

**INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN  
PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN  
THE UNITED STATES**

---

**SPECIAL  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
SEVENTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS  
SECOND SESSION**

**ON**

**H. Res. 282**

**TO INVESTIGATE (1) THE EXTENT, CHARACTER, AND  
OBJECTS OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN  
THE UNITED STATES, (2) THE DIFFUSION WITHIN THE  
UNITED STATES OF SUBVERSIVE AND UN-AMERICAN PROP-  
AGANDA THAT IS INSTIGATED FROM FOREIGN COUNTRIES  
OR OF A DOMESTIC ORIGIN AND ATTACKS THE PRINCIPLE  
OF THE FORM OF GOVERNMENT AS GUARANTEED BY  
OUR CONSTITUTION, AND (3) ALL OTHER QUESTIONS IN  
RELATION THERETO THAT WOULD AID CONGRESS IN ANY  
NECESSARY REMEDIAL LEGISLATION**

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**COMMITTEE PRINT  
APPENDIX—PART IX  
COMMUNIST FRONT ORGANIZATIONS  
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO  
THE NATIONAL CITIZENS POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE**

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**FIRST SECTION**

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**UNITED STATES  
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE  
WASHINGTON : 1944**

**SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES  
WASHINGTON, D. C.**

**MARTIN DIES, Texas, *Chairman***

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**ROBERT E. STRIPLING, *Secretary and Chief Investigator***

**J. B. MATTHEWS, *Director of Research***

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This volume is a special appendix to volume XVII of the hearings of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities. The hearings contained in volume XVII were conducted on September 27, 28, 29, and October 3, 4, 5, 1944, by a subcommittee composed of—

**JOHN M. COSTELLO, California, *Chairman***

**JOE STARNES, Alabama**

**J. PARNELL THOMAS, New Jersey**

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**COMMUNIST FRONT ORGANIZATIONS**

**WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO**

**THE NATIONAL CITIZENS POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE**

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**FOURTH SECTION**

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**UNITED STATES**

**GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE**

**WASHINGTON : 1944**

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## AMERICAN YOUTH FOR DEMOCRACY

On October 17, 1943, the Young Communist League convened in a national convention in New York City. The gathering formally dissolved the Young Communist League and immediately re-convened as the American Youth for Democracy.

It was not until May 1944, that the Communist Party went underground and reappeared as the Communist Political Association. The Young Communist League went underground and reappeared as the American Youth for Democracy some 7 months earlier.

Among the members of the National Citizens Political Action Committee, the following have been affiliated with the American Youth for Democracy: Louis Adamic, Mary McLeod Bethune, Langston Hughes, and Paul Robeson.

It is apparent at once that the present American Youth for Democracy is nothing more nor less than the former Young Communist League when we examine the personnel of the two organizations. Young Communist Leaguers occupy all the important positions in the new American Youth for Democracy. The record reveals the following:

Robert Thompson is the national co-chairman of the American Youth for Democracy. He was national vice president of the Young Communist League and is now a vice president of the Communist Political Association. He was a contributor to the *Daily Worker*. (See January 20, 1938, p. 2.) He was a member of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. The *Young Communist Review* of April, 1938 (p. 7), describes Thompson as the "leading YCL figure in California." In 1938, Robert Thompson was a member of the national council of the Young Communist League.

Carl Ross was made national executive secretary of the American Youth for Democracy when it was launched in October 1943. For more than 5 years prior to that time, he had been national executive secretary of the Young Communist League. His first position with the Young Communist League was as state organizer in Minnesota. In 1937, he became a member of the presiding committee of the Young Communist League. He wrote extensively for Communist Party and Young Communist League publications. Furthermore, he was affiliated with such Communist-front organizations as the American Youth Congress and the World Youth Congress.

Claudia Jones is editor of the official magazine of the American Youth for Democracy, *Spotlight*. Formerly, she was associate editor of the official organ of the Young Communist League, *Weekly Review*. She was also a member of the national council of the Young Communist League. She was affiliated with the World Youth Congress, was State chairman of the Young Communist League in New York, and wrote extensively for the Communist press.

