



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

**VITO MARCANTONIO**

**PART 2 OF 12**

**FILE NUMBER : 100-28126**



Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice

Washington, D. C.  
Detroit, Michigan  
May 18, 1943

X  
Director, FBI

①  
Re: VITO MARCANTONIO  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C;  
CUSTODIAL DETENTION

Y  
Dear Sir:

On March 19, 1943, the following letter was recovered in the waste paper at the headquarters of the Communist Party located at 2419 Grand River Avenue, Detroit, Michigan:

"March 5, 1942

"Congressman Vito Marcantonio  
House Office Building  
Washington, D. C.

"Dear Marc:

"On February 27th, Congressman Tenerowicz of Michigan made a pro-fascist and vicious speech in the House. The speech was in connection with the Sojourner Truth Housing Project in Detroit. The speech was a compendium of stool pigeons' reports, Dies Committee misinformation and other concocted material provided by the Ku Klux Klan in defense of the Klan's subversive attack against the Negro people here. Mr. Tenerowicz, quite clearly from his own speech, has from the very outset given direct leadership to the Klan and subversive forces.

"However, at this moment there is one special aspect in his speech that I am very interested in. His speech as published in the Congressional Record of February 27th takes issue with Mr. R. J. Thomas, President of the UAW-CIO, who condemned the activities of the Klan cabal. Tenerowicz here is attempting to lead and incite an attack against Mr. Thomas and the CIO who have been very definite on this question.

"In support of his campaign against Mr. Thomas and the CIO, he includes in the Congressional Record 66 telegrams from "rank and file" members of the UAW-CIO and Detroit trade unions. You will observe that he says, "I have omitted the signatures of these communications but they are available in my office for public

FOR DEFENSE



BUY  
UNITED STATES  
SAVINGS  
BONDS  
AND STAMPS

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55 MAY 29 1943

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Blair

Letter to the Director  
Dated May 18, 1943

Re: VITO MARCANTONIO  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C;  
CUSTODIAL DETENTION

"inspection." What I am immediately interested in is whether an authoritative person or investigator, a Congressman or newspaper reporter with accredited credentials can make a request to verify the authenticity of these messages in obtaining the names on each of these messages as published in the Record. Their addresses are not important.

"Would you be able to advise us how Tenerowicz's claim that he has such messages may be examined? Is it possible for a Congressman or any other competent person to request an examination of these messages which he says are available for public inspection? If so, I would like that list. I am confident that this list embodies the main leaders of the Ku Klux Klan in these locals of the UAW-CIO. If we can obtain this list of names, I am quite sure we will expose the trade union base of the Ku Klux Klan in the UAW.

"Finally, another request. On page 1821 of the Congressional Record of February 27th, Tenerowicz includes in his speech an extensive document which he refers to as "an additional report, dated February 24, 1942, received from a responsible source which covers the unscrupulous, biased, subversive actions employed by Negro and radical elements to deliberately incite both Negro and Whites." Is it possible to determine who is this "responsible source"? Can Tenerowicz be compelled to show his records and this report to some person having the right to demand the presentation of this material?

"You will observe this document makes statements like this: "close diligent investigation," "inquiry conducted by competent investigators." In other words I am striving to obtain the foundation of this report in an effort to determine who are Tenerowicz's stool pigeons within or around the Communist Party, Civil Rights Federation or in the trade union movement.

"Can you help in any way on this question or can you be so good as to suggest how Tenerowicz's material may be examined.

"With personal wishes, I remain,

"Yours sincerely,

PT:kl  
uopwa  
cio-26"

/s/ PAT"

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Letter to the Director  
Dated May 18, 1943

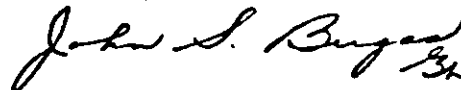
Re: VITO MARCANTONIO  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C;  
CUSTODIAL DETENTION

The author of this letter, whose only signature appears as "PAT," is undoubtedly PAT ~~X~~TOOHEY, Michigan State Secretary of the Communist Party.

In view of the numerous allegations relative to MARCANTONIO's Communist connections and/or sympathies, it is interesting to note that he is addressed by TOOHEY as "Dear MARC," and the tone of the letter as well as the signature "PAT" indicates that the two are well acquainted.

The foregoing is forwarded to the Bureau and the New York Field Office solely for informational purposes.

Very truly yours,



JOHN S. BUGAS  
Special Agent in Charge

GLW: jah  
100-2707  
cc - New York

5  
CORRESK

100-28726-17

RECORDED

Date: June 23, 1943

To: SAC, New York City

From: John Edgar Hoover - Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

Subject: VITO MARCANTONIO

There are transmitted herewith copies of a memorandum received at the Bureau from a confidential outside source containing information concerning the background of the above-named individual.

Copies of this memorandum should not be made available to outside agencies or incorporated in an investigative report unless paraphrased.

Because of the nature of the information contained therein, the same is being submitted for your information and possible assistance.

Enclosures *m*

- Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Coffey \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Acers \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Mumford \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Starke \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION  
 MAILED 5  
 ★ JUN 24 1943 P.M.  
 FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
 U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

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*du*

*100-28726-17*

*AS*

1943

New York City  
January 22, 1943

Facts relating to

<sup>D</sup>  
CONGRESSMAN VITO MARCANTONIO

New York City District

President International Labor Defense

Former Secretary for Mayor La Guardia

Former Law Partner of La Guardia

NOTE: Make no mistake about it--this man is a Communist. He maintains a secret apartment on 16th Street in New York for "inner circle" Party meetings and for his blonde "sweetie".

*Handwritten initials and scribbles*

*Handwritten notes: "see memo 1-23-43" and "cc: [unclear]"*

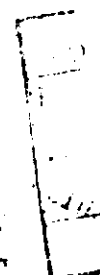
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*Handwritten notes: "11 22 1943"*



126-17

JAN 24 1943

*Handwritten signature: "Gene [unclear]"*

COPIES DESTROYED 7-29-58

LINK MARCANTONIO

TO 110 RED GROUPS

Rep. Vito Marcantonio, whose appointment to the important House Judiciary Committee has created a storm of protest, has been active in 110 Communist or Communist-front organizations in the past ten years, a survey revealed.

His prestige as a Congressman and his talents as a speaker have been utilized by the Communist Party to advance whatever cause Moscow advocated at the time, the survey revealed.

The ever-changing "party line" posed no problem to Marcantonio, who veered with the news from the Kremlin and generally found himself in full accord with the policies of the "Daily Worker."

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House Democrats opposed to his appointment have joined forces to block confirmation of his seating. The Democratic control of the House is threatened by the bitterness of the intra-party dispute.

Although the major part of his activity has centered in New York City, Marcantonio has emerged as a national figure in Communist eyes, due to his impassioned support of whatever cause attracted the party line.

During the days of the Hitler-Stalin pact, Marcantonio not only voted in the House against every defense measure, but stumped from Union Square to Columbus Circle, attending every red rally as an honored speaker denouncing "imperialist war" at the drop of a hat.

As long-time president of the International Labor Defense, records of the Dies Committee show Marcantonio lending not only his name but his voice to the cause of an organization set up at the orders of the Communist International.

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the national headquarters of the Communist Party, as shown by the Dies Committee to be an outgrowth of international Red Aid which was created by Moscow in 1922.

Marcantonio became president of the American Branch in 1937 and has remained as a leader of the organization since that time.

Even the Labor Defender, organ of the ILO, proclaimed the political character of the group as far back as 1929 when it stated:

"There is little wonder in the fact that the idea of a world organization for 'workers' defense has originated in the Soviet Union..."

When confronted with such evidence, Marcantonio, testifying before the Dies Committee in 1939, said: "

"I did definitely ascertain for myself whether or not the International Labor Defense which was convened here in 1937 was connected with the Communist Party, and I ascertained that it was definitely not connected with the Communist Party."

He was one of the first orators to whoop it up for the American League Against War and Fascism, an organization which dropped both words when it became apparent that Stalin was against neither.

As soon as its name changed Marcantonio quickly joined the group's stepchild, the American League for Peace and Democracy. This was in 1938 according to records of the Dies Committee.

When the Communists sought to take over the Loyalist cause during the Spanish Civil War, Marcantonio quickly threw his oratory in the direction of such organizations as the American Friends of Spanish Democracy and the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy.

When the signing of the Hitler-Stalin pact in 1939, Marcantonio dropped from such "fronts" as the United Action Against Fascism and Anti-Semitism and stamped for the American Students Union, Emergency Peace



Since 1943 Marcantonio has either joined or supported the international workers order, unemployment councils, workers alliance, two "Leagues for Democracy" and American Youth Congress.

All of these organizations, according to the Dies Committee, are major parts of the Communist plan of Trojan horse "boring from within" revolutionary groups.

Neither was Marcantonio adverse to occasional contacts with the red variety of arts and sciences. On file with the Dies Committee are records of his membership and sponsorship of such versatile proletarian bands as the Theatre Arts Committee, League of American Writers and Artists Union.

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In addition to these many "fronts," Marcantonio at one time or another during his career has supported the following pro-Red organizations:

The Refugee Scholarship and Peace Campaign, Lawyers Committee on American Relations with Spain, Coordinating Committee against Profiteering, Jewish Peoples' Committee, American Friends of the Chinese People, German-American League for Culture, National Negro Congress, Consumers Union and National Committee for People's Rights.

Following Hitler's invasion of Russia, Marcantonio plummeted from his platform of "The Yanks Are Not Coming," to an all-out espousal of the war effort.

Marcantonio facts for your file.

In 1930 he ran under the Communist nomination as well as the Republican. In 1938, 1940 and 1942 he had the Republican and American Labor nominations and also in 1942, the Democratic nomination. He ran first in 1934 as a Republican.

\*\*\*\*\*

Here is the record of Marcantonio from the Dies Committee's files.

"In a national broadcast on May 30, 1941, just three weeks before Hitler invaded Russia, Marcantonio attacked the President in the following language:

"You have been saying, and are saying no, to convoys, to an America expeditionary force....(Marcantonio then charges Roosevelt with) an attempt to set up a dictatorship over the life of every American.

"There is no difference between a Nazi system...and a system as set up by the President in his speech...now conscription is revealed in its true light as training for a war of aggression.

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"You, the American people, were even tricked into a phony presidential election...The people are being sneaked into this war....Fraud and deception has been used throughout this whole scheme and conspiracy...so, this is not a war for democracy. It is a war for conquest.

"Examine the record of the people who are asking your sons to die for this so-called democracy of theirs...they ask that you sacrifice for their kind of democracy, for a democracy which means war, famine, 52,000,000 empty stomachs....

"More taxes for you, and more profits for them, a destroyed Bill of Rights, persecuted foreign born, lynchings, a shackled labor and an impoverished farmer.....

"I appeal to you to unite, stand up as free men and free women... and let the world know that you refuse to be sneaked into this war."

on release to be given... and fight!"

"In March, 1941, Marcantonio's name appeared under the following statement given to the public:

"But even if we don't approve of England's war, isn't her side still preferable to Hitler's; and isn't it better to fight and beat Hitler with England than without her?"

"No, An English victory will result in the same sort of imperial anti-Democratic peace as will a Nazi victory."

Among the many Communist front organizations which which Marcantonio has been publicly indentified are the following:

"Communist Party, Sends greetings (Daily Worker, Sept. 15, 1937, p.5).

"Communist Party. Speaker at second front demonstration with Browder and Foster (Daily Worker, Sept. 24, 1942, p.1; Sept. 25, 1942, p.11).

"Champion (magazine of Young Communist League). Contributor (Champion, Oct. 1936, p. 12).

"American Youth Congress. Speaker (meeting supported by Young Communist League (Daily Workers, March 3, 1936, p. 1).

"American League for Peace and Democracy, Member National Committee (Letterhead, July 10, 1939.)

"American Peace Mobilization. Vice Chairman (Daily Workers, Sept. 1940, p. 4, cols. 7-8).

"American Student Union, Columbia Chapter, "Ballout on War" rally. Speaker (Daily Workers, Oct. 9, 1940, p.2).

"Daily Worker, Cited: Wires protest on California (ship) mutiny charge (Daily Workers, March 19, 1936, p.2).

"International Labor Defense. Open letter to Attorney-General Jackson demanding intervention in Oklahoma cases. President issues letter

Sept. 30, 1940, p. 3)

"International Labor Defense. President. (quoted in letter 1937.)  
"International Labor Defense. National President. Speech introducing  
Earl Browder, praising I.L.D. (Daily Worker, June 26, 1937, p. 6).

"International Workers Order. Speaker, meeting general executive  
board (Fraternal Outlook, April 1939, p. 4).

"League of American Writers. Speaker at public meeting of the  
fourth Congress of the League of American Writers. (New Masses, May 27,  
1941, p.2).

"New Masses. Contributor, (New Masses, June 4, 1940, p. 6.).

"Sunday Worker. Contributor.

(Daily Worker, April 3, 1936, p.2) "Workers alliance. Demonstrations  
Arrested.

(Daily Worker, arrested. (Daily Worker, Feb. 17, 1936. p.1)."

"Mr. Marcantonio's political, social and economic views are well  
known, as he has never hesitated to express them freely. They are not  
my views nor the views of the Democratic Party.

"It would be most unfortunate to place him on the Judiciary Committee  
thereby giving him an effective sounding board and placing him in a posi-  
tion to help foster and promote and propose legislation which will disrupt  
peace and harmony within the Democratic Party." Remarks by Congressman  
Starnes.

Why Marcantonio changed his mind.

Washington, Jan. 19--What is Rep. Marcantonio's record on the war?

Rep. Starnes (D.Ala.) quotes the following from Marcantonio's speech  
on the floor of the House on Oct. 16, 1941:

"I believed then, in 1939 and in 1940, that the war of 1939 and 1940  
up to the 2nd day of June, 1941, was a war between two axes, the Wall St  
Lowring St. axis versus the Rome-Tokio-Berlin axis contending for empire

"I believe that the war of 1939 and 1940, up to June, 1941, was an imperialist war. I still believe that... however, I maintain that the invasion of the Soviet Union by Hitler transferred that war... into a war which is now essentially one of national defense....."

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Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice

New York, New York

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

REP: EBS  
100-17861

July 1, 1943

PERSONAL & CONFIDENTIAL

Director, FBI

Re: CONGRESSMAN VITO MARCANTONIO  
UNAUTHORIZED DISCLOSURE OF  
CONFIDENTIAL INFORMATION

Dear Sir:

On Wednesday, June 30, 1943, ERNESTO MAGLIACANO, an interned alien enemy, subject of Bureau file 65-38686, was afforded a rehearing before Alien Enemy Hearing Board #3, Southern District of New York. The alien was not present at the rehearing but his two sons, his daughter, and ten other witnesses testified in his behalf.

During the hearing the son ERNESTO MAGLIACANO, JR. testified in part as follows:

"ERNESTO MAGLIACANO JR. Whatever accusations was against him was a little exaggerated. I read some of the accusations that were made and they were a little exaggerated.

ALFRED MAGLIACANO: (Interrupting) A little? A whole lot. Who ever made those accusations must have been an enemy of his.

MR. LAURITANO: Where did you read those accusations?

ERNESTO MAGLIACANO JR. Through my Congressman. There is nothing wrong with that. But I knew he was innocent of that.

MRS. SIMKOVITCH: Who is your Congressman? What is his name?  
(Board Member)

ERNESTO MAGLIACANO, JR. Vito Marcantonio.



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[Handwritten signatures and initials]

52 JUL 12 1943

REP:EBS  
100-17861

July 1, 1943

Mr. LAURITANO: He doesn't represent you does he, legally,  
in this matter?


ERNESTO MAGLIACANO, JR. No. He is for Harlem. That is where the  
family comes from.

MR. LAURITANO: I mean, he is not acting as a lawyer in this  
case for your father?

ERNESTO MAGLIACANO, JR. No. Just a matter of finding ----- trying  
to get some aid some how."

The above is being furnished for the Bureau's information.

Very truly yours,

  
E. E. CONROY  
SAC

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**Federal Bureau of Investigation**  
**United States Department of Justice**  
NEW YORK, N. Y.

NJA:DJG  
100-53054

October 14, 1943.

Director, FBI.

RE: VITO MARCANTONIO

Dear Sir:

Confidential Informant ND 183 on October 9, 1943 advised the New York Field Division of a text of the following telegram, dated September 30, 1943, which text is being furnished the Bureau for its information.

The addressor of the telegram was the "DAILY WORKER"; the sender was VITO MARCANTONIO. The telegram read as follows:

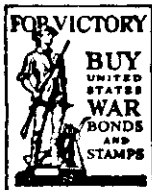
"JUDGE FRANCIS E. RIVERS WILL MAKE HIS FIRST PUBLIC APPEARANCE AT A RALLY IN HARLEM AT 2388 SEVENTH AVENUE AT 139 STREET, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 1, 9:15 P.M. KINDLY HAVE REPORTER AND PHOTOGRAPHER PRESENT."

Very truly yours,

*E. E. Conroy*  
E. E. CONROY,  
SAC.

C. I. P.

cc: 62-7956



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37  
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100-28126-18X  
35 OCT 15 1943

*W. J. ...*



## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

JPHa/plk

100-195800

TO : Mr. D. M. Ladd

DATE: April 7, 1944

FROM : J. F. Buckley

SUBJECT: Congressman Vito Marcantonio

Under date of January 7, 1944, one Alfred M. Albus of New York disseminated about twenty or thirty mimeographed copies of a letter stating that the anti-Semitic verse, "The Marine Hymn" had been disseminated in bulk at Fort Benning, Georgia, and that this distribution of the verse emanated from a "clique at Boston". Albus sent copies of these letters to various people in public life, among others, to the Director, the Attorney General and Congressman Vito Marcantonio.

A few days later Congressman Vito Marcantonio made a press release stating that he had information to show that the verse was being distributed at Fort Benning and that he had referred the matter to the Attorney General requesting an investigation. Later the Criminal Division by memorandum dated January 19, 1944, in referring to Albus' letter requested the Bureau to institute inquiry at Fort Benning and elsewhere to see if there was any substance to the story.

