the file. [redacted] said [redacted] called up, and thought the request for \$330,750 for the last quarter is too much, and thought Congress would not approve this budget. They discussed various items of the budget. [redacted] mentioned \$6000 for the San Francisco volume. [redacted] asked if they were going to publish the annual Report of the National Munitions Control Board. [redacted] said he has heard nothing new on this. [redacted] said that they are going to publish the Security Manual, but is not sure about the Economics Manual. They discussed the \$6000 for San Francisco Docks volume being charged against another allotment. [redacted] mentioned the item of \$1500 for the "Conduct of Foreign Relations", and said he doubted that they would get that. [redacted] said "she" obligated that for something else, and wanted to get it back. They discussed amounts requested for a number of other items of publication, and agreed that the \$5000 requested for publications on Pearl Harbor, under "Informational Pamphlets" is a phony. [redacted] mentioned an item of \$4000, and [redacted] said that that was another thing, that it was taken out of something else, and that was put in to get it back. [redacted] said that all the items under "Informational Pamphlets" are either legitimate or have other things that are coming along to take their places. *RLY*

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all

[redacted] said that some of the estimates are pretty big, and if they could give way on a few of the items, maybe it would shut [redacted] up. [redacted] agreed. [redacted] repeated that some of those are to get money back for misobligated funds, but it would not do to tell [redacted] that. [redacted] said the fact is that they are overspent, and must get it back some way. [redacted] said he has checked the \$5000 for Pearl Harbor, \$1500 for Conduct of Foreign Relations, \$5000 for Official Texts of the Declarations of War, \$500 for the Keltsman(phonetic) thing, and \$4000 for Imperfected Treaties. [redacted] said the total of these five items is \$16,000, and it is safe to concede them. [redacted] agreed. [redacted] asked him to go through the list of pamphlets after the Economics ones. [redacted] said they want to keep those. [redacted] said he is trying to get [redacted] (phonetic) on the phone, as they have to know what [redacted] is planning. They mentioned a number of other publications, and decided whether each one should be kept in the budget. [redacted] said that they could concede about \$16,000 in addition to the \$30,000. *RLY*

**SECRET**

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INDEX GUIDE

Title  
NATHAN GREGORY SILVERMASTER  
with aliases et al

Character of Case  
ESPIONAGE-R

Report Made By [REDACTED] b7C

Date of Report MARCH 1, 1946

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~~SECRET~~



FROMM, ERIC

[REDACTED]

FURST, ONE

[REDACTED]

(u)

GAMOFF, ONE  
GATES, ONE

[REDACTED]

GENERAL CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION

STRIKE FUND

GEORGE, LLOYD

[REDACTED]

GLASSER, HAROLD

[REDACTED]

GLENKOFF, ONE

[REDACTED]

GOLD, L.

[REDACTED]

GOLDBLATT, LOUIS

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[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

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*(Handwritten initials)*

~~SECRET~~

ADVISED BY SLIP(S) OF DATE  
**Classified**  
10-18-83

48891

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1  
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **NEW YORK** NY FILE NO. **65-14603**

REPORT MADE AT <b>NEW YORK</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>5/17/46</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>4/1-5/15/46</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>[REDACTED]</b>
-----------------------------------	----------------------------------	---	-------------------------------------

TITLE <b>GREGORY</b>	CHARACTER OF CASE <b>ESPIONAGE - R</b>
-------------------------	---

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: **PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL**

562  
570

[REDACTED] identified. Recent contacts of [REDACTED] still in contact with Kaiser-Frazer. [REDACTED] is in CIO Housing Command indicating of possible [REDACTED] tieup. [REDACTED] still in Buenos Aires. Her activities and contacts in B.A. noted and names in her notebook further identified. She expects to return U.S. soon via Puerto Rico. Details of conference between [REDACTED] and EARL BROWDER re latter's trip to Russia set out. [REDACTED] received word that BROWDER in Moscow. [REDACTED] back in U.S. Voice comparisons, surveillance logs, etc. strongly negative suggestion that [REDACTED] last "contact" was [REDACTED] attended Congress of Civil Rights convention in Detroit. [REDACTED] will resign job at N.F.C.L. about 5/16/46. Her recent activities appear to be normal; contacts identified, mostly C.P. members. [REDACTED] visited [REDACTED] office. 4/29/46 tailed by car to Seneca Falls, NY, where turned over to Buffalo Agents, returning to NY 5/4/46 and to Washington 5/6/46. [REDACTED] advised U.S. Service and Shipping is expanding operations; [REDACTED] U.S. Department of Commerce, will assist company in its business affairs while he is in Russia. [REDACTED] identified only [REDACTED] from number of photos of subjects in Corby Case. [REDACTED] last two meetings with [REDACTED] has given no indication of further activities and claims she has long desired to cease espionage contacts and work. [REDACTED] in NYC 4/9/46. No unusual activity of [REDACTED] noted. [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] contacts of [REDACTED] are known Communists. [REDACTED] contact of [REDACTED] member. No derogatory information developed re [REDACTED] contact of [REDACTED] and wife continue contacts with numerous Communists and Russian sympathizers. [REDACTED] in NYC 4/13/46

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: **E.E. Conroy** SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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65-56402-1158

DECLASSIFIED BY 60267/MS/STW/STW

65-56402

NY 65-14603

CONFIDENTIAL

the wife of [redacted] a prominent subject in the New York area, and requested that [redacted] obtain information regarding the INDIA LEAGUE. [redacted] stated that she was interested in getting the English out of India and she was interested in knowing whether the INDIA LEAGUE followed the Party line. She further indicated that her husband, [redacted] had been collecting pamphlet material from [redacted] in Detroit, Michigan. (u)

This informant further advised that on April 10, 1946 [redacted] attempted to contact [redacted] who resides at a building adjacent to the [redacted] but he was told that she could be reached at a number listed to [redacted]

b7c  
b7D

Inquiry conducted at [redacted] revealed that [redacted] had been attending COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY and that she is presently residing in one of the apartments. (u)

The records at COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, New York City, revealed that [redacted] at New York City; that she obtained a Bachelor of Science degree at COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY on June 5, 1945, and that she obtained a certificate for secretarial studies on June 2, 1942. These records reflected that she listed her address as [redacted] her former address as [redacted] New York. It was further indicated that she graduated from YONKERS HIGH SCHOOL in [redacted] and that her father's name is [redacted]. (u)

Confidential Informant [redacted] whose identity is known to the Bureau, advised that on April 11, 1946 [redacted] indicated that she and [redacted] would spend that evening with Dr. FROMM, who is the author of "ESCAPE FROM FREEDOM". (u)

Information was obtained from the NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, 42nd Street and 5th Avenue, indicating that ERICH FROMM, the author of "ESCAPE FROM FREEDOM", had been born at Frankfurt, Germany, on March 23, 1900. He is known as a psychoanalyst and he graduated from the UNIVERSITY OF HEIDELBERG in 1922 with a Ph.D. degree. These records reflected that FROMM married FRIEDA REICHMANN on June 16, 1926; that he was a lecturer at the INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL RESEARCH, New York City, from 1934 through 1939; that he was a lecturer at COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY during 1940 and 1941, and that he was a lecturer at the AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PSYCHOANALYSIS since 1941. His home address was listed as 444 Central Park West, New York City.

To ONI  
3/25/46  
RMM

CONFIDENTIAL

3  
CONFIDENTIAL

NY 65-14603

An examination of the telephone directory revealed that Dr. ERICH FROMM resides at 322 Central Park West, New York City.

The above informant further revealed on April 12, 1946 that [redacted] from Summit, New Jersey, indicating that he is still in the U. S. Army and he intends to return to Germany. [redacted] indicated that he is from Detroit, Michigan and that his mother is presently residing there. [redacted] requested to spend the next afternoon with him at Croton-on-the-Hudson, New York. u

This informant further revealed that on April 14, 1946 [redacted] spoke to [redacted] regarding the INDIA LEAGUE as to whether this group followed the Party line and she further indicated that [redacted] had received a GUGGENHEIM fellowship to write a book on Germany. u

b2c  
b7c  
On April 15, 1946 this informant indicated that [redacted] spoke to [redacted] and [redacted] indicated that he was still working on the democratization of Germany. [redacted] indicated that he also received a GUGGENHEIM fellowship and he then requested [redacted] to visit him at the MUSEUM OF MODERN ART in New York City for the showing of a Nazi film. [redacted] indicated that he was specializing in analyzing Nazi propoganda films and that he was also interested in showing this film to a girl who will arrive in New York during that day and who is interested in the German Youth Organization. u

[redacted] JOHN SIMON GUGGENHEIM FOUNDATION, 551 Fifth Avenue, New York City, examined his records which reflected the future plans of [redacted] indicated that he was recently a Press Control Officer, PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE DIVISION, SHAEF, and that he will write an account of the experiment by U. S. Army officers and civilian specialists to educate the German people in and for democracy through organization of the free German press. [redacted] indicated he was interested in this experiment to be carried out in a manner reflecting the American concepts of democracy and that Germans should be allowed to publish their own newspapers without censorship when they were determined to be reliable. He further indicated that he was interested in attempting to bring about a revolution in the thought processes and patterns of a people through the instrument of the press.

[redacted] application listed the following references:

1. [redacted] of OWI in Europe; THE BERKSHIRE, East 52nd Street, New York City.

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TITLE: GREGORY

CASE: ESPIONAGE - R ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SA: [REDACTED]

DATE: 5/17/46

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# For Informational Purposes Only

The originals removed from this file and replaced with duplicate copies of the original were accessioned to the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) pursuant to the JFK Records Collection Act of 1992. Provision of the JFK Act allowed for certain information to be postponed from public release until the year 2017; therefore, the pages have NOT necessarily been released for public review in their entirety.

