

Dear Jim,

Attached of my past

12/22/76

While I await a guest whose time of arrival is uncertain I'm working on the stack of the accumulated. I have written you about this letter from John L. Lewis' files in the past, when it was first given to me. I guess it was during college summer vacations.

First I'll explain its source. Professor Henry Berger, of Washington University, was a doctoral candidate at Madison about when you were there. His father operated our only Frederick bookstore and was a friend. He introduced his son so I could be of help with the thesis. I was able and did help, beginning with a reformulation of his topic into something like the American labor movement as an instrument of foreign policy. He agreed. I then opened sources to him, including within unions and this meant to the Meany level in AFL-CIO, to the late Roumaldi, who I had met and shared friends with and to various UMW people, including those who had some of my early records for archival use.

Henry did a good job but for some reason I cannot explain has refused a number of offers for his thesis to become a book. He got some on his own and at least one through me. No, he was perhaps a little ahead of you at Madison.

I do not know the subject of his current researches. His father phoned me when Henry was last here, which is why I think it was during recess in classes, to say, somewhat apologetically, that Henry had come across what he considered to be one of the most unusual and unstinting recommendations of a young man he had ever seen but was concerned that it might regard it as private. On my assurances to the contrary Henry took the phone, continued his arving about the praises and then said that although his copy was poor and come from forgotten and poorly-kept records he would send me one. This is a copy of it.

Gardner "Pat" Jackson was Lewis' lobbyist. He did not get along well with the more conservative Eli Oliver who was the actual head of Labor's Non-Partisan League. My recollections of some of this and related political activity of that era will interest Dave for oral histories when we can get to them. Pat was bright, emotional, liberal politically, personable in a way that makes for effective lobbying, as anti-Communist a person as I have ever met, an alcoholic, for a while a very close friend, sometimes almost fatherly, and one from whom I learned much. We worked together very effectively, more so when he was drunk because he had faith in me and would then listen without arguing if the proposals I made were too daring as I'm sure some were, some I recall. Without that there would never have been the migratory-farm investigation of which you can grasp the best understanding from the code word Grapes of Wrath, which is about it. Corlissumont's late wife Helen was then the wife of the research director, Bob Lamb. He and Pat had been together on the Sacco-Vanzetti committee when Bob was a professor at Williams.

Pat also had some emotional problems which are not immediately relevant except that one is reflected in this memo as I recall it from months ago. When he was not drunk he could be stubborn and over-confident about judgements based on people he trusted. There it was Drew Pearson and Harold Ickes. The reference is to the Pelley matter, which again is a diminutive. It is the HUAC attempted frame of which you know. The only reason that happened is because he would not take the precautions I wanted to take.

Some of this is now not within my recall. For example, that Ben Allen told me to do what I did. I do not believe it is relevant although Pat could have known what I did not. I had no secrets. I was custodian of the public record. I made it available to those who asked. Before he became I.F.Stone and before I ever met him I used to send galley proofs regularly to the Isadore Feinstine of the then New York Post, as I also gave them to the AP's man Jack Fischer who was later editor of Harper's Magazine, etc. So there was no basis for my being fired except that LaFollette was p'd off at me because I was too conscientious and because I was working to continue the committee when he had gotten all the political benefit he could from it and wanted it to end, as did FDR. Both needed re-election contributions and we had tangled with the wealthiest and most powerful. So when a labor news service story, Federated Press, appeared in the Daily Worker and it was both accurate and embarrassing to the top in industry and finance LaFollette and the gange he had brought in to end the committee first by decimating the staff of good ones were looking for an excuse they used this. It happens that this also is a matter

testified to by one of the committee's counsel, the late David Demarest ~~was~~ Lloyd, later director ~~was~~ of the Harry Truman Library. The Dies grand jury was the occasion. It is the transcript the late Ed Fihelly thought I should have for my future protection. It was to Ed, then third man, that Dave Pine and Ed Curran, both of whom then knew me, bucked handing me before that grand jury. Fihelly wound up with both respect and compassion and I suppose some shame. As I told you I took the grand jury away from him and got the Dies agent, fed to Jackson via Pearson from Ickes, both Pat's friends, indicted and convicted.

So while the representations of my personality are undoubtedly basically true, little things like my responsibility for the "Pelley matter" are not faithful. I guess even then there was right and there was wrong for me.

