"A Road to Peace and Freedom"

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INTRODUCTION


7. FBI file, IWO, Detroit division, report on Arabic Section, December 10, 1945, DB-WSU, box 16, folder 16-36. For Black Muslims in the IWO, see Harold Peters to Metropolitan Life Insurance, February 2, 1945, Sam Milgrom to Peters, February 19,


32. Detroit Police report, August 26, 1948, DB-WSU, box 2, folder 2-55.


35. Office of Strategic Services/Foreign Nationalities Branch (OSS/FNB) report, the FNB to the Director of Strategic Services, “Communist-Line IWO Reorganizes to

36. Letter from Murray, and Bedacht, Two Letters about One Cause.
37. IWO Declaration of Principles [1933], CPUSA-LC, reel 260, delo 3372.
38. Sam Milgrom to “Dear Brother” on IWO film strip “Health and Security for America,” February 28, 1946, IWO-CU, box 20, folder 5; Draft report of General Secretary, IWO, August 29, 1946, IWO-NYU, folder 2.
40. Sam Milgrom to Eleanor Broady, IWO-CU, box 7 folder 4.
41. See ad for a Robeson appearance before JPFO rally in the Sunday Worker, June 3, 1947, 10, IWO-CU, box 27.1, folder 9; IWO press release, Negro History Week, February 5, 1953, IWO-CU, box 4, folder 6.
44. Evelyn Louise Crawford and MaryLouise Patterson, eds., Letters from Langston: From the Harlem Renaissance to the Red Scare and Beyond (Berkeley: University

45. Ad, Front Line Fighters Fund, “Radość Dnia Dzękczynienia Należy do Naszych Dzielnych Bojowników” [The Joy of Thanksgiving Belongs to Our Brave Fighters/Warriors/Soldiers], Glos Ludowy, November 25, 1944, 4, DB-WSU, box 5, folder 5-29. All translations from original languages, unless otherwise noted, are mine.

46. Adamic, “Conspiracy against Peace.”

47. “Moral Lepers Like Hearst Peril Nation,” Národné noviny, March 15, 1944, 5. See, too, pamphlet issued by National Negro Congress, deriding “our peanut Hitlers . . . the Talmadges, the Gerald L. K. Smiths, the Lindberghs . . .”: Negro People Will Defend America (Washington, D.C.: National Negro Congress, 1941); IWO to Vito Marcan tonio, telegram, February 4, 1943, VM-NYPL, box 47; Flyer, Mass Meeting against the Dies Committee, for the New Deal [English and Italian], January 29, 1939, La Progressiva Lodge 2501, IWO, ibid.; Petition against the Dies HUAC, from IWO Dante Alighieri Lodge 2579, Bronx [January 1939], ibid. For Roosevelt’s congratulations to the ASC, see Roosevelt to Blair Gunther of ASC, telegram, April 25, 1942, DB-WSU, box 1, folder 1-17. For Slav Congress’s disapproval of Truman’s policies, see Leo Krzycki and Zlatko Baloković to Truman, telegram, March 7, 1946, DB-WSU, box 1, folder 1-18; George Pirinsky to Trump, October 11, 1946, ibid.


56. Affidavit, Jumal Ahmad, Cleveland, April 1951, IWOCF-CU, box 3.


58. Affidavit, Pecola Moore, Los Angeles, April 24, 1951, IWOCF-CU, box 3.

CHAPTER 1


2. Application to JRB Welfare Fund, from SWS Lodge 2074, July 17, 1953, on behalf of Katy Hlavenko, IWO-CU, box 21, folder 32; Application from SWS Lodge 2034, Bellaire, Ohio, November 30, 1953, on behalf of Rosie Vovea, IWO-CU, box 21, folder 20; Application from SWS Lodge 2048, Monongahela, West Virginia, April 21, 1953, on behalf of John Novichenko, IWO-CU, box 21, folder 28.


4. SWS application to JRB Welfare Fund, September 18, 1953, from Mike Slavik for Olga Coben, California, Pennsylvania, IWO-CU, box 21, folder 33; Application to JRB Welfare Fund, September 24, 1953, from SWS Lodge 2011, Allentown, Pennsylvania, re: Eleanor Budihas, IWO-CU, box 21, folder 5.


6. A. Harvan, Lansford, Pennsylvania, to Charles Korenič on behalf of lodge member Frank Schubak, June 1, 1953, ibid.


10. Isaac Galperin to IWO, January 11, 1953, and Dave Greene to Galperin, January 26, 1953, IWO-CU, box 4, folder 6; Greene to Stella Fidyk, February 16, 1951, IWO-CU, box 4, folder 5.


12. FBI report on Glos Ludowy [newspaper of the Polonia Society, IWO], May 17, 1941, 6, box 4, folder 4-42, Don Binkowski Papers, Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University [hereafter cited as DB-WSU].


16. Vargas notes Mexicans in the industrial Midwest often faced the dilemma of making rent or grocery payments or keeping current on their dues in mutualistas providing a modicum of help for accident or disease. See Vargas, Proletarians of the North, 149–154. Minutes, Slovak Catholic Sokol Assembly 61, Philadelphia, May 5, 1929, Balch, Mss. 3499; Minutes, Greek Catholic Union Lodge 160, Philadelphia, February 8, 1925, Balch, Mss. 3337.


20. Charles Novak to CEC, Workers Party, November 3, 1925, CPUSA-LC, reel 34, delo 501; Yugoslav Language Bureau Questionnaire [1928], CPUSA-LC, reel 109, delo 1454.


Zimmer, too, traces the transnational networks of journals, institutions, and personal connections among Italian and Jewish migrant anarchists. See Zimmer, Immigrants against the State.


28. F. Borich, South Slavic Fraction, to Central Committee, CP, March 15, 1930, CPUSA-LC, reel 151, delo 1961; Minutes, “The Benefit Organizations” plenum, South Slavic Fraction, Workers Party, March 10–11, 1928, 3–9, CPUSA-LC, reel 109, delo 1454; Minutes, South Slavic Bureau meeting, October 1, 1930, CPUSA-LC, reel 162/1, delo 2161.

29. Minutes, South Slavic Bureau meeting, October 1, 1930.

30. Secretary, Language Department, to Secretariat, CPUSA, November 3, 1930, CPUSA-LC, reel 154, delo 2017.


32. Ibid.

33. Ibid.

34. Max Bedacht to Jay Lovestone [ca. February 1925], CPUSA-LC, reel 34, delo 512.

35. C. E. Ruthenberg to A. Rostovsky, secretary, Hungarian Bureau, September 17, 1926, and Ruthenberg to Rostovsky, October 30, 1926, CPUSA-LC, reel 49, delo 694.


40. Minutes, Actions Committee of the Jewish Fraction of the Workers [Communist] Party, January 12, January 28, February 2, February 10, and March 23, 1927, CPUSA-LC, reel 87, delo 1180; Moissaye J. Olgin, “The Workmen’s Circle Policy and the Renegade Trio,” CPUSA-LC, reel 129, delo 1674; Minutes, Language Department meeting, October 29, 1929, CPUSA-LC, reel 129, delo 1680; H. I. Costrell to P. Smith, Language Department, September 9, 1929, CPUSA-LC, reel 129, delo 1683; Minutes, Language Department meetings, January 8 and September 18, 1930, CPUSA-LC, reel

41. Minutes, Jewish Fraction, Actions Committee meetings, February 2 and 10, 1927, CPUSA-LC, reel 87, delo 1180.

42. Costrell to Smith, September 9, 1929; H. I. Costrell to Central Bureau, Jewish Section, September 9, 1929, CPUSA-LC, reel 137, delo 1811.


44. “For the Sake of Clarity—A Workmen’s Circle Answer to the IWO from The Call, April 1940,” 12, IWO-NYU, folder 8; Affidavit, Jacob Holmstock, Queens, April 24, 1951, IWOCF-CU, box 3.

45. Olgin, “The Workmen’s Circle Policy and the Renegade Trio.”


47. A letter inviting recipient to a “Vote Communist Banquet” at the New Star Casino lists Bedacht and Saltzman on the New York State Committee of the CP, September 18, 1933, IWO-CU, box 5, folder 1. Bill Gebert biography, April 15, 1932, sent by Gebert to the Executive Committee, Communist International, DB-WSU, box 4, folder 4-14. Rubin Saltzman, “The First Convention of the IWO,” Daily Worker, May 30, 1931, 3, notes that the order’s branches had collected “$5,000 for the central organ of the Communist Party, The Daily Worker” and “nearly $25,000 for the Jewish daily Communist paper, the Freiheit, which became the organ of the International Workers Order,” DB-WSU, box 5, folder 5-29. See, too, Central Committee of CPUSA to all language-paper editors regarding a Daily Worker fund drive, March 3, 1933, CPUSA-LC, reel 245, delo 3123. See Slovak National Bureau to Central Committee, CP, September 11, 1935, in which the Slovak IWO’s Daily Worker quota is set at $200, CPUSA-LC, reel 293, delo 3796.


49. “Constitution and By-Laws of the International Workers Order, in effect January 1, 1948,” stated, “No member of a private police force and no professional strike-breaker shall be accepted as a member of the Order,” IWO-CU, box 1, folder 4. Max Bedacht to Daisy Bell Pike, July 2, 1943, IWO-CU, box 3, folder 12; Mary Markstrom to Sam Milgrom, December 5, 1948, and Joe Kamen to Milgrom, December 16, 1948, IWO-CU, box 8, folder 8.


51. “The Bureaucracy in the IWO,” The Militant, October 31, 1931, 2, reprint, IWO-NYU, folder 43; Central Control Commission meeting, April 1, 1938, case of Paul Skers of Worcester, Massachusetts, and cases of William Farkas (Thell) and Rudolph Klein of Cleveland, Ohio, CPUSA-LC, reel 307, delo 4079.