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The following materials were removed from this file and are maintained in the JFK Collection at NARA:

File & Serial Number

JFK Subject Identifier  
(for NARA purposes)

65-56402-1210 pgs 1, 2, 21, 27, William G. Gaudet  
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# For Informational Purposes Only

Under date of March 29, 1946, JOSEPH GREGG received a post card from GEORGE BLANKSTEN of 1636 North Vista Street, Hollywood 46, California, which read:

"Dear JOE: PECK writes with alarm that VARDAMIAN is making intensive inquiry as to my whereabouts and is unlikely to accept arrangement under which I departed. My resignation and leave slip were sent in earlier this week as from Chicago. Would appreciate being advised as to what the deal is, if you have the time and inclination to find out. I find UCLA pleasant--FITZ is a good guy to work with and am planning a long letter to you as soon as I get some time. You may have seen FITZ this week. We were East for a Philly (Philadelphia) convention. My regards to LEFFIE (GREGG's wife). Hope I'll hear from you soon. GEORGE".

~~SECRET~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
Informant Z also advises JOSEPH GREGG received the following letter from ERICH FROMM, 322 Central Park, West, New York 25, New York, under date of May 14, 1946:

"Dear Mr. GREGG:

"Thank you for your letter and for your kind remarks on 'Escape From Freedom'. I shall be glad to see you when you are in New York and suggest Thursday, May 23 at 6:00 p. m.

"Would you be good enough to give me a ring Thursday morning between 10:00 and 12:00 to confirm this appointment. The phone number is Cathedral 8-0533. Sincerely yours, ERICH FROMM."

In addition to the above, informant states GREGG has been in correspondence with ROLAND F. SCOTT, who owns a clothing store at Selbyville, Delaware relative to his, GREGG's, membership in the Fenwick Island Beach Association located at Fenwick Island, Delaware. It has been ascertained that GREGG is the owner of Lot No. 13 in Section K of Fenwick Island, and this ownership is recorded in the office of the Recorder of Deeds for Sussex County, Delaware in Georgetown, Delaware in the Deed Book DJA #335, page 600. This lot fronts on Lews Street and contains 5,428 Sqft.

Informant advises that Mrs. ROSE GREGG received a bill from the Lahey Clinic, 605 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, Massachusetts, in the amount of \$139 under date of April 8, 1946. It is also noted that FREDERICK J. HESS, DDS, Farragut Medical Building, Washington, D. C., billed Mrs. GREGG in the amount of \$24 on April 1, 1946 and that professional services were rendered to NORA GREGG, daughter of JOSEPH GREGG by Dr. FRANK B. COSTENBADER, 1150 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D. C., the bill for which was rendered on March 20, 1946.

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

TITLE CHARACTER OF CASE

NATHAN GREGORY SILVERMASTER ESPIONAGE-R  
with aliases et al

SA [REDACTED] b7c

DATE OF REPORT 6/5/46

1-19-00  
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DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 1  
ONCT PAGE? REVIEWED FOR  
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Classified by 3042 [Signature]  
Declassify on: OADR  
3/28/88

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FOOD TOBACCO WORKERS

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Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice

New York 7, New York

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EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

June 17, 1946

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

Director, FBI

DECLASSIFIED BY 3042 PWT/AS  
ON 2/12/88

RE: GREGORY  
ESPIONAGE - R  
Refer 5 I. S.

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP

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

Dear Sir:

There is enclosed herewith a form letter for the Justification  
for the Continuation of a technical surveillance on CEDRIC HENNING BELFRAGE,  
a principal subject in the above captioned case. Symbol number ██████████ is being  
used for this technical surveillance.

Very truly yours,

*E. E. Conroy*

E. E. CONROY  
SAC

165-56402-1239  
F B I

JUN 28 1946

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



LWS:EBS  
65-11603

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&  
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*10/19/83*

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United States Department of Justice  
Federal Bureau of Investigation



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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

JUSTIFICATION FOR CONTINUATION OF TECHNICAL  
OR MICROPHONE SURVEILLANCE

June 17, 1946

RE: Title: GREGORY

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

Character of Case ESPIONAGE - R; Refer 5 I. S.  
Field Office: New York.  
Symbol Number [REDACTED] b2  
Type of Surveillance: (Technical or  
Microphone) Technical

1. Subject's name and address:

CEDRIC HENNING BELFRAGE  
Finney Farm, Croton on Hudson, New York.

6/17/83  
Classified by SP5EJG  
Declassify on: OADR

2. Location of technical operation:

Sutec.

DECLASSIFIED BY 3042 PWT/JS  
3/24/88

3. Dates of initial authorization and installation:

Bureau authority granted to install a technical surveillance  
12/4/45. Technical surveillance installed 12/21/45.

4. Previous and other installations on the same subject (with dates and  
places):

None.

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LWS:EBS  
65-14603

5. Specific valuable information obtained since previous report with  
indication of specific value of each item and what use was made  
of each item of information involved: This informant advised BELFRAGE  
contacted ERICH FROMM, a known contact of [REDACTED] a principal subject in this  
case. BELFRAGE has also been in contact with [REDACTED] a known associate of N. GREGORY  
SILVERMASTER another principal subject in this case. His future plans such as two trips to  
Detroit, Michigan and a contemplated trip to England have been ascertained. Such infor-  
mation is of assistance in investigation to evaluate the suspected activities of these  
contacts and principal subjects.

ENCLOSURE 65-56402-1237  
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~SECRET~~

Under date of May 18, 1946, [REDACTED] received a letter from the Columbus Clearing House Association, Columbus, Ohio, which stated

"Your letter addressed to the Columbus National Bank making inquiry regarding a deposit made by JOSEPH GREENSTEIN September 28th, with no year indicated, was turned over to this office. I wish to inform you that the Columbus National Bank failed in June, 1931, and that final liquidation has been made. There are no records available with which we can check this deposit ....."

The letter from the Columbus Clearing House Association enclosed a bankbook of the Columbus National Bank indicating that on September 28th, (year not shown) JOSEPH GREENSTEIN made a deposit of \$141.44.

67C Under postmark of May 15, 1946, a letter was directed to [REDACTED] by [REDACTED], New Rochelle, New York. This letter advised that [REDACTED] enjoyed the visit made to their home by [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] (sister).

By letter of May 14, 1946, ERICH FROMM, 322 Central Park West, New York City, thanked [REDACTED] for his kind remarks regarding "Escape From Freedom." FROMM also stated he would be glad to see [REDACTED] on the occasion of his trip to New York City and in this connection suggested appointment for Thursday, May 23, 1946, at 6:00 P.M. He requested [REDACTED] to confirm this by phoning him at Cathedral 8-0533 (New York City).

[REDACTED] et, Hollywood 46, California, wrote to [REDACTED] on May 12, 1946. [REDACTED] is connected with the Department of Political Science of the University of California at Los Angeles. The letter, in part, reads as follows:

"UCLA isn't so bad outside of the fact that the campus looks like a Hollywood set that will be dismantled as soon as they finish shooting the picture. I have about 200 students in my classes and, I might as well admit it, it feels wonderful to be teaching again. Everything I say they write down in their notebooks as if it is the truth from headquarters and when I bawl them out for it, they look at me in utter bewilderment. Anyway, my tendencies toward prima donnism ought to get satisfied here. I don't have to tell you that FITZ is a wonderful guy to work with by which I mean that he leaves me completely alone to teach and organize courses in my own way. UCLA has its politics like any other place, and I am not too well up on how they work yet, but unless I misunderstand them completely, FITZ will be the head of the Political Science Department as of July 1st. This should operate to my benefit, since I am generally regarded as his protege out here. Also, I have agreed to work with FITZ on a book,

~~SECRET~~

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~~SECRET~~

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was, et al

CHARACTER: ESPIONAGE - R

S. A.: [REDACTED] b7C

DATE : 7-8-46

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1  
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT

NEW YORK

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ NY

FILE NO. 65-14603 AHD

REPORT MADE AT NEW YORK	DATE WHEN MADE 7/27/46	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 6/1 to 7/16/46	REPORT MADE BY [REDACTED]
----------------------------	---------------------------	---	------------------------------

TITLE SECRET GREGORY ALL INFO HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE	CHARACTER OF CASE PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL
---	--

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS Mrs. CEDRIC BELFRAGE departing for Paris by plane 8/7/46. No significant activity of BELFRAGES noted. ABRAHAM BROTHMAN continues to do work for Chinese Government and is presently working on a project, the exact nature of which has not been determined. [REDACTED] presently residing [REDACTED] St., NYC; continues active in GEO Henshaw Committee relations with [REDACTED] returned from South America; has made trip to Washington, D. C. and is presently attempting to secure position in NYC. She continues to receive mail from various communist front organizations in NYC. [REDACTED] now employed full-time at [REDACTED] FUR CO., NYC; no significant activities noted. Attempt to locate bank account of [REDACTED] made with negative results. [REDACTED] contacted [REDACTED] en route to Canada to home of parents of [REDACTED] Background on [REDACTED] contact of [REDACTED] set out. Informant [REDACTED] advised according to [REDACTED] latter was dismissed from War Department effective 7/19/46 because of department's re-organization. [REDACTED] indicated she desired to make New York her permanent residence. In conversation with [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] the latter expressed considerable interest in present affairs and prospects of U. S. Service and Shipping Corporation. [REDACTED] apartment continues to be occupied by [REDACTED] former maid, and indications are that the [REDACTED] expected to return to the U. S. Pictures exhibited to [REDACTED]
--

*Handwritten notes:*  
 1-10-47  
 only [unclear]  
 b7C (all)  
 Jan Foley - Chinese Div.  
 1-6-54  
 1-5-54  
 [unclear]

*Vertical handwritten notes:*  
 APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(S) OF DATE [unclear]

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R584 NOV 4 1950

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: E. L. Conway	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES
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SECRET



NY 65-14603

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

It was further indicated that she was the [redacted] of the [redacted] of the AYD at Boston, Massachusetts. She formerly resided at [redacted] Boston, Massachusetts, and she was formerly employed at the [redacted] School as a Junior Technician on a Government project. These files reflected that she was born on [redacted] at New York City; that she was a graduate of [redacted] New York City, obtaining a BA in Chemistry, and that she attended the [redacted]. She is employed by [redacted] of the [redacted], New York City.