Albus was, of course, interviewed by the New York Office, and the point which I wish to bring to your attention at this time is the fact that during this interview Albus revealed that Congressman Marcantonio in answering Albus' letter told Albus that he was referring the matter to the Department and that the FBI would call on him. Furthermore, according to Albus, in this letter Marcantonio specifically requested that after this interview by the FBI Albus advise him (Marcantonio) as to the interview and the action to be taken by the FBI. It would thus appear that Marcantonio intended to "follow the matter" and see to it that some sort of action was taken.

As a matter of collateral observation it is noted that the investigation of this matter has now been virtually completed with negative results. Inquiry at Fort Benning has established that as far as military authorities are aware there has been no mass distribution of the verse in question. One or two verses several months ago were typed and handed about by a stenographer at the Fort who considered the verses to be humorous. However, this woman was reprimanded and according to the officials there has been no further distribution of this verse or any other anti-Semitic literature noted. As a matter of fact after the publicity resulting from Marcantonio's press release, the Officer in Charge at the Fort made a public announcement to the soldiers instructing them to promptly report the distribution of any subversive or anti-Semitic literature. Since then there have been no reports and as indicated no known dissemination of such literature.

During the interview with Albus he was friendly and generally appeared to be cooperative but he was unable to give any worthwhile information whatsoever. He stated that he had learned of this reported distribution from a friend who in turn had a friend who is a soldier at Fort Benning. Reportedly this unnamed soldier several months ago saw several soldiers with copies of the verse. Upon his questioning these soldiers told him that additional copies could be secured at Boston, Massachusetts. Albus stated he felt he had a personal obligation not to reveal the name of his friend or the name of the soldier in question. However, he

61 APR 24 1944

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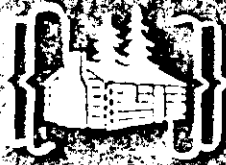
agreed to correspond with the soldier through his friend and to attempt to prevail upon the soldier to go to the FBI and turn over the pertinent information he has. As the matter now stands Albus is to be recontacted by the New York Office to ascertain whether he has been successful in getting the unnamed soldier to report this information.

This lead will be followed through with the New York Office and a summary of the pertinent information developed is being furnished to the Criminal Division for an opinion as to whether they deem any prosecutive action or further investigation necessary. Although the information developed was totally negative, I thought that this instance of Congressman Vito Marcantonio's apparent unusual interest in the matter and the desire to be advised as to what the Bureau had done, should be brought to your attention.

*JMC*

# VITO MARGANTONIO: MACHINE POLITICIAN, NEW STYLE

RICHARD H. ROVERE



October 12, 1942, a sharp brief drama was acted out in the House of Representatives. A bill to abolish state poll taxes, introduced shortly before his death by Congressman Lee Geyer, had languished for months in the Judiciary Committee—not by accident but through the express desire of the Southern delegation. Eugene Cox of Georgia was trying desperately to keep the bill where it was. Now there is one sure way to free a bill that is locked up like this: If a majority of the House members sign a petition to discharge the bill, out it comes. This is difficult to accomplish, but it was done with Geyer's bill. Through the long months while the petition lay on the Speaker's desk in the well of the House, persistent jockeying was going on behind the scenes. Slowly the signatures accumulated and the man responsible for getting most of them was Vito Marcantonio, Congressman from New York City. At last there were enough names and the bald-headed Sam Rayburn, Speaker of the House, signified that he was ready to entertain a motion to bring up the bill. The Southern Democrats, who had been riding high throughout the session, were beaten. Wrath welling in his heart, the gentleman from Tobacco Road rose in his seat and looked across the House at the gentleman from Little Italy.

Let me make one statement," said the gentleman," Cox said. "I salute you, sir. I salute you for having at last attained that burning ambition which you carry in your soul of becoming for one moment of your life the master of this House. You bring it to you, sir, on its knee, and again I congratulate you." At that point of fact, Marcantonio's victory, although it drove Cox to one of his finest flights of outraged rhetoric, was more apparent than real. The Geyer Bill passed the House only to be filibustered to death in the Senate. At the opening of the next session Cox and his confederates were still powerful enough to bar Marcantonio from any important House committee. But the incident brought together, on the basic issue of suffrage, two of the most ill-assorted products of constitutional democracy. Cox, from the piney woods of Georgia, with the aid of the poll tax, goes to Congress every two years on the vote of three per cent of his adult constituents. Marcantonio, from the sidewalks of New York, a fellow-traveler of the Communists who has built an all-party machine supported by practically everyone but Jehovah's Witnesses. Cox, of course, is an old-style operator, a sort of familiar, ever since the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment. Marcantonio is something new in American politics.

X HARPER'S Magazine  
April, 1944  
Pages 391-398

NOT RECORDED  
37 APR 17 1944

5 MAY

7 1944

nomination thereupon went to the Republican candidate, a Negro, who won by a small but safe majority. Experts predict that this year Marcantonio will tip the balance in four or five Congressional elections. Four or five representatives will make a lot of difference in the next Congress. By controlling a handful of Communists, Marcantonio has become a pivotal power in a pivotal state.

Many of Marcantonio's Italian constituents celebrate their Congressman's political virtuosity by referring to him as "the Honorable Fritto Misto"—Mixed Fry. His personal attributes are as manifold and as elusive as his political connections. He looks at least ten years younger than he is. He is shorter than average and wiry in build. His eyes, hair, and complexion are dark. His face is well-molded and attractive. His most noticeable feature is a pair of broad but badly stooped shoulders. Because of this his head is constantly tilted forward. The stooped shoulders can give the appearance of a frail and overworked person, a younger statesman bowed early by the pressing affairs of the republic. Horn-rimmed glasses, which a nervous habit leads him to adjust every few moments, add to this effect. But, at other times, when he is hearing an adversary or arranging a crowd, the forward thrust of his head makes him look tough and intelligent.

When he mingles with the Bohemian intellectuals who are his friends, he looks like an earnest young law student, wearied by hours over Blackstone but eager nonetheless for every word that is said. In ordinary conversation, he talks in the reasonably clear and precise accents of a New Yorker who has tried hard to cultivate a good speaking voice. When he speaks before his constituents, however, he moves quickly into the vernacular, mugging and shrieking in a manner not unlike that of his political mentor, Fiorello H. La Guardia. When he discusses questions of no great moment to him as a politician, his logic is sound, his sense of humor excellent, and his manner pleasing on the whole. But on subjects close to his heart—the virtues of the Russian state,

for example—he grows harshly dogmatic and makes no pretense to reasonableness. Marcantonio denies that he is a Communist. "Anyone who says that I am a Communist," he has written, "is a liar and a scoundrel." He always has a lot of protesting to do. Unquestionably, he does not belong to the Communist Party. He would be foolish if he did. If it is true, moreover, that he has often made gestures like a fascist and that he once praised Hamilton Fish as "that fine liberal Republican," but those are the gestures of an adroit politician whose constituents are Italian and mostly Republican. Otherwise, his policies are invariably those of the Communists, and if this is, as he says, no to be explained as "pure coincidence," then it is a coincidence that passes all understanding.

He is the touchstone of Communist conduct in foreign policy. In his first term in Congress, Marcantonio was pacifist and isolationist; his chief concern was the abolition of compulsory military training in land-grant colleges. In his second term, the party line changed, and so did this; he demanded that the Neutrality Act be interpreted to allow shipments of arms to Loyalist Spain. In the beginning of his third term, when the Russo-German pact was in force, he was isolationist again; he demanded rigid interpretation and enforcement of the Neutrality Act; he was the only Congressman who voted against every measure not only for aid to Britain but also for national defense. But as soon as Hitler invaded Russia, he wanted repeal of the whole Act; he became, months before Pearl Harbor, one of the first Congressmen to call for an open declaration of war and the immediate dispatch of an expeditionary force. "Hitler may soon be within rowboat distance of our country," he said, meaning that if the Nazis got to the Bering Strait, small craft could ferry them to Alaska. Explaining himself to the House, he said: "I still believe that up to June, 1941, the war was an imperialist war. However, I maintain that the invasion of the Soviet Union by Hitler transformed that war which was essentially imperialist into a war which is now essentially one of national defense."

A year ago, Marcantonio, as well as his way to becoming a first-class national figure, though one of a most unorthodox sort. Heretofore, his influence in the Congress has been that of a gadfly, not a leader. Because he has consistently been a mouthpiece for the Communist Party, his support of any measure has generally been more embarrassing than helpful. Lately, however, he has shown real genius in turning his liabilities into assets, in playing the political interstices for all they are worth. For example, when the Seventy-eighth Congress convened, seven new anti-poll tax bills were introduced. Three were sponsored by Republicans, three by Democrats, and one by Marcantonio, who, although he runs on a old-party ticket, is registered in the American Labor Party. The seven bills were identical; six, obviously, had to be withdrawn. Since Marcantonio is usually the most reviled of all his colleagues, his bill, according to Congressional protocol, should have been the leading candidate for the scrap pile. But as it happened, his bill survived and all the others were allowed to die in committee. The strategy was simple. Marcantonio and the left-wing lobbyists who were backing him played on party rivalries. To the Democrats, all Northerners of course, they argued that a Republican bill would further antagonize an already angry South; to the Republicans, they pointed out that it would be absurd to hand the Democrats the credit and the accruing Negro votes for poll tax repeal. When the legislators had secured each other's bills, all but Marcantonio's, his was offered as a coalition bill, and the other sponsors were magnanimously given roles in pushing the bill through the House. By this stroke, Marcantonio acquired the prestige associated with leading the fight against the poll tax; and with the same payment, he acquired the prestige of the other Congressmen, without whose respectable support the bill might not have passed the House last year. If it becomes law, in this Congress or another, Marcantonio will stand as a kind of latter-day Lincoln in the affections of the Negro community. Already he has received what his unhappy

colleagues must admit is \$100,000 worth of free publicity in the Negro press.

The last holdout among the six sponsors was Joseph Clark Baldwin, a Manhattan Republican. Baldwin probably yielded to the pressure in Washington, but, had that failed, another argument might have proved equally compelling. If he had persisted with his bill, a Democrat might have warmed his seat in the House next year. Marcantonio could have attended to this simply by running a candidate of the American Labor Party against Baldwin in the coming election, thereby splitting away enough of Baldwin's vote to elect a Democrat.

Although he has been read out of the American Labor Party by its state officials, Marcantonio remains as chairman of the New York County organization, but a law child of the state body. Actually, the county ALP is controlled by Communists. It has executed every turn in the Moscow line with as much speed and as little grace as the Communist Party itself. The New York Communists moved into the ALP in 1938, when their own party was thrown off the ballot. They number no more than ten thousand, but they are a tight little band. Fire, flood, and pestilence could not keep them from the polls on primary day. They can elect no candidate of their own, but by entering one, and illicitly claiming for him the prestige of the state ALP, they can drain considerable support away from the more liberal of the major contenders. Or, by giving their own nomination to a Republican or a Democrat, an illegal procedure in most states, but permissible in New York, they can in many districts guarantee election of a Chairman of the county ALP, therefore, Marcantonio is in a position not only to obtain Republican and Democratic assistance in his own district, but also to influence nominations and elections throughout the city.

To prove his strength, Marcantonio once warned the Democratic County Committee, better known as Tammany Hall, that unless it nominated a Negro or an Italian for a vacant sinecure in the city judiciary, he would see to it that its man was defeated. Tammany ignored him and put up an Irishman. The ALP

in the early thirties, the Communists opposed Roosevelt. The WPA, Marcantonio said, is going more to destroy the American standard of living than any group of reactionary industrialists in the country." In 1938, when the Communists supported Roosevelt, he made a campaign promise to fight the reactionary movement to scuttle WPA. "At about this time he became president of the International Labor Defense, the American branch of the Comintern's International Red Aid. I am not and never have been a Communist," said Marcantonio, a contributing editor to the *New Mass*. "I say flatly that Red-baiters are the very worst type of criminal."

MARCANTONIO represents the Twentieth Congressional District, known in New York as East Harlem. East Harlem is a huge and grimy area that runs from the edge of the Negro district to the wharves of the East River. Its largest racial group is Italian. Next come Puerto Ricans, then small settlements of Negroes and Jews. This is the district which, in years gone by, Fiorello La Guardia represented in Washington. The present Congressman has been able to offer something to each racial group. To the Italians it was enough, for a beginning at least, that his name was Marcantonio and that he had been blessed by the Little Flower. He ingratiated himself with the Puerto Ricans, who harbor no love for Romans, by championing their nationalism, by giving to their island defend some rebels beleaguered by the law, and by writing a bill to grant Puerto Rico immediate independence with staggering indemnities. Both the Italians and the Puerto Ricans are Roman Catholic, and Mother Church plays an important part in politics. On certain feast days Marcantonio can be seen a lighted taper in hand walking barefoot through the district with the piou. He seldom fails to put in an appearance at the annual celebration for the Madonna of the Miracles, Our Lady of Mount Carmel. Negroes and Jews in the district were won by his spirited denunciations of Jim Crow

and anti-Semitism. On his staff of five or six secretaries, each race is represented. The Congressman and his district have known each other well for many years. He was born there on December 10, 1902. His father was a carpenter and the family lived in the heart of the district. At eighteen Vito became leader of the Harlem Tenants' League and managed a strike against the landlords. He acquired the first part of his machine twenty-two years ago when he attracted the attention of La Guardia, who was then trying to break Tammany control of the district and get into Congress himself. Marcantonio was still in law school at the time, but La Guardia had been impressed by his work in the Tenants' League and he spotted the young man as sound political timber. Marcantonio has enjoyed La Guardia's favor ever since. The Mayor usually refers to his protégé as "Vito, my good son," and when the younger man displeases him, which has been often since Vito took up with the Communists, the Mayor surfs and speaks freely of "my erring son." Some genuine feeling may still lie beneath this pose of the long-suffering parent. But it cannot fully explain why La Guardia never backs Marcantonio, while Marcantonio frequently defies the Mayor. La Guardia, like so many other New York politicians these days, needs the support of the American Labor Party, which Marcantonio can give or refuse. Indeed, La Guardia is more beholden than most for Marcantonio, controls not only the ALP but the machine on which La Guardia first rode to power. When La Guardia was in Congress himself, his association in Washington with men like Smith, Brookhart, and the elder La Follette was a source of constant irritation to Republican leaders in New York. He knew that his party standing was never better than shaky. To build up independent strength, he started the F. H. La Guardia Political Club, an association of young Italian professional men who would follow him no matter what the party did. Marcantonio was put at its head. For further security, La Guardia organized a couple of local parties of his own invention. These were to assure him

place on the ballot any time the Republicans failed to. Marcantonio presided over them also. The La Guardia Club known in the district as the "Cabbons" an affectionate equivalent for the wops, became the basis of the La Guardia machine. Now it belongs, not to the paper party, to Marcantonio. They are important parts of his machine, and he could, if he wished, turn them against La Guardia at any time. The Mayor knows this and even when Marcantonio was vehemently isolationist and the Mayor just as vehemently interventionist, he could always find reasons for endorsing his wayward son. He has even had to support Marcantonio at the expense of others of his backers. When in 1942 some members of the city administration threatened briefly to make a fight against Marcantonio, La Guardia told the press that if this happened, he might be forced to trim the payroll a little.

When Marcantonio first ran for Congress, he had only the Republican nomination and the blessing of his patron and predecessor, La Guardia. In that year, 1932, Marcantonio won by 247 votes. In 1942 he ran as the regular candidate of the Republican, Democratic, and American Labor Parties. No other candidate's name appeared beside his on the ballot. He won by 19,049 votes. (The Board of Elections reports one write-in vote against him!) The machine that has thus withered all opposition bears no resemblance to the traditional steam roller fueled by patronage and party regularity; it is instead a homemade jalopy, assembled from parts he has picked loose from other machines. Nevertheless, it is one of the strongest machines in the country, opposed by no organized group of any consequence, and it stands at the service of the Communist Party, whose members in the district could meet in the cloakroom of any Republican club. The feat is probably without parallel in American political history.

III

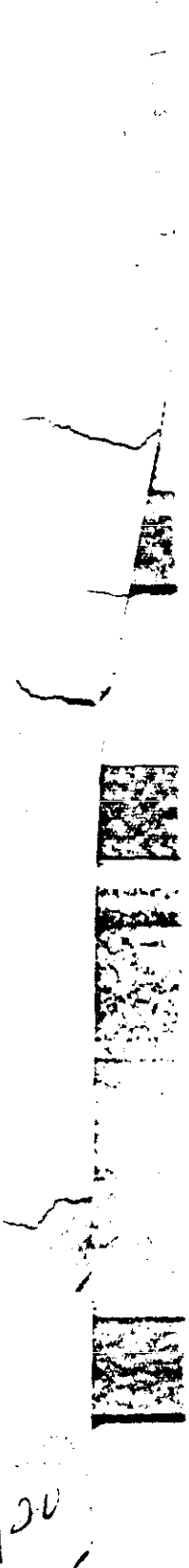
Not all Harlems, especially those inhabited by immigrants and their children. East Harlem seethes with political feelings run high. On almost every block,

Republican and Democratic clubs could catch each other in providing amusement for those who, because of poverty and the language barrier, cannot use the entertainment facilities that serve the city as a whole. They offer the people the legal and economic counsel they need for survival in the hostile world outside. The clubs compete with each other, and the churches compete with all. Recently the trade unions have joined the fray. But none can compete with Marcantonio.

Every Saturday noon, when the House recesses, he flies home to New York. He may make as many as ten speeches over the week end, but Sunday afternoon is reserved for "rolling the machine." The scene in the La Guardia Club after one o'clock on Sunday looks like nothing so much as a busy day in the clinic of a great city hospital. Marcantonio and three or four secretaries sit at desks on a platform in the front of the main hall. Before them on wooden camp chairs are about a hundred constituents, many of them cradling infants in their arms. A guard stands at the door and seats new arrivals. As many as four hundred may come and go in an afternoon. This is the Marcantonio machine at work, gathering in Republicans, Democrats, anarchists, fascists, anything.

One by one the constituents shamble up to their Congressman's desk and tell him their troubles. They speak in Spanish, Italian, English, and various mixtures of the three. Marcantonio can always answer in kind, throwing in a little Yiddish if the need arises. Mostly their problems concern money or jobs. During the depression, the majority were relief applicants; sixty per cent of Harlem was then living on public funds and at one time unemployment rose to eight-five per cent. As attorney for the Workers Alliance, the powerful union of unemployed and relief workers, the Congressman was in an excellent position to help. Today the same people are back for Army dependency allotments. Many want government or war-plant jobs. Some need legal aid, and Marcantonio always keeps a good lawyer on the payroll.