53. Sadie Doroshkin to Louise Thompson, June 4, 1934, Thompson to Max Bedacht, June 4, 1934, Thompson to Bedacht, February 23, 1934, Bedacht, “To Whom It May Concern,” regarding Thompson’s credentials as an IWO organizer, February 24, 1934, Bedacht to [name blacked out], February 28, 1934, Doroshkin to Thompson, June 7, 1934, Bedacht to Thompson, June 7, 1934, Thompson to Doroshkin, June 9, 1934, Doroshkin to Thompson, June 12, 1934, Doroshkin to Thompson, June 20, 1934, Thompson to Doroshkin, June 19, 1934, Doroshkin to Thompson, March 9, 1934, Thompson to C. B. Powell, Birmingham, Alabama, attorney, May 21, 1934, Thompson to Doroshkin, May 21, 1934, Powell to Thompson, May 22, 1934, Thompson to Joseph Brodsky, May 21, 1934, Doroshkin to Thompson, May 23, 1934, and Powell to Thompson, May 28, 1934, box 8, folder 8, Louise Thompson Patterson Papers, 1909–1999, MSS 869, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library, Emory University [hereafter cited as LTP-EU]; Louise Thompson Patterson MS autobiography, chap. 6, p. 11, LTP-EU, box 20, folder 5.

54. IWO, “Recruiting of Negro Workers” [ca. 1934], LTP-EU, box 8, folder 8; Interview with Thompson Patterson [ca. 1950–1951], LTP-EU, box 8, folder 10; Interview with Thompson Patterson, June 2 and 9, 1987, LTP-EU, box 27, folder 8; Thompson Patterson, interview by Margaret Wilkerson, April 20, 1989, LTP-EU, box 28, folder 2.

55. Interview with Louise Thompson Patterson [ca. 1950–1951]; Thompson Patterson, interview by Ruth and Bud Schultz, August 12, 1984, LTP-EU, box 27, folder 3.


58. Minutes, Leading Fractions of the IWO meeting, September 28, 1930, CPUSA-LC, reel 154, delo 2015; Minutes, Language Department meeting, September 18, 1930, ibid.


64. Minutes, Language Department, Amalgamation Sub-Committee meeting, June 15, 1931, CPUSA-LC, reel 117, delo 2332.

65. Minutes, Czechoslovak Bureau meetings, May 4, May 12, and May 27, 1931, CPUSA-LC, reel 191, delo 2553.

66. Language Department to B. K. Gebert, June 12, 1931, and Language Department to Czechoslovak Bureau, June 11, 1931, CPUSA-LC, reel 177, delo 2336.


68. Comrade F. Brown, Language Department, “To All District Language Departments,” July 25, 1931, CPUSA-LC, reel 177, delo 2334. Ad for the IWO Dental Department, “All Work Done under Personal Care of Dr. Josephson,” Daily Worker, August 10, 1932, 2, CPUSA-LC, reel 318, delo 4243.

69. “To All Party Fractions in the Hungarian Workers’ Sick Benefit and Educational Federation—Slovak Workers Society—Russian Mutual Aid Society of America and the International Workers Order” from Language Department [1931], CPUSA-LC, reel 177, delo 2334.


71. Michels, A Fire in Their Hearts. See Jay Lovestone to J. Mindel, chairman, Central Commission, New York, September 15, 1927, regarding a letter that “Comrade Sura” had written to Stalin, CPUSA-LC, reel 75, delo 1017.


73. Minutes, Lithuanian Bureau meeting, December 18 and 26, 1930, CPUSA-LC, reel 162/1, delo 2160.

75. Giulio Giombi of Baltimore to Vito Magli, June 24, 1950, IWO-CU, box 25, folder 5.

76. Memorandum, Boleslaw Gebert to Max Bedacht on Polish American Section of the IWO, June 30, 1942, 3–4, IWO-CU, box 11, folder 1; Memorandum, Max Bedacht on the Croatian Fraternal Union’s newspaper and the Croatian IWO [during World War II], IWO-CU, box 10, folder 1. Fragment of letter from Joseph Schiffel, n.d., IWO-CU, box 45, folder 6.

77. Emil Gardos to Earl Browder, June 29, 1932, CPUSA-LC, reel 214, delo 2752.

78. Ibid.

79. Luigi Candela to Earl Browder and Central Committee, CP, June 29, 1935, CPUSA-LC, reel 292, delo 3787.

80. Charles Stevenson to Executive Committee and Members of Lodge 691, IWO, July 19, 1945, and Stevenson to Max Bedacht, June 11, 1945, IWO-CU, box 8, folder 4; “To the Officers and Members of Solidarity Lodge 691—Charges against Brother Charles A. Stevenson by Brother Samuel G. Patterson,” 1945, ibid.


82. Stevenson to Executive Committee and Members of Lodge 691; Charles Stevenson, “To the Board of Trustees, I.W.O. The following is the summary of my appeal from the decision of the Executive Committee of Lodge #691,” 1945, IWO-CU, box 8, folder 4.

83. Beryle Banfield, president, and Maude Jett, financial secretary, “To the Members of Lodge 691, IWO,” July 25, 1945, IWO-CU, box 8, folder 4; “To the Officers and Members of Solidarity Lodge 691—Charges against Brother Charles A. Stevenson.” African American organizers and members in the IWO frequently felt that they had been slighted by the order’s leaders: Robert Meyers of Baltimore to Sam Milgrom, April 5, 1946, Milgrom to Meyers, April 11, 1946, IWO-CU, box 6, folder 2; Philippa Stowe to headquarters, April 12, 1949, IWO-CU, box 4, folder 4.


86. Rubin Saltzman, “The First Convention of the IWO,” Daily Worker, May 30, 1931, 3, DB-WSU, box 5, folder 5-29. For IWO optical clinics, see ad for William Vogel,


88. Report, Language Department, “Present Status of the IWO,” April 15, 1931, CPUSA-LC, reel 177, delo 2334; Letters from Alexander Wright, August 27, September 8, and October 4, 1935, CPUSA-LC, reel 298, delo 3882. Reports on questionnaires from ethnic groups to Organization Department, including Japanese and Chinese efforts to build IWO lodges, CPUSA-LC, reel 309, delo 4110. Outline for Dave Greene JPFO speech, Brooklyn, June 19, 1950, notes that the IWO’s growth to 160,000 members came about because of growth in African American and Spanish as well as European ethnic lodges, IWO-CU, box 4, folder 5; Constitution and By-Laws of the IWO in Spanish [1938], IWO-CU, box 1, folder 4; Eleanor Broady to Louise Thompson Patterson, February 7, 1945, details the recruitment of African Americans into the IWO, IWO-CU, box 7, folder 3; Report, “The Hispanic American Section from January 1940 to January 1944” [at 1944 IWO convention], 4–5, IWO-CU, box 9, folder 8. *Fraternal Outlook*, October 1940, adds a Spanish section to the articles printed in various European languages, IWO-CU, box 48. Report, “Notes on the Portuguese and Cape Verdians,” n.d., IWO-CU, box 5, folder 5; Organizing Committee, Central Committee, to Jose Novo of New Bedford, Massachusetts, December 19, 1933, CPUSA-LC, reel 246, delo 3150. N. Economos to Greek Bureau of the Central Executive Committee, CP, March 30, 1932, notes the building of IWO lodges in Chicago, Hegewisch, and Pullman, Illinois; Gary and Indiana Harbor, Indiana, and Milwaukee, CPUSA-LC, reel 214, delo 2753.


91. News release, “IWO Challenges Constitutionality of Attorney General Clark’s Report; Plans Legal Action,” December 5, 1947, puts the IWO membership at 188,000

92. Saltzman, “Twenty Years of the International Workers Order.”


95. Ibid.


98. Walker, Pluralistic Fraternity; Herbert Benjamin, Executive Secretary, IWO, report, “Work among the National Groups,” February 23, 1941, IWO-CU, box 5, folder 9; OSS file, “Report #940.”


101. N. Shaffer to Charles Zimmerman, August 27, 1937, ILGWU-CU, 5780/014, box 17, folder 4; M. Horwitz to Vito Marcantonio, October 18, 1940, notes that the order’s Medical Department also ran a birth control center, VM-NYPL, box 44. For Margaret Sanger and the criminalization of birth control information, see Andrea Tone, “Contraceptive Consumers: Gender and Political Economy of Birth Control in the 1930s,” Journal of Social History 29, no. 3 (Spring 1996): 485–506.
102. Resolution, South Slavic Women’s Educational Club of Cudahy, Wisconsin, May 21, 1932, CPUSA-LC, reel 235, delo 3052; Minutes, Lithuanian Central Bureau meeting, February 7, 1936, CPUSA-LC, reel 303, delo 3995; Interview with Louise Thompson Patterson [ca. 1950–1951].

103. IWO pamphlet, *Our Plan for Plenty* [ca. 1941], IWO-CU, box 5, folder 7; Ad, “Greetings to Labor by the IWO,” *Sunday Worker*, September 4, 1949, 7, DB-WSU, box 2, folder 2-55. Synopses of SWS material contains a Slovak-language copy of *Our Plan for Plenty*, IWO-CU, box 26, folder 5; Resolution passed on “Negro Work in the IWO” at a conference of the IWO, April 8, 1941, stressed the relevance of the “Plan for Plenty” to African Americans, IWO-CU, box 19, folder 10. Outline for Dave Greene JPFO speech, Brooklyn, June 19, 1950, refers to the dissemination of the plan among JPFO lodges, IWO-CU, box 4, folder 5. Mike Hanusiak to Sam Milgrom, March 9, 1949, IWO-CU, box 8, folder 12.


105. Affidavits, Salvatore Spampinato, Los Angeles, April 23, 1951, and Lewis Marks, Boston, April 21, 1951, IWOCF-CU, box 3. See, too, affidavit, Max Lange, Los Angeles, April 24, 1951, ibid.

106. Reverend S. M. Harden, Chicago, to Sam Milgrom [ca. 1945], IWO-CU, box 6, folder 13.

107. Affidavits, Pauline Taylor, Youngstown, Ohio, April 1951, James Moorer, Jersey City, April 23, 1951, and Angelo Poggioni, Cleveland, April 24, 1951, IWOCF-CU, box 3.


112. Questionnaires, Antonio Carneiro, Bronx, April 30, 1941, Nathan Chce, Cleveland, and Harvey Gale, Chicago, all May 5, 1941, Helen Lane, Youngstown, Ohio,


114. Israel Amter for the International Labor Defense, Southern District, Memphis Section, to “Pat” [1932], CPUSA-LC, reel 233, delo 3017. Max Bedacht to J. Josephson, April 22, 1936, CPUSA-LC, reel 304, delo 4007.