The files of the New York Field Division reflected that [redacted] formerly resided with [redacted] at [redacted] New York City. [redacted] reportedly was actively engaged in Communist activity while residing in Connecticut and she possessed a 1945 Henry Forbes Communist Club card. These files further reflected that [redacted] of the Communist Political Association, District #2 was a sponsor of a May Day Rally at Stanzas Square, New York City. It was further indicated that she was a speaker at this rally for the Vladeck Tenants League.

Information was received from the Washington Field Division that the following telephone numbers had been in the possession of [redacted]

Longacre 3-6192

Columbus 5-3148

Pennsylvania 6-3042

A confidential source revealed that the listing for Longacre 3-6192 is to [redacted], New York City; that the listing for Columbus 5-3148 is to [redacted], New York City, and that the listing for Pennsylvania 6-3042 is to the Construction Supplies Company of America, 500 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

An inquiry conducted at 500 Fifth Avenue revealed that the Construction Supplies Company of America, located in Room 1002, and the names of [redacted] and [redacted] are also listed in Room 1002.

The Washington Field Division reported that [redacted] received a letter from ERICH FROMM, 322 Central Park West on May 14, 1946. In this letter FROMM thanked [redacted] for his kind remarks about his book "Escape from Freedom", and he suggested that [redacted] visit him on May 23, 1946 at 6:00 P.M. (u)

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~~SECRET~~b7c  
(all)

NY 65-14603

~~SECRET~~ CONFIDENTIAL

The records of the Credit Bureau of Greater New York were examined by Special Employee Investigator Wade Fuller and information was obtained that Dr. ERICH FROMM, 444 Central Park West or 322 Central Park West, New York City, is employed by the International Institute of Social Research, 429 West 117th Street, New York City. These records reflected that FROMM is married; that he is about 40 years of age and has no children. FROMM is listed as a psychologist and it is reported that he has a bank account at the National City Bank of New York, 111th Street and Broadway, New York City.

To ONI  
3/24/47 - DMM

An inquiry was conducted at the International Institute of Social Research, 90 Morningside Drive, New York City, but due to the nature of this institute, it was not deemed advisable to make an investigation regarding FROMM.

A record was also obtained from the Merchants Credit Rating Bureau, Bennington, Vermont, which indicated that FROMM had been employed by the Bennington College as a professor of psychology. FROMM's former occupation was listed as a practicing psychiatrist and these records regarding FROMM were satisfactory.

A review of the files in the New York Field Division revealed that the 1946 bulletin for the New School For Social Research, 66 West 12th Street, New York City, listed ERICH FROMM as a professor in the School of Philosophy, and Liberal Arts, and he taught a course in Emotional Forces in the Social Process. FROMM is also listed as a member of the Organizing Committee of the Jefferson School of Social Science.

It was previously indicated that on April 11, 1946 Mr. and Mrs. CEDRIC BELFRAGE were to spend the evening with ERICH FROMM. Information regarding ERICH FROMM has previously been set out in the report of Special Agent [redacted] dated May 17, 1946, at New York.

The Buffalo Field Division advised that Special Agents [redacted] and [redacted] while surveilling [redacted] to 34 Bonair Avenue, New Rochelle, New York on May 5, 1946, observed a 1946 Studebaker, New York license plates 2U3485, parked in front of this address. The records of the Registry of Motor Vehicles, New York City, revealed that 1946 license plates number 2U3485 are registered to [redacted] Bronx, New York.

b7C  
(all)

A review of the files of the New York Field Division revealed that [redacted] with alias, [redacted] was listed as transferred to the District of Columbia Communist Party for 1943. At that time he had been employed as an engineer by the [redacted] CONSTRUCTION COMPANY at Washington, D. C. It was further indicated that [redacted] had his name legally changed to [redacted] in 1943. His wife, [redacted] had been employed

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CHARACTER: ESPIONAGE - R

S. A.: [REDACTED]

27406

DATE: 7-17-46

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# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE <b>NEW YORK</b>	OFFICE OF ORIGIN <b>NEW YORK</b>	DATE <b>3/9/65</b>	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD <b>11/25/64 - 2/28/65</b>
-------------------------------------	-------------------------------------	-----------------------	---

TITLE OF CASE <b>[REDACTED]</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>[REDACTED]</b>	TYPED BY <b>STJ</b>
------------------------------------	-------------------------------------	------------------------

#260,741  
 Submitted by **SP-8 BTJ/RBG**  
 9/19/67

ESP - R  
 ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
 OTHERWISE

**SECRET**

### REFERENCES

1-28-00 Report of SA **[REDACTED]** at NY, 11/24/64.  
 CLASSIFIED BY **SA [REDACTED]**  
 DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 1

ADMINISTRATIVE 98-3144 99-0652

SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR  
 ADD. DISSEMINATION

The NYO indices contain references to **[REDACTED]** and **[REDACTED]** but no positive identification can be ascertained.

NYO indices are negative concerning **[REDACTED]** and **[REDACTED]**

**[REDACTED]** and **[REDACTED]** advised on 12/14/64, that on 11/7/64, **[REDACTED]** was to have dinner with a Hungarian economist, name unknown, who was Chairman of the Department of Economics, University of Budapest. No identification of this individual has been made.

APPROVED <b>[Signature]</b>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW
COPIES MADE: 6 - Bureau (65-68273) (RM) 1 - Newark (65-5564) (RM) (Info) 1 - New York (65-20548) 1 - New York (105-60661) See State, 4-28-67 Reference is made to previous reports submitted to the Dept. of State regarding <b>[REDACTED]</b> VRS/eam		65-68273-22 REC-51 21 MAR 10 1965 EX-101 SOVIET SECTION
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MAR 10 1965

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[ NY 105-60661 ] (u)

NY T-4 and NY T-2 also advised that during early November, [redacted] was very upset at the news the death of the Soviet economist NEMCHINOV, as he had planned to return to the Soviet Union to work on a mathematical model with him. [redacted] remarked that [redacted] whom he had also seen in the USSR during the summer of 1964, would not be considered by him as a replacement for NEMCHINOV, as he was not sure he could rely on [redacted] who did not seem to be eager to be of help. (u)

~~SECRET~~

NY T-2 and NY T-4 stated that [redacted] knows [redacted] a Russian at the UN, and they are apparently very good friends, phoning and seeing each other quite often. [redacted] has told [redacted] that [redacted] wants to come to the UN next year after he finishes a book he is writing. (u)

b7C  
(all)

NY T-2 and NY T-4 further advised that they had learned early in November that [redacted] was planning to have dinner with a Hungarian economist, name unknown, who was the Chairman of the Department of Economics, University of Budapest. (u)

NY T-2 and NY T-4 advised that on Saturday, November 14, 1964, [redacted] was in telephonic conversation with ERIC FROMM, who was in Mexico City, where FROMM lives and works, in connection with FROMM's article that appeared in a recent issue of the "Saturday Review" and had been translated in the Russian publication "The Literary Gazette" in Moscow, in the issue of October 24, 1964. Another article written by one CONSTANTINO, a Soviet philosopher, appeared in "The Literary Gazette" recently in answer to FROMM's article. [redacted] asked FROMM (u)

(u)

~~SECRET~~

[ NY 105-60661 ] (u)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

if he wanted an English translation to CONSTANTINO's critical article to which FROMM replied in the affirmative. Their telephone conversation was conducted in the English language. (u) ~~SECRET~~

NY T-2 and NY T-4 advised that on November 25, 1964, [redacted] telephonically contacted [redacted] at the UN and gave him the information concerning above information of FROMM and CONSTANTINO. This conversation was conducted in the Russian language. (u) b7c

NY T-2 and NY T-4 learned that [redacted] and [redacted] late in November, 1964, were planning to have dinner with [redacted]. (u)

b7c NY T-5 advised on October 19, 1959, that [redacted] in March, 1959, met with certain CP members in New York City at a meeting held for the purpose of working towards organizing a National CP Youth Organization. (u)

(S) NY T-6 in early 1962, [redacted] is an [redacted] [redacted]. (S) b1 b7c

(S) NY T-7 in the middle of 1962 [redacted] [redacted]. (S) b1

"New York Times" edition of November 6, 1964, page 37, contains an article which reflects that VASILY S. NEMCHINOV, a leading Soviet economist, died in Moscow, November 5, 1964, at the age of 70. (u)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
~~SECRET~~

# FRIENDS OF THE JEWISH NEWSLETTER, INC.

For Independent Thinking and Free Discussion of Jewish Problems.

POST OFFICE BOX 117

WASHINGTON BRIDGE STATION, NEW YORK 33, N. Y.

TOMPkins 7-2974

March 19, 1957

INDEXED - TL  
all  
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Dear Mr. [Redacted]

As a reader of the Jewish Newsletter, we believe you will be interested in learning about an association of Newsletter readers which has been in existence for some years. Its primary aim is to advance independent thinking on Jewish problems by helping the Newsletter reach a broader public.

The enclosed folder, "Story of Friends", tells the story of our group. We hope that when you have read it, you will join us and become a Friend of the Jewish Newsletter.