Sometimes the problems are considerably more complicated. Several months



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go a troubled couple came to him. Their daughter had become pregnant by a British sailor and they wanted him to marry the girl. They knew his name but not his present location. Marcantonio said that he would see what he could do. With small hope of success, he wrote the British Embassy explaining the case and asking the whereabouts of the sailor, provided this was not a military secret. A few days later he got a call from the British Embassy. His Majesty's Government, an Etonian voice said, wished to apologize to the American Congressman for the damage done to Miss So-and-So by a member of the Royal Navy. While His Majesty's Government, the aide went on, could not order the young man to marry the girl, it was hoping that the problem would solve itself when the seaman was given an immediate leave of eight weeks in New York. The problem would solve itself, and on the wedding day His Majesty's Government sent over a complement of sailors in full regalia, who formed a guard of honor outside the church.

Although the man seldom delivers so handsomely, Marcantonio sees personally about thirty thousand voters in the course of a Congressional term. So large an investment naturally pays huge dividends. But while grateful constituents can win general elections, they cannot always secure party backing for their friends, nor can they be counted on to win primaries against well-organized regulars. Marcantonio began his career with the enmity of Tammany Hall, which had not yet been brought to its present low estate by La Guardia. When he sought re-election in 1936, he lost for the first and last time, to a Democrat. His own party had not really been behind him. Never very enthusiastic about him in the first place, the Republicans dropped him temporarily when they saw that he was voting with the New Deal and consorting with Communists. One of his principal supporters, Luigi Antonini, Italian leader of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, had been alienated by his Communist proclivities. Shortly before the primaries in 1938, the Republican

county leaders read Marcantonio out of the party. Soon after that the ALP disowned him, though he before a fight had taken place in which a clubhouse was wrecked and Marcantonio lost some teeth. In such a fix the average politician would have reasoned that the jig was up.

But not Marcantonio. In 1937, he began putting together an entirely new machine. He had retained the support of the Mayor and a good many Republican district leaders. He was getting considerable financial help from the left-wing CIO unions, and the Communist Party saw to it that he had a good staff of experienced canvassers. Organized virtue, in the form of social workers and settlement-house directors, of which his wife, Miriam Sanders of Harlem House, is one, continued to regard him as a dauntless adversary of Tammany corruption. When he entered the Republican primaries in 1938, he won easily against the machine. The ALP primaries and the general election were still easier. The Republican machine that opposed him then is now in his hands. Although he still stands excommunicated from the Republican Party, no Republican leader in the district has mentioned the matter for years. And he controls the city ALP, lock stock and port barrel.

#### TAMMANY

TAMMANY HALL. Marcantonio once wrote, before it was supporting him, that it had been an enemy of that people ever since it was founded by a traitor, Aaron Burr. Now he lies in the viper's bosom. Tammany came around shortly after his third election in 1940. In 1938 he had entered the Democratic primaries and walked off with thirty per cent of the vote. In 1940 he had won the general election by his latest margin, and Tammany could see that future opposition was useless. Reider Tammany's cupboard was getting very bare and it was nodding courteously to the American Labor Party. He won the 1942 Democratic primary by a thumping majority. The primary election was hardly a contest. A local ward-heeler had entered the race, supposedly with official backing, but he

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Somehow forgot that he was a candidate. He did not make a single speech. When one of the Tammany leaders was walking around the polls on primary day, he discovered a misguided precinct captain who was actually working for the dummy candidate. He took the man around the corner and gave him a good cutting. "No precinct captain is likely to be so thoughtless again."

Marcantonio now enjoys the enthusiastic support of Clarence H. Neal, Jr., perhaps the most influential Democratic leader in Manhattan. When Frank Costello, the numbers and slot-machine operator, was called into court last year to explain how he had influenced the Aurelio nomination, he proudly boasted that he had worked through Clarence Neal. Neal has survived the infamy, however. He recently consolidated his power by leading a successful palace revolution in which Michael J. Kennedy was removed as head of Tammany Hall and Neal's candidate, Edward V. Loughlin, was elected as his successor. One of Neal's protégés, James Pemberton, a young Negro, has become the major-domo of the Marcantonio machine. Pemberton, a Tammany district leader, is personally devoted to Marcantonio, and, since his clubhouse chores are few these days, he spends nearly all his time working for the Congressman. On work days, when the House is in session, Pemberton keeps the machine going; he spends his week ends traveling with the Congressman and conferring with him between speaking engagements. Through Pemberton, Marcantonio can always get his point of view across in Tammany executive meetings.

Marcantonio used to retain a former prizefighter as a bodyguard, but since Pemberton, a powerfully built man who must weigh close to three hundred pounds, has been accompanying him everywhere, his political and physical needs are ministered to at the same time. In his isolationist phase, Marcantonio relied heavily on the argument that we ought to clean up our own backyard first. Captious critics might say the same to him. East Harlem is one of the centers of New York vice and racketeering.

See "Aurelio: the People's Choice," by Ferdinand Lundberg, in *Harper's* for January, 1944.

prostitution it ranks second only to Negro Harlem. It is headquarters for the policy racket. Dutch Schultz, Owney Madden, Lucky Luciano, and Arnold Rothstein had large holdings there. Lepke Buchalter used to keep his Trigger Mike Coppola busy along upper Lexington Avenue. Most shopkeepers in the neighborhood are victimized by protection rackets; their stores are made to serve as "drops" for the policy lotteries. Those who sell protection to the businessmen buy or demand it for themselves from the police and politicians. Gangsters have made East Harlem a headache for the city administration and a paradise for venal officers of the law.

Marcantonio, a hard-riding Paul Revere when he sees "international gangsterism" on the march, has had little to say about the gangsters who gouge East Harlem. Once in 1933, when he was seeking a district leadership for himself, some thugs got rough with several of his workers, and he complained to the District Attorney. Since then he has shown no zeal for changing conditions in East Harlem, nor has he ever spoken publicly about them. Floating trap games move undisturbed from one political club to another, but the candidate of the settlement-house workers does not appear to be outraged. The truth is that a state of neutrality exists between him and the racketeers. His machine could not possibly operate in the face of their opposition. Few of the voters whom he helps at his Sunday afternoon Good Will Hour would bet to the polls if the gangsters decided that East Harlem needed another Congressman.

Before the war fascism was a delicate issue among the Italians of East Harlem. A few of them were fascist by conviction, and almost none was evangelically fascist, like the German Bundists. But most were ardent Italian patriots, and fascism was the form of their country's government. An attack on Mussolini was an attack on the Italian genius. Marcantonio, whose anti-fascist oratory endeared him to the Communists, has always managed to avoid any mention of Mussolini and the corporate state in East Harlem. Indeed, he has often been

... proceed to pay back tribute to Il Duce by ...  
 ... gracing with his presence the meetings ...  
 ... of the large Italian societies that became ...  
 ... powerful in East Harlem through the ...  
 ... granities of the consulate. One day in ...  
 ... the middle thirties he was arrested in the ...  
 ... morning for leading a Communist dem- ...  
 ... onstration that threatened to become a ...  
 ... riot; after bail was provided, he went ...  
 ... uptown to a fascist banquet, where his ...  
 ... arrival was greeted by a band playing the ...  
 ... "Glovinazza." A group of Italian trade ...  
 ... unionists has published a brochure on ...  
 ... Marcantonio replete with pictures of him ...  
 ... in the company of fascist government of- ...  
 ... ficials. The point is not that Marcantonio ...  
 ... was ever a fascist, but that the fascist vote ...  
 ... was indispensable to the machine. The ...  
 ... Roman of old times came to bury Caesar, ...  
 ... not to praise him; his namesake has been ...  
 ... careful to do neither—in East Harlem. ...  
 ... During the Italian war in Ethiopia, for ...  
 ... example, he was a leading member of the ...  
 ... American League Against War and Fas- ...  
 ... cism. But in East Harlem, at the same ...  
 ... time, he was addressing the local leagues ...  
 ... for war and fascism. No word of explicit ...  
 ... approval for the Italian legions ever ...  
 ... crossed his lips. But he did talk about "the ...  
 ... agents of the racketeering League of Na- ...  
 ... tions, the big salary grabbers, who in ...  
 ... their anonymity, might easily be taken ...  
 ... for the anti-fascist seeking League sanc- ...  
 ... tions against the Italian government.

**N** Extirpate all the Marcantonio machine ...  
 ... will face a difficult test. If he lives ...  
 ... Sixth Congressional District no longer ex- ...  
 ... ist. The New York Legislature, domi- ...  
 ... nated by upstate Republicans who have ...  
 ... nothing to fear from Marcantonio, has ...  
 ... reapportioned the state and tried to gerry- ...  
 ... mander Marcantonio out of office. In ...  
 ... the new Eighteenth District, he will still ...  
 ... have most of his East Harlem Spaniards ...  
 ... and Italians, but life will be complicated ...  
 ... by the addition of vast German and Irish ...  
 ... hordes from the adjoining Yorkville area. ...  
 ... Since Yorkville is almost wholly Demo- ...  
 ... cratic, the Republican and Labor parts ...  
 ... of his machine will remain intact. He ...  
 ... may have difficulties in the Democratic ...  
 ... primaries, but Clarence Neal's recent vic- ...  
 ... tory in Tammany Hall was Marcantonio's

... victory also. Tammany may not dare to ...  
 ... support him openly, but it will probably ...  
 ... praise him with faint damn. His cam- ...  
 ... paign for Democratic support began early ...  
 ... in February, when he handed the Labor ...  
 ... Party nomination to James Torrens, a ...  
 ... Tammany candidate for Congress in a ...  
 ... contiguous district.

... Even if he should fail to be re-elected ...  
 ... for a term or two, his power will increase ...  
 ... rather than diminish. At the writing he ...  
 ... controls the ALP only in Manhattan, ...  
 ... but by April he should be boss of the ...  
 ... entire state apparatus. The Communist ...  
 ... wing of the ALP last year acquired control ...  
 ... of the Brooklyn organization, and it will ...  
 ... try to win a majority on the state com- ...  
 ... mittee in the spring primaries. Prospects ...  
 ... look so grim to the present state leaders ...  
 ... that they have had a hard time deciding ...  
 ... whether to resist the Communists or re- ...  
 ... sign without a fight and start a new party. ...  
 ... They have determined to make a fight, ...  
 ... but they admit that they have almost no ...  
 ... chance of winning.

... If the Communists capture the state ...  
 ... ALP, a good many of its supporters will ...  
 ... move into the Democratic Party, whence ...  
 ... they originally came. On occasion the ...  
 ... ALP vote has been as high as 500,000. ...  
 ... Under Communist domination not more ...  
 ... than half that number will vote with ...  
 ... it. But the right-wing leaders of the ...  
 ... party have never used their 500,000 votes ...  
 ... as effectively as Marcantonio has used ...  
 ... his 10,000 Communists. If they are profes- ...  
 ... sional trade-union leaders and, although ...  
 ... they have never been averse to what they ...  
 ... call "honorable reciprocity," their simple ...  
 ... minds could not conceive the kind of ...  
 ... elaborate deals that Marcantonio has ...  
 ... rigged in Manhattan and Washington. ...  
 ... In his hands the ALP will be considerably ...  
 ... smaller, but its trading power will be used ...  
 ... to greater advantage. Marcantonio's fu- ...  
 ... ture is bright.

... When Earl Browder, the Communist ...  
 ... leader, recently announced the mass con- ...  
 ... version of his followers to the two-party ...  
 ... system, he probably had in mind the ...  
 ... strange case of the Honorable Vito Marc- ...  
 ... antonio, who runs with the Republican ...  
 ... and Democratic hounds but holds with ...  
 ... the Communist hare.

20



REP. VITO MARCANTONIO

Photo taken from the Daily  
Worker, Aug. 8, 1939.  
61-7562-273X3

**LABOR'S CHAMPION**

Young and militant, Congressman Vito Marcantonio is probably the busiest friend of labor in Washington. He is the foremost champion of Civil Rights which are now being attacked from all sides. Readers will recollect Marcantonio's brilliant statements to the Dies Committee at a recent hearing when the International Labor Defense of which he is president was charged with "un-Americanism." He made a fool out of Dies.

Miner's Voice, Jan. 1940  
Butte, Mont.  
61-7559-6861X

RLH:mr

100-28126

SAC, New York

November 29

John Edgar Hoover - Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

1944

VITO MARGANTONIO  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

The above entitled individual is being removed from the key figure list maintained at the Bureau. Your office should likewise discontinue carrying him as a key figure.

B

RECORDED

100-28126-22  
DEC 2 1944  
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

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

NOV 26 1944 P.M.  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

36 DEC 5 - 1944

(100) 357

Recd

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

2H  
TO : RSG:CC  
100-53054

Director, FBI

DATE: November 23, 1944

FROM : J.P.

SAC, New York

SUBJECT:

VITO MARCANTONIO;  
INTERNAL SECURITY (C)

For inclusion in the Bureau's file on this individual, I am transmitting herewith a card containing three photographs of him.

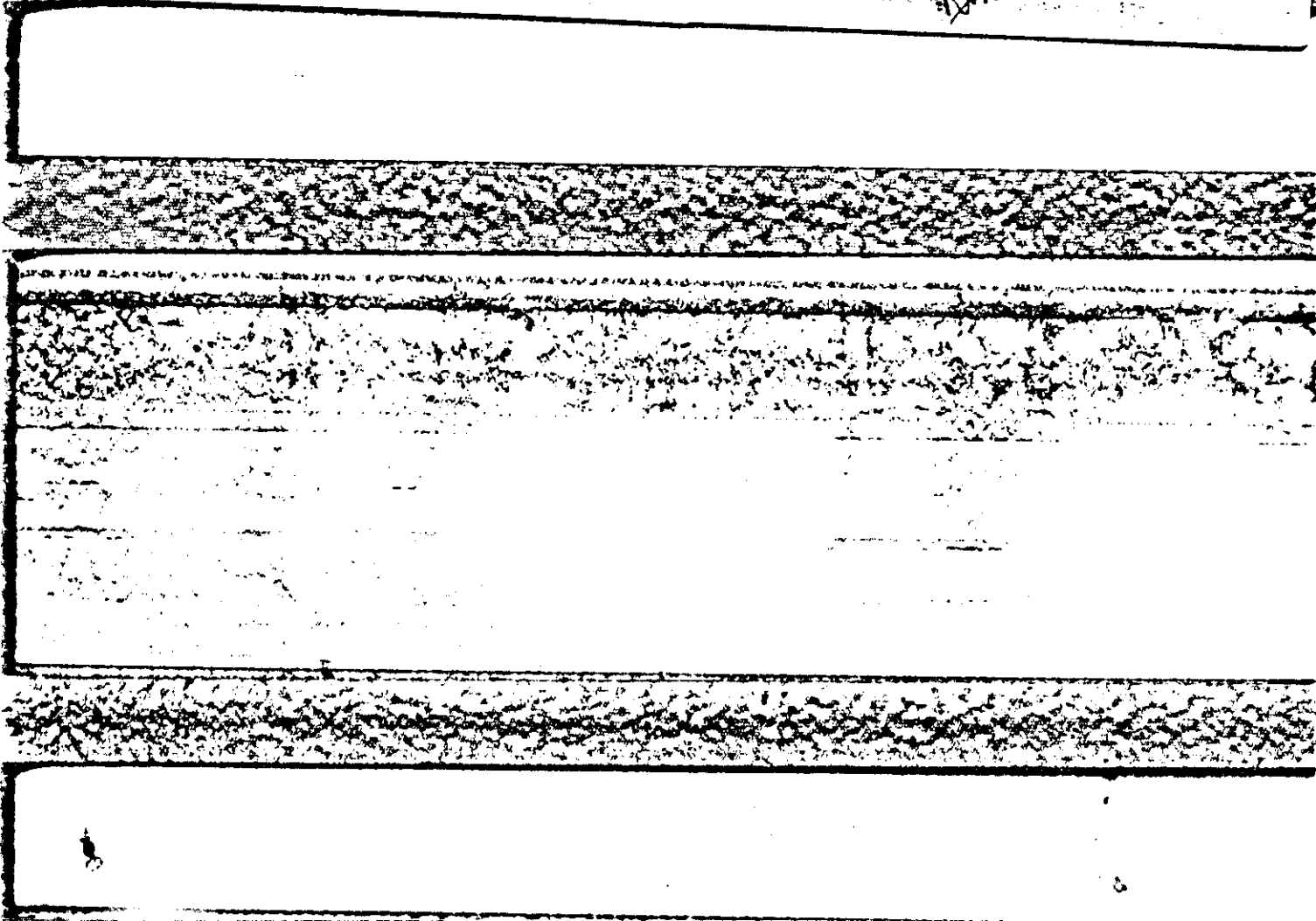
Enc.

*Handwritten notes:*  
100-53054  
100-28126-23  
11/23/44

RECORDED  
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FBI - 70

100-28126-23  
41 NOV 26 1944

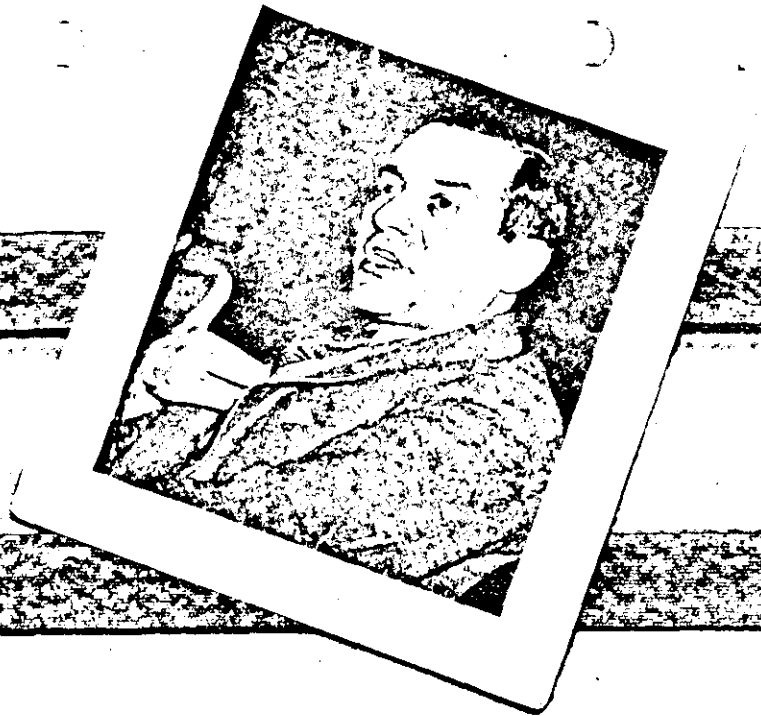
56 DEC 11 1944





(1944)

100-23126-23



Vito Marcantonio  
Taken from Dec. 1937  
National Republic, N.Y.

