MEMORANDUM FOR MR. BURNS

DEC 15 1922

Professor E. D. Adams, Director of the Hoover War Library, of Stanford University, California, whom you referred to me on Friday morning, is desirous of obtaining copies of any duplicates which we have available of radical publications. The Hoover War Library is beyond doubt one of the most complete libraries of its character in the world and Professor Adams has many times extended the courtesy of examination of publications therein to our California office.

I informed the Professor that we would prepare a catalogue of such duplicates as we have and that you would be very glad to send the catalogue to him in order that he might indicate the publications needed to complete his collection. We have many duplicates and, as you know, a large number have been destroyed for want of space. I am having this material prepared now.

Respectfully,

63, 72, 84, 24

BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Respectfully,

63, 72, 84, 24

DIRECTOR.
Zechariah, 8th of April, 1925

Dear Mr. Turner,

I am in receipt of your kind letter of 20th April, and am glad to hear from you. I trust that all is well with you and your family. I am glad to hear of the progress of your daughter's studies.

I have been in Washington for the past few days, attending a conference on education. I hope to be back in time for the opening of the term. If you are planning to come to Washington, perhaps we could meet.

I am enclosing a copy of a report on the latest developments in education. I hope it will be of interest to you.

I am looking forward to hearing from you again soon.

Yours sincerely,

[Signature]

[Date]
December 21, 1922.

Professor C. D. Adams,
Director, Hoover War Library,
Stanford University,
Palo Alto, Calif.

My dear Professor:

I am enclosing herewith a copy of the list of duplicate books, pamphlets, etc., which we have in our General Intelligence Library and, if you will indicate thereon those which you desire and the number of copies of each, I shall be very glad to effect arrangements for the transfer of these to your library.

Very truly yours,

[Signature]

[Handwritten note]

Encl. 130033.

Index No. 62-720432-X2

[Handwritten note]

Mailed 06/26/32
January 15, 1925.

Professor E. D. Adams,
Hoover War Library,
Stanford University, Calif.

Dear Professor Adams:

I am in receipt of your communication of the 8th instant and note that you have received the list of duplicates in the Central Intelligence Library of this Bureau.

I regret that I cannot advise you definitely as to the source of these books. The material has been obtained from several sources. A great portion of the books and pamphlets have been secured in raids made by the state authorities upon headquarters of radical organizations. A very few of the documents were secured in raids made by the federal authorities. In most every case where state authorities make such raids, they extend the courtesy of permitting representatives of this Department to be present and often turn over to the federal authorities samples of documents secured. However, in placing these documents in our library, the source of the same has not been noted.

In regard to the future arrangement for the exchange of duplicates, the field offices of the Bureau are under instructions to forward to Washington copies of all publications secured and, after they have served the purpose in legal proceedings and have been checked with the contents of our library, I will submit to you a list of them so that you may indicate whether or not you desire to have them forwarded for your collection. In the future, I will be very glad, of course, to note the source of the document.

I appreciate your invitation to examine the Hoover War Library and you may rest assured that when I am on the coast I will make a point to communicate with you.

Very truly yours,

[Signature]

Director.
8 January 1923

W. J. Burns, Director,  
Department of Justice,  
Bureau of Investigation,  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Burns:

Returning to Stanford day before yesterday I find your letter of December twenty-first with the lists of duplicates available from your General Intelligence Library. I will have this list checked promptly and will then write to you stating the items which would be of service to us, and the numbers of each.

I am not clear from your letter whether the General Intelligence Library is made up in any other way than by seizures made by agents of your department. Can you enlighten me? You see, one object with us is to place these materials in our Hoover War Library as "seizures of radical literature by the Department of Justice."

Also Mr. Hoover, your assistant, made some kind of a suggestion about giving instructions to your agents now in the field that in the case of further seizures they should send direct to us copies where in duplicate of any materials seized. Am I to understand that this arrangement will be carried out, and if so will you instruct each agent when sending anything to us to indicate that it comes from an agent of the Department of Justice?

If business brings you this way, please do not fail to stop at Stanford, if only for a few moments, and see our collection, I shall be glad to be your guide.

Sincerely yours,
January 30, 1928.

Professor E. D. Adams,
Hoover War Library,
Stanford University, Calif.

My dear Professor Adams:

I am in receipt of your communication of the 18th instant, in which you advise me that you desire to have copies of every one of the items listed in our duplicate catalogue forwarded to you.

I am making the necessary arrangements for the transfer of this material and will advise you when it is shipped.

Relative to your inquiry concerning the source of the material, as I stated in my communication of previous date, it is impossible to designate whether the material was seized or whether it was received voluntarily from legitimate sources. No record was kept of the source of the material; consequently, I am unable to advise you accordingly. As I stated previously, however, I am making a point now to have noted upon all documents received the source of the same and in the future I will thus be able to advise you upon it.

Very truly yours,

[Signature]

Director.

MAILED
JAN 2 1928

C
Mr. Horace Dayman

At the

1973
Mr. W. J. Burns,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Burns:

Upon consultation with the other members of the staff of the Hoover War Library it has seemed best to take your offer at its very widest and to ask you to send copies of every one of the items listed by you and accompanying your letter of December nineteenth.

It is true that in a number of cases, a good many in fact, we have copies in our Hoover War Library or in the general library of some of the works on your list, but the great value of your offer is that we take everything and we shall then have an important historical section in our Hoover Library, namely that your gift, which will be held together, represents the materials in the Department of Justice Library, so that the Department of Justice itself is written into our history collection.

It is not clear from your letter whether or not all of the items listed were seizures of radical literature. Some of the books would seem of such general circulation, even though radical in character, that you could have made no attempt to get all of them that were abroad. Would it be correct to say that all the works listed by you were "seized from radicals" in the processes of your work—which differs from the statement that they were the result of seizures of radical literature.

So if you will ship us one copy each of the items listed by you, we shall greatly appreciate them. In point of fact, I would like to have two copies each for our collection, but hesitate to ask this, since in some cases you apparently have but three copies. You understand, I am sure, that every expense in connection with the boxing, shipping and transportation of these things to us is to be born by the Hoover War Library, and that you are to send to me such bills as are necessary.

Very sincerely yours,

[Signature]

EDA: W
January 18, 1923.

Professor E. D. Adams,
Hoover War Library,
Stanford University, Calif.

My dear Professor Adams:

I am in receipt of the report and analysis of the Hoover war collection which I shall read with considerable interest. Your courtesy in forwarding this to me is deeply appreciated.

Very truly yours,

[Signature]

Director.
Mr. W. J. Burns,
Department of Justice,
Bureau of Investigation,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Burns:

Thank you for your note of January fifteenth, and for its very clear statement about your plan as to future arrangements for the exchange of duplicates which may be available to the Hoover War Library. Whenever you send us a list of materials thus available for us from your seizures and acquisitions by the Department of Justice, we will at once check them up and see whether we desire any or all of them.

Very sincerely yours,

[Signature]

EDA:W
February 10, 1923.

Professor E. D. Adams,
Office War Library,
Stanford University, Calif.

My dear Professor Adams:

I am writing to advise you that I am causing to have shipped today by freight, charges collect, all duplicates appearing in our General Intelligence Library. I trust that these will arrive in safe condition.

Very truly yours,

[Signature]

Director.

[Postmark: 62-4264-7]
Mr. W. J. Burns, Director,
Department of Justice,
Bureau of Investigation,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Burns:

Thank you for your notification of February tenth that you are shipping today by freight, charges collect, duplicates in your General Intelligence library. We will be on the watch for them, and I will let you know when they are received.

Very sincerely yours,

[Signature]

P. S. One box Thursday received by express.

[Signature]
August 3, 1923.

Mr. E. D. Adams,
Stanford University,
Hoover War Library,
Stanford University, Calif.

My dear Mr. Adams:

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 23rd ult., and note your request that duplicates of the seizures of radical literature be delivered to your War Library.

I am immediately taking this up with our Bureau and have directed them to get together the character of material you desire, which will be forwarded to you at once.

I am very sorry that on my last trip to California I was not able to visit Stanford University for, as you probably know, that institution is very dear to my heart in view of the fact that my second son William Sherman Burns graduated from there as well as my son-in-law Randel Borough. You may rest assured that on my next trip out there it will give me great pleasure to drop in to see you.

If we can be of any further service at any time don't fail to command us.

Yours very sincerely,

[Signature]

Director.
Mr. William J. Burns,  
Department of Justice,  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Burns:

I am venturing to recall to your attention a promise made at the time when you gave to the Hoover War Library that unique and valuable collection of duplicates of the seizures of radical literature during the period of the war.

As I recall it, you promised that contemporary or present day seizures of similar material should be given to us also, and stated that you would give instructions to your agents in the field that whenever such seizures were made they should send one copy directly to the Hoover War Library at Stanford University. We have not received any such materials, and I am wondering whether the arrangement had been overlooked or whether you had substituted for it some different arrangement. As a matter of fact, I think it would be very much more convenient for us and for you if someone in your own office in Washington were instructed to send us from time to time copies of such seizures as were made. This would serve to remind us of your own personal interest in the Collection, and it would be easier for us to keep track of materials coming in if they come from Washington rather than from agents in the field.

I am sorry that in your occasional visits to the Pacific Coast you haven't found time to come down to Stanford University and see what we have. Also I should personally be very much gratified if you could find time to pay me a visit at my home, but suppose it is too much to ask of so very busy a man. We have the latchstring out to you, however, any time you could come.

As always,  
Sincerely yours,  

[Signature]
August 16, 1923.

Mr. E. D. Adams,
Stanford University,
Hoover War Library,
Stanford University, Calif.

My dear Mr. Adams:

Referring further to your letter of July 23, 1923, would state that I have had a search made of our files and find that under date of February 10, 1923, as you know, we sent you copies of all duplicates in our library and there have been no duplicates added since that time.

Should we receive any in the future I have directed our Bureau to forward same to you at once.

Yours very truly,

[Signature]

Director.

MAILED
AUG 13 1923
August 14, 1923.

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. BURNS

With regard to the attached memorandum directing that copies of duplicate publications be collected and sent to Stanford University, I have to advise you that under date of February 10, 1923, there were sent to Professor Adams at Stanford University copies of all duplicates in our library.

There have been no duplicates added since that time.

Respectfully,

[Signature]

SEP 1 1923

BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
AUG 17 1923 A.M
DIRECTOR
Have you directed the Bureau to do this?

Mr. Horace Mann got some of our
Amphitheatre subscribers to correspond
them to Stanford University.
October 25, 1923.

Professor D. D. Adams,

Hoover War Library,
Stanford University, Calif.

My dear Professor Adams:

I am enclosing herewith a list of duplicates by title and indication of the number of copies and would appreciate being advised by you as to whether or not these would be of any value to your library. If so, I will be very glad to have them forwarded to you.

Very truly yours,

[Signature]

Encl. 21793.

MAILED
Oct 26 1923
My dear Mr. Burns:

I am writing in reference to your letter of October twenty-fifth, accompanying which you sent a list of duplicates by title with an indication of the number of copies of each, and asked whether or not these would be of any value to the Hoover War Library.

I at once requested our chief clerk to check the list against our materials and determine whether or not we had any of the items on the list furnished by you. He now reports that it is quite impossible to check your list, because that list contains only titles or abbreviated titles, with no indication of the author, and in some cases evidently what is given is a translation of a title. Our method of keeping records makes it an impossibility to check your list against them.

Now, the probability is that we do have some, if not many, of the items in your list, but since we are not sure, and also since we are not at all afraid of duplication, I am going to ask that you send us one copy each of the items in your list. In this way we will at least be sure of not missing any of the valuable things which you have to offer to the Hoover War Library.

I take it that you preserved a copy of the list sent to us, so do not return it to you.

It occurs to me while writing that if you are willing to agree to it probably the very best arrangement for the future will be for you to send to us from time to time one copy of any items which may later be added to your own collection.

Again I thank you for your interest and thoughtfulness.

Very sincerely yours,

[Signature]
Department of Justice
Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C.

December 17, 1923.

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. HOOVER.

Referring to your instructions of the 15th, to the effect that a set of duplicates of books, publications, et cetera contained on a list forwarded to Mr. Adams of the Hoover War Library be prepared, and that you be informed when ready, I beg to state that inquiry develops that these books, pamphlets et cetera were forwarded to Mr. Adams on December 5th.

These were sent out at the time Mr. Grimes addressed his original letter to Mr. Adams stating that instructions had been issued for the shipment of duplicates to the latter. The letter in question was showed to Miss Trovillion by Miss Southwick. Miss Trovillion notified Mr. Kertez of the Post Office Department, and Mr. Kertez, acting upon instructions sent the books, pamphlets, et cetera, in four different packages.

They have undoubtedly arrived there by this time. They comprise, I am told, duplicates of all those possessed by us.

Respectfully,

[Signature]

JAN 8 - 1924
December 30, 1933.

[Address]

Professor D. D. Adams;
Hoover Library,
Stanford University, Calif.

My dear Professor Adams:

I am in receipt of your communication of the 11th instant, inquiring as to the books which were forwarded to you subsequent to the letter of October 25th.

These books were forwarded by the bureau and represent a number of duplicates which we had and which I thought would be of interest to you.

Very truly yours,

[Signature]

Director.
W. J. Burns, Director,
Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Burns:

Today there have been received at the Hoover War Library, Stanford University, four packages of material apparently coming from you and following up your letter of October twenty-fifth.

I say "apparently" because there was no accompanying letter and the frank on the packages was simply "Post Office Department, Office of the Solicitor". On opening the packages there were many of the items as given in your list accompanying your letter of October 25, and also some additional items.

Just for security's sake, was this material your shipment?

Thank you, as always, for your interest.

Very truly yours,

[Signature]

[Postmark: Dec 22, 1923, A.M.]
February 20, 1925.

Mr. E. D. Adams,
Chairman, Hoover War Library,
Stanford University, Calif.

Dear Professor Adams:

I am in receipt of your communication of the 9th instant, in which you request that the arrangement previously made with Mr. Sums, my predecessor, whereby certain literature obtained by Agents of this Bureau would be forwarded to the Hoover War Library, be continued.

As you no doubt have noted from the press, the Bureau of Investigation has been the subject of a complete reorganization. The work of the Agents of this Bureau is now confined solely to investigations of violations of federal statutes and, as the activities of radical individuals or groups heretofore indulged in do not constitute a violation of the federal law at the present time, the Bureau has no opportunity to obtain literature of the character to which you refer. I regret, therefore, that it is impossible for me to forward to you any such literature.

Very truly yours,

Director.

MAIL:
FEB 20 1925
February Ninth 1925

Mr. John E. Hoover,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

May I recall myself to you as Director of the Hoover War Library at Stanford University whom you were kind enough some years ago to take to the Department of Justice and introduce to Mr. Burns? Perhaps you will recall also that at that time Mr. Burns agreed to send and did send to the Hoover War Library as complete a possible a file of duplicate seizures of radical literature made by the Department of Justice during the War, 1914 to 1919.

Somewhat later Mr. Burns gave instructions that agents in the field making such seizures of radical literature should secure one copy where possible for the Hoover War Library and occasionally a box containing such seizures was shipped to us. I think the last box shipped to us was received about March, 1924. Since this time we have had nothing.

Now the Hoover War Library is anxious to have this arrangement continued if possible, since we really ought to be called a reconstruction library as well as a war library, as we are covering the present years as well as the years of the War. Also, since and because of the agreement made with Mr. Burns we have made no attempt ourselves to collect from radical organizations in America their literature. Yet, as a historical library for future generations, we ought to possess that literature, even though it is not to be used at present. I am writing therefore to inquire whether you will authorize this arrangement and will ship to us at your convenience such shipments as have been received at the Department of Justice since March 1924.

Sincerely yours,
May 28, 1925.

Miss Nina Almond,
Librarian, Hoover War Library,
Stanford University, Calif.

My dear Miss Almond:

I am in receipt of your communication of the 19th instant, in which you advise me of your desire to complete the files of certain publications issued during the late war.

This Bureau has no file of the publications you mention but it is suggested that you communicate with the Solicitor's office of the Post Office Department relative to this matter. The exclusion of publications from the files was under the supervision of the Post Office Department and it is possible that they may be able to suggest to you where you may be able to procure the publications desired.

I regret that I am unable to aid you in this matter.

Very truly yours,

Director.
Mr. John E. Hoover, Director,
Department of Justice,
Bureau of Investigation,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Hoover:

Professor E. D. Adams, in a letter to you of the 9th of February, requested that an arrangement previously made with Mr. Burns for the Hoover War Library whereby certain literature obtained by agents of the Bureau of Investigation be forwarded to the Library, be continued. Your reply to Dr. Adams of February 20, stated that the work of the Bureau was now confined to investigations of violations of federal statutes and that you could not comply with his request.

I wish to appeal to you in a matter somewhat different from Dr. Adams's proposal. The Library is making every effort to secure the files of certain socialist papers published during the War. All our efforts to secure these files directly from the publishers have brought the reply that they would gladly comply with our requests but they have no complete files themselves, their files having been confiscated by the Government during the War. We wish especially to secure files, 1914 to 1919 inclusive, of the Milwaukee Leader, the American Socialist, the Appeal to Reason and the New York Call. If you have files of any of these papers in the Department, may I request a file each for the Hoover War Library? The lack of these papers in the Library is a serious gap which we must fill, if possible. I would not otherwise have troubled you again about the matter.

I shall deeply appreciate a reply.

Sincerely yours,

Nora Almond

[Signature]
Mr. Lawrence Miscoy,
Sheehan Building,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Larry:

With reference to your letter of June 23, concerning the documents you desire for the Hoover War Library, I am pleased to say that I have been successful in having the original copies of two of the desired documents located. It will be necessary to have duplicate copies made, however, and as soon as this has been done, I shall have them forwarded to you.

As for the publications of the Alien Property Custodian, the transferring of this office has made the search of old records more difficult. I shall let you know as soon as I receive definite information of the location of the publications you need.

Cordially yours,

J. Edgar Hoover
Three copies of the following publications are also desired:


Very truly yours,

Director.

Division Memorandum #5
Fiscal Year 1935. First Series.
June 28, 1934.

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover,
Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

Dear J.E.:

I am enclosing a list of documents that the Hoover War Library is very anxious to obtain in order to fill in some gaps. I am wondering if you can help me get them.

With kind personal regards, I am,

Sincerely yours,

[Signature]

LR-M.
Enclosures.
U. S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE


ALIEN PROPERTY CUSTODIAN


July 17, 1934.

Mr. Lawrence Richoy,
Shoreham Building,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Larry:

With further reference to your communication of June 24th concerning the documents which you desire for the Hoover War Library, I am pleased to advise that I have been successful in securing copies of the following documents, which are enclosed herewith:

Directions to United States Marshals and United States Attorneys for the enforcement of the President's proclamation of April 6, 1917 as to alien enemies.

Supplemental brief of the United States in support of the plenary power of Congress over alien enemies, and the Constitutionality of the Alien Enemy Act (United States, Sections 6007-6070), Washington.

Inquiries have been made relative to the Bulletin of the United States Alien Property Custodian, in 1913 and the United States Alien Property Custodian, 1912, Alien Property Custodian, Custodians A. Palmer, Francis P. Garvan, Director of Sales, Joseph A. Opp, M.P., 10 vols., it being determined that at present time only a limited number of these documents in existence. It has been ascertained that Mr. Paul of the Alien Property Custodian's Office, presently
Located in the Desike Building, Washington, D. C. possesses both of the above-mentioned documents relating to the United States Property Custodian. Mr. Smith has advised that he does not desire to sell these documents, but that he would not be averse to loaning them for a short period of time. It may be that you will desire to contact Mr. Smith and secure from him a copy of these documents.

If I can be of any further assistance to you in this matter, please do not hesitate to call upon me.

Cordially yours,

J. Edgar Hoover
Sir:

It has been suggested to me by the Attorney General that in view of the present unsettled condition of the country's foreign affairs it is important that every available precaution should be taken to guard against acts hostile to the interests and welfare of the people and the Government of the United States, and to this end to use all possible loyal instrumentalities now in existence to secure general and constant vigilance in detecting and thwarting hostile and unfriendly acts and in discovering those who are engaged in them before they can accomplish their purpose.

To this end, it has been further suggested by the Attorney General that, if it met with my approval under all the circumstances, I secure the active and earnest cooperation of you and your deputies as well as that of such other sheriffs and their deputies, within my district, as I might think advisable for the purpose.

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COPIES DESTROYED
78 Nov 4 1964
of furnishing all possible aid in the detection of persons whose disposition is unfriendly to the United States or who are about to engage in plots or acts against the peace and security of the people and the Government, and to request you and your deputies to communicate promptly to me all facts which you may ascertain as to such persons and acts.

Should you consent to give this cooperation you are requested:

First. To have your deputies alert and vigilant by observation and inquiry to discover facts about any hostile persons or plots, and to enlist the aid of the people of their immediate neighborhoods to the same end.

Second. To report promptly to you, or under special circumstances direct to me, all facts and circumstances connected with such hostile persons or plots, after investigating the same as fully and quietly as possible, giving a statement of the facts secured, the names and addresses of the persons who have knowledge of the facts and an estimate of the reliability of such persons, their business, standing in the community, etc.
You are cautioned in carrying out these suggestions to avoid any action which would tend to stir up the foreign population of the country by unwarranted arrests or to cause apprehension on the part of such population of unfair treatment and to arrange that all contemplated arrests, in so far as the circumstances will permit, be submitted to the proper Federal officers for consideration before such action is taken.

Please inform me as soon as possible as to whether or not the Department may expect your cooperation in this matter.

Respectfully,

United States Marshal.
Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

RE: RECORDATION OF JAPANESE AND RUSSIAN RADIO PROGRAMS

Dear Sir:

Mrs. ALVA GOESLE, Box 3006 Stanford University, California, advises that the Hoover War Library located at Stanford University, California, is making recordations of Japanese and Russian radio programs.

She also stated that her husband has been a short wave listener for many years and has at various times written to the foreign stations that he has heard, giving them a report of their programs. She stated that her husband wrote to a number of Japanese stations and as a result he has been bombarded with material from the Broadcasting Corporation of Japan (Nippon Hosokai).

Mrs. GOESLE stated that she has promised to furnish the Hoover War Library with copies of this written material which her husband has received and would be glad to furnish copies of these bulletins to this office.

In regard to the recordations presently being made by the Hoover War Library, it is contemplated that an Agent will be at Stanford University in the near future and will make arrangements with the authorities of the Hoover War Library to furnish this office with any material pertinent to the National Defense which may be received on their recordations of the Japanese and Russian radio programs.

The Bureau will be promptly advised upon completion of these arrangements.

Very truly yours,

[Signature]

RECNRS & LDRRS: 121 4 20
SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

2 DEC 1940
U.S. DISTRICT OFFICE
U.S. DISTR.
January 1, 1943

Dr. Ralph H. Luts
Chairman
The Hoover Library on War, Revolution and Peace
Palo Alto, California

Dear Dr. Luts:

Mr. M. L. Pipher, Special Agent in Charge of our San Francisco Field Division, has directed my attention to the many courtesies extended by you and Miss Miss Almond in making available the excellent facilities of your library to representatives of this Bureau.

I do want to personally express my sincere appreciation to you and Miss Almond for your gracious cooperation with our San Francisco office and to assure you that the assistance you are rendering is most helpful in our efforts to fulfill our responsibility in safeguarding the internal security of our nation.

Sincerely yours,

[Signature]

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Gilman
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Kramer
Mr. McGuire
Mr. Harbs
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nesse
Ise Gandy

Communications Section
Mailed 13
Jan 19 1943 P.M.
Federal Bureau of Investigation
U.S. Department of Justice
June 9, 1943

SAC, New York

RE: GERMAN ACTIVITIES
INTERNAL SECURITY - O
REFER F.I.N.-IS

Dear Sirs:

The San Francisco Field Division has made available to
the Bureau a list of publications and books concerning German
espionage and related activities, which list was secured from
The Hoover Library on War, Revolution and Peace, Palo Alto,
California.

You are directed to purchase and transmit to the Bureau
one copy each of the following books appearing on this list:

Rowan, Richard Wilser
Secret Agents against America (by) Richard Wilser
1939

Carbutt, Reginald
Germany: The Truth, by Reginald Carbutt (for six
years chief organizer of foreign propaganda and
espionage under Himmler, Chief of the Gestapo.
London, Rich & Cowan, ltd. 1939

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director
CONFIDENTIAL

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

RE: THE HOOVER LIBRARY ON WAR, REVOLUTION
AND PEACE.
PALO ALTO, CALIFORNIA
ESPIONAGE

Dear Sir,

From time to time Special Agent LOUIS D. WINE of the San Francisco
Office has contacted this Library at Stanford University. He reports that
this Library has many volumes dealing with political, economic and military
activities throughout the world and especially the Axis Powers. Since the
current war, this Library has received shipments of 150 cases of books from
Germany, some of which deal with espionage and may be of some value to the
Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Through the courtesy of the Librarian, MISS NINA ALMOND, Special
Agent WINE has obtained a list of the publications in this Library on German
Espionage and Counterespionage from 1914 to date, which is enclosed, for the
information of the Bureau. MISS ALMOND advised confidentially that the United
States Army Intelligence has found considerable material of value in this
Library, and she will be glad to make available any information in which this
Bureau may be interested. She stated that recently she located in this
Library a confidential publication published by the former Government of
Austria-Hungary setting out in minute detail its plan of mountain warfare.
This information is being compiled and is now being studied by officers
of the General Staff.

MISS NINA ALMOND, The Librarian, has located two publications,
as follows:

DEUTSCHER BEOBACHTER", Volume 1, DÜSSELDORF, Detroit, Michigan,
December, 1932.

AMERIKAS DEUTSCHE POST", January, 1933, Jamaica, New York City.

She stated that both of these publications contained very interest-
ing articles relating to the organization of the German-American Bund in
the United States, and photostat copies of these publications have been
obtained and are enclosed.

COPY IN FILE

78 nov 14 1944
It is believed that the Bureau would be interested in having this information and being informed that this Library is probably the most complete source of espionage and counterespionage publications in the United States.

DR. RALPH H. LUTZ, Chairman, and MISS NINA ALMOND, who is Librarian and Consultant in Research, have been most cooperative with this Bureau on many occasions, and it is suggested that a letter be addressed to DR. LUTZ, thanking him for the many courtesies which he has extended.

Very truly yours,

[Signature]

M. J. L. PEEPER
Special Agent in Charge

LDN:DN
3 Enclosures
65-3219

Enclosed notes for reference 9/24/41
German Espionage and Counter-Espionage 1914 to date

Aston, Sir George Grey
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Unser Ziel.


Der Befreiungs- und Befreiungskampf der Volksbewegung sind derzeit durch das amerikanische Staatsrecht bedroht. Es bedarf daher einer intensiven Arbeit, um die Interessen der Bewegung zu verteidigen und zu fördern. Es ist eine wichtige Aufgabe, die von den Freunden der Bewegung zu übernehmen.

Seit Hitler
Der Herausgeber.

Eine ernste Mahnung eines Amerikaners an alle Deutschen in U. S. A.

Der frühere Politiker Amerikas in Deutschland, Joseph P. Loschak, sagte bei der Eröffnung des Deutsch-Amerikanischen Kongresses: „Solange das vereinigte Deutschstaat in den Vereinigten Staaten nicht um eine Anerkennung kämpft und solange es nicht stets ist auf seine große, kulturelle Vergangenheit und Abstammung, wird es in diesem Lande ohne Einfluss bleiben.“


59 Nov 24, 1943
Die übererzogenen und scharrenhes
Bereichte der Weltstreife nach der
Reichstagestanz, das Adolf Hitler
richtet nicht mehr Anspurl auf Deutsch-
lands Führung und wohnt nur noch
jünger einem Partei spi, haben sich
doch als leere Lautsagen und
Hilfreichsmanager herausgestellt.
Die Lautsage, das v. Hindenburg unserem
junger Adolf Hitler die Stellung
schafft an, gab einen Befehl, daß
Der Reichspräsident von den Völker
besagten, die er unmerken jünger
gestellte hatte, ließen andererseits er-
leben, wie ungerichtet v. Jen-
denburg unserem jünger unterstellte
und ihre Verleumdung unserer
Bewegung verstrumte. Die Lautsage
führte, daß Adolf Hitler, wie sein ande-
rer jünger einer Partei zuvor, sich
fahr und einüben erbot, mit Einzug
seiner ganzen Kraft und der Hilfe
seines gewaltig durchorganisierten
Parteiausgebotes, die Geschäfte
und Verantwortung Deutschlands in seine
Hände zu übernehmen. Adolf Hitler
lehnte ab, weil er keine Kompromi-
siche machen konnte, die Arbeitstun-
fähigkeit des Reichstages erkannte
und es niemals verantworten konnte,
eine erfolglose Politik des Herrn v.
Papan fortzuführen. Kleinig und
einige Verantwortung nur der Reichspräsidenten war Adolf Hitler's
Befehl. So ließen jetzt nationalistische
Bereichte mit ihrem Jünger
wissen, daß er alle das Gesagte
er die Tat umgehen wird.

Der Reichspräsident legte am
Schluß die Verhandlungen zu Adolf
Hitler: „Meine Tür wird immer für
Sie offen stehen.“

„Der Kampf geht weiter und wir
treten somit in die Opposition.“
erklärte unser Jünger, „und wir wer-
ben das neue Kabinett allein nach
seinen Taten beurteilen.“

Nach erfolglosen Koalitionsver-
suchen des Zentralrats der DP
wurde General v. Gleiser
zum Reichsminister ernannt.
Die Zusammenstellung des neuen Kabi-
netts ist mit zwei Ausnahmen die-
dsame. Wiederum ein Kabinett von
Exponenten der liberalen Bischöflichen
Ordnung, das gestützt auf Herr und
Papst, den Weg des Herrn v. Papan
besprechten und ihn auch so befahren
wird. Deutsche Zeotage geben dem
neuen Kabinett eine Lebensdauer,
die über den Winter reichen
wird. Der jüngere Reichskanzler,
Schnell behauptet, daß binnen
4 Monaten Hitler wiederum die
Kanzlerschaft angeboten würde.

Hermann Göring wurde zum
Reichsminister wiedergewählt.
Den neuen Reichstag eröffnete unser
V. General von Ritschard, der mit
82 Jahren das älteste Mitglied des
Reichstags ist. Somit wurde berichtet,
dass Clara Zettlin nochmals den
Reichstag eröffnen konnte, um ihre
Aussicht zur Weltrevolution er-
gessen zu lassen. Der nat. Soz.
Antrag, im Halle Abstimmung oder Rück-
tritt des Reichspräsidenten, den
Reichskanzlers als Vertreter
bis zur Neuwahl amtierten zu
lassen, wurde mit 2/3 Mehrheit, ge-
gen die Stimmen der Deutschnatio-
nalen und Kommunisten, angenom-
men. Der Reichstag wurde bis zum

G. Rodiani.

An den Deutsch-amerikanischen Kongress.

Vom 27—29. Oktober 1932 tagte
in New York der D. N. K. Radie-
hender Aufruf wurde demselben un-
sererseits überantwort.

Es besteht kein Zweifel darüber,
das die Deutschen in den Vereinig-
ten-Staaten Nordamerikas und die
Bürger deutscher Abstammung umge-
beuer mehr wertvolle kulturelle Ar-
beit beim Wiederaufbau des sich in
besonderer Not befindlichen deutschen
Volkes in der Zeit und auch im
Interesse Amerikas und der Welt tun
können. Ich nehme an, das aus
dieser Erkenntnis heraus der Deutsch-
amerikanische Kongress, auf dem II.
Verkong die Grundlage für eine bessere
und vorzügliche Ausbildung in der
Bildung erörtert werden soll

Jeder Deutsche, der sich innerlich
verpflichtet fühlt, in unmittelbaren
Weise an diesem Ziel mitzuarbeiten,
nicht ohne Erfahrung, die jedes ande-
re Beteiligung, die sich dieses Ziel
gezielt hat, Erfolg wünscht.

Seit meiner ersten Rede nach dem
Reichstag im Jahre 1922 und me-
inem Einblick in das Volks- und Bischöf-
lichleben dahin in den letzten Jahren,
hat man mir Fragen grundle-
gend wichtig genommen. Ich lege die-
selben kurz beantwortet dem Kong-
gress und dem gesamten Deutschtum
vor.

1. Wo liegen die Ursachen der be-
sonderen Schwäche des Deutschtums
in Amerika?

2. Welcher Weg bringt die Forder-
nung und wie erlangt das Deutschtum
in U. S. A. die Kraft zur Erfüllung
seiner Aufgabe?

Die Schwäche des Deutschtums
ist in erster Linie darin zu suchen, daß

der Liberalismus in allen seinen
Formen dem deutschen Volke im In-
und Auslande den Wertlosen seiner
Stammeszugehörigkeit raum
zuließ. Schon in der Kriegszeit wurde
in dieser Hinsicht die deutsche
Regierung viel verantwortet. Der
deutsche Auskunfterr und der deut-
sch Amerikaner ging der deut-
sch Amerikanischen Konferenz verloren.
Dessen bedauerliche Haltung verschlim-
mernte sich durch den Krieg und vor
allem durch das deutsche Regierungs-
system der Nachkriegszeit. Es wurde
mehr und mehr zur Selbsterlasse, das
Deutsche sich trotz ihrer Nation be-
kannten. Es ist richtig, wenn die
Einladung zum New Yorker Kongress
betont:

"Auch der Amerikaner deutscher
Abstammung, wird nach dem Bittfe-
feines Blutes bei wissenschaf, techni-
ischen und geistigen Unternehmungen
immer wieder dem Maßstab deut-

..."
scher Kultur anlegen.— Die innere Stammesangehörigkeit veranlasst ihn, kulturelle Arbeit zu tun.

Souveräne Kulturarbeit ist nur nur von gefunden, in Einigkeit und Kraft vorwärtsstrebenden Volks- kern vermittelt worden. Die Geschichts- zeit bestätigt tausendfach, daß das deutsche Volk in besonderem Maße zum Kulturträger der Welt bestimmt war.

Sollten die Probleme der Gegenwart nun ohne obere gegen das deutsche Volk gelöst werden?


Die tiefe Verfassung dieses Staates ist die geschilderte Liebe zu Volk und Vaterland, die allein zu Opfern und Taten beigeben kann. Damit das Auslandseinsatz einen Teil der gesamten deutschen Volkskommunion darstellt, ist es begreiflich, daß diese einzigartigen Elemente verloren gehen mußten, wenn führende Männer Deutschlands in der Nachkriegszeit sich die Begriffe Volk und Vaterland verbüßen und zur gleichen Zeit Marxismus lehrten und unser Volk veranlaßten, die Kräfte und Mittel unseres Wiederaufstieges außerhalb unserer Volksgemeinschaft zu suchen. Anstelle notwendiger Einheit trat ungewollt Beihilfeleistenfeindheit und Hofnunglosigkeit über unsere Zukunft.

Das ist ein Handel entweder muß wurde von den Bößen unseres Volkes im In- und Auslande erkannt. In Freiheitsstempel ist in vollem Gange und die gesamte Welt ist an dem Ausgang desfeldern interessiert. Die wachsende Einigkeit des Auslandesdeutschstums, alle Anstrengungen zur Vervollkommnung, auch die Einbeziehung dieser Kongresses, blieben Symptome der eingetretene Beendigung.

In der Kongreßeinschulung wird folgendes über seinen eigentlichen Zweck mitgeteilt:

"Einigung in dem Wiederaufbau und der Wiederführung der stetig nachfolgenden kulturellen Probleme in Wirtschafts- und Geistesleben.

Diese Ermahnung deutet die Verantwortung an, die das Deutschtum an der Lösung der großen Gegenwartsfragen hat. Sicher ist, daß die Probleme nicht ohne das deutsche Volk gelöst werden. Zu dieser Aufgabe benötigt das Auslandseinsatz vor allem Einigkeit, denn in dieser liegt die Kraft und diese ist in gleicher Weise zum Wiederaufbau in der Heimat erforderlich.


Obwohl schon 12 bis 15 Millionen deutscher Männer und Frauen sich unter dem Banner des Volksfreunds vereinigten und in Treue ihrem Führer Adolf Hitler folgen, ist es be trächtlich, daß noch immer Stimmen im In- und Auslande, wie in infolge Unternehmert über Volk und Volk hier deutscher Weltanschauungsbe vorgang—nicht politischen Partei wie die vielen anderen—sich gegen diese sozialen so big und der großen deutschen Einigkeit entgegenarbeiten. Daß wässelige Hingabe an die Volksgemeinschaft und Liebe zu Volk und Vaterland die treibenden Kräfte dieser wichtigen der zu Hintergrund der Verwendung sind, bedingt die Tatgebur, daß alle Geschäfte des Volkes von den Wurzeln des ehemaligen Herrschaftsstaats bis zum Arbeiter in jetzt Kameradschaft nur dem einen Ziel zustreben: Freiheit und Staat allen deutschen Menschen zu schaffen!


Schen ist die Erfahrung des Kommunismus von vieles getragen, die vor dieser Belastung konnt das Volk bringen, das als Nation starr und mächtig genug die Fragen der Gegenwart löst, die falsche Wirtschaftsordnung und damit die entgegengesetzte Tatfrage dieser Erfahrung und so auch die Folgen bestimmt und endlich das Tatsachen des Kommunismus als Lügen und Mythen entfernt.

Die in der deutschen Freiheitsbewegung vereinigten Millionen Völker haben zwischen unsere Zeit erkannt, ein hoher Sitz hat sie zum Ausbruch bewogen. Dieses eine Sitz hat ihnen gemacht, diesen hohe Sitz hat sie befähigt Opfer zu bringen und hält sie auf treu und vertrauend mit dem Führer zusammen, der das Ziel als vordringlichen Kämpfer feststel.
Gründungs Verfügung der Landesgruppe U. S. A.


Der Gauleiter.
Dr. H. Rieland.

Organisation und Arbeitsplan der Landesgruppe U. S. A.


Amtswäterliste. — Der Leiter der Landesgruppe U. S. A. ist laut Beschlüge des Gauleiters vom Gau Ausland der Landesvertrauensmann Bg. Heinz Spannöbel, Detroit. Von ihm erannt wurden:
a. Geschäftsführer: 
Pg. Hans Geo. Straus, Detroit

b. Schatzmeister: 
Pg. Hans Geo. Straus, Detroit

Stellvertreter: 
Pg. Hans Matthias, Detroit

c. Organisationsleiter: 
Pg. Fellsmuth-Robian, Detroit

d. Propagandaleiter: 
Pg. Fellsmuth-Robian, Detroit

Stellvertreter: 
Pg. Martin Hartmann, New York.

e. Leiter der Pressestelle: 
Pg. Seising Spannfeld, Detroit

Stellvertreter: 
Pg. Martin Hartmann, New York.


Die Stellvertreter des Landesvertrauensmannes ist Pg. Hans Straus, Detroit.

Ortsgruppen bestehen zur Zeit nur in New York, Chicago, und Detroit.

Stippzustände sind in Los Angeles und weite sind in Philadelphia, Cincinnati und San Francisco im Entstehung begriffen.

Rassenbericht. — Durch Verstäufung des Galeuters Dr. Rieland des Gaulaus vom 30. Sept. als Mitglied der Ortsgruppe Detroit, 1 Nov. 32 die Beitragszahlungen an die Landesgruppe in Detroit.

Der jetzige Stand verpflichtet jeden Pg. zum Opfer, insbesondere alle Amisolafer der Orga und Lagru.

Wenn alle Arbeiten bis auf weitere ehrenamtlich, ohne Bezahlung ausgeführt, Auskunft an Portor und Zählungen zur Förderung der Befreiung werden nur durch Bevölkerung des Landesvertrauensemannes vom Schatzmeister zur Auszahlung gebraucht. Die der Landesgruppe zufallenden Beiträge werden in erster Linie zur Gründung neuer Stippzustände und Propagandamaterial, Vermittlungsamt, Verhandlungen, etc. erfordert eine finanzielle Unterstützung der Bevölkerung. Die Anpassung der Landesgruppe ermöglicht allein eine planmäßige Förderung unserer Befreiungsarbeit an neuen Plätzen in U. S. A.


Der Geschäftsführer der Lagru.
Die Not des Landes Thüringen.

Die Industrie, die in Thüringen und im Frankenwald nicht in großen Städten konzentriert ist, sondern in den lang dahingetretenen Dörfern, in kleinen und größeren Marktsiedlungen sich angeeignet hat, ist seit Jahren schon so schlecht geschäftet, daß die Lage von Holzgesellschaften nicht nur ein einziges Problem ist, sondern die ganze Wirtschaft leidet.

Der Boden dieser Gegenden ist der Ursprung der reichen Flächenmasse mit einem dichten Ackerbau. Trotz der harten Lebensumstände war der Thüringer der vergangenen Zeit nicht nur ein zufriedener, fleißiger, genüsslamer, sondern auch ein fröhlicher Mensch. Heute sind in den Marktsiedlungen die Dörfer der Lieder verbrannt, die Tracht verpöft, und sich in den Dörfern befindet, der Todesfeier.

Dr. Otto Kornelko

Was deutsche Größen in Amerika für Deutschland tun.

Dr. Julius Curtius, ehemaliger Außenminister Deutschlands,


Sollte dieser geniale frühere Außenminister, Dr. Curtius, die Aufgabe gelöst haben, für den Herrenflubs im allgemeinen und für den hier nicht gerade in heiterer Erinnerung stehenden früheren Militär-Staat von Japan in Befriedigung der amerikanische Erbe zu brechen im, so selbstverstärkt aufsehenerregend mit der Unterstützung des Auswärtigen Amts, wie schon vor einigen Jahren der noch genannte frühere Außenminister Herr von Rümling, aber wie der sympathische (1) Dr. Räth für die Regierung Brüning, dann muss es Herrn Curtius doch keineswegs geworden sein, als der Drah der Welt endlich die Einnahmen der Rassen-Regierung verkündete.

WashingtonBerichterstatter des N. Y.

Herman Jostitch


Wenn Reichspräsident Hindenburg Hitler mittelst, dass seine Tür für ihn jederzeit offen stande, so beweist diese Tatfrage, dass deutsche Männer über das christliche Bollen Adolf Hitler sich eine andere Meinung haben, als solche Schreiberseelen, die man als "Schmutzfloten" deutscher Liebe bezeichnete. Und dieser Herr Rodlisch ist Spezial Berichterstatter für deutsche Zeichnungen. Wir hoffen die Abendpost siegt die Consequenz.

Franz Bilt Brahn die deutsche Schriftstellerin, bekannt durch den Roman "Wenigen im Hotel" begründet ihre Liebe für Amerika in der Weise, dass sie erklärt, "Die Leute, die uns hier nur viel besser als in Deutschland."

Wir sagen hierzu mit anderen Deutschen die noch keine Nationalsozialisten sind: "Keine Bilt.


Wir Abendpost.

Wir die Zeitung berichtigt, wird Herr Schmieder über die Themen sprechen: Wiederaufleben des Barbarismus in moderner Zeit, und Sinn und Unsinn des Nationalismus. Nach seinen Angaben sind das Europas gemässen Bemerkungen über die deutsche Freiheitsbewegung und deren Förderer, ist es erwartet, dass es wieder eine sibbe Hege zwischen der bewussten Deutschen wird. Adolf Hitler und seine Bewegung bezeichnete er mit "Loudy" die Reichskanzler im Besonderen sind gewöhnlich diesen Besu-

liche Deutschen durch Juden inbegriffen zu geben.

Wir fragen hierdurch an, was das Deutsche General-

Konsulat bagegen zu tun gebeten. Es bedeckt die Fähigkeit, dass es ein neuer Start ins Leben, was verhindert worden muss. Da keine Zeit zu verlieren ist, erbringen wir umgängige Stellungnahme.
Deutscher Beobachter

Beitrag des Hitlerheims Detroit.

Nach langen Verhandlungen gelang es endlich der Ortsgruppe ein geeignetes Parteiheim zu schaffen. Im Haute Chelsea 11757 war es günstig, da die oberen Räume ein Parteigenosse bewohnt und damit die Frage des Hausbesitzers ohne weiteres gelöst war. Die unteren Räume stehen zur Verfügung, die Anlage ist vollständig ausgerüstet und an das Heim sind nicht nur die Angehörigen, sondern auch andere Personen zugänglich. Durch die finanzielle Unterstützung der Ortsgruppe wird das Heim den Mitgliedern der Ortsgruppe zur Verfügung gestellt. Das Heim ist mit Einrichtungsgegenständen ausgestattet und hat eine Kapazität von 20 Personen.

Belastungen

Geschäftsführung — Schatzmeister

1. Ich erinnere an die Versammlung vom 30. Sept. 1932 und bitte um umgehende Beendigung aller Angelegenheiten.


Abrechen

Landesgruppe II. S. A., Detroit, Mich.:

Ortsgruppe, Cleveland: G.K. P.O. Box 1028, Cleveland, Ohio.


Ortsgruppe, Detroit:

Presse.

1. Die Parteigenosse werden gebeten alle Zeitungsaußen zu geben. Die in dieser Zeichnung sind ein Beispiel für die Bedeutung, die sie haben.


4. Für Private und Geschäftliche Angelegenheiten besteht der Rezess für 5 Minuten.

Der Rezess der Pressestelle.

Versammlungen finden statt:

Ortsgruppe Chicago:
Mitglied, den 21. Dezember 1932—Sprechabend
Thema: Die historische Entwicklung Deutschlands
Redner: Dr. G. H. K. Beginn 8 Uhr abends im Sachsenheim, 3819 N. Ashland Avenue.

Ortsgruppe Detroit:

Freitag, den 23. Dezember 1932—Sprechabend
Thema: „Deutsche Kunst im Zeitalter des Materialismus“
Redner: Dr. G. H. K. Beginn 8 Uhr abends im Sachsenheim, 3819 N. Ashland Avenue.

Freitag, den 30. Dezember 1932—Sprechabend
Redner: Dr. G. H. K. Beginn 8 Uhr abends im Sachsenheim, 3819 N. Ashland Avenue.

Freitag, den 6. Januar 1933—Sprechabend
Thema: „Nationalsozialismus—positives Christentum.
Redner: Dr. G. H. K. Beginn 8 Uhr abends im Sachsenheim, 3819 N. Ashland Avenue.

Freitag, den 13. Januar 1933—Sprechabend
Thema: „Deutscher Socialismus.
Redner: Dr. G. H. K. Beginn 8 Uhr abends im Sachsenheim, 3819 N. Ashland Avenue.

Hoffen Sie, dass die Mitglieder der Ortsgruppe und Parteigenosse sich an den Weihnachtsfeiern und den geschäftlichen Angelegenheiten beteiligen.
Bund der Freunde der Hitler-Bewegung, e.V.
Sitz Hamburg


Mitglieder des Bundes können nur ausländische Staatsangehörige werden. Reichsdeutscher ist der Beitragszahler zur Bundsgründung verbunden.

Die Mitglieder des Bundes sollen dazu beitragen, das Ausland über unsere Bewegung und Ziele aufzuklären. Ein Elviskräftiges die Politik anderer Länder ist den Mitgliedern im Rahmen des Bundes nicht gestattet. Auch haben sie die Aufgabe, den Nationalsozialismus im Ausland zur Herrschaft zu bringen, und die soziell sozialen und politischen Perspektiven zu erlangen.

Mitglieder des Bundes können nicht nur einzelne Personen werden; sondern auch Vereine die gewillt sind, den Kampf der nationalsozialistischen Bewegung in Deutschland zu fördern. Während die Parteianordnung offiziell die Aufgabe hat, die Reichsdeutschen im Ausland unter den Zeichen des Hakenkreuzes zu karierten und der Bewegung im Ausland Achtright zu

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Newtown 9-3355

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Die Auslanddeutschen

und die NSDAP

Die deutschen Volksge nossen im Ausland, ganz gleich, ob sie eine freiwillig mit hochbeseelten Zielen oder durch die harten Zeiten stark verwurzeln die Heimat verleisten, haben das eine miteinander gemein, daß sie an dem Zuge, an dem sie die deutsche Grenze hinter sich legen, sind politischer Hinsicht „Partes“ wurden.

Im Lande ihrer Niederlassung haben sie alle Pflichten wie jeder Bürger zu erfüllen, aber dort wie in der Heimat keinerlei politischen Rechte mehr.

Ja, für die Auslanddeutschen sind noch manche Bitterkeiten der Macht, geradezu der Liebe, die sie haben, ob sie sich auch in der Zeit, wenn sie sich nicht nur durch die Heimat zu einem politischen Volke, sondern auch zu einem politischen Volke zu einem politischen Volke, sondern auch zu einem politischen Volke zu einem politischen Volke, sondern auch zu einem politischen Volke zu einem politischen Volke.
kennen, wie sie ist, und er soll dann nach ihrer realen Natur beherrschen, darin in aller Realität die Wahrheit, die Wirklichkeit. Sie ist tatsächlich durch Verdunkelung seiner Sinne in einer Plato-Höhle, so mag er mit Recht sagen: „Das Leben ist ein Traum, gut oder böse.“

Es ist wahr: der größte Teil der Menschheit sitzt im Dunkeln. Statt Herrenseinde und Weltende sind sie wie Fische, die im troben Wasser gefangen werden.

Aber nicht alle: neben den verdunkelten Menschen gibt es immer noch Sehne und Töchter des LICHTS. Sie sind es, die vor der Hölle, Platos in Realität das auffahren, was die anderen in der Hölle als Schattenspiele an der Wand sehen.

Und vor der Hölle spielen nicht nur die guten Kinder des LICHTS, sondern auch die bösen, meist in Verkleidung der Kinder der Hölle, denn es bleibt wahr: daß jede Reiche Realität, Wahrheit sind. Und sie bekrönen einen anderen um den Sieg. Die in der Hölle aber erkennen nicht mehr, was gut und böse ist.

Das Gute Licht sucht nach Kämpfern und bietet Licht an, aber auch das Böse Licht gibt seinen eingefangenen Licht; aber dort ist Licht im LICHT, hier Irrlicht im falsch erhellten Dunkeln.

Die „Deutsche Post“ hat sich dem LICHTGOTT in seinem Kampfe gegen das Falschlicht zur Verfügung gestellt. Sie wirbt um Mitkämpfer. Ihre erste Aufgabe ist es deshalb: die bereits außerhalb der Hölle Stehenden zu sammeln zu einer vereinten Stärkung gegen die Macht des Falschlichtes und so zum Siege zu führen, dann aber die, die noch innerhalb der Hölle, warum zu weisen, sich vom Schattenspiele an der Wand abzuwenden, Kehrt zu machen, durch den Eingang in die Hölle hinaus ins Freie, ins Licht zu treten, den Erscheinungen mit offenen Augen gegenüberzustehen, sie in aller Realität der Wahrheit zu erkennen und die Waffen des LICHTS in die Hand nehmen.

Die Wahrheit zu sehen genugt nicht, da sowohl das Gute als das Böse realisiert, also-Wahrheit sind. Man muß ursächlichen, was gut und was böse ist. Der richtige Maßstab dazu ist: Was dient zum Heil und Glück der Menschheit, und besonders der eigenen Heimat, und was schadet ihr?