By Friend, we mean a reader who recognizes the importance of the public service performed by the Jewish Newsletter over and above its journalistic function, and who therefore wishes to help it with more than his individual subscription. As a rule, a Friend, in addition to subscribing to the Jewish Newsletter, contributes a minimum of \$25.00 to the publication's sustaining fund, or for gift subscriptions. The Friends of the Jewish Newsletter is incorporated as a non-profit association under the laws of the State of New York, and all contributions are tax-deductible.

We are living in a period of crucial events, whose significance is often obscured by partisan pleading. At such a time, the cause of a free and independent press must be of special concern to all thoughtful and open-minded Americans, Jews and non-Jews alike. In this cause, we bespeak your generous support for the Friends of the Jewish Newsletter.

Sincerely yours,

Friends of the Jewish Newsletter, Inc.

Hans Kohn  
Honorary Chairman

Hilda R. Lazaron  
Honorary Secretary

per Elias Rabkin  
Honorary Treasurer

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ENCLOSURE

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# Story of Friends

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# FRIENDS OF THE JEWISH NEWSLETTER, INC.

For Independent Thinking and Free Discussion of Jewish Problems.

POST OFFICE BOX 117

WASHINGTON BRIDGE STATION, NEW YORK 33, N. Y.

TOMPKINS 7-2974

## Story of Friends

This is a story of friendship in a time of fear and bitterness. It is the story of the Friends of the Jewish Newsletter.

There are, in our time, two legitimate types of journalism. One devoted primarily to the right reporting of news and dissemination of information. The other, in addition, seeks to lead it to embrace candor to serve a particular idea, or a social cause which free and honest opinion

The Jewish Newsletter belongs to the latter category. It was founded in 1948, an historic year in Jewish history when the state of Israel was established causing many revolutionary changes in Jewish thinking and moral attitudes. The intellectual confusion and emotional upheaval, attendant on all revolutions, demands a full knowledge of facts and honest non-partisan interpretation of events one of the great needs of the period.

### Independence of Thought

Of still greater significance was the need for independent thinking on Jewish problems, free from the mass emotionalism that is the inevitable concomitant of most nationalistic movements. Events called for an independent opinion, for thoughtful criticism and self-criticism and for an untrammelled discussion of Jewish problems, free from organized authority, party, nation, ancient tabus, or modern ideologies. The interests of truth required the creation of a public platform from which the Jewish non-conformist might state his views, however unpopular with the majority.

In the last nine turbulent years, the Jewish Newsletter has done its best to fulfill these needs, in the face of tremendous odds.

A publication that runs counter to popular trends in a time of emotional tension cannot, as a rule, operate as a self-paying business enterprise. In democratic societies such a publication has always required the financial aid and moral support of those unselfish and unafraid people who shared its convictions. So it was with the Jewish Newsletter. During the first four years of its existence, the burden of publication was borne by the editor

and a few friends who gave freely of their time and substance to make their message live.

### The Story of Friends

In 1952, a larger group of readers and friends, aware that the Jewish Newsletter could not go on longer without support, formed an organization, the Friends of the Jewish Newsletter, Inc. to provide the necessary financial and indispensable moral support that would keep JN alive.

Its moving spirit was the late Mr. Edgar M. Berlin, of Beverly Hills. The first honorary officers were: Dr. Hans Kohn, professor of History at City College of N. Y., and the late Professor Monroe E. Deutsch, provost of the University of California, as co-chairmen. Mrs. Hilda R. Lazon, served as honorary secretary, with Mr. Elias Rabkin, editor of Advance (organ of Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union), as treasurer.

The membership at large consists of men and women from various sections of American society, Jews and non-Jews, who disagree with one another on many subjects. Some of them disagree even with the Jewish Newsletter on a good many questions. They all agree, however, that for an individual or group to lose the freedom to think differently from the majority is the quickest way to intellectual subservience and spiritual totalitarianism. This, they believe, constitutes a real danger to the American Jewish community of our time — which must be averted.

### What the Friends have Done

The principled support of the Friends has enabled the Jewish Newsletter not only to continue its publication, but also has made possible gratifying achievements in a growth of editorial influence, a wider readership and the performance of a public service.

Editorially, JN has won a unique and respected niche for itself in American liberal journalism. It has been quoted by the New York Herald Tribune, Time, Ladies Home Journal, Christian Science Monitor, Christian

Century, Pilot, America and numerous other daily and weekly publications. Editors of newspapers, writers, radio and television commentators, communal and spiritual leaders, Congressmen, Senators and molders of opinion find it useful as background and look to it for information they find in other publications.

Readers of the Jewish Newsletter and non-Jews of independent mind are aware of the modern peril of organized propaganda. They want a balanced picture of the Jewish scene which they seek in the reporting and free discussion of Jewish problems in the JN.

### Free Platform

Thanks to the Friends of the Jewish Newsletter, the publication has become a public platform for the voicing of views on Jewish problems. Viewpoints, recently either suppressed or ignored, are heard with interest and respect by both Jews and non-Jews, whether they agree with or not. The very existence of such a platform tends to counteract a view, unfortunately prevalent of late, that Jews are a monolithic group unable to react otherwise than tribalistically in matters affecting their interests.

### The Jewish Newsletter in Its Tenth Year

This year the Jewish Newsletter enters its tenth year of its publication. We take this occasion to invite you to join this group of men and women, Friends who provide the lifeblood of the publication, financially as well as morally. Membership in the Friends depends solely upon the willingness and ability to contribute. Voluntary contributions may be earmarked for gift subscriptions to friends, libraries, newspaper institutions and prominent personalities, or made as outright contributions to the sustaining fund of the publication.

Whatever your contribution may be, it will help a very much worth-while cause which has been largely neglected in our time — the cause of intellectual freedom which seems to be in danger of disappearing from Jewish life.

**JEWISH**  
 WILLIAM ZUKERMAN  
 Editor  
*Newsletter*

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P.O. BOX 117 • WASHINGTON BRIDGE STATION, N. Y. 33 • SWINBURN 5-2974

Dear Reader:

We, the undersigned, are convinced that one of the greatest needs of the American Jewish community in our time of conformity and propaganda is intellectual independence in thinking about Jewish problems.

We are also convinced that the Jewish Newsletter has been an effective medium in this field. It has done a creditable job of independent reporting and interpreting Jewish news as it came up from week to week during the last twelve years.

However, as a non-profit publication, whose primary purpose is the advancement of an idea and the performance of a public service, and which has no income from advertisements, the Jewish Newsletter is faced every year with a deficit which it cannot meet from its own resources.

Once a year it therefore appeals to its readers and friends for contributions, in addition to their subscriptions, to enable it to go on with its work. Last year, the deficit was larger than usual, and the need for help is more urgent.

Because we know the value of the publication's unique service to the American Jewish and non-Jewish communities, and because we also know the needs of the Jewish Newsletter, we wholeheartedly join its appeal.

Will you please do whatever you can to help the Jewish Newsletter in its double task -- that of producing a thought-provoking publication and of providing a much-needed platform for the free discussion of Jewish problems.

Whatever contribution you will make will be greatly appreciated and will help the very much worthwhile cause of intellectual freedom -- a cause which is of vital importance to American Jews as well as to all other Americans.

Sincerely yours  
*Central Research*

*Erich Fromm*

*Hans Kohn*

*David Riesman*

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*S. J. [Signature]*

*ADD*

REC-30 94-48299-11  
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ENCLOSURE  
 DEC 12 1960

moral support to keep the Jewish Newsletter alive. Since then, the publication has become the common enterprise of a group of people, instead of the mouth-piece of one person.

The membership at large consists of men and women, Jews and non-Jews, from various walks of American life and of different opinions on many subjects. Some of them disagree even with the Jewish Newsletter on some questions. They all are convinced, however, that for an individual or group to give up voluntarily the freedom to think differently from the majority and to the right of dissent is the surest way to intellectual subservience and spiritual totalitarianism. This, they believe, constitutes a real danger to the American Jewish community in our time.

#### SOME ACHIEVEMENTS

The activities of the *Friends of the Jewish Newsletter* have enabled the publication not only to go on with its work, but have also made possible gratifying achievements in the growth of editorial influence, a wider readership and the performance of a public service.

Thanks to the *Friends of the Jewish Newsletter*, the publication has become a public platform for the voicing of dissenting views on Jewish problems within the Jewish group. Viewpoints and reports, until recently suppressed or ignored, are now being heard with inter-

est and respect by both Jews and non-Jews, whether they agree with them or not.

The very existence of such a platform tends to counteract a view, unfortunately prevalent of late, that Jews are a monolithic group, unable to react otherwise than tribalistically in matters affecting their interests.

Editorially, the Jewish Newsletter has won a unique and respected niche for itself in American liberal journalism. It has been quoted by the New York Herald Tribune, Time, Ladies Home Journal, Christian Science Monitor, New York Journal-American, New York World-Telegram, Chicago Daily News, Christian Century, Pilot, Sign, America, Independent, and numerous other daily and weekly publications.

Many editors of newspapers, writers, radio and television commentators, lay and spiritual leaders, Congressmen, Senators, and other molders of public opinion are using it as background material.

#### OUTSTANDING PROBLEM

The very growth and expansion of the Jewish Newsletter have brought about a number of problems which make its struggle for survival more difficult now than it was years ago when the publication was a one-man venture.

The Jewish Newsletter is now a truly collective enterprise which fulfills an

91-48299-11

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March 22nd, 67

*Handwritten initials*  
 [Redacted]

Schiller Park, Ill.  
 60176

The Federal Bureau of Investigation  
 United States Department of Justice  
 Office of the Director  
 Mr. J. Edgar Hoover  
 Washington, D.C. 20535

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Enclosed is a copy of a book, which I consider a very important one. The original one was written in the German language and I knew it before I came to the United States.