The reference to "citizens' committees" is understated. I saw their role and after going off on what was taken to be my own but I saw as part of my assignment conducted the first investigation of them, over which I was almost fired the summer of 1966. That also reached too high.

"Intimate" is the correct word in the change in our relationship. We were friends until then, as I was friends with many others, like Virginia Durr, Hugo Black's sister. Beginning then I really worked with Pat for some time.

I'm surprised he did not recall using me to select the UMW's general counsel or that my highest recommendation was for a conservative, a Texan from DJ Criminal, Welly K. Hopkins. Or with the office of the father of the labor act, Wagner of New York. I never got the referred to copy back. Nobody was about to leave a record that a brash kid had prepared the "testimony" of the big shots -without even being paid for it.

Pat was responsible for the setting up of the so-called LaFollette committee. I cannot imagine anyone having less to do with it than the playboy son of a great father did. Young Bob was bright but there isn't much else I can say for him. He is, without doubt, one of the worst employers I ever had. I had to quit for eye surgery when I was doing professional work at \$30 a week, on loan from the Agriculture Dept. Sometimes he went over the questions he would ask with those who did the work. I prepared the brief for the first hearing. He never discussed it with me. All he had to do was read the questions and then refer to the exhibits that were keyed in on opposite sides of the same folder.

In any event, this is a record of my dedication to accuracy and detail when great ~~men~~ men of that day depended on my dependability, on matters of greatest controversy, and as Jackson says with the one illustration, all those whose feet were walked on were restricted to "punch!"

Where Jackson refers to his questions about Allen's "inner loyalties" he probably thought Allen was a Communist, as it later turned out Lee Pressman had been. I knew Pressman well. I was not a Communist and this is probably why there was no job for me. Frank Donner, who now remains detached, also decimated my files. He was then on the CIO legal staff. He had the job of defending a member from Dies attack. I had the records that made it possible. Donner never returned a page. You may recall my efforts of a year or so ago to interest his project in a little help. You may be able to do this where I could not if you ever get the time. I have forgotten the name of the unionist but I seem to recall it was maritime and the fink was named McQuiston.

In those days I did have a fantastic memory, sometime photographic.

I look back on this with some gratification because of what I was able to do and because of the social good and political advances that flowed from some and to which other contributed.

Pat spent most of the summer of 1969 drunk so his recollection of it in 1940 is not too good. We worked together closely then, intimately, too. The time of this letter he and I had about come to the parting of the ways. I have a very clear recollection of the night of Lewis' Plague on Both Your Houses speech - Willkie and FDR. I was at Pat's house and went for him to Lewis' office to get a copy after the broadcast. We heard it in the

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back room of the second floor of Pat's house at 6 W. Kirke St. Chevy Chase. Among those present were C. Benham Baldwin, Beanie, later honcho of the Henry Wallace Party and Ernesto Galarsa, a Bolivian who without doubt was an early intelligence operative in the Latin American labor movement, particularly against Mexico. I knew Beanie other than through Pat. The last part of my committee employment was when I was on Beanie's payroll as his administrative assistant in War Security. He was the administrator. I got the job through a conservative lawyer in Agriculture's general counsel's office, Bob Shields, later a sugar-interest lobbyist.

This reminds me, if Clark Foreman is still around and whether or not in ECIC, or his wife Mauri, they might be of some help, Mauri in particular. When I did radio news she had a show on that station and although she was older I was able to be and was of some help to her. Last time Lil and I saw her and Clark was at a party they had for Wallace and Glen Taylor. We were then beginning at Hyattstown.

I have rambled a bit while waiting for my guest because as I got into this it occurred to me that some of it may be of interest to Dave, to whom an unread carbon. I guess neither the world nor I have changed and there are still those who cannot "tolerate Weisberg's enthusiastic calling of a spade a spade." Or that one who is not part of a party, a clique or a school of thought is certain to be without influence and with few who are willing to help in worthwhile projects. Unless there is something in it for the

Regardless of how true what Jackson says about Ben Allen is it would be unfair to leave the impression that his work was anything but the best.

His former wife appears in the Rosenberg case records. She is Annie Woodman. Without much doubt some of this is what is today embarrassing to the FBI and among its reasons for stonewalling on the request for the records on me. The plain and simple fact is that I was not a Communist and as this record shows they would not do anything for me, even giving me a job I had more than earned. J. Edgar Hoover told the late Bert Andrews that I was not a Communist. Andrews told me. Andrews was a Herald-Tribune Pulitzer winner.

Best,