116. Affidavit, Jacob Zeitlin, Newark, New Jersey, April 24, 1951, IWOFCF-CU, box 3; OSS/FNB report, “All Group, Reorganization of IWO,” from “BUTTS 715,” May 27, 1944, DB-WSU, box 5, folder 5-30; OSS agent “CFB” to “Dear Rodman,” July 17, 1944, DB-WSU, box 4, folder 4-29; OSS/FNB report on “Slav Groups”; Report on “All Groups” in the IWO.

117. Minutes, Central Control Commission meeting, May 13, 1938, case of Louis Singer, District 2, of Brooklyn, CPUSA-LC, reel 307, delo 4079; Minutes, Central Control Commission meeting, January 11, 1936, case of Bruno Jasczczak, District 22, of Logan, West Virginia, CPUSA-LC, reel 303, delo 4002; Minutes, Central Control Commission meeting, June 2, 1937, case of William Powell, District 3, of Philadelphia, CPUSA-LC, reel 306, delo 4071; Ed Green, Oakland, California, to “Comrade Hanoff,” March 2, 1936, CPUSA-LC, reel 303, delo 3977; Minutes, Central Control Commission meeting, May 9, 1939, case of John Virag [Szabo], District 13, of Butte, Montana, CPUSA-LC, reel 303, delo 4002; Morris Bonn of Pittsburgh to Max Bedacht, May 26, 1947, IWO-CU, box 15, folder 8; Peter Sokalch of Pittsburgh to IWO, April 11, 1946, IWO-CU, box 15, folder 18; Mary Mochanko of Pittsburgh to IWO, June 15, 1946, IWO-CU, box 15, folder 8. Other members complained that drunkenness of local IWO officers prevented them from collecting sick pay for mining accidents: Russian Lodge 3006, Curtisville, Pennsylvania, to “Dear Sirs,” June 14, 1948, IWO-CU, box 21, folder 38. For problems of embezzlement in nonideological ethnic fraternal societies, see Robert Zecker, *Streetcar Parishes: Slovak Immigrants Build Their Nonlocal Communities, 1890–1945* (Selinsgrove, PA: Susquehanna University Press, 2010), 126–130, 184–185.

118. IWO Declaration of Principles [1933], CPUSA-LC, reel 260, delo 3372.

CHAPTER 2


2. Poster, “Two Lectures! By Max Bedacht, International Workers Order and Its Aims and The Five Year Plan of Socialism and the Chaos of Capitalism” [1932], CPUSA-LC, reel 310, delo 4122; Flyer, *The Capitalist Crisis and the Workers’ Problems* [1931], workers of Duluth hear lecture by Max Bedacht, CPUSA-LC, reel 310, delo 4122.

3. CPUSA Organization Department to Comrade Randolph on the “imaginary famine in Ukraine,” December 18, 1933, CPUSA-LC, reel 246, delo 3150.

5. IWO Declaration of Principles [1933], CPUSA-LC, reel 260, delo 3372.

6. Ibid.


10. Alfred Wagenknecht to Jay Lovestone, February 14, 1928, CPUSA-LC, reel 102, delo 1342.


20. Sadie Doroshkin to Louise Thompson, June 4, 1934, Thompson to Max Bedacht, June 4, 1934, Thompson to Bedacht, February 23, 1934, Bedacht, “To Whom It May Concern,” regarding Thompson’s credentials as an IWO organizer, February 24, 1934, Bedacht to [name blacked out], February 28, 1934, Doroshkin to Thompson, June 7, 1934, Bedacht to Thompson, June 7, 1934, Thompson to Doroshkin, June 9, 1934, Doroshkin to Thompson, June 12, 1934, Doroshkin to Thompson, June 20, 1934, Thompson to Doroshkin, June 19, 1934, Doroshkin to Thompson, March 9, 1934, Thompson to C. B. Powell, Birmingham, Alabama, attorney, May 21, 1934, Thompson to Doroshkin, May 21, 1934, Powell to Thompson, May 22, 1934, Thompson to Joseph

21. Affidavits, Salvatore Spampinato, Los Angeles, Bice Diana, Detroit, Harry Rifkin, Detroit, George Frederickson, Detroit, Gus Doxakis, Detroit, and Jacob Balan, Highland Park, Michigan, all April 23, 1951, IWOCF-CU, box 3; Outline for Dave Greene speech, JPFO, Brooklyn, June 19, 1950, IWO-CU, box 4, folder 5; Minutes, General Council meeting, September 15–16, 1945, Helen Vrábel of SWS report, 7, folder 12, International Workers Order Records, Robert F. Wagner Labor Archives, Tamiment Library, New York University [hereafter cited as IWO-NYU].


23. Max Bedacht to Israel Amter, National Committee of the Unemployed, December 24, 1932, CPUSA-LC, reel 234, delo 3037.


35. Doroshkin to Thompson, June 4, 1934.

36. For Thompson’s election, see “proceedings of the fourth national convention, IWO, April 30, 1938,” IWO-CU, box 2, folder 2. “Oznámenia—Do Garfield, N.J. a okolia” [Notice to Garfield, N.J., and area], New Yorkský denník, February 11, 1937, 5, reported that Vrábel was delivering a speech in Garfield on “the situation in Europe and the threat of a new world war.” As head of the SWS, Vrábel delivered a report to an IWO youth conference at IWO’s fifth national convention, June 8–14, 1940, IWO-CU, box 3, folder 3. Deportations Proceedings, December 11, 1951, In re: Clara Dainoff, or Kraina Dainoff, or Rose Draina Dainoff, IWOCF-CU, box 1. See, too, Arthur Kinoy to Thomas Jones, January 8, 1952, enclosing two IWO decisions that may be useful in Jones’s loyalty case, including that of Clara Dainoff, whom the INS adjudged an “innocent or nominal member” of the IWO and thus granted a suspension of deportation, ibid.


40. _The New Order_, March 1934, 17, CPUSA-LC, reel 287, delo 3709. The song’s unappetizing chorus was “Soo-up, Soo-up, They give me a bowl of soo-oo-up, Soo-up, Soo-up, They give me a bowl of soup!”


42. Pamphlet, _Crushed to Death!_ [1934], on NRA and James Owens, member of IWO Branch 589, Chicago, CPUSA-LC, reel 287, delo 3709; “Report of Max Bedacht to New York City Conference of IWO, January 20–21, 1934.”

43. Philadelphia District Plenum of the IWO, April 29, 1934, CPUSA-LC, reel 287, delo 3709.


45. Organizing Committee Central Committee, CP, to John Williamson, December 20, 1933, regarding the Polish Chamber of Labor, CPUSA-LC, reel 246, delo 3150.


47. Earl Browder to Rovnosť ľudu, telegram, August 23, 1933, CPUSA-LC, reel 245, delo 3143. For the CP’s take on the NRA, see Pamphlet, _What Every Worker Should Know about the N.R.A._ [September 3, 1933] by Earl Browder, in which Browder refers to the NRA as, among other things, “the Blue Buzzard,” CPUSA-LC, reel 239, delo 3097. Shop paper, _The Delco Worker_, May 1934, Dayton, Ohio, CPUSA-LC, reel 283, delo 3650. Another shop paper offered a song denouncing the NIRA: “Nira, Nira, why, oh why, did you lie?” [NIRA poem], in the _Independent Worker_, “issued by Independent Packing Unit Communist Party” [1934], 2, ibid.

48. Poster, “We Appeal to All Men and Women—Fight Night Work for Women, Which Is Being Forced on Us by the National Recovery Act and the Misleaders of the A.F.L. and United Textile Workers Union” [1933?], CPUSA-LC, reel 191, delo 2556;
Notes

Flyers, *True Meaning of the N.R.A.* [Lawndale, Chicago, 1934], and *Workers of Strawberry Mansion, Negro and White* [Philadelphia], June 6, 1934, rally, CPUSA-LC, reel 283, delo 3649; Fred Wulf, German Bureau, to “Comrade Brown,” Language Bureau, CPUSA, January 18, 1934, CPUSA-LC, reel 273, delo 3490; *NIRA Notes*, August 1, 1933, CPUSA-LC, reel 247, delo 3490.


52. Jerome Koch, Petaluma, California, to IWO, April 11, 1941, IWO-CU, box 18, folder 13; Minutes, General Council meeting, September 15–16, 1945, IWO-NYU, folder 12.

53. Minutes, IWO GEB plenary session, September 10 and 11, 1938, speech by General Secretary Max Bedacht, IWO-CU, box 1, folder 5.

54. Ibid.


56. OSS/FNB report, BUTTS 730, June 9, 1944, DB-WSU, box 5, folder 5-30.


58. General secretary report to GEB, January 27, 1940, 15.


60. IWO pamphlet, *Our Plan for Plenty* [ca. 1941], IWO-CU, box 5, folder 7; National Educational Department, IWO, *Promoting Security: Facts about the Role and
Purpose of the International Workers Order (New York: National Educational Department, IWO, October 1940), ibid. FBI report, IWO, Detroit division, December 31, 1946, 253, DB-WSU, box 16, folder 16-37.


64. Flyer, Mass Meeting against the Dies Committee, for the New Deal [English and Italian], January 29, 1939, La Progressiva Lodge 2501, IWO, VM-NYPL, box 47. Petition against the Dies HUAC, from IWO Dante Alighieri Lodge 2579, Bronx [January 1939], ibid.


66. Hy Gordon to Earl Browder, December 22, 1930, CPUSA-LC, reel 151, delo 1960; “Language Department, Central Committee—Communist Party, to All Language Bureaus of the C.C.,” July 8, 1931, CPUSA-LC, reel 177, delo 2334. See, too, Flyer, Workers of Newark! for an IWO-sponsored picnic, August 14–15, 1931, to raise funds in support of striking NMU coal miners, CPUSA-LC, reel 193, delo 2561; S. M. Loyen to Language Department, Central Committee, October 26, 1933, CPUSA-LC, reel 247, delo 3172; Thompson MS autobiography, chap. 6, p. 25. For Southern union drives by the CP, see Robin Kelley, Hammer and Hoe: Alabama Communists During the Great Depression (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015).


68. F. Brown, Language Department, “To All Language Bureaus of the C.C.,” July 8, 1931, CPUSA-LC, reel 177, delo 2334. “Statement of Miners Relief of Williamsburg [Brooklyn]”; Organization Department to Jewish Bureau Central Committee, May 15, 1931, CPUSA-LC, reel 177, delo 2325; Letter from Pittsburgh to “Comrades.”