This book by Dr. Erich Fromm: Marx's Concept of Man, is an eyeopener to anyone who wants to know more about communism and Karl Marx's original thoughts. For many people it might be surprising to note that Karl Marx did not give communism that fanatic and distorted interpretation of the nature of man.

He was wrong in not believing that capitalism was not able of adjustment and reform towards goals of serving humanity. I wish I could send every senator a copy.

This brings me to the subject of the consular treaty. I wrote to several senators and I received varied answers. Many of them did not satisfy me, some of them did. Under the circumstances the treaty might not get ratified anyhow. I surely hope not, because I think it is timely wrong and all to often it is one way road, all take for the communists, and nothing for the free world.

Wishing you a very happy and pleasant Easter, sincerely

yours

Enclosure: 1 Encl. (book) filed in Bu. Library  
 1 marx's concept of man

4-3-67  
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MAR 24 1967

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont *AD 12 19*

DATE: March 30, 1961

FROM : W. C. Sullivan *WCS*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SUBJECT: **ERICH FROMM**  
**INFORMATION CONCERNING**  
**CENTRAL RESEARCH SECTION MATTER**

Internal Security

*b7c*

In a personal conversation with Chief Inspector W. C. Sullivan, [REDACTED] of Washington, D. C., made the statement that he believed Erich Fromm to be a communist. Kraemer deducted this from reading some of Fromm's writings.

*J. B. [unclear]*  
*F. [unclear]*  
*Chambers*

## BACKGROUND OF ERICH FROMM

*N.Y.*

Erich Fromm is a psychoanalyst on the faculties of the National University of Mexico and Michigan State University. He is an author and lecturer. (Who's Who in America, 1960-61)

There is no indication in the files of this Bureau that Fromm is a communist or has any connections with the Communist Party, USA. Fromm is a socialist. He was a member of the Independent Socialist League (ISL) and on June 2, 1960, was elected to the National Committee of the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation (SP-SDF). (100-429425-63, 64)

The Summer, 1960, issue of The Socialist Call, the official organ of the SP-SDF, identified Erich Fromm as one of the members of the editorial board. (100-429425-71)

DECLASSIFIED BY SP7JEL/AN  
 ON 12-11-00 APPENDIX 98-2144/99-0157

On 7/18/58 the ISL, a basic revolutionary group, was removed from the list of organizations designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450, and in September, 1958, the ISL was dissolved. ISL members were invited to join the SP-SDF on an individual basis and many did. The SP-SDF is not the subject of a Bureau investigation. At the SP-SDF National Convention held 5/28-30/60, Max Schachtman, former National Chairman of the ISL, and at least four other former ISL members were elected to the new SP-SDF National Committee.

- name*  
 MMC:lms/meh *meh*  
 (4)  
 1 - Mr. Belmont  
 1 - Mr. Bland  
 1 - Section tickler

REC-75

5 APR 4 1961

100-0-34162

50 APR 10 1961

*#260747*  
 Classified by SP8BJR/RS  
 Declassify on OADR  
*9/14/87*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
 OTHERWISE

Memo Sullivan to Belmont  
Re: "Erich Fromm"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

If it is determined that the program of the ISL is being followed by the SP-SDF, under the domination of the former ISL members, consideration will be given to conducting active investigation of the SP-SDF by the Bureau. (100-429425-69)

In 1958, Fromm sponsored the New York Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy. (100-391697-534) He also sponsored the Bay Area Students Legal Aid Fund of the Bay Area Students Committee for Abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities which organization is presently under Bureau investigation for communist infiltration. (100-433929-2)

In 1955, two Mexican informants advised that a Communist Party member indicated to another Party member that she was studying for a Masters Degree in psychiatry and was contacting Fromm in connection with her studies. She was reprimanded and told that Fromm was anticommunist and she should have nothing to do with him. (100-416481-62) *AM*

In 1946, Fromm was friendly with two individuals described by Elizabeth Bentley as having furnished her information for her Soviet espionage apparatus. (62-6052-30966)

In 1943, it was reliably reported that Fromm was considered as a possible lecturer by the Organizing Committee of the Jefferson School of Social Science, which organization was included on the list of organizations designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450. (62-60527-30966)

BACKGROUND OF [REDACTED] b7c

No pertinent information is contained in Bureau files regarding [REDACTED] b7c *D.R. Information*

RECOMMENDATION:

That this memorandum be referred to the Subversive Control Desk.

*W.F.B.*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

~~REC-4~~

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 10/6/69

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-63707) (P)

SUBJECT: *Cuba* NATIONAL INITIATIVE FOUNDATION  
~~BUILD THE EARTH~~  
~~NEW SPHERE~~  
~~SEQUOIA SEMINARS FOUNDATION~~  
~~"THE COMMUNITY"~~  
IS - MISCELLANEOUS

*h. J. A. (P) FROM in (mt)*

#260,747  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 9/3/81 BY SP8BTJ/REG

Enclosed for the information of the Bureau are fourteen (14) copies of an LHM captioned as above. This LHM sets forth information furnished as the result of research conducted by Mrs. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] who has been an [REDACTED] of the [REDACTED] made by captioned organizations in the school system.

This matter is being furnished for background information only, inasmuch as the San Francisco Office has received some inquiries concerning the Sequoia Seminars Foundation from individuals who have been asked to join and/or sponsor speakers from the Foundation. Presumably, some of these inquiries also might be made to the Bureau if activities of this organization increase.

Inasmuch as there appears to be no activities at the present time which would merit further investigation, no further investigation is being conducted at this time. San Francisco will continue to maintain alert to any activities on the part of Subject organizations which would indicate that further investigation should be conducted.

EX-108  
EX-115 REC-4  
REC-19  
100-0-40250

2 - Bureau (Enc. 14) (RM)  
2 - San Francisco  
WHK:bas #11 by routing slip to [REDACTED]  
(4)

14 OCT 15 1969

Info  action   
date 10-21-69  
by [REDACTED]

INT. SEC. [REDACTED]





UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Francisco, California

October 6, 1969

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

NATIONAL INITIATIVE FOUNDATION  
BUILD THE EARTH  
NEW SPHERE  
SEQUOIA SEMINARS FOUNDATION  
"THE COMMUNITY"

#260,747

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 9/3/81 BY SP8BTJ/RBG

A source furnished the following information on September 26, 1969 as the result of approximately one year of reading and inquiry into the organizational setup and motives of the "National Initiative Foundation", "Build the Earth", "New Sphere", and the "Sequoia Seminars Foundation":

THE SEQUOIA SEMINARS FOUNDATION

The Sequoia Seminars Foundation was incorporated in 1949 by Harry J. and Emelia Rathbun and Leon A. and Lucille Carley. (Post Office Box 678, Palo Alto, California) The Article of Incorporation state that its purposes are to:

- (1) ...promote, through objective and non-denominational study, understanding of the significance and way of living discoverable through the life and teaching of Jesus of Nazareth.
- (2) ...conduct seminars and conferences in furtherance of said purpose;
- (3) ...to administer all real and personal property without gain, profit, or dividend to any member of the corporation, and
- (4) ...to engage in any business or other activity incidental to the main purposes of the corporation PROVIDED that the corporation not carry on propaganda or otherwise attempt to influence legislation.  
(Emphasis added.)

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ENCLOSURE

NATIONAL INITIATIVE FOUNDATION  
BUILD THE EARTH  
NEW SPHERE  
SEQUOIA SEMINARS FOUNDATION  
"THE COMMUNITY"

ERICH FROMM

Since both Build the Earth and the National Initiative Foundation leaders assign works by Erich Fromm, the source read his works and critiques extensively and researched his associations.

Erich Fromm studied sociology and psychology at the Universities of Munich, Frankfurt, and Heidelberg. He was trained in psychoanalysis at the Psychoanalytic Institute in Berlin. Since 1926, he has been engaged in theoretical investigation and consulting psychology and has lectured at Columbia, Yale, Bennington, the William White Institute for Psychiatry, and the New School for Social Research. In 1963, he was a professor of psychology at NYU and professor of psychoanalysis at the National University of Mexico where he still lives.

Noted humanist philosopher, CORLISS LAMONT, a member of the American Humanist Association, lists Fromm as a naturalistic humanist and also as a "humanist psychologist" together with ABRAHAM H. MASLOW. In fact Lamont says that Maslow and Fromm provide churches a way to "save face" by stating that religious experiences are possible in a naturalized and humanized setting and that eventually the churches, which have battled humanism so fiercely, may try to say that Fromm and Maslow's ideas are what they meant all the time. In Lamont's opinion Erich Fromm is one of the contemporary leaders of "humanism." Fromm states that "Marxism is humanism" and has as its goal the full realization of the potentialities of man. He pleads for Marxist thought to incorporate a "dialectically and humanistically oriented psychoanalysis." He further states that Marxism needs such a theory and that psychoanalysis needs to incorporate genuine Marxist theory.

Erich Fromm, (Ed.) "The Application of Humanist Psychoanalysis to Marx's Theory," Socialist Humanism, Garden City, New York: Anchor Books Edition, 1966, p. 228-245. (Originally published by Doubleday, 1965.)

NATIONAL INITIATIVE FOUNDATION  
BUILD THE EARTH  
NEW SPHERE  
SEQUOIA SEMINARS FOUNDATION  
"THE COMMUNITY"

Among Erich Fromm's most noted works is The Art of Loving in which he states that the principle of love and the principle of capitalism are incompatible.

Erich Fromm, The Art of Loving, New York, N.Y.: Colophon Paperback Edition, Harper & Row, 1962, p. 131.