Die Gestirnenfiße kann man wohl am besten mit elektrischen Wellen und radioaktiven Ausstrahlungen vergleichen, die nun Feltrushungen auf die menschliche Seele und auch solche auf die menschlichen Körper (aber natürlich auch auf Tiere und Pflanzen usw.) ausüben. Diese elektrischen Wellen können aber unter gewissen Umständen auch „seelische Fernverbindungen“ als maximale Reflexwirkungen vermitteln, es kommt dann zu expansiven Geschickeuns, braucht es von einzelnen Menschen oder auch von ganzen Völkern.

So wie aber ein Mensch, durch irgendwelche Behandlung von außen, seelisch nur dann aus seinem Gefängnis gebracht werden kann, wenn er ein echter, natürlicher Mensch ist, so wie eine elektrische Fernwirkung auf jedes Brandwirkung oder Explosionen hervorrufen kann, wo andere oder explosive Massen gelegen, ebenso können auch schlimme Gestirnflächen nur bedingt an den Menschen einwirken. Paracelsus sagt ja: „Planeten und Ascentiten haben (in Bezug auf ihre schechtliche Wirkung) auf die Gel tungswirgend gegebenen, keinen Einfluß.

Der Mensch kann sich also dem üblichen Gestirnenflächen entziehen. Der Selbstbeherrschte, der Weise, der Heilige, der gottverrückte Mensch ist also nicht mehr ein Spielball der üblichen Gestirnenflächen.

Das Problem des dauernden Weltfriedens ist also eine metaphysisch-mystische. Das wolle man frei willen, schon in all den Auge behalten.

Vergegenwärtigen wir uns aber die politische Situation und die ethische Entwicklung der großen Teile der Menschen in Europa in der Zeit vor 1914, so müssen wir sagen, daß in diesem Jahrzehnt ganz ungeheuer viel Zwischenleben des religiösen und der mentalen Art aufgehebelt war, dass noch ein Weltkrieg, vielleicht heut, dann kann es uns nicht mehr wundern, daß die ihmlichen, das heißt von den Gestirn ausgerichteten Fernwirkungen pünktlich wirken und so den fürchten Weltkrieg auslössten, der oft auch ein Weltbrand genannt wird.

Nun geht, mit dem Jahre 1923, endlich diese ungeheure Weltkriegseriode (allerdings mit der Möglichkeit eines Spielraums von 1 bis 2 Jahren) zu Ende. Eine neue, 23jährige Weltfriedensperiode ist im Aufstieg begriffen und diese Friedensperiode wird noch durch bedeutend verstaatlicht, die sich darin, an der menschlichen und mentalen Kultur, in der man sich mit allen mentalen und mentalen Kultur, in der einen mit allen mentalen und mentalen Kultur, in der man sich mit allen mentalen und mentalen Kultur, in der man sich mit allen mentalen und mentalen Kultur, in der man sich mit allen mentalen und mentalen Kultur, in der man sich mit allen mentalen und mentalen Kultur, in der man sich mit allen mentalen und mentalen Kultur, in der man sich mit allen mentalen und mentalen Kultur, in der man sich mit allen mentalen und mentalen Kultur, in der man sich mit allen mentalen und mentalen Kultur, in der man sich mit allen mentalen und mentalen Kultur, in der man sich mit allen mentalen und mentalen Kultur, in der man sich mit allen mentalen und mentalen Kultur, in der man sich mit allen mentalen und mentalen Kultur, in der man sich mit allen mentalen und mentalen Kultur, in der man sich mit allen mentalen und mentalen Kultur, in der man sich mit allen mentalen und mentalen Kultur, in der man sich mit allen mentalen und mentalen Kultur, in der man sich mit allen mentalen und mentalen Kultur, in der man sich mit allen mentalen und mentalen Kultur, in der man sich mit allen mentalen und mentalen Kultur, in der man sich mit allen mentalen und mentalen Kultur, in der man sich mit allen mentalen und mentalen Kultur, in der man sich mit allen mentalen und mentalen Kultur, in der man sich mit allen mentalen und mentalen Kultur, in der man sich mit allen mentalen und mentalen Kultur, in der man sich mit allen mentalen und mentalen Kultur, in der man sich mit allen mentalen und mentalen Kultur, in der man sich mit allen mentalen und mentalen Kultur, in der man sich mit allen mentalen und mentalen Kultur, in der man sich mit alle...
Die „Deutsche Post“ führt die Leser zur Wahrheit

Was die Welt am nötigsten hat, ist: Wahrheit. — Was ist Wahrheit? — Wenn all das, was das Weltall sowohl in der materiellen als in der geistigen Sphäre in sich birgt und sichtbar, direkt oder indirekt, in die Erscheinung bringt, Realität hat — und es hat Realität —, diese Realität dann richtig erkannt und festgesetzt wird, so sind die Befunde „Wahrheit“. Wahr sind demnach nicht nur all die richtigen aufgefaßten Erscheinungen, die wir als „gut“ bezeichnen, sondern auch die, die für „bös“ oder schlecht gehalten werden. So ist der Himmel eine Realität der Wahrheit, aber auch die Hölle, wenn wir unter Himmel die Heimat der Guten, unter Hölle aber die der Bösen verstehen; doch beide Reiche stehen mit ihren Füßen auf dieser Erde. Man gehe in die Häuser der Guten, der Föhdlichen, der Gleichknochlein, und dann in die der Bösen und Schlechten, und es fällt nicht schwer, die Wahrheit zu sehen. Dort Gesundheit, Freiheit, das Paradies, hier Krankheit, Irren- und Zuchthäuser.

Wie kommt man zur Wahrheit? — Plato, der lehrte, die Ideen seien in Gott also real, und der deshalb „Realist“ genannt wird, sagt doch in Bezug auf das Erkennen der Erscheinungen in der objektiven Welt: „Es ist so, als wenn jemand in einer dunklen Höhle sitzt, dem die Röcke gegen den Eingang; an der ihm gegenüberliegenden Wand aber wird das, was vor der Höhle sich abspielt, durch von Feuerschein erzeugten Schatten vorgeführt“. Mit anderen-Worten: „Der Mensch hat nicht den direkten Anblick der Dinge, er sieht alles schattenauf. Das mag nun in gar vielem seine Richtigkeit haben, muß aber doch zum grano salis genommen werden.

Der Mensch soll nicht Träumer sein und als sicher herumlaufen. Er ist in die Welt gesetzt, sie zu er-

Unser Bestreben wird sein Brücken zu bauen für ein Vereintes deutsch-germanisches Volksstaat der Welt.

Zu beachten ist:


Die „Deutsche Post“ ist als ein Wochenblatt gedacht, nimmt aber jetzt noch nicht Bestellungen auf einem gebundenen Zeitraum entgegen, vorläufig nur für 13 Nummern (ein Vierteljahr) zu Einem Dollar, frei durch die Post zu liefern. Die Einzelmänner kosten zehn Cent.

Volksgenossen und Freunde, schickt Eure Bestellung nicht Einem Dollar möglichst bald ein, damit wir den Tag des regelmäßigen Erscheinens festsetzen können.

New Yorker Guckkasten

(zeigt Bilder aus dem politischen und gesellschaftlichen Leben des Deutschlands, ebenso von Neuen Zielsachen)


Also, kreuzen wir die Kurbel zum ersten Bilde an.

Erstes Bild:

Ein Deutscher-amerikanischer Kongress tagt in New York.


Sowohl ganz gut für den unbefangenen und biederem deutschen Vereinsmann, der alles, was seine Zeit bringt, so aufsaß, wie er es in dieser gedeckt vorarbeitete, oder wie es ihm von talentvollen Rednern in wohlgelauten Worten vorgetragen wird. Ihm ist dies eine Offenbarung, die er enthusiastisch entgegennimmt. Andere wieder — Eingebildete — betrachten den ganzen Auftritt kritisch, als eine gute Geschichts-klasse, die mit hohen Tönen verkündet wurde, deren Rezensionsbodden die „New Yorker Staats-Zeitung“ abgebildet.

Zum Geleit!


Für die alten Leser brauchen wir unsere Richtlinien für die „Post“ hier nicht zu wiederholen, sie sind Ihnen zur Genüge bekannt, auch ist der Lenker der „Post“ immer noch der alte, von Anfang an „die Zügel seiner Bödeln mit zielsericher Hand geführt hat“. Für den neuenkommenden Leser ist es jedoch angebracht, in Kurz die Hauptpunkte der Richtlinien zu wiederholen, wie sie in der ersten Heft der „Deutschen Post“, erschienen im Spätsommer des Jahres 1924, niedergelegt sind, die in den Satz gipfeln:

„Das Blatt tritt für keinerlei Parteipolitik ein, es steht über allem politischen, sowie kirchlich-religiösen Gesagtk, töt aber schneuungslose Kritik an allen das Deutschland schädigenden fremden Einflüssen.“

Unser eigener Weg!

Die „Deutsche Post“ geht ihren eigenen Weg. Wir bringen das, was andere Blätter nicht bringen, oder...
Die Deutsche Tagfeier in Chicago hat "wider den Stachel gelüftet".

"Solange das vereinigte Deutschland in den Vereinigten Staaten nicht um seine Anerkennung kämpft und solange es nicht stets ist auf seine kulturelle Vergangenheit und Abstammung, wird es in diesem Lande ohne Einfluß bleiben."
(Worte des Botschafters Houghton.)


uberzeugungstreue Deuterer nicht so leicht einschlägt. So hat sie während und nach der Kriegszeit bereits dreimal die Freiheit ihrer deutschen ausgehenden Flüge gewechselt, indem sie zeichnete von "schwarzem Gold-rot", dann wurde sie in der ersten Schicht auf "schwarz-rot-gold" geblutet, und jetzt wieder auf "schwarz-rot-gold". Zugriffen werden wir, wie das bis jetzt noch so sehr verpflichtete deutsche Heerlasse, das "Hakenkreuz" von den Zinnern ihrer Pappmachefarben war... Die ist aber ein interessantes Bild für sich selbst, von dem wir einen Film getrieben haben, der dementsprechend an dieser Stelle angebundeln wird.


Es gibt eben Gebenheiten, die im menschlichen Bewußtsein fortwährend für alle Zeiten. Diese davor sind die Stunde wieder des heiligen Glauben an die religiösen Schafe.

Eine wirklich große deutsche Kulturbewegung hier ermöglichte neuen Führer unter einem neuen System. Das alte System, das sein Heil nur im Kommerz getrieben suchte, ist abgewirtschaftet.

Dem Jungdeutschland ist es verboten, dürfen es starkes Neues Deutsches Reich aufbauen, wodurch aber auch hier in USA das deutsche Element wieder zur Geltung kommen wird - wenn es den Anschluß nicht verpasst. Fo-Visc.
Umschau

Was uns nützt.


Durch die neuen Männer in den Regierungen erhoffen wir eine Besserung in der wirtschaftlichen Lage und eine ruhige Entwicklung der politischen Beziehungen des Volkes zu einander. Eine ruhigere Entwicklung in der Politik hängt fast ausschließlich davon ab, ob es den Männern in den Regierungen gelingt, das unerbittlich schwierige und umfassende Arbeitsbeschäftigungsproblem in einer für alle Teilnehmer des Volkes tragfähigen Weise zu lösen. Die Nächte des Völkervokten können nicht zu einem Abbau der bisherigen Wirtschaftsform führen. Sie leisten die Männer in den Regierungen in positiven Leistungen, die Tatkraft, und wer diese nicht leisten kann oder will, so daß die heutige Wirtschaftsform mit ihrem Profit- systeme in die KAnne einer wirtschaftlichen Wohlfahrtsschaftsform, zum Nebenbuhler aller Schaffenden. Übergeleitet werden kann, wird einem anderen Stärkeren Platz machen müssen, der seinen Flieger um Pulschlag des Volkes liegen rem die Forderungen aufgestellt wurden, die amerikanische Regierung sollte sich für die Revision des Vertrag des Versailler einsetzen und die polnische Korridore sofort gerührt werden. Diese Resolution hat in polnisch-amerikanischen Kreisen große Aufregung hervorgerufen. Polnische Sprachliche Blätter schichten die Flämme und schließlich nahm eine Anzahl polnischer Verbände eine Resolution an, in der sie entschieden protest gegen die Resolution des Deutschen Tages einlegten und es beklagten, daß die Streitigkeiten europäischer Völker auf amerikanischen Boden übertragen würden ... "Es ist in der Tat müßig, den europäischen Nationalitätenhaß auf amerikanischen Boden zu verpflanzen und die Kreise unserer eigenen Bürgerrechts hineinzutragen. Es gibt hier keine deutschen, polnischen, österreichischen usw. Kolonien, sondern nur ein Volk, das sich wohl aus den verschiedensten Elementen zusammensetzt mag, aber sich seines Volksstums bewußt bleiben muß ... "Es ist vollkommen in der Ordnung, den Sympathien für das deutsche Volksbewußtsein auszudrucken und seine Hoffnung auf Erlösung von den Folgen des verlorenen Krieges zu teilen. Aber es ist eine ganz andere Sache, an unsere Regierung mit der Forderung heranzutreten, dafür zu sorgen, daß diese Ziele der deutschen Politik erreicht werden. Mit demselben Recht könnten auch die amerikanischen Bürger der polnischen Herkunft von unserer Resolution das Gegenteil verlangen. Auf diese Weise könnte es zu Spannungen im amerikanischen Volk, ohne daß solche Konflikte auf die tatsächliche Entscheidung der Streitlagen Europas irgendeinen Einfluß wären ... Das in der Resolution ausgesprochene Verlangen an die Regierung, sich die Revision des Versailler Vertrages angelegen sein zu lassen, ist deshalb unangreifbar, weil die Vereinigten Staaten den Vertrag bekanntlich gänzlich unterzeichnet haben, sondern einen besonders Frieden mit Deutschland geschlossen haben. Da sie nicht Teilnehmer des Vertrages sind, haben sie auch keine Möglichkeit, seine Revision zu verlangen, oder auch nur anzurufen ... "Die Besonderheiten des Deutschen Tages waren nicht gut beurteilt, als sie ausgerechnet an jenem Tage, der in der Hauptsache den Menasco Goethe und Washington gewelt, diese hochpolitische Resolution an die Adresse der Regierung richteten. Die hätten wissen müssen, daß sie damit Unfrieden im eigenen Hause stiften würden, ohne ihren Zweck zu erreichen ... 


Wir lassen hier einige dieser Postnachrichten folgen: Frankreich erwartet einen Mittellmeereindruck von Seiten Italiens.


Es ist gut, wenn wir Deutschen uns über unsere eigenen, gewiß nicht kleinen Sorgenhorizonten hinaus auch über die politischen Konstellationen unserer europäischen Nachbarn klar werden. Das, was in der "Itale Nouvelle" hier mit so brutaler Offenheit zum Ausdruck gebracht wird, nämlich die Kampf zwischen Italien und Frankreich um die Vormachtstellung im Mittelmeer, bietet die für militärische und Politikpolitengern neuerdings den bestialen Vorwand, um das französische Volk in dem Wahn von seiner "eig. bedrohten Sicherheit" zu erhalten. So wie Frankreich seit Jahrzehnten der Störenfried des Friedens gegenüber seinen deutschen Nachbarn gewesen ist, so hat es auf der anderen Seite niemals einen Zweifel darüber gelassen, daß es seine kolonialen Errungenschaften in Afrika unter allen Umständen und mit dem Ein satz seiner letzten Kräfte schützen und sich erhalten würde. Dieses afrikanische Kolonialreich ist heute der Lebensstand der französischen Nation, und das Mittelmeer bildet zur Zeit die einzige Brücke, die diesen Lebensstand dem europäischen Mutterland verbindet. Der na-
Zum Schluss sei noch ein Buch erwähnt, das die Antigyrische Vorbereitung des Konzils von Ponsa so recht treffend kennzeichnet und auch Belege dafür bringt:

Im Verlag Reimers, Berlin, erschien jüngst ein sehr wertvolles Werk: "Die Diplomaten des vatikanischen Hofes" von Herrn Adolfo. Der Verfasser gibt an Hand der Berichte der Briefe der russischen Vertreter an dem Jahrhundert vor 1865 und 1836, die er vom großen Teil in Anhang wertvoll abgedruckt hat, eine außerordentlich interessante Darstellung der Politik Leon X. und seines Kardinalssekretärs, des dreytuitändiglichen Rampolla.


Die Deutsche Jugend

Von Kuno Francke.

Entwaffnet — wohl, und doch in Waffen!
Des Flugs bereit, und doch beschönigt!
Gekreuzigt — ja; doch umgeschlagen!
Zum Leben, das Vollendung bringt!

O deutsche Jugend, gliech und schmächtig,
In Armut: Hunger, Frost gestählt,
Der Glanzens voll, der Zukunft tragreich,
Herr der Welt ist dein Gott erwacht.
Du bist erwacht zu heiligem Darben,
Du bist erwacht zu heiliger Not,
Dich führt mit Flammenleuchterbahnen
Den mächtigen Weg, der frischt den Schacht.

Entwaffnet — wohl, doch in Waffen!
Des Flugs bereit, doch beschönigt!
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Deutsche Jugend

Von Kuno Francke.
Dummheiten machen. Leider spielen hier aber noch immer auch rein gefühlsmäßige Momente mit eine große Rolle, die sich vor allem aus der alten Kriegskameradschaft zwischen den englisch-französischen Diplomaten und Militärs ergeben, und deren Bedeutung keineswegs unterschätzt werden darf.


Man ist daher jetzt überzeugt, sich gegenseitig in der Weise zu entlasten, daß England seine Mittelmeerflotte bedeutend einrückt und Frankreich dafür große Teile seiner bisherigen Kanalflotte in die Bever verlegt. Man muß eine solche Entwicklung in der Mittelmeerfrage auch von den englischen Standpunkte aus besonders bedenken, denn die durch dieses Abkommen zur tatsächlichen Bedeutung der französischen Vormachtstellung auch im Mittelmeer bringt Italien außenpolitisch sehr ins Schwanken. Wir glauben zwar nicht, daß England, nein auch so weit gehen wird, um bei der anstehenden Verhandlungen MacDonalds mit dem Amerikaner Davis über die Flottenrückschungen weiteren Italien auf Kosten Frankreichs bedenken sie in der Verstellung der Flottenkontingente zu schwächen, trotzdem dies sicher auf der vorher stattgefundenen Aussprache zwischen Herrschaft und dem englischen Ministerpräsidenten zur Sprache gekommen ist. Aber die Tatsache bleibt bestehen, daß Frankreichs Stellung sich im Mittelmeer durch das Verhalten der englischen Flotte enorm verstärkt hat.

Bedenk man ferner, von der Börse her, über das „französisch-spanische Bündnis“ verhandelt worden ist — gleichzeitig mit Verhandlungen über eine Unterbringung der Waffen der von Frankreich vorgeschlagenen Völkerbündnisse, damit diese außerhalb des „militärischen Armes“ Deutschlands sich befinden —, wobei über einen zweigleisigen Ausbau der spanischen Bahnen auf denjenigen Strecken verhandelt worden ist, die für eine Beförderung französischer Kolonialtruppen aus Afrika in Frage kommen, so kann man ermessen, wie stark Frankreich auch am Mittelmeer zu werden versucht.

Papst Felix XI. erbitterte, nach einer Meldung vom 27. Dezember, von seinem Arbeitsteil im Vatikan aus an die Christenheit eine Weihnachtsbotschaft, die von fast allen europäischen Sendern übernommen und verbreitet wurde. Papst Felix I. erbittert dem Himmel die Erleuchtung für die Menschen, auf die soziale Gerechtigkeit und christliche Nächstenliebe die Lecker der Welt und die Völker führen mögen.


Wir haben nichts davon annehmen, daß der „Papa In Rom“ für seine Kinder den Segen des Himmels heraushält. Nur zuvor wissen wir nicht recht, wie weit wir Menschen von „lieben Gieter“, dem Lecker der Welten, verlangen können, daß dieser sich in die „Härtel der Bewohner der Erde“ im Besonderen hineinnähmen soll, um das einzurechnen, was wir uns gegenseitig Leids angeboten haben?


Und zu dem französischen Botschafter am Vatikan, Mombell, meinte Rampolla, daß „der heilige Stuhl bereits seit sich Frankreich, sogar Italien ohne jedes Schwanzen auch Russland anzuschreiben, wenn diese Macht in den Kampf mit Deutschland eintreten würden, denn die Hauptzwecke für sich hebe die römische Kurie nämlich im Protestantismus und folglich ist Deutschland (vertrauensvoller Brief Tscharykows an Murawiew vom 10.7.1939).

Welche aber auch die Vatikan 1914 unter dem Schelm der Neutralität gern getan hat. (Rechtsanwalt Herbert Schmelz, Karlsruhe).

Ueber das deutsche Deutschland sagte bekanntlich Papst Leo XIII. in einer Rede. Das Land in Europa, wo jeder Katholik ungestört und frei seinem Schaffen leben kann, ist Deutschland, und das danke ich dem Kaiser.

Der Wieden, über die wahren Ursachen und die Heterzer zum Weltkriege, bietet dieses Buch zwar nicht viel Neues, trägt aber manches zur Bestätigung dessen bei, und leges es mit Schriftstück, was schon über die unsaubaren Machenschaften geschrieben wurde die von Rom ausgeführt gegen das protestantische Deutschland. Sehr zu bedauern ist nur bei der Sache, daß sonst gute deutsche Männer und Frauen katholischen Glaubens sich durch falsche Rüstungen (Zentrumsfahrer) zum Bruderkampfe in deutschen Grauen so lange schon gebräuchlich ließen und immer noch gebräuchlich lassen, wie das letztmals bei den parteipolitischen Umtrieben der Genüge bewiesen wurde. Wann wird bei diesen die Göttererkennung endlich verfolgen sein und ein Lichtstrahl sie treffen? P. H.
Das Volk ist das Natürliche. Der Staat ist durch Gesetze geschaffen. Es ist also das Volk nicht um den Staat willen da, sondern es hat der Staat um des Volkes willen da zu sein.

Das Schicksal des Volkes wird grundlegend bestimmt:
1. Durch das gefühlsmässige Verbinden der Volksgenossen gegenüber der Volksgemeinschaft.
2. Durch den Willen des Volkes in allen seinen Schichten, als selbstständiges, unabhängiges, freies Volk zu gelten.
3. Durch die Entschlossenheit, diesen Willen einzusetzen.

Jedoch das Verbindende, die Willen und die Entschlossenheit des Volkes ist das Wesen der Volksgemeinschaft. Die Volksgemeinschaft ist das Volk, deshalb muss man, wer will, dass es gut geht, um das Wohl des Gegenpart begreift.

Die Nation, als Ganzes, ist das Fundament, auf dem ein Staat ruht. Wer erkennt, dass die Nation die einzige Quelle ist, aus der das Leben der Bevölkerung in ihrem ganzen Umfang kommt, der hat den Begriff Volksgemeinschaft, und somit den elementarsten Wessen des Nationalsozialismus erfasst.

Die Nation ist nicht nur von der Welt zu nehmen, wenn die Beziehungen der Volksgenossen zu anderen Nationen geschehen, sondern auch von der Nation, der sie selbst zugehört. Es ist das, was wir Wahren Nationalismus nennen.

Wahrer Nationalismus ist nichts anderes als das Gemeinsame der Eliten, das Wohlergehen der Einzelne.

Nationalismus und Nationalbewusstsein sind die Grundlagen des Nationalsozialismus.

Die Grundlagen der Hitlerbewegung und die Geheimnisse ihres Erfolges.

Hitler ist bekanntlich ein Redner von ungewöhnlicher Begeisterung. Aber was vermag der beste Redner anzurühren, wenn er keinen Namen besitzt und durch den Terror des marxistischen Pöbels einfach niedergemacht wird, wie es in Deutschland während der Revolution der Föder 1918 war.

Hitlers ersten großen Versammlungserfolge verdankte er von Hitler geführte 5 Männer-Partei dem treibenden, der von Hitler geführte Volksschutz des kleinen Mannes die Bedingung, dass der neutrale, der durch den Treuecode, nicht etwa durch den Treuecode, Hitler verbunden auf die ausgesteuerte Kraft der, die im Staat vertrauen liegt. Er begründet seine Auffassung damit, dass ein zwar wissen- schaftlich wenig gebildeter, aber körperlich gesunder Mensch mit gutem, festem Charakter, erfüllt von Ent- schleunigung und Willenskraft für die Volksgemeinschaft wertvoller sei als ein gleichberechtigter Staatbürger. 

Der organisatorische Aufbau.

Deutscher Beobachter
Vorkämpfer in Amerika für Deutsche Art und Einheit
Mitteilungsblatt der
Nationalsozialistischen Deutschen Arbeiterpartei
Landesgruppe USA.

Geschäftsfestell:
309 East 92, Street, Manhattan, New York City
USA.

Was will der „Deutsche Beobachter“?


Was ist und was will die Hitlerbewegung?

Die Artikel „Was ist und was will die Hitlerbewegung?“ und „Die Grundanschauung des Nationalsozialismus“ sind Beiträge des „Deutschen Beobachters“, die auf die Rolle der Nationalsozialisten in Deutschland abzielen. Der Artikel „Was ist und was will die Hitlerbewegung?“ beschäftigt sich mit der Bedeutung der Hitlerbewegung für die Zukunft Deutschlands. Der Autor argumentiert, dass die Hitlerbewegung eine politische Macht ist, die Deutschlands Zukunft bestimmen kann. Der Artikel „Die Grundanschauung des Nationalsozialismus“ beschäftigt sich mit der Ideologie der Nationalsozialisten und ihrer Bedeutung für die Zukunft Deutschlands.

Die Wirtschaftsprinzipien.

Das nationalsozialistische Wirtschaftsprinzip geht von der Annahme aus, dass der Staat als großer Eigentümer die wirtschaftliche Entwicklung des Landes steuern muss. Der Staat soll die Wirtschaft dirigieren und die Besitztumsverhältnisse regeln. Die nationalsozialistische Wirtschaftspolitik zielt auf die Schaffung einer „sozialen Ordnung“ ab, die es ermöglicht, die soziale Gerechtigkeit in der Wirtschaft zu erreichen. Der Staat soll die Wirtschaftsteile regulieren und die Wachstumsmöglichkeiten für jedermann gewährleisten.

Erfolg rechtfertigt die Methode. Der Nationalsozialismus kann die sozialen Haltungen breiteren Schichten des deutschen Volkes entgegen, die in dem Irrgarten des Nationalismus der Nachkriegszeit sich instinktiv nach kraftvoller Führung sehnten. Sie erkennen im Nationalismus die Wiedergeburt einer Nation, die ihnen zugleich die Schneise der Entwicklung öffnet. So gibt es das Anstrang, eine soziale Ordnung aufzubauen, die das Volk zu einem neuen Leben erweckt und die soziale Gerechtigkeit in der Wirtschaft zur Realität wird.
Wir Können, Wir Wollen!

Der unerschütterliche Weg um Siege

Es muß in allen Fällen, in denen es sich um die Erfüllung scheinbar unmöglicher Forderungen oder Aufgaben handelt, die gesamte Aufmerksamkeit, das Volksure auf diese eine Frage geschossen werden, so daß es sich von ihrer Lösung tatsächlich oder fälschlich abhängt. Nur so wird man ein Volk, vielschaftig und in seiner Leistungs- und Anstrengungen willig und fähig machen. Derzeitig dient es dazu auch für den einzelnen Menschen so große Ziele erreichen will, und auch die in stufenlosen Abständen zu tun vermehren sich immer. Es wird dann immer die gesamten Anstrengungen auf die Erreichung einer bestimmten ersten Aufgabe zu vereinen haben, so lange bis derselbe erreicht und die Abstufung eines neuen Abschlußes vorgenommen werden kann.

Was nicht diese Tätigkeit des zu erbringenden Werdes ein in einzelnen Etappen vollendet und dann planmäßig unter scharfem Zusammenschluß von allerlei Kräften einzeln zu überwinden trachtet, wird niemals bis zum Schlusse gelangen vermögen, sondern irgendwo auf dem Wege, vielleicht sogar abseits derselben, liegen bleiben. Dieses Herauszarbeiten an das Ziel ist eine Kunst und erfordert jeweils den Einsatz aber auch der letzten Energie um so Schritt für Schritt den Weg zu überwinden.

Die allerletzte Vorbedingung also, die die Anfragen auf eine so schwere Teilrechte des menschlichen Wesens nötig ist, die es der Führung gedankt, der Masse des Volkes gerade rechtzutreiben, besser zu kämpfen als Teilreich als das einzig und allein der menschlichen Aufmerksamkeit würdige, von dessen Eroberung alles abhängig, hervorgeht. Die große Menge des Volkes kann ohnehin nie den ganzen Weg vor sich sehen, ohne zu errüben und an der Aufgabe zu verzweifeln. Sie wird in einem gewissen Umfang das Ziel im Auge behalten, den Weg aber nur in kleinen Teilrechten zu übersehen, ähnlich dem Wanderer, der ebenfalls wohl das Ende seiner Reise weiß und kennt, der aber die endlose Straße besser überwindet, wenn sich dieselbe abschließt und auf jeden Einzelnen losgerichtet, als ob er schon das erzielte Ziel selber wüßte. So kommt es, ohne zu verzagen, dennoch vorwärts. Wenn die nationalsozialistische Bewegung die Welt für eine große Mission für unser Volk einzuweihen nicht nur die Geschichte erhalten will, mehr wir, durchdrungen von der Erkenntnis und erfüllt vom Schmerz über seine wirksame Lage auf dieser Erde, kühn und zielbewußt den Kampf aufnehmen auch gegen die Zivilschaft und Unfähigkeit, die bisher unser deutsches Volk auf seinen politischen Weg leiteten.


Es liegt daher nicht näher, als daß man die Forderung aufstellt nach Beseitigung des arbeits- und mühelosen Einkommens des reinen Kapitalbesitzes und bestrebt ist, den Gewinn der Unternehmen denjenigen zu zuführen, die diesen Gewinn erarbeiten. Die Sozialdemokratie hat dafür einfach die Formeln geprägt: "Wirken mit dem Kapitalismus". Die Richtung, in der sich diese Forderung auswirkt, geht keineswegs gegen die verständliche, unsinkbare Sozialdemokratische Form des Akteursrechts, sondern richtet sich höchstens einseitig gegen den Unternehmer, der im Besitz der Produktionsmittel sei, die ihm einen unangefochtenen Gewinn zufließen ließen. Diese sollte (sozial)vertreten werden. Hier zeigt sich wiederum ganz unverhältnismäßig, ob der Sozialdemokrat keineswegs um die Beseitigung einer offensichtlichen und gesunden Ungerechtigkeit zu tun ist, sondern um die Lösung der Persönlichkeit und der daraus fließenden Verantwortung. Nicht gegen das kapitalistische System, sondern gegen die hochwertige Persönlichkeit, den Unternehmer, den Wirtschaftsführer, richtet sich die marxistische Kämpf. Derjenige, der die Erfahrung macht, das Risiko auf sich nimmt, der die Arbeit organisiert, der neue Markt erschließt, gilt der Sozialdemokratie als der Ausbeuter, gegen den sie die Hab- und Nebenleistungen der Massen mobilisiert.

Die Tiefbedeutung der marxistischen Gewinnbeteiligungsforderung ist also nicht sozialistisch fundiert, sondern ein Ausdruck der Mobilisierung niedrigerer Instanzen bei den Massen. Auf diese Weise schwebt die im Grunde auf so hoher ethischer Stufe stehende Forderung nach gerechterer Wertverteilung dauerhaft in der Erscheinung, entweder kapitalistisch oder marxistisch verarbeitet zu werden, um so mehr, als diese Forderung gegen politischen Instinkten entgegenkommt, ja dann entspringt.


Von dem übergeordneten Standpunkt der Brechung der Zirkelnachweise aus muß die öffentliche, direkte Gewinnbeteiligung im Sinne etwa der Einbeziehung der Arbeitserlebnisse abgeschätzt werden. Diese wird vor Vollziehung von kapitalistischer Seite vertreten, besonders dann, weil die sozialistische Eingriffe drohen. Man wirft da lieber den besseren Kritiker ein Stück hin, um das sie sich zähen können, wobei aber dem Großkapitalismus unbekommen bleibt, seinen Bau, wenn auch etwas vermindert, weiter zu bestehen. Wir müssen uns grundsätzlich darüber klar, daß eine Gewinnbeteiligung nur dann stellhält und wirtschaftlich be- rechtfertigt ist, wenn derjenige, der den Anspruch auf Gewinnbeteiligung erhebt, auch durch besondere persönliche Lei-
Der nationalsozialistische Bewegung muß versuchen, das Mißverständnis zwischen unserer Volkszahl und unserer Bodenpolitik — diese als Nährquelle sowohl wie auch als machtpolitischer Stützpunkt angesehen — zwischen unserer historischen Vergangenheit und der Ausichtsflosigkeit unserer Ohnmacht in der Gegenwart, zu beseitigen.


Ja, wir können aus der Vergangenheit nur lernen, daß wir die Zielsetzung für unser politisches Handeln in doppelter Richtung vornehmen haben: Grund und Boden als Ziel unserer Außenpolitik, und ein neues, weltanschaulich gefestigtes, einheitliches Fundament als Ziel politischen Handelns im Inneren.

Adolf Hitler

Nationalsozialismus und Gewinnbeteiligung

(Nachstehende hochinteressante Ausführungen entnehmen wir dem schon erschienenen Buch: „Kampf gegen die Hochfinanz“, Deutsche Wochenschrift.)

Es ist kennzeichnend, daß in der Sozialdemokratie die Forderung nach Gewinnbeteiligung eines der am schärfsten umstrittenen Probleme ist. Der Kapitalismus hat das Problem längst in seinem Sinne gelöst. Der Inhaber einer Aktie oder eines Anteilsehebentes von irgendeinem Unternehmen ist gewinnbeteilig an dem Ertrag des Unternehmens ohne jegliche Måhe und Arbeit. Das Geld allein „arbeitet für 1 h. m.“ Gerade diese Form der Gewinnbeteiligung ist es ja, die zu den größten und schrecklichsten Ungerechtigkeiten geführt hat, ja geradezu zu einer Trennung von Kapital und Arbeit.

Ohne daß der Kapitalist auch nur zu wissen braucht, wo die Produktionsstätten liegen, von denen er Aktion, Kurse, Anteilsscheine usw. besitzt, ohne daß er irgendwie für dieses „selb“ Unternehmen tätig zu sein brauchte, ohne daß er das gerinnende Interesse an der Qualität, volkswirtschaftlichen Notwendigkeit oder der Produktion hat, ohne daß er sich im geringsten um die sozialen Verhältnisse, die hygienischen und sanitären Verhältnisse im Interesse der dort beschäftigten Arbeitschaft zu kümmern braucht — ist er, der Kapitalist, der Akteur, der Anteilsehebent, der alle Gewinnberechtigung.

Daß ein derartiges System die schärfste Kritik in moralischer und sozialer Hinsicht herausfordern muß, ist wohl klar. Daß aber auch die Haupfsache jeder Produktionsstätte (Stiftung des Betrates) daume. Verwaltungrand.
Aufgaben der Frau in heutiger Zeit

In einer Notzeit, wo Millionen von Menschen durch Hunger und Sorgen sterben, verzieht sich sozial und seelisch vor dem Zusammenbruch stehend, daβ es jede Frau als ihren vorgesehenen Aufgabe betrachtet, für all die freitlichen Ideen ihrer heimat mit treuem Herz und helfender Hand einzurütteln, wo es nötig ist. Hier im fremden Lande, wo unsere deutsch-schweizerischen Landsleute das Beispiel der Helmut doppelt schmerzlich entbehren, da ist ihre Hilfe ganz besonders am Platz.

Du wirst an die vielen Verpflichtungen nach Deutschland hinweisen, liebe Leute. Die Spenden sollen hochangerechnet werden, aber daβ es wirklich mehr ist. Manche, die in Deutschland leben, werden vielleicht recht geben, und diejenigen, die mit uns kämpfen, werden uns danken. Es ist nicht die Masse, sondern die Gabe, die wir tun.


Bestellzettel
An die „Deutsche Post“
149-05 91, Ave, Jamaica
New York City (USA)
Hiermit bestellt ich die „Deutsche Post“ für 13 Nr. und lege Einen Dollar in (Scheck, Money Order) ab. Geldscheine sind im registrierten Brief zu senden.
Name
Adresse

Gründungs-Verfügung der Landesgruppe USA


3. Der Landesvertrauensmann ist berechtigt, Ortsgruppen- und Stützpunktführer kommissarisch einzusetzen, abzulösen und abzuführen aus Ihren Anordnungen zu empfangen, die durch die Landesvertrauensmann. Der Leiter der Auslandskommission. Die Ortsgruppe USA ist Detroit.


5. Soweit es möglich ist, sollen die Mitglieder der Landesgruppe USA sich in einem gemeinsamen Rundschreiben an die Landesgruppe in Deutschland. Der Leiter der Auslandskommission. Die Ortsgruppen in USA. Der Leiter der Auslandskommission.
Mein Vaterland!

In des Gletschers Feuer – herab vom Felsgestein
Wertvollste Gemäuer geht weit ins Land hin
Wie an der Hälsekkle sich voll die Traube wiegt
Durch das Silberbeide das schlanke Schiffslein füget
Stolz die Eichen rauschen
Noach des Meerstränd sich hoch die Wogen bausch –
Da ist mein Vaterland!

Und dieses Land so prächtig, so hoch vorragend,
Eins noch so still, so mächtig, der Strom hat es erschaffen,
Der Nil, der starken Klauen mit seinem Blut benetzt.
Sie haben seine Gneis zerstochen und aufgeschürft.
Und noch in den Bäumen muß es als schöner Tand
Der Herrscherkunde Laune dienen –
Da ist mein Vaterland!

Auf – deutscher Mann, erwecke – das Trümmer ist genug.
Auf für eine heilige Sache, Erlösung gilt’s vom Fluch.
Vom Fluch, der auf den Trümmer des deutschen Reiches ruht.

Hierauf dann mit der Wehe, es gilt nicht feinen Rat,
Es gilt für Freiheit, Recht und Ehre, mit kühner Mannesstät.
Den Leib gilt es zu wagen, für eine heilige Pflicht,
Das Schamrot gilt’s zu jagen aus deutschem Angstheits.
Den Bau gilt es zu brechen mit streiter Eisenhand,
Es gilt mit Stolz zu sprechen –
Da ist mein Vaterland!

Ja, diesen Stolz vor allem erringe, deutsches Volk,
Du mußt im Kampf dich ballen gleich einer Wetterwolke,
Müßt sammeln deine Leppen zu einem einzigem Guß von Brust,
Eins sei dein Recht, dein Wappen, dein Herrscher und dein Herz.
Dann schluht den ders höhnet, den Handschuh auf den Sand,
Da donnernd es erdrückt –
Das ist mein deutsches Vaterland!

Hans Wern.}

Wochen gegenüberstellt. Ein Weg, ein Programm, ein Wille ausgebracht von einem Mann der Theorie wie der Praxis und verkörpert durch Millionen Deutsche, denen die deutsche Revolution alter, die „Reaktion“, und sie sit ja auch im eigenen Lager, aber nichts ist zu umkämpfen.

"Nichtsamt" (Verlag Braune Bücher.)

Zum erstenmal erscheint ein Buch, das den Brauchmorden die, die, die hier die / des / uns / mit / um / durch / dass / und / se / war / die / hätte / der / in / den / was / die / auf / der / als / die / den / das / die / wo / das / die / eine / dass / die / die / die / der / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / die / de
January 13, 1943

J. Edgar Hoover, Esq.,
Director,
Federal Bureau of Investigation,
United States Department of Justice,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Thank you very much indeed for your letter of January 1, commending Miss Almond and myself for making available the facilities of this Library to the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and expressing your appreciation of our cooperation.

May I add that the unusually high standard of all members of the Federal Bureau of Investigation who have called at the Library has made a deep impression upon me. When the history of our internal security during the Second World War is finally written, I feel that you and your associates will be amply rewarded.

Yours truly,

Ralph H. Lute,
Chairman of Directors.
April 12, 1949

Mrs. Lola R. Carr
Document Exchange Unit
Accessions Division
Library of Congress
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Carr:

I have your letter of April 7, 1949, and do want you to know that it is my desire to cooperate as much as possible in the endeavors of the Hoover Library.

There are enclosed several pamphlets concerning the work of the FBI, and I have made arrangements for copies of the Uniform Crime Reports bulletin to be forwarded as they are issued in the future so that the Hoover Library may have available data on the crime situation during the period mentioned.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Enclosures:

FBI
Ident. Fac.
Tech. Lab.
UCR Vol 13, No. 2
FBI HPA Ques & ans
Publications Department
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Department of Justice
Pennsylvania Avenue at 9th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Gentlemen:

The Hoover Library is endeavoring to collect all possible material on the present war. The writer is assisting in this collection which includes books, pamphlets, periodicals, mimeographed and typewritten releases.

Recently one of your publications "F B I" came to our attention, and we felt that such an issue, containing timely articles with a war background, would be of distinct value to this collection.

If you could find it possible to send us a copy of current issues, and would place our name on your mailing list to receive future issues, it would be greatly appreciated.

Thanking you kindly, and asking that, if available, these be sent for the present, to the address below, I am,

Sincerely yours,

(Later) Lola R. Carr
(Mrs.) Lola R. Carr
Document Exchange Unit
Accessions Division
Library of Congress

Document Exchange Unit
placed on deck with "C"
by the 12-13
May

RECORDED
INDEXED
WASHINGTON, D. C.
12-12-43
62-12042-3
EX-52
12 APR 14
Mr. John Edgar Hoover  
Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
U. S. Department of Justice  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

On behalf of the Hoover Library, allow me to thank you so much for the splendid material received from you this morning.

Your cooperation is indeed appreciated, and we shall be most grateful for copies of any future material which you may be issuing of this nature.

With repeated thanks, I am,

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Lola R. Carr  
Document Exchange Unit  
Accessions Division  
Library of Congress
New York 7, N.Y.

July 17, 1943

Director, FBI

RE: GERMAN ACTIVITIES
INTELLIGENCE SECURITY - O
REF: FM 56-15

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to the Bureau letter dated June 9, 1943 which directed the New York Field Division to purchase and transmit to the Bureau one copy each of the following books:

Rowan, Richard Wilmer
Secret Agents Against America (by) Richard Wilmer Rowan. New York, Doubleday, Doran and Company, Inc. 1939

Garbutt, Reginald

Doubleday Doran and Company, Inc., 14 Wall Street, New York City advised that "Secret Agents Against America", which was published by the company in 1939, was not in stock and the book was not in print at the present time. They further advised that they were unable to secure a copy of this particular book.

The above mentioned company was also contacted for the purpose of securing a copy of "Germany: The Truth" and they advised that the company did not have a copy of this book in stock but that the catalog showed that the Canadian agents for Rich and Cowan Ltd., London, printed the book for distribution in this country. They suggested that the Ryerson Press, Toronto Canada be contacted in order to secure a copy of this book.
Letter to Director

July 17, 1943

German Activity
Internal Security - 0
A for Five Is

It may be noted that an agent of this office attempted to locate copies of the above named books in second hand stores in New York City without success.

No further action will be taken by the New York Field Division unless requested to do so by the Bureau.

Very truly yours,

R. H. O'Connor
Special Agent In Charge
June 19, 1946

Dear Larry:

With reference to your note of June 7th with which you transmitted a communication addressed to you by Ferrin C. Salpin concerning the possibility of obtaining some material from the Department of Justice for The Hoover Library on War, Revolution, and Peace, I regret to advise you that the Bureau does not have available at this time any data which might be furnished to you. I will, however, keep your request in mind in order that if it is possible to take any affirmative action upon it at some later date, I may do so promptly.

With best wishes and kind regards,

Sincerely,

J. Edgar Hoover
Mailed by the Director

U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

EAT:DS

50 JUL 25 1946
June 7, 1946

Dear J. E.: 

I am enclosing some correspondence I have just received from Perrin Galpin and the Hoover War Library in reference to getting some materials relating to subversive organizations active during the war.

No doubt the material on the first World War was some that I was able to get some time ago for the Library. 

Do you think anything can be done for them on their present request? If so, you know the Chief and I will very much appreciate it.

With kind personal regards,

Sincerely yours,

[Signature]

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover 
Federal Bureau of Investigation 
Department of Justice 
Washington 25, D. C.
May 28, 1946

Lawrence Richey, Esq.
1801 - 16th Street, N.W.
Washington 9, D.C.

Dear Larry:

I am enclosing a copy of a memorandum from Harold Fisher at Stanford to me dated May 20. Have you any suggestions on possible procedure on this matter of certain materials?

Yours sincerely,

PERRIN C. GALPIN
President

PCG:F
Encl.

62-75042-5X
65-43644-5

ENCLOSURE
TO: FCG
FROM: HHF

A day or so ago I had occasion to look up for someone what the library had on the I. W. W. Most of the materials we have on that organization were part of a collection turned over to us after the last war by the Department of Justice. Apparently these materials were collected as evidence by the Department of Justice during the war, and when the war was over and the espionage cases were disposed of, the Department had no use for these materials and turned them over to us. I think this was done through Larry Richey.

Do you suppose it would be possible for Larry or someone else to approach J. Edgar Hoover to find out whether there are similar materials relating to subversive organizations active during the recent war, and whether these materials are now declared surplus and are subject to destruction, and whether they might be turned over to us?

Since you are closer to the scene of operations, could you make some inquiries? If you want me to make any official requests, I shall, of course, be glad to do so.

H.H.F.

HHF**JMF
Office Memorandum  

TO: D. M. LADD
FROM: E. G. FITCH

SUBJECT:

There is attached an additional list of the information being received at the Hoover Research Library at Stanford University, a copy of which list has been furnished by General Wright, Deputy Director of CIG.

RECOMMENDATION:

It is recommended that this memorandum and attachment be forwarded to the Internal Security Section.

Attachment

JFD AJB

EX-38  32 JUL 1 1947

RECORDED 12 26 47 FBI

62-72642-5X

80 JUL 11 1947
Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: Mr. Nicholas
FROM: M. A. Jones

DATE: June 4, 1954

SUBJECT: THE HOOVER LIBRARY ON WAR, REVOLUTION AND PEACE
STANFORD UNIVERSITY
PALO ALTO, CALIFORNIA

Your memorandum to Mr. Tolson on May 24, 1954, reported a discussion you had with Frank Mason on that date regarding Mason's concern about the Hoover Library. Mason advised that his chief concern was a man by the name of Rothwell who had come to the Hoover Library through Louis P. Lochner. He stated that Rothwell had been connected with Alger Hiss. Mason stated that Herbert Hoover had become concerned over this Library but that he had been told by Perrin Galpin that Rothwell was doing a good job. Mason noted that Galpin was close to Herbert Hoover and to H. H. Fisher, the librarian. According to Mason, Galpin's son was "spying" on the Hoover Mission in India a few years ago and passed on information to Margaret Bourke-White who in turn furnished it to the Associated Press. Mason advised you that he was favorably impressed with [ ], a very talented young man who has charge of a West Coast foundation with about $600,000 to spend annually.

You will recall that Mason was anxious about the Hoover Library since a group of Herbert Hoover's friends were thinking of honoring his 60th birthday by taking up a collection to endow the library.

The Director wrote on your memorandum that "Our files should be checked on all of these names. H."

There is attached a memorandum on Charles Easton, Rothwell, Harold Henry Fisher, Louis P. Lochner, Perrin C. Galpin, Margaret Bourke-White and [ ].

RECOMMENDATION:

That public source information contained in the attached memorandum be furnished to Frank Mason.

ADDENDUM: LBN:FML, 6/7/54: Our files reflect we have heretofore furnished information to Larry Ritchie on Harold Henry Fisher. Since [ ]

Attachment

RECORDED: 59

62-7 204 -13

63 JUN 16

COPIES DESTROYED
78 NOV 4 1954
Mason and Mr. Hoover apparently have confidence in Louis Lochner and Perrin Galpin, I see no need to furnish information on them. Margaret Bourke White has no connection with the Hoover Library so there is no need to mention her.

It would be my recommendation that I mention highlights of information on Rothwell to Mason. We have not investigated Rothwell, there is not much of a specific nature on him. He was close to Hiss and can be best described on the basis of our information, as a liberal educator who has associated with the liberal crowd.
Office Memorandum - UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: Mr. Nicholas

FROM: M. K. Jones

DATE: June 1, 1954

SUBJECT: [Redacted]

You will recall that your memorandum to Mr. Tolson on May 24, 1954, regarding the Hoover Library, mentioned the captioned individual. The Director noted on your memorandum, "Our files should be checked on all of these names. H."

A search of Bureau indices and an examination of reference material available in Crime Records Section failed to locate any information identifiable with [Redacted].

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE: 7-17-82

ENCLOSURE

RECORD: 62-12042-13
INDEXED: 90
EX: 130

COPES DESTROYED 78 NUV 4 1954

EM: gr3

13 JUN 16
This memorandum summarizes briefly pertinent information in Bureaus regarding Galpin. He is an educator who was born August 11, 1889, at New Haven, Connecticut. He is President of the Belgium-American Educational Foundation, New York City. He was acquainted with [redacted] in 1939. [Redacted] was ordered interned on January 31, 1942, as a dangerous enemy alien. The Immigration Visa Application of [redacted] was disapproved on April 28, 1945. There was evidence that [redacted] was pro-German and approved of German Army successes until Germany invaded Russia. Galpin was a sponsor listed on this application. A Bureau memorandum of August 14, 1943, reported that Finland's White Rose Badge of Honor had been granted to [redacted] Galpin and a number of other American citizens. Miss Gertrude Lawrence, well-known actress, in October, 1941, refused a medal offered by Finland through Galpin as Secretary of Finnish Relief Fund. Galpin was scheduled to speak on December 2, 1944, at a meeting to celebrate Belgium's liberation. Lawrence Richey, 1801 16th Street, Northwest, Washington, D. C., on June 7, 1946, forwarded an inquiry from Galpin and Harold Fisher of Stanford University to the Director. This inquiry was directed to the possibility of obtaining material from the Bureau on the Industrial Workers of the World. The Director advised Richey by letter dated June 19, 1946, that the Bureau did not have data which might be furnished.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.
Memorandum to Mr. Nichols

June 2, 1954

DETAI LS

PURPOSE:

The purpose of this memorandum is to summarize briefly
the pertinent information in Bureau files regarding Ferrin C. 
Galpin. You will recall that Galpin was mentioned in your
memorandum to Mr. Tolson on May 24, 1954, regarding the Hoover
Library. The Director noted on your memorandum "Our files should
be checked on all of these names. H."