69. Minutes, Czechoslovak Bureau meeting, May 9, 1934, CPUSA-LC, reel 273, delo 3502.

70. Interview with Thompson Patterson [ca. 1950–1951]; Thompson Patterson, interview by Mary Lecht [ca. 1980s], LTP-EU, box 28, folder 6; Interview with Thompson
Patterson, June 2 and 9, 1987, LTP-EU, box 27, folder 8; Thompson Patterson, interview by Linda Burnham, March 11 and 14, 1988, LTP-EU, box 27, folder 13; Thompson Patterson, interview by Ruth and Bud Schultz, August 12, 1984, LTP-EU, box 27, folder 3.


72. Bill Gebert biography, 1–4. Even from Poland in 1979 Gebert complained, “My health is not the best because of 'black lungs' a present of the anthracite mines, which I quit 60 years ago. I need not to say that for the black lungs I do not get one penny, because there was no compensation for that deadly effect.” B. K. Gebert to Ed Falkowski, February 19, 1979, DB-WSU, box 3, folder 3-9.


August 23, 1950, Lippa to Caparoli, August 28, 1950, and Ludwik Paluch of Enterprise, West Virginia, to IWO national office, February 6, 1953, IWO-CU, box 10, folder 10; W. Sobol of Elbert, West Virginia, to Daniel Kasustchik [ca. June–July 1950], IWO-CU, box 25, folder 1. For persistent company control of small coal towns, even after mines were unionized, see Beik, *The Miners of Windber*.


83. Interview with Thompson Patterson [ca. 1950–1951]; Interview with Thompson Patterson, June 2 and 9, 1987; Thompson Patterson, interview by Wilkerson.


87. Bedacht to Murray, April 20, 1937.
89. Article on steel unionization campaign, The New Order, May 1937, 6, IWO-NYU, folder 43; Peter Kostyshak to Michael Logoyda, September 30, 1944, IWO-CU, box 25, folder 2.


102. FBI report, IWO, Detroit division, December 31, 1946, 8–10, DB-WSU, box 16, folder 16-37.


105. FBI report, IWO, Detroit, December 10, 1945, DB-WSU, box 16, folder 16-36.


110. See SWS meeting minutes, November 7, 1943, and February 27, 1944, on suggestion that members of the IWO in the state [Pennsylvania] should join the UE of the CIO, IWO-CU, box 54. For the ASC’s assertion, see “Committee of American-Slav Congress Issues a Delegate Call,” *Národné noviny*, March 25, 1942, 5. The quotation on Slavs is from Edward Alsworth Ross, *The Old World in the New*. For the stigmatization of Southeast Europeans as not quite white, see Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998); Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness*; Barrett and Roediger, “Whiteness and the Inbetween Peoples of Europe.”


118. Bombardier, March 1946; Affidavits, Diana and Balan; Dave Greene, JPFO speech, Brooklyn, June 19, 1950, IWO-CU, box 4, folder 5; Ad, “Greetings to Labor by the IWO,” Sunday Worker, September 4, 1949, 7, DB-WSU, box 2, folder 2-55.


121. Minutes, District 2 Bureau [New York], CPUSA meeting, September 4, 1935, includes report on IWO by N. Shaffer to District 2 Bureau meeting, CPUSA-LC, reel 294, delo 3811. The Philadelphia IWO also maintained a Medical Department. Bedacht to Marcantonio, telegram, May 3, 1940; “Court Allows I.W.O. to Inspect Seized Files,” Daily Worker, May 17, 1940, 5, CPUSA-LC, reel 318, delo 4243; Marcantonio’s “Copy of following telegram sent to Martin Dies, Chairman, Investigating Un-American Activities,” from Bedacht [May 1940], VM-NYPL, box 47. Affidavit, George Gombasy, Detroit, April 23, 1951, IWOCF-CU, box 3; N. Shaffer to Charles Zimmerman, August 27,
1937, ILGWU-CU, MSS 5780/014, box 17, folder 4; New York City Central Committee of the IWO, M. Horwitz, Educational Director, to Marcantonio, October 18, 1940, notes that the Order’s Medical Department also ran a birth control center and that Marcantonio and the IWO were fighting “for a hospital in the territory,” VM-NYPL, box 44. Horwitz to Marcantonio, August 9, 1940, VM-NYPL, box 47. “Report to the General Executive Board IWO by the General Secretary,” September 1938, 14–15; Minutes, IWO GEB plenary session, September 10 and 11, 1938, IWO-CU, box 1, folder 5; March 1939 plenary, 19–20, 25–26, IWO-CU, box 1, folder 6.

122. Speech, Senator James Murray of Montana to convention of Jewish American Section, IWO, July 4, 1944, 6–7 of convention program, IWO-CU, box 27,1, folder 2; “Gives His Views of Wagner Proposals,” Národné noviny, March 8, 1944, 5; SWS meeting minutes, February 27, 1944.


124. Starobin, Never Again!


126. “Confidential letter,” May 8, 1947, Sam Milgrom to “Dear Brother,” IWO-CU, box 4, folder 2; Sam Milgrom, “Report to the General Council IWO, March 1,
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7. IWO report on organizing Negro branches [1932], CPUSA-LC, reel 234, delo 3037.


16. H. Beck to Louis Kovess, November 12, 1930, CPUSA-LC, reel 155, delo 2021; For multilingual editions of _Fraternal Outlook_ from 1939 to 1943, see IWO-CU, box


27. Emil Gardos to Earl Browder, June 29, 1932, CPUSA-LC, reel 214, delo 2752.


31. Ibid., 399–415.


35. Ibid.


41. Robotnický kalendár na rok 1921, 86; Robotnický kalendár na rok 1937, 40, 45, 94; Robotnický kalendár na rok 1939, 109–113; Ludový denník, September 21, 1942, 4.

42. Resolutions passed at IWO national convention, June 8–14, 1940, IWO-CU, box 3, folder 2; Resolutions passed at Anthracite District Convention, November 9–10, 1940, Scranton, Pennsylvania, IWO-CU, box 8, folder 9.

43. Minutes, IWO GEB semi-annual plenary session, September 6–7, 1941, including resolutions passed, IWO-CU, box 1, folder 8; IWO GEB meeting, February 8, 1942, “Resolution on Negro Rights,” IWO-CU, box 1, folder 9. For the CP and civil rights during World War II, see Maurice Isserman, Which Side Were You On? The American Communist Party during the Second World War (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1982), 117–119.

45. Národné noviny, April 29, 1942, 2.

46. IWO GEB meeting, February 8, 1942, “Resolution on Negro Rights,” IWO-CU, box 1, folder 9.

47. Minutes, GEB, June 27, 1942, 1, IWO-CU, box 1, folder 9.

48. Proceedings, GEB plenary session, February 12–13, 1944, 7–8, 10–16, IWO-CU, box 1, folder 10; Minutes, General Council meeting, November 24–26, 1944, 5–6, 8, IWO-CU, box 1, folder 11; Rosa Walton of Macon, Georgia, to IWO, February 10, 1947, IWO-CU, box 20, folder 6; Rosilla King of Kamsack, Saskatchewan to IWO, January 28, 1947, IWO-CU, box 20, folder 7.


52. Flyer with petition, CAA, Racism Threatens Us in South Africa as Here [1952], LTP-EU, box 13, folder 37. See, too, Initiating Committee for the Sojourners for Truth and Justice to Congressman William Dawson of Chicago, September 15, 1951, regarding the Cicero Riot, LTP-EU, box 13, folder 5.

53. Gore, Radicalism at the Crossroads; McDuffie, Sojourning for Freedom.


55. Civil Rights Congress pamphlet, Oust Bilbo, You Can Do It Now . . . [1945 or 1946], IWO-CU, box 46; Civil Rights Congress to Bessie Hillman, September 13, 1946,
DB-WSU, box 2, folder 2-15; “Report of Max Bedacht, General Secretary, to the General Council Meeting of the International Workers Order, September 7–8, 1946,” folder 13, International Workers Order Records, Robert F. Wagner Labor Archives, Tamiment Library, New York University [hereafter cited as IWO-NYU]; Minutes, General Council meeting, September 15–16, 1945, 7–8, IWO-NYU, folder 12; Letter, from National Committee to Combat Anti-Semitism and the JPFO, November 12, 1945, with petition on Senator Theodore Bilbo, Representative John Rankin, and others, IWO-CU, box 30, folder 6; George Starr of the JPFO to “Dear Brothers and Sisters,” November 18, 1946, IWO-CU, box 30, folder 7; Nathan Shaffer of the New York County JPFO, IWO, to Congressman Vito Marcantonio, August 30, 1945, VM-NYPL, box 48; Sol Rotenberg to Sam Milgrom, December 6, 1945, IWO-CU, box 8, folder 10; FBI report, IWO, Detroit division, December 10, 1945, 126.


57. Resolution on the McCarran-Walter Law passed at IWO General Council meeting, September 13, 1952, and resolution on FEPC, IWOCF-CU, box 3.

58. Morris Forer to John Middleton, February 7, 1945, and David Vines to Forer, March 17, 1945, IWO-CU, box 8, folder 3.


64. Hirsch, Making the Second Ghetto; Philpott, The Slum and the Ghetto; Diamond, Mean Streets; Sugrue, Origins of the Urban Crisis; Letter from John Mykytew, June 15, 1944, IWO-CU, box 7, folder 1; Affidavit, Herman Schlossberg of Los Angeles, April 24, 1951, IWOFC-CU, box 3.

65. Sam Milgrom to Henry Podolski, December 18, 1944, IWO-CU, box 7, folder 2; Letters from Mario D’Inzillo, October 26 and 31, 1942, and Oscar Cox, assistant solicitor general, to D’Inzillo, November 6, 1942, IWO-CU, box 10, folder 8.


68. Affidavits, Herman Schlossberg, Los Angeles, April 24, 1951, and Kalyna Popow, Philadelphia, and Frances Slowiczew, Hamtramck, both April 24, 1951, IWOFC-CU, box 3.


71. Národné noviny, August 18, 1943, 5. Donald Hill, Calypso Calaloo: Early Carnival Music in Trinidad (Gainseville: University Press of Florida, 1993). In 1946 Pindar’s song “Walk in Peace” was featured as the People’s Song of the Week in the People’s Song Bulletin. Thanks to Judith Smith for this.