6





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

RHC:EOD  
11:18 AM

January 29, 1945

- Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Coffey \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Kramer \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. McGuire \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Miss Beahm \_\_\_\_\_
- Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. D. M. LADD

ASAC Donegan called from New York and advised they have been reviewing their files for the purpose of consolidating all the material on Congressman Vito Marcantonio. He stated the material has now been compiled and in view of the fact that it is rather lengthy, they are confronted with the question of whether to set it up as a report or in a memorandum. Mr. Donegan said they would be inclined to put it in report form except for the fact they have never conducted an investigation on him. I advised Mr. Donegan the matter would be taken up here and he would be advised by telephone.

Respectfully,

*[Signature]*  
R. H. Cunningham

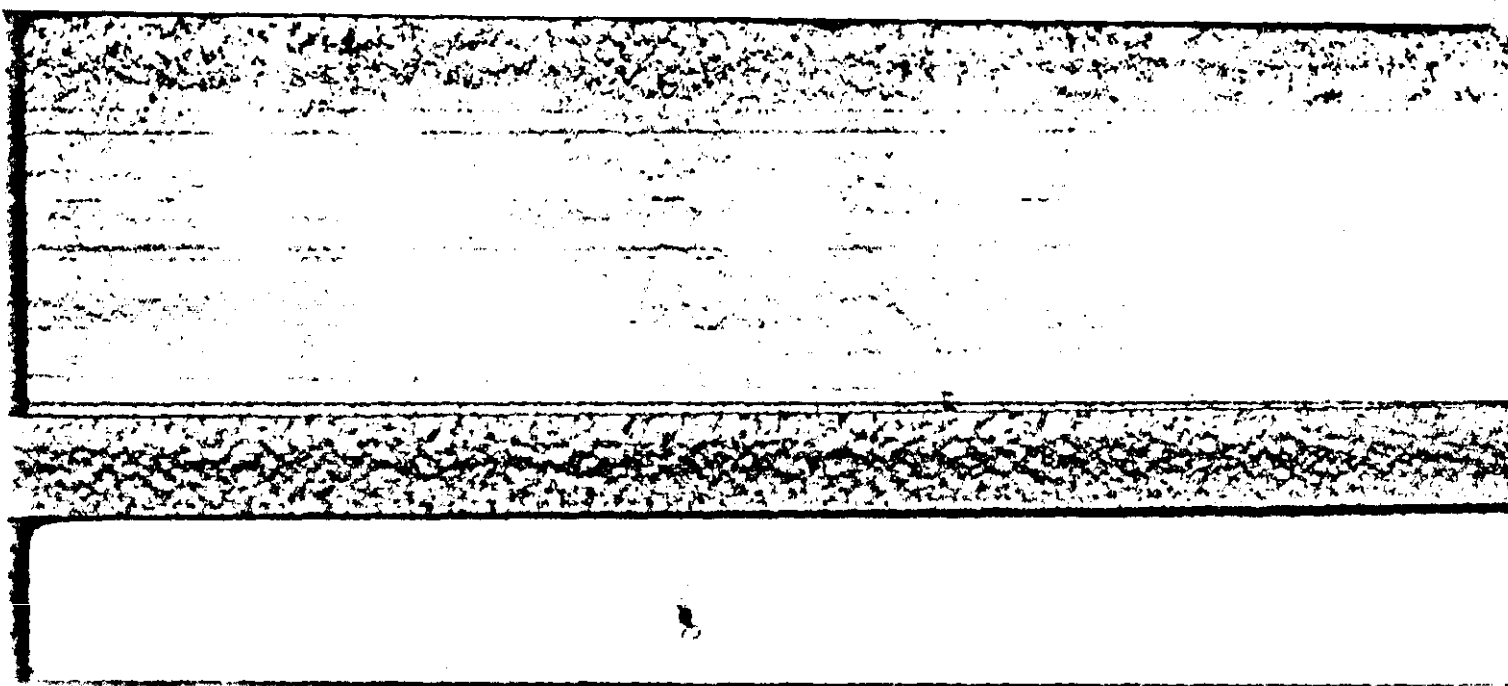


100-28126-211

RECORDED

18 JAN 31 1945  
*[Signature]*

53 FEB 5 1945 75



JOHN EDGAR HOOVER  
DIRECTOR



PHC:EOD  
10:45 AM

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

January 30, 1945

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- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. E. A. Tamm
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- Mr. Glavin
- Mr. Ladd
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- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Tracy
- Mr. Carson
- Mr. Coffey
- Mr. Hendon
- Mr. Kramer
- Mr. McGuire
- Mr. Harbo
- Mr. Quinn Tamm
- Tele. Room
- Mr. Nease
- Miss Beahm
- Miss Gandy

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. D. M. LADD

V. t.  
 In connection with ASAC Donegan's telephonic conversation with me yesterday with regard to the question of whether to set out information concerning Congressman Marcantonio in a report or memorandum form, I called Mr. Donegan and advised him, that in accordance with your instructions, it would be better to put it in memorandum form on the theory that it can be changed to report form later if desired.

Respectfully,

R. H. Cunningham



FEB 8 1945

37

RECORDED

EX 31

100-28126-25

18 JAN 31 1945

Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice

AFF:BEO  
100-53054

New York, 7, N. Y.  
March 2, 1945

7301

Director, FEI

Re: VITO MARCANTONIO;  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Dear Sir:

Enclosed herewith are the original and one copy of the memorandum of Special Agent ANTHONY F. FERENTZ dated March 2, 1945 at New York, N. Y. containing a summary of the pertinent information appearing in the files of the New York Field Division on the above captioned individual.

All confidential informants mentioned therein are known to the Bureau.

Very truly yours,

*E. E. Conroy*

E. E. CONROY,  
SAC

2 Encls.

35

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4 APR 25 1945

~~APR 20 1945~~

ENC 50

8/16/45  
*Blackford*

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Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice

AFF:BEO  
100-53054

New York, 7, N. Y.  
March 2, 1945

MEMO:

Re: VITO MARCANTONIO;  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C  
(Bureau File 100-28126)

This is to advise that all serials pertaining to the above captioned individual have been reviewed and the pertinent information appearing therein has been summarized and set forth in chronological order of events.

Inasmuch as VITO MARCANTONIO'S name appears frequently in this memorandum, he will be referred to hereafter as V.M.

77-172-3: Report of Special Agent H. C. LESLIE dated August 4, 1930 at New York, N. Y. entitled "VITO MARCANTONIO, Candidate; Appointment Assistant U. S. Attorney, S. N. Y." This report reflects the following information:

This individual was born in New York City on December 10, 1902. He received an LLB Degree at New York University in 1925 and was admitted to the New York Bar on July 2, 1926. According to this report, he was at that time engaged in the practice of law with one MICHAEL PINTO, New York City. He was reported as having a good civil practice, both state and federal court; he was considered as possessing exceptional ability as a lawyer; he was considered a good orator; was active as a social worker; and was at that time president of the LA GUARDIA Republican Club, New York City. This report reflects that there was nothing derogatory against his character or reputation. According to this report, this individual married Miss MARIAN SANDERS on May 10, 1925. She is a descendant of the old WENTWORTH family of New Hampshire. This report further reflects that Mrs. MARCANTONIO was at that time the Assistant Director of the HARLEM HOUSE.



*Copy  
7-16-57*

50 APR 20 1945

ENCLOSURE

MEMO:  
NY 100-53054

65-8521-1A1: Report of Confidential Informant [REDACTED] regarding the background of VITO MARCANTONIO. In addition to the information set forth in the report of Special Agent LESLIE as above, the following data appears in this report:

From 1924 to 1932 V.M. was LA GUARDIA'S campaign manager. From 1930 to 1931 he was United States Attorney. In 1926 he was arrested with LA GUARDIA for picketing in a dress strike. He represents New York's 20th (East Harlem) District in Congress. He was first elected in 1934 on the Republican ticket and served until 1936. He was re-elected in 1938 with the endorsement of the Left Wing American Labor Party, the Republican Party, and came within 186 votes of getting the Democratic nomination, this despite the fact that the American Labor Party, which originally endorsed him in 1938, repudiated their backing, calling him "an out and out Red", and despite the fact that PISCITELLO, of Local 89, I.L.C.W.U., went into his territory to prove that he was a "tool of the Communist Party". As a young lawyer he handled several criminal cases, and in many cases "copped pleas".

Four years ago, according to this report, he was taken into protective custody in New York after leading 1,200 relief workers against 400 police officers in a riot at Madison Square Garden. This report further reflects that on May 4, 1938 he defended LONGO in the Jersey City election case and at one time was counsel for the Window Washers' Union.

Under the caption "Record and Side Notes", it was noted that he was on record as opposing the Selective Service Bill and the Alien Registration Act. On July 29, 1940 it is alleged that he said, "The check on aliens imitates Hitler; it's un-American." He fought against naval expansion and air defense bills; he went on record opposing the Dies Committee. According to this report, he had a good reason for doing so, because on October 18, 1939, GITLOW, a Communist appearing before the Dies Committee, swore that the INTERNATIONAL LABOR DEFENSE, an organization of which V.M. was the head (and still is), was the main support of the Daily Worker. Later, in San Francisco, this report continues, GITLOW again mentioned the I.L.D. on numerous occasions during the BRIDGES hearing. He also stated that "The Communists

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"are taking orders from Moscow and want to rule unions."

On March 28, 1935 he objected to the strengthening of the west coast naval defenses, claiming that it was "deliberately waving a red flag on the Pacific coast and as such was extremely dangerous." On June 16, 1935, in discussing Congress in a speech at 2061 Lexington Avenue, he said, "Congress is too reactionary to pass labor bills." On August 13, 1935 he proposed an amendment for the United States government to take over almost any kind of business "to be owned and operated by the government for the benefit of the people." On August 15, 1935, when the Navy tried to settle a shipyard strike in Camden, New Jersey, he called their proposal "an outrage and conspiracy against the strikers." On September 25, 1935, when the radio operators of steamships struck, he said, "Reactionaries form a united front against labor. Labor should combat by striking generally all over the country to protect its existence." On March 12, 1936, according to this report, he advised the tenants in the Harlem apartment houses, where the building employees were on strike, not to pay the landlords any rent until the building employees won their strike. On May 10, 1938 he was involved in the fur strike.

On November 22, 1938 he said, "Nazism must be smashed." On January 29, 1940 he said, "The Dies Committee is undermining the civil rights of the decadent minorities." On February 9, 1940 all Senators and Representatives went on record against the infiltration of the Young Communist League into the American Youth Congress, except VM.

On March 7, 1941 he spoke with CURRAN at Manhattan Center against the Lend-Lease Bill. On March 23, 1941 over 3,000 people at the Garden hissed LA GUARDIA'S name and cheered V.M. when he called for the defeat of the "Wall Street - Downing Street Axis". SCHAPPES, the City College tutor, who was out on bail at that time as a Red, was also there. On April 3, 1941 he went on record as the sole objector (vote 324 to 1) to the resolution of the House Military and Naval Affairs Committee to investigate the wave of strikes imperiling this nation's defense organization. He accused the House of setting up a "strike-breaking agency".

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100-47403-6, Page 2: Report of Special Agent L. G. TURROU dated March 30, 1936 at New York, N. Y. entitled "~~PEDRO ALBIZU CAMPOS, THE NATIONALIST PARTY OF PUERTO RICO; INCITING INSURRECTION OR REBELLION~~". This report reflects that a mass meeting was held at the PARK PALACE by the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico on approximately March 15, 1936. This meeting was held as a protest to the arrest of CAMPOS in Puerto Rico. Congressman V.M., who was present at this meeting, made an inflammatory speech assailing the American government for not granting independence to Puerto Rico, declaring that "Yankee imperialism has been long abusing the Puerto Ricans." Other speakers were FORD and ROBERT MENOR, outstanding leaders of the Communist Party, who urged the Puerto Ricans to continue their struggle towards eventual independence. ✓

61-507-15: A personal and confidential letter to the Director dated October 17, 1936 entitled "COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA AND AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS; GENERAL ACTIVITIES", Bureau File 61-7559. Reference was made in this letter to a booklet, "The Foreign Born in the United States" by DWIGHT C. MORGAN, which was submitted to the Bureau, calling attention to Pages 59 to 62, which contained the following statements:

"A. MITCHELL PALMER, in his drive for the presidency through a Red scare, enlisted the aid of private detective agencies under the leadership of WILLIAM J. FLYNN. -----."

"ANDRES SAISEDO, detained illegally by the Department of Justice, was thrown or forced to jump from the fourteenth floor of the Department of Justice Building on Park Row in New York City, leaving a crushed body on the pavement which could tell no story."

"The officials of the United States government, in accordance with the suggestions made by some editorial writer to deport the 'Reds' in a 'ship of stone with sails of lead' had secured the BUFORD, an old leaking transport."

The back cover of this booklet, in which the above statements appear, bears a list of the officers and members of the Advisory Board of the AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR THE PROTECTION OF FOREIGN BORN.

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The names include the Honorable V.M., Professor JOHN SEWEY, and Bishop FRANCIS J. MC CONNELL.

The following news clippings for the year 1936 appear in the New York files:

100-47403-44: A news clipping from the New York Herald Tribune dated July 20, 1936. In this article V.M. is mentioned as giving consideration to participating in the defense of the eight Nationalists at San Juan, Puerto Rico, whose first trial ended in a disagreement by the jury. ✓

100-47403-45: A news clipping from the New York Times dated July 28, 1936. In this article V.M. was mentioned as having cabled the presiding judge, the Honorable ROBERT A. COOPER, to postpone the second trial of the Nationalists in Puerto Rico. This request was refused by Judge COOPER as being impossible. ✓

100-47403-50: A news clipping from the New York Herald Tribune dated August 4, 1936. This article reflects that V.M. was in San Juan, Puerto Rico arguing a motion for a new trial for the eight Puerto Rican Nationalists convicted in Federal Court for conspiracy to overthrow the authority of the United States government in Puerto Rico. (M)

100-47403-51: A news clipping from the New York Times dated August 8, 1936. This reflected that V.M. will return to New York to prepare an appeal to the Boston Circuit Court of Appeals.

61-507-82, Page 2: A personal and confidential letter to the Director dated January 20, 1937 re: "SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES; GENERAL", Bureau File 61-7559. This letter advises that former Representative V.M. spoke before a meeting of the WORKERS ALLIANCE at Madison Square Garden following a parade of W.P.A. workers. Along the line of march and also at the Garden, copies of the Daily Worker were sold.

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61-507-114, Page 4: A personal and confidential letter to the Director dated March 6, 1937 re: "SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES; GENERAL". This letter advises that among the number of leaflets turned over to the New York Office by a private investigator, ERNEST SPALLHOLTZ, which were alleged to be of a subversive nature, was one leaflet which advised of a farewell party to OTTO RICHTER. This, according to the letter, was apparently a matter in connection with the deportation of Mr. and Mrs. OTTO RICHTER. Speakers were given as HARRY W. LAIDLER and the Honorable V.M. This affair was scheduled for August 7, 1936.

Another document turned over to the New York Office was a mimeographed circular put out by the UNITED COMMITTEE TO AID VERMONT MARBLE WORKERS. This circular did not indicate just what kind of aid they needed, but the list of sponsors indicated a strong liberal support, according to this letter. Names listed were V.M., HEYWOOD-BROWN, ROGER BALDWIN, MALCOLM COWLEY, HERMAN J. REISSIG, and others.

100-47403-56: A letter to the Director dated April 3, 1937 re: "PEDRO ALBIZU CAMPOS, ET AL; NATIONALIST PARTY OF PUERTO RICO; INCITING INSURRECTION OR REBELLION". This letter indicates that on April 1, 1937 a meeting was held at the Manhattan Opera House, New York City, to discuss the Puerto Rican case, at which time this gathering was addressed by Ex-Congressman V.M. This letter further reflects that one JOSE SANTIAGO spoke on behalf of the Communist Party of America, stating that the Communist Party would extend them the full cooperation of the Party.

61-507-328: A personal and confidential letter to the Director dated October 6, 1937 re: "SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES, GENERAL; INTERNAL SECURITY - C". This letter advises that a form letter dated September 15, 1937 on the letterhead of the INTERNATIONAL LABOR DEFENSE, New York City, over the signature of V.M. had been obtained and forwarded to the Bureau.

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61-507-345: A personal and confidential letter to the Director dated October 15, 1937 re: "SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES, GENERAL; INTERNAL SECURITY - C", Bureau File 61-7559. This letter advised that a copy was obtained of the pamphlet entitled "The Vigilante Hide Behind the Flag", which was forwarded to the Bureau. The author of this pamphlet was ISOBEL WALKER SOULE; the introduction was by V.M.; and it was published by the INTERNATIONAL LABOR DEFENSE in September of 1937. This pamphlet is on sale at the WORKERS BOOK SHOP. According to this letter, this pamphlet deals with labor as affected by the so-called Vigilante or Fascist organizations.

61-507-434: A personal and confidential letter to the Director dated January 25, 1938 re: "SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES, GENERAL; INTERNAL SECURITY - C", advising that V.M.'S name appears on Pages 95, 135, 215, 253, 257, 379, and 380 of the book entitled "The Roosevelt Red Record and Its Background" by ELIZABETH BILLING.

61-507-495: A personal and confidential letter to the Director dated February 16, 1938 re: "SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES, GENERAL", Bureau File 61-7559. This letter advises that V.M. is on the Advisory Board of the American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born, together with others prominent in radical activities, namely ROGER BALDWIN, of the American Civil Liberties Union; HEYWOOD BROWN, the columnist; ANNA DAMON, of the International Labor Defense; and ISAAC SHORR.

