

THE NETWORK

Expositional Bulletin on Stalinist Organizations and Organizational Forms

This bulletin is initiated to simplify for the interested public an orientation of its course in the face of organizational activities among the numerous Stalinist, Neo-Stalinist, and Stalinist-influenced groups. The bulletin makes no claim to completeness, since the task of describing and analyzing the rapidly growing Stalinist movement here in the United States, in Europe, and in Assia is far beyond the capacity of only a few persons. Therefore, it is confined for most part to news items concerning the German political emigration and groups within the orbit of the German Stalinist movement.

THE NETWORK

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AMONG THE FREE GERMANS IN THE UNITED STATES

The members of the organizing committee of the "Council for a Democratic Germany," made public May 3rd, are very eager to present themselves as a "majority of Democrats," "political leaders," "educators," "religious leaders," and literati, among whom the communist party members are represented only by an insignificant minority. They hope to fool the American public by the fact that the connection of the organizers and the signers of the Council's declaration with the German communist apparatus is little known and well-hidden. Some of the American sponsors must have taken the democratic camouflage at its face value. But to one who knows, this list of 19 organizers and 65 signers shows an overwhelming majority of communists, miscellaneous contact men and fellow-travelers, not to mention those Social Democrats who have gone over to the Moscow cause and who are now entirely in the network of the Stalinist organization. The list of the signers shows even more definitely the political character of the milieu in which the new Council has its roots. Therefore we think it helpful to analyze the composition of the signers as well as that of the organizers.

Before giving a correct classification of these organizers and signers we find it necessary to make clear our standpoint on the question of former membership in the German Communist Party. In its early days this was a revolutionary mass Party which included many of the best of the German working class. The Party had a militant, anti-imperialistic and socialistic policy. Its founders and leaders, Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, who were killed by the forerunners of the Nazis - Prussian officers of the most brutal type - reflect honor on the nation and on the movement to which they belonged. In those years it was not at all a sign of corruption to have been a German Communist.

But increasingly - as the German Communist Party was transformed by the Stalinist policy into a division of the GPU - the hierarchy of the Party became Russian agents and tools. In its most active part the German political emigration was, and is, composed of these agents and tools. After the terrible defeat of 1933 the international Stalinist apparatus and its fellow-travelers helped them to escape. The bulk of the rank and file had to stay and bear the bloody burden of the Nazi terror in the collars of the Gestapo and in the concentration camps. Today, in addition to the terror of the Himmler regime there is the bombing of the approaching Allied invasion.

Many of these German workers will have learned the lesson of the past. Anti-Stalinist tendencies which were always strong among them will be even stronger after the experience of the totalitarian Hitler regime, so similar in methods and ideas to Stalinist rule.

Already the GPU chiefs of the German Communist Party in the United States and elsewhere, looking ahead to the time when they expect to supplant Hitler's dictatorship with their own, fear the opposition of the German workers. Hans Berger, in the Daily Worker of February 18, 1944, writes:

. . . Hitler has enough Ehrlichs and Alters. Their names are Schulz and Kunz and Mueller (!!) (Editor's emphasis). The problem of a future Germany is to get rid of National Socialism and of its professional instigators against the Soviet Union . . .

Schulz, Kunz, and Mueller, the German equivalents of Smith, Jones and Brown, stand here as symbols of the German anti-Stalinist workers of tomorrow.

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CLASSIFICATION OF THE ORGANIZERS OF THE "COUNCIL FOR
A DEMOCRATIC GERMANY", AND OF THE SIGNERS OF ITS

DECLARATION

I. GERMAN COMMUNISTS UNDER THE DISCIPLINE OF THE C. P. OF GERMANY, the American section of which is controlled by Hans Berger:

1. Albert H. Schreiner, writer (See Network #2, p. 2).
2. Bertold Brecht, author of "Drei Groschen Opera".
3. Felix Bochnheim, physician (See Network #4, p. 14).
4. Alfred Kantor (-owitz), writer.
5. Friedrich Georg Alexan, writer.
6. Ernst Bloch, writer (See "Profiles" this issue).
7. Hans Marchwiza, writer.
8. Albert Norden, writer
9. Karl Obormann, writer.
10. Maximilian Schcer, editor.

II. IMPORTANT CONTACT MEN, non-Party members:

11. Dr. Herrmann Budzislawski, former editor of "Die Weltbuehne" (See Network #3, pp. 15-16).
12. Horst Baerensprung, former County Governor and Police President, Madgeburg

III. ISOLATED FORMER COMMUNISTS who return to the fold;

13. Herrmann Duncker, economist.
14. Erwin Piscator, theatrical producer, now in the
New School for Social Research, N.Y.
15. Carl Cohen, instructor at Harvard University.

IV. MEMBERS OF SO-CALLED INDEPENDENT GROUPS, organized by former Communists and today also under the control of the Moscow apparatus,

A-

16. Jakob Walcher, Communist veteran, head of a so-called
Socialist Workers' Party, S.A.P.
His friends are:
17. Henry A. Mueller, working as executive secretary of
the Unitarian Social Service (also
of the Refugee Trustees' Committee).
18. Minna Flake, physician.
19. Kate Frankenthal, physician, former member of the
Prussian Diet and the Berlin City
Council.
20. Professor E. J. Gumbel, former professor of the
University of Heidelberg, now in the
New School for Social Research.
21. Fritz Sternberg, economist and writer.

B-

22. Paul Hagen,* former Communist, Research Director of
American Friends of German Freedom,
group, New Beginning. (See Profiles, p. 10)
His friends are:
23. Dr. Paul Hertz, former member of the German)
Reichstag.)
24. Hans I. Hirschfeld, former head of the Minis-) Former
terial Department, Prussia)
25. Erich Schmidt, former secretary of the German)
Labor Mouth Movement, Berlin) Social
26. Marie Juchacz, former member of Reichstag)
27. Emil Kirschmann, former member of Reichstag)
28. Georg Dietrich, former member of Reichstag) Democrats
29. K. O. Paetel, former editor of the monthly
"Die Sozialistische Nation"

* Paul Hagen's name is not given in the alphabetical order but appears at the end of the list quite unexpectedly. Is that the result of an internal discussion about the utility of taking him in now?

V. COMMUNIST LITERATI, ARTISTS AND THEATRICAL FOLK:

30. Elisabeth Bergner, actress.
31. Paul Czinner, theatrical director.
32. Alexander Granach, actor.
33. Oscar Homolka, actor.
34. Leopold Jessner, former Director-General, State Theaters of Prussia.
35. Fritz Kortner, actor.
36. Max Liebl, theater director.
37. Peter Lorre, actor.
38. Bertold Viertel, writer.
39. Karl Nierendorf, editor and art dealer.
40. Hans Richter, professor of City College, New York.

The bulk of this group has been organized in Hollywood by Hans Eisler, Lion Feuchtwanger and Bertold Brecht, who are very close to Hans Berger.

VI. FELLOW-TRAVELERS:

41. Paul Tillich, Protestant theologian, of Union Theological Seminary, N. Y. (Profile, p.12)
42. Elisabeth Hauptmann, writer, former collaborator of Bertold Brecht, and in contact with him, and H. Baerensprung, today.
43. Heinrich Cassirer, writer
44. Gunter Stern.
45. Otto Zoff, writer.
46. Frederike M. Zweig, writer, widow of Stefan Zweig.

VII. SOCIAL DEMOCRATS, CONVERTED TO THE MOSCOW CAUSE:

47. Siegfried Aufhaeuser, former member of the Reichstag and president of the Federation of White Collar Workers' unions (See "Profiles" this issue).
48. Albert C. Greszinski, former Minister of State and Prussian Minister of the Interior (See Interview, Network # 3, pp. 7, 8).
49. Herbert Weichmann, former head of the press department of the Prussian government.
50. Walter Friedlaender, former head of the Welfare Department of the city of Berlin, now in the University of California.
51. Ernst Haase, physician.
52. Richard Kroner, former professor of Kiel University, now in Union Theological Seminary, N. Y.
53. Kurt Glaser, formerly of City Council of Chemnitz, Saxony.

VIII. ORGANIZERS OF THE GERMAN-AMERICAN MOVEMENT OUTSIDE NEW YORK:

54. Willy Snell, former executive secretary of the Federation of Engineers, Technicians, Architects and Chemists, Berlin; now chairman of the German-American Congress for Democracy of Chicago.
55. Albert Wollenberger, graduate student at Harvard University
56. Hans Scherber, chairman of the German-American Congress for Democracy, Detroit.

- unknown persons but important for the ambitious plans of Felix Boehnheim to integrate all bourgeois and nationalistic-minded German-Americans in the middle west, Pennsylvania, and elsewhere into the neo-Stalinist Free German Movement.

IX. A CLASS IN ITSELF:

57. Dr. Paul Schwarz, former German Consul-General, New York
58. Hans von Hentig, former professor of law at the University of Bonn, now professor in the University of Iowa.

Dr. Paul Schwarz, who writes under the name "Diplomaticus" in the New York Staatszeitung, in the diplomatic service of the Reich in 1933, author of the book "That Man Ribbentrop," has been an outstanding journalist and also a contact man between Germany and Russia for a long time.

Hans von Hentig comes out with an emphatic profession of faith in the Pan-Eurasian ideology. See his reply in the Neue Volkszeitung of May 13, 1944, p. 4; "You close your eyes, I believe, against. . . . the first signs of the Pan-Eurasian era."

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The remaining people are negligible. They will be allowed to express their philosophy and in return will be manipulated by the trained politicians.

It remains to be mentioned, that some persons have been held off from joining the Council and signing the declaration -

- a) That is the case, for instance, with regard to all Hagen followers in the German department of the O. W. I.
- b) The German Communist Party held off some of its most prominent members, who are more helpful when working behind the scene.

Our classification reveals the organizational setup which the alphabetical order of the organizers seeks to conceal. It shows the connection between the Russian apparatus, the German Communist Party, their fellow-travelers and the fellows of the fellow-travelers. It is surprising to what extent the German Communists have been able to rig up a clear-cut majority.

No doubt it will come as a shock to many of the American sponsors, especially to such outstanding anti-Stalinists as James A. Wechsler, John Dewey and George Counts, who evidently accepted the camouflage at its face value. Note that no American Trade Unionist is among the sponsors. Those who question our analysis may find the New Masses of May 16th more convincing. An editorial in that issue hails the Council but notes:

. . . Strangely enough, the German subscribers to the Council's objectives are by far broader in outlook than the Americans sponsoring the Council's organization. Among them are such notorious Red-baiters as James A. Wechsler, John Dewey, and George S. Counts, who in the long run can only injure the Council's work.

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"LATE BUT WELCOME"

How They Got Together

"Late but welcome" - that is the salute of Hans Berger to the newly formed Council For a Democratic Germany, in the Daily Worker of May 8, 1944.

The building of the Council is really a belated affair; since the beginning of the Russo-German war in June, 1941, under the direct initiative of Hans Berger, chief of the German Communist Party in the United States and Moscow adviser to the American Communist Party, the palavers have gone on behind the scenes. Berger, with his handymen, Paul Hagon, Jakob Walcher, Albert Schreiner and Felix Bochnheim, insisted on an effective democratic camouflage and was very angry with the incapacity, the slowness and delay in procedure.

Professor Tillich and Professor Staudinger, together with Siegfried Aufhauser, discussed for years the "unification" of the active German political emigration. Unification means, always, coordination with the Communist Party, and the exclusion of all anti-Stalinist tendencies. No one was invited who was not considered reliable by the Stalinists, or who was suspected of having contacts with the anti-Stalinist refugees.

Artists and poets were to be the show window for the combination. Thomas and Heinrich Mann, if possible Albert Einstein, were to be the chief attractions. Thomas Mann withdrew after the intervention of American personalities; the Hollywood caucus did not bring enough results. Bert Brecht was

delegated to go to New York since the heroic literati around Lion Feuchtwanger and Hans Eisler could not bring things off. In New York the unhappy prospective German-Stalinist Quislings vacillated for months between their American friends who advised against this kind of Stalinist organization, and their ambition to jump on the bandwagon.

Finally the Communist Party set a deadline. Whoever wouldn't join at a certain date would not be accepted by the Free German Movement and so would lose his chance of working for General Seydlitz and Wilhelm Pieck.

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EBERT - NOSKE - HINDENBURG.

OR

PIECK - ULBRICHT - SEYDLITZ

"Will the progressive forces of our people this time be able to fulfill the historic task and accomplish a democratic revolution?"

"The unit of the anti-fascist forces is formed within the fighting underground and in the Free German Movement. . . . Differences with Hitler on questions of the strategy or on the direction of the war economy as stated by Brauchitsch, Raeder, Thyssen and Voogeler, or perhaps Schacht, are not sufficient to be recognized by the Free German Movement. A number of generals and officers, among them General von Seydlitz, have preferred to surrender unconditionally and in good time to the Red Army." - Paul Morker, in "Freies Deutschland," (November 1943 issue, pp. 6-8; Mexico).

Paul Morker, a communist veteran who has survived all purges of the German Communist Party has written the political statement quoted above, without doubt, under the direct influence of his Russian advisers. American politicians should read this statement carefully and decipher it, because it will help them to penetrate Stalinist plans for post-Hitler Germany. The Free German Movement is a deadly serious political weapon; it is not just propaganda, as American public opinion would like to consider it.

1918: Field Marshal von Hindenburg decided to cooperate with the

Social Democratic party of Germany after the defeat of the Reich army against the West. He wanted to stem the revolutionary tide and save, first of all, the German army and its officer corps for better times. "The Kaiser went, the Generals remained." If the generals agreed to a working arrangement with the bitterly hated and despised Social Democrats, they did it in the wish and hope of conserving as much as possible of the social structure of the Kaiser's Germany. They wanted the social changes, products of the breakdown of the first major offensive war, to be as small and insignificant as possible. President Ebert's short-term rule was the result of many contributory factors, - the Russian revolution, the Spartakus movement as it really menaced the conservation of the German army, the Western powers' fear of a revolution, the confusion in the rank and file of the working class itself. Hindenburg's plans failed. The Kaiserreich was not restored in its historical form - not only the Kaiser went out but, with him, the old pro-war Germany. This process was concealed by multiple factors of foreign and domestic policy. But the trend went to a break with the past, producing Hitler and the Hitler pattern of a state; a new form of German imperialism rose, backed by a totalitarian state party, a totalitarian institutional terrorism - the Gestapo.

1940-1941: Stalin, during a period of three 5-year plans, tried to arrange his relationships with the outside world in the most conservative "peaceful" manner. The German-Russian Pact of 1939 must be understood as an attempt at a policy that had only one aim: to keep Russia out of World War II until the end - as an observer and the laughing winner at its climax. Result: a struggle now in its third year has changed the order and the flavor of everything, has transformed Europe and, with Europe, the world. Nothing can stop this process now. Stalin's Russia comes out as winner. A Russian power bloc is in the making that will embrace the two oldest, most populated, and highly cultured continents of the world - Europe and Asia. Russia's aim is to organize this power bloc in Russian totalitarian style under the iron discipline of the state party and the OGPU. Germany's future place in this Russian power bloc is the crux of the question. The Muellers and the Schulzes have had such experience with totalitarian regimes and with terror that they will be opponents of Stalinist policies tomorrow.

Bind them hand and foot before they can get organized! That is the supreme role of the Free German Movement started in Moscow. If the Muellers and the Schulzes are not coordinated by Seydlitz-Pieck & Company Stalin might lose the peace. Who then will there be to tame the forces in Europe that may jump over borderlines and sweep into Russia? The Muellers and the Schulzes, together with the Ivanoffs and the Nikolajs, could create a new movement which would have profited from the defeats of the anti-Stalinists during 1925-1944.

The role of Pieck-Ulbricht-Seydlitz and their followers in New York, Mexico, London, Sweden, etc. is similar to that of Ebert-Noske-Hindenburg in 1918, in spite of the completely changed situation and perspectives. If the Tillichs are stopping in now, they step in with the dream of saving German imperialism from the terrible disasters it will face at the end of the second world war, and in order to make it a junior partner of the rising Russian imperialism.

News from General v. Seydlitz:

TRAINING AND EQUIPMENT OF THE FREE GERMAN ARMY IN RUSSIA

The Foreign News editor of the Chicago Sun published an "underground report" on May 1, 1944, which he considered to be of an "extremely reliable source." German war prisoners in Russia are being trained and equipped under the direction of General v. Seydlitz, the report stated. According to the informant, they will not be used in the invasion proper. They are supposed to serve as "occupation troops" in German cities and in the German countryside, and to propagandize the population with the line decided upon by v. Seydlitz and Moscow. It is the same line that the Reichswehr followed during the twenties and the early thirties when German officers helped train the young Red Army, and the Red Army helped the Germans to circumvent Part X of the Versailles Treaty; a line which ended with Wilhelm Keitel's and others' "selling out the army to the Nazis" and with the Tukhachevsky trial of 1937.

The informant describes the control apparatus in the Free German Movement in Russia as follows: "Each section is headed by three officials. One official is named by v. Seydlitz ("German Officers' Association in Russia"); the German group as a whole appoints the second official ("German National Committee, Moscow"- actually directed by German Party Communists and GPU agents such as Pieck or Ulbricht); and the third by Russian interests ("State authorities")." In this way, it was pointed out, a series of checks and balances is effected.

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FREE GERMAN PROFILES:

PAUL HAGEN, THE COUNCIL'S PROFITEER

The German Communists in New York have worked hard for three years to "unite" the political emigration in one well-camouflaged front. The whole "emergency visa" business was arranged zealously by Hagen with a view toward those promising future possibilities. Promising indeed; every organizer and signer hopes, in his heart of hearts, to be "someone" in the future Stalinist German government.

Many obstacles hold up the fulfillment of the plans. First, the defeat of the Russian army in the beginning of the war created a pessimistic mood which spread within the German political emigration. Second, the fear

of losing government jobs and, further, the petty quarrels, intrigues and jealousies are the permanent characteristics of a sterile emigration, beaten without having fought. They pretended pompously for eleven years that they "represented" some real and decisive organizations in Germany.

The specialist for this kind of "monkey-business" politics is Paul Hagen, the great "New Beginner." He has hatched Machiavellian plans, since he left Germany in 1933, to inflate the proportions of his group. He strove to become a figure in world politics by adopting a conciliatory line between the eastern and the western world. He had organized a secret society ironically called "The Black Hand," based on conceptions composed of an epigonic mixture of Netschajew and Lenin, colored with rosy, democratic tints, and organized with psychoanalytic methods. He and his boys and girls live in a state of permanent "delusions of grandeur."

In the last month things went none too well for the secret ruler of this world - the "New Beginner." The boss, Hans Berger, was openly dissatisfied with the democratic procedure of Paul Tillich and Siegfried Aufhaeuser in joining the cause. Public opinion, on the other hand, began to be rather suspicious of the independent political role of Paul Hagen.

Finally the day of triumph has come. Hagen can offer to his Black Hand children the opportunity to cash in on their premium: Council for a Democratic Germany. Now they can dream of the day when the Victory Ship will lie at anchor in the New York harbor to bring them back to Germany under the banner of the Free German Movement. We are afraid they are rehearsing in their secret conclaves the whole gamut of Freedom songs for the Day of Days.

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SIEGFRIED AUFHAEUSER, THE CONVERT

Aufhaeuser, a Labor bureaucrat of the old school, is one of the key figures in the Tillich committee. As the president of the German federation of white collar workers' unions, whose position was strongly competed for by nationalist and Nazist unions, he developed a special skill for emphasizing leftist views on political matters but nevertheless, and at the same time for remaining in line with the general policy of the German Social-Democratic and Unionist Labor movement.

In Czechoslovakia, early in 1933, he tried to cooperate with the group "New Beginning" of Paul Hagen and both worked together at that time with the emigrated presidential committee of the German Socialist-Democratic Party (Parteivorstand), of which Aufhaeuser was a member.

In 1935 he and other exiled Social Democrats in Prague were approached by Paul Frankon, a former ^{Communist, and later a} social Democratic member of the Prussian Diet, who arrived directly from Moscow where he headed the German department of the Moscow broadcast. It was partly by indiscretion of Paul Hagen that the negotiations with this Moscow emissary became known to the majority of

of the "Parteivorstand." The latter finished his cooperation with the leftist wing under formal pretexts and Aufhauser was ousted from the Parteivorstand.

After the Germans occupied Czechoslovakia Aufhauser came to the United States. He became very active in various fields of the so-called political life among German refugees; he joined the German Labor Delegation, became editor of "Aufbau," was, together with Horst Baerensprung, one of the top men of the "Study Group" which Professor Staudinger organized in 1942 where many of the crowd now being assembled around the Tillich committee gathered; and he posed as a radical democratic trade unionist. When most of the German refugees began to crumple before the victorious ruler of the Europe of tomorrow, he said, ambitiously:

..... If Roosevelt and Churchill are allowed to deal with Stalin, I must be allowed, too.

Aufhauser, in struggling for Moscow's cooperation, stands as a grotesque competitor to Roosevelt and Churchill.

The deal with Stalin seemed of such high value to him that he who for years had tried hard to avoid the break with his Social Democrat friends finally broke with the German Labor delegation in New York.

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TILLICH, THE CHAIRMAN

Tillich is a Protestant theologian who kept a radical borderline position within Protestantism in the turmoil of the early twenties, similar to the dialectics of Paul Barth's theological existentialism. As professor of philosophy at the University of Frankfurt-am-Main, he published "The Religious Actualization," (Religiöse Verwirklichung), containing the sentence: "One has to talk through to reality." (Man muss sich zur Wirklichkeit hindurchreden). Part of that over-estimation of talk is preserved in the way Tillich refers to the peaceful democratic words filling the Committee's public declaration when challenged by a request for a sound analysis of the genesis, the setup and actual function of the Tillich Committee. So he did, for instance, in the meeting arranged by his political friend, Hagen, in order to present the chairman of the new Council, and in his reply to Ruth Fischer's article in the New Leader.

However, that is only part of the story. After fourteen years of open and hidden civil war, and after ten years of Hitler, there are no more innocent Germans anywhere who go on living in their earlier dreams. Nobody can be found from a country closely neighboring Russia and always influenced, more than any other country, by the Bolshevik through all its phases, who would not know what the inclusion of an apparatus like the OGPU in any activity does to the meaning of words in nice proclamations.

Before 1933, in Germany Tillich belonged to an academic circle of "Religious Socialists" connected with the Social Democratic party. During his last years in this country he belonged to the board of editors of the Communist-controlled paper "The Protestant" in New York. Note that his first introduction

to the public in connection with the Council for a Democratic Germany was arranged by the American Friends of German Freedom. This organization, led by Paul Hagen, is the most important link between party members and outsiders, consisting overwhelmingly of ex-Communists who have now revived their connection with the apparatus. Tillich shares the fates of many remnants of the Social Democratic party which are gravitating toward the coming rulers of Germany or, at least, toward what they believe to be the coming rulers. Tillich represents in this tendency the theological branch, the not-at-all insignificant group of Protestants as well as ~~Orthodox~~ who are ready to become instrumental in making Stalin's new church policy effective and thereby to serve the goals of the general policy to which this new Stalinist church policy is related. These former opponents of the Reichs-Bishop and Army Chaplain Mueller (Wehrkreispfarrer) and his "German Christianity" are very likely to become the tools of a new Free German Christianity in the near future, and to play in Germany the role of the patriarch Sorgius in Moscow, and Alexei, the Metropolitan of Leningrad.

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ERNST BLOCH, SAMPLE OF FASHIONABLE
COMMUNIST LITERATI

The author of "The Spirit of Utopianism" (Geist der Utopie), an ecstatic expressionist book of the early twenties which opposed the rationalism and materialism of the Marxists with regard to Socialism. After 1933 Bloch was a contributor to various magazines controlled by the Communist Party, for example, the Weltbuechne in Paris. He defended the Moscow trials. He supported the party line during the Spanish civil war; he belongs now to the permanent contributors to the Stalinist magazine Freies Deutschland in Mexico.

Recently the Communist club, The Tribune in New York, gave him great publicity and arranged a literary gathering for him at the New School for Social Research. There he delivered a speech in the style of the Freemasons with allusions to the "light from the East." It was high-brow stuff, mystical opiate for the educated people among the presumptive victims of Communist Party terror. His friend, Tillich, assisted him in this during the discussion.

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