72. Minutes, National Conference of General Lodges of IWO, July 4, 1944, IWO-CU, box 9, folder 1.


78. S. Nowak radio address, August 24, 1941, NP-WSU, box 3, folder 3-8.

79. Pirinsky, Slavic Americans in the Fight for Victory and Peace, 44.

80. Ibid., 15–17.


82. FBI report, Vito Marcantonio, December 23, 1946, contains letter from Detroit FBI office to J. Edgar Hoover, May 18, 1943, regarding “Vito Marcantonio, Internal Security—C; Custodial Detention,” which discusses a March 5, 1942, letter to Marcantonio plucked from the Detroit CP wastepaper basket, DB-WSU, box 7, folder 7-19. The FBI’s extensive file on Marcantonio contains a July 21, 1941, “MEMORANDUM FOR MR. P. E. FOXWORTH” from Agent R. H. Kramer that proposed approval of a “Custodial Detention card relating to Vito Marcantonio,” even though Kramer noted “the subject’s position as a member of the House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.,” ibid. Memorandum, Mathew McGuire, assistant to the attorney general, to J. Edgar Hoover, August 7, 1941, ibid. Marcantonio’s FBI file also contains a letter from agent A. H. Belmont, July 27, 1950, explaining that as Marcantonio was still a congressman, he was not included on the FBI’s Security Index, but that if he ceased to be a congressman, the issue might be revisited. Three weeks after Marcantonio was defeated for reelection, a letter was sent on November 25, 1950, from Director Hoover to the special agent in charge, New York, recommending a Security Index Card be created on Marcantonio, still sitting as an elected member of Congress, whose “business address” was listed as “United States House of Representatives.” It was further advised that Marcantonio be detained should Hoover decide there was a national emergency. When Marcantonio was again running for Congress in 1954, the FBI still listed him as a subject for “internal security” roundup. FBI report, “May 6, 1954” on Marcantonio, “Character of Case: Internal Security—C,” ibid. For Hoover’s use of the custodial detention program, see Donna Haverty-Stacke, Trotskyists on Trial: Free Speech and Political Persecution Since the Age of FDR (New York: New York University Press, 2015), 36–37.

84. FBI file, IWO, Detroit division, December 10, 1945.


87. John Middleton “to all I.W.O. lodges in New York City,” March 9, 1945, IWO-CU, box 8, folder 4. IWO leaders from the Hispanic Cervantes Fraternal Society, and Jewish, Hungarian, Slovak, Ukrainian, Russian, Carpatho-Russian, Croatian, Polish, and Finnish leaders endorsed an interracial brotherhood rally.


89. Milgrom to Broady, April 2, 1945, ibid.


91. FBI reports, IWO, Detroit division, December 10, 1945, and December 31, 1946, 203.


95. S. M. Loyen, secretary, South Slavic Section, to Language Department, May 24, 1934, CPUSA-LC, reel 273, delo 3504. See, too, Report, “Mass Trial of Workers Expels White Chauvinists of Detroit” [1933], CPUSA-LC, reel 247, delo 3175; “Report of the Language Department C.C.” [September 1930] in which Lithuanian IWO members in Chicago were taken to task for refusal to socialize with black members, CPUSA-LC, reel 154, delo 2016.


97. Philippa Stowe to headquarters, April 12, 1949, IWO-CU, box 4, folder 4.


100. FBI report, IWO, Detroit division, November 20, 1953, 126, DB-WSU, box 16, folder 16-38.


Notes

The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual (New York: Morrow, 1967). Cruse's thesis has recently been countered by Castledine, Cold War Progressives; Gellman, Death Blow to Jim Crow; Katz, All Together Different; Maxwell, New Negro, Old Left; and McDuffie, Sojourning for Freedom.

109. Affidavits from IWO members, April 23, 1951, IWOCF-CU, box 3.
110. Ibid.
111. Ibid.

CHAPTER 4

2. “What the Youth Section of the International Workers Order Is and Why Every Young Worker and Student Should Join It,” The New Order, March 1934, 18, CPUSA-LC, reel 287, delo 3709.


of Peasant Resistance (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985); Scott, Domination and the Arts of Resistance.


23. Jay Lovestone to Ukrainian Bureau, August 20, 1926, CPUSA-LC, reel 55, delo 767.


28. Language Department to Central Control Commission, January 29, 1932, CPUSA-LC, reel 213, delo 2749; Minutes, CP Central Control Commission meeting, January 25, 1936, CPUSA-LC, reel 303, delo 4002.


32. “Children’s Red Camp Is Raided,” 1, 3.


39. *Národné noviny*, September 10 and 24, 1941, both 6; “IWO Hails Cleveland Pennant Victory.”
41. Minutes, March 1939 Plenary, IWO GEB, 26, IWO-CU, box 1, folder 6; *Chicago Defender*, March 29, 1941, 22. For baseball tournaments, see I. Isaacs to Sam Milgrom, April 15, 1946, DB-WSU, box 5, folder 5-29. SWS meeting minutes, March 23, 1947, IWO-CU, box 54; Affidavits, Milton Schiff, Los Angeles, April 24, 1951, and Mary Granich, Philadelphia, April 23, 1951, IWOCF-CU, box 3.
46. Translation of program, Boston Lettish [Latvian] Workingmen’s Association, IWO, January 14, 1934, CPUSA-LC, reel 273, delo 3495; Miscellaneous play scripts, Dramatski Zbor “Nada” [Chicago Croatian Socialist Dramatic Group], Box 9, Dramatski Zbor “Nada” (Chicago, Illinois) Records, MSS 562, Immigration History Research Center Archives, University of Minnesota [hereafter cited as DZ-UM].

47. Miscellaneous play scripts, DZ-UM, boxes 4, 9.


50. Evelyn Louise Crawford and Mary Louise Patterson, eds., Letters from Langston: From the Harlem Renaissance to the Red Scare and Beyond (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2016), 128–129, 142, 145, 149–152, 155, 161, 167, 229; Interview with Louise Thompson Patterson [ca. 1950–1951], box 27, folder 1, Louise Thompson Patterson Papers, 1909–1999, MSS 869, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library, Emory University [hereafter cited as LTP-EU]; Thompson Patterson MS autobiography, chap. 8, “The Harlem Suitcase Theatre,” LTP-EU, box 20, folders 6 and 7; Interview with Thompson Patterson, June 9 and 18, 1987, LTP-EU, box 27, folder 9; and Thompson Patterson, interview by Linda Burnham, February 19 and 24, 1988, LTP-EU, box 27, folder 10; Constitution, The Harlem Suitcase Theatre [sponsored by IWO Branch 691], LTP-EU, box 7, folder 4; Alice Evans, New Theatre League, New York, to the Harlem Suitcase Theater, September 29, 1938, ticket of Harlem Suitcase Theatre, Summer Season, Don’t You Want to Be Free? July 16, 1939, advertising Frank Wilson and Asadata Dafora, and program, LTP-EU, box 7, folder 5; Palm card, Dr. Carter Woodson, talk at the Harlem IWO Community Center, LTP-EU, box 8, folder 9. Also, Easter Sunday Musicale, April 17, 1938, Langston Hughes’s new play, Don’t You Want to Be Free? ibid.; Sheet music, song “Let’s Get Together” by Langston Hughes and Carroll Tate, from D LTP-EU, box 20, folder 26; Script, Don’t You Want to Be Free? in One Act Play Magazine 2, no. 4 (October 1938): 359–393, LTP-EU, box 20, folder 28.


52. Script of show produced by the Freedom Theatre for IWO, Let’s Get Together [1950], IWO-CU, box 26, folder 7; Synopsis of Ukrainian Society play, All Our Yesterdays, by Andrew Hertz, October 1948, The Partisans, January 19, 1942, IWO-CU, box 26, folder 7; Keep Up! in synopses of SWS material [ca. 1950], IWO-CU, box 26, folder 5. Another František Končinský play script, Obraz z dób revolučných v jedomdejstve [A Picture of Good Revolutions in History], is in IWO-CU, box 14, folder 4.


58. Affidavits, Alexander Smoley, New York, April 25, 1951, Lewis Marks, Boston, April 21, 1951, and Anna Mazurak, Bound Brook, New Jersey, and Maxim Hayda, New York, both April 24, 1951, IWOCF-CU, box 3.


61. Affidavits, Milton Schiff and Max Lange, both Los Angeles, April 24, 1951, IWOCF-CU, box 3.


63. Affidavit, George Frederickson, Detroit, April 23, 1951, IWOCF-CU, box 3; Minutes, Language Department meeting, April 19, 1930, noting Finnish and Jewish camps refused to cooperate with other groups, CPUSA-LC, reel 154, delo 2014. For Arow Farm, which took its name from the Cyrillic letters for American Russian Fraternal Society (ARFS), see Michael Singer, “Camp Witch Hunt Tries Intimidating Guests,” *Daily Worker*, August 25, 1955, 3, IWO-CU, box 53. For a history of Camp Kinderland, see I. Goldberg, “Camp Kinderland,” *Proletarishe Dertziung* [Proletarian Education], 1, no. 6 (June 1935), the official organ of the National School Committee, IWO, IWO-CU, box 39, folder 11; History, “Camp Kinderland,” n.d., IWO-CU, box 37, folder 7. For the Brampton, Ontario, JPFO camp, see FBI report, IWO, Detroit division, November 20, 1953, 304, DB-WSU, box 16, folder 16-38; *New Masses*, July 1928, 15 and 24, DB-WSU, box 3, folder 3-23; Affidavit, Peter Moreno.


70. Andrian Anddrozzo, New York, to Secretariat, CP, September 20, 1932, CPUSA-LC, reel 234, delo 3032. Sam Friedlander, Bronx JPFO, to Dave Greene, September 7, 1949, and Philippa Stowe to headquarters, April 12, 1949, IWO-CU, box 4, folder 4. Eleanor Boady of the Michigan IWO similarly complained to headquarters of Italian comrades’ resistance to housing integration in Detroit: Eleanor Boady to Sam Milgrom, March 22 and April 5, 1945, IWO-CU, box 7, folder 4. On resistance of Italian members of the IWO to housing integration in Detroit, see FBI report, IWO, Detroit division, December 31, 1946.