61-507, June 8, 1938: A personal and confidential letter to the Director dated June 8, 1938 re: "SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES, GENERAL". This letter advises that the International Labor Defense, of which V.M. is president, is conducting a summer milk drive for the purpose of providing milk for some 800 children whose parents are in jail for political or labor offenses.

61-507-960: A personal and confidential letter to the Director



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dated November 28, 1938 re: "SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES; GENERAL", Bureau File 61-7559. This letter advises that V.M. was one of the speakers at a mass meeting of the American Sponsoring Committee Against Nazi Outrages held at Madison Square Garden on November 21, 1938. It was ascertained that this matter was reported in considerable detail in the Daily Worker.

65-382-100, Page 4: A letter to the Director dated September 12, 1939 entitled "COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A., PEDRO ALBIZU CAMPOS; REGISTRATION, AGENTS OF FOREIGN PRINCIPALS." This letter advises that V.M. is alleged to have visited CAMPOS, head of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico, at the Federal Penitentiary at Atlanta, Georgia in 1936.

65-382-182, Page 7: Report of Special Agent E. K. THOMPSON dated December 22, 1939 at San Juan, Puerto Rico entitled "COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A., PEDRO ALBIZU CAMPOS; REGISTRATION, AGENTS OF FOREIGN PRINCIPALS". This report advises that immediately on conviction of the aforementioned and eight other Nationalists, V.M. and other attorneys took an immediate appeal for a new trial. These Nationalists were convicted in Federal Court in the U. S. District Court in Puerto Rico on July 31, 1936 on charges of conspiracy to overthrow by force the government of the U. S., inciting to rebellion, and conspiracy to recruit soldiers to engage in armed hostility against the United States.

61-507-1823: Report of Confidential Informant S dated January 13, 1940. This informant attended the second annual convention of the New York State Workers Alliance held on January 12, 1940 at the Hotel Diplomat in New York City. According to this informant, the chairman of the opening session was SAM WEISMAN, president of the New York State Workers Alliance and chairman of the Unemployment Division of the New York State Committee, Communist Party.

V.M. was one of 85 speakers. In his speech he denounced the fact that W.P.A. appropriations were cut while appropriations

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for national defense were increased, stating "Although I support national defense, I refuse to do it at the expense of the W.P.A." V.M. further stated, "Let us not make this the democracy of CHAMBERLAIN, but of LINCOLN and JEFFERSON. They are mostly all great patriots in Congress who are the greatest connivers that you can imagine. They never want to go on record as to how they voted so they can knife labor, the farmers, and the unemployed without having to answer for it. Their main slogan is that we must stamp out Communism, in other words, it is un-American to them if you ask for jobs and try to protect your wages and hours.

"We don't need any advice from these lousy Congressmen because we know what we want and we are going to unite and fight for those rights."

61-730-55, Page 4: A personal and confidential letter to the Director dated June 26, 1940 transmitting the report of Confidential Informant [redacted] in which he advised that on the evening of June 26, 1940 an anti-war rally was held by the League of American Writers, a Communist organization, at the Manhattan Center of New York City. The leading characters listed at this rally were V.M. and FREDERICK MEYERS, national organizer for the National Maritime Union.

61-730-74: A personal and confidential report of Confidential Informant [redacted] dated August 4, 1940. This report reflects that a peace rally sponsored by the Emergency Peace Mobilization at Randall's Island, New York City, was attended by approximately 25,000 people. Among the speakers were V.M.; HARRY VAN ARSDALE, business manager of Local 3 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; JOHN P. DAVIS, executive secretary of the National Negro Congress; and JEAN HOIRE, executive secretary of the New York Youth Congress. V.M. was given a great ovation and also the clenched fist salute.

V.M. referred to Director J. EDGAR HOOVER as a "Stork Club Detective" and "his wire tapping stool pigeons".

V.M., in his talk, went to the defense of HARRY

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BRIDGES, commending his work for the worker, urging, "It is up to us, the people, to fight and see that HARRY BRIDGES stays in America."

54-144-458: A letter to the Director dated August 6, 1940 re: "EMERGENCY PEACE MOBILIZATION, COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES". This letter advised that on August 4, 1940 the Emergency Peace Mobilization Committee staged a rally in the stadium on Randall's Island in New York City. A program for the events was prepared and distributed by the New York Youth Congress. A copy of this so-called "Souvenir Journal" was forwarded to the Bureau.

This letter further reflects that there were approximately 18,000 people present and that Reverend OWEN KNOX, chairman of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, was chairman of the rally.

This letter further reflects that the general tenor of the speeches was not so much directly for peace as it was against the Conscription Act. The civil rights issue was also given considerable attention, as well as the fingerprinting of aliens. This meeting was given very little space in the daily press.

During the course of the pageant, which was a part of the rally, the commentator, whose voice was heard over the loud-speaker, in mentioning the events which occurred in 1940, mentioned a raid by the F.B.I. on the citizens of Detroit during the small hours of the night. There was considerable booping at the mention of the F.B.I.

This letter further reflects that Congressman V.M., in his speech, said in substance that if you take the position that this is a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, a tap would be put on your telephone wire by the F.B.I. headed by J. EDGAR HOOVER, the stork club detective, or some other law enforcement stool pigeon. According to this letter, it was noted that a part of this statement had been quoted in the August 5, 1940 issue of the newspaper PM. This reference by Congressman V.M. to the F.B.I. brought forth a loud booping and hissing directed by the audience against the F.B.I.

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One of the purposes of this rally was to whip up enthusiasm for the Emergency Peace Mobilization which was to be held at Chicago from August 31 to September 2, 1940.

It will be noted that Special Agent GEORGE J. STARR was in attendance at this rally.

67-2557-24: A personal and confidential report of Confidential Informant [REDACTED] dated August 23, 1940. According to this report, V.M. spoke at the Emergency Peace Mobilization held on August 14, 1944, at which Communist Party leaflets were distributed. It was estimated by this informant that there were approximately 15,000 people present. V.M. spoke against conscription and participation in the war. Other speakers were MIKE QUILL; JOHN P. DAVIS, national secretary of the National Negro Congress; BELLA DODD, who spoke on behalf of the Teachers' Union, Local 5; HARRY CUISNERS, manager of Local 23, Electrical Workers Union; and Rabbi MOSES MILLER, chairman of Jewish Peoples Committee.

65-2977-1, Page 3: A letter to the Director dated August 27, 1940 from the Chicago Field Division re: "COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN CHICAGO, ILLINOIS". This letter reflects that it had been ascertained that on August 21, 1940 one M. LIPSHULTZ was seen at the International Labor Defense office talking to PEARL HART and TERESA ENFLICH concerning Communists still in jail on charges of criminal syndicalism. LIPSHULTZ advised them that V.M. will send an attorney this week to Chicago to handle these cases.

54-144-885: A letter to the Director dated August 28, 1940 re: "NATIONAL EMERGENCY CONFERENCE FOR DEMOCRACY". This letter advises that it has been ascertained that this organization is headed by Reverend OWEN A. KNOX of Detroit, Michigan, who is becoming more and more active in the organization, which appears to have the backing of the Communist Party. Associated with him in this organization, among others, are V.M.; CAREY MC WILLIAMS, Los Angeles, California; ALFRED K. STERN, New York City; MAX YERGAN, and others.

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39-155-35, Page 5: Report of Special Agent J. R. MALLEY dated September 20, 1940 at New York, N. Y. entitled "HARRY HENTON BRIDGES, with aliases; COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES, IMMIGRATION MATTERS". This report advises that, according to Confidential Informant [REDACTED] V.M. was chief counsel for the striking seamen in 1936 and 1937, and further that V.M., together with JACK LAWRENSEN and HEYWOOD BROWN, held a conference, at which time they decided that HARRY BRIDGES should come east to address the striking seamen during that period.

61-730-110: A personal and confidential report of Confidential Informant [REDACTED] dated September 24 and 27, 1940, in which V.M. is mentioned as the author of a bill to repeal conscription.

65-4632-62, Page 10: Report of Special Agent J. R. MALLEY dated October 9, 1940 at New York, N. Y. entitled "NATIONAL MARITIME UNION; ESPIONAGE". The information set forth in this report was obtained from EARLE ASHTON, who was at that time incarcerated at Sing Sing Prison serving a ten to twenty year sentence on a robbery and gun charge. According to this report, ASHTON was apparently aware of the fact that there was a Communist element in the National Maritime Union, and expressed a desire to tell all he knew to assist in ridding the N.M.U. of this element.

In addition to executing a sixteen-page statement to Agents MALLEY and W. J. HIGGINS, ASHTON advised that he believed that seamen's strikes were financed to a large extent by the Communist Party and various fellow travellers. He stated that various Communist controlled unions raised funds for the striking seamen, particularly BEN-GOLD, of the Garment Workers Union; that Congressman V.M. was active in raising funds, recalling that he had attended a rally held at the Stuyvesant High School in New York City during the height of the strikes, at which V.M. spoke; and that AL-LAWRENSEN, JOE CURRAN, RAY HUDSON, and various others spoke at the same time.

100-26011-9, Page 6: Report of Special Agent THOMAS S. MILLER dated February 16, 1943 at New York, N. Y. entitled "DR. MAX YERGAN; INTERNAL SECURITY - C, CUSTODIAL DETENTION". This report reflects that

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according to Confidential Informant [REDACTED] a meeting was held by the Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born at the Hotel Edison, New York City, a short time before October 18, 1940. The principal speaker was V.M., who urged the repeal of the conscription law and also the law compelling the fingerprinting of aliens.

65-2977-3, Page 4: A letter to the Director from the Chicago Field Division dated October 26, 1940 re: "COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN CHICAGO, ILLINOIS". This letter reflects that several cases of books and pamphlets have been received by the wholesale book department of the Workers School, Room 214, 251 South Wells, Chicago, Illinois. These included some late editions of the writings of V.M. and EARL BROWDER, and also recent editions from the Soviet Union. These texts were received from the New York Office of the Workers School.

100-31551-3076, Page 51: Confidential report of Special Agent WILFRED H. ERWIN dated May 15, 1944 at New York, N. Y. entitled "LYDIA ALTSCHULER, with aliases, ET AL; ESPIONAGE - R". According to this report, an article appearing in the Daily Worker under date of December 2, 1940 stated that a meeting was held of the "Friends of the Spanish People" at the Manhattan Center on December 1, 1940, and that V.M. was listed as a speaker. The chairman of this meeting was Professor E. D. BURGEN of New York University.

65-2977-7, Page 118: Report of Special Agent A. D. HORN dated December 4, 1940 at Chicago, Illinois entitled "COMMUNIST PARTY ACTIVITIES, CHICAGO ILLINOIS AREA, DISTRICT NUMBER 8; INTERNAL SECURITY - R". According to this report, the C.I.O. has donated \$1,000 for the defense of the Lewiston-Pontiac Comrades in response to the appeal of V.M. for help in the mid-west district of the International Labor Defense, which has exhausted its funds due to the continuous arrests of Party members.

65-2977-4, Page 125: Report on the same subject matter as above, which reflected that noted officials of the Communist Party met

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at their headquarters, 208 North Wells Street, in Chicago, on October 29, 1940, at which time instructions were given to give full support to the LA GUARDIA meeting at Chicago. It was stressed that this should be done in view of the fact that LA GUARDIA had always gone along with V.M.

65-2977-4, Page 132: Report on the same subject matter as above, which reflected that V.M. had sent \$1,000 from the International Labor Defense office to aid in the defense of Communist Party members arrested in the Chicago area.

54-144-1447: A letter dated December 14, 1940 from the New Orleans Field Division re: "COMMUNISTIC ACTIVITIES", advising that it had been ascertained that GABRIEL KAPLAN, Republican nominee for the Supreme Court of New York State in 1940, was chairman of the Republican Law Committee and that he appeared with HYMAN GLICKSTEIN, chairman of the Communist dominated Law Committee, of the "Committee" to represent the American Labor Party. This letter further advised that KAPLAN has been associated in Left-Wing activities with V.M.

97-169-1A6: It will be noted that this file includes the Daily Worker indices, and the following information was obtained from this source under the following dates:

October 9, 1940, Page 2, Column 2: This reflects that V.M. was to address an academic freedom rally of Columbia University students, which rally was called as a protest against President BUTLER'S warning at the University that dissension with the University's policy in the European war would not be allowed.

November 16, 1940, Page 5, Column 2: This article reflects that V.M. was to speak before the New York State Conference of the National Negro Congress at Park Palace, New York City on the subject of jobs, housing, and equal rights. Other speakers were mentioned as JOHN P. DAVIS and Dr. MAX YERGAN.

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December 1, 1940, Page 2, Column 8: According to this article V.M. was a speaker at a public rally held at the Manhattan Center of New York City on December 1, 1940. This rally was sponsored by the New York Chapter of the United American Spanish Aid Committee for the benefit of Spanish refugees. Other speakers were listed as Dr. EDWARD BERRY BURGUM, chairman of New York University; Dr. WALTER RAUTENSTRAUCH, of Columbia University; Reverend VER LYNN SPRAGUE; WILLIAM PICKENS, director of N.A.A.C.P.; CARMEN MEANA, Youth leader of the Transport Union from Madrid, Spain.

December 2, 1940, Page 2, Column 4: This article reflects that V.M. was to speak at the mass meeting to be held in protest of inhuman treatment of Jews by the British government.

December 4, 1940, Page 4, Column 3: This article refers to the above mass meeting held at Manhattan Center, New York City, on December 1, 1940.

December 7, 1940, Page 2, Column 8: According to this article, V.M. was scheduled to speak on December 12, 1940 in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania on the subject of "War Clouds over America". This meeting was held under the auspices of the Western Pennsylvania Peace Council.

December 8, 1940, Page 1, Column 3: This article reflects that V.M. spoke before the Emergency Conference of the American Peace Mobilization held at the Fraternal Hall, New York City, at which time he denounced loans to Britain. This article further reflected that this conference was attended by 200 trade union delegates.

December 9, 1940, Page 3, Column 3: According to this article V.M. appealed for funds for the annual International Labor Defense Christmas drive to aid democracy's defenders. In his speech V.M. cited twelve victims of Oklahoma's Syndicalism Law.

December 14, 1940, Page 4, Column 4: This article referred to V.M.'S talk at Pittsburgh before the Western Pennsylvania



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Peace Council, in which he stated that he voted four times and will vote one hundred times against the administration's moves towards war.

December 16, 1940, Page 5, Column 8: According to this article, V.M., in his speech at Chicago at a rally held at the People's Auditorium, spoke against the Smith Bill, Conscription Law Repeal, etc. Other speakers listed were Reverend OWEN A. KNOX, WILLIAM L. PATTERSON, PEARL HART, and BOB WIRTZ.

December 19, 1940, Page 5, Column 2: This article reflects that V.M. signed a petition urging Governor OLSEN of California to dismiss the charges against SAM ADAMS DUNCAN, a Communist leader.

December 27, 1940, Page 3, Column 7: This article advises that V.M. was scheduled to speak on December 30, 1940 before the national convention of the American Students Union to be held at Manhattan Center. V.M.'S subject at this convention was to be conscription, academic freedom etc.

December 31, 1940, Page 3, Column 3: This article refers to the above talk given by V.M. at Manhattan Center, and lists among other speakers BELLA V. DODD from the Teachers Union.

The following exhibit, obtained in 1940, is on file in the New York Office:

100-2936-1A 90, Page 9: A publication entitled "The Fifth National Convention of the I.W.O." An article appearing in this publication reflects that on June 8, 1940 V.M. made a speech before the said convention of the I.W.O. at the World's Fair, New York City. In his speech V.M. admitted being president of the International Labor Defense.

100-53054-7: Letter from the Philadelphia Field Division to the New York Field Division dated December 16, 1943 re: "V.M.; INTERNATIONAL

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"SECURITY - C". Enclosed with this letter was a telegram addressed by V.M. to JAMES G. MARX, District Attorney of Reading, Pennsylvania under date of January 8, 1941. It is noted that, according to this letter, the sending of this telegram occurred at the time of the indictment and trial of BEN RUBIN, secretary of the Communist Party of Reading, Pennsylvania, for violation of the Election Code.

According to this letter, Mr. MARX advised that he received many similar communications from all parts of the country indicating the interests of Communists and Communist dominated organizations in the above mentioned case.

100-6806-119: Personal and confidential report of Confidential Informant [redacted] dated January 22, 1941. According to this informant, a mass defense rally was held under the auspices of the International Labor Defense at Manhattan Center. This report reflected that V.M. promised to do his utmost to free the defendants in the Oklahoma case. In his talk he charged the F.B.I. and the Dies Committee as being destroyers of the Bill of Rights.

100-3620-14, Page 5: Report of Special Agent GEORGE J. STARR dated January 24, 1941 at New York, N. Y. entitled "AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR THE PROTECTION OF FOREIGN BORN, 79 Fifth Avenue, New York City; INTERNAL SECURITY". This report reflects the fact that according to a pamphlet issued by the above mentioned organization, the name of V.M. was mentioned as one of a long list of sponsors. The chairman of this organization was listed as CAREY MC WILLIAMS. PEARL M. HART was listed as vice chairman; and the name of Dr. MAX YERGAN was also listed.

100-734-48, Pages 15, 17: Report of Special Agent JAMES G. FINDLAY dated January 30, 1941 at Los Angeles, California entitled "INTERNATIONAL LABOR DEFENSE; INTERNAL SECURITY". A review of this report reflects that V.M. is the president of the International Labor Defense, which is reported to be Communistically controlled and a Communist front organization.

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A pamphlet dated August 13, 1940 issued by the I.L.D., 112 East 19th Street, New York City, bearing the picture of V.M., sets forth a speech made by him on "War; Conscription; Civil Liberties". He is quoted in part as follows:

"False National Defense

national defense.

"All this in the name of a false

of protecting it. -----.

"We destroy democracy under the guise

"And we do this, how?

armament program and indulging in a military extravaganza for war.

"Second, we destroy the civil rights

and freedom -----.

"Third, by segregating and finger-

printing 3,500,000 non citizens in America.

"F.B.I. And the Gestapo

a gestapo.

"Fourth, by converting our F.B.I. into

"And fifth, by conscripting the youth

of our nation."

INF. INPT According to this same report, under date of August, 1940, Informant S.F. 1 advised that the local office of the I.L.D. had been instructed by V.M. to create a revolving fund of \$10,000 for the purpose of defending all those persons resisting alien registration or conscription. V.M., according to this informant, indicated

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that the I.L.D. encourages resistance both to alien registration and to conscription.