Leo Cooper is managing editor of Spotlight, official magazine of the American Youth for Democracy, and was formerly managing editor of Weekly Review, official organ of the Young Communist League.

James West is executive secretary of the American Youth for Democracy in New Jersey, and was formerly organizer for the Young Communist League in the northwest region of the United States.

Adeline Kohl is secretary of the American Youth for Democracy in Michigan, and was formerly State secretary of the Michigan Young Communist League. She was also a member of the national council of the Young Communist League.

Lillian Ross is executive secretary of the American Youth for Democracy in New York State, and was formerly a member of the national war service council of the Young Communist League. She also wrote for the Communist press.

Pauline Annone is executive secretary of the American Youth for Democracy in western Pennsylvania, and was formerly a member of the national war service council of the Young Communist League.

Fay Caller is a member of the national board of the American Youth for Democracy, and was formerly a member of the national council of the Young Communist League.

Jack Epstein is executive secretary of the American Youth for Democracy in Connecticut, and was formerly a member of the national war service council of the Young Communist League.

Herbert Signer is executive secretary of the American Youth for Democracy in Illinois and Indiana, and was formerly an alternate member of the national council of the Young Communist League.

Celeste Strack became executive secretary of the American Youth for Democracy in California, and was formerly a member of the national council of the Young Communist League. For a number of years, she was national high school organizer of the Communist-front organization known as the American Student Union. She ran for Congress on the Communist Party ticket in California in 1940. She was a delegate to the World Youth Congress, and has written extensively for the Communist press.

Selma Weiss is executive secretary for the American Youth for Democracy in the Maryland-Washington, D. C., district, and was formerly a member of the national war service council of the Young Communist League.

Daisy Lolich is executive secretary of the American Youth for Democracy in Ohio, and was formerly city secretary of the Young Communist League in Cleveland. She was also an alternate member of the national council of the Young Communist League.

Clare Hunt, at present business manager of American Youth for Democracy's Spotlight, was formerly secretary-treasurer of New Age Publishers, Inc., which published the official organ of the Young Communist League, Weekly Review.

Philip Schatz is organizational director of the American Youth for Democracy in New York State, and was formerly educational director of the Young Communist League in New York State.

It will be seen from the foregoing recital of overlapping personnel in the Young Communist League and the American Youth for Democracy that the highest positions in the latter organization were taken over by persons who were formerly publicly-avowed members of the Young Communist League and among the highest officials of the

national organization of the Young Communist League. In other words, there is not a shadow of doubt that the present American Youth for Democracy is nothing more nor less than the old Young Communist League.

In July 1944, Robert Hannegan, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, sent the American Youth for Democracy a telegram inviting the Communist group to send representatives to Chicago to appear before the platform committee of the Chicago Democratic convention.

According to Spotlight, April 1944, page 19, the following persons are national sponsors of the American Youth for Democracy: Henry Armstrong, Charlotte Hawkins Brown, John M. Coffee, Frank Marshall Davis, Howard Fast, A. Eustace Haydon, William H. Holly, Langston Hughes, John Howard Lawson, Kirtley F. Mather, H. P. Marley, F. C. Mathiessen, Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., Minerva Pious, Charles S. Seely, William B. Spofford, Dirk J. Struik, William Jay Schieffelin, Teddy Wilson, Mary E. Wooley, and Mary McLeod Bethune.

The LAW Bulletin of September 1936 declares that "among editors of Science and Society, a Marxian Quarterly, are the following members of the League: Edwin Berry Burgum, Bernard J. Stern, Kenneth Burke, Harry Conover, Granville Hicks, Eugene C. Holmes, Robert Morss Lovett, Brooks Otis" (p. 2).

"Associated Film Audiences, in the West, and Film Audiences for Democracy, in the East, have made a beginning in audience organization," declared a report presented by a group of Hollywood writers to the League Congress at which Paul Strand, president of Frontier Films, was a speaker (*Fighting Words*, edited by Donald Ogden Stewart, dedicated to the League of American Writers, pp. 116, 118).. (See Congress of American Revolutionary Writers.)