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA:

Ferrin C. Galpin is an educator who was born August 11,
1889, at New Haven, Connecticut. He is President of the Belgium-
American Educational Foundation. His offices are at 1441 Broadway,
New York City, and he resides at 975 Esplanade, Pehlman Manor,
New York. (Who's Who in America, 1954-55) The following infor-
mation is carried in "Censorship Daily Reports" of May 20, 1942,
as prepared by the Office of Censorship:

The Belgium American Educational Foundation is the
outgrowth of a number of relief agencies organized by Herbert
Hoover during World War I. The association is reported to be
engaged in the exchange of students and in educational philanthropy
financed by private endowments. Galpin is a member of a well-known
New Haven, Connecticut, family. This report states that Galpin
appeared to be an entirely reputable individual devoting his time
to charitable enterprises according to information on hand.
(62-62736-1619)

INFORMATION IN BUREAU FILES:

[Blank], who was interviewed in
June, 1943, by a Bureau Agent in an Alien Enemy Control-G
Investigation of [Blank] advised that he met Galpin shortly
after coming to the United States in 1939. He advised that
Galpin introduced him to officials of the Foreign Policy
Association, which organization arranged a number of lectures
for him. [Blank] was apprehended as a dangerous enemy
alien on December 9, 1941, at New York City, and he was ordered
interred January 31, 1942, for the duration of the war.
(65-5609 serials 29 and 32)

From 1940 to 1945, Galpin was listed as a sponsor
or as a reference on numerous applications for visas and re-entry
permits in connection with entry into the United States. The
Memorandum to Mr. Nichols

June 2, 1954

only pertinent information reflected in these cases is in connection with the immigration visa application of [redacted] and [redacted]. This case was considered on April 28, 1945, and disapproved by Primary Committee I. A report of this consideration dated June 29, 1945, states that there was evidence that Mr. [redacted] was pro-German and approved of the successes of the German Army until the invasion of Russia by Germany. (40-72824)

A letter dated September 10, 1942, from [redacted] c/o [redacted] New York City, was reviewed by the office of the Director of Censorship. This letter enclosed a letter addressed to "My very dear child" and signed [redacted]. This enclosed letter stated that the form from the foundation arrived and that it would be sent to be signed and transmitted to Galpin. The examiner noted that Galpin is Ferrin Galpin, President of the Belgium-American Educational Foundation. The examiner noted that the writer of the letter is probably an enemy agent who applied for a visa to enter the United States. (62-62736-2-4881)

A Bureau memorandum for Mr. Goffey from W. G. Blackburn dated August 14, 1943, reported that Finland's White Rose Badge of Honor had been granted to a number of American citizens and that one of these was Ferrin Galpin. (65-44518-87) Miss Gertrude Lawrence, well-known actress, in October, 1941, refused a medal offered by the Finish Government through Ferrin C. Galpin, Secretary of the Finish Relief Fund, according to a news release of the Fight for Freedom committee. (100-24467-21)

According to the November 25, 1944, issue of "Pour la Victoire," Galpin was scheduled to speak at a meeting on December 2, 1944, to celebrate the complete liberation of Belgium territory. (65-6656-65)

A letter from Lawrence Richey, 1801 16th Street, Northwest, Washington, D. C., dated June 7, 1946, forwarded some correspondence to the Director. This correspondence was a letter from Galpin to Richey dated May 28, 1946, which had forwarded to Richey a letter from Harold Fisher of Stanford University dated May 20, 1946. Fisher's letter suggested the possibility of approaching the Director to find out whether or not the Bureau had any material on the Industrial Workers of
Memorandum to Mr. Nichols

June 2, 1954

the World which it could no longer use and which might be of use to the Hoover Library on War, Revolution, and Peace at Stanford University. The Director answered Richey's letter on June 19, 1946, and advised that the Bureau did not have available any data which might be furnished to him in this regard. (62-4264-21)
Memo to Mr. Nichols

June 4, 1954

SECRET

one of the sponsors for the Council for a Democratic Germany, according to a Bureau memorandum dated February 1, 1945. Louis Lochner was one of a group who edited and endorsed a pamphlet published by Common Cause, Inc., in January, 1948, which pamphlet protested dismantling German industrial buildings. Lochner was the editor and translator of "The Goebbels Diaries" which was published in 1949. Frank Mason was one of those who reportedly obtained the Goebbels manuscript. Mason arranged for Lochner to translate this material and for it to be published. The Bureau conducted an investigation regarding the acquisition of the Goebbels manuscript in answer to a request from the Office of Alien Property on March 16, 1949. The Bureau investigation reflected that this manuscript was the property of the United States Government and that there was no justification for its being given to private individuals. G-2 reported on May 27, 1949, that Louis Lochner was one of those who spoke from the floor at a meeting of the American Association for a Democratic Germany, which organization was the subject of an internal security-C investigation in 1947. Francis P. Bolton of Ohio stated in the House on June 7, 1949, that Louis Lochner was one of the directors of Youth of all Nations, Inc. Bureau investigation of this organization in December, 1950, indicated that some of the directors and sponsors had past associations with organizations cited by the Attorney General.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.
June 3, 1954

DETAILS:

PURPOSE:

The purpose of this memorandum is to summarize briefly the pertinent information in Bufiles regarding Lochner. You will recall that Lochner was mentioned in your memorandum to Mr. Tolson on May 24, 1954, regarding the Hoover Library. The Director noted on your memorandum "Our files should be checked on all of these names. H."

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA:

Louis Paul Lochner is a newspaper correspondent, lecturer and radio commentator. He was born February 22, 1887, at Springfield, Illinois. In 1939 he received the Pulitzer Prize for distinguished service as a war correspondent. Lochner resides at 32 Buena Vista Avenue, Fair Haven, New Jersey. (Who's Who in America, 1954-55)

INFORMATION IN BUFILES:

In a report of the Lusk Investigation Committee of the State of New York on Revolutionary Radicalism, Subversive Movements, Part One, there is the statement that the German Reichstag in 1914 and 1915 was promoting peace movements in enemy countries. The report states that one of the two most successful in that propaganda work was Louis P. Lochner, German Socialist, Secretary of the International Federation of Students. The report states that a mass meeting was held in Chicago on December 5, 1914, through the work of Louis P. Lochner and others, and that there formed the Chicago Emergency Peace Federation with Lochner as executive secretary. The report indicates that this Federation was active in the peace movement and that it went out of existence in Chicago in September, 1925. (100-7057-221)

According to a letter received from the War Department dated December 15, 1922, Louis P. Lochner's name had been prominently mentioned previous to the United States entry into World War I as being associated with Scott Nearing, William Rhys Williams, and "other notorious Socialists." (61-1475-7)
Jones to Nichols

SECRET  June 3, 1954

Matthew Woll, a leader in the trade union movement, presented testimony on June 17, 1930, before a Special Committee to investigate Communist activities in the United States of the House of Representatives. Woll presented a report prepared for Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, dated June 2, 1923. This report stated that Louis Lochner was then the European Manager of Federated Press and that during World War I was head of the "Notorious People's Council, the head and front of the Pacifist propaganda." (62-23170-149)

The Federated Press was cited as a Communist-controlled organization by the Special Committee on Un-American activities report, March 29, 1944, pages 76, 143 and 147. The Better American Federation, Los Angeles, California, prepared a chart dated September 30, 1930, noting that Louis Lochner, news editor, Federated Press, was a member of the American League to Limit Armaments, Emergency Peace Federation, The Fellowship of Reconciliation, and that he favored recognition of the Soviet Government. (100-7057-22X)

Francis Ralston Welsh presented testimony before the House of Representatives, Special Committee to Investigate Communist Activities in the United States, on November 25, 1930. One of the exhibits presented by Welsh was the statement that "The German Agent Louis Lochner" had an important part in the formation of the People's Council of America. The statement noted that this organization was "one of the most notoriously malodorous and disloyal things gotten up during war times." (62-23170-159)

... was investigated in an Espionage case in 1941 based upon a letter he had written on November 24, 1940, it was felt might contain some hidden message. No information of espionage activity was developed. This investigation developed that Louis P. Lochner was head of Associated Press in Germany. (65-32378-4)

According to information received from Headquarters Seventh Army, Rolf Hoffmann was in 1940 the
application for employment. This investigation reported that Louis P. Lochner, Associated Press Correspondent in Berlin, had been friendly with Nazi Party members. The office further advised that Louis P. Lochner had been interned in Germany after the declaration of war in World War II and had been exchanged for another prisoner and returned to the United States in 1942. The Third Naval District stated that Louis P. Lochner was apparently a loyal citizen and cooperative with the United States Government. (122-3894-24)

The Chicago Sun, on December 29, 1942, carried a "Christmas Declaration" published by the Loyal Americans of German Descent, 285 Madison Avenue, New York, New York. This Declaration repudiated Hitler and the Nazis. One of the names signed to this declaration was Louis Lochner, Author and Correspondent, Chicago, Illinois. (100-4165-92)

Gottfried Reinhold Treviranus was the subject of an Alien Enemy Control-G case in 1944. During this investigation, it was developed that Treviranus had stated in a letter dated January 11, 1943, that Louis Lochner had told the story of Treviranus's miraculous escape from the Nazis in a book on Germany between the wars. (100-142373-10)

A report dated April 26, 1943, of the Military Intelligence Division of the War Department was received with the report of an interview with Manuel Pennella de Silva. de Silva says that Louis Lochner was one of two Americans in Berlin who were known for their pro-Nazi leanings before Pearl Harbor. de Silva stated that he, de Silva, was a writer and that he was in Germany for ten years. He stated that he had been wrongly suspected of being a German Agent. (65-47053-19)

Lochner were interviewed on June 21, 1943, in connection with investigation of Herbert Gunther Sonthoff. This was an Espionage, Alien Enemy Control-G case. The Lochners were cooperative and furnished what information they had. (65-28452-23)
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Advisor on Cultural Subjects for the Foreign Press Section of the German Propaganda Ministry. This information quoted Hoffmann as stating that he was a friend of Louis Lochner and other American newspaper men in Germany. (65-1767-61)

According to a letter postmarked February 8, 1941, from Street, New York, New York, had expressed pro-Nazi sentiments to the writer and to her sons. (100-37558-1)

Louis Lochner was photographed in August, 1941, at Helsinki with several individuals. One of these individuals was investigated in a Treason case from 1943 to 1949.

Leads were set out to interview Lochner but the interview was never conducted. (62-71129-7)

On May 18, 1942, was heard in a broadcast from Berlin in which he stated that he knew Louis Lochner. was the subject of a Treason case in 1942. (65-6566-61)

was investigated in 1942 and 1943 in an Internal Security-F, Custodial Detention Case. This investigation was based upon information received from an individual who stated, among other things, that was supposedly a good friend of Louis Lochner, former American correspondent in Berlin. (100-151575-1)

In 1942, it was learned that Lewis Lochner Bureau Chief of the Associated Press in Berlin, had written a letter dated October 15, 1941, to a storage company in New Jersey regarding the payment of storage charges on the furniture of was the subject of an Espionage-G Investigation in 1942. (62-6942-66)

Under confidential symbol number, advised on December 14, 1942, that had been investigated on an
Jones to Nichols

June 3, 1954

By memorandum to the Attorney General on November 11, 1949, the Director advised that Lochner had offered to make available for laboratory examination certain correspondence which he had in possession. This letter also advised that Lochner had made the documents available. This matter was involved in the case of the United States vs. Gerald B. Winrod, et al: Sedition. (65-4832-468)

A State Department report dated June 5, 1944, noted that Louis Lochner, Associated Press Correspondent who was formerly in Berlin, was reported to have agreed to join the Committee on the Re-education of German Prisoners of War. (62-64427-3-286)

Lochner was cooperative in an interview on September 20, 1944, in an Internal Security C/O Free German Activities in the Los Angeles area. He agreed to contact Bert Brecht and to question him regarding these activities. He made this contact and reported the results to Agents in the Los Angeles Office. (100-287057-22)

It is noted that Bert Brecht was the subject of an Internal Security (R) Investigation in 1945. A Bureau memorandum dated February 1, 1945, stated that Louis Lochner, one of the sponsors of the Council for a Democratic Germany, discussed the Council and other groups of exiled Germans in an Associated Press release which appeared in the "Staatszeitung und Herold," New York, on December 24, 1944. This article stated that German refugees and emigrants in the war appeared to be united in the bitter hatred of Hitler and National Socialism. (100-304299-78)

According to a report from Headquarters Western Defense Command, San Francisco, California, dated March 17, 1945, an article in the "News-Tribune" of Tacoma stated that the Associated Press correspondent, Louis Lochner, had called Hitler's policy "National Suicide for the Reich." (100-7660-2862)

An article in the "New York Times" of January 20, 1948, stated that a pamphlet had been issued
Jones to Nichols

June 3, 1954

the day before by Common Cause, Inc, which protested the policy of dismantling German industrial buildings. The article noted that Herbert Hoover had written a brief forward to the pamphlet and that Louis Lochner was one of the members of a Special Committee of Common Cause, Inc., who had edited and endorsed the pamphlet. (97-2985-24)

"The Goebbels Diaries, 1942 through 1943," was a book published by Doubleday in 1948. Louis P. Lochner was the editor and translator. The Goebbels Manuscript had been obtained from individuals who were in Europe in connection with Herbert Hoover's Food Investigation in February of 1947. Frank Mason was one of those conducting this investigation. Mason arranged to have Louis Lochner translate the Goebbels Manuscript and for it to be published by Doubleday. The Bureau conducted an investigation regarding the acquisition of the Goebbels Manuscript in answer to a request from the Office of Alien Property by letter dated March 16, 1948. The reports in this investigation were furnished to the Office of Alien Property by the Director's letter dated August 28, 1952. After the Department had advised that they proposed to make available the examination by the Senate Committee on the Judiciary the files of the Office of Alien Property regarding the Goebbels Diaries. The final result of this inquiry is not reflected in Bureau files. Bureau investigation reflected, however, that the Goebbels Manuscript was in fact the property of the United States Government and that there is no justification for its being directed out to private individuals. (114-182)

According to a report of G-2 dated May 27, 1948, Louis Lochner, a member of the Temporary Committee for Food for Europe's Children, was one of those who spoke from the floor at a dinner meeting of the American Association for a Democratic Germany. The report does not date this meeting. That organization was the subject of an Internal-Security-C investigation in 1947. Informants advised in that investigation that
This memorandum summarizes briefly the pertinent information in Bufiles regarding Rothwell. He is an educator who was born October 9, 1902, at Denver, Colorado. He was with the State Department from 1941 to 1946. He has been with the Hoover Institute and Library since 1947. He was Secretary General of the U. S. Delegation to the United Nations in March of 1946. He complimented the Bureau highly when interviewed by a Special Agent on April 3, 1946, regarding a request from certain officials of the U. N. for the FBI to make a survey of the offices of the American Delegation.

Mrs. Andrei Gromyko, wife of the Soviet delegate to the U. N. Security Council, and others visited Stanford University on February 4, 1949, and had tea with Rothwell. Rothwell was interviewed by Bureau Agents on February 3, 1949, regarding his knowledge of Alger Hiss. He advised that he first met Hiss in 1942 and that he was associated with him in the State Department. He added that their association continued in work in the U. N. He advised that he considered Hiss a close personal friend. Rothwell commented that he had no indication of any connection between Hiss and the Communist Party. This interview was conducted during the investigation of Whittaker Chambers and others in the case entitled "Perjury; Espionage-R; Internal Security-R." Rothwell furnished twenty-three letters to the Bureau which letters he had received from Hiss. Rothwell was one of the Stanford faculty members who signed a letter in 1950 which supported the action of the University of California faculty members who opposed an anti-Communist loyalty oath. An informant advised in June, 1950, that Rothwell was a member of the World Affairs Council of Northern California which had been formed from a merger of the San Francisco International Center and the San Francisco Bay Region Division of the Institute of Pacific Relations. Rothwell was listed as a reference by an individual who was investigated in a Loyalty of Government Employee Case in 1951 and 1952, and his name was listed as a reference by another individual similarly investigated in 1952. Rothwell was listed as a reference on an application for a post office box, according to information received from an informant on October 24, 1952. One of the individuals who applied for his box was Fong Chiao-ying; was investigated in Internal Security case in 1942 and again in 1952 and 1953. J. Anthony Manusch, who was formerly Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Administration, submitted to a subcommittee of the Senate on June 25, 1953, a memorandum which he had written to his superior on March 7, 1946. This memorandum stated that the Hiss group might achieve control of four strategic points in the U. N., including the U. S. Delegation through Stettinius and Rothwell.
Memorandum to Mr. Nichols

June 1, 1954

DETAILS:

PURPOSE:

The purpose of this memorandum is to summarize briefly the pertinent information in Bureau files regarding Charles Easton Rothwell of the Hoover Library, Stanford University. You will recall that your memorandum to Mr. Tolson on May 24, 1954, on the subject of the Hoover Library mentioned Rothwell. The Director noted on your memorandum "Our files should be checked on all of these names. H."

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA:

Rothwell is an educator who was born October 9, 1902, at Denver, Colorado. He was with the State Department from 1941 to 1946. He was Vice President and Research Professor at the Hoover Institute/Library from 1947 to 1952. He has been Director since 1952. Rothwell is a trustee of the World Affairs Council of Northern California. He is a director of the American Association for the United Nations. He resides at 2985 Alpine Road, Menlo Park, California. His office is at the Hoover Institute and Library, Stanford, California. (Who's Who in America, 1954-55)

INFORMATION IN BUREAU FILES:

A press release dated March 29, 1946, which was issued by the United Nations Department of Public Information, stated that Mr. Easton Rothwell was Secretary General of the United States Delegation. (62-77787-1204)

Mr. Eastman Rothwell, Secretary General of the American Delegation to the United Nations, was interviewed along with others by a Special Agent of the New York Office on April 3, 1946. Certain officials of the United Nations requested the FBI to make a survey of the offices of the American Delegation and the interview with Rothwell was in this connection. Rothwell complimented the Bureau highly at this time. The survey was approved. (62-77787-1178)

The February 5, 1948, issue of the Palo Alto Times reported that Mrs. Andrei Gromyko, wife of Soviet delegate to the United Nations Security Council, together with a group of Russian women officials, had visited Stanford University on February 4, 1948. The article stated that this group had tea with Dr. Easton Rothwell, Vice Chairman, and with Dr. Harold H. Fisher, Chairman of the Hoover Library. (121-34190-28)
Memorandum to Mr. Nichols

SECRET

June 1, 1954

C. Easton Rothwell, Associate Director of the Hoover Institute, Stanford University, Palo Alto, California, was interviewed on February 3, 1949, by Special Agents in connection with the investigation entitled "Jay David Whitaker Chambers, was; ETA; Perjury; Espionage-R; Internal Security-R." Rothwell advised that he first met Alger Hiss in 1942 at a committee meeting at the State Department in Washington, D.C., and that subsequent to that time he became very well acquainted with Hiss. He added that at the time of the interview he considered Hiss a close personal friend. He stated that he was acquainted with Alger Hiss in the State Department for several years. Rothwell advised that in 1945 he served as Executive Secretary to United Nations Conference on Internal Organization and that Hiss served as Secretary General of this same meeting. He went on to state that in 1946 he served as Secretary General of the General Assembly of the United Nations at London, that Hiss served as a Special Advisor, and that they roomed together from January, 1946, to the end of February, 1946, at which time Hiss returned to the United States and Rothwell remained in London. Rothwell commented that on his return to Washington, he was closely associated with Hiss up until the time that he, Rothwell, resigned from the State Department in the Fall of 1946. He added that he never received any indication of any connection between Hiss and the Communist Party.

On February 5, 1949, Rothwell furnished through a Special Agent twenty-three letters received by him from Hiss dated 1947 and 1948. These letters were forwarded to the FBI Laboratory for examination. (74-1305-2351) This was in connection with the Chambers Case.

The April 18, 1950, issue of the Palo Alto Times reported that 245 Stanford University faculty members and employees had signed a letter supporting the action of the University of California faculty members in opposing an anti-Communist loyalty oath. This article stated that Easton Rothwell was listed as one of the Stanford faculty members who had signed this letter. (121-34190-28)

A reliable confidential informant advised in June, 1950, that Easton Rothwell was a member of the Advisory Panel on meetings and speakers of the World Affairs Council of Northern California. The informant advised that the World Affairs Council of Northern California engaged in the promotion of steady and public education of world affairs. He added that this organization was formed from a merger of the San Francisco International Center and the San Francisco Bay Region Division of the Institute of Pacific Relations. (121-34190-28)
Memorandum to Mr. Nichols  

June 1, 1954

Exhibit number 85 in the hearings before a Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, 81st Congress, 2nd Session, lists the name Easton Rothwell, Vice Chairman, Hoover Institution and Library, Stanford University, as one of the numerous who were "signers of letters of people who know Owen Lattimore's work." This committee was investigating employee loyalty in the State Department. (121-23278-267X12)

Easton Rothwell was on the Board of Directors of the American Association for the United Nations, according to a brochure obtained in June, 1951, from the Information Center for the United Nations, New York City. This organization was chartered under New York laws on March 10, 1923, as the "League of Nations Non-Partisan Association." On May 14, 1930, the name was changed to "League of Nations Association, Inc." On September 1, 1943, the name was changed to "American Association for the United Nations, Inc." The purpose of this organization has been to study through educational process the fundamental basis of permanent peace and the machinery necessary for the development of this peace. The Association has carried on educational activities looking towards international cooperation on the part of the United States. (100-377086-5)

Rothwell was listed as a reference by [redacted] on a "Application for Position" form dated January 22, 1951. This application was for a position with the Federal Reserve System. [redacted] was investigated in a Loyalty of Government Employee Case from November 13, 1951, to May 8, 1952. This investigation was based upon information received by the Federal Reserve System from the Seattle, Washington, Police Department all to the effect that on September 10, 1946, [redacted] one a known Communist, picketed a delicatessen in the Seattle area and that it was necessary for the police to break up the pickets twice. Bureau reports were disseminated to the Civil Service Commission on January 31, 1952, and on May 16, 1952. The Civil Service Commission advised on September 29, 1952, that [redacted] had resigned or otherwise separated from Federal Service prior to a decision on his loyalty.

During this investigation of [redacted], Rothwell advised that he knew [redacted] for two or three years after having met him at [redacted]. He advised that his closest association with [redacted] was [redacted] worked together on the details of a course which was to be offered in the Hoover Institute. Rothwell furnished no information reflecting on loyalty to the United States. (121-34190-29)
Memorandum to Mr. Nichols

C. Easton Rothwell, Vice Chairman, Hoover Library, Stanford University, was listed as a reference on an "Application for Federal Employment" form dated February 1, 1951. This application was for a position as a Military Intelligence Research Specialist with the United States Civil Service Commission. The Bureau investigated [redacted], who submitted this application, in a Loyalty of Government Employees case from April 8, 1952, to May 9, 1952. The basis of this investigation was the fact that [redacted] had declared in June, 1951, that he was a member of the Independent Progressive Party during the Summer of 1948. Bureau reports were disseminated to the Civil Service Commission on June 5, 1952. On July 24, 1952, the Civil Service Commission advised that [redacted] was eligible on loyalty.

In connection with this investigation, Rothwell advised that he had known [redacted] since 1947 as an employee in the Hoover Library and as a student. He stated that he had no reason to question the loyalty of [redacted] (121-35283-22).

According to information received on September 24, 1952, from a reliable informant, Dr. Easton Rothwell, Hoover Library, Stanford University, was listed as a reference on an application for a post office box at Stanford, California. This application was made in the name of [redacted] and others. [redacted] was investigated by the Bureau in 1942, in Internal Security Hatch Act case. [redacted] was investigated during 1942 on the basis of the fact that the was listed as a member of the Washington Committee for Democratic Action by the Special Committee on un-American Activities of the United States House of Representatives. He was investigated again in 1952 and 1953 in an Internal Security - CH case. This investigation was upon the basis of information received from First Army Headquarters, New York City, that [redacted] was an agent of the Chinese Communist Government. The first investigation was closed by Washington, D. C., report dated April 7, 1942, after [redacted] had been interviewed. The second investigation was closed by San Francisco report made March 5, 1954, after [redacted] had been interviewed again. Rothwell was not interviewed in the investigation regarding (101-1686).

A confidential and reliable informant advised in February, 1953, that the Yugoslav Consulate in San Francisco had sent out literature regarding the break with the Vatican. One of the persons receiving this literature was Professor Easton Rothwell, Stanford Library. (65-58966-103)
Memorandum to Mr. Nichols

SECRET

June 1, 1954

J. Anthony Panuch, attorney of New York City, presented testimony on June 25, 1953, before the "Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws of the Committee on the Judiciary" of the Senate. He testified that he had joined the State Department in October, 1945, as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Administration. He presented a memorandum dated March 7, 1946, which he had written to his immediate superior. This memorandum discussed the Hiss plan for reorganization of the State Department. Panuch stated in this memorandum that through Mr. Rothwell, Secretary General of the United States Delegation to the United Nations, Hiss would enjoy "working control" over the flow of papers in and out of the secretariat of the United States group. It states that if Hiss should succeed in causing Dr. Appleby to be designated as the Assistant Secretary General for Administration of the United Nations, then the Hiss group would achieve control of four strategic points, including the United States Delegation through Stetinius and Rothwell. (62-8827-1385)
Office Memorandum

TO: Mr. Nichols

FROM: M. A. Johnson

SUBJECT: Louis Paul Lochner

The purpose is to summarize briefly pertinent information in Buffaloes regarding Lochner. He is a newspaper correspondent who received the Pulitzer Prize in 1939 as a war correspondent.

The Lusk Investigation Committee of the State of New York reported that Louis P. Lochner, a German Socialist, was one of the most successful in promoting peace movements in 1914 and 1915. Evidence presented before a Special Committee of the House investigating Communist activities indicated that Louis Lochner was, in June, 1923, the European Manager of Federated Press and that during World War I he was head of the "notorious People's Council, the head and front of the Pacifist propaganda." The Federated Press was cited as a Communist controlled organization by the Special Investigation on Un-American Activities in May, 1944. The Better American Federation, Los Angeles, California, reported that Louis Lochner was a member of the American League to Limit Armaments, Emergency Peace Federation, The Fellowship of Reconciliation and that he favored recognition of the Soviet Government. Testimony on November 25, 1930, presented before the Special Committee of the House to Investigate Communist Activities was to the effect that the German agent Louis Lochner "had an important part in the formation of the People's Council of America" which was "one of the most notorious and disloyal things gotten up during wartime." Various individuals, who were connected with the German Government or accused of pro-Nazi sentiments or actions, were reported to be acquainted with or friendly with Lochner during the 1940's. Some of these individuals were investigated by the Bureau. Lochner and were interviewed on June 21, 1943, in connection with an espionage and alien enemy control - a investigation of Herbert Gunther Sonnoff. They apparently furnished what information they had. In 1943, Lochner furnished some material in his possession for use in the case of the United States versus Gerald B. Winrod, et al; sedition.

Lochner agreed to contact an individual for the Los Angeles Office and to report information gained from this individual regarding German activities. Lochner carried out this mission. Lochner was...
Jones to Nichols

June 3, 1954

the organization was backing the German Social Democratic Party in its struggle against Communism in Germany. Organization literature stated that the organization believed that Democratic Government throughout the world was an essential basis for future peace. (100-17976-serial 51 and serial 64)

The Congressional Record reflects a speech given by Francis P. Bolton of Ohio in the House on June 7, 1949. Bolton remarked that press releases of Youth of All Nations, Inc., reflected that Louis Lochner, writer, was one of the Directors of that organization. In December, 1950, the New York Office conducted an investigation of that organization at the request of the State Department, and this investigation failed to reveal any basis for an allegation that the organization was a Communist group. The Bureau investigation indicated that some of the Directors and sponsors had past associations with organizations which have been cited by the Attorney General as being within the purview of Executive Order 9835 (now Executive Order 10450). (100-373251 Serials 2 and 10)

A report which was forwarded to the Bureau on November 27, 1950, stated that there has been a series of news agencies which have served the International Communist Movement. The report stated that these news agencies have their headquarters outside of the Soviet Union. It is stated that one well-known agency which was used for this purpose was the Federated Press of America. Louis Lochner was described as European Manager of Federated Press of America. (100-379470-LX)
BASIS: By memorandum dated May 24, 1954, you advised Mr. Tolson of a discussion Frank Mason had had with you concerning individuals affiliated with the Herbert Hoover Library On War, Revolution and Peace at Stanford University in Berkeley, California. One of these individuals was Harold Henry Fisher, the librarian of the Hoover Library. Mason noted that a group of individuals was thinking of honoring Herbert Hoover's eightieth birthday by taking up a collection to endow the library and that Herbert Hoover did not want his friends to put any money into the library until Fisher had been gotten rid of. According to Mason, Fisher was to be gotten rid of through retirement in the near future.

INFORMATION IN FILES: By memorandum dated September 15, 1951, I provided you with a 46 page summary memorandum of information in Files concerning Fisher. This memorandum was prepared after you had ascertained from Bert Mattei that Herbert Hoover was very concerned about the Hoover Library because Dr. Harold Fisher, Director of the library, had "gone sour as hell." According to Mattei, Herbert Hoover indicated that he was going to drop a note to the Director and ask the Director to slip in and see Herbert Hoover the next time he was in New York. This summary memorandum of September 15, 1951, is attached. (100-179453-12)

On February 28, 1952, Mr. Belmont forwarded Mr. Ladd a summary memorandum concerning Dr. Fisher. Mr. Belmont's memorandum was prepared subsequent to a telephone contact with Mr. Tolson's Office by Lawrence (Larry) Richey, secretary to former President Hoover, in which Richey indicated an interest in information concerning Fisher. A blind memorandum concerning Fisher was furnished Richey in March 1952. Attached is Mr. Belmont's memorandum to Mr. Ladd of February 28, 1952. (100-179453, serial 16)

On April 10, 1952, a 12 page memorandum concerning Fisher was furnished to the Central Intelligence Agency. A copy of the memorandum furnished to CIA is not being attached. (100-179453, serial 16)

Attachments

cc - Mr. Nichols

Indexed - 90
Recorded - 90
By memorandum dated November 13, 1953, Mr. Belmont furnished to Mr. Ladd information relating to Fisher and three other individuals. The information relating to Fisher appears on pages 3 and 4 of Mr. Belmont's memorandum. Attached to his memorandum was a 3 page supplemental memorandum dated November 12, 1953, regarding Fisher. The yellow of Mr. Belmont's memorandum of November 12, 1953, along with the original of the memorandum dated November 12, 1953, are attached.

BRIEF SYNOPSIS OF INFORMATION CONTAINED IN THE ABOVE MENTIONED MEMORANDA: Fisher was born in Morristown, Vermont, February 15, 1890. He has been a professor at Stanford University and has served with the Hoover Library since 1924.

Fisher is the subject of a Security Matter-C investigation which was opened in January, 1945, and closed in October, 1945. No information has been received reflecting that he has been a member of the Communist Party. The March 5, 1941, issue of the "Daily Worker" showed Fisher to be a signer of a statement in defense of the Communist Party, but referred to him as not being a Communist. Reportedly, his name appeared on the mailing list of the Communist Political Association in San Francisco in 1945, and he has given pro-Russian and pro-Communist speeches in the past. Additionally, Fisher has been friendly with members of the Soviet Consulate Staff in San Francisco and has been in contact with prominent Communists in the San Francisco area.

The following are among organizations cited by the Attorney General and/or state and Federal legislative bodies with which Fisher's name has been affiliated:

- American-Russian Institute for Cultural Relations with the Soviet Union
- American Youth for Democracy
- Friends of the Soviet Union
- Committee for Concerned Peace Efforts
- American Friends of the Chinese People
- International Book Store, San Francisco
- American Pushkin Committee
- California Labor School
- Daily People's World
- National Council of Soviet-American Friendship
- Interprofessional Association
- National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights
- National Emergency Conference for Constitutional Liberties

Additionally, his name has been affiliated with such other organizations as The (Owen) Lattimore Defense Fundation, The Institute of Pacific Relations, The Russian War Relief, and a number of other organizations. The above mentioned memoranda which are attached, on the other hand, show that Fisher has hired
Memo to Mr. Nichols

June 1, 1954

persons with anti-Communist views and that he has made public statements unfavorable to Russia. In July, 1950, for example, he stated on a radio program, "The World Peace Appeal is an ambitious propaganda drive by the Communists to recover lost ground and weaken the united opposition. Its aim is not peace but to strengthen the position of Soviet Russia.

The Service Unit has advised that there is one reference to Fisher in BFILES since November 13, 1953, when the last summary memorandum was prepared. By letter dated November 24, 1953, the San Francisco Office advised that the acting librarian of the "San Francisco Chronicle" stated that a newspaper clipping in her files which was taken from the Chronicle of May 8, 1945, described a reception for V. M. Molotov given by the American Russian Institute of San Francisco at the Saint Francis Hotel on May 7, 1945. The article was captioned "Mr. Molotov meets the Americans...Sub-Debs, Harry Bridges make the grade..." The article stated that one hundred assorted guests were invited by the American Russian Institute to a reception honoring Foreign Commissar Molotov. Professor H. H. Fisher was listed among those who attended. (39-915-3238)

RECOMMENDATION: For information.

CONFIDENTIAL
Office Memorandum - UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: Mr. Nichols
FROM: M. A. Jonep

SUBJECT: MARGARET BOURKE-WHITE

SYNOPSIS:

This memorandum summarizes briefly pertinent information in Bureau regarding captioned individual. She is a photographer with Life Magazine and has written numerous books. She was married and later divorced from Erskine Caldwell. She reportedly made three trips to Russia to photograph the Five-Year Plan. She reportedly made the first moving pictures to be made in Soviet Russia with Soviet permission. The House Committee on Un-American Activities Report of 1944 lists connection with American Youth Congress, Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo, Film and Photo League, and American Artists Congress and as a contributor to the "Sunday Worker." An AEAA report dated 7-14-52 on another individual, reported her connected with "Socialist Russia Today," the League of Women Shoppers, and the Communist Party. This report stated further that Louis F. Budenz had advised that she was a member of the Communist Party in the late 1930's. She was a contact of a subject of an Espionage--R investigation in September 1952. In 1943 was learned that she recommended the subject of an Internal Security investigation to a reputable, charitable organization. She was considered a friend by the subject of an espionage investigation. She was the subject of a Security Matter--R investigation from 1941 to 1951. She was removed from the Security Index on May 28, 1947.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

CLASS. & EXT. P-
REASON - FCIN 1112 27-40.
DATE OF REVIEW

EXCLOSURA

RECORDED - 90
INDEXED - 90
EX-130

19 JUN 16 1954

CONFIDENTIAL
Memo to Mr. Nichols

June 4, 1954

DETAILS CONFIDENTIAL

PURPOSE:

The purpose of this memorandum is to summarize briefly the pertinent information in Bureau files regarding Margaret Bourke-White. You will recall that she was mentioned in your memorandum to Mr. Tolson on May 24, 1954, regarding the Hoover Library. The Director noted on your memorandum, "Our files should be checked on all of these names. H."

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA:

Margaret Bourke-White is a photographer who was born June 14, 1906, in New York City. She has been with Life Magazine since 1936 and has been the author of numerous books. She was married to Everett Chapman in 1925. She was married to Erskine Caldwell in 1939 and was divorced from him in 1942. She resides in Darien, Connecticut. Her office is at the Time and Life Building, Rockefeller Center, New York City. (Who's Who in America, 1954-55)

"She has made three trips to Russia to record photographically the progress of the Five-Year Plan. Her two travelogs, "Eyes on Russia" (1931), and 'Red Republic' (1934) were the first moving pictures to be made in Soviet Russia with full permission of Soviet authorities." ("Current Biography" 1940)

INFORMATION IN BUREAU FILES:

The following information appears in the House Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, Report of 1944:

(1) Margaret Bourke-White is listed on the National Advisory Committee of the American Youth Congress but the date is not given. The American Youth Congress has been designated by the Attorney General under Executive Order 10450.

(2) Margaret Bourke-White is listed as a "representative individual" for the Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo but the date is not given. The Special Committee on Un-American Activities report, March 29, 1944, cited this organization as a Communist Party front.

(3) Margaret Bourke-White is listed as an exhibitor of photos to a motion picture costume board sponsored by the Film and Photo League, April 27, 1943. The California Committee on Un-American Activities Report of 1946 reported the Film and Photo League as a Communist Front.
Memo to Mr. Nichols

June 4, 1954

(4) Margaret Bourke-White is listed as a signer to a call of American Artists Congress. This was reported in "Art Front," November, 1935. The California Committee on Un-American Activities Report of 1948 reported the American Artists Congress as typical of Communist created and controlled organizations.

(5) Margaret Bourke-White was a contributor to the "Sunday Worker" according to the "Daily Worker" of December 21, 1935. (138-1632-31)

The following information is reported in a report of SA James J. Deary dated 7-14-52 at New Haven and entitled WA 56849, AEAA:

(1) According to a reliable informant, Margaret Bourke-White was reported to have been a contributor since June of 1942 to "Soviet Russia Today." This publication has been cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities Report, March 29, 1944.

(2) A reliable informant made available a Photostat of a resume prepared by the anti-Communist group in the Actors Equity Association. This resume identified Margaret Bourke-White as one of the sponsors of the League of Women Shoppers. This organization has been cited by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in its report of March 29, 1944, as being a Communist controlled front.

(3) G-2 reported on January 17, 1947, that Margaret Bourke-White had been divorced from Erskine Caldwell, "a well-known fellow-traveller." This report stated that in August, 1940, it had been learned from an informed source that Margaret Bourke-White was a member of the Communist Party and that she was among the early Communist members of the staff of the New York publication, "PM."

(4) Louis F. Budenz, under confidential symbol number, advised that Margaret Bourke-White was a member of the Communist Party during the late 1930's. He received this information from Jack Stachel, a National functionary of the Communist Party. He added that this information was confirmed in 1940 by Eugene Dennis, National Communist Party functionary. (116-340277-14)

New Haven letter to the Bureau dated September 3, 1952, reported that Margaret Bourke-White was a contact of Alfred K. Stern who was then the subject of an Espionage investigation. (100-57453-785)
Memo to Mr. Nichols

CONFIDENTIAL

June 4, 1954

During an Internal Security--R and IN investigation in 1943, it was developed that Margaret Bourke-White had recommended the subject of the investigation to the Public Welfare Foundation, Inc., a highly reputable private charitable organization of New York City. (100-3970373)

According to a summary report in an Espionage--R investigation of [Redacted] dated January 6, 1954, a confidential foreign source on June 30, 1949, had advised that [Redacted] had listed among a number of friends of his employed by "Time and Life" the name of Margaret Bourke-White (N 65-58367-349)

Margaret Bourke-White was the subject of a Security Matter--C investigation which extended from 1941 to 1951. This file indicated that her name was listed on the Security Index on May 28, 1947. Reports in this investigation duplicate much of the material reported previously in this memorandum. (100-3518)
Frank Mason, who was passing through town came in to see me on the afternoon of May 24th and expressed some concern about the Hoover Library. By way of background he pointed out that he first became concerned in view of his personal friendship for Herbert Hoover when Max Lerner got access to several papers in 1946. Following this he talked to Mr. Tamm and asked Mr. Tamm to be on the lookout for anything that tied in to the Hoover Library which would protect the former President and which the former President should know about. Mr. Tamm told him he would be glad to be on the alert.

He then stated that the chief source of his concern now is an individual by the name of Rothwell. He could not recall Rothwell's first name. He stated that Joe Panuch in a letter dated March 6, 1946, which was introduced on the floor of the Senate by Senator Homer Ferguson in 1948 referred to Rothwell, Alger Hiss and others referred to Rothwell as being the number two man in the Alger Hiss group. [blank] and Frank Mason in 1949 while having lunch with Senator Ferguson told Ferguson that he was duty bound to show the letter to Herbert Hoover since when Ferguson put the letter into the record he omitted certain names. Mason then stated that Rothwell went into the Hoover Library at Stanford through Louis E. Lochmey. He further stated that Rothwell, while in the State Department, arranged for Russians to get certain boats. Herbert Hoover became concerned; however, was told by Paris Galpin who is very close to Herbert Hoover as well as to H. H. Fisher, the librarian, that Rothwell was doing a good job and that everything was all right at the Library. Mason, however, has his doubts about Galpin since [blank] was spying on the Hoover mission to India a few years ago and passing the information as to their activities on to Margaret Bourke White, who furnished the information to somebody in the Associated Press. Sometime later Frank Mason called on Herbert Hoover and saw him very much engaged in reading a report and his thought immediately came to the conclusion that Mr. Tamm had performed and that what Herbert Hoover was reading was an FBI report. Hoover expressed some concern on this occasion for the Hoover Library.

Mason further asserted that after Alger Hiss left the State Department he diverted $250,000 of Carnegie Foundation money out of the Library which was utilized by some project that Rothwell was interested in.

cc - Mr. Belmont

LBN: P:\..\..\..\..\..

EX-130
Memorandum for Mr. Tolson from L. B. Nichols

RE: HOOVER LIBRARY
STANFORD UNIVERSITY
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

Mason then came down to the point that Jeremiah Millbank, who handles Herbert Hoover's finances, and a group of friends were thinking of honoring Herbert Hoover's 80th birthday which occurred on August 10, 1954, by taking up a collection to endow the Library, which is a concern to Mason as he does not want a group of Herbert Hoover's friends to become embarrassed if Rothwell or the Library is bad. He further stated that Herbert Hoover himself did not want his friends to put any money into the Library until they had gotten rid of H. H. Fisher and this was supposed to take place some time in the immediate future through retirement.

He further related that he was favorably impressed with a very talented young chap around 35 years of age who has charge of a West Coast foundation and has approximately $600,000 to spend annually. Mason went to [redacted] took him to see Herbert Hoover a year ago and then got him to make a survey of the Hoover Library and its effectiveness. In this survey everything that had been written was reviewed and cataloged, i.e. through cooperation of the Hoover Library, and was given a rating as to how "pro-Soviet" the writing was. Herbert Hoover gave a copy of this summary to Bert Mattei. When Mason heard of this he went to Herbert Hoover and cautioned him about the possibility of libel and Herbert Hoover then got it back. Jeremiah Millbank has advised Mason that Herbert Hoover insists that Rothwell is satisfactory. Nothing cropped up in the [redacted] survey linking Rothwell with any writings but Mason believes that he was all right if he was tied up with Hiss and that if Rothwell was a good American, then Mason cannot understand why H. H. Fisher should hire him; that he feels that Rothwell was picked by Hiss for this job and literally put in there. One of the projects Rothwell has worked out was to put in a private telephone from the UN to the Hoover Library for research purposes.

Mason stated that he had nothing specific, but he felt that he should get this off his chest and this was the reason why he had come in to the Bureau.

He also wanted to express the hope that if there was anything wrong with Rothwell that some way could be found to let Herbert Hoover know to avoid embarrassment. I have asked Mr. Jones to check our files and identify Rothwell and see what we have.
Secret Files
Of Czarist
Police Aired

By Seymour Korman
Palo Alto, Calif., Oct. 29
The dossiers and other data
were sealed at the Hoover
Institution on War, Revolu-
tion and Peace on the Stan-
ford University campus.

Sworakowski, who was on
the staff of the Hoover
Institution, is shown in a
photo dated March 29, 1931.

The "phantom" files are
crammed into 18 large wooden
packaging cases. Contents of six
of the cases thus far opened
have been turned over to the
Czarist police by the Hoover
Institution. The files contain
information on Leon Trotsky,
Vyacheslav Molotov, Maksim
Litvinov and Maxim Gorky.

The other 12 containers are
claimed to include informa-
tion on Nikolai Lenin, Josef Stalin
and their associates up to
1917.

The packing cases, each
weighing 500 pounds and wired
and fastened with lead, were
shipped secretly from Paris to Stanford
University between 1924 and 1928
by Basil Maklakoff, who had been the
last Czarist Ambassador to
Paris.
Czarist Secret Police Documents Are Opened

PALO ALTO, Calif., Oct. 30 (AP)—A closet full of Soviet family skeletons was rattled yesterday when the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace opened 16 packing cases of Czarist Russian secret police documents.

The Reds thought the documents were burned some 30 years ago.

The set of 500-pound wooden packing cases contain the files of the Paris office of the Czarist Russian Secret Police of more than 40 years ago. They hold a veritable who's who of the expatriates and exiled revolutionaries who flocked to Western Europe after the abortive 1905 revolution. Hoover Institution officials hope they will yield considerable background information on past and present members of the Communist hierarchy.

Shipped to U.S. in 1926

The files were shipped secretly from Paris to the United States in 1926 by Basil Maklakoff, the last pre-Communist Russian ambassador to France. Maklakoff, apparently realizing the great value of the papers, signed a statement that he had burned them. Then he shipped them to the United States. Feeling his life would be in jeopardy if the truth were known, he stipulated that the case should remain sealed until at least three months after his death. He died last July in Switzerland at the age of 86.

Officials of the Hoover Institution, on the Stanford University campus, have opened five of the boxes and given the contents a hurried examination. C. Easton Rothwell, director, says:

In three they found dozens of fat holders, each belted with cloth strap and buckle, containing detailed records of the Czarist Imperial Secret Police on the activities of Russian revolutionaries in Western Europe.

Statement Accepted

"This is the only Russian police archive of any magnitude accessible to scholars outside the Soviet Union," said Witold Sworakowski, assistant director, who was born and educated in Poland.

"All the evidence he has been able to find indicates that the Reds accepted Maklakoff's statement that he had burned the papers - in fact, were relieved to think they had been destroyed - and therefore are unaware that this material exists and is now being opened."

Files have been found on Trotsky, Molotov and (Polish Marshal) Pilsudski. Mr. Sworakowski, who is in charge of the institution's Eastern European collection, says he thinks they will also find material on Lenin, Stalin and other leaders of the Revolution.

Wash. Post G

Times Herald

Wash. News A

Wash. Star A

N. Y. Herald

Tribune

N. Y. Journal

American

N. Y. Mirror

N. Y. Daily News

N. Y. Times

Dolly Worker

The Worker

New Leader

Date 10-30-57

65-7242-A
162-4314-A

NOT RECORDED 140.NOV 4 957

CUNY 4 1957
WANTED—The Trotsky arresting order is among the material from Russian secret police files shipped from Paris to the United States, in 1926 and kept under seal until yesterday.—AP Wirephoto.
SAC, NEW YORK

November 15, 1957

Director, FBI

I would like for you, or one of your experienced Agents to personally deliver the attached material to Honorable Herbert Hoover, Apartment 31-A, The Waldorf-Astoria Towers, 50th and Park Avenue, New York.

Mr. Hoover should be advised that this material is being furnished pursuant to his request addressed to Mr. Lawrence Richey, 1801 16th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., under date of November 12, 1957. You should advise the Bureau immediately when this has been done. You should also extend my very best wishes and kind regards to Mr. Hoover.

Enclosure

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED.

Date: 2/28/57

ERC: LCB
(4)

File Reviews on

Harold Henry Fisher

COMM — FBI

NOV 15 1957

MAILED 23
No Duplication Fees are charged for Deleted Page Information Sheet(s).

Total Deleted Page(s) ~ 78
Page 88 ~ Referral/Direct
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Rebuilt 12/19/57.

This is to advise that at 5 PM on 12/20/57, SA Vincent F. Clancy delivered to Mr. Herbert Hoover the material transmitted to this office by reference letter. Mr. Hoover was told that this data completes the check of the seventy-eight names he submitted.

Your very best wishes and kind regards were extended to Mr. Hoover, and he requested that his best regards be extended to you.

EJM:MT
2-Bureau
1-NY (67-1777)
Office Memorandum

TO: MR. A. H. BELMONT
FROM: MR. G. H. SCATTERDAY

DATE: November 20, 1959

SUBJECT: DR. W. GLENN/CAMPELL
INFORMATION CONCERNING

The attached clipping from the 11-20-59 issue of the "Washington Daily News" indicates that Dr. Campbell has been appointed new director of Stanford's Hoover Library in San Francisco, California.

Bureau files reveal that in August, 1959, Bureau files were reviewed concerning Campbell at the request of Admiral Lewis L. Strauss, who stated that Honorable Herbert Hoover was attempting to find a new director for the Hoover War Library and had asked Strauss for a recommendation. Strauss was considering Dr. Campbell.

The attached memoranda indicate no pertinent information was found in our files concerning Dr. Campbell who is a personal acquaintance of Inspector W. C. Sullivan. Mr. Sullivan stated Campbell is a very conservative economist. Inspector Sullivan is also personally acquainted with head of the American Enterprise Association, Inc., with which Dr. Campbell was also associated. You suggested that we tell Admiral Strauss we have no information regarding Dr. Campbell and that Admiral Strauss might want to talk to Mr. This was approved by the Director and Admiral Strauss' secretary was advised by liaison on 8-31-59.

ACTION:

For information.

ENCLOSURE

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Liaison Section
1 - Name Check Section

Enclosures:

58 DEC. 2196073
DIRECTOR—Canadian-born Dr. W. Glenn Campbell has been appointed new director of Stanford’s fabulous Hoover Library in San Francisco, Calif. Dr. Campbell, ’35, has been director of research of the American Enterprise Association here in Washington. His appointment was announced by the Stanford Board of Trustees.

Washington Daily News
November 20, 1959
Page 24

62-74042-19
ENCLOSURE
Stanford Students Rap Hoover Stand

A statement by Herbert Hoover on the print, Stanford University, has been hailed as a blueprint for the future of American higher education.

The dispute has centered on the issue of whether the university should continue to support the Hoover Institute, which is known for its research on the economic and social conditions of the United States.

The statement was immediately attacked by some students and faculty members, who claimed that it was a smear campaign by those who oppose the Hoover Institute.

The dispute has been ongoing since last year, when the university's president, in a speech prepared for an institute fundraising drive, declared that the purpose of the institute must be to promote free inquiry and to foster the spirit of inquiry.

The institute's director, Dr. William R. Campbell, has been quoted as saying that the statement was a distortion of his views.

However, the institute's board of directors has stood by its decision, and the university has continued to support the Hoover Institute.

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SAN FRANCISCO EXAMINER
San Francisco, California
Date: 3-31-60
Edition: FI
Managing Editor: LESTON von BERALDINGEN
Publisher: CHARLES MAYER
Case:

Classification: EX-109
REC-88
62-72042-18

no APR 25 1960.
cated a determination to build the faculty members, through the advisory board of Stanford's Academic Council, asked the university's board of trustees for a "positive statement" reaffirming Stanford's dedication to freedom. The request noted that some features of Hoover's statement are "inconsistent with the traditional policies of Stanford University with regard to freedom of inquiry and scholarship."

Disgruntled students came back with an editorial in the Stanford Daily declaring Hoover's statement was "a fla- grant violation of academic freedom that is detrimental to Stanford's reputation in the academic world." The research would portray the growth and spread of communism; the publications would be designed to give aid to governments, policy formation.

"The institution must constantly and dynamically point the road to peace, to personal freedom, and to the safeguards of the American system," Campbell said. "There are evils in Marxism, and I hope we expose them."

The trustees promptly reaffirmed their dedication to the principle that academic freedom in the highest university tradition is expected to prevail throughout Stanford. The trustees, the board announced, "did not contemplate that Mr. Hoover's statement would be interpreted as an abridgment of free inquiry."

"This did not satisfy the student newspaper which, yesterday, commented: "We fail to see an exposition of the trustees' concept of the Hoover institution's purposes."

Dean Philip H. Rhinelander of the school of Human and Social Sciences and a former acting director of the Institution, said that while he was head of the library, at the time, he knew nothing of Hoover's revised statement of purposes. "(Speaking as an individual," he said, "I think the university can best support the principles of a free society and also of religion by an unlettered, and objective search for truth.)"

"The institution's library is based upon a collection of documents drafted by Hoover while he was conducting the Belgian Relief Program during World War I. The collection was an attempt to provide through records an understanding of the causes and course of the war."