100-31630-22: A confidential report from O.N.I. dated February 7, 1941 furnishing a list of names of persons who are suspected sympathizers, for purposes of custodial detention. The name of V.M. appears on this list. Following his name appears the notation "Reported rabid Communist".

65-4632-215: Report of Confidential Informant [redacted] dated March 4, 1941. This report advises that a meeting was held of the Teamster Branch of the Waterfront Section of the Communist Party. The Teamster Branch, according to this informant, met in groups, this group meeting at the home of MUNYA GUTRIDE, 201 West 16th Street, New York City. BEN ERNST was reported to be the group captain. ERNST made a few remarks, according to the informant, dwelling on the success of the Communist Party in recruiting new members during strikes when as high as 50% of the workers would join the Communist Party.

Those present were urged to attend a rally sponsored by the Greater New York Council of Industrial Unions of the C.I.O., which would be held to protest the Lend-Lease Bill. This rally was to be held on March 6, 1941 at Manhattan Center. According to this informant, the principal speaker at this rally was to be Senator BURTON K. WHEELER. Other speakers were to be V.M.; JOSEPH CURRAN, president of the N.M.U.; and SAUL MILLS, of the C.I.O.

65-4632-254: Report of Confidential Informant [redacted] dated March 18, 1941 relating to a meeting of the Teamster Branch of the Waterfront Section of the Communist Party. This report advises that Comrade KAPLAN, branch organizer, was in charge of this particular group. All comrades present wrote to their Congressmen demanding defeat of the Hobbs-Concentration Camp Bill. All present were also urged to bring friends and contacts to a peace demonstration to be held on March 22, 1941 at Madison Square Park. This demonstration was being sponsored by the

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American Peace Mobilization. The principal speaker was given as V.M., who was to fly in from Washington, D. C. for the occasion. Other speakers were listed as ANNETTE RUBINSTEIN; JEAN HOIRE, of the American Youth Congress; EUGENE CONNOLLY, of the Left Wing of the American Labor Party; BELLA DODD, of the Teachers Union; and JOHN P. DAVIS, of the National Negro Congress. According to this informant, attendance at this coming demonstration was said to be a "must" for all comrades.

100-4931-177: Report of Confidential Informant [REDACTED] dated April 7, 1941. This report reflects that on March 27, 1941, in response to a plea made by FRED BASSETT BLAIR and MAYER ADELMAN for financial help in the Alice Chalmers Strike in Chicago, \$500 was received at the Communist Party Headquarters in Chicago from V.M. of the I.L.D.; \$1,000 from W. W. WEINSTONE, New York City; \$2,500 from the United Mine Workers of America; and \$3,200 from VIK BITTNER, of the P.W.O.C.

65-2977-11, Page 18: Report of Special Agent J. C. BILLS dated April 2, 1941 at Chicago, Illinois, entitled "COMMUNIST PARTY ACTIVITIES, Chicago, Illinois Area, District Number 8; INTERNAL SECURITY - C". According to Informant, JOHN DENNISON, who is the head of the Iowa Branch of the I.L.D., in company with JOHN CARSON, secretary of the Communist Party in Iowa, held a conference with MORRIS CHILDS and EUGENE DAVID for the purpose of discussing the situation in Iowa and to make plans for sending organizers into the field. According to this informant, CARSON stated that in company with DENNISON they were going east to confer with V.M.

65-4632-208 A, Page 2: A personal and confidential letter to the Director dated April 6, 1941 re: "NATIONAL MARITIME UNION; ESPIONAGE - R". This letter advises that, according to Confidential Informant ROY DUNCAN, V.M. and six other ranking Communists were maintaining apartments for their mistresses at 200 East 16th Street, which was also used frequently for extremely confidential meetings of leading Communists of the United States.

65-6386-383, Page 3: Report of Confidential Informant [REDACTED]

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dated April 7, 1941. According to this report, a gathering of the American Peoples Meeting sponsored by the American Peace Mobilization took place on April 5 and 6, 1941 at New York City. The speakers at this meeting, according to this confidential informant, were V.M.; Reverend JOHN A. THOMPSON; MAX YERGAN; CORLISS LAMONT; HERBERT BIBERMAN; and REID ROBINSON.

65-5369-14, Page 9: Report of Special Agent W. J. ROONEY dated April 15, 1941 at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, entitled "AMERICAN COMMUNICATIONS ASSOCIATION; INTERNAL SECURITY - C". According to this report, through a highly confidential and reliable source it was ascertained that DANIEL DRIEFSEN, an organizer for the captioned organization and a C.I.O. affiliate with offices in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, sent out a letter dated August 28, 1940 to all members of the Executive Committee of the A.C.A., Local 54 A, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, regarding the Conscription Bill. According to this informant, there was also enclosed with this letter a copy of a speech made by V.M., in which he attacked the Burke-Wadsworth Conscription Bill, and in which he referred to the war in Europe as "An Imperialistic War".

65-4632-240, Page 2: Report of Confidential Informant [REDACTED] dated April 15, 1941, relating to a meeting of the Teamster Branch of the Waterfront Section of the Communist Party held on April 15, 1941. According to this report, MIRIAM SAYRE, branch organizer of the Communist Party, presided at this meeting. FERDINAND SMITH, of the National Maritime Union, gave a report on the seamen becoming class conscious under the teachings of Communist seamen. A guest speaker was TIMOTHY HOLMES (colored), who spoke on conditions in the Soviet Union.

The report further reflects that those present were urged to attend a demonstration on April 19, 1941 to be held at the Spanish Consulate. Some of the speakers named in this report were V.M.; THOMAS GAVIN, organizer of the N.M.U.; MILTON WOLFF, national commander of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade; FREDERICK V. FIELD, national secretary of the A.P.M.; JEAN HOIRE, of the American Youth Congress; and others.

100-4931-369: A letter dated April 23, 1941 from G-2, New

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York City re: U.S.S.R. propaganda in the United States. This letter reflects that the name of Congressman V.M. was being mentioned openly in connection with the reported campaign for the need of a third party which would unite all organizations fighting for "real liberty and better living conditions". The letter further states that the main operators remain in the background and are the same ones that attempted to launch the American Peace Movement, and are really all members or fellow travellers of the Communist Party.

100-4931-461: A memorandum for the file dated April 24, 1941 re: "COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A.; INTERNAL SECURITY, - ESPIONAGE - R". This memorandum reflects that, according to Confidential Informant [REDACTED] the address at 200 East 16th Street is a hide-out for certain women friends of Communists, among whom is a blonde kept there by V.M.

100-4931-350: Report of Special Agent R. L. NALLS dated April 30, 1941 at Sioux Falls, South Dakota entitled "COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE U. S.; SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES - C". According to this report, as the result of a mail cover placed on Box 366, Sioux Falls, South Dakota, it was ascertained that a circular issued by the I.L.D., of which V.M. is president and ANNA DAMON secretary, was received.

100-3620-78: Report of Special Agent V. WALSER PROSPERE dated May 5, 1941 at Newark, New Jersey re: "AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR PROTECTION OF FOREIGN BORN." According to this report, the above mentioned organization held a fifth national conference at the Hotel President, Atlantic City, New Jersey on March 29th and 30th of 1941. According to this report, leaders of this conference were known Communists. V.M. was listed as the feature speaker.

In his talk V.M. condemned the U. S. government, the Hobbs Bill, and all legislation curtailing labor activity. According to this report it is alleged that he praised SACCO, VANZETTI, and BRIDGES. In this talk V.M. denounced the war in Europe as being "imperialistic".

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"I cast my vote against that bill, and the record will show it', he shouted.

"In March MARCANTONIO assailed the Roosevelt policies and insisted the American people did not want war. All this before Hitler invaded Russia.

"When the second Lend-Lease bill came up, <sup>Russia</sup> had been invaded. MARCANTONIO not only voted aye, but thought we should send troops. When neutrality revision came to a vote MARCANTONIO not only "Yessed", but wanted an A.E.F. to open up a western front to relieve pressure on Russia.

"MARCANTONIO is Mayor LA GUARDIA'S protege. He succeeded him in Congress; he has been assailed by Dies and others as a Red, or at least a fellow traveller."

The following exhibit appears in the New York files for the year of 1941:

100-2936-1A1 55, Page 4: A copy of the FRATERNAL OUTLOOK dated March, 1941. In this copy is a photo showing V.M. shaking hands with JACK MC MICHAEL. A footnote reads, "In the midst of a color guard of flags, fighting American Labor Congressman V.M. addressed the 6,000 multitude. Introduced by JACK MC MICHAEL, the 401-1 representative from Harlem called for renewed efforts to defeat the Lend-Lease Bill by protests to the Senate."

100-2977-57, Page 10: Report of Special Agent JOHN C. BILLS dated January 13, 1942 at Chicago, Illinois entitled "COMMUNIST PARTY ACTIVITIES, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS AREA, DISTRICT NUMBER 8, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS; INTERNAL SECURITY - C". This report reflects that, according to Confidential Informant [redacted] a man named PAUL YOUNG came to Communist Party headquarters in Chicago on October 10, 1941. It is alleged that YOUNG is from Baltimore and that he is an aircraft engineer and a Party member



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since 1936. According to this informant, YOUNG said he had a personal letter from V.M. and that he came to Chicago to see GERTRUDE DENTON.

100-4931-H 105: An O.N.I. report dated February 6, 1942. This report refers to V.M. as a Communist Congressman and states that he introduced a bill in Congress to give natives of the Philippines American citizenship. This report alleges that the bill is Communist inspired and supported by the American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born, which is referred to as a Communist front organization.

67-OB-22615: A letter dated February 10, 1942 to the New York office from V.M. in which he recommended a constituent of his, FRANK CAIAZZO, for employment as a fingerprint classifier or for clerical work.

67-OB-22616: A letter dated February 12, 1942 from the New York office to Congressman V.M., Washington, D. C. acknowledging receipt of his letter of February 10, 1942 in behalf of FRANK CAIAZZO, who applied for a position with the Bureau.

100-4931-1657: A letter to the Director dated February 27, 1942 re: "COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A.; INTERNAL SECURITY - C". This letter stated that O.N.I. has furnished information to the effect that the 8th Assembly District of the American Labor Party is holding a dance for servicemen on March 7, 1942. The letter further states that the American Labor Party County Committee in New York City is controlled by the Communist faction, led by V.M.; EUGENE CONNOLLY; and BELLA V. DODD; this is in spite of the fact that the rank and file of the American Labor Party is non-Communist.

100-4931-1722: A report from O.N.I. dated February 27, 1942 reflecting the fact that V.M. and others have been extolling the accomplishments of the Red Army and that these people very carefully convert the Russian success into a justification of the Russian purges, the

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65-7471-49: A letter dated April 8, 1941 from the New York office to the Chicago office re: "AMTORG TRADING CORPORATION; ESPIONAGE - R". This letter indicates that as the result of the influence of Congressman V.M., the AMTORG TRADING CORPORATION sent a check for \$1,000 to the International Labor Defense, which is to be used for the defense of "comrades" in the Chicago area.

65-2942-338, Page 2: Report of Special Agent W. A. HALPIN dated April 16, 1941 in Washington, D. C. entitled "FOREIGN FUNDS, DETROIT AREA; MISCELLANEOUS - INFORMATION CONCERNING". This report reflects that through credit reports it had been ascertained that V.M. is vice chairman of the American Peace Mobilization.

65-7504-15, Pages 3, 5: A strictly confidential letter to the Director dated May 21, 1941 re: "ITALIAN SECRET POLICE IN THE U. S.; CONF. INF [redacted], Informant; ESPIONAGE - I". In this letter the aforementioned informant revealed that, according to Consul General GAETANO VECCHIOTTI of the Italian Consulate, he is to make immediate arrangements with Congressman V.M. and former Congressman JAMES J. LANZETTA for them to make expeditious arrangements through their political connections to cover up TOMASSO CANALE-PAROLE, an alleged Italian secret agent, who had failed to register under the Alien Registration Act.

100-4931-512: Report of Confidential Informant [redacted] dated May 24, 1941. This report reflects that V.M. is scheduled to make a radio talk on Memorial Day in answer to President Roosevelt's coming fireside chat on May 27, 1941. According to this informant, this is being looked forward to by the comrades, as V.M. really speaks for the Communist Party.

100-4931-568: Report of Confidential Informant [redacted] dated June 3, 1941. This report reveals that at the conclusion of the regular meeting of the Teamster Branch of the Waterfront Section of the Communist

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Party, at 21 East 22nd Street, New York City, all comrades were supplied with stationery and instructed to write to Radio Station W.O.R., requesting that they broadcast the talk of V.M. on June 12, 1941. The title of his address, according to this report, was "There Shall Be No Gestapo in America".

100-11720-2, Page 12: A personal and confidential letter to the Director dated July 24, 1941, re: ~~AMERICAN WRITERS CONGRESS, LEAGUE OF AMERICAN WRITERS, CONGRESS OF AMERICAN ARTISTS; INTERNAL SECURITY - R~~. This letter advises that, according to the report of Confidential Informant [REDACTED], dated June 8, 1941, the American Writers Congress held their fourth biannual conference at the Hotel Commodore in New York City on June 6 through June 8, 1941. This conference was sponsored by the League of American Writers, which, according to this informant, is a 100% Communist front organization. Informant further advised that there were two drawings in one of the rooms allotted to the artists. One drawing, by JAMES EGLESON, was a caricature of a uniformed policeman and an F.B.I. agent ganging up on a poor Liberal. The F.B.I. was caricatured as a repulsive brute wearing a badge with the letters F.B.I. and with a blackjack sticking out of his coat pocket. The other picture, by ART YOUNG, and which was entitled "PALMER RAIDS", showed a hapless citizen being dragged off to a jail marked "Department of Justice". A notation on this drawing was to the effect that the F.B.I. agents were ransacking possessions and had smashed ballot boxes. A caricature of Director J. EDGAR HOOVER was shown directing the raids. SAMUEL SILLEN made the keynote speech, in which he laid down the Communist Party line.

SILLEN read the names of certain writers "who in these turbulent days must be our guides". These names were as follows: V.M.; ART YOUNG; THEODORE DREISER; MARC BLITZSTEIN; LYND WARD; ALFRED KREYMBORG; RICHARD WRIGHT; MIKE GOLD; RUTH MC KENNY; and DALTON TRUMBO.

100-4931-725: A personal and confidential letter to the Director dated June 24, 1941 re: "COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A.; INTERNAL SECURITY, ESPIONAGE - R". This letter refers to the report of Confidential

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Informant [REDACTED] which relates that the National Committee of the Communist Party has requested the state organizations of the Party all over the country to organize special neighborhood and house parties on June 12, 1941 to listen to the broadcast of Congressman V.M., who was scheduled to talk on the subject "There Shall Be No Gestapo in America".

100-2977-19, Page 18: The report of Special Agent JOHN C. BILLS dated June 28, 1941 at Chicago, Illinois, entitled "COMMUNIST PARTY ACTIVITIES, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS AREA, DISTRICT NUMBER 8; INTERNAL SECURITY - C". This report reflects that on June 5, 1941 MORRIS CHILDS was in New York and that he was to confer with V.M., ROBERT MINOR, and JOSEPH CURRAN.

65-7471-651, Page 15: Report of Special Agent JOHN C. BILLS dated August 13, 1941 at Chicago, Illinois on the same subject matter as above. This report indicates that, according to Confidential Informant [REDACTED] at a Communist Party meeting held on July 9, 1941 a man named EBBETTS, reported to be an agent of the Amtorg Trading Corporation, gave GERTRUDE DENTON, of the Communist Party, two letters and a large manila envelope, which were alleged to be from V.M.

67-OB-10940: A copy of a letter dated July 22, 1941 from the New York office to the Honorable V.M., House of Representatives, Washington, D. C. This letter acknowledged receipt of V.M.'S letter dated July 14, 1941 on behalf of JACK KABLER, of New York City, who had applied for a clerical position in the New York office of the F.B.I. V.M. was advised that the applicant would be given consideration in the event it was found possible to utilize the services of one having his qualifications.

100-4931-755: A teletype to the Bureau dated July 19, 1941 re: "COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A.; INTERNAL SECURITY, ESPIONAGE - R". This teletype advised that the Communist Party is to urge V.M. and his followers to make at least one public statement on the Soviet Union; that once

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he did this, the natural course of events would bring him in.

100-4931-794: A personal and confidential memorandum for the file dated July 23, 1941 to the effect that the Assistant Director desired a verbatim transcript of a conversation between JOY HUDSON and GIL GREEN, in which reference was made to V.M. and the Communist Party.

100-4931-810: A letter to the Director dated July 29, 1941 on the same subject matter, in which reference was made to a booklet turned in by a confidential informant, which was being enclosed and which contained a speech made by Congressman V.M.

100-53054-9: A letter to the Director dated February 15, 1944 from the San Francisco office re: "ELMER HANOFF; INTERNAL SECURITY-C". This letter advises that Confidential Informant SF 1175 furnished the San Francisco office with documents concerning the above captioned, and that the original documents are being retained in the files of the San Francisco Field Division. Photostatic copies of same, received by the New York Field Division, are set forth as follows:

Letter from FRANCIS BIDDLE, the Attorney General, dated July 29, 1941 to V.M., House of Representatives, set forth in part as follows:

"This acknowledges your letter of July 8th requesting that ELMER HANOFF, now being detained by the Immigration authorities at San Francisco, be released under bond.

"In reply I desire to say that the records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service indicate that on March 3, 1940 deportation proceedings were instituted against HANOFF and that on December 8, 1930, a warrant issued for his deportation to Russia on the following grounds:"

The pertinent parts of the reason given

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by the Attorney General are as follows: That he was found in the United States in violation of the Immigration Act of October 6, 1918 as amended; that he is a member of an organization that believes in, advises, advocates, and teaches the overthrow by force or violence of the government of the United States, etc.

In conclusion the Attorney General stated, "In view of the foregoing considerations, I do not feel warranted in directing HANOFF'S release on parole.

"Francis Biddle,  
Acting Attorney General"

The second photostatic copy was of a letter from V.M. to MINI CARSON, San Francisco, California dated July 31, 1941. This letter was sent to MINI CARSON addressed to the International Labor Defense, 83 McAllister Street, San Francisco, California. The contents of this letter are as follows:

"Enclosed please find copy of a letter which I have received from the Attorney General in regard to Mr. ELMER HANOFF, which speaks for itself.

