

The Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training
Foreign Affairs Oral History Project
Labor Series

ROBERT GOLDBERG

*Interviewed by: Morris Weisz
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[Note: This interview was not edited by Mr. Goldberg]

Q: This is Morris Weiss. The date is Thursday, January 16, 1997. I will be conducting an interview with Robert, known as "Bobby," Goldberg, the son of Arthur Goldberg, which will be focused on those aspects of Arthur Goldberg's career, which predated the end of the war, when he was in charge of the Labor desk of the OSS (Office of Strategic Services). In that connection, he dropped various agents of the United States, behind enemy lines, so that they can conduct activities that were so important to the government at that period. A rainbow was an important aspect of the working that was being done by the OSS.

The purpose of this interview is to go over those aspects of Arthur Goldberg's career, which will open up opportunities for Robert, (I'm afraid I will be referring to him as "Bobby," because everybody does) to assist him in looking into the law career of his father from the Trade Union Movement, as a prominent attorney, and as a representative of the CIO (Congress of Industrial Organizations) and the successful negotiations for unity between the AFL (American Federation of Labor) and the CIO. Various records are now becoming available which will enable Bobby to get the facts that are necessary for his interviews, and I will be referring to sources of material, as well as my own recollections that will assist Robert in his investigations. I will now stop this introduction and will merely say that when it resumes, I will be playing back what I have said so far, and continue on [Inaudible] with what I hope will be a successful interview. The purpose of the interview will not be so much as reviewing Secretary Goldberg's career, as much as those aspects of his career, which are of interest to be an Oral History project that is being conducted, which I have been active in for a number of years. Those elements of Goldberg's career, which will be concentrated on, is his work in the Labor Desk for OSS. It will be inevitable, however, to refer to a number of aspects of Goldberg's later career, to the extent that the interest of the Oral History project, for the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training, where I have been active, and the interest of Bobby coincides.

After our brief lunch, we have made some notations about things we have to look into to help your research, Bob, and also, to go into some of the sophisticated analysis we require. When we analyze a question of whether one is a Communist, and I should tell you, that it is necessary to avoid quick conclusions. At the NLRB (National Labor

Relations Board), where, of course, you know, we have strong Communist influence, some of the people, who are alleged to have been Communists, and in some cases, by me, were really careerists. The way to get ahead at the NLRB was to go along with the flow. So, when I say, I remember Guye None as within the group of pro-Communist, you have to be very careful as to whether he was a careerist or if that was the way to go ahead, and also, the changes that take place in people.

GOLDBERG: Yes.

Q: Walter Reuther, who was not too careful in his associations, found Guye None not to be very valuable as a broadcaster.

GOLDBERG: Absolutely.

Q: He was. I'm sure he was very good. But, you have to be nuanced in your . . .

GOLDBERG: Let me ask you about that, because what Dad (Arthur Goldberg) asked me to look into was the mission that is called "Sparrow." My investigation has sort of started there, but goes backward, and also involves Dad, at an earlier stage. The Sparrow mission was conceived, perhaps by Dad, perhaps by Dalin Tullis, perhaps by someone else. But, the purpose was to secure the surrender of the Hungarian government, sometime in the early part of 1944. If it were cleared by the Joint Chiefs of Staff, which it was, in November and December 1943, would we be able to back up the surrender with putting troops in, or what have you?

Q: [Inaudible] is very good on this history. He has been supplying us, and I have interviewed . . .

GOLDBERG: Yes. So, the mission, Morrie, was set up and put on "go status" very quickly. It was in a holding status for a number of months. In fact, I have a report by Dad to Donovan, in January, which describes that it is in a holding status, and talks about a lot of other things, but the mission is identified. There is a lot of cable traffic, which has been declassified and sits over in Adelphi, in that huge archive of the OSS material.

Q: By the way, I hope you get that.

GOLDBERG: Yes. That is a critical part.

Q: It's close by here.

GOLDBERG: Yes. I have been into the Donovan papers in Carlisle, Pennsylvania. Donovan gave his papers to the Army, but they are very carefully organized, and not everything that one would expect to be in the private papers of Donovan are there.

The mission gets a green light in mid-February 1944. Three people are to go on the mission, Al Suarez, who was one of the recruiting officers, for the Labor Desk, Guye

None, who was also part of the OSS Labor Desk, and I haven't gotten the travel orders yet, but I believe Guye was in Algiers, working there, or in Washington. Suarez was in Washington. A fellow named Florin Manduke, who was 49 years old, and the former Advertising Chief for *Fortune* magazine. I believe he was picked because Guye was too young, and Al was too young, to deal with Haworthii, the region of Hungary. If you look at Duke's photographs, he looks just like Haworthii. He is a big, distinguished man. If he was the Henry Luce's advertising guy for *Fortune*, he was a good schmoozer. He could talk and talk. Those were the three. There was talk of sending a fourth, a diplomat, who had been the Secretary of the Legation and Hungary, between 1935 and 1941, by the name of Travers. He was in Mexico City, though, when the mission was finally put together. They couldn't get him out quickly, because they had to get from Washington, all the way around to Bari, Italy, which is where they flew the Chaps in. At that time, the Labor Desk had 19 people in it. It was very small. That to me is one of the surprises. Growing up as a boy and listening to Dad's stories, I had a sense that it was a much larger operation. I should have realized that it wasn't because Dad tended to enjoy running smaller. He liked smaller than larger. He was always willing to affiliate with other people, but his core group was small. The core group was people I have mentioned to you, Saul Dorfman, this is a Chicago Saul Dorfman, Dan Margolese, Helen Trogett was in the office.

Q: I'm afraid I should suggest to you that when you have names that are not very simple, you spell them out.

GOLDBERG: Yes. Okay. Mort Kohlander, George Pratt, names that are somewhat familiar to you. The mission was dropped in on March 15th, and they were there to do exactly what they were doing, but for some reason, the Germans found out about the mission, and the prospect of Hungary coming out of the war, was too much, so they invaded. Whether the mission was the reason for the invasion, or whether it was going to happen anywhere, I will sort out. Also, some of that is for the historians to work through.

Q: The other possibility is that it was sold out to one of the people for bad reasons. If you turn around, I want to give you an example of this type of thing that relates to somebody you are interested in. That is George Wheeler's brother, Don. Turn around and you will see, and I will illustrate why it is so important to have a sophisticated knowledge of things. Here is, as you can see, Edda found this in our records. I should tell you that this is the original of the Application for Membership in the Socialist Party in 1937, of Eleanor Wheeler, George Wheeler.