In another leading work, Revolution of Hope, he blueprints a plan for changing the world through clubs, groups, and "the movement." In this book he advocates a substitute for religious and patriotic formulae in schools and instructs the "movement" on how to become involved in city, local, regional, and national affairs in order to further the movement's goals. In an international symposium called Socialist Humanism of which he is the editor, he writes a chapter on "The Application of Humanist Psychoanalysis to Marx's Theory."

In the work Erich Fromm, A Protestant Critique, J. Stanley Glenn, Rh.D., claims that Fromm is popular today since he capitalizes on man's loneliness and his need to "relate to others." Dr. Glen claims that Fromm views Christ as a "social revolutionary" and that he views Christian protestantism as the religious correlate of capitalism. Glen further accuses Fromm of proposing a substitute religion and of believing that "atheistic mysticism" as a religious form of (humanistic) tradition is the only religion that can free man from authoritarian religion of law.

The "National Initiative Foundation" and "Build the Earth" have formed an "education task force" to introduce their philosophy and program into the Palo Alto Unified School District. Palo Alto is to be a pilot project.

These two closely affiliated but legally separate organizations are reported by members to be interrelated to another organization known both as "New Sphere" and "Challenge to Change" which meet in many small couples groups as part

William-Zukerman, Editor  
Post Office Box 117  
Washington Bridge Station,  
New York 33, N. Y.

Subscription Rates:

\$5.00 per year; \$3.00 half year  
Entered as second class matter.

Post Office, New York

Biweekly except for the month of Aug.

# NEWSLETTER

INDEPENDENT THINKING  
ON JEWISH PROBLEMS

WILLIAM ZUKERMAN, Editor

Protocols of the A. D. L.,  
Totalitarian Trends

EDITORIAL ADVISORY BOARD

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APRIL 9, 1956

VOL XII No. 8

NEW YORK, N. Y.

## Arms or Peace

As anticipated in our last issue, public opinion in the Western world has veered in favor of granting some arms to Israel for self defense purposes. France has already delivered twelve Mystere jet interceptor planes. England and Canada have also changed their former negative attitude and have announced that they, too, would sell arms to Israel in greater quantity. The position of the American government on the issue has not changed officially: the State Department still is of the opinion that arms cannot settle the problem in the Middle East and that other measures, such as the UN Mission to the Middle East are better suited to the achievement of peace in that area. But the United States has abandoned its previous objection to the sale of arms to Israel by France, England, Canada and other Western powers. Thus, the urgency of the issue has been relieved and the arms question now enters into a new stage, when it can be seen in a calmer atmosphere and discussed without hysteria.

It is appropriate at this point to place on record the little-known fact that the clamor for arms as the solution of the Middle East crisis is not as unanimous among Jews as it is presented to be. Both in Israel and in this country, many voices have been heard in opposition to the iron-clad formula that if Israel only had enough arms from the United States to counteract the arms to Egypt from Communist countries, this would not only serve as a deterrent to Arab aggression, but would do away with the threat of an Arab-Israeli war entirely. To be sure, theirs are not official, or even majority voices, but they reflect the views of organizations of historic significance and of individuals of great prestige and deserve consideration, or at least a hearing. In this and in forthcoming issues, the Jewish Newsletter proposes to present the views of these opponents to the general clamor for force as a settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

### Exaggerating the Arms Issue

The first and most important of these voices is that of the Jewish Labor Bund, a Labor-Socialist body with a great record of more than two generations of achievements for Jewish labor. The Bund arose at the same time as the Zionist movement, but while the latter reflected the national awakening of the Jewish middle class and its aspiration to national independence based on escape and separation from the Non-Jewish world, the Bund expressed the hopes of Jewish labor and liberals that internationalism and social justice for all will solve the Jewish problem. During the last quarter of this century, the Jewish group as a whole, has tended to follow the nationalist ideology, but the Bund has remained true to its ideals and is the outstanding opponent to nationalism.

Lebensfragen, organ of the Bund in Israel, published in its current issue an article entitled *Arms or Peace* in which the opposition to the Israeli-Zionist clamor for arms is stated clearly and dispassionately. The article begins with a strong criticism of the Israeli government and of the Zionists for exaggerating the arms issue out of all proportions, and for concentrating all

## Anti-Defamation League

Western countries fear a sharpening of the Arab-Israeli tensions. They are afraid of an Arab-Israeli war because they fear that this would enable Russia to penetrate into the Middle East. They are therefore sincerely interested in bringing about a peaceful solution of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Why should the Israeli government not use this opportunity to obtain peace rather than arms? *Lebensfragen* asks, and concludes that Israel, or at least the Ben Gurion government, does not really want peace. It is maneuvering for peace negotiations "from a position of strength", not for real peace.

### Terms of Peace

A similar position is taken by the American section of the Jewish Labor Bund. Writing in *Unser Tsait* (April), organ of the American Bund, editor Dr. Emanuel Scherer says that he is not opposed in principle to the sending of American arms to Israel, especially since the Arab states are receiving arms from the Communist countries. But arms can at best bring only temporary relief and serve as a palliative. What is necessary — while there is still time — is not an arms race but a permanent peace settlement between Arabs and Israelis. How is this to be accomplished? *Unser Tsait* publishes the following peace proposals submitted by the Bund to the Council of the Socialist International which met in Zurich, Switzerland (March 2-4), as a basis for negotiations:

An Arab-Israeli peace can be reached only through far-reaching concessions by both sides. On the side of Israel, peace depends primarily on her attitude toward the frontier and the Arab refugees problems.

1. To reach a permanent peace, negotiations must be conducted on the basis of readiness to make frontier adjustments.

2. The State of Israel must recognize the moral right of the Arab refugees to repatriation and compensation, and must make effective concessions in the question. Our attitude toward the Arab refugee problem is in agreement with the general principles of democracy. For the Jewish people which in the course of its long martyrdom experienced more than once the bitter fate of the refugee, and has, on more than one occasion, demanded the rights of Jewish refugees for their home and property—the attitude of Israel in the Arab refugee problem is a test of political morality.

3. On the other side, the Arab states too must make concessions. They must stop the boycott, the blockade and other acts of animosity, and establish a truly peaceful co-existence with Israel.

In short, the Bund holds that Zionists and Israelis are over-emphasizing the importance of arms and underestimating the importance of peace. Real peace can now be obtained more easily than at any other time before, but only by concessions and compromises on both sides.

W. Z.

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S decision not to sell arms to Israel is criticized by the Zionist and pro-Zionist press as "ap-"  
NOT RECORDED  
100-530-340  
APR 11 1956

## ND OF EVENTS:

### The International Antisemitic Conspiracy

Fayez Sayegh, Deputy Director of the Arab States Delegation, told a correspondent of the *Jewish Newsletter* last week the recent charges made by the ADL in the book *Cross Currents* about a new international antisemitic conspiracy and the role of the Arab Information Center (AIC) in it are completely false. He denied that there had been any contact between any official or employee of the AIC and any known antisemite mentioned in *Cross Currents*, and that any of the memoranda allegedly written by the AIC staff and mentioned or referred to in the book ever existed. Dr. Sayegh also stated that the AIC had never distributed any antisemitic literature. Publications mentioned in *Cross Currents*, such as *The Story of Zionist Espionage in Egypt*, were not distributed by the Center. The latter pamphlet was distributed by the Egyptian Embassy. Particularly, the Syrian government publication, *Tension, Terror and Blood in the Holy Land*, which was mentioned in a letter from the editor of the *Jewish Newsletter* in the issue of February 1953, was never circulated by the AIC.

In response to questions about visits of the well known antisemite, James Madole, to the AIC, Dr. Sayegh pointed out that owing to the fact that Madole tried on several occasions to see him. The last few times, Dr. Sayegh did not receive Madole nor did any other member of AIC. On the fifth visit, Dr. Sayegh granted Madole a two-minute interview, in which he rejected a request for a full copy of AIC literature. On two other occasions, Dr. Sayegh refused to provide Madole's organization with speakers or lecturers from the AIC staff or panel of speakers.

Dr. Sayegh challenged the ADL to produce one piece of antisemitic literature which had ever been distributed by the AIC, to bring forward one piece of evidence to prove the existence of any connection or contact between the antisemites mentioned in *Cross Currents* and any member of the Center. He pointed out that the "evidence" presented in *Cross Currents* which is the basis of all the ADL charges against the Center, was all contained in inter-office memoranda of the ADL or its representatives. This is tantamount to a man being sued by another on the sole basis of evidence in the latter's diary," he charged.

Dr. Sayegh referred to the speech dealing with the same subject he made on Barry Gray's program on March 15 in the course of which he said:

"The accusation that the Arab Information Center or the Arab States Delegations engaged in antisemitic propaganda directly or indirectly is an accusation that is not borne out even by the ridiculous documentation contained in that book. As far as the Arab States Delegation is concerned, even the contentions which, in the form of conclusions, were heralded with all the hullabuloo and fanfare of a soap opera, were not defended, were not in any way vindicated, by any of the alleged quotations or any of the alleged facts that are contained in the book.

It is a queer thing for a so-called anti-defamation agency to be engaging in defamation and seeking to achieve its purpose through defamation. I would say, it is as queer as a person who seeks to achieve peace through declaring war, or as a person who seeks to achieve freedom through tyranny.

I repeat my challenge to them to prove one single contention they made in that book in any form, shape or manner, at any time; I challenge them to meet me at any public debate, at any public discussion; I challenge them to do that through the press, to do that through the radio or TV, to which they seem to have infinite access — or else to stand convicted of engaging in outright defamation."

which makes them seem to be anti-Semitic conspiracies everywhere and brand as antisemites. They protest that they are not antisemites, but opponents of Zionist theories and Israeli policies. Only in Communist Russia is criticism of a political party equated with criticism of the entire people.