## EXHIBIT No. 1

### IN DEFENSE OF CULTURE

In this hour of crisis, conscious of our responsibility as writers and our pledge to help preserve the American heritage of freedom and democratic culture, we issue this Call to the Fourth Congress of the League of American Writers.

We are gathering to reaffirm the aims of our three previous Congresses.

In 1935, in 1937, and again in 1939, we declared our indissoluble ties with the American people. We proclaimed our unalterable conviction that reaction and its wars are the greatest enemies of a free and flourishing culture. We resolved to promote an atmosphere in which the literary crafts could be discussed cooperatively without compulsion or fear. We expressed our solidarity with the other progressive writers of this hemisphere and of the world.

In 1941, the values by which we have lived are facing unprecedented attacks. Half of the world is at war and the other half is endangered by attempts to draw it into war. We had warned of the consequences of "non-intervention" in Spain, of aid to the aggressor in China, of appeasement at Munich. Today, these consequences are tragically apparent. We have warned that America must be defended not by involvement in this war, or by steps toward dictatorship, or by pursuing a course of imperialist expansion, but by preserving peace and expanding democracy on the economic, political, and cultural levels. Today, we must ask whether the present policy of the administration and the program of big business are not leading us toward war and fascism in the name of resistance to war and fascism.

Our lives and our work, as craftsmen and as human beings, are at stake. We have special problems to meet: censorship and diversion of art to further a war the people do not want; diminishing outlets for the expression of our honest convictions; disregard for the needs of anti-fascist writers who seek asylum in the Americas. Wherever the right to speak is lost we too are the losers. Wherever civil liberties are abridged, our stories, poems, plays, essays, and books are abridged. The attacks on trade unions, political minorities, and education are attacks on our basic convictions as writers and as citizens.

We know that our existence as free writers, spokesmen of a free people, depends on our continued loyalty to the principles which govern the work of the League of American Writers. We therefore call our fellow writers, and our associates in the related cultural crafts, to the Fourth Biennial Congress to consider the following questions:

¶ How best as writers can we resist the drive toward war and reaction which threatens our democratic culture?

¶ What can we do to extend further help to persecuted writers of other lands?

¶ What can we do to restore the WPA cultural projects and to transform them into permanent Peoples Art Projects vital to the nation's strength?

¶ What new technical developments in the various forms of writing need to be analyzed and evaluated?

¶ What measures can we take to combat and surmount the growing restrictions on our work as honest craftsmen?

¶ How can we contribute to a genuine cultural interchange between the peoples of the Americas?

¶ How can we enrich America's imperishable democratic literature and extend its audience?

INITIAL SIGNERS

Katharine Anthony  
 Benjamin Appel  
 Leopold Atlas  
 Helen Bergovoy  
 Alvah Bessie  
 Ivan Black  
 William Blake  
 Marc Blitsstein  
 Millen Brand  
 Dorothy Brewster  
 Edwin Berry Burgum  
 Fielding Burke  
 Harry Carlisle  
 Robert Carse  
 Vera Caspary  
 Molly Castle  
 Haakon Chevalier  
 Edward Chodorof  
 Jerome Chodorof  
 Lester Cole  
 Jack Conroy  
 Alexander L. Crosby  
 H. W. L. Dana  
 Joy Davidman  
 Frank Marshall Davis  
 Martha Dodd  
 William E. Dodd, Jr.  
 Pietro di Donato  
 Muriel Draper  
 Theodore Dreiser  
 James Dugan  
 Robert W. Dunn  
 Arnaud d'Usseau  
 Edward Eliscu  
 Ralph Ellison  
 Ben Field  
 Frederick V. Field  
 Sarah Bard Field  
 Joseph Fields  
 Sender Garlin