GOLDBERG: My goodness.

Q: George Wheeler, of course, sold out, but he didn't sell out to the Russians. He sold out to the Czechs and became an economist for the Czechoslovaks. He is living there, and is very ill. We had a tendency, in the left, in the Socialist movement, . . . with all members of the same family. The left was not identified, so that at the same time that we know that George and his brother, Donald, were Communists. We didn't draw such distinctions.

GOLDBERG: Yes.

Q: It was necessary, also, to have a more sophisticated analysis. In the case of George Wheeler, and Donald Wheeler, as you know, the son of Don, was head of the Communist party. I am still trying to interview him, and am using my Baltimore connections to try to do that. He agreed over the telephone to be interviewed at some point. I hope to take advantage of that. Here is George and Eleanor. We sort of thought that it was her influence that got him into the Communist element, within the Socialists party. I don't know which was true. But, George Wheeler, in addition to this sort of thing, was also the person who was my supervisor, in some studies we did at the NLRB, who sends me a telegram, which is in my papers here, which I will be covering in my own interviews, congratulating me on becoming an economist, because he was the one who was really my direct supervisor. [Inaudible] was the head of Economics, and he was working for [Inaudible]. He sends me a cable, congratulating me on my appointment, my recognition, as an economist. There are personal events that sometimes are contrary to what you would have expected.

GOLDBERG: Now, Dad, always said to me, and I'm sure you can confirm it, he said, "The moment of truth, when you really knew the distinctions, if you didn't otherwise, and were able to figure out who was not a Socialist, and who was a Communist, who was a Liberal, was the Hitler-Stalin pact. You literally knew overnight, at that point, or at least who was willing to voice the line openly."

Q: There, you have to be careful, in my experience, because there were many cases, where I supervised a whole lot of people, I taught a whole lot of people. I trained Labor attachés for many years. The FBI would come around to see me, and ask, "What do you know about that?" I had to lecture them, and say, "If this guy is in line with the Communists today, the question is, was he in line, before or after?" They were so simplistic in their approach. Later on, when I was working for your father, at the time of Lander Griffin, I had a background that lead to my being appointed as an Assistant Commissioner for the Lander Griffin [Inaudible]. This was under Secretary Mitchell. He interviewed me and said that they wanted somebody to be the Assistant Commissioner, who was friendly to the Labor movement, and who be on the good side. We had to help the unions fill out these stupid forms, and we had to prosecute those who did not. So, there were two Assistant Commissioners appointed, one from the FBI, and one okayed by Labor. Some of the guys from the FBI were former OSS types, some of them were strict FBI people. I found they were a fascinating group. They were colleagues. Some of them were very sophisticated, others were stupid, like the rest of the FBI people, I think. Later on, we had to hire somebody to educate these FBI types, and I hired Dave Samas, to lecture to them, about how you carry on the investigation. I thought it was so funny.

GOLDBERG: That's interesting.

Q: The other lead for a sophisticated analysis is, not only to look into these issues, that the FBI was so silly about, but also to be willing to testify in those few cases, in which you are convinced that these people were Communists. It is not only necessary to defend

the student, but . . . I had one student who told me, "I don't know what the FBI has against me." I said, "Well, you may have been one of the guys, that recently I know was criticized by the FBI, because he had some Communist books." This fellow says to me, . . . This is a graduate student who had worked for me. He said, "Oh, that isn't happening to me. The minute this McCarthy thing started, I sold all my Marxist books. I am getting a Ph.D." In the few cases in which, and there are only two, I was willing to say that these people were Communists, I had to protect my honor by saying, "I give you this information, (to the FBI) because I am confident of the information and it is conditioned upon giving this person the right to cross-examine, because otherwise that is not true." In both of those cases they turned out to be communists; one was George Wheeler, where I did testify against him, and the other one was the Assistant Solicitor of the Labor Department, Herbert Fuchs. Does the name sound familiar to you?

GOLDBERG: Yes.

Q: I remembered Herb when we were all in this left together, in the business of the Medical Committee, to assist the 1936-1937 anti-Franco movement. He was calling the shots. I had such a visual recollection of his sitting on top of a big filing cabinet, in our meeting, and calling the shots. He was saying who was to speak, who was not to speak, etc. When you are willing to say that, and it was very embarrassing, because there the security people, having an investigation, voted three to two, to uphold Herb against my recommendation. It was damned embarrassing for me to live in the NLRB. I was willing to, though. In both cases, I am happy to say, they turned out to be traitors, from my point of view.

GOLDBERG: Oh no, from any point. I read what John has been doing, and now we have the intercepts. They have the Benoni. I looked at one Lee Pressman, and right into the Benoni intercepts.

Q: That is the thing I hope you now get out of the brown papers at the Meeting Center, because although I suspected Brown's activities, (he once tried to get me fired from the State Department, by the way) . . . But, now the evidence is there, the papers in which he and his cohorts, goofs like Harry Goldberg and those people, . . . Does that name sound familiar to you?

GOLDBERG: No.

Q: Harry Goldberg is known in India as "Brother Goldberg."

GOLDBERG: Okay. You told me about that, that's right.

Q: He came after Frank. Here was his evidence, recommending that the incoming Ambassador Keating, get me fired. His agenda was not the agenda of the AFL-CIO, because they had a right to ask for me to be fired. His agenda was a personal agenda of meanness, of contrariness, of me personally.

GOLDBERG: This is brown papers. This is Lovestone Spella, because I found in Dad's FBI file, Morrie, 1953, where Lovestone is saying nasty things about Dad. He calls him a fellow traveler, in 1953.

Q: Now you know. Now you have to worry about . . .

GOLDBERG: If Dad had seen that, Morrie, what I have seen since he died, he would have hit the roof. He would have been on the phone, if Lovestone were alive.

Q: No, he wouldn't have done that, because he, your father, had to worry about the differences within the amalgamated [Inaudible] workers, between the Chicago crowd and the New York crowd. It would have immediately gotten to Dubinsky. Dubinsky would say, "This is another example of the Chicago trial crowd that is running the Amalgamated, he always refers to it as the "Amalgamated," running the Amalgamated, so that you cannot expect too much of people. What would he have done?"

GOLDBERG: Dad? Oh, if he had known that Lovestone was snitching to the FBI about him in 1953, he would have hit the roof.

Q: He would have hit the roof, but he couldn't do anything about it.

GOLDBERG: No, but I think, then, Lovestone's continued contacts with Dad would have been very cold. I remember Lovestone. They were civil, but I don't recall Lovestone being around the house, the way Mike Ross was around the house, not at all.