The collection grew over the years, and in 1941, was housed in a separate building and dedicated as the Hoover Library on War, Revolution, and Peace. The name recently was changed to the Hoover Institution. What do we know of Rhinelander?"
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Please review the document and provide any necessary actions.
Comments by Professors

Editor's Note: The following comments were given to the Daily by various members of the faculty and administration. I am glad that the Trustees at their meeting of March 17, 1959, have reaffirmed their belief in the principles of free inquiry.

Although I was Acting Director of the Hoover Institution at the time, I knew nothing about Mr. Hoover's revised statement of purposes or the Trustees' vote of May 21, 1959, until some time afterward. Speaking as an individual, I cannot agree with Dr. Campbell's views as quoted by the Daily. I think a university can best support the principles of a free society and also of religion by an unfettered and objective search for truth.

Philip H. Rhinelander
Dean of the School of Humanities and Sciences

The Hoover Library's new statement of purpose is certainly a flagrant violation of the principles of research and scholarship in a modern university. It is equally regrettable that the University agreed to special arrangements exempting this Library from the normal controls which the University exercises over its libraries. The Hoover's new statement of purpose makes Stanford's loss of control (which is dangerous enough) even more dangerous than it would ordinarily be.

Olaf Pease
Associate Professor of History

The statement of purpose of the Hoover Institution is inconsistent with the purposes of Stanford as a great university. Any organization of this University must be concerned with finding truth rather than "demonstrating the evils" of disapproved beliefs. The statement carries a connotation of thought control which can have no place in a great university.

William M. McCord
Assistant Professor of Sociology

Several professors who did not wish to be quoted expressed a similar opinion. One professor called the statement of policy "a shocking perversion of what ought to be the academic aims of such an institution." Another professor termed it "a complete negation of what this University stands for," and said that the "Winds of Freedom don't blow over there (Hoover Institution)." He stated that he felt sure the views were those only of that octogenarian to whom he had referred (Hoover) and his friends.

Several of the professors talked to expressed a willingness to sign a petition to register their disapproval if one were circulated.

Stanford Daily
The Washington Post and Times Herald
The Washington Daily News
The Evening Star
New York Herald Tribune
New York Journal-American
New York Mirror
New York Daily News
New York Post
The New York Times
The Worker
The New Leader
The Wall Street Journal

Date 3-30-60
Interview With Sterling

By Steve Freidberg, Editor

In an interview with the Daily yesterday, President Wallace Sterling said that the statement passed by the Board of Trustees on March 17, reprinted on this page, includes the correct version of Paragraph 1 of the Trustees' resolution of May 21, 1959, on Hoover Institution.

The Paragraph 1 quoted in yesterday's Daily as "Incorporated Mr. Hoover's statement (reviewing the background and the purposes of the Institution) as given in the preceding pages" was issued unilaterally by Mr. Hoover last year. The document in which this erroneous paragraph appeared was brought to the attention of the President and Board of Trustees only two months ago, Sterling stated. He said that the actual resolution of the Board of Trustees is now being made known in order to correct any mistaken impressions.

The Trustees included in their statement a clarification of their intentions and a reaffirmation of their desires for academic freedom at Stanford.

Sterling also emphasized that control of Hoover Institution is still retained by the President and Board of Trustees.

Although the appointment of the Director of the Institution, according to the Trustees' resolution, has to be approved by Mr. Hoover, the President and the Trustees must assent to all research projects, appropriations of funds for the Library's collections, and appointments to the staff of the Institution. This, Sterling pointed out, eliminates the possibility of these projects and collections being used by the Director for any particular ideological purpose.

The present Director, under the Trustees' resolution, has only administrative tenure, whereas the former director, C. Easton Rothwell, had academic tenure. Sterling declined to give a reason for this change of policy.

He said that the present Director, Westley G. Campbell, has indicated that he understands fully the meaning of Paragraph 1 of the Trustees' resolution and the Trustees' intention that the Library be operated on the principle of academic freedom.
What Are the Purposes?

President Sterling has made it clear in an interview with the Daily that ultimate control of the Hoover Institution rests in the President's Office and the Board of Trustees.

Because the President approves all expenditures, research projects, and appointments within the Institution, it appears that he is vested with power to oversee the actions of the director of the Institution in these areas.

Implicit in President Sterling's statement is a request for the confidence of Stanford faculty and students in the President's Office for the correct administration of the Hoover Institution throughout Mr. Hoover's life.

We question, however, the efficacy of the President's control. The director of the Hoover Institution has been and must be approved by Mr. Hoover.

According to the Trustees' statement of May 21, 1959, the director must also reflect the "purposes" of the Institution.

To date only Mr. Hoover has issued a statement of "purposes" for the Institution. According to President Sterling, the Board of Trustees would have us believe that their delineation of the Institution's operating policy and control suffices for their statement of "purposes."

In this maze we fail to see a clear exposition of the Trustees' concept of the Hoover Institution's "purposes." We do see from the interview with present director Dr. Westley Campbell in yesterday's Daily that he agrees with Mr. Hoover's statement of "purposes."

The effect of this agreement might well be the prejudicial suppression of some of the invaluable documents in the Hoover Institution's collection.

We believe Mr. Hoover's statement of "purposes" is a flagrant violation of academic freedom, and that it is detrimental to Stanford's reputation in the academic world.

We therefore feel that the Board of Trustees has an obligation to make its statement of "purposes" clear.
Statement of Trustees

At its meeting of February 16, 1960, the Advisory Board of the Academic Council of Stanford University adopted the following statement:

The pamphlet quoting action of the Board of Trustees in connection with the policies of the Hoover Institution has recently come to the attention of members of the faculty.

Some features of this action are inconsistent with the traditional policies of Stanford University and respect for freedom of inquiry and scholarship. Therefore a number of members of the faculty wish some kind of positive statement from the Board of Trustees reaffirming Stanford's dedication to freedom.

At its meeting of March 17, 1960, the Board of Trustees of Stanford University, after careful consideration of the statement of February 16, 1960, of the Faculty Advisory Board, adopted the following statement:

The Trustees would like to call attention to the actual wording of Paragraph 1 of their resolution, which is as follows:

"The Trustees feel that there should be in their records a statement of the scope, the importance and the purpose of the Hoover Institution. To this end Mr. Hoover has prepared for them the following statements:"

The Trustees believe it is entirely proper and desirable to have in the official record of the University and as a preface to and separate from the resolutions on operating policies a statement concerning the desires and aspirations of the man who founded the great Institution which bears his name and who, by untiring work during his lifetime, has personally been so largely responsible for the great collections which have been made there available for the scholars of the world.

The Trustees did not contemplate that Mr. Hoover's statement would be interpreted as university policy or as an abridgement of free inquiry. They stand for the principle, that academic freedom in the highest university tradition is expected to prevail throughout Stanford.
A Note of Regret

Today’s article on the Hoover Institution raises important issues which must be examined by all the members of the Stanford community.

The Hoover Institution has been the spiritual and material child of Herbert Hoover. Along with his work on the Belgian Relief Fund, the Hoover Institution is a lasting tribute to Mr. Hoover’s broad and creative contributions to Europe as well as this country.

The value of the Hoover Institution with its tremendous collection of documents can be appreciated only when one realizes the wholesale destruction of historical documents during the first and second world wars.

Placed in the unique position of possessing the only extant copies of thousands of international documents, the Hoover Institution bears the heavy responsibility of preserving these documents for the purposes of international scholarship.

Such a responsibility requires of the Institution’s administration both an active and a passive role. The Hoover Institution must be relentlessly active in the acquisition of all documents which are pertinent to its collections.

However, passivity is also inherent in any institution which assumes the responsibility of an international repository. The Hoover Institution has no right to predetermine the goals of scholarship. It can have no other “purpose” or “goal” than to facilitate the qualified scholar in his search for the documents necessary for him to formulate his own opinion.

Such has always been the “goal” of any honest academic institution. Such must have been the basis for Mr. Hoover’s far-sighted work in collecting documents after World War I.

For this reason we are surprised and sincerely regret Mr. Hoover’s recent statement tying the goals of the Hoover Institution to the “purposes of the American people,” and the exposure of “the evils of the doctrines of Karl Marx—whether Communism, Socialism, economic materialism, or atheism,” a statement which flagrantly violates all the principles of scholarly investigation and academic freedom.

The Washington Post and Lp. 2
Times Herald
The Washington Daily News
The Evening Star
New York Herald Tribune
New York Journal-American
New York Mirror
New York Daily News
New York Post
The New York Times
The Worker
The New Leader
The Wall Street Journal
Date 3-27-60
Interview with New Hoover Director Shows Revised Goals of Institution

By Craig Murray

Many students attend Stanford without becoming acquainted with the Hoover Institution—its collections and its significance for Stanford.

This article was undertaken with the idea of providing some information to break this gap. Modest research has suggested that recent changes have occurred in the goals of the Institution which demand the attention of all members of Stanford.

The history of the Institution is an interesting story. President Hoover began collecting documents while conducting the Belgian Relief Program during World War I in an attempt to provide a thorough collection of records for the understanding of the causes and course of the war. Hoover had many agents helping him; it is said that when the Bela Kun regime in Hungary collapsed in 1919, a truck backed up to the government documents office. Shortly thereafter, nearly complete records of the first Hungarian Communist government turned up at Stanford University.

Bolshevik Documents

In gratitude for Hoover's famine relief program, the Soviet Union (and many Russian scholars) contributed a mass of valuable documents on the fall of the Czarist and Provisional governments and the ascension of the Bolshevicks.

Towards the end of the 20's, the records of World War I and its aftermath were fairly complete and collecting fell off. But the rise of Hitler and the decision to expand the collection into a 20th century library.

As the Main Library could not process and house all the material, many wealthy individuals contributed to Hoover's fund to establish a separate building which was dedicated on June 20, 1941, as the Hoover Library on War, Revolution, and Peace. By 1949, Hoover Library had 25 million items including a newspaper collection of over 3,000 titles and the most complete 20th century collection of primary materials on World War I, Germany, Russia, and Japan.

Middle East Collection

Through the efforts of Professors Mary and Arthur Wright, Hoover Library acquired an unequalled documentary record of the rise of the Communists in China. In recent years, it has obtained an exceptional Middle East collection. Each collection—Slavic, Western European, Chinese (including Taiwan), Japanese, Middle Eastern and African—is under the auspices of a curator.

Today the Library employs a staff of nearly 50 people competent in 25 languages and catalogues thousands of periodicals as well as books and documents. These materials are procured by purchasing from book films in America and abroad, through exchange relations with libraries throughout the world and with the assistance of many individuals acting as representatives in foreign countries.

In an attempt to find what the future of the Library and its relationship with Stanford would be, I interviewed the newly appointed director, Dr. Westley G. Campbell. He said that the change of name of the Library to the Hoover Institution reflected its transformation to a center for a dynamic research program as well as a library. Campbell indicated a determination to build up Hoover's reputation as an institution for research and publication. The research would portray the growth and spread of communism; the publications would be designed to give aid to government policy formation.

Campbell read from Hoover's official statement of policy: The overall mission of this Institution is, from its records, to recall the voice of experience against the making of war, and by the study of these records and their publication to recall man's endeavors to make and preserve peace and to sustain for America the safeguards of the American way of life.

Not a Mere Library

"This Institution is not, and must not be, a mere library. But with these purposes as its goals the Institution itself must constantly and dynamically point the road to peace, to personal freedom, and to the safeguards of the American system."

We discussed the paragraph preceding this quote which reads: "The purpose of this Institution must be, by its research and publications, to demonstrate the fallacy of the doctrines of Karl Marx—whether Communism, Socialism, economic materialism or atheism...thus to protect the American way of life from such ideologies, and their conspiracies, and to reaffirm the validity of the American system."

Faculty Alarm

Campbell said, he was aware that some faculty members had become alarmed at the passage. He affirmed, "I see nothing wrong with it, do you?" He replied to suggestions that such a policy might violate scholarly procedures and result in a predetermined orientation of publications by stating that, "There are evils in Marxism, and I hope we expose them."

The document from which Campbell read states that the Board of Trustees resolution of May 21, 1959, incorporated Hoover's policy statement. Paragraph 3 of the resolution states: "That the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace is an independent Institution within the framework of Stanford University. Its relation to the University is that the President of the University will propose all appointments, promotions, and the budget of the Institution directly to the Board of Trustees. There will be no reference to any faculty committees between the President and the Trustees.

In response to a question about the relationship between the Institution and the faculty, Campbell indicated that he hopes to maintain pleasant relations with the faculty, that they were free to use the facilities of Hoover as a library, but made it clear that he was responsible for drawing up and executing the research program.

The Washington Post and Times Herald

The Washington Daily News
The Evening Star
New York Herald Tribune
New York Journal-American
New York Mirror
New York Daily News
New York Post
The New York Times
The Worker
The New Leader
The Wall Street Journal

Date 3-29-60
In Cleveland Plain Dealer

Campbell produced an article written by an acquaintance of Hoover in the December 5, 1959 issue of the Cleveland Plain Dealer. The author noted the new research and publication program and stated that the purpose of the Institution was to sustain the ideals and institutions cherished in the United States including its form of constitutional government and principles of economic freedom.

The publication of this article strongly suggested that the new goals of the Hoover Institution were being broadcast elsewhere rather more heartily than on the Stanford campus. When questioned, Campbell said that Hoover had been using his statement of purpose to solicit funds in his recent money raising campaign in the East but pointed out that most of the money did not come from Hoover's friends but from foundations such as the Fleishmann Foundation.

When asked if the Institution was still getting money from the Ford Foundation, Campbell said no. But he expressed confidence that money would not be scarce when the research and publication program got going.

The resolution further states in paragraph 7, "The Director of the Institution shall be recommended to the Board of Trustees by the President of the University for appointment by the Trustees. He shall have been previously approved by Mr. Hoover. Such recommendations of the President shall not require approval of the Advisory Board of the Academic Council of Stanford University."

The resolution also provides that Stanford University shall give not less than $125,000 a year to Hoover Institution. This amounts to 40 per cent of the Institution's annual budget, and another 25 per cent is provided by the Institution's endowment. The remainder is obtained from gifts and grants.
Interview with New Hoover Director Shows Revised Goals of Institution

By Craig Murray

Many students at Stanford will delight in learning that the Hoover Institute-a collection of the institute has become a major center for research in the study of World War II and the Cold War. The institute has expanded its collecting and research activities to include a wide range of topics, including the history of communism, the Cold War, and the impact of the Soviet Union on the world. The institute is now a leading institution for research on the history of the Cold War and the Cold War itself.

The Hoover Institute is located on the campus of Stanford University. It was founded in 1940 by former President Herbert Hoover and is supported by a combination of endowments and bequests.

The Hoover Institute collects, preserves, and provides access to a wide range of materials related to the history of the Cold War. These materials include books, periodicals, photographs, and other documents. The institute also conducts research on topics related to the history of the Cold War, and it sponsors conferences and workshops on these topics.

The Hoover Institute is an important resource for scholars, journalists, and others interested in the history of the Cold War. The institute's collection of materials is extensive and includes materials from many countries and regions. The institute's research and publication activities are supported by a combination of endowments and bequests. The Hoover Institute is an important resource for scholars, journalists, and others interested in the history of the Cold War.
The publication of this article strongly suggested that the new goals of the Hoover Institution were being broadcast elsewhere rather more heartily than on the Stanford campus. When questioned directly, Campbell said that Hoover had been using his statement of purpose to solicit funds in his recent money-raising campaign. In the East, he pointed out, that sort of money did not come from Hoover's friends but from foundations, such as the Fleishmann Foundation.

When asked if the institution was still getting money from the Ford Foundation, Campbell said no. But he expressed confidence that money would not be scarce when the research and publication program got going.

The resolution further stated: "The Director of the Institution shall be recommended by the Board of Trustees, by the President of the University, for appointment by the Trustees, if he shall have been previously approved by Mr. Hoover. Such recommendations shall require approval of the Advisory Board of the Academic Council of Stanford University."

The resolution also provides that Stanford University shall pay not less than $125,000 a year to Hoover. It states: "This amount is 10 per cent of the Institution's annual budget, and another 25 per cent is paid by the Institution's endowment. The remainder is obtained from gifts and grants."

In the Cleveland Plain Dealer, by Campbell, appeared an article written by an acquaintance of Hoover in the December 5, 1939, issue of the Cleveland Plain Dealer. The author noted the new research and publication program and stated (that) the purpose of the Institution was to sustain the ideals and institutions cherished in the United States, including the constitutional government and principles of economic freedom.
Memorandum

TO: A. H. Belmont

FROM: W. C. Sullivan

SUBJECT: Hoover Institue
Stanford University
Information Concerning
(Central Research Matter)

DATE: April 15, 1960

1. Mr. Parsons
1. Mr. Belmont
1. Mr. DeLoach
1. Mr. M. A. Jones
1. Mr. Baumgardner
1. Mr. Sullivan
1. Section Tickle

Reference is made to the enclosed memorandum from M. A. Jones to Mr. DeLoach dated April 7, 1960, and entitled "Dean Philip H. Rhineland." Enclosed also will be found copies of news items appearing in the "Stanford Daily" of March 29 and March 30, 1960, concerning the Hoover Institution, Stanford University.

Dr. W. Glenn Campbell was recently appointed Director of the Hoover Institution by the former President, Herbert Hoover, for the purpose of eliminating the leftist influence in the Institute and restoring its original purpose. A pamphlet describing the Hoover Institution was recently issued and there is set forth in this pamphlet the fundamental purpose of the Institution. It is as follows:

"The purpose of this Institution must be, by its research and publications, to demonstrate the evils of the doctrines of Karl Marx—whether Communism, Socialism, economic materialism, or atheism—thus to protect the American way of life from such ideologies, their conspiracies, and to reaffirm the validity of the American system."

(Pamphlet enclosed)

The statement of this purpose has created considerable comment by professors of Stanford and others who object to this purpose outlined by Mr. Herbert Hoover. They claim with typical leftist sophistry that the purpose of the Institution violates academic freedom. This is, of course, utterly false and absurd. It does show the ludicrous and extreme lengths to which left wingers will go to destroy a point of view that they do not wish to see promulgated.

Enclosures

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

ENCLOSURE 62 MAY 4 1960
Memorandum from Mr. Sullivan to Mr. Belmont
Re: HOOVER INSTITUTION
STANFORD UNIVERSITY

This whole development is a most interesting one. It is perhaps the first time that an institution of this kind, in the heart of the academic world, has been won back from the left wingers. I know Dr. W. Glenn Campbell to be a brilliant young man, very learned, courageous, and determined to make this Institution established by Herbert Hoover serve the cause of traditional American viewpoints and not the viewpoints of left wingers. Further, Mr. Herbert Hoover and Dr. Campbell are fully agreed that the Institution must no longer be merely a library with some limited research being done; but must be a genuine research institution turning out scholarly documents which will have an impact upon the thinking of American leaders in business, public life, science, and education. The Institution has set for itself a truly noble objective and the efforts which it will make to achieve the objectives should be followed with considerable interest by all who support American principles as opposed to left wing doctrines.

The Hoover Institution hopes to offset by its studies some of the Fabian socialist thinking which has seeped into the minds of some American leaders as the result of research done by the International Center at Massachusetts Institute of Technology and by others of a similar political orientation.

RECOMMENDATION:

For the information of the Director.
Memorandum

TO: Mr. DeLoach
FROM: M. A. Jones

DATE: 4-7-60

SUBJECT: DEAN PHILIP H. RHINELANDER
SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES AND SCIENCES
STANFORD UNIVERSITY
PALO ALTO, CALIFORNIA

BACKGROUND:

The "San Francisco Examiner" of 3-31-60 contained an article: "Stanford Students Rap Hoover Stand." The article criticized Ex-President Herbert Hoover in connection with a statement he made relating to Stanford University's Hoover Institution to the effect that the purpose of this Institution is to demonstrate the evils of Karl Marx.

The statement was attacked by some students and faculty groups who declared that it was a violation of academic freedom. Dr. W. Glenn Campbell, Director of the Hoover Institution, related that he could see nothing wrong with former President Hoover's statement as to the aims of the Institution.

Dean Philip H. Rhinelander of the captioned school, speaking as an individual, was quoted as follows concerning Hoover's statement: "I think the university can best support the principles of a free society and also of religion by unfettered and objective search for truth."

In connection with this newspaper clipping the Director asked "What do we know of Rhinelander? H."

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA:

Philip H. Rhinelander was born in Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1-1-08, and was graduated from Harvard University with an A. B. degree in 1929. He received a LL. B. degree from the same school in 1932; and a Ph. D. degree in philosophy from this institution in 1949. From 1930 to 1940 he practiced law with the firm of Choate, Hall and Stewart in Boston. He was an instructor in philosophy at Harvard from 1949 to 1952 and continued to lecture on this same subject until 1955. He was appointed Professor of Philosophy at Stanford University in 1956 and is presently Dean of the School of Humanities and Sciences. Although the date of his elevation to this position is not reflected. He served in the U. S. Navy during World War II from 1941 to 1945 and is a Lieutenant Commander in the U. S. Naval Reserve.
Jones to DeLoach Memo  Re: Dean Philip H. Rhinelander  4-7-60

INFORMATION IN BUFILES:

The Bureau has not investigated Rhinelander. The only reference identical with him is a newspaper clipping from the "Boston Globe" of 5-20-53. This article relates to the fact that Harvard University retained three instructors who refused to answer Congressional questions on communism because they were not members of the Communist Party at the time the questions were being asked. Several members of Harvard University's faculty were questioned as to their reaction to the school's decision to retain the three teachers and Rhinelander was quoted as follows: "I have a feeling that the decision was a very thoughtful and wise one -- and in my opinion it was a very good one. . . . The general lines laid down by the decision, i.e., that each case was to be decided on its own merits and that each decision be based on personal considerations are very sound. . . . I certainly think that Harvard's decision will be taken into account by other universities, even if it is not followed." (94-1-1005)

Dr. W. Glenn Campbell, Director of Hoover Institution, is a personal acquaintance of Inspector W. C. Sullivan. Our files contain no pertinent information regarding him. (62-72042-17)

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.
Constitution of Hoover Institution

[Image of a page from a newspaper article titled "Constitution of Hoover Institution" with text and images related to the constitution and history of the Hoover Institution.]

ENCLOSURE 62 - 12042 + 19

[Additional text and logos from various newspapers and organizations are present on the page.]
Paragraph 1. The resources of the Institution shall be so available as to be devoted to the preservation and enlargement of the collections and to the promotion of research.

Paragraph 2. That the Board of the Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace are to be open to research, by competent and qualified scholars.

Paragraph 3. That the Director shall have charge of the Institution; that he shall be of an age which gives him a substantial period of service before the retirement of 65 years.

Paragraph 4. That the Director shall be responsible for the University to the Trustees for:

a. Recommending appointments to the Board and for preparing and administering the annual budget of the Institution.

b. The duties of the Institution.

c. The preparation of the budget for the execution of the annual budget of the Institution.

Paragraph 5. That the Division of the Institution shall be for:

a. The preparation of the budget for the execution of the annual budget of the Institution.

b. The preparation of the budget for the execution of the annual budget of the Institution.

Paragraph 6. That the Division of the Institution shall be for:

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b. The preparation of the budget for the execution of the annual budget of the Institution.

Paragraph 7. That the Division of the Institution shall be for:

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Paragraph 8. That the Division of the Institution shall be for:

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Paragraph 18. That the Division of the Institution shall be for:

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Paragraph 20. That the Division of the Institution shall be for:

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Paragraph 21. That the Division of the Institution shall be for:

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Paragraph 22. That the Division of the Institution shall be for:

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Paragraph 23. That the Division of the Institution shall be for:

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Paragraph 24. That the Division of the Institution shall be for:

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Paragraph 25. That the Division of the Institution shall be for:

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b. The preparation of the budget for the execution of the annual budget of the Institution.

Paragraph 26. That the Division of the Institution shall be for:

a. The preparation of the budget for the execution of the annual budget of the Institution.

b. The preparation of the budget for the execution of the annual budget of the Institution.
Editor's Note: The following is a copy of the document from which Dr. W. C. Campbell, Director of Hoover Institution, read during an interview which is reported elsewhere on this page. This document has been used by Herbert Hoover on the East Coast in an effort to solicit funds for the Institution.

At the request of the Trustees of Stanford University, Mr. Hoover prepared for them a statement reviewing the background and the purposes of the Institution. Mr. Hoover said:

"During this century there have been events and forces which, as never before in our natural life, have had such profound an effect on our independence, our form of government, our social and economic system, and the setting of the American people in the international world.

"Here in this Institution is the greatest amassing of the records of this century, events and forces, which exist in the world. Its preservation and record have become doubly precious to the world because of the widespread destruction of libraries and historical material during the Second World War. Over 50 organizations and 60 nations have contributed to the building up of this two score million documents, books, and items covering the two great wars and their aftermaths.

"Here are the records of the causes of war, their destructions, and their consequences to mankind.

"Here are the records of nations striving for independence and constitutional protection of the liberties of men.

"Here are the records of men's strivings, their ideals, and their negotiations and failures to make and sustain peace in the world from these two world wars.

"And here are the documents which record the great drama of superlatively, death, glory, victory, sorrow, and death, which inspired the idealism of men in both the making of war and the types of peace.

"Here are also the most complete existing records of revolutionary Communism, Socialism, aggressive nationalism, the concentration of power in governments, the reduction of men to slavery, their denial of government by their people, their denial of the dignity of the individual man, and their destruction of the foundations of religious beliefs through atheism and agnosticism.

"Here are the records of the lowest truculence and corruption to overthrow the government of free men and the repeated violations of promises and agreements.

"Before the purposes of the Institution can be summarized, there must be some review of the purposes of the American people which must be sustained by this Institution. It is not far to state that this Institution, its Constitution, its Bill of Rights, and its method of representative government.

"Both our social and economic systems are based on private enterprise and the springs of initiative and ingenuity. Freedom in our economic system is limited by provision of law that there shall not be hurt to others through harmful monopoly or unsafe competition.

"But the American system goes far beyond the provisions of the Constitution and laws. Our people hold concepts of voluntary and cooperative association far beyond the range of government.

"In the social and intellectual advancement of our people, such associations contribute great institutions devoted to religious, educational, and scientific purposes; they provide for the sick, the aged, and the dependent children. In the economic field, our associations create skills and the diffusion of knowledge among the people.

"Ours is a system where the Federal Government should undertake no governmental, social, or economic action, except where local government or the government cannot undertake it for themselves.

"A purpose of this Institution is to support these great social and institutional activities.
Paragraph 4. That the resources of the Institution shall be used for the preservation and enlargement of its collections.

Paragraph 5. That the doors of the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace are to be open for research by competent and qualified scholars.

There are many collections which have been given to the Hoover Institution by donors with restrictions of time or otherwise as to their use. Adherence to these restrictions must be strictly maintained in order that the Hoover Institution continue as a sanctuary for such collections.

Paragraph 6. That the dynamic purpose of the Hoover Institution is that it should constantly prepare and publish objective collections of documents and materials upon events, negotiations, or actions, which can give guidance to thought on public policies. The names of the staff who prepare these objective publications of documents should, as hitherto, be noted on the publication.

The members of the staff of the Hoover Institution must be free to publish statements or books or the results of their research work in which they give their interpretation or opinion. If the writer of this type of publication wishes to state that he is a member of the Hoover Institution, the publication must carry a declaration that the Institution does not assume responsibility for statements in the publication.

Qualified scholars outside of the Hoover Institution must be free to publish anything they wish from the unrestricted documents and records and to mention their source. But such publications by persons outside the staff of the Hoover Institution must not carry any implication of the Institution as to the authenticity of the facts or opinions they present. Otherwise, the Hoover Institution will be involved in controversies over such publications or be assuming responsibility for them.

Paragraph 7. The Director of the Institution shall be recommended to the Board of Trustees by the President of the University for appointment by the Trustees. He shall have been previously appointed by Mr. Hoover. Such recommendation of the President shall not require approval of the Advisory Board of the Academic Council of Stanford University.

The Director must be a man who reflects the purposes of the Institution. He should be of an age which gives him a substantial period of service before the retirement age of 65 years.

The Director shall be responsible, through the President of the University, to the Trustees for:

a. recommending appointments to and supervising the staff of the Institution;

b. directing and supervising the library functions of the Institution which include acquisitions, processing and cataloguing, use, and security of the collections and reference materials;

c. directing and supervising the research and publication program of the Institution;

d. preparing and administering the annual budget of the Institution.

The Director shall have tenure as long as he satisfactorily discharges his responsibilities. This is administrative tenure, comparable to that of the President of the University, and not academic tenure for which faculty members are eligible.

The staff of the Hoover Institution is responsible to the Director and through him and the President to the Trustees. Appointments to the staff of the Hoover Institution shall be considered as administrative rather than faculty appointments, and shall not carry academic tenure.

Paragraph 8. The Director and members of the staff of the Institution:

a. shall be eligible to retirement benefits made available by the University to the non-faculty members of the University staff.

b. shall be eligible, alternatively, to retirement benefits made available to regular faculty members of the University, and, if so, may opt this eligibility.

c. shall be eligible to participate in the benefits of health and insurance programs sponsored by the University.

d. shall be eligible, under University regulation, to lease University land on which to build and own private homes for their own occupancy.

Paragraph 9. That gifts made to Stanford University and designated for support of the Hoover Institution shall be used for that purpose and no other. The funds available to the Hoover Institution from such gifts, be they income from endowment or gifts, for annual expenditure or gifts for special purposes—are in a schedule, shall be made part of and shown in the annual budget of the Institution.

The University receives many benefits in reputation from the Hoover Institution, and the members of faculty and students have available to them the unique collections of the Institution. The University shall provide from its General Funds additional support for the Institution. This additional support shall be not less than $125,000.00 per annum, barring presently unforeseen financial adversity which would oblige the Board of Trustees to reduce the total University expenditures.

The President of the University and the General Secretary's Office shall continue to include support of the Institution in their solicitation of funds.

The institutional cost of providing retirement benefits shall be borne by the University.

Paragraph 10. The purpose of the Advisory Board of the Hoover Institution is to maintain interest in the Institution, to aid in securing support to the Institution, and to advise on policies of the Institution. The Advisory Board comprises eminent men and includes the President of the University and the President of the Board of Trustees. The Chairman of the Trustees Committee of the Institution is to be a member of the Advisory Board.

David Packard, President, Board of Trustees of Leland Stanford Junior University.
July 21, 1960

The Honorable
J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I have just finished reading the story in the Palo Alto Times of July 18 concerning your report to the House Un-American Activities Committee in respect to their San Francisco Hearings.

Let me congratulate you on an effective and penetrating analysis. In the belief that you may be interested, I am enclosing a copy of the Palo Alto Times story.

With best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

[Signature]

Glenn Campbell
Director

Enclosure
Un-American committee

FBI chief says Commies used students for demonstrations

Communist Party professionals skillfully manipulated college student groups before and during San Francisco hearings of the House Un-American Activities Subcommittee, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover contends.

Whether they knew it or not, the students, including some from Stanford University, were used by the Communist Party for its own designs, the FBI chief said in effect, in a report to the House subcommittee.

SAN FRANCISCO police used fire hoses and night sticks to quell anti-subcommittee demonstrators at the San Francisco City Hall May 13. The riot resulted in 64 arrests and 13 injuries.

The following week, 87 Stanford faculty members signed a protest letter to Mayor George Christopher, demanding an investigation of alleged police brutality.

Most of the Bay Area college students involved in the demonstrations declared, without qualification, that their participation was prompted by their own convictions of what they considered was unjust subcommittee action and was in no way the result of a Communist plot.

But Hoover, however, said the party had two principal objectives in its campaign against the subcommittee's appearance in San Francisco.

They were to pack the hearing scene with demonstrators and then incite them with the use of mob psychology.

HOOVER said Northern California party leaders decided to build "a major part of their plan of attack" around an 18-year-old University of California student, subpoenaed by the subcommittee as a witness.

Hoover charged student support was actively solicited at UC, Santa Rosa Junior College and San Francisco State College.

The party drive included a telephone campaign with the aim of getting at least 1,000 student demonstrators to the hearings. Another phase involved a number of meetings "to insure" that certain witnesses subpoenaed by the committee could guarantee hostility.

HOOVER SAID the hostility developed, adding that a number of the hostile witnesses mingled with the students to promote crowd reaction.

Hoover cited Archie Brown, a longshoreman and former member of the American Communist Party's national committee, as one of those who mixed with students at the hearing scene.

The FBI chief said there was nothing spontaneous about the demonstrations. Communist Party funds were used to print song sheets to help demonstra-
July 27, 1960

Mr. W. Glenn Campbell  
Director  
The Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace  
Stanford University  
Stanford, California

Dear Mr. Campbell:

Your letter dated July 21, 1960, has been received, and I want to thank you for making available the article you enclosed.

I am glad to have your commendatory comment concerning my report relative to the House Hearings in San Francisco, and enclosed is a reprint of my remarks in full which you may find of interest.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edger Hoover

Enclosure

Communist Target—Youth

NOTE: Nothing derogatory in Bufiles concerning Campbell and The Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace. This group was established on the Stanford campus to do research on Marxist influence on our democratic way of life. Campbell himself was recently appointed by former President Herbert Hoover to fight Leftist tendencies.
W.S.S.: (cont) We would make a great mistake, however, if we were to judge the importance of a political group on the basis of its popularity. We must not forget that the primary function of the communist parties outside of Russia is to serve the Soviet Union.

Finally, we must remember the great stress laid upon the illegal or underground party. This kind of activity is much more difficult to assess. The old saying about eternal vigilance being the price of liberty takes on greater and more important meaning in the world wide struggle between freedom and communism.

MUSIC: CLOSING THEME

ANNCR: This is National Educational Television.
W.S.S.: (cont) fold.

The American leader of the super-patriotic Party, Earl Browder, was replaced by the bellicose William Z. Foster. The Communist Association changed back to the Communist Party of America and became again the outspoken defender of Soviet interests.

NARR: The Communist take-over in Czechoslovakia followed by Winston Churchill's "Iron Curtain" speech in Fulton, Missouri, made Americans aware of the Cold War. Korea brought America face-to-face with the implacable reality of international Communism and resulted in mass resignations by American party membership. Khrushchev's famous speech exploding the Stalin myth and his brutal crushing of the Hungarian revolt disintegrated the American Party still further.

W.S.S.: These events reduced Party Membership in this country to an all-time low of 15,000. We might safely say that the present activities and influence of the Communist Party of America are quite weak. However, the activities and influence of the illegal underground organization is quite a different question. To provide an authoritative picture of this communist activity in the United States, we have as our special guest, Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

HOOVER: (4 minutes Sound on Film)

W.S.S.: Today, the Communist Party in America is isolated, despised, and bankrupt. It has fewer members than when it was first created in 1919.
W.S.S.: (cont) The American Communist Party faced a grave internal crisis. Members who still knew the meaning of the word honesty concluded they had been the victims of an unprecedented ideological swindle and they abandoned the party by the thousands.

NARR: On September 1, 1939, Hitler started World War II with Stalin faithfully delivering raw materials and supplies to the Nazi war machine. The weakened American Communist Party adjusted itself to the New Soviet policy: it founded a new front organization, the American Peace Mobilization. The Party line was summed up in the slogan "The Yanks Are Not Coming."

On June 21, 1941, Hitler attacked the Soviet Union. Again overnight the American communists completely reversed their attitude. From vociferous pacifists they became fervent advocates of America's immediate entry into the war. Pearl Harbor was welcomed by them as a stroke of good fortune.

W.S.S.: During the war, with the Soviet Union as a member of the Allies, American communists exhibited a kind of super-patriotism. In 1943, to promote the myth of unity, Stalin formally dissolved the Communist International and the American Communist Party changed its name to the more innocent sounding Communist Political Association.

However, as the war moved to an end, the relations between the Allies cooled. Moscow lost its interest in American lend-lease and particularly in discussions of re-payment. Russian leadership predicted a post-war depression in the United States and again, Stalin expected that this would deliver America into the Communist
NARR: (cont) traditional American free enterprise system. People longed for work, for regular wages, for security. This gave the Communists a unique opportunity: they could promote the Soviet Union as a working man's heaven with full employment, with the state paying regular wages, doctor bills, and the children's education. By the irony of fate, the United States had just recognized the Bolshevik state and this lent additional respectability to Communism. In this time of wide unemployment and economic misery, the Communist Party of America rapidly increased its membership to almost 100,000. During these times the Party also attracted many American Negroes for whom the Party proposed a program of a Black Soviet Republic, south of the Mason-Dixon line.

The growth of the Young Communist League, particularly in colleges and universities, seemed to assure a strong Party in the future.

U.S.S.R.: Faradoxically, the Russian Communist leadership itself unintentionally stopped the growth of Communism in America. The purge trials in the Soviet Union were the first incidents to bewilder American Communists. How was it possible, they asked, that the men who built the Communist Party and the Soviet State suddenly became traitors and spies? The first answer came from the exiled Trotsky. In an uninterrupted flow of articles and books, Trotsky accused Stalin and his totalitarian system of completely distorting the Revolution.

Then early in 1939 American volunteers began to return from Spain with their stories of the Communist betrayal of the Loyalist cause. In August 1939 came the Nazi-Soviet pact.
W.S.S.: (cont) treasonable character. We know about it from the Alger Hiss trial in 194_; from the New York trial in Judge Medina's court of the 11 communist leaders in 195_; from the atom spy trial of the Rosenbergs in 195_; and from hundreds of documents and trial depositions.

This conspiracy has a two pronged purpose: (1) influencing American public opinion in a pro-Soviet direction; and (2) to aid Soviet military, political, and industrial espionage.

The Communist Underground in the United States is not a fairy-tale told by reactionary red-baiters. For proof, here is issue No. 16-17, published in 1921, of the official organ of the Comintern, printed in Moscow and smuggled to the United States for trusted members of the Party.

It was subsequently reprinted and distributed in , __________ and __________. On pages 119-120 are The Rules for Underground Party Work, ten points known as the Communist Decalog. Here are some of these ten points:

NARR: 1. DON'T betray Party work and Party workers under any circumstances.

3. DON'T keep in your rooms openly any incriminating documents or literature.

6. DON'T boast of what you have to do or have done for the Party.

10. DON'T answer any questions if arrested, either at preliminary hearings or in court.

Here is the latest edition of the same rules dated 1932.

W.S.S.: The Bridgeman convention did not put an end to factionalism in the American Party. After Lenin's death, Stalin's purge of his Bolshevik old guard rivals, including Trotsky, culminated
W.S.S.: (cont) in an ideological rebellion in the Communist Party of America.

In May 1929, the Comintern appointed a special American Commission in Moscow to discipline the quarreling American factions. Stalin himself was a member of this commission.

STALIN -- RM #10, SC. 2

STALIN: You all know very well the strength and power of American capitalism. Many now think that the general crisis of world capitalism will not affect America. That, of course, is not true. The crisis of world capitalism is developing with increasing rapidity and cannot but affect American capitalism.

W.S.S. -- Library set

W.S.S.: Stalin continued by prophesizing an imminent revolution in the United States. He instructed the delegates to prepare for this eventuality.

STALIN -- RM #10

STALIN: It is essential that the American Communist Party should be capable of meeting that historical moment fully prepared and of assuming the leadership of the impending class struggle in America. For that end, the American Communist Party must be improved and bolshevised.

Dissolve to Library set and W.S.S.

W.S.S.: Following Stalin's recommendation, chairman of the "Program" and his faction were removed from the leadership of the Communist Party of America. He was replaced by Max Bedacht, and a year later by Earl Browder. Stalin's authority over American communism was restored and secured.

DISSOLVE -- Miscellaneous film clips and stills of Depression era, strikes, breadlines, etc.

NARR: Although the 1930's and the "Great Depression" did not produce a revolution in the United States, they made America aware of Communism. The economic crisis with its painful consequences raised in some minds doubt about the
CMG. OF THE PGM.: (He has continued to read)

The underground machinery of the Communist party
is not merely a temporary device, to be liquidated
as soon as the Communist party with its full pro-
gram can be announced in the open. The under-
ground machinery is for permanent use. The Com-
munist party will never cease to maintain its
underground machinery until after the establish-
ment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in
the form of the Workers' Soviet Republic.

W.S.S.: You have seen the objectives and methods
of action of the Communist Party of America.
They were voted unanimously at Bridgeman. Are
they as valid today as they were in the past?
Let's ask a man who was there—our guest today,
Mr. Benjamin Gitlow, former member of the Polit-
buro of the Communist Party of America and co-
chairman of the Bridgeman Convention.

First, however, Mr. Gitlow, you have seen
our documentary excerpts from the Bridgeman Con-
vention. Did we present them faithfully?

GITLOW: Ad lib answer—

Film clip

W.S.S.: And now, Mr. Gitlow, can you tell us,
is the Communist Party of America still an
attempt to destroy our democratic form of gov-
ernment and to establish a Soviet America?

GITLOW: Ad lib answer.

W.S.S.: The underground machinery described by
the Chairman of the Program has continued to
operate from the time of the Bridgeman convention
up to this very minute. It is the illegal branch
of the Communist Party of America.

We know of its operation from former members
who abandoned the organization because of its
W.S.S.: This later demand is interesting in view of the "bonus march" that was to take place during the great depression some ten years later.

However, the most important part of the Moscow instruction dealt with the organization of a communist movement in America. At the time of the Bridgman convention the Communist Party of America, led by emigres from Russia, advocated a parallel operation of a legal and illegal party; the illegal party was to operate in great secrecy, underground. The opposing group, led by the native American radicals, refused to go on with illegal, underground activities. But the instruction from Moscow was in this respect very clear and unequivocal: there were to be TWO American communist operations: a legal and an illegal organization. The illegal branch was to direct and control the legal one. We find these recommendations from Moscow incorporated, almost verbatim, in the resolution of the Bridgman convention proposed by the chairman of the Program Committee.

CHAIRMAN OF THE PROGRAM: (he is reading the resolution) A truly revolutionary (i.e. Communist) party can never be 'legal' in the sense of having its purpose harmonize with the purpose of the laws made by the capitalist state, or its acts conform with the intent of capitalist law. The legal political party must serve as an instrument in the complete control of the Communist party...

(Narrator tells Chairman of the Program)

M.A.R.: The Chairman of the Program went on to point out the importance of organizing the Party that attacks against it would not destroy the hard core of the Party.

(We hear the Chairman of the Pgm. again)
WALECKI: (cont) in all capitalist countries against their own bourgeoisie. The fiercer the class struggle of the American proletariat rages, the less will be the pressure upon Soviet Russia. (Narrator tops Walecki)

NAR: From the beginning, Moscow demanded from the American communists full and unequivocal support of Soviet Russia. The class struggle of the American workers was to be conducted not in the interest of the workers themselves—they were to be self-sacrificing—the struggle was to be carried on for the advantage of Soviet Russia.

(We hear Walecki again)

WALECKI: The fighting proletariat is to be led from one stage to another in the revolutionizing process by means of suitable slogans. Communist demands for immediate concessions to the workers are formulated not to be "reasonable" from the point of view of capitalism, but to be reasonable from the point of view of the struggling workers; regardless of the state's power to grant them without weakening itself.

(Narrator tops Walecki)

NAR: Note that the stress here is laid not upon reasonable and perhaps obtainable demands, but upon unreasonable demands designed to create confusion and weaken the American state.

(We hear Walecki again)

WALECKI: We suggest a few examples of the type of demands that may be made:

Demand a constitutional provision abolishing the United States Labor Board and prohibiting the executive to interfere in labor disputes.

Demand an immediate bonus of $500 to every soldier or sailor enlisted in the United States forces during the world war; $1,000 to those having been granted wound stripes....
Dissolve to outdoor set - Bridgman Convention

NAR: After much cloak and dagger manoeuvring the unification convention was held in August 1922 near the town of Bridgman, Michigan. Documentation of the entire convention was later found in 2 sugar barrels when the agents of the Department of Justice raided the convention. The convention's co-chairman was Benjamin Gitlow.

CHAIRMAN GITLOW: (pounding the table with his fist) Comrades...Comrades...QUIET PLEASE. I call the meeting to order. (the delegates quiet down) Having elected the Presidium and the Committees, we can now proceed with our agenda.

The next point is a report by the representative of the Executive Committee of the Communist International in Moscow, Comrade Ward Brooks.

(the delegates applaud as Brooks comes to the speakers' table) - SOUND FADES UNDER

NARRATOR

NAR: Comrade Brooks was none other than a leader of the Communist Party of Poland, Walecki. He was an old Bolshevik, now an influential member of the Executive Committee of the Comintern.

After discussing the successes and defeats of communism in various European countries, Brooks read excerpts from the Comintern's instructions on how to handle the American situation.

WALECKI: Point two: Soviet Russia, as the mainspring of the international revolutionary movement of the proletariat, must be supported in every way. It must be supported with economic help through the self-sacrifice of the workers.
NAR: (cont.) William Z. Foster, a future head of the Communist Party in the United States.

The following year brought the so-called Palmer Raids, named after U.S. Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer. Thousands of arrests were made, particularly of aliens, and there was mass deportation of aliens. The American Communist movement went underground and the first hardened cadres of leaders came into existence during these years.

W.S.S.: The years 1920 to 1922 have been called "The Dark Age" of American Communism. The factional disputes and ideological feuds of the two groups paralyzed the whole movement.

Both factions had been eager to convince the communist leaders in Moscow that they had the sympathy and support of the revolutionary workers in America. They competed with equal intensity for financial support from Moscow.

During the summer of 1922 the leaders of the Comintern, the International organization of Communist Parties put an end to the split. A special mission from Moscow came secretly to the United States with orders to bring about the unification of the warring communist parties in America, and also to supervise the start of new and increased communist activities in this country.
TROTSKY: (cont) little band of conspirators or a minority party, but of the immense majority—in the interests of the immense majority—to prevent counter-revolution. In short, it would represent a victory of true democracy.

NARR: This was the position of the American intellectuals.

However, members of the Foreign Language Federations supported Lenin's quite un-Marxist demand for a small revolutionary elite.

LENIN: Have you forgotten that the Party must be only the vanguard, the leader of the vast masses of the working class, the whole or nearly the whole, of which works "under the control and guidance of the Party organization," but which does not -- and should not --- as a whole, join the Party!

NARR: The Foreign Language Federations felt that their task was to impose leadership on the American workers.

W.S.S.: One of the results of this disagreement was that TWO communist parties were founded in Chicago early in September 1919. Both Parties had a limited membership—perhaps 5,000 put together, and of this number no more than 10 per cent were English speaking. Neither party had any real influence or contact with the broad mass of American workers.

MUSIC BRIDGE

NAR: The year 1919 was a year of considerable unrest throughout the United States: a general strike in Seattle; protracted and bloody labor-management disputes in the textile and mining industries; a nation-wide coal strike; and a violent, but unsuccessful, steel strike led by
W.S.S.: (cont) was begun by several groups, most of them born within the old Socialist Party of America. One of these groups consisted of young intellectuals who had in common only certain pacifist principles and vague but passionate dissatisfaction with the current state of the world. This group was strongly influenced by a young writer, John Reed, who as an American war correspondent in Russia, had witnessed the Bolshevik revolution. Reed became a dedicated Bolshevik and attempted to transplant communism to his native America.

A second important group were members of the so-called Foreign Language Federations. Primarily, these were people who had fled Russia following the failure of the 1905 revolution. In this country they joined the Socialist Party of America. Their predominantly Marxist leanings and revolutionary aspirations caused them to become the left wing of the Socialist Party. However, when it came to founding a Communist Party in America, the Foreign Language Federations and the native American radicals soon developed violent differences of opinion over what the party should be.

NABK: One group followed Karl Marx's teachings to the letter. Marx wanted a broad people's party which would eventually lead to the end of all class distinctions, to a classless society and the abolition of private property. Trotsky, at the 1903 Congress in London, put it this way:

TROTSKY: The rule of the working class --- and I cite the Communist Manifesto of Marx and Engels --- was inconceivable until the great mass of the working class was united in desiring it. Then the working class would be an overwhelming majority. This would not be the dictatorship of a
"Communism in the U.S."

FO
OPENING TITLES

FO

FI
Still picture sequence showing battlefield scenes from World War I

Very quick sequence from earlier programs: Marx to Lenin to Stalin

NAR: In the agony and the desolation of the first World War, one era was brought to death and a new, the modern, era was born. But before the guns were silenced, a revolution that was to affect the course of history throughout the globe began in Russia.

In the United States, men of radical persuasion were at first inspired by the revolution and by the Bolsheviks' capture of power in October 1917. The colorful American writer, Lincoln Steffens, is reported to have returned from a visit to Russia saying, "I have been over in the future and it works." This comment is particularly ironic in light of the bitter disillusion that was to follow.

In the extensive collection of documentary materials housed at the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace at Stanford University, we can trace the history of Communism in the United States. Here is the Assistant Director of the Hoover Institution, Witold Sworakowski, to comment on this subject.

W.S.: We have the majority of our evidence about Communism in the United States from the American communists themselves, from various U.S. governmental sources, and from former members of the Communist Party who have since broken with the Party and exposed its practices. Taken together, the evidence presents a picture of conspiracy, subversion, and blind, humiliating obedience to the dictates of the Soviet Union. Communism got its start in the United States soon after the end of World War I. The movement
December 16, 1960

Dr. Witold S. Sworakowski
Assistant Director
The Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace
Stanford University
Stanford, California

Dear Dr. Sworakowski:

Chief Inspector William C. Sullivan delivered your letter of December 9, 1960 which you forwarded with your note to him of the same date, and both of us deeply appreciate the interest which prompted you to write.

Although I would like very much to accept your thoughtful invitation for me to take part in the proposed half-hour television presentation on communism, the great pressure of official commitments at the present time makes it impossible for me to do so.

The communist menace certainly deserves public exposure and I assure you it is with considerable reluctance that I must decline to take part in the most worthy television programs your organization is sponsoring. After lengthy consideration of this matter and in view of timing arrangements for the program, I have instructed Mr. Sullivan to advise you of my position when he speaks with you.

With sincere best wishes for continued success with your television series,

Sincerely yours,

[Signature]

NOTE: See Jones to DeLoach memorandum dated 12/16/60 captioned "Request for 4-Minute Film By Director, Television Program on Communism, The Hoov

Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace, Stanford University, Stanford, California, 3 GEM:paw

MAIL ROOM - TELEGRAPH UNIT - GEM:paw/eah (9)
Dr. William Sullivan  
Director of Research  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Pennsylvania and 9th Avenues, N. W.  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Dr. Sullivan:

Enclosed is a letter to Mr. Edgar Hoover with my formal request to participate in the TV program for KQED. Kindly hand it to him when you talk to him concerning this matter. Also enclosed is a script of the program on Communism in the United States. My introduction of Mr. Hoover can be changed if you think it necessary. Also my text (WSS) on page 13, following Mr. Hoover's statement could be eventually changed so as not to repeat what Mr. Hoover said.

I hope that you are acquainted with "script slang." "Narrator tops Walecki" means that we see the picture of Walecki but hear the voice of the narrator. The parts of Trotsky, Lenin, and Stalin are inserts of film clips from previous programs.

I have to confess that I delayed this letter too long. We are filming the main parts of Program No. 11 on December 16 (Friday) and I will take the liberty of calling you by phone on Thursday, in order to obtain the answer whether or not Mr. Hoover agreed to participate with his statement. We would have to know because of timing arrangements during the filming.