"This is outrageous, but, as you know, under the law the Immigration authorities can hold a person for a reasonable length of time. Most courts hold ninety days a reasonable length of time. If he is not released within ninety days, then you should apply for a writ of habeas corpus to have him released.

"V.M.                                   "

100-31386-3: A confidential letter to the Director dated July 30, 1941 re: ~~TRADE UNION COMMITTEE TO ELECT WIN THE WAR CANDIDATES;~~ INTERNAL SECURITY - C". This letter advises that, according to Confidential Informant ND 119, one of the primary purposes of the aforementioned organization is to work for the reelection of V.M.

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100-31386-4: A report of the same informant on the same subject matter as above advising that V.M. was scheduled to speak on August 4, 1941 before the Trade Union Committee to Elect Win the War Candidates at the Pennsylvania Hotel in New York City. The chairman of the meeting, according to this report, is to be MICHAEL J. QUILL, president of the Transport Workers Union.

100-31386-7: Report of the same informant on the same organization advising that a mass rally was held at the Oddfellows Temple in New York City on August 7, 1941, at which time V.M. spoke. MICHAEL J. QUILL was chairman of this meeting. In his speech V.M. made a hysterical attack on those persons who branded him as a "Red", calling them "Hitler stooges" and "agents of Fascism". He also stated that he would rather "be Red than yellow", and that if defense of the people "makes me a Red, then let it stand at that". He answered the charges that he was an Isolationist before Russia was attacked by saying that he would stand on his record in support of defense measures and his consistent fight against Fascism. He assured the gathering that he would continue to fight vigorously for a second front. He urged all those present to enlist the aid of friends and relatives to work for and support him in the coming election.

65-6386-503, Pages 37, 38: Report of Special Agent W. L. SHEETS dated August 7, 1941 at New York, N. Y. entitled "AMERICAN PEACE MOBILIZATION; INTERNAL SECURITY - R". This report advises that from pamphlets published by the A.P.M. it was ascertained that V.M. is a national officer of the A.P.M. The following pertinent information appears in this file:

V.M. is listed as the national vice chairman of the A.P.M., and as such the following background is set out on V.M.; president of the International Labor Defense since 1937 (D.W. 6/22/37); member of International Workers Order since 1938 (D.W. 2/10/38); received support of Communist Party in 1936 election (D.W. 11/3/36).

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This report further reflects that V.M. was the principal speaker at the E.P.M. meeting in Chicago, and that he was the vice chairman of the National Conference for Constitutional Liberties; that he was an endorser for the Committee for the Release of International Volunteers in Spanish and French Prison Camps; that he was on the Peoples Committee Against Hearst and the American League Against War and Fascism.

According to this report, he is also listed as a sponsor on the letterhead of the Committee to Defend America by Keeping Out of the War. He was the introducer of Communist sponsored legislation into Congress; and the signer of a cable to the president of Brazil protesting the imprisonment of Communist LUIZ PRESTES (1937).

The report further reflects that the Chicago Communist leaders boasted that he could be counted upon to block some 70-odd anti-alien bills in Congress (June, 1940). He was the sponsor, according to this report, of the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born; sponsor for the Conference of Constitutional Liberties in America, Washington, D.C., June 7, 1940; in November of 1936 American Mercury Magazine characterized V.M. as the first Communist member of Congress. The report also reflects that he was a sponsor of Communist Mother Bloor's 75th Birthday Anniversary Souvenir Book; that he was a member of the National Committee of the American League for Peace and Democracy, and also a member of the Committee of Executive Sponsors for the anti-war dinner given by the Henry Barbusse Memorial Committee (Communists).

This report further reflects that, according to Confidential Informant [REDACTED] "The first time I heard this man address an audience was at a demonstration held on the steps of the Capitol Building in Washington. At this time I was amazed to hear a man who was a member of a federal legislative body address a large group of people in the manner of one leading the masses against the oppressor. He used all the techniques of inciting the crowd into a conflict with the police who were present. It is interesting to note that every resolution he has ever offered on the floor



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"of the House of Representatives has been printed both by A.P.M. and the Communist Party and offered at the same time to the members of both organizations. Every time I have heard him speak he has always carried out to the letter the then prevalent policy of the Communist Party, sometimes even before these policies have been announced to the members of the Party. I am convinced that he is what is termed a functionary member of the Party; ie. one who does not visibly participate in the activities of the Party or expose himself by attending Party meetings as such."

65-7504-56: A memorandum for the file dated August 18, 1941 re: "ITALIAN SECRET POLICE IN THE U. S., [REDACTED], Informant; ESPIONAGE - I". This memorandum reflects that, according to this informant, one ROCCO LAMATTINA, who is described by this informant as a "fierce Fascist", was to see V.M., who had also requested to see him.

65-7504-67: A personal and confidential letter to the Director dated August 28, 1941 re: the same subject matter as above. This report advises that V.M. met with ROCCO LAMATTINA, a reported Fascist, on August 18, 1941, and that V.M., according to this same informant, liked him very much and wished to see him again.

This confidential informant further advised that according to LAMATTINA, V.M. has given up his Communist belief and has awakened to the fact that he is really an Italian; that V.M. believes that Russia's doom is sealed and that no nation on earth can beat Italy and Germany. This informant further advises that V.M. is professing great love for the land of his father and is willing to become, if he has not already become, an active Fascist. Informant further advises that LAMATTINA is going to see V.M. on August 28, 1941.

65-7504-114: A memorandum for the file dated September 25, 1941 re: "ITALIAN SECRET POLICE IN THE U. S., [REDACTED], Informant; ESPIONAGE - I". This memorandum reflects the following: On September 4, 1941 [REDACTED] submitted to Special Agent L. J. QUINN a photostatic copy of a letter dated August 29, 1941 addressed to Dr. R. C. SENISE,

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which letter was signed by Representative V.M.

The letter advises Dr. SENISE that at the request of ROCCO LAMATTINA he has taken up "this matter with the Secretary of the Department of Commerce". This letter refers to the attempts of FRANK R. to secure a permit from the Department of Commerce to allow him to import liquors from the Antartica Paulista of Sao Paulo, Brazil, which organization has requested him to become its exclusive agent in the United States, Canada, and Mexico.

39-163-46: Report of Confidential Informant [redacted] dated September 29, 1941. This report advises that a rally was held at Madison Square Garden under the auspices of the Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder. According to this report, there were 20,000 people present, and another 5,000 people were on the outside.

ROBERT DUNN, according to this informant, who is a member of the American Civil Liberties Union, acted as chairman of the meeting. MAX YERGAN, president of the "ational Negro Congress, was the first speaker, and he was followed by SALVATORE C. CAMPO, Chilean Congressman and General Secretary of the Chilean Federation of Labor. He was escorted to the speaker's stand by DAVE GREEN, who is the New York state secretary of the International Workers Order. The next speaker to be escorted to the stand was WARREN K. BILLINGS, who had as his escort HERBERT BENJAMIN, who is the educational director of the I.W.O., and ANGELO HERNDON, who is a leading Communist. This man lashed out with a vicious attack against the F.B.I., stating to the effect, "Where are they (meaning the F.B.I.) now when we are surrounded with appeasers and fifth columnists? I'll tell you where they are. They have crawled back in their holes and pulled the dirt over them." According to the informant, this statement received a great ovation.

This report further reflects that ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN then made the collection speech, which, by all indications, was a huge success.

According to this report, the speakers were

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FERDINAND SMITH, of the N.M.U.; MAX YERGAN, of the National Negro Congress; MILTON WOLFF, of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade; PAUL ROBESON, famed singer; Reverend WILLIAM SPOFFORD; SIDNEY OSMAN, of Local 65, Warehousemen's Union; and BEN GOLD, of the Fur and Leather Workers Union. This informant also stated that V.M. made the concluding speech of the evening.

100-2977-49: Report of Special Agent JOHN C. BILLS dated October 20, 1941 at Chicago entitled "COMMUNIST PARTY ACTIVITIES, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS AREA, DISTRICT NUMBER 8; INTERNAL SECURITY - C". This report reflects that BOB WIRTZ had come east to confer with V.M. on matters of great importance to the midwest districts.

100-4931-1232: Report of Confidential Informant [REDACTED] dated October 25, 1941. This report states in effect that at an anti-Hitler rally at Madison Square Garden sponsored by the Greater New York Industrial Council of the C.I.O. and the Left Wing of the A.F. of L. labor unions, there were at least 50,000 people present. This confidential informant also advises that this was a regular Communist rally, and that comrades were busy circulating petitions calling on the president to release Earl Browder. This informant advises that all the speeches were along this same line, depicting the valor of the Red Army and urging the opening of a second front.

The speakers, according to the informant, were V.M.; Mayor LA GUARDIA; Rabbi STEPHEN WISE; LEON LANNEY; JOSEPH CURRAN; MICHAEL QUILL; SALVATORE CAMPO; and GEORGE BROWN. Also sitting at the speakers' table were BEN GOLD; FERDINAND SMITH; ARTHUR OSMAN; and AUSTIN-HOGAN.

100-4931-1538: An O.N.I. report dated November 21, 1941 reflecting that V.M. is one of the leaders of the movement to intensify the drive among the Negroes. The Harlem Legislative Conference and the National Negro Congress are the organizations that will press the campaign. It is alleged, according to this report, to be Communist sponsored.

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100-4931-1360: Report of Confidential Informant [redacted] dated November 24, 1941. This report lists front organizations of the Communist Party and the people most active in them. The name of V.M. was listed. The names of these front organizations, as listed by the Confidential Informant, follow: The American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy; Conference on Inalienable Rights; The American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born; The United American Spanish Aid Committee; Camp Wo-Chi-Ca; The Russian War Relief; and the Trade Union Conference Against the High Cost of Living.

100-9254-10, Page 15: Report of Special Agent ELMER W. PARRISH dated February 4, 1942 at Butte, Montana, entitled "COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE STATE OF MONTANA; INTERNAL SECURITY - C". This report reflects that, according to Confidential Informant BM 6, one ROSENBERG, described as a New York Party functionary, was in the state of Montana from December 8 to about December 13, 1941. ROSENBERG is alleged to have said that V.M. is so close to being a Communist Party member that "we call him a comrade". From this, according to the confidential informant, it is to be assumed that V.M. is a member of the Party.

100-4931-Subfile H 48: Report of Confidential Informant [redacted] dated December 15, 1941. According to this report, under date of December 15, 1941 there was a "Defend America Rally" held at the Madison Square Park, sponsored by the Greater New York Council of the C.I.O. Speakers were listed as V.M.; Lt. Governor POLETTI; Mayor LA GUARDIA; ALLAN HAYWOOD; SAUL MILLS; BEN GOLD; MIKE QUILL; JOE CURRAN; Mrs. BORDEN HARRIMAN; ADAM CLAYTON POWELL. According to this confidential informant, this was a regular Communist turn-out. When LA GUARDIA extolled the fighting courage of the Red Army the crowd gave him a standing ovation lasting five minutes. Telegrams were received from Mrs. ELEANOR ROOSEVELT; HAROLD ICKES; MAXIM LITVINOV; WENDELL WILLKIE; and PHIL MURRAY. According to the informant, the Daily Worker was sold inside and outside of the rally.

100-12084-6, Pages 3, 5: Report of Special Agent L. O. PRIOR dated December 23, 1941 at New York, N. Y. entitled "THE NEW YORK

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"CONFERENCE FOR INALIENABLE RIGHTS, formerly known as The Greater New York Conference on Inalienable Rights, the Greater New York Emergency Committee on Inalienable Rights; INTERNAL SECURITY - C". This report reflects the name of V.M. as one of a long list of sponsors of the above organization. Purposes of this organization are set forth as being for racial equality, protection of the foreign born, civil rights of Communists, rights of labor, etc.

According to this report, prior to the invasion of Russia, the organization advocated legislation to protect the peace of the United States. After Russia was invaded it advocated increase of national defense efforts for the defeat of Hitlerism. V.M. was also listed as a speaker for the panel on organizing our neighborhoods for democratic action.

100-2977-55, Page 6: Report of Special Agent J. F. DESMOND dated December 24, 1941 at Chicago, Illinois entitled "COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A., CHICAGO, ILLINOIS AREA, DISTRICT NUMBER 8; INTERNAL SECURITY - C". This report reflects that according to Confidential Informant CGO 11, under date of December 14, 1941 a dinner was held in honor of Congressman V.M. at the "Hoe Sai Gae Restaurant" in Chicago by the Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder. According to this report, V.M. did not appear and sent a wire stating that he was unable to leave his post in Washington. The speakers at this dinner were listed as MORRIS CHILDS; PEARL HART; SEYMOUR STEDMAN; and WILLIAM PATTERSON.

100-4931-1414: A confidential letter to the Director dated December 24, 1941 re: "COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A.; INTERNAL SECURITY, ESPIONAGE - R". This letter advised that on December 19, 1941 an article appeared on the front page of the Daily Worker stating that on December 18, 1941 V.M., American Labor Party Congressman from New York, presented to the Attorney General petitions signed by 200,000 persons requesting President Roosevelt to grant immediate executive clemency to Earl Browder.

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100-4931-1467: A letter to the Director dated December 27, 1941 re: the same subject matter as above. With this letter there was forwarded to the Bureau a booklet by Congressman V.M. entitled "Should America Go To War?"

65-2020-18377: A memorandum for the file dated December 29, 1941 re: "----- GROUPE; INTERNAL SECURITY - G", advising that EDWARD MC RAE, Negro, reported the aforementioned as allegedly engaged in un-American activities. MC RAE advised that he went to the residence of this person with a letter of recommendation from V.M. for a butler's position and believes that he was turned down because of this letter from V.M.

97-169-1 A 6: The following information was taken from this file, which contains the Daily Worker indices for the year of 1941:

March 7, 1941, Page 1, Column 5: This article reflects the fact that V.M. attacked the war moves of the administration in a speech made before the C.I.O. unionists at Manhattan Center on March 6, 1941. JOSEPH CURRAN, president of the National Maritime Union, also addressed this organization.

March 20, 1941, Page 1, Column 3: In this article V.M. attacked the passage of the Appropriations Bill for war supplies to Great Britain, stating that Congress was flouting the will of the people to stay out of "imperialistic war".

March 31, 1941, Page 1, Column 3: According to this article, V.M. made a speech before the East Side Peoples Conference, which met for the purpose of planning a program of action against imperialistic war.

March 31, 1941, Page 4, Column 2: This article reflects that at a dinner of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, V.M. was presented with a special medal by ROCKLAND KENT, for his work in defending and protecting rights of the foreign born.

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April 1, 1941, Page 2, Column 6: This article relates that V.M. is to speak before the American Peace Mobilization to be held at Randall's Island on April 5, 1941.

April 4, 1941, Page 5, Column 5: This article states that V.M., as president of the International Labor Defense, will speak before the third biennial national conference of the I.L.D.

April 5, 1941, Page 1, Column 5: This article reflects that V.M. addressed the American Peace Mobilization meeting at Randall's Island .

April 10, 1941, Page 5, Column 3: This article reflects that a drive is being sponsored by the Jewish Peoples Committee to have 100,000 people write to Congressman SUMNERS to pass the MARCAN-TONIO Anti-Discrimination Bill.

May 24, 1941, Page 1, Column 2: This article advises to the effect that V.M. is to speak over the N.B.C. network on a coast to coast hook-up on May 30, 1941, at which time he is to tell the president how American people feel about war and peace.

May 27, 1941, Page 3: Contains a photograph of V.M. and a notation to the effect that he attended the Workers Alliance parley.

June 13, 1941, Page 4, Column 7: In this article V.M. made a speech attacking the F.B.I. and the Anti-Alien Drive.

June 20, 1941, Page 4: This article advises that V.M., president of the International Labor Defense, appealed for funds to defend Mrs. ~~JNA~~ WOODS in the Oklahoma case.

June 24, 1941, Page 3, Column 6: According to this article, V.M. will speak at the opening rally of the American Youth Congress in Philadelphia on July 3, 1941.

July 3, 1941, Page 3: Announces the fact that

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V.M. was a speaker at the American Youth Congress held in Philadelphia.

July 10, 1941, and July 12, 1941: Both of these articles reflect the fact that V.M. is to address the American Labor Party convention in New York City.

November 29, 1941, Page 1, Column 3: Contains a photograph of V.M. and an article to the effect that V.M. urges the president to call a parley to determine the maximum production needs of this country.

December 19, 1941, Page 1, Column 1: Relates the fact that V.M. obtained 200,000 signatures to a petition to free Earl Browder, which he sent to the Attorney General.

The following information was taken from serials containing news clippings of papers in New York City:

100-4931-NP 58: A clipping from the New York Evening Journal American dated February 25, 1941, which reflected the following:

"Denounced as an out-and-out Communist, Representative V.M. was officially read out of the American Labor Party today."

This article goes on to state that V.M. was the target of a bitter attack by State Chairman LUIGI ANTONINI when he denounced V.M. as being "part and parcel of the Communist Party".

According to this article, 400 members of the American Labor Party met at a city-wide conference held at the Hotel Capitol, New York City, on February 25, 1941 and repudiated V.M. as an A.L.P. spokesman.

100-4931-NP 3: A news clipping from the New York Times dated March 8, 1941 reflecting the fact that V.M. was to be a speaker at a common mass meeting to be held at the Mecca



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Temple on March 9, 1941.

100-4931-19; A clipping dated April 7, 1941 from PM, a New York daily. This clipping contained a photograph of V.M. showing him making a speech and which was captioned "Hail Democracy". This article was headed "A.P.M. Votes Against A.E.F., Convoys, War". The article continued as follows;

"An organization called American Peace Mobilization with delegates from 43 states ended a two-day talk meeting at Mecca Temple last night and passed the following resolutions: No convoys to Britain, no A.E.F., no military alliance with England. Get out and stay out of the war. Take the burden of war off the backs of the poor. Conscript wealth, confiscate war profits. Let our foreign policy wage peace. Keep friendly relations with Latin America. No help to China's foes. Keep up friendly relations with the Soviet Union to prevent extension of war.