Lillian Barnard Gilkes  
 Michael Gold  
 Morton Grant  
 Dashiell Hammett  
 Henry Hart  
 Lillian Hellman  
 Eugene C. Holmes  
 Langston Hughes  
 Paul Jarrico  
 Gordon Kahn  
 Jean Karsayina  
 Rockwell Kent  
 Jerome Klein  
 Arthur Kober  
 Lester Koenig  
 Alfred Kreymborg  
 Joshua Kunitz  
 Corliss Lamont  
 John Howard Lawson  
 Meridel LeSueur  
 Robert Morss Lovett  
 Helen Merrell Lynd  
 Ruth McKenney  
 May McNeer  
 Carey McWilliams  
 A. B. Magil  
 Albert Maltz  
 Dexter Masters  
 Robert Meltzer  
 Leonard E. Mius  
 Bruce Minton  
 Dudley Nichols  
 Joseph North  
 Harvey O'Connor  
 Sam Ornitz  
 Myra Page  
 Phelps Putnam  
 Samuel Putnam  
 Mike Quin  
 Maurice Rapf

Walter Rautenstrauch  
 W. L. River  
 Earl Robinson  
 Wellington Roe  
 Harold J. Rome  
 Robert Rossen  
 Jerry Sackheim  
 Harold J. Salemsom  
 Waldo Salt  
 John Sanford  
 Margaret Schlauch  
 Isidor Schneider  
 Vida D. Scudder  
 Frank Scully  
 George Seldes  
 Viola Brothers Shore  
 Samuel Sillen  
 George Sklar  
 Isobel Walker Soule  
 Marian Spitzer  
 Christina Stead  
 Bernhard J. Stern  
 Philip Stevenson  
 Donald Ogden Stewart  
 Hans Otto Storm  
 Anna Louise Strong  
 Genevieve Taggard  
 Ethel Turner  
 Charles A. Wagner  
 Eda Lou Walton  
 Harry F. Ward  
 Orson Welles  
 Chandler Whipple  
 Maurine Whipple  
 Charles Erskine Scott  
 Wood  
 Richard Wright  
 Victor A. Yakhontoff  
 Louis Zara

AMERICAN WRITERS CONGRESS, JUNE 6-8, 1941, NEW YORK CITY

For information apply to Franklin Folsom, *National Executive Secretary*, League of American Writers, Inc., 381 Fourth Ave., New York. MU. 6-8790

All those desiring to attend the Congress are urged to register in advance by mail.

MAIL THIS REGISTRATION BLANK TODAY

Please check

I wish to attend the Congress as a League Member..... (Fee \$1.00)

I support the Call and wish to attend as a Non-Member Writer.. (Fee \$2.50)

I support the Call and wish to attend as a Fraternal Delegate... (Fee \$2.50)

-----  
 (Name of organization to which I belong)

-----  
 (Address of organization)

I wish to attend the Congress as an Auditor..... (Fee \$3.50)

I am interested in the following kinds of writing (please check):

Novel  Short Story  Juvenile  Poetry  Folk Song, Folk Lore,  
 Folk Say  Text Book  Drama  Radio  Screen  Pulp

Technical  Criticism  Other (Please specify) -----

I suggest that the following session (or paper, or feature) be included in the program:

-----  
 I enclose \$ \_\_\_\_\_ to cover my fee.   
 I shall be unable to attend the Congress but I endorse the Call.   
 I enclose \$ \_\_\_\_\_ for the League of American Writers "Defense of  
 Culture Fund."

Name -----  
 (Please print)

Address -----

League of American Writers, 381 Fourth Ave., New York, N. Y.  
 Murray Hill 6-8790

### EXHIBIT No. 2

[Memorandum of the Attorney General, Mr. Francis Biddle]

*Strictly Confidential.*

#### LEAGUE OF AMERICAN WRITERS

NOTE: The following statement does not purport to be a complete report on the organization named. It is intended only to acquaint you, without undue burden of detail, with the nature of the evidence which has appeared to warrant an investigation of charges of participation.

It is assumed that each employee's case will be decided on all the facts presented in the report of the FBI and elicited, where a hearing is ordered, by the board of committee before which the employee is given an opportunity to appear.

Please note that the statement is marked "*Strictly Confidential*" and is available only for use in administration of the mandate of Public No. 135.

The League of American Writers, founded under Communist auspices in 1935, for some years attracted to its fold many of the most prominent American writers, Communist and non-Communist. In 1939 the League began openly to follow the Communist Party line as dictated by the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, and at that time most of the non-Communists disaffiliated themselves from it and declared their opposition to its policy.