Enclosed is a photocopy of the "Rules for Underground Party Work" as printed in the Moscow edition of the Communist International. Do you have in the Bureau an American reproduction of a later date? I would like to mention in the program when it was last printed. I have a four-page leaflet produced in 1932 or 1935 - but perhaps there is something published later? I would appreciate information on this together with an answer from Mr. Hoover.

I am very sorry for hurrying you, but the film studio gave us an earlier filming date than I originally expected. 

With best wishes,  
Sincerely yours,

[Signature]

Assistant Director

Enclosures

*) Script p. 9.
December 9, 1960

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Pennsylvania and 9th Avenues, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

The Educational Television Station KQED is producing a series of thirteen half-hour programs entitled "The Red Myth; Communism from Marx to Khrushchev." It will be released by 45 educational TV stations.

Because of the unpopularity of the round-table discussions among television audiences, this program is conceived as a dramatized documentary where actors repeat words as originally spoken or written by Marx, Lenin, Trotsky, Stalin, etc. Ten programs will deal exclusively with the history of communism and its practical application in the Soviet Union; one will deal with the Communist International, another with communism in the United States, and the last will be a wrap-up in which we will interview four prominent former communists. The program on communism in the United States will attempt to show in a half-hour presentation that the Communist Party in the United States is a conspiratorial organization working in the interest of the Soviet Union.

This entire series and its dramatized concept was initiated by me and I am the historical consultant who supervises the authenticity of the documentary material and the truthful presentation of events. We try to present facts, and facts will naturally not be favorable to the spread of communism but will show up its pernicious character.

Station KQED authorized me to ask you whether you would agree to participate in the program on communism in the United States. We would like to obtain from you a short statement on the true strength and danger of communism in the United States. This statement will be filmed in your office and should take about four minutes. Enclosed is the script of the program dealing with communism in the United States which will acquaint you with the way the program is presented. I should like to mention that I was able to discuss this matter with Mr. Belmont and Mr. William Sullivan from the Bureau.

I hope that you will feel favorably disposed toward this undertaking and will give us a few minutes of your time.

Respectfully yours,

Witold S. Sworakowski
Assistant Director

Enclosure
Captioned individual visited the Bureau on January 10, 1961, and was interviewed by SA Crime Research Section. Mr. Burdick stated that he is on the teaching staff, History Department, of the San Jose State College, San José, California. In addition, he is associated with the Hoover Institution of Stanford University doing research work for that institution. He advised that his trip to Washington was the result of a grant furnished him by the Hoover Institution.

Mr. Burdick advised that he is attached to and his date of birth is

Mr. Burdick stated that he is currently doing research for the Hoover Institution on the infamous Zimmerman Note. You will recall that the Zimmerman Note was an offer sent in cryptographic form from the German Foreign Ministry in Berlin in January, 1917, to the German Ambassador in Washington. The message was to be forwarded to the German Ministry at Mexico City. It advised that Germany intended to begin unrestricted submarine warfare. It offered Mexico an alliance if Mexico would declare war on the United States, and in the event they were successful, Mexico was to recover lost territories in Texas, New Mexico and Arizona. The message was intercepted and deciphered by British intelligence, furnished to President Wilson and later given to the press in the United States. It is thought to have been one of the direct means of bringing the United States into World War I against Germany.

In February, 1917, according to research completed by Burdick, a woman, Olga de Visser and a male companion, Heinrich Kolbeck, were arrested by the Border Patrol at Laredo, Texas. They were later interrogated by Immigration and Naturalization officials in Texas. Burdick's research has indicated that de Visser was an Austrian agent. (Austria at the time was, of course, one of the Central Powers and an ally of Germany.)

Burdick is seeking to ascertain whether de Visser at the time of her arrest at Laredo, carried a copy of the Zimmerman Note. He has conducted extensive research at the Pentagon and at the National Archives. At-the-National Archives in Enclosure 18-61

Mr. Belmont

Ex. 102
Jones to DeLoach Memorandum
Re: Charles Burton Burdick

the Department of Justice section, he has located documents pertaining to the de Visser case. This file indicates that documents numbers 14, 15 and 16 in Department of Justice file number 9-5-231-7 were withdrawn by the Bureau in February of 1922. Burdick's visit to the Bureau was to see if we could locate these documents and if so, could they be made available to him.

Burdick was advised that because of the confidential nature of our files, it could not be stated at the time of the interview whether or not such information, if in our possession, could be made available to him. He was informed that we would search our files in an attempt to aid him and that should the material be located, a determination should be made at that time as to whether he could have the benefit of this data.

INFORMATION IN BUFILES:

An exhaustive search has been made of Bureau indices and files. It is to be noted that this material concerns the World War I era and many of our files pertaining to that period are extremely sketchy. It has been determined that there are no references to the Department of Justice file indicated above, located at the National Archives. There are no indications in our files that we have the documents which are indicated to have been removed by the Bureau of Investigation in February, 1922. The old German files have been thoroughly reviewed and there is no indication in them that we have the material Burdick seeks; however, our files do confirm the arrest of de Visser and Kolbeck. According to our files, when Kolbeck and de Visser were arrested, they had in their possession secret documents in code for delivery to an alleged Central Powers Agent who resided at San Antonio, Texas. They also had in their possession a key to the code for the messages they carried. There is no indication that these messages were the Zimmerman Note.

INFORMATION IN BUFILES CONCERNING HOOVER INSTITUTION:

The Hoover Institution, formerly known as the Hoover Library on War, Revolution and Peace, was founded after World War I. It has over 25 million records of war, revolution, etc., from the early 1900's to the present date. The present Director of the Institution, Dr. W. Glen Campbell, is a personal acquaintance of Inspector W. C. Sullivan, and has indicated he intends to make the Institution serve the cause of traditional American viewpoints. We have had good relations with the Institution in the past.

Bufiles contain no identifiable data concerning Burdick.
Jones to DeLoach Memorandum  
Re: Charles Burton Burdick

OBSERVATIONS:

In view of the fact that we have enjoyed cordial relations with the Hoover Institution, it is believed that we should advise Burdick of the fact that the data he inquired about could not be located. It is also believed that we should offer him further assistance in this matter, should our help be again required.

RECOMMENDATION:

The attached letter to Mr. Burdick advising him that a search of our files fails to reflect any material which might assist him be approved and forwarded.
Memorandum

TO: Mr. DeLoach

FROM: M.A. Jones

DATE: 12/16/60

SUBJECT: REQUEST FOR 4-MINUTE FILM BY DIRECTOR TELEVISION PROGRAM ON COMMUNISM THE HOOVER INSTITUTION ON WAR, REVOLUTION, AND PEACE STANFORD UNIVERSITY STANFORD, CALIFORNIA

In a personal letter to Chief Inspector Sullivan dated 12/9/60, Dr. Witold Sworakowski, Assistant Director, The Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace, Stanford University, forwarded a letter to the Director of the same date inviting Mr. Hoover to give a short statement on the true strength and danger of communism in the U.S., to be filmed in his office. The statement is to be approximately 4-minutes in length. The script for the entire program was enclosed.

"Dr. Sworakowski explained that the program would be one of a series of 13 half-hour programs entitled "The Red Myth; Communism from Marx to Khrushchev."

In his letter to Chief Inspector Sullivan, Dr. Sworakowski indicated filming of the main parts of the program are to be made 12/16/60 and that he will be in telephonic contact with Chief Inspector Sullivan in order to determine whether or not Mr. Hoover will be willing to participate. Chief Inspector Sullivan was requested to inform Dr. Sworakowski of the date "Rules for Underground Party Work" was published. Chief Inspector Sullivan has the answer and can give it to him when he calls. He did not call 12/15/60 as he indicated he might.

BACKGROUND:

In his memorandum to Mr. Parsons of 6/14/60, Assistant Director Belmont described his interview of that date with Dr. Sworakowski at which time it was learned that the series of television programs will be shown over educational stations throughout the U.S. Details of the program were discussed and Sworakowski expressed his desire at that time to have the Director appear at the end of the program dealing with communism in America. In the recommendation, it was noted that this television series appeared to be very worthwhile and that the Director might wish to take part in it. The
Jones to DeLoach memorandum
Re: Request for 4-Minute Film By Director

Director, however, agreed that the invitation should be declined in view of heavy commitments. (100-394065-12)

Bufiles reflect favorable information regarding Dr. Sworakowski and The Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace. It will be recalled that Chief Inspector Sullivan spoke on "The Challenge of Communism" at Stanford University on 11/22/60.

RECOMMENDATION:

It is recommended that the attached letter be sent to Dr. Sworakowski respectfully declining the invitation because of the heavy pressure of official commitments.
Memorandum

TO: MR. A. H. BELMONT
FROM: W. C. SULLIVAN

DATE: January 26, 1961

SUBJECT: HOOVER INSTITUTION ON WAR, REVOLUTION, AND PEACE
          STANFORD UNIVERSITY,
          STANFORD, CALIFORNIA
          INFORMATION CONCERNING
          (CENTRAL RESEARCH MATTER)

Reference is made to enclosed memorandum from SAC Auerbach to the Director, dated January 20, 1961.

Dr. W. Glenn Campbell, Director of the Hoover Institution, as I have previously stated in memoranda, is a close personal friend of mine. As the Bureau knows, he is carrying out a complete reorganization of the Hoover Institution at the request of the former President, Herbert Hoover. He is making great headway despite the concentrated opposition of the President of Stanford, Wallace Sterling and some of his associates.

Some time ago, Dr. Campbell asked me if I would accept an invitation to be a Research Associate of the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace. He pointed out that it would give me some academic status which would be helpful in lecturing for the Bureau before colleges and universities. He explained that it carried no salary and that the main function of a Research Associate is to serve as an adviser to the Hoover Institution.

I thanked him for the invitation and told him I would accept it, for it is evident that it would be helpful to my lecturing and would in no way conflict with Bureau policy.

For the information of the Bureau, this appointment has now been formalized as will be seen by the enclosed communication from Stanford University signed by the Vice President, T. E. Terman.

As I mentioned in previous memoranda, I see in the Hoover Institution now being reorganized by Dr. Campbell a fine opportunity to assist the Bureau in countering communist influence in colleges and universities. I will pursue this matter thoroughly and keep the Bureau advised of developments.

RECOMMENDATION:

For the information of the Director.

Enclosures:

[Handwritten notes and signatures]
Of all the places I have ever served, which covers a considerable number of the outstanding universities of the country, this is the worst as far as the over-liberal leanings of the faculty at Stanford and the University of California, and I know that you are of the same opinion.

I thought it might be an item of interest, the fact that a Stanford graduate contact of this office who is engaged in soliciting funds from alumni, recently made the point that he has been running into very substantial people who have declined to contribute because of the Universities' retention of professors who are critical of the HCUA and similar proponents.

Specifically, he mentioned of Hills Bros. coffee, and MAX ROSENFELD, age 87, wealthy retired engineer and Stanford classmate of Ex-President HERBERT HOOVER. He stated that ROSENFELD advised him that he and his wife and an unnamed friend had changed from their wills a total of over half a million dollars that they had originally intended to grant Stanford from their estates upon their deaths as a result of this feeling.

I might mention also that confidentially we are advised that W. GLENN CAMPBELL, the Director of the Hoover Institute at Stanford, has stated that HERBERT HOOVER also is doing this on the same basis and instead is not only giving his own funds, but recommending that of others, be given to the Hoover Institute in order to combat this feeling.
January 13, 1961

Mr. William C. Sullivan

is hereby appointed

as Research Associate in the Hoover

Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace

for the year 1960-61

This appointment is without salary.

[Signature]

Vice President and Provost
$2 Million Pledge

Research on Communism

Stanford University

An intensified program of research and publication on international communism was announced here yesterday by W. Glenn Campbell, director of the Hoover Institution. The program is backed by $2 million in gifts and pledges.

The plan was revealed at the summer meeting of the advisory board of the institute. Its founder, former President Herbert Hoover, who arrived in San Francisco last week, was also present.

"The general purpose of the program," Campbell said, "is to find out as much as possible about communism and to relate it to present-day problems."

The results of such research as the current project, "Theory, Law and Policy of Soviet Treaties," will be published by the Institute and made available to the public.

The funds, which have been collected over the past three years, are currently supporting studies of Chinese and Communist economy, Communist penetration in Africa, and the Communist International.

Also included in the program is the preparation of teaching material on communism for college, high school, and adult educational groups.

Major contributions to the expanded research and publications program have been made by the Fleischmann Foundation, the Lilly Endowment of Indianapolis, the Relm Foundation and the Andrew W. Mellon Educational and Charitable Trust.

At present most of the Institute's advisory board are businessmen, but Campbell noted that a group of professors from Stanford, American and foreign universities will be appointed as advisers for the program.

Members of the Institute's advisory board from San Francisco are:

- William F. Knowland, Editor, Oak and Tribune
- David Packard, President, Hewlett-Packard Co.

Other Bay Area members are:

- William F. Knowland, Editor, Oak and Tribune
- David Packard, President, Hewlett-Packard Co.

Members from the Los Angeles area are:

- Garner A. Béckett, Honorary Chairman of the Board, American Cement Corp.;
- William W. Clary, O'Melveny & Myers; Edward D. Lyman, Overton, Lyman & Prince; Thomas P. Lee, Chairman of the Board, Republic Steel Corp., and Stanford trustee; and Robert J. Minckler, petroleum company executive.

Prominent members from across the country are:

- Admiral Lewis L. Strauss, former chairman, Atomic Energy Commission;
- J. Roscoe Miller, president, Northwestern University;
- William F. Hamann, executive vice president, Union Carbide Corp.;
- Harold H. Helm, chairman of the Board, Chemical Bank New York Trust Co.;
- Herman J. Schmidt, president, Mobil Oil Co.;
- Robert C. Griswold, chairman, finance committee, U.S. Steel Corp.;
- J. Waterman, chairman of the board, International Business Machines Corp.;
- William K. Whitefield, chairman of the Board, Gulf Oil Corp.; and

Our correspondent


[Handwritten date: 7-31-62]

S.F. Chronicle

San Francisco, Calif.

Editor: Final Home

Author: Editor Charles deYoung

Title: Thief Riot

Character:

or

Classification:

Submitting Office:

San Francisco, Calif.
April 5, 1963

Department of Justice
Washington 25, D. C.

Gentlemen:

Please excuse this intrusion but I hoped that you might be kind enough to help me with a research problem. I am currently preparing a manuscript involving certain events in 1917. One of the gentlemen involved was a special agent of the Justice Department named Breniman.

Might it be possible for me to obtain Agent Breniman's first name? My interest is solely for historical purposes and, in the interests of completeness, I would appreciate his first name. I thank you for any consideration which you can give my request.

Sincerely,

Charles B. Burdick
Charles B. Burdick, Acting Head
Department of History

CBB:ss

62-720.42-25
11 APR 18 1963

FED. BU. J.
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
25 APR 10 1963 P. R.
April 16, 1963

Mr. Charles Burtick
Acting Head
Department of History
San Jose State College
San Jose 14, California

Dear Mr. Burtick:

Your letter of April 5th has been received.

In response to your inquiry, I believe you are referring to Mr. Charles Edward Breniman who was a Special Agent of our organization from September 2, 1912, until February 10, 1932, at which time he submitted his resignation. I hope this information will be of aid to you.

Sincerely yours,

Edgar Hoover

NOTE: Former Special Agent Charles Edward Breniman served as Special Agent in Charge of some of our field offices before he resigned, and no doubt Burtick has learned of him for this reason. According to Breniman's file, 67-4023, Mr. Breniman died on 4-15-60, at which time there was a letter received from his attorney handling his estate.

There has been prior cordial correspondence with Mr. Burtick who is affiliated with the Hoover Institution of Stanford University doing research work for that Institution. This is in addition to his teaching duties at San Jose State College. This group was formerly known as the Hoover Library on War, Revolution and Peace, founded after World War I. Good relations have been had with the Institution. It has over 25 million records of war, revolution, etc., from the early 1900's to the present. (62-72042-22)
Charles B. Burdick, Department of History, San Jose State College, San Jose, California, has requested from the National Archives a microfilm copy of the attached Department of Justice file 9-5-231. This file contains a mixture of information concerning espionage activities along the Mexican border just prior to World War I. "Serial 7" is a letter dated 3-27-17 from a U.S. attorney in Houston, Texas, addressed to the Attorney General and refers to two "Special Agents" who are involved in the surreptitious delivery of a document found in the possession of one Olga Visser. The names of the two Special Agents and a Mr. Bielaski, former head of the Division of Investigation, were also mentioned in a number of other communications in this file, none of which are Bureau reports or correspondence but relate purely to an exchange of correspondence between Department of Justice officials.

Mr. Burdick also inquires concerning any record that might be available of serials 14, 15 and 16 in this file which were withdrawn in 1922. On the inside front jacket of the attached file, the notation "serials 14, 15 and 16 returned to Bureau 2-2-22" appears.

Armando Di Girolamo, head of the Records Section in the Department of Justice, has requested the views of the FBI before releasing a copy of this file to Mr. Burdick. The National Archives, who is the present custodian of this file and others like it, has already screened from the file two communications which will not be furnished to Mr. Burdick. They are attached. Both are copies of letters addressed to "Bielaski" Department of Justice, Washington, D.C., from San Antonio, Texas, are dated in March, 1917. Both refer to Olga Visser, one involving the delivery of a document and another referring to an apparent attack on the woman Visser by an unknown assailant in her hotel room. These two communications have been interpreted by the National Archives as FBI correspondence.
Memo F. W. Waikart to Mr. Tavel
Re: Request for Justice Department File Containing FBI Data

which will not be furnished to Burdick. Mr. Di Girolamo agrees with this decision. The question however is whether or not the Bureau has any objection to the release of the balance of the file and what, if any, record we may have on the missing serials 14 through 16 which were presumably returned to the Bureau in 1922.

A check of the Bureau's files reflects that in January, 1961, Burdick, who was still with the San Jose State College, was also representing the Hoover Institution of Stanford University, contacted the Bureau in an effort to ascertain the identity of document number 14, 15 and 16 in this same file. Burdick, at that time, pointed out that he was doing research for the Hoover Institution on the Zimmermann Note. The Zimmermann Note was an offer sent in cryptographic form from the German Foreign Ministry in Berlin in January, 1917, to the German Ambassador in Washington, intended for forwarding to the German Ministry in Mexico City. It advised that Germany intended to begin unrestricted submarine warfare and offered Mexico an alliance if they would declare war on the United States. The message was intercepted and deciphered by British intelligence, furnished to President Wilson and later given to the press of the United States. It is thought to have been one of the direct means of bringing the United States into World War I against Germany. Burdick was seeking to ascertain whether the Visser woman, identified in our records as Olga de Visser, at the time she was apparently arrested in Laredo, Texas, carried a copy of the Zimmermann Note. He had conducted extensive research at the Pentagon and National Archives where he had reviewed the attached file which he is now requesting a copy of. Without committing ourselves to Burdick, a thorough search was made for this material in 1961 with negative results. Our files do reflect however, that the de Visser woman was, in fact, arrested with a male companion and, at the time, had in their possession secret documents in code for delivery to an alleged Central Power agent who resided in San Antonio, Texas. There was no indication that these messages were, in fact, the Zimmermann Note. With the Director's approval, Mr. Burdick was advised by letter dated 1-18-61 (62-0-80249) that a search had been made of our records without reflecting any data concerning the missing serials.

Since the attached Justice Department file contains exclusively Justice Department correspondence, the two serials relating to the FBI having been removed, it would appear that we could interpose no valid objection to the release of a copy to Mr. Burdick. Accordingly, it is recommended that we advise Mr. Di Girolamo...
Memo F. W. Waikart to Mr. Tavel
Re: Request for Justice Department
File Containing FBI Data

that we have no objection to the release of the file to Burdick as presently constituted, and further that a thorough search has already been made of our records for Burdick concerning missing serials 14 through 16 with negative results, and that there is no objection on our part to also reminding Burdick of this fact and that he was so advised by letter on 1-18-61.

RECOMMENDATION:

That Mr. Di Girolamo be advised; (1) We have no objection to the release of a copy of Department of Justice file 9-5-231,

(2) Provided the two letters addressed to Bielaski in March, 1917, are excluded from the file as originally decided by National Archives and agreed to by Mr. Di Girolamo,

(3) That we have no objection to informing Mr. Burdick with reference to his inquiry concerning items 14, 15 and 16 of this file that a search for these records in FBI files has been negative and Mr. Burdick was so advised on 1-18-61.
San Antonio, Tex., March 12, 1917.

Bielaski,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

Olga Visser and Special Employee Swift are occupying adjoining rooms at Munger Hotel, cost seven dollars per day, but were only rooms available suitable for our use at time passenger arrived San Antonio. Visser was found by Special Employee Swift after absence thirty minutes from Hotel Sunday afternoon in her room gagged with man's handkerchief, bandaged behind back and several bruises on her person, everything in room very torn up, condition indicating assailant was endeavoring locate papers. Am uncertain as to whether this is genuine, whether woman has some ulterior motive. Have conferred with United States Attorney Green over telephone and he will arrive night. In meantime have suggested to him that Kolbeck be removed in regular way to this district where complaint has been filed for violation immigration laws. We can then arrange permit agents visit him at jail. Think this better than release him outright.

Barnes.

ENCLOSURE: 62-72042 — 26
San Antonio, Texas, March 8, 1917.

Bielaski, Justice, Washington.

Bolner called to see Olga Devisser last night. He is extremely cautious, although he probably does not suspect woman. He returned document claiming not be able locate proper person to whom should be delivered. He suggested messenger should probably take document to Galveston or some place where there was Austrian or German consul. Bolner's reticence may be due publicity given Zimmerman note. There is also some indication that carrier who was requested cover Bolner's mail may have advised him that he was under suspicion, although carrier knows nothing of document. Carrier is pro-German. Would be glad receive some suggestion from you as to what course to pursue. Situation now at standstill.

Barnes.

COPY

ENCLOSURE

62-22042 — 2KK
Mentions Former Asst. to Director Belmo on pages 8, 12, and 42
Mr. J. Edgar Hoover  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Ninth and Pennsylvania Avenues, N. W.  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I thought you would be interested in the attached copy of the current REPORT of the organization and activities of the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace here at Stanford.

As you may know, agents from the San Francisco office have occasion to check with us regarding items of information in our collections from time to time, and they are always most welcome.

As for me, I am gradually becoming acclimated, but I do miss the Bureau.

Hope this finds you in good health.

Sincerely,

Alan H. Belmont  
Executive Assistant to the Director

Attachment

ENCLOSURE  

EXP. PROC.  
JUN 21 1966  
30

Mailing List  
6/21/66  
Change Noted
June 24, 1966

Mr. Alan H. Belmont
Executive Assistant to the Director
Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace
Stanford University
Stanford, California 96128

Dear Belmont:

I have received your letter of June 17th together with the copy of the report of your organization. I am indeed pleased to be able to keep abreast of your activities and deeply appreciate your sending me a copy of this report. Do let us hear from you from time to time.

Sincerely,

NOTE: Mr. Belmont is on the Special Correspondents' List. He was formerly Assistant to the Director and EOD 11-30-36 and retired 12-30-65 to accept his present position.
November 1, 1966

Honorable Ray Henle
Director
Herbert Hoover Oral History Program
Suite 807
1200 17th Street, Northwest
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Ray:

Your letter of October 27th has been received, and it was a pleasure to hear from you and learn of your worthwhile work in the Herbert Hoover Oral History Program.

I am indeed honored by your request that I participate in this Program by recording an interview of my recollections of President Hoover. While this is something I would very much like to do, I regret that it is not possible for me to accede to your request in view of my very heavy schedule of official duties. I will be most happy, however, to furnish you a written statement regarding my recollections of this great American.

Please let me know if I may be of assistance to you by preparing a written statement.

Sincerely,

Edgar

1 - Mr. DeLoach (Sent with cover memo)
2 - Mr. Wink (Sent with cover memo)
3 - Miss Gandy (Sent with cover memo)
4 - Miss Holmes (Sent with cover memo)

51 NOV 18 1966


ELR:jma/sgm (9)
Hon. J. Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
U. S. Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Chief:

Some weeks ago we embarked on an ambitious, if belated, effort to record recollections of President Hoover by persons who knew him. The program has the enthusiastic endorsement of Herbert, Jr. and Allan Hoover.

The recordings I shall hope to get in interviews I shall seek with many acquaintances during this three-year program will be transcribed and, after reading and approval by the persons interviewed, will be deposited in the Herbert Hoover Presidential Library at West Branch and the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace at Stanford.

The hope is they may be made available to scholars at the earliest possible time but, of course, each person who contributes to our program will have the right to make such time stipulations as he sees fit.

We have a modest grant for technical and secretarial services and travel. I myself serve without compensation and am grateful I am able to do so.

I want to have a visit with you soon, for I know that what you would tell me would make an important contribution to our efforts.
If you are agreeable, I would like to see you some time between November 1 and 27, as I plan to spend most of the month in Washington. After December 1 I shall be engaged elsewhere for some months in other phases of the program.

I look forward to hearing from you either by note or by phone to Miss Kenny here in my office, and earnestly hope for your participation.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Ray (Henle)
By letter dated 10-27-66, Mr. Henle advised the Director that his organization has embarked on a program to record recollections of President Herbert Hoover by persons who knew him. These recordings will be taken from President Hoover's acquaintances during the three-year period of the Herbert Hoover Oral History Program and, after the interviews have been read and approved by the persons interviewed, they will be deposited in the Herbert Hoover Presidential Library at West Branch, Iowa, and the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace at Stanford to be available to scholars.

Mr. Henle advised that he would like to visit with the Director at sometime convenient to him between November 1 and 27, 1966, during which time he will be in Washington, for recording of the Director's recollections of President Hoover. He stated that he is sure the Director's interview would make an important contribution to this program.

Mr. Henle, who is on the Special Correspondents' List on a first-name basis, for many years headed the NBC radio news program "Three Star Extra" in Washington, D.C. He has been a strong supporter of the FBI and Mr. Hoover.

Mr. Henle retired in May, 1965, from broadcasting to devote his time to other activities.

OBSERVATION:

While it appears this is a most worthwhile program, it is not believed that the Director would desire to take time from his busy schedule to record his recollections of President Hoover as requested by Mr. Henle. It is believed, however, that the Director may wish to furnish his recollections to Mr. Henle in the form of a statement if this would be agreeable to Mr. Henle and would be appropriate to the program being conducted by Mr. Henle.

Enclosures:

1 - Mr. DeLoach - Enclosure
1 - Miss Gandy - Enclosure
1 - Mr. Quick - Enclosure
1 - Miss Holmes - Enclosure

CONTINUED - OVER
M. A. Jones to Wick memo
RE: RAYMOND HENLE

RECOMMENDATION:

That attached letter be sent to Mr. Henle advising that while the Director's schedule is such that he would be unable to provide a recorded interview in this matter, he would be glad to furnish a statement concerning his recollections of President Hoover.
Hon. J. Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
U. S. Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Chief:

I was delighted to have your warm offer of support for the Herbert Hoover Oral History Program.

Yes, by all means do furnish the written statement which under the circumstances will serve our purposes as well as a recorded interview. I know I need scarcely say -- let it run just as fully as you have time to devote to it.

You are characteristically generous to offer this and I assure you it will be an important part of our finished product.

We are making substantial headway in the task we have set out to accomplish for the historians of the future.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Ray (Henle)

Suite 807, 1200 17th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. 20036  202-296-3974
November 10, 1966

D.C.

Honorable Ray Henle
Director
Herbert Hoover Oral History Program
Suite 807
1200 17th Street, Northwest
Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear Ray:

It is indeed a pleasure to enclose a statement regarding my recollections of President Herbert Hoover.

May I wish you every success in this most worthwhile project.

Sincerely,

Enclosure

1 - Mr. DeLoach (with enclosure)
1 - Mr. Wick (with enclosure)
1 - Miss Gandy (with enclosure)

FCS:jwh
(9)-je

NOTE: Henle by letter of 10-27-66 desired to visit the Director and record his (the Director's) recollections regarding President Herbert Hoover. The Director replied on 11-1-66, saying his schedule precluded this request, but he would be glad to furnish a written statement. Address per previous correspondence.
November 10, 1966

STATEMENT-BY-J.-EDGAR HOOVER, DIRECTOR, FEDERAL
BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION, RELATIVE TO PRESIDENT
HERBERT HOOVER

President Herbert Hoover was one of the great inspirations of my life. He symbolized for me the very epitome of personal integrity, unselfish duty in public service and the living of noble ideals. I considered him as a close personal friend, an individual whose guidance and wisdom I treasured.

(Don Whitehead, "The FBI My friendship with President Hoover started many years ago when I was a young attorney in the Department of Justice. In fact, I am proud that it was on the recommendation of President Hoover that I was appointed Director of the FBI in 1924 by Attorney General Harlan Fiske Stone. Mr. Hoover was then Secretary of Commerce. At a Cabinet meeting the Attorney General mentioned that he was seeking a new FBI Director—an individual who could efficiently reorganize the agency which had fallen into disrepute. Mr. Hoover personally discussed the matter with the Attorney General and recommended me for the assignment.)

1. Mr. DeLoach (sent with cover letter)
1. Mr. Wick (sent with cover letter)
1. Miss Gandy (sent with cover letter)


FCS:jvh/new

MAIL ROOM ☐  TELETEYPE UNIT ☐ ENCLOSED
Mr. Hoover always had great faith in the FBI and law enforcement. He was deeply concerned with the problem of crime and dedicated his entire life to making this a better Nation. He stood unflinchingly for the fundamental values of honesty, integrity and love of country. He was a great patriot, a great American, a great leader of men.

As a member of the Board of Directors of the Boys' Clubs of America, I was privileged to serve under Mr. Hoover's leadership of this splendid organization. Nothing made Mr. Hoover more happy than to be working for the welfare and future of America's young people. Here again was evidence of the deep humanitarian feelings of this man, whose entire life was devoted to service to others. In Mr. Hoover, the boys and girls of this country had a truly sincere and dedicated friend.

On Mr. Hoover's 75th birthday, I wrote him a letter, some words from which reflect the deep admiration I had for this great American:

"Your life has truly been an inspiration not only to those of us who have had the privilege of coming under the influence of your magnificent personality but to the millions who have followed your career from the earliest days when you entered the arena of public life.

"The one thing which has impressed me more than anything else about you has been your indomitable will. You have had setbacks, as every normal human being has, but each setback was only temporary and you came back stronger than ever because you were right." (62-65153-44)
Honorable J. Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
U. S. Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Chief:

This is to thank you for your letter of November 10 enclosing the statement of your recollections of President Hoover.

You have made a notable contribution to our program and I am personally most grateful.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely yours,

RH/ck

Raymond (Henle)
June 8, 1967

Mr. William C. Sullivan
Assistant Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Bill:

We have been experiencing difficulties in securing many of the materials and subscriptions necessary for the research on the project which I direct, the YEARBOOK ON INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST AFFAIRS. It is quite clear that the sources of Communist publications simply do not honor official requests from the Hoover Institution, probably because they know our attitudes and opinions, and certainly because they have read our publications. In short, to order a subscription to a given Communist or suspect periodical in the name of the YEARBOOK is quite literally the kiss of death.

Therefore, we came up with the idea of using an artificial name, Paul Richards, and took a post box at the Stanford post office in his name. We took the further step of running a ditto letterhead with an artificial title, the "Study Group to Combat Imperialism." Our "Paul Richards" is "Chairman" of the organization.

Since beginning to use this letterhead, we have had lightning-quick responses from several Afro-Asian pro-Communist organizations, and our subscription situation has improved remarkably. Of course, we do not stipulate that our "Study Group" is designed to combat Communist imperialism; whatever assumptions our addressees make are their own.

However, I thought it best to inform you of the mode of operation, and to eliminate any unnecessary work in tracking down the organization should it somehow be noticed and taken for a new Communist front group. For your convenience, I am enclosing xerox copies of this letter and blank copies of the letterhead, which you may care to circulate to the appropriate persons. At times materials will be addressed to Paul Richards with the box number, at other times the "Study Group" designation may also appear.
Incidentally, we are keeping complete files on all those with whom we are corresponding by this method, and can provide same on request.

With best wishes, also from Al,

Sincerely,

Richard V. Allen
Senior Staff Member

Enclosures:

5 xerox copies of this letter
5 blank copies, Paul Richards "Study Group"
United States Government

Memorandum

TO: Mr. W. C. Sullivan
FROM: C. D. Brennan
DATE: 6/21/67

SUBJECT: STUDY GROUP TO COMBAT IMPERIALISM
INFORMATION CONCERNING
(INTERNAL SECURITY)

PURPOSE:

This memorandum advises of the formation of
captioned organization as a cover by the Hoover Institution
on War, Revolution, and Peace, Stanford University, Stanford,
California, to receive communist publications for research.

BACKGROUND:

Attached is correspondence from Richard V. Allen,
Senior Staff Member, Hoover Institution on War, Revolution,
and Peace, Stanford University, Stanford, California, which
states as follows:

In order to receive subversive literature which
would not otherwise be available, the Hoover Institution
has set up captioned organization with a fictitious Chairman,
Paul Richards, utilizing Post Office Box 7316, Stanford,
California 94305.

Allen's purpose in writing was to advise of the
use of this device. His letter has been answered by separate
cover.

ACTION:

The captioned organization and its "Chairman,"
Paul Richards, Post Office Box 7316, Stanford, California 94305,
should be indexed.

Enclosure

RCP: dmk (4) and ex-37

DENCLOSURE

55 JUN 30 1967
Memorandum

TO: Mr. Wick
FROM: M. A. Rogers
SUBJECT: RICHARD V. ALLEN

DATE: 7-27-67

The above captioned individual is Senior Staff Member at the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace at Stanford University. Allen is a strong supporter of the FBI and is a professional scholar who is now editing a yearbook at the Hoover Institution on Communist Parties throughout the world. He has indicated that he would like to receive the Bureau's publications, especially in the field of communism. He stated that he feels the FBI is the only authentic source for information on communism inside the United States.

Allen's address is: Richard V. Allen, Senior Staff Member, Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace, Stanford University, Stanford, California 94305. Bufiles favorable.

RECOMMENDATION:
That Allen be placed on the Bureau's mailing list.

Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Wick
Mr. Jones

FCS:db (8)

62 AUG 10 1967
Friends and Acquaintances of Herbert Hoover:

The enclosed brochure is being sent all persons on our lists to acquaint them with the Herbert Hoover Oral History Program. These include those who already have recorded their recollections. During the remaining two years of our projected program we hope to talk to or at least correspond with all the others.

The Director of the Program earnestly solicits immediate correspondence with those whom he has not been able to contact by personal letter. This greatly would assist him in making up his travel schedules and at the same time suit the convenience of those he hopes to meet.

It should be kept in mind by all friends and acquaintances of Mr. Hoover that no detail of recollection is too small to be worthy of inclusion in this effort to further broaden public knowledge of the Hoover Story. Now is the time to make notes on what is remembered.

Raymond Henle
Director

August 1967
in the Program, greatly enhances the prospect of economical operation and the collecting of valuable information. Indeed, the material already recorded enlivens the prospect that recollections still to be obtained will comprise a mass of significant political, social and economic information which will enrich and flavor the work of historians who in the years to come will seek an appraisal of the works of Herbert Hoover and of Herbert Hoover, the man.

August 1967

HERBERT HOOVER
ORAL HISTORY PROGRAM

A Project of
THE INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH
on behalf of
HERBERT HOOVER PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY
and
THE HOOVER INSTITUTION ON WAR,
REVOLUTION AND PEACE
THE Herbert Hoover Oral History Program was initiated twenty months after the death of Mr. Hoover. Preliminary work commenced in August 1966 and the first interviews were recorded in late September of that year.

As of this date sixty-five interviews have been recorded and nearly one hundred cartridges of one-hour tape have been used. It is anticipated that over a projected three-year period more than three hundred persons may be interviewed if funds suffice.

The Program initially was financed by an anonymous foundation grant of $30,000 in installments of $10,000 in each of three years. This grant is being matched by contributions from individuals, other foundations and organizations, thus providing $20,000 in each of three years.

The grants and contributions are made to The Institute for Social Science Research, a wholly tax-free organization which is sponsoring the program for the benefit of The Herbert Hoover Presidential Library, West Branch, Iowa and The Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, California.

Raymond Henle, a former Washington newspaper correspondent and radio news editor of long experience, a friend of Mr. Hoover and a member of the Advisory Board of The Hoover Institution, was designated Director of the Program. Mr. Henle serves without compensation.

The purpose of the Program is to record the recollections of persons who knew Mr. Hoover in any of the various stages of his public life, so that there may be deposited in the two Hoover libraries information which may not be available in written or published works and records already in those libraries, or which will significantly enrich or supplement the written or published documents.

The Program seeks, among other things, to inquire into the human side of Mr. Hoover's operations and into the humanity of Mr. Hoover himself, as this often was obscured by his personal predilection and by political machination.

The Program also seeks unknown facets of his family life and welcomes recollections of Mrs. Hoover, herself a person of intellectual attainment whose influence on the life of her husband is indicated but not adequately understood.

While the number of persons who have first-hand information of Mr. Hoover's relief operations during and after World War I, and of the Cabinet and Presidential years, is diminishing, there are many who knew him in his post-Presidential years and his Elder Statesman years.

There also are many with rich memories of his work as Chairman of the two Hoover Commissions which investigated organization in the United States Government during the Truman and Eisenhower administrations, and of his monumental efforts to relieve misery after World War II as a relief emissary of President Truman.

Mr. Hoover's interests were widespread and his life touched those of literally millions of persons of every race and creed. His impulses to improve the physical well-being of his fellowmen were so strong that it is obvious there still are living many scores of persons who remember the objectives and methods of these operations.

At present, because of the relatively modest funds available for the Program, all interviewing is by Mr. Henle only. The procedure is to take a tape recorder of unique design and capabilities into the office or home of a respondent, after correspondence, phone calls, and even warm-up sessions have established a groundwork.

A valid transcript is made from the tape and sent to the respondent with a copy for his files. In due course his corrected original is used to make a final copy for each of the Hoover libraries for use by authorized historians and students.

The Program itself has no plan to use the material for any literary or other undertaking.

All respondents are asked to give a release which insures ownership of tape and library copies by the Hoover libraries, except that respondents may make any stipulations on their use as they may deem advisable. Thus far very few such stipulations have been made, but any such conditions will be honored scrupulously by the Program, the libraries and their staffs.

The tapes are being preserved subject to a future decision on their ultimate disposition, and subject to the wishes of the persons giving the interviews.

Beyond the broadest generalizations in which the Director of the Program occasionally may indulge for purposes of acquainting interested persons with the methods and purpose of the Program, the confidential character of every interview is zealously protected, and the security of all the materials collected carefully is maintained.

The Director presently has two aides, Catherine J. Kenny, Assistant to the Director, and Mary F. Hurley, Transcriber. These three, together eventually with officials of the Hoover libraries, are the only persons familiar with the recorded material.

As of this date not a single portion of the recorded material has been discarded as useless or meaningless or of any other doubtful value. This, with the very-limited personnel engaged
near at hand for a time before depositing them in the library of their choice may place them temporarily in the National Archives in Washington or in one of the several Federal Records Centers located throughout the United States. In either case, donors will be given facilities for personal use of their papers as well as professional reference service on them and reproductions of particular documents among them.
THE careful preservation of papers, records, and documents has always been a distinguishing characteristic of great nations, for the archives of any country are among its most valuable cultural resources. Without them history cannot be written. When we preserve such materials we prove our commitment to the values on which our society has been built, and it is from these materials that posterity will make its judgments of our lives and times.

These were the factors that led the Congress, in 1954, to create the institution it called the National Archives, which has since become the National Archives and Records Service of the General Services Administration. This Service administers a nation-wide system of depositories where there are preserved and made available all classes of papers and documents that are important for the study of American history. This system includes the four Presidential Libraries now in operation and the two that are in process of creation.

The Presidential Libraries Act of 1955 gave statutory recognition to the special importance attached to the preservation of papers and other historical materials of the Presidents of the United States, together with the papers of their associates and contemporaries. Bringing into the National Archives system the papers of the Presidents, and of the men and women who helped them shape national policies, makes the study and understanding of a particular Presidential era easier. As part of the National Archives system these papers are administered by the same agency that has responsibility for the preservation of the official records of our Federal Government, which show how the decisions and policies of a President and his advisors were carried out.

The four Presidential Libraries now in operation are:

- Herbert Hoover Library, West Branch, Iowa
- Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, N. Y.
- Harry S. Truman Library, Independence, Mo.
- Dwight D. Eisenhower Library, Abilene, Kans.

When completed, the John Fitzgerald Kennedy Library at Cambridge, Mass., and the Lyndon Baines Johnson Library at Austin, Tex., will also become a part of the National Archives system.

The four existing Libraries, which are, in effect, branches of the National Archives, have proved to be important centers of research and educational activity both for the geographical areas in which they are situated and for the entire country. They contain not only the papers and files of four Presidents of the United States, but scores of collections of the personal correspondence, diaries, and other historical materials of the men and women who served with them or who played important public roles. The Libraries also have large collections of books and printed materials as well as still pictures, motion pictures, and memorabilia that bear on the historical periods with which the Presidents are associated.

Presidential Libraries offer many advantages to persons confronted with the problem of how best to preserve their personal papers. Papers deposited in them are kept intact as separate, named collections. They are safe from the physical hazards that often beset manuscripts in private hands, for they are housed in buildings scientifically designed and equipped to insure their preservation. They are in the care of a professional staff specifically trained in the techniques of preservation, arrangement, and indexing and fully conversant with recent American history, so that intelligent help or guidance can be given to all who use them.

Presidential Libraries are specialized depositories whose holdings relate to clearly defined eras and fields of study. The archivists in charge of them can give a higher degree of expert attention to the papers under their care than can be given in a depository whose holdings range over a long span of time and widely different fields of interest. And the right of donors to place limitations on the use of their papers is specifically recognized by act of Congress. Such restrictions, stipulations, and conditions as donors choose to place on the use of their papers are scrupulously observed.

Because Presidential Libraries are a part of the National Archives system, persons who wish to have their papers
CABLEGRAM          URGENT  1 - Liaison

TO LEGATS TOKYO
HONG KONG

FROM DIRECTOR FBI

DR. RICHARD ALLEN, HOOVER INSTITUTE, STANFORD UNIVERSITY,
VISIT TO TOKYO AND HONG KONG - LIAISON MATTER. Japan

DR. ALLEN WHO IS HEAD OF HOOVER INSTITUTE AT STANFORD
UNIVERSITY WILL BE TRAVELING TO TOKYO SATURDAY OR SUNDAY
FEBRUARY SEVENTEEN - EIGHTEEN NEXT AND WILL CONTACT LEGAT
TOKYO ON ARRIVAL. SEVERAL DAYS LATER HE PLANS TO TRAVEL TO
HONG KONG. NO OTHER DETAILS AVAILABLE RE ITINERARY. LEGAT
TOKYO SHOULD ADVISE HONG KONG OF ANY FURTHER INFO DEVELOPED
CONCERNING DR. ALLEN'S TRAVEL PLANS. BOTH LEGATS OFFER
APPROPRIATE COURTESIES. ADVISE BUREAU, ATTENTION LIAISON
SECTION OF ANY COURTESIES EXTENDED.

1 - Foreign Liaison Unit (Detached)

REP: bsc  bsc

NOTE:

Dr. Allen is a good friend of the Bureau.
Transmit the following in
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

To: Director, FBI

From: Legat, Tokyo (80-40) (RUC)

Subject: DR. RICHARD ALLEN
Hoover Institute, Stanford University
Visit to Tokyo and Hong Kong,
LIAISON MATTER

ReBucab 2/14/68. 62-72042-32

When no call was received from DR. ALLEN by February 21, 1968, Tokyo hotels were canvassed and it was ascertained that he was residing at the New Otani Hotel. On February 21, 1968, ALLEN was personally contacted by Legat and a friendly mutual discussion was held, during which time Legat offered appropriate courtesies. ALLEN expressed his great admiration for Director HOOVER and the FBI, particularly, for its untiring effort in the constant struggle with communist elements in the United States. He cited many rewarding, productive meetings had with Assistant Director SULLIVAN regarding international communism and the communist threat, particularly in the United States.

On February 22, 1968, Legat transported ALLEN to Haneda Airport, Tokyo, and facilitated his departure for Korea.

Hong Kong was advised by cable of ALLEN's travel itinerary on February 22, 1968.

ALLEN will arrive Hong Kong February 24, 1968, departing for Honolulu on February 28, 1968, via Pan American Flight #2 where he is to spend several days with his wife, who will meet him there. Bureau may desire to alert Honolulu to this fact.

REC 69 62-72042-32

No further action is being taken at Tokyo.

Bureau (1 - Liaison Section)

1 - Tokyo
RVP:fo
(4) Cc Sullivan

Approved: Special Agent in Charge

Sent 10 M Per
RADIOGRAM

TO SAC HONOLULU

FROM DIRECTOR FBI

DR. RICHARD ALLEN, HOOVER INSTITUTE, STANFORD UNIVERSITY,
VISIT TO HONOLULU - LIAISON MATTER.

DR. ALLEN, WHO IS HEAD OF HOOVER INSTITUTE AT STANFORD UNIVERSITY AND A GOOD FRIEND OF THE BUREAU, WILL DEPART HONG KONG FEBRUARY TWENTY-EIGHT NEXT VIA PAN-AMERICAN FLIGHT TWO EN ROUTE TO HONOLULU. HE WILL SPEND SEVERAL DAYS THERE WITH HIS WIFE WHO WILL MEET HIM THERE. ATTEMPT TO LOCATE, OFFER APPROPRIATE COURTESIES, AND ADVISE BUREAU, ATTENTION LIAISON SECTION, OF ANY COURTESIES EXTENDED.

l - Foreign Liaison Unit (Detached)

NOTE:

-Similar courtesies have previously been extended by Legats Tokyo and Hong Kong.

If contact missed by 2/6/68 send by protected teletype urgent per Mr. McGuire.

VIA TELETYPING

FEB 27 1968

ENCIPHERED
TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, HONOLULU (80-168)(C)

DR. RICHARD ALLEN
HOOVER INSTITUTE, STANFORD UNIVERSITY

VISIT TO HONOLULU = LIAISON MATTER

Dr. ALLEN arrived Honolulu from Hong Kong on Pan American flight 2 at 10:35 a.m., 2/28/68. He was met at airport by SAC and SA ROBERT M. GRANT, assisted in expediting processing through Customs. Assistance was rendered to Dr. ALLEN in getting him to his hotel and settled there.

Dr. ALLEN was expecting Mrs. ALLEN to join him later on 2/28/68 from the mainland, after which they would remain in Honolulu until the following week end before returning to the West Coast.

On 2/29/68 shortly before 2 p.m., Dr. ALLEN telephonically contacted the Honolulu Office, at which time SAC was out of the office. Dr. ALLEN advised that his wife had become ill and would not be able to join him, so he was leaving that day rather than waiting until the week end. He desired that the SAC be given his best thanks and kindlest regards for the courteous assistance rendered him while in Honolulu. Dr. ALLEN apparently went immediately thereafter to the airport and departed.

SAC found Dr. ALLEN to be a very interesting personality, enthusiastic concerning the research projects of the Hoover Institute, and most complimentary in his remarks.

Approved: Special Agent in Charge.

Sent: 12 MAR 4 1968
HN 30-168

concerning former Assistant to the Director AL BELMONT, who works with him. Dr. ALLEN was also strongly commendatory concerning the Director, the Bureau, and his relations with Bureau officials. He was most appreciative in regard to the assistance rendered him in Honolulu.

Foregoing for information of the Bureau.
Memorandum

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: LEGAT, HONG KONG (80-11)(P)

SUBJECT: DR. RICHARD ALLEN
HOOVER INSTITUTE
STANFORD UNIVERSITY
LIAISON MATTER

ReBuCab 2/14/68

Dr. ALLEN arrived Hong Kong 2/4/68 and was met on arrival by Legat, assisted through Customs and taken to the Hong Kong Hilton where a room had been reserved for him by Legat.

While in Hong Kong, Dr. ALLEN was introduced to numerous contacts of this office including CIA, MI-5, and Hong Kong Police personnel, as well as MI-6. He expressed appreciation for all courtesies afforded.

3 - Bureau (1 - Foreign Liaison)
   - Hong Kong

DAG:enm

(4)
February 5, 1968

Mr. Michael Gilfix, Exchange Coordinator
Institute of International Relations
Associated Students of Stanford University
c/o 3723 Acapulco Drive
Campbell, California 95008

Dear Mr. Gilfix:

Thank you for your letter dated January 23. I would have certainly answered it sooner but for the fact that I received it just prior to my leaving on a field trip from which I have just returned.

I was most interested to learn of your program which seems quite unusual in regard to the apparent involvement that the Student Association has in this area. On the field trip to which I referred, I had occasion to visit the University of Minnesota where their student association has an extensive program going in this area also. Aside from theirs and apparently yours, I know of no other programs of such extensive scope. I would, in that connection, if it would be possible, to hear more fully about it.

As to the undergraduate exchange to which I have made reference in the letter dated September 22, there seems to be more and more possibilities for it, as time goes by. That is, the Soviets seem to be genuinely interested in such a program, and I think that it is possible to work out an undergraduate exchange. What is envisioned is a reciprocal exchange which would work in practice the way that similar exchanges have been conducted with other countries, allowing for such differences as exist in local customs both on the campuses in the Soviet Union and on a particular campus in this country.

As discussion has developed a broad outline of the way such an exchange would work has developed. It would provide for one to three students from a Soviet University to spend one undergraduate year at an American university and a similar number of American students from that same university which received the Soviet students to send its students to the Soviet University. In this respect it is truly reciprocal. The Soviet student would have his travel expenses paid by his university or actually the government, and the American student would have to have his travel to and from the Soviet Union paid by him and for him. Otherwise all of the expenses of tuition, room and board, plus travel in the host country would be provided by the host country. Almost any course of study could be chosen by an American student going to the Soviet Union; it would not be limited to Russian studies, etc. Provisions could be made to transfer the credit back to the home university depending upon the normal operating procedures of the university participating. In the final analysis, details are worked out by the university participating.

There really is so much more to say and to discuss, although I have, I think, presented the main outline. If you have questions you could write them or if you want to discuss them, the phone number of our organization is at the top of this page. I am enclosing...
Mr. Michael Gilfix

February 5, 1968

a copy of the brochure of the Student Division of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. It gives a more detailed description of the program, especially as it relates to students. There might be other ideas for your work contained in the brochure. Or perhaps you have some ideas that have not yet been considered which we might begin to work on. I really hope that some day in the not-too-distant future we could have a conversation. I am especially anxious to have your reaction to our program and to the undergraduate exchange. What are the possibilities of Stanford participating in this exchange? I am sure that the Soviet Union would be quite happy to conduct an exchange with Stanford since it is certainly one of the most famous American universities.

In the final analysis perhaps we will need to sit down together. In my travels, I have not yet been to California to meet with representatives there. We have to consider time and expenses, but we do not want to ignore such an important area as California, certainly. What I am trying to say, that as soon as it is possible I would like to come out your way.

