

Flamm, Irving H.
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November 5, 1947

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
Apartment 15-A
29 Washington Square West
New York 11, N. Y.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Thank you for your kindness in replying to my letter. You are quite right in saying that Tom Stokes' statement is a warning rather than a factual report on the Marshall Plan which is not yet in operation. But isn't that also true of the PCA statement? The important point is that vigilance and warnings are appropriate in view of the record: the Truman Doctrine, the known attitudes of many influential people around Mr. Truman; those who advocate aid to Britain only on condition that it reverse its trend towards socialization; those who would withhold aid to Czechoslovakia (a most democratic nation) because it is socializing the monopolies and the large basic industries; those who would send munitions and American armies against Greek and Chinese guerillas, etc. The people of the world including so-called Russian satellites want, not Communism, but more socialization of monopolies and basic industries, more equality, more opportunity, more democracy. Are we helping them or blocking them?

It may be that the Daily Worker, too, complains about all this. But you would not ignore facts on that account, especially when we have confirmation by non-Communists like Ingersoll, Del Vayo, Laski, Wallace, Corwin, Adamic, James Warburg and many others. Reporting on his recent world trip, Norman Corwin states that "we are suspected, disliked, resented and even hated" in countries where four years earlier Willkie found friendship for us. Many others have observed this growing coolness and distrust of our government since the death of your husband. Why? Surely it must have some connection with the Truman Doctrine, the "tough" policy against Russia, the constant parade of scare headlines in our press, the munitions we are sending to kill Greek and Chinese revolutionists, etc. How ironic! The great nation that was born in revolution and cradled in "radicalism" using its might to suppress rebellion abroad against the tyranny of concentrated economic power. Is it any wonder that many of us are worried about how the Marshall Plan will be administered?

The enclosed editorial by Adele Parker reminded me of your recent rebuke to Russia's name-calling envoys. It is unfortunate that Soviet representatives are so blunt and tactless. I am, however, impressed with Miss Parker's "worm-turning" explanation. She

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt

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was once a member of the Washington legislature, a teacher of political economy and civil government, and for three years foreign correspondent in Russia for International News Service and is now publisher of the Roosevelt-American in Seattle. To me her observations make good sense; and so do the enclosed items of Cowan and Spector in the same issue.

You say that Communism is not "democratic socialism". If you mean that Russia is not a true democracy, I am inclined to agree with you. We can only hope that it will move towards more democracy as time goes on, and I believe it will when the outside world seems less hostile and threatening. But apart from Russia (which does not claim to have Communism) wouldn't you agree that theoretical or philosophical Communism is an ideal based on genuine democracy and Christian ethics? I don't happen to believe in its practicability here, at least for many decades. (My own prejudice is for a semi-socialistic society which leaves considerable room for private enterprise). But at the moment I see that the real danger, not to Russian interests but to American interests and American liberals, comes from red-baiting and tolerance by some liberals of those elements whose attacks on the "Communist menace" are really smoke screens for a drive against all who work for liberalism and democratic socialism.

Those of us who are eager to preserve and improve our own democratic institutions cannot afford to be naive about the present situation. You must know that many fine Americans are smeared because of their honest convictions or, worse yet, scared to express them. That is why I was so eager to promote distribution and discussion of Commager's article. Until our "Un-American Committees" learn the meaning of democracy, ADA can serve as a safe shelter for liberals who are timid or cowed because they can't afford the smear. There should be some organization through which they can safely express themselves. For their sake it may be well for ADA to insulate itself against "communist infiltration". The danger is that a bigoted minority may pervert the organization and turn it into a weapon against liberalism and democracy. To me ADA's recent full page advertisement (New Republic, October 20th) read like the demagogic spiel of a clever huckster angling for the potential customers of a competitor. A public smear campaign against PCA because it differs on the Marshall Plan (and the differences are mainly in the choice of language to express the same thoughts) is anything but liberal. It violates Mr. Wyatt's "Creed for Liberalism". Such a war among people of good will can only have the effect of confusing and dividing the citizenry, diverting attention from the real issues and giving reaction a better chance for power.