73. FBI report on Paul Robeson, November 8, 1946, DB-WSU, box 9, folder 9-33; FBI report, IWO, Detroit division, November 20, 1953, 156, DB-WSU, box 16, folder 16-38.

74. FBI report on IWO, March 18, 1939, DB-WSU, box 5, folder 5-30; Detroit Police report, May 27, 1939, ibid.

75. Affidavits, Herman Schlossberg, Los Angeles, Kalyna Popow, Philadelphia, and Frances Slowiczcek, Hamtramck, Michigan, all April 24, 1951, IWOCF-CU, box 3.

76. Affidavits, Catherine McCastle, Cleveland, Jumal Ahmad, Cleveland, and Pecola Moore, Los Angeles, all April 24, 1951, ibid.; News release, July 8, 1948, excerpt from speeches by Paul Robeson and Senator Glen Taylor of Idaho opposing placing

77. Detroit Police Department report, January 18, 1949, DB-WSU, box 2, folder 2-55.
81. “Communist-Line IWO Reorganizes to Emphasize Nationality.” “Social-Cultural Activity”; Flyer, IWO Film Department, Special Summer Offer [during World War II], IWO-CU, box 20, folder 3; “Abe” to Sam Milgrom, May 14, 1945, IWO-CU, box 16, folder 22; FBI report, IWO, Detroit division, December 31, 1946.

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Workers Order Case Files, MSS 5940, Kheel Center for Labor-Management Documentation and Archives, Cornell University Library [hereafter cited as IWOCF-CU].


13. Ibid.


22. Pamphlet, The Seminar in Negro History, 1938 spring lecture series, Harlem Community Center of IWO Solidarity Branch 691, LTP-EU, box 8, folder 9. In 1983 the Solidarity Branch also sponsored a lecture by Carter Woodson, founder of Negro History Week, indicating the link between civil rights activism and internationally minded anti-imperialism in the IWO. Palm card, April 10, 1938, IWO-CU, box 8, folder 9.


28. Luigi Candela to Earl Browder and Central Committee, CP, June 29, 1935, CPUSA-LC, reel 292, delo 3787. Zimmer notes that Italian anarchist communities in Paterson, New Jersey, and in New York and San Francisco also vocally opposed Mussolini’s war in “Abyssinia” (Immigrants against the State, 121). “Control Tasks Approved at Recent District Plenum of District Four, CP” [August 18, 1935], CPUSA-LC, reel 294, delo 3826; Letter to “District #2 Organizer” [1935], CPUSA-LC, reel 294, delo 3816.


34. Pamphlet, United Nations Front Line Rally, IWO FLFF rally, Cleveland, Sunday, February 22, 1942, IWO-CU, box 22, folder 21. As an indication of the wartime acceptance of the IWO, Order vice president Kent shared the stage with Cleveland mayor Frank Lausche. IWO president William Weiner’s message to General Board plenary session, February 7–8, 1942, IWO-CU, box 1, folder 9.


40. “Report of General Secretary Max Bedacht to national convention, IWO, April 23–30, 1938,” 49, IWO-CU, box 3, folder 1; Translation from Polish, “The 13th Anniversary of the Polonia Society, IWO (Lecture prepared by the National Educational Division of the Polonia Society, IWO, to be used at meetings in October),” pencil marked “1945,” IWO-CU, box 26, folder 3; “Resolution on Fascist Aggression,” and Jerry Trauber, “Report on the Junior Section,” IWO national convention, April 23–30, 1938, IWO-CU, box 3, folder 1.


42. Louise Thompson, radio speech, Station EAR, Madrid, August 27, 1937, LTP-EU, box 13, folder 9.


44. Invitation, IWO Branch 691 [Solidarity Lodge, Harlem], reception dinner for Louise Thompson, reporting on her visit to Spain and the World Congress against Racialism and Anti-Semitism, October 20, 1937, LTP-EU, box 13, folder 9; Invitation, dinner for Thompson, December 1, 1937, at University of Chicago, ibid.; Nathan Shaffer, national executive committee, IWO, to Thompson, telegram, October 20, 1937, ibid.; Thompson Patterson, “The Paris Conference and Spain”; Thompson Patterson, interview by Burnham, March 9 and 11, 1988; Thompson Patterson, interview by Burnham, June 9 and 18, 1987; FBI, FOIA file on Louise Thompson Patterson, FBI report, Chicago, September 24, 1941, includes notation, “Among the miscellaneous papers in the file are throw-away circulars announcing a mass meeting entitled ‘I Saw Spain’ and listing Thompson as a speaker. The dates of these meetings were November 5, 1937, . . . Grand Rapids, Michigan, and November 2, 1937, . . . Chicago”; FBI report, Chicago, December 16, 1944. For African American soldiers fighting with the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, see Harry Haywood, A Black Communist in the Freedom Struggle (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), 228–247.

45. Thyra Edwards to James Ford, January 26, 1938, LTP-EU, box 15, folder 29; Letter in German, from Deutsch-Amerikanisches Hilfskomitee for Spanish Relief, Professor Alfons Goldschmidt, to Max Bedacht, February 18, 1938, IWO-CU, box 3, folder 12; Harold Oram, Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, to Max Bedacht, March 15, 1938, ibid.

46. Sántos Sánchez, president, Committee for Defense of Spanish Democracy, to Vito Marcantonio, telegram, January 6, 1939, VM-NYPL, box 47; M. Vargas Semprun,

47. Letters to Marcantonio: Eugenio Gavin, Comité pro Democracia Español, December 20, 1938, M. Vargas Semprun, January 21, 1939, Comité pro Democracia Español, June 2, 1939, and Marcantonio’s reply letter, June 7, 1939, VM-NYPL, box 47; Poster, “Gran Festival organizado por el Comité pro Democracia Española (Afiliado a Sociedades Hispanas Confederadas)” [Grand Festival Organized by the Committee for Democracy in Spain (Affiliated with the Confederation of Hispanic Societies)], ibid. Ad, back cover, Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign, Fraternal Outlook, June 1939, IWO-CU, box 48; Dorothy Parker, “Spanish Refugees in France,” Fraternal Outlook, July 1939, 6–7, 27, ibid.


52. “To members of the Communist Party and Y.C.L. Only!”


54. Ibid.

55. Ibid.

56. Questionnaires sent to IWO national office, Albert Steinberg, Denver, April 16, 1941, Sylvia Linna, the Bronx, April 14, 1941, and A. Prisiaznuk, Edwardsville, Pennsylvania, April 24, 1941, IWO-CU, box 18, folder 13.
57. Minutes, fifth annual convention, IWO New Jersey district, November 30–
December 1, 1940, 2–3, “A Special Problem” by Brother Landy, IWO-CU, box 8, folder 3.
58. Charles Stevenson to Executive Committee and Members of Lodge 691, IWO,
July 19, 1945, and Stevenson to Max Bedacht, June 11, 1945, IWO-CU, box 8, folder
4; “To the Officers and Members of Solidarity Lodge 691—Charges against Brother
Charles A. Stevenson by Brother Samuel G. Patterson,” [1945], ibid. Stevenson, “To the
Board of Trustees, I.W.O. The following is the summary of my appeal from the decision
of the Executive Committee of Lodge #691,” [1945], ibid.; Beryle Banfield, president,
and Maude Jett, financial secretary, “To the Members of Lodge 691, IWO,” July 25,
1945, ibid.
59. “Urges People to Keep America Out of War,” Milwaukee Journal, November
23, 1939, 17; Detroit Police, Office of Special Investigation Squad, report, Rally for
60. Thompson, “The Building of Our English-Speaking Section.”
61. Central Committee CPUSA to all district language departments of Central
Committee regarding foreign-language newspapers publicizing need for Indian and
Filipino independence [1930], CPUSA-LC, reel 154, delo 2018; Resolutions on Cuba,
Anti-Impérialist League, to IWO language federations and resolutions on Cuba, July
17, 1933, and October 24, 1933, CPUSA-LC, reel 247, delo 3170; Reginald Bridgeman to
William Patterson, June 16, 1934, CPUSA-LC, reel 287, delo 3698; Gellman, Death Blow
to Jim Crow, 224–228, 233–234, 238–240, 249; Davis, Let Us Build a National Negro
Congress. As early as 1919 an FBI agent was reporting that Boleslaw Gebert, "Bolshevik
agent," was making speeches in Youngstown, Ohio, denouncing the continued British
rule over “three hundred million of Hindus” in India and British control of Egypt as
giving the lie to claims that the Allies had fought for democracy in World War I: FBI
report, Arthur Barkey to G. Oliver Frick, July 25, 1919, DB-WSU, box 4, folder 4-22.
62. Louise Thompson Patterson, interview by Mary Lecht [ca. 1980s], LTP-EU,
box 28, folder 16.
63. Helen Vrábel report to Youth Conference, IWO national convention, June
8–14, 1940, IWO-CU, box 3, folder 3. On British-Soviet diplomacy in 1938–1939, see
Michael Jabara Carley, “End of the ‘Low, Dishonest Decade’: Failure of the Anglo-
64. Report of General Secretary to IWO GEB, February 22–23, 1941, New York
City, 1–6, IWO-CU, box 2, folder 5; Report, Max Bedacht for IWO GEB, Winter 1941,
IWO-CU, box 2, folder 4.
65. Herbert Benjamin, executive secretary, report, “Americans, Immigrants All
Want Peace,” IWO Conference on National Groups, April 6, 1941, IWO-CU, box 5,
folder 9.
66. OSS/FNB report to Director of Strategic Services, “Communist-Line IWO
Reorganizes to Emphasize Nationality,” July 11, 1944, DB-WSU, box 4, folder 4-29;
“For the Sake of Clarity—A Workmen’s Circle Answer to the IWO from The Call, April
1940,” 12, IWO-NYU, folder 8.
67. State senator Stanley Nowak’s Polish speech, Radio Station WJBK, TS, Sunday,
June 29, 1941, NP-WSU, box 3, folder 3-7; Nowak radio address, August 24, 1941, NP-
WSU, box 3, folder 3-8.
68. “Speaker’s Guide on the Soviet-Nazi War,” National Education Department,
IWO, July 18, 1941, IWO-CU, box 22, folder 20.