While we welcome the repudiation of antisemitism on the part of the Arab Information Center, we regret that the AIC evidently does not speak for the individual Arab States affiliated with it. We are certain that Dr. Sayegh's statement would have carried more weight if the representatives of Syria and Saudi Arabia repudiated antisemitism as thoroughly as does the A.I.C. and would discontinue the distribution of such vile antisemitic material as *Tensions, Terror and Blood in the Holy Land*, and stop their inflammatory propaganda directed against all Jews.—Ed.)

### Reappraisal in Israel?

Is Israel contemplating a reappraisal of its foreign policy in relation to Soviet Russia? This question is widely discussed in the pages of the Israeli newspapers, in the Knesset, and in other opinion-molding groups. It even came up for discussion at the last conference of the Histadrut held in Jerusalem last month. The debate has partly been quickened by the latest disappointments in Israel with the American policy on arms to Israel. But actually the question is older than the present crisis. There has always been a body of opinion in Israel favoring a position of neutrality between the Eastern and Western blocks rather than of exclusive friendship with the West. This view is not limited to the Left, but includes prominent personalities of all political parties, among them such men as Eliezer Livneh, chairman of the Israeli American Society. The primary cause of this movement is not increasing ties, or ideological friendship with the Communists, but the obvious fact that Israel is too small and too near to the Communist countries to antagonize them by allying itself exclusively with the West. Zionists also have always had great hopes for a mass-immigration of Jews from Communist countries to Israel and this obviously cannot be accomplished in an atmosphere of cold war.

There is no doubt that this movement has grown since Egypt made its successful arms deal with Czechoslovakia and since the USA embarked on what Israelis believe to be an unfriendly stand on arms to Israel. The Jerusalem correspondent of the *London Jewish Chronicle* refers to this trend in the current issue of his publication (March 23):

Many people in Israel, not only members of the Left-wing parties, are asking what real advantage there was in Israel's early abandonment of neutrality and complete identification with the West. In many small, but quite important, ways the Soviet Union has shown a readiness to create some links with Israel. The now steady trickle of immigrants, suggestions for Parliamentary delegations and exchange of students, and firm trade relations are among them. Do these signs point a way out of Israel's dilemma to ensure survival? In the urgent need for a reappraisal of its foreign policy Israel must inevitably ask itself this question.

On the other hand, there is an important section of public opinion which holds that Israel's interests are bound up too much with the United States and with American Jews and that it has more to lose than to gain by changing its policy to one of complete neutrality. This view was stated emphatically by Ben Gurion at the last Histadrut conference and it put an end to the open discussion on the subject. It is strongly advocated by American Zionists, particularly by Hadassah, which is reported to be pressing the Israeli government for a more vigorous anti-Communist policy and even to become the champion of anti-Communism in the Middle East. The *Jewish Observer and Middle East Review*, official organ of the British Zionist Federation, reports that some Hadassah ideologists have criticized Israeli diplomats for not forming the Committee to Save the Middle East from Communism before the Irgunists in the United States

## Totalitarian Tr

Mr. Louis Nelson, Vice-President of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union and one of the most independent and courageous men in the Jewish Labor movement, has written an article in the current (February) issue of the *Jewish Bulletin* in which he charges that American Jews who live under one of the most democratic governments and who have, themselves, a great tradition of a liberal and almost revolutionary past, are now exhibiting a state of mind and emotional attitude which can be described only as totalitarian. The fact that this totalitarianism is not of a political nature and does not use the physical force of the state to enforce its will does not make it less vicious. *Social ostracism, traditional taboo, economic boycotts, character assassination and other forms of modern pressure tactics can and do make the lot of the Jewish dissenter from the majority very trying and often painful.*

Nelson confirms the fact long known to every observer that the emergence of the state of Israel has created a curious psychological manifestation not only in Israel, but also among many American Jews. It has let loose a wave of racial pride, religious intolerance, and nationalistic fanaticism. Israel has become almost an object of religious worship among Zionists. To criticize a policy of the Israeli government is tantamount to sacrilege; to question the infallibility or the absolute righteousness of Israel, is equivalent to treason. In order to enforce these views and emotional attitudes on the nonconformist anti-Zionists who do not share them, the fanatics have evolved a system of pressures which, although apparently harmless in comparison with political force, can be and are very effective.

### Samples of Pressures

Mr. Nelson deals with these pressures. He deliberately ignores the big well-known demonstrations of organized political pressures on Congressmen, Senators, editors and other American public men. He relates only small facts of everyday experiences which do not make the headlines, but nevertheless illustrate the working of the trend more graphically than marches on Washington and the Madison Square rallies.

He tells the story of Dr. Herman Gray, professor of law at the New York University, and a well-known lawyer and life-long liberal active in the labor movement and in the American Jewish Committee. This man has the distinction of being the only American Jewish leader of standing in the community who has had the courage to voice his disapproval of the present Zionist-produced hysteria and to say in public what many non-Zionists say privately. Writing in the *Jewish Newsletter* (Nov. 21, 1955) on the Failure of American Jewish Leadership, he said:

*American Jews are no whit different from their fellow citizens. They do not and will not subordinate the interests of this land of their birth or adoption to those of Israel. They deny with indignation any suggestion of dual loyalty. They are honest in their denial. For them there is only one home and one country. Unfortunately American Jews are in danger of being put in a false light. At this critical juncture their journals, their publications, their spokesmen are failing them.*

For having the courage to voice these simple truths, Dr. Gray was described as a leader of a "conspiracy to truncate Israel," as the "prize specimen in the stable of Jewish donkeys" and similarly attacked for weeks in succession (*National Jewish Post*, Dec. 2, 9, 16, 23) in an effort to discredit him in the American Jewish Committee.

### Pressures on Newspapers

As another illustration of the same trend, Nelson cites the storm that has been raging in the *Jewish Newsletter* since last November when the publication attracted attention to the hysteria introduced by the press on America since the crisis in the

government. He pointed out that the Middle East situation was complicated, that it had its own interests which are in conflict with the interests of Moscow, and that the truth was not entirely on the side of Israel." The article was quoted in *Time* (Nov. 20, 1955). This so enraged the fanatics that they were not satisfied with unleashing against this publication the usual mob incitement of lies, calumny, and character assassination in their press, but have also organized a campaign of private letter writing to prominent personalities and friends of the publication to urge them to boycott it and thus force its suspension, a campaign which, incidentally, is still continuing.

### Pressures in the Labor Movement

Nelson is even more disturbed by the fact that this spirit of totalitarianism has infected other organizations which have nothing to do with Zionism. "I know of Jewish union leaders who are afraid to express an opinion. I know of Jewish businessmen and industrialists who are too intimidated to stand up to pressure," he says. At a recent UJA meeting in Brooklyn to which he was invited, the suggestion was made that Jewish trade union leaders should exert influence and pressure on employers with whom their unions have contracts to increase their contribution to the UJA. Nelson places in the same category the practice followed by a number of trade unions of imposing a tax on all their members, Jewish and non-Jewish, in favor of Histadrut.

"This is the picture of Jewish communal life and of the Jewish press now," he concludes. "Each organization vies with the other in the use of totalitarian pressure methods. Public opinion is atrophied. The individual is lost. The cultural level is declining. Hysteria rules supreme in the Jewish community of America".

Completing the sad picture independently of Nelson, the New York Chapter of the American Council for Judaism reports the following in the April issue of its publication:

"There have come to our attention recently instances of pressures alleged to have been made by some Zionists against members of the American Council for Judaism. These charges seem incredible when we remember we are living in a democracy and not under a terrorist dictatorship. We are anxious to verify them where and if possible. It is said that business and professional men have been threatened with economic boycott if they join the Council; or, where it is known that they are members of the Council, they have been forced to withdraw under threat that their livelihood would be destroyed."

William Zukerman

## READERS FORUM

### Change of Heart

During the second half of 1955, I reached the conclusion that the views expressed in the *Jewish Newsletter* no longer represented what I considered a fair appraisal of the position of the American Jewish Community. During those few months, I concluded that I didn't want to continue to receive the Newsletter as I feared that it had become a mouthpiece for the American Council for Judaism, which in many cases I consider arbitrarily anti-Israel as well as anti-Zionist.

The inclosed check is evidence that recent issues of the Newsletter have struck me as enlightening and a completely fair statement of the situation as it presently exists. I circulated and quoted the Newsletter of January 16th among quite a few of my friends, and I am particularly impressed with every article in the issue of February 13th.

In spite of the attacks on you, which are undoubtedly numerous and relentless, I hope you will be able to retain an objective approach to the critical problems in which we American Jews find ourselves inevitably involved.

William J. Wolf  
Hamilton, Ohio

I have found the Newsletter quite valuable, and have used material from it directly or indirectly on many occasions. I would not want to miss a single issue.

A warning that Russia's new foreign policy remains substantially unchanged and that Stalin's successors are still following his antisemitic policy, was issued by the American Jewish Committee in a new fact sheet entitled "The Jews under Stalin's Successors." According to the report: (1) antisemitism continues to be the official policy of the Soviet government; (2) religious freedom of the Jews is still sharply restricted; (3) Soviet Jews are not allowed even the limited cultural freedom granted to others, and they cannot publish their own newspapers, books or revive their own theater; (4) most of the Jews unjustly detained since the height of the anti-Jewish drive in February 1943, are still imprisoned although the Soviet leaders have admitted publicly that the charges against the prisoners were false; (5) the government ban against emigration to Israel remains in force. "Although the last three years have seen signs of leniency toward Russia's ethnic, religious and cultural groups, this easing has not been extended equally to Jews," says the report.