The Council is not a membership organization as such, but certainly we would welcome your help and participation on our program. I am sure that you would have many valuable ideas that would help us with our program. At the present time, we are evaluating our program, especially in the student division to see where we could make the most useful contribution to the cause of promoting American-Soviet Friendship on the campuses. Having the advice of someone who actually works and studies on the campus full-time would be most valuable. In fact we would like to set up a sort of advisory panel, which would advise and program in the academic area, generally, and I would certainly welcome your participation. On this advisory committee, I would hope to have faculty and students. One of our participants would be Professor Howard Parsons of Bridgeport University, who is the newest member of our Board of Directors. I will send you copies of some of the items which we have been distributing, that he wrote.

Please excuse the rather disjointed character of this letter. At the moment I am trying to evaluate things in relation to the future of the Student Division's Program, and also I guess there are many things that I would just like to be able to have a free-wheeling discussion about with a person like yourself. I sincerely hope that the opportunity would come soon.

Let us keep in touch and then think of the best time to talk further or at least to confer on the telephone. Let me impress upon you the fact that if it seems warranted, I would come out to see you and others at Stanford, and at the same time move onto other campuses in California.

Under separate cover I am sending various items that we have published or are distributing. I am enclosing with this letter our Student Division brochure.

Very sincerely yours,

Carl Griffith
Student Director
February 20, 1968

Asst. Dir. W. C. Sullivan
F.B.I. Headquarters
9th and D Building, Rm. 1026
Washington, D. C. 20535

Dear Bill:

Mr. Gilfix brought this letter in to Dick Allen to see if he was interested in joining the National Council. Of course, he turned him down. Allen gave this to me and I am sending it in to you as you may be interested in the fact that the Council seems to be active here at Stanford.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Alan H. Belmont

Enclosure
stated that through a confidential and reliable source they had ascertained that the names of the following individuals appeared on a subscription list for the 'causing' publication:

BOSTON YSA
Hall 307
295 Huntington Avenue
Boston 02115

Y.S.A.
Antioch College Union
Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387

Serial Department
Hoover Institution
Stanford, California 94305

12 - Bureau
(1 - Liaison Section)
(1 - 440088; 431513; 80984)
(1 - Boston; Cincinnati; Atlanta; New York)
(2 - San Francisco)

4 - Paris
(105-5854; 2397; 2884; 2315)

REPt: jmw
(16)

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan
PAR 105-5854:

New York Public Library
Division P
Grand Central Station
P. O. Box 2240:
New York, New York 10017:

may be identical with the subject of
Bufile 100-440088. may be identical with the
subject of Bufile 100-431511. appears to be
identical with subject of Bufile 100-80984. Paris indices
contain no information identifiable with any of the other
above-mentioned individuals.

Copies of this letter are being designated for the
information of field offices covering the residences of the
individuals set forth above. It is suggested that San Francisco,
notify Army authorities locally concerning mentioned above.

Our French source identified "Rouge" as a monthly
Maoist publication.
September 16, 1970

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Department of Justice
Washington, D.C. 20052

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I wanted to announce that Allan Hoover and Admiral
Lewis Strauss insisted that I become Executive Director
of the Herbert Hoover Presidential Library Association.
I told them I wanted to maintain my commitment to John
Howard and Rockford College to complete our new campus.
The college trustees have agreed to permit me to become
Executive Director on a part-time basis, working on both
projects here in Rockford. I believe the objectives of the
Hoover Association and of Rockford College parallel one
another by stressing self-reliance, personal responsibility,
and individual freedom. Mr. Hoover was a great man and
unfortunately maliciously maligned. I intend to do some-
thing that will help millions of Americans, including
youngsters, have a better understanding of this man and
his contributions to our world.

Meanwhile, I thought you might like to see the attached.

Sincerely yours,

[Signature]

John T. McCarty
Son of Herbert Hoover tours Rockford College

By RUTH MARSHALL
Morning Star Staff Writer

Allan Henry Hoover, son of former President Herbert Hoover, made his first visit to Rockford Wednesday, a surprise trip to see Rockford College.

"I was passing through Chicago on business," Hoover said, "and I had heard so much about Rockford College and wanted to see it. So I called John McCarty and came on out."

Hoover, a private businessman in New York City, has long been a friend of McCarty, assistant to the RC president. McCarty guided the visitor on a tour of the campus and persuaded him to stay on for the RC summer theater performance Wednesday night.

Hoover is a soft-spoken, reserved man, in whose features it is possible to see a resemblance to his mother, the late Lou Henry Hoover.

Unlike his father, probably the most famous mining engineer the world has ever known, and his brother, the late Herbert Hoover, Jr., Allan Hoover said he is not a mining engineer.

"I was brought up in engineering," he said, "and I've been associated with many mining companies, but technically I'm not a mining engineer because I don't have the proper degree. I'm only a backyard engineer."

His graduate study was in business administration, at Harvard University's School of Business, class of 1931. Walter M. Colman, chairman of the Barber-Colman Co. board, was in the same school about the same time, was one of those who talked with Hoover Wednesday afternoon.

Hoover said he has never been active in politics. "I've never had the time," he said, "but I'm a voting Republican."

He is active in affairs of the Hoover Foundation. "It deals," he said, "with three of my father's main interests in later years— the Institute on War, Revolution and Peace at Stanford, the Presidential Library at West Branch, and the Boys Clubs of America."

Hoover said he had never visited West Branch, Iowa, his father's birthplace, until 1934 when "my mother, brother and I," acquired the site.

He has made many trips there since and is much interested in the growth and development of the Hoover area there, now a National Historic Site, with the presidential library operated by the government.

"It's quite unusual," he said. "It has my father's birthplace, as well as the library, and both my father and mother are buried there."

"They keep making improvements there," he said, "bringing back more of the mid-Victorian period it reflects. Everyone says it has a great deal of charm."

The Hoover presidential library is going to be expanded, he said. "They say they need more elbow room."

He is quietly proud of the continued interest in the 31st U.S. president, reflected by tourists visiting West Branch.
John McCarty takes Hoover Library post

John T. McCarty, assistant to the president of Rockford College since 1965, has been appointed executive director of the Herbert Hoover Presidential Library Association.

McCarty will continue his work for RC, he said Saturday, holding the additional post on a part-time basis.

Headquarters for the association are in Washington, D.C., but a regional office will be established in Rockford.

The association, which is incorporated for charitable and educational purposes, collects historical material on the life of Herbert Hoover, 31st U.S. president. It cooperates with the federal government and the state of Iowa in maintenance and operation of the Hoover Presidential Library, West Branch, Iowa. Its activities include grants to scholars for historical research and teaching.

President of the association is Allan Hoover, President Hoover's son, who visited Rockford College earlier this month, and a grandson, Herbert Hoover III, serves as a vice president. Admiral Lewis L. Strauss is chairman of the group's board.

McCarty came to the RC campus from New York City, where he was a consultant in business education for General Electric's management development and employee relations services. He had been with GE for 18 years.

He and his wife, Carol, and their four sons reside at 1220 National Ave.
Editorials

The Elwood Call-Leader

'My Country Owes Me No Debt'

On August 10, 1970, Herbert Clark Hoover, 31st President of the United States, would have been 96 years old. No more fitting occasion could have been chosen to announce the appointment of John T. McCarty, Assistant to the President of Rockford College in Rockford, Illinois, as Executive Director of the Herbert Hoover Presidential Library Association.

It is appropriate, too, that Mr. McCarty will continue his functions at Rockford College, since both organizations are educational and their objectives parallel one another by stressing self-reliance, personal responsibility and individual freedom.

One of the major objectives of the Herbert Hoover Presidential Library Association is to help people to understand the nature and value of our American ideals of freedom of choice, private property and limited government which enabled Herbert Hoover (and many others) to reach truly great heights of achievement. We have but to look about us to recognize the great need for such understanding today. The one common characteristic of our so-called "dissident youth" is an abysmal lack of knowledge about this nation, its revolutionary ideals and its promise for the future.

Herbert Hoover, born August 10, 1874 in West Branch, Iowa, of long Quaker ancestry...his father, a blacksmith, died when Hoover was six...his mother, a schoolteacher, died when he was eight...raised by an uncle, a country doctor in Oregon...largely self-educated, but gaining sufficient scholastic ability to be admitted as a member of the very first Freshman Class of Stanford University in California.

With absolutely nothing, "going for him," Hoover went on to become an eminently successful mining engineer, a member of two Presidential Cabinets and President of the United States. During the course of his life, Hoover literally saved the lives of millions of people in this country and abroad, through his philanthropic endeavors.

Yet Hoover said: "My country owes me no debt. It gave me, as it gives every boy and girl, a chance. It gave me schooling, independence of action, opportunity for service and honor. In no other land could a boy from a country village, without inheritance or influential friends, look forward with unbounding hope. My whole life has taught me what America means. I am indebted to my country beyond any human power to repay."

These are great words from a great man. We wish the Hoover Presidential Library Association every success in its program to proclaim the lessons to be learned from the life of Herbert Hoover.

For additional information about former President Herbert Hoover, write P.O. Box 695, Rockford, Illinois, 61105.
September 23, 1970

Mr. John McCarty
Executive Director
The Herbert Hoover Presidential
Library Association
Post Office Box 695
Rockford, Illinois 61105

Dear Mr. McCarty:

I have received your communication of September 16th and very much appreciate the interest which prompted you to bring this to my attention. You have my best wishes for every success in your endeavors.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

NOTE: Correspondent is not identifiable in our files. Admiral Strauss is on the Special Correspondents List.
UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO: MR. TOLSON

FROM: MR. SULLIVAN

DATE: 2/23/71

SUBJECT: "1969 YEARBOOK ON INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST AFFAIRS"

Former Assistant to the Director Belmont, who is now serving as Executive Assistant to the Director, Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, at Stanford University has asked me to present to the Director a copy of captioned publication recently issued by the Hoover Institution. This book, which is attached, incorporates in one volume a comprehensive survey of worldwide communist activities and policies during 1969. This appears to be a most valuable reference work regarding communism.

ACTION:

(1) If the Director approves, there is attached an appropriate letter to Belmont acknowledging this book.

(2) If the Director agrees, the book will be maintained in the Domestic Intelligence Division for future reference.

Encls: 4-23-71
1 - Mr. Sullivan

WCS: mea

REC-63 6-31 720 42 38

15 MAR 3 1971
February 23, 1971

Mr. Alan H. Belmont  
Executive Assistant to the Director  
Hoover Institution on War, Revolution  
and Peace  
Stanford University  
Stanford, California 94305

Dear Belmont:

I have received the copy of the "1969 Yearbook on International Communist Affairs" which you sent me through Bill Sullivan. It was certainly most generous of you to send this excellent reference work to me and I am sure it will prove highly useful in the future.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

NOTE: See memo Mr. Sullivan to Mr. Tolson dated 2/23/71 re "1969 Yearbook on International Communist Affairs" WCS/mea.

WCS/mea (3)
July 16, 1971

Mr. Alan H. Belmont
Executive Assistant
to the Director
Hoover Institution on
Max. Revolution and Peace
Stanford University
Stanford, California 94305

Dear Belmont:

Mr. W. C. Sullivan has called

to my attention the 1970 Yearbook on
International Communist Affairs, prepared
by the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution
and Peace, which you sent to me for use here.
It is evident from the Table of Contents of
this book that this is a very comprehensive
work. It should be most helpful for reference
purposes.

It was very thoughtful of you to
do this and I wish to extend to you my appreci-
cation, as well as that of the men working
on communist affairs.

Sincerely,

[Signature]

Cover memo, Sullivan to Tolson;
7/15/71 (WCS:csb)
Memorandum

TO: MR. TOLSON
FROM: W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 7/15/71
cc Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Brennan

SUBJECT: 1970 YEARBOOK ON INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST AFFAIRS
prepared by Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace

Former Assistant to the Director Alan H. Belmont has sent in to the Bureau, for its use, the above-captioned volume (it retails at $25.00). This volume gives a profile of individual Communist Parties throughout East Europe, West Europe, the Middle East and Africa, the Western Hemisphere, Asia and the Pacific, and the Soviet Union. It will be very useful in the Domestic Intelligence Division as a reference work.

In view of Mr. Belmont's thoughtfulness in this regard, it is believed the Director may want to send the attached proposed letter to him.

RECOMMENDATION - That the attached proposed letter be sent to Former Assistant to the Director Belmont.

Enclosures sent 7/16/71

WCS:CSH (3)
June 1971

Dear Friend:

On August 10, 1971 Herbert Hoover, the 31st President of the United States, would have been 97 years old. The Trustees of the Herbert Hoover Presidential Library Association voted at its annual meeting to extend Associate Membership in the Association to certain men and women around the world who believe as Herbert Hoover did in the values of self-reliance, personal responsibility and individual freedom.

We wish to extend Charter Associate Membership to you. The dues are $25 per year (tax deductible) commencing August 10, 1971.

It is intended that the proceeds from this Associate Membership Fund will be used to defray the expenses of scholars who will be invited to spend sabbaticals at the Hoover Library in West Branch, Iowa. These scholars will be encouraged to research the life and times of Herbert Hoover and to edit and publish materials pertinent to the problems of today.

Attached is a brochure outlining the activities of the Association. In addition to providing this important research, your membership will entitle you to a special guided tour through the Library. You will also receive material published periodically by the Association. May we urge you to accept our invitation to join with other thoughtful leaders in America on the important work of the Association.

Sincerely,

Lewis L. Strauss

Enclosure
Herbert Hoover Presidential Library, West Branch, Iowa

Herbert Hoover
Presidential Library
Association

Box 695 • Rockford, Illinois 61105
As an Associate Member of the Herbert Hoover Presidential Library...

...it is understood that you will be entitled to the following:

1. An individually inscribed annual membership card, permitting special tours of the Library itself for you and your party.
2. Periodic material published by the Association.

...In addition, you will be joining with other thoughtful leaders to carry on the important research work of the Association.

ASSOCIATE MEMBERS OF THE HERBERT HOOVER PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY

Hon. J. Edgar Hoover
Director, FBI
Dept. of Justice
Washington, D.C.

GENTLEMEN: I am enclosing my membership fee (tax deductible) in the amount indicated below.

☐ $25 ANNUAL MEMBERSHIP DUES which expires August 10 each year.

☐ $500 ENDOWED PERPETUAL MEMBERSHIP one-time contribution in lieu of annual $25 contribution.

MAKE CHECK PAYABLE TO: Herbert Hoover Presidential Library Association
MAIL TO: Associate Members of the Herbert Hoover Presidential Library, P.O. Box 695, Rockford, Illinois 61105
August 18, 1971

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation
Department of Justice
Washington, D.C. 20535

Dear Mr. Hoover:

The Hoover Institution Press has recently published a work, "As Peking Sees Us," which we feel would be of interest to your office. I am sending you a complimentary copy under separate cover.

Sincerely,

Brien Benson
Head of Publications

BB/pgt
August 25, 1971

Mr. Brian Benson
Head of Publications
Hoover Institution on War,
Revolution and Peace
Stanford, California  94305

Dear Mr. Benson:

Thank you for your letter of August 18th advising me that you are sending a copy of "As Peking Sees Us" to me. It is most thoughtful of you to do this and I look forward to its arrival.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

NOTE: Correspondent is not identifiable in Bufiles. This publication has not yet arrived at the Bureau and an appropriate stop has been placed.

JBT: nmi (3)

MAILED 12
AUG 25 1971
FBI

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPYE UNIT
Memorandum

TO: Mr. Bishop

FROM: M. A. Jones

DATE: 1/26/72

SUBJECT: HERBERT HOOVER ORAL HISTORY PROGRAM
REQUEST FOR ASSISTANCE

Raymond Henle, who is on the Special Correspondents' List on a first-name basis and for many years headed the NBC radio news program "Three Star Extra" but retired from broadcasting in 1965, has sent a bound copy of material relating in the main to the Director's participation in the Herbert Hoover Oral History Program. In addition, Mr. Henle sent for signature a "Consent to Copyright" form which would make this material the sole property of the Herbert Hoover Presidential Library Association, Inc. This form also indicates that permission is given to deposit copies of the transcript in the Herbert Hoover Presidential Library, West Branch, Iowa, and the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace at Stanford University. Although the material sent carries as a return address the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace, the Consent form is accompanied with a return envelope addressed to Mr. Henle at Marco Island, Florida.

The bound material which Mr. Henle sends consists of copies of a letter from the Director to Henle dated 11/10/66, and its enclosed statement expressing the Director's recollections of former President Herbert Hoover. In addition, Henle, for some unfathomable reason, includes personal correspondence from former Assistant Director Robert E. Wick as well as a resume of a telephone conversation which Henle apparently had with Mr. Wick. All of these communications by Mr. Wick were apparently in connection with Henle's request for amplification of the statement given, particularly in regard to President Hoover's role in the Director's appointment. In essence, Mr. Wick suggested that Henle use as a footnote a pertinent passage regarding this matter from Don Whitehead's "The FBI Story." Mr. Henle also includes, for some unexplained reason, in this bound material a copy of Jerry O'Leary's published interview with the Director which appeared in the 12/31/67 edition of the Washington Sunday Star.

Bufiles indicate that the aforementioned letter and statement, for use in captioned Program, were approved and submitted to Mr. Henle by letter of 11/10/66.

Enclosure

1 - Mr. Bishop - Enc.
1 - Mr. Dalbey - Enc.
1 - Miss Gandy - Enc.

TDH:lg.6(6)
M. A. Jones to Mr. Bishop Memo
RE: HERBERT HOOVER ORAL HISTORY PROGRAM

OBSERVATIONS:

As indicated above, it is not clear why Henle has included with the Director's letter and appropriate statement basically extraneous material.

RECOMMENDATION:

That attached letter to Mr. Henle extend the Herbert Hoover Presidential Library Association, Inc., copyright permission to only the Director's letter and statement of 11/10/66.

Why are we objecting to the extraneous material? Seems immaterial.

See M.A. Memo 1-31-72
Bishop Memo 1-27-72
Letter to Henley 1-28-72
January 28, 1972

Honorable Raymond Henle
Post Office Box 258
Marco Island, Florida 33937

Dear Ray:

I received on January 24th the bound material and the copyright consent form pertaining to the Herbert Hoover Oral History Program which you sent.

You may consider my signature on this letter as authorization for the Herbert Hoover Presidential Library Association, Incorporated, to hold copyright to my letter to you of November 10, 1966, and its enclosed statement setting forth my recollections of former President Herbert Hoover.

With every best wish,

Sincerely,

J. Edgar Hoover

NOTE: See M. A. Jones to Bishop Memo dated 1-27-72, captioned "Herbert Hoover Oral History Program, Request for Assistance."

TDH: lg/paa (8)

Mr. Telson
Mr. Fell
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Miller, E.S.
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Casper
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Dalbey
Mr. Cleveland
Mr. Peider
Mr. Bates
Mr. Walkert
Mr. Walters
Y. Sogurn
Up Room 9

TELETYPE UNIT
January 24, 1972

The attached material was sent to the Director from Raymond Henle, Room 111, Hoover Institution On War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford California 94305.

It is noted that the "Consent to Copyright" is accompanied with a return envelope addressed to Mr. Henle at Marco Island, Florida.

EX-103
REC-50
6-2-72-042-467
2 FEB 8 1972

4 ENCLOSURE ENC. BEHIND FILE

54 MAR 1 4 1972
CONSENT TO COPYRIGHT

It is my wish that copyright in the transcript of the interview that I have given to the Herbert Hoover Oral History Program, when I have read, corrected and approved the transcript, shall be the sole property of the Herbert Hoover Presidential Library Association, Inc.

I understand that the Association will register copyright in the transcript in its own name, but that it will freely authorize the use and reproduction of the transcript or excerpts from it for historical and educational purposes.

I also understand that the Association will deposit copies of the transcript in the Herbert Hoover Presidential Library, West Branch, Iowa and the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace at Stanford University, to be used for historical research at these institutions.

Date: ____________________

62-72043
Memorandum

TO: Mr. Bishop  
FROM: M. A. Jones

DATE: 1-27-72

SUBJECT: HERBERT HOOVER ORAL HISTORY PROGRAM
REQUEST FOR ASSISTANCE

Reference attached memorandum captioned as above, and letter to Raymond Henle, dated 1-26-72 and 1-27-72, respectively. As was indicated, Henle had submitted for copyright purposes a letter and statement from the Director concerning recollections of former President Hoover (for use in the Herbert Hoover Oral History Program) as well as other material including personal correspondence from former Assistant Director Robert E. Wick and a resume of a telephone conversation between Henle and Mr. Wick. All of these communications were in connection with a request for amplification of the statement given, particularly in regard to President Hoover's role in the Director's appointment. In essence, Mr. Wick suggested that Henle amplify this statement by using as a footnote a pertinent passage regarding this matter from Don Whitehead's "The FBI Story." It was observed in referenced memorandum that these communications were basically extraneous and this view was expressed in attached letter to Mr. Henle. The Director, however, noted on referenced memorandum: "Why are we objecting to the extraneous material? It seems immaterial."

Insofar as it is possible to reconstruct the exchange between former Assistant Director Wick and Mr. Henle in 1966, Mr. Wick in a telephone conversation (the resume dated 11-22-66) gave to Mr. Henle a version of former President Hoover's involvement in the Director's appointment. In two later letters, Mr. Wick suggested that it would be best if Mr. Henle instead used material from Don Whitehead's "The FBI Story" (pages 66-67) in footnote form and that Henle "eliminate my name (Wick's) and predicate the footnote directly on Don Whitehead's "The FBI Story." As will be noted in the bound material which Mr. Henle has submitted, a footnote specifically along the lines suggested by Mr. Wick has been included. Although Mr. Wick's communications would appear to be extraneous as the Director has noted their inclusion may not be too material.

RECOMMENDATION: EX-10Q

That, upon approval, attached letter dated 1-28-72 to Raymond Henle now be sent.

Enclosure 1 - Mr. Bishop-Encl  - Miss Gandy-Enc
1 - Mr. Dalbey-Encl  - Mr. Malmfeldt-Enc

UNRECORDED COPY FILED
February 8, 1973

Mr. Edward S. Miller
Assistant Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
9th & Pennsylvania, Room 1026
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Miller:

The January issue of the New Left Report will mark the end of this publication in its present form. The New Left has linked its face to the Vietnam war and "American imperialism" since 1965; virtually ignoring domestic affairs in the process. Consequently, the cease fire in Vietnam deprived the Movement of all but its most devoted followers, and its principle issue.

The New Left continues, but until its leaders discover another issue that will revive active campus or popular support, its ambitions lend themselves to a different kind of coverage. In the future, studies on specific aspects of the Movement will be produced whenever the intensity of activity warrants a report. A few of the subjects under consideration are: high school insurrection, radicals entering electoral politics, the organization of criminals behind bars for revolutionary purposes, radicals in the professions, etc. These and other subjects are documented in the New Left Collection and I hope they will continue to be of interest to you.

The January 1973 Report contains a notice of the discontinuance of the regular monthly summary. I thought you should know that the Hoover Institution has not diminished its coverage of this field. It will add to the New Left Collection, keep abreast of current developments and from time-to-time publish accounts of radical activity as indicated above.

Sincerely yours,

D. C. Bacciocco

56 Feb 20, 1973
7/26/73

Mr. Kelley:

Al Belmont, as you know, has since his retirement been working for the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace at Stanford. He perennially sends us two copies of his year's work, one for the Director and one for us over here.

I have taken the liberty of attaching a note to him from you acknowledging the book which is attached.

E. S. Miller

Enclosures (2)

62-72-042- 4/7
July 27, 1973

Mr. Alan H. Belmont
Associate Director-  
for Administration  
Hoover Institution  
on War, Revolution and Peace  
Stanford, California  
94305

Dear Al:

Please accept my many thanks for the "1973 Yearbook on International Communist Affairs." As you know, I have been in "the chair" since July 9th and am trying to catch up on developments in the past twelve years.

I am sure the book you have sent me will be of assistance in this regard; but, I must admit it is a struggle for me to shift gears from Kansas City to Malaysia.

I want to wish you continued success in your work.

Sincerely,

Clarence M. Kelley
Director

Clarence M. Kelley served as Assistant to the Director prior to his retirement and was broadly respected throughout the Bureau. On retirement he became Associate/Director of the Hoover Institution at Stanford, California, and has furnished each year copies of the yearbook published by the Hoover Institution.
Mr. Clarence M. Kelley
Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
U. S. Department of Justice
Washington, D. C. 20535

Dear Clarence:

This is to acknowledge your note of July 27th regarding the "1973 Yearbook on International Communist Affairs". I believe this is a pretty good reference book and as we put it out each year, I thought it would be helpful to the Bureau and hence sent a copy to the Intelligence Division and a copy for your library.

I do want to tell you that in my opinion, after fumbling the ball, the administration has done the essential thing of appointing a man who will maintain the high moral and ethical standards of the F.B.I. and above all, will keep the Bureau out of politics.

Please be assured that I am in the Bureau's corner out here and if there is anything I can do to help you or the Bureau, I will be only too glad to be of assistance.

Sincerely,

[Signature]

Alan H. Belmont
Associate Director
for Administration
(former Ass't to Director)

REC-26
EX-103
22 AUG 14 1973

[Handwritten note: 62-72042-48]
August 8, 1973

Mr. Alan R. Belmont
Associate Director for Administration
Hoover Institution on War,
Revolution and Peace
Stanford University
Stanford, California 94305

Dear Al:

This is to thank you for your very kind sentiments in your letter of July 31st concerning my appointment as Director. It is indeed reassuring to know you are there if we need to call on you.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

/\ Clarence

I do hope you come by to see me if ever you are in town. Many of our people share this hope. You have not been forgotten.

aw:las (4)
July 1, 1977

Mr. Paul Zolbe
Deputy Chief, U.C.R.
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C. 20535

Dear Mr. Zolbe:

This is a note to request the 1976 A, A supplement, B and C questionnaires by agency to update the U.C.R. data base we had acquired through your predecessor, Weldon Kennedy, for 1966-1975. I spoke with the person we had handled details through previously, John Nelson, and he indicated all we needed was to get authorization from you and to send him several blank computer tapes.

I would like to add how much we appreciate the cooperation and efficiency in providing our research group with the U.C.R. data.

Sincerely yours,

F.C. Nold

2 NOV 9 1977
November 7, 1977

Mr. F. C. Nold
Crime Project
703 Welch Road
Palo Alto, California 94304

Dear Mr. Nold:

Reference is made to your letter dated July 1, 1977, and to your telephone conversation with [redacted] on October 12, 1977.

There have been forwarded separately FBI magnetic tapes numbered 018756, 018757, 018758, and 018760, which contain data pertaining to 1976 Return A Supplement data. The tapes numbered 018748, 018751, and 018755 contain data pertaining to 1976 Return A data. The tape numbered 018768 pertains to 1976 Disposition Data. These tapes were created at nine track, 1600 BPI and are unlabeled. Forwarded with the tapes are format layouts and descriptions to show and describe the records.

Once these tapes have been copied, you are requested to promptly return them to the Uniform Crime Reporting Section. We are pleased to be able to provide this information for your use.

Sincerely yours,

Paul A. Zolbe
Chief
Uniform Crime Reporting Section
OFFICIAL INDICATED BELOW

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I think this would be worth study. With no data is suggested. Glenn is of also Chairman Emergency Oversight Board.

See Me ____________________________________________ ( )
Note and return ____________________________________ ( )
Prepare reply and return for my signature __________ ( )
Please Handle _______________________________________ ( )
Respond over your signature _________________________ ( )
Prepare memo for the Department _____________________ ( )
For your recommendation _____________________________ ( )
What are the facts? _________________________________ ( )
Hold _____________________________________________ ( )

Remarks: __________________________________________

______________________________________________

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______________________________________________

______________________________________________
The Honorable William Webster  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
9th and Pennsylvania Avenue  
Washington, D.C. 20500  

December 28, 1982

Dear Bill:

Within the framework of our Domestic and International Studies programs at the Hoover Institution, the "Hoover Seminar" has been an occasion for prominent guests in the executive branch of government and our scholars to meet and exchange views on current policy matters. With this letter, I would like to invite you to participate in one of the Hoover Seminars, as your schedule may permit.

We believe that the Hoover Seminar is playing a major role in the relationship between scholars and the nation's decision makers, whose dialogue is so crucial to responsible decisions in government today. Members of the administration who have participated in the Seminars thus far include, among others, Edwin Meese III, Attorney General William French Smith and Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger.

The Seminar's format of an informal morning or afternoon discussion with the Institution's scholars is deliberately flexible. It is designed to afford our guests the opportunity to become acquainted with the Hoover Institution and to be a stimulating and enjoyable occasion.

Because the Hoover Institution is a non-profit organization, under Section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code, we understand that transportation here can be made at government expense. Alternatively, it may be made at our expense if our guest prefers. The Institution would pay all costs as needed for lodging and meals of our guest and spouse (and the spouse's transportation).

We would be very pleased if you are able to accept our invitation, and it would be a pleasure to welcome you to the Hoover Institution.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Glenn Campbell

3 JAN 17 1993
January 6, 1983

JUDGE:

You have been invited to participate in a Hoover Seminar sponsored by the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace at Stanford University. The invitation appears to be open as no specific date is mentioned.

You have been very generous with the time that you have given both to the academic audiences and the San Francisco area. I know of no overriding reason for you to work this into your schedule this winter or spring. I do, however, agree that the Institution is a worthwhile audience.

I recommend that we advise Mr. Campbell of your busy schedule through the spring and request some specific proposals for the fall or late 1983. If you agree, we will prepare a suitable letter and Al Bassett will coordinate with San Francisco and the Institute.

ROGER YOUNG

Enclosure

1 - Mr. Young (Enc)
1 - Mr. Schiappa (Enc)
1 - Mr. [blank]
1 - Miss [blank] (Enc)
1 - Telephone Room (Enc)
1 - Speech Desk (Enc)
IAB: dmm (7)

[Signature]

59 FEB 7 1983

[Signature]
January 11, 1983

Honorable Glenn Campbell  
Hoover Institution on War,  
Revolution and Peace  
Stanford, California 94305

Dear Glenn:

Many thanks for your letter of December 28, 1982. I would be pleased and honored to participate in a "Hoover Seminar" if we can work out a mutually satisfactory time. You mentioned no dates in your letter. My schedule through midsummer is already pretty full. I would have a much better chance of making it if it were scheduled after that time, but if you had an earlier date in mind I would be happy to check it against my current schedule.

Normally such participation would be considered official business. Your offer to pay for Drue's transportation expenses is most appreciated.

I will wait to hear further from you on this.

Warm regards,

Sincerely,

William H. Webster  
Director

3 JAN 17 1983
January 21, 1983

The Honorable William H. Webster
Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
9th and Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Bill:

Thank you for your recent letter. We are delighted that you are interested in coming at some future date to the Hoover Institution for an informal seminar with our scholars.

We will be pleased to make the arrangements for this meeting to suit your convenience. We would enjoy having you as our guest for lunch, either before or after the seminar, or for dinner in the evening. If, however, you are pressed for time, we can have just the seminar at anytime you wish.

The format for these meetings has been very informal. Our guest chooses his own topic on which to speak and this is followed by general discussion with our scholars.

If your office will advise us whenever you can choose a convenient date to visit the Hoover Institution, we will be happy to make the arrangements.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Glenn Campbell

Copy made for Tele. Rm.
40 MAR 1983

MAR 31 1983
TO: REPAIR DESK, UNIT 1, ROOM 5923

Re: File No. 62-72042 Section

This file charged or transferred to Repair Desk by:

Please repair items checked below:

1. [ ] Expand
2. [X] New Cover
3. [ ] New Back
4. [ ] Change Cover Size
5. [ ] Consolidate Sections
6. [ ] Make Up Sub A File
7. [ ] Repair Serials
8. [ ] Laminate Serials
9. [ ] Check Serialization
10. [ ] Miscellaneous (Specify)

Date

Repair by: 101 4-21

Checked by:

File Sent: [ ] Return Table
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From: (Use reverse side for additional remarks)

FBI/DOJ
March 10, 1983

OUTSIDE SOURCE

Honorable Glenn Campbell
Hoover Institution on War,
Revolution and Peace
Stanford, California 94305

Dear Glenn:

Thanks for your letter of January 21 giving me an opportunity to choose a convenient date for my visit to the Hoover Institution. As of now, I have some free dates in September. The period between September 7 and 16 is wide open.

After you have checked these dates on your calendar, please feel free to have someone from the Institution call Special Agent [ ], of my staff at 202-324-5385. Mr. [ ] can firm up a date during the period that I've given you or suggest alternate dates. This way we should be able to make some definite plans.

Warm regards,

Sincerely,

[Signature]

William H. Webster
Director

NOTE: Invitation accepted per Director. Bufiles reflect prior first name correspondence.
March 31, 1983

The Honorable
William H. Webster
Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
U.S. Department of Justice
Pennsylvania Ave. at 9th St. N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20535

Dear Judge Webster:


Would you be kind enough to send me a copy? Many thanks in advance.

Best wishes and

Respectfully,

Richard F. Staar
Senior Fellow

RFS/tb

D.S. Dick Burress sends his personal regards.
April 22, 1983

Mr. Richard C. Staar
Senior Fellow
Hoover Institution on
War, Revolution and Peace
Stanford, California 94305

Dear Mr. Staar:

In response to your recent letter, I have enclosed a copy of the 27-page report entitled "Soviet Active Measures Relating to the U.S. Peace Movement." This report was released, with our permission, by Congressman Bill Young during a meeting of the House of Representatives on March 24, 1983. The report consists of the unclassified portions of a classified FBI report on Soviet active measures that was provided to the Chairman of the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence at his request.

I appreciate being remembered by Dick Burress and your passing along his regards. Please give him my best.

Sincerely yours,

William H. Webster
William H. Webster
Director

MAILED 15
APR 25 1983

FBI

Enclosure

1 - Mr.
1 - Mr.
1 - Mr.

See Note Page 2

PM/NB:maf (7) 2 1983

b6
b7c

APR 29 1983
Mr. Richard F. Staar  
Senior Fellow  

NOTE: 

This communication is in response to a letter dated 3/31/83 from Richard Staar, Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution, to Judge Webster requesting a copy of the 27-page report released by Congressman Bill Young on 3/24/83, with our permission, concerning Soviet active measures relating to the U.S. peace movement. This report consists of the unclassified portions of a "Secret" FBI study entitled, "Soviet Active Measures Relating to the U.S. Peace Movement," which was provided to the Chairman of the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, at his request. A copy of the unclassified report has been obtained from Congressman Young and is being forwarded with this communication to Mr. Staar.
April 27, 1983

Honorable Glenn Campbell
Hoover Institution on War,
Revolution and Peace
Stanford, California 94305

Dear Glenn:

Your secretary has been in touch with Special Agent [redacted], of my staff regarding the date for my visit to the Hoover Institution. Inasmuch as September 8 is a mutually convenient date, I am planning to be with you then.

Both [redacted] and I are looking forward to our trip to Stanford in September. In June or July I'll have someone from my staff contact your office about possible seminar topics and the other details.

Warm regards,

Sincerely,

William H. Webster
William H. Webster
Director

[Redacted]
September 12, 1983

Mr. William Webster  
Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Webster:

I found your September 8th talk here at Hoover both very interesting and enlightening. When you spoke the following day at the Law School, I was the one who asked if there had been any research on the FBI besides [illegible]'s illuminating comparative study of the FBI and DEA. (If any of the special agents doing PhD dissertations have researched organizational aspects of FBI operations or other aspects of interest to social scientists, I would be most appreciative if I could obtain the citations.)

I myself have been researching the U.S. Immigration Service over the past 18 months, mainly with a view to understanding how the immigration law is enforced on a day-to-day basis and the dilemmas confronting INS officers in the field.

When I complete my study of the INS, I would like to move to another area of federal law enforcement. I have an interest in the problems Customs and the FBI confront in preventing high-technology theft and transfers to the eastern bloc, an important issue as you noted in your talk. Would it be possible for me to obtain access to FBI operations in this area to learn more about this problem or is it too sensitive an area for research by an outside scholar?

I look forward to hearing from you. Again, congratulations on a superb talk.

Sincerely,

Enclosure

Visiting Scholar  

2 JAN 28 1994
INS And The American Public: What Each Needs To Know About The Other

By Edwin Harwood*  
Hoover Institution

During the past two years, I've been studying how the INS enforces the immigration law against foreign nationals living and working illegally in the U.S. I became interested in the problem of illegal immigration in summer 1981, because it had become a major domestic policy issue. Also, I believed it would interest the Hoover Institution, a think-tank at Stanford University, and improve my chances of obtaining a research fellowship. By the fall of '81, I decided I would study the INS after I had read the staff studies sponsored by the Hesburgh Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy. As I read the Hesburgh Commission report, I realized that although much had been written about illegal immigration, few scholars had taken an interest in how immigration law was being enforced.

After obtaining authorization from INS Headquarters in Washington, I visited a number of District Offices and Border Patrol stations during 1982. I interviewed and observed plainclothes investigators, Border Patrol Agents and other INS specialists, to learn what they did and the problems they had to grapple with in trying to enforce a law which many believe is second only to the federal code in complexity. Understanding not just the Immigration and Nationality Act but the federal case law that has developed over the years (which I've yet to fully achieve), in regard to all of the Act's many provisions, is crucial for understanding the problems INS officers face. Thus, for example, one has to understand the federal case law to know why an I-130 petition in which fraud is suspected might still have to be approved by the Service because of the difficulty the investigators will face in proving "fraud from inception".

Court cases relating to Fourth Amendment "search and seizure" issues are also important to know in order to understand the procedures INS officers use when approaching and apprehending suspected illegal aliens on the street, in factories or on the highway in load cars. And I could cite other examples.

As a result, I've had the unique opportunity of looking at the interface between the Immigration and Nationality Act (the law on the books) and the law in action; which is affected by federal and administrative case precedents, INS Central Office policy, resource limitations on the Service among other factors. I've observed officers carrying out "factory surveys", patrolling on linewatch, sweeping through railroad yards, conducting checks for I-130 petitions suspected of fraud, among other enforcement activities.

I've listened while the officer I was riding with in Tucson ticked off the "articulable facts" on a suspected load car during traffic observation, and learned how he could confirm his initial suspicions and get additional "p.c." (probable cause) just by watching how the driver and occupants behaved when we drove up alongside.

I've watched as agents checked documents or asked questions of subjects suspected of making false claims after an area control operation. As a result, I have learned some of the "tricks of the trade" which aren't taught at the academy but learned on the job from more experienced officers. Among the most interesting are the techniques used to verify U.S. citizen claims. I was intrigued by the fact that while there is the physical chase, which may require agents to track aliens using the old Indian art of sign cutting, there is also the psychological and verbal chase, which requires deft interrogatory skills and an ability to "read" the emotions of an alien who doesn't "rabbit" but instead tries to elude apprehension by bluffing with a false claim.

Later, back at the patrol station or District Office I also observed how patrol agents and investigators processed aliens for voluntary return or for deportation hearings. I learned about the various factors involved in deciding whether to place an alien under deportation proceedings or to grant him voluntary return, whether to require a bond and, if so, in what amount, etc.

I soon realized that the problem the Service faces in many (if not all) districts is not primarily one of locating and finding illegal aliens, but making sure that the level of apprehensions is kept in balance with the resources available to the Service, which includes available officer time to "write up" aliens, availability of detention space and transportation funds, immigration caseloads, etc. With more resources, more aliens would be apprehended and processed.

All of this is well known to Service officers. Yet, the American public knows very little about what INS officers do or the problems they face, let alone about the law they are asked to enforce. Americans know there's a law and also know there are large numbers of illegal aliens here in violation of the law. When I've given talks on my research, someone in the audience invariably asks why the INS can't control the problem, and why aliens illegally here can't be shipped out. Most in my audience know that our country, unlike many others, provides individuals with constitutional safeguards such that we can't follow...

* The writer, Edwin "Ted" Harwood, is a sociologist and is presently a National Fellow at the Hoover Institution at Stanford University. He is currently researching the illegal alien problem from the standpoint of the legal and social policy issues involved in enforcing the law with respect to illegal entry and residence in the United States. He has been doing field research on the Border Patrol.

10 INS Reporter/Spring 1983
the recent example countries like Nigeria and just, expel illegal aliens en masse.

Still, many Americans are frustrated and wonder why the law can’t be enforced more effectively. I have to tell my audience about how aliens and their attorneys are able to use various statutes to delay hearings and how, in the view of many officers, this is often done simply to “buy time” in order to acquire equity that might make them eligible for one or another form of relief. I discuss how aliens sometimes abscond before or after their deportation hearing and in some districts aren’t pursued because the INS has only so much in the way of manpower and resources to track absconders. Investigators must also handle a heavy caseload of “dual action” background investigations and these may have priority because aliens and their attorneys awaiting adjudication will keep the pressure on District Directors with threats to go to court if decisions are delayed. In contrast, absconders are in no hurry to be re- apprehended and indeed, nobody other than INS officers may really care whether they’re apprehended.

Many of my listeners are surprised to learn that Voluntary Return Under Safeguard, which has turned the southern border into a “revolving door” of catch, return to the border, catch again, return again, etc., is the only viable policy option available to the Service because of limited detention space and too few immigration judges to handle both the aliens who want hearings and those the Service decides must undergo hearings. I have to explain that deportation processing, like criminal prosecution, is a scarce enforcement resource that has to be reserved for the more serious violators.

My audience is also surprised when I tell them what an investigations supervisor told me when I first started my research, though at first I hadn’t understood what he meant. The supervisor, a seasoned and experienced officer, told me that the main reason enforcement works is that most aliens are basically honest people. Only later did I realize what he meant by that remark. Although an alien may initially try to elude an officer with a false claim to citizenship or immigrant status, most eventually concede their alienage. If most illegal aliens didn’t “fess up” to foreign birth, but instead stood mute or stuck by their U.S. citizenship claims, enforcement might collapse altogether. Why? Because in our country the burden of establishing that an individual is both an alien and deportable would fall on the government and might require very time-consuming investigations to establish the individual’s identity and place of birth. Even this most basic constitutional point about U.S. immigration law is not understood by many Americans.

Racially, I rarely have enough time in my talks to go into the trackless desert of federal case law beyond pointing out to my audience how both the federal courts and, to an extent, the political sensitivities of INS higher management have led to increasing restrictions on how and where INS officers can apprehend illegal aliens, compared with 20 and more years ago. These are well known to Service officers who are frustrated by the many new curbs on their authority but are hardly visible to the public at all.

Clearly, Americans need to know more about the INS’ problems with regard to illegal immigration and I hope that my study may contribute to an improved understanding on the public’s part.

What about the public’s attitude towards immigration enforcement? INS officers need to understand the reasons behind the public’s lukewarm and often ambivalent support for their activities. (This won’t alleviate officers’ frustrations but it may provide philosophical solace!) At first glance, public support for tough enforcement of immigration law is indisputable. Every national survey undertaken over the past five to seven years indicates that Americans consider illegal immigration a serious problem and want the government to enforce the law. In June 1980, 91 percent of those surveyed by the Roper Organization agreed that an all-out effort should be made to stop illegal entry into the U.S. NBC’s August 1981 survey revealed that 87 percent of Americans believed the illegal immigration problem was either “very” or “somewhat” serious. And a year later, in May 1982, the Merit survey found 84 percent of the public either “very” or “fairly” concerned about the number of illegal aliens in the country.

Fully 70 percent of the respondents polled in the 1982 Merit survey, which was conducted just after Project Jobs was launched in nine major cities during the Spring, approved of the government arresting illegal aliens at work. Newspaper telephone surveys, although their samples were not representative, also reported strong public support of Project Jobs. And Gallup, in September 1982, found 65 percent of those polled supporting sanctions against employers who hire illegals. Over three-quarters of Californians polled by the Field Institute in June 1982, said the government should do more to discourage illegal aliens from coming into the country.

These surveys tell us about the public’s general attitude on the problem. But when it comes down to specific day-to-day enforcement actions of the Service, Americans are often either indifferent or even hostile to what officers are doing. I recall, for example, the tongue-lashing I observed an investigator receive from a restaurant owner when he was handcuffing her El Salvadoran cook. Why, she asked angrily, was he arresting her cook? Why wasn’t he out catch-
The fact that the groups sympathetic to illegals outnumber those opposed is at the crux of the Service's problem. The "public opinion" that makes waves in our society are the perceptions that organized interest blocs promote with the aid of the media, not the passive attitudes of a sample of Americans polled in a survey.

Neglected by the media is the fact that leniency in enforcement is the rule rather than the exception. For example, officers encounter many illegal aliens in the course of their work who aren't carrying their green cards. Though technically they are guilty of a misdemeanor, they are rarely prosecuted. Indeed, if timepermits, many officers will try to verify the alien's legal status by calling in for a computer check, asking him or her questions that a legal resident should know or driving him by his residence to get his card. Aliens who make false U.S. citizen claims are technically guilty of a felony but are rarely prosecuted. Most will get the same treatment as an alien who didn't try to bluff his way out of an arrest.

Another problem for the Service is that the public's attitude is inconsistent. Americans can disparage illegal immigration "in general" yet at the same time want exceptions made for the maid who works for their neighbor or the waiter who works at their favorite restaurant. While it is perhaps understandable that a businessman will be angered when his own workforce is disrupted by a raid, even Americans who derive no economic advantage from illegal immigration are still apt to sympathize with illegal aliens who have been apprehended and who they know personally, or read about in the press.

I recall the story about a family that had been arrested in Los Angeles last summer and placed in detention in Pasadena. The article showed a picture of the father with his arms stretched and quoted him as saying, "Where is their heart? Why can't they forgive us?" The Los Angeles Times captioned the story with "Deportation Order Threatens American Dream" and went on to note how a close family friend of the alien and his family had gathered 400 signatures for a petition seeking Congressional intervention. The District Director, who was also interviewed, pointed out that the family had been ordered deported 12 years earlier, had absconded and was apt to do so again. "Do we," he was quoted as saying, "disregard the laws of the land just because (they) are nice people, or do we follow the law?"

Americans appear to want the immigration law enforced as a general policy, but become ambivalent over the plight of the individual alien...."
can more easily, get back in—again, often just hours after being apprehended, and both they and the agents know that the odds favor their eventually getting back up.

INS officers also know from experience that many of the tips they get on the whereabouts of unlawful aliens are motivated not by patriotic concern on the part of citizens, who believe it is their duty to report illegals, but by personal grudges and feuds. They know that a landlord will tolerate illegals as long as they pay their rent, turning them in only when the landlord wants the INS to "evict" them. An employee will phone in a tip on illegals, not when he first learned that there were illegals where he worked but only after he had been fired or laid off. Often, the only people who care to see an illegal alien removed are the INS officers who apprehended him and the individual who turned him in. But the alien has many friends, relatives and coworkers who will sympathize with his situation and rush to his aid.

In conclusion, the public needs to understand that it can't both have its cake and eat it too. It can't approve strong enforcement of the immigration law "in general" but then oppose it when it has to be enforced against this or that specific alien. Inconsistent application of law is not only unfair to individuals but breeds cynicism both among the agents who must enforce it and those against whom it is to be enforced.

As regards the other dilemma the INS faces, of getting effective public support for its day-in-day-out enforcement activities, especially in the Nation's interior, much will depend on whether Americans decide they care enough about the illegal immigration problem to organize and lobby for tougher enforcement in the way the many activist groups sympathetic to illegal aliens have worked to frustrate the Service through legal and other actions. In a constitutional democracy like ours, it isn't always the case that the popular will—as expressed, for example, in opinion surveys—automatically achieves the desired result. Often, well-organized minorities can prevail because they take more interest in the issue and are willing to spend more time lobbying for their goals.

What the INS can do is try to better explain its dilemmas to the public and the media. Most journalists are fair-minded and try, I believe, to report the facts of a story accurately. When distorted accounts of INS activities occur, an effort should be made to rebut them. Many service clubs and other voluntary associations are always looking for guest speakers with fresh points of view. INS should encourage officers to accept invitations to speak to public gatherings to clarify the enforcement situation from the Service's point of view.

Many INS officers understand how their situation as law enforcers differs from that of some other federal agencies. Most understand why federal prosecutors find more jury appeal in taking cases involving "real criminals" such as bank robbers, embezzlers, heroin smugglers, etc. compared with immigration cases. In the main, immigration violators don't have clearly specific and visible victims who are hurt by what they do. And that's a double-blessed the main reason, as one INS officer explained it to me, why the INS has been the "poor stepchild" within the federal law enforcement establishment for so long. Both the courts and the public don't view immigration violators as "real criminals".

That situation isn't likely to change. Both the public and the courts will continue to give priority to the more serious and dangerous law breakers. INS officers may take solace from the fact that there are many federal laws on the books besides just immigration offenses which are weakly enforced and that even the FBI and other federal investigators have difficulty getting U.S. Attorneys to prosecute many of their cases.

Footnotes

1 The Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy was created by P.L. 94-113, enacted October 5, 1975, to study and evaluate existing immigration laws, policies, and procedures, and to make such administrative and legislative recommendations to the President and to the Congress as appropriate. The Reverend Theodore M. Heston was appointed by the President to head the Commission which consisted of three other public members appointed by the President; the Attorney General and Secretaries of State, Labor, and Health and Human Services; and four members each appointed by the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House, respectively. The final report of the Select Commission was issued on March 1, 1981.

2 Project Jobs was an area-control operation conducted by INS Investigators and Border Patrol Agents during the week of April 26-30, 1982, directed toward locating illegal aliens in the U.S. at places of employment.

Reorganization of INS

The reorganization of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, approved by the Department of Justice on October 6, 1982, became effective January 1, 1983, following completion of the Office of Management and Budget and Congressional notification process.

The reorganization is the result of an in-depth review of the INS management and organizational structure which was initiated by Commissioner Alan Nelson in 1982. As the result of careful and deliberate examination of a variety of organizational materials and studies, visits to five other Federal agencies to interview key executives, and an analysis of the organizational structures of eight Federal agencies with similar missions, Commissioner Nelson recommended to the Attorney General a number of changes in the organizational structure of the Service. Following is a brief description of those changes:

INS Reporter/Spring 1993 10
January 17, 1984

Dr. Edwin Harwood
Hoover Institution
Stanford, California 94305

Dear Dr. Harwood:

It was good to hear from you following my speech at the Hoover Institute.

We gave your request some thought; however, our operations regarding technology transfer are, as you surmised, very sensitive and we cannot divulge any information that would reveal our sources or methods. To do so would hinder our efforts to stem the flow of U. S. high technology to the Soviet Union and its allies.

In connection with the other part of your request, Special Agent [redacted], at the FBI Academy, Quantico, Virginia, is currently working on his Ph. D dissertation at the University of Southern California, which touches in part on the historical development of the FBI organizationally. The defense date of his dissertation is February 8, 1984, and the formal awarding of the degree will be in June, 1984.

If we can be of help to you in any other way, please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

William H. Webster
Director

[Signature]

2 JAN 23 1984

NOTE:

Information in 3rd paragraph furnished by SA [redacted].

[Redacted] (4)
December 31, 1985

OUTSIDE SOURCE

Judge William Webster
Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C. 20535

Dear Bill:

It was wonderful visiting with you yesterday. I got the feeling from our conversation that you are on top of your game and looking forward to 1986. That is certainly good news for the Bureau, the Nation and for your friends who admire you and wish you every success.

I have checked with the Bohemian Club and everything seems to be in order for the middle weekend at the Grove. I told them that you would be arriving sometime late Thursday afternoon or early evening July 17, 1986 and staying through Sunday, July 20th. This would mean that your Lakeside talk could be at noon on Friday, Saturday or Sunday. If this is too long a time, we could shoot for either a Friday or a Saturday talk. In any event, you will be a guest at my Camp, Wayside Log, and the tennis, etc. will be ready and waiting.