70. C. Oumansky, Embassy of the USSR, to B. Ricchebuono of “La Progressiva” Lodge, IWO, New York, August 8, 1941, IWO-CU, box 10, folder 8; Eldred Kuppeninger, acting assistant chief, Division of Controls, Department of State, to Joseph Brodsky, August 15, 1941, IWO-CU, box 16, folder 26; Pamphlet, IWO FLFF, We Gave Aid and Comfort [October 1, 1941–January 31, 1942], IWO-CU, box 5, folder 8; Max Bedacht, general secretary, report to GEB, February 7–8, 1942, 1, 4, 7, IWO-CU, box 2, folder 6; Pamphlet, The Story of the Front Line Fighters Fund, and poster, “Help Them Save Freedom,” IWO-CU, box 16, folder 26.


75. Pamphlet, A Crime against Jewish Unity—The Jewish Labor Committee Owes the Jewish Public an Explanation, by Rubin Saltzman, National Secretary, Jewish American Section, IWO, IWO-CU, box 22, folder 23; FBI report, IWO, Detroit division, December 31, 1946, contains an informant’s report that in November 1942 he had “obtained” three copies of the “throwaway” regarding the IWO Jewish Section’s campaign to raise funds for ten Soviet tanks.

76. Flyer, He fights for you—put him first on your Xmas List! IWO-CU, box 16, folder 26.


78. Peter Shipka to Dave Greene, January 22, 1951, IWO-CU, box 23, folder 1; Abraham Freeman of Boston to Alfred Bohlinger, Superintendent of Insurance, New York State, February 22, 1951, IWO-CU, box 23, folder 4; Greene to Mary Samsonick of Endicott, New York, November 6, 1947, IWO-CU, box 4, folder 4; IWO flyer in Slovak, Pomôžte Bojovat za Slobodu tým, že Budete Šetriť Peniaze [Help the Fight for Freedom, Buy War Bonds], IWO-CU, box 15, folder 3; Affidavits, Dora Friedkas, the Bronx, April 24, 1951, Lewis Marks, Boston, April 21, 1951, Jacob Balan, Highland Park, Michigan, April 23, 1951, Eugenia Czuprenski, Detroit, April 23, 1951, and Sebastian Bucola, Pittsburgh, April 1951, IWO-CF-CU, box 15, folder 3. News release, “IWO Challenges Constitutionality of Attorney General Clark’s Report; Plans Legal Action,” December 27, 1947, noted that among millions of pieces of civilian defense literature issued by the IWO, the Order had issued two hundred thousand regulation air raid posters translated into thirteen languages, IWO-NYU, folder 31.


80. Honor rolls, Slovak and Croatian members of the IWO who were killed during World War II, IWO-CU, box 19, folder 5; Shipka to Greene, January 22, 1951; Greene to Samsonick, November 6, 1947; Pamphlet, *An Indictment: The People vs. Attorney General Tom Clark Before the Court of Public Opinion* [1947 or 1948], IWO-CU, box 4, folder 4.

81. Affidavits, Dora Friedkas, the Bronx, April 24, 1951, Rubin Cravetz, Philadelphia, April 23, 1951, and Alexander Smoley, New York, April 25, 1951, IWOCF-CU, box 3.


83. Rockwell Kent to Marcantonio, October 28, November 13, and December 14, 1942, Gordon Kent to Rockwell Kent, n.d., Marcantonio to Rockwell Kent, November

84. OSS report, ASC, May 2, 1942, DB-WSU, box 1, folder 1-22; Minutes, IWO GEB meeting, June 27, 1942, IWO-CU, box 1, folder 9; Fraternal Outlook, September 1942, 8, IWO-CU, box 48; FBI report, Polonia Society, IWO, August 7, 1942, DB-WSU, box 16, folder 16-36. Davidowitz, “History of the Jewish People’s Fraternal Order,” 7, notes that the Fraternal Outlook in 1942 carried a streamer, “Open the Second Front,” in almost every issue. Stanley Nowak radio addresses, July 25, August 2, August 23, 1942, NP-WSU, box 3, folder 3-9; Nowak radio address, August 10, 1942, NP-WSU, box 3, folder 3-10.


86. Leaflet, Opening of a Second Front Now Is Imperative, National Committee, Russian-American Section, IWO, IWO-CU, box 13, folder 3.

87. FBI report, Polonia Society, IWO, August 7, 1942.

88. IWO “Win the War Statement” [1942], DB-WSU, box 5, folder 5-30; American-Russian Section IWO, Central Executive Committee report [1944], IWO-CU, box 25, folder 1; “Report on Work for Victory to the G.E.B. Plenary Meeting, November 6, 1942, by Max Bedacht, General Secretary,” IWO-CU, box 2, folder 7; Resolutions for Action adopted by the IWO GEB, September 25–26, 1943, IWO-CU, box 2, folder 9.


90. Matej Mráz, “Slovácký Kongres po srdci všetkým len Hitleristom nie” [Slovak Congress Heartily for Everything that Hitler Isn’t], Národné noviny, May 6, 1942, 4; Ad, “70,000 members of the IWO,” from ASC conference book, Detroit, April 1942, DB-WSU, box 5, folder 5-29.

91. “Slavs Indorse 4th Term—Plan National Congress,” Národné noviny, June 7, 1944, 5. For prosecution of Socialist Workers Party members under the Smith Act, see Haverty-Stacke, Trotskyists on Trial.


June 1954, 3, IWO-CU, box 53; FBI report, Nowak [1954] mentions a June 11, 1954, meeting at which the subject “Indo-China’s fight for its independence” was addressed by Thomas Dombrowski, DB-WSU, box 7, folder 7-55.


105. Minutes, General Council meeting, March 16–17, 1946, IWO-NYU, folder 13; Report by Bedacht to General Council and “Resolution on People’s Peace Movement” passed at same meeting.

106. “From: Organization Circular for November 1947,” Polonia Society, IWO-CU, box 26, folder 3; Call to 10th American Slav Congress of Michigan conference, May 27, 1951, NP-WSU, box 4, folder 4-2; FBI file on Stanley Nowak, May 1, 1952, including accounts of IWO and ASC peace activities in 1951 against rearming West Germany and against the Korean War, DB-WSU, box 7, folder 7-49; FBI report, March 5, 1951, on Nowak speaking at a meeting of the Polonia Society; American Slav Congress to President Truman, telegram, October 7, 1948, DB-WSU, box 1, folder 1-18.


108. Minutes, SWS national board meeting, March 23, 1947, IWO-CU, box 54; Organization letter, Polonia Society, October 1948, IWO-CU, box 26, folder 3; Sam Milgrom to “Dear Brother,” May 13, 1947, and June 25, 1947, on conference of American
Council for a Democratic Greece, IWO-CU, box 4, folder 2; “Statement of National Executive Committee Jewish People Fraternal Order” [1947], IWO-CU, box 32, folder 66.


Stockholm Peace Pledge, calling for the outlawing of the atom bomb and the branding of any government that would first resort to its use as a war criminal, as our sentiment, and as voicing our aspiration for peace,” Fraternal Outlook, June–July 1950.


CHAPTER 6


4. N. Gish of Brooklyn to “Dear Brother Dave Greene,” December 6, 1947, and Greene to Gish, December 8, 1947, IWO-CU, box 4, folder 4. Members resigned within days of issuance of the Attorney General’s List. Greene sent letters to IWO members such as a trade union leader and a physician, both of the Bronx, urging them to reconsider: Greene to Nathan Reiser and Greene to Dr. Louis Roberts, both December 30, 1947, ibid.


17. FBI report, IWO, Detroit division, December 31, 1946, citing January 16, 1939, meeting in Detroit; Lodge 2501, La Progressiva, to Vito Marcantonio, telegram, January 24, 1939, box 47, Vito Marcantonio Papers, Manuscripts and Archives Division, The New York Public Library [hereafter cited as VM-NYPL]; Flyer, Mass Meeting against the Dies Committee, for the New Deal, in English and Italian, January 29, 1939, La Progressiva, endorsed by United Italian Associations of Harlem, ibid.; Letter on anti-Dies Committee rally in Harlem, sponsored by La Progressiva Lodge [January 1939], ibid.; Petition against the Dies HUAC, from Dante Alighieri Lodge 2579, Bronx [January 1939], ibid.


22. “IWO Calls an Anti-Dies Rally in Brooklyn,” Daily Worker, May 18, 1940, 5, CPUSA-LC, reel 318, delo 4243; Detroit Police Department, Office of Special Investigation Squad, report on IWO Lodge 747 meeting, March 10, 1940, DB-WSU, box 5, folder 5-30.

23. “Court Allows I.W.O. to Inspect Seized Files,” Daily Worker, May 17, 1940, 5, CPUSA-LC, reel 318, delo 4243; Clare Hoffman, May 25, 1940, and Vito Marcantonio, May 28, 1940, both to Max Bedacht, IWO-CU, box 3, folder 12; Bedacht to Marcantonio, “Copy of following telegram sent to Martin Dies, Chairman, Investigating Un-American Activities” [May 1940], VM-NYPL, box 47.
24. FBI report, IWO, Detroit division, December 31, 1946, citing IWO circular letter, April 26, 1941.

25. Questionnaires, Morris Nusenow, the Bronx, April 29, 1941, Philip Kay, Atlantic City, May 27, 1941, Albert Strimling, Denver, April 16, 1941, and Helen Lane, Youngstown, Ohio, April 16, 1941, IWO-CU, box 18, folder 13.


29. See chap. 5, note 82.


33. Marcantonio speech, Proceedings, National Convention, IWO. IWO to Marcantonio, telegram, February 4, 1943; Marcantonio to IWO, February 9, 1943, Dave Greene to Marcantonio, February 9, 1943, March 11, 1942, and Marcantonio to Greene, March 12, 1942, VM-NYPL, box 47.

34. “Flash! The IWO has filed suit . . . .” from Rockwell Kent [1948], IWO-NYU, folder 6.