Q: I tell you that it is my firm conviction, even though he was a CIO representative, that Mike Ross, because of his British background and all that, was a CIA type.

GOLDBERG: I think that is possible.

Q: He was a very good friend of mine, and all that.

GOLDBERG: I liked Mike.

Q: Before you go too far, I should tell you that one of the people you should try to talk to, but I don't know how open she will be, would be Mike Ross' secretary, Rosie Ruane.

GOLDBERG: I know her through Fran Gilbert. She and Fran were great friends.

Q: Fran Gilbert?

GOLDBERG: Dad's secretary of 42 years, Frannie. You know Fran Gilbert, Morrie. Rosie and Fran were great friends. They are getting back together. They have been away for years, and Fran was talking to me about her.

Q: Now the question is, should I suggest that you . . .

GOLDBERG: I liked Mike.

Q: I recommended it, because I think she is very suspicious of me, because she knew about the problems I had with Irving Brown. She was a perfect secretary. She was also, . . . and I say this on the record, Mike Ross' mistress, in Brussels.

GOLDBERG: No kidding. Yes.

Q: It created a problem for decent people like Oliver Peterson and Esther Peterson.

GOLDBERG: I know about that.

Q: They were embarrassed.

GOLDBERG: I remember Mike's cough. He was mustard gassed in World War I, and he had that cough.

Q: He smoked.

GOLDBERG: Yes.

Q: He persisted in smoking. Anyhow, my question is whether I should suggest . . . I suggest that you do get in touch with Rosie, but I would not mention my name. She is very suspicious of me.

GOLDBERG: If we circle back a bit, Morrie, so this was the mission, and it went wrong. It bothered Dad, particularly as he got older. He had the sense that the mission was sold, but it is one thing to have the sense, and . . .

Q: Myer was an old and dear friend of mine. We began working together in investigating the Republic Steel case, where he was a representative of the Union, and I of the Board. Then, a guy named Fibber McGee, we called him Fibber McGee, who was the representative of the company, Republic Steel, in computing the back pay. He was so persistent. He wanted every penny.

GOLDBERG: That was my [Inaudible]. He drove us around Europe in the summer of 1951.

Q: Just before we arrived.

GOLDBERG: Yes. Morrie, to move back. The names that appear directly are the names of the teams, Suarez, Guye None, Flora Manduke. There were Dad's operations, we have Alan Dulles, Jerry Van Arkle was in Bern, with Dulles, for Dad. Then, Arkle, of course, came out like Pratt, and I guess, Kohlander, out of the NLRB.

Q: Absolutely. Is Van Arkle living?

GOLDBERG: He's dead. He was Henry Kaiser's law partner. As I looked, I came across . . .

Q: He took a very conservative opinion, position, later on, when the NLRB really was outdated and unnecessary anymore, which was the influence of that firm, Kaiser.

GOLDBERG: I have to remember that. As I looked, I came across, . . . John Hanes keeps directing me to Elizabeth Bentley. John is of the view that history will prove her completely correct.

Q: [Inaudible]

GOLDBERG: A lot of other things.

Q: Like Whitaker Shavers, he has the same feeling.

GOLDBERG: Yes, and John says the issues relate to, . . . are confirmed by the intercepts, and other things. But, the intercepts are very helpful, the Benoni intercepts, which was the reading, as you know, of the Russian communications traffic. There isn't that much of it. There are only 2,000 pages of it. There were probably multiples of that, but they only read some of it, and the FBI, I guess, was reading it, as was the CIA. But, in my review, of Bentley, other names come up which were in the OSS. It allows me to think, as I believe Dad thought, that it was sold. Some of the suspicion would go to Wheeler, but probably more to another person named Duncan Lee, who was Donovan's assistant. Now, the interesting thing, which interests me, Morrie, is the history of some of these people. I have looked, I have been in the FBI, and I have sat and gone through the silver master papers, and there are thousands of pages. It is all now available for the public. You have to have the patience to sit for a week, reading the papers. It seems to me that Wheeler could have been in a position to have transmitted information, and the courier was always Elizabeth Bentley.

Q: I would treat that tentative conclusion of yours, and possible conclusion about George, . . .

GOLDBERG: Donald.

Q: George Wheeler.

GOLDBERG: No, Donald Wheeler, his brother, who was in the OSS.

Q: Neither of them, as far as I knew, but I didn't know Donald, . . . but because George chose to go to Czechoslovakia, it was because of the belief in socialism. This was his way to the future, not the Russian way.

GOLDBERG: No.

Q: So, I really don't think it was he.

GOLDBERG: It would have been the brother, or it may have been Lee.

Q: Right.

GOLDBERG: What it gets me to, is the mind set of these people, going into World War II, where their ideology, their own personal ideology was set. That got me interested in your comments about Guye, our brief telephone conversations of the other day, when you and I chatted, first. I was trying to get a picture of Guye, really going into this type of mission. Now, Phil Kaiser, in his book, talks about Guye None, at great length. He is very fond of Guye. They were all at Oxford together, Rhode Scholarship, and so forth. He talks about Guye going on a private mission, for Peggy Guggenheim, into Prague, in 1939, in which Guye took Visas and money into a whole group of artists, and so forth. Guye wrote about that at another time. Phil likes that story very much. I am interested in the notion that when you first knew Guye, I take, it was before the War, Morrie, or after the war?

Q: Sure, [Inaudible] at the NLRB.

GOLDBERG: Can you tell me about him at that point? It would surprise me, but I form no conclusions at this point.

Q: The only thing I can tell you is, either because he was a careerist, or because he was definitely sympathetic, with the left, he was among the people I would have thought, not like Herb Fuchs, leader of the left, but there is a guy, who for some reason or other, which I would not want to say was an association of Communist, pecked the lawyer. A number of people were criticized by the FBI, people like Guye None, Tom Arrison, Matt Whit, that whole crew. Some of them were Communists. Matt Whit, I'm sure was a Communist, but I couldn't testify to that, because I didn't see him in action, like I did Herb Fuchs. It is hard to distinguish between the careerists and the genuine sympathizers, for instance, we had one in the Economics Division, Bernard Stern, Bernie Stern, who was later in Hawaii. He was a dear friend of mine. You know the CIO investigation when they kicked out the Communist [Inaudible]?

GOLDBERG: Yes.