The League of American Writers was founded at a Congress of American Revolutionary Writers held in New York City April 26-27, 1935. The call for the Congress was signed by members of the John Reed Club, including such well-known Communists as Earl Browder, Isidor Schneider, John L. Spivak, and Michael Gold. The Congress greeted Gold as "the best loved American revolutionary writer" and Gold in turn told the gathering that "our writers must learn that the working class which has created a great civilization in the Soviet Union is capable of creating a similar civilization in this country". The leading speakers at the Congress were all prominently identified with the Communist movement in the United States and featured such men as M. J. Olgin, editor of the Communist Yiddish daily, Morning Freiheit, Alexander Trachtenberg, head of the Party's publishing house, International Publishers, Inc., and Clarence Hathaway, editor of the *Daily Worker* whose masthead then proclaimed it the "official organ of the Communist Party, U. S. A., Section of the Communist International". The League was created, among other things, to enlist writers in a national cultural organization for peace and democracy and against fascism and reaction, to support progressive trade union organizations and the people's front in all countries, and to cooperate with the progressive forces.

Soon after the League was established, the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International in Moscow decided upon the Trojan horse policy for Communist parties everywhere. By this policy Communists sought to infiltrate existing organizations without revealing their identity. Accordingly it became necessary to conceal the Communist influence in the League of American writers. The revolutionary slogans and resolutions were discarded. In the years from 1936 to 1939 the League made an effort to secure as members the leaders of liberal thought among American writers. Although its Communist control was deliberately obscured, it sponsored a policy which accorded with the Communist Party line in those years, including condemnation of the Franco Revolution in

Spain and an interpretation of that revolution as presenting an issue of Communism versus Fascism. In its Congresses held in these years the League condemned fascism and praised the "Soviet Peace Policy". It sought to make its program attractive by sponsoring the Federal Arts Project and attacking those who were opposed to any of the social legislation then being enacted in the United States.

At the time of the Russo-German pact in August 1939 the League of American Writers began once more to follow the Communist Party line openly and without much attempt at dissimulation. It was in this period that most of the prominent non-Communist writers resigned from the League. Thomas Mann stated that the League "thinks too much about politics and not enough about literature". In 1940 and up until June 22, 1941, the League devoted its efforts principally to keeping the United States out of the "imperialist war". Its activities were featured in the *Daily Worker* and it in turn complimented the *Daily Worker* for the recognition it was giving to the League's anti-war program. Many leading Communists were openly active in the League at this time.

On June 6, 1941 the League held its fourth annual Writers' Congress in New York City. It condemned the "imperialist war" which it called a war for world markets. Speakers charged that the President was attempting to lead the country into war and condemned the administration for its action in sending troops to quell the North American Aviation Company strike and for its prosecution of Harry Bridges. The American Peace Mobilization and its picketing of the White House was endorsed. Less than a month later the League issued a call to all writers and writers' organizations for "all immediate and necessary steps in support of Great Britain and the Soviet Union".

Not only did the League follow the Communist Party line in regard to foreign affairs but its program since 1940 has shown a close parallel to the leading domestic issues supported by the Party including a campaign in behalf of Negro rights, opposition to what is called "political persecution" in the United States, and praise of the Soviet Union and its leaders.

The League of American Writers maintains an annual Writers School in New York City, featuring courses in labor journalism and pamphlet writing taught by Communists. Once each week it sponsors a "work-in-progress" reading by some author. The *Daily Worker*, in its regular reports of these readings, indicates that the majority of invited readers are known Communists or fellow-travelers.

The overt activities of the League of American Writers in the last two years leave little doubt of its Communist control. The resignations of many writers who had affiliated themselves with it in the era of the Trojan horse and their statements at the time of disassociating themselves from it largely remove all possible speculation as to the facts.