Sources in Europe and Israel take a less pessimistic view of the situation. They claim that there is an easing of antisemitism in Soviet Russia and in other Communist states as part of the general easing of tensions. More immigrants from Communist countries have come into Israel during the last year than in many previous years. The official figure is nearly 800. Most of the new arrivals report that a better climate now exists for Jews in Soviet Russia, and even more so in Poland and other Communist states, and that the fierce anti-Zionist and anti-Israeli propaganda, which was a frequent feature of Communist radio and press, has been reduced considerably. *Weekly, the London Jewish Chronicle* (March 20) reports that a new five-year development plan has been announced in Moscow for Biro-Bidjan's industry and agriculture. The new plan provides for the cultivation of about 100,000 acres of new land, for one of the largest electric power plants, and for some 10,000 new shops, restaurants and coffee houses, schools, hospitals, libraries and other cultural institutions. No mention is made of the furthering of Yiddish culture, but Biro-Bidjan is still referred to as the "Jewish autonomous region."

**Returnees from Israel** — The governments of West Germany and of Canada have now taken steps to keep out Israeli immigrants (known as "returnees") from Germany and Canada. This was done at the request of the Israeli government which is evidently concerned now with a growing emigration of people from Israel on account of the expectation of war. West Germany has always admitted visitors, immigrants or tourists, from other countries, including Israel, without requiring a special entrance visa. But in 1953, 800 Israelis, all former inmates of German concentration camps, returned to Germany and refused to go back to Israel. At the request of the Israeli government, the German government then introduced the visa regulation in order to discourage the further flow of these "returnees." Last month the Social Democratic party of West Germany introduced a motion to abolish this discriminatory visa regulation for Israelis. But the Bonn government rejected the motion, obviously to please the Israeli government. A similar step was recently taken by the Canadian government which decided not to establish immigration facilities in Israel as it was planning to do. JTA reports that...

The Jewish counterpart of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* has just appeared. The documents of the *Protocols* charging a world-wide conspiracy of Jews were proved to be forgeries and the work of genuine anti-Semites. The Jewish counterpart a volume entitled *Cross Currents*, sponsored by a Jewish organization with a past record of singularly useful service, charges a world-wide Gentile conspiracy against Jews. Like the *Protocols*, *Cross Currents* was produced to serve a purpose not altogether worthy. Like the *Protocols* it is undependable, for it is filled with misstatements, misinterpretations, unverified charges and unwarranted general conclusions. It is utterly unreliable.

Either the Anti-Defamation League leaders knew what they were doing or they did not. If they did not, the sooner they realize the injustice they have done to both the Gentile and the Jewish community the better, and they should take steps to correct it. If they do this, they can be forgiven for an error of judgment. If they do know what they have done, this volume may well prove a boomerang.

That anti-Semitism is still a sad fact with which Christians and Jews must reckon and will reckon is true. That there is a world-wide Gentile conspiracy against Jews is fantastic nonsense. The question naturally arises, why such a volume with such a charge at such a time?

An Israeli leader is reported to have said that the only way to prove the basic premise of Zionism that Jews are safe nowhere in the world and the only way to bring about the emigration of American Jews to Israel is to have a few pogroms in America. Does the A. D. L. share this opinion and is its box part of a Zionist campaign? I learned from Iraqi Jews two years ago that the Jewish Community of Baghdad was similarly terrorized by Zionists and Israeli agents and that this terrorization was one of the causes of the "Operation Magic Carpet." It is reported that Zionist pressure is largely responsible for emigration from North Africa to Israel, despite the assurance of the authorities that in the new governments, Jews will have full citizenship rights. Non-Zionist members of the A. D. L. should ask themselves the question: Do I wish to be a part to such procedures?

Or is the book a publicity stunt in a campaign for funds for A. D. L. work? "Scare the hell out of them and they'll come across" is not uncommon badinage among those responsible for raising money for Jewish causes. Create a crisis and the dollars will roll in!

Perhaps it is not too much to suggest to the gentlemen of the American Jewish Committee that they too might consider if they wish further association with the A. D. L. in the Joint Defense Appeal, if such methods are not repudiated.

No one denies that anti-Semitism exists and that propaganda agencies to oppose it should be supported not only by Jews but by Gentiles and Christians. But the publication of such a book as this is not the way to do it.

Indeed anti-Semitism is created by such unwarranted charges. It is often fostered in friendly quarters by the very methods used by those who are supposed to combat it, by the moral cowardice of those American Jews who fail publically to reject and vigorously to denounce the Zionist philosophy which links America to the Jews. It is often fostered in friendly quarters by the very methods used by those who are supposed to combat it, by the moral cowardice of those American Jews who fail publically to reject and vigorously to denounce the Zionist philosophy which links America to the Jews. It is often fostered in friendly quarters by the very methods used by those who are supposed to combat it, by the moral cowardice of those American Jews who fail publically to reject and vigorously to denounce the Zionist philosophy which links America to the Jews.

MEMORANDUM

March 28, 1941

Serial No. 2186

(3)

MR. FROMM, Dr. Simon  
Nationality:  
Born: Feb. 27, 1873 - Germany

Interested Persons:  
no search - Dr. Stephen S. Wise, 330 West 42nd Street, New York  
City (American Jewish Congress);  
Mr. Erich Fromm, 444 Central Park West, New York City  
(nephew).

The Committee submits herewith the name of  
Dr. Simon Fromm.

Dr. Stephen S. Wise has provided the following  
information concerning Dr. Fromm:

"He was a noted physician and scientific lecturer  
in Frankfurt am Main, Germany. Besides, he was one of  
the most active and idealistic leaders of the Jewish com-  
munity. A religious personality and philanthropist of  
highest rank, he devoted himself to religious, cultural,  
and charitable activities. He also participated actively  
in almost every field of social work and was a distinguished  
leader and administrator for various orphanages, homes for  
the aged, homes for incurables, and hospitals.

"As one of the most prominent personalities in Frank-  
furt, Germany, Dr. Fromm was forced to leave the country  
as soon as Hitler came to power. He fled to Switzerland,  
where he actively denounced the Nazi regime. With the  
growth of Nazism, he continued his denunciation both  
through lectures and writings. When the fear of the  
spread of Hitlerism to Switzerland became prevalent,  
Dr. Fromm fled to France and thus today is in the  
unoccupied territory of France. His life is in constant  
danger, since the Germans are now in a position to reach  
him."

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ON POLITICAL REFUGEE



# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT

NEW YORK

AL

FILE NO.

100-11299

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REPORT MADE AT <b>ALBANY, NEW YORK</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>1/20/49</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>1/10/49</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>[REDACTED]</b> <b>b7C</b>
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TITLE <b>FELIX LUCIO JOSE WEIL, INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH</b>	CHARACTER OF CASE <b>SECURITY MATTER - C</b>
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**SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:**

ERICH FROMM maintains a house at Irish Corners, North Bennington, Vt. He is a well-known psychoanalyst and in addition to writing, has private patients and students. He teaches at Bennington College, North Bennington, Vt., New York University, New School for Social Research, N. Y. C., and the William Allanson White Foundation, N. Y. C.

Reference: Report of Special Agent [REDACTED], dated 12/20/48, at Los Angeles.

Details: AT NORTH BENNINGTON, VERMONT:

[REDACTED] for Bennington College, advised that ERICH FROMM (not ERIC FROMM) teaches one day a week at Bennington College. His course is called "Human Nature and Character Structure". [REDACTED] added that ERICH FROMM is a well-known psychoanalyst, having written several books and papers on psychology, as well as having studied under the direction of SIGMUND FREUD.

The Bennington College Bulletin for 1948-1949 reflects that ERICH FROMM received a Ph.D. Degree from the University of Heidelberg in 1932, has studied at the Universities of Frankfurt and Munich, and at the Psychoanalytic Institute, Berlin, Germany. He taught at the Institute of Social Research, University of Frankfurt, Psychoanalytic Institute, Frankfurt, Germany, 1929-1931; International Institute for

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APPROVED AND FORWARDED: *[Signature]*  
 SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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Social Research, Columbia University, New York, 1934-1938. He was a guest lecturer at Columbia University in 1940 and a fellow at the Washington School of Psychiatry, in 1943. He is the author of "Dogma of Christ", "Family and Authority", and "Escape from Freedom". He has been a contributor to various psychiatric and sociological journals. He is a member of the International Psychoanalytic Association. He has been at Bennington College since 1942, on a part-time basis.

[REDACTED] said that in addition to teaching at Bennington College, FROMM is also teaching courses at New York University, New School for Social Research, 66 West 12th Street, New York City and at the William Allanson White Foundation, New York City. She said that ERICH FROMM also takes a number of private patients, and private students. JEAN ARTHUR of the movies was recently one of his private students at North Bennington, Vermont.

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(alt)  
[REDACTED] said that she has done some typing for ERICH FROMM and has seen among his papers, lectures bearing the letterhead of the Socialist National Committee, and that ERICH FROMM's name was listed as a member of that Committee.

[REDACTED] says that he maintains a house at Irish Corners, North Bennington, Vermont, but she believes that he, his wife, and child, spend most of their time in New York City.

By letter dated February 1, 1942, [REDACTED], Tupper Lake, New York, advised the Albany Office that ERICH FROMM and his wife, rented a house there during the summer of 1941. They gave their address as 444 Central Park, New York City. They were reported to have left in the house, at Tupper Lake, after moving out, an RCA Victrola Record, which had a label with the "print of two hands, one gripping the wrist of the other which holds a dagger with the emblem of the Nazi Party on the blade, and also on the same side, the words 'United Front'". The information contained in this letter from the [REDACTED] at Tupper Lake, has been previously furnished to the New York Office.

- REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN -