

लाल बहादुर शास्त्री प्रशासन अकादमी
Lal Bahadur Shastri Academy of Administration

मसूरी
MUSSOORIE

पुस्तकालय
LIBRARY

अर्वाप्ति संख्या

Accession No.

~~30~~ 2380 112283

वर्ग संख्या

Class No.

826

पुस्तक संख्या

Book No.

Let



Eugene Dennis in his cell at the Federal House
of Detention in New York.

LETTERS FROM PRISON
BY EUGENE DENNIS

© 1956 by International Publishers Co., Inc.

PRINTED IN THE U.S.A.



Letters from Prison
by Eugene Dennis

Selected by Peggy Dennis



INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHERS
NEW YORK

Preface

The letters published here were written from a prison cell in the Federal Penitentiary at Atlanta, Georgia, by Eugene Dennis, inmate No. 71488.

My husband spent four and one-half years in prison from 1950-55, serving a one year and then a five year sentence for exercising his constitutional rights guaranteed him under the First Amendment.

During those years he wrote home the maximum quota allowed—three letters a week, each limited to both sides of one sheet of standard letter size paper. Of the more than 700 letters written, about 180 appear here, either in part or in full.

Shortly after his arrival at Atlanta a special ruling was made in Washington that during his imprisonment none of Eugene Dennis' letters could be published or quoted in public, and that he could not comment specifically on the Communist Party or "communism." The penalty for violation of this decision would be solitary confinement for my husband and a denial of our correspondence privilege. All incoming and outgoing letters are censored and many times we ran into censorship trouble.

Those prison years are over now, as are the ten months of "Conditional Release" which until December 26, 1955, placed severe restrictions upon my husband's political associations and activities. I am able now to publish his letters, as had been urged upon me by many friends in the past years.

Those who had read some of these letters were not only moved by the writer's deep concern for those on the outside, his ever bouyant spirit and sustained sense of humor; they were impressed particularly with his perceptive analyses of events and trends.

Eugene Dennis was no ordinary federal prisoner. He was a political prisoner, the general secretary of the Communist Party. He and 139 men and women have been prosecuted under the infamous Smith Act which, in violation of the First Amendment to the Constitution, imprisons people for teaching and advocating non-conformist political ideas.

As Supreme Court Justices Black and Douglas in 1951, and Circuit Court Judge Hastie in 1955, noted: the Smith Act and the prosecutions under it are unconstitutional in that they abridge the individual's right to freedom of thought, speech, and assembly. In a December 1955 letter to President Eisenhower urging the freedom of the 15 Smith Act political prisoners, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Norman Thomas, the Rev. A. J. Muste, Lewis Mumford, and some forty other liberal and anti-Communist public figures emphasized that these Communist men and women were imprisoned for their political beliefs, not for a single overt, illegal act.

Gene Dennis lived his prison years in a ten by twenty feet cell which housed eight men and contained double-decker bunks, an open toilet bowl, a wash basin, one small table, an open iron-barred front allowing 24-hour guard surveillance. In an official Regulations Manual the prison administration warns the new inmate he has no rights, only "privileges" given and taken away at the will of officers and warden. In a 1951 report to Congress the Federal Bureau of Prisons describes the Atlanta and Leavenworth Penitentiaries as "replicas of the mistake made in building heavily-barred and bolted, fortress-like walled Bastilles." The Atlanta prison is described as "while originally designed in 1905 for a normal capacity of 1,200 men, it now houses 2,243 inmates in four five-tiered inside cell blocks."

Sitting on the edge of his bunk, paper balanced on his knee, eyes straining in the dim single-bulb light, midst the bedlam of eight men of greatly varied interests, backgrounds and eccentricities trying to live, read, play, and talk in that barred cage—Gene wrote to his family three times a week.

His only contacts with the Outside for four and one-half years were the daily newspapers and some current magazines, the centrally controlled radio programs, infrequent consultations with his attorney on McCarran Act litigation against the Communist Party, the two-hours a month visits and regular correspondence with his wife and young son.

These letters comprise less than one-fourth of the total letters written. They represent Gene's political thoughts and reactions to major events of the day, as he saw them and interpreted them in prison.

The task of selecting the limited number of letters which

could be used here was a complex one. It was difficult to blue-pencil out practically all the warm, and cheerful, personal passages which appeared in every letter and were a constant source of courage and optimism to me. But this became necessary as the Battle for Space grew sharper.

The limited number of letters used here which Gene wrote to his son are but a sample of the versatile correspondence which grew between father and child and give but a glimpse of the significant role these letters, together with the brief prison visits, played over the years in helping a frightened, confused, little seven-year-old boy grow into a happy, socially-aware, teenager strengthened and matured, instead of embittered, by all that happened to him and his during the formative years of his life.

In order that you may better place the published portion in proper relation to the total 700 letters written during the prison years, I would urge you to keep in mind, as you read, that I reluctantly did the following:

All the prison letters were omitted of the 1950-51 period when Gene served a one-year sentence in the New York House of Detention for challenging the legality of the House Un-American Activities Committee and charging that Dixiecrat John Rankin held his seat in Congress and in the Committee in violation of the 14th Amendment.

Every letter Gene wrote contained passages expressing intimate thoughts of his family, his personal regard for his many co-workers—especially the Smith Act defendants, his constant concern for the welfare of their families, and for the health of friends and political colleagues. These have been omitted here, with few exceptions. Practically all personal matters have been deleted.

Every letter from Atlanta included some of Gene's immediate reactions to the news of the day. I selected here those letters which developed some of these political thoughts more fully than others. In a few instances, parts of a few consecutive letters were condensed into one. Minor stylistic changes were made.

Deletion markings to indicate all these omissions were not used in the body at the beginning or ending of letters. This explains the abrupt openings and unfinished endings of the letters as they appear here.

I know that many of you who read these letters will not

agree with everything Eugene Dennis, Communist, says. That, of course, is your privilege. But it is also your right to freely examine the political ideas he advocates. Surely you have the right to debate these ideas and weigh them on their merits. This seems elementary and beyond dispute.

But the fact remains that Eugene Dennis and 30 other men and women have been imprisoned for holding these political beliefs, and more than one hundred more face similar prison terms. The fact remains that these letters were written from a prison cell. And the fact is that Gene and the original group of Smith Act defendants, in violation of constitutional guarantees against double jeopardy, still face a new indictment under the same Smith Act for mere membership in the Communist Party.

These letters are a fragment of the lives of my son and myself. But they are, too, a significant chapter in the political life of our country. It is for that reason that my son and I have decided to publish these letters.

We both wish to dedicate this book to the 16 men and women now in prison for their political views and we hope this may help further the campaign for their freedom.

We offer these letters, too, to the growing number of men and women who are coming to realize that democracy, like peace, is indivisible.

And we would like to offer this book, also, as a special tribute to the countless, many unheralded, American families who in varied ways have felt the scourge of McCarthyism, but have withstood the Years of the Witchhunt with the kind of courage and resistance which has brought about this new moment today when a heartening democratic resurgence is stirring in our country.

March 1956, New York

PEGGY DENNIS

1951—

It's only 110 days since I left here. This also marks the third time I've entered West Street [the Federal House of Detention]. But, of course, this time it is different. Much has happened since the verdict in [Judge Harold R.] Medina's court. The Vinson Decision signalizes some of the big changes which have taken place. I hope the significance of this, coupled with the progressive possibilities of this period, are driven home fast to ever wider circles of the American people. It would be of value to spread far and wide our Party's statement which [William Z.] Foster and I issued on the Supreme Court's war-instigated and pro-fascist ruling on the subversive Smith Act.

I deeply regret that during the three and one-half months I've been home, I've been restricted by ill-health. This considerably limited my activity, and was quite tough on you and the Kid. Yet I'll never forget these months, either in a political or a personal sense.

I curse, too, the fact that when we "surrendered" in court on Monday, I was so severely sick that I could hardly stand, much less speak. Yet despite all that was necessarily left unsaid and undone, the atomaniacs have scored only a pyrrhic victory. The proverb about whom the Gods would destroy they first make mad is being proved with a vengeance.

But the desperate men of Wall Street must meet with a more resolute and united rebuff by more and more millions of democratic and peace-loving people, otherwise these cannibals may succeed in destroying too much before they are shackled and defeated. But this need not be.

Damn it, I've written on and on and haven't begun to tell you all that's on my mind, nor how much I love and respect you, and miss you and the Big Fellow.

Don't you or others worry about me and my "co-defendants." We are O.K. and are in the best of fighting spirits. Our confi-

dence in our Party, our class, and our cause will always remain supreme and unshakable. (July 3)

Had a "Fourth of July picnic" today with a special dinner, a sports tournament, and all the prison "extras." We heard a ball game over the loudspeaker, but we didn't hear the Liberty Bell ring. We saw some life *a la* Smith and McCarran, but missed the Founding Fathers' concept of "life, liberty and pursuit of happiness." I thought about the six Supreme Court jurists and their contribution [Smith Act decision] to the 175th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. And I meditated a bit on the inalienable right of the people "to alter or abolish governments" when they so choose.

I also reminisced a bit about this time a year ago when I was here in my West Street cell and you and the Kid were winging your way to speak on behalf of the 11 [Communist leaders convicted under the Smith Act] at a workers' picnic at Chicago. Also thought of this past year's phase of Wall Street's aggression against the Korean People's Republic and the peoples of Asia. Couldn't help but review the course of events, including certain international developments conducive to facilitating an end to the war. This is increasingly possible despite the fact that within our country the process of fascization is becoming more menacing.

All who desire peace must bear in mind that it won't come of itself. An armistice can be achieved only if the struggle against the criminal and aggressive war policy of the Trumans, MacArthurs and Knowlands is stepped up and widened. And let it be borne in mind, too, that the American people, no less than the Korean and Chinese and Soviet peoples, don't want just a cease-fire or an armed truce. They want an armistice and the immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea and Formosa. They need peaceful negotiations leading to the conclusion of a stable peace. And this includes peaceful negotiations and normal relations with the Korean and Chinese People's Republics. (July 4)

Just finished the first lap of the journey. So here's greetings from the Pennsylvania Dutch country [at Federal Prison, Lewis-

burg, Pa.]. We may be here a few days or weeks. But the shorter the stop-over, the better. As a "hold-over" en route one is not only in quarantine but one has a more restrictive status, as well as no personal property, newspaper subscriptions or commissary. And then when the final destination is reached, and this remains Atlanta for me, one must still do thirty days in quarantine.

However, don't worry. These are minor inconveniences, except for one thing. The longer I'm enroute, the longer it will take before we can have our first visit—which can come only after the final quarantine period is over.

I got to the library and picked up four books by Mark Twain, Upton Sinclair, J. B. S. Haldane, Franz Mehring. They will help pass the time a bit. Also had an hour in the stockade (yard). Walked and talked with the fellows, all of them are O.K.

All of the local and out-state newspapers I have seen here keep featuring the progress or ups and downs of the fight for bail of the 17 [second New York Smith Act indictments]. Here and there cautious alarm is expressed about what is happening, although most of the papers applaud Saypol [U.S. District Attorney] and the judiciary. I hope wider sections of the people grasp quickly the fact that the First Amendment still is the cornerstone of the Bill of Rights and that with it violated, all democratic liberties are vitiated or interned, especially as the warmakers try to establish a full-fledged police state regime. Verily, vigilance and united action are the price of liberty and peace.

There's so very much to talk to you about, but this will have to wait. Salud to all. (July 7)

On Friday the 10th I had an interview with the Warden regarding my mail.* In addition to references in letters to such matters as trials, arrests, and bail, which are prohibited by the correspondence rules, he stated that the subject of "communism" was also taboo. He did say, however, that it was O.K. to refer to and comment on news items and current events. We'll discuss this further when I see you.

The *Atlanta Constitution* editorialized on Mother Bloor's

* Dennis arrived at Federal Penitentiary, Atlanta, Ga., on July 22.

passing,* claiming that in her last days she "recanted." This, of course, is vile slander. Yet inadvertently, and despite the vulgar misrepresentations, even the press is compelled to take note of her life's work and national stature. "Mother" loved people. She lived always among masses of people and steadfastly championed their interests. It would be fitting to find effective ways to enable additional millions to learn from her life and her social ideas, to draw inspiration and strength from her devotion to the cause of peace and social progress, from her boundless youthful enthusiasm and faith in people, from her self-sacrificing activity and great courage. These precious qualities and contributions are priceless, especially to cope with and master the problems of today, and tomorrow. (August 12)

HI-YA, SON!† I bet you had a wonderful vacation. But I would not be surprised if you are also glad to be home from camp and getting ready for school to start.

Did you know that I am working in the greenhouse down here? Besides flowers, we raise thousands of plants like tomatoes and cabbages which are transplanted and grown on the prison farm. We even have two banana trees! Shall I grow you a pumpkin for Hallowe'en?

What have you been reading recently? I just finished a book by Major-General [Oliver] Carlson called: *Twin Stars Over China*. You will enjoy reading this someday. I knew Carlson personally. He is dead now. He was a real American patriot and true democrat. He was a great friend of the Chinese people and worked for peace and friendship between the American, Chinese, and other peoples. The chances are that if he were alive today, he might be in jail, too. For he really believed in democracy and world peace; and he had the courage of his beliefs. (August 23)

It has been a quiet Sabbath. Went to the yard in the morning. Then did some mending and played dominoes till

* Ella Reeve Bloor, affectionately called Mother, was a leading Communist. She died in 1951 at the age of 89 after more than 60 years activity in the labor movement.

† Gene, Jr. was then eight years old.

lunch. Saw a nonsensical movie in the early afternoon. Spent the rest of the day and evening reading the latest issues of *Harper's*, *Newsweek*, and *East River* by Scholem Asch. There is a dearth of worthwhile reading material available in the prison library. But now and then I run across something. Last week I read Carlson's *Twin Stars Over China*; [Frederick] Schuman's *The Nazi Dictatorship*; Howard Fast's *Patrick Henry and the Frigate's Keel*. I am now re-reading *I Was There* by [Admiral] Leahy to refresh my memory on the complete texts of the Yalta and Potsdam Agreements. I am also perusing *Sons* by Siminov and a volume of short stories by Edgar Allen Poe. This trio will keep me occupied only till the weekend. Then the quest for something else readable resumes.

In the newspapers I've seen the headlines on the conclusions of the San Francisco conference state that forty-nine nations signed the Japanese treaty and that the "Soviet Bloc" was "defeated." But there are no banners heralding the conference or the treaty as a victory for peace. I guess the tycoons of the press figured they might be straining the truth to the breaking point if they were to describe the concord dictated by the warlords of the Occident as a "pact of peace."

But it won't take long to drive home the fact that it is one thing to violate international agreements and rig conference rules to put across a Machiavellian treaty, but quite another matter to succeed in establishing Wall Street's "new order" and "co-prosperity sphere" in the Far East. It is one thing to pressure, bribe, and intimidate a majority of delegates to an "Anglo-Saxon" dominated conference, but quite another proposition in these days to impose an imperialist "peace" and yoke on the new Asia, on the majority of mankind—East or West.

This does not mean, of course, that just because this separate treaty is evil and not feasible, that it will not have certain serious consequences momentarily. The S.F. conference has jeopardized further the peace of the Far East and the world. Now the architects of war aim to supplement this separate treaty with a West German counterpart. They intend new moves to revise the treaty with Italy. Together with the German Bonn and the Italian De Gaspari governments of national betrayal they seek treaty provisions establishing the "right" of foreign "defense" troops to quell "internal disorders." The peoples of Europe and Asia will counteract these aggressive moves. The big question is: how long will it take to translate the strong peace

sentiments of the American people into a far broader and a more active nationwide peace movement based on the working people and embracing all anti-war elements? (September 9)

Hi, SON! I just received your letter of last Wednesday. Since you request that I continue hand-printing my letters to you, instead of writing in script—then print it shall be. It takes longer to print by hand. But in view of the fact that I have time to spare, five years worth, this does not matter. (I mean the printing, not the “nickel’s” worth of years).

By the time you get this you will have started a new school term. When I was a kid I was always tickled when school let out for the summer vacation. But by the end of the summer I was eager to return to school. I bet you are glad, too. You will now have new and interesting things to learn, and old friends to meet again. Let me know how you like your new class, and what you are studying.

By the way, did you know that this year there are about forty million students in our country? But because of the billions of dollars being spent for war and war preparations, there is a shortage of school teachers (250,000 additional teachers are needed); a shortage of classrooms (500,000); and a shortage of school books, hot lunch service, medical care, and transportation facilities. Also, more than 25 percent of all school buildings are fire or health hazards and should be replaced. This is another reason why the people want peace, not war; why they want schools and the good things of life, not guns and A-bombs. Right?

Now that you are back in the city, I can well imagine that television will compete with your homework. May common sense win. I also hope you remember not to sit on top of the television set.

Mommy tells me you made a wooden box to hold your letters in, and that it is very similar to the one you helped me make for Mommy last year. Good. I will try and fill this box up for you. (September 15)

Yesterday Mr. Goodwyn, the Associate Warden, informed me that my letters have contained editorial comments and “directives” on national and foreign affairs and that this is con-

trary to Federal Bureau of Prisons regulations. He stated that henceforth I shall not be permitted to comment at all on national and international events. This evening I received a Memo from the Warden confirming this and stating that you have been advised accordingly regarding your letters to me.

I cannot accept this ruling. It is an illegal effort to establish a pernicious form of thought-control. It is unconstitutional, as well as despotic and inhuman. I could no more acquiesce in this matter and be silent on all social issues than I could stop thinking or breathing.

Tomorrow I will advise my attorney as to what has transpired and what should be done. I will appeal to Washington for a reversal of this arbitrary and discriminatory decision. If necessary, I'll contest this in the courts. Fortunately, you have these and other avenues of protest and petition open to you to seek reconsideration.

I'm incensed and if I should write further I might jeopardize my efforts to break through the Iron Curtain here.

(September 20)

I wrote you a note last night but did not mail it. Instead, I relegated it to where it properly belongs—to the land of limbo. For the restrictions on our correspondence are such that it is virtually impossible to write a letter with any meaning—personal, social or otherwise. Only dodos or conformists could correspond or converse in an intellectual vacuum or under conditions where cultural, political, economic, ideological subject matters are taboo, *verboten*.

I will continue to write regularly. However, if my letters should prove to be monotonously empty, I trust you will not conclude that my head and heart are likewise so.

My letter of the 26th to you was returned to me on the 28th—rejected by Censor.

(October 1)

HOWDY, BIG FELLOW! From what you write I can see that you have a very interesting school program. As for the new school rules, they are stricter than those of last year, all right. I guess these are needed because you and your classmates are older now and should act more grown up. You will find out that as you grow older and obtain more choice and freedom to do many

things you could not do when you were smaller and younger—you will also have new and more responsibilities to other people. A part of this you learn in school. But don't worry, you will make out O.K. and will benefit in the long run.

However, speaking of rules, and really tough and inhuman ones, prison rules are really something! The things we can't do would fill a library full of books. Unlike school rules, or rules for games, most prison rules are designed to break, not help or build a man or woman. They are negative, not constructive. They violate the Bill of Rights instead of applying and protecting these democratic rights. But neither prisons nor prison rules can break a man's spirit, or kill his ideas and beliefs, or stop the march of history—that is, if the man is a son of the people and champions their interests. (October 3)

It is extremely frustrating to write under present conditions with one's thoughts "interned." But while mustering everything to change this state of affairs, let's try to surmount the obstacles and make the best of our weekly letter quota.

I am glad you read chapters 19 and 20 of *The Bending Cross* [Ray Ginger's biography of Eugene V. Debs]. If you have time, you should peruse this book further, particularly the entire section entitled "World Socialism." Debs had many limitations and failings. For instance, he underestimated the need of mastering the theory and practice of Marxism and never clearly grasped the role of the vanguard of the working class. He had an erroneous position on the Negro question. Also, while he hailed the October Revolution and vigorously opposed Allied intervention to overthrow the young Soviet Republic, he did not fully understand the problems and policies of the first Proletarian State.

But Debs was an integral part of and a devoted champion of the American trade union and socialist movements. He was close to masses of working people and militantly engaged in and led many of their struggles. He made important contributions to the militant campaigns to organize the unorganized, to build the Socialist Party, as well as to develop the anti-imperialist movement of 1916-19. Incidentally, although it is not incidental, there is much to be learned from the anti-war struggles of that period, both positive and negative, especially in relation to mobilizing the trade union movement. Also the experiences

around the Canton, Ohio, trial and the subsequent amnesty campaign provide some useful lessons—here, too, particularly in relation to labor. (October 4)

We've had a spell of Indian summer these past few days which makes me very mindful of that other world, way out yonder, and of that which has gone before, that which awaits now, and particularly of that which lies ahead. This, together with thoughts on what could be done, especially in the indivisible fight for peace, liberty, and security, gives me itchy feet and makes me champ at the bit. So I think and read, think and analyze, think and envision. . . .

I wish you'd pick up a catalogue or syllabus from Columbia University on American History and on philosophy. I want the lists of required reading and reference materials. I am desirous of examining the bibliography in contemporary economic trends and developments, the history of the labor movement since the end of the 19th century, the course of foreign affairs and policy since the Spanish-American War. I would like to get a comprehensive list of books on philosophy—on the diverse schools of materialists—starting with Democritus and including the scientific, dialectical materialists. I am trying to do some planned reading in both these fields. But there is a dearth of books here, even of standard works.

Another obstacle to any serious studying here is the fact that an eight man cell doesn't provide the atmosphere for concentration. A ten by twenty foot abode is hardly a study-room when it is inhabited by two-thirds of a baker's dozen of men of different backgrounds, temperaments and proclivities. But this difficulty shall be overcome, to some extent. (October 16)

I am almost tempted not to write tonight because censorship being what it is, I'm shackled and thus am virtually at a loss what to write about. But since you're acquainted with the malady I'm sure you'll bear with me.

I came across *Common Sense* by Tom Paine. This is still a powerful and moving document. Its cogent and perceptive appeal to reason and its passionate, courageous call to action mark it one of the great treasures and heritages of our country's democratic and revolutionary traditions. While the times and circumstances have changed fundamentally since Paine's "dan-

gerous thoughts" were published, nonetheless the audacious democratic spirit and the fervent plea for united action for liberty live on and acquire new meaning for today's patriots, for those who cherish and aspire to peace, freedom and progress.

Also just finished perusing *The Final Judgment* by Victor Bernstein. 'Tis a "tale" that warrants retelling—not twice but again and again until its gruesome and fateful lessons are really grasped. This reportorial account of the story behind the Nuremberg Trial must not be forgotten. The light it casts on contemporary parallels and evil shadows should be brought out for all who have eyes to see, for all who can reason to understand and act before it is too late.

One noteworthy aspect of Hitler's "New Order" and "peace through strength" program that is sometimes overlooked is the fact that while the Nazis organized the infamous anti-Comintern Pact and brazenly broke all international agreements in unleashing their aggressions and World War II, on the domestic front they came to power "legally" and exercised the open, terroristic dictatorship of monopoly "legally." They preserved the forms of "law." Of course, they changed laws, and made new ones. And they interpreted some laws in such a way so that some of the old laws applied only to the past, or to the future, but never solely to the present. Comment is superfluous.

(October 18)

Johnny [Gates] and I had an interview with Mr. Hiatt [Warden] and Mr. Goodwyn on Friday. Among other matters, the Warden read us excerpts from a letter by Mr. Bennett [Director of Federal Bureau of Prisons] regarding our correspondence. The essence of this was: (a) we may discuss freely happenings as reported in the press; (b) however, we shall not be permitted to write what might be termed "directives" to the Party; (c) and further, in the event that our wives or any one else should publish our letters, we would be put in solitary confinement and our correspondence privileges taken away.

I feel very strongly about these special regulations, particularly the threat to introduce the "hostage" system, and I have protested. But since I will see you shortly, and you'll be able to give me the benefit of your discussion with Mr. Bennett, I'll reserve comment for the moment.

(October 22)

Like most people here and abroad I anxiously await each broadcast and newspaper for the latest news about the truce negotiations in Korea. The Chinese and North Koreans, in what is termed their "last and final offer," have made it very, very difficult for the U.N. delegation to delay further, let alone reject, the acceptable proposals for establishing an armistice. Possibly an agreement may be reached any hour.

However, one cannot forget what has transpired since July, 1950 and again since July of this year, after Malik's [Soviet Representative at the U.N.] peace proposals and after the North Koreans and Chinese took the initiative to bring about a truce and pave the way for peaceful negotiations and a peaceful settlement. One can't forget that the negotiations were disrupted deliberately on the eve of the S.F. conference on the Japanese treaty. Especially is it difficult to forget this now on the eve of the General Assembly sessions of the U.N. in Paris, and the renewed and feverish pressure to complete the process of re-arming Western Germany and incorporating the Bonn government in the North Atlantic Pact. Nor can one pass over General Collins' deprecatory statement yesterday nor Hanson Baldwin's observations [in the *New York Times*] that peace in Korea might "weaken morale" on the home front, might cause a "letdown" in the "defense" effort.

But, of course, there are other factors too. It will not be so easy to reject this latest peace initiative. The present military situation and another winter ahead, hundreds of millions actively working for a peaceful settlement, the mounting inflation and maturing economic crises in the Western Bloc countries, all make such a rejection difficult.

The latest Gallup Poll shows that 56 percent of the American people consider peace the decisive issue. Meanwhile, Russia and China, supported by India and the majority of mankind, resolutely and skillfully exert all efforts to promote a just and stable peace.

Difficulties and obstacles still lie ahead, even when a truce agreement is arrived at. But the subjective factors in the present situation can achieve the possible, as well as the probable.

(November 1)

The temperature dropped to 28 degrees this morning. Because of the inadequacy of the clothing and the antiquated

heating and ventilating system, it's a toss-up which is colder—the yard or the cell.

I just completed [Lincoln] Steffens' autobiography. All in all, quite interesting. Most noteworthy was his attitude towards the Land of Socialism which he visited and described most pithily, you'll recall—"I've seen the future, and it works." However, due to his very inadequate contact with, and lack of understanding of, the labor and Marxist movements, Steffens was unable to draw the necessary conclusions for our own, our native land. Yet, 'tis a book worth reading, a rich and colorful story of one of the "last Mohicans," a real progressive, a genuine liberal.

Now I'm putting the finishing touches on *The Time for Decision* by Sumner Welles and *Stories from Far and Near* by Lion Feuchtwanger—which I'm reading interchangeably. Significantly, in analyzing the "mistakes" of the post-war period following the holocaust of 1914-18 and in dealing with the causes of World War II, Welles emphasizes: (a) the non-participation of the USA and the exclusion of the USSR from the League of Nations; (b) the failure to demilitarize Germany; (c) the policy of first trying to throttle the USSR and then attempting to treat the Soviet Union as if it were a nonentity; and (d) the non-intervention policy regarding Spain. These observations are not unimportant, even though Welles glosses over and distorts the aims of his unsuccessful mission of appeasement to Europe in 1940, and many other related events and policies.

It appears from the press that Truman-Acheson-Dulles are going to make a "sensational peace proposal" at the U.N. General Assembly in Paris. But enough has been disclosed already to reveal that the nub and heart of this peace maneuver regarding general disarmament is the old, discredited, super-imperialist Baruch Plan, plus proposals for UN-supervised "free" elections in Germany, a la Greece and Korea.

But the very fact that Washington finds it necessary to go through these motions to launch a "peace offensive" is in itself highly significant. Inadvertently, these efforts take into account, though they aim to mislead, the deep and unabated sentiment of the peoples for peace and their fear of and resistance to Wall Street's "peace through force" program. They take cognizance of, and seek to counteract, the growing worldwide peace movement, especially the attractive power of the consistent peace policies of the USSR and the people's democracies. These

Washington moves also seek to divert and hamstring the efforts of important sections of British, French, Italian, German and Japanese capital to explore trade relations and peaceful negotiations with the "East." But after all is said and done, methinks things will turn out differently from what Acheson, Dulles & Company plan. (November 4)

Tomorrow is November 7th. 'Tis midway in the 20th Century, the Land of Socialism is midway in transition from socialism to communism, while another third of the globe is moving firmly along the path towards socialism. Only one social system has proved capable of, and desirous of, developing and harnessing atomic energy for peaceful purposes—and that is the anti-capitalist system.

Two systems and two policies: peaceful co-existence vs. "peace through strength" and monopoly aggrandizement; peaceful competition vs. warmongering and armaments race; national and social freedom vs. imperialist intervention and domination, and so on *ad infinitum*.

In 1944 [Franklin D.] Roosevelt stated that the crowning achievement of his Administration was the establishment of diplomatic and friendly relations with the USSR. In 1951 Truman (as well as the GOP) boasts that his Administration is the champion of the "get-tougher-with-Russia" policy and the father of the ill-fated monstrosity known as the North Atlantic anti-Communist Pact. But millions of Americans, especially working people, are coming to understand that there is no higher patriotism and love of country than to promote American-Soviet friendship and peaceful relations as the cornerstone for achieving national security and lasting world peace. (November 6)

I haven't seen the text of the CIO convention resolution on the Smith Act. However, the short excerpt quoted in the *New York Times* struck me as very significant, and I share your positive approach to it. It seems to me that the adoption of this resolution reflects the growing awareness of wider sections of the trade union movement to the fact that the Smith and McCarran Acts and persecutions affect not only the Communists but all Americans, and labor in the first place.

Labor, in its majority, is still pretty fuzzy about many aspects of foreign policy. This enables the Murrays, Reuthers

and Greens to get away with such shameful decisions as were adopted by both the CIO and AFL conventions on international affairs. However, most of the workers who are confused on the Administration's foreign policy fervently desire peace. They are militantly opposed to war profiteering, inflation, the onerous price levels and tax loads, and to the mounting attacks on their unions, collective bargaining rights, real standard of living, and their individual liberties. And in diverse ways, they are coming to realize more and more that all these problems are connected with the war drive and anti-Communist repressions and hysteria. The developing new strike wave is symptomatic, as is the CIO convention resolution.

Top leaders of some national unions, like [Frank] Rosenbloom, [Patrick] Gorman, etc., are fearful of rampant McCarthyism, of which the Smith and McCarran Acts and persecutions are outstanding. Others deem it expedient to take a "Left" stand on the issue of the wage freeze and to acquiesce to resolutions on democratic liberties because they are aware of the fighting spirit of the workers. They realize that otherwise they would have difficulty in putting across their class collaborationist and anti-national war policies. Be all this as it may, the CIO resolution on the Bill of Rights and the "Eleven" is extremely important.

(November 13)

Judging from the news, a thirty-day semi-truce [in Korea] may be arrived at momentarily, during which time it is possible that agreement may be reached for a cease-fire and an armistice. If so, the peace forces have a heavy responsibility and a great opportunity. To secure and enforce an armistice, let alone peace, would be a most important victory, even though a partial one, for the anti-imperialist camp and for all peoples who are striving to halt aggression in Korea and elsewhere and to prevent the spread of the war.

Already it can be said that the failure of the Korean adventure, the failure of the European "recovery" plan and the over-all goals of the North Atlantic re-armament program, plus the sharpening economic crises, the inter-imperialist contradictions, and the growing peace and national liberation movements, all constitute serious setbacks for the Washington-London-Paris Axis. The grave danger of war has not yet been removed. The aims and strategy of the architects of World War

III have not changed. Nonetheless, new opportunities are arising to effect positive changes in the international situation and to substantially advance the peoples' struggle for peace and freedom. (November 18)

Thanksgiving is practically over. As on most holidays, we had a special meal and a movie. I read for about six hours, finishing [Clarence] Darrow's autobiography, and the latest issues of *The Nation* and *Harper's*. Yet, for one or another reason, the day has gone slowly and has been somewhat trying. I can ascribe this generally to "the time, the place, and the circumstances."

I read with deep interest and great happiness of the dismissal of the Du Bois case.* Here is a case where there was a powerful confluence of the peace and national liberation issues and movements in terms and personalities understandable and known to wide masses. Also, and not least of all, here is a case that took place at a moment far more favorable to the defense—when the prosecution (Administration) was much more publicly on the defensive than it was six months ago, especially on the issue of peace. In any event, this legal-political victory should have a very salutary effect on all fronts, in the peace movement, in the fight for Negro rights and democratic liberties, particularly. (November 22)

The recent NATO conference in Rome merits fuller consideration than most commentators give it. At the opening of these much heralded sessions adjacent to the Vatican City, General Eisenhower stated "we must attempt the impossible; we must pool sovereignty." But national sovereignties do not "pool," regardless of anti-Comintern treaties and base machinations of Junior and Senior statesmen and military leaders. This is especially so now when the mighty struggles of the working class and its allies for peace and national freedom coincide with the emerging symptoms of an acute economic crisis and intense sharpening of all inter-imperialist antagonisms.

The ruling circles in the imperialist countries are faced

* Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois was tried with four of his associates in the peace movement for failure to register as foreign agents. The court ordered a directed verdict of acquittal.

with unfilled military commitments, mounting inflation, colossal dollar deficits, shrinking markets and expanding unemployment. They are confronted with mounting mass resistance within the neo-Axis countries to the perilous war drive and accompanying mass impoverishment and loss of national independence. They are faced with new and unresolved differences over how to revise all NATO schedules, quotas and burdens, as well as over the role of West Germany within the North Atlantic war alliance as a "rehabilitated" rival within the Western Community of "free" nations. In view of all this, Messrs. Acheson, Dulles, Lovett, Harriman, Eisenhower and their counterparts in the NATO council of war in Italy were able to unanimously agree upon one thing only: to reconvene in Lisbon on February 2nd.

No matter what certain compromises may be worked out in the interim, one thing is crystal clear: the Rome conference, like the others, reflects in its own distorted and inadequate way the tremendous intensification of all imperialist contradictions now taking place, and the great disparity which exists between the objectives of the Pax America atomaniacs and their ability to realize their aggressive, "super-national" imperialist aims. (December 3)

DEAR SON: I notice among the interesting books you received as birthday presents are *Tom Sawyer*, *Huckleberry Finn*, and *Moby Dick*. I read "Tom" and "Huck" when I was about your age. I liked both immensely, but I think I enjoyed "Huck Finn" the best. A few years later I read *Moby Dick*—a masterful adventure story about the sea and whaling. You have heard, no doubt, that these works of Mark Twain and Herman Melville are among the classics of American literature. Now you shall find out for yourself why this is rightly so. By the way, I am sure you will treasure in a very special way the fact that Elizabeth gave you Fred's [Elizabeth Gurley Flynn's deceased son] own copy of *Moby Dick* as a birthday gift. This will come to mean as much to you as it does to me.

I was very much interested in one comment you made about your birthday. After telling me about the many nice presents you received, you said that you particularly enjoyed the fact that a number of our friends came over to spend the evening. That's a wise observation for any man, especially if he is only

nine years old. It's pleasant to receive remembrances from friends and loved ones. But infinitely more treasured than any gift is genuine friendship and warm and enduring expressions of it, arising out of common interests and endeavors.

Speaking of birthdays, I'm certain you're planning something from both of us for Mommy on New Year's Day.

(December 16)

Xmas has come and gone—and all to the good. Holidays in prison are peculiar affairs, to say the least. They do not improve with the years. And when they are stretched out over four days like this one, at some point they border on the macabre.

The Gallup Poll which I just saw on the question of a Big Three meeting must have been a condensed release. The data on the party affiliations of those polled which you quote in your letter supplements what I read, and makes this all the more significant. It is no small matter when in the face of official governmental and bipartisan policy and gargantuan propaganda day in and day out regarding the "futility" of negotiating with the Russians, "agreements with the Russians are not worth the paper they're written on," etc., etc.—that 70 percent of the American people, including the bulk of the Administration supporters, favor negotiations and a peaceful agreement with the Soviet Union. This mass majority sentiment should give a new impetus to the movement for Five-Power negotiations and a Peace Pact—which is central and decisive in the fight for peace. And this great nationwide peace sentiment can be pooled and made effective if there is a broader united front approach, and given firmer and more skillful and audacious leadership.

I guess this will reach you about New Year's Day. Would that only I could, too. But I will, in a way. For wherever you are, my thoughts will be with you, my love will embrace you.

(December 26)

—1952—

DEAR SON: I was very glad to get your letter and to learn that you played Santa Claus at the Xmas Party for Smith Act children and their friends. I would have liked to have seen this, especially the "picket demonstration" which the kids in the play organized to free "Red" Santa from the FBI. A lot of grown-ups could learn from this. If enough people act together they could free all the "Reds" that the FBI are trying to put in prison, that is, all the Red-blooded Americans who are being jailed because they work and fight for peace on earth and goodwill and freedom to all men and women and kids.

I am reading and studying a lot, especially about politics, history and science. But I have a lot of work to do, too. At the greenhouse we have started to grow 60,000 cabbages for Spring planting. And this is not exactly play. First, we screen top-soil from the earth. Then we sterilize this soil with a steam process. Then we mix this dirt with manure to make it rich and nutritious. Afterwards, we put the soil in long, concrete beds and sow the seeds. About two weeks later when the cabbages are very young and small, we put them in pots. A few days after potting, we move the potted plants from the greenhouse outside into what are known as "cold frames." When the plants have grown a bit and are used to the natural climate outdoors and when early Spring arrives (which is usually by late February down here), then these plants are taken by truck out to the prison farm where they are planted in the earth. The sturdy plants survive and grow big cabbage heads which are later made into cole slaw or sauerkraut. Some job! When we finish with the cabbages in February, we will plant about 100,000 tomato plants. Of course, during all this time, we also grow many flowers and shrubs. Anyway, as you can see, a greenhouse is a workhouse, not a playhouse.

By the way, did you make any New Year resolutions? Some-

times this is a pretty good idea. This is different from making a wish. When you wish for something, you hope you will get it, and sometimes by luck or accident you do. However, if one is serious and makes a resolution, one does not just hope or rely on chance. If a person is in earnest and really resolves to achieve a wish or a goal (be it to play the guitar or better baseball, or to promote peace and happiness) and he or she makes every effort to help make their resolution, wish, or hope, come true, and works together with other like-minded people—then the chances are great that one's resolution, if it is realistic, can be attained, sooner or later. (January 3)

I've just read the issue of the *New York Times* containing a nationwide press roundup of editorial opinion on Eisenhower's avowed availability. About two-thirds of the cited papers favor Ike's candidacy. One or two publications which profess to be liberal and independent state they want to "wait and see" where the General stands on "domestic issues" before committing themselves. Some CIO and ADA leaders have expressed themselves likewise. This would be a most dangerous position for the labor and progressive movements to get sucked into.

It is important, of course, to ascertain the position of Eisenhower (and other candidates) on "national affairs." As far as Ike is concerned, this could be summed up as being to the Right of the so-called "Fair Deal" and far to the Right of FDR's "New Deal." But more important is the record and orientation of the General on foreign affairs, and whom he represents. He represents the predatory and bellicose policy pursued by American monopoly in its quest for world domination.

The Morgan-Aldrich, Chase National and Rockefeller Wall Street interests are offering their leading presidential candidate right from the Pentagon as "Mr. National Unity." Among other things, this points up the great need for a deep-going nationwide discussion and campaign of enlightenment regarding all candidates and issues for '52. (January 12)

I finished a biography of Tom Paine by Woodward. This contains some factual nuggets, although the book as a whole is very mediocre and clumsily written. Generally, I am managing to widen my study of American history and to enhance my

knowledge thereof. I intend to continue this in a more or less planned way despite the great handicaps of inadequate objective data and material, especially in relation to the labor movement, the Negro people, the role of the Left-wing, and economic questions. But I'll make the best of available books, including a fair amount of material on the South.

Some day I'd like to write some extensive notes on the history of the Communist Party, USA. These would be chiefly in relation to the role of the Party in the struggle for peace, against imperialist war and fascism, for curbing the powers of monopoly capital, for organizing the unorganized, championing the rights of the Negro people, the youth, and outlining the American road to socialism.

I would combine this with major emphasis on a fundamental exposition of our political and theoretical position on all basic questions of the day and the morrow. I would not attempt an over-all, traditional or chronological treatment of the history of the party. Many of the events and episodes of our early period, and even up to 1935 or so, do not press for detailed treatment or "final judgment" at this moment. Moreover, some aspects of our "internal" affairs are primarily internal matters and of interest mainly to the few, not the many. Other aspects of our history could best be written at a later period when they could be more objectively examined, and less subject to distortion and one-sided interpretation. Further, I would be inclined to put off writing (which is not identical with one's studying) a rounded-out and definitive history of the party until there are more major, if not crowning, achievements to record, historically speaking. However, such limitations would not detract from the importance of the limited kind of project I plan. (January 24)

According to the *Atlanta Constitution*, in referring to the imperialist war which the Anglo-American bloc is waging against the peoples of the Far and Middle East, Malik* is reported to have stated in the U.N. that "World War III has in fact begun." The press, of course, is not noted for its veracity in reporting such matters. The ascribed statement is not an accurate formulation and is open to much misinterpretation.

The imperialist fires which already seriously endanger world

* Soviet delegate.

peace will continue to spread and could develop into a world conflagration if the "creeping," "undeclared," and "local" wars which American imperialism and the older colonial powers are now waging against the peoples of Korea and Formosa, Malaya and Indo-China, Egypt and Tunisia are not checked and brought to an end in the interests of the people.

However, the generally victorious course of the post-war national liberation struggles, the mighty sweep of the world peace movement, and the growing influence of the peace policies of the anti-imperialist and Socialist forces, make it increasingly possible to prevent the acutely menacing flames of a new imperialist war now threatening to engulf the globe and being transformed by the atomaniacs into a third world war.

The possibility for averting a new world war still exists, and in some respects is being enhanced, even while the war danger is clear and present. This is of great importance. By ever greater unity of action and by timelier and more effective mass struggles, the peoples can still convert this possibility into reality. Anyhow this, in part, is how I would place the question. (February 3)

I put in a strenuous day at the greenhouse and am really dog-tired. The temptation is great to turn in and to postpone writing until tomorrow. But the chances are I'll be just as fatigued for we're entering our busiest season with all the spring sowing, planting and potting.

I was extremely interested in the highly significant news and views on the recent elections in India. I would be greatly pleased if you'd write further on this. The democratic and anti-imperialist trends and developments in India are of profound importance. At long last, and as was to be expected in this postwar situation, especially after the liberation of China, the peoples' and national revolutionary movements in India are now entering a new stage of great historical import. This is another factor, one of many even more important ones, which helps corroborate the estimate that while the war danger is great, World War III is neither imminent nor inevitable; and that the struggles of the peoples for peace and freedom are rising and daily gaining new strength and are bound to triumph.

(February 5)

I am deeply cognizant of the fact that today is Lincoln's birthday. While GOP spokesmen desecrate this anniversary and the democratic principles for which he stood (just as their Democratic counterparts do regarding Jefferson), it's timely that the American people honor Lincoln, keep alive the progressive traditions associated with his life and struggles, and carry forward, under the new conditions of today, Lincoln's efforts to establish a government of, for, and by the people.

In trying times like these—when the country is plagued by Smith and McCarran Acts, when loyalty to Wall Street and its drive towards war and fascism is being palmed off as loyalty to America—it is well for the people to heed Lincoln's sage counsel: "This country with its institutions belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it, or their revolutionary right to dismember and overthrow it."

At this critical juncture when false prophets and men in high places—the spokesmen of Mammon and Mars, the would-be architects of World War III—demagogically proclaim that the road to peace lies in "creating situations of strength," in pursuing a disastrous atomic arms race and in encircling the globe with military bases and a network of Hitlerite anti-Communist pacts—it is more than appropriate to remember Lincoln's credo: that America's national security does not lie in mighty military establishments and entangling war alliances. He emphasized that the bulwark of our national defense lies in the strength and unity of the people, in their welfare and liberty, in their devotion to peace and democracy, whose price is eternal vigilance and struggle. In opposition to the policy of jingoism, aggression and annexation, Lincoln stressed, in his own way, a policy of friendship and peaceful cooperation of the peoples and nations, and he opposed the unjust, expansionist war against Mexico.

While the McCarthys brand proletarian internationalism as "treason" and the State Department slanders the partisans of peace—this is the time to bear in mind the great patriotic truth uttered by Lincoln: the strongest bond of human sympathy and solidarity, should be one uniting all working people of all nations.

At a moment when pro-fascist Southern Bourbonism is on the rampage, when repressive terrorism and second-class citizenship

are the lot of the Negro people, it is vital to understand the significance of such views advanced by Lincoln and his followers as: this nation cannot endure half free and half slave; labor in the white skin cannot be free while labor in the black is enslaved; all that serves labor serves the nation; all that harms labor is treason to America.

These are some of my Lincoln Day thoughts.

(February 12)

I read with special interest the news items on some of labor's activity on the economic front which you mentioned in your letter of the 11th. I wonder to what extent labor is connecting its economic problems with the struggle for peace, particularly with the issue of disarmament? Such high moguls of industry and finance as Wilson and Reed of General Motors are urging a cut in arms outlay and the rate of arms production. One would imagine that the peace forces, especially wide sections of labor, would not lag behind. In fact, one would expect they would utilize such rifts in the camp of monopoly to push forward more boldly the people's peace movement generally, and the campaign for disarmament in particular, to broaden this movement and to strengthen labor's progressive leadership in it.

Coupled with labor's deep and growing concern as to where the arms race is leading, labor also rightly is restive and increasingly resistant to shouldering the ever mounting costs of the war program for which it has paid for already in lives and blood, higher prices and taxes, union curbs.

To effect a substantial reduction in the arms budget and expenditures, as an integral part of the fight for universal disarmament and a five power peace pact, would mean a serious check on the imperialist war drive and would promote world peace. It would mean to reduce taxes and prices and inflation, and give a shot in the arm to the building and consumer industries, and check the growth of unemployment in this branch of economy.

Arms reduction would facilitate the reduction of all barriers and restrictions that Wall Street has placed in the way of normal, friendly, prosperous trade with the East and the Marshallized countries and dependencies as well. It would mean all this and more. If this were grasped and a diversified united

front policy were pursued, much could be done in a short space of time for the benefit of labor and the nation.

(February 17)

Tomorrow marks the opening of the trial of the 17 [in New York City]—the pivot case in the current prosecutions under the pro-fascist Smith Act. It is true the outlook in Foley Square is not exactly rosy. But in an overall sense, and before this politico-legal struggle runs its full gamut, the outcome could turn out somewhat different from that sought by the Inquisition and conceded by those who have fallen victims to despair and inevitable defeat. Whatever remnants of legalistic illusions may still exist can be relatively easily coped with, especially within progressive circles.

The biggest immediate danger will be moods and tendencies of fatalism, defeatism, and their impact on policies and tactics. I am sure there will be the will and effort to uncompromisingly defend basic principles and to fight courageously irrespective of the course of the battle. But there must be, too, a stubborn determination *to try to win*. This spirit, I am sure, will permeate all aspects of the struggle in and outside of the courtroom. This is important in order to help create the conditions for checking reaction somewhere along the line, for winning time, support, and certain partial victories in the process of struggle, even now before the tide turns and national affairs are shaped eventually in a new direction favorable to protecting and advancing the liberties and welfare of the American people and the cause of world peace.

Sundry other March days of past years come to mind too. The opening of the historic Foley Square trial of the 11 three years ago, as well as my release from West Street a year ago on March 12th.

I am reminded, too, of March 6, 1930, and the great demonstration of 50,000 unemployed in Los Angeles—that honorable contingent of the more than one million American workers who marched for jobs, relief and social insurance on that memorable day in unison with tens of millions of workers of other lands in a day of worldwide solidarity for security and a peoples' solution of the devastating world economic crisis of moribund capitalism. I vividly recall our court trial that followed; our life together then, and the eventful years that fol-

lowed. Not least of all, I'm mindful of the fact that the "lost" battles of March 6, 1930 were the harbingers of a new upsurge of the labor and Communist movements and were the seeds of the unemployment and social security programs which have since become the law of the land. (March 2)

Spring seems to have arrived and the weather has been mild and sunny. So the yard periods have been quite relaxing, even though the air kindles one's wanderlust.

I was interested in the news regarding the formation of the Committee to Defend the Smith Act Victims in New York and similar activity in Los Angeles. The heart of the fight-back against all of the Smith Act attacks and prosecutions is, of course, the defense of the First Amendment, the movement for repeal of this unconstitutional law, and for amnesty to all those imprisoned under it. The fight on these issues will influence the tempo of further prosecutions and will affect the course of pending litigations.

The movement for repeal can become an influential factor in the coming elections, particularly in view of the official position taken by the CIO and ADA which opens the way to initiating many broad united front activities. The issue of amnesty is no less vital. In fact, it may serve to rally a broad and most potent mass movement, extending and reinforcing all aspects and objectives of the civil liberties campaigns.

It is significant that very few so-called sedition or criminal syndicalist laws ever have been repealed outright in the U.S., or declared invalid by the Supreme Court. But many of these laws that have remained on the statute books have been rendered inoperative and null and void. A number of political prisoners in the past have been pardoned or paroled because of powerful and broad amnesty and defense mass movements which were coupled with extensive progressive political mass actions. The history of the Alien and Sedition Laws of 1798 is a case in point. The nationwide campaign that forced the release of Debs in the midst of the reactionary wave of the 1920's is another. Current experiences in Greece and India are also highly instructive. This whole question certainly merits far greater consideration. (March 9)

When the Supreme Court rendered the far-reaching, unconstitutional and pro-fascist Vinson decision on the Smith Act, it served notice that at that juncture there were only certain limits to the course it would pursue in facilitating monopoly's drive towards fascism and war. Prior to this, there were many warnings which clearly demonstrated that the process of fascization of the state apparatus long underway had penetrated deeply if not engulfed, most of the judiciary and its highest tribunal. Since June 4th, there could be no doubt of this. Certainly the verdicts on the Feinberg law* and the status of aliens (which affects all Americans—citizens and non-citizens alike) have further confirmed the fact that the postwar offensive of monopoly capital is far from over, and that the end is not yet in sight.

But from this it would be a mistake to conclude that this extremely dangerous situation is hopeless, or that it is impossible to check the crucifiers of the Bill of Rights, until reaction "has run its course." For even in the juridical sphere, the fact that the decision on bail for the foreign born† was 5 to 4 and that on the contempt case‡ 5 to 3, reflects indirectly, although very inadequately, the highly significant fact that since June 4th there has been a rise of mass activity of important sections of the democratic and peace forces. This, even though yet limited, must be understood, cultivated and broadened.

Some may be further intimidated and disoriented in the period ahead. Many more, however, will shed their lingering illusions and sole reliance on the Supreme Court and the Administration and, despite the position of most of the top labor and social-reformist leaders, will move towards common action and many-sided, mass political and economic struggles—even though the going will get rougher and tougher before the political situation changes for the better.

An instructive case in point is the partial victory of the pro-peace forces in compelling the UMT Bill to be recommitted in the House. The unprecedented drive to press UMT through

* The U.S. Supreme Court upheld a N.Y. State law directing Boards of Education to expel teachers belonging to organizations listed by the U.S. Attorney General as "subversive."

† U.S. Supreme Court in a 5 to 4 decision, ruled that non-citizens can be held without bail pending deportation.

‡ U.S. Supreme Court upheld in a 5 to 3 decision a contempt conviction for refusal to disclose to a grand jury names of other persons.

this session of Congress included the sponsorship of Truman, Dulles, and Russell, and the full pressure of the Administration, the Pentagon, the American Legion and the Chamber of Commerce. The momentary rebuff given to this high-powered combination cannot be ascribed solely to the fact that this is an election year. It is the result of the strong anti-militarist traditions and peace desires of millions, enforced by a coalescing of joint and parallel legislative and public activity of all sections of labor and farmers, the Negro people and Protestant and Jewish denominations, including both anti-imperialists and certain supporters of NATO who took a common stand on one single issue—UMT. Unquestionably, such an essentially pro-peace alignment can be welded into active and organized alliances around other single issues and limited objectives, such as for a Korean truce, disarmament, Five Power negotiations, in defense of the First Amendment, and other issues.

(March 11)

MY DEAR SON: On your last visit we started to discuss a recent experience you had with some vile name-calling. Tonight I would like to continue our discussion with a poem I have written for you. It's pretty rough around the edges, but I am sure you will savvy what I am trying to say. So here goes:

NINE YEARS WISE

*In 1952 there was a little man named Gene
Who was loved by people who have seen
That he is cheerful and helpful, not mean;
A boy of his word, fearless, friendly and keen.*

*There came a day, after his Dad went to jail
When he was called bad names by an ignorant young male.
These epithets were dirty and foul—false, not true,
and they made young Gene both furious and blue.*

*But Gene is wise, even though young in years
This much he knows, have no doubt or fears:
Jefferson and Lincoln, Douglass and Debs, were slandered in
their day
And by Tories were called names in every kind of way.*

*So for those who slander him and his Dad
And their ideas and patriotism try to call bad,
Gene has nothing but contempt
In fact, he grows more confident.*

*For Gene is a fine young son of the people
And as he grows tall and straight as the steeple
He will be proud to have the whole world know
That he fights for justice and peace, against the people's foe.*
(March 13)

It has been a beautiful day but I did not spend much time outdoors. I was too engrossed in completing volume II of the *Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass*, which I had started reading Friday evening. This is by far the most important volume of the series yet published. It covers the Civil War years 1861-64. For the most part it contains the unwritten history of this period. It deals particularly with the great role played by Douglass and the Negro people, as well as by the organized Abolitionists, in grasping the basic content and aims of the war, and in rallying broad masses of people as well as influencing the Lincoln Administration to move from a fumbling and vacillating position of "saving the Union" to that of vigorously prosecuting the war and officially abolishing chattel slavery—which was also the only way to win the war and thus preserve the Union.

Douglass and most of his co-workers did not grasp or concern themselves with the fundamental economic questions involved. Douglass, of course, was not a Marxist, yet he appears to have been influenced somewhat by some of Marx's writings in the *New York Tribune*. While Douglass was not too aware of the liberating role of labor and the struggle against wage slavery, he did yeoman's service in pioneering and fighting for Negro liberation and Union victory. He emerged as the foremost leader of his people and one of the greatest leaders and patriots of the nation. One of the many signal contributions of Douglass was his influential role in preventing the dissolution of the Abolitionists in the midst of war, and in strengthening the independent positions and activity of these progressive groupings simultaneously while helping orient and build national unity to win the war. This book is a real treasure and

today, more than ever, deserves to be studied and its lessons grasped. (March 30)

DEAR SON: Today being April Fool's Day, and since you are a budding poet, methinks I will write thee a poem. Befitting the occasion, it shall be mainly nonsense, although we will add a little common sense for good measure:

SENSE AND NONSENSE

*You like riddles and puzzles too
So what about some foolish and tricky questions—
can do?*

*Let's go then, my wise buckaroo,
And see how you make out with one or two.*

*Is the moon made out of green cheese
Or is that a bunch of hooey?
Is a whirlwind an overgrown hot-tempered breeze?
Or would you also answer: phooey?*

*What has no wings and yet does fly?
Does not live, yet passes on, and sometimes dies?
It's not a bird, not a plane, not even an eerie rhyme.
Give up? Why, it's nothing else but Time.*

*When tyrants trample on the Bill of Rights
What's a man worth who won't speak up and fight?
As merchants of death prepare for war and human
lambs to flecce
Is it not time for folk to impose their will for peace?*

(April 1)

I was very interested in the news item on the World Peace Council sessions in Oslo. The decisions taken regarding bacteriological warfare are most timely and urgent and should meet with a powerful response in all countries, including our own. The international agreement reached at Geneva in 1925 pledging the signatory nations from waging germ warfare or using poison gas (it was a moral pledge, a declaration of in-

tentions, minus "census," "inspection," or "controls") was initially signed by a committee which included one U.S. official representative.

However, the treaty was never ratified by the U.S. Senate. In fact, it was never reported out of committee. The reasons for this certainly should be unearthed and publicized (the influence of the Du Ponts, etc., in this matter could be easily established).

But there is another angle to the history of this accord and how it fared in the U.S. In late 1946 or early '47, after the "get-tough-with-Russia" policy was openly avowed and aggressively pressed, Truman had the draft of the Geneva treaty withdrawn from the files and consideration of the Senate! I referred to this in answering the questions of the Youth.* Anyway, herein lies a most significant story which is not disconnected from the "research" projects and staff "lectures" that prompted the Air Force to bring the Nazi war criminal, Schreiber, to this country recently (regarding which there was a storm of protest leading to the cancellation of the visa of this germ warfare expert).

While there is bound to be some confusion among many honest peace forces in this country concerning the grave charges of the Chinese and Koreans on the initiation of germ warfare in Korea by the "Allies," the great majority of Americans, like other peace-aspiring people, will actively support a mass movement to outlaw poison gases and bacteriological and atomic warfare. Large numbers of people and organizations will condemn the wanton and criminal "experiments" already made by the U.S.A. in the Far East, as well as the colossal appropriations for research and preparations for gas and microbe warfare. (April 17)

I was interested no end in the strike data you mention. I had read about the largest and most important ones but was not familiar with some of the local, though nonetheless significant, struggles. The current strike wave is of great importance and is marked by a number of notable features. One, of course, is its scope, which includes nationwide struggles in such basic industries as steel, oil, and communications, and many local and regional struggles in auto, lumber, and transport. Then, too,

* 21 *Questions About War and Peace, answered by Eugene Dennis, 1950.*

while the economic pressures (the hellish gap between limping wage increases or freezes and unchecked inflationary prices and mounting tax rises, etc.) is a prime factor underlying the upsurge of the strike movement—these struggles are by no means pure-and-simple economic disputes. They express the growing resistance in labor's ranks to the domestic impact of the colossal armament program, as well as to certain aspects of the war program's "foreign aid," "mutual security" projects and its "police actions." They reflect a groundswell of militant reaction to the protracted negotiations, to the stalling and paralyzing maneuvers of industry, government, and the reformist labor leadership in railway, steel, telegraph and telephone, oil. They exhibit a high degree of labor solidarity and trade union unity of action for specific economic and union demands, such as in the oil strike and in the recent telephone stoppage.

It is worth noting, too, certain political trends in a number of mass unions led or influenced by Social-Democratic leaders (auto, textile), which include the demand for repeal of the Smith and McCarran Acts, strong anti-Eisenhower, anti-Taft, and also anti-Truman sentiment. This is linked with increased sentiment for some form of independent political action and with general expressions for peace. These developments are most significant and open the way for forging wider and more effective united labor and people's action for economic security, democratic liberties, and peace. (May 13)

Had a very busy Sabbath. Did quite a bit of reading. In fact, I managed to complete three books I've been perusing interchangeably the past week: *James Madison* by [Irving] Brant, *Architects of Ideas* by Trattner, and *Sketches* by [Mark] Twain.

In connection with the amnesty campaign which you comment on ever more frequently: some consideration might be given to the rich lessons of history and to utilizing the wealth of experience here and abroad. Good use could be made of both the progressive and reactionary examples in our American tradition. The amnesty of Debs and the broad nationwide mass campaign that brought this about is perhaps the outstanding lesson of a democratic victory in this arena.

On the other side of the coin are a host of shameful federal and state pardons for diverse venal elements and swindlers and amnesty for war criminals. Regarding the latter, not only are the

more recent World War II experiences replete with examples, but there is, too, the record of general amnesty granted to all Confederate leaders a year or so after the Civil War. Although Jefferson Davis was indicted twice for treason, he was never brought to trial. Jeff Davis did not merely conspire to advocate and teach the necessity of overthrowing the government of the U.S. He helped organize and lead a counter-revolutionary armed rebellion and secession which plunged the nation into a bloody life and death struggle. For this, three years after the end of the war, Jefferson Davis received a presidential pardon!

(May 18)

The *New York Times* reports that the government's first witness, [Louis] Budenz, has completed his paid fabrications in the current New York Smith Act trial. It is erroneous to characterize this despicable creature as a "stoolpigeon" or "informer," as the press quotes from the opening statements of the Defense. Such an inadequate and inaccurate characterization may indirectly give aid to the 20th Century Inquisition which is trying to palm off Budenz as an "honest turncoat" who has repented and is now revealing the "truth."

Moreover, to use the term "informer" (which is applied to ordinary "plants" and squealers) in the instance of Budenz (and others of his ilk) tends to obscure his special role as a clerical-fascist agent-provocateur, as a manufacturer of anti-Communist "evidence," as a new type of hireling needed and trained by the modern masters of the political frameup and the proponents of the police-state and a third world war.

(May 21)

The arrests of [Jacques] Duclos, [André] Stil, and some 700 peace demonstrators in France, coupled with the nationwide raids on Communist headquarters, are political happenings of great import. One does not have to be a patriotic French worker to understand that these pro-fascist moves were instigated by ultra-reactionary and anti-national interests and foreign pressures. There is an inexorable connection between these repressive measures and the separate treaty, re-militarization program, and war alliance, just concluded by Acheson, Eden and Schuman with Adenauer; as well as with the arrival of Mac-

Arthur's successor in Paris to assume supreme command of Washington's aggressive military axis, NATO.

It does not require a prophet to foresee that these events, particularly the new steps initiated in preparation for a new world war such as the signing of the criminal war compacts at Bonn and Paris, signalize sharper and bigger political mass struggles ahead and a new phase in the people's fight for peace and democracy.

The police state action taken by the Pinay government against the French Communists and the powerful peace movement it influences will of course fail. The imitators of Hitler and Laval have miscalculated the actual relationship of social and national forces on a world scale, and within France. Postwar experience confirms this and it is evidenced now by the nationwide protest demonstration organized by the French Communist Party after the imprisonment of Duclos and the call of the trade unions for work stoppages and a 24-hour political strike. Every expression of international solidarity, especially from these parts, would register effectively too. (June 1)

DEAR SON: The biggest part of our sowing, planting and potting for this year is nearly finished. Believe it or not, we are now starting to grow chrysanthemums for the Thanksgiving season and poinsettias and Xmas cherries for the Xmas period. In August, however, we will put out another crop of winter cabbage, about 50,000 plants. And during July we will sterilize and fertilize a lot of soil and make about 150 tons of compost (a special kind of fertilizer for enriching the soil).

In your letter of the 16th you mention that you can't decide yet what career to choose. I know that I, like most other kids, was undecided on this score for many years. I changed my mind a number of times before I really knew what I wanted to do—and why. In my late teens I gradually came to know that my life was inseparable from the labor and people's movements. Sometimes the kind of job one does in order to make a living becomes quite secondary to one's cultural and scientific interests and hobbies, and especially to one's political activities.

Anyhow, Fellow, I'd not worry too much about all this just yet. Experiment plenty; widen your knowledge and interests in many fields as you grow up—and everything will turn out okay. (June 19)

I finished reading [Francis] Biddle's *The Fear of Freedom*. This is worthwhile because it offers some insight to the main trends in the ADA groupings regarding civil liberties and the possibilities for achieving united democratic action with many of these forces for specific objectives, limited as these may be. While Biddle clings to his strong anti-Communist bias, he is alarmed at McCarthyism and McCarranism. He is opposed to the McCarran Act, loyalty witch-hunts, the Un-American Committee, etc. While he does not seem disturbed at the conviction of the 11 per se, he is apprehensive about further indictments under the Smith Act and considers the Act itself "unwise."

While glossing over the role of the Truman Administration in the current onslaught against the Bill of Rights, as well as the organic connection between the war program and the mounting danger of fascism—Biddle and his associates are seriously concerned about the state of the Union. Within certain limits, and for a certain interval, these forces might take a positive position in specific campaigns in defense of the Bill of Rights, and might cooperate with others in this connection. There would be, undoubtedly, no end of political headaches in such instances. But this should not deter or frighten anyone from making systematic efforts to facilitate cooperation, common or parallel action for the repeal of the McCarran and Smith Acts, etc., with Biddle and like-minded gentry. Quite the contrary!

(June 25)

Congress continues on its ultra-reactionary binge with a vengeance. During this past week it petitioned Truman to invoke a Taft-Hartley injunction against the steel workers. It emasculated the remnants of already ineffective price and rent controls. It over-rode the President's veto of the Walter-McCarran Alien Bill—the counterpart of the subversive McCarran Act. And so on and on.

All this was done not only by the Dixiecrat-GOP coalition, but with the support and connivance of not a few Fair Dealers, and in the face of only lip-service "opposition" from the Administration. It was accomplished, too, because wide popular opposition to the above measures was not concerted and did not result in timely unity of action of all opponents of these measures, especially of the decisive mass organizations of the working people. And this was due to the divisive policy of the re-

formist leaders and the sectarianism and opportunism of much of the Left.

The pressing question now is: to what extent will the lessons from all this be utilized to strengthen and extend the economic and political struggles of labor and its popular allies, such as in the steel strike and in the elections, especially on a Congressional level? With flexible but resolute organizing initiative and a bolder united front approach, much could be done to influence new political alignments, electoral coalitions, tickets and grass roots mass movements—particularly in the large and small industrial centers and in the congressional districts.

(June 29)

As you well know this past weekend marks the third consecutive July Fourth that I've spent behind prison walls. While I'm not prepared as yet to prophesy that I'll not spend any more Independence Days as one of Wall Street's Cold War prisoners, I'm confident that the 11 *et al.* shall not spend many more Fourths incarcerated.

Meanwhile, I used the "holidays" to get in a sizeable chunk of timely and worthwhile reading. Befitting the occasion, I dug deeper into the history of the first infamous Alien and Sedition Acts. I concentrated on the lessons to be drawn from their defeat which was brought about by a combination of effective and sometimes underground activity of the Jeffersonian Democratic societies and the powerful open political mass action organized by Jefferson and his followers through the instrumentality of a new democratic coalition and political party, the Republicans. I read, too, the memorable story *The Last Days of Sevastopol* as well as the special Civil Liberties number of *The Nation*.

Despite its limitations, this issue merits wide publicity. True, many of the articles deal only with some of the effects of the current wave of pro-fascist witchhunts and repressions and not with the causes, nor with the cardinal question of forging all-inclusive unity of struggle of labor and all democratic forces. Also, the struggle for the rights of the Communists as the first-line defense of the democratic rights of all Americans is very inadequately understood. However, on the whole, the magazine vividly pictures how the emerging police-state system operates in certain areas and some of the dangerous consequences. It

also reflects the growing apprehension and some of the new militant trends of many diverse and influential progressive and liberal forces and groups who, if properly approached and influenced, could be drawn into united action in defense of civil liberties and peace.

Am going to listen to MacArthur's keynote address to the GOP convention. As of this moment, it looks like the Eisenhower forces are picking up the extra margin of votes to secure the nomination. If this is so, and if Harriman should be the Democratic opponent (by no means assured yet), then the two-party system would offer another Wall Street "natural"—a banker's general vs. a general's banker. (July 7)

I read in the *U.S. News* the full report of the Senate subcommittee, headed by McCarran, on Lattimore, the State Dept., *et al.* While the dispatches in the *New York Times* gave only a capsule summary of the committee's "findings," the report itself merits careful scrutiny and public challenge. It points up the menace of the McCarran Act and highlights again that the targets of this pro-fascist onslaught range from the Communists and all forces Left of Center to ex-New Dealers and Fair Dealers—and does not stop even there.

And the technique of "parallelism" and the wide range of "guilt by association," no matter how remote or circumstantial, is spelled out so plain and sinister that even dyed-in-the-wool Right-wing reformists and conservatives can see the writing on the wall, and may be impelled to join in the counter-attack. Maybe, too, some of these personalities and groupings may begin to understand that as the McCarrans and McCarthys falsify against and demagogically attack the Achesons and Marshalls, the New Deal and the Yalta-Potsdam accords—so too, and even more so, they vilify and lie about the Communists. (July 10)

In today's *Atlanta Constitution* Steffan Andrews has a feature story entitled: "Aldrich, Rockefeller, Ford—Ike's Backstage Strategists." Bearing in mind that the list should be extended to include Morgan, Mellon, Draper, *et al.*, and that the Messrs. Economic Royalists and Atomic Imperialists also have one foot in the other major party and are playing both sides of the street—the Andrews piece hits the nail on the head. It reveals, un-

wittingly, why the nomination, and whom the GOP ticket and program really represents.

The nomination of the bankers' General, the Chief of NATO, for the presidency, and of the un-American witchhunter and co-author of the McCarran Act for the vice-presidency, epitomizes Wall Street's plans for a more aggressive imperialist policy in both Asia and Europe, and openly proposes to pass over from the "containment of Communism" to a policy of "liberation." It commits the GOP to a program somewhat close to that of the "preventive war" crowd.

I believe it is important to examine the election situation anew from the viewpoint of certain *tactical considerations* (not the main line). While the outcome of the Democratic convention probably will not alter progressive judgments in this respect, the election situation should be studied more deeply and continually, particularly in regards to tactics related to the presidential race and not least of all regarding the congressional contests, in terms of influencing alignments and mass movements on the decisive issues of peace and democracy. (July 13)

The program the Democrats adopted at Chicago commits the party to continue the Administration's bi-partisan war program and foreign policy in all its aspects ("containment of Communism," "creating situations of strength," etc.), and pledges a continuance of Truman's general domestic program (as practiced, not promised). The ticket is certainly not basically different from the present. It is not irrelevant that Stevenson and Sparkman are acceptable to virtually all wings of the party and most of labor's top officialdom, and are actively supported, at the same time, by most of the Southern Bourbons and the Farley forces. But the combination is received, at present, with reserve by certain sections of the labor movement with distrust and hostility by the Negro people. While Nixon may well be an albatross around the neck of Eisenhower, Sparkman will prove to be somewhat of a millstone around Stevenson's.

This election is not in the bag for either major party. It still has to be won, although the Democrats perhaps have the toughest sledding. For the Democrats to win, they will have to buttress their sizeable labor and farm support by: (a) concrete moves towards peace, i.e., a truce in Korea; (b) by some concessions

and reassurances to the Negro people; and (c) by developing some kind of counter-offensive against McCarthyism.

In any event, the progressive labor movement can exert considerable influence in the coming campaign by recognizing Wall Street's major concentration in the GOP, by pursuing an independent policy, fighting boldly on decisive issues, and by unfolding a consistent, yet flexible, tactical and united front policy. (July 27)

Methinks I'll ask a number of questions on the election situation, although I am fully aware the answers are neither simple nor yet fully available. For example:

What emphasis is being placed by progressive and pro-peace forces on making the struggle for peace and civil liberties the decisive issues in all election activity, including among those sections of the labor and Negro people's movements which either support the Democratic ticket or are pro-Eisenhower, or who may be inclined to "sit this election out"? Do those who understand that both major parties are parties of monopoly and have common objectives, also realize that there are important partisan differences over how to achieve their common monopoly ends? Is there an awareness of important different areas of electoral support which labor and the organized peace forces could utilize in their own interests? Do advanced progressive forces emphasize that a correct policy of opposition to the two Big Business parties should not mean an indifference to, or even a neutral position towards many individual candidates and congressional contests? Is main attention being focused correctly on the urgent need to develop a "defeat-at-all-costs" and a "major-fire-against" tactic to help rout and defeat the most aggressive reactionaries and warmongers in both parties? What approaches are being considered by progressive groups to influence the popular forces which now support, in one way or another, the Democratic ticket? Above all, are there any indications of widespread awareness of the many new favorable opportunities for developing independent political action, pro-peace and democratic front grass roots campaigns, local or congressional electoral coalitions, etc. on specific issues of peace, McCarran, Smith, Taft-Hartley Acts repeal, affirmative action on civil rights, and on vital economic issues?

Wish I were out there to help mould the answers. (July 28)

I was stimulated this weekend by much cogitating about Labor Day, the labor movement, and its vanguard; where labor stands, its strength and its weaknesses; its problems and responsibilities for developing its mass activity and independent role in the election campaign and the all-decisive fight for peace.

I read the text of Eisenhower's address to the American Legion. In this sinister foreign policy pronouncement, he underscores the fact that Dulles is his *alter ego*, that his credo is "Wall Street *Ueber Alles*," and that his chief tools of trade are imperialist intervention, aggression, and atomic warfare. In the name of "freedom," Eisenhower virtually calls for a military crusade to "conquer" the USSR and the peoples' democracies.

While reiterating support for NATO, he stresses a stepping up of the arms race and the building of strong American "retaliatory forces," a not so euphonic term and concept advanced by the "preventive war now" crowd. And he parrots Dulles' provocative propaganda that "world war is inevitable," by proclaiming that the peaceful co-existence of socialism and capitalism is "impossible." And so on *ad nauseum*.

Eisenhower states he will make the major issue in the elections his not so oblique call to arms to wage a "holy" war for "freedom" for Messrs. Rockefeller, Du Pont, Aldrich, *et al.* Labor and the peace forces will have to swing into action speedily to repudiate and defeat this. This job cannot be relegated to the demagogic polemics or futile counterthrusts of Ike's partisan opponents, Truman and Company, whose war policies as embodied in NATO, atomic stockpiling, Korea, etc., must be just as decisively rejected.

While progressives will continue to oppose both major parties of Big Capital and its war program, they also should begin to direct their sharpest fire in the presidential campaign against the GOP ticket and program. But sharpest fire means just that. It doesn't mean a cease-fire against the Administration and the Democrats' bipartisan foreign policy, let alone an endorsement of their ticket. (September 1)

The outcome of the Wisconsin senatorial primary is quite ominous. The McCormick-Taft-MacArthur forces scored heavily. They will be emboldened now and undoubtedly may exert greater influence on the national GOP campaign, as well as among the McCarran-Dixiecrat Democrats.

There may be a number of special local and state factors which enabled the GOP machine and newspapers, plus the American Legion and VFW and Catholic hierarchy, to muster the sizeable McCarthy vote they did. But it seems to me that the main reasons for Tuesday's vote are to be found in the division that existed in the broad and diverse anti-McCarthy opposition. This opposition, which if united would be a winning majority, did not develop a counter-offensive on the decisive issues of peace, democracy, and economic security. It did not forthrightly expose the Big Lie of McCarthyism, and plays into McCarthy's hands by attempting to prove that his partisan opponents are "better" anti-Communists than the master himself (as not a few may well claim). McCarthy and his backers, by unbridled demagoguery, succeeded in capitalizing heavily on the strong isolationist sentiments in Wisconsin, including the opposition to and confusion about the U.S. intervention in Korea and the protracted stalling on truce negotiations.

It is not impossible to defeat McCarthy and Company in November. But this, of course, will be difficult. Whatever the Democrats may do (at best, this would be sorely limited), the anti-McCarthy forces (labor and progressive forces in the first place) would now have to come to grips with the central issues and really crusade against McCarthy and McCarthyism. A renewed and bolder effort would have to be made to achieve a non-partisan common front of all democratic and pro-peace forces—from Left to conservatives, from Progressive to anti-McCarthy Republicans, from Communists to Democrats. And the "sharpest fire" approach becomes increasingly valid and necessary.

(September 11)

I finished reading yesterday a most valuable biography of Victor Hugo by Matthew Josephson.

It is not accidental that the 150th anniversary of Hugo was celebrated this year in all progressive centers of the world. For this great novelist and poet was also a great public citizen, an impassioned protagonist of world peace, national freedom and democratic liberties. In his early life he was a Royalist. But in his later years he was a Republican. He became a fiery democrat, influenced by early socialist thought and humanism. He actively identified himself with the Garibaldi movement in Italy, the anti-slavery forces in the USA, Kossuth in Hungary, as well as

with the anti-Bonapartist, the anti-clerical and anti-monarchical trends in France. It would be worthwhile to popularize Hugo's speeches in the first international peace Congress in Paris in 1849, and at subsequent world peace conferences held years later in Switzerland. Of special interest are the many Open Letters and manifestos he issued urging amnesty for French, Italian and Polish patriots and fighters for freedom, as well as his stirring call for support to John Brown.

I trust that your return home, like your trip West, will serve to help get the movement for amnesty off the ground and onto the highways and skyways of a militant, sustained and ever-broadening campaign. The great political significance of the movement for amnesty for the political prisoners is yet to be grasped even by progressives and democrats who still honor the issue more in the abstract than in the concrete. It is essential to drive home the fact to those who are hesitant to petition the guilty to free the innocent that amnesty for the victims of the Smith and McCarran Acts involves nothing more nor less than liberating the Bill of Rights and its staunchest defenders from incarceration. Public mass pressure needs to be brought to compel the bipartisan war conspirators to release their victims who are the advocates of peace and progress. When the 11, the 14 [California], the 16 [New York], *et al* are returned to liberty, then, too, democratic liberties will be restored to all Americans and the cause of peace will be enhanced. (September 16)

As you know, after an illness one needs a little time to recover one's "sea-legs." I might add that one seems to need a bit of time to limber up the writing hand, too. So bear with me.

About yesterday—I still find it hard to realize that you were here again—just a few days after your regular visit. I'm amazed that you were able to undertake so much in such a little time; to cut through all the red tape in getting permission to make the special emergency visit; settle the youngster back home overnight; and then, presto, back to Atlanta to check so thoroughly on my well-being.

While I earnestly hope the occasion may not rise again, I do want you to know that apart from the great satisfaction in being able to see you again, I'm deeply grateful and appreciative of your tenacity and insistence and continuous efforts to get things done on my behalf, no matter what the difficulty.

I continue to progress slowly medically. We will have to discuss the doctor's urging surgery soon. (*September 30*)

DEAR SON: This is just a note to let you know I feel better and am getting stronger, and that I am thinking of you. You know, when one is in prison, one looks forward to freedom, to returning to one's family and friends, and to pursuing one's work. When one is in a prison hospital, one wants these things even more. At the same time, one wants to get well fast so that one can return to one's prison cell, to mingle with one's fellow prisoners, and be able to take a little walk—even if only in the prison yard. Oh, well, in a few days I will be able to do this, and more. (*October 1*)

I just heard a newsflash on the report of the McCarran Act Panel [against the Communist Party]. Just as water seeks its own level and of itself never rises above its source, so the Subversive Activities Control Board is the craven creature of the pro-fascist McCarran Act. The Board functions in the image of the Act, and never rises above its foundations which are alien to the Constitution and subversive of the Bill of Rights. The Board conducts sham hearings and illegal inquisitions, and molds recommendations in accordance with police-state findings and edicts already proscribed in the Hitler-like legislation under which it operates.

I wonder how labor, liberal and minority groups and leaders are reacting to the McCarran Board's "findings." Those who may want to sidestep the Board's action on the Communist Party under the guise of waiting "to do battle" over a "front organization," would run away from the central fight now underway. A broad united front movement embracing labor, progressive, and many conservative groupings is developing against both McCarran Acts. But to ensure victory for the democratic rights of all Americans, the defense of the inalienable and constitutional rights of the Communists must become an integral part of this people's movement.

This un-American McCarran Board ruling will be challenged in the highest courts of the land. But only concerted mass activity of millions of democratic Americans and their organizations can render the McCarran Act null and void. (*October 20*)

On your last visit and in your recent letters, you've mentioned the fact that many, many friends and other well-wishers have expressed concern over the state of my health, have been eager to help you as well as me, and have sent their warmest regards. Needless to say, I'm deeply appreciative of this, and would like to be able to express personally to each and all of them how much this means to me.

Suffice it to say: just as it's impossible to imprison ideas, principles and people's movements, faith and aspirations, so, too, is it impossible to wall off, stem, or weaken the ties and bonds of friendship, sympathy and solidarity that exist and grow between the outer world and those incarcerated.

(October 26)

No one should minimize the election results of Nov. 4th. It is true the election cards were stacked in such a way that Big Business couldn't lose regardless of which party was returned to federal office. But there can be no doubt that the extent of the General's vote and the enlargement of the ultra-reactionary coalition which dominates the Congress will embolden monopoly reaction in the pursuance of both its foreign and domestic policies. The Eisenhower-Taft-Dulles political combination will carry forward generally the same bipartisan war program and the main imperialist policies pursued by the Trumans, Achesons and Sparkmans.

But as the direct and more open political spokesmen for the Rockefellers and Du Ponts, the NAM and Chamber of Commerce, the GOP winners will do so more zealously and bellicosely. They will endeavor to combine an accelerated unfoldment of the aggressive and expansionist policies of their predecessors in the sphere of international relations with the adoption of a "tougher" policy on the home front against labor and the Negro people, liberals and New Dealers, as well as Communists. The post-election period will be fraught with mounting dangers to the people and to the best interests of the nation and world peace. Given the present relationship of forces within the country, especially because of the weaknesses of the key subjective factors, this situation would have developed almost to the same extent even if the elections had produced a Democratic victory. But in view of the Eisenhower-GOP-Dixie-

crat electoral victory, these dangers are now present in a sharper degree, and can become ever more menacing.

It is vital to alert and mobilize the labor and people's movements in unity of action. Former and present divisions, differences, prejudices continue to make this a formidable undertaking. But it is feasible and certain factors will operate to facilitate the solution of this great democratic task. Broader labor and popular forces and other anti-war and anti-monopoly, and non-fascist elements, will become aware of the common dangers, and will be drawn into concerted mass activity. They will move towards a new political alignment. Growing numbers of the electorate, irrespective of party affiliation or how they voted, will come to realize that a change in the "state of the Union" can only be realized through the collective efforts and mass action of millions of "little" people designed to curb and defeat the monopolies. (November 6)

While the bulk of organized labor voted Democratic on Nov. 4th, in most of the larger industrial centers its vote was relatively, and in some instances absolutely, less than in 1948 or 1944. This was clearly so in New York, Chicago, and Cleveland.

The general factors which influenced a majority of the electorate to vote for Eisenhower also affected labor's ranks, although not everywhere to the same extent as with the rest of the population. Some of these factors were: the enormous prestige of Ike as an anti-Axis hero, the peace demagogy of the GOP which exploited the mass dissatisfaction and resentment directed against the Truman Administration for the unjust and unpopular war in Korea, the military draft, the astronomical rise in armaments, taxes and cost of living.

The most decisive reason why organized labor did not "deliver" its maximum vote, and why it played such a relatively ineffectual role is that, with few exceptions, labor's top officialdom not only endorsed the Democratic Party without criticism or reservations, but is also supporting the bipartisan war program of the trusts and the anti-Communist drive of McCarthy and the GOP—as well as of the Truman Administration and the Democratic Party. Because of this, organized labor did not, and could not, play an independent role, nor pursue a fighting election policy, nor mobilize even a fraction of the full strength of their organizations, memberships, or natural allies. Therefore labor

did not, and could not, wage an influential election struggle for their "bread and butter" program. It did not influence the Democratic candidates or program or campaign, nor even launch a powerful counter-attack and rout the McCarthys, Jenners and Brickers.

It is well known that the Left in the trade unions did not have a broad enough mass base nor the political strength to alter the relationship of forces and the main course of events during the election campaign. Moreover, the advanced political role and mobilizing influence of the Left around its constructive election program, both in the unions and among the progressive forces generally, was limited, and in many respects narrow. This was due not only to the severe repressions and heavy attacks against the Left and the resultant weakening of its organized positions, united front ties and relationships. But also some sections of the Left and the progressives were strongly affected by sectarian influences, especially in matters of tactics, as well as by moods of pessimism and passivity. (*November 9*)

Organized labor, to a large degree, has relatively few illusions regarding Eisenhower, the new Administration, and the 83rd Congress—certainly far less than most other sections of the population. The role and activities of important sections of the labor movement will begin to undergo a change now as compared with the pre-election period, despite the Meanys and Dubinskys, the Reuthers and McDonalds.

In coping with the major issues of the post-election period, labor will rely increasingly on its own strength and activity and on that of its allies. Notwithstanding the reactionary class collaborationist role of most of the top officialdom, organized labor will manifest greater resistance to the get-tougher-with-labor policy of the corporate interests and their new Administration and Congress. Wider sections of labor's rank and file and lower officials will move towards increased unity of action and political activity, and growing numbers of workers will become class conscious. The workers are in a mood to fight in defense of their economic interests, their unions, and democratic rights. This was demonstrated in the recent coal, steel, aircraft, and Westinghouse strikes. As the realities of the new Administration's foreign policy become clearer and the criminal atomic war race and the militarization of the country is ac-

celerated, wider sections of labor will be drawn in diverse ways into more effective united front activity for peace and defense of the Bill of Rights.

In this situation, the class struggle, despite its unevenness, will develop more rapidly and extensively. The struggle between the war instigators, the most bellicose monopolies, and all democratic peace forces will become sharper. The rank and file of labor and also some of the trade union leadership will be compelled to adopt a more militant and independent policy in pure self-defense, and to seek mutual solidarity and unity of action with other democratic forces. Obviously, the Left and other progressives will have to understand this trend. They need to re-examine and develop all tactics and united front approaches and relationships in such a way as to encourage and facilitate this development which is vital to labor's interest and for helping to bring about a democratic anti-war coalition and a new and favorable political alignment. (November 12)

I find your references to and comments on the historic article on political economy [*Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR*, by Joseph Stalin] most valuable. In fact, these are an important supplement to the page of excerpts that was published in the *New York Times* and which I made a special point of re-reading on Nov. 7th.

Also your observations on the elections and all data relating to Nov. 4th and post-election problems are very interesting. As for a "makes-no-difference-who-won" concept of the election results, this is an unfortunate way to place a number of otherwise sound conclusions. Undoubtedly, those who have this concept wish to emphasize, and correctly, that both major parties are parties of Big Business. Therefore no matter which is the governing party, the Administration thus elected would carry forward Wall Street's imperialist policies and its aggressive war-making program for which both parties share responsibility. All this is true and should be driven home. The "loyal opposition" should not be allowed to capitalize on the disillusionment of tens of millions with the new Administration and the GOP, nor to maneuver in such a way as to retard the trend towards a new, a democratic, an anti-war and an anti-monopoly political realignment.

But the regrettable thing is that these truisms when couched

in "makes-no-difference" formulas tend to over-simplify matters. In fact, they obscure or gloss over a number of vital supplementary questions which are essential to consider in order to hammer out effective tactics to implement the above truths.

For instance, placing the outcome of the elections in such a doctrinaire way as "it-makes-no-difference" tends to minimize the increased dangers flowing from the election results and confronting the people and the cause of world peace in the post-election period ahead. It is a sectarian approach. It is not the way to reach the ear and mind and to mobilize quickly the tens of millions who are opposed to the General Motors-GOP-Dixiecrat Administration and Congress. It passes over, or does not take into account, the rivalries and differences and contradictions within the ranks of the bourgeoisie and their major parties, including certain differences of emphasis, tempo, and methods to be used in pursuing their common imperialist objectives and monopoly's bipartisan war program. (November 17)

Today was cold and fair, real Thanksgiving weather. Felt strongly in the mood for meandering in the country, say in upper Connecticut or along the Hudson River Valley. But I settled for the next possible thing, and walked in the yard. But this was a poor substitute. And I'm still restless and my thoughts are any place but here—and it wouldn't take you three guesses to know just where.

The Farmer-Labor Party resolution adopted by the Ford Council of UAW is a positive symptom, but far from a trend. It is a promising development. But the process towards independent political action and a new political realignment, which is bound to grow in this post-election period, will develop unevenly. It will proceed along diverse paths and will assume a variety of forms initially. It will be subject to strong reformist, as well as to certain progressive, influences. But regardless of the many divergent viewpoints regarding labor's role in the 1954 and '56 elections, many AFL, CIO, and independent unions, as well as many mass organizations of the Negro people and some of the farm organizations, will now engage in more independent activities such as in national, state, and local political-legislative assemblies and conferences, joint co-ordinating committees and mass people's lobbies. They will embark on extensive parallel and united front mass campaigns centered

around specific issues (such as: to defeat anti-labor legislation, to win wage increases and higher farm parity payments, to repeal the McCarran, Taft-Hartley, and Smith Acts, to enact FEPC and anti-poll tax and anti-lynching laws, to reduce taxes and armaments, etc.). There will be, too, a marked upsurge of mass economic struggles and an expansion of popular peace activity.

The politically advanced labor forces no doubt will help promote far-going discussions on the need to effectuate a new and more favorable political alignment capable of quarantining the atomaniacs and curbing the powers of trustified finance industry. Serious attention will be given, no doubt, to the struggles and realignments in, around, and outside the Democratic Party, and efforts extended to encourage the pro-peace and pro-labor groupings therein to develop in a progressive direction. The advanced labor forces will undoubtedly concentrate on helping to organize the widest mass activity of the people and their established organizations in common struggle for specific, immediate issues facing the people.

(November 23)

DEAR SON:

TO THE YOUNG CHIP (For December 7th)

*Your birthday is here again, my son,
And I'd like to join you ere Dec. 7th is done.
But here, perforce, in Atlanta am I
Marking time, yet thinking, while I wait for time to fly.*

*While prison walls keep me physically away,
My thoughts will be with you on this memorable day.
And, I'll be there at your birthday celebration
Which—big or small—will be the grandest in the nation.*

*After our friends have come and gone
You'll take your guitar and sing Mommy and me a song.
And we'll joke and gab and tell each other what is new—
Listening, laughing, till the hours are few.*

*Then we'll have a man-to-man talk before you go off to bed
And we'll speak deep from the heart, as well as the head.*

*As we converse and night gives way to day
This, my son, is what you'll hear me say—*

*I miss you very much and love you ever more
Because you are just you and what you are for.
I'm interested in all you say and do and try to achieve
And am doubly proud because you stand foursquare for what
you believe.*

*While you know first-hand hardships, trials, and strife
You are always full of hope and zest and life.
While you've had more than your share of separation and sorrow
You are brave and know better days will come on the morrow.*

*While the future belongs to us, we shall not passively wait
For we are master pilots, not helpless pawns of fate;
And no matter how severe the test or the storm
We'll fight on—till that future is born.*

*So, my son, wherever we may be, together or apart,
We shall keep our faith and be staunch of heart.
For we are men of principle and courage, we blocks and we
chips,
And come what may—we'll help bring safely into port our
own, the people's ship.*

This is all for now, Big Fellow, except to add that on this Thanksgiving I'm really thankful that I have such a wonderful son and that he has such a courageous and lovable Mother. Happy birthday, my beloved Chip. (November 27)

Except for a few evergreen pines, the trees around this macabre sanctuary are victims of winter's dictates and have been divested of their foliage. They now stand shorn and bare, yet dignified, proud and sturdy. When the wind blows in savage gusts, as is its wont these days, they bow only slightly, refusing to bend or break. And on a cold wintry day such as this their appearance seems to take on special meaning.

Against the background of snowclad clouds, they form impressive silhouettes, statues to the past and that which has gone

before. But in silent splendor their outstretched limbs also seem to point to that which lies ahead and to new hope.

It was with these thoughts I passed this meaningful day, reflecting on the years gone by, weighing the present, looking into the future—all intimately inter-woven with thoughts of us and this day, one of many of our special days.

(November 30)

I have just read in the *N. Y. Times* of November 28th of Bob Minor's death. His passing comes as a shock. It is a great loss.

Bob was a warm-hearted champion of progressive humanity, an ardent Communist. He had indomitable courage, a confident fighting spirit, and many attributes of greatness that permeated his life-long activity as a crusading labor defender and Communist leader, as a gifted and militant artist and writer, agitator and campaigner. While "Fighting Bob" will be remembered for a host of valiant struggles and creative efforts, perhaps he will be revered above all else for his profound love of people, his abiding faith in the working class, and his unshakable devotion to the Communist Party, to the cause of peace and socialism.

There is infinitely more I'd like to say, but this is not possible now. All I can add is that I wish you would extend to Lydia my heartfelt sympathy and affection, and let her know, too, that Bob's sterling qualities and the strong bonds of comradeship that existed between us as friends and co-workers will endure forever in my heart and thoughts as a cherished memory and a constant source of great inspiration and strength.

(December 2)

Today I came across two small-town papers from Pennsylvania and Massachusetts. Was highly pleased to note two news items about the round-robin letter recently sent to the President proposing amnesty for the victims of the Smith Act. Both stories were devoid of Red-baiting and quoted some pertinent excerpts from the letter, including a passage from Justice Black's opinion and also the statement by the co-signers that they favored amnesty because this would serve the best interests of our country and people.

It is significant that the official metropolitan press blackout

of this important action is being lifted in some parts of the nation. It is indicative of the widespread interest in the issues involved and the concern with which millions of common folk view all developments connected with protecting the Bill of Rights. Let us hope that the courageous and patriotic act of the 300 defenders of democracy who braved the storm to petition for amnesty will be popularized and widely emulated, and that it will soon develop into a movement so vocal and influential that the new Administration will have to heed it. And this hope shall yet be realized, for as the Amnesty Letter affirms, there are plenty of Americans, from all walks of life, who are willing to stand up and be counted and to act together, in one way or another, to safeguard the First Amendment and to crusade for democratic liberties.

The indictment of Owen Lattimore is another ominous signal. It should make crystal clear to all who have eyes to see that the targets of the McCarthys and McCarrans are not merely Communists and Left-wingers, but also, and very much so, every brand and shade of democrat and liberal, from ADAers and New Dealers to every adherent of the progressive features of Roosevelt's policies, (especially those symbolized by the agreements of Yalta and Teheran). The Lattimore case affects each and all who cherish democracy and peace, irrespective of political affiliation and differing viewpoints. And the grave challenge it presents calls for the broadest and most resolute unity of action of all advocates of peace and civil liberties. Not least of all, it requires militant mass activity to nullify and repeal those devilish, pro-fascist dragnets—the McCarran and Smith Acts.

(December 17)

I'm hopeful that I may be released from the hospital tomorrow, but I've got my fingers crossed. Doctors Janney and Poer strongly recommend surgery early in January. I'll come to a decision and set a date for this as soon as I hear from you.

I got the note you scribbled enroute back to New York from here. As for discussing our family problems and troubles, this you should always do, and don't worry about "upsetting" me. I'm deeply concerned about everything, big and small, favorable or otherwise, that affects us. I think and feel a great deal about all questions, not least of all about unsolved difficulties, trials

and tribulations. It is more than frustrating not to be able to intervene directly and help resolve them. But one can face facts and sometimes even contribute a little to working things out, even though confined and restricted as one is here. This is my desire, so worry thee not.

(December 21)

Today was quite a day. The morning started off inauspiciously enough. Most of the news in the early newspapers was far from pleasant, particularly on the inglorious closing session of the UN General Assembly. Then, too, my hope to be released from the hospital was doomed, at least for another day or two. All in all, it appeared that this would be a dismal "blue" Monday.

Then along towards noon, the atmosphere began to change. A very special Christmas package arrived filled with delicious sweets. I really appreciate your selection of candies which hit the spot and will be shared with many others. But, of course, I treasure most the Kid's lovely hand-drawn greeting card and the fine touches of Peg O'Mine's boundless affection so evident throughout the package.

But this was only the beginning. Later in the day I received your letters of Dec. 17th and 18th. Your description of the Families Committee* Xmas appeal, your own holiday schedule, and the youngster's role in the school play as one of the Maccabee Brothers—all warmed the cockles of my heart. While all these stimulate a thousand thoughts and accentuate my yearning to be home with you, they also make things a bit easier, bring me great happiness, and make me, once again, so very proud of you both.

I was gratified to learn that a growing number of clergymen are adding their voices to the appeal for amnesty. This is very promising. Let us hope the labor movement will not continue to lag behind much longer and will soon make their influence felt for amnesty to the victims of political persecution, for democratic liberties and for peace. This can happen, too.

(December 22)

If I had written last night the chances are that I might have written a different kind of letter. For Xmas Eve found me

* Families of the Smith Act victims which service the Smith Act political prisoners.

reminiscing about other times, places, and things. At one point, I almost imagined I was home helping the Kid and you decorate our abode and planning the Xmas brunch for the get-together of our close friends.

However, this is another day and the mood has changed. Suffice it to say that Xmas behind prison walls does not improve with time or repetition, especially when one's third prison Xmas coincides, too, with the third Xmas of war in Korea.

Nevertheless, this morning, while listening to the 9 A.M. broadcast, I heard the promising "Christmas" message. I refer, of course, to Stalin's statement on peaceful co-existence made in reply to questions submitted by [John] Reston of the *New York Times*. This new initiative for world peace will be greeted enthusiastically among the peoples everywhere. Surely the advocates of peace in our country will be stimulated to multiply their efforts in support of Soviet-American friendship in general, and in behalf of early negotiations of the five great powers for ending the war in Korea, easing world tensions, and concluding a pact of peace.

Your additional news about the contents of the Amnesty Letters to the President and who's who among the signers points up the many potentialities, as well as indicates that it is possible that our next Xmas, and that of many others, may be happier and really merry. And that is my fervent New Year's wish for you, for us, for all.

(December 25)

—1953—

The New Year is fraught not only with many dangers and difficulties, but holds forth also many opportunities and promises. But a new concerted effort of the peoples, especially our own, is needed to utilize these opportunities. This is particularly true now in respect to mankind's quest for peace.

A striking aspect of this revolves around the significance of Stalin's recent interview. Obviously, Stalin's reiteration of the USSR's unshakable policy for peace and his proffer to confer with Eisenhower to seek an end to the Korean war and a reduction of world tensions has enhanced the cause of peace. This has afforded a new opportunity for the peoples to intervene and to register their desire and influence for a conference of the leaders of the great powers, for compelling a peaceful solution of all disputes endangering world peace.

There can be no doubt that through struggle, through clarity of purpose and unity of action in defense of their interests, the peoples can make 1953 a better and happier, a more peaceful year for much of mankind, including our nation and our people.

(January 1)

Concerning your three letters of the 29th which refer to some election analyses: most of the conclusions set forth constitute a valuable contribution. However, I should think attention needs to be given to a more accurate estimation of the differences, currents, and groupings within the capitalist class. A fuller evaluation is needed of the main post-election trends within the labor movement and the prospects for developing labor's unity of action, its political and organizing initiative and leadership in the coming economic and political struggles.

Emphasis is needed on the new opportunities for crystallizing the broadest democratic coalition for peace and civil liberties

under working class leadership. Such a mass movement could and would have to embrace and grow out of multiple alliances, agreements and mass activities on local, state, and national levels. These would center around one or several key issues to promote peace, democracy, and economic security. They would have to be based on the trade unions and other mass organizations of the people, especially of the Negro people. But they would also include other individuals and groups who, for a time and for part of the way, are prepared to defend the Bill of Rights and to support measures to advance peace.

Much further clarification is needed to overcome the erroneous concept that the mistakes and weaknesses of the Left-progressive forces in the 1952 elections were primarily the result of mistakes committed back in 1948 and allegedly adhered to rigidly during the ensuing years. The tactical errors made in the recent period by the Left and other progressives in applying the united front tactic undoubtedly have not one, but many, roots in the past. But some of these have a more recent history too, and a significant one. They were not inevitable nor were they merely heritages of the past. They are the products of a specific situation and of the judgments that prevailed around 1952. These, in conjunction with the unfolding favorable opportunities as well as a sober evaluation of existing objective difficulties, should be more fully studied and the lessons drawn.

(January 5)

As was to be expected, the monopoly press is certainly keeping an iron lid on all news regarding positive reactions to Stalin's interview and his proposal for a meeting with Eisenhower. The very positive stand taken by Evatt, ex-Foreign Minister of Australia, on this was generally ignored in the press, too. Even the remarks of Lewis Douglas, just resigned as Ambassador to London, favoring, in a fashion, a Stalin-Eisenhower conference was butchered in the *New York Times*.

This conspiracy of silence is accompanied by a gigantic propaganda offensive to minimize and distort the significance of Stalin's statement and to continue to obstruct peaceful negotiations between the USA, USSR, and the other great powers. An avalanche of public expressions voicing the peace desires of millions of common folk is decisive.

(January 13)

DEAR SON: I see from your letter that you are continuing to study animal life in Africa. As you well know, there is much more to Africa than lions, rhinoceroses and giraffes. Just as there is much more to America than bears, buffalo and deer. While the study of animal life is interesting, one should study especially the life, history, and development of peoples and nations.

Africa is no longer a continent in slumber, a subdued source of slave labor, or of unchecked gold, diamond, copper and rubber exploitation, or of safaris—the white men's pleasure and hunting expeditions. From South Africa to Kenya to Tunisia the native peoples, black and brown, are waging a great, though uneven, struggle for national freedom, human rights, and liberty. The peoples of Africa are on the march, supported by all of progressive humanity. I hope, Big Fellow, that your school studies of Africa will include this—and more. (January 15)

DEAR SON: I notice you are continuing to gallop through one book after another. Am pleased you liked *The Adventures of Robin Hood*. This was one of my early favorites, too. I recently read *The Old Man and The Sea* by [Ernest] Hemingway. This is written for young and old alike. I think you might enjoy it. Also I just finished a fine and informative book by Philip Foner called *History of the U.S. Labor Movement*. Most other histories of our country ignore or distort the great role of the labor movement, past and present.

However, the organizations and best leaders of the American working class exercised a vital role in the life of our nation. Not only were they decisive in raising the people's standard of living, abolishing the 10, 12, and 14-hour working day and much child labor, securing public schools, but also in winning the War of Independence in 1776, the Civil War to abolish slavery in 1861-65, and the anti-fascist war which ended in 1945.

Labor has many other great achievements, such as in the struggle for the Bill of Rights, for equal rights for the Negro people, as well as for women and youth, for democracy, against fascism, for peace and against imperialist war. Labor also has many failures to record and has many shortcomings today. However, American labor as the most progressive and revolutionary class in modern society is destined to lead our people forward. All this you will study and learn.

Meanwhile, Big Fellow, you will find it valuable to include

in your reading, now and later, true stories and novels and non-fiction works dealing with the full history of our country and people, and of other nations and people too. (January 22)

Today I received the *New York Times* of last Wednesday and Thursday. The former carried an item on the Supreme Court's decision in the Baltimore [Smith Act] case. The latter had a number of stories on the verdict in the New York [Smith Act] trial. Both, of course, are cut from the same cloth. They are further chips in the Bill of Rights and part of the mounting toll which the juggernaut of Mammon and Mars is exacting. This will continue unless the struggle for democratic liberties is broadened and is developed as an organic part of an effective mass movement for peace.

Towards this end, it is to be hoped that the recent petitions of the 280, the 165, the 150, for amnesty directed to the Eisenhower Administration are buttressed with mass support, and that the popular sentiment for an armistice in Korea and for a Stalin-Eisenhower conference is cultivated. This can be done, if the progressive and advanced forces display more initiative in applying the tactics of the united front and in mobilizing a wide democratic, anti-war coalition.

Just a reminder to order for me these books: *Spartacus* by Howard Fast and *American Politics* by Odegard & Helms; also a memo to renew the sub to the *U.S. News & World Report*. I'm still hoping to obtain permission to order: *Karl Marx* by Franz Mehring; Bill Haywood's Autobiography; *Son of the People* by Maurice Thorez; *Soviet Philosophy* by John Somerville; *Land in Bloom* by Saponov, and *Socialism and American Life* published by Princeton University. I wish you'd send me some suggestions on fairly recent books on philosophy and political economy, anything you think I might be interested in. (January 25)

I didn't get any letters this evening, but I did receive some mail. And how! There was a memo informing me that a warrant has been lodged against me in favor of the U.S. Marshal for the District Court of the Southern District of New York charging me with "being a member of the Communist Party knowing the same to advocate the overthrow of the government of the U.S." There was another notice to the effect that my prison record is being corrected to include the six months contempt

of court sentence imposed by [Judge] Medina. Then there was a memo from the warden that a request for books which I'd submitted several months ago had been denied. The mail bag may have been light, but it certainly was loaded!

The really important missive, or perhaps I should say missile, is the one regarding the N. Y. detainer. While on its face it does not appear to signify that prosecution is imminent, the warrant does denote a serious threat. This is directed not merely at any particular individual. It is designed primarily to intimidate all other militant proponents of peace, democracy and social progress.

The infamous indictment upon which this warrant is issued can yet be quashed. But for this, mass action, not legal action, is the requisite. The average American, especially the worker, can grasp the stake he has here if he or she is given the plain facts of political life. For this Smith Act indictment and the section of the statute under which it is brought aims to abrogate the First Amendment. It threatens to proscribe the right of voluntary association, and not only of Communists; to set up the government as a Grand Inquisition to pass judgment on what people's organizations are "approved," and what groups or societies Americans may or may not join. This indictment, in effect, threatens criminal action against all persons "being members" of any organization subscribing to the "Communitistic" principles of the Declaration of Independence. (January 27)

One of the nicest things about today is the fact that it marks the beginning of a new month. Time does go on, although much too slowly here.

The Executive order lifting the "neutralization role" of the Seventh Fleet is an ominous development. It constitutes an act of further aggression and an extension of American military intervention against China and all the peoples of Asia. Already the press reports that public opinion and some Congressional leaders, like Senator Morse and a few Democrats, have misgivings about this sinister move. It is interesting to note that most of the newspapers which approve the "de-neutralization" of the Seventh Fleet find it necessary to try to convince their readers that this action does not entail "further American military involvement in the Far East." This assurance, of course, is unadulterated demagoguery and deceit. But the fact that Washington and

the monopoly press are compelled to mask their war moves underscores the truth that a majority (not all, unfortunately) of the American people are deadset against a "bigger Korea."

A great disparity exists between the aims of the monopoly tycoons and war instigators and their ability to realize these objectives. This gap will widen, especially now as the inter and the internal contradictions of imperialism are sharpening, while the strength and influence of the anti-imperialist camp grows. But from this correct conclusion no one should minimize the grave dangers inherent in all of the Administration's aggressive policies and actions. All these measures threaten to spread the wars now raging in Asia, and are engineered so as to place new obstacles in the way of achieving five power negotiations to effect a peaceful settlement of the Korea war and other international questions.

There is no question but that the Chinese People's Republic and its great allies will be more than equal to whatever develops, whether around the Seventh Fleet or other aggressive moves of the U.S. The big question is: will the American people begin to discharge their responsibilities and speedily strengthen the struggle for peace, and make this register quickly.

While grasping the new war moves and dangers, organized labor and all democratic forces cannot fall victim to the belief that World War III is "just around the corner," or that "war is inevitable." The "new" war policy of the Administration and the giant trusts can be challenged and defeated. It is possible for the peoples to compel Messrs. Dulles, Eisenhower, Wilson, Aldrich, Byrnes, *et al* to do much more than "pull in their horns slightly."

Incidentally, related to all this, I don't share the views of some that resolutions, statements, open letters, on these fateful questions are of little consequence or effect. If resolutions become an end in themselves, a substitute for mass action, then they become obstacles to people's mobilization for peace. But, at present, there is no danger of an over-abundance of peace statements, letters, petitions. Who could deny the political effect today if the CIO, AFL, NAACP, and similar organizations were to adopt resolutions at this moment opposing forthrightly the Dulles-MacArthur-Eisenhower moves regarding Korea, China, and calling for peaceful negotiations to end the hot war in Korea and the "cold war" elsewhere? If this were to take place, many, many more workers and people and organizations would

not hesitate to convert such expressions into positive political mass activity. Given timely leadership and suitable forms of expression for activity and a correct united front approach around one or another of the peace issues at stake, they will do this in ever larger numbers. (February 1)

In answer to your queries regarding books: since coming to Atlanta, and as of January 21, twenty-four books were requested; of these eleven were not approved. More would have been requested but since there was usually a two to four months delay in having requested book lists acted upon, this became impossible. Typical books that have been approved include: *Fear of Freedom* by Biddle; *American Political Parties* by Binkley; *Theodore Dreiser* by Mathieson. Amongst those books requested but denied are: *Selected Works* by Karl Marx; *Selected Philosophical Works* by Belinsky; *Outline Political History of the Americas* by Wm. Z. Foster; *Socialism and American Life* by Egbert & Persons. Publications desired and not allowed include: *Daily Worker*, *Political Affairs*, *Current Digest of the Soviet Press*.

(February 3)

HI, BIG FELLOW! I understand from you-know-whom that you and your fellow musicians made quite a hit when you performed recently at school. In view of this, and since you're the Keeper of the Riddles, may I ask: since the Old Block can't carry a tune, how come the Young Chip can play a guitar and croon?

Perhaps you have heard that the Congressional witchhunters are launching a new inquisition in the schools and colleges. They allege that in every little red schoolhouse there is more than one little "Red," and that even the textbooks are re(a)d. And as for the universities, that more than their finances are deep in red. But all joking aside. When the McCarthys and Jenners, the McCarrans and Veldes monkey with the educational system, that is a dangerous kind of monkey business. And this brings to mind the following:

Many centuries ago the Japanese rulers set aside one day of the ancient Japanese calendar as Monkey Day. This was represented by what has become known as the "three wise monkeys"; There were depicted as three monkeys joined together like Siamese triplets. One has his hands covering his eyes. Another

has his hands over his mouth. The third has his hands held over his ears. These monkeys were supposed to symbolize three Buddhist (or Shinto) virtues: "see no evil," "speak no evil," "hear no evil."

There was a bad as well as a good side to this symbol. The Japanese rulers, of course, concerned themselves only with the bad. They cultivated the idea that the Japanese emperor was divine, sacred. They taught that the people must not speak or write or do anything against the Mikado, the warlords, the landlords, the lords of wealth. Too many people believed this. Others were silenced, frightened or victimized by the infamous Japanese "dangerous thought" laws and persecutions. So evil days and eventually disaster befell the Japanese nation.

Today in our country, McCarthy and the other fascist and war-minded men of Big Business are also trying to make servile conformists out of our people. They realize that if the men of wealth are to be able to make the present generation goose step into atomic cannonfodder, they need a system of "dangerous thoughts" control which would produce human robots dedicated to the interests of Wall Street, not Main Street, of General Motors, not the general welfare. So they engineer witchhunts, blacklists and jailings, and would establish as the unwritten law of the land: "It is evil to see, speak, print or hear the truth." But if the American people exercise their inalienable rights of freedom of speech, press and assembly, and if, without losing much more time, they unitedly act to make our country truly the land of the free and the home of the brave--the worst need not happen here.

(February 16)

In his first presidential press conference, Eisenhower, like Dulles, made a gesture of pulling in the Administration's horns a bit on the question of a naval blockade of China. But, in spite of this, there has not been even the slightest change of Administration policy in respect to its aggressive course in the Far East or Europe. However, already it has had to reckon with world public opinion on this matter, as well as with the official position of London, Paris and New Delhi. The Administration now finds it necessary to maneuver a bit and use some soft-soap and more double talk, and intersperse this with its get-tougher war program and pushing ahead with its blustering and provocative moves. There is a lot to be learned from all this, and much to

be utilized by the peace forces within our country.

The current economic situation warrants attention. The decline in farm prices and the spreading scissors between what the farmer buys and his income is going to continue to worsen during the period ahead. The progressive forces can not remain aloof from this front, no matter how the issue is joined—whether around farm parity payments, etc. And now with price, wage and most rent controls officially gone, the wage movement is shaping up in a big way and with gigantic progressive possibilities. Even the inadequate AFL position on wage increases has positive aspects and immense potentiality for involving most of the AFL and CIO unions in struggle.

My last request for books was just approved. So please send me post haste: *Sidney Hillman* by Matthew Josephson and *Political Economy and Capitalism* by Maurice Dobb.

(February 18)

I suppose you read the important address that Mrs. Eugene Myers made before the American Assn. of School Administrators. Her denunciation of the fascist inquisition being launched in the educational system by the McCarthys, Jenners and Veldes, is most timely. It indicates that many liberal and conservative forces, who hitherto maintained public silence, are beginning to grasp the fact that the anti-Communist hysteria and witchhunts have bigger targets than just a few "Reds." It is becoming clearer to many that the McCarthy-McCarran wolf-pack considers as "fair game" Roosevelt Democrats and ADA'ers as well as Communists, and educators, churchmen and Left-wing trade unionists.

This growing political alarm is long overdue. However, it is not too late, providing substantial sections of the labor movement muster militant popular support for these courageous voices, and themselves give fighting leadership and crystallize existing opportunities to forge a broad democratic coalition for civil liberties and peace.

(February 23)

MY DEAR SON: I was quite interested in your account of the three dimensional film that you and Mommy saw. Probably this new technique may make a picture seem more "alive" and fascinating. And that is all to the good. But Hollywood and the

American movie industry need something far more important than a three dimensional film. It needs a new set of cultural and social standards. It needs to produce movies with different values. Instead of worshipping the "Almighty Dollar" and glorifying Wall Street's ersatz way of life, the people need and would appreciate movies and plays that portray life as it really is and the kind of life that the people aspire to.

I would like to see a three dimensional movie. But, even more, I would like to see movies that promote peace, not war; and friendship, not enmity among peoples; that portray the lives of workers and farmers and scientists and their struggles and hopes; not lurid stories about gangsters and the FBI and the "upper crust" of society. Yep, we need movies and plays and books and songs and T.V. for, by and of the people; not of and by the Lords of Wealth to deceive and drug the people and to provide them with a few hours of escapist diversion from the realities of life. Charles Chaplin has produced as well as acted in some outstanding films. The great Paul Robeson, the Hollywood Nine, and a few others, are true people's artists. But they are still the exception today, not the rule.

Well, my young buckaroo, how do you size up the coming pennant race in the National and American Leagues? In my next letter I'll venture some pre-season predictions. Meanwhile, suppose you stick your neck way out and tell me what your crystal ball predicts? (March 1)

Your reference to the World Peace Congress in Vienna is heartening. There is plenty of food for thought in the way the Vienna Congress placed the major problem of developing a broader mass movement and coalitions which, while based decisively on the popular forces and led by labor, embrace many groups, sectors and currents, and include representative and influential conservative anti-war elements and spokesmen.

There is much to be learned on these shores from the Vienna Congress on how to combine freedom of debate and the waging of a principled political-ideological fight on policy and other controversial questions with, at the same time, achieving the widest unity of action of Communist and non-Communist labor and progressive forces together with other and very diverse anti-war personalities and groups around a minimum program of action, centered at this time on such burning problems as at-

taining a cease-fire in Korea and Great Power negotiations for outlawing atomic weapons, and for a peaceful settlement of the Korean and German questions, etc. (March 3)

Late Thursday the radio carried the fateful news that Stalin had passed away. It would be presumptuous even to begin to try to assess the historic significance of Stalin's work and teachings in championing the cause of world peace, freedom and social progress, especially in helping to organize and guide the victorious building of socialism in the USSR. Some of my thoughts on this whole subject are embodied in my article "Lenin-Stalin and the Mid-Century" [*Political Affairs*, March 1950].

DEAR SON: In your last letter you asked me to tell you something about my ancestry. That's a pretty tall order, Big Fellow. I'm all "doped up" with medicine tonight for tomorrow's Big Event [major surgery], and it's a little difficult to write. However, as you know, I'm of Irish-Norwegian descent. My father's father was a fighting son of Erin, a boilermaker by trade and an Irish Rebel by choice. With a British price upon his head, he emigrated to the U.S. about 75 years ago. My mother's parents were born in Norway. They were working farmers and before coming to this country around the turn of the century, participated in Norway's independence movement.

I might add, too, that my four grandparents constitute only one-half of your ancestry. On Mommy's side of the family, you have a rich, militant tradition rooted in the struggles of the Russian-Jewish people. And if I were to get really involved in this whole subject, which I am not tonight, I would remind you of something you already know: that it's not your "family tree" or status of birth that counts. What really matters is what *you* are and *do*, what *you believe* in and *strive* for.

I'm glad you enjoyed the stories about Harriet Tubman and Dr. Carver. I'm sure you'll find the book about Paul Robeson equally interesting.

If it were not for "technical difficulties," I'd come home and help you fix your electric train. Suppose you fix it, and come after me!

(March 8)

I left the hospital yesterday and reported at the greenhouse for work this morning, 13 days after surgery. While I'm a little shaky, it felt good to move about and get some fresh air.

The *Saturday Evening Post* of March 21st has a very interesting editorial on the subject of freedom of expression and the right of holding non-conformist opinions. It is really a sign of the times when such an extremely conservative and hidebound magazine as the *Post* expresses certain misgivings about McCarthyism-McCarranism and speaks out, even in a limited way, in defense of the First Amendment.

It is clear that conditions are maturing for organizing a broad counter-attack in support of the Bill of Rights, and for rebuffing and checking the Veldes, McCarthys and McCarrans. But in the development of the widest democratic front and unity of action, substantial sections of organized labor will have to swing into action and play a key role. In this connection, the Schusters and Paul Douglasses, the Sidney Hooks and Morris Ernsts, the Dubinskys and Meanys, etc. will really have to be shown up for what they are. (Schuster "blasts" McCarthy but calls for the *de jure* illegalization of the Communist party; Douglas and Senator Humphrey wail against the GOP, the Southern Bourbons and Dixiecrats, but run interference for Dulles and Company in charging that the Soviet peace proposals are a "trap"). But there is a difference between the reactionary "liberal" reformist and Social-Democratic leaders and the masses whom they influence. Great masses of people and their popular organizations, despite mistaken views, prejudices, and confusions, still will have to be and can be drawn into concerted action around vital issues to promote peace, security, and civil liberties. And in the process, ever larger numbers of working men and women, Negro and white, native and foreign-born, will learn from their own experiences and struggles, and will attain clarity, self-confidence, and class consciousness. (March 25)

The big week-end news, of course, was China's offer to exchange sick and wounded and to resume negotiations at Panmunjom. I listened to radio roundups from various European capitals and they confirm the fact that this new move already has met with a hearty response not only among the peoples, but also among important business and government circles. Popular reaction will prove no less favorable here.

If Washington continues adamantly to obstruct peaceful negotiations, and recklessly proceeds with its policy of new war provocations and adventures, Burma will not be the only government to renounce Marshall Plan aid and move away from the NATO Axis. Now when the inter-imperialist contradictions are becoming ever sharper and the world peace movement multiplies in strength and influence, the potentialities of the Soviet and China peace moves are so great that certain "breaks" and significant realignments in the interest of peace now maturing will also take place here—and in the not distant future. Big and positive events are definitely in the offing. (March 29)

I believe it is necessary to give the amnesty campaign a fresh "look." Important advances can be made on this front in the coming period. This is so *not* because the Administration will undergo a change of heart or policy. On the contrary. To the extent the government finds it advisable and necessary to enter into peaceful negotiations with the USSR and the People's Democracies, it will endeavor, among other things, to appease the McCarthys by sharpening its "anti-Communist" drive on the homefront. However, many, many people and groups who have either been intimidated or hoodwinked by the "clear and present danger" hoax and police state attacks, will now be encouraged to speak out and more actively defend the Bill of Rights. (April 6)

Since my last letter to you I've had a chance to peruse the full text of the President's address to the newspaper editors. A number of things are self-evident: Eisenhower's statement does not mark a change in U.S. foreign policy, nor does it signify the beginning of an American "peace offensive."

Rather, and in the main, it is a political and propaganda effort to try and counteract the current peace moves of the Soviet Union and China. Despite the avowal of peaceful intentions, the President underlined that even with an armistice in Korea, the U.S. intends to continue its aggressive policies in respect to NATO and Western Germany, to augment its positions of "strength," to treat the People's Democracies of China and Eastern Europe as "satellites," as objects for "liberation." And even though its tone is formally less belligerent and more re-

strained in respect to the USSR, the President's speech repeats the false and provocative allegation that the USSR is responsible for existing international tensions and war dangers.

There are, however, also one or two other aspects which should be noted. It is not unimportant that the Administration is compelled to acknowledge, and endeavors to identify itself with, the overwhelming peace sentiments of the peoples of America, Europe and Asia. Nor is it a small matter that the President's speech inadvertently recognizes some of the realities of the present situation, including the great impact of the Soviet and Chinese peace initiatives, and accepts the fact that the U.S. sooner or later shall have to enter into negotiations with the USSR and China on certain specific questions, *i.e.*, Korea—although here the President re-emphasizes that it will continue to try and impose an imperialist peace and settlement.

The objectives of Eisenhower's speech need to be clarified, and all its distortions of history and facts need to be answered. At the same time, there can be no hesitation to boldly and skillfully use the President's declared willingness to meet the Soviet Union "halfway."

It must be explained again and again that the attainment of concrete, if limited, peace agreements, as well as the achievement of a long-term peace, requires a mutual desire for peace, a mutual willingness to promote peace, and concessions to secure peace agreements (not to speak of the mutual and decisive intervention of the working class and peoples). It is important to hammer home that the realization of peace likewise requires concrete acts and measures to maintain normal, friendly and business-like relations with all nations (above all, with the USSR and China) regardless of their internal regimes or social systems, as well as the pursuance of a policy of strict non-interference in the internal affairs of all nations. And that this is in the best interests of America, of our people. (April 19)

The McCarran Board decision [dealing with the Communist Party] points up the fact that the Eisenhower Administration accepts full responsibility for the Hitlerite operation and edicts of the Board. This, of course, is not surprising since the unconstitutional and pro-fascist McCarran Act was sponsored by the most bellicose and predatory circles of monopoly capital and pushed through Congress under the leadership of that ultra-

reactionary coalition headed by McCarthy, McCarran, Nixon, Byrd, and Mundt.

Now that the first and most far-reaching decision of the Board has been made, and since [Attorney-General] Brownell has indicated publicly that the new Administration intends to institute additional proceedings against so-called "Communist front" and "action" organizations, it is crystal clear that the labor and progressive movements should energetically mobilize to effect a decisive turn in the struggle against the McCarran and Smith Acts, against rampant McCarthyism-McCarranism. To lose further valuable time waiting and speculating on favorable legal action would mean to court disaster—even though there are existing and maturing possibilities for influencing the course of political events so as to secure finally a judicial decision declaring the Act unconstitutional.

A vigorous public relations job could arouse all democratic forces and also clarify the fascist nature of the statute and the Board's findings, and drive home the dangerous consequences of this decision for *all* the American people, for the Bill of Rights, and the cause of peace.

A new approach can be made to achieve unity of action of all organizations, groups and individuals who opposed the enactment of the McCarran Act. Other forces can be reached, including certain conservative GOP and Democratic elements who have become alarmed by the McCarran-Walter Act and the McCarthy-Jenner-Velde witchhunts. (April 21)

While they are in basic agreement with the aggressive imperialist aims and policies of the Eisenhower Administration, the ultra-reactionary and openly pro-fascist wing of the GOP are violently opposed to the U.S.A. entering into peaceful negotiations with the USSR and China on any issue, no matter how limited. The McCormicks, McCarthys, Jenners, and Brickers are also fearful and rabidly opposed even to official pronouncements that in one way or another may encourage such notions in UN circles or among the masses of people.

The Administration recognizes some of the realities of the actual military relationship of forces in Korea and elsewhere. It is compelled to consider the impact of the Soviet and Chinese peace moves, as well as the economic situation and the aggravated antagonisms and differences between the Western powers, par-

ticularly regarding Far Eastern policy. It therefore has reluctantly agreed to the resumption of truce talks at Panmunjom. As a result, the McCormick forces are resorting to every provocation and device to try to prevent an armistice in Korea and to block every other move that can facilitate a lessening of world tensions and promote peaceful negotiations among the major powers.

This, among other things, explains the "sudden" inspired press campaign, intrigues, and provocative political pressures now being organized. Among these are: MacArthur's latest proposal for bombing the industrial centers of China; McCarthy's activity regarding Greek shipping interests and for a naval blockade of all trade with China; as well as the devious efforts to push through the Bricker amendment for curtailing drastically the treaty-making powers of Executive. It must be noted that the McCormick-McCarthy forces which play a leading role in Congress right now also constitute a growing menace both in national and foreign affairs.

In order to stymie this cabal and simultaneously to bring greater mass pressure to bear upon the Administration to compel it to conclude an early armistice in Korea and to enter into serious negotiations to settle peacefully other key world questions—it is urgent that labor and progressives extend the struggle against McCarthyism-McCarranism on all fronts, to more effectively unmask and combat their pro-fascist jingoism and war incitement. A mass movement is needed to oppose their ultra-reactionary program in domestic affairs, defeat their external policies which dovetail with and reinforce the sinister atomic diplomacy and "liberation" program of Messrs. Dulles, and Co.
(April 27)

Glad to note that new petitions are being circulated for amnesty. Both the positive developments opening around the new prospects for an armistice in Korea, as well as the negative events like the McCarran decision confirm a thousandfold that the issue of amnesty should occupy an important place in the struggle against the Smith Act and the prosecutions taking place under it.

Amnesty has a powerful and attractive mass appeal and comes to grips with many of the vital issues involved in this struggle to restore and defend the Bill of Rights, to repeal and nullify the Smith and McCarran Acts, to combat war hysteria. The

previous amnesty petitions of the clergymen and educators proved this. Also the amnesty movement could help exert effective pressure now to check and halt current and pending proceedings under the Act. (April 29)

The U.N. delegation at Panmunjom certainly is continuing a provocative, arrogant, and chauvinist course. The categorical statement that no Asian nation would be acceptable as the neutral power to supervise the temporary custody of the POW's, exemplifies this to the hilt. But this will yet boomerang and the indignant protests will by no means be limited to China, India and Indonesia. Washington and its U.N. representative will yet learn that they cannot obstruct the truce talks and that armistice and peace in Korea or anywhere else cannot be dictated by one side; that imperialist terms cannot be imposed; that there must be negotiations between equals with a mutual desire for peace. But where, oh where, is the supremely urgent news from the *American* peace front? (April 30)

In reply to your repeated questions about my views concerning the past and present role of the Progressive Party, I can only give some very inadequate and partial observations. The P.P. as an anti-war and anti-fascist alignment of certain Left-wing and other independent labor and progressive forces arose out of the specific conditions, trends, and needs of the 1947-48 period. It was, at that time, one of the political expressions of the popular resentment to the reactionary and warmongering policies of the Truman Administration and the GOP.

It expressed a minority, although a growing, third party trend challenging Wall Street's two-party system and bipartisan war program. Its emergence as a national vehicle (electoral status and machinery), for independent political action, its united front program of peace and civil liberties, and its dynamic political campaign enabled the P. P. to exert, to some extent, a positive political influence on national affairs in 1948, as well as having a certain favorable effect internationally.

However, I believe the Progressive Party could have performed a more influential role in the '48 elections if it had been

crystallized as an independent ticket, instead of as a new party. Moreover, the progressive forces around this organization could have made greater headway in coping with the electoral and post-election problems if certain mistakes had been avoided.

At its inception there was an exaggerated view, held by virtually all of the Left, that this third party movement was emerging as a mass people's party with a sizeable and stable base in the labor and Negro people's movements. Truman's post-nomination maneuvers, especially forced by the very challenge of the third party ticket (regarding the GOP and the special session of Congress in July, 1948; regarding the Dixiecrats, as well as the proposed Vinson "peace mission"), coupled with the negative effects of the reapproachment between the CIO and Railway Labor officialdom and Truman in the autumn of '48, all served as a brake upon the trends towards mass disillusionment in the Democratic Party and towards a new political alignment which, prior to the national convention of the Democrats and Truman's election campaign maneuvers, had been maturing on a fairly wide scale.

Partly because this was not seen in time by the progressive forces, only one aspect of the main political line of the Left and the progressives was carried through during the campaign itself. Notwithstanding certain Left-wing warnings, there was a failure to combine an independent policy and tactic in the presidential race with the pressing task of developing the broadest united front relations, activity and coalitions with the mainstream of the organized labor and people's movements around specific key issues, and in active support, qualified and critical, of a host of pro-labor and certain pro-peace Congressional and state legislative candidates running chiefly on the Democratic tickets.

After the November elections in 1948, it should have been clear that not only was the Progressive Party not a mass people's party, but that while it might play a positive role in a few areas, it had no prospect of becoming a key medium for effectuating a new political alignment and a broad anti-monopoly people's party; that it did not have a wide labor base or influence, nor a realistic perspective for acquiring this in the immediate future.

Because of the terrific pressures created by the post-election persecutions on the Left and the expulsion drive against the Left-led unions in the CIO (which weakened further the narrow labor base of the P. P., and accentuated all the unsolved problems accruing over the years due to the long-standing neglect of work

by the progressives in the mass unions under reformist and Social-Democratic leadership), this major conclusion regarding the very limited perspectives for the P. P. was arrived at very slowly and piecemeal. In fact, it was not emphasized sharply until March, and especially in December, of 1950. (*May 10*)

I'm doing a double-header in letters today so as to finish up with my random remarks started in my earlier letter.

From your questions I gather there is some public debate as to whether the Progressive Party can perform a positive role in the immediate future. This is an "iffy" question. The P. P. is an even narrower organization now than it was in '48, although it still represents certain devoted and active peace and anti-monopoly elements and groupings.

Conceivably, the P. P. might play a useful though very limited role if those in and around it clearly realized that the prerequisites do not exist now for building a mass people's third party nationally or in most states. What has to be grasped is that the central problem confronting labor and the progressive movements, now more than ever before, is the development of the broadest peace and democratic coalition under labor's leadership, rallying the great masses of working peoples who have not yet broken electorally with the major parties of capital. What is needed is to promote everywhere, in a variety of ways and forms, trade union unity of struggle and labor's independent political action, and to influence all democratic currents, groupings, and realignments within, as well as outside of, the two old parties.

The day will yet come, and it is not decades away, when broad sections of the labor, farmers and Negro people's movements, as well as professionals and small businessmen, will coalesce and form a new major party of the common people, an anti-monopoly and anti-war party.

It is necessary consciously to work to hasten this process. But this development will not be advanced if the present-day adherents of the Progressive Party and of an eventual mass Farmer-Labor Party isolate themselves and remain aloof from present political activity of the vast majority of the working people who still vote on election day for the "lesser evil," for one or another of the major party tickets or candidates. The "good fight" must be waged on the key issues, with and among the people and their established mass organizations, and not from the ivory-towered

sanctuary of a simon-pure P. P. or American Labor Party.

These comments, although wordy, are very sketchy, but indicate my general approach to some of the questions you've been writing about. I do feel, too, that this whole subject should not be blown up out of proportion, should not be allowed to become a "political football" to further divide and atomize the Left-progressive forces. If unity of action of all peace and democratic forces is urgently needed today, which it is, this holds doubly true for the Left. Despite honest disagreements currently existing in the ranks of the Left between the adherents of a third party now or later, it is imperative that these groupings and currents be united around the wide areas of anti-fascist and anti-war programs which they now hold in order to coordinate and enhance their strength. Thereby they could enlist broader forces to join in a common struggle for peace, democracy and security.

(May 10)

Churchill's significant proposal in Parliament for an "East-West" conference at the highest level and his endorsement of China's 8 point program for resolving the POW issue and concluding an immediate armistice are indicative of the powerful peace sentiments in Britain and on the Continent. It highlights also the divergent positions and sharpening contradictions between London and Washington on a number of key questions. It is important that Churchill's recommendation for a Big Power conference was immediately echoed by the French Foreign Affairs Committee and by the Vatican. Together with the earlier statements from New Delhi, this partially reflects the impact of the Soviet-Chinese peace moves in both popular and certain official circles in the West. It represents a trend of political development which, despite its unevenness and different motivation, is bound to assert itself more and more, notwithstanding the counter pressures from Washington.

The response of official U.S. circles to the Churchill proposal is entirely negative. This is evidenced by Eisenhower's remarks at today's press conference, McCarthy's vituperative attacks on Attlee and Churchill, and, not least of all, by the action of the U.S. delegation at Pannunjom in rejecting the Chinese compromise proposals, thus deadlocking the truce talks again and once more trying to provoke a complete breakdown in the truce negotiations. All of this is not unexpected. But what is inex-

plicable is the costly slowness with which the peace forces within our country are reacting to these and allied developments. Perhaps there are certain positive reactions and activities now underway which the press has not reported as yet—and it would be strange if this were not so. However, I'm very disturbed by what is *not* happening, by the opportunities that are being missed and muffed. It is true the relationship of forces within the nation is different from that which exists in Britain, France, or Italy. Nonetheless, there do exist many favorable conditions for organizing the peace sentiments of the American people, for directing the broadening opposition to McCarthyism into articulate and influential peace channels, for linking the wage and lower tax movement with the fight for peace. (May 14)

The tempest in Congress over the British Parliament's debate on foreign policy was a miserable, albeit a sinister affair. The Chiang Kai-shek lobby, headed by Senators Knowland, Bridges and McCarthy, had a virtual field day and succeeded in large measure in diverting the discussion from the positive aspects of Churchill's speech to some of the peripheral remarks of Attlee. These rabid anti-Sovieters and spread-the-war-to-China incendiaries seized the occasion to exert greater pressures on the Administration to renounce Churchill's suggestion for a Big-Power conference, and to pledge publicly that the U.S. will "never accede" to seating China in the UN. All this is calculated, among other things, to try to stymie further the truce talks at Panmunjom and to torpedo any peace settlement.

Only Senators Cooper and Morse mildly dissented from some of the atomic warmongering of the McCarthys. As for the Democrats in Congress, they took time out from their vocal clamor for no reduction in the arms budget to maintain a "neutral" position of silence on the McCarthy-Attlee "duel." Outside of the halls of Congress Senator Douglas assailed Churchill's proposal for a "high-level" conference; Adlai Stevenson equivocated; while Chester Bowles more or less intimated that the U.S. may have to face realities and alter its position regarding seating China in the UN.

Very few peace forces inside or outside of the labor and progressive movements reacted in any effective way to Churchill's and Nehru's proposals for major power peace negotiations and for an early conclusion of an armistice in Korea based on the

recent Chinese eight point compromise plan. Nor have the peace forces been conspicuous in condemning the McCarthy-Knowland war incitement provocations. This dangerous lag far behind the peace movements in other countries is bound to have increasingly dangerous consequences, first of all for the American people.

Perhaps many of the peace forces minimize the positive aspects of Churchill's address because all they can see is that Churchill is a Tory imperialist. Perhaps they overlook the impact of the recent Attlee and Nehru statement on the Social-Democratic influenced workers in, for instance, the garment and auto industries here. Perhaps they do not understand the profound and sharpening Anglo-American contradictions and antagonisms that are developing further today. Or perhaps many believe that since London, New Delhi, Ottawa and other government centers are bringing some pressure to bear on Washington for effectuating an armistice in Korea, everything may work out O.K. without the peace forces in our own country having to exert any pressure or influence here at home.

It is, of course, important to estimate correctly the reasons motivating Churchill's policy statement. But it is no less important to understand that whatever the motivation, such declaration in favor of negotiations with the USSR is significant and timely and can be used by the peace forces to help mobilize broader mass support to promote genuine peaceful negotiations with the USSR and China. (May 19)

I deeply appreciate the sentiments which prompted groups of southerners to "adopt" some of the children of the victims of the Smith Act, including our youngster. Such expressions of concern, friendship and solidarity mean a great deal generally, and personally.

Dulles and Eisenhower initiate a high-level conference of the three leading NATO powers to try and heal their rifts and to counteract the developments towards a Big Four conference and peaceful negotiations. Taft reinforces and carries a step farther the offensive launched by the Knowland-McCarthy grouping to break up the Korean truce negotiations and, if this is impossible, to torpedo the peace conference. The Senate Appropriations Committee follows suit with its anti-China, anti-UN resolution aiming to exert greater reactionary pressure on the

Administration at Panmunjom and Bermuda. But the voices of the peace forces from progressive and conservative circles remain woefully weak.

There is a real danger of growing complacency in the ranks of the peace forces on this side of the Atlantic as a result of the many favorable international developments which are advancing the cause of world peace. Because the world camp of peace, democracy and socialism is steadily enhancing its strength and influence, too many American peace forces consider that "in time" everything will work itself out automatically, regardless of what the American people do or don't do at this juncture.

It is true that "time is on our side," but only if labor and its vanguard use "time" most advantageously. While decisively favorable international factors are growing, we Americans must learn to carry our share of the responsibility. If the American people rely only on the favorable international conditions and neglect or fail to develop an all-out and an effective struggle for peace and to create an internal situation favorable to defending and promoting democracy here at home—then this will jeopardize the cause of world peace and the positions of our own people here.

(May 28)

Just heard over the radio that the Supreme Court refused to grant a stay of execution and to review the Rosenberg case. There are now only three precious days for the bar of public opinion to reverse this and to compel the President to grant clemency. This will require more, much more than just yesterday's great picket demonstration at the White House. Something comparable to the last minute nationwide and world wide demonstrations to save Tom Mooney is needed. Perhaps this may yet materialize. America, no less than the Rosenbergs, needs this.

It is almost ironic that the President should make a public statement against book-burning and intolerance, as he did at Dartmouth, just at the moment when the State Dept. purges the U.S. Information libraries, the Dept. of Justice decrees that scores of people's organizations are "subversive" and "foreign-controlled" and moves with more prosecutions for advocacy and teaching Marxist principles, and the GOP witch-hunters extend their pro-fascist inquisitions.

But, of course, this is not exactly strange. After all, not

only world democratic opinion but also even the *N. Y. Times* is castigating the current book purges. Moreover, there is a groundswell of popular and intellectual opposition, as well as widespread apprehension in many conservative quarters regarding the menacing spread and toll of McCarthyism-McCarranism. Even a distinguished foreign diplomat, L. Pearson of Canada, also speaking at Dartmouth, reflected some of the international concern over what is happening in the U.S.A. on this score. And Prof. Einstein, on the eve of Eisenhower's remarks, issued his courageous and challenging appeal to all men of learning, science and culture to defy the American imitators of Hitler.

Regardless of what prompted the President to speak as he did at Dartmouth, his warning against "joining the bookburners" and his statement that it is in the American tradition to "say" and "record" and "to make accessible" all, including Communist, ideas and beliefs and doctrines, should be utilized by all democratic forces to help re-inforce speedily the battle against McCarthyism—whether it stems from Congress, the Administration or elsewhere. Not least of all, the Dartmouth "declaration" could be used immediately to make new and fresh approaches to hundreds of individuals and organizations to join in the people's fight, in one or another way, against the Smith and McCarran Acts and repressions. Surely, many persons who concur in Eisenhower's Dartmouth avowal will gladly take his words at their face value and will request that the President grant amnesty for the Smith Act victims. (June 15)

An additional word on the President's Dartmouth statement. It is obvious that the Administration's actions belie Eisenhower's words on the book-burners and the inalienable rights of political expression. By the Dartmouth declaration Ike sought to allay the concern of millions here and abroad and to absolve the Administration from the "excesses" of McCarthyism, as well as protect it from the wrath of the widening opposition.

All this is true and should be made crystal clear. But it is important to bear in mind that large numbers of people who up till now have been timid to speak out and act on the vital issues raised by the President will now be impelled to express independently their views and participate in the growing anti-McCarthyite movement. (June 16)

The radio has just carried a news flash that the Supreme Court has adjourned until tomorrow, thus postponing for a day its unprecedented deliberations on Justice Douglas' grant of stay of execution to the Rosenbergs. What is extraordinary is the frenzied haste and the bloodthirsty vindictiveness with which the Administration is moving to execute the Rosenbergs before national and world democratic opinion and pressure can tear asunder this monstrous atomaniac frameup. The world-wide movement to save these two young courageous anti-fascists has assumed gigantic proportions and is rapidly mounting, as the latest pleas of Auriol [of France] and the Archbishop of Paris, the Parliament of Uruguay, of the Transport and General Workers Union of Britain, of Catholics, Laborites, Socialists and Communists in all lands, of American ministers and scientists and rank and file workers pointedly indicate. I fervently hope that a measure of this influence will register tomorrow and will wrest at least a partial victory in the interim. (June 18)

Millions of people the world over will long remember Ethel and Julius Rosenberg. And June 19, 1953 will go down in history as a day of infamy when a barbaric crime was committed against humanity. The savage McCarthy wolf-pack clamored for indecent haste, and the General who is President instantly reacted in military fashion and denied all civilian pleas for clemency and justice: The Rosenbergs must die—and without delay! For the American Way is now the way of the Garrison State! Even the hour of execution was advanced. Not because of the Jewish Sabbath, but because the young victims were anti-fascist Jews, were a young mother and father who would not barter truth and honor for a life of perjury and dishonor. And especially because the mounting protests of democratic world opinion could not be ignored much longer. So pull the switch and “close” the case as the McCarthy-McCarran cabal demand!

As the sun set and the Rosenbergs burned, an electric shock was felt around the globe. In Europe and America, in Asia and Africa, people cried in anguish. They demonstrated in anger. They vowed that these two young martyred dead shall not have died in vain. They pledged that the people will multiply their unity and struggles to halt the imitators of Hitler before these pyromaniacs destroy untold millions.

Not a few Americans will ask in hopelessness: why was it not possible to prevent this ghoulis Hitlerite execution? The answer lies partly in the advanced process of fascization that has developed in our country as part of the cold war program. For the Rosenberg frameup was designed and executed in frenzy and desperation to fan the flames of atomic war hysteria, and to justify more and bigger police state violence and repression. The other part of the answer lies in the dangerous and costly fact that the weakest link in the world-wide movement of the peoples for clemency and human rights, for democracy and peace is *here in the U.S.A.*

It is true, of course, that tens of thousands of Americans—Negro and white—churchmen, intellectuals, rank and file workers—and their organizations waged a valiant struggle. But too many people and mass organizations, including many opponents of McCarthyism and atomic warfare, as well as numerous adversaries of capital punishment, remained aloof from the struggle. The objective and subjective factors responsible for this heartrending defeat must be examined searchingly. The sooner this is done the sooner the barbarism of June 19th will be avenged.

(June 20)

DEAR SON: I understand that a certain young party has not only been busy being a fine ambassador of good will and joy amongst our many, many friends out California-way, but that said party has been busy also looking for a job! I admire your good intentions, Big Fellow, but if I were you I would not lose any sleep if your search for a job, at the ripe old age of 10½, did not materialize this summer or next. Job-hunting time will come soon enough, meanwhile “work” at taking good care of yourself and Mommy for me, “work” at school and “work” at play, “work” with other kids to help other kids, “work” at becoming ever more healthy, helpful and wise. This is a lot of work, even for fellows older than ten.

This afternoon I went to the movies and saw “Ivanhoe.” Considering what Hollywood produces generally, this was quite good. One of the most moving scenes to me involved the trial of Rebecca, the courageous Jewish girl who was framed as a sorceress and sentenced to be burned at the stake to promote the evil objectives of the usurper of the throne of England, King John. I couldn’t help but think of the present day witch-

hunts and persecutions; especially of the two innocent, brave Jewish anti-fascists—Ethel and Julius Rosenberg. “Ivanhoe” had a happy ending. The Rosenberg frameup didn’t. But the people’s fight against tyranny and injustice, fascism and war will have a happy ending too. And the names of the young Rosenbergs will be borne high on the banners of that struggle.

(June 28)

The *N. Y. Times* of June 26th, which arrived today, carried the full text of the manifesto on “Freedom to Read” issued by the American Library Association and the American Book Publishers Council. This is an unusually significant document. It forthrightly rejects both the practices *and* the premises of the book-burners and suppressors of “dangerous ideas.” It reaffirms the inalienable democratic rights of all who write or publish, circulate, or read books and publications, no matter how heretic or dissident, “subversive” or unpopular these may seem to be. This manifesto invites discussion and endorsement everywhere and could become an instrument for promoting greater unity of action in defense of the First Amendment amongst workers and intellectuals, students and clergymen, among wide sections of the great majority who oppose McCarthyism.

In this connection, note should be taken also of the series of three editorials on McCarthyism just concluded by *The Nation*. While the editorial position set forth is more than fuzzy on the cardinal questions of foreign policy, the editors of *The Nation* emphasize the menacing danger of McCarthyism internally and point out that to effectively fight McCarthyism it is essential to (a) repudiate its premise, the Big Lie, “the hoax that Communism is a national menace,” and (b) to join together the anti-McCarthyite opposition regardless of differences on other questions. This is another important straw in the wind and, above all, another valuable opening to initiate broad discussions and appropriate united front activities in a host of mass labor and progressive organizations and circles.

(June 29)

Today, of course, marks the second anniversary of our imprisonment for championing “dangerous ideas,” for advocating

and teaching the duty and necessity of the American working class and people to organize, unite and struggle to prevent another world war, to block the road to fascism, to create a new political situation in our country favorable for establishing, by democratic and constitutional processes, a government of peace and eventually a people's democracy.

Everything that has transpired since and, to no small extent as a result of, our trial and incarceration has demonstrated how costly for America it has been to imprison people for their political beliefs; to try to destroy the advanced political party of the working class—the Communist Party.

Even at this late date, only a small minority of Americans grasp the national and world significance of the Smith Act outrages and their inseparable connection with the growth of monopoly reaction and violence, with the aggression in Korea and the developing process of fascization of the entire state apparatus. But wider masses of Americans are beginning, in one way or another, to challenge the ugly and brutal spread of McCarthyism. This is reflected in the forthright position taken by the American Library Association and the Publishers Council, in the mounting nationwide condemnation of the Congressional inquisitions by unions, church, professional groups—conservative and progressive; in the widening demand for the repeal and nullification of the infamous McCarran Acts; in the fighting movement to save the Rosenbergs; in the work stoppage in Hawaii protesting the local Smith Act persecutions; in the popular opposition to the MacArthur-McCarthy proposals for spreading the war in the Far East. The issue of McCarthyism is shaping up as one of the key levers for moving tens of millions into united front anti-fascist and anti-war coalitions directed against all protagonists of monopoly's police state, including the Eisenhowers and Dulles and their Democratic counterparts.

(July 2)

DEAR SON: Yesterday was July 4th, the 177th anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence. I don't know how you observed this memorable occasion, but I'll tell you how I spent the day. I arose as usual at 6:30 A.M., and after washing up and making my bunk, I read the morning paper, *The Atlanta Constitution*. As I scanned the news and editorials, I couldn't help but think that if the founding fathers were alive

today they too might be commemorating the 4th in prison. For by the standards of those who presently rule our country Thomas Jefferson, Samuel Adams and Tom Paine would be classified as subversives and dangerous because they advocated and taught that all men are created free and equal, are endowed with certain inalienable rights, among these being the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and that when any government becomes destructive of these ends it should be altered or abolished.

After breakfast at 7:15, I went out to the greenhouse for a short while and watered some thirsty plants. About 9 A.M. I went to the yard where there were field and sports events, including all kinds of races, except a cross-country race. As I watched these contests and exercises I reminded myself that freedom develops in a country through exercising it, and that if the American people are to restore and preserve the Bill of Rights, they must exercise these rights, make use of them, individually and above all, collectively.

About 10:15 I returned to the cell for lock-up and read the *Times* and *The Nation* till noon. While glancing at several items dealing with a national teachers' convention in Florida and the growing fear of many educators to express and teach the truth in view of the McCarthyite hysteria and witchhunts, I was reminded of the fact that freedom and fear can't live in the same nation on equal terms, and that it's up to labor and the whole people to make freedom prevail.

At noon—to lunch, where we had Swiss steak (I believe mine was genuine because it was so tough that it tasted almost like one of those tough mountain goats for which the Swiss Alps are so famous). Then to a movie, "The Snows of Kilimanjaro"—which at least killed some time. With the exception of the interlude for supper at 4:30 P.M., I spent the rest of the day in the cell playing a little chess and reading a book of essays and statements by various writers and scientists on their philosophy of life. It is called *I Believe*.

Before turning in, I took my world almanac and re-read the stirring and immortal Declaration of Independence. How urgent and vital it is to make these principles come alive again in our land today!

(July 5)

At 8 P.M., less than a half hour from now, the armistice is scheduled to be signed at Panmunjom. This has been a long time coming, far too long and unnecessarily so.

Millions of Americans, not to speak of the peoples of Korea, China and other lands, will greet this occasion with heartfelt relief. However, the sober joy that all feel is tempered by varied reflections on the origin, the nature, and human costs of the war. Also by the realization that already open threats have been made by Rhee and Co. to violate the terms of the armistice. And Washington, as well as Seoul, already threatens to torpedo the forthcoming peace conference.

Mixed feelings pervade large sections of the American people. There is prayerful thankfulness that hostilities are ending. But there is, too, apprehension as to what lies ahead. There is, in some quarters a dangerous tendency to wait-and-see what Rhee and his Wall Street masters may do next. The mixed moods of the people need to be converted into constructive channels of public expression and activity to compel the Administration and Congress to honor in deeds the armistice agreement and enter into genuine negotiations to help effectuate a peaceful and fair settlement of the Korean and allied questions.

However, justified concern for the fate of the armistice and the coming peace conference should not be allowed to obscure the great significance of these developments. The armistice represents a highly important victory for the peoples, including our own, and for those governments which have defended national freedom and peace. It marks a serious defeat for Wall Street's war policy, especially for the Truman-Dulles-Knowland military adventure in Korea. Those American ruling circles which have endeavored to spread the war in Korea to the Chinese mainland and the USSR have been checkmated. The People's Republic of Korea, with the resolute support of the USSR and China and all progressive humanity, has successfully defended its independence and sovereignty.

This armistice, which is in America's national interest, was brought about not only by the military stalemate created in Korea, but also by the strivings of the American and all other peoples for peace, by the fissures in the West, and by the steps taken by the Soviet Union and China to end the war and reduce world tensions. It will facilitate a further easing of international tensions and will strengthen the efforts of the camp of peace

and democracy to promote solution of existing differences and disputes among nations by peaceful negotiations.

(July 26)

DEAR SON: How does it feel to be in San Francisco once again? While I lived there for only a short time, I am very fond of it. I like the bay, the hills, and the climate. But I like S. F. particularly because it has always been a militant union town and has many fine labor traditions. When Mommy and I lived there, I worked as a truck driver, but spent most of my time helping to organize the waterfront there. San Francisco is supposed to be the Gateway to the Orient, and it is the birthplace of the United Nations. It would be fitting if we could help make it a Gateway for American-Chinese peace and friendship, and convene there a great people's Congress to voice and register the hopes of the American people to achieve peace in the Far East and the world.

Well, here it is mid-summer and hot as blazes, and we are putting out another crop of—winter cabbage here! But we'll soon be through with both the cabbage and the summer. Then, even if the campaign for amnesty does not grow as fast as the cabbage, we'll have time only for one more Atlanta summer. That is a refreshing thought on a hot day in a "cooler" like this.

(August 2)

The news of the past few days underscores further the great need of getting the amnesty campaign and the Smith-McCarran Acts repeal movement seriously in motion. The extension of the McCarthyite witchhunt into the realm of the Protestant Churches and the latest operations of the Smith Act dragnet in Philadelphia, sharply point this up. Wherever the fascist inquisition strikes—whether at the schools or libraries, the clergy, actors or unionists, Democrats, progressives, independents, Social-Democrats, or Communists—it bases its assaults chiefly upon the catch-all premises of the Smith and McCarran Acts and upon the convictions already made under these illegal and Hitlerite instruments for "legalizing" the advance of fascism.

It is high time that this fundamental fact is driven home in labor's ranks and among the broadest forces, conservatives as well as progressives, some of whom are beginning to resist McCarthy

and McCarthyism on many fronts. It is important for the Left to support and help initiate the broadest democratic movements and coalitions against McCarthyism, especially around those issues that arouse mass indignation and activity—i.e., against “book-burning,” “probing,” “censoring,” and abridging the civil rights of educators, writers, the clergy, trade unionists.

The Left should do this without making its program of action a pre-condition for cooperating in the struggle against McCarthyism. However, in so doing, the Left should clarify the basic issues involved and help enlist ever wider united front support for amnesty to the Smith Act victims and for calling a halt to these anti-Bill of Rights persecutions; for contesting and nullifying the McCarran Act and the Board’s ruling on the Communist Party and for repeal of these Nazi-like statutes. All this can be done today in a new, bold and decisive way, particularly in preparing for the ’54 elections. (August 4)

One of the major events of the post World War II period is, of course, the emergence of the People’s Republic of China as a great world power. This historic development is bound to have an ever increasing impact and constructive influence upon Asian and world affairs, not least of all upon the progress and future of all national liberation movements, and will strengthen still further the camp of peace, democracy and socialism. This has been affirmed by the course of the war in Korea and the great role of People’s China in the attainment of the armistice there.

Only megalomaniacs, suffering from atomic pyromania and un-American illusions of “*Amerika Ueber Alles*,” would plan to “destroy” the New China or try to exclude her from the councils of the family of nations and the highest level conferences of the major powers—particularly now when vital questions affecting the lives, freedom and security of the peoples of Asia, as well as of international peace, relationships, trade, are to be negotiated and settled. (August 9)

DEAR SON: I know that when you receive this Mommy will be up in Seattle on some speaking dates for amnesty. I want to take advantage of her absence to ask you to do something very special for me. September 4th will make 25 years that Mommy

and I are married. It will mark our "silver" anniversary. This is a very important occasion for me because I love Mommy very, very much and our marriage is very precious to me. It always has been and will be so.

Such an event should, of course, be celebrated together, with all hands on deck. But we'll have to make the best of things. Therefore, son, I am counting on you to help make up for my enforced absence. I want you to try and make Sept. 4th an extra-special occasion. If you are short on your allowance-money, ask Grandma or Aunt Mini to help us out. I would like you to get Mommy one red rose, a very special phonograph record called "A Kiss in the Dark" (music by Victor Herbert and played by Fritz Kreisler); and, if it is at all possible, I would like very much to get her some small silver memento. Whatever you do, keep it gay and festive for Our Best girl. So—take over, my Chip, for both of us. (August 17)

We have observed many anniversaries together. All of them were dear to us. But this September 4th has an exceptional meaning for me. This is not only because of the special circumstances that exist today; nor merely because it signifies that we have lived and worked together for a quarter of a century. For what is truly significant about any marriage and comradeship is not so much the span of time covered in itself, but the quality of the bonds that bring and hold a man and woman together. Measured in these terms, our relationship is something precious—with a future, as well as a present and a past. And our 25th anniversary bears witness to a love and comradeship that has deepened and grown over the years during eventful political struggles and personal experiences; midst deepening common interests, keen happiness and some sorrow; close companionship and long separations; staunch devotion to our political beliefs.

We have each other, our Young Chip, and a host of friends and comrades. We and ours have a great and challenging future to look forward to, to strive for, and to share together; as well as countless memories to treasure. All this, and more, is embodied in September 4th. (August 25)

I hope the recent Smith Act indictments in Philadelphia, the arrests in California, the indictment of Ben Gold [former president of the Fur and Leather Workers Union], the listing

of the National Lawyers Guild as "subversive," are all properly estimated, and not viewed as isolated phenomena. These are the domestic counterpart of the Administration's post-armistice moves to prevent any "let-down" or relaxation in its cold war drive and world tensions; they are designed as well for sinister use in the 1954 congressional elections.

These steps indicate that a new round of pro-fascist attacks is opening, fraught with increased dangers to the trade unions and all progressive forces, irrespective of their political complexion and social outlook. It is late, but not too late to broaden the struggle against galloping McCarthyism-McCarranism in all its aspects and phases. Wide masses of people are drawing different conclusions from the Korean armistice than have been drawn by Congress and the Administration. These conclusions—which are in accord with our national interest—can facilitate a marked extension and a more effective struggle for democracy and peace.

(August 30)

The West German elections are over. While an Adenauer coalition victory was expected, the size of the vote and the parliamentary majority secured by the Bonn regime are disturbing. The absence of a mass and influential Communist Party and the treacherous role of the Right-wing Social-Democrats, particularly in connection with the colossal pre-election provocations organized by the West on June 17th in East Germany, help explain Sunday's vote. Momentarily, at least, the militarist and fascist forces in Western Germany have been emboldened. The prospects for speeding the re-unification of Germany as an independent and democratic nation have been somewhat set back.

Now Washington will attempt to move faster and more arrogantly to re-arm West Germany with or without the EDC [European Defense Community] and army. Already Adenauer, aping Dulles, has scuttled his pre-election demagoguery regarding working for the "unity" of Germany, and now brazenly calls for the "liberation" of East Germany. He also is trying to revise the Bonn constitution so as to remove all constitutional barriers standing in the way of large scale re-militarization.

However in West Germany and France influential forces, as well as the vast majority of the people, will become more reluctant to ratify the EDC. They will seek new alternatives to Wall

Street's policy of restoring the Krupps, the Thyssens, and the German Wehrmacht. Also the German Democratic Republic has been strengthened by the lessons it has drawn from the experiences and the measures it has taken after the June events. Strengthened by its far-reaching agreement with the USSR, the new Republic will now become an important factor among the German people and in helping influence the course of events in Europe.

Here at home, large sections of the American people, especially Jewish and Slav people, are uneasy at the prospect of a resurgent German militarism and Washington's responsibility for this. This concern will develop into support of high level negotiations for a peaceful settlement of the German question. (*September 9*)

I've discovered that these two-day visits have their disadvantages, as well as their special pleasures. Yesterday it was an exhilarating feeling to wake up and know that I'd be seeing you for the second consecutive day in a few hours. But this morning was quite different—which is another way of saying: I miss you already.

This afternoon I was able to peruse, somewhat hastily, the full text of [Adlai] Stevenson's speech, two aspects of which are particularly striking. While implying criticism of some of the methods and tactics employed by Dulles and Company in foreign affairs, Stevenson re-affirmed the basic tenets of his (and Truman's and Eisenhower's) position on foreign policy as set forth during the 1952 campaign in terms of the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan, the Korean war, NATO, the building up of an EDC and a re-armed West Germany, plus his pointed endorsement of intervention in Indo-China.

But it would be short-sighted and sectarian to see only this, fundamental as this is. For Stevenson's speech reflected to a limited extent, and took partially into account some of the misgivings about the Administration's conduct of foreign affairs now prevalent in certain official circles in London, Paris, and New Delhi, and voiced in this country by Weir, Warburg, *The Nation*, etc. While not prepared to go as far as Churchill in regard to an early Big Power conference at the highest level, or as far as a Nehru for seating China at the U.N., Stevenson nevertheless has begun to speak about the urgency of East-West negotiations and the need of a more "temperate," "flexible," and

"patient" approach by Washington. While he studiously avoided taking a position on such specific questions as the Korea political conference, Stevenson's general remarks about peaceful co-existence, reducing world tensions and keeping "the door to the conference room open," appear to be in a somewhat positive tone and perhaps of some use.

What Stevenson may do to implement that which is positive in his statement of policy is, at this date at least, very questionable. But there can be no doubt that his speech may encourage certain labor circles and other pro-peace elements and groups, including some Democrats and ADAers, to begin to speak out for peaceful negotiations with the USSR and China.

(September 16)

DEAR SON: I ran an interesting soil test the other day. We're now growing 50,000 radishes. One bed, nearly half, flourished while the other bed grew slowly, became discolored and looked fit for the doctor. So I tested the soil for acidity, potash and phosphate content. I finally discovered that there was a plant deficiency of nitrogen. So what did we do? Give 'em vitamin pills? Oh no, a little nitrate soda did the trick and now the "sick" radishes are coming along hale and hearty. The point is, it required a little knowledge of soil chemistry to make this experiment. And since this was available, the experiment worked, and my theory—a hypothesis—was proved in practice, scientifically.

(October 22)

I'm deeply concerned about Bob [Thompson, assaulted with an iron bar by a fascist inmate in the Federal Detention House, New York]. I would like immediately an authoritative opinion on the post-operative perspective. I want, too, a full bill of particulars as to what happened, and how? What is being done about this, especially by the progressive forces? Obviously, there are some very serious lessons to be drawn from this brutal and criminal outrage. These need to be heeded in time. People must understand that such despicable acts of violence are inevitably spawned in a political atmosphere poisoned by malignant McCarthyism-McCarranism, by officially-inspired atomic war hysteria.

Since starting to write, I've read all the New York papers

regarding the murderous assault on Bob. These give some facts, but too much is left unsaid regarding the "details" and the whole atmosphere which gives rise to such political vigilantism and terroristic acts. It is evident that Bob's condition remains extremely critical. Unwittingly, the press does reveal the attitude of official quarters towards overt acts to assassinate Communists. For while Bob's life still hangs on a thread, bail has been set for Pavlovich [Thompson's assailant] at \$25,000! While bail set for men and women merely charged with the "advocacy" of peace and democracy and social progress ranges from \$25,000 to \$100,000! To say nothing of the very imprisonment for such advocacy! The real significance of this ghoulish state of affairs must be driven home to people quickly. Surely, there should be an avalanche of protest against this attempt on Bob's life, the bail question which is virtually placing a judicial "bounty" on murderous crimes against Communists, and the struggle against the fascist Smith and McCarran Acts which invite such criminal violence. Keep me informed on Bob's health. (October 25-27)

DEAR SON: Shortly before you arrived we had a bit of a cold spell. Then when you two apostles of human warmth came on the scene, the weather brightened up and turned fair and sunny. But no sooner did you depart than the temperature dropped and it became cloudy and cold. Meanwhile, I've had a whale of a cold, with a schnozzle that runs like a melting icicle and a cough that barks like the dog you would like to have.

Speaking of the weather, did you ever consider taking up weather-forecasting as one of your many hobbies? This would not be too difficult an undertaking and you might find it of interest. As you know, the weather—while generally not decisive in determining man's life and mode of living—does, nonetheless, seriously affect the lives and habits and pleasures of people. This is true whether one lives at the North Pole or at the equator; or whether one is a farmer, a scafarer, an air pilot, a sportsman. Down through the ages men have been studying and speculating about the weather, how it changes, etc. Above all, people have tried constantly to predict the weather, to forecast its "fickleness" and "moods" and variations and turnabouts—both on a short and a long-term basis. Considerable scientific progress has been made in recent decades and this has been connected with the

scientific advances made in other fields, like aviation, physics and astronomy, meteorology, etc.

The weather acts according to laws. The more we study these and know the behavior of the weather—the better we'll be able to predict the weather, to defend ourselves from storms and droughts, and to harness or utilize the natural forces of the "weather" for constructive, as well as pleasurable, purposes. So—if you'd like to be able to predict the weather so as to check up on the weatherman, or know what to wear, where to vacation and when to go fishing or to the park, as well as to learn a little about using a few scientific instruments—let me know and I'll make some practical suggestions how to do this. All you would have to do would be to spend 10 to 15 minutes a day, sometime between 7-8 P.M. making a few observations and readings of a barometer, a thermometer, an anemometer, or examine the direction and force of the wind, the movement of birds or insects, the nature of clouds in the sky, the kind of a sunrise or sunset, etc.

I don't know how I got started on the weather, my Chip, but from me to you the weather is better than fair, always sunny and ever-promising. (November 8)

Yesterday two more of my letters were returned, those which I had written you on Nov. 9th and 18th. I've requested an interview regarding this foreboding development—so more anon.

Some weeks ago I completed two informative and relatively scholarly works on the South: *Origins of the New South* by Woodward, and *Southern Politics by Key*. But I continue to be hard pressed for worthwhile reading material. (It is now four months since I submitted my last request for books—and still no reply! My attorney has the details and is due to discuss this matter with Mr. Bennett in the near future. May this be soon—if not before!) (November 24)

ELEVEN CHIPS

(To Gene, Jr.—for Dec. 7th)

*My Chip was awfully cute at one—
Couldn't hardly walk or talk, but full of life and fun.*

*Chubby, laughing, inquisitive at two—
On the go, never still, always jabbers, wants to do.*

*The years notch up to three—
There he is, lively as a flea, and filled with curiosity.*

*When the clock strikes four,
He becomes Dennis the Menace, in and out the door.*

*Now we come to five—
He's alert and gay, goes to school on the Drive.*

*Then the clock strikes six—
He's still full of zest and wit and tricks.*

*The years climb up to seven—
New adventures, new friends, downtown to school at West
Eleven.*

*West Street jail interlude, uncertainty at eight—
But the boy begins to learn the people make history, not fate.*

*Now it's time to check off nine—
Despite Atlanta, he's brave, keen and truly fine.*

*The clock moves ahead to ten—
There he goes, a courageous youth among men.*

*And now we pause, this time at eleven—
Salute, my Chip—the love of Peg and Gene, bright as the star
in heaven.*

Happy birthday, son.

(November 29)

By the way, what significance do the progressive forces attach to McCarthy's criticism of the Administration, and to Dulles' and Eisenhower's reply? It is obvious that McCarthy sought to make personal political capital out of the Brownell-Truman "exchange." He brazenly came forward again as "the man on horseback."

But was note taken of the important fact that McCarthy

and the forces behind him challenged not merely the handling of the Davies *et al* cases and one aspect of foreign policy *per se*, but the Eisenhower-Dulles-Dewey control of Congress and the GOP? Is it seen clearly that McCarthy's pressuring of the Administration on the specific issue of compelling a Western embargo of all trade with China is a manifestation of the continuing and accentuated differences between the McCarthy-McCormick-MacArthur and the Dewey-Dulles-McCloy factions in the GOP? These differences are not over aims and over-all global objectives. But they are over certain aspects of foreign policy, particularly in respect to Far Eastern questions. They represent, too, a sharpening of the factional and political struggle between these groupings for hegemony in Congress and the GOP, for shaping the campaign strategy in '54 and '56, and for controlling the '56 national convention.

Have the exchanges between McCarthy and Dulles and Eisenhower diverted public attention from the important fact that the Administration, as pointed up by the White episode, is more openly and directly "embracing" and developing McCarthyism in internal affairs and policies? (December 10)

DEAR CHIP: I enjoyed your letter of Dec. 6th very much for many reasons. For one thing, this happened to be your last letter as a ten year oldster. So I was mighty honored to receive your "farewell address." Then, too, I was interested in your statement that: "I don't feel as though I yet fit the qualifications for an eleven year old." By now, of course, you have discovered that the "leap" from ten to eleven is not as hazardous as it seemed a couple weeks ago. Also you must surely know that we all think you have all the needed, and much more than that, qualifications for being treated as the more grown up young fellow you are. In fact, the very observations you make about the growing "qualifications" required for the transition to becoming a year older, display the fact that you have made the grade.

Now, I'm waiting for your first letter as an eleven year oldster. But don't let this worry you. I'm not expecting a sermon on "how life begins at eleven." I'd just like to know what you, Mommy, and our friends did on the memorable 7th. I'm quite sure you will like the Jack London books I asked Mommy to get for you from me.

By the way, hats off to you for the way you handled the

problem of the chaperone of your last club hike who was influenced by McCarthyite ideas and tried to exclude you from the group. You handled that well and I'm sure some of the other boys learned something, too. Good tactics and good results, my Chip. (December 13)

While I'm waiting for the results of my attorney's interview with Mr. Bennett on the question of books and diverse matters, I wish you'd make another effort to locate and order for me: *The Democratic Spirit* by Bernard Smith and *The Writings and Speeches of Eugene V. Debs* with an introduction by Schlesinger. Also I wish you would send me: *Largo Cardenas: Mexican Democrat* by W. C. Townsend. I'm painfully desirous of getting more reading material.

I still manage to read quite a bit and, in fact, every now and then run across some interesting and even worthwhile literature in the library. Recently I happened upon a companion piece of the *Eighteenth Brumaire* [by Marx]. Then, too, I perused a masterly written novel *A Lantern for Jeremy* [by V. J. Jerome]. Over the weekend I'm reading *Titans of Literature* which appears so-so, though there may be some wheat amongst the chaff.

But this is a far cry, a molecule in the ocean, from that which I'd like to read and study. And while I've increased my "intake" of newspapers and magazines, these are poor substitutes for the books I've requested and the list I have on hand to order as soon as the book situation is favorably resolved. (December 23)

DEAR SON: Well, Xmas has come and gone. As you well know, Big Fellow, this makes four such holidays that we have been separated from each other. However, if things go O.K., we should be together shortly after next Xmas.

Your poem to me was the one thing in my Xmas package that I left to "devour" on Xmas morn. However, I yielded to temptation and read it Xmas Eve, just before I turned in. I am glad I did, for it filled my heart with joy and pride and made for pleasant Yuletide dreams.

When I awoke Xmas morning, I lay in my bunk awhile reminiscing and thinking of my loved ones and friends and other Dec. 25ths. I reminded myself, too, that despite the evil forces of war and tyranny, mankind had made some important

progress the past year towards promoting "peace on earth, goodwill to men." Not least of all, there is the truce in Korea—the first peaceful Xmas there in four years. I thought of this and much more.

After a few moments, I got up. I noticed my Xmas stocking was empty, but I remedied this fast. Yep, I filled my socks with my feet. Then to breakfast and shortly thereafter went out to the yard for a brisk walk. Exchanged lots of greetings. Back in the cell at 10 A.M. where I read the *Atlanta Constitution*, *N.Y. Times*, and *U.S. News* till noon. Had a special Xmas dinner and then saw "Blackbeard the Pirate" (too bad the pirates didn't scuttle this movie).

Later in the afternoon returned to quarters and read several brief essays on the life and writings of Voltaire, Victor Hugo and Anatole France. Instead of supper, stayed in the cell and played chess and then several games of four-handed dominoes. Spent the rest of the evening reading some pithy biographical sketches and critiques of Walt Whitman and Mark Twain. Turned in at 10:30 P.M., curfew time. Listened to the radio through the 11 o'clock news and then I mused about Mommy and thee and me and the whole human family. Thus went Xmas '53 in Atlanta.

(December 26)

—1954—

I am not unmindful of the law of uneven political and social development, and the fact that within our country 1954 is fraught with serious dangers as well as new possibilities for coping with them. Some of the key subjective factors necessary to ensure that which is objectively possible to achieve in '54 are still inadequately organized and remain in a very unpredictable state.

Certainly one can't gloss over the fact that, as the New Year opens, the danger of McCarthyism is entering a new and more menacing phase. And, as one of the consequences of this, there is now an imminent threat of additional Smith and McCarran Act proceedings and new "anti-Communist" repressive legislation, inquisitions and other assaults on the rights and security of all the people. Nor can one ignore the fact that the movement against McCarthyism still is primarily under petty-bourgeois and bourgeois-democratic leadership and that large segments of it are, in varying degrees, infected with the deadly virus of Communist- and Soviet-baiting.

Yet it is also a fact that there is a growing national popular trend against McCarthyism which is drawing into mass activity new sections of the labor, farmers', and Negro people's movements. This is taking place at a moment when the peace sentiments of the majority of the American people, as reflected in the recent Gallup polls, are becoming more pronounced, and under conditions where the elements of an economic crisis—a cyclical crisis of over-production having a number of distinct peculiarities—are beginning to mature and unfold. As to what will be the outcome of the diverse and sharpening struggles that will take place within the nation during '54, including the vital congressional elections, not a little will depend on the role of the indispensable subjective factors. And this is still to be determined.

(January 2)

DEAR SON: Today marks the end of a four day "vacation" which began New Year's Eve. I didn't have enough time in which to go anywhere so I took a number of long walks over a short distance and also got in loads of reading. I perused everything from the current issue of *The Nation*, *New Republic*, *Harper's* and the *Atlantic Monthly* to the *American Scientific Yearbook—1948* and *The Scalpel and the Sword*.

I was very disappointed in the Yearbook which turned out to be a collection of articles that, with few exceptions, are quite superficial, hardly scientific. However, I struck "pay-dirt" in *The Scalpel and the Sword* which is really a splendid and inspiring book. 'Tis the story of Dr. Norman Bethune, a noted Canadian surgeon who made a memorable contribution to the epic struggle of the Spanish and Chinese peoples. This book is a fine record of a noble doctor of humanity, a gallant partisan of democracy and peace, and illuminates some important pages from the great struggles of the 1930's.

Well, tomorrow you return to school, I to the greenhouse. While we are differently situated, both of us must try to learn more, to make the best possible use of each day and week and month. No matter what the circumstances, one should not only *look* forward to better days, but should bend every effort to help speed them, to help prepare them and be prepared for them.

I know I'm not the only one who believes that our last visit was one of the nicest ever. As for our "laughing jag"—that was really one for the books! I have a pretty good sense of humor, as you know, which is not blunted even by prison. But I must admit that it has been a long time, some four years, since I chuckled and laughed out loud as long and as heartily as I did last Tuesday with you and Mommy. Our wonderful visit was an excellent way to get the New Year off to a good start.

(January 3)

It's turned cold again and my cell is like an icebox; however the greenhouse is pleasantly warm. Plants, after all, are more fragile and require special attention!

I envy your being able to read the *Rosenberg Letters* and *Lenin's Letters to his Family, 1895-1922*. I look forward to perusing both one of these days (I have read some of the latter, and with great enjoyment). Lenin, by the way, under severe tsarist reaction and censorship, was able to correspond not only with

his family *but also* with his colleagues in the Russian Social-Democratic Party as well, and was permitted to write books while in prison and exile.

The White House recommendation to deprive Communists convicted under the Smith Act of their citizenship violates and would expressly void the First and Fourteenth Amendments, and is aimed not only at Communists but at other political dissenters and non-conformists, especially at those who militantly advocate and act for peace and democracy. It is not accidental that the proposal was directed at "advocacy"—anti-war and anti-imperialist advocacy, but not at advocacy, let alone actions, of warmongering, atomic annihilation, lynching or otherwise subverting the Bill of Rights.

Some people will be shocked at this brazen attempt to deprive American working men and women of their birthright and inalienable constitutional liberties. But also let them ponder the ugly and menacing fact that already Communists and large numbers of progressives are deprived of the right to freely speak, publish and assemble, of the right to teach or hold government employment and many defense jobs, etc., and that they and millions of Negroes and "poor whites" are even deprived of the right to vote, hold public office and serve on juries in scores of states, both north and south of the Mason-Dixon line.

Some, of course, don't believe the President's proposal goes "far enough." And these are not only McCarthy and Jenner, the *Chicago Tribune* and the *N.Y. Daily News*. Senator Chase Smith, the *N.Y. Times* and the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* join the cry to formally, officially "outlaw" the C.P. While different reasons are advanced, the net effect is similar and exceedingly dangerous.

This danger is bound to increase, and in many ways and directions, as long as numerous progressives in and out of the labor movement, as well as other opponents of McCarthyism, remain divided, complacent and evade taking a forthright position in defense of the democratic rights of Communists and non-Communists alike, and in resolute support of East-West friendship and peace negotiations; *and* as long as certain *advanced* workers and not a few of their leaders give only lip service to the fight for amnesty, against the McCarran Act, for a Five-Power conference and peace accord.

As for myself, I would add, that no one nor any court or legislative body can depose or dispose of my birthright nor deter

or change my convictions and loyalty and devotion to the best interests of my people and nation. Further, those who would deprive me and other Communists of our liberties and citizenship are enemies of the Bill of Rights and peace and forswear their allegiance to the Constitution. And in the not too distant future the American people will yet come to recognize and deal with them accordingly. *(January 12)*

I've followed with real interest all news items you've sent me regarding the economic picture, including the steps being taken by the British Federation of Industries to augment Anglo-Soviet trade. As the signs of the maturing economic crisis in the U.S. continue to multiply and the current economic recession unfolds (despite its zig-zags), the prospects for expanding East-West trade during '54 and subsequently likewise are increasing. In fact, a marked expansion of trade and commercial relations is already underway between the USSR, China, the People's Democracies of Eastern Europe and many countries of Western Europe, Southeast Asia, the Middle East, as well as with several Latin-American nations. Japan definitely cannot be forced to stand aloof much longer from this development and economic necessity, especially in respect to trade with China. Quite the contrary.

Before long, numerous U.S. manufacturers and producers, reinforced and stimulated by labor and farmer pressures to cope with the serious problems of unemployment and the growing crisis in agriculture, will find the ways and means to circumvent, nullify or compel a revision of the Cold War embargo presently maintained against the development of such trade. And with the growth of mutually beneficial commercial and other economic relations between the East and most of the West (a process that will markedly increase in the coming period), there will likewise take place a further unfreezing of certain diplomatic relations, an improvement of certain international relationships, additional opportunities for advancing the struggle for peace. . . . *(January 18)*

In recent speeches Dulles and other Administration spokesmen have asserted that the USSR is confronted with "grave internal unrest" arising from "mass underconsumption." And to

bolster this wishful thinking, they repeatedly call attention to the latest efforts of the Soviet government to overcome certain lags in agriculture and to raise greatly the production and consumption of consumer goods generally. (It should be noted parenthetically that these gentlemen studiously gloss over the fact of the unprecedented destruction wrought by the invasion of the Soviet Union during World War II. They "forget" the fact that the Soviet people bore the main brunt of the anti-Axis war, experienced great hardships and sacrifices not only during the war years, but also during the post-war period of Soviet recovery and reconstruction when the USSR had to meet also the exigencies of the post-war international situation created by Wall Street's Cold War policies).

It is true, of course, that the Soviet Union is presently engaged in a colossal program of raising to new heights the material and cultural standards of its people. It is doing this at a rate and on a scale not envisioned at the outset of the second post-war Five Year Plan. Measures have been taken to improve drastically the situation in agriculture, especially in respect to livestock and dairy products, which has not recovered as yet from the vast destruction and depletion of the 1941-45 period. But this marked and dramatic revision of the 1953-55 goals for consumer goods does not arise because of an internal "crisis," as the gentlemen of Washington provocatively allege. Quite the contrary.

The current and continuous post-war rise in living standards is taking place, not least of all, because of the historic achievements in post-war reconstruction and in the over-fulfillment of most annual goals set in the post-war Five Year Plans, first of all in heavy industry. This development already provides the economic basis for another new leap forward both in socialist construction and defense, and in augmenting the prevailing standards of living and every facet of the unmatched levels of social security and cultural advancement.

It is taking place, too, because the wrecking and treasonable activities of Beria and Co. were discovered and overcome. It is taking place, moreover, because of the increased might and the invincible unity of the USSR, the successes and enhanced influence of its powerful peace policy. The growing strength of the entire world camp of peace, democracy and socialism has created and is creating, at a pace and to an extent hitherto deemed unlikely in not a few quarters, new opportunities and

more favorable prospects for advancing on various fronts the struggle for world peace, national freedom and social progress, for thwarting the warmongers.

For obvious reasons, Messrs. Dulles and Co. choose to ignore or distort these facts and historical realities. For the proponents of world domination and an atomic blitzkrieg not only try to disguise their predatory aims and aggressive strategy beneath pious peace demagoguery and euphonious phrases about building a "massive retaliatory power to deter aggression," but they likewise try to portray their intended victims as being industrially and militarily "backward," as morally and economically "weak," as hovering on the brink of "internal collapse." The American people especially would do well to ponder the fact that Hitler also shared and cultivated similar malevolent, unrealistic and disastrous views. (January 20)

Did you read the letter which Messrs. Armour, Bliss, Grew, *et al* sent to the *N. Y. Times* and which was published on Jan. 17th? When extremely conservative public figures like these gentlemen find it necessary to speak out in protest against some of the sinister effects of McCarthyism, both in and out of the foreign service, that is really something!

While these gentlemen don't "see" the inevitable connection between the pro-war policy which the foreign service conducts and the process of fascization that is taking place in this and all other branches of the state apparatus—nonetheless they are cognizant and alarmed at the latter and in their own decorous and limited way challenge aspects of this increasingly menacing development. Maybe this important statement may embolden or shame certain less conservative persons to at least do as much and some others to do much, much more. (January 24)

DEAR SON: We are about midway with the cabbage crop. I'll be glad when this is over. As soon as the cabbages are out of the way and the first part of the tomato crop is planted, I'm going to conduct some experiments in plant breeding. I am going to try and effect some plant mutations, that is, to change the characteristics of certain plants and flowers. Sometimes such changes are effected through cross breeding of two different varieties of a plant or tree of the same species, i.e., different kinds of roses, or wheat, or fruit trees. Sometimes plant mutations are brought about by changing over a period the habitat or na-

tural environment of a plant or tree. And there are other methods, too.

Anyhow, I'm going to experiment along relatively new lines and try to effect mutations, changes in the chromosomes, in the cell divisions and formations of certain flowers, or rather in the seeds and bulbs. I hope to produce changes in the size, shape and qualities of these, and changes which may be reproduced naturally from the seeds and bulbs which materialize from the original mutations, from the experimental flowers and plants.

I'd like to be able to graft ham on sweet potatoes, or cream on strawberries, or have Xmas cherries bear amnesty. However, I'll start out with more simple, though nonetheless complicated, experiments, possibly first with a rather exquisite plant or flower called "gloxinia." I may also do likewise with some "cynoglossum," which, for your information, is the scientific handle for a "Chinese forget-me-not." Anyway, I'll let you know how I make out in this sphere of interesting yet highly controversial and conflicting scientific experimentation. (*February 2*)

The press reports that certain labor and liberal leaders are predicting not only that the Republicans will lose control of the next Congress, but also that the Eisenhower Administration will be defeated in 1956. Both are feasible possibilities, though far from being foregone conclusions.

There also seems to be a surprising amount of speculation at this date, and not a little wishful thinking, regarding what kind of an Administration could be elected in '56. Some of this type of thinking is clearly escapist and diversionary, and bypasses many of the big unsolved problems in the current Congressional election campaign. But some of it appears to be a positive effort to map out perspectives.

Considering the present economic and political trends and outlook, and the most urgent and central problems now confronting the American people, it is possible to envision, and certainly vitally important to strive for, the crystallization of a wide labor-democratic front that together with the non-fascist and pro-labor elements and groupings in and around the Democratic Party could nominate a major party presidential ticket in '56. It could promote the election of a new Administration (and Congress) committed to a minimum democratic program for civil liberties, economic security, jobs and trade, *and*

pledged to renounce atomic warfare and to seek a solution of international questions by peaceful negotiations between the East and West.

If such an Administration were elected in '56, obviously it would not be a farmer-labor or a people's anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist government. It would be a pro-peace and pro-labor bourgeois democratic Administration emerging from political struggles and re-groupings, especially within and around the Democratic Party, *and* resting upon, supported by, and responsive to a broad non-partisan anti-McCarthyite, anti-depression and anti-war coalition in which labor exercised a leading role. However, the development of such a coalition and the election of such an Administration and Congress would create conditions for further political advance favorable to the working class and its main allies.

Needless to say, the realization of such an objective for '56 depends not a little upon the severity and depth of the unfolding economic crisis and how labor, the Negro people and farmers mobilize to cope with it, and not least of all upon the current struggle for peace and the course and outcome of the '54 Congressional elections. It depends especially upon the independent role and common efforts of labor and all other progressive forces and upon the extent to which at least the most aggressive candidates and forces of McCarthyism and atomic warfare, within and outside of both major parties, are rebuffed and set back. This is plain as day and fortunately a growing number of labor and democratic leaders and organizations are coming to realize it. *(February 8)*

A few days ago I hazarded a few comments on one possible line of political development in 1956 based on an orientation and struggle to realize a democratic, anti-war coalition as an election objective. Obviously, there are quite different possibilities for '56 that could become actualities if labor and its democratic allies do not utilize the present opportunities for effecting certain favorable changes in the political situation.

In such an eventuality the outlook for the next Administration would then range from the possible election of a "run of the mill" Democratic Administration (with a foreign policy, a "defense" program, and a position on most matters of "internal security" somewhat akin to the Truman Administration);

or the re-election and continuance of the Eisenhower "team" and Administration; or, most adversely, the election of an avowed McCarthyite Administration.

It is *not* inevitable that any one of these possibilities should become political reality in '56, least of all the latter. Nonetheless, one or another of the above possibilities, especially of the first two, probably would become a certainty if internal political relationships, particularly in the labor and people's movements were to remain approximately at their present levels. This need not be. And if present and unfolding opportunities are taken hold of in time and really utilized there could be a much different state of affairs, a favorable course of political development. (February 11)

DEAR SON: Regarding the question you asked in your Valentine's Day letter, namely, how do I feel about the big news you wrote about—well, let me put it this way: I know I'm getting along in years, in fact I'm knocking at 50. I don't feel this old and seldom do I give my age a second thought. However, when my Chip writes me that he is going out on his First Date—then, by golly, I realize that the years are skipping by.

Anyway, I hope the special event measured up to your expectations. After all, a fellow's first date with a girl is something of an occasion—at least the first date only happens once in a lifetime.

As to what I think of your Club extending its social activity to include group "dating"—this is really a big and serious question. A man-to-man's talk between the wise young Chip and the Old Block would be very much in order. Perhaps we can squeeze in a wee bit of a one on your next visit. But one thing now: Do you know what is one of the basic ingredients for establishing genuine friendship—whether with girls or boys? Right—it's being good friends and good companions. And whether you are dancing, hiking, conversing, or going to the movies or a ball game together—if you treat your friends, girls or boys, with the same respect, equality, and consideration as you would have them treat you, then you'll not only have a good time but will help develop friendships that you can value.

As for your second question in your letter of the 14th regarding different types of soil—I'm afraid I'll have to ask you

to be more specific. Different kinds of soil are suitable for different kinds of plants and other organic growth. Soil can be depleted or improved or otherwise changed both by various natural factors and conditions (air, moisture, temperature, earthquakes, wind, glacial changes, etc.) as well as by the activity of man, (the kind of crops which are cultivated, fertilizers used, waterways built, etc.)

So just what would you like to know about soil? Be this as it may, and until you are more specific about what you want to know, let me counsel this, in any case: when you gaze at the stars, dream, or give free rein to your imagination—be sure to keep in close contact with the soil, keep your feet firm on Mother Earth.

(February 22)

The Four-Power Conference did not make any headway on the decisive question of Germany. But the Molotov proposals for an all-European non-aggression and mutual security pact and for unifying Germany on a democratic and sovereign basis with guarantees to prevent the revival of German militarism via the projected EDC or NATO already have created a profound impression in such countries as France and will be a real factor in helping influence alignments and the coming parliamentary vote on EDC.

The limited agreement reached in Berlin on convening the Korean peace conference and for discussing an end to the war in Indo-China was a most important achievement. It is doubtful, and at this moment improbable, that the conference scheduled for Geneva in April can produce an accord for a final peace settlement in Korea, for establishing a united, independent and democratic Korea and, as a vital corollary, recognizing China's sovereignty over Formosa, and establishing normal Sino-American relations. It is possible, however, that partial agreements of considerable import could be arrived at. Considering the military situation in Indo-China and the political and economic situation in France, as well as the growing opposition in the U.S. to American military involvement in Indo-China, etc., it is definitely possible to effectuate at least an armistice, if not a settlement of the 8-year-old "dirty war."

All the provocative efforts in this country to belittle the partial agreements reached at Berlin, and the open hostility to-

wards the Geneva Conference* by Messrs. Knowland, McCarthy, etc., and certain Democrats, cannot obscure the significance of this partial victory wrested by the world peace forces. The fact that the Berlin Conference was held, that the Washington-inspired deadlock of Panmunjom was broken, and that major East-West negotiations will continue on certain key Far Eastern questions, is in itself a noteworthy advance conducive to helping abate international tensions.

However, it will be most costly if the American advocates of peace do not actively intervene to register their approval for the convening of the Geneva Conference, to press for a cease-fire in Indo-China; to call for normal trade and diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China and the seating of China in the UN. They need to voice their support for earnest negotiations by the Big Powers for reducing armaments and entering into a covenant pledging not to use atomic and thermo-nuclear weapons. The Geneva Conference presents a great challenge and another signal opportunity to the American and all peoples to further advance the cause of world peace and genuine national security. The obstacles standing in the way of achieving certain positive results at Geneva are quite formidable, but these can be overcome if the peoples act in time. (*February 23*)

You will not receive my last letter, the one I wrote you on the 3rd, for this was disapproved and returned to me. This particular epistle of comment dealt exclusively with the sinister efforts now being made in Washington and by the pro-McCarthy press to brand the adventurist, diversionary and harmful terrorist acts† of the Puerto Rican Nationalists as a "Communist plot," and to try to exploit the incident of March 1st for reactionary ends both in the U.S., the Island and at Caracas.‡ The rejected letter also noted that the people's mass movements for granting Puerto Rico immediate and complete national independence and for bringing about a U.S. policy of non-intervention in the internal affairs of the Latin American republics

* This Four Power Conference dealt with the ending of the war in Indo-China.

† This refers to the shooting from the gallery of the House of Representatives while the House was in session.

‡ A regular meeting of the Organization of the American States.

and all other nations are in the best national interest of our people and promote the cause of Hemispheric and world amity and peace. The memo of rejection which accompanied the above letter stated that I might revise it, but this I shall not attempt at the moment. All I wanted to do here was to let you know why you received only one letter from me last week, as well as indicate the subject matter of the censored correspondence.

(*March 7*)

I was exceptionally pleased to receive your lengthy digest of the Draft Program [of the Communist Party]. It is, in the main, relatively sound and quite impressive. It appears to be more than an election platform, although somewhat short of a fundamental program. But this dual character may not necessarily be a defect. The present situation and the tasks which lie ahead require a popular, yet programmatic, presentation of the American way to jobs, peace, democracy and socialism. While there appear to be several major weaknesses and omissions in the document, the Draft appears to measure up to this need in many aspects. As to what these weaknesses are I shall reserve my impressions for some other time. The single question now is the effecting of the widest public distribution and, above all, discussion of the program, of beginning to popularize and implement the program.

The editorial reaction to Stevenson's Miami speech which you refer to seems very one-sided and tactically inept. All the criticism made is correct in itself. But it should be made within the framework of directing the main-fire at the main enemy, and also of grasping what is relatively positive in the speech and might lend itself to opening new doors to help broaden and sharpen the struggle against McCarthyism.

Nixon's reply to Stevenson emphasizes the Administration's "new military look," and should serve to stimulate a great public debate on the suicidal strategy of "massive retaliatory power," and should set in motion a popular crusade to bring into being a new "Geneva covenant" outlawing atomic warfare.

(*March 14*)

I read that the House Judiciary Committee is opening hearings on a series of anti-Communist Bills with the aim of reporting out a single bill to "outlaw" the Communist Party and to

make membership in the party and advocacy of communism a "crime." No one should minimize this sinister move and the new dangers inherent in it. While the Committee is so composed that it may be acting under self-propulsion, so to speak, it is necessary to bear in mind that it is being prodded not only by the McCarthys, by Stevens and C. E. Wilson, as well as by Dulles, but also by not a few Democratic opponents of McCarthy's procedures and excesses. Keeping this in mind, remembering Caracas, and the many-sided efforts of the "massive atomic retaliation" crowd to try and prevent a reduction in international tensions and the Cold War atmosphere, it is clear it will require a nationwide democratic crusade to thwart this and allied assaults on the vanishing liberties of the whole American people.

It will take national activity something akin to the broad movements which recently defeated the Broyles bills in Illinois and a similar bill in Ohio to check this latest plot to further abridge and nullify the Bill of Rights. There is a growing awareness in certain sections of the labor and democratic movements that "anti-Communist" witchhunts and legislation intensify the burdens of the rising unemployed; that national security is negated by destroying the civil liberties of any segment of the people; that the anti-Communism of the McCarthyites is cut of the same cloth as that of the Hitlerites. Initiative and audacity, clarity and unity remain the supreme need of the hour. Trite, but true. (March 23)

The repercussions from the hydrogen explosion near Kwajalein Island on March 1st are by no means all negative. The politico-social impact of this awesome blast is beginning to register in a promising way. In Britain as well as Japan the physical force and uncontrolled radioactivity which this thermonuclear explosion let loose have already given rise to an avalanche of powerful non-partisan demands that these latest military-scientific advances in human annihilation be brought swiftly under international control and outlawed.

The fact that prominent Conservative leaders have joined the Laborites and TUC spokesmen in calling for a Big Three conference to work out ways and means to ban atomic and hydrogen weapons and warfare reflects the temper of the peoples and their heightened determination to call a halt to the

suicidal A and H bomb race. The questioning of the "new look" military policy recently begun by Stevenson, Bowles and Acheson, timorous and limited as it is, nevertheless indicates the growing concern that pervades certain conservative circles, as well as the popular forces, regarding the Administration's strategy of "massive atomic retaliation."

Now that the H-bomb explosion has dramatized anew the dangerous consequences even of conducting "bigger and bigger" thermonuclear tests, let alone of plunging the world into an atomic holocaust, there can be little doubt that the vital question of effecting East-West negotiations and agreement to renounce atomic and hydrogen warfare and prohibit the manufacture, stockpiling and use of atomic, nuclear and germ warfare will be catapulted into the arena of public discussion in a new and urgent way. (March 28)

DEAR SON: Your review and high praise of the movie "Salt of the Earth" makes me eager to see this down-to-earth film. Since I am sure it won't be shown here, suppose we make a date to take it in together, say, in about a year hence? Incidentally, the plot of this film reminds me of some of my experiences in the big Imperial Valley (Calif.) strike back in 1929 where most of the workers were also Mexican-Americans. Remind me to tell you about it sometime in the near future.

Have you seen the movie or TV showing of the hydrogen explosion conducted in the Marshall Islands in 1952? I notice that the Secretary of Defense calls the latest H-bomb test "almost unbelievable." Perhaps it is to some. But what is really unbelievable is that so few Americans have swung into motion to arouse the people to ban atomic warfare and A and H bomb weapons. The people forced a ban on gas and germ warfare back in 1925 and have, for the most part, made this ban stick ever since. Now, on a world scale, the peoples are much stronger than they were 29 years ago. They have but to use their strength collectively.

By the way, the Atlanta Crackers have placed on their team a Negro outfielder, Nat Peeples. He is the first Negro ballplayer to try out in the Southern Association. This is only a first step, but it is a history-making one for the South. I'll keep you informed of Peeples' progress and people's response—which is fairly good so far—for these parts.

No, I've never been to a Roller Derby. But I'm willing. So bring your roller skates along on your next visit down here!
(April 1)

The editorials in the *Advance* [organ of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers] and the Los Angeles *Daily News* urging international negotiations and agreement to ban atomic warfare are symptomatic of the main trend of public opinion on this vital question. A bold and sustained effort to crystallize this sentiment in both labor and non-labor circles could work "miracles." It is so important to react quickly and imaginatively to the present moment when new millions of people are alarmed over the implications of the H-bomb tests and the Administration's avowal of a "massive atomic retaliation" program.

Things which seemed extremely difficult or "utopian" to accomplish yesterday on this score can be effectuated today. Not even the skeptics would dare allege now that the issue of banning atomic warfare is not "broad" or doesn't merit top priority as a major focal point for expanding the peace movement here as well as elsewhere. Even the Pope takes cognizance of this, albeit for the Vatican's own ends. (Incidentally, the Pope's Easter message deserves attention, particularly in regard to the possibility that wider sections of Catholic masses now may be prompted to take steps to help outlaw the H-bomb monster).

Nixon's revealing off-the-record speech is beginning to stir up a hornet's nest. There are even rumblings of dissatisfaction and certain limited opposition in some congressional quarters to the brazen (though not new) announcement that "American troops will be sent to Indo-China if the French withdraw." Washington has resolved to do everything possible to block the Geneva conference and a peaceful solution of the Indo-China question. It is determined to continue the war and all that this would entail, whatever the "risk." In addition, Nixon is quoted in the *Times* as stating that the Administration is prepared to do this "with or without public support."

Dulles tried to take the edge off this and has stated that it is "unlikely that U.S. troops will be sent to Indo-China." But Dulles did not repudiate the main Administration policy which Nixon referred to. The American people, together with the peoples of the East and West, will have to do this. Neither Paris nor London are willing or able, at least presently, to go as far or as fast as Washington is attempting to dictate. And even the

Geneva conference, whose tasks are now more formidable, is by no means over or out of the picture. There are still the great protagonists of peace to be reckoned with—and these powers are also mighty powerful and genuinely influential. (*April 20*)

Judging from the news behind some of the latest news dispatches from Geneva, Hanoi, Paris, London and Colombo, the chances of achieving a cease-fire in Indo-China are definitely improving. However, as yet, this is by no means fully assured. The partisans of peace, especially in our country, still have to settle a lot of "unfinished business" before even this feasible objective at the Geneva conference is favorably resolved. Incidentally, the press stories regarding certain rifts and diversions beginning to develop within the Administration over Washington's immediate course of action in Indo-China are not without some foundation. This is an important, though not an unexpected, sign—international developments being what they are and this being an election year, too. These developments deserve close scrutiny especially from the angle of how the peace forces could exploit such fissures and differences, and not least of all in the congressional elections.

The Atlanta press carried a short news item regarding the meeting of Lewis, Beck and McDonald. I am extremely desirous of obtaining whatever information is available on this and to learn the various reactions from all sections of the labor movement. What the country needs in this connection is trade-union unity, not a third federation. And what is most urgently needed is all-inclusive united labor action in the political and economic fields on vital points of a concerted program of struggle in labor's interest, not greater labor division and fratricide.

The *Times* carried excerpts from Malenkov's noteworthy address to the Supreme Soviet. This sober estimate of the international situation and powerful statement of the Soviet position for effecting peaceful East-West negotiations of the Far Eastern, German, H-bomb, etc., questions will register deeply in many lands and quarters. Incidentally, Malenkov's pointed observations regarding a certain easing in international tensions, coupled with a much needed warning not to exaggerate the extent of this and not to underestimate the existing war dangers, is particularly timely and should help eradicate recurring tendencies of many people to evaluate the international situation one-sidedly.

(*May 2*)

Far more attention is due the election contests in the South, some of which are pregnant with many favorable possibilities. Such was Tuesday's primary in Alabama where Sparkman won a majority (and hence the election) against a candidate backed by a coalition of Dixiecrats and Texas oil interests. Also Folsom won a majority in the race for governor. And, not least of all, a Negro candidate ran for the State legislature and made an impressive campaign (the first such candidacy in decades). Generally, the Negro people and labor are quite active and playing a more influential role in at least a number of the Southern states in this year's elections. By the way, the U.S. Senatorial contest in North Carolina bears watching and is by no means a tweedle-dee, tweedle-dum affair.

Apropos of the Lewis-Beck-McDonald exchanges, it is too early (especially in lieu of the necessary data) to venture a definitive opinion as to precisely in which direction this alignment will shape up in the immediate period (and there are a number of possibilities, that is, several variants of two main alternatives—some progressive, others not). But it is not too early to emphasize that one must distinguish between the plans and maneuvers of these three sponsors and the aspirations and moods of the membership of the unions involved. One must take into account the objective situation and the pressing problems confronting the Miners, Steel and Teamsters Unions, plus the rest of the labor movement. One must take into account, too, not only the counter-moves of the Reuthers and Meanys (and because of the given circumstances, it is not excluded that some of these may well become objectively progressive, or at least open up certain additional favorable possibilities for advancing labor's unity of action in various states, localities and industries, etc.), but also the fact that the sentiment and basis for promoting united labor action is widespread in the labor movement. The important thing is not to speculate or wait and see where the Lewis move may lead to, and what transpires with the AFL-CIO no-raiding agreements. Every effort needs to be made to influence these developments from below and on higher levels. This holds true for the workers and their responsible leaders in all unions—independent, as well as AFL and CIO.

(May 6)

When one adds up and correlates such facts as the capture

of Dien Bien Phu, (a political and moral victory for the Democratic Republic of Vietnam); the refusal of the Churchill government to participate in "united military action" in Indo-China; the joint recommendation of the four Asian powers at Colombo proposing peaceful negotiations and an immediate cease-fire in Indo-China; the extensive opposition within the country from both conservative and popular quarters to the Nixon and Dulles declarations that Washington was planning to send armed forces to Indo-China to protract the war; the powerful impact of the Soviet, Chinese and Vietminh peace initiatives and proposals submitted at Geneva,—then it is clear why the Administration has had to modify its plans for an early, blitz-like military intervention in Indo-China, and why the prospects for securing at least an armistice in the war there are continuing to improve.

But this does not mean that a peaceful settlement is as yet absolutely assured or that the partisans of peace can relax their efforts one iota. Not at all. There are many dangers and probably new provocations to be surmounted before even a cease-fire is consummated, not to speak of a peaceful and democratic solution of the Indo-China and related questions. The current "explorations" now underway, under the aegis of Washington, for creating an aggressive, imperialist Far Eastern military alliance, is only one of the many indications of this. (*May 11*)

The Supreme Court ruling declaring that segregation in public schools is unconstitutional is a momentous event. True, this judicial opinion is as yet incomplete and its full impact will be somewhat contingent upon the Court's subsequent decision regarding the cardinal question of enforcement. Nevertheless, this ruling constitutes an historic blow against the white supremacists and the whole barbaric system of jimcrow.

International and electoral considerations undoubtedly played a most significant part in the timing of the Court's action and the unanimity of its vote. But the enhanced political role and strength of the Negro people in national affairs; the marked advances in unity of action of Negro and white workers, progressives and other democratic-minded citizens, in the recent period, in the struggle for equal rights for the Negro people, as

well as against McCarthyism—including the key part exercised by certain sections of the labor movement; the emergence of certain influential democratic trends and political regroupings in the South; all this paved the way for and made this decision inevitable, sooner or later.

Of course, no thinking person can minimize the political struggle still required to ensure effective enforcing decrees, federally and in the various states. The avowed declaration of the Talmadge-Byrnes forces to reject, defy and circumvent the Supreme Court's ruling, as well as the equivocal position of the Court and the Administration on when and how to enforce this judgment—is warning enough. But unquestionably, great masses of the American people, Negro and white, will actively and concertedly support the Court's ruling of May 17th, will demand its full and speedy implementation, and will press forward to abolish jimcrow everywhere and to regain, protect and extend the democratic liberties of all the American people. The GOP will endeavor to make political capital out of this ruling—but they should not be allowed to get away with it. (May 18)

After a week of cool and rainy weather, Sunday turned out to be fair and warm, so I spent a good part of the morning and afternoon basking in the sun, and later alternated between listening to some radio programs and reading the book *Russian-American Relations* by W. A. Williams. This is a well-documented and valuable reference survey of U.S. policy during the 1920's and '30's.

Judging from the nature of much of the discussion going on about the Draft Program [of the Communist Party] of which you write, it appears that some concern themselves solely with an exposition of ultimate goals and nonchalantly gloss over the questions of how to check and defeat monopoly's drive towards war and fascism now. Others formally emphasize the organic relationship between immediate and long-range problems and objectives, yet seem to deal with both questions mechanically and convert the schematic approaches indicated in the "three stages" letter into a dogmatic blueprint and magic formula. Too few seem concerned, concretely and centrally, with the key role of the subjective factors within the cardinal questions of the united and democratic front which is basic to solving the vital problems of '54, '56, and beyond.

I was interested, though disturbed, at your observations on some divergent viewpoints concerning American foreign policy and the present world situation. Perhaps the pointed May Day editorials and statements from various countries that you refer to in your letters may help overcome such unclarity and one-sidedness, particularly on the part of those who tend to discount and minimize the clear and present danger arising from the aggressive and adventurous imperialist policies of Wall Street.

True, there is a vast difference between these predatory and bellicose objectives and the ability of their authors to realize them. But this steadily growing gap does not happen automatically, without the resolute intervention of the peoples. Nor does it happen without ebbs and flows, defeats and victories. No one should forget this. Present and unfolding opportunities to advance the cause of peace and progress have to be fought for and realized, not least of all on the home front of the center of world reaction and aggressive imperialism. This is a-b-c, as the Indo-China and Korean, the German and Japanese, the A and H bomb "questions" underscore.

Just listened to Edward R. Murrow's news commentary and heard the news regarding the Supreme Court's decision upholding the "constitutionality" of one section of the Internal Security Act. This is not exactly unexpected, but it is extremely ominous. One thing is clear: without strong and mounting "political winds" internally *and* externally, the Court would never have acted as it did in proclaiming segregation unconstitutional in the public school system. Something akin to this is required to nullify that fascist monstrosity, the McCarran Act. The time is awfully short and the difficulties enormous—but this can be done, whatever the odds. (May 24)

During the course of the current McCarthy-Army hearings you've not mentioned much regarding how labor and progressive circles are reacting to this bitter intra-party and intra-governmental conflict. 'Twould be a serious error if the popular forces were merely to sit on the sidelines, speculate, and wait to see what may happen.

This does not mean that the question posed for labor and democrats is one of taking "sides," per se. But as many commentators have noted, the time is overripe for exerting extra-

ordinary pressure on the Administration and the Senate to whittle McCarthy down to size, to prosecute the evident instances of perjury and other flagrant violations of criminal statutes and, above all, to curb all congressional and executive witchhunts and subversion of the Bill of Rights. New forces, including some very conservative and temporary allies, could now be enlisted in this struggle around certain basic, as well as the peripheral, issues.

With the contradictory and malevolent findings of the majority of the committee of inquiry set up by the AEC, the Oppenheimer case now comes before the public again in a more challenging way. Okayed for "loyalty" and commended for notable scientific accomplishments, the professor nonetheless is adjudged a "security risk." While the question of alleged associations apparently played a role, as well as did the climate and pressures of McCarthy and McCarthyism, the nub of the majority report is that, at least at one period, Oppenheimer opposed the development of the H-bomb "on moral and political grounds." And in the eyes of the atomaniacs this is tantamount to treason.

The outcome of this matter is by no means finally settled, even in its more immediate aspects. Already there are indications that the protests of outstanding scientific and professional workers and many, many others will continue to mount and that their opposition will not be confined to the treatment meted out to Oppenheimer. Moral and political opposition to the whole monstrous "loyalty" system will undoubtedly increase, and with it more determined and extensive activity to ban atomic warfare. For America's democratic spirit is not broken and her true patriots are legion. (June 3)

From Panama to Chile and Cuba to Bolivia the *Atlanta Journal* reports mass student and labor demonstrations protesting the invasion of Guatemala and supporting that nation's heroic stand for peace, national freedom and democratic progress in face of the aggressive and counter-revolutionary plots of Wall Street imperialism. The action of the Chamber of Deputies of Uruguay condemning the Yankee-inspired aggression against Guatemala indicates, too, that sections of the national bourgeoisie in the various republics resent the imperialist interference exerted in this and other situations, which is sharply felt in manifold ways in all of the Latin American nations.

Even the press evidences that millions of people "south of the border" clearly recognize that this tiny, courageous sovereign Caribbean republic has been the target of hostile imperialist pressures, internal intrigues and armed aggression because its people and government—in accord with their constitution and national aspirations—are trying to liberate their country from the stranglehold of the United Fruit Co. and other U.S. monopolies. Guatemala is no longer a catspaw of the State Dept. in the UN or OAS, but is oriented on an independent foreign policy of genuine Good Neighbor relations and in the cause of hemispheric and world peace. There are now growing possibilities for enforcing a "Hands Off" policy towards Guatemala and for forging a broad national front for independence, democracy and peace in many of the Latin American Republics, as well as for crystallizing a Hemisphere front of resistance to the dictation and war plans of the North American colossus.

So far, however, the press has not carried any news of solidarity expressions from labor, anti-war, and anti-imperialist circles in the U.S. What happens on this front will play no small role in this situation, including the extent to which Washington may yet find it necessary to heed even the limited UN resolution which morally binds its member nations to refrain from rendering military aid and support to the mercenaries invading Guatemala from bases in Honduras and Nicaragua.

As for the course of the armed struggle to repel the invaders and to forestall the projected *coup d'etat* from within—the next days may prove decisive. Up to now Guatemala seems to have acted much too slowly in moving its few troops into action (perhaps partly to avoid being trapped into military hostilities near the Honduras border where border "incidents" could be provoked as a pretext for *de jure* and large-scale intervention by Washington's satellites—Honduras and Nicaragua). Be this as it may, the coming days will tell a big part of the story insofar as this highly important phase of the military struggle is concerned. In this connection, the press reports to the effect that the Arbenz government has begun to arm the workers and peasants is most promising. This is vital and, if really carried through, could play a key role in determining the outcome of Guatemala's national liberation war for independence and democracy.

(June 23)

I notice that the American Federation of Scientists spoke out again and took sharp issue with the AEC verdict on the Oppenheimer case. It is very significant that a majority of U.S. scientists are intensifying their support for Oppenheimer and are becoming more outspoken in their opposition to the security program and militarization of science. They are beginning to understand—as the general considerations of the Special Review Board's report (Gray) underscore—that the findings in this case, if unchallenged, would reduce the scientists in this country to a role in military research and society not dissimilar from that of the German scientists under Nazism (a process which is already under way in certain respects). (July 8)

The other day I came across a digest of a significant report recently issued by the U.S. Commerce Department concerning the accelerated growth of economic concentration in the post World War period. According to this survey, the top 5 percent of U.S. corporations presently employ three-quarters of all America's workers and .1 of 1 percent of the biggest corporations account for nearly 50 percent of all industrial employment.

The political, as well as economic and social, consequences which flow from this deserve to be pondered deeply. Otherwise, it's impossible to understand the whys and wherefors of the aggressive and expansionist role of the U.S.A. in world affairs, as well as the rise and menace of McCarthyism within the country. For these "dry statistics" pinpoint who are the present rulers of America. They speak volumes regarding the stranglehold which the giant monopolies have on the nation's economy and indicate the vast power which the dynasties of corporate wealth wield in the political life of the country, not least of all in the government and state apparatus.

Of course, this is only one side of the coin. One should also bear in mind the subjective factor in this situation. If, for instance, the workers in only .1 of 1 percent of the corporation colossus, not to speak of those in the top 5 percent, were united and class conscious, pursued an independent policy for peace, democracy and social progress, and placed themselves at the head of a broad anti-monopoly and anti-war coalition—then the State of the Union (and much in international relationships) would be quite different. 'Tis as simple and formidable, and as challenging and realistic as that! (July 15)

You are quite right that Claude's [Lightfoot] case is not the first time the membership section of the Smith Act has been invoked. The first instance was in respect to the 11, and the fact that this matter is still pending should not be overlooked. However, Claude's case, with all its portentous significance, probably will become the test case and that enhances its great importance, especially for labor and the Negro people.

Undoubtedly the constitutional issues involved will play a major role not only in the legal proceedings but also among wide masses. After all, the right of freedom of association is an intrinsic part of the First Amendment, and a cornerstone of the Bill of Rights. The struggle to uphold and exercise this inalienable right constitutes a vital part of America's democratic and working-class traditions and hopes for the future.

Incidentally, there are several relevant and significant juridical findings involving one or another aspect of this question, *i.e.*, the Herndon and Schneiderman decisions; the statement submitted to the New York State Legislature by Charles Evans Hughes when he acted as counsel for the five expelled New York Socialist legislators, etc. And, believe it or not, one section of the pro-fascist monstrosity, the McCarran Act, specifically voids by statute the no less unconstitutional membership section of the un-American Smith Act! What irony of Cold War history!

While public interest is now centered on Geneva and the great promise the next hours and days hold, and justifiably so—it is nonetheless difficult to understand how so many peace forces in our country continue to view the Indo-China and allied questions merely as "observers" and remain reticent and inactive in regards to such urgent and central questions as banning the H-bomb. (July 19)

The big news, of course, comes from Geneva—and it is really something! For the final outcome of the Geneva conference is a signal achievement, a victory for the people of our country and the world, who want peaceful coexistence and negotiations between the East and West.

True, the peace agreement reached at Geneva is a compromise and time will yet have to elapse before Vietnam is united and the entire country liberated. Nonetheless, the interventionist and spread-the-war policy of Dulles-Radford-Nixon and Co. has

met another significant setback. The eight-year-old war has been brought to an end and provisions have been made for effectuating a peaceful solution of the remaining issues. Much of Vietnam has been irrevocably liberated and its Democratic Republic enormously strengthened.

As is well known, the constructive results attained at Geneva were arrived at with no thanks to Washington. In fact, these were achieved despite the manifold efforts of the Administration to protract and extend the war in Indo-China and to torpedo the Geneva conference. While the Geneva peace accord will further reduce international tensions in a number of important respects and help advance the cause of world peace, no one should lose sight of the fact that Washington refused to underwrite the peace agreement and now is feverishly continuing its machinations to forge an aggressive Pacific military alliance, SEATO, simultaneously as it renews its pressures on France and Italy to ratify EDC, and prods Britain to agree to alternative ways to re-arm West Germany in the event that EDC is completely stymied.

Obviously the facts and profound lessons of the Indo-China question and the Geneva conference need to be carefully weighed. High amongst these, as the Geneva accord points up, is: given a mutual desire for peace and a willingness of both sides to negotiate in good faith and to make concessions in the interest of peace—other outstanding world questions and disputes can also be negotiated and settled peacefully. Undoubtedly, the positive outcome of the Geneva conference will facilitate such endeavors to actively strive for a fresh approach, for renewed and genuine negotiations between “the East and West” to promote a peaceful settlement of the German and Korean questions and to outlaw atomic warfare. America needs this, no less than the rest of the family of nations. (July 21)

Well, the 10th turned out to be quite a day considering the time, place and circumstances. I shan't attempt to relate the myriad things which occupied my thoughts on this birthday occasion in respect to the eventful past, the turbulent present and the great future that lies ahead. Space precludes this. Nor shall I comment at this time on the deeply appreciated many birthday greetings which are meaningful and especially signifi-

cant expressions of international working class solidarity which I am sure that not only I cherish.

I started my entry into the Half Century Circle in real down-to-earth fashion: potting cabbage. (This may be one way of keeping close to Mother Earth, but there are others which have infinitely more to commend them). While ye old carcass, which presently is trying to throw off a mild siege of arthritis, labored up till early afternoon—I must admit that ye brain displayed more sense and “traveled” freely and imperviously of the prison regime, in accord with the spirit of the occasion.

Around 2 P.M. I was called away from the green stuff which ends up as cole slaw or sauerkraut and was surprised to find that my attorney was on hand. Had a useful and in some regards a pleasant two-hours visit discussing various aspects of the McCarran Act proceedings and related questions. Must say, though, that the news of the grievous passing of Marc*—a real friend and a valiant people's crusader, left its imprint.

After supper, enroute to the yard, I was again unexpectedly called out to the office where your message for the 10th awaited me. Telegrams are sometimes rather “impersonal,” but this, I can assure you, was a happy exception. Then out to Bennett's Field where my buddies and I walked and conversed about weighty matters, including such controversial questions as whether “life begins at forty or fifty.”

A little after 7 P.M., two letters arrived for No. 71488—yours of the 4th and the very special birthday card and greeting from our Chip. After re-reading these messages several times, I participated in a birthday “party” which featured choice cantaloupes imported from Dennis' miracle patch and divers commissary “delicacies.”

Later in the evening I read a couple of chapters of [Stephen S. Mason's] *Main Currents of Scientific Thought*. While perusing the above, I took time out to listen to a newscast or two which reflected some of the contrasting trends and developments of this juncture, *i.e.*, the rantings of the ultra-reactionary warmongers Herbert Hoover and Mark Clark vs. the Attlee-Bevan amity visit to Moscow and their goodwill mission to China; the antithetical candidacies and campaigns of a Dworshak and a Glenn Taylor; the atomic energy legislative giveaway to the

* The reference is to the late former Congressman and New York political leader, Vito Marcantonio.

giant trusts and the new strike votes of the atomic plant workers at Oak Ridge and Paducah; and so on.

Then lights out at 10:30 and time for more musing about us and ours, with much thought concerning the coming period when I'll no longer be restricted to prison walls, censored correspondence and merely to contemplating the state of the union and the world as during the past four years—but shall be able once again to actively help influence and change the course of events, to be with my loved ones and friends and in the midst of the people's struggles. Thus started the second half of this "Common Man's Century."
(August 11)

I hope you'll make a rapid survey of the general and labor press regarding reactions to and activity around the outlawry Bill [the Communist Control Act] including any data indicating whether this issue is being raised in the election campaign; whether this development has given an impetus to the struggle against the McCarran Act which now assumes even greater importance; whether any sectors of the broad anti-McCarthy movement have begun to draw any lessons not only from the far-reaching police-state objectives of the Administration's "anti-subversion" program but also regarding the nefarious role of certain Fair Dealers in this situation?

Some may consider the formal outlawing of the Communist Party would "merely" make *de jure* the *de facto* situation which now prevails in the drastically circumscribed legal rights of the Party. Others may consider the banning of the C.P. "only" a "certain" extension of existing pro-fascist sedition and registration laws.

But the fact is that the outlawry Bill flaunts the Constitution, attempts to legislate which political parties the American people may vote for, join and associate with, and seeks to proscribe an American working class political party—the Communist Party—and would impose added repressive penalties on its members and adherents. And of the utmost importance, this "anti-Communist" statute also includes the Brownell-Butler proposals for blacklisting, curbing and policing the trade unions.

This legislative A bomb demonstrates anew that the anti-Communist vendetta is a Hitler-like anti-labor and anti-democratic drive affecting all working people and democrats regardless of their political beliefs and affiliations. Conversely, this

politico-legislative development serves to underscore the fact that the defense of the Bill of Rights is indivisible and that more than ever the defense of the constitutional rights of the Communists is basic to the defense of labor's rights and all democratic liberties.

Clear realization of this and broad unity of action around this cardinal premise is needed to defeat such repressive legislation, to halt the menacing rise of fascism, and to create a new political situation favorable to the forces of democracy and peace. And conditions are maturing to accomplish precisely this.
(August 18)

I notice the *N. Y. Times* and other conservative journals have expressed apprehensive concern regarding the political skullduggery and the hysteria which marked the passage of the so-called Communist Control Act and are dubious about its constitutionality. The *Times* quotes a number of eminent authorities on constitutional law from New York, Princeton, Virginia, who consider the legislation dangerous and violative of the Bill of Rights.

The fate of such unconstitutional and pro-fascist measures are never decided by legal, judicial means *per se*. Such questions are decided by political factors, by the political climate, and mass pressures. And in this instance, the latter will be decisive. And not by that which prevails at this moment but by that which can be crystallized and made to prevail in the months ahead.

I also noticed that the *New York Post*, and to some extent the *Louisville Courier-Journal* and the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, not only question the constitutionality of the Act but castigate certain "liberal" Democrats for aiding and abetting McCarthyism and emphasize that this police state legislation gravely jeopardizes the civil liberties of all Americans. I noted, too, that the ACLU, ADA, and SP, while indulging in some of their customary Red-baiting, as well as the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, condemned the Act in toto. Whereas the ADA took "no position on the outlawing of the CP" (due to a sharp and unresolved internal struggle--and this is not strange considering that Humphrey, P. Douglas, etc., are national leaders of ADA) it sharply opposes the provisions of the law licensing and policing trade unions.

With all their limitations, these are significant straws in the

wind that will undoubtedly multiply and can be duplicated along more positive lines, for example, among various labor and democratic circles influenced by these forces. (August 26)

DEAR SON: Mom writes me she is beginning to give thought to our apartment-hunting problem (such a lovely problem—getting ready for March 1st!). Maybe we can help solve the problem by putting an ad in the “Exchange Apartment” column of the *New York Times*, something like this:

WANTED: 4 room apartment in New York City, reasonable rent.

HAVE IN EXCHANGE: 8 roomer apartment in noted Atlanta edifice and suburbs; secluded grounds; reinforced and fireproof building, with imposing ornamental ironwork and ante-bellum atmosphere. Restaurant, movies, hospital, laundry and other facilities on premises. Unique doorman and watchman service. All tenants assured full employment. Lease for indeterminate period arranged.

What’s wrong? You don’t think such an ad would find any takers? Neither do I; not on a voluntary basis for sure.

(September 2)

Your roundup of diverse editorial opinion disapproving and condemning the passage of the Communist Control Act and, above all, the opposition voiced by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Meatcutters, Packing unions, UE and AFL Typo papers—is quite significant and heartening. And it verifies the conclusion I expressed previously regarding the opportunities for resisting and nullifying this and allied pro-fascist legislation, and for developing broader sections of the anti-McCarthyite movement in a genuinely democratic and anti-fascist direction.

Of course, the problem remains of translating progressive labor resolutions and democratically-inspired editorials into effective mass activity. But the Humphrey-Dies-Butler law, for which the Administration now rightfully claims chief responsibility, if not paternity, underscores the common threat that such legislation presents to all labor, all democrats—Communist and non-Communist alike.

Now many non-Left trade unions and mass organizations and a host of genuinely liberal and various conservative proponents of the Bill of Rights read the handwriting on the wall

and in self-preservation and for the general national welfare will be impelled, or can be enlisted, to do more than fight McCarthyism with words. Some, on their own volition and in their own way and others with the proper approach and clarification, will not merely censure and repudiate the Junior Senator from Wisconsin or content themselves with taking issue with the peripheral aspects of McCarthyism. They will also participate more forthrightly and concertedly in one or another phase of the key struggle against McCarthyism, i.e., to defeat and render null and void the Control, McCarran and Smith Acts and to halt the police-state controls, inquisitions and dragnet persecutions carried out under their aegis. This whole question will now emerge in an even sharper way in the elections, and justifiably so. But the struggle will not be confined to the election campaign, important and pressing as this is, especially if the progressive labor circles rise to the occasion and blaze the way. *(September 2)*

Georgia's primary elections were held yesterday. Unfortunately the outcome did not yield the relatively liberal results manifested in some of the key primary contests in Alabama, Tennessee or North Carolina. The Talmadge forces, running on an ultra-reactionary white supremacist program, won the gubernatorial and other state, as well as most of the Congressional, nominations. I shan't attempt to enumerate the reasons for this, other than to note in passing: in addition to the heavy disabilities imposed by Georgia's archaic "county unit system," the leading white anti-Talmadge candidates and their supporters abjectly capitulated on the question of non-segregation in the schools, and on all other vital issues also were generally on the defensive and sorely divided to boot. However, it is noteworthy that unlike many sections of organized labor in the state, the Negro people played a fairly influential role in many counties and districts, united in their majority behind a single anti-Talmadge gubernatorial candidate and mustered a very impressive vote.

South as well as North, the Negro people in these elections are playing a very important role, usually in alliance with labor and in support of Congressional and state candidates considered to be liberal, pro-labor and anti-McCarthyite. The Negro people and their mass organizations have put forward a host of Negro candidates for state and Congressional posts, often with the

backing of wide sectors of labor and other progressive forces, and have compelled both major parties to endorse or nominate a larger number of Negroes for various posts than in any election campaign since the '90's. Moreover, the issue of civil rights, especially for FEPC and non-segregation in the educational system, has been made a major issue in the '54 elections and is closely linked with the people's struggle for economic security. And in certain areas, i.e., in some districts in N.Y., Detroit and Chicago, various sectors of the labor and Negro people's movements are beginning to combine the struggle for equal rights and economic welfare with the crucial overall struggle for democratic liberties, defense of the First Amendment, for all Americans, and here and there, with the over-riding and decisive fight for peace. Unquestionably, the further development of this unfolding alliance and movement is of cardinal importance for influencing the results of the November elections and the shape of events and alignments to come. *(September 9)*

My letter to you of the 7th was returned to me since one paragraph of comment on the news was disapproved. Instead of rewriting the letter, I'll merely indicate the subject matter: after some personal remarks on your beloved telegram of Sept. 4th and informing you that all was relatively well on the medical front, I noted, in connection with the passage of the so-called Communist Control Act, that certain non-Left trade union leaders were reported in the press as having not only placed the major responsibility for this particular police-state development on the McCarthyites, the Administration and the Republican-controlled Congress, but also pointedly criticized the miserable role of certain "liberal" Democrats. I then proceeded to comment on the significance of this welcome sign which, despite all its limitations, represents progress. *(September 14)*

As for one aspect of the election news and prognostications you referred to recently: It is one thing to project and strive for the election of an anti-McCarthyite Congress in '54 and quite another matter to conclude from the primaries that "it is now definitely possible to elect an anti-McCarthyite Congress in November." The primaries certainly reflect a strong and rising anti-McCarthy trend (incidentally, it is not excluded

that the present Senate may be reconvened shortly and a majority may find it politically expedient to "censure" McCarthy), including a certain growth of mass activity directed against the pro-fascist essence of McCarthyism. But to date the latter is by no means dominant.

As for the next Congress, what the primaries, economic trends, and the present position of the main sections of labor, indicate is that it is definitely possible (and likely) to defeat a number of avowed supporters of McCarthy, McCarthyism, and other reactionaries as well, and to elect a sizeable bloc of pro-labor and Fair Deal Democrats, including a sprinkling of progressives, as well as a few relatively liberal Republicans. This was possible before, but it is even more feasible now. And this would not be unimportant, for a substantial part of this bloc of assorted liberals could be influenced by the labor and progressive forces and mass pressures and in the course of struggle could be moved on certain issues in a democratic direction.

But come next November, this sizeable grouping and potentially important bloc will not yet be, in the main, anti-McCarthyite, nor anti-fascist. Certainly, its probable Congressional leadership, headed by the Humphreys *et al*, will continue the policies of Trumanism, will endeavor to pursue a liberal policy on domestic economic and social questions and a reactionary, rabidly "anti-Communist" course on many civil liberties and foreign affairs issues. Moreover, it should not be forgotten that at least for a while the next Congress (assuming the likelihood that the Democrats win the House and possibly the Senate too) shall probably be dominated on many issues by a GOP and conservative Democratic coalition—that is, at least until the emerging labor-Negro-democratic coalition and new alignment against McCarthyism is crystallized around a genuine program for democracy, security and peace. (September 23)

DEAR SON: I understand that you've been having an epidemic of examinations at school. And according to my confidential informant you've been giving a good account of yourself. But I gather from your letter of last Sunday that much more important things have been happening at school.

I refer, of course, to the very interesting fact that your class has been having extended discussions on the Supreme Court's ruling against segregation in the educational system and on the

recent events in Milford, Baltimore and Washington. I must say that I am extremely pleased with the views you expressed, especially your answers to your schoolmate Eddie's arguments. If such discussions were held in thousands of classrooms, schools and universities, as well as in the trade unions, churches, etc., both north and south of the Mason-Dixon line, and if statements and petitions were adopted supporting the Court's decision and demanding its speedy enforcement throughout the land, this would hasten the abolition of segregation in the schools and deliver a heavy blow against the whole evil, barbarous, and anti-democratic system of jimcrow everywhere.

By the way, have you induced Mom to go for a ride on your handlebars? I'm sure she would find this more exciting than a ride on a roller coaster at Coney Island. If you could engineer this, we would have ourselves a time! Just imagine—thee, she, and me traveling hither and yon on a bicycle built for three!!!

(October 10)

I await with the greatest interest the forthcoming article you refer to on the "current political period." It is correct but not enough to answer in the negative the question whether the country is in "the first stage of fascism." For one must also answer a number of other questions in the affirmative, such as: whether the fascist danger exists (actually the process of fascization in the country has advanced over the past years and is as yet largely unchecked, though the possibilities for doing so exist and are becoming increasingly more favorable). All this and much more. Anyhow, I'll reserve my comments inasmuch as I gather this timely and basic contribution by Bill* will appear momentarily. Subsequent to what you wrote on [Albert E.] Blumberg's arrest,† the *N. Y. Times* carried a second news item restating the teaching and advocacy version. What are the facts? Anyway one looks at it, it is ominous.

Methinks [Defense Secretary] Wilson's references to the unemployed as "dogs" will come home to roost this November and will be remembered in 1956 too. And it should not be for-

* William Z. Foster.

† Blumberg was arrested and brought to trial on the charge of membership in the Communist Party under the Smith Act.

gotten that this off-the-cuff analogy represents the basic social philosophy of more than the Secretary of Defense.

(October 14)

I read in the *Christian Science Monitor* the results of the Gallup Poll on the provocative question whether the U.S. "should go to war against Russia now while we still have the advantage in atomic and hydrogen bombs?"

Deducting the 11 percent who had no opinion, the answer was a resounding 6 to 1: NO—"one of the most convincing majorities ever recorded in polling annals," according to the Gallup Institute. This is indicative of the strong peace sentiments of the overwhelming majority of the American people which at times exert no little political influence, even though, in the main, these are still largely unorganized. Imagine the situation if this were harnessed!

I wonder if the press reflects reactions of various sections of the labor movement to the significant announcement by Meany and Reuther regarding the headway being made towards facilitating a merger of the AFL and CIO. I should imagine this would stimulate widespread discussions in the locals and councils of the organizations involved and in the independent unions concerning the programmatic basis of organic unity—for a program based on the class struggle and trade union democracy, how to make the proposed merger inclusive of all sectors of organized labor, and guaranteeing the autonomy of all unions and the rights of all workers regardless of race, color, creed or political affiliation. These top-level discussions on trade union unity should have quite a positive impact now in the localities, trades and industries on expanding cooperative relations between the different sections of organized labor in current electoral, legislative and economic developments. There seems to be a marked trend in this direction in the New York and Michigan election campaigns, the Square D situation, etc. This is all quite promising.

(October 21)

Was quite impressed with the news item you mention of the Connecticut conference on the Control Act called by the ACLU [American Civil Liberties Union], in which both the AFL and CIO participated. Seems like an auspicious beginning of a fairly broad counter-attack. The statements by Rep. Shelley apolo-

gizing for his vote on the Act are also important and appear to indicate that substantial sections of labor and other democratic forces are aroused on this issue. Incidentally, the McCarthyite charges by Nixon that the Democratic Party is "Communist-infiltrated" and that there is "a Left-wing Democrat, ADA, and Communist conspiracy to elect an anti-Republican Congress" (Montana and Idaho speeches) provide another inking as to whom, among others, the Communist Control and McCarran Acts are designed to enmesh and as to how the criteria of these Acts are being applied on an ever widening scale.

A few fragmentary comments on the Paris treaties: Primarily as a result of U.S. maneuvering and dictation—including the nominal concessions which Bonn and London were "induced" to make to the Mendes-France government—the London accord to remilitarize West Germany was unanimously signed in Paris on October 23rd, with supplemental protocols. These agreements, in a nutshell, grant the formal semblance of sovereignty to the Bonn regime; limit, but perpetuate, Anglo-Franco-American military occupation of West Germany; and provide for the re-armament of the German Federal Republic, and its incorporation into the Brussels military alliance and NATO.

If effectuated and implemented, these accords would restore the Wehrmacht under a neo-fascist military group, prevent the re-unification of Germany for a prolonged period, create a new center of imperialist aggression and war in Europe and heighten the danger of an atomic world holocaust. Meanwhile, the very adoption of the London and Paris treaties serves to exacerbate international tensions. Already the signing of these agreements is being used by Washington and London as a pretext for rejecting the new Soviet proposal for a Big-Four Conference for unifying Germany on a democratic and peaceful basis, and undermines in advance the work of the new UN Five Power subcommittee on disarmament.

There are, of course, many difficulties to be overcome before the Paris pacts may be ratified by the various parliaments and a still more thorny road lies ahead to fully implement the treaties. Undoubtedly during the coming weeks and months, as the glitter is rubbed off the agreements and their real meaning becomes clearer to the millions, wide popular, as well as influential conservative, opposition to the London-Paris accords will continue to mount and register in the West, especially in West Germany and France. And in the center of the struggle,

renewed and broader popular anti-German militarist sentiment will grow for a new Four-Power conference to negotiate a peaceful solution of the German question and for establishing an all-European system of genuine collective security. (October 28)

DEAR SON: I was very interested and pleased to learn that as part of your homework you undertook to write to various people prominent in the news. I can understand why you wrote to two delegates to the UN requesting information about their countries. And I commend you and your fellow students for advancing the slogan, in all languages, "for peace, friendship and fun" as a means of promoting closer bonds and good fellowship among the children of all nations. Your selection of Gov. Lee of Utah at first struck me as a rather odd choice. But I see now that you are as "crazy as a fox," for you wrote to him in order to lambast his Know-Nothingism and to draw him into public debate over his McCarthyite refusal to observe UN Day. Give him the works, my Chip!

From the discussions in your classroom you know that considerable nationwide publicity has been given to the subversive efforts of the McCarthyites in white hoods to fan the flames of race prejudice and to instigate student "protests" against the Supreme Court's non-segregation decision. But far too little attention has been given to the sinister moves of the McCarthyite Dixiecrats in several Southern states to try and bypass and invalidate the Court's ruling by unconstitutional state legislative action to abolish public schools.

In Georgia, for instance, Gov. Talmadge and his most rabid white supremacist cohorts have sponsored a so-called private school amendment to the state constitution. This will be voted on tomorrow. If adopted, this would end the public school system in Georgia and enable the state legislature to allocate school funds entirely to private schools—which are *not* affected by the Supreme Court's ruling. It would abolish the free school lunch program, free textbooks and public school transportation, as well as set educational standards and facilities for all students—Negro and white—back to the ante-bellum days.

Among other things, this ultra-reactionary measure would compel each city family with an average of two school children to provide an additional \$400 every year directly out of their

own pockets for their children's education, while each average rural family would have to raise \$520 annually to keep their kids in school. The net effect of this added financial burden would mean not only a further drastic lowering of all academic standards and school facilities for both Negro and white students, but also it would completely deprive tens of thousands of Negro and white children and youth of even the most elementary education. And this would hit hardest the sons and daughters of workers, sharecroppers, and tenant farmers.

Of course, the big plantation and mill owners, and their KKK political representatives, are all in favor of this, for, if successful, it would provide them with additional cheap and unskilled child and adult labor, plus lower taxes, as well as perhaps enable them to perpetuate a little longer their evil jimcrow system as a whole. However, the trade unions, the NAACP, most teachers and educational organizations, many women's clubs and Protestant churches are actively opposing the Talmadge-led plot to destroy the public school system and to check the growing movement for equal rights for Negroes and for Negro and white unity and cooperation. (November 1)

Even though the results of Nov. 2nd are quite uneven, they are quite significant. The Cadillac Cabinet and the GOP, and especially the McCarthyites, have been rebuffed. The GOP lost control of the House and Senate (even though in many instances the vote was close). Of outstanding importance is the fact that a number of the most rabid McCarthyites were defeated (Kirsten, Wisc.; Clardy, Mich.; Busby and Bishop, Ill.). Certain Dewey-Brownell Republicans (Ferguson, Mich., and Ives, N. Y.) were defeated and a number of Fair Dealers (Neuberger, Ore.; Murray, Mont.; O'Mahoney, Wyo.) were elected. And it is extremely noteworthy that the people of Michigan elected their first Negro congressman, Charles C. Diggs, Jr.

It is significant, too, that the main electoral victories of the Democrats were secured in those key industrial states where unemployment is most severe (Mich., Pa., Ill.), and where on this and other issues there were: (a) heightened labor political activity, including considerable united and parallel labor political action; (b) a fairly extensive working alliance between the Negro people and sections of labor (particularly in Mich.); (c) a partial crystallization of the growing farm discontent; (d)

a measure of anti-McCarthy campaigning by some labor and progressive forces and by some elements in the Democratic Party; All of these factors are very important, particularly for the new possibilities they open up for forging various democratic coalitions and people's movements.

But after all this is said, other facts remain: while some pro-fascist political representatives of the men of the trusts were defeated in the elections, the decisive sectors of monopoly capital were not decisively checked nor routed in November. While nominal party control of the House and probably of the Senate have changed hands, there is no change in the basic political composition of the new Congress and no major shift in foreign policy or civil liberties is in the offing, save for that which can be imposed by an upsurge of independent labor and progressive action and by the impact of world democratic opinion.

One cannot ignore the crucial fact that the basic power of monopoly has not yet been curbed. This means, among other things, that on many vital issues the 84th Congress will be dominated by a bipartisan coalition of arch-conservative and reactionary Republicans and Southern Bourbons; by a corporate bloc which can be thwarted only by powerful mass pressures and by resolute popular intervention. Fortunately, the positive aspects of the elections, especially the salutary political repercussions of the defeat of various McCarthyites, will facilitate this development. *(November 4)*

I'd like to continue my comment on November 2nd. This is not easy though as there are special and other limitations on that which I may write. Also I do not recollect precisely everything I have written earlier and may even take for granted that I've already written about some of the things that I've been mulling over in my mind this past week or so. Anyhow, in resuming my observations on the elections, I'd like to nibble, in a sort of helter-skelter fashion, on a couple of questions:

By mid-October, most reliable public opinion polls indicated, and fairly accurately, that the Democrats had a realistic chance of obtaining a more substantial majority in the House and Senate than was finally secured. What checked this earlier voter trend towards the opponents of the GOP in certain districts and states in the concluding stages of the campaign? For one thing, the

slight seasonal upturn of the economic barometer in the third quarter in several regions was a factor, particularly in those areas where the current economic recession, which has been developing unevenly, has unfolded "moderately" or in a zig-zag way.

Another factor, both in the above areas and in several other states, was the impact of the frenzied Red-baiting barrage let loose by the GOP High Command and spearheaded by Nixon during the last two weeks of the campaign. It is true the "Communists in government" issue, the refurbished allegations regarding "a Communist-inspired ADA-CIO conspiracy to elect a Left-wing Democratic Congress," did not produce the expected results everywhere and definitely did not play the same role as in '52—as the returns in Mich., Pa., Ill., Wisc., Mont., etc., demonstrated. Nonetheless, in a number of states and districts, not least of all in the Taylor and Condon contests and in Calif., Wash., etc., the last minute anti-Communist blasts and machinations (*i.e.*, the Welker "hearings", the release of the Civil Service "security risk" figures, etc.) of Nixon and Co., aided and abetted by the competitive Red-baiting and "anti-Communist" policies of the Democratic High Command, by certain Fair Dealers and numerous top AFL and CIO leaders—left its imprint and had a seriously adverse effect.

However, in the campaign, and especially in its closing phase, the most influential factor in reducing the size of the voters' shift away from the GOP and in enabling the GOP to re-elect as many of its incumbents as it did—was the concentrated national Republican effort to portray the GOP as the "peace party," as the party that could provide "jobs and prosperity without war." This was what made Eisenhower's belated intervention in the campaign somewhat effective in certain areas, and what gave the Nixon "crusade" a slight shot-in-the-arm in Calif. and Col. It was the peace theme, the peace demagoguery of the Administration and the GOP, especially during the last ten days of the campaign, that registered more than anything else. The me-tooism of most of the Democratic leaders on "Western Union," SEATO, etc., their sharp criticisms of the Korean truce and Geneva agreement, their clamor for an increased national defense budget, positions shrilly echoed by many of the top social reformist labor and liberal leaders—made it impossible for most of the Democratic candidates and their labor supporters to counteract effectively the GOP's dramatic last

minute "peace offensive" (electoral-wise). Incidentally, the GOP's "peace campaign" inadvertently serves to underscore again that the peace issue is hardly "unpopular"; also, and considered dialectically, it points up what positive results could flow from genuine peace initiatives, from a nationwide democratic peace offensive in '56. (November 7)

DEAR SON: In my last letter I told you about the so-called "private school amendment" that was being voted upon November 2nd in Georgia. Well, the elections are over and from the last published report this Nazi-like measure seems to have "carried" by 30 to 40,000 votes.

Without minimizing the extremely reactionary character of this anti-public school and pro-segregation amendment and the grave consequences involved in its "passage"—it is also necessary to see the broad opposition and the large vote that was mustered against it. I already told you that organized labor, the Negro people, many church and women's groups, most associations of teachers and educators, opposed this amendment—the Talmadge plan. On election day, over 140,000 people voted against the amendment, while over 170,000 were reported as voting for it. (This was not the complete vote, since returns were missing from several rural counties). You have to bear in mind that outside of the larger cities and towns, and the counties in which they are located, there are no voting machines. And in most of the rural counties the majority of the Negro people are disenfranchised. In other words, in most of the counties (in the rural areas) there is a situation: (a) where a high percentage of the population, chiefly Negroes, is denied the right to vote; and (b) where the proponents of the amendment (the Talmadge forces) *superwise* and *count* the vote cast. In such circumstances, 140,000 plus votes tabulated as being against the amendment is no small achievement.

Among other things, it certainly underscores the fact that the fate of the "private school amendment" is by no means settled, that the fight has only begun. Meanwhile, among other things, the Dixiecrats will endeavor to use the vote as "recorded" as a means of exerting pressure on the U.S. Supreme Court. The Court still has to issue an order concerning how and when its original ruling banning segregation in the public schools shall be enforced. (November 11)

In going over diverse post-election pronouncements one is struck, among other things, by the fact that not a few labor and progressive spokesmen are engaging in some wishful thinking and certain eclectic and one-sided approaches. For instance, while correctly noting the highly important setbacks which the Administration and the GOP, especially its McCarthyite wing, sustained on November 2nd, some labor and progressive commentators erroneously conclude that these foremost representatives of the vested corporate interests, as well as their counterparts in the Democratic Party, suffered a resounding defeat and are inevitably destined to be routed in '56.

In observing that a majority of Democrats endorsed by the AFL and CIO were elected, including a number of Fair Dealers, too many seem prone to gloss over the fact that the political composition and main orientation of the 84th Congress on the crucial issues of foreign policy and the Bill of Rights does not differ basically from that of the 83rd; that great popular intervention will be required if the new Congress and the Administration are to be influenced at times to heed popular sentiments and needs on major questions; that in the absence of a broader democratic movement and re-grouping, most of the Fair Dealers who generally adhere to the policies of Trumanism will compromise and coalesce with the Democratic "Old Guard," north and south, both on key Congressional issues and at the '56 national convention.

While correctly emphasizing the noteworthy fact that wide sections of organized labor and the Negro people played a more active and influential role in the recent campaign in several states and districts as compared to '52, most union and certain progressive election analysts blithely pass over the fact that the majority of the working class and its allies, not to speak of labor's top officialdom, still tails after one of the twin parties of Big Business, the Democratic Party and its "liberal" wing on foreign policy; that many of the city and state organizations of labor's political arm (PAC and LLPE) are, programmatically, little more than labor adjuncts of the Democrats; that the illusions in labor's ranks regarding the Fair Deal and ADA elements in and around the Democratic Party have been momentarily increased in some areas.

It is true that certain groupings and elements in the labor and people's movements definitely exhibited a greater degree of

independent political activity, unity and organization in the course of the recent election campaign than in '52, promoted certain democratic agreements and coalitions, and in conjunction with a major pitch on economic issues started to develop a more resolute struggle against some aspects of McCarthyism, and here and there raised certain positive peace demands. But this was not, and is not yet, a uniform development. It is still a minority movement and trend. The increased electoral activity of the main sectors of labor and the people in '54, as during '52, took place chiefly under bourgeois liberal and social-reformist leadership and influences.

However, if properly evaluated and influenced the minority trends developed during the recent campaign have enormous progressive possibilities, not least of all for '56.

(November 17)

Even though the limited censure of McCarthy in the Senate did not deal directly with the substantive questions and did not condemn McCarthyism—nonetheless it is quite important. It constitutes another political setback, albeit a partial one, for McCarthy and the most aggressive pro-fascist wing of the GOP. While partisan considerations and the sharpening intra-party struggle within the GOP played some role, the impressive vote for censure (67 to 22) is attributable, in the first place, to the popular anti-McCarthy sentiment in the country. This sentiment, which registered markedly in various ways in the November elections, continues to mount and is a potent factor to be reckoned with by the present Congress. Undoubtedly, in conjunction with the positive aspects of the election results, the censure vote will encourage the anti-McCarthyites throughout the nation to unfold a more effective struggle against McCarthyism as well as McCarthy.

The positive significance of the McCarthy censure and the additionally favorable opportunities it creates for expanding the struggle against the apostles, ideology, legislative embodiments and practices of McCarthyism should not, however, obscure certain dangerous aspects of this fight. Space does not permit the imperative consideration of the fact that the bulk of the labor and democratic movements did not actively intervene in this situation either on the partial or the basic issues involved; the fact that a majority of those Senators who voted

for, and many of those who supported the censure, still approve of McCarthy's "anti-Communist objectives," and, unless checked, some of them will lose no time in demonstrating this anew; the current efforts of the "For America" to organize a mass fascist base around the Stratemeyer-Crommelin "Committee for Ten Million"; the closer alignment established at this juncture between the McCarthy-Jenner and the Knowland-Radford groupings, including their renewed and high-powered "preventive war" drive. Suffice it to note in passing that the struggle for and against McCarthy and McCarthyism is now entering a new phase, and notwithstanding the above, with the favorable opportunities on the ascendancy. (December 5)

TO YOUR TWELFTH BIRTHDAY, SON

*December 7th, nineteen fifty-four
My Chip will be two and half a score.
I rejoice and send heartfelt salutation
On this happy and eventful occasion.*

*Much has happened o'er the past year
In world affairs, and things intimately dear.
Not least meaningful on the personal side
Has been my son's growth in one year's stride.*

*I single out in special satisfaction
The voice he raised for ending segregation,
The letters he sent to figures of high station
To promote world peace and friendship among all nations.*

*We are filled with hope we soon may celebrate
Reunion outside Atlanta's prison gate.
But whatever difficulties may arise in months ahead
We shall not be daunted, there'll be no tears shed.*

*We know the heartaches of being apart,
But we look ahead and plan tomorrow's start.
We've learned to take the bitter with the sweet,
To gird for victories even midst temporary defeat.*

*We shall yet be working side by side
 Long after reaction's storms have been swept aside;
 Building a peaceful and happier life
 Without oppression, wars and strife.*

*Facing the future with confidence supreme
 Today's trials and tribulations will seem
 Easier to bear—for under Peggy's care my Chip is true
 To all that's worthy and just for the many, not the few.*
 (December 7)

DEAR SON: 'Tis 9 P.M. and Christmas Day has virtually come to and end. In some respects it has been the best Xmas I've experienced in Atlanta. Of course, the fact that this is the last December 25th that I may spend here tended to make it the best. Aside from this rather major consideration, there were other things which contributed to making this a relatively pleasant day.

Yesterday about noon I received the Xmas package from you and Mom. I must say the choice of candy was positively inspired. But the nicest of all was your holiday card with its original drawing and humorous poem. In the evening I received two letters from Mom in which she told me what you were planning and doing over the holidays. This meant a lot to me because I could picture everything you were doing and make believe myself a part of it all.

After a somewhat sleepless night but with a heart cheered by your greetings and messages of the previous day, I walked in the yard today, exchanging salutations appropriate to the day (a prominent theme being: "May your *next* Xmas be a merry one!") and conversing with my buddies on worldly matters pertinent to the season and mankind's hopes for "peace on earth, goodwill towards men." Then back to the cell to read until Xmas dinner with all the trimmings, plus the privilege of smoking in the mess hall (this is the one day in the year that this is permitted), and the annual Xmas package (2 packs of cigarettes, a box of cookies, one-quarter pound of hard candy, and a half-pound of nuts)—donated by the Bureau of Industries, the Warden, and staff—and paid for out of the profits produced by the inmates who work in industry.

Much of the day's routine is similar to the other December 25ths spent here—with some significant difference. March, 1955, is just around the corner, with you and Mom and my life's work awaiting me there. (December 25)

Today's press carried a brief item to the effect that the Five Colombo Powers have extended invitations to 30 Asian and African nations to participate in a conference this coming April. This strikes me as a most significant and historically promising development. Any additional news would be greatly appreciated, both as to the gathering itself and as to the interest exhibited in it by the Negro people's, labor, and student's movements here within our own country.

As our Chip emphasized in his last letter: "well, in two short months you'll be home and we—." To write, to think, to know that this shall really be so is to enhance beyond words the special meaning of New Year's Day for me and the great hopes and expectations that I have for the coming year. May these next sixty days fly by. (December 29)

-1955-

The act of ratification [of West German re-armament] by the French Assembly not only thwarted the national will and undermined further the national security, independence, and economic position of France vis-a-vis both German and American imperialism—but also increases world tension and puts new obstacles in the way of reunifying Germany and peacefully resolving the German question.

However, this dangerous development will now evoke new and broader popular and conservative anti-rearmament and anti-Wall Street resistance and national front movements in Western Europe which can help change this state of affairs.

It is clear from the press that the Soviet Union and People's Democracies are taking all necessary steps to strengthen and coordinate mutual security and defense, so as to be able to cope with the new war threats posed by the Paris Pact. Equally clear is the fact that the socialist camp is simultaneously continuing to unfold its resolute policy for peaceful coexistence, including renewed efforts to achieve an all-inclusive system of collective security in Europe and to promote universal arms reduction and a prohibition of nuclear weapons and warfare. While the bipartisan majority in the Senate here will ratify the London-Paris agreements, probably early in this session of Congress, the conditions do exist within the country to crystallize influential popular opposition to the Paris (and SEATO) treaties, and above all, to their implementation. The difficulties are many, but the opportunities are not exactly few, either. The national interests of our country require this. (January 3)

While the temperature was moderate today, it has been rather unpleasant, so I stayed indoors this afternoon. Since this week's cinema offering was "Invaders from Mars," I skipped that too. Instead I enjoyed myself immensely reading the *Paris Gazette*

by Leon Feuchtwanger. This is a powerful story about the life and struggles of some of the German anti-Nazi emigrants in Paris during the late 1930's. I haven't completed it yet, but I've perused enough to realize that it is a far more important work than the author's previous historical novel, *The Oppermanns*. For one thing, while only several years passed between the two writings, much transpired in that short interval, and the author himself grew politically. All in all, the book is a fine and rewarding work of literature, which is not to minimize *The Oppermanns* either.

I noted with interest the items in your letters on labor unity and the elections. I wish I could follow the trade-union press regarding the inner and intra-union discussions and proposals on the merger of the AFL and CIO; the position and activity of the rank and file, of locals and councils, on this vital issue, as well as of the independent unions; the impact of the top unity negotiations on facilitating united labor action now, locally and on higher levels, on the legislative and economic fronts. Many seem content to leave this development to the mercy of the top officialdom; others appear to take an entirely one-sided and negative approach to the pending merger and ignore the responsibilities of the workers and their basic organizations in helping to influence the situation. I wish I could follow the various trends, currents and alignments that are shaping up throughout the labor movement on this major question.

(January 9)

DEAR CHIP: I am looking forward to reading your report for school on the Emancipation Proclamation. In addition to the reference material you relied upon, you would have benefitted immeasurably from studying pertinent sections of *The Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass*. (You'll find this in Vol. II in our library at home).

Does your report deal with the background of the struggle to abolish slavery in the U.S. prior to the Civil War? Does it indicate why it took so long for the Emancipation Proclamation to be decreed even after the war between the states broke out? Also the combination of military, political and economic factors that finally resulted in the Proclamation? Does it refer to the immediate after-effects of this measure (and of the enactment

of the 13th and 14th Amendments)* and how, after a few years, the slave oligarchy and their northern allies circumvented the 13th and 14th Amendments and fastened new chains of oppression and servitude upon the Negro people (and many of the poor whites, too)?

And does it touch on the ensuing struggle for equal rights and national liberation waged by the Negro people and their white allies, especially by the progressive sections of the working class? Finally, does the report state what must be done today to realize fully the historic significant promise of the Emancipation Proclamation and of the 13th and 14th Amendments? Anyhow, in the not too distant future we can exchange ideas upon both your report and the major questions involved.

It was a sad and evil day when the 13† were torn from their loved ones and friends. Undoubtedly, the American working class and its leaders will suffer other blows and setbacks in the stormy days which still lie ahead. But without struggle and sacrifice there can be no progress. And remember, a good rooster starts crowing at midnight when things seem darkest. For he senses the coming of dawn, and knows the sun is going to rise even if it takes a while—Gung Ho! (January 16)

Things continue to go from bad to worse for Chiang Kai-shek, this time in the Formosa Straits area. Hence the Knowland-Radford forces are renewing their pressure for a naval blockade of China and for full scale American military intervention to “save” China’s Islands from the Chinese.

The Administration, taking into account the strong opposition of its Western allies to such an adventurous move at this point, appears to be toying with something ostensibly short of the Knowland proposal, such as proclaiming a new “mutual defense” line around some of China’s islands momentarily occupied by Chiang, and for using U.S. air and naval forces to “re-deploy” some of Chiang’s mercenaries. But even this “modified” form of further American involvement might soon extend the

* Amendments to the Constitution relating to Negroes following the Civil War—abolition of slavery and the granting of full citizenship rights.

† Reference is to the imprisonment of the thirteen Communists convicted under the Smith Act in the second New York trial.

present area of military conflict around the "off shore" islands and could precipitate a new major war in the Pacific. This is precisely what the "Asia First" and the "Formosa Lobby" are driving for. Fortunately, wishing and doing are not synonymous.

At first glance, the talk about a "cease-fire" in the Formosa Straits area may sound attractive to some. But it should be clear that this idea put forward by Dulles a few days ago is not a peaceful endeavor. It is designed to enlist support for a UN move to extricate Chiang's American-equipped remnants on the off-shore islands from final extinction, to try to delay the inevitable liberation of China's outlying territory by her People's Republic, and to try to place a UN stamp of approval on a UN-dominated military cordon sanitaire around Quemoy, etc.

The only possible way a so-called cease-fire in the Formosa-Tachen area might be constructively considered, it seems to me, (bearing in mind that Formosa is Chinese territory and is outside the jurisdiction of the UN) would be if it were one of the points to be placed before an East-West conference convened to negotiate a peaceful settlement of the main questions in the Far East—such as, the withdrawal of the Seventh Fleet from Formosa and other Chinese waters; the ending of all foreign military aid to Chiang Kai-shek; the seating of the People's Republic of China in the UN; a peaceful settlement of the Korean question, etc. And such an approach would promote the national security and welfare of our country no less than that of China.

(January 23)

The President's message to Congress (already rubber-stamped by the House) requesting discretionary authorization to wage war against China "if necessary" in order to "save" Formosa as an American protectorate and base and to convert the Formosan Straits and China Sea into an American-Kuomintang lake—constitutes a most brazen provocative act of imperialist intervention into China's internal affairs. It increases the danger of war in the Far East. This adventurous move runs counter to the main course of world developments, as well as to our national interests. Washington will be compelled to pull in its horns once again.

While all this "national defense" demagoguery and jingoism of the bipartisan warmongers may temporarily becloud the issue here and there within our country, it will be met with growing

misgivings and opposition. The big problem, however, remains how to register the people's sentiment for peace quickly so as to deter the Administration and Congress from embarking on a new and infinitely more dangerous war than even the Korean "police action" proved to be. Certainly international relationships and trends make this feasible. And midst many zigs and zags the prospects for easing world tensions and for promoting East-West negotiations and peaceful co-existence will become much more favorable.

The New China is not the old China of Chiang Kai-shek. Nor is it the Philippines or Thailand, Iran or Guatemala. It is an independent and sovereign nation. And while steadfastly promoting peace in Asia and in the world, the New China has the national will and ability, and international solidarity, to safeguard and defend its national independence and its people's democratic way of life. (January 26)

DEAR CHIP: I, too, read many of Conan Doyle's mysteries when I was about your age and enjoyed them no end. And since you seem to have a hankering for such tales, I would suggest you give the stories of Edgar Allen Poe the once-over. Some of them are quite good.

I went to the weekly movie today (I don't go too often) and saw "*From Here to Eternity*." It's fairly good, considering what comes out of Hollywood nowadays. Except for the fact that it is painful to see how logic and fact are twisted to avoid the most obvious conclusions which the film itself leads up to. Anyway, the next 30 days are going to seem like an eternity here. Time drags awfully slowly on the last lap of the stretch.

Want to christen a few lines of "poetry"? I don't know what to call it, so you name it:

*Four massive walls
Iron and concrete halls,
Can't penetrate or leap.*

*Toil and trouble
Cells locked, barred double,
Prison within a prison deep.*

*Time goes by
It doesn't fly
Live, strive or die.*

*The weak break
The strong can take
All this for tomorrow's sake.*

*This is a hundredfold true
for you and you and you
Who serve the people, not the vested few.*

(January 29)

To observe that the week coming up promises to be a most eventful one is to err on the side of cautious understatement. The Seventh Fleet and the U.S. Air Force are poised threateningly in the Formosa Straits area ready to implement the Dulles-Radford-Knowland line of unleashing a "preventive war." The UN Security Council will convene to consider New Zealand's "cease-fire" proposal, as well as diverse alternatives some of which will be genuinely peaceful initiatives that, considering the strength of the world peace forces, should ease the situation. Then, too, there is the British Commonwealth conference (where Nehru's plea for peace must be heeded). And then there is the opening of the 1955 session of the Supreme Soviet which, among other things, is bound to have a salutary and far-reaching effect on world affairs.

In connection with a news item I read in Col. McCormick's *Tribune* on Claude's [Lightfoot] trial, I was reminded of a statement by defense counsel in one of the 1799 Alien and Sedition trials (recorded in Elizabeth Page's book *Tree of Liberty*). The counsel for one of Jefferson's ardent supporters inquired of the Federal Judge: ". . . has the Court taken the view that the defense is required to prove the truth of opinion, as well as fact?" Then defense counsel caustically pointed out that the court ruling deprived the defendant of his rights under the First Amendment "since no man can prove the truth of his opinion to the satisfaction of one who holds a contrary view."

(January 30)

You mention that the Washington correspondent of the CIO Auto Workers writes that the Congressional mail is now running "150 to 1" (or is it 15 to 1?) against the President's Formosa policy. This undoubtedly explains the position taken by Morse, Lehman, Kefauver and several other Senators in opposing the so-called mutual defense treaty with Chiang Kai-shek. In any case the tenor and preponderance of the Congressional mail on this vital issue is an important barometer reflecting the upsurge of peace sentiment at the grass roots and indicates again what an ever more powerful force this could become if it were effectively harnessed.

I read with interest the promising news item regarding the four point program advanced by the Armour Local of the Packinghouse Workers Union as the basis for unity negotiations and merger with the Meatcutters. I wonder whether similar initiatives have been displayed elsewhere in the labor movement regarding the steps towards organic unity between the AFL and CIO.

Well, tomorrow starts the beginning of another two day cabbage potting season—the last big venture of this sort before the 1st. Yours truly is really getting to be a "short-timer." For now I've reached the point where I can measure time by noting that there are only two more Sundays, four more bathdays, one more haircut, etc. left till D-Day. Whatever yardstick one may use to move the calendar forward, it won't be long now.

(February 13)

DEAR SON: Well, as of this writing, it's only one week more and a "get-up" till D-Day. Brother, there is so much to say and do, it'll require a genius or two to figure out exactly where to start!

I'll have to get acquainted all over again, almost, with the Block's Chip. After all, two hour visits a few times a year for 5 years is not much to go by. Besides, there is a whale of difference between leaving a seven-year-old boy and coming home to a 12-year-old young man. But we'll have loads of fun and satisfaction in getting "re-acquainted"—all of us.

Of course, you should not be caught unawares in respect to yours truly. While basically the same, you may observe some changes in me too. In any event, you should be prepared to be patient with and tolerant of the "Old Man," especially at the beginning. For one thing, I have to get re-adjusted to the out-

side world; I shall be shackled for nearly a year under the restrictions of "conditional release." Then, too, there are some health problems and, not least of all, I'll be extraordinarily busy with politico-legal proceedings and what not. Methinks, nonetheless, that the Dennis clan can cope with this, too.

After all, while the past five years have been a difficult and trying period for us, and also for the American people, we have all learned a great deal and have been strengthened in many ways. In times of adversity and hardship all but weaklings become tempered and more mature and responsible, and in varying degrees are stimulated to think more deeply and clearly, and in the long run should be able to contribute more than previously to the common welfare and world peace, to helping achieve a better life, liberty and pursuit of happiness. And I'm sure that the Dennis family won't be found wanting in this respect.

I guess this shall mark finis to my letters to you from Atlanta.

I'll be seeing you, our best girl, and our friends soon, Big Fellow, but it can't be too soon for me. Salud—to the morrow!
(February 21)

Yesterday I finished re-writing the copious legal notes that I have requested permission to take out with me and which I need for my defense in the current Smith Act and McCarran Act cases. It was an arduous task but necessary.

I don't feel in the mood to pen a "farewell" note from here, although my final letter to our Chip yesterday was also very much addressed to you as you have undoubtedly perceived. All I would add here, even if only in passing, is that March 1st brings to an end a relatively trying, although an important chapter in our lives, as well as in the political life of the country; one that shall leave its imprint in various ways for a long time to come. But the first of March also marks the beginning of a new and more significant chapter. Unquestionably, this shall not be without its trials and stresses, its ebbs and flows either. Yet one thing is certain, it won't be a mere replica of that which has gone before, not by any means. While there will also be many severe and exacting tests and even sharper political struggles, the new chapter unfolding will witness more advances and progress for "our side," for the democratic forces, including not a few major

victories. And it promises to be a more memorable and fruitful period, and perhaps a happier one too, for us personally, for our friends and comrades, and for all working people. Of this, I am sure.

(February 22)

Portions of Letter to Mrs. Peggy Dennis

From E. Dennis

March 19th, 1953

(Date)

To Mrs. P. Dennis
(Name)

226 E. 12th, NYC
(Address)

Dearest -

I was really counting on a letter from you today. But the mailman has just come & gone - and Lis still waiting. Haven't received anything since Tuesday when yours of the 12th & 13th, written while you were here, arrived. Oh, well guess this is an omen that I may anticipate a windfall on the weekend. Please so, especially since your letters like ~~the~~ ~~one~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~12th~~ ~~and~~ ~~13th~~ are being their utmost to provide "label backing for the State Department's" ~~type~~ "new party line" - which, always for a more aggressive implementation of the "old" war policy & program of its predecessors - inter-lardial with ^{war preparations} previous peace demagoguery to try & conceal its continuing rejection of all genuine peace proffers & initiatives.

Excuse my poor scribbling, Kiddo. But in self defence must say that hospitalization is not conducive to legibility. Till Sunday, mi preciosa - Love E. Dennis 71488

Portions of Letter to Gene Dennis, Jr.

From E. Dennis

April 8th, 1954

(Date)

To Gene Dennis Jr.
(Name)

226 E. 12th, NYC
(Address)

JK
31

Dear Son -

As you probably know Tommy sent me a number of new snapshots of my beloved ones. Candidly speaking, these candid shots are really something! They're a combination of excellent photography, exceedingly appropriate and precious "subject matter", and a mighty welcome and fine addition to my prized album. I suppose I might add too that these are really the "cat-in-hat" - and this not merely because charcoal figures therein so prominently, but also because a few people judge that the present ones are the finest, and while some do not, I can't do you any harm to think that the present are a finer one than a past?

However, when we both have clearly stated that this and she may visit these parts on or about April 20th, I assure you that this is music to my ears & a mighty important date in my calendar.

Take care of yourself for me, my Chip - Love - Dad
E. Dennis 71488

२६
L.P.T.

वर्ग संख्या

Class No. _____

लेखक

Author _____

शीर्षक

Title _____

अर्वाप्त संख्या

Acc. No. 112283

पुस्तक संख्या

Book No. _____

निर्गम दिनांक Date of Issue	उधारकर्ता की संख्या Borrower's No.	हस्ताक्षर Signature
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

826
at

LIBRARY

JD-2380

LAL BAHADUR SHASTRI

National Academy of Administration

MUSSOORIE

Accession No. 112283

1. Books are issued for 15 days only but may have to be recalled earlier if urgently required
5. An overdue charge of 25 Paise per day per volume will be charged.
3. Books may be renewed on request at the discretion of the Librarian.
5. Periodicals, Rare and Reference books may not be issued and may be consulted only in the library.
5. Books lost, defaced or injured in any way shall have to be replaced or its double price shall be paid by the borrower.

Help to keep this book fresh, clean & moving