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### EXHIBIT No. 3

DONALD OGDEN STEWART, *President*  
ALINE BERNSTEIN, *Treasurer*

PHILIP STEVENSON, *Secretary*  
FRANFLIN FOLSOM, *Executive Secretary*

*Vice-Presidents:*

Van Wyck Brooks  
Erskine Caldwell  
Malcolm Cowley  
Paul DeKruif

Langston Hughes  
Meridel LeSueur  
Upton Sinclair

#### LEAGUE OF AMERICAN WRITERS

381 Fourth Avenue, New York, MUrray Hill 5-0807

*Chapters:* Chicago, Connecticut, Hollywood, New York, Northern California, Washington, D. C.

July 7th, 1939

## EXHIBIT No. 4

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## PREFACE

SEVEN members of the League of American Writers, Thurman Arnold, Margaret Culkin Banning, Van Wyck Brooks, Henry Pratt Fairchild, Langston Hughes, George S. Kaufman, and Ruth McKenney joined Donald Ogden Stewart, President of the League, in signing the letter printed on the following page. This letter was sent to prominent writers, public figures, and outstanding practitioners in certain of the arts and sciences. Because of space limitations no attempt was made to solicit opinions from all significant leaders, nor were leaders in all fields asked to participate. And no effort was made to find a spokesman for anti-Semitism, though care was taken to have the statements reflect diverse points of view. For instance, representatives of the national political parties were asked to contribute. Protestants, Jews, and Catholics, ministers and laymen alike, were asked for statements. Scholars able to speak as specialists on race, heredity, and minorities, were given opportunity to contribute. Creative writers, inevitably concerned with culture and the basic human value, were awarded an important place—for those very good reasons, and because this book is the work of a writers' organization. In preparing the replies for the press, one great perplexity arose. So great has been the response to the request for statements that the League has suffered from an embarrassment of riches. It has been necessary to choose between cutting statements down to the length requested and perhaps doing violence to the author's point of view, or reducing the number of statements. The latter alternative was reluctantly chosen, and those whose solicited statements do not appear here will take satisfaction, it is hoped, in finding their point of view elsewhere expressed in the book, perhaps not in their own individual manner, but certainly no less sincerely.

## EXHIBIT No. 5

Page 4

*The Bulletin of The League of American Writers*

Summer, 1933

## CHAPTER ACTIVITY

**SAN FRANCISCO:** "Yesterday we had our party for Dr. Karl Menninger. A real success. Will you let us know when other League members come out this way?" writes Ethel Turner on June 13. The League also held a forum on Mexico at the Green Street Theatre, San Francisco, on May 22.

**CHICAGO:** Officers recently elected are: G. A. Borgese, President; Jack Conroy, Executive Secretary; Nelson Algren, Recording Secretary; Frank Marshall Davis, Treasurer. George Dillon and Meyer Levin were elected as Chicago's representatives on the National Council.

**WASHINGTON:** Officers recently elected are: Charles Edward Russell, President; George Willison, Chairman; Eugene Holmes, Secretary. A cocktail party in honor of Donald Ogden Stewart, League President, was held on May 16. The Chapter has sold 450 copies of *Writers Take Sides*.

**NEW YORK:** A picket line including Isobel Walker Soule, Ralph Roeder, Leane Zugsmith, Rockwell Kent, Marjorie Fischer, Nora Benjamin, Muriel Rukseyser, Myra Page, and Bernard D. N. Grebanier marched in front of the Nazi consulate for an hour on May 10, anniversary of the book burning in Germany.

**BOSTON:** Rhoda Truax Aldrich, new League Correspondent, hopes to have a Chapter formed out of the eighteen members in the territory by next fall. She and Mrs. Merle Colby have already sold 300 copies of *Writers Take Sides*.

**MINNEAPOLIS:** Under League auspices a sale of manuscripts, prints, and water colors to raise funds for Spanish children was held at the Walker Gallery on June 3.

The July issue of *Poetry: A Magazine of Verse*, devoted to poets employed on the Federal Writers' Project, includes poems by the following League members: Kenneth Fearing, Alfred Hayes, James Daly, Willard Maas, Kenneth Rexroth, Dorothy Van Ghent, Sol Funaroff, Lawrence Estavan, Miriam Allen de Ford, Sterling A. Brown, H. R. Hays, Margaret Walker. Also included in this issue are articles by League members Malcolm Cowley, Archibald MacLeish, and Alfred Kreymsborg.

## NEW MEMBERS

Eric Lucas, New York City  
Ruth McKenney, New York City  
Herbert L. Matthews, Barcelona, Spain  
C. A. Millsbaugh, Chicago, Ill.  
Robert Newman, Brooklyn, N. Y.  
Dudley Nichols, Hollywood, Cal.  
Frederic Prokosch, Cambridge, England  
Paul Radin, Berkeley, Cal.  
John Ramsey, Chicago, Ill.  
Ben L. Reitman, Chicago, Ill.  
Roberto Rendueles, New York City  
E. Merrill Root, Richmond, Ind.  
Sam Ross, Chicago, Ill.  
Constance Rourke, Grand Rapids, Mich.  
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James A. B. Scherer, San Francisco, Cal.

Herbert J. Seligmann, New York City  
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Summer issue

381 Fourth Avenue, New York City

Price fifteen cents

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Erskine Caldwell  
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Meridel Lesueur  
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## EXHIBIT No. 2

## NEW MASSES DELIVERS

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## EXHIBIT No. 3

WHO MAKES NEW MASSES AMERICA'S INDISPENSABLE WEEKLY?

THE EDITORS: Theodore Draper, Granville Hicks, Crockett Johnston, Joshua Kunitz, A. B. Magil, Herman Michelson, Bruce Minton, Samuel Sillen.

THE CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: Robert Forsythe, Joseph Freeman, Michael Gold, Horace Gregory, Alfred O'Malley, Loren Miller, Isidor Schneider, Marguerite Young.

THE CONTRIBUTORS: recently including, Newton Arvin, Earl Browder, James Bertram, Lester Cohen, William F. Dunne, R. Palme Dutt, Vito Marcantonio, Gabriel Peri, Samuel Putnam, Upton Sinclair, John Strachey, Harold Ward, Frank Lloyd Wright.

THE ARTISTS: recently including Abe Ajay, William Gropper, John Heliker, Haile Hendrix, Hirschfeld, Fred Ellis, John Mackey, Gardner Rea, Redfield, Ad Reinhardt, Art Young, and many others.

**THE READERS:** A recent check of new subscriptions showed: 15% teachers, students, social workers; 18% doctors, lawyers, other professions; 10% artistic groups; 19% "white collar" business groups; 21% industrial workers; 5% housewives; 12% other groups. *Here is what some prominent readers say:*

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### EXHIBIT NO. 4

[New Masses, November 9, 1943, p. 31]

#### NEW MASSES 33RD ARTISTS AND WRITERS ANNUAL BALL

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Alfred Kreyborg  
Ruth McKenney

Paul Robeson  
Vito Marcantonio  
Frederick Meyers  
Isidor Schneider  
Howard Selsam  
Bruce Minton

Max Yergan  
Samuel Sillen  
Art Young  
Joseph North  
John Stuart  
Barbara Giles

Saturday Evening, Dec. 4th, at Webster Hall

*Watch this space for further exciting details about the big event!*

### EXHIBIT No. 5

#### FRIENDS OF THE NEW MASSES IN CHICAGO PRESENT THEIR SECOND INTERPRETATION PLEASE

**SUBJECT—WHAT ARE THE FACTS?—THE NAMES?—THE PLACES?—THE DATES?**

For the answers hear Bruce Minton, Washington Editor of the New Masses

Mr. Minton is a journalist of unquestioned integrity who for years has been in the closest touch with national affairs as reflected in and about Congress. His startling expose of the Washington "Clivedon Set" some months ago focused the attention of the American people on the organized activities of a group of defeatists who were working behind the scenes to bring about a negotiated peace.

With victory drawing near thru the imminent invasion of Europe, our native fascists and defeatists are working overtime in a last desperate effort to influence the military decisions already agreed upon at Teheran. These activities, which have a definite bearing on the 1944 elections, are the subject of John L. Spivak's sensational series of articles entitled "The Secret Plot Against America" currently appearing in New Masses. Mr. Minton will deal with startling facts, knowledge of which is absolutely essential to every American having the interests of his country at heart.