After all, the gap in social outlook between ADA and PCA members (or even "fellow travelers" and "pro-Soviet liberals") is quite narrow compared to the gap between them and the reactionary ranks. Wouldn't it be tragic if warfare among liberals of varying

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Poole Eight

THE ROOSEVELT AMERICA

The Crying Pit

By WM. V. COWAN
Editor "Democrat," Boston, Wash.

I have recently been reading about two renegade American rebels. Samuel Adams was a chronic agitator. When the British soldiers marched to Lexington and Concord, it is claimed that they were chiefly interested in arresting him and sending him back to England to be tried and hung for sedition. He was the father of our Revolution.

John Hancock was another man the British hated to get their hands on for the same reason. Both men fanned the flames of the war, were crafty schemers, got the tea-laden ships of the British into Boston Harbor by artifice and then staged the famous tea party. I read the book with much interest because the antics of both old-time rebels were almost identical to the antics now being pulled off by some of the communists in this country. In fact, our American communists have nothing on old Sam Adams. He was constantly plotting trouble for the British just as the communists now plan trouble for the financiers and industrialists. The end, he thought, justified the trickery and deceit he sometimes resorted to in order to stir up the people and induce them to hate the British.

Truth is, we should all read a lot of history these days. It's the best way to understand what is now going on, helps to understand the trend of things; helps us to keep our thoughts on a more even keel than simple modern reading will permit.

Every report from the rest of the world is full of news of growing unrest, trouble, more turbulent bitterness and hatred unappreciated. Europe writes in socialism and may go communist if our money-bags continue to force it back toward free enterprise. There is no question but what conditions are growing gradually worse. Our whole foreign policy has been a failure. The "Marshall Plan" is but a shadowy imitation of the ill-fated "Truman Doctrine." It too will fail.

Like so many other Americans, I confess I am awfully alarmed over the whole messy picture. We are getting nowhere fast. Most men on the street merely echo what they have read in the yellow press. They think purely in terms of prejudice. Hatred is a scarce commodity these days. The man who tried to show the other side of the picture is hounded for two and less. He is at once a suspect. If he suggests that perhaps the Russians have some reasons for their antics, he is immediately dubbed a communist. In fact, the corporate press is trying hard to pin the red label onto every man and woman who is liberal or who is actually a Jackson Democrat; every man who really believes with Jefferson and Lincoln.

Andrew Jackson hated corporations and monopolies with a terrific hatred. He believed they would soon or late strangle democracy in this land. That was a hundred years ago, before a slavish supreme court treasonably held that a corporation was a "person" in the eyes of the constitution. It was a small matter, perhaps then, but it has since been used to enable corporations to gather the strength and power Jackson so feared them.

And that is what is the matter with the world today. Somehow the average man on the street cannot realize this fact, or obstinately refuses to realize it. If we abolished all international corporations, especially oil and money

corporations, there would be little talk of war today.

The only reason we are in Iran is because our big oil companies want the monopoly of those great oil fields.

The only reason we are in Greece is because British and American money-bags have large investments there.

Had the Bolsheviks not kicked free enterprise out of Russia and especially Russia since, Hitler Hoover would now be a billionaire. He hates them.

Had they not induced the Poles to do likewise, Secretary Harcourt would also be much richer than he is. He hates them.

General Motors and Ford had big factories before the war, not big factories in Germany, also in Hungary. They were used to help Hitler. The Russians captured them and took them to Poland and the Du Ponts had them.

British bankers, as well as American loaned millions to repaid and his industrialists in most countries in Europe. Since the war the communists in those countries have taken over much of the properties of those exploiters, and consequently are hated with the bitterness we see blossoming from the Hearst pages.

British and Americans made big loans to the fascists in Spain. That is why we can endure Franco and never peep about him, the most dictatorial and cruel despot in Europe—while we howl against Stalin. Also why we smile sweetly on Porro while we call Stalin a bloody tyrant.