Q: Well, he was identified as the leader of the Communist group in the Mine Mill Smoke [Inaudible] Union. This guy we knew was a fellow I was very fond of, but when I was the Executive Secretary of the Labor Advisory Committee of the BLS (Bureau of Labor Statistics), in 1948, 1949, and 1952, he used to come and be one of the people. I suspected his associations, because of the Mine Mill, one of the unions that was kicked out, but I didn't know he was a leader of the Communist group. There, again, I blamed it all on his wife, who was very pro-Communist.

GOLDBERG: Was that a common experience, where the wives often lead the husbands, during that period?

Q: No, but if you are fond of a guy you blame it on them. I was fond of Wheeler, who was a supervisor of mine. I used to go out to the farm and help him dig ditches, and things like that. So, you say, "Well it was probably his wife."

GOLDBERG: In terms of Guye, when would you have met him for the first time, Morrie, do you recall?

Q: I came to the Board in 1937, the month after the act was declared constitutional, to work for Safehouse. I would say, immediately. I don't have any recollection, other than that.

GOLDBERG: I think he would have been in Europe, unless he was coming back, and going back and forth, for a couple of those years, 1936 through 1939. He was with Phil, between 1936 and 1939.

Q: Well, he came to the Board, if he came in 1939, that's when I met him.

GOLDBERG: Great. What was he like, do you recall? Was he swashbuckling? Was he a tough guy? Was he a sweet man? Do you have any sense of that, going back to that time?

Q: Swashbuckling is a good one. He was sort of the adventurous type. But, I didn't know him too well. I just knew him as one of the people, for good reasons or bad, who was associated with a large group of people.

GOLDBERG: How do you think he would have been called to Dad's attention? Does the name Barton ring a bell? I'm trying to think. There was the COI coordinator of information, which was the predecessor to OSS. Somehow Guye, . . . and I'll get his personnel file, so at a subsequent meeting, I will be able to track some of this with you.

Q: It wasn't high in my order of priorities.

GOLDBERG: I understand.

Q: I can't distinguish among the reasons for these people, except where I was convinced that there was a reason. The other thing that you have to worry about is the French expression, "Qui gagne," who gains from it? The Assistant Solicitor who seceded Herb Fuchs was a very dear friend of mine, Ida Cross.

GOLDBERG: Ida was a dear woman.

With Ida there is an Alaska connection. The first guy I worked for in Alaska, best trial lawyer in the northwest, was Wendell Kay. Does that name ring a bell to you?

Q: Very vaguely.

GOLDBERG: Wendell worked with Ida. He drank a great deal, which was sad for Wendell, but it was a great opportunity for me, because I never knew when I would have to try a case or not, because Wendell would either show up, or he wouldn't. But, he was a wonderful trial lawyer, and he was with Ida, and knew Ida, and always would speak about her. He graduated Northwestern Law School.

Q: I spoke to him over the phone when I was staying out in Great Neck with Gus Powell.

GOLDBERG: I like your expression, "Key Ghana." That is an interesting concept.

Q: It's a famous French one.

GOLDBERG: I know, but it . . . So, part of your counsel to me, as I'm looking at these kinds of things, keep asking . . .

Q: Yes. What might have been behind it? Ida was so honest. I don't think she would have thought this was a way of getting rid of her supervisor. It is a worry that you have to have, if you are looking into this. I have spoken to Ida over the phone. She has this very beautiful apartment, which she has offered for me to stay at, right near the U.N. Be sure to look her up.

GOLDBERG: I will.

Q: Before we leave, I will give you her phone number. Give her my love.

GOLDBERG: During the war, Morrie, you spoke about George Wheeler. What was the atmosphere once the war got going? I should ask you, in terms of attitudes toward the Soviets, the Communists, did the war suddenly sort of sanitize what otherwise had not been immediately prior? We are all in it together, therefore, it didn't matter, as long as we were anti-Nazi. That was the critical thing, so the type of distinctions you were sensitive to, did they continue through the war, or did people stop looking for them, at least in 1942 or 1943?

Q: Well, there again, I read regularly now because of the five years I was the Washington representative of the Jewish Labor Committee. I read the [Inaudible]. Do you know of them?

GOLDBERG: Oh, sure. I don't read it regularly.

Q: I read it regularly now, because of my interest in the Jewish Labor Committee. If you are up in New York, you should look at the papers there in the Jewish Labor Committee records, which are at the NYU library. You will see a whole lot of people referred to in those records, some of them were working for the Jewish Labor Committee, like one of

Lovestone's favorite people, Joe Godsey, his labor attaché, was in Britain for a long time. You could see how their agendas were illustrated by the [Inaudible]. His agenda was a Lovestone agenda. The records that they have there will be of some interest to you, if you get to New York, because of the breadth of their coverage of affairs, not prospectively the Jewish Labor Committee, but generally, for the Jewish Labor movement, which was very important. I don't know what they have about Arthur Golden, but I'm sure they have some.

GOLDBERG: Dick Khan was insistent I should talk to you about Lovestone, and said that would explain to me why was he involved with Hoover. I should predicate it by saying, apparently Lovestone was on the CIA payroll, according to a couple of new studies of James Angleton, first working with Tom Braden, between 1950 and 1954, and thereafter, with Angleton, for 22 years. He provided a lot of information, a degree that Colby, when he took over in 1974, immediately ended it, because Lovestone was gossiping domestically about Americans. The CIA isn't supposed to . . .

Q: [Inaudible]. Well, have you ever heard of Ted Morgan?

GOLDBERG: Yes.

Q: You should know him because he is writing a biography of Lovestone, and I have been helping him quite considerably. He is now a dear friend of mine. He contacted me in Florida. I fell in love with him immediately, and he with me. I helped him very considerably. [Inaudible]. He is in the final stages of preparing the book for publication. You will want to look at that book when it comes out. You may even be able to look at a draft of the chapters when you are at the Meany Center, to the degree, that they have some of this stuff. In any event, I will give you his address and phone number, as soon as we finish. It is Ted Morgan. You certainly can tell him that I suggested you contact him.

*This is the second tape of recording with Bob Goldberg. I ended the last one by saying that I would give Bob the name, address, and phone number of Ted Morgan. I'll tell you a little about Ted. He, evidently, has some very good connections with the CIA. He has been writing a biography of Lovestone, for some time. It is being financed by his publisher. He is a very well-known author, and I am recommending that Bob try to see him in New York. Under his original name, which was Sanche de Gramont. He has written a number of books, including the earliest book he ever wrote, *The Secret War*. As I said, he has good connections with the CIA, and I am quite an admirer of his. How did you happen to hear of him?*

GOLDBERG: Sanche de Gramont, and also, I think, he is Ted Morgan. I was unaware that anyone was writing the biography of Lovestone.

Q: Well, if you can find it, it's very, very interesting.

GOLDBERG: I think so. I think it probably is useful for me, Morrie, to ask you to give us a little more context, because you have, a number of times, said to me, "You cannot

just look at World War II in the vacuum. You have to look at within a continuum. So, perhaps, we can spend a little time with your understanding of the Labor, the OSS Labor Desk, what it was trying to do, and to any extent, you might have come into contact with it, during the war time period. Failing that, to any extent you saw it carrying through, . . . You worked with, I believe, Bert Jolus, at a later point. Well, he was one of the people who came out of that, George Pratt and others. I want to talk to you about George.

Q: Well, there was very little, except what both Yen and I have told you about. We knew Jolus. We were very, I wouldn't say suspicious, but cognizant of his connections, and he did excellent work. We were always pleased.

UNIDENTIFIED: The name, Sheba Stronsky, does that ring a bell? She was the person in charge of the International Rescue Committee, with Jolus in the background.

Q: Okay, I'll mention it.

GOLDBERG: His orientation would have been what? Would you regard him to have been conservative?

Q: I thought of him as a CIA agent, that's all, and very valuable to us, because I think Edda did mention to you that he was one of the people who cooperated in the Hungarian business, otherwise, how could we have gotten those planes in, to help get out the people from Hungary. So, it was sort of a friendly one, and he was a friend of Irving Brown's, who at that time, I was a great admirer of, and still am, because Brown was a very positive person, even though he was a bastard, in terms of his relations with me, as we subsequently find out. But, Jolus was a very good guy.

GOLDBERG: Putting him back in the Labor Desk, I don't have a great feeling, yet, what the Labor Desk did. I have the sense that there was an effort to support Socialist, not Communist trade unions, both in France, and elsewhere on the Continent. There was, for the Labor Desk, always the problem that they were up against other people trying to read what they were doing, and not being able to make the type of differentiation that you have spoken about on Tape I.

Q: Well, I have no feeling about it, except to tell you that [Inaudible] had a positive reaction, when I came. I didn't come until 1952, which was the year after you were there. I had a very good . . .

GOLDBERG: I had mentioned on the phone to you, somebody named Omar Bacu.

Q: Yes.

GOLDBERG: He was one of the people who worked very closely with Dad during the war. What would that mean to you? What does that say about Dad? I'm trying to sort of reconstruct backward. You said I had to understand Dad's war experience, within a

broader continuum. I understand part of the broader continuum.

Q: Omar Bacu [Inaudible]. He was a person I got to know through Dave St. Paas. St. Paas was very intelligent. He arranged for me to come to Europe, the month before the family came, so that he could orient me to the ICFTU (International Confederation of Free Trade Unions). We both went on, a sort of orientation trip, to the ICFTU. I know I was there from 1953, but that was after Dave left. So, in 1952, we went up there, in another capacity, I forgot. This was just to orient me, because he didn't want my family to enter into [Inaudible] orientation. He said that I had to meet Omar Bacu. I met Omar Bacu. It was immediately, very positively impressed upon him, that he was going to be made, with the American support, which they were very disappointed in later, because he acted like a true international civil servant, and they didn't like the idea that he wasn't an agent of the AFL-CIO. He was wonderful. The introduction to him came through David St. Paas, and through his knowledge, via St. Paas, that I was an old Democratic Socialist, and that he could trust me. So, immediately, we became friends. I did not know, at that point, that he was involved in the Labor Desk, except that I knew that he had been active, I think, in secreting the European Trade Union, (ETUC) possibly, but, the Socialist Trade Union, in secreting their records. I admired him greatly for that, because that trove of information, located in Holland, which he had been responsible for, secreting.

GOLDBERG: Did he ever mention associations with Dad? Do you recall that?

Q: I don't know. Maybe St. Paas told him, but I was a friend of Arthur's. I don't know, because, at that time, I knew him. I don't know.

GOLDBERG: That's interesting. You said he disappointed the AFL-CIO. He disappointed them because he wasn't . . .

Q: He was an international civil servant, and just like Boutros Boutros-Ghali, now, disappoints the Americans, because he didn't follow what they wanted done. That didn't bother me about Bacu, he was a great guy. I used to go frequently to London, where the International Transport Workers Federation, in substantive years, is headquartered. I used to have dinner with him at a wonderful place that he used to recommend very highly. Food is important in this thing, because where a person . . . For instance, I would take Irving Brown's recommendation about places to eat, because he was a real gourmet. He gave me advice about places to eat in, and in Brussels, he could point me to the place in the Grande Prance, where I should go to eat.

GOLDBERG: Would Bacu have been a contemporary of yours in age?

Q: I would say that he was possibly a little bit older.

GOLDBERG: Okay. Is he dead, we think?

Q: Yes, I'm sure he is dead. But, again, that European treasure trove, if you go there, of information that he did, is well documented, and available to researchers. Do you ever

get to Holland?

GOLDBERG: Not to Holland, but we get to Britain a great deal.

Q: Oh, the Transport Workers Federation would know [Inaudible].

GOLDBERG: As a young man, I had all these letters from Dad, of introduction, to a number of these people, but in those days, my interest didn't run to this.

Q: I should tell you, if you do get to London, Jack [Inaudible]'s son, Fred, is the [Inaudible]. I don't know how long he will be there, because he is coming back.

GOLDBERG: When did you first meet George Pratt?

Q: It would have been shortly after I came back, unless he arrived at the NLRB after. I have no cognizant memory.

GOLDBERG: Postwar, prewar?

Q: Oh, this would be at the NLRB. Yes, . . .

GOLDBERG: So, that is prewar, in terms of your experience.

Q: I came there in 1937, and I don't know when he came, except I have a very positive recollection.

GOLDBERG: How would you describe him?

Q: A wonderful trial examiner, and one who is not a sympathizer to Socialist surreys, but one with we trusted.

GOLDBERG: Was he a large man, small man? What did he look like?

Q: I don't remember. Sorry.

GOLDBERG: I find that a lot of history gets written, and it is all off documents, and it omits the stuff you want to know, in the end. What was the person like, in flesh and blood?

Q: I should give you the name of that historian at the NLRB, who could certainly find out.

GOLDBERG: Yes, that would be very helpful.

Q: I'll get that.

GOLDBERG: That's great.

Q: I'll get it for you, from the Secretary of the Chairman of the Board, Bill Gould. Do you know Bill Gould?

GOLDBERG: Yes. But, if you can get it for me, I have no problem calling him, to ask for the historian.

Q: Did I tell you about my first conversation with Gould?

GOLDBERG: No.

Q: For some reason or other, we are both involved in Australia, but that is another thing. He is a great expert on Australia, as I am. He calls me up from Stanford, when he was a young Professor. He says, "I'm going to be looking around for a job. It has been suggested that I call you." This was in the early 1960s. I said to him, "Well, if your name is Gould, perhaps your name was originally something like Goldberg." He said, "No, it wasn't."

We are interrupting for a minute — Yes?

GOLDBERG: Is Bert still alive?

Q: I don't know, do you know if he is still alive?

EDDA: This is beyond me, . . . If you are an American Legion boy, there are your Frenchmen, . . .

Q: Edda, you have to talk louder.

GOLDBERG: I don't know if he is still alive. His wife was Eppa?

Q: Yes.

GOLDBERG: We stayed with them as well. They met us, as soon as we docked. We came over on the Queen Elizabeth in 1951. We landed at Cherbourg. Myer Bernstein was there, and the Jolus' were there. We convoyed around Normandy, and went to Rein, because Dad and Bert almost met disaster at Rein. They got ahead of Patton's Army, after the breakout, and they pulled into town, thinking it was secured, and it wasn't. They took the surrender of the Gestapo Garrison, which was much greater in number. There were two of them. Foolish Gestapo should have just grabbed them. To me, it is an interesting sideline, which I will put in my account, because Dad knew so much. We are not talking about 1945, but we are talking about the summer of 1944.

EDDA: Gestapo had no way of knowing whether there were more behind them.

GOLDBERG: They spent the night at an apartment. We went back in 1951. It was Major

Goldberg and Captain Jolus, and the people who put them up that night. The mayor came over. It was tremendous business. We would be in touch, through correspondence. He would come through Washington at times, and be at the house. I have lost touch with him. I don't know if he is alive or not. I guess I will have to reach him through the agency and ask them if they have an address.

Q: I'm sure they have one. Incidentally, Ted Morgan may have some updated information about it.

GOLDBERG: That's interesting. Didn't Donovan do the International Rescue Committee? Wasn't Donovan charged by Eisenhower?

Q: I don't know.

GOLDBERG: I think so.

Q: It was a very active organization.

GOLDBERG: Yes, Donovan is here. Henry Luce, Lucius Clay, etc. That is very interesting.

Q: I will try to get some information from this historian.

GOLDBERG: Were you aware when George Pratt went off to the OSS?

Q: No, I was not.

GOLDBERG: Did you ever chat with him about his war experiences, afterward, Morrie?

Q: No.

GOLDBERG: Knowing my father as you did, and George as you did, were they a good fit? Does it surprise you that they worked together?

Q: Absolutely not. He would have been one of the people Arthur would have been happy to be associated with.

GOLDBERG: So, it would have meshed.

Q: Yes. Part of this is St. Paas' recollection.

GOLDBERG: That's okay.

Q: It's his feeling about him, which was transferred to me, rather than directly.

GOLDBERG: I think with the St. Paas', mother and dad knew Leon Goldenberg, from

the prewar Chicago period. When we were in Paris, in 1951, I think the Goldenbergs had an apartment, Neuilly, does that sound right?

Q: Yes. One of the government apartments. We were in the other government apartment complex, but we knew the Neuilly.

GOLDBERG: The St. Paas' were friends of Leon and Natalie Goldenberg.

Q: Right.

GOLDBERG: Leon was just a wonderful person.

Q: He certainly was. Now that I that he was the . . . What was he?

GOLDBERG: Atomic Energy Attaché, later in Bonn.

Q: He was a wonderful guy, and we got to know him. You know about the tragic death of Judith?

GOLDBERG: Yes. Morrie, can I ask you, Dad's attitude toward European trade unions? What was that? I know you want to chat about that.

Q: I'm glad you asked about that. We felt at the OPEC (Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries) that the purpose of a Marshall Plan was not to help individual countries, but to have them get together and formulate a policy for U.S. involvement in European Affairs, through the OPEC. The organization of the Marshall Plan in Paris was under the aegis of USRO. The USRO stood for United States Regional Organization. That means the U.S. delegation to the OEEC and to other RO, Regional Organizations. That covered NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization), I think I mentioned to you that I had an office in the NATO building. I could distinguish between my function in OEEC (Organization for European Economic Co-operation) and other regional organizations. I was the Chairman of Manpower Committee of the OEEC, and I alternated in that chairmanship with a British colleague, who used to become the Chairman, when I was not. That resulted in my going over to London every six weeks, which is great, because I am a theater buff. We couldn't distinguish among these things. There was no reason to. We were both in the same business, as it were. Similarly, in the future, in terms of our Marshall Plan interest, which is mine, the OECD (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development), as the successor organization to the OEEC, where I served, for three years, as Head Director of the Labor Division there, post-retirement to U.S. The responsibility we feel we have for using the successor organization, the OECD, to help the rest of the world. Again, it is not only to help the rest of the world, but to save the rest of the world. That is the way we looked at it. I guess that's it.

GOLDBERG: Now, Dad's view. Was he more country oriented, or was he broadly integratively focused, whether as Secretary or as General Counsel, or U.N. and post-years?

Q: I would imagine he was more integrated thinking. I think I should tell you a humorous result of that. When he came into office, we were all entitled to 1st Class transportation, abroad. Do you know about this?

GOLDBERG: No.

Q: He came up with the idea of saying, "You are now entitled to First Class." The families should get involved. Therefore, I recommend that we use this First Class fare, if you want to take your family abroad, we give you that First Class fare, and then you can use it for the family. Bright idea, no?

GOLDBERG: Great idea.

Q: Terrible idea. I'll tell you why.

GOLDBERG: Why? It was a typical bad idea.

Q: I don't know if I was that smart at the time, but I subsequently said, "This is like the problem we had at the NLRB." At the NLRB, we had a wonderful chairman named J. Warren Madden. Have you heard of him, the first Chairman?

GOLDBERG: Yes.

Q: He had the gall to return money because we had some left over. We built up, and I helped build it up, I was an economist working on it. Dave St. Paas assigned me to that. It was a rationale for using the funds of the NLRB intelligently. Madden returned, thought it was a mistake, some of those funds to the government, because we built our rationale on the basis of extrapolation of earlier [Inaudible]

GOLDBERG: I understand. It was a big mistake.

Q: Big mistake. Arthur did that in all innocence. It was terrible. They immediately said, "Well, if you are willing to do that, we cut the . . ."

GOLDBERG: . We cut the "You Fly Tourist," and we will save a \$1,000 a ticket. I know. That is a wonderful story. That is a great story, Morrie. That is a wonderful story about my father.

Q: The relevance of that in terms of administration, is this.

GOLDBERG: That is a wonderful story. It absolutely is a great story about Dad because he never had his vouchers looked at. If he did, he would tell somebody to jump the lake. "Either you take me as I am, or I am working for somebody else."

Q: You see this.

GOLDBERG: Yes.

Q: This is as a result of the NLRB returning this money to the Congress. This is an NLRB briefcase.

GOLDBERG: What a great briefcase.

Q: There is an interesting story about Riley, about that.

GOLDBERG: That is a great briefcase.

Q: A great briefcase because . . .

GOLDBERG: It's been well used.

Q: I invented it, because I wanted something that if a guy goes overnight, he can put his clothes in here, a file, a case, other things, notes and things like that in there. He can stay overnight without any problem. This is an overnight bag.

GOLDBERG: That's wonderful.

Q: It turned out, as [Inaudible], when Haft [Inaudible] party was passed, we took money. We got money on the same basis, a crazy extrapolation of some estimate that was made. I brought this damn thing and it was a success. It is used all over the world. I was up in the neighborhood of Tibet.

GOLDBERG: Nepal.

Q: Nepal. A guy comes over to me and says, "Hey, you are with IBM." I said, "No, I'm not with IBM." He says, "You have our briefcase." IBM uses it for the same reason. At the 50th anniversary, Riley calls me up and says, "I called back to the NLRB. I have to talk about the early days with the boys." He said, "Do you remember that briefcase? Can you lend me your briefcase, so I can tell them the story about how you invented that?" So, Riley takes this up on the platform with him, and tells this whole story, about how we got this thing. It was an amusing story, I guess. Ida Cross was sitting next to me there, by the way. At the end of it, I received a note from Herb Glasser, the Chief Clerk of the NLRB. "Can you come down to see me?" I came down to see him. He was an old friend, another poker player of Riley. He said, "Morrie, I [Inaudible] to the side." This is George Donahue's, this briefcase, you better return it.

GOLDBERG: He was pulling your leg.

Q: He was pulling my leg. I told Riley about it. But the point is, a bureaucrat thinks of things that go beyond. For example, Lou Stark, the father of the famous arbitrator now, Arthur Stark. Hear of Arthur?

GOLDBERG: Yes.

Q: Lou Stark was a friend of Dave St. Paas'. That is how I got to know him. Lou Stark is the first person to have a headline in The New York Times, attributing it to me, something that I had invented, like this. He told the story. He was [Inaudible] to Arthur. He was absolutely fascinated by it.

GOLDBERG: You are reminding me of names. There was somebody else, who was a friend of the St. Paas' and the Goldenbergs, who was with The Interpol. They lived on Albemarle Street, near us, who came over in the mid-1950s. I am trying to remember the name.

Q: I don't know.

GOLDBERG: I'm sure you know them. David Shonburn was around. He was also a friend.

Q: He was a City College graduate, by the way, in my year.

GOLDBERG: He was a friend. We met him through St. Paas'.

Q: He was a friend of Dave's, I know that.

GOLDBERG: Even Art Buchwald, from, I think, the St. Paas'.

Q: We were all friends. Art Buchwald was so great. He was a columnist.

GOLDBERG: Yes, for *The International Drib*.

Q: He wrote an article that hurt us very much, one time. He writes an article about this fellow who has come over to sing songs, Joe Glazier. Do you know him?

GOLDBERG: Oh, I grew up on all his songs. My favorite Joe Glazier song was *The Last CIO Convention*, where he begins, "Let's call the role of the CIO. Gonna play it on my old banjo." Then, he does a talking blues, through the entire CIO unions. "There are steelworkers, rubber workers." It is a wonderful song. When I gave Henry Fleischer's eulogy, I began by saying, "Let us call the role." I added Henry to the role, and how few people were left, and I feel that acutely, because these were people I loved and grew up with. Everyone is going, if not gone.

Q: By the way, I just sent Joe a copy of the song I wrote about him, when he retired.

GOLDBERG: Oh my. I liked Joe so much.

Q: Anyhow, I wrote a song for his retirement party at the USIA. I tried to get him to quit

long ago, but he didn't quit.

GOLDBERG: But, Art Buchwald wrote a piece about him.

Q: Art Buchwald writes a piece about this guy who has come over to sing songs. The next morning, we get a call at the Ken Dody . . . Did you know Ken Dody?

GOLDBERG: No.

Q: He was the Labor man in the mission to France.

GOLDBERG: Arnold Sackelen?

Q: No, I don't know him.

GOLDBERG: He was the Interpol. As I told you, the names . . .

Q: What is your next thing?

EDDA: Nothing. None of this is applicable, but it is interesting.

Q: Edda, don't forget to talk louder, if you're going to show pictures.

EDDA: This really has nothing to do with the [Inaudible] that she is doing. It's just you, behind a pole at the White House, then Johnson [Inaudible], and you introducing Weiner to the President of India.

GOLDBERG: That's Bill Wortz, I see, now.

EDDA: Life was behind the pole, but this is V.D. Geary, who was the President of India. When Morrie asked Keating, why Keating kept him on, after the Democrats lost, and the Republicans came in, Bowles went home. We were there, under Bowles. Keating kept Morrie on. Morrie said, "Why did you keep me on?" He said, "Well, you are the only man in this whole embassy who could pick up the telephone, and call the President of India."

GOLDBERG: This is a very nice picture of Morrie.

EDDA: This is an extraordinary session, all of these diplomats of the American [Inaudible], were at a concert, given by Morrie and Joe Glazier, for Labor Day. The wonderful thing about it, was that . . .

Q: Joe wasn't there, was he?

EDDA: I think he was there. Wasn't he there?

Q: No, he came for the Labor attaché meeting.

EDDA: That was that, wasn't it?

Q: I don't think so. It was another time that he went there.

EDDA: This is the swearing in of Keating, in front of Roosevelt's house, which is at the embassy.

GOLDBERG: How nice.

Q: Anyhow, if you want to look at those, . . .

GOLDBERG: That will be on another trip too. There are some things that maybe we should save for the next time. I am very interested in the experience in the 1930s. It almost covers what John has been working on. How people came together, and to the extent that the Communists used discussion groups, or gatherings, to sort of identify people, who were involved in identifying people. How were people recruited? If you accept the Elizabeth Bentley business, she names about 80 people. They are all over the place.

Q: Chambers too.

GOLDBERG: Yes. Harold Glasser, people like that, Alger Hiss, others. How were you aware that others were operating? There was certainly the ideology, but it was more than ideology. There was something else going on. Should we use that for another meeting, or is it worth . . . ?

Q: [Inaudible]. It's just the reputation and the associations of people, and the necessity for a sophisticated understanding of how to distinguish between the fellow travelers and the honest oppositionists, and the careerists, and things like that. They were all made up of the same group. The left was indistinguishable, among the various types.

GOLDBERG: But, within the left, you clearly could distinguish, couldn't you?

Q: Yes. That is what my conversations with the FBI were concerning, trying to get them to understand that.

GOLDBERG: Dad could distinguish, do you think, or not?

Q: He could distinguish, because he trusted certain people, but I don't think he was able to do much about it. The example I gave was of the Chicago crowd.

GOLDBERG: That would be Sam, . . . The Bank, . . .

Q: Oh, yeah, the Amalgamated Bank.

GOLDBERG: Is it Levine?

Q: He was the Vice President for Chicago, I think, and the ILG (Labor Union), not the Amalgamated. Of course, he may have been on the Amalgamated Board, and not on the Bank Board.

GOLDBERG: Yes.

EDDA: When the Trotskyites joined the Socialist party, it became muddy waters. It got to a point where we really didn't, . . . I couldn't distinguish.

Q: The Trotskyites joined the Socialist Party, in order to break away, as [Inaudible] responsible

GOLDBERG: So you thought that the Chicago Amalgamated were suspect, or more than suspect.

Q: No.

GOLDBERG: Suspect is the wrong word. You know what I mean.

Q: They were a separate group.

GOLDBERG: But, then, he was very close to Jack Potofsky.

Q: Shranklin, who, of course, is now the head of the Bank. Do you know him?

GOLDBERG: No.

Q: I interviewed him at some length. You might want to add that.

GOLDBERG: I know Delia Gottlieb very well, Jack's daughter.

Q: I don't know her. I think I met her at their house.

GOLDBERG: She is a sweetheart, a wonderful woman.

Q: I interviewed both Mr. and Mrs. Shranklin. If you get to New York, I think that might be . . . First, you might want to read Jay Mazur, because I interviewed them, within a few days of one another. There was an interesting difference between those two interviews. The analysis that Jay Mazur has, which is very different from Shranklin's, is fascinating.

GOLDBERG: Okay. What about the newspaper Guild?

Q: Okay. Let's stop for a couple minutes, again. Sorry.

GOLDBERG: I was told there was another Arthur Goldberg, who was the General Counsel of the Amalgamated.

Q: Maybe, I don't know.

GOLDBERG: And, Dad would get confused with him.

Q: Really?

GOLDBERG: Yes.

Q: Okay.

GOLDBERG: I have to double check that, but Henry Fleischer confirmed that. Maybe it was in Chicago or in New York, Elliot Bredhoff confirms that there was another Arthur Goldberg, who was active in the Amalgamated.

Q: Does Elliot have any recollection of this period that you are interested in?

GOLDBERG: Not particularly. Elliott comes on in 1949. Davey Feller comes on a little earlier. Tom Harris is dead, in terms of the lawyers. Carl Devoe, who would have been an absolute source, is not well. Carl is sort of in intensive care, and just isn't well. There are very few people. Guye None is dead. Henry Fleischer, who I miss, enormously, is dead. I spoke a bit to Ben Stephansky about it, but he postdates it. Phil Kaiser knows some of the people. Where was Phil during World War II? I have no sense of it.

Q: He was Assistant Secretary of Labor, under Tobin.

GOLDBERG: But, that would have been Truman, not Roosevelt.

Q: Oh, the Roosevelt period, I think he was at Borderbreak Economic Warfare, or something like that.

GOLDBERG: I have to talk to Bob Nathan. Bob would have some knowledge of some of the people.

Q: Also, a very good memory.

GOLDBERG: He is a dear, dear man. He was always kind and friendly to me, as a young man.

Q: He lives right around where we used to live.

GOLDBERG: I know. I have done the other side. Morrie, I want to come back and visit again. I need to get more focused to some of the questions of the 1930s. Is there anything

you would want me to read, before re-interviewing you? I am very interested in young men and women, and the ideological influences, and the interactions on the left, between the Socialists, the Liberals, and the Communists, and how people sorted it out. Also, the maneuvers of the Russians, the actual Russians. We know they maneuvered in Britain, but surely they must have, or perhaps they didn't, maneuver here as well, for their own ends. Those types of experiences would be helpful to me, in trying to get a handle, if something like a single mission was sold out, what kind of person would feel comfortable in doing it? We look at the Philby and McLean stuff. These were people who came from privilege, and were privileged, and yet, were very comfortable in turning over a lifetime on their country of birth. Those were habits that started for them in Cambridge, and increasingly, we have materials which show that the Russians were actively working them, and very conscious of what they were doing. I would be intrigued if there are things that you would want me to read, to be able to be more focused, in questions to you. What it was like to be a young Socialist in the mid-1930s, and later 1930s, and to be in government? It would help me, because it would allow me to get a little bit into the mind set of what was going on.

Q: I will try to think of examples. We have this attitude about the members of the left being indistinguishable among themselves, except for the Trotskyites, who had a subversion effort. I'll try to think of some that might be of use to you. Let me mention now, that you said that you had only a limited amount of time, today. What time do you want to leave?

GOLDBERG: I should leave fairly soon. I would like to come back on other occasions.

Q: By all means.

GOLDBERG: It is helpful to me. That is why the reading, or, it doesn't have to be a history, it may be that there were books you read, which not confirmed you, in your view of Socialism, but were, just useful in giving me the sense of the period.

Q: Let me ask you, have you looked at Drapers' books?

GOLDBERG: I have, but I haven't for this purpose.

Q: They give a good feel, a very broad spectrum. One of the Drapers' brothers gives you a good feel of that. I went to City College with a couple people. One of them was Starobin, who I knew well at City College, and who became a correspondent, and turned against the Communists. He wrote a book that might be of some interest to you in that respect. This was Drapers, Starobin and the writings of another guy, in New York. I will have to get who turned against them and wrote very intelligently. I'll have to confirm that with some things I have. The other person is Hanes.

End of interview