Sponsors listed below, representing leading figures in their respective fields, have been invited to the platform of this meeting where they will participate in the question and discussion period following Mr. Minton's address.

The Date: Sunday, April 23rd, 3:00 P. M.

The Place: Grand Ballroom, Hamilton Hotel, 20 S. Dearborn St.

Admission 60c, Tax included

SPONSORED BY

John Bernard, *Former Congressman from Minnesota.*

Earl B. Dickerson, *Member President's Fair Employment Practices Committee, Former Alderman.*

Frank Marshall Davis, *Executive Editor, Associated Negro Press.*

Theresa Ehrlich, *Executive Sec'y., Illinois Chapter National Federation For Constitutional Liberties.*

Cortland Eyer, *Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, Northwestern University.*  
Harvey O'Connor, *Author of Mellon's Millions, Steel-Dictator, The Guggenheims, The Astors.*

Wm. L. Patterson, *Asst. Director, Abraham Lincoln School.*

J. R. Robertson, *1st Vice-President, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union.*

Al Skinner, *Regional Director, Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union, CIO.*

Ernest DeMaio, *General Vice-President, United Electrical Radio & Machine Workers of America, CIO.*

Morris Yanoff, *Midwest Regional Director, United Office and Professor Workers Union, CIO.*

Louise Thompson, *District President, International Workers Order.*

---

EXHIBIT No. 6

FRIENDS OF THE NEW MASSES IN CHICAGO PRESENT THEIR  
FIRST INTERPRETATION PLEASE

SUBJECT: TEHRAN AND THE FATE OF NATIONS

THE EXPERTS

Phil Hanna, Business Editor, Chicago Sun: A background of over 20 years as a writer and student on financial, business and political subjects. Formerly editor of the Chicago Journal of Commerce, his daily column, Business of the Nation in the Chicago Sun is widely read for its lucid interpretation of business news and trends, and as a non-partisan commentary on government and politics.

Harvey O'Connor, Author and Editor, Moderator: Well known as editor of numerous labor and trade union publications, Mr. O'Connor is even better known as author of such works as Mellon's Millions, Steel-Dictator, The Guggenheims, The Astors. Now working on book describing labor's part in war and post-war planning.

Rabbi David Graubart, B'nai Shalom Synagogue: Rabbi David Graubart is considered one of the most brilliant members of the American rabbinate. He is a leading member of the Rabbinical Assembly of America, the national organization of the conservative rabbis of this country. He is a graduate of Northwestern University.

The author of BEYOND THIS PRESENT, a book of literary essays in the field of Judaica, which has won him national acclaim as a writer, he has also contributed articles to leading Anglo-Jewish, Hebrew, and Yiddish publications. He is a leader in the National Conference of Christians and Jews, for which organization he has several times toured the country.

Wm. L. Patterson, Asst. Director Abraham Lincoln School: Mr. Patterson has a remarkably rich and varied background as an educator, political leader and traveler. A few highlights of his career: Seven years' travel in Europe, Latin America, and Cuba; studied and traveled for several years in the Soviet Union,

including the Far Eastern Republics; main speaker at the Paris International Conference on Racism and Anti-Semitism; participated in the defense of Sacco and Vanzetti; for four years directed the Scottsboro Boys' defense; a director of the National Negro Congress; has spent six years in the field of workers' education.

The Teheran Conference, marking perhaps the greatest turning point in history, is impressing itself more and more in the minds of people as the necessary basis for a correct estimate of all current problems. We are indeed fortunate to have secured eminently qualified speakers of diverse viewpoints who are certain to provide an exciting afternoon of vital discussion. Some questions sure to arise:

Russian-Polish Relations

Military Decisions Affecting the Length of the War

The Position of the Jew

What Kind of a Post-War World?

Questions from the Audience Will Be Welcomed.

The Place: Grand Ballroom, Hamilton Hotel, 20 S. Dearborn St.

The Date: Sunday, February 13th, 3:00 P. M.

Admission—55c, tax included

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Day, Robert B.....	1244
Day, Sarah.....	1773
Day, Toby.....	834
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Days, Alpheus.....	1403
Days, Thomas Richard.....	1403
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