"Representative V.M. (A.L.P., N.Y.), who has voted against every defense measure wound up the convention with an attack upon F.D.R., shouting, 'I say to him that those who are fighting for peace and against appeasement and a Hitler-Rome-Tokyo Axis are also fighting a Roosevelt-Downing Street Axis.'"

100-2872-268; A clipping from the New York Evening Journal American dated June 25, 1941. This article, captioned "MARCANTONIO - REDS DRIVE ON SCHOOL PROBE", states in part as follows:

"Following the strict Communist Party line, agitators in Harlem have begun an intensive drive against the Joint Legislative Committee to Investigate Subversive Activities in the public schools. Playing an active role in the attack on the Rapp-Coudert Legislative Committee is Representative V.M. of the 20th Congressional District.

"V.M., labelled as a Communist follower by LUIGI ANTONINI, State

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"Chairman of the American Labor Party, as well as by the Dies Committee in Congress, was the principal speaker at a mass meeting last week at Park Palace, 110th Street and 5th Avenue, which was featured by verbal attacks on the Rapp-Coudert Committee."

Under the heading of "Repudiated by A.L.P." the article continues:

"In the last Congressional campaign, when he was repudiated by the American Labor Party, which he continues to claim as his political party affiliation, his defeat was urged by WILLIAM GREEN, president of the American Federation of Labor, who said, 'We know MARCANTONIO here in Washington, and we know his Communist leanings, his sympathies with present policies supported by the Communists, and his general attitude towards wise and wholesome legislation.'"

The article continues, "The Daily Worker, in editorial tribute to V.M., referred to him as the 'Party spokesman'.

"Under frequent fire when former members of the Communist Party appeared as witnesses before the Dies Committee, V.M. has been listed as either an officer or member of no less than 25 organizations branded as Communist controlled or Communist fronts."

Under the caption of "Follows Reds' Program", the article continues:

"MARCANTONIO'S activity in the present attempt to arouse hatred for the Rapp-Coudert Committee follows closely the Communist program for constant agitation, and is in line with many of his efforts in the past which have brought him notoriety and publicity.

"Rioting in a Madison Square demonstration in 1937 led to the arrest of MARCANTONIO and twelve other ringleaders.

"When the 'sit down' strikers attempted to seize twenty-nine relief stations of New York City MARCANTONIO was their defender and spokesman.

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"When the Communist Party still retained an official place on the New York State ballot, MARCANTONIO was endorsed as the Party candidate for Congress in 1938.

"And as recently as June 7th, MARCANTONIO, speaking before the fourth American Writers Congress, labelled a Communist controlled body, deplored present day attacks on Communists."

Under the caption "Address Communists" the article continues:

"When the International Workers Order, branded by the Dies Committee as the 'Number 2 Communist front' in the United States, met, MARCANTONIO was principal speaker.

"When the American Students Union, branded as a Communist controlled organization, met, MARCANTONIO was principal speaker.

"When the American Peace Mobilization Group, classified as another Communist inspired organization, met, MARCANTONIO was principal speaker."

54-144-2272: A clipping from the New York Herald Tribune dated October 3, 1941. This article, captioned "A.L.P. Chooses MARCANTONIO as County Leader", advises in part that the New York County Committee of the American Labor Party held its 1941 organization meeting with the majority Left Wing delegates electing as new County Chairman Representative V.M. of the 20th Congressional District.

This article further reflects that the session was marked by a mild disorder and the mass walk-out of 267 minority Right Wing delegates of the American Labor Party. This article also reflects that EUGENE P. CONNOLLY, who was the previous chairman, had stepped down to the post of secretary, and at the same time was designated as one of two American Labor Party candidates for the City Council from Manhattan. The other designee was MAX YERGAN, a Negro educator.

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54-144-2315: A clipping from the Daily Worker dated September 13, 1941 submitted by the St. Paul Field Division, which received it from Attorney HARRY K. DAVIS, Duluth, Minnesota. This clipping, headed "MARCANTONIO Speaks for Labor", states in part that the speech of V.M. at the Coney Island Velodrome marked him once more as a courageous representative of his district of the American workers.

This article characterized V.M.'S stand for defense of his country as courageous and strong action in this grave crisis, and as an historic expression of the time and the interests of the nation. It stated that his declaration of support for the building of the American Army and Navy through the democratic system of universal duty of national defense is a position worthy of the record of the man who cast the one and only vote against the war appropriations bill of the earlier period when such a measure was tied up with "imperialistic" rather than true national defense aims. The article further states that the Daily Worker "makes this acknowledgement all the more willingly because it had previously had occasion to differ with Mr. MARCANTONIO on the question of his vote against the draft extension bill."

1000-OA-467: A clipping from the New York Daily Mirror dated November 15, 1941, headed, "MARCANTONIO, His Eyes Left, About Faces". This article in part states that Congress has had many laughs at the expense of V.M. in recent months, following his loud "Yes" for neutrality revision. This article continues:

record shows unbroken opposition to Roosevelt's policy of all-out aid until Hitler invaded Russia.

"He voted against Selective Service Draft, against Lend-Lease, and against the four billion dollar Army bill.

"In a Madison Square Garden speech March 22, 1941 he assailed newspapers that reported the latter bill had passed unanimously.

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invasion of Finland, and the Soviet-Nazi Pact. They are at the same time, according to this report, championing themselves as supporters of the American war effort.

100-53054-1: Letter to the Director dated May 18, 1943 from the Detroit office advising that a letter was recovered in the waste paper basket of the Communist Party headquarters in Detroit, dated March 5, 1942, which was addressed to V.M., Washington, D. C., and which was from one "PAT", believed to be PAT TOOHEY, Michigan state secretary of the Communist Party.

This letter briefly concerned itself with a "pro-Fascist and vicious speech" in the House by Congressman TENEROWICZ on February 27, 1942 in connection with the Sojourner Truth Housing Project in Detroit. In this letter PAT requests advice from V.M. as to whether or not an authoritative person or investigator could request examination of the material used by TENEROWICZ, as well as a list of his informants in this case, or whether it would be possible to demand the presentation of this material.

100-4931-1700: Report of Confidential Informant [REDACTED] dated March 6, 1942. This report reflects that the Communist Party is conducting a book auction in the Piccadilly Hotel, at which time the original copy of "Moscow Mission", donated by former ambassador to Russia, JOSEPH E. DAVIES, will be offered for sale, auction to be conducted by V.M. and SAMUEL NEUBURGER, representing the International Labor Defense.

It is expected, according to the informant, that this auction will raise quite a sum of money for those who have been sent to jail in the "Oklahoma book trials".

100-7169-136, Page 68: Report of Special Agent JOHN G. KEENAN dated January 10, 1944 at New York, N. Y. entitled "NEW YORK WORKERS SCHOOL; INTERNAL SECURITY - C". This report reflects that, according to Confidential Informant ND 112, SENDER GARLIN gave a lecture on March 9, 1942 before the New York Workers School, at which time he spoke on TOM MOONEY'S death. It is reported that he condemned the capitalistic

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press for its handling of the matter as a sensational story, rather than a victory for labor and the Communist Party in obtaining freedom for MOONEY, stating that credit for the victory must be given LENIN, who first called attention of the world to MOONEY'S "frame-up". According to this report, GARLIN is also said to have denounced "PM" for its editorial attacking the Communist Party and also for its article denouncing Representative V.M. and his "poverty beleaguered constituency". He also spoke of the second front as being a necessity.

100-9786-6; Page 25: Report of Special Agent J. B. GRAY dated March 19, 1942 at Oklahoma City, Oklahoma entitled "COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN OKLAHOMA; INTERNAL SECURITY - C". According to this report, Confidential Informant OC 182 advised that V.M. is apparently author of a Round Robin Letter to Attorney General FRANCIS BIDDLE concerning the OGLETHORPE County, Georgia Peonage Cases. According to this report, another letter over V.M.'S signature calls attention to the enclosed Round Robin Letter advising the recipient that 1,000 prominent persons in various parts of the country, including white and Negro leaders, are being solicited to join in signing the letter, which is to be presented to the Attorney General.

100-9786-6, Page 58: Report of the same agent on the same subject matter as above, reflecting that, according to the same informant, a letter was sent to Miss NENA BETH STAPP, Room 317 Empire Building, Oklahoma City Headquarters of the Oklahoma Committee to Defend Political Prisoners, and which is also the office of ALLAN SHAW, Oklahoma City secretary of the Communist Party, by one "LIMEY", Room 204, 112 19th Street, New York City, the date of the letter being February 27, 1942. A postscript in this letter requested the actual clippings from the Daily Oklahoman dated February 25, 1942 on K.K.K. and Dies, to be sent to V.M. by airmail. It will be noted that the return address given by "LIMEY" was that of the offices of the International Labor Defense and also that of V.M. and ANNA DAMON.

100-47403-261, Page 3: Report of Special Agent S. PAUL FERRIN dated June 8, 1942 at New York, N. Y. entitled "COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A.;

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"VOORHIS ACT". This report indicates that a letter written by ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN was received by the Columbia Broadcasting System under date of March 25, 1942 requesting fifteen minutes on the air for V.M. and Professor HENRY PRATT FAIRCHILD, of New York University, said broadcast to take place on March 28, 1942 from Manhattan Center, New York City. According to this report, this letter was written on the letterhead of the Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder, 1113 Broadway, New York City.

19-2-281: Letter dated April 8, 1942 to the Washington Field Division enclosing a copy of a cable intercepted by the Radio and Cable Censorship, New York City, from V.M., Washington, D. C., to [REDACTED] of the United Railroad Workers Union, Ponce, Puerto Rico.

100-2977-60, Page 13: Report of Special Agent JOHN C. BILLS, dated April 27, 1942 at Chicago, Illinois entitled "COMMUNIST PARTY ACTIVITIES IN CHICAGO ILLINOIS AREA, DISTRICT NUMBER 8; INTERNAL SECURITY - C", reflecting that BOB WIRTZ had just returned from seeing V.M. and PETER V. CACCHIONE. According to this report, WIRTZ and CACCHIONE had just learned that Communist Party members were being eliminated from federal jobs.

100-47403-236, Page 51: Report of Special Agent GEORGE J. STARR dated April 27, 1942 at New York, N. Y. entitled "COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A.; VOORHIS ACT". This report reflects that EARL BROWDER, when interviewed by Bureau agents at the Federal Penitentiary at Atlanta, Georgia, stated that he had been visited by Congressman V.M., with whom he had had fifteen minutes conversation.

100-13336-17, Pages 14, 18: Report of Special Agent CHARLES J. MC CREADY dated November 21, 1944 at New York, N. Y. entitled "AMANCIO RODRIGUES ROMAN, with aliases; INTERNAL SECURITY - C". This report reflects that it was ascertained through Confidential Informant T-2 [REDACTED] that under date of May 1, 1942, V.M. and Assemblyman HULAN JACK were listed as sponsors of the Free Browder Committee.

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100-47315-3916, Page 33: A personal and confidential report of Special Agent HERMAN O. BLY dated October 27, 1944 at New York, N. Y. entitled "~~COMINTERN APPARATUS; INTERNAL SECURITY - R~~". According to this report, V.M. was listed as a speaker at the May Day Rally held at the Yankee Stadium on May 2, 1942 under the auspices of the Labor for Unity and Victory Committee. Other speakers were PAUL ROBESON, FERDINAND C. SMITH, and GENEVIEVE TABOUIS.

100-4931-2044, Page 16: A confidential letter to the Director dated May 15, 1942 re: "COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A.; INTERNAL SECURITY, ESPIONAGE - R". This letter reflects that V.M. is national vice chairman of the American People's Mobilization; president of the International Labor Defense; sponsor of the Congress of New York Youth; sponsor of the New York State Conference on Legislation for Democracy; and faculty member of the School for Democracy. In this letter a notation was made to the effect that due to V.M.'S position as member of Congress, no investigation has been conducted by this office of his activities; that all information noted had come to the attention of this office from outside sources.

65-4309-11495: A confidential report from ONI dated May 23, 1942 re: "V.M., New York City". This report refers to V.M. as a Communist Congressman from New York with an American Labor Party label. This report goes on to say that he has been endorsed for reelection by the Greater New York Industrial Council.

65-4309-12042: A confidential report from ONI dated June 6, 1942 re: "V.M., Washington, D. C.". This report reflects that THOMAS J. CURRAN, New York County Republican Chairman, made an announcement to the effect that V.M. will not be endorsed for reelection by the Republican Party.

100-26603-134, Page 8: Confidential report of Special Agent JEROME M. GARLAND dated July 21, 1942 at New York, N. Y. entitled "COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A., DISTRICT NUMBER 2, NEW YORK FIELD DIVISION;



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"INTERNAL SECURITY - R". This report reflects that Confidential Informant NYT 25 advised, under date of June 9, 1942, that an individual named MARY, who is connected with some Italian newspaper in New York City, conferred with ISRAEL AMTER concerning the parade to be held in New York City on June 13, 1942. This individual, MARY, further stated that she was having DAVE GREEN of the I.W.O. contact V.M. to put pressure on the head man (believed to be Mayor LA GUARDIA) as no one else will listen to V.M. except LA GUARDIA. AMTER in turn informed MARY to contact V.M.'S brother, who is on the Trade Union Committee, inasmuch as some one may try to keep the progressive Italians out of the parade.

100-26603-38: Report of Confidential Informant [redacted] dated June 13, 1942. This report reveals that on June 12, 1942 a victory mass meeting against discrimination was held at the Park Palace, New York City, under the auspices of the National Negro Congress, the Jewish Peoples Committee, and the Spanish I.W.O. Speakers were V.M.; A. CLAYTON POWELL; PETER V. CACCHIONE; EWERT GUINIER, who is the president of the New York District, State, County, and Municipal Workers of America; JESUS COLON, of the State Committee, I.W.O.; NAOMI KORNACKER, Executive Secretary, N.M.C.; SAMUEL PATTERSON, Executive Secretary, Harlem Community Council of the I.W.O.; JAMES ALLEN, N.A.A.C.P.; HOPE STEVENS, Harlem lawyer and president of the N. Y. Council, N.M.C. All speakers adhered closely to the Party line and dwelled on such subjects as the 20-year pact between Russia and England, the "democratic" nature of Russia, the western front, etc.

100-26603-57: Report of Confidential Informant [redacted] dated June 22, 1942, which advised that V.M. did not appear at the Furriers Joint Council Rally, where he was scheduled to speak. This was an outdoor rally presided over by IRVING POTASH, held for the purpose of raising funds for Russian War Relief.

100-27339-1: Report of Confidential Informant ND 119 dated June 26, 1942, which reflects that V.M. is to be the main speaker at the Trade Union and Peoples Victory Conference to be held in New York City on June 27, 1942. According to this informant, BEN DAVIS, JR.

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wrote an article for the Daily Worker criticizing the March on Washington Movement. He described this conference as a broadening of the Harlem Victory Council and said that it was aimed at meeting the March on Washington Movement in a positive way; that it is a "Herculean effort" to regain leadership over the millions of Negroes in America who are becoming radicalized as a result of the treatment received at the hands of reactionary employers and prejudiced individuals. The question was poised in this article, "Who shall lead the Negro masses, the petty bourgeoisie, social reformists leadership around A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, or the Communist Party?"

According to this Informant, V.M. has consistently supported every policy of the Communist Party and has participated in every front organization set up by the Party with the full knowledge that it was created by the Communist Party. It is further alleged by this informant that V.M. has been the spokesman for the Party in Congress on all issues; that he was generally considered by the Party members as a member of the Party; furthermore that he is the president of the International Labor Defense, which, according to this informant, is a Party defense organization that has for years been affiliated with the International Red Aid Headquarters in Moscow. It is further alleged that he works with ANNA DAMON, secretary of the International Labor Defense, who, for years, was head of the Women's Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. ANNA DAMON is considered one of the ablest members of the Party and a confidante of Earl Browder.

100-27339-4: Confidential letter to the Director dated June 29, 1942 re: "NEGRO LABOR FOR VICTORY COMMITTEE; INTERNAL SECURITY - C". There were transmitted with this letter copies of reports of Confidential Informant [redacted] dated June 27 and 28, 1943. These reports reflected that on June 28, 1942 a victory mass meeting was held at the Golden Gate Ballroom, New York City, which was sponsored by the above captioned organization. Speakers at this meeting were FERDINAND SMITH, who spoke for the N.M.U.; PAUL MC NUTT; and V.M., who appeared after MC NUTT had left the platform. V.M. praised the Soviet Union, China, and Great Britain, and attacked the appeasers in Washington who said that the Nazis would go through the Red Army like a knife through butter.

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100-2936-382: Confidential report of O.N.I. dated July 21, 1942 entitled "LA PROGRESSIVA, LODGE 3501, I.W.O., East Harlem, New York City". This report discloses that this organization held a function in honor of Congressman V.M. on June 28, 1942.

100-10220-14, Page 4: Report of Special Agent G. B. CRAWFORD dated June 29, 1942 at Louisville, Kentucky entitled "COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A., DISTRICT NUMBER 23, LOUISVILLE FIELD DIVISION; INTERNAL SECURITY-R". According to this report, Confidential Informant NC 5, under date of April 2, 1942, advised that V.M. was to introduce a resolution to free Earl Browder.

100-26603-159, Page 1: Confidential report of Special Agent JEROME M. GARLAND dated July 24, 1942 at New York, N. Y. entitled "COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A., DISTRICT NUMBER 2, NEW YORK FIELD DIVISION; INTERNAL SECURITY - R". This report reflects that, according to Confidential Informant NYT 25, under date of July 6, 1942, one CHARLIE (probably CHARLIE KEITH) conferred with AL LANNON, at which time LANNON suggested that his organization (it is not known whether the Waterfront Section of the Communist Party or the N.M.U. is referred to here) contribute about \$1,000 to MARK'S (probably V.M.) campaign.

100-26603-159, Page 4: Confidential report of Special Agent JEROME M. GARLAND dated July 24, 1942 at New York, N. Y. on the same subject matter as above, reflecting that, according to Confidential Informant NYT 25, under date of July 9, 1942, AL LANNON contacted MURRAY (probably M. HEDLEY STONE, alias MURRAY STEIN) at N.M.U. Headquarters, and advised that a meeting was being held that night and that MARC (probably V.M.) would be present.

100-26603-117: Confidential letter to the Director dated July 22, 1942 re: the same subject matter as above, advising that, according to Confidential Informant NYT 25, CARL BEDRO, of Communist