We holler our heads off about improper voting in Poland and Europe and Asia today. American in American in Alabama or Mississippi. "China" means "the" guilty of more butchery, is the head of more ruffians than any other ruler in the world, by all odds, yet our nation is secretly aiding him, supplying him with war materials. Why? Because he has promised to permit our Big Boys to continue exploiting the Chinese masses.

It's a dirty picture the whole world over. We are spending billions to help the very fascists we were fighting two years ago; using those billions also to grind down millions of people who were fighting on our side. Why? Because our property lovers are fearful that more genuine democracy in the world would end their monopolistic pretensions abroad. If a democracy set communism they are really afraid of.

This is a language like. Men can do little by themselves individually. They must pool their resources and make joint adventures of any enterprise. The law books tell us that a corporation is a collective undertaking. It is a cooperative movement just as cooperatives are, or any other combination of men. They are different only in the eyes of the law. The statutes draw distinctions for the purpose of government. Our United States is a cooperative movement—"We, the people . . . establish this constitution." As I have said before, the Framers in our constitution is probably the most communistic, basic communistic document ever written. Each colony agreed to give the other a helping hand. All our people, by adopting the constitution, agreed to join in helping each other. It was a giant co-op movement. Democracy was guaranteed by this collective arrangement. In other words, getting down to brass tacks, democracy was backed by basic communism.

But that type of communism was a long way from Bolshevik, Bolshevik and Marxismism use basic communism for the purpose of bringing about a supposedly

"dictatorship of the proletariat" the workers. The actual practice is that it brings about the dictatorship of an inner clique, which is identical the same thing that happens in corporations, monopolies, cartels, and trusts. Human nature is human nature the world over. The color of the man, his breeding or lack of breeding, the name of the organization he belongs to, makes little difference. It is amusing to listen to Rotary or Kiwanis speakers lambast communism when their own organizations are themselves basically communistic affairs. Men are such inconsistent mortals. How the little imp of hell must tickle and gnaw over the hypocritical and ignorant monkeyism of such speakers!

And how Hill must rear with laughter when it hears man like John Foster Dulles using pious words before church conferences, talking in terms of Christianity and democracy in order to put over their schemes to make extra millions out of the suffering humanity!

For indeed, organized Christianity is challenged today as never before. More and more the masses are beginning to believe that Christianity today is merely an adjunct of capitalism. It has made a billionaire out of the lowly Jesus. It despises and fights against all the things He stood for, just as the Republican Party today despises and fights against all that Abraham Lincoln stood for; just as the reactionary Democrats today are against everything that Andrew Jackson stood for.

These are some of the reasons why we are hated by the Samuel Adames and John Hancock in Europe and Asia today. American Philosophy, teaching Christian piety and terms of democracy, is the imperialistic tool. It is aiming to monopolize the oil, steel and other resources of the earth. Just now it is being helped by both political parties in the United States. It has joined with the reactionary elements in every other part of the world in this gigantic conspiracy. And, who else man like Hearst and McCormick with their hired Hessians raise smoke screens against "red" American Philosophy edge gradually toward. It's a dirty picture in a rank atmosphere.

And the little imp smirk with their hompikes, and Old Nick joins in the rigodon!

Folks will starve this winter, little children will whine for bread. Old Bess has millions of millions of acres that produce food. But food rot in one corner of earth while folks die for lack of it in other corners. But let them starve! They are mere pagans. Profit must be made, our investments kept safe. The dear, sweet Christian Dollar is our god. It can be manufactured in such way, fantastic ways to make more dollars. Don't pity the Jew. It was their fault. Don't pity the poor. It is their own fault. Don't feel sorry for England or France. They are foolishly going socialist. Hate Russia; she's impossible. Let's cuddle the Nazis we don't prosecute. They will help Mr. Dulles and his crowd make more profit. Let's cuddle Landon and Faxon; they're such nice guys. After all, Hitler wasn't such a bad fellow. Look at Stalin, the old bastard. He won't let our Republican congressmen, who have been lining with reactionaries all over Europe, come to Russia to inspect its war-corn lands.