I have also checked with our Archives people and am told that a VHS tape is the type we can use. I assume your people will know what this means. Also, if you have any other tapes of this type or related material that you would like to see preserved for scholars present and future in our Archives we would love to have them.

Jan joins me in wishing you a wonderful New Year. I hope that you will be in town on January 21st for the Hoover Luncheon or Reception at the Madison Hotel. It would be great to see you at that time.

Sincerely yours,

Richard T. Burruss
Associate Director
January 8, 1986

DUTSIDE SOURCE

Mr. Richard T. Burress
Associate Director
Hoover Institution on War,
Revolution and Peace
Stanford, California 94305

Dear Dick:

Many thanks for your letter of December 31st. I am looking forward to joining you at the Bohemian Club and feel certain at this point in time that I could shoot for either a Friday or Saturday talk. If you prefer Sunday, I will try to work it out. Thanks for inviting me back. I certainly had a tremendous time on the first occasion.

I will see to it that a VHS tape of my National Press Club talk is sent out to you promptly. If you find it of the sort you want, please let me know and I will look for some more.

Unfortunately, I won't be able to join you on January 21st at the Hoover Luncheon because I will still be into my travel agenda in the Far East. I hope you will be back again soon and that we will have another chance to get together.

Finally, many thanks for an absolutely lovely brunch while you were here. I fully intended to take you and the family out and I hope you will give me that opportunity the next time you come.

Warmest regards,

Sincerely,

William H. Webster
Director
No Duplication Fees are charged for Deleted Page Information Sheet(s).

Total Deleted Page(s) ~ 6
Page 58 ~ Referral/Direct
Page 59 ~ Referral/Direct
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Page 62 ~ Referral/Direct
Page 155 ~ Duplicate of serial 53
January 30, 1986

OUTSIDE SOURCE

Mr. Richard T. Burress
Associate Director

Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace
Stanford, California 94305

Dear Mr. Burress:

Judge Webster requested that I send you a VHS video tape containing his speech before the National Press Club here in Washington, D.C., on December 10, 1985.

Please be advised that the copyright to the enclosed video tape is held by C-SPAN, Suite 155, 400 North Capitol Street, Northwest, Washington, D.C. 20001, telephone: (202) 737-3220. Should you wish to utilize this video tape for any reason other than for archival purposes, you must secure the permission of C-SPAN.

If we can help in any other way, please contact our Office of Congressional and Public Affairs.

Sincerely,

William M. Baker
Assistant Director
Office of Congressional and Public Affairs

NOTE: This letter was prepared in response to a letter sent by the Director to Mr. Burress dated January 8, 1986, in which Judge Webster promised Mr. Burress that a video tape of his speech before the National Press Club would be forthcoming. This matter has been coordinated with Mr. [Redacted] Legal Counsel Division, who advised that the FBI can make a copy of this video tape available to this institution for archival purposes, and also advised that the above caveat be included in the letter.
Hoover Institution
On War, Revolution and Peace
Stanford, California 94305-6010

December 15, 1987

VIA EXPRESS

The Honorable William Sessions
Director,
Federal Bureau of Investigation
J. Edgar Hoover Building
9th St. & Pennsylvania Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20535

Dear Judge Sessions:

It was very nice for you to take time from your busy schedule to meet with the President's Intelligence Oversight Board at our meeting in November. My fellow Board members and I appreciated it and found the meeting informative.

I would like to invite you to visit the Hoover Institution to participate in one of the Hoover Seminars as your schedule may permit, perhaps during your visit to San Francisco next week.

Within the framework of our Domestic and International Studies programs at the Hoover Institution, the Hoover Seminar has been an occasion for prominent guests in the executive branch of government and our scholars to meet and exchange views on current policy matters. We believe that the Hoover Seminar is playing a major role in the relationship between scholars and the nation's decision makers, whose dialogue is so crucial to responsible decisions in government today. Members of Congress and of the administration (at their time of service) who have participated in the Seminars thus far include among others, Attorney General Edwin Meese III, Secretary of Defense, Caspar Weinberger, Science Advisor to the President George A. Keyworth II, Director of the FBI, William H. Webster, Director of Central Intelligence, William J. Casey, former Attorney General William French Smith and Commission on Civil Rights Chairman Clarence M. Pendleton, Jr., Senators Wilson, Jackson, Hatfield and Griffin, and Congressman Foley.
The Honorable William Sessions
December 15, 1987
Page 2

The Seminar's format consisting of an informal morning or afternoon
discussion with the Institution's scholars is deliberately flexible.
It is designed to afford our guests the opportunity to become
acquainted with the Hoover Institution and to be a stimulating and
enjoyable occasion.

The Institution will pay all costs as needed for transportation,
lodging and meals of our guest.

We would be very pleased if you are able to accept our invitation, and
it would be a pleasure to welcome you to the Hoover Institution.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Glenn Campbell
Director
Honorable Glenn Campbell  
Director  
Hoover Institution on War, Revolution  
and Peace  
Stanford, California  94305  

Dear Mr. Campbell:

I very much appreciate your kind comments in your December 15th letter regarding my meeting with the President's Intelligence Oversight Board. This was an honor and a pleasure for me and I am pleased the meeting proved informative.

I also want to thank you for your invitation to visit the Hoover Institution to participate in one of your seminars during my recent trip west. As Mr. mentioned to you telephonically, my schedule was extremely tight and it was not possible for me to fit in a stop in Stanford. It was very thoughtful of you to make this a "standing" invitation and I will keep your generous offer in mind for a future date.

I hope 1988 is a prosperous year for you and the Institution and I look forward to our visit.

Sincerely yours,

William S. Sessions  
Director  

NOTE: SSA called Mr. CAMPBELL on December 21st and expressed the Director's regrets at which time Mr. CAMPBELL noted that this was a "standing" invitation.

ESH:jam (5)
The Honorable William Sessions
Director, Federal Bureau of Investigations
J. Edgar Hoover Building
9th Street & Pennsylvania Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20535

Dear Judge Sessions:

I am writing to extend a cordial invitation to you to be a special guest of honor at the luncheon to be held as part of the Washington meeting of the Hoover Institution Board of Overseers.

The luncheon will take place on Tuesday, January 12, at the Madison Hotel, beginning at 12:30 p.m., and will be preceded by a reception at 12:00 noon. The luncheon speaker will be Alan Greenspan, Chairman, Board of Governors of The Federal Reserve System and former member of the Board of Overseers.

Secretary of State George Shultz will be an honored guest at the luncheon and will address the Board members from 2:00 to 2:30 when the meeting reconvenes at 2:00 p.m. in the Executive Chambers at the Hotel for the afternoon session. You are cordially invited to stay for this session if you so desire.

I am pleased to inform you that Secretary Shultz is the Institution's fourth and most recent Honorary Fellow. The first of the four was President Reagan who was appointed in 1975; the other two are Nobel Prize Laureates Alexander Solzhenitsyn and Friedrich Hayek.

At 6:30 in the evening, a reception and buffet will be held in the Dolley Madison Ballroom at the Madison Hotel honoring the Board-of-Overseers members. A separate invitation will be sent to you for this reception.

I hope you will be able to join us. Please respond to

at

(415) 723-4163.

Sincerely yours,

Glenn Campbell
Director

Enclosure
For Release: December 16, 1987

Secretary of State Shultz Appointed Honorary Fellow of the Hoover Institution

Secretary of State George P. Shultz has been appointed an Honorary Fellow of the Hoover Institution at Stanford University. The appointment was announced today by Hoover Institution Director W. Glenn Campbell, after being approved by the Stanford University Board of Trustees at its December meeting.

Secretary Shultz is the fourth Honorary Fellow of the Hoover Institution, joining President Ronald Reagan, Nobel laureate Alexander Solzhenitsyn, and Nobel laureate Friedrich A. von Hayek. Secretary Shultz is expected to take up residence at the Hoover Institution at the end of his term in the Reagan Administration, and at the same time to resume his post as the Jack Steele Parker Professor of International Economics at the Stanford Graduate School of Business.

Shultz was appointed Secretary of State in 1982 by President Ronald Reagan and played a leading role in negotiating the recently signed intermediate range missile treaty with the Soviet Union. He has held government positions under six presidents of both parties, including four cabinet posts covering more than eleven years. Between 1969 and 1974 Shultz served successively as Secretary of Labor, Director of the Office of Management and Budget, and Secretary of the Treasury. In addition to his position at Stanford, his academic appointments have included dean of the Graduate School of Business at the University of Chicago and professor of industrial relations at the University of Chicago.

Director Campbell called Shultz, "one of America's most distinguished statesmen, whose association with the Hoover Institution will be an invaluable asset both to the institution and to Stanford University."

For more information contact: [Name] Public Affairs Manager, Hoover Institution, Stanford, CA 94305, tel. (415) 723-0603.

ENVELOPE
18 February 1988

Dear Sir/Madam:

Would you kindly send me a copy of the unclassified FBI report on Soviet "active measures" in the United States, part of which has been reprinted on the attachment.

Thank you for this courtesy.

Sincerely,

Richard F. Staar
Coordinator
International Studies Program

RFS: JCC
Encl (1)

\'/ ENCLOSURE
Ack let to
R.F. Staar
dated 3-11-88

18 JUL 1988
KGB Trying to Influence U.S. Defense Policy, FBI Says

(Editor's note: The following is from an unclassified FBI report on Soviet "active measures" directed against the United States. West Watch has obtained a copy and is reprinting below a section pertaining to KGB efforts to influence U.S. defense policy in 1986 and 1987.)

"The Soviet Union continues to devote manpower and resources in overt and covert attempts to influence the arms control and disarmament movements in the United States. The KGB has covertly requested its contacts in the peace and nuclear disarmament movements to continue to report on meetings, participate in upcoming conferences, and obtain information on initiatives, arms control and disarmament activities. The purpose of these contacts was to promote Soviet foreign policy objectives through the use of various active measures techniques. During 1986, KGB officers stationed in the United States attempted to:

2. Promote the creation of pro-Soviet U.S. peace and disarmament organizations that will discredit the United States and the SDI program.
3. Create anti-nuclear coalitions and encourage bilateral peace programs like the Sister Cities program.
4. Establish nuclear-free zones or ports in the United States.
5. Influence both U.S. and world opinion against SDI.
6. Utilize the SDI issue to divide the United States and NATO.
7. Influence and manipulate legitimate U.S. peace and friendship organizations in order to promote Soviet arms control policies and halt SDI research.
8. Influence U.S. religious leaders and groups to oppose U.S. military spending for new weapons systems like SDI.
9. Influence U.S. Government policies by creating a large, vocal, and influential body of public opinion that is based on Soviet disinformation.
10. Obtain SDI studies conducted by well-known foundations or 'think tanks.'
11. Increase the use of active measures operations in the United States to disrupt or halt the SDI research program.

Explaining Soviet "Active Measures"

"The term 'active measures' is a literal translation of a Russian phrase used to describe overt and covert techniques and intelligence operations designed to advance Soviet foreign policy objectives and to influence events in foreign countries.

"In the United States, Soviet active measures operations utilize a wide range of techniques which include: forged documents, written and oral disinformation, agents of influence, political influence operations, use of Communist parties, and an international network of Soviet-controlled front groups. Although most Soviet active measures occur overseas, those activities that occur in this country contribute to advancing Soviet foreign policy interests and in general discredit the United States.

"The Soviet leadership in Moscow takes a long-term view of its active measures operations directed against the United States. Through these operations, the Soviets attempt to: directly influence the policies and actions of the U.S. Government; undermine public confidence in U.S. leaders and institutions; influence public opinion against certain U.S. military, economic, and political programs; disrupt relations between the United States and its allies; and demonstrate that the policies and goals of the United States are incompatible with the growth of developing nations."

—From FBI report

December 1987—January 1988

WEST WATCH

Highlights from the report

- "Certain KGB officers currently assigned to the United States are in regular contact with officials from the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA) ... and other front groups."
- "Although many active measures are planned and executed by Soviet IO (Intelligence Officers), it should be emphasized that all Soviet officials, journalists, scholars, trade union officials, scientists, and even some students who visit the United States could be used for active measures and influence operations. Most of these individuals are not professional intelligence officers, but rather are co-opted by the KGB or GRU (military intelligence) for certain purposes."
- "In the United States, the Soviet Union effectively implements active measures operations through its ability to direct and manipulate Communist front organizations..."
March 11, 1988

Mr. Richard F. Staar
Coordinator
International Studies Program
Hoover Institution
On War, Revolution and Peace
Stanford, California 94305-6010

Dear Mr. Staar:

Your letter of February 18th seeking a copy of an unclassified FBI report on Soviet active measures in the United States has been received. Enclosed for your information is an excerpt from the December 9, 1987, edition of the Congressional Record which discusses this subject in detail.

Sincerely yours,

/5/

Milt Ahlerich
Assistant Director
Office of Congressional and Public Affairs

Enclosure

1 - San Francisco - Enclosures (2)
1 - Mr. [Room 4430, TL 242] - Enclosure

NOTE: Buffels contain prior miscellaneous correspondence from RICHARD FELIX STAAR and references to the HOOVER INSTITUTION, but nothing to preclude this reply, which was suggested by SA Valentine, INTD.

BHM:alj (5)
December 20, 1989

The Honorable & Mrs. William S. Sessions
Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
J. Edgar Hoover Building
Ninth Street & Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, D.C. 20535

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Sessions:

Acting Director John Raisian and I wish to extend a cordial invitation to you to attend a luncheon, held as part of the winter meeting of the Hoover Institution Board of Overseers, on January 17, 1990. It will take place at the Madison Hotel, 15th and M Streets, N.W., Washington, D.C., beginning at 12:00 noon. The luncheon speaker will be Vice President Dan Quayle.

We would also be pleased to have you attend the afternoon session of our Board of Overseers meeting which follows at 2:00 p.m. Our speakers will include Secretary of Defense Richard B. Cheney, Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers Michael Boskin, and Secretary of Commerce Robert A. Mosbacher.

At 6:30 in the evening, a reception and buffet will be held in the Dolby Madison Ballroom at the Madison Hotel honoring the members of the Board of Overseers. A separate invitation has been sent to you for this reception.

I hope that you will be able to attend all or any part of these events. Please respond to Teresa Terry at 415-723-4163.

Sincerely yours,

Robert H. Malott
Chairman
Board of Overseers

(Handwritten note: "[typewritten, dated 1/8/90]"
"Robert H. Malott"
"Chairman"
"Board of Overseers"
"Typewritten, 1/8/90"
"Typed, 1/8/90"
"Let dated & sent 1/9/90"
"OPA"
"OK"

[Handwritten note: "C: 1/8/90"]
Mr. Robert H. Malott  
Chairman 
Board of Overseers 
Hoover Institution on War, 
Revolution and Peace  
Stanford, California 94305-6010

Dear Mr. Malott:

I was delighted by the invitation from you and Acting Director John Raisian for Mrs. Sessions and me to attend the luncheon during the winter meeting of the Board of Overseers on January 17th.

I greatly appreciate your thinking of us, but it will be impossible to accept your luncheon invitation as I will be attending a noon function at the White House on that date. My afternoon schedule is somewhat uncertain at this time; however, I would like to attend some portion of the winter meeting. In that regard, it would be particularly helpful if you could send me a program schedule for the afternoon activities if one is available.

With warmest regards,

Sincerely yours,

William S. Sessions
Director

NOTE: The Director is scheduled to attend the Federal Law Enforcement Agencies luncheon with President Bush at the White House at 12 noon on 1-17-89.

NB:tdj (4)
November 27, 1991

The Honorable William S. Sessions
Federal Bureau of Investigation
J. Edgar Hoover Bldg.
Ninth Street & Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20535

Dear Director Sessions:

I am writing to invite you to a reception sponsored by the Hoover Institution on Wednesday, February 5, from 6:30 to 8:30 p.m. in the Dolley Madison Ballroom at the Madison Hotel in Washington, D.C.

You will be receiving a formal invitation in early January, but I am sending you this personal invitation in advance to urge you to join us. The reception is in honor of the distinguished members of the Hoover Board of Overseers, which meets once a year in Washington (see the attached list). This reception has become a Washington tradition in recent years, attracting many leading policymakers.

As a longtime friend of the Institution, you have many friends and acquaintances among our members and fellows. I know they would very much enjoy greeting you.

In addition to the list of Overseers, I am sending additional background information under separate cover. I do hope you will be able to join us. In the meantime, I wish you a very happy holiday season.

Sincerely,

[Signature]

John Raisian
Director

Enclosure

[Handwritten note: Ack/lC (phil/41)
Sign: B/W]

[Handwritten note: OPA-Bln]

[Handwritten note: 62-78042-7]
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ON WAR, REVOLUTION AND PEACE
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Robert H. Kriebel
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J. Clayburn LaForce, Jr.
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University of California
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Palo Alto, CA

Walter E. Williams
Economics Department
George Mason University
Fairfax, VA
Mr. John Raisian  
Director  
Hoover Institution on  
War, Revolution and Peace  
Stanford, California 94305-6010

Dear Mr. Raisian:

Thank you for your recent communication informing me about the February 5th reception being sponsored by the Hoover Institution at the Madison Hotel here in Washington, D.C. I look forward to receiving the formal invitation and hope that I will be able to attend.

With best wishes for the New Year,

Sincerely yours,

William S. Sessions  
Director

NOTE: JOHN RAISIAN sent the Director an advance notice of a 2/5/92 reception sponsored by the HOOVER INSTITUTION ON WAR, REVOLUTION AND PEACE. Mrs. Munford, DO, recommended above response. Based upon available data, Bufiles contain nothing to preclude this reply.

BHM: cjg (6)
HOOVER INSTITUTION ON WAR REVOLUTION AND PEACE

REPORT 1963-1966
Hoover Institution
on War, Revolution and Peace

Report 1963-1966
DEDICATION

On October 20, 1964, Herbert Hoover, founder of the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, died at the age of 90. Few persons in United States history have served their country so long and in so many ways. He was its 31st President, Secretary of Commerce, administrator of vast war relief programs, director of monumental studies on government reorganization. Never truly retired from public life, even in his last years, Mr. Hoover continued to advise the government as an elder statesman, to work actively for the advancement of underprivileged youth and to promote the Institution he founded.

Shortly after hostilities erupted on the Continent in 1914, Herbert Hoover formed his idea of preserving for posterity "an historical collection on the Great War." Keenly aware of the importance to future generations of "fugitive documents which quickly disappear," he began to gather propaganda leaflets, newspapers, government documents and periodicals—the priceless raw materials of history—in the belligerent nations he visited as administrator of Belgian war relief. At the close of World War I, Mr. Hoover turned to his alma mater, Stanford University, for expert assistance. With his own financial and administrative support, the foundations of what was to become the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace were laid.

From 1919 to 1922, a team of Stanford "historical sleuths" covered Europe in search of significant records. The magic of Mr. Hoover’s reputation as humanitarian and statesman opened many doors. His roving deputies acquired a variety of documents and archives previously unobtainable. It is clear that the founder's initiative put Stanford—at that time—20 years ahead of any other American center in possession of primary sources for 20th-Century West and East European historical studies. The Institution became a focus for analysis of the peace settlements of 1919–23 and of the revolutionary movements which rocked the Continent in the third and fourth decades of this century.

Before the Second World War broke out in 1939, the Institution staff had alerted agents and friends to begin collecting key documents on contemporary crises. So large had the Institution’s holdings grown that more space was needed to house them and to provide reading rooms, research offices and administrative quarters. Construction of the present Hoover Tower, designed by Arthur Brown, Jr. of San Francisco, began in 1939 and was completed two years later. In June of 1941, former President Hoover dedicated the 285-foot Tower to the "search for peace."

During World War II, the founder and his many friends again provided funds for increased acquisition of original historical records. The flow of material to the Institution after the war ended was overwhelming. Hoover Institution collection centers in Germany and Japan contributed heavily to the shipments
from war-torn areas. Much of the material also came from the "emerging" areas of Africa, Asia and the Middle East.

Acquisitions again increased sharply during the first half of the present decade and are continuing to rise rapidly. As a result, the Institution now has one of the world's finest libraries of documentary sources on the causes and effects of modern war, revolution and peace. Expanding use of these materials for research and publication in the last five years also has made Hoover a leading center for advanced study and scholarly writing on political, economic and social change in the 20th Century.

Each forward step was taken either at Mr. Hoover's suggestion or with his concurrence. At no time—even during periods of his greatest governmental responsibility—was the founder's attention far from the institution he regarded as his personal contribution to human understanding and world peace.

Thanks to one man's vision and initiative, the Hoover Institution stands today as one of the world's great centers of free inquiry. It offers the hope expressed by Mr. Hoover in dedicating the Tower on June 20, 1941:

"From these records there can be help to mankind in its confusions and perplexities and its yearnings for peace."
Director’s Review
THE LOU HENRY HOOVER BUILDING, shown here in an architect's sketch, will provide additional space for the Institution's expanding research program and its growing library collections. Named for the wife of former President Herbert Hoover, the new building is expected to be completed in mid-1967.
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Advisory Board

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DIRECTOR’S REVIEW

Early in 1963 the Hoover Institution published a 66-page brochure on its history and activities. Much has happened since in the acquisition of new library materials and in the expansion of our research and publications program. Symbolic of change and growth are the planned construction of the Lou Henry Hoover Building next door and the recent remodeling of the campus-dominating Hoover Tower.

While the death of our founder deeply saddened the staff, the Institution in the past year probably has come closer than ever before to the goals and standards Mr. Hoover set for us. The staff has collected illuminating documents of international affairs and attracted distinguished scholars to interpret and synthesize this information. Through research, publication and consultation, the Hoover Institution serves the country’s policy planners as well as the academic community. To the press and general public, also, the living records and human expertise at the Institution are a readily available source of knowledge.

We are determined that the Hoover Institution will accomplish much more in the years to come. The dedication of this volume to Herbert Hoover constitutes—for us at the Institution—a rededication to his pursuit of historical truth and to his hopes for peace on earth.

Research and Publications

The rich resources of the Hoover Institution’s library are collected to be used. They have always been, in Mr. Hoover’s words, “free as the Sierra winds for historians to interpret as they see fit.”

The range of subject and approach in the list of Hoover Institution titles appended to this report attests to such freedom of inquiry. To date, the Institution has published more than 100 books and shorter reference works written by its staff members and by visiting scholars. About 150 current research projects are expected to result in future publication. They are supported by grants from both general and special funds administered by the Hoover Institution. Most of the research and publication in international studies at Stanford University is conducted at the Institution.

Particularly important investigations are under way on the history of the Communist International, on Communist China’s economic power and on colonialism in Africa. A group of scholars are studying—under U. S. government contract—the possibilities for regional arms control in the Far East.

Last year Hoover issued Marxism in the Modern World, first of three volumes of essays derived from papers presented in October of 1964 at a notably well-attended international conference of scholars sponsored by the Institution. Titled “One Hundred Years of Revolutionary Internationals,” the con-
ference featured presentations by 37 experts on revolutionary socialism and Communism from the United States and Europe. The other two volumes—Marxist Ideology in the Contemporary World and The Revolutionary Internationals, 1864–1943—were published this spring.

In October of 1967, the Hoover Institution will sponsor a similar meeting at Stanford of American and European scholars, marking the semi-centennial anniversary of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution. Titled “50 Years of Communism in Russia,” the planned five-day conference will emphasize aspects of both “promise” and “performance” in the Communists’ seizure and exercise of power. Included in the program will be the presentation and discussion of papers by internationally-recognized experts on Soviet Communism. Several public evening lectures also will be offered. Formal dedication of the Institution’s new Lou Henry Hoover Building will take place on one of the days of the conference.

One of our most challenging new projects is the Yearbook on International Communist Affairs. A first volume is scheduled to appear in 1967. The publication’s prospectus has been received enthusiastically by high government officials and by prominent political scientists and historians. The yearbook will provide the first comprehensive and continuing scholarly review in English of the international activities of Communist parties that govern in 14 countries and work actively in 76 other nations.

The yearbook will be preceded by World Communism: A Handbook, 1918–1965, edited by Assistant Director Witold S. Sworakowski and Eastern Europe Curator Karol Maichel.

In mid-1964 the Hoover Institution agreed to underwrite the completion of a “History of the Menshevik Movement,” an inter-university, multi-disciplinary study originally launched with a sizeable grant from the Ford Foundation. The project’s publishing plans includes seven volumes in English and five in Russian.

On the domestic scene, Roger Freeman, a Senior Staff member, is beginning a two-year project, “The Growth of American Government.” Mr. Freeman, an economist with special interest in educational finance as well as national fiscal policy, starts from a concern that conflicting reports of the relative expansion of public expenditures in this century have left U. S. citizens unduly confused. On the one hand, Mr. Freeman finds analyses showing that government has increased in size not only in absolute terms, but also in relation to population and to such measures as the gross national product. On the other hand, there are variations on the theme stressed by John K. Galbraith and others that public services have fallen behind in the general upward economic movement, particularly in comparison to the growth of personal consumption.

Mr. Freeman’s study will seek “to explain and clarify the apparent contradictions among some of the major published reports and to present a record of public revenues, expenditures, debt and employment in the United States.”
The Library

The quality of Hoover Institution research and writing results, in large measure, from the availability of outstanding library and archival materials. During the 1964–65 academic year, these resources attracted several hundred scholars from 36 American states and 27 foreign countries.

Among the Institution’s holdings are more than 800,000 books and pamphlets in 36 languages, 150,000 volumes of government documents and 26,000 newspaper and periodical titles. Currently we subscribe to about 1,800 periodicals and 250 daily papers. Almost one-third of the total holdings of all Stanford libraries are housed at Hoover.

Annual expansion of the library is measured in tens of thousands of books and serials. During 1965, Hoover staff members virtually covered the globe in search of the original records that document our times.

The Institution has more unpublished material on the growth of Communism than any center outside China and the Soviet Union. Its collections on 20th-Century politics in Germany, Russia, China and Japan are unsurpassed in America. Many Hoover documents are the only ones in existence.

Receipt of the Boris Nicolaevsky Collection in 1963 gave us what is perhaps the most comprehensive and valuable array of materials on revolutionary movements in Russia to be held by any private institution in the world.

Four original drafts of the 1917 abdication statement of Nicholas II, last Czar of Imperial Russia, are among the rare archival materials donated to the Institution earlier this year by Mrs. Nicolas de Basily, widow of a prominent Russian diplomat of the pre-Revolutionary period. Proceeds from the sale of a family residence, also donated by Mrs. de Basily, will endow the purchase of books on Russia to be known as the Nicolas A. de Basily Memorial Collection.

Important archives housed at Hoover include the papers of the Russian Imperial Secret Police (the Okhrana), the French Resistance Movement of World War II, the British Foreign and Colonial Offices (Confidential Prints on Africa) and the German Nazi Party (Hauptarchiv).

Significant progress in the establishment of a computer-aided information retrieval system for the Herbert Hoover Archives foreshadows the Institution’s plan to extend the system to all of the library’s archival material in the future.

Lou Henry Hoover Building

Construction will begin this summer on a second Institution building, with completion scheduled for mid-1967. Named for the founder’s wife, Lou Henry Hoover, the new building will provide much-needed space for the research staff and for the steadily expanding library collections.

The new structure will rise between the 285-foot Hoover Tower and Encina Hall, where Mr. Hoover lived as a Stanford student from 1891 to 1895.
design, executed by Charles A. Luckman Associates of Los Angeles, will harmonize with campus surroundings.

In April of 1964, Mrs. Alan M. Scaife of Pittsburgh and her family offered a matching grant of $750,000 toward the new building in honor of Herbert Hoover's 90th birthday. In extending this generous gift, the Scaife family said: “All of us have been tremendously impressed with the effective work being performed at the Institution. We feel that this work is so particularly important to the preservation of our Western Civilization that anything the Scaife family can do to assist is a source of pride to us.”

Hoover Institution Advisory Board member Jeremiah Milbank and his wife gave $250,000 toward construction of the new building, and a number of other individuals, corporations and foundations made gifts or pledges. As a result, the required $750,000 to match the Scaife family gift was in hand by Herbert Hoover's 90th birthday on August 10, 1964.

Total cost of the building is estimated at $1,850,000. Sufficient additional funds have been raised to meet the entire amount.

The new building's 60,000 square feet of space will be divided among four floors, two above ground and two below. Besides library stacks, each of the lower levels will contain a rare book section, thereby relieving crowding in the Tower's vaults. The Middle East, East Asian and newspaper collections also are to be housed in the new facility.

On the first of the two upper levels will be reading rooms for users of the collections and administrative offices for library personnel. A 60-student classroom will provide better accommodation for visiting lecturers and the Institution's teaching program. On the top floor will be 36 offices for Hoover staff members and visiting researchers, plus two seminar rooms.

The building is to be linked to the Tower by an underground passage. Outside, terracing and landscaping will provide natural ties for the two units.

Hoover Memorial Rooms

The Lou Henry Hoover Room, containing memorabilia of the former President's wife, has been redecorated and rearranged for more attractive display. Last summer the room on the other side of the Tower rotunda, identical in size to the Lou Henry Hoover Room, was dedicated formally as the Herbert Hoover Room. Its exhibits attempt to portray the broad range of Mr. Hoover's activities during 50 years of public service. Among its contents are:

—A chronology of the major events of Herbert Hoover's life and a list of the major positions he held under five Presidents of the United States.

—The desk and chair Mr. Hoover used as Secretary of Commerce, together with the chair from which he presided over Cabinet meetings as Chief Executive.

—The President's handwritten draft of a letter to well-wishers upon his elec-
tion in 1928, plus communications to him from King Albert of the Belgians and President Masaryk of Czechoslovakia. Handwritten drafts illustrate the development of a Hoover speech. The Presidential appointment diary also is displayed.

—Gifts of appreciation to Mr. Hoover from the people of war-torn countries his relief programs aided, including flour sacks embroidered by Belgian women and children.

—Awards bestowed on the former President. Among them are his credentials as Stanford graduate and trustee, a selection from the more than 100 honorary degrees granted by other colleges and universities, and the U. S. Mint silver medallion commemorating Mr. Hoover's service in the nation's highest office.

Dedication of the Herbert Hoover Room on July 20, 1965, brought messages of respect for the man it honors from all over the world. Former President Eisenhower noted that “his interests were so broad and his productive activities so varied that there is scarcely anyone who does not have a special reason for cherishing his memory.” Gen. Eisenhower's predecessor in the White House, Harry S. Truman, said in a telegram that Mr. Hoover's “record as the great humanitarian of this century will long endure in the hearts of men.”

Expansion of the Institution's research staff and increased use of its library necessitated renovation of the Hoover Tower in 1964. Major changes were made on the ground floor. Part of the newspaper collection was moved from there to the 15th floor, the rest going to temporary storage until completion of the new building. Into the cleared space went 13 research offices, rooms for reading current newspapers and microfilm, and a large Research Reading Room with 32 carrels and ample shelf space for books.

Staff Appointments and Changes

The Hoover staff of 120 includes senior scholars, curators, librarians, research associates and assistants, and administrative and clerical personnel. Its 20 nationalities speak 30 languages and embrace the multiple disciplines of history, economics, international law, political science and other social sciences.

The void created at the Institution with the death of Boris I. Nicolaevsky in February at the age of 78 was aptly described by Ambassador George F. Kennan in a message of condolence to Mr. Nicolaevsky's widow. Mr. Kennan wrote simply, "Russia and America have both lost a great man." Mr. Nicolaevsky, Russian émigré historian and journalist prominent in the early Menshevik movement, had joined the Hoover staff in 1964. He was Curator of the Nicolaevsky Collection on Russian revolutionary socialism and the author of several books, including Power and the Soviet Elite (1965). Mr. Nicolaevsky's widow, Anna Bourguina, has been appointed Curator of the Nicolaevsky Collection.

Karl Brandt, Professor of Economic Policy, emeritus, at Stanford University and a member of the President's Council of Economic Advisors from 1958
to 1960, retired as Director of Stanford's Food Research Institute in 1964 to become Senior Research Fellow at the Hoover Institution.

Dennis J. Doolin, former Ford Foundation Fellow in Asian studies, was appointed Research Curator of the East Asian Collection last year.

New Curator-Librarian for the East Asian Collection is John T. Ma, who joined the staff last year after four years in charge of acquiring Chinese and Japanese materials for the Cornell University Library.

Peter Duignan, Curator of the African Collection, was named Director of the African Studies Program at its inception in 1965.

Lewis H. Gann, former Editor of Publications and Archivist of the National Archives of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, came to Hoover as a Research Associate in 1964 and is now the Deputy Curator for the African Collection.

George Rentz concluded 17 years' service with the Arabian American Oil Company in Saudi Arabia in 1963 to become Curator of the Middle East Collection.

Kenneth M. Glazier, Deputy Curator of the African Collection since 1962, became Librarian for the Western Language Collections in 1965.

Philip T. McLean, Librarian at Hoover for many years, has been named Curator of the Special Collections and Consulting Librarian.

Clarence C. Clendenen, who retired from 34 years' active service in the U. S. Army with the rank of Colonel to pursue advanced study in the social sciences, last year was appointed Curator of Military Collections.

A key administrative appointment was the naming of Alan H. Belmont as Executive Assistant to the Director. Mr. Belmont, most recently chief assistant for investigations to the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, concluded 29 years of FBI service at the end of 1965. A 1931 graduate of Stanford, he will maintain liaison with the Institution's Advisory Board, coordinate the publications and information program, and assist with internal administration.

Moving this year into the post of Information Officer is James R. Hobson, a former newspaper reporter and magazine editor. Holder of an advanced degree in international affairs from Georgetown University, Mr. Hobson also will serve as a Research Associate.

Two years ago the Hoover Institution established Research Fellowships to attract first-rank scholars for study and writing over residential periods of one or more years. Current Fellows are Bertram D. Wolfe, Theodore Draper and Ladis Kristof.

Wolfe's *Three Who Made a Revolution* (1948), a study of the formative political years of Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin, is now in its fifth edition and has sold more than 300,000 copies in 12 languages. Last year he published *Marxism: 100 Years in the Life of a Doctrine*, begun at Hoover in the summer of 1964. Prof. Wolfe presently is using Institution resources for two further studies of Lenin.

Research Fellow at Hoover for more than two years, Theodore Draper is
Finances

Six years ago we set the following objectives for the Hoover Institution:
—To undertake an intensive and high-quality research and publications program in the field of public and international affairs.
—To expand by several times expenditures for acquisitions, so that the gaps in the collections that had developed during the previous decade could be filled and the collections maintained at their historical level of excellence.
—To recruit an outstanding team of scholars for the staff.
—To assure the availability of the necessary funds to plan expenditures on an efficient long-term basis, so that they would no longer vary widely from year to year depending on the amount of money immediately available.

The progress achieved on the first three objectives is covered in other sections of this report. As for the financial objective, during the past six years the Hoover Institution has obtained a total of almost $7 million in gift funds—more than was raised during the preceding 40 years.

This notable achievement belongs to our donors—to the scores of foundations, corporations and individuals who expressed in signal fashion their continuing admiration for Herbert Hoover and their keen understanding of the importance of the work he fostered at the Hoover Institution.

Expenditures in 1964–65 totalled more than three times the amount five years earlier in 1959–60—$1,237,308 as compared with $389,868. A graphic comparison of Hoover Institution expenditures and sources of funds for these years is appended to this annual report.

More than five years ago Mr. Hoover endorsed a long-term financial program for the Institution. This program set three major goals in the following order of priority. First, eliminate the annual deficits and place the current budget on a reasonably secure basis by obtaining sizeable gifts for current use and building up a satisfactory reserve fund. Second, find the funds to build a second building. Third, substantially expand the endowment.

Since the first two objectives have been achieved, the Institution’s Advisory Board has recommended to the President and Board of Trustees of Stanford University that the time has now come to undertake a program to expand the Hoover Institution’s endowment by $5 million. This recommendation has been approved, and the program will get under way later this year with David Packard and Thomas Pike of the Stanford Board of Trustees as co-chairmen.

The Hoover Tower was built by contributions from thousands of Herbert Hoover’s friends and well-wishers. Over the years the collections—and their scholarly use—have continued to grow because of the support of Mr. Hoover and his friends. The $5 million endowment program will assure the continuing development in quality and quantity of the resources of the Hoover Institution.

Glenn Campbell
Director, Hoover Institution
April, 1966
well known to the general public for his *Castro’s Revolution: Myths and Realities* (1962) and *Castroism: Theory and Practice* (1965). This year, Mr. Draper will continue his analysis of the Cuban Communist leader’s political development and will work on the third and final volume of his massive study of the U.S. Communist Party.

Ladis Kristof last year completed the research for his *Biographical Dictionary of Menshevism*, to be published soon by Hoover as one of the 12 volumes in the project, “History of the Menshevik Movement.” Mr. Kristof presently is editing the memoirs of Iosif Gessen, a leading Russian Constitutional Democrat of pre-Revolutionary days.

**Other Staff Activities**

Each year the Hoover Institution and its staff members engage in a full schedule of voluntary public service supplementing more formal duties. One aspect of this assistance includes outside speaking engagements, lectures, public testimony and educational television and radio appearances. The Institution enjoys particularly close relations with non-partisan forums for discussion of current events, such as World Affairs Councils, both in California cities and in other metropolitan areas across the country.

The library resources and human expertise available at Hoover frequently are consulted by such U.S. government agencies as the Departments of State and Justice, the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, the Central Intelligence Agency and the military services, and by the committees and members of Congress. The Hoover Institution often is a stop of special interest for touring foreign dignitaries, many of them sponsored on their journeys by government offices and foundations.

Hoover staff members taught the following courses at Stanford University during the 1964–65 academic year:

**LECTURES:**

Doolin, “Government and Politics of Communist China.”
Rentz, “History of the Islamic World.”

**SEMINARS:**

Drachkovich, “Research Seminar in Revolutionary Internationals.”
Sworakowski, “Eastern Europe Since 1945.”

**SENIOR COLLOQUIA:**

Rita Campbell, “Economic Security and Public Policy.”
Drachkovich, “Role of Personality in the Soviet System.”
Freeman, “Tax Reform and Expenditure Policy.”
Sworakowski, “International Communism.”
ACTIVITIES

Research and Publications
The Library
Herbert Hoover Archives
RESEARCH AND PUBLICATIONS

"The Institution is not merely a library. Through its staff for research and publication it adds to the knowledge of history. It illuminates the dangers that surround us. It points out paths to freedom and peace, and to the safe growth of the American way of life."

HERBERT HOOVER
January, 1963

The world-wide coverage of the Institution's collections gives them special value in this period when so many problems are international in scope. While each of the major area collections—Western Europe, Eastern Europe, Africa, East Asia, and the Middle East—is in itself outstanding, the distinguishing feature of this Institution lies in the fact that it houses under one roof for convenient study the records of the major upheavals of the contemporary world. These great collections offer the scholar opportunity to concentrate on one area, to undertake comparative studies on certain critical subjects related to two or more areas and, at the same time, to study important problems in the perspective of the world as a whole.

The Institution's holdings on the Russian and Chinese revolutions and the growth and spread of Communism throughout the world are considered by many to be the outstanding collections in this field in the free world. Housed here are some of the most complete records extant on Hitler and the Nazi movement, as well as on Mussolini and Fascism. It is a place where scholars can document such diverse post-World War II and "cold war" developments as the economic recoveries of Germany and Japan, the establishment of regional military and trade arrangements like NATO and the Common Market, and the emergence of nationalism and statehood in Africa, Asia and the Middle East.

Building on its early foundation of materials from the Paris Peace Conference, the Institution continues to gather the records of international peace movements. Backed by rich documentation of the old League of Nations, it has continued to follow closely the progress of the United Nations, the Council of Europe, and international arms control conferences.

The Hoover Institution has its own resident research staff. In addition, hundreds of scholars and students come here each year to do the conscientious exploratory work which advances the frontiers of learning. As a result, the Institution has become an internationally recognized center for the investigation not only of international affairs but also of many other aspects and problems of the 20th Century.

Since 1963, the Hoover Institution has published nearly 50 volumes in three major series—Publications, Studies and Bibliographies. This almost equals the total of the preceding 35 years of publishing.
Hard-bound books of broad appeal usually are channeled through university presses and commercial publishing houses. The Institution’s monographs, bibliographies and other brief reference works—frequently soft-bound—are edited, offset-printed, advertised and distributed through its own Publications Department.

Following is a partial survey of key research projects now in progress, supplemented by a review of important recent publications. Full schedules of current research projects and of publications over the past three years are appended to this report.

Africa

This is the newest of the Hoover Institution’s area specialties. Intensive collection of materials on Africa began six years ago. In May of 1965, an African Studies Program was established. Centerpiece of its current research is the project entitled “Colonialism in Africa.” Planned for publication are five volumes covering European rule south of the Sahara from 1870 to 1960.

A first volume, co-authored by Peter Duignan and Lewis Gann of the staff, is under review by scholars. As a general introduction to the five-volume series, it attempts an appraisal of imperialism as manifested in the lands between the Sahara Desert and the Limpopo River. Dr. Duignan and Dr. Gann also will edit two of the other four books scheduled for publication in the project. These will contain essays contributed by European, African and American authorities on historical and political topics of modern colonial rule.

To complete the series, David Landes of Harvard and Victor Turner of Cornell each will edit volumes dealing, respectively, with the economic and the societal aspects of African colonial government.

Over the past three years, Hoover staff members compiled most of the seven published bibliographies on Africa. Kenneth Glazier’s Africa South of the Sahara: A Selected and Annotated Bibliography, 1958–1963, issued in 1964, was cited by the American Library Association as one of the outstanding reference books of that year.

In 1963, African Collection Curator Duignan founded the African Newsletter. This periodical now has merged with the African Studies Bulletin, organ of the African Studies Association of the United States. With Dr. Duignan as co-editor, the bulletin is being published by Hoover for the Association.

Also issued in 1964 was *African Socialism*, edited by William H. Friedland of Cornell University and Carl G. Rosberg of the University of California at Berkeley. In this work, contributions by specialists in several disciplines view African socialism as a pragmatic ideology combining classical features of socialism with aspects of modern capitalism and Communism.

**Communism: History and Strategy**

In October of 1964, the Hoover Institution sponsored a well attended and highly productive conference, "One Hundred Years of Revolutionary Internationals." Thirty-seven experts on various phases of Communism, including eight scholars associated with the Institution, prepared papers or comments. Two of them, French sociologist Raymond Aron and British philosopher Isaiah Berlin, gave public lectures before capacity audiences in Stanford Memorial Auditorium.

Three Hoover Institution books resulted from the papers presented at this conference. *Marxism in the Modern World* was published in 1965. *The Revolutionary Internationals, 1864–1943* and *Marxist Ideology in the Contemporary World: Its Appeals and Paradoxes* appeared this spring. All three volumes were edited by Senior Staff member Milorad Drachkovitch.

Dr. Drachkovitch also will edit the forthcoming *Yearbook on International Communist Affairs*. Content of this unique annual survey, whose first volume is scheduled for publication in the spring of 1967, will include:

—An introductory interpretive essay, scholarly but intelligible to the layman, analyzing the most important events of the preceding year on the international Communist scene.

—A monthly chronology, covering the main events related to Communist policy in and among the several nations.

—Key documents which most faithfully reflect Communist positions, preoccupations and problems during the year. These documents will be elucidated where necessary by editorial notes.

—Statistics relating to membership, electoral results and finances, plus biographical notes on leading Communist personalities and on the organizational structures of Communist states and parties.

—Descriptions of the principal Communist front organizations on the international stage, covering their organization and functions.

—A selected bibliography of the most important books and articles on Communist affairs published during the year.

—An index arranged by names and subjects.

Assisting staff members in the production of the yearbook will be a number of scholars prominent in the multidisciplinary fields of Communist study. Some will serve on an advisory board, making suggestions on current literature and on selection of yearbook material. Others will act as foreign cor-
respondents for the publication. Advisory Board appointments include:

Henri Brugmans, Rector of the College of Europe, Bruges;
Zbigniew Brzezinski, Director of the Research Institute on Communist Affairs, Columbia University;
Theodore Draper, Research Fellow, Hoover Institution;
William E. Griffith, Director of the International Communism Project, Massachusetts Institute of Technology;
Ivo Lederer, Associate Professor of History, Stanford University;
Boris Meissner, Director, Institute for Sovietology, University of Cologne, Germany;
Philip Mosely, Professor of Political Science, Columbia University;
Stefan T. Possony, Director of the International Political Studies Program, Hoover Institution;
Robert A. Scalapino, Professor of Political Science, University of California, Berkeley;
Boris Souvarine, author, editor of the review, Le Contrat Social, Paris;
Witold S. Sworakowski, Assistant Director, Hoover Institution;
George E. Taylor, Director, Far Eastern and Russian Institute, University of Washington, Seattle;
Jan F. Triska, Professor of Political Science, Stanford University;
Bertram D. Wolfe, Research Fellow, Hoover Institution.

This spring the Hoover Institution will publish Comintern: Historical Highlights, edited by Milorad Drachkovich and Branko Lazitch, a scholar and writer living in Paris. In addition to several original essays by experts on various aspects of the Communist International, the volume contains excerpts from previously unpublished memoirs of former Comintern leaders and official documents—also never before published—dealing with the formative years of the Communist parties in Germany, France and Italy.

By the end of 1966, the first volume in a massive Institution project, “History of the Communist International,” will be ready for publication. Dr. Drachkovitch and Dr. Lazitch are co-editors for the project, with Hoover Research Associate Wiktor Sukienicki assisting them. The first volume will cover the “Leninist” years of the Comintern, 1919 to 1924.

Last year Hoover published The Communist International and Its Front Organizations by the Assistant Director, Witold S. Sworakowski. This research guide and checklist is a basic tool in its field, providing references to more than 2,200 books and pamphlets in 22 languages.

Another important 1965 addition to the Bibliographical Series was Soviet Disarmament Policy, 1917–1963 by Walter C. Clemens Jr., listing over 800 primary and secondary sources on the subject.
Important analyses of Communism also are conducted under the International Political Studies Program, directed by Stefan T. Possony. Particular emphasis is placed on Soviet global strategy in relation to such Western alliances as NATO. An example of this approach was the "Open Space and Peace" symposium sponsored by the Institution in late 1963. Its deliberations were published in a 1964 book of the same title. The symposium sought to evaluate the contributions to peace that might be made by an extension of President Eisenhower's 1955 "open skies" proposal to the vast reaches beyond the earth's atmosphere.

Last year Dr. Possony prepared German and British editions of his well-received 1964 biography, Lenin: The Compulsive Revolutionary, and readied his Lenin Reader for publication this year. The International Political Studies Director also wrote consultative reports for the U. S. Army on Communist attitudes toward mass casualties in war and on the Russian civil war.

Upon completion in 1965 of the final editing of his Communist Political and Military Strategy, a three-year project, International Political Studies Program associate Richard Wraga concluded:

"The (Soviet) literary material, which is often accepted at face value, requires careful analysis which sometimes reveals falsification of facts. Falsification is particularly noticeable in fields connected with the history of the Russian civil war, the period of German-Soviet collaboration, development of Soviet military doctrine and, finally, the history of the Soviet intelligence, espionage and 'misinformation' services."

East Asia

Two years ago the Hoover Institution was commissioned by the U. S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency to study the applicability of a regional arms control system to the Far East. Under the direction of Yuan-li Wu, University of San Francisco economist, a team of Institution experts, Stanford faculty and Asian area specialists from other schools anticipates completion of the project late this year.

The project is divided into two parts. The first part deals with the possibilities and limitations of arms control in the Far East, including the entire area stretching from the Republic of Korea in the north to Australia and New Zealand in the south and Pakistan in the west.

Its purpose is to discover the attitudes of these countries toward various arms control measures with respect to both nuclear and conventional weapons, and related arrangements. It attempts to identify the conditions under which specific arms control measures would be acceptable to the countries concerned, either individually or on a regional or subregional basis. This first part treats Communist China as well as North Korea and North Vietnam as "extra-regional."
The second part of the project deals with Communist China, with special reference to the nature of the Chinese threat as perceived by other powers—including those of Africa, the Middle East and Latin America as well as the regional powers of the first investigation—and to Chinese attitudes, both real and professed, toward various arms control measures.

The project is essentially analytical in nature, although some discussion of the effects of the various arms control measures and policies on U. S. national interests will be included.

In addition, Dr. Wu’s continuing work on his analysis of Communist China’s economic potential is reflected in two series of volumes. The first treats certain strategic variables affecting Communist China’s economic development. Two books already have been published as a result of this effort: The Use of Energy Resources in Communist China (1963) and Steel Industry of Communist China (1965). A third volume, to be entitled the Spatial Economy of Communist China, is in manuscript form and will be published soon.

The second series of studies focuses attention on the over-all economic potential of Communist China, projecting it forward to the 1970’s. A series of three volumes entitled The Economic Potential of Communist China has already appeared in report form through the Stanford Research Institute, which sponsored the study. Work on a forthcoming volume tentatively entitled Economic Growth and Stability in Communist China is progressing.

Earlier this year the Hoover Institution released the first full translation of 29 issues of Kung-tso T’ung-Hsün, a civil affairs journal classified “secret” and issued only to Communist Party members in the Chinese Red Army at the regimental level and above. The journal issues were published irregularly during 1961 by the army’s General Political Department. When the documents fell into Western hands and were made public by the U. S. State Department in late 1963, a Hoover team under the direction of San Francisco State history professor J. Chester Cheng began the only formal and complete English translation now existing. Published by the Institution under the title, Politics of the Chinese Red Army, the translated documents comprise nearly 800 pages of English text. They disclose a wealth of confirmation for previous scattered reports on bloody peasant rebellions and low army morale aggravated by serious food shortages in China during intermittent periods from 1959 to 1961.

Product of several years’ bibliographic labor and scholarly detective work is the forthcoming Contemporary China: A Research Guide. The 900-page volume was co-authored by two former members of the staff, Eugene Wu and Peter Berton. Mr. Wu, Curator of the Institution’s East Asian Collection from 1960 to 1965, now is Librarian of the Harvard-Yenching Institute. Dr. Berton is Professor of International Relations at the University of Southern California. The Hoover Institution is publishing the research guide, most comprehensive of its kind, for the Joint Committee on Contemporary China, whose members come from the American Council of Learned Societies
and the Social Science Research Council. A Joint Committee member, Mary C. Wright of Yale University, notes in a Foreword to the volume:

"The Joint Committee is grateful to the Hoover Institution for publishing this volume as part of its long-standing program not only of collecting source materials on the Chinese Revolution, but of encouraging their use by scholars through production and publication of numerous research aids. Although Messrs. Berton and Wu have investigated the resources of libraries throughout the world, the Hoover Institution's own excellent collections have provided the core of the materials described."

Among these materials are publications and documents in both Chinese and English from mainland China and from Nationalist government agencies on Taiwan. Of the substantial literature from the mainland collected and reproduced for limited distribution by the Nationalists, Prof. Wright remarks: "Even the existence of these collections has not hitherto been widely known." Adds the Yale history professor in her Foreword:

"The Japanese sources for the study of Communist China, comprehensively described for the first time in this volume, deserve particular attention because they are often ignored by Chinese and Western scholars."