38. Ibid.
39. Ibid.
42. IWO news release, July 8, 1948, excerpt from speeches opposing placing IWO on Attorney General’s List of Subversive Organizations, IWO-NYU, folder 31.
43. An Indictment: The People vs. Attorney General Tom Clark; Congressman Adolph Sabath to Rockwell Kent, August 12, 1948, Attorney General Tom Clark to Sabath, August 16, 1948, and Sabath to Kent, August 18, 1948, IWO-CU, box 3, folder 8. On the revocation of tax exemption, see Minutes, IWO Executive Committee meeting, June 14, 1948, IWO-CU, box 1, folder 14.
44. Memorandum, “Attorney General Clark’s answer to IWO lawsuit” [1948], IWO-CU, box 3, folder 8. Minutes, IWO Executive Committee meeting, September 14, 1948, IWO-CU, box 1, folder 14.
45. Molly Tallentire to Rockwell Kent, September 30, 1948, IWO-CU, box 3, folder 8.
48. FBI report, IWO, Detroit division, November 20, 1953, citing Glos Ludowy, Section 2, English Section, 1, March 12, 1949; Representative John Wood to “Dear Colleagues,” January 13, 1949, on Civil Rights Congress Freedom Crusade, VM-NYPL, box 47.
49. N. Chalpin of Philadelphia to Gedalia Sandler, March 10, 1947, and Sandler to Chalpin, March 26, 1947, IWO-CU, box 25, folder 9; Post Office Department to Seymour Goldman, November 30, 1948, “Interrogatories,” IWO-CU, box 32, folder 31; Minutes, National Board, JPFO meeting, November 19, 1949, report by Lee Pressman on “the legal problems we have faced in the past few years,” IWO-CU, box 27, folder 2.
50. Seymour Press of Hammond, Indiana, to Sylvia Rigel, January 10, 1950, IWO-CU, box 32, folder 24; Samuel Miller of Los Angeles to Pittsburgh, December 10, 1946, IWO-CU, box 25, folder 11; Routine Slovak correspondence, 1950, IWO-CU, box 26, folder 5. For other federal government employees quitting the IWO, see Benjamin Elian, the Bronx, to Frances Shifrin, March 24, 1947: “I’m sorry that I have to do this, as I have no alternative in this matter,” Elian wrote (IWO-CU, box 32, folder 35); Manuel del Pozo, Cervantes Fraternal Society, Mutualista Obrera Puertorriqueña, Lodge 4765, to Dave Greene, September 26, 1949, on two members who quit because they were government employees, IWO-CU, box 26, folder 6.
52. Sabin, Red Scare in Court, 290; Caute, The Great Fear, 168; Rosemary Feurer, Radical Unionism in the Midwest, 1900–1950 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006); Shelton Stromquist, ed., Labor’s Cold War: Local Politics in a Global Context (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2008); Schrecker, Many Are the Crimes, 67–70, 268, 336–340; Paul Robeson, Here I Stand (New York: Othello, 1958); Martin Duberman,


55. Fabio Ligi, financial secretary, Union, New York, to “Dear Secretary,” May 26, 1947, IWO-CU, box 25, folder 5. An SWS member from Columbus, Ohio, wrote to Joseph Schiffel, SWS national leader, on October 30, 1950, that he was resigning because his son was in medical school and he didn’t want him expelled: Schiffel letter, November 1, 1950, IWO-NYU, folder 42.


57. B. Felser of Scranton, Pennsylvania, to JPFO secretary, May 23, 1949, IWO-CU, box 25, folder 10; P. Krupsky, Russian Lodge 3001, Pittsburgh, to Daniel Kasustchik, November 7, 1949, and Kasustchik to Krupsky [1949], IWO-CU, box 25, folder 1; Margaret Wherry of Cleveland to Sam Milgrom, January 15, 1948, IWO-CU, box 8, folder 8.

58. Ligi to “Dear Secretary”; Sabin, Red Scare in Court, 55.


61. Ibid.


63. Letter from secretary to an ARFS lodge [place not specified, ca. late 1940s, early 1950s], IWO-CU, box 25, folder 1.

64. FBI report, IWO, Detroit division, November 20, 1953, includes report of February 18, 1951, meeting, Western Michigan Section, CP, Grand Rapids.


67. Letter “from Russian,” “George” of Audubon, New Jersey, to the ARFS Central Committee, January 14, 1951, IWO-CU, box 25, folder 1.


69. Solomon and Sarah Kleinberg, the Bronx, to Lee Pressman, April 13, 1949, IWO-CU, box 25, folder 10.


71. Press release, Sam Milgrom, on behalf of ACPFB, “Yugoslav-American Community Terrorized by Naturalization Officials,” April 14, 1947, IWO-CU, box 4, folder 2; Press release, “IWO Urges Investigation of Immigration Office in Youngstown, Ohio,” April 25, 1947, IWO-NYU, folder 31; FBI report on ASC made by Agent Douglas Williams, Indianapolis, January 26, 1944, contained in FBI file on the ASC. I thank FOIA and John Enyeart for providing this material.

72. United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the 1st Circuit—May 27, 1948, Philip Stasiukevich v. Henry Nicolls, District Director of Immigration and Naturalization [Massachusetts], IWOCF-CU, box 1.


75. SWS letter, Lodge 2130, Passaic, New Jersey, October 2, 1950, IWO-NYU, folder 42. Summary, case of Joseph Lipa and Bohumil Snyder, members of SWS called to INS hearing, Syracuse, New York, n.d., IWOCF-CU, box 1.

76. Carpatho-Russian member to “Michael” [Michael Logoyda], February 9, 1947, IWO-CU, box 25, folder 2.


83. “Chicago, Ill. Sep. 24” to Sam Milgrom [ca. 1940s], telegram, regarding the white hate strike in Gary and the IWO’s involvement in a campaign to integrate the Gary schools, IWO-CU, box 6, folder 12; “The Case of Katherine Hyndman—What Is True Americanism?” *The American Slav*, Winter 1949, 8. For more on Hyndman, see chap. 3, note 61.


86. Minutes, IWO Executive Committee, October 21, 1952, IWOCF-CU, box 3; “Committee for the Freedom of Sam Milgrom” to “Dear Friend,” November 2, 1952,


88. Robeson, Here I Stand; Duberman, Paul Robeson; Goodman, Paul Robeson. Outline for speech by Dave Greene of the JPFO, Brooklyn, June 19, 1950, IWO-CU, box 4, folder 5. For Robeson’s defense of the IWO, see News release, addresses by Robeson and Idaho Senator Glen Taylor, July 8, 1947, IWO-NYU, folder 31.


90. Flyer, Should Miss Liberty Be Deported? The Case of Peter Harisiades [1950], VM-NYPL, box 46.


93. Sabin, Red Scare in Court, 48–49.

94. Ibid., 54.
95. Ibid., 48–62.
96. Ibid., 48–62.
97. Complaint entered by Lee Pressman and Allan Rosenberg, February 15, 1949, IWO-CU, box 23, folder 1; “Haley Report for Purposes of Cross-Examination” [ca. 1950], IWO-CU, box 23, folder 6; Peter Shipka to Dave Greene, January 22, 1951, IWO-CU, box 23, folder 1.
98. “Haley Report for Purposes of Cross-Examination”; FBI report, IWO, Detroit division, November 20, 1953, 19, 54, 55, cites Romanul American, September 13, 1947, 1, article by George Vocila. A speaker at an IWO Russian section lodge in Muskegon, Michigan, made a similar point.
102. SWS president to Brother Klimek, Binghamton, New York, October 5, 1950, IWO-CU, box 21, folder 8.
103. Ibid.
104. Sabin, Red Scare in Court, 77–78.
105. Memorandum, Peter Shipka to Raphael Weissman, January 9, 1951, IWO-CU, box 23, folder 1; Joseph Schiffel to Joseph Griger, February 6, 1951, IWO-CU, box 26, folder 5.
107. Louise Thompson Patterson, interview by Ruth and Bud Schultz, August 12, 1984, LTP-EU, box 27, folder 3.
109. Ibid.
112. “Resolutions, . . . Emergency Conference against the Liquidation of a People’s Organization,” February 10, 1951, IWO-CU, box 24; “Petition for Right to Hold Convention” [1951], IWOCEF-CU, box 3; Dave Greene, “To Elected Delegates to the 8th


120. Ibid., 243–244, 254.

121. Affidavit, John Hrusovsky, Irvington, New Jersey, April 24, 1951, IWOCF-CU, box 3.

122. Affidavit, Salvatore Spampinato, Los Angeles, April 23, 1951, ibid.

123. Affidavits, John Uhrin, Los Angeles, April 24, 1951, Charles Skulsky, Philadelphia, April 23, 1951, Dominica Alasina, Detroit, April 23, 1951, Jacob Balan, Highland Park, Michigan, April 23, 1951, Mary Granich, Philadelphia, April 23, 1951, Mary Stucka, Elizabeth, New Jersey, April 24, 1951, Michael Mišura, Philadelphia, April 24, 1951, and Miklos Petri, the Bronx, April 23, 1951, IWOCF-CU, box 3.

124. Letter from Donner and Kinoy, May 4, 1951, reminding recipients of the high court decision and adding that it was illegal to blacklist the IWO, IWO-NYU, folder 34; News release and letter, Garibaldi Society to all lodges, “Supreme Court Removed the IWO from the Subversive List,” May 8, 1951, IWO-CU, box 10, folder 10; Donner and Kinoy to IWO, May 4, 1951, IWO-CU, box 23, folder 1; Monthly letter, C. Lippa to all Garibaldi Society lodges, June 1951, including “Digest of the Opinions of the Supreme Court Justices in the IWO Suit against the Attorney General’s Subversive List,” IWO-CU, box 10, folder 10. See Sabin, Red Scare in Court, 286, for the May 1951 IWO News Bulletin for news of the Supreme Court decision.

125. Sabin, Red Scare in Court, 284–290; Goldstein, American Blacklist.


129. Petition for rehearing, filed by Philip McCook for IWO, September 11, 1952, IWOCF-CU, box 3; Memorandum to Supreme Court of Ny State from Paul Williams and James Henry, special assistant attorneys general of NY State, September 16, 1952, ibid.


136. Allan Rosenberg, counsel for IWO, to Attorney General Herbert Brownell, June 12, 1953, on why “the procedure” on subversive organizations is still unconstitutional, IWOCF-CU, box 2; Insurance Superintendent of New York to Arthur Kinoy, November 30, 1953, ibid.; Minutes, Executive Committee, IWO meeting, “Report on SACB,” December 1, 1953, IWOCF-CU, box 3; Kinoy’s appeal of denial of IWO request that Appeals Court order the NY Insurance Department to release funds so they could retain a lawyer for the SACB hearing, December 15, 1953, IWOCF-CU, box 2; SACB,

**CONCLUSION**


6. *A Fraternal Organization Sentenced to Death!*