Yes, the hellish imp of war rattle sabers and muskets as they join the inferno dance.

W.V.C.
Marshall N. Dana, Portland: The peaceful spot in the world today is Japan.

WHAT THEY THINK OF US

Continued Alfred R. Bonheuer: The solicitude, courtesy and sincerity of your writers is an inspiration to anyone in public life who is concerned with the rights of the little fellow and the preservation of our American fundamentals of Government and Way of

Bill Cowen shouts from the hip, and generally with both hands, always hitting his mark. Dan McGovern's "Editorials" are gems of verbiage and masterpieces of fault in the friends and the cause. Harry Martin is his never (thunder) contributions an oldtimer who have served the people are of particular interest to those of us who have been in the ranks since the early days. And you, My Dear Editor, always have your head above the sea-level but your heart and thoughts with the lowliest. (I hope...)

Best wishes for a long and a useful one to the Roosevelt American and the sturdy souls who pour life into it.

Judge Amelia E. Griffiths, Sapp Lake: I wish Miss Parker would get the State to make Sapp Lake what it ought to be: an attractive and useful place for all ordinary people. (Thanks for the compliment. We'll do our best.)

Mrs. Ida May Keeling, Spokane: I send you \$1 to renew my subscription. I like the Roosevelt American very much.

Harry McDowd, Seattle: I read every word of your September issue. A good paper. (26 years in the typewriter business.)

John N. Wilson, Monroe Island: I don't want to miss an issue of your paper and never miss reading a word. (John is a native son and a former legislator from the 1st District.)

Mrs. Gertrude E. Larson, Shelby, Montana: Enclosed is a subscription to your very interesting little paper. My sister, who is in Seattle, sent us your August copy—the first and only one we had seen. Should you have any old issues on hand that you would care to send me I'll pass them round to my friends who are very good Roosevelt Democrats and this I am sure will be the means of some new subscribers for you. Needless to say we will look forward to the next issue.

Mrs. Ray Olson, Ogden: I am sending you two dollars to extend my subscription from date of expiration. I got a lot of pleasure from reading the Roosevelt American and wish to see it keep up its good work.

E. H. Parley, Woodland: Examining my date slip I found by subscription expired in August so I enclose \$2 to extend it for two years more or until you raise the price. I get more information that I need from your paper than from any other.

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The Old Order Cha

(Continued from Page 1)

At once America has demanded that the Russian government apologize.

The Russians sit back waiting for an apology from our side.

The general effect may be to clear the atmosphere, and reciprocal insults may cease.

Dr. Ivar Spector, Seattle: Russia should be studied in this country not through journalism and tourist literature, but from the scholarly point of view to eliminate the barrier of misunderstanding. For the present situation, I blame ignorance and prejudice fostered by disgruntled minority groups. As a representative of the University of Washington's Far Eastern Institute at the six-weeks session of the Far Eastern-Russian Institute just held at the University of Minnesota, I can state that all six delegates from the various universities agreed the only solution to the Russian question is to enlighten the people of both countries through education.

that Russia is incapable of production; that Russia is imperialist, seeking colonies to exploit and rob; that Russia wants chaos in Europe; that Russia wants a depression in America; that Russia has expanded beyond the Czarist borders; that Russia finances American citizens and gives them orders; that Russia will not repay lend-lease, even though she stipulated, when it was first offered, that she would accept it on no other terms, and finally, that Russian citizens have no freedom of action.

Every Russian citizen from Vladivostok to Odessa, from Archangel to Baku, will tell you that none of these allegations "correspond to the facts."

(Non-Russian Communists capitalize on the assumption that they are close to the throne in Moscow and the press renders them a service in reiterating this.)

The Worm Turns

But the worm has turned. Some belligerent Russian conceived the idea of throwing slanders at the Americans to see how they like it.

The Russian press is now accusing us of wanting war and wanting to rule the world.

The effect has been electrical.
(Continued on Page 3)