Publication earlier this year of Food and Agriculture in Communist China proved a natural companion to the secret bulletins' translation mentioned above. Co-authored by John Lossing Buck, Owen L. Dawson and Y. L. Wu, the book sets mainland Chinese food shortages of five years ago in the context of pre-World War II agricultural production estimates and postwar falsification of food statistics by the Communist government.

A 1965 contribution by Dennis J. Doolin, Research Curator of the East Asian Collection, to the Studies Series was chosen by the U. S. Information Agency for distribution to its libraries abroad. Titled Territorial Claims in the Sino-Soviet Conflict, the monograph brought documents and analysis to bear on a little-noticed facet of the dispute between Peking and Moscow.

**Eastern Europe**

The Hoover Institution agreed in 1964 to underwrite the completion of "The History of the Menshevik Movement," a multi-disciplinary project begun with sizeable Ford Foundation support and engaging scholars from several universities. The study is directed by Leopold Haimson of Columbia University. The first of its planned 12 volumes is expected to appear this year. Hoover Research Fellow Ladis Kristof is contributing a Biographical Dictionary of Menshevism to the project, while Anna Bourguina, Curator of the Nicolaevsky Collection, is compiling a bibliography.

Among the topics of the five English-language works, to be published for Hoover by the University of Chicago Press, is a study by Solomon Schwarz of Bolshevism, Menshevism and the Russian labor movement during the abortive
1905 revolt against the Imperial government. Other subjects in this series are Menshevism under Soviet rule, and Russian Social Democrats’ relations with the workers’ movement.

Appearing in the Russian language will be the memoirs of Menshevik leaders Grigorii Uratadze, Noi Zhordaniia and P. A. Garvy, plus volumes on the 1903–1905 origins of the movement and on its transition from legitimacy to “underground” existence.

In 1955 the State Publishing House in Moscow issued the 13th volume of Stalin’s Collected Works in Russian and in an English translation. For obvious political reasons the publication of further volumes was discontinued. Scholars and students of Soviet affairs have waited in vain for the last three volumes covering the years from 1931 to Stalin’s death in 1953.

A few years ago, Robert H. McNeal of the University of Toronto used the Institution’s library resources for his work on a complete bibliography of Stalin’s writings. Once this bibliography became available, it was possible to collect all of Stalin’s writings in Russian periodicals and newspapers. Accordingly, Prof. McNeal has collected this material as well, and prepared it for print.

The Hoover Institution has decided to publish Stalin’s writings in their original Russian text, without changes or abbreviations. Two volumes will include his writings during the years 1931–1953. A third volume will collect items which for certain reasons were omitted in the 13 volumes of the Moscow edition. The McNeal bibliography will appear as a fourth volume. The four volumes are scheduled for completion in 1966.


East European Collection Curator Karol Maichel’s fifth volume in his comprehensive Guide to Russian Reference Books will be released this year. Other forthcoming bibliographies will cover the Imperial Russian Secret Police, Hungarian studies, Trotsky and Bukharin.

Two other book-length publications are expected to appear soon. One is Peace and Revolution in Soviet Foreign Policy, 1928–1934, by Xenia J. Eudin and Robert M. Slusser. This is a sequel to two earlier documentary surveys on Moscow’s relations with West and East from 1920 to 1927. The second book-length study is Dragisa N. Ristic’s Yugoslavia’s Revolution of 1941, an account of that country’s dramatic and sudden shift—in 48 hours between March 25th and 27th—away from adherence to the Nazi-dominated Axis through a pro-Western coup d’etat. The shift led to Nazi invasion of Yugoslavia but delayed
for five weeks the German attack on the Soviet Union. Mr. Ristic's book is based on personal and state papers of the late Gen. Dusan Simovic, architect of the coup and then Yugoslavia's Prime Minister.

Economics and Public Policy

Roger Freeman's "Growth of American Government," a contemplated two-year project, will seek to identify trends in public spending for national security and for domestic purposes while analyzing changes in division of fiscal responsibility and decision-making power among the several levels of government.

Mr. Freeman, a member of the Institution's Senior Staff, begins the writing of his new study this year after a period of some concentration on educational finance. He is the author of *Crisis in College Finance? Time for New Solutions* (1965), *Taxes for the Schools* (1960), and *School Needs in the Decade Ahead* (1958).

"Growth of American Government" will focus on the period since World War II, set against a historical background. Mr. Freeman aims further at evaluation of the effectiveness of some of the major domestic expenditure programs in the postwar United States and at "the implications of present trends on future developments as the United States enters the last third of the 20th Century."

Karl Brandt, Senior Research Fellow of the Hoover Institution, has conducted studies in several geographic and topical areas. In July of 1965, Dr. Brandt and a collaborator, John A. Jamison of Stanford's Food Research Institute, completed a report of nearly 400 pages on the performance, potential and limitations of agricultural marketing orders in California. The two-year project was contracted jointly by the Food Research Institute and the National Canners Association.

Dr. Brandt currently is engaged in long-term studies of agrarian reform in Taiwan and of agriculture's role in economic development. A draft for publication of the former is expected to be ready this spring. Under grants from two European foundations, Dr. Brandt also is directing to completion this year a study of economic development in Colombia's agriculture.

Latin America

Intensive collection of materials in this area resumed in 1962. A program of research and publication began with the start of Theodore Draper's residence as a Hoover Institution Research Fellow in 1964. Adding to Mr. Draper's previously published work on Fidel Castro and the Cuban revolution will be this year's planned issuance of a broad bibliography by Ronald Chilcote, *Revolution and Structural Change in Latin America*.

Recipient of a Hoover Institution grant for a study of the Christian Democratic movement in Latin America is Hugh O'Shaughnessy, Latin American
correspondent for the *Financial Times* of London. The book Mr. O'Shaughnessy expects to produce, *Christian Democracy in Latin America*, will "describe and explain the swiftly developing current of radical political thought and action represented by the Christian Democratic movement in Latin America," with special reference to Chile, Peru and Venezuela.

Philip A. Ray, prominent international lawyer and former Undersecretary of Commerce, is working on a book tentatively titled "The Eagle and the Snake: Mexico's New Revolution." Mr. Ray started the project while a Research Fellow at the Institution.

Disseminated last year in the Studies Series was a monograph by Richard R. Fagen of Stanford University's Political Science Department, *Cuba: The Content of Adult Education*. Also related to events on the Caribbean island was the work of Joseph W. Bingaman, Assistant Librarian for Technical Services. During a national library seminar at Detroit's Wayne State University in the summer of 1965, Mr. Bingaman helped to draw up a list of Cuban refugee organizations, together with a bibliography of their serial publications.

**Middle East**

The Curator of the Middle East Collection, George Rentz, is the author of a study of the geography, people and history of the Arabian Peninsula which the American Historical Association's *Guide to Historical Literature* has called the best available survey of the subject. Dr. Rentz is continuing his investigation of developments in the Peninsula on a broad scale, with emphasis on the 20th Century. Last year he wrote half a dozen articles and chapters on Arab affairs for journals, books and encyclopedias. He is also preparing a volume entitled *The Arab East: The Contemporary Scene*, which will appear in 1967 as part of a comprehensive series on the Arab world being published in Beirut, Lebanon.

In 1964 the Institution published *Nationalism and Revolution in Egypt: The Role of the Muslim Brotherhood*, by Christina Phelps Harris of Stanford's Political Science Department. Dr. Harris is a former curator of the Middle East Collection. Prof. Harris concludes in the book that the religious traditionalists of the Brotherhood—who clashed violently with nationalist reformers under Naguib and Nasser at the time of Egyptian independence—remain a force to be reckoned with even though driven underground.

Last year the Institution published *Jordan River Partition* by Georgiana Stevens, an updating of the author's 1956 study of the Arab-Israeli water problem that has been cited frequently as a standard reference on the subject. In 1965 Hoover also published *The Communist Party of Israel and the Elections for the Fifth Knesset, 1961* by Jacob Landau and Moshe Czudnowski of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, a detailed analysis of the party's composition and views at the time.
Western Europe

The Institution soon will complete publication of a unique guide for students of German foreign policy during the Weimar Republic and Nazi periods. Published and distributed from master sheets prepared by the U. S. Department of State, the guide is titled *A Catalog of Files and Microfilms of the German Foreign Ministry Archives, 1920–1945*. The first two volumes of the catalog appeared in 1963 and 1964 and totalled more than 2,000 pages. A third volume is expected to be issued this year.

In the past three years the Hoover Institution has published—through Frederick A. Prager—collections of papers prepared for two key symposia held at Georgetown University’s Center for Strategic Studies. Both volumes bear importantly on the future of Western Europe and contain the best thinking of national opinion-makers in and out of government. *National Security: Political, Military and Economic Strategies in the Decade Ahead* was issued in 1963. This was followed two years later by *NATO in Quest of Cohesion*.

Forthcoming from Western Europe Collection Curator Agnes Peterson and her collaborator, Grete Heinz, is an annotated bibliography of Institution holdings on the 1958–65 period of the Fifth French Republic. The two also are co-authors of *NSDAP Hauptarchiv: Guide to the Hoover Institution Microfilm Collection*, an aid to the use of the Institution’s German Nazi Party archives published in 1964.

Based on the Hauptarchiv and scheduled for publication later this year is Bradley F. Smith’s *Adolph Hitler, His Family, Childhood and Youth*. A short study, *Explaining Munich: The Search for Motive in British Policy*, by Donald Lammers of Arizona State University, also will be published in 1966.
THE LIBRARY

The flow of information in and out of the collections of the Hoover Institution's library is ceaseless. In a single year, items for cataloging grow by many thousands. Some of the expansion is routine, as in the subscription to more than 1,800 of the world's periodicals and about 250 of its daily newspapers. Some of the growth is, in a sense, self-generated. For example, the well-known value of the Hoover holdings attracts more value, often through the voluntary contribution of private library treasures.

For the most part, however, maintenance of the collections' high stature occurs neither automatically nor accidentally. On the one hand, it takes hard digging into the oft-hidden sources of records on the past. On the other, it demands daily grappling with what has been called the "information explosion"—the steadily accelerating output of public documents and private scholarship.

Traditionally, visiting scholars in the Slavic, Western European and East Asian fields have predominated at the Institution, along with students of the World Wars and of international peace movements. Now increasing numbers of researchers consult the African, Latin America and Middle Eastern holdings also. Because Stanford's expanding international studies programs—including those at the University's overseas campuses—encourage the use of foreign languages, pressure on Institution resources grows correspondingly.

The Hoover Institution library lends eight times as much material as it borrows during a year. For researchers unable to visit the library, the Institution continues to provide reference and inter-library loan service and all types of photoreproduction to meet demands that increase each year. For the last few years it has actively participated in the Cooperative Africana Microfilm Project at the Center for Research Libraries.

The installation of equipment for processing positive microfilm from negatives in the library's collections has resulted in the development of a substantial area of service. The aim is to furnish researchers and libraries all over the world with copies of records and journals that would be difficult—if not impossible—to get elsewhere. To this end the Institution published last year two catalogs of its titles on microfilm from which copies are available for purchase: Journals on Microfilm and Russian Language Journals and Books on Microfilm.

Reviewing Boris Nicolaevsky's Power and the Soviet Elite for the New York Times of November 21, 1965, Louis Fischer made a comment that applies to the uniqueness of a number of Hoover holdings. Wrote Mr. Fischer:

"Alas, because of Harvard's, Yale's, Princeton's and Columbia's negligence, Nicolaevsky's library and his personal services have been purchased by the Hoover Institution in California, and we Easterners can no longer exploit him as easily as we once did."

The Nicolaevsky Collection is generally considered the world's most valu-
able privately-held store of materials on European socialist revolutionary movements—notably Communism. Ranging from 1861 to the present, it includes more than 20,000 books and other publications, plus scores of archives, manuscripts and letters. In the collection are papers of Trotsky and Bakunin, letters from Lenin, Zinoviev, and Andreev.

Rare acquisitions are a common occurrence. Last year, for example, came publications from mainland China on the commune system, together with local newspapers not usually available through commercial channels. Also in 1965 the Institution obtained the report of former Nazi intelligence chief Otto John on the 1944 attempt to assassinate Hitler. Following is a partial review of Hoover holdings in several geographic and topical areas, with current acquisitions placed in the context of the collections’ histories.

Africa and the Middle East

Records of the 1919 Paris Peace Conference and of the League of Nations, acquired as they were written, form the nucleus of the African and Middle East Collections. Included are reports from the Paris conference on the liquidation of the Ottoman Empire. The colonial powers who held mandates, or trustee-ships, from the League in Africa and the Middle East reported annually to the international body on the areas they supervised.

The African collection began in 1919 when the Belgian and Provisional German governments gave Herbert Hoover official documents and reports relating to their colonies in Africa. Materials date from 1870. Most are written in French or English, but a good number are in German, Italian, Portuguese and Russian. Perhaps the single most valuable collection of documents on African affairs now housed in the United States is the Institution’s microfilmed file of the Confidential Prints of the British Foreign and Colonial Offices. The file presently extends from 1870 to 1914, the latter limit dictated by the 50-year release ban of the British Official Secrets Act.

Besides receiving annually the laws, debates gazettes and departmental reports of most African states Hoover holds a broad assortment of older public documents. These are most extensive for the Gold Coast (now Ghana), the former Belgian Congo, Ruanda-Urundi (now Rwanda and Burundi), the Rhodesias and former French Africa. An example is the Journal Officiel for French Equatorial Africa (1939–49) and for French West Africa (1904–59). Two other holdings notable for their long sequences include the Deutsche Kolonialzeitung (1884–1922) for German Africa and the Rivista coloniale and Rivista della colonie italiane (1906 to 1943 for the two) covering Italian holdings.

A mid-1964 exchange agreement that Hoover would receive a set of all duplicate documents from the archives of former French West Africa in Dakar, Senegal, has been especially productive. Records on Senegal alone date
back to 1819. In 1965, the Institution purchased microfilm from the East German government’s Potsdam archives covering reports on Africa by the German Colonial Office (1890–1909) and the German East Africa Company (1885–99).

The Hoover Institution continues to receive photocopies—filmed on the scene—of archives, clandestine publications, rare pamphlets and other political materials illustrating the activities of radical and nationalist groups in South Africa. In addition, the private papers of A. B. Xuma, leader of the African National Congress in that country from 1940 to 1950, were acquired recently.

The Middle East Collection ranges from the middle of the 19th Century to the present, divided into the three major language classifications of Turkish, Arabic and Persian. The Arabic and Turkish sections contain about 20,000 volumes each. Holdings of materials in Western languages are extensive, also.

In the Arabic section is documentation of such broad political developments as the Pan-Islamic and reform movements of Jamal al-Din al-Afghani and Muhammad ’Abduh. The Muslim Brotherhood is covered well. The sweep of Arab nationalism since World War I is revealed vividly in the collection, with particular concentration on revolutions in Egypt (1952) and Iraq (1958).

An important source for the last years of the Turkish Ottoman Empire and the first years of the Republic is the Dagdeviren Collection of letters, manuscripts, clippings and original government documents. It was purchased in 1952 from Saadet Dagdeviren, businessman, scholar and former member of the Turkish Parliament.

While small, the Persian section contains valuable areas of emphasis. Included are the publications of the Tudeh (Communist) Party of Iran and a complete file of Persian and Iranian parliamentary legislation from 1906 to 1948. Documentation of revolutionary activities in Azerbaijan—where the United Nations faced an early, Soviet-prompted crisis in 1946—and in still-troubled Kurdistan concentrates on the first decade after World War II.

A notable recent addition to the Middle East Collection was 800 bound volumes of French periodicals, originating on the Continent and in the North African territories of Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco. Included are long runs of such magazines as Revue Africaine.

East Asia

Hoover holdings on Chinese Communism are unsurpassed in the Western world for uniqueness and comprehensiveness. The period from the founding of the Chinese Communist Party in 1921 to the Japanese invasion in 1937 is covered well by archives and private collections. Among these are the following:

—Jay Calvin Houston Collection. Special emphasis on the influence of
Soviet Russia and certain Communist-affiliated organizations from 1917 to 1931.
—Chen Cheng Collection. Named for a former Vice President of the Republic of China, it is perhaps the most important file of Chinese Communist Party records ever acquired by a library in the Western world. In 1960, the Honorable Chen Cheng permitted the Institution to microfilm nearly 1,200 documents of the Chinese Kiangsi Soviet, dated from 1931 to 1934.
—Nym Wales Collection. Includes Communist documents dealing with the first phase of the Yenan period, 1935–37.

From 1937 to the present, the range of the Chinese holdings is extensive. Among the materials are original writings of Mao Tse-tung, Communist Party proclamations and long runs of such party news organs as Liberation Weekly (1937–41), Liberation Daily (1941–47), New China Daily News (1938–47) and People's Daily (since 1946). Included in a wealth of data on the Nationalist movement and the Chinese Republic's 1912 founding is the only complete Western file of the Kuomintang organ, Min-li Pao (1910–13). All the published writings and speeches of Sun Yat-sen and Chiang Kai-shek are in the collection.

The Japanese collection has material dating from the 1840's, when the country first began to receive Western visitors. Among its more notable sets are 500 folders of documents from the Japanese Legation in Seoul, Korea (1894–1905) and some 100 confidential reports from the Japanese Army Headquarters in Central China (1937–45). Maj. Lee Telesco, a Stanford graduate and leader of Filipino guerrilla forces resisting the Japanese in World War II, contributed to the Institution a large file of documents that includes a complete set of journals of the Japanese military government in the Philippines.

Pre-1945 materials on Korea consist largely of Japanese diplomatic documents leading up to that country's annexation by Japan in 1910. Supplementing these are a small group of mimeographed publications of Korean nationalist and Communist resistance groups following the annexation. The Korean War of 1951–53 is well documented, though primarily by material originating in South Korea.

Several hand-written letters from Sun Yat-sen, first President of the Republic of China, are contained in a collection of papers donated earlier this year by Laurence Boothe of Corona del Mar, California. The papers belonged to the donor's late father, Charles B. Boothe, a prominent California businessman and concern an offer of financial aid by several American businessmen—Charles Boothe among them—to speed the overthrow of the Chinese Imperial government. As matters developed, the offer never was taken up by the Chinese Republican forces. Sun Yat-sen and his followers won the 1911 Revolution without the help of the Americans.

Informative publications on the situation in mainland China have been received from Chinese government agencies on Taiwan. Added in 1965 were

From the Konoe family library in Kyoto, Japan recently came microfilm of the diaries of Konoe Fumimaro, three times premier of the island nation between 1937 and 1941.

Important improvements have been made recently in the Hoover Institution's exchange agreements with the National Library of Peking, the National Diet (Parliamentary) Library and the Cabinet Research Office of Japan, and with the National Assembly Library in Seoul, Korea.

Eastern Europe

Foresight, quick thinking and patient search characterized the establishment of the East European Collection, coincident with the founding of the Institution. Three anecdotes illustrate the point.

While he was attending the Paris Peace Conference, Herbert Hoover began to collect and save the pamphlets and folders slipped under his door at the Hotel Crillon. He asked his associates to do the same. When the conference ended, a basic file on the origins of postwar Europe had been amassed.

Dr. Ralph H. Lutz obtained a unique batch of materials from the short-lived Hungarian Communist regime of Bela Kun in 1919. Now Professor Emeritus of History at Stanford and a retired director of the Hoover Institution, Dr. Lutz was in Europe after the Armistice as one of several "historical sleuths" tracking down records of war and peace for Herbert Hoover. When the Kun regime was overthrown, officials of the new Hungarian government received orders to burn all Communist files. A quick and persuasive argument convinced the Hungarian leaders that history would be served best if the records could be deposited in an American research center. They went to the Hoover Institution.

Another of Mr. Hoover's historical sleuths, Dr. Frank A. Golder of Stanford, laid the basis for the Institution's Russian holdings in trips through Eastern and Central Europe between 1920 and 1922. He came back with some 25,000 volumes and more than 60,000 pamphlets. Among these items were a 200-volume codification of Czarist laws and 145 volumes of 18th-Century Russian diplomatic correspondence.

Adding depth to the Institution's studies of Soviet Communism is the East European Collection's extensive coverage of the Russia that predated the Bolsheviks. Its holdings on the last half-century under the Czars and on the brief rule of the Provisional Government of 1917 are unique in many cases. Records on the latter regime—analyzed and compiled for the Hoover Institution by the Provisional Government's Prime Minister, Alexander Kerensky—yielded three volumes of major documents. They were published by Hoover in 1961 as The Russian Provisional Government, 1917: Documents, under the editorship of Mr. Kerensky and Robert P. Browder.
The previously mentioned Nicolaevsky Collection is the latest and most important supplement to the Russian holdings that are the centerpieces of the East European Collection. Included among the documentary materials on Russia are:

—Archives of the commanders of the White Russian forces that opposed the Bolsheviks in the civil war of 1918–20.

—The Okhrana Archives, a file of Imperial Russian secret police dossiers ranging from 1895 to 1917. The dossiers, a veritable “Who’s Who”—with photographs—of the several Russian revolutionary movements, were shipped secretly from Paris to Stanford in 1926 by Basil Maklakov, the last pre-Communist Russian Ambassador to France. Mr. Maklakov let it be known to the Soviets who wanted to recover them that he had burned the archives. Instead, they had gone to the Hoover Institution.

—Stenographic minutes of all Communist Party congresses, plus stenographic reports from all congresses and executive committee meetings of the Communist International, 1919–43.

—Original early newspapers issued by Lenin, Iskra and Proletarii, together with a complete file of the Soviet Communist Party daily, Pravda. The Institution’s holdings of the periodical, Kommunist, date from 1924.

Four original drafts of the 1917 abdication statement of Nicholas II, last Czar of Imperial Russia, were among the rare and valuable items donated to the Hoover Institution early this year by Mrs. Nicolas de Basily. Mrs. de Basily is the widow of a prominent Russian diplomat of pre-Revolutionary days. As a lawyer and Foreign Ministry official serving at Imperial Headquarters in March of 1917, Nicolas de Basily wrote the four drafts of the abdication statement that led up to the final proclamation signed by the Czar. The last of the four, in typescript, bears the handwritten corrections of the Headquarters Chief of Staff, Gen. Alekseev.

Also contained in the archival materials donated by Mrs. de Basily are personal accounts by several key figures in the events surrounding the abdication. In the collection, too, are the original manuscripts of the memoirs of S. D. Sazonov, Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs from 1910 to 1916 and a personal friend of Mr. de Basily.

Besides the archival materials and a collection of valuable paintings, Mrs. de Basily’s donation included a family library of over 8,000 volumes, written in Russian, French, German and Spanish and covering the subjects of history, economics, literature and the fine arts.

The former diplomat’s widow also turned over to the Institution the home she and her husband once shared in Florida. Proceeds from the sale of the residence will establish an endowment fund for the purchase of books on Russia to be known as the Nicolas A. de Basily Memorial Collection.

Of some 30,000 books and pamphlets and public documents from the other
East European countries, two items in the Polish and Hungarian sections deserve special mention. During a government reception in Warsaw in 1946, Poland's ex-premier, Stanislaw Mikołajczyk, presented Herbert Hoover with six bound volumes as "a memento of your visit to Poland." The books were rare files from the Polish underground of World War II, handed to Mr. Hoover under the very eyes of Communist officials who were then tightening their grip on the country and wanted the records themselves. Hungary is represented in the collection by an extensive file of parliamentary debates and other government documents, including a unique five-volume collection of the official correspondence of Stephen Tisza, Prime Minister from 1914 to 1918. The ill-fated Hungarian Revolution of 1956 is covered by newspapers and proclamations of groups fighting a losing battle for liberty.

Great Britain and the United States

A number of unpublished memoirs and personal narratives enrich the Hoover Institution's holdings on Great Britain and the United States. Published materials date roughly from the turn of the century to the present.

The section on Great Britain is especially rich in the history of that country's labor movement. It includes a complete file of the London *Daily Herald*, for many years the authoritative organ of the Labor Party, as well as the official reports of all the party's annual conferences since 1907 and of all Trades Union Congresses since 1902.

The file of British Communist Party materials contains the London *Daily Worker* and the news organs of such Communist antecedents as the British Socialist Federation and the Workers' Socialist Federation.

Material in the U. S. section concentrates on the political, diplomatic and military contexts of the two World Wars. It includes the Edwin F. Gay Collection on the activities of the War Industries Board, the Alonzo E. Taylor Collection on the War Trade Board, and the papers and diaries of two advisors to President Woodrow Wilson during the war period, George D. Herron and David Hunter Miller. Substantial documentation of the events of the First World War also may be found in the separately housed Herbert Hoover Archives.

Among the materials on World War II are the famous diaries of Joseph W. Stilwell, commanding general of U. S. forces in China, Burma and India. Handwritten originals, Stilwell's notebooks abound with witty and perceptive comments on men and war in Asia. Revealing of the strength of war's emotions and the magnitude of its social dislocations are the Institution's archives of the America First Committee, a major opponent of U. S. entry into the war, and the records of the War Relocation Authority on internment of Japanese-Americans.

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The Herbert Hoover Archives, recorded primarily in English and spanning two World Wars, are described more fully in the concluding section of this report.

Latin America

Following Fidel Castro's Cuban revolution and its hemispheric repercussions, a gift from the Louis Calder Foundation enabled the Hoover Institution to resume active collection of Latin American records. A Louis Calder Memorial Collection was established. More help came indirectly from a Ford Foundation grant to Stanford for studies in this area. Part of the money is being used to increase the Institution's acquisitions and to accelerate processing of Latin American materials.

Hoover Institution Research Fellow Theodore Draper is advising on acquisition of Cuban materials. Purchases already made include several rare journals and newspapers from the Caribbean island. Typed memoirs of key Cubans who served with Castro in the rebel army and in the revolutionary government have been deposited at the Institution.

Western Europe

Centerpieces of this collection, again dating to the earliest efforts of Herbert Hoover, are the materials on Germany. They lead the scholar from the 1870 Reichstag debates through World War I, peace negotiations, reconstruction, the Nazi revolution, and World War II to the present, in a continuum of primary sources unsurpassed in this country.

Large files of official German records such as the Hauptarchiv (Main Archive) of the Nazi Party are complemented by rare manuscripts, among them the early diaries of Hitler lieutenants Joseph Goebbels and Heinrich Himmler. A "find" rivalling the discoveries of Hoover's original historical sleuths, the Goebbels diaries were unearthed from trash in the courtyard of the Propaganda Ministry in Berlin following World War II.

When the Soviets threatened to cut off Allied access to West Berlin in 1958, the U. S. State Department encouraged the Hoover Institution to rescue a vital story of history. Housed in the Department's Berlin Documents Center was, among other items, the Nazi Hauptarchiv. The original materials in the archive were due for return to the West German government and could not be shipped out. Photoduplication was the only answer. Hoover experts first hoped to do this selectively—separating historical wheat from ephemeral chaff. After one look at the Hauptarchiv's 1,421 file folders, however, and contemplating the 6,000 miles between Palo Alto and tense West Berlin, the Institution decided to film the entire collection. Now Hoover is making these valuable documents available by film duplication to libraries and scholars all over the world.

The historical review of the Nazi period afforded by testimony before the
International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg is available at Hoover in many transcripts and documents.

Rich resources from an earlier upheaval are materials on the German revolution of 1918–19, consisting of more than 5,000 items in the Leipzig and Monkemöller Collections.

Next to the German holdings, France is best represented in the West European Collection. Materials on that country’s resistance to the Hitler regime’s occupation in World War II are especially valuable. The present Fifth French Republic is a subject of detailed acquisition and analysis. Original source materials from the government and from the rebel National Liberation Front, together with a large array of secondary works, give a broad view of the Algerian problem that was finally resolved after more than seven years of bloody fighting.

Hoover has the stenographic protocols of the Congresses of two important French political parties, the Mouvement Republicain Populaire and the Parti Radical, from 1945 to 1962. Documents on the Communist International in France include the unpublished memoirs of Henri Barbé, a member of the Comintern Presidium from 1928 to 1930, and recollections of Albert Vassart, representative from the French Communist Party to the Comintern, 1934–35.

The Italian holdings emphasize the Fascist period, including the works of Mussolini and materials from the anti-Fascist underground of World War II—especially the Partito d’Azione of northern Italy.

The section on Spain covers all aspects of the Spanish Civil War, notably in the Burnett and Gladys Bolloten Clipping Collection.

Interest in Belgium, The Netherlands and Luxembourg dates from Herbert Hoover’s early relief and rehabilitation work. Belgian government documents are numerous. Materials from the underground resistance forces of two World Wars include a complete file of La Libre Belgique. Along with the other members of such international bodies as NATO, the European Economic Community and the Council of Europe, Belgium is well represented in the substantial Hoover files on these organizations.

The Austrian section is founded on papers from the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, including the diaries kept during World War I by Heinrich Kanner, at that time editor of the newspaper Die Zeit. More recently added are complete records of the meetings of the four-power Allied Commission for Austria, 1945–55.

Among the notable acquisitions of the past year for the Western Europe Collection as a whole are:

—A series of rare pamphlets by brothers Karl and Benedikt Kautsky, prominent German Social Democrats at the turn of the century. Karl Kautsky, especially, is remembered for his ringing debates with Lenin over the nature of capitalism and the future of international socialism. The pamphlets came from his son of the same name, a retired physician living in this country.
—Files of Arthur N. Young, a key U. S. negotiator on the question of German war reparations, 1921–25, and a leading financial advisor to the Chinese Republican government.
—Material from the Belgian, Norwegian and French national elections of 1965.

Special Collections

Many of the Hoover Institution’s more than 300 special collections have been mentioned in preceding descriptions of area holdings. Among those not previously noted are:

*Arabian American Oil Company Collection*. Documents, pamphlets, pictures and maps pertaining to petroleum interests in the Middle East, particularly those of ARAMCO from 1933 to 1955.

*Armenian Collection*. Some 5,500 books, pamphlets, government and society publications, and about 120 files of periodicals and newspapers. One-sixth of the material is in Armenian, with the bulk of the rest written in Russian, Turkish, French, German and English. Developments in Armenia under both Czarist and Soviet administration are documented. Also covered are domestic and international ramifications of such problems as Turkish persecution of Armenians and the Paris peace negotiations of 1919.

*Alfred Fried Library*. Books, pamphlets, annuals and serial files formerly belonging to the famous Austrian jurist and pacifist who won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1911. Dr. Fried’s own manuscript diary covering the years of World War I in 18 volumes is an especially valuable item.

*Charles Wellington Furlong Collection*. Documents, papers and personal records of Col. Furlong, a military aide to President Woodrow Wilson at the Paris Peace Conference. Included are Col. Furlong’s reports to the American Mission on political and military conditions in the Balkans and the Middle East.

*James A. Healy Collection*. A voluminous collection of books, pamphlets, manuscripts, periodicals and clippings concerning political and cultural life in Ireland during the 19th and 20th Centuries. The “Easter Rising” of 1916 against the British is especially well covered.

*Carl Fred Mencke Collection*. Case histories of United States Army flight cadets in World War II.

*Military Order of the World Wars*. Biographical data, personal memoirs, books and maps deposited with the Institution—as the organization’s official repository—by members of the Order.
Alice Park Collection. Newspapers, serials, books, pamphlets, leaflets, clippings, letters and typescripts dealing with pacifism, particularly as reflected in conscientious objection, during World War I.

AN ILLUMINATED CHRONOLOGY, recording major events in Herbert Hoover's more than 50 years of public service, is viewed in the Herbert Hoover Memorial Room by Dr. Rita R. Campbell, Archivist of the Herbert Hoover Archives, and her daughter, Nancy.
HERBERT HOOVER ARCHIVES

For fully half a century, Herbert Hoover was a towering public figure—a man who spoke and wrote at length and about whom prodigious quantities of words were expended. Mr. Hoover administered and advised on relief of suffering in the wake of two world wars. He served two Presidents as Secretary of Commerce, then became Chief Executive himself. He chaired two Hoover Commissions studying the reorganization and improvement of our government. Even after retirement from official duties, Herbert Hoover stayed busier than most persons his age—working for Boys Clubs, for his country and party, and for this Institution that bears his name.

Mr. Hoover's record is familiar to most who will read this report. It is repeated here only to convey the magnitude and historical importance of the task of maintaining the Herbert Hoover Archives now housed on the ninth and twelfth floors of the Tower.

The Archives contain a broad assortment of papers from several organizations with which Mr. Hoover was affiliated. Among these were World War I international relief agencies, such as the Commission for Relief in Belgium and the American Relief Administration, and several World War II groups created to promote relief to war victims. The papers of Mr. Hoover when he was Secretary of Commerce (1921–28) and President of the United States (1929–33) are at the Herbert Hoover Presidential Library in West Branch, Iowa.

The archives of the Commission for Relief in Belgium contain the files of its offices in Antwerp, Brussels, London, New York, Paris, Rotterdam and Washington, and include the Commission's diplomatic correspondence with governments, the reports of its field workers, its shipping, accounting, and administrative records, and its general reports on conditions in Belgium and northern France.

The American Relief Administration was designated by President Wilson in 1919 to administer relief abroad after the World War I armistice. The ARA gave assistance in 24 countries, including Soviet Russia. Records of such closely connected organizations as the European Coal Commission, European Technical Advisers, and the Supreme Economic Council are also held. Papers of other relief organizations of the World War I period are also in the Archives. These include the files of the American National Red Cross and some papers of the Near East Relief Committee.

The U. S. Food Administration was created in August 1917, with Herbert Hoover as Food Administrator, to provide for the supply, distribution and conservation of food within the total war effort. The most important papers relating to the Food Administration—including those of Mr. Hoover and other top officials—are housed at the Institution.

In addition, records of several organizations created to promote relief for
famine-stricken populations during and after World War II are also in the Hoover Archives. These include reports of the Finnish Relief Fund, Inc., the Polish Relief Commission, and the National Committee on Food for the Small Democracies.

In 1946 President Truman asked Mr. Hoover to advise on means of coping with the famine created by World War II. Mr. Hoover visited the principal nations affected to evaluate their minimum needs and to discover possible additional food resources. The Hoover Archives’ files contain memoranda written by Mr. Hoover and the several people who accompanied him on this trip to 38 countries between March and June of 1946 and on a trip to Germany and Austria in 1947.

Mr. Hoover’s papers relating to his work on the reorganization of the U. S. Government—as Chairman of the Hoover Commissions of 1947–49 and of 1953–55—are in the Archives. Correspondence, interoffice memoranda, and reports are included in these files on the Hoover Commissions.

Some 150 individuals who worked with or admired Mr. Hoover have given their papers to the Hoover Archives, including:

Hugh Gibson. Mr. Gibson was U. S. Minister to Poland in 1919–24 and to Switzerland in 1924–27. He was also Ambassador to Belgium in 1927–33 and in 1937–38 and Ambassador to Brazil in 1933–37. His papers are not to be opened until 1971.

Robert A. Theobald. Admiral Theobald was Chief of Staff, U. S. Pacific Fleet, 1939. The collection contains correspondence about his controversial book, The Final Secret of Pearl Harbor, and classified material which is in a restricted category.

Payson J. Treat. Mr. Treat is Professor of History, Emeritus, Stanford University. The collection contains, among other items, articles, manuscripts, letters and typescripts of diplomatic correspondence dealing primarily with China and Japan in the last half of the 19th century.

Ray Lyman Wilbur. Stanford’s third president served as Secretary of the Interior in President Hoover’s Cabinet from 1929 to 1933. His papers as Secretary of the Interior are housed in the Archives.

Woodrow Wilson. There is an important and highly significant collection of correspondence between Mr. Hoover and Mr. Wilson covering the years 1914–20.

The Archives is developing and testing a computer-searched, machine information retrieval system. An immediate task for the system is complete indexing of all holdings in the Herbert Hoover Archives. At present, much important material is buried beyond reach because its subjects are peripheral to the main body of the collections. Long-run objectives of the project include compilation of bibliographies and extension of machine techniques to other archives in the Hoover Institution’s library.
Additions to the Herbert Hoover Archives over the past two years include:
—Photographs, tape recordings, television and movie film footage, and scripts of events and programs honoring Mr. Hoover at the time of his death.
—25 letters from Mr. Hoover to Will Irwin, an old friend from Stanford student days who wrote extensively on the events of World War I. They were given by the latter’s son, William Hyde Irwin.
—Six photographs of war debt and reparations commissions formed following World War I, with each picture autographed by all members shown. The photographs were donated to the Archives by Arthur N. Young.
—The handwritten draft of a letter sent by Herbert Hoover to people who congratulated him on his election as President of the United States in 1928. The draft, displayed in the Herbert Hoover Room at the Institution, was donated by Mrs. W. Palmer Fuller.
—19 cartons of letters, clippings and other material relating to Mr. Hoover’s relief work during World War I, given to the Institution by Mlle. Jacobs-Pauwels.

The Archives contributed photographs and research to a National Geographic piece on Herbert Hoover that appeared in the magazine’s October 1965 issue. Similar contributions were made for Herbert Hoover’s Challenge to America: His Life and Words, published recently by the editors of Country Beautiful.

Research assistance also was given to Miss Dorothy Horton McGee for her revised 1966 edition of Herbert Hoover: Engineer, Humanitarian, Statesman. Miss McGee’s book was first published in 1959.

Looking ahead, the Archives staff is preparing a volume containing the last speeches of Herbert Hoover and tributes to him at the time of his death.

Of great importance to scholars is another project, a complete bibliography of all of Mr. Hoover’s writings. This will run to more than 2,000 entries. The task is complicated by the frequent reprints given Mr. Hoover’s articles, often under other than original titles. The bibliography is expected to be ready for publication by the end of 1966.
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Constitutions of the Seventeen Communist Party States, edited by Jan F. Triska.
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1959-60

$389,868

Research & Publications
10%  $38,579

Herbert Hoover Archives
12%  $47,289

Administration
13%  $51,711

Library
$252,289
65%

1964-65

$1,237,308

Research & Publications
$533,718
43%

Government Contracts
9%  $110,764

Herbert Hoover Archives
2%  $29,533

Administration
6%  $75,346

Library
$487,947
40%
Sources of Funds

1959-60

University Funds
$148,170
38%

Endowment Earnings
$89,320
23%

Individual, Foundation & Corp. Gifts
$152,378
39%

$389,868

1964-65

Government Contracts
$110,764
9%

Publications
$48,807
4%

University Funds
$217,145
17%

Endowment Earnings
$123,046
10%

Individual, Foundation & Corp. Gifts
$737,546
61%

$1,237,308
HERBERT HOOVER ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEW

with

J. EDGAR HOOVER

by

Raymond Henle

November 10, 1966

in Washington, D. C.

(This interview was by correspondence.)

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J. Edgar Hoover Still Looks Ahead

By JEREMIAH OLLAMY

In relaxed conversation the office of the FBI becomes less formidable. His eyes twinkle when he talks about his friends and colleagues. He is not as well known as many other public figures, but his work is highly regarded. Hoover is the epitome of a public servant who has dedicated his life to the betterment of the country.

J. Edgar Hoover will be 73 years old tomorrow. For 33 years he has been director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, a post he has held since 1924. Hoover is an example of a man who has dedicated himself to an ideal cause, working tirelessly for the betterment of the nation.

At an age when most men are retired, Hoover is still active. He is committed to the well-being of the country and continues to work towards a safer and more just society.

J. Edgar Hoover

Much of this is true, but what rarely comes to light is his strong sense of humor and his sentimental streak about old friends and associates. He is known for his sense of humor and his ability to make light of difficult situations.

"I never forget a face, but names of people I have only seen once or twice often escape me," Hoover said. "I have a stock answer for relatives who come to see me: 'I remember who you are, but I'm sorry I don't remember your name.'"

Since he has never married and has no living relatives except some nephews and nieces, Hoover's closest friends are the FBI associates. He previously worked as a chemist at the U.S. Department of Agriculture and later became a police officer in New York City.

If you have ever been to the FBI building, you may have noticed the sign that says, "If you have any information that could help us solve a crime, please contact the FBI." It is a reminder that the work of the FBI is to protect the country and enforce its laws.

Hoover's legacy is a testament to the dedication and hard work of those who serve in the FBI. His commitment to the agency and the country is an inspiration to all who serve in law enforcement.

HOOVER TURNS 73

THE SUNDAY STAR
Washington, D.C., December 31, 1927

J. Edgar Hoover

Every December Hoover and his wife, Helen, go to Key Biscayne, Fla., for a 10-day vacation. In August, they go to La Jolla, Calif., where Hoover has long vacationed and enjoys the warm climate. Hoover is known for his love of the beach and the outdoors.

"If I had a son, I'd make him earn his way through college. I never rode in a car until I was 16. I rode my bicycle to school every day," Hoover said. "I have a father who taught me the value of hard work and the importance of education."
Hoover said he contributed his successful approach to the FBI to the lessons learned in the train of the Navy during World War I. He became known as a meticulous planner and organizer, a skill that would serve him well in his role as FBI director.

No Need to Order

"Every day I get a newspaper and I read it in bed. I also have a radio and I listen to it in the morning. I like to hear the news and I enjoy the music."

Relations between Hoover and his wife were excellent. He described her as his "better half" and his "soul mate." They had no children, but Hoover said they were "very happy." He also had a close relationship with his siblings, especially his brother, who was also a successful lawyer.

Hoover believed in "strict integrity" and "honesty." He said he always tried to "do the right thing." He was known for his "strict" and "rigid" personality, which made him a "difficult" person to work with. However, he was also known for his "kindness" and "consideration" for others.

Hoover's life was marked by "hard work" and "dedication." He said he was "never satisfied" and "always" felt "as though there was something more to be done." He was known for his "long hours" and "hard work," and he often worked "late into the night." He was a "dedicated" and "hard-working" person, and he was known for his "dedication" to his work.

Set Routine Stressed

Hoover believed in a "set routine" and "organizational pattern," which he described as a "systematic" and "organized" approach to his work. He said he had a "system" for everything, and he was known for his "organization" and "efficient" management style.

Hoover's approach to the FBI was characterized by "organization" and "systematic" methods. He said he was "interested in the details" and "interested in the facts." He was known for his "attention to detail" and "careful analysis." He was also known for his "impeccable" record-keeping and "meticulous" documentation.

Hoover's approach to the FBI was characterized by "organization" and "systematic" methods. He said he was "interested in the details" and "interested in the facts." He was known for his "attention to detail" and "careful analysis." He was also known for his "impeccable" record-keeping and "meticulous" documentation.
November 10, 1966

Honorable Ray Henle  
Director  
Herbert Hoover Oral History Program  
Suite 807  
1200 17th Street, Northwest  
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Ray:

It is indeed a pleasure to enclose a statement regarding my recollections of President Herbert Hoover.

May I wish you every success in this most worthwhile project.

Sincerely,

Enclosure
November 10, 1968

STATEMENT BY J. EDGAR HOOVER, DIRECTOR, FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION, RELATIVE TO PRESIDENT HERBERT HOOVER

President Herbert Hoover was one of the great inspirations of my life. He symbolized for me the very epitome of personal integrity, unselfish duty in public service and the living of noble ideals. I considered him as a close personal friend, an individual whose guidance and wisdom I treasured.

My friendship with President Hoover started many years ago when I was a young attorney in the Department of Justice. In fact, I am proud that it was on the recommendation of President Hoover that I was appointed Director of the FBI in 1924 by Attorney General Harlan Fiske Stone. Mr. Hoover was then Secretary of Commerce. At a Cabinet meeting the Attorney General mentioned that he was seeking a new FBI Director—an individual who could efficiently reorganize the agency which had fallen into disrepute. Mr. Hoover personally discussed the matter with the Attorney General and recommended me for the assignment.
Mr. Hoover always had great faith in the FBI and law enforcement. He was deeply concerned with the problem of crime and dedicated his entire life to making this a better Nation. He stood unflinchingly for the fundamental values of honesty, integrity and love of country. He was a great patriot, a great American, a great leader of men.

As a member of the Board of Directors of the Boys' Clubs of America, I was privileged to serve under Mr. Hoover's leadership of this splendid organization. Nothing made Mr. Hoover more happy than to be working for the welfare and future of America's young people. Here again was evidence of the deep humanitarian feelings of this man, whose entire life was devoted to service to others. In Mr. Hoover, the boys and girls of this country had a truly sincere and dedicated friend.

On Mr. Hoover's 75th birthday, I wrote him a letter, some words from which reflect the deep admiration I had for this great American:

"Your life has truly been an inspiration not only to those of us who have had the privilege of coming under the influence of your magnanimous personality but to the millions who have followed your career from the earliest days when you entered the arena of public life.

"The one thing which has impressed me more than anything else about you has been your indomitable will. You have had setbacks, as every normal human being has, but each setback was only temporary and you came back stronger than ever because you were right."
Mr. Wick's conversation on phone 11/22/66

After the resignation of William J. Burns, Harlan Fiske Stone, Attorney General, and Herbert Hoover, Secretary of Commerce attended a cabinet meeting, early in May, 1924.

Mr. Stone said to Mr. Hoover, "I wish I could find a man to head up the Bureau of Investigation." Mr. Hoover said, "You've got one in your own shop -- a man named Hoover -- nookin of mine. You should look him up."

Mr. Stone called in J. Edgar Hoover on May 10, 1924. Said he wanted to appoint him director of the FBI, and would he accept it. Mr. Hoover said he would on three conditions: (1) that he would have absolute power to hire and fire; (2) that progress through the FBI would be achieved only on merit; that a man would succeed on his own ability; (3) the whole operation of the FBI be removed from politics.

Stone said they were the only conditions on which he would offer the post.
ROBERT E. WICK

November 23, 1966

Honorable Ray Henle
American Enterprise Institute
1200 17th Street, Northwest
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Ray:

With reference to the call from Miss Kenny of your office earlier this week, I am sure you can appreciate Mr. Hoover's reluctance to amplify his statement pertaining to the late Herbert Hoover. I do understand, however, your desire to explain the matter of Mr. Hoover's appointment at President Hoover's suggestion and accordingly I am enclosing a passage from Don Whitehead's "The FBI Story" which sets forth this situation in some detail. It is hoped this will be of assistance to you for footnoting purposes.

Sincerely,

Bob Wick
FBI News
Assistant Director

Enclosure
"One month and seven days after his appointment, Stone (the late Chief Justice) accepted the resignation of William J. Burns as Director of the Bureau of Investigation. The old era had ended for the Bureau.

Stone had been looking around for the right man to put in charge of the Bureau of Investigation. He mentioned his problem at a Cabinet meeting attended by Herbert Hoover, who was then Secretary of Commerce. When Hoover went back to his office he told his assistant, Larry Richey, that Stone was looking for an intelligent young man to put in charge of the Bureau.

Richey replied, 'Why should they look around when they have the man they need right over there now--a young well-educated lawyer named Hoover.'

'You think he can do the job?' the Secretary asked.

'I know he can,' Richey replied. 'He's a good friend of mine.'

A few days later, Herbert Hoover told Richey he had talked to Stone and the Attorney General was going to try Hoover out."

(Pages 66 & 67)
ROBERT E. WICK

December 2, 1966

Mr. Raymond Henle
Director
Herbert Hoover Oral History Program
Suite 807
1200 17th Street, Northwest
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Ray:

Thanks for your note of November 29th relative to a footnote to appear after the Director's comments about President Hoover.

Your footnote appears satisfactory. I would suggest, however, that you eliminate my name and predicate the footnote directly on Don Whitehead's "The FBI Story." The footnote could read:

"A valid account of J. Edgar Hoover's appointment is contained in Don Whitehead's 'The FBI Story' on pages 66 and 67. This account is as follows:" Then, follow with the quotes you have included from the book on page two of your November 29th letter to me.

I would then add additionally the following which is taken directly from page 67 of the Whitehead book. It immediately follows the quote you have from the book "...and the Attorney General was going to 'try Hoover out.'"
Mr. Raymond Henle

The portion you might wish to include or you may wish to excerpt from it is as follows:

"The day after Burns resigned, twenty-nine-year-old J. Edgar Hoover was summoned to Stone's office. It was May 10, 1924. The news had already circulated through the Bureau that Burns was leaving. Hoover wasn't sure whether he would be next or not. Stone was known to be gruff and tough, and heads were falling.

Hoover entered Stone's office and saw the big man seated behind his desk. Stone was over six feet tall and weighed more than two hundred pounds. He looked to Hoover at that moment as if he'd been carved out of solid stone.

'Sit down,' Stone said, scowling as usual. The scowl was a habit.

Hoover took a seat. Stone peered at him over his glasses and the two men looked at each other across the desk. Then Stone said abruptly, 'Young man, I want you to be Acting Director of the Bureau of Investigation.'

Hoover realized the magnitude of the compliment. He knew in that instant that Attorney General Stone had rejected the arguments that he was too young for the job. Far more important, he knew that Stone did not hold him responsible for the policies, mistakes and corrupt actions of those who had directed the Department of Justice and the Bureau of Investigation in the past.

Finally Hoover said, 'I'll take the job, Mr. Stone, on certain conditions.'

'What are they?'

'The Bureau must be divorced from politics and not be a catch-all for political hacks. Appointments must be based on
Mr. Raymond Henle

merit. Second, promotions will be made on proved ability and the Bureau will be responsible only to the Attorney General.'

The Attorney General scowled and said, 'I wouldn't give it to you under any other conditions. That's all. Good day.'

Thus it was, under the guidance of Harlan Fiske Stone, that Hoover took over the command of the Bureau of Investigation, first as Acting Director, and then, seven months later, as Director."

I hope you can work this out.

Sincerely,

[Signature]

- 3 -
FOOTNOTE TO J. EDGAR HOOVER STATEMENT

(1) A valid account of J. Edgar Hoover's appointment is contained in Don Whitehead's "The FBI Story" on pages 66 and 67. This account is as follows:

"One month and seven days after his appointment, Stone (the late Chief Justice) accepted the resignation of William J. Burns as Director of the Bureau of Investigation. The old era ended for the Bureau.

"Stone had been looking around for the right man to put in charge of the Bureau of Investigation. He mentioned his problem at a Cabinet meeting attended by Herbert Hoover, who was then Secretary of Commerce. When Hoover went back to his office he told his assistant, Larry Richey, that Stone was looking for an intelligent young man to put in charge of the Bureau.

"Richey replied, 'Why should they look around when they have the man they need right over there now -- a young well-educated lawyer named Hoover.'

"'You think he can do the job?' the Secretary asked.

"'I know he can', Richey replied. 'He's a good friend of mine.'

"A few days later, Herbert Hoover told Richey he had talked to Stone and the Attorney General was going to 'try Hoover out.'

"The day after Burns resigned, twenty-nine year old J. Edgar Hoover was summoned to Stone's office. It was May 10, 1924. The news had already circulated through the Bureau that Burns was leaving. Hoover wasn't sure whether he would be next or not. Stone was known to be gruff and tough, and heads were falling.

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"Finally Hoover said, 'I'll take the job, Mr. Stone, on certain conditions.'

"What are they?"

"The Bureau must be divorced from politics and not be a catch-all for political hacks. Appointments must be based on merit. Second, promotions will be made on proved ability and the Bureau will be responsible only to the Attorney General."

"The Attorney General scowled and said, 'I wouldn't give it to you under any other conditions. That's all. Good day.'

"Thus it was, under the guidance of Harlan Fiske Stone, that Hoover took over the command of the Bureau of Investigation, first as Acting Director, and then, seven months later, as Director."